# A Classification of the Semantic Field Good and Evil in the Vocabulary of English 

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For the many errors which doubtless remain in this thesis, the responsibility is entirely my own.

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The central part of this thesis (chapter 3) consists of a classification of 9071 lexical items comprising the semantic field Good and Evil. This classified semantic field, with minor alterations, will form part of the Historical Thesaurus of English currently being compiled in the English Language Department of Glasgow University. Some significant features of the Good and Evil classification system, devised and explained in this thesis, have also been adopted by the Historical Thesaurus.

Chapter 1 places the thesis in a wider academic context. It explains briefly the Historical Thesaurus project, and describes how the classification of Good and Evil contributes to this. It also relates the thesis to linguistics, semantics, and especially to semantic theory, lexicography, and semantic classification.

Chapter 2 defines the semantic field Good and Evil and discusses how the field was assembled. It provides details of those areas which were either rejected or extended in order to form the semantic field. It then describes in some detail the classification system devised for Good and Evil. The structure of the classification is explained, the use of the parts of speech as a valuable classificatory device is justified, and the contribution of other classificatory work is acknowledged. The chapter also discusses some particular problems and features of the Old English corpus. It ends with lists of stylistic and other conventions.

Chapter 3 contains the Good and Evil classification, and chapter 4 consists of detailed notes on the classification. These notes discuss points relating to dating, Old English material, classificatory devices, closely connected categories, and some problems of dictionary definitions, among other things.

Chapter 5 conducts a number of studies based on historical and etymological information drawn from the classification. The relative numbers of accessions and losses in different centuries in the categories are presented and discussed. The range of sources of origin of a limited number of categories are detailed. The patterns of change, and the extent and rate of influence of different languages in different centuries, are then commented on and compared.

Chapter 6 selects one area of vocabulary from Good and Evil animal names used as names for people - and subjects this area to a detailed examination. The variety of animal names, and the range of people to whom they are applied, are discussed, and various statistics and comparisons are drawn up. Also considered is the time gap between the first literal use of an animal name and the first figurative or metaphorical application of the same term to a person. In the process some interesting and, on occasion, unproven points about animal metaphor are brought to light.

The thesis ends with three appendices. The first contains extra Good and Evil material not in the main classification, the second details 19th century obsolescences, and the third gives a numerical distribution of items in each category by part of speech.

In the course of this thesis the following abbreviations and conventions are used. Further abbreviations and conventions not listed here occur in chapter 2, and in the classification in chapter 3. These are explained in chapter 2, especially in 2.3.5 and 2.5. Those given below are used throughout the thesis. Full details of the books referred to can be found in the Bibliography.
(i) Abbreviations

| Bosworth and Toller) | An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary edited |
| :---: | :---: |
| Bosworth Toller ) | by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller; An Anglo-Saxon |
|  | Dictionary Supplement edited by |
|  | T. Northcote Toller; Addenda and |
|  | Corrigenda by A. Campbell. |
| CA | Componential Analysis. |
| COD | Concise 0xford Dictionary, 7th |
|  | edition. |
| Clark Hall | A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary |
|  | by John R. Clark Hall. |
| ME | Middle English. |
| New OED | The Oxford English Dictionary, |
|  | 2nd edition. |
| ODEE | The Oxford Dictionary of English |
|  | Etymology. |
| OE | Old Eng1ish. |
| OED | The Oxford English Dictionary (and, |
|  | in many references, its Supplement). |
| 01d English dictionaries | Bosworth Toller and Clark Hall (see above). |
| SOED | The Shorter Oxford English Diction- |
|  | ary, 3rd edition. |

## Conventions

The following terms and conventions are used in the following ways:

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { field } \\ & \text { semantic field } \end{aligned}$ | A large area of meaning containing many inter-related lexical items, for example Good and Evil. As Good and Evil has two distinct parts, each on its own is also regarded as a semantic field. |
| :---: | :---: |
| concept | A unit of meaning, often capable of being expressed by different lexical items. Each category in the classification covers a concept. Some items in a category also relate to other concepts. |
| item lexical item $)$ | A unit of vocabulary, either a word or a phrase. Every entry in the classification includes a (lexical) item. In the text (lexical) items are referred to in inverted commas (see below). |
| entry | A lexical item along with its dates of currency, as presented in the classification in chapter 3. |
| component | A unit of meaning in a definition, covering a single concept. |
| element | A component (see preceding). |
| Evil | An underlined word or phrase with an initial capital is used to refer to the semantic field of that name. Further examples are Religion, Good and Evil. |
| 'evil' | A word (or phrase) in inverted commas, with no underlining, is used to denote either a lexical item (often accompanied by its dates) or a concept. Similarly, 'religion', 'kindness'. |
| evil | A word (or phrase) with no typographical marking sometimes denotes a concept, occasionally denotes a lexical item, or is being used in context in a normal sense. |
| R616 Evil | $R$ stands for Roget. $R$ followed by a number and underlined heading is used to refer to a Roget head. |

## Chapter 1

## Introduction

The principal aim of this thesis is to present a detailed classification of the semantic field Good and Evil. The thesis also aims to explain fully the composition of the semantic field and the structure of the classification system. In addition, it uses the classified material to conduct a number of studies of a linguistic and statistical nature.

Prior to embarking on the thesis proper, it is important to place it in the context of the larger work and various disciplines to which it contributes and relates, and to acknowledge the extent and value of its contribution.

The central part of the thesis is the classification of Good and Evil which is presented in chapter 3. This classification also forms part of the Historical Thesaurus of English currently in preparation in the English Language Department of Glasgow University. ${ }^{1}$ The Historical Thesaurus of English (generally referred to in this thesis as the Historical Thesaurus) is a work which will resemble Roget's Thesaurus and other similar works in that words and phrases will be arranged conceptually, or on the basis of their meanings , rather than alphabetically, but it will differ from these works by including not only current words but also obsolete words and obsolete senses of current words. One other important extra feature it will have is that all its entries will be dated, with a first date and, if obsolete, a
closing date. Within sections (and subsections) the entries will therefore be arranged chronologically on the basis of their earliest recorded date in English.

The inception of the Historical Thesaurus project was announced in 1964 by Professor M.L. Samuels in an address to the Philological Society. He said that
> 'Such a work would tell us how many and which words were available, to each writer in the past periods, for the expression of a given notion..and it would provide the basic material necessary for detecting and solving all the problems of 'semantic fields' in English, notably the connections, in each field, between semantic shift, verbal obsolescence and innovation.'2

In 1972 he emphasized again the need for such a Thesaurus, ${ }^{3}$ and indeed by that time the work was underway.

Even before 1964 though, others had seen the wider need for a good semantic classification. In the 1950 s Stephen Ullmann commented that 'Practically all monographs on semantics have expatiated at length on the problems of classification. It is almost invariably the cornerstone of their structure ${ }^{4}$ and that 'the urge for classification remains unaltered. ${ }^{5}$

The Historical Thesaurus aims to answer these needs.
The principal source of material for the Historical Thesaurus is the Oxford English Dictionary and its Supplement. At the time of writing this thesis compilation from the $\underline{O E D}$ and from Volumes $I$ to III of the Supplement was complete, and compilation from Volume IV was still in progress. The specific details of the methods used to transcribe the information from the $\underline{O E D}$ and Supplement on to $6 \times 4$ slips for the Historical Thesaurus archive are not pursued further here, but more details about them, and about Historical Thesaurus policy,can be found in L.W. Collier and C.J. Kay 'The Historical Thesaurus of

English ${ }^{6}$ and C.J. Kay 'The Historical Thesaurus of English. ${ }^{7}$
The Oxford dictionaries are complemented with material drawn from Bosworth and Toller's and Clark Hall's Old English Dictionaries. The reason for this is that the OED 'aims at exhibiting the history and signification of the English words now in use or known to have been in use since the middle of the 12 th century... Hence we exclude all words that had become obsolete by $1150 .^{8}$ If a word dates from Old English, and lasts beyond l150, the OED includes it, but not otherwise. The missing language of the Old English period is consequently supplied for the Historical Thesaurus from Old Eng1ish dictionaries. ${ }^{9}$ The compilation of the Old English material was completed several years ago.

The Oxford English Dictionary is a work of unparalleled quality in lexicography worldwide. A.C. Baugh refers to it as 'this great publication - the greatest dictionary of any language in the world ${ }^{10}$ and adds that 'it has provided a wealth of exact data on which many questions relating to the history of the language have been resolved. ${ }^{11}$ In spite of this, and in spite of its comprehensive and excellent Supplement, the OED is not now without its weaknesses. The publication this century of editions of many early and medieval texts, and the gradual publication of the Middle English Dictionary and the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, both of which include dated quotations from early texts, are bringing to light a significant number of antedatings of OED senses. ${ }^{12}$ Studies such as that conducted by Jürgen Schäfer on a selected area of the OED also reveal the potential for antedating OED senses. ${ }^{13}$ However, beyond recognizing and acknowledging this fact, this thesis does not propose to consider it further. The material for the Historical Thesaurus - and hence for the Good and Evil
classification in this thesis - is based on the OED as it stands. It is consequently inevitable that in addition to reflecting the greatness of that work, it should also reflect its weaknesses.

So far as the Historical Thesaurus is concerned, a more immediate problem than that of dates in the OED, is that of circularity of definition. This feature of OED is particularly prevalent in areas of abstract vocabulary, and it is in these areas that it causes the greatest difficulties for the Historical Thesaurus classifier. The problem is illustrated in several places in this thesis (see especially p. 68 and p.257). It should be stated here, however, that the OED was not written in order that its definitions might be used as the basis for fine semantic classification. The function of its definitions is to explain and clarify the meanings of words, and although circularity of definition is indeed a problem for Historical Thesaurus classifiers (and hence in this classification of Good and Evil) it ought not to be regarded as a weakness of the OED in terms of that dictionary's stated aims, which are 'exhibiting the history and signification of English words. ${ }^{14}$ As Kay and Samuels comment, 'A difficulty..is that the editors of large dictionaries do not claim any special merits for their definitions, which they regard merely as convenient labels for the series of quotations which they have grouped together. ${ }^{15}$

The Historical Thesaurus archive has been assembled using as a preliminary classification the system followed by the 1962 edition of Roget's Thesaurus. ${ }^{16}$ Each sense of every item carded from the OED has been assigned a number, corresponding to its meaning, based on one of the 990 numbered heads of Roget's Thesaurus. ${ }^{17}$. These senses have all been filed in numerical order according to Roget numbers.

Roget's system, however, was initially devised for a limited vocabulary and although undoubtedly a brilliant achievement (see further on p.18) it cannot adequately contain the breadth of vocabulary covered in the Historical Thesaurus. ${ }^{18}$-As Peter Mark Roget himself stated in his introduction to the original Thesaurus in 1852 'There are a multitude of words of a specific character which, although they properly occupy places in the columns of a dictionary..do not come within the scope of this compilation, and are consequently omitted. ${ }^{19}$

Therefore, although it proved a valuable preliminary storage system for the Historical Thesaurus material, a primary task of the Historical Thesaurus compilers has always been the development and application of a new and comprehensive classification system. The task of developing this classification system - 'a modified folk taxonomy' ${ }^{20}$ - has been carried out chiefly by Miss C.J. Kay, with help from other members of the project in Glasgow and elsewhere. A brief outline of the provisional classification system is presented in chapter 2 (see p. 38).

This thesis contains a detailed and exact classification of 9071 lexical items, which collectively form the semantic field Good and Evil. These items were initially drawn from the material contained under the appropriate Roget numbers in the Historical Thesaurus archive (a list of the numbers selected can be found in chapter 2, p. 34 and p. 35). A precise classification system - drawing partly on that devised by Chase for Religion ${ }^{21}$ - was developed for the Good and Evil corpus, and the classified semantic field is presented in chapter 3. That chapter - with some minor alterations to enable it to conform to the Historical Thesaurus classification style - will slot into the Historical Thesaurus, and form an integral part of
the parent work. The Good and Evil classification system has also contributed to the development of the Historical Thesaurus system, as is explained in chapter 2 (p. 75).

However the thesis as a whole extends beyond a classification of lexis and relates in the elements it covers to other disciplines and subjects, in addition to the Historical Thesaurus. It is consequently useful at this stage to place the thesis in a broader academic context. For some subjects though, it is more valuable to leave references to their literature to the part of the thesis in which they are mentioned, as these references have more relevance at that point. These include the nature and division of Good and Evil, the Old English corpus, and other subjects discussed in chapter, 2, and metaphor, which is discussed in chapter 6 .

The thesis - and especially the classification in chapter 3 touches on several different areas. As a work which is concerned with language and meaning it arguably belongs in the field of linguistics and, within linguistics, it relates especially closely to semantics. The classification system - explained in chapter 2 , applied in chapter 3 - is of relevance both to semantic theory and, in a broader context, to taxonomy in general. The material which forms the classification is drawn from several dictionaries, and contributes to another form of dictionary, and in these respects it is relevant to lexicography.

Modern linguistics is generally held to date from early this century, and specifically from the time of the publication of Ferdinand de Saussure's Cours de linguistique générale ${ }^{22}$ in 1916. Saussure's seminal thoughts have led him to be regarded as 'the father of modern linguistics ${ }^{23}$ and the influence of his Cours has
been 'unparalleled in European linguistics since.' ${ }^{24}$ Unlike many of his predecessors, Saussure was particularly concerned with the nature of language, rather than simply with the features of language. Saussure himself - according to Culler - comments that the 19 th century grammarians 'never succeeded in founding a true linguistics because they did not try to determine the nature of the object they were studying and did not ask what was the significance of the relationships they discovered. ${ }^{25}$ In a letter written in 1894 , he also comments that he was 'above all preoccupied with the logical classification of linguistic facts and with the classification of the points of view from which we treat them. ${ }^{26}$

It would not be appropriate to discuss the full range of Saussure's theories here, but one line of approach which he took is worth mentioning. Saussure made a clear distinction between the synchronic and the diachronic study of language (i.e. the study of language in one state, without taking time into account, and the study of the evolution of language through time). He 'urges the necessity of distinguishing the synchronic and diachronic perspectives. ${ }^{27}$ The classification of Good and Evil in this thesis - and indeed the entire Historical Thesaurus - is diachronic in its presentation, in that it covers the currency and existence of items from Old English up to the present day - a period of more than 1000 years. Yet the information it contains can be used synchronically. By providing the dates of currency of every item, it enables us to pick out which words are or were available to express a given concept at a given time and to study the language as captured in single periods of time, in a synchronic way. The Good and Evil classification reflects this double perspective of Saussure's approach to linguistics.

Saussure's way of thinking is to a large extent the basis of linguistic study today. ${ }^{28}$ The analysis and description of language is now a central purpose of linguistic investigation.

Since the time of Saussure linguistics has progressed considerably. It is now generally regarded as having several branches or subdivisions, including phonetics, morphology, and semantics. ${ }^{29}$ The branch which is most relevant to this thesis is semantics. Semantics - 'a major branch of linguistics devoted to the study of meaning in language ${ }^{30}$ is, according to Ullmann, writing in the 1950s, 'the youngest branch of modern linguistics. ${ }^{31}$ Having made that statement, Ullmann then goes on to date semantics from 1839, but does acknowledge that it was not until this century, especially in the twenties and thirties, that semantics really began to develop. ${ }^{32}$ In fact in the years since Ullmann's book was published the interest in and rate of development of semantics has increased even more widely and rapidly. Eleven years after The Principles of Semantics was first published, Ullmann writes, in 1962, 'During the last decade there has been a considerably quickening of interest in semantics. ${ }^{33}$ And in 1981 Leech writes 'the last fifteen years have seen an explosive growth of mental activity in the field of semantics. ${ }^{34}$

One problem with a science or discipline which is relatively new is that the terminology tends not to have settled down or, even if it has settled down, to have a recent history of inconsistency and variation. This problem occurs not just in semantics but in linguistics generally. Ullmann (in the 1950s) quotes another scholar (Schuchardt) when he says 'Terminological uncertainties have the same effect on research as fog has on shipping ${ }^{35}$ and he then goes on to add that, where semantics is concerned, 'The very name of the science is largely
controversial. ${ }^{36}$ With the passage of time, terminology does settle down, but even in 1971 Crystal writes of linguistics (which has been established for longer than semantics) that 'The lack of standardization is certainly a problem - and it is a clear sign of the immaturity of linguistics that an agreed terminology has not yet developed. ${ }^{37}$ He further adds 'The problem of terminology and the need for criteria perhaps affects linguistics more than other subjects. ${ }^{38}$ Lyons, in 1977, expresses the same sentiment, but of semantics: 'One of the biggest problems..has been terminological. It is frequently the case in..semantics and semiotics that the same terms are employed in quite different senses by different authors or that there are several alternatives for..the same phenomenon. ${ }^{39}$

The following discussion, which attempts to place semantics in a linguistic context, illustrates this problem with terminology. Semantics is the subject we are most concerned with here, but as a branch of linguistics it is naturally related to other branches of the same discipline. The gist of the statements below, made by various scholars, is that semantics is most closely related to syntax and phonology (although these two branches appear under a variety of other branches and names) and that each branch complements the others in the formation of an effective study of linguistics.

The branches and their relationships have been presented over the years as follows. Ullmann, in 1962, refers to the earliest branches of linguistic study, in the first century B.C., as 'etymology..morphology and syntax. ${ }^{40}$ He also refers to semantics as a more recent branch of linguistics, dating from the 19 th century. ${ }^{41}$ Katz and Fodor, in 1963, state that language description should consist of 'a grammatical and semantic characterization of that language (where. ' 'gramm-
atical' is construed broadly to include phonology, phonemics, morphology, and syntax). ${ }^{42}$ Lyons (1968) describes 'the terms generally used by linguists' as phonology, grammar, and semantics. ${ }^{43}$ J.M.Y. Simpson (1979) also talks of three areas (or four, if the first two are taken separately): 'phonetics and phonology, grammar, and semantics. ${ }^{44}$ R.H. Robins (1980) specifies these same areas ('phonetics, phonology, grammar, semantics'), and mentions one further study - that of written forms - 'graphics'. 45 Crystal (1980) takes a wider view. He divides linguistics into various branches including 'structural linguistics' within which come syntax and phonology, ${ }^{46}$ and 'structural semantics' which 'displays the application of the principles of structural linguistics to the study of meaning through the notion of semantic relations. ${ }^{47}$

From the above (with the exception of Ullmann in 1962) we can extrapolate that linguistics has at least three major branches (the question of additional branches does not concern us here) which are syntax (also known as grammar), phonology (also known as phonetics and phọnology), and semantics. Crystal (1980) states that these branches come under structural linguistics, ${ }^{48}$ but most other writers treat them as simply belonging to linguistics, although what these branches and their terminology are varies slightly from scholar to scholar. It seems likely - though not certain - that the term syntax is replacing grammar in this context.

Crystal (1980) describes grammar as 'a central term in linguistics, but one which covers a wide range of phenomena. ${ }^{49}$ Within this he relates grammar to syntax, in so far as grammar can be either a description of, or a level of organization of, syntax, morphology, and on occasion, other areas. This thesis takes the view that linguistics

- or perhaps (in Crystal's terminology) structural linguistics - has three main branches: phonology (the study of sound in language), semantics (the study of meaning in language), and syntax (the structure of language).

As was mentioned above, the purpose of establishing these branches is to place semantics (the subject most relevant in this thesis) in a broader linguistic context. Phonology is of no further relevance here, as the study of sound is not touched upon in this thesis, but syntax and semantics, and how they relate to one another, are important. The central part of this thesis deals with the development and application of a system of semantic classification. Any classification requires a structure, and if the classification is semantic it is likely that the structure will be to some degree syntactic, as the two areas of study are closely linked.

In fact, it is generally acknowledged by scholars that any semantic theory or description cannot be effected without the use of syntax in some form or other. Which form is a matter of some discussion and contention. Kempson comments that 'the exact nature of the relation between syntactic structure and semantics is one of the still hotly debated issues in linguistic theory. ${ }^{50}$ Leech emphasizes the importance, in semantic theory, of 'being able to account for the relation of the semantic representation of an utterance to its representations at other levels, and particularly at the level of syntax. ${ }^{51}$ Cruse reinforces this relationship, with his comment that 'Drawing a clear-cut distinction between meaning and grammar is not an easy task, because the two are so intimately interwoven. ${ }^{52}$ Kempson, again, states that the prediction of meaning ' (a matter of semantics) depends on grammatical labels such as adverb,
subject and object (a matter for syntax). ${ }^{53}$
Kempson also acknowledges that no ideal semantic theory has yet been formulated: 'there is still no one semantic theory which enjoys widespread acceptance, even in bare outlines. ${ }^{54}$

It is not the express purpose of this thesis to offer semantic theories as such, but it is important to recognize current attitudes to these, and to the relationship between semantic description and syntax. The semantic classification which forms chapter 3 of this thesis makes much use of the parts of speech (a syntactic or grammatical feature) as a classificatory device. In this respect it links semantic description and syntax and conforms to some of the views expressed by the writers above. See further on p. 74 ff.

There is one particular semantic approach which, although it is not fully applied in this thesis, is potentially of great value in the classification of abstract vocabulary, and is drawn on and referred to on a number of occasions in the course of the thesis. This approach is known as componential analysis (or CA), and as it is considered later in the thesis, it deserves some general discussion at this point.

Componential analysis is used to pinpoint the difference in meaning between closely related words. It 'assumes that words do not have unitary meanings but are complexes of components. ${ }^{55}$ If the components of related lexical items are established and set out, their separate meanings and semantic distinctions can be clearly and logically shown. This is the aim of CA. It achieves its results by 'breaking down the sense of a word into its minimal components. ${ }^{56}$

The term 'minimal components' is one of a number of terms used by different writers to denote the fundamental semantic units which together form the meanings of words. Other terms include universal
components, semantic components, semantic universals, and semantic primitives. Kay and Samuels ${ }^{57}$ use the term 'primitives', and this is also the term used here. According to Kay and Samuels,lexical items must be reduced to primitives, or to paraphrases which derive explicitly from primitives. ${ }^{58}$ Distinctions in meaning can then be seen in terms of the set of primitives for each item, and how these sets differ from one another. Although this method can in theory be applied to any lexical items, it is most effective when the items being distinguished are closely related (see the 'man, woman, boy, girl' example as set out in Leech (1981) p. 90 ff. and Lyons (1981) p. $76 \mathrm{ff} .{ }^{59}$ among other writers).

If the items are fairly straightforward concrete terms there is often no particular problem in distinguishing their meanings, and componential analysis has little to contribute. If the items are abstract though, and difficult to distinguish semantically from one another, componential analysis can play an important role in clarifying their distinctions by means of differences in their actual semantic components. Kay and Samuels comment that '..it is in this area [the second half of Roget's Thesaurus] that abstract concepts most notoriously 'fade into each other' and that CA should have most to contribute. ${ }^{60}$

Componential analysis is a technique which was originally applied to the study of kinship terms in anthropology, and later transferred to the study of meaning distinction in semantics. Tribal kinship terms are often more complex than those in English, and various analyses of these, using componential analysis, were conducted in the 1950s and 1960s. Most prominent among them were those by Lounsbury ${ }^{61}$ and Goodenough. ${ }^{62}$ A simplification of the Lounsbury
analysis can be found in Leech (1981) p. 237 ff. Further work with componential analysis of a non-kinship nature was conducted by Bendix. ${ }^{63}$

One important paper in the development of CA as a semantic tool (and indeed in the development of semantic theory in general) was that by Katz and Fodor, published in 1963. Although Katz and Fodor do not explicitly state that they are using a method called 'componential analysis', the structural breakdown of the dictionary entry for 'bachelor' which they provide is clearly componential. ${ }^{64}$ As Lyons states 'The Katz-Fodor theory of sentence-meaning is formulated within the framework of componential analysis. ${ }^{65}$

CA has, however, been criticized as a linguistic tool. A central criticism concerns the nature of semantic primitives. Lyons (1968) refers to 'the alleged universality of semantic components' ${ }^{66}$ and adds that 'many have tried, and failed, to find a set of universal components. ${ }^{67}$ Nida notes that 'a number of fundamental difficulties are involved in determining the diagnostic components of the meanings of semantic units... Perhaps the most obvious difficulty involves the lack of an adequate metalanguage. ${ }^{68}$ Kempson discusses what she describes as 'one of the most notorious aspects of lexical componential analysis - the implicit universal status of the components themselves. ${ }^{69}$ Lyons (1977) reiterates these points, ${ }^{70}$ and also comments generally that 'the analyses that have been published are incomplete and, for the most part, unconvincing...one should be cautious about accepting as valid the claims that are made on behalf of componential analysis. ${ }^{71}$

A much more positive view, and an outline of, and answers to, some of the major criticisms of CA can be found in Kay and Samuels (1975). ${ }^{72}$ Leech (1981) also regards CA as 'a useful and revealing
technique for demonstrating relations of meanings between words!, ${ }^{73}$ and again outlines and answers some of its criticisms. ${ }^{74}$ Nida is also positive in his outlook, although in the course of his experimants some of the weaknesses of CA are brought to light and commented on. ${ }^{75}$

Of the work conducted using CA, that which deals with abstract concepts is of most relevance here. It includes Fillmore's article on 'verbs of judging' 76 and especially Kay and Samuels's article stimulated by Historical Thesaurus research - on the classification and analysis of abstract concepts. ${ }^{77}$ Both these articles cover the problems of components for, and the distinction of meaning of, abstract concepts.

Kay and Samuels propose a range of 36 free-standing primitives, supplemented by 44 secondary terms derived from the first 36 , on the basis of which to provide componential definitions of the (largely abstract) ideas covered in the second half of Roget's Thesaurus: These componential definitions are in turn based on the OED definitions of the items concerned. (Katz and Fodor (1963) also use dictionary definitions as a basis for their semantic theory.)

It would be possible to conduct a similar exercise on some of the material - or, maybe more usefully, on some of the category headings and key items - from the Good and Evil classification in chapter 3. This has not been done, but a less scientific exercise, resembling this in a number of respects, is applied later in the thesis (see below).

The classification system devised for Good and Evil does not attempt to reduce category headings to semantic primitives, but it does wherever possible reduce the heading to one single word which
aims to sum up the concept covered by the category. It also reduces the eight section headings to basic elements - each consisting of Good or Evil and, where applicable, one other idea expressed by an additional single word or short phrase. (See chapter 2 p. 64 ff . and p. 67 ff.) Thus although $C A$ is not applied there is, to that extent, a reduction of meaning from the dictionary definitions of the items in the category to a single-concept (or occasionally double-concept) heading.

In fact, on a number of occasions, the distinction between category headings - or the reason for choosing a particular category heading - is not immediately clear. In two places where this happens these headings - supplemented by several items from the category itself - are picked out,and they appear, along with their OED definitions, in chapter 4. The provision of the definitions of the items enable the key elements of each - on the basis of which they form or belong in a particular category - to be revealed and specified. This is the first stage in the development of a componential analysis, and also indicates the componential nature of the Good and Evil classification system. See (in chapter 4) the notes for ED1 to ED6 (p. 306 ff.$)$ and for EE5 to EE8 (p. $316 \mathrm{ff}$. .)

Componential analysis is basically a device for semantic classification. As Kay and Samuels comment, in their paper on CA, 'This paper arises from..the problem of deciding what system of classification would be most suitable for a large thesaurus. 78 The paper examines 'how far componential analysis..might be used as the basis for a new classification. 79

One other area to which the Good and Evil classification is related is lexicography. A dictionary is effectively a presentation of words
arranged or classified in a way which either conveys their meanings, or conveys something about their meanings. Most dictionaries are alphabetic, but some - like Roget's Thesaurus - are conceptual. This next part of the chapter aims to provide some brief background information about alphabetic and thematic lexicography, especially inso far as the Good and Evil classification and the Historical Thesaurus contribute to or belong in these areas. The chapter concludes by returning to the related area of semantic classification.

As a subject of discussion and academic study, lexicography is fairly new. As a craft, it goes back many centuries. The earliest forms of dictionaries in Britain were Latin glosses dating from the 7th and 8th centuries. The first Latin-English dictionary appeared in the 14 th century, and the first English dictionaries in the 16 th century. In the 18th century Johnson's Dictionary was published, and in the 19th and 20 th centuries the OED (and latterly, its Supplement, and forthcoming (in 1989) the second edition) was published. A full history of English lexicography up to 1900 is provided in James Murray's The Evolution of English Lexicography. 80

This thesis relates especially to two kinds of lexicography. One is historical lexicography, in which words are traditionally arranged alphabetically and their past and present meanings displayed. The cornerstone of this kind of lexicography is the OED. The other is thesaurus-making, in which words are arranged conceptually. The Historical Thesaurus, and hence the Good and Evil classification here, embraces and draws together these two kinds of lexicography. It is both historical and conceptual.

One account of historical lexicography, and of large dictionary projects both underway and completed, can be found in R. Merkin's


#### Abstract

'The historical/academic dictionary. ${ }^{81}$ Merkin dates historical lexicography from ' 1808 when John Jamieson..published An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language. ${ }^{82}$ Merkin also comments that 'The classic example of a complete historical dictionary is the Oxford English Dictionary. ${ }^{83}$


Thematic lexicography is discussed by T. McArthur in Worlds of Reference. ${ }^{84}$ He begins by outlining Francis Bacon's taxonomy of knowledge, and then refers to several 16 th and 17 th century thematic arrangements of English-Latin words and phrases. These include William Bathe's Ianua linguarum or 'The Gate of Tongues', of 1615, which 'consisted of some 5000 items arranged in 12 themes. 85 He also mentions John Wilkins's An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language of 1668 , which includes a universal thematic taxonomy similar to Bacon's and Bathe's. ${ }^{86}$ Today, as McArthur acknowledges, 'for most people..the only serious example of a thematic wordbook' ${ }^{87}$ is Roget's Thesaurus. McArthur outlines Roget's debt to various predecessors, especially Bacon and Wilkins, and comments that 'Roget achieved a masterpiece of specialized cataloguing ${ }^{88}$ and produced 'a pioneering attempt at semantic ordering. ${ }^{89}$

Landau ${ }^{90}$ compares the thematic approach of Roget and his successors with the perhaps simpler alphabetic approach of dictionaries of synonyms. He observes that 'The conceptual arrangement is associated with extreme inclusiveness' ${ }^{91}$ while 'The alphabetic arrangement is usually associated with more selectivity. ${ }^{92}$ This viewpoint supports the conceptual approach as adopted for the Historical Thesaurus. That work, which is attempting to cover more than 1000 years of English vocabulary, is of unparalleled breadth in thematic lexicography.

Closely related to thematic lexicography is the wider question
of semantic taxonomy. Componential analysis, covered earlier in this chapter, establishes the meanings of words by breaking down and classifying their semantic components. The use of folk taxonomies in lexicography is discussed by H. Conklin in 'Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies. ${ }^{93}$ He concludes that 'most dictionaries will continue to be organized primarily as alphabetic indices' ${ }^{94}$ but he also outlines a number of ways in which 'structural semantic information..might be more adequately covered in such dictionaries. ${ }^{95}$ The Historical Thesaurus, with its 'modified folk taxonomy', 96 of which the Good and Evil classification in chapter 3 forms a part, supports his general view, although it is not a work of traditional alphabetic lexicography.

Paul Kay, taking a wider approach in 'Taxonomy and Semantic Contrast', 97 comments that 'the concept of taxonomy is becoming one of increasing importance in the fields of ethnography and semantics. 98 He then goes on to discuss taxonomy from a mathematical and theoretical viewpoint. Of relevance to Good and Evil is his comment that 'the organization of meaning relations necessarily entails the notion of (semantic) contrast. ${ }^{99}$ The Good and Evil classification takes the approach that Good and Evil are two contrasting notions (see p. 59 ff.), and further that the understanding of an abstract concept partially depends on its being contrasted with its opposite, or with that which it is not (see p. 86 ff.$)$.

One other article which discusses semantic classification is Bierwisch's 'On Classifying Semantic Features. 100 Bierwisch's approach is syntactic and is conducted in 'the general framework of transformational generative grammar. ${ }^{101}$ As such it is concerned with deep structure ${ }^{102}$ and is very different from the approach taken in
this thesis. One point of agreement though, is the belief that semantic classification is necessarily linked with syntax (already discussed in this chapter, and exemplified by the use of the parts of speech in the classification in chapter 3). As Bierwisch says 'semantic representations must be connected to syntactic surface representations. ${ }^{103}$

There are various other works relating to lexicography and semantic classification which could be mentioned, but as their approach is often very different from that of Good and Evil, any reference to them here would arguably not contribute greatly to this thesis. 104 Furthermore, the subject of semantic classification is, to some extent, also covered elsewhere in the thesis. Semantic theory, which was discussed earlier in this chapter, is closely related to semantic classification, and in chapter 2 , the subject of semantic classification, especially of other fields assembled as the Good and Evil field was, is discussed (see especially 2.3.4, p. 73 ff.).

## Summarizing Remarks

In the course of this introductory chapter a variety of subjects, all of them relevant to the topic of this thesis, have been raised and discussed. In the process the thesis has been placed in the context of several related areas.

The chapter opened with an account of the Historical Thesaurus project and described how both the Good and Evil classification, and the classification system devised for it, contribute to this project. The value and the weaknesses of the OED and Roget's Thesaurus were also mentioned.

It was then pointed out that in a wider context the thesis
belongs in linguistics, and especially semantics. After a brief discussion on modern linguistics, it was noted that the Good and Evil classification covers both the synchronic and diachronic linguistic approaches as distinguished by Saussure. This was followed by some commentary on the problems of terminology in linguistics and semantics, after which an outline of semantics and other major branches of linguistics was presented. By this means the relationship of semantics to these branches, and the place of semantics in linguistics, was specified. The use of syntax in semantic description or theory was then considered, and it was observed that the Good and Evil classification, in keeping with the views of various linguists cited, is semantic and yet uses syntactic features.

One semantic approach of special importance in the classification of abstract vocabulary - componential analysis - was then discussed in some detail, and reference was made to the related semantic analysis which is applied in chapter 4.

The discussion then turned to lexicography, and after some background lexicographical information, the contribution of the Good and Evil classification to both historical and thematic lexicography was outlined. The chapter ended by looking again at the wider area of semantic classification. The views of several writers on various aspects of this subject were expressed, and the extent to which the Good and Evil classification reflects their views was outlined.

1. The Historical Thesaurus of English was begun in 1964, and is targeted for completion and publication in the early 1990s.
2. M.L. Samuels, 'The Role of Functional Selection in the History of English' in TPS (1965) p. 40 .
3. M.L. Samuels, Linguistic Evolution (Cambridge: CUP, 1972) p. 180.
4. Stephen Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics 2nd edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwe11, 1957) p.199.
5. ibid., p. 200 .
6. Collier and Kay, 'The Historical Thesaurus of English' in Dictionaries 2 (1982-3) pp.80-89.
7. Kay, 'The Historical Thesaurus of English' in Lexeter '83 Proceedings (1984) pp.87-91.
8. The Oxford English Dictionary General Explanations, p.xxviii. See also note 3 to chapter 5 (p.405).
9. Further details about the decision to use 01d English dictionaries can be found in J. Roberts, 'Towards an Old English Thesaurus' in Poetica 9 (1978) p. 58 ff., and J. Roberts, 'The English Historical Thesaurus' in Nottingham Linguistic Circular 11, 2 (1982) p.23. Dr. Roberts, of Kings College, London, compiled the 01d English corpus for the Historical Thesaurus.
10. A.C. Baugh \& T. Cable, A History of the English Language 3rd edition (London: R\&KP, 1978) p. 336.
11. ibid., p.336.
12. These antedatings are being systematically carded and taken into account in the comprehensive revision of the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary currently being undertaken at Oxford. They will also be taken into account in the proposed phase II of New OED planned for the 1990s.
13. See Jürgen Schäfer, Documentation in the OED (Oxford: OUP, 1980) esp. pp. 65-71.
14. See note 8 above.
15. C.J. Kay and M.L. Samuels, 'Componential Analysis in Semantics' in TPS (1975) pp.55-6.
16. P.M. Roget, Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases revised and modernised by R.A. Dutch (London: Longman, 1962). Although two further editions of Roget's Thesaurus have appeared since

1962 (edited by Lloyd in 1982 and Kirkpatrick in 1987), when the Historical Thesaurus was begun Dutch was the current edition, and remained so for the first 18 years of its compilation. Dutch therefore remains the edition on which the preliminary Historical Thesaurus classification is based.
17. The Historical Thesaurus also adopted an extra number, 1001 , for items relating to parts of the body. The reasons for this are explained in Collier and Kay, op. cit., p.87.
18. See Collier and Kay, op. cit., p.87, for details of the weaknesses of Roget.
19. R.A. Dutch ed., op. cit., xxxii.
20. Kay (1984), op. cit., p.89.
21. See T.J.P. Chase, A Diachronic Semantic Classification of the English Religious Lexis PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1983.
22. Available in English translation as Course in General Linguistics, translated by R. Harris (London: Duckworth, 1983).
23. Jonathan Culler, Saussure (London: Fontana-Collins, 1976) p.7.
24. David Crystal, Linguistics (London: Penguin, 1971) p.158.
25. Culler, op. cit., p.62.
26. ibid., p.15.
27. ibid., p.44.
28. See Culler, op. cit., pp.77-89, for an account of Saussure's influences.
29. Crystal (1971), op. cit., specifies at least six branches under the heading 'Major Themes' (see chapter 4, p. 142 ff .).
30. David Crystal, A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (London: Andre Deutsch, 1980) p.315.
31. Ullmann (1957), op. cit, p.1.
32. ibid., pp.1,2.
33. Stephen Ullmann, Semantics An Introduction to the Science of Meaning (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962) Preface. The first edition of Ullmann's The Principles of Semantics was published in 1951.
34. G.N. Leech, Semantics 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1981) vii.
35. Ullmann (1957), op. cit., p.4.
36. ibid., p.4.
37. Crystal (1971), op. cit., p.80.
38. ibid., p.83.
39. John Lyons, Semantics (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) p.xi.
40. Ullmann (1962), op. cit., p.l.
41. ibid., p.1.
42. J.J. Katz and J.A. Fodor, 'The Structure of a Semantic Theory' in Language 39 (1963) p. 170.
43. John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge: CUP, 1968) p.54.
44. J.M.Y. Simpson, A First Course in Linguistics (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979) p.45.
45. R.H. Robins, General Linguistics An Introductory Survey 3rd edition (London: Longman, 1980) p. 14.
46. Crystal (1980), op. cit., describes structural linguistics as 'the particular approaches to syntax and phonology current in the 1940 s and 1950 s..sometimes in a more general sense, referring to any system of linguistic analysis that attempts to establish explicit systems of relations between linguistic units in surface structure.' (p.213.)
47. ibid., p. 316.
48. See note 46 above.
49. ibid., p.166.
50. R.M. Kempson, Semantic Theory (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) p.7.
51. Leech, op. cit., p. 178 .
52. D.A. Cruse, Lexical Semantics (Cambridge: CUP, 1986) pp.1-2.
53. Kempson, op. cit., p.6.
54. ibid., p.2.
55. ibid., p.86.
56. Leech, op. cit., p.88.
57. Kay and Samuels, op. cit.
58. ibid., p.49.
59. Leech, op. cit., and John Lyons Language, Meaning and Context (London: Fontana-Collins, 1981).
60. Kay and Samuels, op. cit., p.51.
61. F.G. Lounsbury, 'The Structural Analysis of Kinship Semantics' in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists (The Hague: Mouton, 1964) pp.1073-93.
62. W.H. Goodenough, 'Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning' in Language 32 (1956) pp.195-216.
63. See E.H. Bendix 'Componential Analysis of General Vocabulary' in International Journal of American Linguistics 32, part 2. (1966), and E.H. Bendix, 'The Data of Semantic Description' in Semantics ed. D: D. Steinberg and L.A. Jakobovits (Cambridge: CUP, 1971) pp.393-409.
64. Katz and Fodor, op. cit., pp.183193.
65. Lyons (1981), op.cit., p.153.
66. Lyons (1968), op. cit., p.473.
67. ibid., p. 473 .
68. E.A. Nida, Componential Analysis of Meaning (The Hague: Mouton, 1975) p.61.
69. Kempson, op. cit., p.96.
70. Lyons (1977), op. cit., esp. pp.333-335.
71. ibid., p. 333.
72. Kay and Samuels, op. cit., pp.49-50.
73. Leech, op. cit., p.117.
74. ibid., pp.117-119.
75. Nida, op. cit., p. 61 ff.
76. C.J. Fillmore 'Verbs of Judging: an Exercise in Semantic Description' in Studies in Linguistic Semantics ed. C.J. Fillmore and D.T. Langendoen (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971) pp.273-289.
77. Kay and Samuels, op. cit.
78. ibid., p.49.
79. ibid., p.49.
80. James A.H. Murray The Evolution of English Lexicography (Oxford: OUP, 1900).
81. R. Merkin, 'The historical/academic dictionary' in Lexicography: Principles and Practices ed. R.R.K. Hartmann (London: Academic Press Inc., 1983) pp.123-133.
82. ibid., p.124.
83. ibid., p.126.
84. Tom McArthur, Worlds of Reference (Cambridge: CUP, 1986).
85. ibid., p.112.
86. ibid., see pp.117-118.
87. ibid., p.119.
88. ibid., p. 122 .
89. ibid., p.123. Further information about Roget and the development of, and classification system for, his Thesaurus can be found in D.L. Emblen, Peter Mark Roget (London: Longman, 1971) and R.L. Chapman, 'Roget's Thesaurus and Semantic Structure: A Proposal for Work' in Language Sciences 31 (1974) pp.27-31.
90. S.Landau, Dictionaries The Art and Craft of Lexicography (New York: Scribners, 1984).
91. ibid., p. 108
92. ibid., p. 108 .
93. H. Conklin, 'Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies' in Problems in Lexicography ed. F.W. Householder and S. Saporta (The Hague: Mouton, 1960) pp.119-141.
94. ibid., p.136.
95. ibid., p.136.
96. Kay (1984), op. cit., p.89.
97. Paul Kay, 'Taxonomy and Semantic Contrast' in Language 47 (1971) pp.866-887.
98. ibid., p. 866 .
99. ibid., p. 872 .
100. M. Bierwisch, 'On Classifying Semantic Features' in Semantics ed. D.D. Steinberg and L.A. Jakobovits (Cambridge: CUP, 1971) pp.410-435.
101. ibid., p. 432 .
102. 'Transformational generative grammar' and 'deep structure' are
terms adopted by Chomsky, and they describe features which are central to his language theories. Further information about them can be found in (among other works) Chomsky: Selected Readings ed. J.P.B. Allen and Paul van Buren (Oxford: OUP, 1971), and Chomsky by John Lyons, revised edition (London: Fontana-Collins, 1977).
103. Bierwisch, op. cit., p.433.
104. Two further works worth considering which relate to semantic theory are A. Broadfield, Philosophy of Classification (London: 1946) and K. Sparck-Jones, Synonymy and Semantic Classification (Cambridge: Cambridge Language Research Unit, 1964).

## Chapter 2

## Background to the Classification

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of four sections, all of which relate directly to the classification in chapter 3 . The first two sections are very closely connected and consist respectively of a delimitation of the semantic field and an explanation of the classification system. Of necessity, as will be seen, they inter-relate and overlap. The third section discusses some specific features and problems of the 01d English corpus in the classification. The fourth section consists of information on stylistic points, labels, and other general features of the classification.

### 2.2 The Semantic Field

The semantic field Good and Evil consists of 9071 lexical items, of which 3373 belong in Good and 5698 in Evil (detailed tables of these numbers can be found in chapter 5, p. 326 ff.). This semantic field, as it appears in this thesis, can only be described and understood in terms of the classification system by means of which it is presented in chapter 3. However, the classification system cannot be properly explained without a prior understanding of the semantic field for which it was devised. This problem of mutual interdependence has been tackled as follows. In this section of the chapter, the basic structure of the classification system is explained
in so far as is necessary for an understanding of the semantic field. The section then concentrates on an explanation of the semantic field. In the next section there is a detailed explanation of the classification system, covering both its development and the reasons why it developed as it did.

Firstly, however, it is important to state why the composition of the semantic field needs to be explained and justified. The basic reason is that the field Good and Evil is not clear cut, neither in its internal distinctions nor its external boundaries. It contains material some of which overlaps within the field, and some of which overlaps with other fields. This is due to the abstract nature of Good and Evil, and is compounded by the consequent circularity of OED definitions of many items in the field.

### 2.2.1 The Breadth of Good and Evil

The very title of the semantic field - Good and Evil - contains two key words which are both names for abstract concepts of the most wide-ranging kind. The OED defines its entry for 'good' adjective, prior to any sense divisions, as 'The most general adj. of commendation, implying the existence in a high, or at least satisfactory; degree of characteristic qualities which are either admirable in themselves or useful for some purpose.' The first major semantic division in the entry is further defined 'In the widest sense, without other specialization than such as is implied by the nature of the object which the adj. is used to describe.' The OED entry for 'evil' adjective is defined, prior to sense divisions, as 'The antithesis of GOOD in all its principal senses.' The OED also comments for 'evil' that 'In OE..this word is the most comprehensive adjectival
expression of disapproval, dislike, or disparagement', although it adds that in later English the word is much less used, being commonly replaced by 'bad'. (The semantic relationship between 'evil', 'wicked', and -'bad' is considered in chapter 4, p. 280.) The conceptual breadth of Good and Evil, and the difficulty of stating precisely what they are, is further borne out by the attitudes of philosophers, as illustrated both in entries in philosophical dictionaries, and in other writings. According to A.R. Lacey 'good' is 'Very roughly, the property or characterization of a thing giving rise to commendation. Ever since Aristotle.. 'good' has caused bewilderment by its many uses...the noun as well as the adjective raises problems. Some help can be got from studying the most natural opposites. ${ }^{1}$ Peter E. Angeles quotes other philosophers when writing about 'good'. These include G.E. Moore, who states, 'Good is like yellow: a simple indefinable property. ${ }^{2}$ For 'evil' Angeles provides a dictionary type of definition: 'That which is injurious, painful, hurtful,...Morally bad....which impedes the achievement of goals, happiness..'. ${ }^{3}$ P.T. Geach discusses the attitudes of different schools of philosophy to the philosophical problems inherent in the nature of 'good' and 'evil'. The difficulty of this subject matter is reflected in his concluding comments: 'I am well aware that much of this discussion is unsatisfying.. on many points..I certainly do not see clear. ${ }^{4}$ R.M. Hare's reply to Geach's paper picks up many weaknesses but provides no further real clarification. ${ }^{5}$ Other philosophers, including G.H. Von Wright, ${ }^{6}$ have also discussed these problems, but as:it is not the aim of this thesis to engage in discussion on the philosophical nature of Good and Evil, the views of these writers are not reflected here.

The comments above indicate the breadth and difficulty - in philosophy as well as semantics - of the concepts of 'good' and 'evil'.

The semantic breadth of the title words in the field Good and Evil might suggest that the field ought to include a wide range of concepts and disciplines. Many semantic areas, including Law, Religion.- and Philosophy - involve the concepts of 'good' and 'evil', but clearly an analysis of all these areas would be well beyond the scope of this thesis. It is essential to draw firm boundaries for the Good and Evil field, and to make clear decisions about where these boundaries should occur. At an early stage the decision was taken that the Good and Evil field should only cover areas in which either 'good' or 'evil' is a central concept. There is no value in drawing in areas, like philosophy, in which 'good' and 'evil' are secondary rather than primary concepts, as these areas would simply detract from the clarity and the delimitation of the Good and Evil field, and from the effectiveness of any analysis of, or extrapolations from, this field. It is inevitable that there is overlap between fields, particularly between fields dealing with abstract concepts. Clear delimitations must be specified.

It should be reiterated here that the selection and classification of the Good and Evil field is based on the definitions of the lexical items concerned as given in the OED, its Supplement, and the 01d English dictionaries. ${ }^{7}$ The reason for adhering closely to dictionary definitions is that the meanings of words denoting abstract concepts are often broad and vague (many examples in chapter 4 and elsewhere in the thesis bear this out), and in order to lend credibility to a classification of such concepts, it is essential to base that classification on a set of criteria which are firm and unwavering.

These criteria are the definitions in the OED and other dictionaries, as mentioned above.

However dictionary definitions, especially of abstract concepts, often overlap one another. Related words tend to be defined in terms of each other, and definitions also often include elements which relate the item being defined to a different semantic field. So,although the dictionary definitions provide a firm foundation for the classification, they also generate many of the overlaps both within and beyond the classification. The central concepts in the Good and Evil field are those which form the principal part of the dictionary definition, or which ideally occur in few other definitions. Secondary concepts tend to occur in the lists of synonyms which form the later part of a definition. The problem of overlapping definitions of items within Good and Evil is demonstrated by the following definitions (from the Historical Thesaurus slips) of key items from GB7 Trustworthy:
'trusty al310--' is 'characterized by faithfulness or reliability;
that may be trusted or relied upon; trustworthy.'
'faithful $1340 / 70--$ ' is 'of persons and their actions: that may be believed or relied upon; trustworthy, veracious.' 'reliable $1569-)^{\prime}$ is 'that may be relied upon; in which reliance or confidence may be put; trustworthy, safe, sure.'
'trustworthy 1829--' is 'worthy of trust or confidence; reliable.' The general problem of overlap among concepts, especially abstract concepts, has been pinpointed by various scholars. E.A. Nida comments that 'certain sets of related meanings appear to be so close to one another that one cannot determine whether or not they are complete synonyms...Even the dictionary definitions of these terms
are largely overlapping and indistinct. ${ }^{8}$ Kay and Samuels observe that 'abstract concepts most notoriously 'fade into each other.' '9 Overlaps, within and beyond the classification, are discussed further in the course of this chapter, and also in chapter 4 (see especially the notes for ED1 to ED6, and EE5 to EE8).

### 2.2.2 The Assembling of the Field

The Good and Evil semantic field was assembled in several stages. Briefly, these were as follows. The first stage was the removal, from the Historical Thesaurus archive, of the lexical items stored under a carefully selected range of Roget numbers. The second stage was the arrangement of this material into a preliminary Good and Evil classification. From this, two other stages emerged. The third stage was the removal from this classification of any irrelevant or inappropriate material, and the fourth stage was the incorporation into the classification of additional relevant material, chiefly drawn from other Roget numbers. In the process of implementing these two stages the material was reclassified in the form in which it appears in chapter 3.

For stage one - the removal of the main body of Good and Evil material from the Historical Thesaurus archive - the Roget numbers selected were obviously those which cover areas in which 'good' and 'evil' are central concepts.

The Roget classification system, whenever possible, places opposing notions side by side under adjacent numbers. As Peter Mark Roget, in his introduction to the original 1852 Thesaurus, says, 'For the purpose of exhibiting with greater distinctness the relations between words expressing opposite and correlative ideas, I have, whenever

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the subject admitted of such an:'arrangement,
placed them in two parallel columns in the same
page, so that each group of expressions may
be readily contrasted with those which occupy
the adjacent column, and constitute their
antithesis.'10
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This policy is convenient when selecting material for a dichotomous field such as Good and Evil, as it enables the material to be drawn from.adjacent and corresponding Good and Evil numbers. The principal Roget numbers from which the bulk of the Good and Evil classification was drawn are as follows:
for Good 615 Good for Evil 616 Evil
644 Goodness
897 Benevolence
903 Benefactor
913 Right
917 Duty
929 Probity
645 Badness
898 Malevolence
904 Evildoer
914 Wrong
918 Dutilessness
930 Improbity
933 Virtue
934 Wickedness
937 Good Man
938 Bad Man

In stage two, the material from these numbers was arranged into a first draft of the classification (Good and Evil were always treated as two separate entities - the reasons for this are explained in 2.3.1.1, p. 59 ff.$)$ and from this stages three and four emerged. The classification revealed that :many areas of vocabulary were only partially covered. For example, in Good, there were incomplete ranges of slips relating to nobility, truth, mercy, and duty, among other concepts, and in Evil, there were similar incomplete sections for vagabonds, evil-speaking, guilt, and business corruption, among others. Stage three involved the selection of the areas of vocabulary in which 'good' and 'evil' were not central concepts and the removal of these areas from the classification. This was facilitated by the fact that there was often another fairly obvious semantic area to which the items could be transferred. Stage four consisted of the selection of the areas in which 'good' and 'evil' were central concepts, but which
had only been partially assembled from the contents of the Roget numbers listed above, and the expansion of these areas, preferably by the location of the missing material in other Roget numbers, but if necessary by the extraction of obviously missing items from the OED or Old English dictionaries.

Those secondary Roget numbers from which extra material for the classification was provided are as follows:


The amount of material taken from each of these numbers varied considerably. From some only a handful of slips were removed, while others were depleted considerably to contribute to Good and Evil. Among those which were depleted were 905 Pity and 936 Guilt. A substantial amount of material was also removed from 899 Malediction.

Some further items have also been added from other unspecified Roget numbers, chiefly as a result of items being reallocated to the Good and Evil field, in the process of reclassification of the Historical Thesaurus archive. ${ }^{11}$

The material for this classification was finally assembled in April 1984. At that stage the Historical Thesaurus compilers had covered all of the OED , and all of Volume $I$, most of Volume II, and
the beginning of Volume III of the Supplement. The compilation of the Old English corpus was complete. The remainder of the Supplement has since been virtually completed, and a listing of the additional Good and Evil material (including further items moved from other Roget numbers in the reclassification process) can be found in Appendix $I$.

### 2.2.3 The Historical Thesaurus Classification

Several references have been made above to the reclassification of the Historical Thesaurus archive. The classification system of Roget's Thesaurus has never been regarded as more than a temporary means of storage for the Historical Thesaurus. As was mentioned in chapter 1 , the Roget system is unable to cope with the breadth of vocabulary being covered for the Historical Thesaurus. Some of Roget's weaknesses have already been mentioned or hinted at. The general problem with the Roget classification is that it is 'a classification of 'ideas,' not of lexis. ${ }^{12}$ As a result some categories are so general as to be impractical (for example R194 Receptacle, which contains items as diverse as 'stomach', 'choir-stall', 'gravyboat', and 'billiard room') while other categories, which are sometimes hundreds of pages, and Roget numbers, apart, contain closely related items (for example 'urchin' and 'brat' appear in R192 Young Person, while 'scalawag' and 'scamp' - similar concepts, but not exclusively applied to young people - appear in R938 Bad Man).

As was also mentioned in chapter 1 , the development of a new classification system has always been regarded by the Historical Thesaurus compilers as a task of primary importance. This new system - a 'more intuitively natural classification' ${ }^{13}$ than Roget's - is now being brought into use and the material in the Historical Thesaurus
archive is gradually being transferred from Roget's system to the new system. At the time of writing this thesis approximately $60 \%$ of the 700,000 or so slips in the archive have been reclassified according to the new system.

As a result, any attempt to define this semantic field and to place it in relation to other fields cannot avoid reflecting to some extent the state of flux of the classification of the Historical Thesaurus archive. Whenever possible in this thesis, the Good and Evil field is related to other fields in terms of the new classification, but as the field was actually drawn from Roget numbers it is also on occasion related to other Roget numbers. Furthermore, material which was rejected from Good and Evil, but nonetheless does contain either 'good' or 'evil' as a secondary component (and is therefore worthy of mention in a discussion of the Good and Evil field) is generally referred to in terms of its new placing in the Historical Thesaurus classification, but is sometimes still referred to in terms of an alternative Roget number.

In spite of this though, it must be emphasized that the Roget classification is temporary and being replaced, and the new Historical Thesaurus system should be regarded as being of major significance.

At this stage therefore, prior to specific details on the delimitation of Good and Evil, it is important to explain, albeit briefly, several things. One is the new Historical Thesaurus classification, a second is the Good and Evil classification, and a third (in 2.2.4) is a listing of the external cross-references (to other parts of the Historical Thesaurus) which are placed at the end of appropriate categories in Good and Evil. These explanations are followed by a diagrammatic representation of Good and Evil and the other areas to
which each is related.
The following information about the Historical Thesaurus
classification is taken from a synopsis of a provisional classification drawn up in 1984 (the external cross-references in the Good and Evil classification are also based on this 1984 version). The classification consists of three large sections as follows.

Section I The External World
Section II The Mind
Section III Society
Each of these sections is subdivided into smaller numbered and headed sections, each of which is in turn further subdivided, often several more times. For example, under section. II we can have subdivision '2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality', and this title can have a variety of further qualifications (see the external crossreference list on p.41-3 for examples). To list the entire classification here would obviously be impractical, but a listing of the basic section numbers and headings contained in each large section is useful and provides a structure to which the external crossreferences in Good and Evil can be related. Sections I and II each contain eight smaller sections, and section III has ten, as follows:

| Section I | 1 | The Earth |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2 | Life |
|  | 3 | Sensation and Perception |
|  | 4 | Matter |
|  | 5 | Existence |
|  | 6 | Relative Properties |
|  | 7 | The Supernatural |
|  | 8 | Material Needs and Desiderata |
| Section II | 1 | Mental Processes |
|  | 2 | Expectation |
|  | 3 | Good or Bad Opinion |
|  | 4 | Aesthetic Opinion: Aesthetics |
|  | 5 | Statement |
|  | 6 | Possession: Have |
|  | 7 | Having what one wants: Satisfaction |
|  | 8 | Endeavour: Try, Succeed |

Section III 1 Social Groups
2 Social Relationships
3 The State
4 The Law
5 The Church
6 Communication
7 Education
8 Travel and Transport
9 Work
10 Leisure
The Historical Thesaurus classification is noun based and all its headings are presented in noun form. The Good and Evil classification is adjective based (the reasons for this are discussed on p. 82 ff. ) and all its headings are adjectival. However, as the external crossreferences are to the Historical Thesaurus classification, they conform to its rules and are presented in noun form.

### 2.2.4 Good and Evil: External Cross-References

The Good and Evil classification system is fully discussed later in this chapter. It basically consists of two large areas: Good and Evil. Each of these is divided into several large sections. Good has three sections ( $\mathrm{A}-\mathrm{C}$ ) and Evil has five sections ( $\mathrm{A}-\mathrm{E}$ ). These sections are as follows (G stands for Good and E for Evil):

GA Good
GB Good \& Right
GC Good to Self/Other

EA Evil
EB Evil \& Inferior
EC Evil \& Wrong
ED Evil \& Treacherous
EE Evil to Self/Other

Each of these sections is further divided into numbered headed categories (as GA5 Excellent, or ED7 Dishonest) ranging in number from eight (in GB) to 14 (in GC, EC, and EE). The classification has 93 categories in all - 34 in Good and 59 in Evil. A complete list of these categories can be found at the beginning of chapter 3.

Many of these categories border on or overlap with material in
other parts of the Historical Thesaurus, and when this happens there is a cross-reference at the end of the category to the part of the Historical Thesaurus where further relevant material may be found. It should be pointed out, however, that the abstract nature of Good and Evil and the breadth of many of the dictionary definitions of items it includes is such that if a cross-reference were made on the basis of every component of a definition not covered by Good and Evil, the quantity and complexity of the cross-references would be so great as to be unmanageable, and their usefulness would be reduced. As a result, only major cross-references - where a category relates closely to another area, or where a large number of items in a category contain elements from'another semantic field in their definitions are made. It should not be assumed that those categories with no cross-references do not relate to other parts of the Historical Thesaurus. It is simply that the relationship is not so firm•or quantifiable as that of the cross-referred categories.

A full list of the categories which have external cross-references, and what these cross-references are, is presented below. It is helpful to provide these at this stage, as they can be related to the sections of the Historical Thesaurus classification presented on previous pages. They also show the major areas to which the Good and Evil semantic field is related and can be usefully consulted in the discūssion on boundaries to the field in 2.2.5.

These cross-references are:
Good

| GA2 | Satisfactory |  | I | 6.4 Quantification: sufficiency |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| GA4 | Better | I | 6.4 Quantification: improvement |  |
|  |  | II 3.1 .1 Prefer: improvement |  |  |
| GA5 | Excellent | III 2.1 .2 Nobility |  |  |
| GA6 | Surpassingly Ex. | I 6.4 Quantification: perfection |  |  |


| GA7 | Best | I | 6.4 | Quantification: perfection |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GA8 | Matchless | I | 6.4 | Quantification: perfection |
| GAll | Virtuous | III | 2.2 .2 | Behaviour based on morality: good behaviour |
| GA12 | Honourable | III | 2.2 .2 | Behaviour based on morality: good behaviour |
|  | GA1 Harmless, GA3 have no external | $\frac{\text { Good, }}{\text { ross }}$ | , GA9 | Worthy, and GA10 Meritorious ences. |
| GB1 | Moral | III | 2.2 .2 | Behaviour based on morality |
|  |  | II | 1.4 | Thought: philosophy, ethics |
| GB2 | Conscientious | III | 2.2:2 | Behaviour based on morality: duty |
| GB3 | Impartial | II | 3 | Judgement |
| GB5 | Righteous, Just | III |  | The Law |
| GB6 | Honest | III | 2.2 .2 | Behaviour based on morality: sincerity |
|  |  | II | 1.5 .5 | Result of knowledge: truth, fact |
| GB7 | Trustworthy | III | 2.2 .2 | Behaviour based on morality: sincerity |
| GB8 | Proper, Fitting | I | 6.1 | Comparison: fitness |
|  | GB4 Fair has no | ern | 1 cros | ss-references. |
| GC1 | Kind | III | 2.2 .2 | Behaviour based on morality: charity |
| GC2 | Beneficial | II | 6.1 | Acquisition |
| GC3 | Wholesome | I | 4.10 | Condition of matter: good |
| GC4 | Well Disposed | II | 7.2 | Good intentions towards others |
| GC5 | Well-Meaning | II | 7.2 | Good intentions towards others |
| GC6 | Generous | II | 6.3 .1 | Giving much |
|  |  | II | 7.2 | Good intentions towards others |
| GC7 | Magnanimous | II | 6.3.1 | Giving much |
|  |  | II | 7.2 | Good intentions towards others |
| GC8 | Gracious | III | 2.2 .3 | Behaviour based on custom: courtesy |
| GC9 | Considerate | II | 7.2 .3 | Good intentions towards others: helpfulness |
|  |  | III | 2.2 .3 | Behaviour based on custom: courtesy |
| CG11 | Tender | II | 7.2 .1 | Good feeling towards others: love |
| GCl2 | Merciful | III | 5 | Religion: grace |
| GC13 | Blessed | II | 7.1 | Feeling caused by satisfaction: happiness |
|  |  | III | 5 | Religion |
| GC14 | Fortunate, Lucky | II | 7.1 | Feeling caused by satisfaction: happiness |
|  |  | II | 8 | Success |
|  | GC10 Humane has n | exte | ernal | cross-references. |

Evil

| EA4 | Hellish | III 5 | Religion: hell |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| EA5 | Diabolical | III 5 | Religion: devil |
| EA7 | Worse | I 6.4 | Quantification: deterioration |
|  | EAl-EA3, EA6, and EA8-EA10 (category headings can be found |  |  |
|  | on p. 124) have no external cross-references. |  |  |


(under GB3 and EC13) are more precise than the 'Good or Bad Opinion' given on the list, and the reference under GC14 to II 8 shortens that heading simply to 'Success'.

One of the most striking features of these cross-references is the relatively large number that there are for Good as compared with Evil. Of the 34 categories in Good, 28 have external cross-references, while of the 59 categories in Evil, just under half, 29, have external cross-references. This is indicative of the very wide and pervasive nature of the Good part of the semantic field, previously hinted at in the OED definition of 'good' given on p.29.

These cross-references, and the structure of the Good and Evil parts of the semantic field, can be effectively expressed by means of a diagrammatic representation. In fig. 1 and fig. 2 on the following pages, Good and Evil are each contained within a circle. In the central part of the circle are the large sections and, radiating from these, the categories. Beyond the circle, extending from the appropriate categories, are simplified forms of the external crossreferences, and these indicate the principal external areas to which the Good and Evil field is related.

### 2.2.5 Delimitation of the Field by Category Comment

The following discussion of specific categories in the classification draws together several threads. It covers categories from which items were removed after the preliminary classification, and also some of the categories to which extra material was added (some categories underwent both these procedures). In the process, most of the categories which have external cross-references are mentioned, and also one or two which have no cross-references. It provides a


Fig. 1 Good


Fig. 2 Evi1
detailed delimitation of the Good and Evil field.
Category GA2 Satisfactory contains some extra material drawn from one of the secondary Roget numbers - 923 Approbation - but is also a part of the classification from which material was rejected. 'Satisfactoriness' borders on the notion of 'sufficiency' and items for this latter concept were transferred primarily to R635 Sufficiency and latterly to the relevant part of the Historical Thesaurus classification, to which an external cross-reference is appended.

Extra material for GA5 Excellent (most of whose original material came from R644 Goodness) was drawn from several other Roget numbers, including 34 Superiority. The category also initially contained some items whose primary sense was clearly 'nobility' rather than 'excellence.' These items were removed, but as other items not removed also include nobility as a secondary part of their sense (especially those in AjG and AvM under the subordinate headings .and splendid, noble) there is an external cross-reference to 'nobility' at the end of the category. ${ }^{15}$

GA6 Surpassingly Excellent, GA7 Best, and GA8 Matchless are all closely related to the notion of 'perfection.' 'Perfection' however, is not included in this field, although it is closely related to some parts of the field, as the definition of sense 3 of 'perfection' in the OED indicates: 'The condition, state, or quality of being perfect or free from all defect; supreme excellence; flawlessness, faultlessness.' In the process of assembling Good and Evil material was both transferred to and drawn from R646 Perfection for the three categories mentioned above. Each of these categories has an external crossreference to 'perfection'.

GAll Virtuous and GAl2 Honourable both border on the concept of
'purity' and GAll also borders on the concept of 'innocence.' There are several items in each category whose definitions contain one of these concepts as a component. These include, in GAll, 'sinlessness 1661--' defined in OED as 'The quality or state of being sinless; freedom from sin, innocence.' Most items with these components, however, were transferred during the preliminary classification of the field to either R935 Innocence or R950 Purity (prior to the reclassification of these numbers for the Historical Thesaurus). In the Good and Evil field these items and numbers relate most closely to GAll and GAl2, and there is consequently a general cross-reference at the end of these categories to 'good behaviour' (under which, in the Historical Thesaurus classification, 'virtue' and 'purity' are placed). In the circular diagram (fig. 1) this cross-reference is expressed more specifically.

GB1 Moral includes items concerned with morality in which 'good' is a primary component, as 'moral 1638--', defined in OED (sense 10) as '..Morally good; conforming to the rules of morality'. It does not extend to the notion of morality in a fundamentally ethical or philosophical sense, as 'morality cl449--', defined in OED (sense 5) as 'The doctrine and system concerned with conduct and duty; moral science'. The cross-references at the end of the category acknowledge the connection with philosophy and with this broader sense of morality. In fact these concepts belong in a classification (presently being conducted) of the semantic field Philosophy. 16

GB2 Conscientious is the category in the Good part of the field which comes closest to the concept of 'duty'. 'Duty' - used here as a general heading to cover the notions of obligation, responsibility, and duty - was not included in Good, although initially many items
for the concept turned up (from R 917 Duty) in the first draft of the Good classification. A duty or an obligation may be a commendable thing to have or fulfil but this is not enough to make it inherently a good thing. The following definitions (taken from the Historical Thesaurus slips) of key items from Duty indicate that 'obligation' rather than 'good' is the primary component of the concept.
'obligation 1605--' is 'action or an act to which one is morally or legally obliged; that which one is bound to do; one's bounden duty, or a particular duty. Sometimes with the further notion of coercion: an enforced or burdensome task or charge',
'duty cl385--' is '..that which one ought or is bound to do; an obligation', and
'obligation 1602--' is 'moral or legal constraint.. the condition of being morally or legally obliged or bound..a moral or legal tie..'. GB5 Righteous, Just includes items which cover the notion of 'right' as opposed to 'wrong.' It is not concerned with 'right' meaning 'entitlement' (a notion which does not come within the provenance of Good) and as a result many items concerned with entitlements, privileges, legal rights, and so on, which appeared from R913 Right in the first draft of the classification, were not retained. As an acknowledgement of the legal aspect of many of these rejected items, and also of the fact that some of the items in the category relate to justice and the law (as 'rihtwis/righteous OE--' OED sense 1, defined 'Of persons: Just, upright, virtuous; guiltless, sinless; conforming to the standard of the divine or the moral law; acting rightly or justly.'), there is a cross-reference to 'Law' at the end of the category.

GB6 Honest and GB7 Trustworthy are both closely related to - but do not include - 'sincerity', and GB6 is also related to 'truth'. These notions appear in the definitions of some of the items in the categories. For example, in GB6, 'candid 1675--' is defined 'Frank, open, ingenuous, straightforward, sincere', and 'integrity 1548--' is defined '..the character of uncorrupted virtue, esp. in relation to truth and fair dealing; uprightness, honesty, sincerity', and in GB7, 'true-hearted 1471--' is defined 'Having a true heart; faithful, loyal; honest, sincere.' However, 'sincerity' and 'truth' (or related parts of speech) are not primary components in these definitions, and in most definitions of items in GB6 and GB7 they do not occur at all. Any items in which they are primary components were not retained in this classification, but were transferred to the field Truth and Falsehood (along with corresponding Evil items for Falsehood, which were rejected from the ED categories of the Evil classification). The classification of Truth and Falsehood was the subject of study for some time by the late Dr. Perryman. ${ }^{17}$ There are therefore crossreferences to appropriate sections of the Historical Thesaurus classification at the end of GB6 and GB7.

GB8 Proper, Fitting is related to the notion of 'fitness' or 'aptness' in a broader sense than the 'becoming' or 'proper' notion covered here. See further comments in chapter 4, p.269. There is a cross-reference to 'fitness' at the end of the category.

GCl Kind is a fairly large general category - drawn chiefly from R897 Benevolence - but it does not include the specific type of kindness inherent in 'charity' and related items. These items are more concerned with giving to the poor or helpless (see OED 'charity' senses 4 and 5) and those that did initially appear in this category
were more suitably reallocated to R781 Giving or R703 Aid. GCl was also supplemented with material drawn from R781. It ends with an external cross-reference to 'charity.'

GC2 Beneficial is another general category. It does not cover the more specific notion of 'public benefit or welfare.' Nor does it extend to the notions of 'gain' or 'acquisition.' Of the items in the category, 'benefit 1393--' is defined 'Advantage, profit, good', and 'advantage $1340-$-' $^{\prime}$ is defined 'benefit; enhancement, improvement; increased well-being or convenience; resulting benefit.' (These definitions also illustrate the tendency to circularity of many OED definitions.) Some items for 'public benefit' were rejected in the preliminary stages of classification. The category has cross-references both to 'acquisition' and to 'charity' ('public benefit' is assumed to come under 'charity'). In the circular diagram (p.44) the latter crossreference is more precise.

Categories GC4 to GC7 all have external cross-references to 'Good intentions towards others.' GC6 and GC7 have an additional reference to 'Giving much.' GC6 Generous also draws substantially from two of the range of secondary Roget numbers consulted for Good and Evil 781 Giving and 813 Liberality.

GC8 Gracious and GC9 Considerate have cross-references to 'courtesy' and GC9 also has a cross-reference to 'helpfulness.' These crossreferences are, to some extent, less indicative of overlapping material, and more of concepts to which those in the categories are closely related, but which do not have 'good' as a primary component. GCll Tender has a cross-reference of a similar nature to 'love.'

GC12 Merciful has material from R897 Benevolence but also contains many items drawn from secondary Roget numbers - chiefly from R905 Pity,
but also from R 979 Piety. This latter number belongs in the 'Religious' section of the Roget classification, and GC12 ends with an external cross-reference to 'grace' within 'Religion.'

GC13 Blessed has external cross-references to 'happiness' and 'Religion.' It draws material from R615 Good and also from R824 Joy. 'Blessed cll75--' is defined in OED as 'Enjoying supreme felicity; happy, fortunate' - definition which includes 'happy' and confirms this link. The notion of 'blessed' as a religious concept is not covered here, but the cross-reference acknowledges that it and this category are closely connected.

The final category in Good, CG14 Fortunate, Lucky, also has a cross-reference to 'happiness' and one to 'success.' Some additional material for the category was drawn from R730 Prosperity, and some other material, whose primary components of meaning are more concerned with prosperity and success than with luck, was transferred from GCl4 to R730. The items in GC14 do not cover 'success' or 'happiness', and at this point the final boundary for the Good part of the Good and Evil field was drawn.

The Evil part of the field is more self-contained, as can be seen from the relatively fewer external cross-references which it has.

The first section of Evil - EA Evil - follows more closely than most sections a pattern (discussed more fully on p. 69 ff.) whereby the first category of the section is a large general category, and the following categories are all smaller and in some cases subsidiary to the larger one.

EA4 Hellish and EA5 Diabolical both have external cross-references to, respectively, 'hell' and 'devil' within 'Religion.' In this classification these words, and other related items, are included on
the basis of figurative senses. In EA4, 'hellish $1569-1826$ ' is defined 'Of the nature and character of hell and infernal things; befitting or worthy of hell..', and in EA5, 'diabölical 1546--' is defined 'Characteristic of or befitting the devil; devilish, fiendish, atrociously wicked or malevolent'. See further discussion on this in chapter 4, p. 282. The external cross-reference acknowledges not so much an overlap as a close connection between these categories and 'hell' and 'devil' in 'Religion.'

In EA7 Worse, the notions of 'making or becoming worse' are covered, but they are also closely related to 'deterioration', which is not included here. Some items in the category have elements in their definitions which link them to 'deterioration', and the external cross-reference draws attention to this overlap.

EB1 Inferior, and many of the other EB categories, contain items which are either insulting or degrading names for people, or are names for people who are inferior. By far the greatest number of these is in EBl. Most of them were originally drawn from R 938 Bad Man, and supplemented from R869 Commonalty. However, among the original items were a number for various kinds of tramps and vagabonds - lowly people, but not necessarily people with any intrinsic element of evil in them - and these items were reallocated to R 869 Commonalty. EBl also drew additional material from R35 Inferiority. The category ends with an external cross-reference to 'commonalty' in the Historical Thesaurus classification.

EB2 Worthless is another category which contains items drawn from R869. However, in terms of the Historical Thesaurus classification, this category is more closely connected with the notion of 'uselessness' than with 'commonalty.' In AjG are 'good-for-nothing

1711--' defined in OED as 'Of no service or use; worthless', and 'worthless 1591--' defined as '..Lacking worth or merit;..contemptible, despicable'. There is a cross-reference to 'uselessness' at the end of the category.

EB6 Wretched was drawn primarily from R930 Improbity, but it both took material from and transferred material to several of the secondary Roget numbers. Some items whose central component was 'misfortune' were moved to R731 Adversity, while other items were taken into EB6 from 731. A number of items primarily concerned with 'shame' and 'misery' were moved to R825 Suffering, and other items more suited to 'wretched' were moved from R825. In terms of the Historical Thesaurus classification, this shifting and bringing together of items is summed up in an external cross-reference to 'Unhappiness' at the end of the category.

EB9 Foul, Filthy is concerned with figurative senses of 'foul', 'filthy', and other items. 'Filthy 1535--' is defined in OED 'Morally foul or polluted; obscene' and 'miry 1532--' as 'Dirty, defiled; despicable.' The category has a close connection with its literal counterpart, and there is an external cross-reference to 'decay'.

EB10 Accursed was formed primarily from material in R898 Malevolence, but also draws substantially on R899 Malediction. Many of its items are related to, or even consist of, spoken curses or imprecations. One item under NX, 'anathema $1691--'$ is defined 'A curse or imprecation generally', and is an extension of religious senses of 'anathema' including 'The curse of God' (OED 2a) and 'The great curse of the church..' (OED 2b). A number of other items, including 'cursed cl386--' in $A j \dot{G}$, are developments from religious senses, and the category is therefore related to a corresponding
religious concept. The category ends with a cross-reference to 'curse' in 'Religion'.

EC1 Wrong-doing draws most of its material from R914 Wrong. It - and some of the other EC categories - cover the notion of moral wrong-doing (in NA 'wrong-doing 1480--' is defined 'Transgression of or offence against the moral or established law; reprehensible action or behaviour; misoonduct') but they are not concerned with the notion of wrong meaning incorrect (the opposite of the notion of 'right' which was rejected from GB5 Righteous, Just). Many items for this sense of wrong turned up from R 914 but were not retained in this classification. Nor is the sense sufficiently closely related to this category to warrant a cross-reference (the corresponding sense of 'right' was also not sufficiently closely related to GB5).

EC3 Sinful and Wrong is closely related to the notion of sin in 'Religion'. Some items, which can be used in both religious and secular contexts (as offence against either God's law or man's law) appear both in this category and in the appropriate part of Chase's classification of Religion. ${ }^{18}$ This category covers the notion of sin as a kind of wrong-doing or wickedness (i.e. items in which, generally, 'evil' rather than 'religion' is the primary component). Many OED definitions of items in the category are not clear in this respect, which is often why an item appears both here and in Religion. One example, in AjG, is 'sinning 1609--', which is defined 'That sins or commits transgressions'. There is, predictably, a cross-reference to 'sin' in 'Religion' at the end of the category. (See also chapter 4, p. 298 ff.)

EC6 Immoral is (in some respects) a corresponding category in Evil to GBl Moral in Good. Several items - marked by an asterisk -
occur in both categories, and to some extent the notes on GBl on p. 47 also apply here - but for Evil rather than Good, and 'immorality' rather than 'morality'. GB1 Moral is the more primary category of the two - immorality is understood in terms of morality (OED defines 'immoral 1660--' as 'Not consistent with, or not conforming to, moral law or requirement; opposed to or violating morality..'). Both categories, however, carry the same external cross-references, as both are related to moral behaviour, and to philosophy.

EC8 Corrupt has no external cross-references but, in the first draft of the classification, did contain many items which were subsequently rejected. These were items for specific kinds of professional and political corruption, as bribery, graft, and jobbery, and names for professionally or politically corrupt people. They were transferred, prior to reclassification, to the Roget number most fitting for the type of corruption they covered. Many went to R622 Business, but others went elsewhere, and as they were scattered, and contained in their definitions various primary components other than 'evil', there is no external cross-reference at the end of EC8. EC10 Undutiful covers a concept which belongs in Evil, although its direct opposite, 'dutiful', was rejected from Good (see comments on GB2 on p.47-8). 'Dutiful', and related concepts, were rejected on the grounds of not having 'good' as a primary element of meaning, but 'undutiful' has been retained because it does embody evil. This 'evil' or, to be more precise (in accordance with its placing in the Evil classification) this 'wrong' exists in the very lack of duty which is the fundamental meaning of 'undutiful' (the OED's definition is 'lacking in the observance of duty'). To be undutiful is to be wrong, and on that basis the category belongs in EC.

However, the Evil part of the classification does not extend to cover the notion of 'irresponsibility', although irresponsible and undutiful are closely related. The OED defines 'irresponsible' as '..not answerable for conduct or actions; not liable to be called to account; exempt from or incapable of legal responsibility.' This is not a definition in which 'evil' is an obvious primary component. ED10 does end, though, with a cross-reference to 'irresponsibility'.

Categories ECl1 Failing in Duty and ECl2 Avoiding Duty are both related to EC10 Undutiful and to one another. EC12 drew additional material from R620 Avoidance and also has an external cross-reference to 'Avoidance'.

The categories in section ED Evil \& Treacherous are all closely related. They correspond collectively to GB6 Honest and GB7 Trustworthy in Good and, along with these two categories, are the closest link which Good and Evil has with the Truth and Falsehood field drawn up by Dr. Perryman. ${ }^{19}$ Because of the boundary established with Truth and Falsehood, Evil does not include any items whose primary components are deceit, trickery, or falsehood. As the connection is so close though, each ED category ends with external cross-references to falsehood, deception, and insincerity. ED5 Unfaithful has an additional cross-reference to 'infidelity'.

Section EE Evil to Self/Other is similar in structure to EA, in that it consists of one large general category followed by a number of smaller categories, all of which are to varying extents subordinates of the first category (see p. 69 for further details of this structure). In the first category - EAl Harmful the most fundamental item, which embodies the primary sense of both the category and the section, is 'hearm/harm OE--' under NX. This


#### Abstract

item is defined in OED as 'Evil..as done to or suffered by some person or thing; hurt, injury, damage, mischief.' EEl is the only category in the section with an external cross-reference, and it is to a general section 'Ill intentions towards others' in the Historical Thesaurus classification.


### 2.2.6 Summarizing Remarks

The purpose of this section of chapter 2 has been to define the semantic field Good and Evil, to point out its central concepts and its boundaries, and to place it in the context of a semantic classification of virtually the entire English vocabulary. This was achieved firstly by defining the problems of the Good and Evil field, by specifying the sources from which the field was drawn, and by describing briefly the semantic classifications devised on the one hand for the Historical Thesaurus, and on the other hand for Good and Evil. It was further defined by a description of the relationship of the smaller Good and Evil field to the larger Historical Thesaurus classification. This involved the specification of the boundaries and delimitations of Good and Evil in terms of the larger classification, through a listing of external cross-references in Good and Evil, a presentation of the same information in diagrammatic form, and finally a detailed commentary on those categories which come closest to the principal boundaries.

### 2.3 The Classification System

The purpose of this section is to describe the development of the Good and Evil classification system, and to explain and justify
its structure.
The dictionaries which formed the sources for the material in this classification were specified in chapter 1 (pp.2-3). A. brief outline of the broad structure of the classification system was given in section 2.2 of this chapter. Section 2.3 concentrates on the classification system in much more detail but obviously, since the classification was devised in order to contain the semantic field, it has a strong connection with 2.2. Each section is closely related to the other.

The Good and Evil classification has six levels, as follows:

1. Field (Good and Evil)
'2. Section (A Good, B Good \& Moral, etc.)
2. Category ( 1 Harmless, 2 Satisfactory, etc.)
3. Part of Speech (Adjective, Noun, etc.)
4. Subdivision (Action, Thing, Person, etc.)
5. Subordination (.female, ..young, etc.)

The classification gives semantic primacy to the adjective and every section and category heading is adjectival. Other headings, in lower levels, if not adjectival themselves, are adjective-related. The reasons for giving primacy to the adjective (a potentially controversial step) are discussed in 2.3.4.4 below.

In the course of this section each of the six levels listed above is treated separately and in detail. The part of speech level generates the greatest discussion, into which is also drawn the subordination level. The treatment of these six levels is followed by a discussion of the internal cross-references which occur at the end of (and occasionally within) many of the categories. These cross-references are indicative of the large extent to which Good and

Evil has internal overlaps. External overlaps, and the external cross-references which also occur at the end of many categories, were discussed in the previous section of this chapter.

### 2.3.1 Field

### 2.3.1.1 Dichotomy versus Cline

The semantic.field Good and Evil consists of two large distinct parts, respectively Good and Evil. The decision to keep Good and Evil separate was made at an early stage in the classificatory procedure, and both parts follow, in parallel, the same classification system, although the Evil part is considerably larger and more extensive.

This approach was actually one of two options. The alternative approach would have been to have viewed Good and Evil as one progressive cline, or scale, rather than as two distinct units, and to have presented a classification which progressed in degrees of intensity, from the most innocuous form of Good at one end (probably GAl Harmless) to the most extreme form of Evil at the other end (perhaps EA8 Heinous or EAlO Worst). In practice, however, it would have been very difficult to place all the categories consecutively on a scale, as it is frequently not possible to determine which categories are more or less good or evil than which others. Any attempt to do this may well have resulted in ad hoc decisions and, more importantly, the resultant presentation may have detracted from the main purpose of the classification: to present in a clear form, together and in chronological order, the available lexical items throughout the history of English for those concepts which belong under Good and Evi1.

It is also the case that much of the vocabulary selected for

Good and Evil falls naturally into one camp or the other. Most items are either clearly Good or clearly Evil. As a result any scaled presentation would have a great concentration of material at either end and very little in the area in the middle. It therefore seemed more sensible to keep the material in its two natural divisions (as the Roget classification does) and to accommodate within each such material as there was which could be said to belong in the middle area.

It is true that a cline or scale would have provided a proper place for this central material - it is possibly the one advantage that that approach would have had. However, this material only forms a small proportion of the Good and Evil whole, and all of it tends obviously towards one side or the other. It chiefly consists of lexical items which have a negative affix - frequently the prefix 'un-' - and which therefore do not so much embody a good (or evil) concept as not embody an evil (or good) concept. Although the categories to which these items belong are negatives of one concept (say an Evil concept) they are treated in the classification as being positives of the opposite concept (as Good).

For example, GAl Harmless (which chiefly contains items with either the prefix un- or in-, or with the suffix -less) covers the idea of being 'without harm', that is, without something bad, as opposed to being with something good. The OED defines 'harmless' as 'Doing or causing no harm; not injurious or hurtful; inoffensive, innocuous.' The definition is negative, as is the concept, and were there a grey area between Good and Evil, Harmless would belong in it. As there is not, it is in Good, where, in spite of its being a negative of an Evil concept, it does, by embodying by implication a

Good concept, actually belong.
There are several categories like this in the classification, most of which are commented on in the category notes. in chapter 4. They include GB3 Impartial and EA9 Unpardonable. The question of when a negative affix causes a word simply to negate the opposite concept, and when the whole word shifts to being a positive concept in its own right, is an interesting one. E.A. Nida comments that 'One of the problems involved in the treatment of opposites is the peculiar manner in which negation may affect the extent of contrast ...not good is not simply the negation of good, but suggests some degree of badness, though it is not equivalent to bad...not bad with emphatic intonational contrast is a more positive quality than good with normal, noncontrastive intonation. ${ }^{20}$ His viewpoints are often borne out in the Good and Evil classification, and this tendency is mentioned where appropriate in chapter 4. There is no general attempt to justify the placing of a 'negative affix' category in either Good or Evil, since the adoption of a classification system consisting of two opposite parts renders this treatment of such categories necessary and unavoidable.

### 2.3.1.2 Other Approaches

There are very few other studies which have dealt with the vocabulary of Good and Evil or related areas in a manner even similar to that of this thesis.

Obviously, had Dr. Perryman lived, her work in Truth and Falsehood $^{21}$ would have provided a comparable study of a closely related field, based on data gathered from the same source as the Good and Evil data. One work which deals with both good and evil concepts is

Rudskoger's Fair, Foul, Nice and Proper. ${ }^{22}$ Rudskoger, however, concentrates on a limited number of words (the four (excluding and) of his title) and discusses the range of meanings of each of these words. This is the opposite of the Good and Evil approach, which deals with many words, all of which (within either Good or Evil) are similar in meaning.

Other works tend to deal with either Good or Evil concepts, but not both. Theyalso often have a specific approach of a kind which clearly differs from the approach of this thesis.

Among those which cover Good concepts is K. Reumig's Joy and Freude: A Comparative Study of the Linguistic Fields of Pleasurable Emotions in English and German. ${ }^{23}$ Reumig's approach is to look at the same concept in two different languages, and 'joy', although related to Good, is not a concept covered in this classification. One other study, whose approach is philosophical, and whose main semantic interest is in the generalities of theory, is by Katz: 'Semantic Theory and the Meaning of Good. ${ }^{24}$ The first part of Katz's paper concentrates on the nature of semantic theory.

Of those works which deal with Evil concepts, several take a very general approach and tackle the subject of pejorative sense in English, rather .than concentrating on any one specific semantic area. These include H. Schreuder's Pejorative Sense Development in English, ${ }^{25}$ and (of comparatively recent publication and not readily available, so not actually consulted for this thesis, although mentioned here as a work of obvious relevance) G. Kleparski's Semantic Change and Componential Analysis: an enquiry into pejorative developments in English. ${ }^{26}$ One other work, which does concentrate on a specific Evil concept, but which confines itself to the Middle

English period is Hans Peters' Das mittelenglische Wortfeld schlecht/ böse: Synchronisch-diachronische Darstellung seiner semantischen Struktur ${ }^{27}$ (or 'The Middle English word field bad/angry: a synchronicdiachronic description of its semantic structure'). Peters covers the period from approximately 1200 to 1400 , and is particularly concerned with dialectal distribution, but in the process he deals with many items which also appear in the Evil part of this classification (see especially his lists in chapter 5, pp.42-82).

As the above selection confirms, few if any of the works which deal with or touch upon the semantics of Good or Evil vocabulary have a comparable approach to that taken here.

### 2.3.2 Sections

There are eight large sections in the classification - three in Good and five in Evil. These numbers reflect the relative sizes of Good and Evil - there are 3373 lexical items in Good and 5698 in Evil. As Good and Evil are treated in parallel, the terminology for the Good sections and the Evil sections (and, in the next level of classification, for the Good and Evil categories) is the same. In Good the three large sections are initialled A to $C$, and in Evil they are initialled A to E. For clarity, throughout the thesis, whenever a section (and category) is mentioned, its initial is preceded by either $G$ or $E$, depending on whether it belongs in the Good or Evil part of the classification. The sections are headed as follows:

GA Good
GB Good \& Right
GC Good to Self/Other
EA Evil

EB Evil \& Inferior
EC Evil \& Wrong
ED Evil \& Treacherous
EE Evil to Self/Other
These eight sections are presented in sequence, but there are parallels between the Good and Evil sections. The general correspondence is as follows:

GA Good

GB Good \& Right
( EA Evil
( EB Evil \& Inferior
( EC Evil \& Wrong
( ED Evil \& Treacherous
( EE Evil to Self/Other

The heading of each section reflects very broadly the semantic range of the material which it contains. Every Good section heading contains the word 'good' and every Evil heading has the word 'evil'. Definitions of these two words - they denote the broadest concepts in the classification - can be found on p.29. Both the Good and Evil parts of the classification have endeavoured to start with their most general section simply entitled, respectively, Good and Evil. In both cases these sections are followed by other sections whose character is more specific. This is indicated by means of an extra word or phrase in the heading. The extra element expresses a particular feature regarded as inherent in all the categories in that section. With the exception of GC and EE it also appears in at least one category in the section. Obviously the section headings are being used in their broadest sense - each section covers a considerable range of material.

GB Good \& Right uses 'right' adjective partly in OED's sense 5: 'Of persons or disposition: Disposed to do what is just or good;
upright, righteous', and partly in OED's sense 6: 'Of actions, conduct, etc.: in accordance with what is just or good; equitable; morally fitting.'

EB Evil \& Inferior uses 'inferior' chiefly in OED's sense 4: '. .Of low degree, rank, etc.; in mod. use esp. in reference to quality: Of no great value or excellence; comparatively bad, poor, mean', but also partially in OED's sense 3: 'Lower in degree, rank, importance..; of less value or consideration; lesser; subordinate.'

EC Evil \& Wrong uses 'wrong' chiefly in OED's sense 3 but also to an extent in sense 5 (and for EC14, sense 7). Sense 3 is defined 'Of actions, etc.: Deviating from equity, justice, or goodness; not morally right or equitable; unjust, perverse.' Sense 5 is defined 'Not in conformity with some standard, rule, or principle; deviating from that which is correct or proper; contrary to, at variance with, what one approves or regards as right.' Sense 7 is '..not proper, fitting, or appropriate.'

ED Evil \& Treacherous uses 'treacherous' in OED's sense 1: 'Of persons, their attributes, or actions: Characterized by treachery; deceiving, perfidious, false; disloyal, traitorous.' 'Treachery,' which is used in this definition, is defined in OED as 'Deceit, cheating, perfidy; violation of faith or betrayal of trust; perfidious conduct.' These definitions contain components which are themselves headings of several of the categories in the section. This indicates both the suitability of 'treacherous' as the section heading, and the extent of internal overlap which there is in this section. See further discussion of this in chapter 4, p. 306 ff .

GC and EE do not have one additional word in their heading, but instead share the same additional phrase: 'to Self/Other.' This
phrase indicates that the essential character of these sections, and of the categories each contains, involves the notion of 'something (either 'good' or 'evil') performed, that affects either oneself or another (person or thing)', to use an informal paraphrase. The supplementary parts of these headings do not appear as items in any of the categories, but among the categories in these sections are, in GC, Kind, Generous, and Merciful, and in EE, Harmful, Spiteful, and Hard-hearted - clearly all notions which involve 'good' or 'evil' to oneself or another.

Every section heading is a semantic simplification of the contents of the section, and although no conscious attempt is made to reduce the headings to semantic universals of any kind, they do go part of the way towards the kind of headings which would result from the application of componential analysis as discussed in chapter 1.

### 2.3.3 Categories

The categories are probably the most important discrete semantic units in the classification. Each section contains at least eight and at most 14 numbered and headed categories, each of which covers a particular concept which belongs in that section. There are 93 categories in the classification - 34 in Good and 59 in Evil.

### 2.3.3.1 Why Categories were Adopted

The categories were adopted at an early stage in the development of the classification. When the material was initially assembled from the Historical Thesaurus archive, it soon became apparent that much of it was falling naturally into general sense units - as, in Good, excellent, fair, honest, kind, generous, etc. - and that an
obvious structure for the classification was going to develop around these units. Not all the material fell easily into categories especially awkward were the first six categories of ED Evil \& Treacherous - but enough did for the remaining material to be persevered with and classified in the same way. It was only once the categories themselves had been roughly put together that connections and relationships could be drawn between them, and that, from this, the categories could be formed into large sections.

Every category has both a number and a heading. Within each section the categories are numbered-from one onwards. This provides a convenient structure and reference system for the categories. In general, every category can be referred to by means of a threeor fourfold description. Each reference begins with either $G$ or $E$ (standing for Good or Evil), then has one initial from A up to E (denoting the section in which the category occurs), then the category number, and finally (although not always) the category heading. This means that the standard category reference is as, for example, GA5 Excellent or ED6 Disloyal - a reference which is both compact and informative.

### 2.3.3.2 Category Headings and Relative Sizes

Wherever possible the category headings consist of a single word, but sometimes they are extended to two words, or to a short phrase. The aim of the heading is to express as briefly as possible, in well-known and current words, the key concept conveyed by the items in the category. Obviously such short headings cannot hope to cover the full breadth of any of the categories - as is already plain from the OED definitions quoted in this chapter, they, and
by extension, the lexical items which they define, are multi-componented. If category headings were also multi-componented, this would lead to components being repeated in different headings and would ultimately obscure rather than clarify category distinctions. Examples of multi-componented definitions appear in references throughout the thesis. The point can be exemplified further here, by presenting a list of words which appear in the definitions of items all having the fundamental meaning 'evil' and all occurring in the first adjective subdivision (AjG) of EAl Evil. These words are: baleful, base, criminal, cruel, depraved, diseased, false, faulty, grievous, harmful, heavy, ill, infamous, malicious, malignant, mean, mischievous, nefarious, pernicious, perverse, rascally, shameful, sinful, unjust, unpleasant, unprincipled, vicious, vile, villainous, wrong. It would clearly be quite impractical to include even a few of these in the heading of EAl. Some of them form the headings for other categories in the classification, and many of them occur in the definitions of items in other categories. This breadth of definition is also connected with the existence of internal cross-references (which are explained in 2.3.7). (See also chapter 4, p. 257 for a similar list of definition words from GA5 AjG.)

In order to keep complexity to a minimum each category heading is therefore as short as possible, and although many elements of meaning are present in categories, these cannot all be taken into account. Many one or two word headings are shortened forms of headings which could consist of four or five words, all denoting prominent concepts in the category. For example EEl2 Savage could be called Savage, Fierce, Cruel, Inhumane, as these words are all present in the category and also appear in the definitions of many
items in the category. By the same token GCl Kind could be Kind, Benevolent, Beneficent, and EEl Harmful could be Harmful, Hurtful, Injurious.

As has been mentioned, the number of categories in each section varies. In addition to this, the number of items in each category varies considerably. The smallest category, EA3 Evil \& Graceless, has only 10 items, while the largest, EAl Evil, has 559 items. A full listing of sections, and the categories in each, is at the beginning of chapter 3 (p. 123 ff.). A very brief listing of the number of items in each category appears overleaf (a much more detailed numerical breakdown of items can be found in the tables of accessions and losses in chapter 5, p. 326 ff.).

It is to some extent the case that the size of a category relates to the nature of the concept which it covers. A broad general concept, like 'evil'(EAl) or 'excellent' (GA5) will form a very large category, while a narrower, more specific concept, like 'well-meaning' (GC5) or 'disloyal' (ED6) forms a much smaller category.

### 2.3.3.3 The Order of Categories

The order in which the categories are presented in the sections attempts as far as possible to follow some kind of logical sequence. There are two basic sets of criteria on which the sequence can be based, and in some sections both sets are combined. One is a progression of meaning which begins with the most general concept in a section and proceeds to several more specific concepts - which often also means a progression from one large general category to a number of smaller more specific categories. The other is a progression which moves from the least intense concept in a section to the

-The Number of Items in Each Category and Section
strongest or most intense. In both sequences it has been the general practice wherever possible to place categories which are semantically closely related next, or as near as possible, to one another. Two groups of these category headings have been subjected to further semantic analysis in chapter 4 (see p. 306 ff . and p. 316 ff .) in order to determine both their precise meanings and the way in which they differ from one another. In this part of the chapter, the sequence of presentation of the categories in each section, and the criteria which they follow, are described below.

It may be helpful in the course of this discussion to refer to the category headings at the beginning of chapter 3 and to the brief numerical table above. The categories in section GA mainly conform to the second set of criteria but also, to a lesser degree, draw on
the first set. GA begins with the least intense category, GAl Harmless, and proceeds, up to GA7, with categories which increase in intensity and in the extent to which they embody 'good.' GA3 is Good, GA5 Excellent, and the culmination is GA7 Best. The remaining five categories all cover concepts which could be regarded as specific kinds of excellence, while GA3 Good and GA5 Excellent are general categories, and in that respect the categories conform to the first set of criteria. Also, the related notions of GA9 Worthy and GA10 Meritorious are placed side by side, as are GAll Virtuous and GAl2 Honourable. The largest category in the section is GA5 Excellent, chiefly on account of its many adjectives. GA3 Good is the second largest category.

Section GB aims to progress from a general first category, GBI Moral, to a sequence of more specific categories (GB2 to GB7), and ends with GB8 Proper, Fitting. However, although GB1 is probably the most general category it is also, as can be seen from the table on p .70 , by no means the largest category in the section.

Section GC also follows the first set of criteria. GCl Kind is the largest and most general category in the section. It is followed by a series of smaller categories, each covering specific concepts which could be described as types of kindness, or specific types of the section heading: 'good to self/other'. Where possible those which are semantically closest are adjacent to one another. For example, GC4 Well Disposed and GC5 Well-Meaning are closely related, as are GC6 Generous and GC7 Magnanimous.

In the sections in Evil the sequence of categories adheres much more closely to the first set of criteria. In every section except EC the largest category occurs first. Section EA, like GA, combines
both sets of criteria. EAl Evil embodies both the most general and the least intense concept of the section. The remaining categories, proceeding through EA4 Hellish and EA5 Diabolical to EA7 Worse, and ultimately to EAlO Worst, are all more specific than EAl, and are progressively more intensely 'evil' in meaning.

Section EB conforms largely to the first set of criteria. It begins with the largest most general category, EBl Inferior. The remaining categories cover specific types of inferiority. Only EB10 is slightly different, in so far as it covers the notion of 'spoken evil', and includes many items relating to the pronouncement of curses and imprecations. In size it is the second largest category in the section.

Section EC is different from the other sections in Evil. It has two central categories - ECl Wrong-doing, Transgressive and EC8 Corrupt. Category EC6 Immoral is also important, but less so than EC8. The presentation of the categories attempts to follow a sequence of development among the concepts covered by the categories themselves. The development from EC1 to EC8 is outlined in chapter 4 (p.304). In simple terms the section begins with one general concept, followed by a number of more specific concepts which lead up to and culminate in EC8 Corrupt. EC8 is followed by several categories covering various specific kinds of wrong behaviour, including three categories which relate to a want of duty. The section ends with a category which is parallel to the final category of section GB: in GC14 Improper, Unfitting the inherent sense of 'wrong' is slightly different from that of the other categories in the section (see p.65).

Section ED begins with the numerically largest and semantically
most general category, ED1 Treacherous. All the categories in ED are very closely related, probably to a greater extent than the categories in other sections. They fall into three groups, categories ED1 to ED6, which are analysed semantically in chapter 4, ED7 to ED10, and EDIl. Generally speaking, in the first group the notion of 'treachery' dominates and in the second group the notion of 'dishonesty' is almost equally prominent.

Section EE conforms to the first set of criteria, with one large general category, followed by a number of smaller more specific categories. It also, especially in its latter categories, follows the second set of criteria, with a progression ending in the most intense concept in the section. EEl Harmful is general, while EE2 Disadvantageous and EE3 Playfully Mischievous are both categories covering mild concepts. EE4 Harmfully Mischievous is a stronger concept, and EE5 Spiteful up to EE1l Merciless are all categories of moderate intensity. The three final categories though, EE12 to EEI4, are by far the most intense in the section, progressing from Savage through Barbarous to Bloodthirsty. Categories EE5 to EE8 are analysed semantically in chapter 4.

### 2.3.4 The Parts of Speech

This level of the classification is without doubt the one most liable to generate controversy. The analysis of language into parts of speech goes back to the stoic philosophers, around 300 B.C., whose studies of the patterns of Greek led them to establish five parts of speech (noun, proper noun, verb, conjunction, definite article). This was followed some two centuries later by the Grammar of Dionysius Thrax, written in Alexandria, in which eight parts of speech were
recognized (noun, verb, conjunction, article, adverb, participle, pronoun, and preposition). ${ }^{28}$ The parts of speech have always been a fundamental feature of traditional grammar ${ }^{29}$ and as such their presence in a semantic classification could be held to be inappropriate.

### 2.3.4.1 Why the Parts of Speech were Used

It is generally acknowledged that any kind of semantic formulation necessitates the use of some kind of syntactic description (see comments in chapter 1, p.11). Syntax is, according to Crystal, 'the study of the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language. ${ }^{30}$ A very similar definition is also given by Crystal for one of the senses of grammar: 'the study of the way words, and their component parts, combine to form sentences. ${ }^{31}$ Traditional grammar uses the breakdown of words into parts of speech as a means of analysing and quantifying the character of different kinds of words and hence of establishing how they relate to one another. To that extent the parts of speech are syntactic, and they are used here as a syntactic level in a semantic classification. They provide a clear and convenient means of classifying the Good and Evil vocabulary.

In this particular classification there are also a number of simple practical reasons for using the parts of speech as a classificatory device. One is that all the lexical items in the classification are drawn from dictionaries and each has already been given a part of speech, initially by the lexicographers, but reproduced by the Historical Thesaurus compilers. As the parts of speech are already there, it is practical to make use of them, unless there is some good
reason not to. It should be noted though, that this is not the only way to classify vocabulary. An alternative method, without parts of speech, is discussed in 2.3.4.2.

Another reason for using the parts of speech is that the nature of the material in this classification is very comprehensive, and there are often several different kinds of nouns (actions, persons, things, etc.) or verbs (do, make, become) or even adjectives (on the basis of referent) within the one basic concept or category. This breadth within parts of speech is another feature which emerges from the OED definitions, and is most effectively expressed ${ }^{\text {within the }}$ framework in which it originally appears - that is, within the parts of speech. It is represented by subdivisions within each part of speech, and they actually form the next level of the Good and Evil classification, and are discussed in more detail in 2.3.5. They are mentioned here simply because they are one of the reasons for maintaining the part of speech distinction.

It is worth pointing out here that the classification system adopted for the Historical Thesaurus, although heavily dependent on Chase's system of subordination (see 2.3.4.2 and 2.3.5 for details) now also, as a result of the classificatory work involving the parts of speech in this thesis, makes use of the parts of speech. As Kay and Chase comment 'Chase's system differs from the one now in use for the Historical Thesaurus in that semantic features in his classification take precedence over division into parts of speech. ${ }^{32}$ Now in the Historical Thesaurus 'parts of speech have a classifying function. ${ }^{33}$

Five parts of speech - and a general sixth appellation: 'phrase' - are recognized in the Good and Evil classification. They are
adjective, noun, adverb, verb, and interjection. They are abbreviated in the classification and often in the text of the thesis to $\mathrm{Aj}, \mathrm{N}, \mathrm{Av}, \mathrm{V}$, and Int. J.M.Y. Simpson states that 'For certain traditional grammarians only the 'major' parts of speech (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) had full meaning, since they were held to signify 'concepts' - this is 'lexical' meaning.' 34 To some extent this classification confirms that view in so far as, within its semantic field, it endeavours to cover the breadth of the English language, and yet only requires these four parts of speech, plus interjection and phrase.

The meanings of the five parts of speech (the above four plus interjection) are taken as understood in this thesis. ${ }^{35}$ The term phrase is used rather more broadly. As a general term a phrase is a 'small group of words usu. without predicate, esp. preposition with the word(s) it governs, equivalent to adjective, adverb, or noun. ${ }^{36}$ In the Good and Evil classification it occurs as a sequence of words which often form a complete clause or sentence, and which require a fuller definition than the rules of the classification permit. Each phrase or group of phrases in a category is preceded by a brief explanation of the meaning of the item(s) which follow (as in GA5 Excellent, GB4 Fair, GC14 Fortunate, Lucky, and EB10 Accursed). Often simpler phrases, usually belonging to the noun, adverb, or verb, are placed under the appropriate part of speech, and are not actually specified as phrases.

The order adopted for the parts of speech in Good and Evil adjective, noun, adverb, verb, interjection - and the accompanying system, which gives semantic primacy to the adjective, form another area of potential controversy which is discussed shortly. First
however, it should be recognized that it is quite possible to devise an effective system of semantic classification in which the parts of speech are not used.

### 2.3.4.2 An Alternative Approach

The clearest way to illustrate an approach which does not use the parts of speech is to look at one of the semantic fields previously classified as a part of postgraduate research from the Historical Thesaurus archive, that is, at Chase's classification of Religion. ${ }^{37}$. This is the single largest piece of classification from the Thesaurus which has been conducted as a part of a postgraduate thesis. Both Chase's classification and that of Wotherspoon, in her thesis on Parts of the Body and Mental Pain, 38 accord semantic primacy to the noun, but do not specify the parts of speech as such in the classification.

The discussion here centres on Chase's classification of Religion for two reasons: firstly because Religion is a large field, and secondly because some elements of Chase's classification system also appear in one level of the Good and Evil classification.

There is one fundamental difference between Religion and Good and Evil which should be stated here. This is that the vocabulary in Religion is primarily concrete, while the vocabulary of Good and Evil is primarily abstract.

The classification system devised for Religion has (like Good and Evil) several levels which become progressively more specific, as far down as 'category', which is a semantic unit covering a basic concept in that classification. Religion, where appropriate, follows the category with a subcategory or similar grouping and, within that,
employs the subordination system of indented full stops which is such a distinctive feature of that classification. Each category (or subcategory) has a heading, which takes the form of the noun, and all the items in that category are semantically subordinate to this nominal heading. The subordination is expressed by means of indented full stops followed by underlined headings or category tags, ${ }^{39}$ which relate back to the category heading. With each additional full stop there is further indentation, and further subordination. This is illustrated by the following category headings from Chase's thesis.

```
R1.7.3. Impiety
    .instance of
    -P char by (= person characterized by)
    #.pl/coll 40 (= plural/collective)
```

Each tag is understood in terms of the category heading, and tags with two or more full stops are understood in terms also of the preceding superior tag. Thus the item(s) under pl/coll are interpreted as meaning 'collectively, persons characterized by impiety.' This system is semantically very effective. It shows the relationship between different items and also (by placing related parts of speech nest to one another) between different parts of speech. The following headings demonstrate this.

## $\frac{\text { R4.2.2.0. Confession }}{(\cdot .)}$

.the hearing of
..to perform

$$
\frac{. \text { the experience of }}{\text {..to undergo }} 41
$$

These four headings form two pairs, each of which consists of a noun and, immediately following it, a related subordinate verb.

### 2.3.4.3 Why this Approach was not Used for Good and Evil

It is worth taking a little time here to justify the fact that this system has not been wholeheartedly adopted for Good and Evil. It is a system which is most effective when applied to a primarily concrete semantic field - often one whose lexical items are predominantly nouns or noun based. In such a field the adjective, verb, etc. can normally be subordinated to the noun with little difficulty, by means of category tags such as .char of, .possessing, .to perform, and so on.

Good and Evil, however, is a primarily abstract field, with very little concrete vocabulary, and as such the adjective is arguably its semantically prime part of speech (see discussion of this in 2.3.4.4). As a result Chase's system is not so effective. The OED, and hence this classification, frequently creates separate adjective senses on the basis of referent (i.e. the adjective as applied to a person, thing, action, etc.) and these adjectives form a central part of an abstract field. If there were a corresponding noun in Good and Evil for each of these kinds of adjectives, to which the adjective could be made subordinate, then Chase's system might work. Often however, there is not, and even where there is the result tends to be clumsy. For example, EA3 Evil and Graceless would present the adjective, of a person, as follows.

```
Evil and Gracelessness (the heading would have to be nominal)
-P char by: graceless cl386-1675+1858--; etc.
    ..char of: graceless 1399--; etc.
```

The double suffix in the heading is unpleasing, as is the way in which the headings have to be read back in order to find the meaning of 'graceless 1399--': 'characteristic of a person characterized by evil and gracelessness.'

Perhaps, it might be argued, if the adjective has semantic primacy the system could be adapted so that the heading is adjectival, and the items are derived from the adjective. One result of this would be as follows.

## Evil and Graceless

. P who is: graceless c1386-1675+1858--; etc.
..char of: graceless 1399--; etc.
This is more economical, but still gives the noun primacy within the category. More useful for an adjective-based classification might be a reversal of the category tags, so that the adjective comes first.

Evil and Graceless
.of a person: graceless 1399--; etc. ..p who is: graceless c1386-1675+1855--; etc.

These headings are not satisfactory though - 'person' occurs in both (as $p$ in the second heading). They are repetitive and hence inefficient. As a means of covering these items in EA3, and similar items in, other categories, Chase's system is simply not very effective.

It would be wrong to dismiss it totally for Good and Evil though, as for some semantically straightforward categories, and when it is applied with primacy given to the adjective, it can be effective. The following headings cover everything under GC10 Humane.

```
Humane
.making
    . made
    .quality of being
    ..action of imbuing with
    . in manner which is
    . to make
    .to become
```

Categories like this are the exception rather than the rule in Good and Evil. The headings for the noun and adverb seem less concise than they might be, but otherwise the system works. The category set out this way would present the items which are currently under

AjG immediately after the category heading with no further qualification. All other items would be semantically subordinate to them. This becomes a problem where AjG already has subordinate items in its own right. The remaining items assume the same subordinate status as these items, which seems to accord them an equality they do not have. For example, the headings in EAl Evil would appear as follows.

```
Evil
    .inherently etc.
    . following ways which are etc.
    of an action etc.
    of a person
    ..who is female
    -quality of being
    ..an instance of etc.
```

The first two headings, which are very specific, are accorded equal status with 'evil, of an action' and 'evil, of a person' and so on. This does not represent the true semantic balance of the category. Although the adjectival form of the concept has primacy within that structure, the parts of speech ought to be treated equally, with subordinate items within each part of speech having the same status. It does not seem justifiable to equate subordinate adjectives with basic nouns, adverbs, etc.

This observation points the way to a weakness of the Chase system. It means that one group of lexical items - nouns in the case of Religion - has primacy over the others. The system used for Good and Evil gives primacy to the adjective as a part of speech, and uses it as a basic structural element, but within that structure it accords equal status to all parts of speech. It further accords equal subordinate status to the subordinate items under each part of speech. It does this by using the parts of speech as a classificatory device
and in the process it provides in some respects a more precise semantic classification.

The value of the parts of speech is confirmed. Two reasons for using them as a classificatory device were mentioned above (p.74-5). A third reason has now emerged they enable semantic equality of all items in a category to be maintained, at the same time as placing them in a system in which one part of speech - the adjective - assumes primacy. We must now attempt to explain why the adjective is the part of speech which has been accorded-primacy in Good and Evil.

### 2.3.4.4 The Semantic Primacy of the Adjective

To accord primacy to any part of speech in language is arguably controversial. Chase, in giving primacy to the noun, comments that this may be 'somewhat contentious from the standpoint of semantic theory. ${ }^{42}$ Prior to any discussion on why the adjective has primacy here, the more general question of the dominance of any part of speech ought to be placed in a broader linguistic context,

A basic problem in any discussion of this nature is that the distinction between the parts of speech (and especially between the noun, adjective, adverb, and verb) is not always clear. As Bloomfield states, 'it is impossible to set up a fully consistent scheme of parts of speech, because the word-classes overlap and cross each other. ${ }^{43}$

Over the years, however, various viewpoints have emerged. As was mentioned on p.73, the breakdown of language into parts of speech dates back to the ancient Greeks. Plato established two distinct parts of speech - noun and verb - and included the adjective with the
verb. Aristotle maintained that distinction, but included the adjective with the noun. ${ }^{44}$ The Stoics (see p. 73 above) recognized five parts of speech, and Dionysius Thrax recognized eight. Thrax's Grammar was apparently the first of its kind to be published in the Western world. 45 His basic division of the parts of speech has remained.

By and large discussion on the primacy of any part of speech has concentrated on the noun and the verb. Sapir, although dismissive of the parts of speech distinctions ('Our conventional classification of words into parts of speech is only a vague, wavering approximation to a consistently worked out inventory of experience. ${ }^{46}$ ) does comment nonetheless that 'No language wholly fails to distinguish noun and verb. ${ }^{47}$ Jespersen divides the parts of speech into three hierarchical ranks: Primary (nouns), Secondary (verbs and adjectives), and Tertiary (adverbs). ${ }^{48}$ He bases his distinction on the theory that secondary words can modify primary, and tertiary can modify secondary. He also, in his three ranks, specifies four parts of speech.

De Angulo and Freeland believe that, for the purposes of semantic classification, the noun should have priority: 'the basis for classification should give preference to nouns over verbs. ${ }^{49}$ Chafe, on the other hand, considers that the verb is semantically the most important part of speech: 'I have tried to establish a picture of semantic structure in which the typical configuration is that of a central verb accompanied by one or more nouns. ${ }^{50}$

John Lyons treats the whole question on the level of deep structure, which is not strictly relevant here (see comment at foot of p.19). It is nonetheless worthy of some comment. Lyons states that 'any general theory of the parts of speech..must define the parts of speech
..as deep-structure constituents of sentences. ${ }^{151}$ In an earlier article, 'Towards a 'Notional' Theory of the 'Parts of Speech' ', which again takes a deep structure approach, he says, 'in many languages at least, the noun or nominal is the primary element of 'deep' constituent-structure. ${ }^{52}$ In Semantics Lyons echoes Sapir with the comment that 'it is generally accepted by linguists that ..the distinction between nouns and verbs at least is universal., 53

There appears to be little argument in favour of according semantic primacy to the adjective. One of the few people to write in its favour is Rudskoger, who comments that 'the adjective is and must be..the primary thing., 54

It is recognized in the classification of material from the Historical Thesaurus archive that, in different semantic fields, priority has to be given to different parts of speech. Kay acknowledges that 'the attempt to impose a fixed order of parts of speech within categories: noun, verb, adjective, adverb' ${ }^{55}$ worked for concrete categories (like Religion) but that 'work on abstract categories has shown that some categories are predominantly verbal or adjectival, and that greater flexibility is needed. ${ }^{56}$ In the case of a classification of the chiefly abstract field Good and Evil, the adjective is primary.

In the majority of categories in Good and Evil the basic concept covered by the category is expressed by the adjective. The other parts of speech in the category can all be derived from the adjective. The noun is often formed by the addition of the suffix -ness or -ity, as kindness from kind, morality from moral. The adverb is often formed by means of the suffix $-1 y$, as kindly, morally, and the verb is sometimes phrasal, with the same root as the adjective, as to do
worse, or - if not formed that way - has a meaning which can be related back to the adjective by that means. Not all categories are adjective based, but 50 out of the total 93 indisputably are. For more details, and a short discussion on primacy in the parts of speech in Good and Evil, see p. 89 ff. (2.3.4.5). Also presented there are tables indicating which part of speech is primary in each category.

Those 50 categories in which the adjective is primary include GB4 Fair, EB7 Base, and EE11 Merciless. In 16 categories the primary part of speech is either the adjective or the noun. And in 27 categories the noun or other part of speech is primary. However, in every category, the presentation of the material accords primacy. to the adjective and the system works effectively. Up to 66 of the 93 categories are potentially adjective-based, a large enough majority to enable an adjectival system to be applied throughout.

It might be thought that if the adjective is conceptually prime, that it should also be the part of speech for which there are most items in Good and Evil. Perhaps surprisingly, this is not the case. Of the 93 categories, 42 have more adjectives than any other part of speech. In Good the adjective is dominant, but in Evil, and overall, there are more nouns than any other part of speech. The table overleaf gives a breakdown of the parts of speech in sections and overal1. A full breakdown by category forms Appendix III.

A more detailed analysis of the basic essential features of each of the main parts of speech in the classification (adjective, noun, adverb, verb) may help to clarify the position of the adjective and confirm its superiority. Although, in Good and Evil, the adjective

| Section | Aj | N | Av | V | I | Phr |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| GA Good | 685 | 568 | 202 | 76 | 2 | 5 |
| GB Good \& Right | 315 | 244 | 210 | 33 | - | 6 |
| GC Good to Self/Other | 350 | 465 | 153 | 126 | - | 23 |
| GOOD TOTALS | 1350 | 1277 | 475 | 235 | 2 | 34 |
| EA Evil |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EB Evil \& Inferior | 440 | 866 | 115 | 71 | 3 | 38 |
| EC Evil \& Wrong | 359 | 581 | 122 | 236 | - | - |
| ED Evil \& Treacherous | 145 | 198 | 49 | 38 | 1 | - |
| EE Evil to Self/Other | 614 | 545 | 188 | 167 | - | - |
| EVIL TOTALS | 1912 | 2618 | 585 | 540 | 4 | 39 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GOOD \& EVIL TOTALS | 3262 | 3895 | 1060 | 775 | 6 | 73 |

A Distribution of Items in each Section according to Part of Speech
generally embodies the most basic form of each concept, the actual nature of the adjective is more complex. As adjectives, 'good' and 'evil' are essentially attributes, and they require two basic features to give them meaning. One is a referent. Abstract adjectives can only be perceived in the light of that to which they are applied. Indeed the OED definition of 'good', already quoted at the beginning of this chapter, describes it as a quality 'implied by the nature of the object which the adj. is used to describe.' The meaning is partially carried in the object which embodies it, be that a person, thing, action, or whatever. The other feature for the understanding
of an adjective is a knowledge of that which the adjective is not. An abstract quality such as 'good' is relative, and is perceived as much in terms of the related qualities which it does not possess, as in terms of those which it does have. As R.H. Robins says, 'The meaning of a word depends, not just on its reference...In part the meaning and use of most words are governed by the presence..of other words whose semantic functions are related. ${ }^{157}$ Robins takes this question of a scale of related meanings further with particular reference to colour terms, ${ }^{58}$ but the basic principle also holds for Good and Evil.

An abstract quality is therefore inherent both in that to which it is applied, and in the context of that to which it is related, and (as an attribute) is expressed most fundamentally in the adjectival form. As Hardi Fischer says, '..we have chosen to study the meanings of nouns in terms of adjectives..it seems natural to think of 'things' in terms of 'attributes.', 59

In the Good and Evil classification the adjective is the part of speech which forms the heading to which all elements in the category are subordinate. Each part of speech is divided into different 'types' of that part of speech, and all these types are subordinate to the adjectival heading. As the adjective is primary, and hence the most important part of speech, all adjective types come first, followed by noun, adverb, verb, phrase, and interjection.

The noun, or nominal form of an abstract concept, is often a term for the quality ('quality' in OED's sense 2: 'a mental or moral attribute, trait, or characteristic') which is that concept (as 'goodness' is 'the quality..of being good' and 'kindness' is 'the quality..of being kind'). The noun can also be a person, thing, etc.
which embodies the attribute in question.
The adverb basically describes anything which is, or is done, 'in the manner of the adjective.'

The verb often has the meaning 'to be or make the adjective' (as 'to be wicked', 'to make good'). In Good and Evil it is always possible to derive the verb from the adjective, usually by means of a description consisting of 'auxiliary verb plus adjective', as in EB3 'rogue (vi)' can be described as 'to be roguish.' Sometimes the derivation is made through the noun or the adverb, as in the headings 'to do evil' (in EAl) or 'to treat disadvantageously' (in EA2). Each of these headings could be construed more fully in an adjectival form as 'to do that which is evil' and 'to treat in a disadvantageous manner'.

These different types within the parts of speech are explained in 2.3.5 (p. 92 ff.).

One other part of speech which occurs occasionally in the classification (it appears in four categories) is interjection. It can be seen in adjectival terms in so far as it performs the function of an adjective, by describing something, but it does so in an interjectory ('characterized by a natural ejaculation expressive of some feeling or emotion' - OED) fashion.

There are also phrases in the classification, but for the purposes of this explanation these are not treated as parts of speech but as larger grammatical units. They are dealt with in 2.3.5.

This section ends with a short commentary on and a list of the parts of speech which are conceptually prime in each category.

### 2.3.4.5 Semantic Primacy as a Part of Speech

As has been mentioned, in the majority of categories ( 50 out of 93) the fundamental meaning of the category exists in the adjective. On the following pages is a list of the Good and Evil categories and, beside each, the part of speech in which its basic sense resides. This is - it should be emphasized - a generalization, based as far as possible not just on category headings, but also on items within categories. Twenty categories are noun based, including ED2 Treasonous, where the adjective derives from, and is several centuries later than, the noun 'treason'. In 18 categories (including GA3 Good and EAl Evil, among others) two parts of speech, usually the adjective and noun, are primary.

In a number of categories the dominant part of speech is unclear. In GC6, for example, which is more primary between 'generous' and 'generosity' (both date from the 17 th century)? In GB1 is 'moral' more primary than 'morality' (although 'morality'is recorded earlier in OED)? If the fundamental idea is not covered in the classification (as in EC3 'sin' is not covered, because it is placed in Religion) is the category based on a derived part of speech (in this case 'sinful')? In the tables below, categories like GC6 Generous are listed as being either adjective or noun based, those like GBl Moral are, in the main, listed as adjective based, and those like EC3 Sinful are listed on the basis of the items they contain (Sinful is therefore adjective based). Other categories like GAl Harmless are adjective based as the adjectival suffix -less embodies a fundamental part of the meaning, while those like EEl Harmful are noun based, as the essential idea of the category exists in 'harm' and the suffix -ful merely forms the adjective without altering the idea.

| Category |  | P.of Sp. | Category |  | P.of Sp. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GA1 | Harmless | Aj | GC7 | Magnanimous | Aj |
| GA2 | Satisfactory | Aj | GC8 | Gracious | Aj |
| GA3 | Good | Aj/N | GC9 | Considerate | Aj |
| GA4 | Better | Aj | GC10 | Humane | Aj/N |
| GA5 | Excellent | $\mathrm{Aj} / \mathrm{N}$ | GC11 | Tender | Aj |
| GA6 | Surpassingly Ex. | Aj/N | GC12 | Merciful | N |
| GA7 | Best | Aj | GC13 | Blessed | Aj |
| GA8 | Matchless | Aj | GC14 | Fortunate, Lucky | N |
| GA9 | Worthy ' | Aj/N |  | [- : |  |
| GA10 | Meritorious | N | EA1 | Evil | Aj/N |
| GAll | Virtuous | N | EA2 | Evil \& Dark | Aj |
| GAl2 | Honourable | N | EA3 | Evil \& Graceless | Aj |
|  | Honourable | N | EA4 | Hellish | Aj |
| GB1 | Moral | Aj | EAS | Diabolical | Aj |
| GB2 | Conscientious | N | EA6 | Offensive | Aj |
| GB3 | Impartial | Aj | EA7 | Worse | Aj/N |
| GB4 | Fair | Aj | EA8 | Heinous | Aj |
| GB5 | Righteous, Just | $\mathrm{Aj} / \mathrm{N}$ | EA9 | Unpardonable | Aj |
| GB6 | Honest | Aj | EA10 | Worst | Aj |
| GB7 | Trustworthy | $\mathrm{Aj} / \mathrm{N}$ |  |  |  |
| GB8 | Proper, Fitting | Aj | EB1 | Inferior | Aj |
|  |  |  | EB2 | Worthless | Aj |
| GCl | Kind | Aj | .EB3 | Roguish | N |
| GC2 | Beneficial | N | EB4 | Ruffianly | N |
| GC3 | Wholesome | Aj | EB5 | Dissolute | Aj |
| GC4 | Well Disposed | Aj | EB6 | Wretched | N |
| GC5 | Well-Meaning | Aj | EB7 | Base | Aj |
| GC6 | Generous | Aj/N | EB8 | Villainous | N |


| Categ | gory | P.of Sp. | Category |  | P.of Sp. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| EB9 | Foul, Filthy | N | ED4 | Perfidious | N |
| EB10 | Accursed | N/V | ED5 | Unfaithful | Aj/N |
|  |  |  | ED6 | Disloyal | Aj |
| ECl | Wrong-Doing | Aj/N | ED7 | Dishonest | Aj/N |
| EC2 | Strayi | V |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | ED8 | Crooked | Aj |
| EC3 | Sinful | Aj | ED9 | Sneaky | N/V |
| EC4 | Gui | N |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | ED10 Disingenuous |  | Aj/N |
| EC5 | Criminal | $\mathrm{Aj} / \mathrm{N}$ | EDIL Unscrupulous |  | Aj |
| EC6 | Immoral | Aj |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | Harmful |  |
| EC7 | Leading Astray | V | EE1 |  | N |
| EC8 | Corrupt | Aj | EE2 | Disadvantageous | N |
| EC9 | Ill-Behaved | V | EE3 | Playfully Misch. | Aj |
| EC10 | Undutiful | Aj | EE4 | Harmfully Misch. | Aj |
| EC11 | Failing in Duty | N | EE5 | Spiteful | N |
| EC12 | Avoiding Duty | V | EE6 | Ill-Willing | $\mathrm{Aj} / \mathrm{N}$ |
| EC13 | Unfair, Unjust | Aj | EE7 | Bitter | Aj |
| EC14 | Improper | Aj | EE8 | Ill-Natured | Aj |
|  |  |  | EE9 | Harsh, Unkind | Aj |
| Ep1 | Treacherous | . N . | EE10 Hard-Hearted |  | Aj |
| ED2 | Treasonous | N |  |  |  |  |
| ED2 | Treasonous | N | EEll Merciless |  | Aj |
| ED3 | Betraying | V |  |  | ^j |
|  |  |  | EE12 Savage |  |  |
|  |  |  | EE13 Barbarous |  | Aj |
|  |  |  | EE14 Bloodthirsty |  | Aj |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Totals

| Section | Aj $\mathrm{Aj} / \mathrm{N}$ | N | N/V |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| GA Good | 5 | 4 | 3 | - | - |
| GB Good \& Moral | 5 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| GC Good to Self/Other | 9 | 2 | 3 | - | - |
| EA Evil | 8 | 2 | - | - | - |
| EB Evil \& Inferior | 4 | - | 5 | 1 | - |
| EC Evil \& Wrong | 6 | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| ED Evil \& Treacherous | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| EE Evil to Self/Other | 10 | 1 | 13 | - | - |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GOOD TOTAL | 19 | 8 | 7 | - | - |
| EVIL TOTAL | 31 | 8 | 13 | 2 | 5 |
| GOOD \& EVIL TOTALS | 50 | 16 | 20 | 2 | 5 |

### 2.3.5 Subdivisions

This level of the classification has already been referred to on several occasions, especially in the preceding discussion on the parts of speech.

Within the parts of speech, the next classificatory level consists of the divisions which occur in each part of speech. As mentioned above ( p .87 ) all parts of speech are divided into types. Each type is semantically subordinate to the category heading, and for convenience is referred to as a subdivision.

These subdivisions inevitably reflect the treatment and the
breakdown of the lexical items in the OED, which in turn reflect the uses of the items in context. Each part of speech has its own particular subdivisions, and these are dealt with separately on the following pages.

The parts of speech and their subdivisions are presented in the classification by means of headings consisting of initials which appear on the left hand side of the page. Each heading comprises the standard abbreviation for the part of speech (Aj, N, Av, V, Int) followed by a single initial (occasionally accompanied by a lower case letter) denoting the subdivision. The headings are followed by the lexical items themselves.

The subdivisions have a fixed order - basically a progression from general to particular and abstract to concrete - which is adhered to in each category. Obviously the range of subdivisions which appears in each category varies considerably, but this does not affect the order of presentation. Nor does the size of the subdivision. It is of ten;' but by no means always, the case that the largest subdivision comes first.

Each subdivision is read and understood in terms of the category heading, which appears in the top right hand corner of every page. For example, under ED7 Dishonest we have AjA (standing for 'adjective, of actions') followed by the items, and AjP (standing for 'adjective, of people') followed by the items. These are respectively construed, with the help of the category heading, as containing items which mean 'dishonest, of actions' and 'dishonest, of people'. Under GA8 Matchless we have NQ (noun, the quality), NT (noun, the thing), NTP (noun, thing or person), and NP (noun, the person). Again, each of these is understood with the help of the category heading, which is
used to qualify the noun subdivision. Hence, NQ is 'matchless quality', NT is 'matchless thing', NTP 'matchless thing or person', and NP 'matchless person'. In many cases the subdivisions contain further subordinations accompanied by explanatory headings, which are also understood in terms of the category headings. These subordinations are discussed in 2.3.6.

The subdivisions within the adjective are as follows:
AjE as an exclamatory epithet (only in GA3)
AjG general - of actions, things, persons, etc.
AjA of actions
AjC of conduct
AjW of way of life .. (only in Evil)
AjT of things
AjP of people
In addition to progressing from general to particular and abstract to concrete, the adjective subdivisions also run from inanimate to animate. Between AjG and AjT the order is alphabetic.

AjE only occurs in one category (see note on p.254), and in most categories AjG comes first. The adjectives in this subdivision are, or can be, applied to many different things, as actions, things, people, etc., when these referents have not been split up or specified by the OED. In all cases where the referents of an adjective are not made clear, the adjective is placed under AjG. Where the referents are specified the adjectives are classified accordingly, and appear under one of the more specific adjective subdivisions, frequently AjA, AjT, or AjP. This distinction is commented on on a number of occasions in chapter 4.

The subdivisions within the noun are as follows:

| NQ | quality |
| :--- | :--- |
| NX | abstract thing |
| NF | feeling |
| NA | action |
| NAc | act |


| ND deed |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| NC conduct |  |
| NCn connection | (only in GC2) |
| NH habit | (only in EAl) |
| NJ judgement | (only in GB5) |
| NN nature | (only in EAl, EA5) |
| NR result | (only in GC2) |
| NS state |  |
| NSc scheme | (only in EB8) |
| NTh thought | (only in EAl, EC1, EE6) |
| NW way of life |  |
| NWi wish |  |
| NT thing |  |
| NTP thing or person in GC4, EC14) |  |
| NP person |  |

NQ and NX are the most general noun subdivisions; the others are all more specific. The subdivisions also, as under the adjective, progress from abstract to concrete and inanimate to animate. Of the abstract subdivisions the first seven occur frequently and the following ten (arranged alphabetically) occur only one, two, or three times apiece. The final three concrete subdivisions all occurfrequently. Although the ten less common subdivisions take up a lot of space in the listing above, this is not the case in practice as they are rare, and it is seldom that more than one occurs in the same category. (The exception is EAl, where three occur.)

NQ always comes first in the noun, and is of ten the largest subdivision. It is followed by NX. This subdivision contains items which are abstract and which are neither qualities nor things. They are 'abstract things', and the initial $X$ has been chosen to denote them. It does not stand for anything specific, but instead is being used to indicate something hard to quantify. A quality, as goodness or baseness (covered. by NQ) is not a count noun (it does not, in general, take an article, and is not pluralized) and it is abstract. A thing, as a device or an object (covered by NT), is a count noun (it takes an article and can be pluralized) and is concrete.

The items in $N X$ are between these two, and are count nouns at the same time as being abstract, as a virtue, a vice, a fault, and so on. This subdivision occurs quite frequently in the classification and is necessary to cover fully this abstract semantic field. The other subdivisions are all self evident.

There are several corresponding pairs of noun and adjective subdivisions which share the same initials in their heading. For example, AjA and NA are both 'of actions', AjT and NT are both 'of things', and AjP and NP and both 'of people'. Some categories contain pairs of these subdivisions, and although the subdivisions are not usually adjacent to one another, they can be easily recognized by their common initials. For example, under EAl Evil, there are AjA, AjT, and AjP, followed on later pages by NA, NT, and NP. EAl is a large category and the subdivisions are not close to one another, but under EA8 Heinous $A j T$ and $A j P$ occur on the same page as NT and NP.

The subdivisions within the adverb are as follows:

| AvM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| AvH adverb of manner |  |
| AvW adverb 'having' | (only in GA7) |
| AvB by means of ( + noun) | (only in EB10) |

The most usual adverbial subdivision in AvM. The other three only occur in a total of five categories, and as such pose no problem with ordering. They are presented above in the order of the categories in which they appear. Two of them are interpreted along with a noun, rather than with the adjectival category heading. When this happens the noun should be understood as either NQ or NA (whichever is more appropriate in each category) and is in turn derived from the adjective. For example, in EBlO, AvW is 'with
accursedness' or, adjectivally, 'with accursed quality', while in EC8, AvB is 'by means of corruption' or, adjectivally, 'by means of corrupt quality or action'.

The following list of verbal headings also includes interpretations, in brackets, of the part of speech with which the verb should be construed. Again, where this is not adjectival, it can be reduced to the adjective by interpreting any noun as NQ or NX or NA, and interpreting any adverb as AvM ('in an 'adjective' manner').

| vg | general | ( act $+\mathrm{adv} / \mathrm{be}+\mathrm{adj})$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VM | make | (+ adj) |  |
| vD | do | (+ noun) |  |
| VA | address | (as + noun) | (only in EB8) |
| vB | become | (+ adj) |  |
| VC | consider | (+ adj) |  |
| VF | feel | (+ adj/noun) | (only in EE5) |
| VH | have | (+ noun) | (only in GB5) |
| VI | inspire | (with + noun) | (only in GCl) |
| VJ | judge | (+ adv) | (only in GB3) |
| VL | look on | (+ adv) |  |
| vP | passive | rb | (only in EBl) |
| VS | seem | (+ adj) |  |
| vT | treat | (+ adv) |  |
| vu | utter | ( + noun) | (only in EB10) |
| VW | have a ( | (j) way of life |  |

The first three subdivisions appear in order of frequency. VG occurs most often and is also, perhaps obviously, the most general subdivision. The other 13 subdivisions are presented in alphabetical order. The verbs are more complex than the other parts of speech in the classification. The interpretation of their headings often involves nouns or adverbs, and in addition every verb in the classification (with the exception of those only current in OE) is followed, in brackets, by an indication of its transitivity, or of whether or not it is a phrasal verb. This indication takes the form of (vt) or (vi) or ( $\underline{\mathrm{p}}$ ) (a full list, and some further comments on verbs, can be found on p.113).

Two other units of meaning occur in the classification. Neither occurs very often and each is treated according to its own merits. The first is phrase. This is used for phrases in a category which do not clearly or easily belong under one of the other parts of speech. As a result it varies greatly from one category to another. The heading for phrase is PhX , and this is always followed by an explanatory written heading, after which come the phrases proper. The written heading begins with a capital letter and is underlined. As in NX, the initial $X$ has been used as an indication that what follows is hard to quantify (and in the case of phrases widely varied) although the explanatory heading for phrases does then attempt to do this. For categories with more than one kind of phrase, and therefore more than one heading, the second heading is PhXX (plus explanation) and the third is PhXXX (plus explanation). Three is the maximum number in the main classification and that occurs only in GC14 (but in Appendix I GC14 has another phrase, with four $X^{\prime} s$ ). The written headings for phrases range widely, from (in EAl) There is no fault to be found with (in concessive use) to (in EB10) A curse upon....

The final unit - or part of speech - is interjection. It has the heading Int, and covers items which describe something in an interjectory way. It occurs in four categories in the classification: GA3 Good, GA5 Excellent, EB10 Accursed, and ED2 Treasonous.

### 2.3.6 Subordinations

This is the final level in the Good and Evil classification, and the one which owes the greatest debt to the classification system devised by Chase for the semantic field Religion. 60

Many of the subdivisions discussed above contain items which require further qualification and are semantically dependent on the subdivision heading. For example, under NP there can often be items which are used only of a male, female, or young person, in addition to the general items. When this happens; these items are placed within an underlined written heading, which is preceded by a full stop. The full stop causes the heading to be indented - a visual indication of its subordination - and marks it out. Further subordinations are indicated by additional full stops (and hence additional indentation). All headings which share the same number of full stops are semantically equal (i.e. all headings with one full stop are derived equally from the subdivision heading). As with the other levels in the classification, the subordinate headings are ultimately interpreted in terms of the category heading, although within that they are also dependent on the subdivision under which they come.

For example, in EC5 Criminal under NP we have female. The one item under this heading ('malefactress') is interpreted as meaning 'a female criminal person.' Further down the same subdivision is . a band of (plural) which denotes 'a band of criminal people' and is the heading for the item 'gang.' Within this we have . .a member of, which is the heading for 'gangster' and within that ... who intimidates his victims, where we find 'frightener.' Each successive subordination is dependent on the subordination with one full stop
less which immediately precedes it. The subordinations in Good and Evil do not go beyond a maximum of three full stops.

This system of subordination was devised by Chase and is used much more extensively in Religion than it is here. Chase does not include the parts of speech in his classification but derives everything in a category from a nominal heading by means of the subordinate headings and full stops. In Religion the number of full stops can be as high as five. Chase also indents the full stops, a feature which was not retained for Good and Evil as the very presence of the full stops indents the heading, and further indentation is not necessary. Chase's system was also discussed earlier in this chapter (see pp.77-81).

In both Religion and Good and Evil there are standard subordinate headings (Chase's term is 'category tags') and although some are common to both fields, many are common to only one field or the other. One of the great advantages of this system is its flexibility. Subordinations and their headings can be created where appropriate, and the heading itself (although always as short as possible) can be worded to suit the context. In subdivisions with several subordinations their order aims to follow a general pattern (see below) but can also be altered if necessary. Many subordinate headings are coined to cover specific items and occur only once. These obviously cannot appear in a fixed order.

Those which do recur and have a fixed order include the following. In $A j P$ and $N P$
-male
. $\overline{\text { female }}$
-plural
are always the first subordinations, in that order, while under NP

- personality of
.domain of
always come last. Under all subdivisions except NP, the subordinations which come last are, in order
-somewhat
- very
-more
- most
.excessively/ .extremely.
Under most subdivisions
.in
- and
. of
follow that order, although they can have other subordinations before and after them.

Many subordinations consist of and or . of followed by a qualifying word or phrase.

It is also possible, and often useful, to use a subordination to place an item under one subdivision which grammatically belongs under another subdivision. In GA9 Worthy under NT we have person who esteems something as, followed by the item 'prizer' - a person under 'noun, the thing.' The reason, in this instance, is that NP in this category would mean 'a worthy person,' but in fact a 'prizer' is not necessarily so. The word is in GA9 because it is used of someone who regards a thing as worthy. Therefore the concept covered by the category heading is inherent in the thing, not the person, so the word semantically belongs under $N T$, with an explanatory heading. Further examples of this are mentioned in chapter 4 under the appropriate category notes.

Some subdivisions have no main items but consist only of one or more subordinations. Among them are the items in GAl2 Honourable
under NP. There are no items simply for 'an honourable person', but the subdivision goes straight into .male and lists three items for 'an honourable male person', followed by ..on account of being not negro under which is one item with this meaning. Similarly, in EB10 Accursed, there are no items under VU which mean simply 'to utter that which is accursed' but every item is qualified either by - and invoke evil (and further qualified within that) or by as an everyday imprecation. Again, further examples of this are mentioned in chapter 4.

### 2.3.7 Internal Cross-References

There are two kinds of internal cross-references in the classification. One is a reference at the end of various categories to other categories which contain relevant or overlapping material. The other is the straightforward duplication of the same item in different categories in the classification. There are also external cross-references at the end of some categories, and these were discussed in 2.2.4. The two kinds of internal cross-references are discussed below.

### 2.3.7.1 End of Category Cross-References

Duplication of lexical items in the Good and Evil classification has been avoided as much as possible (but see 2.3.7.2 below for exceptions). The reason for this is that many lexical items in the classification have definitions which contain several elements, and often these elements occur :in definitions of items in a range of categories. Sometimes an element of a definition in one category will form the heading for another category. The scale of this is
illustrated more than once in the thesis, but especially on p.68, by the list of elements present in definitions of items in EAl AjG. As a result, if duplication of lexical items were to be started on the basis of broad definitions - the operation would very quickly get completely out of hand, with many items appearing in many categories.

A specific example can be drawn from EAl AjG. Three related items are defined as follows. 'Felonous' is 'wicked, evil, mischievous', 'felon' is 'wicked, base', and 'felly' is 'evil, cruel'. (These definitions are taken from the Historical Thesaurus slips, not the OED.) If each of these items were cross-referred on the basis of the components in its definition, 'felonous' would be cross-referred to EA4, 'felon' to EB7, and 'felly' to EE12.

Cross-referencing of this nature is clearly impractical. The distinction between categories would blur and the value of the classification in distinguishing abstract ideas would be considerably reduced, if not altogether destroyed.

So, for the same reason that category headings are as short as possible, a policy was adopted that items should not be duplicated, other than in exceptional circumstances. However, it would be wrong not to acknowledge by some means the connections and overlaps which exist between many categories. To this effect there is a system of 'internal cross-references' whereby at the end of each category a reference is made to those other principal categories which are closely related to the category in question, and contain similar items. This reference is preceded by 'See also:' and comes before any external cross-references. The internal cross-references are by no means exhaustive, but they do aim to mention the other main
categories to which any given category is related.
For example, in ED Evil \& Treacherous, all the categories are closely related, but they can be split into three groups - EDl to ED6, ED7 to ED10, and ED11. As a result the internal cross-references do not relate every category to all the others, but instead EDl to ED6 are referred to one another, as are ED7 to ED10, while ED1l has no internal cross-references. By means of this system an extensive, complex, and unhelpful network of duplicated items is avoided.

### 2.3.7.2 Duplicated Items

As has just been mentioned, this type of cross-reference has been avoided as far as possible. There are only two places, very different from one another, where cross-referring of actual lexical items does occur. When this happens, each cross-referred item is indicated by means of an asterisk which precedes the item on each of its occurrences. An asterisk before an item therefore means that the same item appears elsewhere in the classification.

The first place where this happens is in GB1 Moral and EC6 Immoral. Five items appear in both these categories. They are 'amoral' and related items, and they are all concerned with the notion of an innate inability to conceive of what is either moral or immoral. They are therefore, in effect, neither moral nor immoral, but because they can only be understood in terms of morality, or of a scale extending from moral to immoral, they belong, and are placed, in both the Moral and Immoral categories. The OED defines 'amoral' as 'Not within the sphere of moral sense; not to be characterized as either good or bad; non-moral.' This definition certainly suggests that 'amoral' etc do not belong in Good and Evil, but even
if they are arguably outside Good and Evil, they are understood so much in terms of these concepts, that they must be placed here. It is an indication of their unusual nature that they occur in both the Good and Evil parts of the classification.

The second place where cross-referred items occur is among the 01d English items in the classification. This is because the Old English material differs in several respects from the rest of the classification. In fact, the reasons for these cross-references cannot be fully explained without some general discussion on the nature and associated problems of the Old English corpus in Good and Evil. It is therefore simplest at this point to conclude this section of the chapter and to discuss the Old English material in a short separate section, which will end with a piece on 01d English internal cross-references.

### 2.4 0.ld English Items

There are 1643 Old English items out of a total of 9071 items in the Good and Evil classification. The 01d English material therefore constitutes $18.1 \%$ of the complete corpus. Unlike the postOE material in Good and Evil (and in the Historical Thesaurus) it was not drawn from the $\underline{O E D}$ and its Supplement (because the OED does not cover items which were obsolete by 1150). ${ }^{61}$ Instead it was taken from the Old English dictionaries of Bosworth and Toller and Clark Hall. Because these dictionaries 'lack the authority of the OED' 62 the Old English material was carded on yellow slips, as opposed to the usual white Thesaurus slips, so that it could be easily distinguished. Further details about this procedure can be found especially in Roberts (1978) and Roberts (1982). ${ }^{63}$ James Bosworth's lexicography
'precedes the development of historical lexicography initiated by Sir James Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary' ${ }^{64}$ and 'Inconsistency mars the arrangement of the entries. ${ }^{65}$ Consequently any classification of material from the Historical Thesaurus archive also entails the matching up of purely Old English yellow slips, and OED white slips which have an Old English starting date.

OED dates almost always specify a particular year. ${ }^{66}$ If an exact date is not known, an approximate date, as cl000, is used. However, the 01d English dictionaries - and the corresponding yellow slips - are undated, and are regarded simply as 'OE'. In line with this, all items dating from Old English in the classification, even if they are only from $\underline{O E D}$ and have no yellow slip, and do have a specific OED date, have been dated 'OE', and the Old English form has been provided. This applies to all items in OED with a date prior to 1100. Also, for such items, the Old English form has been drawn from the OED's Old English quotation(s), and has been converted to the infinitive or nominative singular, and so on, as appropriate. The 01d English form is always underlined in the classification.

The matching up of Old English and OED items is by no means a straightforward procedure. The respective dictionary entries for large abstract words (like 'good' and 'evil') are often quite different from one another in their sense divisions, and on some occasions it is impossible to tally the yellow and white slips. On other (all too rare) occasions, however, the yellow and white slips tally exactly.

Logically, every item drawn from the OED with an OE starting date should have a corresponding yellow slip drawn from the OE dictionaries. On many occasions this is not the case. Throughout the classification there are 117 occasions when an item with an 01d

English starting date in OED does not have a corresponding yellow slip. These include in GA3 Good AjE, 'snel' and 'wynlice', in GB6 Honest AjG, 'anfeald' and 'recen', in EB6 Wretched AvM, 'lypre' and 'lyperlice', and in EC13 Unfair, Unjust NAc, 'unriht' and 'wrang'. Sometimes the 'corresponding' $O E$ slip has a definition with a different emphasis, and for that reason has been placed elsewhere in the classification, or even elsewhere in the Historical Thesaurus. On other occasions a phrase which has been treated in OED as an item dating from $O E$, has been treated only under its separate words in the Old English Dictionaries, and when this happens there is obviously no yellow slip. These cases, and other similar ones, are discussed in many places in the notes in chapter 4.

There are also number of cases where the yellow and white slips do match up, but where there is a gap between the OE date and the first date on the OED slip. If the OED date is 1250 or earlier then the OED entry and the OE entry have been combined, and dated from OE without a gap. Although 1250 is 100 years later than the supposed end of the 01d English period, ${ }^{67}$ the assumption is that it is sufficiently close for unbroken currency to be taken for granted. This includes, in GA3 AjT, 'sele', where the first OED date is cl205, and in EB10 VU, 'acursian' and 'cursian', where the first OED dates are respectively 1175 and cl200. There are a total of 24 entries where the date gaps are sufficiently large for the items not to be conflated. For convenience they are listed below.

| GA3 | AjP has | 'wellibende OE ' | and | 'well-living 1377--' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| " | NX has | 'godnes OE' | and | 'the goodness 1577--' |
| " | ND has | 'godnes OE' | and | 'goodness 1297-1568' |
| 1 | ND has | 'god OE' | and | 'good 1606+1700' |
| '" | NT has | 'god OE' | and | 'good c1300--' |


| GA7 | AjG has 'fyrst OE' | and | 'first 1382--' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GB8 | AjG has 'wel OE' | and | 'we11 1534--' |
| GC6 | AjG has 'ungnype OE' | and | 'ungnede al300+al400' |
| " | $N Q$ has 'freodom $O E$ ' | and | 'freedom cl320-c1530' |
| GC14 | NX has 'godnes OE' | and | 'goodness 1422+1550' |
| EA4 | AjG has 'hellic OE' | and | 'hellish 1569-1826' |
|  | " has 'hellehund $\mathrm{OE}^{\prime}$ | and | 'hell-hound c1420--' |
| EA5 | AvM has 'deofollice OE ' | and | 'devilly al300-c1400' |
| EB1 | NP has 'ceorl OE' | and | 'churl c1300--' |
| EB9 | $N Q$ has 'fylnes OE' | and | 'foulness cl532--' |
| EC3 | VG has 'ge-syngian OE' | and | 'sin cl315+1682--' |
| " | " has '(ge)syngian wip OE' | and | 'sin (..with) al300--' |
| EC4 | NQ has 'gylt OE' | and | 'guilt cl330-- |
|  | NS has 'gylt OE' | and | 'guilt cl510--' |
| EC13 | NQ has 'unrihtnes $\mathrm{OE}^{\prime}$ | and | 'unrightness c1445 (1)' |
| EE1 | AjG has 'hearmful OE' | and | 'harmful al340--' |
| " | VG has '(ge)sceapian OE' | and | 'scathe 1470 (1)' |
| EE10 | AjG has 'heardheort OE' | and | 'hard-heart 1475--' |
| EE14 | AjG has 'blodig OE' | and | 'bloody 1563--' |

One other feature of the Old English material is its polysemous nature. 01d English lexis, both in usage and in its dictionary definitions, frequently has many and more general senses than corresponding Middle and Modern English lexis. A.C. Baugh comments that 'Old English.. lacked the large number of words.. which now form so important a part of our vocabulary' 68 and that 'resourcefulness is characteristic of Old English. The language shows great flexibility, a capacity for bending old words to new uses. 69

Roberts also comments on the fact that in the Old English corpus for the Historical Thesaurus duplicated entries can occur because of 'one occurrence of the form with two explanations in the dictionaries. ${ }^{70}$ On many occasions though, several occurrences (based on several definitions, or on the breadth of one definition)
are quite acceptable.
Consequently, although the policy for the Good :and Evil classification is to avoid duplicating items in different categories, an exception was made for a limited number of Old English items. Prior to deciding which items should be duplicated, a thorough examination was made of the Old English corpus.

This study had two aims. One:was to fill some gaps in the 01d English part of the classification by adding items to certain categories. The other was to ensure that some items of broad meaning, and presently only in one category, also appeared in any such other category or categories as was appropriate. The first aim sometimes resulted in words being suggested for one category which were already in another category, thus also realizing the second aim.

A number of Old English items which seemed to belong in various Good or Evil categories, but which were not there, were checked as follows.

1. Their Modern English equivalent (or similar) was consulted in Skeat's An English-Anglo Saxon Vocabulary ${ }^{71}$ and Jember et al's English-01d English, 01d English-English Dictionary ${ }^{72}$ to see if they or other Old English words were given.
2. A search was made on Roberts' microfiche of the Old English corpus for the Historical Thesaurus to see if related parts of speech for various items were covered.
3. Items suggested by steps 1 and 2 were checked in the Good and Evil classification, in the actual classification slips, and in Bosworth and Toller's and Clark Hall's Old English Dictionaries. The end result of this study was that 16 Old English items were added to the classification from elsewhere in the Historical Thesaurus
archive ${ }^{73}$ and 14 items already in the classification were crossreferred and appeared in two different categories (preceded by an asterisk on each occasion). The 14 items, and the categories each is in, are:

| 'liss' | in GCl | Kind NAc | and | GC8 | Gracious NAC |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'lissum' | in GCl | Kind AvM | and | GC8 | Gracious AvM |
| 'mæplice' | 'in GCl | Kind AvM | and | GC9 | Considerate AvM |
| 'bliss' | in GC4 | Well Disposed NQ | and | GC11 | Tender NQ |
| 'pweora' | in EAl | Evil NQ | and | EC8 | Corrupt NQ |
| '(ge)pweornes' | in EAl | Evil NQ | and | EC8 | Corrupt NQ |
| 'pweorscipe' | in EAl | Evil NQ | and | EC8 | Corrupt NQ |
| 'earg' | in Eb2 | Worthless AjG | and | EB7 | Base AjG |
| 'weargberende' | in EB3 | Roguish AjG | and | EB8 | Villainous AjG |
| 'scandlic' | in EB7 | Base AjG | and | EB9 | Foul, Filthy AjG |
| 'wearg' | in EB8 | Villainous NP | and | EC5 | Criminal NP |
| 'sceapa' | in EC5 | Criminal NP | and | EE1 | Harmful NP |
| 'forteah' | in EC7 | Leading Astray AjG | and | EC8 | Corrupt AjG |
| 'arleas' | in EE10 | Hard-Hearted AjG | and | EE11 | Merciless AjG |

Further comments about the 01d English material are included along with those already referred to - in chapter 4 and (with reference to the relative proportionsof 01d English material in categories, and its rate of survival) in chapter 5.

### 2.5 Conventions used in the Classification

This final section of chapter 2 provides factual information about punctuation, stylistic features, labels, and other conventions used in the classification. The features covered here occur only in the classification. Other features and abbreviations which are used more widely in the thesis are explained in the preliminaries on p. vii or, if they relate closely to the classification, earlier in this chapter, as in 2.3.5.

### 2.5.1 Punctuation

The kinds of punctuation which appear in the classification, and their functions, are as follows:
; separates each entry in a list
, separates different labels in an entry

- comes after the final, or only, entry in a list
-_ comes after the final or only date in an entry and indicates continued currency
- comes between two dates and indicates assumed currency between the dates
$+\quad$ comes between two dates and indicates a possible gap in currency between them, or that there only are two (occasionally three) quotations for the item in question
? before a date or a label, indicates uncertainty
.. in place of the final two (or one dot in place of one) numbers of a date, indicates that the precise date is unknown
/ (a) between $O E$ and post-OE forms, indicates that these are different forms of the same item, and that the item began in OE and continued into ME or later (e.g. god/good)
(b) between two similar headwords in an item, indicates that they are alternative forms (e.g. price/prise)
(c) between two words forming part of an entry, indicates that the words are alternatives (e.g. all/everything)
* before an item, indicates that the item also appears elsewhere in the classification
a before a date, = ante
c before a date, = circa


### 2.5.2 Entries

A. Arrangement of Entries

Entries are arranged in chronological order. Old English entries come first, in alphabetical order as they all share the same date (OE). These are followed by entries beginning in Old English but running into Middle English or later, again arranged alphabetically. Next come entries beginning in Middle English or later. They are arranged chronologically and take their dates from the OED.
B. Some Stylistic Features of Entries

| Entry | Significance |
| :---: | :---: |
| (the) good | the bracketed part of the entry is |
|  | optional (from GA3 Good). |
| in good (better/best) part | the bracketed part of the entry is |
|  | optional and consists of more than one |
|  | alternative (from GC4 Well Disposed). |
| (at)/with unskill | the bracketed part of the entry is an |
|  | optional alternative (from EC14 |
|  | Improper, Unfitting). |
| arch-X | X stands for a variety of nouns which can |
|  | follow 'arch-' (from EA8 Heinous). |
| best-(+adj) | one of a variety of adjectives can be |
|  | inserted where the brackets are (from |
|  | GA7 Best). |
| to do (...) wrong | an optional and variable word or phrase |
|  | can be inserted where the brackets are |
|  | (from ECl3 Unfair, Unjust). |
| to play the...varlet | one of a variety of adjectives can be |

```
this term is preceded by a variety of
adjectives (from GB2 Conscientious).
```

C. Old English Entries

Items starting in Old English and continuing into Middle English or later include both the Old English and Modern English forms as alternatives.

If an Old English item begins 'ge-' this means that 'ge-' is always present in the item. If it begins (ge) then 'ge-' is optional. 'Ge-' does not affect alphabetization in either form.

Two 01d English letters - p and $æ$ - are used.

### 2.5.3 Verbs

Old English verbs are listed in their infinitive form, without specification of transitivity.

All other verbs are followed by a bracketed specification of their transitivity or occasionally usage, except phrasal verbs, which are followed by (vp). Single word verbs are not preceded by 'to' but phrasal verbs are. The following abbreviations are used to designate verbs (sometimes two are used together) as (vt/i):

| $(\underline{v t})$ | verb transitive |
| :--- | :--- |
| $(\overline{v i})$ | verb intransitive |
| $(\underline{v r})$ | verb reflexive |
| $\left(\frac{v a}{}\right)$ | verb absolute |
| $(\overline{v p})$ | verb phrase |
| $(\underline{v i m})$ | verb impersonal |

### 2.5.4 Dates

Some features of dating in the classification are:

If (l) follows a date there is only one OED quotation for the item concerned.

If (2) follows a date there are two OED quotations for the item, both from the same source (this can also be (3) etc., up to (6)).

If there is a closing date after '-' (as cl250-1603) the item is obsolete (unless the closing date is between 1800 and 1899, in which case it is only obsolete if it is on the list of items in Appendix II).

If the last date follows $a^{\prime}+$ ' sign (as $1556+1845$ ) it is simply the date of the last recorded usage. Currency or otherwise is not being specified (unless the last date is between 1800 and 1899 and the item is included in Appendix II, in which case it is obsolete).

If there is a bracketed closing date after ' - ' (normally one before 1835) the item is possibly obsolete (if the date is between 1800 and 1899 see Appendix II for confirmation).

Other features are most clearly illustrated by examples:

both from another source.
2.5.5 Labels
A. Some Stylistic Features of Labelling

Labels follow the items and dates which they qualify. An underlined label at the end of the date(s) applies to the entire date range of the item. A bracketed label, not underlined, only applies to the date (or date-date or date--) which it immediately follows. Some labels occur in two forms in the classification. They are Cant/cant, Hist/hist, Ir./Irish, N.Amer/Nth Amer, Naut/ naut. These double forms reflect inconsistencies in the OED which are reproduced on the Historical Thesaurus slips.

Some examples of complex labels and dates are:

| 1887 (dial) +1903 (2) (slang) | (from GA5 Excellent) |
| :--- | :--- |
| $1934--$ collog, orig US, freq ironic | (from GC6 Generous) |
| $1500 / 20-1562(S c)+1637$ (Jonson, dial) + al 785 (dial) (from EB3 Roguish) |  |
| al300-1586+1691-1721 (dial) $+1808-1865$ (arch) | (from EB10 Accursed) |

B. Geographical and Subject Labels: A List

Geographical Label Abbreviation for In Context
Ang10-Irish
Austral Australian
Colonies in phr 'US \& Colonies'
Eng English in phr 'Sc\& Eng dial'
Hebraism

I of Man Isle of Man
Ir/Irish
Jamaican

| Geographical Label | Abbreviation for | In Context |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N.Amer/Nth Amer | North American |  |
| Nth | Northern dialect | often in 'Sc \& Nth' |
| NZ | New Zealand |  |
| S.Afr | South Africa | in 'now arch exc in S.Afr' |
| SW dial | South West diale |  |
| Sc | Scots, Scottish |  |
| US | United States |  |
| Yiddish |  |  |
| Subject Label |  |  |
| Buddhism |  |  |
| Law |  |  |
| C. Status Labels and Associated Wording: A List |  |  |
| Self-evident unabbreviated words, like 'both', 'in', 'or', etc. have |  |  |
| not been listed. |  |  |
| Status Label | Abbreviation for | In Context |
| affected |  | in 'colloq \& affected' |
| arch | archaic |  |
| Cant/cant |  |  |
| Cent | Century | in 'rare before 19th Cent' |
| chiefly (slang etc.) |  |  |
| children's |  | in 'children's slang' |
| coarse |  | on 'coarse slang' |
| colloq | colloquial |  |
| contempt | contemptuous |  |
| dial | dialect |  |
| dicts | dictionaries | in 'in dicts' etc. |


| Status Label | Abbreviation for | In Context |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| erron | erroneous |  |
| esp | especially (in) |  |
| euphem | euphemistically |  |
| exc | except | in 'obs exc dial' etc. |
| fig | figurative |  |
| freq | frequently |  |
| glosses |  | in 'dial glosses' |
| Hist/hist | historical |  |
| ironic |  |  |
| jazz musicians |  | in 'orig US jazz musicians' |
| joc | jocular |  |
| local |  |  |
| low |  | in 'low slang' |
| Naut/naut | nautical |  |
| obs | obsolete |  |
| orig | originally |  |
| poet | poetic ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |
| polite |  | in 'not polite' |
| pseudo |  | in 'pseudo arch' |
| rare |  |  |
| rhet | rhetorical |  |
| sarcastic |  |  |
| schoolboy |  | in 'schoolboy slang' |
| slang |  |  |
| somewhat |  |  |
| thieves' |  | in 'thieves' cant' |
| tramps' |  | in 'tramps' slang' |


| Status Label | Abbreviation for | In Context |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| transf |  |  |
| vulgar |  |  |

### 2.5.6 Authors

Where an author who is well-known or of literary significance provides the only or the first example of an item, or revives an item, the name of this author is often mentioned in brackets after the appropriate date. This has been done regularly but not consistently by the Historical Thesaurus compilers. The authors concerned, and the number of times each author's name is mentioned, are as follows:

| Author | No. of Mentions | Author | No. of Mentions |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Beckett | 1 | Morris | 1 |
| Browning | 1 | Nashe | 1 |
| Bunyan | 1 | Pope | 1 |
| Burns | 1 | Scott | 22 |
| Carlyle | 2 | Shakespeare | 33 |
| Caxton | 2 | Shelley | 1 |
| Chaucer | 11 | Spenser | 10 |
| Douglas | 1 | Stevenson, R.L. | 1 |
| Hampole | 4 | Swift | 2 |
| Jonson | 4 | Tennyson | 1 |
| Langland | 4 | Thackeray | 2 |
| Milton | 1 | Wyclif | 4 |
| More | 2 |  |  |

Perhaps predictably Shakespeare's name occurs most often. Second is Scott, who is noted for reviving or popularizing existing words rather than for coining new words. They are followed by Chaucer and Spenser.

1. A.R. Lacey, A Dictionary of Philosophy 2nd edition (London: R \& KP, 1986) p.86.
2. In Peter E. Angeles, A Dictionary of Philosophy (London: Harper \& Row, 1981) p.111.
3. ibid., p.86.
4. P.T. Geach, 'Good and Evil' in Theories of Ethics ed. Philippa Foot (Oxford: OUP, 1967) p.73. (Originally published in Analysis 17 (1956) pp. 33-42.)
5. R.M. Hare, 'Geach: Good and Evil' in Foot (1967) op. cit., pp. 74-82. (Originally published in Analysis 18 (1957) pp. $\overline{103}-12$. )
6. G.H. Von Wright, The Varieties of Goodness (London: R \& KP, 1963).
7. The Old English dictionaries concerned are Bosworth Toller, its Supplement and Addenda, and Clark Hall.
8. E.A. Nida, Componential Analysis of Meaning (The Hague: Mouton, 1975) p. 102.
9. C.J. Kay and M.L. Samuels, 'Componential Analysis in Semantics' in TPS (1975) p.51.
10. Reproduced in the third edition (among others), revised and modernized by R.A. Dutch (London: Longman, 1962) xxvii. In fact Dutch modified the presentation of this by doing away with the parallel columns and adopting instead 'an arrangement in straightforward double column' (ibid., xi).
11. This reclassification, discussed on $p .11 \mathrm{ff}$., is being carried out by staff and postgraduate students of the English Language Department at Glasgow University and elsewhere. Additional items for the Good and Evil classification have come from the work done by these people.
12. L.W. Collier and C.J. Kay, 'The Historical Thesaurus of English' in Dictionaries 2 (1982-83) p.87.
13. ibid., p.87.
14. T.J.P. Chase, A Diachronic Semantic Classification of the English Religious Lexis PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1983.
15. A provisional classification of nobility was drawn up in 1982 by Mrs. Hannah Stone as part of her research into the semantic field Authority for the Historical Thesaurus.
16. The subject of postgraduate research being pursued with data from
the Historical Thesaurus archive by Ms. Elizabeth Donaldson at the University of Munich.
17. Dr. Judith Perryman from the University of Leiden worked on a classification of Truth and Falsehood from 1982 until her death in March 1985.
18. See note 14 above.
19. See note 17 above.
20. Nida, op. cit., pp.108-9.
21. See note 17 above.
22. A. Rudskoger, Fair, Foul, Nice and Proper: A Contribution to the Study of Polysemy (Stockholm: Almqvist \& Wiksell, 1952).
23. Swarthmore, Pa., 1941.
24. J.J. Katz, 'Semantic Theory and the Meaning of Good' in Journal of Philosophy 61 (1964) pp.739-66.
25. Groningen, 1929.
26. Kleparski's work would also obviously have been relevant for the discussion on Componential Analysis in chapter 1.
27. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1983.
28. A discussion of these early grammarians can be found in J.M.Y. Simpson, A First Course in Linguistics (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979) p. 6 ff.
29. D. Crystal in A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (London: Andre Deutsch, 1980) defines a part of speech as 'the traditional term for a grammatical class of words' adding that they 'derive from the work of the ancient Greek and Roman grammarians' (p.259).
30. ibid., p. 346 .
31. ibid., p. 167.
32. C.J. Kay and T.J.P. Chase, 'Constructing a Thesaurus Database' in Literary and Linguistic Computing 2, 3 (1987) p. 162.
33. ibid., p. 162
34. J.M.Y. Simpson, op. cit., p. 202.
35. If further clarification is needed see J.M.Y. Simpson, op. cit., xiv-xvii.
36. Part of the definition of 'phrase $n$.' from the Concise Oxford

Dictionary 7th edition.
37. See note 14 above.
38. Irené A.W. Wotherspoon, A Notional Classification of Two Parts of English Lexis Unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1969.
39. The term 'tag' was devised by Chase to describe these headings. See Chase, op. cit., chapter 2.
40. ibid., p.52.
41. ibid., p. 266
42. ibid., p.52.
43. L. Bloomfield, Language (London: George Allen \& Unwin Ltd., 1933) p. 196.
44. See John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge: CUP, 1968) pp.10-11.
45. See note 28 above.
46. Edward Sapir, Language (London: Granada (1921) 1978) p. 117.
47. .ibid., p.119.
48. See 0. Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar (London: George Allen \& Unwin Ltd., 1924) pp.96-107.
49. J. de Angulo and L.S. Freeland, 'A Practical Scheme for Semantic Classification' in Anthropos 25 (1930) p.138.
50. W.L. Chafe, Meaning and the Structure of Language (Chicago \& London: University of Chicago Press, 1970) p.144.
51. Lyons (1968), op. cit., p. 319.
52. John Lyons, 'Towards a 'Notional' Theory of the 'Parts of Speech'' in Journal of Linguistics 2 (1966) p. 218.
53. John Lyons, Semantics (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) p.89.
54. Rudskoger, op. cit., p.13.
55. C.J. Kay, 'The Historical Thesaurus of English' in Lexeter '83 Proceedings ed. R.R.K. Hartmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1984) p. 89.
56. ibid., p.89.
57. R.H. Robins, General Linguistics An Introductory Survey 3rd edition (London: Longman, 1979) p. 55.
58. ibid., pp.56-7. See.also Lyons (1977), op.cit., p.246, and and G.N. Leech, Semantics 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1981) pp.24-6 and 233-36.
59. Hardi Fischer, 'A New Approach to the Measurement of Meaning' in Linguistics 22 (1966) p. 24.
60. See Chase, op. cit., pp.52-60.
61. See the OED General Explanations, p.xxviii; see also chapter 1, p. 2.
62. Jane Roberts, 'The English Historical Thesaurus' in Nottingham Linguistic Circular 11, 2 (1982) p.23.
63. See Jane Roberts, 'Towards an Old English Thesaurus' in Poetica 9 (1978) pp. 56-72, and Roberts (1982), op. cit., pp.20-28.
64. A. Cameron and A. Healey, 'The Dictionary of 01d English' in Dictionaries 1 (1979) p.87.
65. ibid., p. 87.
66. Beowulf is often quoted without a date.
67. See note 61 above.
68. A.C. Baugh and T. Cable, A History of the English Language 3rd edition (London: $R \& K P, 1978$ ) pp.63-4.
69. ibid., p.64.
70. Roberts (1978), op. cit., p.68.
71. Cambridge: CUP, 1979.
72. USA: Westview Press Inc., 1975.
73. These items are not listed. Extra items were added regularly to the classification after its initial compilation.

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Chapter 3
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## A Classification of Good and Evil

TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Sections

| GOOD | A. GOOD |
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## Categories

GOOD A. GOOD

A1 Harmless
A2 Satisfactory
A3 Good
A4 Better
A5 Excellent
A6 Surpassingly Excellent
A7 Best
A8 Matchless
A9 Worthy
A10 Meritorious
All Virtuous
Al2 Honourable

GOOD B. GOOD \& RIGHT
B1 Moral
B2 Conscientious
B3 Impartial
B4 Fair
B5 Righteous, Just
B6 Honest
B7 Trustworthy
B8 Proper, Fitting

## GOOD C. GOOD TO SELF/OTHER

C1 Kind
C2 Beneficial
C3 Wholesome
C4 Well Disposed
C5 Well-Meaning
C6 Generous
C7 Magnanimous
C8 Gracious
C9 Considerate
C10 Humane
C11 Tender
Cl2 Merciful
C13 Blessed
C14 Fortunate, Lucky

## EVIL A. EVIL

A1 Evil
A2 Evil and Dark
A3 Evil and Graceless
A4 Hellish
A5 Diabolical
A6 Offensive
A7 Worse
A8 Heinous
A9 Unpardonable
Al0 Worst

EVIL B. EVIL \& INFERIOR
B1 Inferior
B2 Worthless
B3: Roguish
B4 Ruffianly
B5 Dissolute
B6 Wretched
B7 Base
B8 Villainous
B9 Foul, Filthy
B10 Accursed

EVIL C. EVIL \& WRONG
C1 Wrong-doing, Transgressive
C2 Straying, Aberrant
C3 Sinful and Wrong
C4 Guilty
C5 Criminal
C6 Immoral

C7 Leading Astray
C8 Corrupt
C9 Ill-Behaved
C10 Undutiful
Cll Failing in Duty
C12 Avoiding Duty
C13 Unfair, Unjust
C14 Improper, Unfitting

## EVIL D. EVIL \& TREACHEROU̇S

D1 Treacherous
D2 Treasonous
D3 Betraying
D4 Perfidious
D5 Unfaithful
D6 Disloyal
D7 Dishonest
D8 Crooked
D9 Sneaky
D10 Disingenuous
D11 Unscrupulous

EVIL E. EVIL TO SELF/OTHER
E1 Harmful
E2 Disadvantageous
E3 Playfully Mischievous
E4 Harmfully Mischievous
E5 Spiteful
E6 Ill-Willing
E7 Bitter
E8 Ill-Natured
E9 Harsh, Unkind
El0 Hard-Hearted
Ell Merciless
E12 Savage
E13 Barbarous
E14 Bloodthirsty

SECTION A: GOOD
bealuleas/baleless 0E-cl325+1869 (arch); unscathely 13.. (1); unnoyand/-ing al400tcl475; unscathing 1437 (1); unshending cl450 (1); unnoyous 1483 (1); harmless 1533--; unharmful 1538-~; unhurtful 1549-al806; unhurting 1613-1822; inoffensive 1622--; inobnoxious 1682+1818; unafflicting al711 (2); unharming 1795--; unmalignant 1841 (1); inoffending 1853 (1).

NQ unnoyandness al340 (2); unhurtfulness 1549 (1); harmlessness 1596--; inoffensiveness 1641--; unobjectionableness 1878 (1).

AvM harmlessly 1561--; inoffensively 1598--; unafflictingly al711 (1); unhurtfully 1725 (1); unharmfully 1888 (1).

PhX There is no fault to be found with (in concessive use): he/it etc. is well enough 1798--; helit etc. is all very well 1835--.

## SATISFACTORY

AjG sufferable al340--; well 1381--; sufficient 1473-c1800; competent 1535-1780; sweet 1577--; fairish $1611+1660+1847--$; adequate al617--; satisfactory 1640--; comfortable 1658-1728; right 1662--; something like 1702-1798; decent 1711--; clever 1757-1811; respectable 1775--; fair 1795--; decentish al814--; tidy 1844--; none/(not) so dusty 1856-- slang; hunky-dor(e)y 1866-- US slang; okay 1919-~ colloq, orig US; amusing 1925--; hotsy-totsy 1926-~ slang, orig US; oke 1929-- colloq, orig US; patsy 1930-- US slang; okey-doke 1932-- colloq, orig US; all right 1953-- collog.

NQ acceptance 1593-1666+1868; acceptableness 1648--; satisfactoriness 1649--; acceptability 1660--; well-being 1702--; sanity 1760/72 (1); adequacy 1808--; bearableness 1850 (I); hotsy-totsiness 1935 (I) slang, orig US; bearability 1958 (1) rare.

AvM ealltela OE; tela $0 E$; well cl250--; sufficiently cl375--; as well as al400/50--; competently 1540/1-1651; somewhat like 1611--; adequately 1690--; with the best (of them) 1748--; satisfactorily 1748--; not (so/half) bad 1771-- colloq; fairly 1805--; decently 1846--; $0 . \mathrm{K} .1886-$ colloq, orig US; okay
1972-- colloq, orig US. - of workmanship: sufficiently 1387/8-1699.

VG dugan $O E ;$ genugan $O E ;$ suffice (vi) cl340--; serve (vi) al467--; do (vi) 1596--; to pass (muster) in a crowd (vp) $1711+1846-$ collog.

See Also: GOOD A3.
External X-R: I 6.4 Quantification: sufficiency.

A3 GOOD

AjE snel/snell OE-cl450+1720--(Sc); wynlice/winly OE-?al400; win cl205-c1400; comely cl300-1671+1883 (R.L. Stevenson) obs or arch; boon cl325-1686; clean cl340-1581; tidy cl350-al625; good cl4l0--; wal(1)y 1500/20-- Sc; bonne al529 (1); bonny al548-- Sc \& Eng dial; honest 1551--; bein 1567-1652+1834 thieves' cant; good as touch 1620 (I); clever 1738-1833 dial; respectable 1755-1815; plummy 1812-- slang; 0.K. 1839-colloq, orig US; bone 1851 (1) thieves' cant; brickish 1856 (1) slang; greatish 1866 (1); spandy 1868 (1) US; popular 1884 (1) US slang; (all).Sir Garnet 1894-- slang; beefy 1903+ 1905 schoolboy slang.

AjG freme OE; gleaw OE; gleawe OE; kind 1393-1756+1890-- (dial) now only dial; kindly cl400-1772/84+1887 (dial) arch or dial; tear cl400-1541/2 esp Nth \& Sc; delicate al533--; sappy 15631601+1948; rum 1567-- Cant; goodike 1572-- obs exc dial; warrantable 1581-1821; healthy 1597--; well-qualitied 16001790; good 1600--; goodlisome al603+1719; unquestionable 1603--; unabusing al628 (1); well-formed 1643-1787; well 1661-1798/1803; boniform 1677-1830; creditable 1688-1779; unexceptable 1702 (1); goodish 1756--; respectable 1775-1800; undeniable 1793--; ryebuck 1859-- slang, chiefly Austral; wellish 1875 (1) dial; extra-special 1896--; good quality 1897--; high-powered 1903--. -and pleasing: god/good OE--; sweet 13.. -1594+1824; gracious 1303-- now somewhat arch or poet; well-graced 1593-1605; sublimish 1865 (1).

- to a certain standard: up to the mark 1821--.
-but of inferior quality: good-bad 1899--.
. of something bad: splendid 1667--.
- of amount: fæger OE.
. of condition: in heart $1626+1703$; on-form 1965--.
- equally: efengod $0 E$.

AjT god/good OE--; sel/sele OE-cl230; pretty 1566--; unexceptionable 1681-- rare before 19th Cent.; averruncal 1705 (1).

AjP riht $0 E$; tilfremmende $O E$ poet; welfremmende $O E$ poet; welgedon OE; wellibbende OE; god/good OE--; sel/sele OE-13..; well-living 1377--; due 1399+cl450; pretty cl400-- now arch; of sort 1603-1624; tight 1606--; well-deeded 1612-1650; well-turned 1798 (1); unmischievous 1821+1848; clean-living 1920--.
ge-corennes 0 E ; modstapolnes OE ; godnes/goodness $0 \mathrm{E}-$-; god willa/goodwill 0E-1602; goodhead al250-c1440; goodlihead 1390-1503; bonity 1585-1790; proof 1616-1862+1893 (dial) obs exc dial; goodity al641 (1); fine 1696 (1); faith 1808 (1); kindness 1834/43+1875; goodishness 1891 (1).

- plural: laudables 1715 (I); solids 1896 (I) Sc.
.the highest: god/good 0E-1738; summum bonum 1563--;
chiefest good 1663-1869; chief good 1667-1806; kalon 17491827.
-and pleasing: grace 1340--; sweetness cl400--; ornament 1560-1611.
.doctrine of: bonism $1893+1895$.
NX god/good OE--.
.in anything: godnes 0 E ; the goodness 1577--.
. the side which embodies: right side 1700--.
- a glimmer of: blink $1303+1730$ fig.
-an incalculable amount of: unrimgod $O E$.
NA do-wel1 1362-1377(Langland)+1628; well-working 1611 (1);
eupraxy 1675 (1); samaritanism 1843+1863.
ND ellenweorc OE; god OE; godnes OE; mægen OE; weldæd OE; goddæd/good-deed OE-al350; goodness 1297-1568; benefit 13771480+1811; alms 1430-1623; alms-deed cl432-1828; almose 15131532; desert 1563-1657; good 1606+1700; a good thing 1897--. -plural: well-doings 1552 (I).
-.countless: unrimgod OE.
NW . plural: manners 1579-1802.
NT god OE; good cl300--; cheese 1818-- slang.
-Which is approved of: recommendation 1647--; approvement 1673 (I).

NTP honey 1888-- slang, orig US; (little) bit of all right 1898-slang.
.esp. with regard to speed: rattler 1853--.

NP gast $O E$; god $O E$; goddond $O E$; godfremmend $O E$ poet; sergeant
(of God) cl290-1483; well-doer cl450-1684; heart of gold
al553--; well-worker cl586 (1); samaritan 1644--; toff 1898--;
one of the best $1917+1959$.
-male: nib $1812+1834+1936$ slang; regular fellow/guy 1920-colloq, chiefly US.

- young: broth of a boy $1822+1843$ colloq Irish.
-plural: (the) good cl300--.
-who is self sacrificing: self-sacrificer $1668+1903$.
- who is long suffering: saint 1852--.
.who is socially acceptable: sahib 1919--.
-when losing: a good loser 1917--.
-with unpolished manners: rough diamond 1700--
-personality of: goodlihead $1579+1590$ both Spenser.

AvM fæle OE; forplice OE; ge-sæliglice OE; wel/well OE--; well-a-fine cl330-1573+1746-- obs exc dial; well and fine c1400-c1450; sweetly 1594--; rumly 1673+al700 slang; well and good/good and well 1699--; respectably 1775--; bobbishly 1813+ 1819; nicely 1829--; sweet 1846--.
. and fine, pleasing: tæslice OE; cymlice/comely OE-1651;
wynlice/winly 0E-c1450; trimly 1503/13(Dunbar) $+1556-1679$; trim cl540-cl613; cleverly 1697-1791; tidy 1824 dial or vulgar; wally 1847 (1) Sc.

- and carefree: high, wide and handsome 1907-- orig US.
-and in the right direction: on the right side of the post 1803--
.excessively: over-well cl375--.

VM godian $O E$.
VD to gode (ge)don $0 E$; to do note (vp) 13..-cl440.

- to the credit of a name: to brook a name (well) (vp) 15871655.
-in return for evil and hence to produce remorse: to heap/ cast/gather coals of fire on the head (vp) 1377-1589.

VB .by yielding a good result: to come to good (vp) 1623+1850--.

Int tela OE:

PhX Everything is fine: all/everything is gas and gaiters 1839-colloq; everything in the garden is lovely 1910-- colloq.

See A1so: GOOD A2, GOOD A4, GOOD A5, GOOD B5.

AjG furpra $0 E$; selra 0 E ; betera/better $0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{-}$; greater al225--. .making: ennobling 1790--.

AjT better cl230--; better-class 1890--; better-quality 1908 (1); better-than-average 1922--; better-type 1958 (1).

NQ betterness al300--. -the side of anything which embodies: right side $1713+1855$.

NT better 1535--.
NTP a greater 1845 (1).

AvM sel OE; selor OE; bet/bet OE-1586; better c1240-1797. -making: ennoblingly 1823 (1).

VG to be bet (Vp) cll75-al643; better (va) 1592 (I). -than one has promised: to be better than one's word (vp) 1684--.

See Also: GOOD A3, GOOD A5.

External X-R: I 6.4 Quantification: improvement \& II 3.1.1 Prefer: improvement.

AjG acoren OE; acorenlic OE; æltæwe OE; æmyrce OE; ænlic OE; afandod OE; anlic OE; betlic OE; clænlic OE; (ge)cup OE; deore 0 E ; dryhtlic 0 E ; eacen 0 E ; eadiglic OE ; eallgod $O E ;$ forgeare 0 E ; forweorpfullic 0 E ; freolic 0 E ; fulgod OE ; fullfremed OE; fuslic OE; fyrmest OE; leoftæl OE; mære OE; mærlic OE; micel OE; micellic OE; seldicic OE; syndorlic $O E$; til OE; unforcup OE; Wlitlig OE; special al225--; wenlich a1250 (1); breme al300-1377; gradely al300-c1400+1863-- now only dial; thriven 13..-al400/50; thriving 13..-cl470; price/ prise 13..-1480+1615; noble cl305--; thriven and thro al310a1450; burly cl325-1535+1873 poet; singular al340-- now rare; dainty cl340-1712+1816--(dial); gentle c1375-1556 rare; proper c1375-1826 now arch or vulgar; before-passing 1382 (1); goodly c1385--; daintiful 1393 (1); vounde cl400 (1); virtuous c1400c1430; curious c1420-1742+1816 (US dial) obs or dial;
principal cl430-1609; fine cl440--; gay c1470-1593; exemplar c1475-1739; rare 1483--; singlar cl500-1542; egregious cl534--; gallant l539-- rare; eximious 1547--; jolly 1548--; jelly c1560/73-- Sc; braw cl565-- Sc; brave 1577--; stamming 1578+ al825-- dial; surprising 1580-1831; phoenix 1583--; royal 1583(Sc)+1853--; of worth cl586--; exemplary 1589--; admirable 1598--; holy 1599-1634+1862; sublimated 1599--; paregal/ peregal 1600-1612; valiant 1604 (1); excellent 1604--; twanging 1609 (1) Jonson, colloq; grand 1611--; untriable 1612 (1); topgallant 1613--; classic 1613--; lovely 1614-colloq; glorious 1623--; prime 1628--; prestantious 1638 (1) rare; valuable l638--; splendid 1644--; sterling cl645--; solary 1651 (1); seraphic 1659--; pure 1675-1884 now rare or obs; licking l680--; tearing 1693-1850+1897(US) colloq or slang, now rare; soaring 1695--; famous al700--; magnificent al704--; tip-top 1722--; showy 1728--; superb al729--; tip-top-gallant 1730 (1) Swift; yrare 1742 (1) pseudo-arch; pure and -- 1742-1769+1865 (dial) now dial; dazzling 1749--; daisy 1757-- slang, chiefly US; immense 1762-- slang; capital 1762--; elegant 1764-- vulgar or humorous; trimming 1778-1828 slang; gallows 1789-- dial $\&$ slang; budgeree 1793-Austral colloq; crack 1793-- collog or slang; dandy 1794-colloq, orig US; smick-smack 1802 (1) rare; super-extra 1807--; great 1809--; first-rate 1812+1879--; swell 1812-colloq; divine 1818--; topping 1822-- slang $\&$ colloq; slapping 1825--; ripping 1826-- slang; pure merino 1827-- Austral slang; slap-up 1827-- slang \& colloq; jam(-up) 1832-- colloq; of the first water 1835 (1); brag 1836-- US; A1 1837--; lummy 1838--; number one 1839-- collog; splendiferous 1843-- colloq; star 1849--; stunning 1849/50-- colloq; shrewd 1851 (1); slap 1851 (1) slang; jammy 1853-- colloq; slashing 1854 (1); bully 1855-- US \& Colonies; cheesy 1858 (1) slang; clipping 1861 (Thackeray) +1873 (slang dict); screaming 1864-- slang; rorty cl864-- low slang; slap-bang 1866 (1); slick 1866--; clinking 1868-- slang; nifty l868-- slang; fair 1871 (1) fig; up to dick 1871-- slang; spiffing 1872-- colloq \& dial; heavenly 1874-- colloq; first-class 1879-- colloq; high-grade 1880--;
top-shelf 1882--; nailing $1883+1884$ slang; boss 1884 (1); gaudy 1884-- slang; fizzing 1885-- slang; champion 1886 (1); raving 1886-- US slang; tipping 1887(dial)+1903 (2) (slang); jim dandy 1888-- US colloq; colossal 1892-- colloq; purple 1894-- colloq; corking 1895-- chiefly US; hot 1895--; hot dog 1896-- N.Amer slang; ducky 1897-- colloq or affected; fids 1898 (1); top-hole 1899-- slang; deevy 1900-- colloq; fruity 1900-- colloq; V.G. 1901 (1); V.H.C. 1901 (1); divvy 1903-slang; bonzer 1906-- Austral \& NZ slang; bosker 1906-- now obs, Austral \& NZ slang; copy-book 1908--; top-notch 1910 (1); crackerjack 1910-- colloq, orig US; jake 1914-- slang, orig US; keen 1914-- colloq, orig US; bobby-dazzling 1915 (1); game ball 1916+1922 Anglo-Irish slang; juicy 1916--; jakeloo/ jakerloo 1919-- Austral \& NZ slang; four star/four starred 1921--; marvellous 1924--; mustard 1925--; crazy 1927-- slang, orig US; fabulous 1929--; ready cl938-- US slang; grade A 1942-- colloq; (real) gone 1946-- slang, orig US jazz musicians; cool 1948-- orig US; groovy 1948-- slang, orig US; gear 1951-- slang; fantabulous 1959-- slang; fab 1961--; diggish 1963 (1) children's slang.

- and splendid, noble: æpelic OE; ge-coren OE; cymlic OE; cynerof $O E$ poet; deorwierpe $O E$; ealdorlic $O E$; hlisful $O E$; hlutor $O E ;$ hrepeadig $O E$ poet; leohtbære $O E$; lixende $O E$; mære 0 E ; regallic 0 E ; rot 0 E ; scir 0 E ; torht 0 E poet; prymfæst 0 E poet; prymful 0 E poet; prymlic 0 E ; prypful 0 E ; ge-pungen $O E$; unwaclic $O E$ poet; upheah $O E$; weorpful $O E$; weorpfullic OE; weorplic OE; wræst OE; wuldormicel OE poet; æpele/athel 0E-cl340; freolic/freely 0E-?cl475; healic/ highly OE-13..; wlanc/wlonk OE-15..; ethel cl200-al225; noble 1297-cl500; worshipful al300-1687+1826-- arch; clear c1340-?cl410; wlonkful c1400 (1); splendidious 1432/50-1653; triumphant 1494-1696; royal 1583-- colloq; exalted 1601--; ingenuous 1607-1664; aureate 1625 (1); valuable 1647-1730; candid 1648-1715 fig; splendid 1653--; imperial 1731--; (like) a million dollars 1925-- chiefly US; million-dollar 1932-- transf \& fig.
. .displaying features which are: noble 1503--.
- and old: ærgod OE.
-and delicious: scrumptious 1865--; scrummy 1915-- colloq. - of food and clothing: curious cl325-1865 obs or arch. - of manufactured goods: superfine 1682--; super 1842--. -more: furpra 0 E .
sovereign cl330-1688; great 1340--; singular 1485-1738;
supreme cl611--; bully $1681+1852$.
-with respect to intellect or morals: til $0 E ;$ scynende/ shining $0 \mathrm{E}-$ -
æpelnes OE; æpelu OE; (ge)corenscipe OE; cræft OE; cyst OE; micelnes OE; ge-miclung OE; mod OE; synderlicnes OE; prymm OE; (ge)pungennes OE; weorbfulnes OE; weorpscipe OE; price c12501573; dainty al300-c1440; bounty cl300-1592; virtue cl325--; dainteth al340 (1); excellence 1382--; goodness 1387/8-- now somewhat rare; nobility 1398-1678; excellency ?al400-1783 obs or arch; fineness c1400--; merit c1420--; frelyhede c1440 (1); singularity c1450-1632; admiration 1534-1642; excellentness 1569-1775; rareness 1577--; height 1601-1823; rarity 1601--; splendour 1604--; quality 1606--; admirableness 1607--; especialness $1611+1828$--(in dicts.); primeness 1611--; exemplarity l619--; rariety 1636 (1); gallantry $1650+1657$; exemplariness $1650-$; optimity $1656+1866$; exaltedness 1659--; unexceptionableness 1699-1823; excellingness 1701 (1); sterlingness 1816--; goodliness 1832 (1) rare; unexceptionability 1837+a1849; ethos 1875+1881; first-rateness 1882 (1); rortiness 1885 (1) low slang; superbness 1898 (1).
-and delicious: scrumptiousness 1881 (1).
.of character: honestete cl315-cl386; honesty 1340-1611;
.virtuousness 1525 (1); gracefulness 1611 (1); saintship 16131871; graciousness al691-al711; saintliness $1837+1880$. -high degree of: ge-pyncpo OE. .degree of to be aimed at: scope 1674 (1).
(a) virtue al225--; moral virtue cl386-1711 now rare; excellence cl391--; excellency 1601--; eminency 1602-al677; eminence 1609-1659; transcendiary 1654 (1); transcendent 1657/83 (1); merit 1700--.
- plural: excellents 1502 (1).
-the part of anything which embodies: fine $1696+1886$; high spot $1926-$ slang.

NA bobby dazzling 1944 (1) chiefly dial. .in rising to a point of excellence: soaring cl630--. ..action of causing: exaltation 1656--; exaltment al677 (1).

NT cyst OE; sealt OE; weorpscipe OE; star c1230--; dainty 13401798; daisy cl485-al605; bravery 1583-1657; paragon 1601--; daint 1633 (1); rapper 1653-1672; top-piece $1682+1682$ Bunyan; supernaculum 1704-- slang; the dandy 1784-- slang or collog; smasher 1794-- slang; ideal 1796--; dinger 1809-- slang, chiefly US; beau-ideal 1820--; a dandy 1822-- slang or colloq; sneezer 1823--; plum 1825--; trimmer 1827--; rasper 1844--; ripper 1851-- slang; roarer 1852-- US slang; fizzer 1866-slang; beauty 1882-- colloq; champagne 1891-- fig; crackerjack 1895-- colloq, orig US; hun 1896 (1); collector's/-s' item/ piece 1910-; job 1928-- collog; pearler 1941-- Austral \& NZ slang; ruby-dazzler 1941-- Austral $\& N 2$ Nlang; rumpty 19411946 Austral $\& \underline{N}$ slang; rumptydooler 1941-1945 Austra1 $\&$ NZ slang.
.of which a million have been sold: million-seller 1969-.

NTP swan al300--; phoenix 13..--; carbuncle cl430+1513 (Sc); diamond c1440--; brooch 1460-1625 fig; surmounter c1500-1589; sovereign 1500/20-1695; transcendent 1593-1679; superlative 1600--; crack 1637--; first-rate al638-1828 transf; topper 1709--; phoenicle 1710 (1); admiration 1716--; spanker 1751-dial \& colloq; first-rater 1806+1837; nailer al818-- slang; clinker 1836-- slang; screamer 1837-- slang; keener 1839+ 1872 US; bird 1839-- fig, US slang, freq ironic; rouser 1839--; beater $1845+1886$ US colloq; clipper 1848+1854(both Thackeray)+1873-- slang; stunner 1848-- colloq; beaut 1866-chiefly Austral, NZ $\mathbb{\&}$ US slang; bobby-dazzler 1866-- orig $\underline{\varepsilon}$ chiefly dial; corker 1882-- colloq $\&$ dial ; daisy 1886-slang, chiefly US; jim dandy 1887-- US colloq; bottler 1890-Austral $\& \mathrm{NZ}$ slang; stem-winder 1982 (1) slang; jim hickey 1895+1907; pippin 1897-- slang, orig US; hot stuff 1900-colloq; top-notcher 1902 (1); bute 1903 (1) US; bonzer 19041922 Austral $\frac{\&}{} \frac{\mathrm{NZ}}{}$ slang; humdinger 1905-- slang, orig US; bosker 1906-1952 Austral $\& \mathrm{NZ}$ slang; hummer 1907-- colloq; good egg 1914--; the berries 1920-- slang; the bee's knees 1923-- slang, orig US; the cat's whiskers/pyjamas 1923-slang, orig US; (one) out of the box $1931+1949$ Austral $\& \mathbb{N Z}$ colloq; dilly 1935-- slang, orig US; killer 1937-- slang, orig US.
eorcnanstan $O E$; tirwinde $O E$ poet; woruldfruma $O E$ poet; gem cl275--; mirror c1369-1785; excellence 1447-1790; shining light 1526--; treasure cl530-- collog; paragon c1548--; man/ lad of wax 1592-- now arch $\&$ dial; man of men 1594--; rara avis 1607--; prodigy 1658--; excellency 1688 (1); inestimable 1727 (1); inimitable 1748 (1); surpasser 1805--; shiner 1810--; swell 1816--; trump 1819--; cock of the walk 1823--; topsawyer 1823--; pure merino 1827-- Austral slang, fig; tip-topper 1837--; star 1850--; seraph 1853 (1); desirable 1853--; outshiner 1864 (1); talent 1883--; rare bird 1890--; thoroughbred 1894--; soarer 1895 (1); flyer/flier 1930-- fig. -female: ruby cl310-1500/20.
.infant: infant prodigy 1831--.
-plural: eorpes sealt/the salt of the earth OE+cl386--;
tip-top 1753 (1); tip-tops 1797+1849.

AvM
ænlice $O E$; anlice $O E$; borlice $O E$; ealdorlice $O E$; seldlice $O E ;$ unforcuplice 0E; thrivingly 13..-c1470; goodly cl320-1680+ 1865--; properly al375-1740/87 now arch or vulgar; daintily ?al400-1640; excellent 1483--; goodlily al500 (1); excellently 1527--; excellently well 1529-1712 arch; curiously 1548-1725; jollily cl563-1668+al822-- slang or colloq; singularly 15761617; admirably 1593--; bravely c1600-- chiefly dial; manly 1605 (1); famously 1607-- colloq; exemplarily 1611--; exemplary 1626-1772; prime 1648-- colloq; eximiously 16501681; topping 1683-1706; egregiously al693 (1); purely 1695al845 now rare or obs, slang or collog; toppingly all36 (1); primely cl746-- colloq; capitally 1750--; surprisingly 1756 (1); trimmingly 1789 (1) slang; jellily 18.. (1) Sc; divinely 1822--; gallows al823-- dial $\frac{\&}{\alpha}$ slang; twangingly $\overline{1825}$ (1) fig, arch, Scott; jam up 1835--; first-rately 1843 (1); first-rate 1844- colloq; like a charm/to a charm 1845--; stunning 1851+

1888; stunningly 1854 (I); sterlingly 1883 (I); splendidly 1883--: tip-top 1888 (1) colloq; rippingly 1892 (1) slang; deevily 1905 (1) colloq; dandy 1908~- US colloq; juicily 1916+ 1927 slang; corkingly 1917+1945; champion 1923-- colloq or dial.

- and splendid, noble: æpellice $O E ;$ cynelice $O E ;$ dugupa $O E ;$ ge-dyhtedum OE; fægere OE; fægerlice OE; hlisfullice OE; lixende $O E$; mærlice $O E$; manlice $O E ;$ micellice $O E ;$ unwaclice OE poet; weorplice OE; highly 1154-1662; freely cl205-cl350; gloriously 1393--; gallantly 1552--; rarely 1590-~; sightly 1591-1784; goldenly 1600+1840--; finely 1690--; splendidly 1774--; exaltedly 1790 (1); superbly 1828--. - and delicious: scrumptiously 1844--.

VG to have everything (vp) 1845-- now colloq; to be a box of birds (vp) 1943+1947 Austral \& NZ colloq.

Int géar 1925-- slang.

See Also: GOOD A3, GOOD A4, GOOD A6, GOOD A7, GOOD A8.

External X-R: III 2.1.2 Nobility.

AjG noble al300--; passing cl375-1632; precellent 1382-1660; passant cl386-c1485; especial cl386--; surmounting c1407-1752; superlative cl410--; pre-eminent 1432/50--; divine c1470--; outrepassed c1477 (1); superexcelling 1530-1613; exceeding 1552-1599; superexcellent 1561--; exquisite 1579--; surpassing cl580--; summary 1587-1733; paramount 1596--; termless 1597 (1); transcendent 1598--; transcending 1598--; paragon 1601-1825; over-matchful 1607 (1); pre-excellent 1611+1826 rare; overtowering 1639--: súrpassant 1654 (1); overtopping 1675 (1); out-doing 1679 (1); transcendental 1701--; towery 1738 (1); superior 1777--; pre-ordinate 1801+1863; prize 1803~-; supernal 1818--; tiptopsomest 1819 (1); tip-topping 1827 (1); superfine 1850--; towering 1894 (1). -and superior in quality: healic OE; heah/high OE--; fine a1300-~; upper al586--; nature-graced al618 (1); supremer 1683-1748; de luxe 1819--; nature-favoured 1885 (1).

NQ fullfremednes OE; masthede al300 (1); primate al340-1432/50; sovereignty cl340-1610; primacy 1382--; pre-eminence 1427--; vassalage cl430 (1); precellence 1432/50-1737; pre-excellence 1459 (1) rare; chief $1519+1602$ (Shksp); sublimity 1526--; precellency 1557-1658; pre-eminency 1560-~ now rare; superancy 1578 (1); divineness $1580+1611$; superexcellency $1587-$;
transcendence 1601--; pre-excellency 1603 (2); greaterness 1625 (1); transcendentness 1625--; top 1627--; superexcellence 1652--; antecellency 1657 (1) rare; transcendency 1662--; transcendingness 1730--; transcendentalism 1840 (1) Carlyle; quality 1874--; surpassingness 1879 (1).
exceeding 1480-1636; out-doing 1727-~; surpassing $1736+\mathrm{al} 774$. exsuperance 1635 (I); beat cl827-- US, chiefly dial. whipper c1520-1540. stain al586-1605; exceeder 1669 (1); eclipser 1748 (1).
sovereignly cl340--; excellently cl375 (1); before 1377+1382; transcendingly al529-1817; exquisitely 1535--; precellently c1557 (1); divinely 1582--; superlatively l596--; surpassing 1598-1653+al808-- obs exc poet; par excellence 1598--; by way of excellency $\overline{1621} \overline{131}-1711$; by (way of) eminence 1621/31-- now rare; by (way of) eminency 1622/621703; transcendently 1623--; surpassingly 1658--; exquisitively 1662-- rare; superexcellently 1683--; pre-eminently 1747--; transcendentally 1870 (1) erron.
forswipan OE; oferhlifan OE; oferstigan OE; oferpeon OE; overcome (vt) cl220--; pass (vt/i) c1230-1704+1850 arch; forpass/forepass (vt) c1374-1579; pass over (vp) 1390 (1); precel (vt/i) cl400-1756; excel (vi) 14...--; exceed (vt) c1425--; transcend (vt) cl430--; surmount (vi/a) 1447-1687; superexcel (vt/i) cl450--; come over (vp) 1478-1599; vanquish (vt) 1533 (1); better (vt) 1548--; surpass (vt) 1555--; exsuperate (vt) 1559-1721/1800; oversile (vt) 1584 (1); overshine (vt) 1588-1827; soar (vi) 1593--; surbrave (vt) cl600 (1); paragon (vt) 1604 (1); over-height (vt) 1611 (1); pre-excel (vi) 1611-1624 rare; overdo (vt) al $\overline{625}-1859 \mathrm{arch} ;$ antecell (vt) 1635-1642 rare; surmatch (vt) 1636 (I); prepoll (vi) 1657 (1) rare; over-merit (vt) 1658 (1); to beat (all) to nothing (vp) 1760/72-1819; to take the rag off (the bush/hedge) (vp) 1810-- chiefly US; to (beat/bang) banagher (vp) 1830--; flog (vt) al841-- slang; overtower (vt) 1850 (1); pretergress (vt) 1851 (1) rare; to beat the band (vp) 1897-- colloq.

- to have the pre-eminence: to bear the price (vp) c1250-1753; to have the price (vp) c1450 (1).

See Also: GOOD A4, GOOD A5, GOOD A7, GOOD A8.

External X-R: I 6.4 Quantification: perfection.

AjG fyrmest OE; fyrst OE; medemest OE; betst/best OE--; hiehst/ highest OE--; greatest al225--; of the best 1338-1828; higher 1340 (1); first 1382--; premier cl470--; paramount 1531--; primer 1589-1747; supreme 1593--; cock 1628-1865; supremest 1631--; top 1647--; first(-)rate l671--; of (the) first rate $1697-1810$ now rare; reproachless $1826+1892$; beatemest 1831-- US dial; first-class 1858--; beatenest 1860-- US dial; bestest $1868+1922$ dial $\&$ joc; nulli secundus 1869--; optimum 1885--; optimal 1890--; grade A 1911--; nulli secundum 1935 (1) ; most 1953--.
.relatively: bettermost 1762-- colloq.
-Worthy of being selected as: smealic OE; acoren/ycore OEcl420; wale cl250-cl400; try al300-1596; tried 13..-1581; rich cl315--; chis/chise cl320-cl425; choice 1340/70-1826; chief 1519-1660; select $1590-$; selected $1598-1655$; recherché 1722-- ; pick 1819-- colloq.
..of a person: wale cl250-1790; select 1602--.
..most: coronest al400/50 (2).
-in a state or condition which is: at one's best 1571--. - (of clubs etc.) only selecting those who/which are: select 1842--

- compared with anything previous in the same field: recordbreaking 1886--; record 1893--.
bestness 1557-1820; preseance 1581-1602; presidency 1608+ 1647; primity 1659+1660; superlativeness 1727--; optimism 1796 (1); reproachlessness 1856 (1); best-quality 1906+1960. .for an end result: optimism 1795+1821; optimality 1944--. .-the fact of being: optimity 1885 (1).
-the part of anything which embodies: fatnes OE; yolk 1387/8+ 1614-cl730;chief 1509-1607 obs or arch; prime 1635--. -worthiness of being selected as: choiceness 1636--; selectness 1727--.
-and highest: hiehpo/height 0E--; highest al225-1668; high cl450-1557; superlative 1583--; optimacy 1651 (1); high water mark 1814--.

NA .in a bad situation, trying to make: optimization 1857-- ; optimalization 1965-.
. compared with all previous action in the same field: record 1883--: high 1926--.
optimum 1955--.
NTP wynn OE; the best cll75-al693; flower cl200-- ; crest cl325+ $\overline{1838}+1873$ rare, fig; price/prise cl330-cl400; flower of chivalry c $\overline{1370}-1 \overline{800 / 24 ; ~ r i c h e s s e ~ c l 392 ~(1) ; ~ p r i m r o s e ~ c l 425-~}$ 1664; pride cl425-1770; a per se 1475-1602; outrepasse c1477 (1); choice 1494-- ; wale 1513-- Sc \& Nth; prime 1579-cream 1581--; pink 1592--; (a) best cl600--; surquidry 1607 (1); excellency 1611-1667; nonesuch cl613-1670; nonsuch 1635-1673; analect al650 (1) rare; top 1663--; patriarch 1700--; pick 1760--; piece of resistance 1797--; pièce de resistance 1839--; number one 1843-- colloq; highest 1861--;
pick of the basket 1874--; koh-i-noor 1892-- fig; resistancepiece 1895 (1); a/the grandaddy of 1956-- colloq; best-ever 1959--.
periwinkle 13..-al440; bellman 1617 (1); optimate 1635 (1); prior 1644 (1); champion 1820--; top-sawyer 1826+1869; beyond-man 1896--.
-plural: dugup $O E$; weolme $O E$; se betst/the best $O E-$ - ; choice 1595 (1); élite 1823--; crème de la crème 1848--; corps d'élite 1884--; sacred circle 1939--.

AvM betst/best OE--; at (the) best c1325-1604+1812; best-(+adj) 1588--; in the best 1602 (1); bestest 1905 (1) dial $\underset{\text { joc. }}{ }$. -and selected: pricely 1340/70 (1) rare; tryly $1350-1377$; choicely cl350--; triedly c1400-14..(Langland); selectedly 1637 (1).
.for an end result: optimally 1933--.
AvH .of its kind: best-(+adj) 1580--.

VG to beat the bell (vp) cl374-1817; to have/bear/carry the
stroke (vp) 1538-1731; to ring the bell (vp) $1900+1928$ colloq. .in behaviour: to be/stand on/upon one's (good/best) behaviour (vp) 1538--
optimize (vt) 1946--.
optimize (vi) 1971--.

See Also: GOOD A5, GOOD A6, GOOD A8.

External X-R: I 6.4 Quantification: perfection.

AjG ungelic/uniliche OE-c1400; unevenly al225 (1); makeless al225-cl615+1674/91-1829 (dial) obs exc dial; peerless cl320--; unoverpassable 1382 (1); uncomparable 1382-1634; sole 1398--; incomparable 1412/20--; sans peer/saunce pere 1426-1576; nonpareil 1477--; invincible 1509+1617; matchless 1530--; unmatchable 1544--; mateless 1570-al644; unpassable 1570al683; unimitable 1581-1773; unmatched 1581--; incompared 1590 (1); unrivalled 1591--; immatchless 1595+1609; unequalized 1596 (1); immatchable 1596+1630; paragonless ' 1599 (1); uncompeered 1602 (1); unpeered 1602--; unparagonized 1603 (1); unpeerable 1604 (1); uncompanioned 1608 (1);
parallelless 1611 (1); unsurmountable $1611+1745$ rare; unparagoned 1611--; unsurpassable 1611--; patternless 1613 (1); unique 1618--; unequalled 1622--; unparalable al639
(1) rare; unparallelable 1640--; nonesuch 1641-1715;
unequalable 1648--; unaccessional 1655 (1); unmatchless 1657
(1); nonsuch 1667-1728; uncommanded 1693-1829; untouched 1736+ 1878; unsurpassed 1775--; unexcelled al800--; unexceeded 1813 (1); unapproachable 1831--; unrivalable 1834 (1); untranscended 1846+1852; insuperable 1849--; unapproached 1856 (1); insurpassable 1859 (1); hors concours 1884--; of a lifetime 1929--.

- and unable to be replaced, if lost: unreplaceable 1801--; irreplaceable 1842--.
$N Q$ peerlessness 1611--; unmatchedness c1611 (1); unmatchableness $1627+1676$.
nonesuch 1590-1745; nonsuch 1657-1820; non-pareillo 1672-1687.
NTP nonpareil 1593--; incomparable 1704+1807; non-parella 1899 (1). .esp. in negative contexts: the only pebble on the beach 1896-- collog.

NP sans peer/saunce pere c1460-1600; non-parallel 1641 (1); nonesuch 1647-1821+1927; nonsuch 1655--; ne plus ultra 1672 (1).
.usually female: rose al400--.

AvM sans peer/saunce pere al400 (1); unlike 14..+c1425; incomparably cl422--; incomparable 1482-1664; uncomparably 1548 (1); peerless 1596 (1); peerlessly 1599--; unimitably 1622+1670; matchlessly 1763--; unsurpassably 1859+1872; unapproachably 1863+1890; matchless 1871 (1).

See Also: GOOD A5, GOOD A6, GOOD A7.

External X-R: I 6.4 Quantification: perfection.

A9 WORTHY

AjG apwyrpe OE; ahtes OE; deorwierplic OE; fyrst OE; healic OE; hordwyrpe OE poet; leoflic OE; deore/dear OE-cl600; deorwierpe/dearworth OE-c1422; weorp/worth OE-- now arch; weorplic/worthly OE-14..; aught cl205-c1340; worthful al225--; worthy cl250--; of price c1250-1775; rich cl250--; precious al300--; priceful 13.. (1) rare; of(...)valour cl330-1642; of value cl340--; dearworthy cl374-cl485; aughtly cl375 (1);
provable 1382-1483; prowous cl400-1422 rare; prow cl400--; singular cl400--; condign cl470-1582+1854; golden 1498--; worth its/his etc. weight in gold al500--; prized 1538--; of great/highest etc. worth 1590--; valorous 1592-1609; estimable 1596-1803; well(-)found 1601-1607+1887; prizable/ prizeable 1603-1862; treasurable 1607--; treasurous c1611-1616; cabinet 1711--; treasured 1715/20--; bribe-worthy 1731+1788; pearly 1760/72+1893; undepreciated $1818+1845$; at a premium 1828--; keep-worthy 1830 (1); above suspicion 1850--. - enough to be imitated: suit-worth 1594 (1). .in other than material respects: worth 1297--. - to a degree beyond valuation: unandergilde OE; unvaluable 1569-1712; invaluable 1576--; inestimable 1579--; unvalued 1586-1820 now rare; priceless 1593-- ; invalued 1603-1806; unprizable 1604-1634; unprized 1604 (1); unratable 1629 (1); unpriceable al641 (1); unpriced 1857+1858 (2). -to a superior degree: unworthy 1746 (1).

AjP thrifty cl374-1596; bricky 1863 (1) slang.
weorpnes OE; aughtship 1205 (1) rare; savour al225-1483; price al225-1703+1872 arch; worthiness 13..--; dearworthiness cl325 (2); preciosity cl380-1681; preciousness cl386--; vailance 1387/8 (1); valure 1422-1592; valour 1432/50-1616; valeur 1433/4-1456; precioushead c1440 (1) rare; vail 14711567 Sc; parage 1513 (1) Douglas; avail 1513-1631+1846 obs or arch; riches cl374-1596; .validity 1593--; carat 1597-al680; esteeming c1600-1633; condignity 1605-1668; valiant 1606 (1) Sc; worth 1617-1678; telling 1636 (1); valuableness 1683--; laudableness 1695-1768/74; laudability 1715-1829; worthship $1843+1851$; worthfulness 1894 (1); treasurableness 1898 (1). .of personal qualities: valour 13..-1508; value cl330-a1639; brickishness 1906+1924.
-beyond valuation: invaluableness al656 (1); pricelessness 1883 (1).
-of persons: weorp OE.
. of things: worship cl200-1398; worth 1340--; value cl380--; valor 1580-1655.
-that is very great, of persons or things: its/his etc. weight in/of gold/silver etc. cl205--.

NT: deorwyrpnes OE; eorcnanstan OE; hord OE; mapmæht OE; mappumfet OE ; mappumsweord $O E$; mapum $O E$; ofermapum $O E$; sincmappum OE poet; treasure cl200--; relic cl385-c1470; store 1410-cl426; margarite al450-1635; gem cl560-- ; worthy 1588 (1); jew's eye 1592--; wealth 1596--.
-plural: estimables al682 (1).
.non-material: hord OE; warison al300-1303.
. which is twice the usual value: twicer 1857 (1) slang.
-person who esteems something as: prizer cl611-1691.
jewel 13..--.

NP, brick 1840-- fig, slang or collog.

AvM deorlice OE poet; deorwyrplice OE; weorpfullice OE; aughtly a1121-1205; valuably 1865~.

VG dow (Vi) c1200-1530+1788 (dial); avail (vi) 1375-1583+1844; value (vt) 1544-1799.

VC prize (vt) 1375--; price (vt) 1561-1643.

See Also: GOOD Al0.

AIO MERITORIOUS

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AjG ge-risenlic OE; meedful al340-1573; meritory 1390-1485;
    meritable 1415--; premiable al450 (1) rare; meritorious
    1494--; meriting 1605-1732; meritful 1660 (1) rare.
AjA meritory 13..-1485+15..(Sc); meritorious 1432/50--; well-acted
        1792 (1).
NQ forgeearnung OE; earnung/earning OE-c1200; merit 1362--;
    desert cl374--; meed al375-1623+1714 (arch); meedfulness
    1530 (1); meriting 1549+1671; deservedness al628--;
    deservingness 1631+1865; meritoriousness 1639--;
    premiability 1675 (I) rare.
    .excessive: over-merit 1622 (1).
NAc demerit 1548-1655.
    merit cl380--.
AvM meedfully cl340-cl440; meritorily cl400-cl449; meritoriously
    1502--.
VB merit (vt/i) 1526--.
See Also: GOOD A9.
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## All VIRTUOUS

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AjG cystig OE; dugende OE; rihtful OE; sideful OE; ge-pyde OE;
    god/good OE--; synleas/sinless OE--; wel wyrcende/well-working
    0E-cl460; dowing cll75-cl205; well-thewed cl200-1642/7;
    thewful cl205-13..; thewed a1300-13..; fine 13..--cl450;
    vertuous cl340-1706; flourished cl470-1508; virtuous 1487--;
    angelic cl510--; angelical 1577--; graceful 1605+al715;
    unsinful 1681+1767.
    .by being free from moral taint: undistained 1565-1625;
        unstained 1573--; untouched al586--; untainted cl590--;
        unsoiled 1603-- fig; uninfected 1628-1795; unsordid 1857 (1).
        -by being free from dishonour: dishonourless 1595 (1);
        untainted 1627 (1) rare.
        -by being beyond temptation: untemptable 1819+1837 (2);
        untemptible 1828+1858; unseducible 1869 (1).
    -by being not drawn aside: unseduced 1565-1830.
    .by being all-holy: eallhalig OE.
    .of disposition: virtuous 1584--.
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AjC virtuous cl375--.

NQ god OE; gumcyst OE poet; mancyst OE; ge-pyncpo OE; dugup/douth OE-al250; thewness cl200 (1); thew cl205-1575; virtue al225--; grace al300-1604; bounty al300-1623; prowess cl374+c1386 both Chaucer; governance cl392 (1) Chaucer; virtuousness cl449--; virtuehead cl450 (1); weal cl500 (2)+cl500; force 1590-1709; good nature 1627-al677 rare; sinlessness 1661--; unstainedness 1685+1727.

NX god OE; miht/might OE-cl230; good cl380-1563; grace 1530--. .plural: virtues cl320-1753; cardinal virtues 1852 (1). .-a record of: blazon 1577--. -and divine: grace 1303--. . and cardinal: heafodmægen $0 E$ poet; moral virtue 1598-1791. ..plural: cardinal virtues al300--; cardinals 1768 (l). -and theological: heahmægen OE. -. plural: theologicals 1600 (I).

NW
godlif $0 E ;$ well-living cl400-1656; well doing 1414--.
NP juno's swan 1592 (I); gracer 1592-1635.
-plural: (the) virtuous 1390--.

- who does not tempt: untempter 1382 (1). - very: paranet 1609 (1)

AvM rihtlice $O E ;$ sidefullice $O E ;$ peawum $O E ;$ ge-pungenlice $O E ;$ du3eplice cl205(1); thewedly 13.. (1); virtuously cl380--; sinlessly 1696--. -by being beyond temptation: untemptibly 1858 (I).

VG dugan $0 E$.
-to try: seek (vt) 1340 (1).
.in one's way of life: to live well (vp) 1620 (I).
. to excel at: outlive (vt) 1883 (I).
VM angelicize (vt) 1825--; virtuefy (vt) 1834 (1) rare.

PhX The more virtuous the better: py sel OE.

See Also: GOOD A12.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: good behaviour.

A12 HONOURABLE
$A j G$ arweorpful $0 E$; ge-coren $0 E ;$ deorlic $0 E ;$ hlisful $0 E$; rihtwyrpe OE; sel OE; deore/dear OE-1606; dearworth cll75-cl420; dearworthy al300 (1); fair cl380-1650; famous 1555-1683; honourable 1592--; just 1601-1809; white 1877-- slang or colloq; sportsmanlike 1899.(1). colloq.

- on account of being not dishonoured: undishonoured 1590--; undishonested 1631 (1).
- over fine details: punctilious 1634--.

NQ honourableness 1553--; ingenuity 1598-al716.
NX weorpscipe OE; honour 1548--.
-that which affects: point of honour 1612--; pique of honour 1678-1687.
. .and is a fine detail: punto 1591-1766; punctilio 1599--; punketto 1608 (1) rare; punctille 1610 (1) rare; punctuality 1641-1751; pundonor al648-1829.
-in a person, an expression of: scout's honour 1908-- transf.
NC ge-ris(e)ne OE.
NP .male: man of honour 1577-1711; chevalier 1630-1843; perfect gentleman 1856--.

- on account of being not negro: white man 1883-- orig US slang.

AvM bilewitlice $0 E$; ge-risenlice $0 E$; unfracodlice $0 E$; arwurplice/ arworthly 0E-cll75; deorlice/dearly 0E-1606; dearworthly cl205 (1); dearworthily al $\overline{300-? a l 400 ; ~ h o n o u r a b l y / h o n o r a b l y ~ 1303--; ~}$ truly 1362-1558; true al425-1633; manfully 1591 (1); honourable 1593-1654.
.over fine details: punctiliously 1770-1849.

See Also: GOOD All.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: good behaviour.

SECTION B: GOOD \& RIGHT

AjG repehygdig OE; peawfæst OE; peawful OE; peawlic OE; safe 1390-1601; well-mannered 1393-1597; convenient al400-1727; mannerly cl400-1549; virtual cl425-1607; healthful 1601--; strict 1614--; moral 1638--; morate 1652-al677; well-moralized 1652-1727/46; well-principled 1691--; sound 1822--.
.rendered: moralized 1647--.
. .able to be: moralizable 1916+1961.
.indulging in reflections which are: moralizing l796--.

- preventing decay which is: antiseptic 1820-- fig.
-profitable in a way which is: vailable 1456-al500 Sc.
.not as a saint: civil 1619-1676; moral al686+1824.
. not consciously: *amoral 1882--.
.highly: saintlike cl580-1830; noble 1590--; sainted 1605--; noble-tempered 1654 (1); worthy 1753/4--; high-toned 1807--; noble natured 1872 (1); high-tone 1898--.

AjA worthy 1563--.

NQ virtue 1402--; droiture 1483 (1); strictness 1578--; morality 1592-1772 now rare or obs; stricture 1603 (1) Shksp; moralness 1642+1889; fitness 1647--; perpendicular 1859--. -plural: moralities cl386-1819.
.. of a person: morals 1613-1663. - that is a principle: modstapol OE. .that is one's well-being: soul-heal al300-1560; soul-health 1390-a1618.
-that improves one: ge-rene $O E$.
-as a good influence: virtue c1300-1567+1841. .not conscious: *non-morality 1902 (1); *amorality 1923 (I).
sidu OE; morality 1609--; morale 1812(1s)+1824(1s).

- on account of being a preventitive of moral decay: antiseptic 1825-- fig.
moralist 1621--.
- unconsciously: *amoralist 1915--.

AvM wel/well OE--; virtually $1539+1812$; morally al540-1685; mannerly 1566 (I) Sc; conveniently 1568 (I); moralistically 1890--.

- of indulgence in reflections: moralizingly 1782--.
.not as a saint: civilly 1592-1608; civil 1642 (1).
civilize (vt) al640 (1).
- and to elevate: ge-uferian OE.
-by permeating with moral influence: permoralize (vt) 1888 (1).
to live up (vp) 1682 (I) fig.
- With a separate immoral way of life: *to live/lead a double life (vp) 1888--.

See Also: G00D B8.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality \& II 1.4 Thought: philosophy, ethics.

AjC faithful 1377+1851--; conscionable 1582-1702; conscientious al631--; consciential 1633 (1) rare; scrupulous 1756--. -minutely: scrupulous 1450/1530-1593; punctual 1735+1879 now rare or arch.

- on account of something being a matter of conscience: conscientious 1636 (1) rare.

AjP faithful cl.350+1529; scrupulous 1545+1849--; conscionable 1549-1708; conscientious 1611--; tender-conscienced al617--; conscious 1654 (1) rare.
.minutely: scrupulous $1594-$ - ; punctual $1625+1668$ now rare or arch.
.in a particular respect: -- conscienced 1530--; -- conscioned 1541-1627; -- conscionable 1670 (1).
-capable of showing that which is: moral 1736--.

- when the duty is unwelcome: faithful 1655 (1) chiefly collog.

NQ ingehygd $0 E ;$ ingepanc $O E ;$ ingepoht $O E$; ingewitnes $0 E ;$ ge-witt OE; inwit al225-1393; conscience al225--; heart 1382-al699; moral sense 1699--; moral faculty 1754-1827.
-tenderness of: conscience cl400-1608.

- a matter of: conscience 1557 (2).
. Ioyalty to: conscience 1393-1638+1869 obs or arch;
conscionableness 1614-1641; conscientiousness al631--.
..minute: scrupleness 1489-1647; scrupulosity 1526--;
punctualness 1620-1690 now rare; punctuality 1640-- now rare or arch; scrupulousness 1689--.
...an instance of: punctuality 1639-- now rare or obs.
. observance of: conscience 1382-1671.
-as a guide for conduct: synderesis cl400-1651; synteresis 1594-al718+1911 Hist; synteresy 1616 (1). . as a judgement on conduct: syndeidesis 1620-1679. .that approves: good conscience al340-1744+1827 (Sc).

AvM consciencely 1476 (1); conscionably 1552-1685; conscientiously al660--.
.minutely: scrupulously 1553--; punctually 1598--.

VG to do one's conscience (vp) 1691 (1).
-by making something a matter of conscience: to have (a) conscience (vp) c1400-1523; to make (a) conscience (vp) 1526--.

VM synderize (vt) 1600 (I).

PhX For the sake of conscience: for conscience sake 1526--.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: duty.

B3 IMPARTIAL

AjG indifferent 1387/8--; inaffectionate 1558+1563; unpartial 1579-al662; unpossessed al586-1685; unaffectionate 1588 (1); impartial 1593--; affectionless 1598 (1); unappassionate 1598 (1); unprejudicating 1602 (1); unpassionate 1602+al648; unprejudicate 1609-1679; disinteressed 1610-1700; unprejudicated 1633-1660; unprejudiced 1637/50--; imprejudicate 1640-al677; unpropense 1640/41 (1); unprejudicial 1641+1657; uninterested al646+1660; unforestalled $1657+1658$; disinterested 1659--; unpassionated 1661 (1); unpreoccupated 1666 (1); equanimous 1670 (1); unprejudiciable 1673 (1); unpassioned 1678 (1); uninteressed 1688+1702; prejudiceless 1830 (1).

NQ indifference 1533-al754; indifferency 1534--; unpartiality 1579+1635; impartiality l611--; unpartialness al639+1661; unprejudicialness 1642 (1); impartialness l643+1675; disinterest 1658-1805; disinteressment 1662-1718; unprejudicateness $1668+1683$; unprejudicedness $1672+1704$; unpassionateness 1673 (1); disinterestedness al682--; unprejudice cl800+1871; imprejudice 1806 (1); unpossessedness 1819 (I).

NP
indifferent cl570+1602.

AvM indifferently 1430/40--; unpartiality 1576-al662; impartiality 1611--; unpassionately 1648-1707; imprejudicately 1654 (1); unprejudicately al662 (1); unprejudicedly $1674+1685+1889$; disinterestedly 1711--; without fear or favour 1906--.

VM: .by own efforts: to disinterest oneself (Vr) 1681 (1). to hold the scales even/equally (vp) $1648+1692$.

See Also: GOOD B4, GOOD B5.

External X-R: II 3 Judgement

FAIR

AjG efne OE; ferhtlic OE; sopfæst OE; welwillende OE; efen/even OE--; rightful 1297--; skillwise al300 (1); skilful 1340cl460; fair cl340--; just 1382~-; evenly cl425-1567; very c1440-1483; universal cl450 (1); equal 1535-1769; egall 15881594; well-thinking 1593 (1); square 1606--; bribeless 16081640; mensurable 1633 (1); candid 1635--; equable 1643 (1); equitable 1646--; unbiassed 1647-- fig; free 1653+1686; conscionable 1661 (1); dexter al734 (1); sportsmanly 1778--; both-sided 1879 (1); sporty 1889-- colloq or slang. . and unable to be biassed: unbiassable 1714 (1). . of judgement: evened 1847 (1).

- by belonging to principles of moral right: conscionable 1672 (1); just cl400--.
efennes/evenness OE--; equity cl315--; evenhead cl330-1496; charity cl430-1647; fairness cl460--; epiky 1508-1549; equalness 1548+1556; equality $1556+1845$; justness 1559--; justice 1588--; equanimity 1607-1752; candidness 1628 (1); chancery 1628-1668; candour al637--; equitableness 1643--; rightfulness 1676--; rightship 1873+1899 dial; both-sidedness 1874 (1).
. in the judgement of others: charity 1483--.
-between negroes and whites: negro equality $1856+1905$ US.
riht/right OE--; conscience 1538-1772; square play"1591--; fair play 1595--; square dealing 1633--; sportsmanship 1745--; sportsmanliness 1778 (1); fair do's 1859-- colloq; square thing c1860--; fairation 1861 (1) dial; square deal 1876-orig US; cricket 1900-- fig; fair deal 1928--. -in the treatment of Natives and Europeans in S.Africa: identity 1924+1961.
skill c1175-cl550; equity cl374-1483+1875.

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AvM domlice \(O E ;\) fægere \(O E ;\) mid rihtan pingum \(O E ;\) mid rihte/with
right 0E-al400; rihtlice/rightly OE--; evenly al250--; with/
by/of/in skill c1250-cl470; rightfully l297--; fair cl300--;
by right cl315-1600; justly 1382--; of right 1413-1681/6;
egally cl450 (1); equally 1526--; conscionably 1604-1677;
candidly 1646-1817; equitably 1663--; fairly 1676--; fair and
square 1712--; by rights 1818--; equably 1839 (1).
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VG justify (vt) 1390 (1); to give (a man) hịs due (vp) 1589--; to give the devil his due (vp) 1596--; to lie fair (vp) 1672 (1).

PhX (Reciprocal)fairness is called for: fair's fair 1898--.
PhXX By all that is fair and reasonable: of (all) conscience 15681797; in (all) conscience 1592--.

See Also: GOOD B3.

B5 RIGHTEOUS, JUST

AjG arfæst $O E$; domgeorn $O E$ poet; repe $O E$; rihtlic $O E ;$ rihtwislic OE; sop OE; sopfæst $0 E$; riht/right $0 \mathrm{E}-$; rihtwis/righteous OE--; untrespassing 1642 (1).

AjP ge-defe OE; rihtdonde OE; rihtlic OE; sopfæst OE; weldonde OE; welwyrcende OE; rihtwis/righteous OE--; rightful all221611+1819; just 1382--; honest 1390-1702; upright 1530-- fig; justful 1534-al634+1882 (SC); orthoprax 1852 (1); unwrongful 1876 (1).
.in disposition: well-conditioned cl482--; right-minded
1585/6--; well-minded 1824--.
.in inclination: rihtwillende 0 ; euprątic 1833 (1) Carlyle. .in judgement: domfæst OE poet; righteous-doomous ?al400 (1). . in one's own esteem: self-righteous al680-․

NQ rihtlagu/rihtlaga $O E$; sop OE; sopfæstnes OE; dom/doom OE-
1563/87; riht/right OE--; rihtnes/rightness OE--;
rihtwisnes/righteousness 0E--; righteouslaik cl200 (1);
righteoushead/-hood cl250-cl470; rightfulness 1303-1594;
judgement al325-1611; righthead al340 (1); justness c1430-1726;
right wiseness 1447-1638; justry cl470 (1); rightfulhood
c1470 (1); justice 1534-1622; erectness 1647--; principle(s) 1653--; orthopraxy 1852--.
. of the mind: right-mindedness al817--.
-path of: nearo 3eat/narrow gate/way OE-1780; rihtweg/right way OE--.
.in one's own esteem: self-righteousness l656--.

AjG ge-defelic OE; ferht OE; rihtgepancod OE; rihtheort OE; unfæcne..OE; untwiefeald OE; welgedon $0 E$; anfeald/anfald/ afald OE-cl175+cl200-1609 (Nth \& Sc); recen/reken 0E-?al400; rint/right 0E-1770+1871; honest al300--; entire cl430-1707; integre 1526 (1); incorrupted 1529-1768; straight 1530-1642+ 1864-- colloq; upright 1538-- fig; right-up 1545+cl557; incorrupt 1545--; clean-fingered 1558(Sc)+1580-1768/74; uncorrupted 1565--; sound 1580-1695; direct 1586--; treasonless 1591 (1); real 1597-1709; proper 1597-1765+1891; ingenuous 1598--; fair and square 1604--; uncrazed $1608+1613 / 18$; gold-proof al611 (1); unusuring 1622 (1); bribe-free 1632 (1); itchless 1635+1648; round-dealing 1642-1674; integer 1644 (1); square 1646--; integrous 1657 (1); integrious 1658 (1); unbribable 1661--; incorruptible 1667--; candid 1675--; on/upon the square 1682-- now slang; principled 1697-- now rare; guileless 1728/46--; unwarped 1744-(1836) fig;
respectable 1758--; unlicentious 1768/74 (1); integritive 1784 (1); jannock 1828-- dial; direct-dealing 1830 (1); untraitored 1840 (1); uncorruptible 1843+1897; unthievish 1858 (1); on the level 1872--; scandal-proof 1904 (1). .in speech and act: honest c1400--.
-spec. of personal attributes, actions etc.: uncorrupted 1571--
. of a means of obtaining (things): unsuborned 1656-1797.
-when under oath: unforsworn 1636 (1).
. in one's office. or job: jobless 180.7/8 (1) rare.
ansundnes $0 E ;$ clæne flæsc $O E ;$ ge-recednes $O E ;$ ge-recnes $O E ;$ sidefulnes $O E ;$ justice cl340--; uncorruptibility 1382 (1); clean hands 1382--; fairness cl460--; probity 1514--; faithfulness al533--; rectitude al533--; straightness 1534--; uprightness 1541--; integrity 1548--; entireness 1549-1631; uprighteousness 1549-1623+1904; honestness 1556 (1); roundness 1557-al649; uncorruptibleness 1579+1645; honesty 1579--; incorruption 1600+1677; ingenuousness 1611--; ingenuity 1614--; directness cl614--; realty $1619+1667$ rare; clearness 1625 (l); squareness 1642--; reality al657-al761; ingeniousness 1665+1753; guilelessness 1727--; candour 1769--; incorruptness 1775+1876; incorruptibility 1830+1849; bona fides $1845+1885$ Law.

NP truepenny 1589-1602+al825 (dial); mensch 1953-- orig yiddish. -male: unniping OE; braveman 1608 (1); law-keeper 1894 (1); Honest John 1935-- colloq.
-politician who is (an): Mr. Clean 1973--.

AvM unbryde OE; simply 1297--; clearly 1389-al694; honestly 1390--; upright 1509-1624; uprightly 1549--; squarely 1564--; square 1577/82-1661+1851-- slang or colloq; incorruptly al5831641; honest al592-1671; ingeniously 1598--; .ingenuously 1598--; uprighteously 1603 (l) rare; fair and square 1604--; fairly and squarely $1638+1862--$; really 1650 (1); integriously 1658 (1); on/upon the square 1667--; guilelessly 1727+1870; candidly 1762--; straight 1845--; jannock $1857+1894$ dial.

VW to square it (vp) 1873 (1) colloq.
-spec. in the way one gains a living: to make an honest shift (vp) 1798 (1) Sc.
.to start: to straighten up (vp) 1907 (1) slang.

See Also: GOOD B1, GOOD B5, GOOD B7.

[^0]AjG fæle OE; god OE; inhold OE; ge-treowful OE; ge-treowlic OE; unswic(i)ende $O E$; unswicol $0 E$; welhold $0 E$; ge-wis OE; hold/hold 0E-c1475; (ge)treowe/true 0E--; (ge)treowfæst/ true-fast 0E-1532; ge-triwe/i-treowe 0E-cl205; trig cl200+ 1818--(Nth dial); strusty al225 (1); true as steel al300--; tristy 13..-1483; whole 13..-1553; trusty al310--; trust cl330-c1425; trist cl330-c1400+1540 (Sc); traist cl330-1620 Sc \& Nth; proved al340--; faithful 1340/70--; sure 1340/70$\overline{166} \overline{7}+\overline{1837--}$ arch or dial; sad cl375-1665; trothful al380 (I); very cl385-1676; trueful 1435 (1); tristful cl440 (1); well-proved cl449-1717; true-hearted 1471--; tentik 1534 (1); faithworthy al535--; fidele 1539-1677; cock-sure cl555-1637; trest cl560-1584; feal 1568-1827 arch; reliable 1569 (Sc)+ 1624--; trustful 1580-1674; sound 1581--; steel to the (very) back 1588-1.635; true as touch 1590 (1); probable 1597-1682; loyal-hearted 1599+1850; whole-chested 1603 (1); accountable 1603-1709; loyal 1604--; confident 1605-al714; trustable 1606--; axiopistical 1611 (1);•reposeful 1627-1644; confiding 1645-1692; fiducial 1647 (1); fidelious 1650-1656; laudable 1664 (1); safe 1667--; true blue 1672-1783 fig; serious 1693 (1); secure al $729+1823$; dependable $1735-$; unturned 1760 (1); truthy cl800+1851; trustworthy 1829--; as true as flint 1847 (1); falsehood-free 1850 (1); proven 1870-- pseudo arch; well-proven 1877 (1); fiduciary 1882 (1) rare.
-to a lord: hlafordhold OE.
-to one's word: faithful (to) cl400--.
. by being of unbroken faith: inviolate 1593 (1).
hlafordhyldo OE; sopfæstnes OE; ge-treownes OE; treowræden OE poet; treowp/truth OE-- now rare or arch; truefastness cll75 (1); trueship cll75-a1250; troth cll75--; trueness cl290--; truehead 1297-c1375; truthhead al300-14..; constance cl386-1613/6; faithfulness 1388--; tristiness 1408 (1); soothness 1440 (1); surety 1470/85-1591; trust 1470/85-1821 now rare; fidelity 1508--; confiance cl510 (1) rare; trustiness 1530--; constancy 1548--; troth-keeping 1605 (1); true-heartedness $1608+1858$; loyalness $1642+1727$; confidence 1642-1800; dependence 1752-1790/1811;
trustworthiness 1808--; reliability 1816--; trustihood 1823
(1); faithworthiness 1846 (1); reliableness 1847--;
dependableness 1860--; dependability 1901--.

- conjugal: fidelity $1694+1825$.
-through being entrusted with (something): trust al548-1818. - to an oath: sop OE; loyalty cl400--. . an instance of affectionate: piety 1895 (1). - and discretion: prudhommie cl477+1490 both Caxton, rare.
suresby/sureby 1553-1675.
true 13..-cl470; trusty 1573-1756.
-male: wærgenga $0 E$ poet; trueman 1297-1647; prudhomme 1701-Hist.

AvM ge-treowlice/truly 0E-1611+1852 arch; traistly al300 (1); truefully 13.. (1); true 1303-cl375; faithly cl325-1440; tristily cl330-cl400; faithfully 1362--; trothly cl425 (1); trustily cl425-1823; fayfully 1426 (1); loyallement 1548 (1); loyally 1572--; trustworthily 1851/9--; dependable 1862--; reliably 1864--.

VG ge-treowfæstnian OE poet.
-by keeping one's promise: to hold touch (vp) 13.. (1); to keep one's tongue (vp) 1390 (1); to keep touch (vp) al529-1825.

See Also: GOOD B5, GOOD B6.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: sincerity.

PROPER, FITTING

AjG ge-cop $O E ;$ ge-coplic $O E ;$ ge-cyndelic $O E ;$ ge-dafen $O E ;$ ge-dafenlic 0 E ; ge-dafenigendlic OE; ge-dafniendlic $O E$;
ge-defe OE; ge-defe(d)lic OE; domfæst OE poet; ge-lic OE; (ge)liclic OE; mæplic OE; ge-mede OE; medeme OE; ge-metlic OE; riht OE; rihtlic OE; ge-risenlic OE; wel OE; weorp OE; weorpful $0 E$; weorplic $0 E$; god/good $0 \mathrm{E}--$; fele al250-al400; seem 13..-cl400; feat cl325-1575; true 1340/70--; thrifty cl386-cl449; tall cl400-cl440; fit cl440--; likely cl470 (Sc)+ al674-1742; proper 1477--; well 1534-1713; fitting 1535--; befalling 1542 (1); should-be 1887 (1).
-so much as to seem as if designed by heaven: heaven-born 1789-- now often sarcastic.

NQ fo3 al250 (1); conveniency 1583-1656; properness al603-1710 now rare; propriety 1615--; fittingness 1653--; convenience 1677 (1).

NX ge-dafen OE; ge-defe OE; gerisene OE; lagu/law OE-cl440; seemliness (to) $\overline{1577 / 87(1) ; ~ f i t m e n t ~} 1 \overline{608}$ (1) Shksp; should-be 1790 (1); the game 1889--.

- for a person: ge-met 0 E .
.a sense of: skill 1338-al536.

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AvM agendlice \(O E\); ge-limplice \(O E\); gerisenlice \(O E\); weorpfullice
    OE; weorplice 0 E ; ariht/aright \(0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{-}\); onriht/on right \(0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{cl} 420\);
    on rihte/right 0E--; onrihtlice/rightly OE-1382+al586-al653;
    properly al225--; of right cl250 (1); featly 13..-1671; good
    13..-cl380+1834-- now chiefly US; to right cl330--; gradely
    1340-- now only dial; to rights 1340/70--; tally c1350-1450;
    featously c1350-1611; of very (due) right ?al366-1526;
    at right(s) 1375-1535 Sc; by right cl400 (1); truly 1417--;
    fit c1440-1657; arightly 1588-1622+1844; legitimately 1593--;
    at rights al641 (1); fittingly 1641--; right-handed 1656+1822;
    legitimously 1657 (1); on the right hand \(1693+1785\); all right
    1844 (1) colloq; right enough 1885 (I) colloq.
    sit (vi) cl330-1579; to sit well (vp) ?al366-1426+1846 dial;
    fit (vi) 1574-1725 obs or arch.
    .for a person: to agree with (vp) 1525-1697.
    to think fit (vp) 1611--; to see fit (vp) \(1711+1815\).
    to serve (person) right (vp) 1587--.
PhX It is proper: (it) falls (to) one 1297-1563.
    .in concessionary use: it is all very well 1560--.
    External X-R: I 6.1 Comparison: fitness.
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GOOD

SECTION C: GOOD TO SELF/OTHER

AjG arful OE; blipemod OE; blipheort OE; fremful OE; fremsum OE; fremsumlic OE; glædlic OE; glædmod OE; ge-metfæst OE; til OE; beawfæst OE; webe OE; wynsum OE; god/good OE--; blipe/b1ithe OE-1570; mapful/metheful OE-cl425; milde/ mild OE-(1832) now rare or obs; swete/sweet $0 E-$; welwillende/well-willing OE--; bein al200-1513; goodful cl205 (2); swote al225-cl425; blitheful al300+al300; friendsome al300+1375; kind al300--; gracious al310-1598+ 1859-- now rare, chiefly poet; benign cl320--; couth cl350c1460+1728 (Sc) obs exc Sc; sote c1374-1558; well-willy cl374-cl449+1808-- dial; homely cl375-c1470+1867; charitable cl3861634; well-willing to/towards 1390--; benigned 1470 (1) rare; benevolent 1482--; beneficial 1526-1658; benignate 1533 (1); beneficious 1535+1610; kind-hearted 1535--; gentle 1552--; kindly 1570--; placable 1586--; well-wishing 1597--; unbase 1601/3 (1); fair 1603 (1); aspectful 1611 (1); spleenless 1615 (1); beneficent 1616--; benefic $1641+1873+1876$; unmalicious 1649--; unpersecutive 1664 (I); unstraitened 1665 (1); social 1726-1745; benignant al782-二; innerly 1824+ 1825/80 Sc; agathopoietic 1838 (1) rare; beneficential 1869 (1); agathodemonic 1879 (1); caritative 1884 (1); decent 1902-- colloq.
.to all: omnibenevolent 1679 (1).
. to mankind: philanthropal 1648-1656.
.to brother (s): philadelphian 1615+1868.
.to a person or animal: kind cl315-- also fig.
.to animals: philozoic 1868~-.
.to lower animals: philobrutish 1826 (1).

- foolishly: soft 1890 (2) collog.
excessively: over-kind 1611--.
bliss OE; fremu OE; (ge)glædnes OE; medemnes OE; soplufu OE; til 0 E poet; weldonnes 0 E ; welwille(n)dnes 0 E ; godnes/goodness OE--; godscipe/goodship(s) OE-cl430; manscipe/manship OE-1393; goodlaik cl200-al400/50; courtesy 1297-1579; friendsomeness al300 (2); homeliness al340-c1380; kindness cl350--; benignity cl374--; gentleness cl374--; humanity 1382-1794; benevolence cl384--; kindship 1390-al641; kindlaik al400/50 (1) rare; courteousness cl430-1530; goodliness 1434-1555; kindliness cl440-1791; beneficialness 1528-1691; beneficence 1531--; benevolency 1540 (1); beneficency 1576-1682; obligingness 1638--; benefacture al656+1777; affectionateness 1740/87--; warm-heartedness 1808--; benignancy 1876+1881.
-befitting a mistress: ladyship 1390 (2).
.in speech: benedicence 1881 (1) rare.
.to dogs: caninity 1864--.
.the conferring or deriving of: benefiting 1594 (1).
. to all: omnibenevolence 1834-.
.excessive: over-kindness 1476--.

NAc ambihtsumnes $O E ;$ ben $O E ;$ ge-earnung $O E ;$ fremfulnes $O E ; * 1 i s s$ OE; OE; panc 0 E ; god weorc/good work $0 \mathrm{E}--$; lufu/love $0 \mathrm{E}-1632$; boon cl200-cl650 1862 arch, transf; estdede cl250 (1); kindness cl290--; grace 1297-1659+1859--; bounty al300-1651 sometimes ironic; benefice 1340-1549; benefit 1377-1628 arch; excellence cl385 (1) Chaucer; benevolence cl425--; benignity cl534--; friendship 1535-1613; favour 1590--; obligation 1618--; benevolent al639 (1); beneficence 1654+1851--; benefaction al662--; obligement 1664 (1); bon-accord al670 (3) Sc; kindliness 1883 (1).

- plural: humanities 1827--.
- brotherly: brother deed al300 (1).
-performed, among poorer classes, for one in distress: friendly lead 1886+1895.
- done by one to another: penung OE; weldæd OE; while 1382 (1) Wyclif; whileness 1382 (l) Wyclif; office 1382--; service al533--; knight('s) service 1675-- fig; good deed 1928--.

NP benefactor $1603+1870$; (good) samaritan 1640--; benevolist $1825+1863$.
.female: aunt 1861 (1).
. to lower animals: philobrutist 1826 (1).

- who loves hospitality to strangers: philoxenist 1822 (1).
-the office of: benefactorship $1652+1691$.
$A v M$ arfullice $O E$; arweorplice $O E$; fremsume $O E$; fremsumlice $O E ;$ *lissum 0 E ; *mæplice 0 E ; medemlice $O E$; welwillendice $O E$; blipe/blithe $\overline{0 E+a l 300 ; ~ b l i p e l i c e / b l i t h e l y ~ O E+c 1400 ; ~ s o f t e / s o f t ~}$ OE-14..; wel/well 0E--; goodfully cl275 (1); milthlich cl300 (1); homely 1375-1596; blethely cl380+cl430; benignly cl380+ $1528+1862$; bein cl400+1513; humanly cl485--; prettily cl500-$1533+1674-$-(dial) now dial; benevolently 1532--; benign 1535+ al725; gently 1548--; kind 1607-- now colloq or vulgar; candidly 1650--; kindly-like 1716 (1); beneficently al717--; benignantly 1790--; kindly 1792 (1) Burns, fig; kindlily 1826--: placably 1839--.
- or friendly: well 1659--.
- and Christian: out of charity 1393-1633. . Without legal obligation: ex gratia 1769-.. - excessively: over kindly 1601 (1).
lipian OE; to gode don/to do good (vp) OE--.
-to a person: favour (vt) cl374--; treat (vt) c1440+1500/201596 (Sc); grace (vt) cl440-1626; kind (vt) al450 (1) rare; to do (one) (a) pleasure (vp) cl460--; to show (one) (a) pleasure (vp) 1526-1560; aggrace (vt) 1596 (1) Spenser; accommodate (vt) 1663--.
. .by conferring a favour: to oblige (va) 1735-.
- by being so obliging as: to be pleased to (vp) 1595--.
sweeten (vt) 1561--; philanthropize (vt) 1891 (I).
VB warm (vi) c1400--.
VI warm (vt) 1526--.

VL hawian OE; to laugh on (vp) 1340-c1400; to laugh up (vp) 1377 (1); to laugh to (vp) cl380 (1); to smile upon (vp) 1390--; to laugh upon ( $\overline{\mathrm{vp})}$ c1430-1535; to smile at (vp) c14401794; to smile to (vp) 1558-1749; to smile on (vp) 1676-.

See A1so: GOOD C2--GOOD C13 inclusive.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: charity.

AjG fremfullic OE; fremlic OE; hyplic OE; nytlic OE; nytt OE; nytwierpe OE ; ge-streonful 0 E ; (ge)tæslic OE ; pearflic OE ; fremful/fremeful OE-1340; neotsum c1205 (1); profitable c1325--; fructuous cl386-1578+1879--; availant cl420 (1); availing c1420+1850--; available 1474-1614+1836 arch; beneficial 1494--; advantageable 1548-1657; availful 1598-1650; advantageous 1598--; beneficent 1677--; benefactory 1744+1884; beneficiary 1836 (1) rare; cocum 1839-- slang; all to the good 1943--.
-psychologically: moral 1835--.
.affected by that which is: favoured 1758-.

NQ ar OE ; feorm OE ; forpdæd OE ; framung $O E$; fremfulnes OE ; fremsumnes $O E$; fremung $O E$; god $O E$; hypegung $O E ;$ ge-hypelicnes OE poet; ge-hypnes OE; hypp(o) OE; nytlicnes OE; nytnes OE; ongehypnes 0 E ; ræd $\mathrm{OE} ;$ ge-tæsnes OE ; pearf OE ; fremu/freme OE-1340; notu/note OE-1340; frame c1200-cl330; gain c1200cl475; win cl200-1535; behoof cl205--; biheve al225+c1320; fruit c1230--; prow c1290-cl570; goodness al300-1583; vantage al300-1645 now arch; wain c1315-1340; profit cl315--; prew c1330 (1); advantage 1340--; winning c1375-al578; benefit 1393--; profitableness 1398-1651+1824; avail c1420-1694+1871 arch or obs; benefice 1424-- obs exc. Hist; vail c1430-1550; beneficie c1449 (1); interess 1452-1678; fordeal 1470/85-1637; prevail c1475 (1) rare; encherishing c1480 (1); fardredeal 1521 (1) rare; usury 1576-1599 transf; particular 1597-1653; account 1611--; emolument 1633-1756; advantageousness 1659--; availment $1699+1865$.
.of something: profit al340-1628; usefulness 1483 (1).
NX god OE; hropor OE poet; ge-tæse OE; ge-tæsu OE; wæstm OE; welfremnes OE; purchase c1450-1698; commodity 1526-1670+1823 obs or arch; windfall 1542--; interest 1579--; prize 15931638; benefit $1600+1613$; profit $1603+1604$ both Shksp, transf; convenience 1606--; conveniency 1638-1798; pudding 1728-1843 fig; what the doctor ordered 1914-- colloq.

- plural: usefulnesses $1664+1668$ both More, rare.
. in something (for someone): what is in it 1963--. .as a result of something: good 1701--.

ND feorhræd OE poet; welfremming OE; dugup/douth OE-cl205; goddæd/good-deed OE-cl275; weldæd/wel-dede OE-1362;
fordeed al225-cl460; friend's turn cl386 (1) Chaucer; good turn c1440--; vouchsafement 1628--; kindness 1727 (1) rare.

NCn service 14..-1768/74; interest al533--.
NR profit 1502-1543.
NT godnes OE; tæse OE; commodity c1400-1820; profitable 1681 (1); use-value 1887 (2).

NP ari(g)end OE; bigenga OE; goddond OE; weldond OE; benefactor 1532--; good fairy 1807--.
-female: benefactrix 1615--; benefactrice 1711 (1) rare;
benefactress lill--; fairy godmother 1883-- transf.

AvM furporlice OE; pearflice OE; fremfullice/fremefully OE+cl200; fructuously 1382-1530; profitably 1382--; fruitously cl450 (1); beneficially l531--; advantageously 1602--; availfully 1603 (2); to advantage 1709--; availingly 1853--.

VG (ge)bletsian $O E$; spowan $O E$; swiprian $O E ;$ frem(m)an/freme (vi) OE-a1300; helpan/help (vt/i) 0E-1648; prow (vi) cl330+13.. rare; profit (vi) 1340/70--; avail (vi) 1375-1583+1844; advance (vt/i) 1386-1440; prevail (vi) cl500-1584. -of a person: profit (vi) 1533 (1).
-to (someone): (ge) digan OE; good (vt) al225-1620; visit (vt) a1300-1645; avail (vt) al300-1816; profit (vt) 1303--; prevail (vt) 1442-1593; vantage (vt) cl460-al816+1825-- arch; advantage (vt) 1526--; benefit (vt) 1549--; bonify (vt) 1603 (1) ; boot (vt) 1606 (1) Shksp.
..of a person: profit (vt) al425-1581.
-to the advantage of a thing: avail (vt) cl374+1756.
.to oneself: profit (vi) c1400-1509; vantage (vr) 1581-1598; to avail (oneself) of (vp) 1603--; benefit (vi).1613-1644+ 1844; profit (vr) al648 (1); avail (vr) 1787 (1).

VM .by deriving benefit from: to profit with (vp) cl400-1578; to profit by (vp) 1526--; to profit of (vp) 1676--; to find one's account in (something) (vp) 1737 (1); to profit from (vp) 1796 (1); to make a good thing of (vp) cl819-.. for (someone) by giving them the advantage of: prevail (vt) 1617 (1); avail (vt) 1785-- only in US.
by turning something favourably towards a person: advert (vt) 1423-1430.

PhX For the benefit of: in favour of 1556--; to the behalf of 1562+1576; for the behalf of 1566 (1); in the interest(s) of 1716--; for the benefit of $1752+1789$.
-to the greatest degree: for (one's) best cl386 (1); for the best cl386-1794; to the best 1531 (1).
.the company or community: for the good of the $1001774+1785$.

PhXX What is most beneficial for one: one's best al300-cl620.

See Also: GOOD Cl.

External X-R: II 6.1 Acquisition.

WHOLESOME

AjG god OE; halbære OE; wholesome cl200--; whole al225-1502; hale cl300-1563 fig; hail 13..-1674; healthful 1382--; salutaire cl450-1600; salutary 1490--; healthsome 1538-1707+ 1891 now rare; salutiferous cl540-1760; salutifere 1549 (1); healthy 1552--; salubrious 1659--. . of a condition, place etc.: wholesome 1604-..

NQ. wholesomeness cl200--; halesomeness 1483 (1); salubrity cl643 (1); salutariness 1727--.

NT treacle al310-1641.
.plural: wholesomes 1731/8--.

AvM wholesomely cl200--; halesomely al340 (1); salutarily 1532--; salutiferously 1678 (1).

See Also: GOOD Cl.

External X-R: I 4.10 Condition of matter: good.

C4 WELL DISPOSED

AjG glæd OE; welwillende/well-willing (to) OE-1611+1888 now rare or dial; gain al310-1508; propice al325-1656; well-willed 1398-1598+1891-- Sc; willy cl403-1483; well-willed to/unto/that 1417-1523+1871 (SC); propitious 1447--; well(-)disposed 1455--; affectuous 1460 (1); well-meaned cl470 (1) Sc; benevolous 1470-al670; well-meant ?1476--; benevolent $\overline{1502-1667 ; ~}$ well-minded 1522-1651; well(-)given 1535-c1611; affected 15351690; affectionated 1539-1640; affectionate 1543-1671; well-affected 1553--; propitiable 1557 (1); well-natured 1561-al721+1759-- Sc \& dial; good-natured 1577--; affectionated 1578-1722; partial c1585--; well-inclined al586--; well-wished 1603 (1) Shksp; graceful 1606 (1) Shksp; charitable al626--; candid 1633-1800; kind 1664-1680/90; well-hearted 1766--; sweet-hearted 1850--.

NQ *bliss OE; welwilnes OE; (ge)wepnes OE; willa OE; god willa/ goodwill OE--; welwille(n)dnes/well-willingness OE-al390; well-willing al340-1597; favour 1340--; voillance 1422 (1); benevolence 1423-1817; good nature al450--; yonste 1481 (1); partiality l581--; kindheartedness 1583--; well-disposedness 1621 (1); candidness 1643-1688; candour 1653-1802; heart al656+1827; well-naturedness 1679 (1); geniality 1831--; sweet-heartedness 1865 (1).
-from a superior: rummodnes OE; est/este OE-al440; hyldo/held(e) $\overline{0 E-a l 310 ; ~ p a n c / t h a n k ~ O E-1340+1609 ; ~ g r a c e ~ c l 275--~ s o m e w h a t ~}$ arch; favour 13. .-1818; gratitude 1500/20-c1557 chiefly Sc; gratuity 1523-1646+1818; aggrace 1596 (i) Spenser. ..a matter of: veniality 1654 (1).

NA well-willing al340-al708; good willing 1556 (1); well-wishing 1569--.

NWi wish 1593--; well-wish 1621--; well fare 1642 (1).
NP well-willing c1330-1463; benevoler 1486 (1) rare; goodwiller al541 (l); well-wisher 1590--; well-woulder 1643 (1). -very: best-wisher 1876 (1).

AvM in gree ?al366-1600+1894 now arch; engree 14...+cl475; with/in good gree 1542-1609+1885 now arch; in good (better/best) part 1559--; propitiously 1681 (1); good-naturedly 1765--.

VG by wishing well: wiellan/will (vi) OE-al592; wyscan/wish (vt) OE--; to cast/fling an old shoe after (a person) (vp) 1546-fig; well-wish (vi) 1586 (1); well-will (vt) al618-1639.

See Also: GOOD Cl, GOOD C5.

External X-R: II 7.2 Good intentions towards others.

## C5 WELL-MEANING

AjG well-meaning 1387/8--; well-intended al586--; well-meaned al711-1761.

AjA well-intentioned 1848--.
AjP well-intentioned 1598--.

NQ well-intentionedness 1799 (1); well-meaningness 1900 (1).
well-meaningly 1680 (1).

## PhX

One means well: one's heart is/lies in the right place 1809-..

See Also: GOOD C1, GOOD C4.

External X-R: II 7.2 Good intentions towards others.

C6 GENEROUS

AjG este $O E ;$ estig $O E ;$ freolic $O E ;$ gifol $O E ;$ god $O E ;$ rop $O E ;$
(ge)rum 0 E ; rumgiful 0 E ; rumheort OE ; rumlic OE ; rummod $O E$; rummodlic OE; ungnype OE; unhneaw OE poet; cystig/custi OEc1275; large cl175-1688; room-handed/hende c1200+c1205; ungnede al300+al400; free al300--; unspared 13..+1535+1851; bounteous cl374--; large of cl375 (1) Sc; plenteous 1377-al700; liberal 1387--; ungright cl400+al400/50; free-hearted cl4401728; almifluent 1477 (1) rare; frank 1484--; bountiful 1508--; lavish 1565--; plentiful 1568-1625; large in 1574--; magnificent 1579-- now rare; largeous 1583 (1); munificent 1583--; magnifical 1586-1623; unnigard 1591 (1); frolic 1593 (1); open 1597--; open-handed 1601--; real 1602 (1); munifical 1603+1656; fluent 1603-1639+1887 (dial) obs exc dial; magnific 1611-1655; unthrifty 1620-1713; communicative 1622-1784; large-hearted 1645--; numerous 1655 (1); free-handed al656+1832--; largifical 1656+1708(1s) +1709 (1s); insordid 1660 (1); unsparing 1667--; expensive 1678 (1); generous 1696--; unbounded al704+1825; large-souled 1715--; broad-hearted 1719 (1); large-minded 1725--; munific 1.754 (1); magnifique 1759-1823; unniggardly 1768/74 (1); ungrudging 1768/74--; unstinting 1845+1883; big-hearted 1868+1914; big 1934-- colloq, orig US, freq ironic.
. of the heart/intellect: large 1535--.

- of things bestowed: unhneaw 0 E ; bounteous 1542--; unpinched $1648+1854$.
.móre: greater cl400 (1).
AjC free al300-1604.
$N Q$ bradnes $O E$; cyst $O E$; dugupgifu $O E$; est $O E$; estines $O E$; fremsumnes $O E ;$ freodom $0 E$; giefu $0 E$; gifolnes $O E ;$ glædmodnes OE; lacdæd OE; ropnes 0 EE ; rumgifulnes OE ; rumheortnes 0 E ; rummodnes 0 E ; selen OE ; cystignes/custinesse OE+cll75; freeship al225 (1); largess(e) al225-1623; large al300-1537;
largeness al300-al626; bounty al300--; freeness c1300+1377+ 1611-1709; liberality 13..--; freedom cl320-c1530; franchise cl375-c1489+1658; liberalness 1387-1595; honesty c1400-1607; magnificence 14..-1647; plenty cl410 (1); bounteousness cl440--; bountifulness 1489+1558+1862; bountines/bountenes $1512+1650$ rare, doubtful; magnificency 1538-1668; munificency cl540-1651; munificence 1555--; frankness 1591-1762/71; bountihead $1596+1621+1864$ obs exc arch; fruitfulness 1604 (1) Shksp; free-heartedness $16 \overline{07+1} \overline{686}$; ingenuousness 1611+a1687; open-handedness 1628+1844; ambry al638 (1); large-heartedness 1640--; communicativeness 1659 (1); generosity 1677--; unsparingness 1818 (1); big-heartedness 1872--; ungrudgingness 1885 (1); freehandedness 1888--.

NA largess(e) al340--; enlarging 1494 (1); largition 1533--.
NAc dispense $1590+1596$ both Spenser.
.that which is given in a : largess (e) al533--.
.-plural: est OE.
giefend 0 E ; lacgeofa 0 E ; rumgifa 0 E ; enricher cl610-1738. .a king or prince, who gives treasure: mappumgyfa 0 E poet.
cystiglice $O E ;$ rume $O E ;$ rumheortlice $O E ;$ rummodice $O E ;$ swide OE; ungnipelice OE; ungrædiglice $0 E$; rumlice/roomly OE-cl425; largely c1230-1568+1827--; freely al300-- ; unsparely cl375+?al400; liberally 1387--; well 1445--; large 1477+1596 (Sc) S 1667 ; unsparingly al500+1805; beneficially 1530/1-1611; bounteously 1531--; plenteously 1535 (1); frankly 1546--; well-favouredly 1563/87 (1); bountifully 1580--; munificently 1594--; ungrudgingly al631--; amply 1632--; generously 1634/5--; lavishly 1769--; unstintingly 1857+1885; spaciously 1865 (1).
ontynan hand OE ; wenian mid wynnum OE ; enlargisse (vt) c1430 (1); enlarge (vt) $\overline{1491+1607 ;}$ alarge (vt) al560(1); to enlarge the hand (vp) 1651 (1). . and hence to enrich: enlarge (vt) 1513+1657.

See Also: GOOD Cl, GOOD C7, GOOD C8.

External X-R: II 6.3.1 Giving much \&
II 7.2 Good intentions towards others.

AjG micelmod OE; high-minded 1556--; noble-minded 1586--; ingenious 1597-1738; magnanimous 1598--; ingenuous 1599-1788; nobly-minded 1620 (1); great-hearted 1647--; great 1726--; generous 1781--.

NQ highmindedness 1571--; noblemindedness 1583--; magnanimousness 1606+1862 rare; magnanimity 1771--; generosity 1786--; greatheartedness 1813--; kalokagathia 1921--.

AvM magnanimously 1611--; noblewise al618 (1); highmindedly 1824 (I).

See Also: GOOD C1, GOOD C6.

External X-R: II 6.3.1 Giving much \&
II 7.2 Good intentions towards others.

GRACIOUS
bentigbe OE; eapmod OE; estig OE; est(e)lic OE; ge-hlystful OE poet; lipe OE; rumlic OE; tilmodig OE poet; welrummod OE poet; este/este 0E-al300; hold/hold 0E-c1475; . Wynsum/winsome 0Eal300; courteous cl290-1609+1813(Scott); nighsome al300 (2); gainly 13.. (1); gracious al310-- now rare; goodly cl350cl440; buxom 1362-1536; quemeful 1388 (1); suave 1501-c1560 Sc; favo(u)rable 1502+al822(Shelley) obs exc arch; boon al612-- poet; handsome 1621--.

NQ eapmodnes OE; est OE; swetnes/sweetness OE--; mensk al240al440; nighsomeness al300 (1); buxomness 14..-1577; suavity 1508-al649; propitiousness 1593 (1); handsomeness al616 (1); graciousness 1638--; gracefulness 1640 (1); sweetness and light 1869--.

NAc *liss OE.
debonair cl366-1393.

AvM arfæstlice OE; bilewitlice OE; cwemlice OE; eapmedum OE; estelice $O E$; *lissum $0 E ;$ lipelice $O E ;$ milde $O E$; rumlice $O E ;$ rummodlice $O E ;$ tillice $O E$ poet; on panc $O E$; pancfullice $0 E$; welrumlice $0 E$; wynsumlice 0 E ; holde/hold(e) OE+cl250; holdlice/holdely OE-cl250; to pance/to thank OE-cl430; sweetly al225--; courteously 1340-1382; in thank c1375-1513; graciously cl380--; favo(u)rably 1388--; handsomely 1548--.

See Also: GOOD Cl, GOOD C6.

External X-R: III 2.2.3 Behaviour based on custom: courtesy.

C9 CONSIDERATE

AjG mæpful OE; tender cl305--; civil 1613-1684; considerative 1641-al652; considerate 1700--; thoughtful 1851--.

NQ mæp/methe OE-13..+al400/50; consideration 1415-1815; considerateness 1748--; accommodativeness 1868 (1); thoughtfulness 1880--.

AvM *mæplice OE; considerately 1871-..

VT to make most of (vp) 1526. (1); to make the most of (vp) 1660 (1).
-in order to save a person's self respect: to let (someone) down eas(il)y (vp) 1754--; to let (someone) down gently (vp) 1834 (I); to let (someone) down softly (vp) 1843 (I).

See Also: GOOD Cl, GOOD C10.

External X-R: II 7.2.3 Good intentions towards others: helpfulness \&
III 2.2.3 Behaviour based on custom: courtesy.

ClO HUMANE

AjG mennisclic OE; unfelon al300 (1); manly 1377 (1); gall-less 1398--; humane 1603--; uncruel 1611+1720+1863; maliceless a1618-a1684.
-making: humanizing 1816--.
.made: humanized 1771+1851.

NQ mennisclicnes OE; manliness 1382 (1); manhead 1382-c1450; humanity cl386--; manhood 1432/50-1571; mankind 1603 (1) rare; humaneness $1809+1878$.
.action of imbuing with: humanization 1783--; humanizing 1850 (1).

AvM manly 1377-1382; humanely 1607--.

VM humanize (vt) 1647--.
VB humanize (vi) al790+1862.

See Also: GOOD C1, GOOD C9, GOOD C11, GOOD C12.

CII TENDER

AjP rumheort OE; hnesce/nesh OE-cl530; luflic/lovely OE-1602;
soft all22--; tender 1300--; warm-hearted 1500/20-- ;
tender-hearted 1539--; nice-hearted 1571-1583; soft-hearted 1593--; effeminate 1594(Nashe)+1594(Shksp); open-hearted al617--; warm 1765--; heart-warm 1787+1834; sunbeamy 1890 (1); tenderful 1901 (I) ?dial.
. of disposition or look: soft cl200-..

- of qualities or feelings: soft cl200--.
. of the eyes: soft-eyed 1735--.
- of the heart (opposed to stony): fleshly 1382--.
- of the emotions: edulcorate 1810 (1).
-making: melting 1656-1826.
. becoming: melting 1593-...
*bliss OE; charity al225--; softness al300--; tenderness al300--; speciality cl330-cl450/60; softhead c1340+1340; douceur cl375-1793; conscience c1385-1393; tendresse 1390+ 1399; tenderance 1454-cl500; suavitude 1512-cl550;
loving-kindness 1535--; soft-heartedness 1580--;
tender-heartedness 1607--; meltingness 1622--; tender 1668+ 1742.
-a display or instance of: softness 1382--.
. in forgiveness: placability 1531--; placableness 1647-.. - among brothers: philadelphy al667 (1). - excessively: over-tenderness al631-1795.

NF pity cl290--; tender 1596-1605.
-plural: charities 1667-1818.

- action of becoming softened by: melting 1526-1740.

NP soot cl430 (1).

- who is a child: Fauntleroy $1913+1923$ often ironic; Little Lord Fauntleroy 1942 (1) often ironic.

AvM hnesclice/neshly 0E-1422; kindly cl250--; nesh 1297+13..; paramour 13..-1611; tenderly 13..--; partially 1633-1800; tenderfully 1640 (1); meltingly 1680--; warmly l719--; kindheartedly 1900--; warm-heartedly 1911 (1).

VM melt (vt) 1377--.
VB melt (vi) cl200--. . of the heart: to-melt (vi) al240 (1); unfreeze (vi) 1746 (1) fig.

See Also: GOOD Cl, GOOD C10, GOOD C12.

External X-R: II 7.2.1 Good feelings towards others: love.

## C12 MERCIFUL

ardæde $O E ;$ arfæst $O E ;$ milde $O E ;$ mildelic $O E ;$ arful/oreful $\overline{0 E-c l 200 ; ~ m i l d h e o r t / m i l d-h e a r t ~ O E-c l 205 ; ~ m i l d h e a r t e d ~ c l l 75-~}$ al300+1843; mildheartful al225 (1); milceful al225-cl320; mildful al225-1489; merciable al225-1579; merciful al300--; piteous cl350-cl750; sparing cl375-1786; pietous 1390-1489; misericord 1456-1583 Sc; misericordious 1483-1648; pitiful 1491--; undispiteous al500 (1); pitiable 1503 (1); misericors 1535 (1) Sc rare; eleemosynous c1590 (1).

NQ arfæstnes $O E ;$ liss $O E ;$ lip $O E$; (ge)miltsung $0 E$; ar/ore $0 E-$ al500; mildheortnes/mildheartness OE-al300; milts/milce 0Ecl330; mildheartlaik cl200 (1); pity al225-1613; mercy al225--; milthness al300 (1); milth al300 (2); oil of mercy al300-1657; piety al310-1606; misericord al315-1705; blithe cl325+cl400; milcefulness cl330 (1); oil of charity al340 (1); miseration 1382-1638; piteousness 1390-1608; misericordy 14..1491; mild cl430-1576 rare; mildfulness 1489 (1); mildhede 1489 (1); mercifulness 1526--; pitifulness 1557--; mildheartedness 1867 (1).

- Which is characteristic of humane persons: milk of human kindness 1605 (Shksp)+1775--. - as sought by a Bodhisattva: karuna 1850-- Buddhism.

NA mercying al340 (2) Hampole; sparing 1375-c1611+1901; pardon 1555 (1).
.a cry for: miserere al616--.
NAc mercy al300--; work of mercy 1824 (1) Scott. -plural: works of mercy 1340-1647; deeds of mercy cl340-1390+ 1533 (Sc); mercies c1380 (1).

NC mercy al225--.
NP (ge)miltisi(g)end OE; milcer al300 (1) rare; merciere al340 (2) Hampole; tenderer 1584 (1); pitier $1601--$; bleeding heart $1958+1960$.

AvM arlice $O E$; mildelice $O E$; mildheortlice $O E$; without spare al300-1609; pitifully 1303--; mercifully al340--; piteously cl368-1556+1855 arch; merciably 1387/8-1535; pietously 1474 (1); misericordially 1659 (1) rare; in mercy (to) 1769--.

VG arfæst(i)an OE; (ge)arian OE; lissian OE; midpolian OE; onemnprowigan OE; ge-prowian OE; (ge)miltsian/milce (vt) OEal300; mæpian/methe (vt) OE-cl250; sparian/spare (va) OE--; milth (vi) al300 (2); tender (vt) 1442-1649; to make no spare (vp) 1591-1633; mercify (vt) 1596+1733 rare; bemercy (vt) $1640+1660$.

- in remembrance: ge-mynd(i)gian $O E$.
. and be drawn or go forth to, in feeling: to go out (vp) 1842--.
.and be reasonable: to have a heart (vp) 1917-- colloq. .to ask someone: to cry mercy (vp) al225-1795; to cry (one) mercy ( vp ) a1225-1795.

See A1so: GOOD Cl, GOOD Cl0, GOOD Cll, GOOD C13.

External X-R: III 5 Religion: grace.

C13 BLESSED

AjG ead OE poet; eadiglic OE; ge-sælig OE; blessed cll75--; yblessed/yblest 1297-1340; blessedful al300-al618; happen 13...-cl375; happenly cl375 (1); benedict 1657 (1). .making: blessed making 1657 (1); blessing $1659+1870$. .tending to make: benedictive $1660+c 1746$. . supremely: superbenedict 1683 (1).

NX bletsung OE; wela OE; benedicite al300-c1460; wealth al300al652; blessing 1340--; welfare cl369-c1374; felicity cl385--; bless 1526+1725; boon 1767--.
. and given by God: benison al300-1642.

- an apparent misfortune which is: blessing in disguise 1746--. . disposition to confer: benison cl450 (1).
- a day full of: wildæg OE poet.
. a time of: sun-time 1844 (1).
. one who confers: blesser $1577+1651$.
NS blessedhede al300-1340; blessedness al300--; benediction 1483--.

AvM blessedly 1388--; blessedfully al500 (1); blessed cl600 (1); blessingly 1836 (1).
-more: eadiglicur OE.

VM ge-blissian 0 E ; welcwepan 0 E ; bletsian/bless (vt) OE--;
to bless to (vp) al300-1382; sain (vt) al300--.
. by invocation from God: bless (vt) 1330--.

See Also: GOOD Cl, GOOD C12, GOOD C14.

External X-R: II 7.1 Feeling caused by satisfaction: happiness $\&$ III 5 Religion.

C14 FORTUNATE, LUCKY

AjG eadiglic OE; ge-sæliglic OE; ge-sælig/i-seli OE-al225; wel/well 0E-1825; i-sele cl205 (1); wealful c1230-1609; well begone cl374-1530; well-fortuned cl374-1556; happy 1375--; wealsome 1382-c1425; fortunate cl386--; fortuned c1470+1484; fortunable cl470-1556; well-fortunate 1523-al533;
lucky 1552--; luckly al568-1612; auspicate 1603-1657;
auspicious 1616-1804; white 1629-(1855) now rare; in luck 1857--; well-starred 1867--.
-as if sent from heaven: heaven-sent al649--.
. bringing that which is: fortunate cl391--; fortunable c1465+ 1513; sonsy 1533-- orig Sc, Ir \& Nth. . characterized by that which is: happy 1340--.

AjA Iucky 1548--.

NQ wealfulness c1374-1412/20; fortunateness 1530--; luckiness 1561--; fortunacy $1580+1624$.

NX godnes OE; ge-limp OE; sæl OE; ge-sælignes OE; ge-sundfulnes OE; (ge)sælp/i-selth OE-al225; sip/sithe OE-cl250; goder-heal cll75-cl460; hap al225-1813; boot al300+cl430; whate cl330 (1); fortune 1390--; wealth c1400-1553; luck 14..---; goodness 1422+ 1550 rare; fortunation cl470+1727; good luck 1481--; happiness 1530--; goodhap 1557-1603 arch; lady-luck 1932--. -a (chance) piece of: hit 1666 ---; felicity 1761 (1); heaven-send 1811+1887; godsend 1820--; stroke of luck 1853--; good job 1876--; God's (own) gift 1938--.
-a temporary run of: streak 1882--.
-an event comprising: godsend 1831--.
-and which attends a novice: beginner's luck 1897--.
NTP fortunate 1655-1776.
NP fortunateling 1605 (1); fortunate 1655+1894; lucky dog 1844 (1); Sunday('s) child 1888--.
-female: Sunday's daughter ?all50/1259 (1).

AvM (to) godere heal cll75-1297; graciously 1330-cl400; happily cl350--; wealfully cl375-1388; wealsomely 1382 (1); in a good/happy hour cl450-1634; luckily 1530-1766 now rare; luckly 1582 (1); arse upwards cl600 (1); well-favouredly al774 (1) Sc.

VG full-thrive (vi) cl200 (1); ure (vi) c1440 (1); to light on one's legs (vp) 1642--; to fall on one's legs (vp) 1841 (1); to fall on one's feet (vp) 1886--; to hit the jack-pot (vp) 1944--.
-from birth: to be born with a silver spoon in one's mouth (vp) 1801--
-through birth: to be wrapped up in one's mother's smock (vp) 1677 (1).

VM
to set high on the wheel (vp) 1375 (1); fortune (vt) 14.. (1); fortunate (vt) cl420-1792; luck (vt) 1530 (1); fortunize (vt) 1596 (1).

VC to mark with a white stone (vp) cl645--.

PhX May good befall: well worth cl205-c1480; fair fall al225--; have thou win cl400-al500; God give thee win c1425-1640; welfare/well fare 1534-1672; wally fall 1535 (1) Sc; God yield 1579 (1); God save 1599 (1) ; God bless 1840--.

PhXX In order to bring good luck: for luck 1894 (1).
PhXXX It is fortunate that: (it is) well (that/to) 1665--; as well (that/if) 1753/4--.

See Also: GOOD Cl3.
$\frac{\text { External X-R: }}{\&}$ II 7.1 Feeling caused by satisfaction: happiness

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EVIL
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SECTION A: EVIL

## A1 <br> EVIL

AjG abropen OE; adlig OE; ge-ærwe OE; arleas OE; awyrged OE; awyrgedlic $0 E ;$ fæcne $O E ;$ fah $O E$; forcup $O E$ fordon $O E$; forscyldig(od) $\overline{O E}$; fræte $\overline{O E}$; frætig 0 E ; frecne OE ; gal 0 E ; hinder $O E ;$ incup $O E$; inwit $O E$; inwitful $O E$; lapwende $O E$; mæne $O E ;$ ge-mah $O E$; mandæde $O E ;$ mandeorf $O E ;$ manful $O E ;$ manfullic $O E ;$ manfremmende $O E$ poet; manlic $O E$; manweorc $O E$ poet: manwræce OE; ge-mearr OE; min OE poet; scepwræc OE poet; scyldwyrcende $O E$ poet; trag $O E$ poet; uncoren $O E$; ungecoren $O E$; ungecost $O E$; ungesund $O E$; unriht $O E$; unrihtful OE; unrihtlic OE; unsælig OE; wac OE; wamm OE; wipcoren OE; wipercoren 0 E ; wohful 0 E ; wohlic 0 E ; wohsum 0 E ; wyrslic 0 E ; yfelcund $0 E ;$ yfeldæde $0 E$; yfeldonde 0 E ; yfelful 0 E poet; yfelwyrcende OE; bealu/bale OE-c1400; fracop/fraked OE+cl200; lypre/lither 0E-1546; man/man 0E-al300; unfæle/unfele OE-cl400+1825-1894 (dial); ungod/ungood 0E-cl485+1904 now rare; unrihtwis/unrighteous OE--; woh/wough OE-al400; wrape/wroth OE-cl400; yfel/evil OE--; unwrast all22-cl425; wick cl200al500; hinderful cl200-1569; ill cl200--; univele cl205 (1); wondlich cl205 (1); qued(e) cl250-1669; wicked cl275--; unkind 1297-1602; bad al300--; unfair 13..+1375 (2); unquert 13..-cl470; wrakeful cl310 (1); quedful 1340-1340/70; divers 1340-1581; mis cl350-1556; felonous cl374-1594; felon 1375-- now poet; warlock cl375-1724; imperfect 1377-1630; lewd c1386-1709; nought 1387-1728; unblessed 1388--; ungoodly 1390-1553; diverse 1393-1483; felly 1401+1749; unvirtuous 1432--; meschant al4501649; ill-deedy cl460+1535-- Sc; sinister 1474--; sinny cl475 (1); poid 1513 (1) Sc; scelerous 1534-al660; naught 1536-1740; naughty 1536--; noughty 1541-1657; flagitious 1550--; goodly 1553-1680+1828 (Scott); pernicious 1555-1791; iron al592-1697+ 1805; improbate 1596 (1); nefarious 1604--; villain 1607+1851; scelestious 1608 (1); infand 1608-1678+1889; paganish 1613--; scelestic 1628 (1); inimicitious 1641-1761; infandous 16441708; feculent 1653-- fig; iniquous 1654-1724; improbous 1657 (1); malefactious 1660 (I); pert al704-1752; iniquitous 1726--; unfine $1762+1793$; fetid/foetid 1805-- fig; unredeemed 1805--; malfeasant 1809 (1); demoralized 1817 (1); scarlet 1820 (1); gammy 1839~- Tramps' slang; nefast 1849 (1); unracy al859 (1); malefactory 1871 (1) rare; bloody 1934--; disvaluable 1942 (1).

- inherently: unkind cl425-- now dial; naughty 1554-1658. . daringly: derf al300-1570.
. in repute: tihtbysig OE; unhlise OE.
. in intention: wiperhycgende OE.
. in heart: bad-hearted 1827 (1).
.inclined to be: wohgeorn OE.
- fraught with that which is: wanlich cl205 (1).
following ways which are: wicked-walking 1608 (1).
- dwelling on that which is: morous $1447-1594$ rare; morosous 1616 (1) rare; morose 1644-1661 rare.
.having a distinctive characteristic which is: pitch-branded 1593 (1).
. of birth or origin which is: ill-born $1640 / 4+1701$.
.for (something): naughty for 1573 (1); unimproving 1747--.
-so much so as to be worthy of death: deathworthy al300-1593+ 1882.
-and foolish: yfeldysig OE poet.
-and deadly: deapberende OE.
- and hurtful: yfel OE.
. of an unfortunate year: godleas OE.
. somewhat: wickedish 1853 (1).
- extremely: flagitious 1382--.

AjA noughty 13..-1603; nought a1425-1607.
.unnaturally: unkindly a1225-1614; unkind c1250-1656.
AjW unpeawfæst OE; yfellibbende OE poet; mislived c1374-1566; ill-faring al400-1589; ill-vivand cl460 (1); misliving 15191624; evil-belived 1557 (1) rare.

AjT ungesælig OE; widmære OE; yfel OE; shrewd 1382-1678.
AjP lyperful OE; lypre OE; wamful OE poet; ungesælig/unseely OE1412/20; ill al200-1737+1813- Sc; unwrast a1225-c1535; wrong al300--; wrack cl375 (1); shrewd cl384-1664; vicious c1386--; vitious c1400-1755; naughty 1529-1699.
-female: virago 1598--; viragoish 1887--.
-a convict: black dress 1899 (1).
.unnaturally: unnatural 1552--.

NQ arleasnes $O E ;$ awyrgednes $O E ;$ bærsynnig $O E ;$ bealunip $O E ;$ firencræft $O E$ f forwyrht $O E$; fracop OE; ful $O E ;$ gal $O E ;$ hindernes $0 E$; hinderscipe $O E$; iermp $O E$; inwit $O E$; inwitstæf OE; 1ap OE; lysu OE; manfæhpu OE; manfulnes OE; nearopanc OE; nearopancnes $O E$; nip $O E$; nipscipe $O E$ poet; teona $\overline{O E ; * \text { "pweora }}$ OE; *(ge)pweornes OE; *pweorscipe OE poet; ungod OE; unlættu OE; unrihtdom $O E ;$ unrihtnes $O E ;$ unsæd $O E ;$ unsnotornes $O E ;$ unwisnes $0 E$; wea $O E$; weargnes $O E$; wipercorennes $O E$ poet; wohfulnes OE; wohnes OE; wrecnes OE; wyrgpu OE poet; yfelgiornes 0 E ; yfelwillendnes 0 E poet; bealu/bale $0 \mathrm{E}--$; facen/faken 0E-c1200; lypernes/litherness OE-1340; man/man OEc1200; nawuht/naught OE-1656; woh/wough OE-al450; unrihtwisnes/ unrighteousness OE--; yfle/evil OE--; yfelnes/evilness OE1730/36; unitharf cl200(1); witherfulness c1200 (I); quedship c1205-a1225; mixschipe al225 (1) rare; unwrastship a1225+c1320; shrewhead cl290-cl315; felony cl290-c1489; folly cl290-c1489; litherhead 1297-cl305; wickedhed(e) a1300-1370/80; wickness al300-1382; malice al300-1605; ill al300-1818; quedness 13001340; shrewdom 13.. (1); lither 13..-1340/70; shrewdhead 13..14..; shrewdship 13..-cl425; iniquity 13..---; wickhede c1305 (1); unwrastness c1315 (1); quedhead c1315-1340; shrewdness c1315-1540; wick c1330-1447; wickedness al340--; wickedrede cl375 (1); badness $1377+1605--$; unequity $1380+1382$ both Wyclif; lewdness 1387-1623; wickedlek al400 (1); shrewness cl425 (1); ungoodlihead 1430/40 (1); wickdom cl440 (1); rudeness 1451-1538; unkindliness c1470--; mischief 1470/85-1611; mauvasty 1474-1483; illness cl500-1718;
filthiness 1526--; noisomeness 1530--; noughtihood 1536 (1); naughtiness 1541-1677; noughtiness 1551-1577;
inexcellence/inexcellency 1590 (1); improbity 1594--;
flagition $1598+1600$; scelerateness 1613+1632; pravity 16201822/34; meschantness 1644 (1); negative 1647+1770;
flagitiousness $1692+1750+1855$; villainy 1702 (1); flagitiosity 1727+1775; bale-fire 1855+1872; ill-conditionedness 1866--. iniquitousness 1870 (1).

- in the widest sense: ill al300--; evil cl340--.
-great: peodenbealu $0 E$; cursedhede a1300-1382; cursedness al300-al639.
-deadly: feorhbealu OE.
. of sins: damningness 1645 (I).
.hand that does: manfolm OE.
-tendency to: lesion 1835-- fig.
-incitement to: unlar OE.
-an instance of : nip OE.
- a place or state of : hell cl374--.
- a gulf of: swallow cl380-al624.
- a centre of: pandemonium 1800-1816.
. the source of (in Japanese tradition): kimon 1871--.
-a time of: dismal cl300-cl400.
. -plural: dismal days c1400-1618; dog-days al555-(1835).
- prolonged: iron age al592--.
-the side of a person which embodies: hyde 1887--.
-speech which embodies: mis-speech c1350-1496.
-the condition of: naughtiness 1550-1709/29.
NA (ge)fleard OE; unrihtdæd OE; wonder 1154-al300; wickedness al300--; perpetration cl450--; wicked-doing 1535 (1); maleficence 1598--; malefaction 1602--; malefacture 1635-1652; perpetrating 1643 (1).
- person who is martyred through: martyr c1380-- sarcastic. -spec. that of being an accomplice in evil: complicity 1656+ 1818--.

NAc ungood al250tal568+1885; villainy 13..--; wickedness al325--; turpitude 1597--.

ND bealudæd OE; bismer OE; facendæd OE; firen OE; firendæd OE poet; firenweorc $0 E$ poet; forsceap $O E ;$ fracopdæd $O E ;$ gnyrn OE poet; inwitweorc OE poet; lapweorc OE poet; manforwyrht OE; morp 0 E ; morbdæd 0 E ; undæd 0 E ; wamdæd 0 E poet; wamm 0 E ; weadæd OE poet; yfeldæd OE; yfelweorc OE poet; mandæd/ man deed OE-cl175; unwrenc/unwrench OE-cl250; uniwrenche cl250 (1); trippet c1330-al400; check cl330-cl430; wretchedness cl380-cl386; feat 1481+1559; dog-trick cl5401803; malefice 1591-- obs or arch; mistreading 1596-1760/72; meschantery 1665 (1) rare; naughtiness 1882 (1). -plural: iniquities 1477-1804.

- a bag hanging at one's back/front, containing one's own/ everyone else's: wallet 1528-1638 fig.
ungewuna 0 E ; unwrenc 0 E ; miswune cl200 (1); unlaw al225 (1); misuse 1509-1604.
bealupanc $0 E$; misgehygd $O E$ poet; ungepanc $O E$. -habit of having plural: morose delectation 1651 (1). - volitional: unrihtgewilnung $O E$; unrihtgewill $0 E$; miscovetise 1496 (1).
misliving cl325-1558+1906 rare or obs.
naht $O E ;$ unnyt $O E$; unweod $O E ;$ sur/sour $O E--$ fig; shrew cl3151620; bad $1586+1592+1869$; malum in se 1623--; naught al639 (1). -mark/characteristic which is a: pitch-brand al656 (1). -personification of: hag al225+1557+1830.
. secret and: mystery of wickedness 1382 (1); mystery of iniquity 1526--.
.collective term for: jazz.1936--.
NTP bad news 1926-- colloq.
NP deofol OE; firenwyrhta 0 E ; fleardere 0 E ; framhycgend OE ; grynsmip $0 E$; inwidda $0 E$; mandæda $O E$; manfordædla $0 E ;$ mangenga $O E$; nahtfremmend $O E$; teonsmip $O E$ poet; unmann $O E ;$ unrihtdæde $O E$; unrihtdoend $O E$; unrihtwillend $O E$; unrihtwyrcend OE; unrihtwyrhta $O E$; vipere $O E$; wipermede $O E$; whfremmend $O E ;$ wrohtsmip OE poet; wyrcend OE; yfeldæda OE; yfeldond OE; fiend c1220-- transf; qued(e) c1250-cl460; shrew cl250-al650; wick 1297-1390; felon al300-1814; sherew 13..-cl386; malfeasor cl330-1424; shrow c1375-al650; evil-doer 1398--; puck/pook c1412 (1); forfeiter 1413-1611; wicked-doer c1450 (1); malefactor 1483--; improbe 1484 (1); wicked 1484-1560+1853; gomorr(h)ean 1522-1613; dunghill 1553-1665; felonian 1594 (1) rare; naught 1657--; pimp al704--; cacodemon/-dæmon 1711-1854; black sheep 1792--; hellicat $1816+1893$ Sc; a bad lot 1862--; malfeasant 1882 (1); bloody 1960+1960.
-male: naughty pack 1549-1667.
.-plural: (the) lither al225-1393.
-female: virago cl386--; meschyne 1490 (1) rare; naughty pack
1530-1743; beldam(e) al586--; hell-cat al605--; hell-hag
1665-1817; feloness 1845 (1) Browning,rare;
..character of: viragoship 1666 (1).
..state of being: beldamship 1636 (1).
-plural: (the) wicked 13..--.
- a race of: mancynn OE.
-opposite a hero (in a play etc.): anti-hero 1714--; (the) villain 1822--.
․female: anti-heroine 1907--.
. when losing: a bad loser 1892--.
- who is a guest: inwitgæst OE poet.
- Who is a companion: weagesip OE.
- who is a persecutor: mangenipla $O E$ poet.
- who is damned: lost soul 1818--.
.in intention: mal-intentionee al734 (1).
. in way of life: misliver 1436-1604+1873 rare or obs.
- or animal: shaitan 1834--.
- unnaturally: unnaturalist 1835 (1).

AvM arleaslice 0 E ; earge 0 E ; earme OE ; fæcne OE ; firenum $O E$;
forcupe $O E$; fracoplice $O E$; manfullice $O E$; manlice $O E$; nearolice $0 E$; on pweorh $O E$; pweores 0 E ; pweorlice 0 E ; ungesæl(ig)lice 0 E ; unnytlice 0 E ; unrihtlice 0 E ; untela OE ; wohlice OE; yfle 0E; nahtlice/noughtly OE-1594 rare;
unrintwislice/unrighteously 0E--; wrape/wrothe 0E-cl400; wrothly cl200-cl230; unwraste cl205 (4) + al225; ill cl205-1793; litherly al225-?al400; foul al225--: quedly c1300-1340; shrewdly 13..-1532; felonly al303-1533; unwrastly c1320 (I); foully cl330-1655+1881; wickly 1338 (1); wickedfully cl375 (1); lewdly 1382-1667; felonously 1436-1532/3; badly c1440--; felonment cl470 (I); mischievously 1470/85 (I); meschantly 1491-1661; diversely 1523 (I); sinisterly 1532-1625; illy 1549-- now chiefly US; noughtily cl550-1597; naughtily 1552-1632; perniciously cl559--; naughtly 1575-1609; evilly 1580--; nefariously 1599--; bad 1611-- chiefly US; scelerately 1632 (1): viciously 1635/56-1790; improbously 1657 (1); piggishly 1792--; iniquitously 1796-1829; vilely 1815--; pervertedly 1816--.
.of a bias towards: sinisterly 1529-1653; ill-favouredly 15451724.
.to an unnatural degree: unnaturally cl485-1719.

VG .in contriving something: yfelmynnan $O E$.
.in one's desire: yfelwilnian OE.

- by ministering to anything evil: pimp (vi) 1681--.
- by using (something) for an evil purpose: suborn (vt) al6191677.

VM forscyldigan $0 E$; unrighteous (vt) 1593 (1); unregenerate (vt) 1861 (1).

VD wiergan 0E; lither (vi) al300 (3); perpetre (vt) 1490-1491; perpetrate (vt) 1547=.
.to: misfease (vt) 1571 (1).

- to try/plan: seek (on/to) (vt) cl250-1390.

VB aheardian $O E$.
VW mislybban/mislive (vi) OE-1579.
$\operatorname{PhX} \frac{\text { It is easy to slip into evil ways: }}{1618+1885--}$ facilis descensus averni

See Also: EVIL A2--EVIL A10 inclusive, EVIL C8, EVIL C13, EVIL E1, EVIL E4.

EVIL AND DARK

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AjG deorcful OE fig; dierne OE; dimm OE; mirce OE; deorc/dark
    0E--; sweart/swart OE-1594; flasky 1575 (1) rare; black
    1583-1821 fig; sable 1726+1749; darksome 1880(1).
    .in heart: black-hearted 1849--.
    .in soul: black-souled 1840--.
NQ dimnes OE.
    .of the heart: black-heartedness 1871 (1).
    -the side (of a thing/person) which embodies: night-side
        1848--.
    darkling 1773 (2).
AvM swearte OE poet.
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    See Also: EVIL Al.
    A3 EVIL AND GRACELESS
AjG graceless 1399--; ungracious 1415-1683.
AjP ungracious al225-1793.
NQ : ungraciousness 1509-1742; gracelessness 1588--.
NP graceless cl386-1675+1858--; want-grace 1603-1621; slack-grace
1623 (1).
AvM ungraciously 1377-1645; gracelessly cl440-..
See Also: EVIL Al.
A4 HELLISH
AjG hellic OE; hellish 1569-1826; infernal 1603--; tophetical 1684+1859.
-and terrible: tartarean 1806/7--.
-hastening to a place which is: grundfus OE.
- bound for a place which is: hellfus OE poet.

NQ . hellishness 1608--; infernality 1805+1862; tophetism 1859 (1).
NX hell cl374--; tophet 1618--; infernalism 1864+1888.
NT infernal 1610 (1).
-which is a decoction: hell-broth 1605--.
NTP hell on wheels 1843--.
NP hellehund OE; hell-hound cl420-- ; hell-kite 1605--. - who deserves to burn in hell: fire-brand $1340+1551+1560$ transf.

AvM hellishly cl580-- ; infernally 1638--.

VM infernalize (vt) 1817+c1875.

See Also: EVIL A1, EVIL A5.

External X-R: III 5 Religion: hell.

A5: DIABOLICAL

AjG deofollic/devilly OE-al628; fienden cl315+c1375 rare;
serpentine 1387/8--; diabolic 1483--; devilish 1494--; feding 1506-1551 rare; diabolical 1546--; satanical 1547/64--; serpent-like al586--; demoniacal 1614--; serpentive 1635-1649; devilized 1701--; satanic 1793--; fiendlike 1804--. .in appearance etc.: fiendlike 1605--.

NQ devility 1589-1609; devilry 1637--; devilship 1644+1871;
devilism 1652--; diabolism 1681--; diabolicalness 1727-a1800; deviltry al825--; demonry al851 (1); diabolicity 1865 (1); demonishness al930 (1). -personification of: devil 1604--.

NA devilry 1533-1581+al876; devilment 1771--.
ND deofoldæd OE poet.
NC satanity $1864+1903$.
NN " devilishness 1530--; diabolism 1754--; diabolicality 1839 (1); fiendism 1852 (1) rare.

NP deofolcunda OE poet; feond/fiend OE--; dragon 1508+1715; fiend of hell l509--; satan 1596--; infernal 1748+1788. .female: hag 1587--; haggard 1658-1715.
.- who supposedly rides the air by night: night-hag 1666--.
..who is an evil spirit: hag 1552-1810.
-little: fiendkin 1377 (1) Langland, obs.
-who is an agent of satan: lim OE; deofles lim/devil's limb OE-1660+1833 (dial); fiend's limb al340 (1); limb of satan cl350-1607; limb of the fiend 1434 (1); thieves' limb cl450 (1); sergeant (of satan) $1513+1570$; imp of the devil/satan/ etc. 1526--; limb of the devil al540 (1); limb of hell 1645 (1).
-personality of: darkship 1707 (1).
-domain of: devilhead al350+1870 (Morris); devilhood 1618--; devildom 1825--.
deofollice OE; devilly al300-cl400; serpentinously 1502 (1); devilishly l531--; diabolically 1599--; serpent-like $1605+$ al699; satanically 1606+1824--; diabolicly 1683 (1).

VG
to devil it (vp) 1593 (1); devilize (vi) 1647+1720.
-by wishing someone at the devil: to wish (one) at vinegar (vp) 1774 (1).
-by subjecting to diabolical influence: diabolize (vt) 1823--.
-by possessing with satan: persatanize (vt) 1857 (1).
-by betraying something diabolical in one's character/motives: to show the cloven foot/hoof 1841--.
bedevil (vt) $1768+1809$.

See Also: EVIL A1, EVIL A4.

External X-R: III 5 Religion: devil.

OFFENSIVE

AjG whelpish 1586--; viperous 1593--; offensive 1594--; vermin 1602 (1); verminian 1640 (1); spider-like al653--; verminly 1653 (2); nasty $1705--$; rancid 1833--; skunky 1897 (1). .of the mind: nasty-minded 1921--.

AjT verminous 1621/3--; viperous 1805--.
AjP spiderous 1533+1648; viperous 1538-- now rare or arch; spidered 1659 (1); spiderly 1891 (1).

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NQ offensiveness 1618-- ; skunkdom 1839 (1).
    .of the mind: nasty-mindedness 1940--.
    objectionable 1884--; man-killer 1929-- transf, fig; nasty
        1935--.
    NP
    vermin 1581--; crab-staff al603 (1); crab 1825--; crab-stick
        1841+1877 (dial); rotter 1894-- slang; undesirable 1900 (1);
        greaser 1900--; four-letter man 1923-..
    .plural: vermin 1562--; verminaille 1600 (I).
AvM spider-like 1604--; offensively 1660--; verminously l860--.
    See Also: EVIL Al, EVIL B7, EVIL B9.
A7 WORSE
AjG sæmra OE; wiersa/worse OE--; war/waur cl250-- Sc & Nth;
    werrar cl400 (1); worser 1495--; worserer 1752+1842.
    -progressively: worse and worse 1535-1596.
    .making: deformative l641 (1); deteriorative 1800--;
    deteriorating 1836+1883.
NT wiers/worse OE--.
NP worse cll75--.
AvM wiers/worse 0E-1781; war/waur cl1200-- Sc; worser 1560-(1835).
to do worse (vp) 1154-1605.
See Also: EVIL Al, EVIL Al0.
External X-R: I 6.4 Quantification: deterioration \& II 3.1.5 dislike.
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|  | deoplic $O E$; firenlic $O E ;$ grimm $O E$; healic $O E ;$ hefig $O E ;$ hefiglic/hefelic 0 E ; hefigtyme $O E$; mirce $0 E$; ondrysne $O E ;$ |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
|  | awly c1200+cl375; grill al300-1570; cursed/curst al300-1765; strong al300-1593+1818; grievous al300-1683+1860 now only |
|  | arch; ugly al300--; heinous cl374--; mis-shapen c1375-1509; excessive 1393-1656; fell cl440-- now poet \& rhet; outrageo |
|  | 1456--; enorm 1481-al639; nefand 1490-1616; scelerate al513 |
|  | 1545-1665; facinorous 1548-1721+1871 obs exc arch; flag |
|  | 1550--; funestal 1555 (1); monstrous 1560--; monstruous |
|  | 1562 (Sc)+1724; prodigious 1568-1652; bonable 1575 (1) rare; |
|  | felonious 1575-1827 now chiefly poet; bomination 1589+1599; |
|  | unvenial 1589+1644; enormous 1593-1827; villainous 1596--; |
|  | nameless 1611--; pitchy 1612+1810; round 1638 (1); nefandous |
|  | 1640-1827; scarlet 1641-1656; funestous 1647-1689; funest |
|  | 1654-- now rare; aversable 1663 (1) rare; atrocious 1669--; |
|  | frightful 1700--; flagrant 1706--; heathenish 1718--; |
|  | atroce al733 (2); unspeakable 1831--; purple 1905 (1). |
|  | -acting in a way which is: outraging 1895 (1). |
|  | . and absurd: monstrous 1573/80--. |
|  | . and flaming (of shame etc.) : burning 1605-1817 fig. |
|  | .most: nipemest OE. |
|  | arrant 1639-- transf; errant al720-- |
| AjP | flagitious 1382--; arrant 1393--; errant 1393--; scarlet |
|  | 1709 (1); atrocious 1772--. |
|  | c. of their attitude to crime: heinous 15 |

NQ lap OE; slipnes OE; grievousty cl410-cl425; atrocity 1534--; malignity 1534-- arch; monstruousness 1561 (1); enormity 1563--; heinousness 1563--; monstrousness 1574-1818; ugliness 1601--; monstruosity 1606-1724; enormousness al631-1667; monstrosity 1651--; enormance 1682 (1); flagrancy 1714-1810; atrociousness 1731-1793; outrageousness 1869 (1). .combined with awe: awfulness al $300+1651-\cdots$.

NA excess cl386-1791.
firenleahter 0 E ; excess 14..-- chiefly pl; atrocity 1793--.
NC guilt 1729-1819.
NT beast (of a) 1862-- fig.
NTP arch-X 1551--.
NP
monster 1556--; prodigy 1594-1656; scelerate 1715-1790+1880 obs exc arch; humgruffian 1825+1842.

AvM deope OE; firenlice OE; hefelice OE; to wundre/to wonder OEa1300; awly cl230+c1375; foully cl230--; wick c1330-1393; outragely al340 (1); deeply 1382--; cursedly cl386-1679; outrageously 1387--; wicked al425-1663+1829--; heinously cl440--; enormly 1538 (1); rankly 1549-1824; arrantly al600cl660+1834; flagitiously 1612/15--; enormously al619-1689; enormiously al641 (2); flagrantly 1756--; atrociously l765--.
outrage (vt) 1590--; to burn it blue (vp) 1731 (1) fig. enorm (vt) 1602-1612.

See Also: EVIL Al, EVIL B9.

UNPARDONABLE

AjG botleas $O E$; unfeormigende $O E ;$ unmiltsigendlic $O E$; unonlysendlic OE; untolysendlic OE; irremissible 1413--; uncleansable 1483 (1) rare; impardonable 1523-1797; unpardonable 1525--; inexcusable 1526-1775; unforgiv(e)able 1548--; unexcusable 1550-1685; pardonless 1567--; inexpiable 1570--; unreclaimable 1577-1652; irremittable 1587+1635; unremissible 1593+1603; unsatisfiable 1593+l648; unexpiable $1606+1657$; excuseless 1611-1667+1889; pretenceless 1641-1818; unpalliable 1673 (1); unatonable 1689+1881; irredeemable al834+1892; redemptionless 1866 (1); unsalvable•1895 (1). - and hence unpardoned
. . of people, from hel1: unsalved al240 (1); unredeemed 1548--. ..Of crimes: unpalliated 1827 (1).

AjP unreclaimable al656-1717.

NQ irremissibleness 1612/15+1710; inexcusableness 1612/15-a1716; unpardonableness 1646--; inexpiableness 1650 (1); unexcusableness al660 (1); irremissibility 1847+1895; inexcusability 1888 (1). .of people, from hell: unsalvableness 1684 (1); unsalvability 1891 (1).

AvM irremissibly 1491--; inexcusably 1587--; unexcusably 1611+ 1647; unpardonably 1645+1811+1856; unpardonable 1662 (1); inexpiably 1684--; unforgiv(e)ably 1890--.

See Also: EVIL Al, EVIL Ell.

A10
WORST

AjG
the worst 1606--.

AvM wierst/worst 0E--; at the worst 1532-1771; at worst 1605-1639; at one's worst 1845--.

VD to do the/one's worst (vp) 1390--.

See Also: EVIL A1, EVIL A7.

EVIL

SECTION B: EVIL \& INFERIOR

AjG nipera OE; niperlic OE; feeble c1275-cl470; poor al300--; vile al300--; horrible 1460-- now colloq; naughty 1526-1683+ 1799 (Sc); inferior 1531--; reprobate 1545-1827; lousy 1568-fig; wooden 1592-1719; puny 1593--; hedge 1594-1816; rubbish 1594-1722+1979; sordid 1596-1751; puisne 1635-1782; turn-coated cl645 (1); horrid 1666-- collog; farandinical 1675 (1) rare; topping 1693-- ironic; dreadful 1700-- colloq; frightful 1700--; baddish 1755--; tinnified 1794 (1); shocking 1798--; awful 1809-- slang; shabby 1820--; third rate 1838--; deterior 1839 (I); ghastly 1861-- colloq; tin-pot 1865--; mouldy 1876 (1) transf \& fig; low-grade 1878--; rotten 1880-- slang; rocky $1883+1890$ slang; cheesy 1896-- slang; punk 1896-- collog; appalling 1919--; crumby/crummy 1931-- slang; under the arm 1937-- slang; ropy 1942-- slang \& colloq; manky 1958-- local; grotty 1964-- slang; schlocky 1968--.
-very: tenth-rate 1834--; tenth-remove 1905 (1). -more: wiers OE.
.most: nipemest $O E$; wierst $O E$; worst cl325--.
AjT mean 1377-1770; low 1727--.
AjP .in character: faulty 1574--; faulted 1608 (1). - in ability: mean 1387-1738.
-according to another's insult/abuse: shake rotten 1595 (I); strummell-patch 1599 (1); thornbackly 1605 (1); toad-spotted 1605 (I) Shksp; mongrel 1605-1720; shit-breeched 1664 (I); mole-catching al693 (1); nine-eyed 1694-1703; rigwiddy 1790-- Sc; cock-sucking 1923-- coarse slang; mother-fucking 1959-- coarse slang, orig \& chiefly US; mother-loving 1964 (1): mother-raping 1966- US slang; mothering 1970 (1) US slang.
worseness cl380--; povierty 1387--; netherty cl449 (2); evilness 1548-1621; meanness 1556--; bad 1591-1816; inferiority 1599--; worserness 1602 (1); inferiorness 1674+ 1727; deteriority $1692+1719$; baddishness 1824 (1); shoddiness 1886 (1).
-action of lowering thing/person to: villainizing 1678-1693.
arse-gut 1668 (1) fig; wasteling 1750 (1); rep 1786 (1); wastrel 1790--; waster al800--; arse hole 1948-- fig. -plural: fifth 1881--; schlock 1915-- colloq, chiefly Nth Amer.
.most: worst ?al400-1637.
NP
geongra $0 E$; lower cl200-cl450; netherer cl449 (1); inferior 1500--; puny 1579-1711; puisne 1601-1663; wretch 1688--; third-rateling 1816 (1); third-rater 1820 (1). .male: gent 1842--.
.plural: worsers 1581 (1); (one's) worses 1873 (2).
-according to another's term of abuse: deofol OE; wærloga/ warlock 0E-1500/20; lurdan al300-- obs exc arch; avetrol cl300-cl320; congeon/conjon cl300-? cl400; dirt cl300-- ; wirling 13..-- now Sc \& dial; wretch 13..--; slime cl315-1652; frog cl330-1626; shrew 1362-1508+1888 (pseudo arch); jordan 1377+1500/20; swine cl380-1594+1842--; wariangle al400/50 (1); sorrow al400/50+1816-- chiefly Nth \& Sc; quengeoun c1430 (1) rare; hor(e)cop cl430-1578; lotterel cl440 (2); paddock al450-1605+1893 transf; chuff cl450 (Sc)+1564-1848+1881 (dial); turd cl450--; ram-skyt c1460 (1) rare; spart c1460 (1); souter 1478-al585; cut cl490-1725+1820 (Scott) obs or dial; baboon cl500-1678 fig; streaker 1500/20 (1) Sc; cockatrice 1500/20 (Sc)+1542-1794; spink 1508 (1) Sc; mandrake 1508-al585 (Sc)+1597-1604; rook 1508-1784; sow 1508--; dirt-dauber cl515-1647; waterlag al529 (1); pole-hatchet al529+1826; bum $1540+1572+1825$ not polite; bear-wolf 1545 (1); pig 1546-1586+1885--; excrement 1561al688; mamzer 1562--; varlet 1566--; toad al568--; spider 1568--; bull-beef 1572+c1618; curtal 1578-c1612; spider-catcher 1579-1711; stickdirt al585 (1); mongrel al585 (Sc)+1601-1764; roit al585-- Sc; dogfish 1589-1731; whor (e)cop al590-1599; tartar 1590 (1) Shksp; tar-box al592t 1687; pot-hunter 1592+1592+1592; venom 1592-1601 rare; porcupine 1594-1606; lick-fingers 1595 (1); mouldy-chaps/ -chops 1595-1634; tripe 1595-1785; conundrum 1596 (1); land-rat 1596-1632; fat-guts 1596--; nag 1598-1606; thornback 1599 (1); stinkard c1600-1700; tumbrel 1601 (1); pilcher 1601-al640; lobster 1602-1609; windfucker 1602al616; mole-catcher 1603-1629; wolf's fist 1606 (1); stinker 1607-- vulgar; shad 1610 (1); whit 1610 (I); tim 1610+1673; renegado 1611 (1); splay-foot 1612 (1); hog-rubber 1614-1621; runt 1614--; verdugo al616-al625; flea-trap al616+1681; babion 1624 (1); fish-face al625--; rat 1629--; hound's head 1633 (1); nightmare $1633+1824$; toad's guts 1634 (1); shagamuffin 1642 (.1); shit-breech 1648 1680; chuff-cat 1653 (1); dog's'face 1676 (1); shit-abed' 1690 (1); tar-barrel 1695 (1); swab 1710--; fat-face 1741-- now slang; shit-sack 1769-1785; beast 1772--; bag of tripe 1822 (1); son of a sea cook cl825+1865; bastard 1830--; vagabond 1842--; B 1851--; shick-shack 1855-- dial; wind-sucker 1880 (1); cock-sucker 1891-- coarse slang; fucker 1893--; scunge 1900-- collog, orig Sc; S.0.B./s.o.b. 1918-- chiefly US; mucker 1929--; basket $1 \overline{93} 6+1958$ euphem slang; cowson 1936--; meatball 1941-- fig; schwein(e)hund 1941--; mugger 1945-- slang; mother-feryer 1946 (1) US slang; morpion 1954 (1) Beckett, transf, rare; mother 1955-- US slang; mother-fucker 1956-- coarse slang, orig \& chiefly US; louser 1960--; salaud 1962--; mother-raper 1966 (1) US slang; louser-up 1967 (1); effer 1967--; chicken-shit 1968--; hooer 1969-- Austral \& NZ.
. .male: whoreson 13..- $\overline{1} 7 \overline{12}+1821--$ arch; bitch-son c1330 (1); bitch-clout al400 (1); yaldson a $\overline{1400}$ (1) Sc \& Nth; bitch al500--; whore's son cl500 (1); hag al529-1676; conger 1597 (1); scarab cl600-1676; brach 1610+al652 fig; scarabee 1615-1677; conger-head 1630 (1); whore's bird 1673--; son of a whore 1675-1700; whore's kitling al700 (1); bugger 1719--.
..female: rebeck cl386 (1) Chaucer; visenage 14.. (1); harlot cl485+1823; tarleather 1575 (1) rare; faggot 1591--; whipperginnie 1593-1599; proud peat 1599-a1623+1828--; city wire 1609-1632; she-dog 1821 (1); cunt 1929--.
...old: viritrate cl386 (1) Chaucer; ribibe c1386 (Chaucer)1616.
..child: congeon/conjon cl330-?al400.
..personality of: verdugoship 1610 (1).
-according to another's term of contempt: cat al225-- fig; gegge al300-1387; fox-whelp c1320 (1); whelp 1338-1634; scout cl380-c1485+1822-1869 (Sc); creature al400/50-1813; turnbroach cl430--; strummel 1500/20 (2) Sc; foumart 15081633+1892; get 1508-- now dial $\&$ slang; shit 1508--; scofting 1514 (1); rag 1566--; ćlinchpoop/clenchpoop 15681589; pismire 1569-1818; huddle (and twang) 1579-1600; truss 1585 (1); whipster 1589--; a parcel of (man) 1598-1609; slop 1599 (1); shullock al603+1841 dial; fitchew 1604 (1) Shksp; thing 1610--; trundle-tail 1614-1706; bulchin 1617+ 1638; mullipuff 1629 (1); tick 1631 (1); louse 1633--; turnspit 1683-1809; insect 1684--; foutre/fouter 1780-(1833); blister 1806-- slang; grub-worm 1807/8--; skin 1825+1889; scurf 1854 (1) slang; scut 1873-- dial or slang; bleeder 1887-- low slang, also transf; blighter 1896-- slang, also transf; rass c1918-- Jamaican coarse slang; fart 1937--.
..male: ceorl OE; hund/hound OE--; churl cl300--; page 13..al529; cullion 15..-al652+1843; jockey al529--; sincanter cl540-al640; singcantor 1581-1672; cur 1590-- fig;
duck's meat 1599 (1); swabber 1609--; bob-tail 1619 (1) transf; pompillion al625 (1); cad-worm 1630 (1); swab 1681+ al840-- now SW dial; person 1782 (2); hallion/hallyon 1786-Sc $\underline{\varepsilon}$ Nth dial; peat $1818+1866$; jackeen 1840-- Anglo-Irish.
...dutch: flounderkin al668 (1).
..female: teg al529 (2); puss 1608-1732.
.. poor and/or white, on the pacific coast: pike 1854--; piker 1859--.

- black and seen (by blacks) as part of the white establishment: oreo 1968-- US slang.
..title for: snakeship 1839--.
-according to another's term of reproach: glutton cl300-1523; jaudewin 1340/70-1401; pilate c1400--; swart c1425 (1); hoberd cl450 (2); clapperdudgeon 1567-- arch; jail/gaol-bird 1603--; rascal cl610--; cockloche c1611-1641+1863 ?slang; incubee 1614 (1); swappes 1626 (1); stitchel 1659-1866; dog's head 1676 (1); potwalloper 1820+1905.
. .male: havel cl460+1522; coystrel 1570 (1); coistrel 15811601+1783; custrel 1608 (1).
..female: casbald cl440-cl450; gib al529-al687; cosbaude 1570 (1); rascal $1624+1899$ rare; scolopendra $1633+a 1688$; fleak 1636 (1).

AvM niper OE; poorly cl300-- down cl330--; badly 1377--; meanly 1600-1707; inferiorly 1605--; shoddily 1899 (1).
.more: wiers OE.

- most: wierst 0 E .
-by making an insulting gesture: to make horns at (vp) 16071652 .

See Also: EVIL B2--EVIL B10 inclusive.

External X-R: III 2.1 .1 social class: commonalty.

WORTHLESS

AjG cystleas $O E$ poet; *earg $O E$; nahtlic $O E$; orfeorme $O E$; forcup/ forcouth OE-cl230; godleas/goodless OE-1562; undoughty al2251570; void cl380-1728; bare 1399-1596; worthiless al542-1590; stark naught al543--; queer 1561-1812 thieves' cant; baggage 1580-al670; arrant 1581-1761; hilding $1582-1613+1820$; lorel 1590-1614; ragamuff 1591 (1) rare; worthless 1591--; valueless 1595--; of little/no etc. worth 1597--; losel 1601--; ragamuffin 1602--; offal cl605-- now esp dial; loselled 1606 (1) rare; loselly l611-1694 rare; vagabond 1630--; good-for-nothing 1711--; ne'er-do-well al773--; good-for-naught 1821 (1); sore al825-- dial; neat $1827+1828$ slang; scamping 1832+1839; scampish 1847--; rotten 1881-- slang; ne'er-dowellish 1890 (1).

NQ nahtnes 0 E ; nahtscipe 0 E ; worthlessness 1611--; vileness 1723-- good-for-nothingness 1741--.

NX unnyt/unnut/unnet OE-c1230.
NC
nought c1400-1651.
NP bretheling cl275-?15..; file al300-cl450; javel 13..-cl648/50+ 1825; losard 13.. (2); ribald 1301-1641; waynoun al310 (1); dog cl325--; waster 1352-- now chiefly dial; lorel 1362-1647; losel 1362--; left 1377-cl425; landleaper 1377-al670; brothel 13931594; lorer cl400 (1); shackerell cl420-1610; ne'er-thrift c1440 (1); breel c1440+c1485; neverthrift cl440-1520; brethel cl440-cl547; bordel 1474 (1); never-thriving 1486 (1); landloper 15..--; naughty pack 1526-1855; brathel 1542 (1) rare; unsel 155.-1691+1825+1894 Sc \& Nth; pelf 1551-1781+1876 (dial); wandrel cl557 (1); scald $1 \overline{575+1} \overline{909}+1919$; nebulon 1578 (1); baggage 1594+1601; hilding 1601-1679+1843; arrant 1605 (1); vauneant 1621 (1); thimble-maker 1654 (1); ne'er-be-good 1675-al814; shack 1682-- dial \& US; vagabond 1686--; shag-bag al $700+1865$ colloq; houndsfoot $17 \overline{10}+1712+1814$; idle pack 1725 (1); blackguard 1736--; ne'er-do-well 1737--; trumpery 1738--;
rap 1771--: mauvais sujet 1793--; rip 1797--; good-for-naught 1804--; scamp 1808--; waffie l808-- Sc; ne'er-do-good 1814 (1); vaut-rien 1825/9--; loose fish 1827 (1) colloq; sculpin 1833-1877; good-for-nothing 1847--; wastrel 1847--; scallywag/ scallawag 1848--; shack-bag 1855-- dial; never-do-well 1856 (1); shicer 1859-- slang; beat 1865-- US; hard bargain 1867+ 1893; vaurien 1868--; rodney 1892 (1); git 1946-- slang; no-hoper 1953-- Austral slang; piss artist 1975--.
.female: rip 1791--.

- who begs or lives nomadically: vagarant. 1444-1598; vagrant 1452--.
. in ragged clothing: raggmall 1581 (1) rare; ragamuffin 1581--; patch(c)ock 1596 (1); bash-rag cl600 (1) rare; tatter c1600-1637; tatterdemal(1)ion 1608--; ragabash 16 $\overline{09+1781--~}$ (dial glosses) Sc \& Nth; flabergudgion 1611 (1); flabergulion $\overline{16} 1 \overline{1}+\overline{1677}$; shab(a)roon al700-1847 slang; sansculotte $1812+1815$.
. .body of (plural): tatterdemalionry 1840 (1).
-quality of being: scamphood $1845+1866$ rare; scampishness 1858 (1).
- filth or rubbish applied to (plural): offscouring(s) 1526--; waste 1592 (1); offscum 1605--. .collectively: vagabondage 1855--.

AvM lorelly cl450 (1); scampishly 1880 (1).

See Also: EVIL B1, EVIL B3, EVIL B7.

External X-R: I 5.5 Action: uselessness.

AjG *weargberende $0 E ;$ pautener cl330-cl375; palliard 1484-1638;
limmerful 1500/20 (1) Sc; limmer 1500/20-1562 (Sc)+1637
(Jonson, dial)tal785 (dial); slovenly al515-1579; knaifatic cl550 (1) Sc; rascal 1566--; knavish 1570--; landloping 1577+ 1816-1828 (Scott); cullion-like 1591-1601; patching 1591-1647; roguish 1592-1667/8; scanderbegging 1593 (1); rascally 1596--; scanderbeg 1598 (1); roguing 1598--; cullionly 1605-1645t 1822 (Scott); rogorous 1609 (1); roguy cl610-1712/3; loseling 1624 (1) rare; slip-string 1629-16.. +1824 ; schelmish al634
(1); pickled 1691-1804; scoundrel al700--; scoundrelish 1705
(1); rapscallion l711--; scoundrelly 1790--; pickle 1797 (1); picaresque 1810--; furciferous $1823+1835$ rare, somewhat joc; scapegrace 1830--; rapscallionly $1832+1899$; nut-cut 1874 (1) slang.
-and ragged: shag-rag c1590-1693.

- and (jocularly)deserving to be hanged: rodewyrpe OE;
gallows c1425-1820+1882--(dial); widdiful 1535-- Sc;
rope-ripe 1552-1597+1892-- arch; hangworthy $1580-\mathrm{cl} 670+1888$
(Scott) rare; hempy 1816-- Sc $\underline{\varepsilon}$ Nth.
.and thievish: briberous cl550+al614.
. of a company, composed of people who are: scoundrel $1643+$ 1727/46.

AjC roguish 1596--.

NA roguing 1619-1719.
NAC foist 1605-1677; roguery c1620--; vagabundulo 1631 (1); rascality $1691--$; scoundrelism 1773--; vagabondism 1840 (1); rascaldom 1862 (1).

NC truandise al225-1547; lorelship cl380 (1); truanting cl400 (1); truantry 1426-c1430; coquinery cl430 (1) rare; foul play cl440--; loselry 1480-1594+1894 (arch); loonery 1508-1606 (Sc) +1686; palliardry 1513-1570; knavery 1528--; patching al5501562; slavery 1553-1581; bribe al560 (1); palliardy cl560 (1); smaikry $1573+1583$ Sc; patchery 1582-1607; ropery 1592-1618+1871 (arch); rascality 1592-1825; scutchery 1594-1595; roguery 1596--; cullionry 1611-1648; scoundrelism 1611--; fripon(n)erie 17081818; rascalism 1837--; scoundrelship 1856--; rascalry 1868 (1); scoundreldom 1876 (1); rascaldom 1879 (1); scallywagism 1897 (1); scallywaggery 1897--; scallywagging 1915 (1).

NS roguishness 1578-1755.
NP harlot al225-1659; truant al290-1599; shreward 1297-1338; boy cl300-1588 contempt; custron c1300-a1529+1530-al605 (Sc); lidderon 13..-1553; pautener 13..-c1450+1843; cokin cl330 (1); filth c1350-1709 obs exc dial; briber 1387-c1550; bricoun al400 (1) rare; titivil c 1420 -al553; knape al450-al553+1885 obs exc dial; sloven c1450-c1680; smaik c1450-1548 (Sc)+1815-$\overline{\text { (arch); }}$ limmer 1456-1607 (Sc) +1637 (Jonson, dial) 1828 (Scott); koken 1500/20 (1) Sc, rare; titiviller 1500/20 (1) Sc; swinger 1500/20 (Sc)-1739; smy 1501-al585 Sc; cock lorel c1515-1621; foiterer 1528 (1); knavate al529 (1); losthope cl540 (1); verlet al550-al604; peasant cl550-1601; knave al553-- now rare; varlet 1555--; wild rogue 1561-1673; makeshift 1565-1608; crack-halter 1566-1607; rogue 1578--; kern(e) 1582 (1); schelm 1584-al634+1823 (Scott) +1889 arch; rascal 1586--; scoundrel 1589--; scab cl590--; slave 1592-1607; rampallion 1593-1639+1822 (Scott); crack-hemp 1596 (1) Shksp; cataian 1598-1649; roly-poly 1601-1609; canter 1609-1719+1865 arch; cantler 1611 (1); bezonian $1611+1632+1843$ contempt; skellum 1611-- now arch exc in S.Afr; gue 1612-1658; fraudsman 1615+1958--; shellam cl619 (1); tilt 1620 (1) slang; picaro 1623-1749+1966-- now arch; picaroon 1629-1821+1904--; scanderbeg al635-1684; sheepman 1640 (1); rascallion 1649-now rare; scaramouch 1676--; fripon 1691+1724; rapscallion

1699--; trickster 1711--; shake-bag 1794+1796; sinner 1809--; cad 1838-- colloq; badmash/budmash 1843--; gun 1890 (1) slang; scattermouch $1892+1894$ slang; nut-cut 1901 (1) slang; jazzbo 1919-- US slang.
.female: rampalion 1602 (1) rare; scab al700 (1); varletess 1748 (2); caddess $1870+1884$.
-arrant: unconscionable 1825 (1).
-cunning: gipsy 1627-al635 transf; jip 1728 (1).
-fellow: comrogue 1621-- arch.

- inferior: under-rogue 1706 (1).
-smart, and frequenting cities: city-slicker 1924-- orig US. -minor: rogueling 1790 (1).
-who wears a short cloak: curtal 1561-1567+al700-1725 (Cant dicts).
-who deserves hanging: wickhals 1338-cl400; crack-rope cl450
(Sc) $+1571-1708+1818$ (Scott); widdy-neck c1480-al583 Sc;
widdiful 1508-- Sc; stretch-hemp 1532-1566; slip-string 1546-
1624+1828; hang-up 1562/3 (1); hempstring 1566-1606;
crack-halter 1566-1607; ropefull $1567+1583$ Sc; hang-rope 1570 (1); waghalter 1570-1638; gallow(s)-clapper 1570-1708; rope-ripe 1573-1632; wag-string 1578-1633; stretch-halter 1583-1606; gallows 1588--; halter-sack/-sick 1598-al616; wag-with 1611 (1); roper 1615 (1); gallows-climber 1668 (1); hang-string 1675 (1); hempie 1718-- Sc $\&$ Nth; hang-gallows 1785-1828; gallows-bird 1785--.
-•plural: gallows-brood 1831 (1).
..but has escaped it: scape-tyburn 1602 (1); rope-runner 1612 (1); slip-halter 1659 (1); slip-gibbet 1785 (1); scape-gallows $1799+1838$.
- who has the mark of the gallows in his face: gallows-face 1724 (1).
- who is worthy to be put to death: man of death 1535-1642 Hebraism.
the world of (plural, collectively): loselism 1831 (1) rare; rascaldom 1837--; scoundreldom 1837--; scoundrelry 1859 (1); roguedom 1889 (1); roguery 1898 (1).
-the state of being a: rogueship ?cl600-1797.

AvM knavishly 1481-1825; roguishly 1611--; scoundrelously 1681 (1); rascally 1749-1824.
truant (vi) cl400-cl440; to play the...varlet (vp) 1579-1651; to play the jack (vp) 1610-1668; to rogue it (vp) 1615+1632; rogue (vi) $1702+1755 ;$ scaramouch (vi) 1864 (1).
-by having the look of the gallows: to have the gallows in one's face (vp) 1610--.

See Also: EVIL B1, EVIL B2, EVIL B4, EVIL C5.

AjG ruffian 1553--; ruffianous 1555+cl611; ruffianly l579--;
ruffian-like 1580--; ruffianish 1593--; rowdy 1852--;
rowdy-dowdy 1854-- slang; rough(-)neck 1916--.
AjP ruffianly 1570--; ruffian 1597--; tory-rory l682+1822; rowdy 1819--; tear-brass 1880 (1).

- of a history, relating to people who are: ruffian 1842 (1). .somewhat: rowdyish $1851+1874$.
thuggery 1839--; rowdyism 1842--. -and character: ruffianry 1583 (1); ruffianism 1593-1656+ 1839--; ruffianage 1852 (1); ruffianhood 1856 (1). -and domain: ruffiandom 1886 (1).
tyrant cl375-al578; router al400-1536; ruffy 1500/20-1572; kempy 1525+1801-- Sc $\underline{\text { Nth }}$ dial; ruffian 1531--; cut(-)throat 1535 (Sc) 1 1583--; slasher 1559--; cutter 1568-al734; hacker 1581-1649; hackster 1581--; ruffiano 1618-1819; bully-rock/ -rook 1653-1827; thug 1839--; apache 1920--; goonda (h) 1926--; hoon 1938-- Austral slang; ned 1959-- Sc slang.
-who frequents the streets: scamperer 1712-1804; keelie al825-- Sc; corner-cove 1851 (1) slang; corner-boy 1855--; plug-ugly 1860-- US slang; tough 1866--; larrikin 1870--; corner-man 1885--.
. .in Sweden: raggare 1964--.
-. at night: scourer 1672-1716+1849.
- aristocratic, in the 17th/18th cents.: tityre-tu 1623-1693+ 1849 (Hist); mohock 1711/12-- Hist; tumbler 1712 (1); scarlet 1755 (1).
.hired: myrmidon 1649--; bully 1730-(1848) arch; striker 1859--; goon 1938-- slang, orig US.
.nocturnal: night-runner 14.. (1); night-walker 1467-1820; nightcap 1623 (1).
- Parisian: apache 1902--.
-in the reign of Edward I: trailbaston cl330+1853-- (Hist).
-who breaks windows: nicker 1716--.
.armed with a razor: razor-slasher 1951--; razor-man 1958--.
-. plural: razor-gang 1957--.
-who bullies: bully-ruffian 1653-1809.
- young: bully-boy 1932--.
..Jamaican: rude boy 1967--; rudie 1967--; rude 1975 (1).
-who raises an outcry: barrator cl440-1714; brawl c1440-1725; outcrier 1535-1584; breacher 1697 (1); rowdy 1808--; rough(-)neck 1836-- collog, orig US; rough 1837--; blood-tub 1861 (1) slang, US; roughic 1905-- dial \& slang.
- and is characteristic of the Bowery, in New York: bowery boy $1840+1882$.
.. plural: roaring boys cl590+1659; oatmeals 1624 (1) slang.
- collectively: ruffianage $1852+1874$; ruffiandom 1882 (1); ruffianhood 1884 (1); ruffianism 1890 (1); ruffianry 1891 (1). . a club of: sweating club 1825 (1).

AvM ruffianly 1570--; ruffian-like $1600+1657$.

VG
VM
VT
rowdy (vt) 1825 (1).

See Also: EVIL B1, EVIL B3, EVIL C5, EVIL E12.

DISSOLUTE
aworpenlic OE; steorleas OE; earg OE; unkind 1340-1483; desolate cl386-1782; unthrifty 1388-al571; virtueless 1402--; project 1432/50 (1); unvirtuous 1432--; dissolute 1513--; bastardly $1587+1669$; regenerate $1596+1607$ rare; perdit(e) al632-1645; deperdit 1641-1642; profligate 1647--; profligated 1652-1716; abandoned 1692--; castaway 1818 (1) Scott. . of youthful conduct: wild oats 1881 (1).

NC recolage al300-cl375; reveric cl386+1535 (Sc) rare; unthriftiness cl430-al548; dissoluteness 1549--; profligateness 1668-1786 now rare; profligacy 1738--; wantonness 1775--; unvirtuousness 1865 (1); virtuelessness 1891 (1).
.especially in youth: uncorn 1513 (Sc)+1710.
unthrift cl330--; castaway 1526-1611+1829--; rake-hell 15541766+1870; degenerate 1555--; ruffian 1560-1675; reprobate 1592--; rakeshame 1599-(c1840) now rare, ?US; wag-wanton 1622-1670+1886 (dial) obs exc dial; prostitute 1647 (1); rantipole al700-1829; profligate 1709--; rakehelly al762-1825; wantoner 1812--.

- female: jezebel 1558--.
. youthful: wild oats al564-1605.
unthriftily 13..-1571; unvirtuously al500--; dissolutely 1500--; deperditely 1608 (1); desolately 1608 (1); perditly 1637 (I); abandonedly 1714+1788; profligately 1741-1791.

VG .in youth: to sow one's wild oats (vp) 1576--.
VM
wantonize (vt) 1598-1652+1908 (arch) rare.

See Also: EVIL Bl, EVIL C8.

AjG bleat $O E$; dimm OE; earmful OE; earmsceapen OE; mæte OE; unlæd(e) OE; wræcful OE; wræclic OE; yfel/evil OE-1699; usell c1200 (2); wanliche 1205 (2) unlede al250-al400; sorry cl250--; bad 1297--; caitiff al300-1583; simple 13..c1477; unsel c1375-a1614 Sc $\&$ Nth; lodder al400 (1); shrewdly cl430-1541; meschant 1471-1530; wretched c1482--; peeled c1530-1535; foul 1535+1606; miser 1542-1612; scurvy 1579-now somewhat arch; villainous 1582 (1); forlorn 1582--; measied 1596. (1) fig; thrallful 1615 (1); woeful 1619--; despicable 1635-a1704; deplorable 1642-1682; so-and-so 1655/61756+1883 dial; squalid al660--; lamented 1667--; lamentable al699+1876; mesquin 1706--; shan 1714-- Sc \& Nth; execrable 1738--; poorish 1801--; mean 1817-- mostiy US; bum 1859-slang, orig US; measly 1864-- slang; hummelcorn 1870 (1); shag-bag 1888-- colloq; pathetic 1937--.

AjT lypre/lither OE-1622; unwrast all22-cl300; unorn cll75-1398; lewd 1362-1692; rascal 1585-1748; rascally 1606--; ratty 1876-- slang.

AjP wansælig OE poet; unhappy al300-1828; miserable 1526-1711 now rare; single-soled 1588-1640; ingenerous $1635+1684$.

NQ broc OE; heandom OE; iermp OE; wræcsip OE; uselldom c1200 (1); yomerness cl250 (1); caitifty/caitivetie al300-1393; caitifhead/caitivehead c1340 (1); misery cl374--; caitifness/ caitiveness 1393-1481; caitifdom c1460 (1); deplorarion 1490 (1); villainy 1570 (1); deplorableness $1648+1679$; sorriness 1668--; squalor 1860 (1).

NP earming 0 E ; ierming OE ; niping OE ; pearfend OE ; wræcmæcg $O E$ poet; wyrm OE; wyrmlic OE; wræcca/wretch OE--; argh al275 (1); mix c1275-?al400 transf; crachoun al300-cl340; caitiff al300--; crathon/craton c1340-al $400 / 50$; wretched 1388---; fouling c1450 (1); meschant cl489-1664; ketterel al572+a1585 Sc; miscredent 1577+1847 (dial); miscreant 1590--; scroyle 1595-1821; frummer 1659 (1) rare; (poor) devil 1698--; fusty al732 (1); ramscallion $1733+1855 / 56$ (dial) chiefly Nth dial. .from necessity (plural): the fallen 1878 (1).

AvM bleate $O E ;$ coplice $O E$ poet; mæte $O E ;$ unlædlice $O E ;$ wearglice OE; lypre/lither OE-cl 300 ; 1yperlice/litherly OE-1550+al583 (Sc); uniseliche cl205 (1); evil al300-1599; simply 13751753/4; unhappily cl375-1781; lewdly c1386-1678; lodderly c1425 (1); noughtly 1502-1551 rare; naughtly 1530-1563; wretchedly 1546--; singly 1548 (1); naughtily 1574-al693 sillily 1581-1611; sorrily al586--; evilly 1587--; scurvily 1599--; woefully 1648--; lamentably 1671--; execrably 1693--; miserably l715--; miscreantly al734 (1) rare; grievously 1742--; fecklessly 1862--.

See Also: EVIL B1, EVIL B7.

BASE

AjG *earg OE; lysu OE; lytel OE; *scandlic OE; ungepungen OE; wretch al200-1387; theowlike/thewlike c1200 (2); wick cl200-al500; feeble cl250tcl440; lecher cl250-1603; vile cl290--; caitiff al300--; wicked 13..-1764; roinish 13..-1629+1814; brothely cl325 (1); roinous ?al366-1491; filthy c1400-1828; base al535--; brockish 1546-1553 rare; scabbed 1579-1786; harlotry 1578/80-1663; tinkerly 1592-1647; miscreant 1593--; slavish 1593--; roguy 1598-1680; rascally 1598--; facinorious $1601+1636$; sordidous 1602-1610; unnoble 1606--; project 1607-1616; roguish al625 (1); vild 1650-1805; dirty 1670--; shabbed 1674 (1); shabby 1679--; scoundrel 1681--; scabby $1712+1861$; small 1824--; verminating 1856 (I); low down 1865-- chiefly US; verminiferous 1895--; ragtime 1919-- slang; raunchy 1939-- colloq, orig US; scungy 1966-- chiefly Austral.

- somewhat: sorryish 1853--.
.most: infimous 1613-1663.
AjT lypre OE; unæpele OE; scald 1542-al774. -spec. of wealth: wearglic OE. -spec. of clothing: lyperiic 0 E .

AjP unæpele $0 E ;$ vile al300--; noughty cl395-1563; scald cl5001828; villain 1509-1534; unnoble 1566-1641; vild 1567-1656+ 1767-- arch; brokerly 1592-1611; broking 1592-1639; poor-spirited 1670-1710; scalded al704--; basilar 1884+1899. -and clandestine: hedge-creeping 1579-1656.

NQ abropennes $0 E$; fracopnes $0 E$; unæpelnes $0 E ;$ shendfulness al225 (1); vilty al225-1598; caitifty/caitivetie al300 (1); vilety al300-1602; wretchedness 13..-1755; vilehead 1340 (1); caitifhede/caitivehede cl340 (1); vility 1388-1599+1888 arch; unnobility al400 (1); unnoblety al400 (1); unnobleness cl4001618; infamy 1513--; vileness 1526--; baseness 1577--; vildness 1597-1607; lousiness 1608-1682; caitifness/caitiveness 1649 (1); shabbiness 1827--; piggery 1867--.

NX sordid 1863--.

NAc infamy 1819 (1).
NC: brokery 1597/8-al654; basery 1637 (1) rare; piggism 1852+1979.
NTP unlede c1315-1829; vild $1597+1607$ both Shksp; vile 1817 (1).
NP wræcca/wretch OE--; hinderling c1200-1387; whelp cl330--; vile cl400-1530; beast cl400-- fig; dogbolt 1465-1690+1823 (Scott, arch); poid 1501 (1) Sc; shake-rag 1571-1815; skybald al572-1825 Sc \& Nth dial; vassal 1589-1820; brock al600-- chiefly dial; shack-rag 1611 (I); shag-rag 1611-1719+ 1829-- dial; slubberdegullion al616--; baseling 1618 (1) rare; shag 16 $\overline{20-1801 ; ~ s h a b ~ 1637--~ s l a n g ; ~ s l a b b e r d e g u l l i o n ~} 1653+\overline{1694}$ rare; whiffler 1659--; hang-dog 1687--; reptile 1749--; spalpeen 1815-- Irish; skunk 1841-- colloq; soap-lock 1848 (1);
tiger 1849 (1) Thackeray; white mouse 1850--; sweep 1853-slang \& dial; shake 1859 (1); shuck 1862-- chiefly dial \& US; whiffmagig 1871 (I); ullage 1901+1904 Naut slang; heel 1914-slang, orig US; jelly bean 1919-- slang; a nasty piece/bit of work/goods 1923--; dirty dog 1928--; crut 1937 (1) US slang; crud 1940-- slang, orig US; scrubber 1941-- fig; scumbag 1971-- coarse slang, chiefly US.

- who ministers to another's baseness: pander 1603--.
- on account of being no longer held in esteem: nobodaddy 1922-transf.
-plural, who wear raincoats and frequent pornographic cinemas: raincoat brigade $1976+1977$.
.most: infima species 1645 (1).
.title for: scabship 1589 (1).

AvM aworpenlice OE; earglice OE; lyperlice OE; unæpelice OE; ungedafenlice 0 : ; vile al300--; villiche cl300 (1); brothely cl325 (2); caitifly/caitively 1393+cl425-1513 (Sc); vily cl400-1677; scabbedly al548 (1); basely ?cl550+1656+1872; vilely 1555--; vildly 1575-1748; unsel al583 (1) Sc \& Nth; unnobly 1618-?1648; mean al626--; dirtily al631--; shabbily 1755--.

VM avile (vt) 1297-al670.
VB deturpate (vi) $1691+1833$.

See Also: EVIL A6, EVIL B2, EVIL B6, EVIL B8, EVIL B9.

VILLAINOUS

AjG *weargberende OE; villain 1340-- now rare.
AjA villains 1303-1474; villans cl340-1523; villainous 14...--.

AjP villain 1340-- now rare; glutton 1387/8-1725; villains 13901556; villainous cl550--; miscreantic 1793-179.. .spec. of facial expression: villainous 1828--.
villainy al225--; felon cl325+cl340.
NSc scrap 1679/80-1809 slang.

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NP feondulf \(0 E\); folcsceapa \(0 E ; *\) wearg/wary \(0 E-a 1225\); gering
        cl290 (1); thief 1297-1653+a1800--(dial); gerard al300-
        cl350; villain 1303--; rubiator 1500/20-1583 Sc; villiago
        1593-1651; villainist 1596 (1); viliaco 1599-1630; villagio
        1820 (1).
        -male: bad man 1855-- chiefly US.
        -female: villainess 1586--.
        -roistering: tear-rogue 1685 (1).
        -hired and reckless: bravo 1597--; brave 1598-1693+1865 obs or
        arch; bully 1688--; bully-rake 1711 (1).
    . . Who supports another person: bully-back 1726 (1).
    .. who is a swordsman: bully-swordsman 1837 (I).
    - who is cowardly and terrorizes the weak: bully 1863--.
    .chief: arch-villain 1603-1814.
    - esp. in a play or film: baddy 1937-- colloq, orig US.
    -class of (plural): villaindom 1880 (1).
AvM villainly al325-cl560; villainously ?al366--; villainous
1610 (1); stigmatically 1622-1636.
VG villainize (vi) 1882 (1).
    -surpassingly: out-villain (vt) 1601+al814.
villain (vt) 1609 (I).
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See Also: EVIL B7.

FOUL, FILTHY

AjG onscuniendlic OE: **scandlic OE; wamm OE; ge-wlæt OE poet; wlætlic OE; rank 13..--; fulsome cl375-1826; rote c1386 (1); lousy cl386-- fig; dunghill cl430-1633; miry 1532-- fig; filthy 1535--; murrain 1575-1591; black 1581-- fig; obscene 1593-now somewhat arch; vicious 1597-(1831); leprous 1598-- fig; unwashed $1607+1611+1849$ fig; ketty $1607+1674 / 91$ (dial)-- now dial; dunghilly 1632-1662; putredinous 1641-1711 fig;
putrid 1649-- fig; foede 1657 (1); fulsamic 1694 (1) rare; carrion 1826-- fig; scabrous 1881--; foul 1911-- slang; scummy 1932-- transf \& fig, orig \& chiefly US colloq. . to the senses: fulsome ?1507-1720.
. delighting in that which is: filthy 1526-1778.

NQ fylnes OE; onscunung OE; fylp/filth OE--; foulhead al3001340; fen l387 (1) fig; lepry 1526-1654; filthiness 1526--; foulness cl532--; fedity 1542-1657; fulsomeness 1563+1610; disdain 1590 (1) Spenser; leprosy 1598-- fig; obscenity al618+ 1807+1940--; fetidness 1704--; putridity 1823-- fig; fetidity 1831 (I); disgustingness 1851--; feculence 1860 (1) fig. - and sickly: fulsomeness 1481-1876.
. of action: dirtiness 1649-..
ful/foul 0E+cl400-1768; dung al225--; carrion 1524-1597+ 1845-- fig; feculence 1662--; nastiness 1859--; muck 1899 (2) colloq.

- which is a moral canker: rust OE.

NTP vomit 1610--.

AvM laplic/loathly 0E-1600; foully al300-1697; loathsomely al425--;
fulsomely 1536-1708; obscenely 1588-1740+1922--; nastily
1611--; vowly 1633 (1) Jonson.

See Also: EVIL A6, EVIL A8, EVIL B7.

External X-R: I 4.10 Condition of matter: decay.

AjG execrable 1382 (1); imprecatory 1587--; execratory $1611+1851 ;$ execratious 1748 (1); maledictory 1822--; execrative 1830--. - and consigned to evil: awyrigende $O E$; unlæd(e) OE; wearg OE; awyrgyde/awaried(e) 0E-1340; wærged/waried OE-al 585 ; execrable 1557+1597; devoted $\overline{1611--;}$ execrated 1660-1772/84. -spoken of as: maledicted 1727--; maledict 1867 (I).

- uttering that which is: banning $1586+1591$; maledicent 1599--; maledictive 1865--; execrating $1829+1878$. -invoking that which is: detesting al622+1711; imprecating 1686 (1).
..and consigning to evil: devotory 1652 (1).
- as an everyday imprecation: stinking al225-1710+1898 vulgar; maledight al300 (6); misbeget c1330 (1); banned 1340-1596; damnable cl380--; wariable 1382 (1); curseful 1382+1832--; cursed/curst cl386--; bicched al400-1533; vile al400/50--; whoreson cl440--; unbiched cl460 (1); remauldit 1471 (1) rare; infamous cl489--; execrable 1490--; jolly 1534--; mangy 1538-1694; pretty 1538--; pagan 1550-al704; damned 1563--; misbegotten 1571--; putid 1580-1818 now rare; sacred 1588-- now rare; excremental 1591+1593; accursed/accurst 1591--; inexecrable $1594+1596$ rare; eternal 1601-- now vulgar or dial; desperate 1604--; blasted 1682--; plaguy $1 \overline{694}-$ -
sad 1694--; plagued 1728 (1); damnation 1757--; infernal 1764-- colloq; damn 1775--; deuced 1782--; bloody 1785--; blessed/blest 1806+1865; darned 1815--; blamed 1840-- dial $\&$ US; darn 1840--; darnedest 1844--; deed al845+1859; bleeding 1858-- low slang; deedeed 1864 (1); unholy 1865-- colloq; blame 1876-- US \& dial; durndest 1876--; God awful 1878-slang, orig US; dashed 1881--; bally 1885-- slang; danged 1886 (1); blanked $1886+1902$ euphem; ungodly 1887 (1) colloq; plegged 1887 (2) US; blazing 1888+1916; blankety 1888-euphem; dee 1889 (1); durned 1895--; blistering 1900 (1) slang; blanky 1900+1952 euphem; gummy 1907--; blinking 1914+ 1927 slang; blethering 1915 (1) colloq; blighted 1915+1946 slang; blighting 1916+1934 slang; bee 1926--; effing 1944--; mother-grabbing 1959-- US slang; mother-fucking 1968 (1) coarse slang, orig $\frac{\&}{\text { chiefly US }}$; mothering 1968-- US slang; mother-1oving 1969 (1).
wariedhed 1382 (1); accursedness $1583+1674$.
-spec. an utterance: execration 1563/87--; imprecation 1603--;
anathema 1691--.
. .formulary of (plural): execratory 1675 (1).
. . as an everyday imprecation: awyrgednes OE ; awyrigung OE ; halsung OE; unbletsung OE; weargolnes $O E$; wyrgnes $O E ;$ wyrgung OE; curs/curse OE--; oath cll75--; malison al300-1586+1691-1721 (dial) $1808-1865$ (arch); woe cl400--; reproach 1548-1597; thunderbolt 1559-1633; thundercrack 1577-1646; revile 1579-1645; wish 1592-1594+1820-- dial; ban 1596--; deprecation $1634+a 1804$; revilement 1637--; thunderclap 1665 (1); rapper $1678-a 1734+1890$ (dial) now only dial; winze 1785-- Sc; expletive 1815--; dirty word 1842--; cuss 1848-- US colloq or slang; blank 1854--; swear 1871--; emphatic 1873 (1) joc; sailor's blessing 1876 (1) naut slang; blessing 1878 (1) euphem; swear word 1883-- colloq; rounder 1885 (I); curse-word 1897 (I); dang 1906 (1); sailor's farewell 1937-- naut slang.
...such as a huntsman might utter: hunting oath 1563/87 (1).
... muttered: devil's paternoster c1386-1687.
. .a malefic power as used in: (a/the) goodyear 1591-1710.
..action of saying: weargcwedolnes OE ; wyrgcwedolnes OE ; wyrgpu OE poet; cursung/cursing $0 \mathrm{E}-1552$; warying cl200-al660; mallok(e) al300 (2); banning al300+1566+1818; execration 1382-- obs or arch; cursement 1393 (1) rare; detestation 1432/50-1683; malediction 1447--; accursing 1574-1602; imprecation 1589--.
...person who performs: curser 1635--; execrator $1748+1835$ rare; imprecator 1845 (1).
malison cl375 (1) Sc.
execration $1611+1871$.
maledict al550 (1) arch.

AvM fordemedlice OE; imprecatingly 1652 (1); execratively 1837 (1); imprecatorily 1874 (1).

- of everyday imprecations: cursedly 1570--; plaguy l584--; plaguily al586--; damnably 1596--; cursefully 1606 (1); damnedly 1607-1675; lousily 1611 (1); damnable 1611-1712/35; mangily cl620 (1); execrably 1633-1671; infernally 1638--; excrementitiously 1660 (1); wickedly 1662--; infamously 1695--; consumed 1707-1779; consumedly 1707--; cursed 1719--; damned 1757--; damnationly 1762 (1); deuced 1779-- colloq or slang; damn 1787--; deucedly 1819-- slang or colloq;
shockingly 1881 (1); dashedly 1888 (1); dashed 1893--; putidly 1897 (1).

AvW with a vengeance $1525-1673+1836$.
.and invoke evil: andustrian OE; amansumian OE; halsian OE; healsian OE; miscwepan OE; weargcwedolian OE; wyrgcwedolian OE; wary (va/i) al225-cl746; ban (vi) al300-1820 arch; condemn (va) c1460 (1); imprecate (va/i) 1647-1673; execrate (vi) 1786--
-. upon a person/thing: acursian/accurse (vt) OE-- now arch; awierg(e)an/awarie (vt/i) OE-cl394; cursian/curse (vt) OE--; wiergan/wary (vt) OE-c1746; forwary (vt) c1200+c1340; ashend (vt) $1250-\mathrm{cl300}$; ban (vt) al275-- arch; maledight (vt) al300 (1); to bid (a thing) misadventure (vp) cl330 (1); shrow (vt) 1338-1668; beshrew (vt) 1377-1682; shrew (vt) c1386-1611; defy (vt) c1430-1548; destiny (vt) al450 (1); detest (vt) 1533/4-a1745; beshromp (vt) 1547 (1); widdle (vt) 1552-al585 Sc; becurse (vt) 1553/87+1860; malison (vt) 1588-1675 Sc; execrate (vt) $1 \overline{602}$ (1); imprecate (vt) 1613--; damn (vt) 1624--; devote (vt) 1647--; maledict (vt) 1780--; peste (vt) $1815+1835$.
-as an everyday imprecation: adjure (vt) 1539-1611; blast (vt) al634--; to ram oneself (vr) $16 \overline{67}$ (1); to swear at (vp) 1680--; blow (vt) 1781--; bugger (vt/a) 1794-- coarse slang; bless ( (vt/r) 1812-- ironic, euphem; peste (vi) 1824 (1); cuss (vt) 1848 (I) US slang or collog; bedamn (vt) 1863 (1); to cuss out (vp) $1881+1901$ US; strafe (vt) 1916 (2) slang; to curse for (미) 1922 (1).

PhX A curse upon...: wa/woe OE-- arch; woe worth c1205-- now arch; dahet have al250-c1330; dahet c1290-cl330; maldathait al300 (1); hang 13..--; sorrow take/betide/seize etc.. 13..--; sorrow on (a person/thing) 1325--; may wildfire burn cl3501520; woe betide you etc. 1362--; evil theedom cl386+c1450; God give you mischance c1386-1526; a pestilence on/upon cl3861602; may wildfire fall on/upon c1386 (Chaucer) + cl 1705 (Pope); (a) vengeance on ?al500-1604+1814 arch; evil thee 1509 (1) rare; perish (something) 1526--; pest on 1553+1843; a murrain light cl560 (1); plague take al566 (1); wild wengand on 1587 (1); plague on 1592--; cancro cl600-1612; perdition catch/take it 1604--; a vild upon thee 1605 (1); pize on/upon/of l605-1754+1826-- dial; a murrain on 1606 (1) Shksp; a peasecod on it 1606-1652; a murrain meet 1607 (1); a murrain of 1611 (1);
may wildfire eat cl622 (1); pax on 1641-1716; pize take/light upon al643-1688; foul fall al775--; weary fa'/weary on/weary set 1788-- Sc; woe on/for 1823--; bad cess to 1859-1860 AngloIrish; hanged 1887--.

Int deuce 1651--; the deuce 1694--; nick me 1760 (1).

See Also: EVIL BI.

External X-R: III 5 Religion: curse.

EVIL

SECTION C: EVIL \& WRONG

AjG misfaring cl290-1413; misdeedy 13.. (1); wrong al310-1753/4; fayllard cl310 (1); wrongful 1382-1614; wrong-doing c1400+1718--
rare; offending 1552--; misdoing 1554 (1); exorbitant 1556-al716; offencious cl592 (1); digressing 1593 (1); offensive 1607-1649; transgressive 1646-1797; maleficent 1760-1829; transgressing al812--; transgredient 1837 (1).

- of the nature of that which is: faulty 1548--; slanderous 1553 (1); offensible 1574 (1); scandalizing 1594+1661; offenceful 1603 (1).
-that commits that which is: committing al643-1660.
agylting $O E$; forgægung $O E$; forleornes $O E$; misgewield $O E$ poet; ofergægednes $\overline{O E}$; oferleornes $O E$; swice $O E$; swicung $O E$; synn OE; unmæp 0 E ; unrihtweorc OE ; wroht 0 E ; unriht/unright $\mathrm{OE}-$ $1610+1876$ obs exc arch; wite/wyte cl175-cl412; misbode cl200-cl205+1616--(in dicts); miss al225-1616; misguilt al300-c1430; mistaking al300-1529; trespassing al340--; misdoing 1340--; offension cl374-1582; abusion 1374-1718; forfeiture cl3801628; evil-doing 1398-1768/74; transgression 1426--; crime cl440--; wronging cl449--; wrong-doing 1480--; offending 1500/20-- ; digression 1509-1593; swerving 1513-1545; transgressing 1535-1579; digressing 1541 (1); misdealing 1561-1587; transgress 1578 (Sc)+1624--; misfaring 1595 (1); misacting 1651-1665; malpractice 1772/84--; malfeasance 1856+ 1860 rare.
ægylt $O E ;$ firenbealu $O E ;$ folcwoh $O E ;$ forgægednes $O E$; misfeng $\overline{O E}$; misweorc $O E$; ge-swic $O E$; swicdom $O E$; unriht $O E$; wohdæd $O E$; ge-wyrht(u) OE; gylt/guilt OE-1401; misdæd/misdeed OE--; yfel/evil 0E-1614; folly cl250-1535; trespass cl290--; forfeit al300-1668; ill 13..-1741; fault 13..--; error c1330--; untetche cl350 (1); offence 1382-- ; forfaute 14..-1572 Sc; demerit 1485-al637; crime 1514--; disorder 1581-1772; misfeasance 1596-- ; misaction 1693 (1); trespassage 1874 (1). . one's own: self-offence 1603 (1).
- action of performing: committing 1586-1651; commission 1597--; commitment 1611-1738; committal 1625--.
.delight in: misdelight ?13.. (1).
.very: enormity $1475-$; enormand 1719 (1).
NTh expressing a particular purpose: misintention 1626 (1). - expressing a particular tendency: misinclination 1652-1673; wrongness 1736-1799.
- volitional: misyearning cl375 (1) Sc; miswill 1496 (1); miswishing 1571 (1); mis-wish 1865 (1).
forgægend $0 E$; ofergægend $O E$; guilter 12..+1382; misdoer c1320-- now rare; trespasser 1362-1742; transgressor 1377--; wrong-doer $1387 / 8--$; wronger cl449--; offender 1464--; misruler 1479 (1) rare; delinquent $1484--$; violater 1523--; faulter 1535-1840; committer 1535 (Sc)+1545--; offendant 1597--; exceeder 1625 (1); misfeasor $1631+1884$; violator 1642--; misactor 1659 (1); tortfeasor 1659--; commissioner al677 (1); disorderly person 1744--; culprit 1769-- ; disorderly 1852--.
.female: offendress 1601 (1) Shksp; faultress 1838 (1).
-plural: gyltend/guilting 0E-1382.
-self-willed: self-offender cl661 (1).
-young: juvenile delinquent 1817--; juvenile offender 1847--; juvie 1941-- US slang.
..of Mexican-American descent: pachuco 1943--.
. under probation: probationer 1907 (I).

AvM gyltlice OE; untela OE; mid woh/ with wough OE-13..; wickedly al300--; westernais 13.. (1); sinistrally 1548-1560; injuriously 1561--; sinistruously 1582-a1615; crossways 1594 (1); crosswise 1594 (1).

VG forwyrcan OE; ofergægan OE; oferleornan OE; (ge)syngian OE; woh drifan OE; (ge)gyltan/guilt (vi) OE-1530; misdon/misdo (vi) $0 \mathrm{E}-1676+1875 / 86$ (dial) now rare or obs; misferan/misfere (vi) 0E-1390; misnim (vi) al $\overline{225}-1340 ;$ trespass (vi) 1303--; forfeit (vi) 1325-cl530; to mistake oneself (vr) cl330-al425; mistake (vi) cl330-cl500+1822 (Scott); miswork (vi) c1350cl450; transverse (vi) 1377+1393 both Langland; offend (vi) 1382--; fault (vi) c1400--; misprize (vi) 1485-al500; transgress (vi) 1526--; to do naught (vp) 1538 (1); to overgo the balance (vp) 1539 (1); digress (vi) 1541/93-1640; commit (va) 1560-1621.
-by committing some kind of offence: ofergan $O E$; agyitan (wip)/ aguilt (vt) OE-all420; (ge)don/do (vt) OE-äI745 obs or arch; misdon/misdo (vt) 0 E-1671+1837; wyrcan/work (vt) 0E-1613+ 1829 arch; offend (vt) cl320-1651; err (vt) al340-1644; trespass (vt) 1375-1631; commise (vt) 1475-1538; commit (vt) 1490--; offence (vt) 1512-1570; to commit an offence (vp) 1841 (1).
-in thought: misbethink (vr) 13.. (1).

- volitionally: mis-wish (vt) 1831 (1).
.in intention: misintend (vt) 1592-1598.
.in inclination: misincline (vt) 1652 (1).

See Also: EVIL C3.

AjP woriende 0 ; scrithing 1435 (1); straying 1553-- fig; tripping 1577--; devious 1633--; aberrant 1848--; sinuous 1850--. .inclined to be: bealufus OE; spreth cl315 (I); frail al340--; labile 1447-1740; fragile 1513-1548; lapsing 1667-1667. ..very: frailful al541 (1).

NAc
slip 1601--; stray $1614+1615$.
-due to thoughtlessness: scape c1440-1681.

- involving a falling into sin: hryre 0 E ; fiell/fall $0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{f}$ fig; surreption 1536-1649; lapse 1582--; stumble 1702--.

NC (ge)dwola OE; hwyrflung OE; ge-mearr OE; prevarication 13821701; obliquity cl422--; deviation 1625-(al831); aberrancy $1646+1863$; obliqueness 1877 (1).
-a falling into: prolapsion 1601-1647.
-an attack of: surreption 1502-al711; subreption 1632-a1658. .the path into: primrose path 1602-- fig; primrose way 1605 (Shksp) +1817 (Scott) fig.
-inclination towards: frailness al300-- now rare; frailty al340--; infirmity 1382--; fragility 1398+al533-al624. . .an occasion of: stumbling-block 1526--; stumble 1651 (1). . a cause of: slander c1340-1586.
prevaricator 1542-1755; by-walker 1549+1575/85 £ig; swerver 1598 (1); stray 1605-- fig; tripper 1806+1856.
-female: prevaricatrice cl450 (I) rare.

AvM on won OE; on crook al425 (1); astray 1535--; deviously 1842--. -inclined to be: frailly al300+1630+1860.
dwelian 0 E ; (ge)dwelian 0 E ; ge-dwellan 0 E ; ge-dwolian 0 E ; fleardian OE; healtian OE; losian OE; mearrian OE; mierran OE; worian OE; misfaran/misfare (vi) OE-1487; fail (vi) cl2901538; err (vi) cl315--; miscarry (vi/r) cl325-1732; stray (vi) c1325-- fig; crook (vi) c1380-1551 fig; pervert (vi) 1387/814.. +1890 ; misguide (vr) 1390-1483; astray (vi) 1393-1584; delire (vi) al400-1633; to go wrong (vp) 1500/20--; swerve (vi) 1576-1611; prevaricate (vi) 1582-1681.

- and fall (into sin): abugan OE; afeallan (on) OE; aslidan OE; awacian OE; forweorpan OE; to fall into (vp) cll75-- fig; fall (vi) al 200--; befall (vi) cl200 (l) fig; scrithe (vi) 1434-1483; decline (vi) c1440--; to tread the shoe awry (vp) 1520/41-1662.
..to cause: slander (vt) al300-1563; offend (vt) 1526-1658; lapse (vt) 1664-1681.
...to try: fand (vt) cll75-1393.
. .to make: err (vt) 1621 (1).
. to be made: offend (vi) 1382-1611.
. .almost: stumble (vi) 1303--.
.of things: to walk/run/go awry (vp) 1524--.

See Also: EVIL C3.

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AjG firenful OE; firenwyrcende OE; gyltlic OE; synscyldig OE poet;
    synwyrcende \(O E\) poet; wamscyldig OE poet; wamwyrcende \(O E\) poet;
    synnful/sinful OE--; plightful 13. . (1); peccant 1604--;
    sinning 1609--; piacular 1610--; peccable 1633 (1); piaculous
    1646-1661; peccaminous \(1656-1668\) rare; piaculary al670 (1).
    - and weak: læne OE.
    -sick from being: sin-sick 1609--.
    . fallen into that which is: forpasliden 0 ; lapsed 1638-1754.
AjA sinful cl200--.
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NQ sinfulness 14..--; peccancy 1656--.
-state of having fallen into: fallenness 1871--.
- state of being sick with: sin-sickness 1633 (I).
-a period of: unrihttid $0 E$.
NA gylting OE; syngiende OE; syngung/sinning OE--; peccation
1862 (1).
-impulse to perform: synræs OE.
ND folcfiren $O E$; manscild $O E$ poet; syndæd $O E$; synleahtor $O E$;
felony al300-1523; piacle 1644-1676+1880; peccancy 1648--.
.first: frumdysig OE.
. venial: venial cl380-1671; peccadillian 1529-1569; escape
1576-1678; peccadillo 1591--; peccadillie 1660 (1).
. plural: venialia 1654 (1).
- deadly: deapfiren $0 E$; heafodgilt $0 E$; heafodleahter $0 E ;$
heafodsynn $O E$; heahsynn $O E$; morbor $O E$.
- outrageous: scape c1590-1671.
-grievous: nipsynn OE.
.favourite: bosom-sin $1620+1740$.
plight cl200-c1375; culp(e) 1377-1601.
NP agyltend OE; mangewyrhta OE; mansceada OE poet; manwyrhta OE;
wipercora $O E ;$ peccant $1621+1803$; evil-Iiver $1846+1887$.
.female: synnecge $O E$ poet.
AvM synlice $O E ;$ sinfullice/sinfullike cl200-cl450; sinfully
al300--.
.like that of a fallen man: manly 1547 (1).
VG firentacnian $O E ;$ scyldigian $O E ;$ ge-syngian $O E ; \sin (\underline{\text { ve }}$ ) cl315+
1682--.
. against: (ge)syngian (wip) $0 E ;$ sin (against/in/with, etc.)
(vi) al300--

See Also: EVIL C1, EVIL C2, EVIL C4, EVII C5.

AjA guilty 1591--.
AjP fah OE; forworht/forwyrht OE; ful OE; manscyldig OE poet; sæc $O E ;$ scyldful $0 E ;$ synbysig $0 E$ poet; synnig $O E ;$ synscyldig OE poet; gyltig/guilty OE--; scyldig/shildy OE-al225; sakful al300 (1); saked al300 (2); foul al300+1575-1621; plighty 13.. (1); faulty 13..-1481; culpable 1303-1844; defective 1401-1677; criminal cl489-(1851); wity i530 (1); criminous 1535 (Sc)+1583--; nocent al566--; faultful 1591--; delinquent 1603--; obnoxious 1604-al774; noxious 1623-1656; guiltful 1655-1791.

- and caught in the act: red(-)hand 1432-1768 (Sc Law) +1881 (Sc dial) Sc, orig Law; deprehended 1655-1660; red-handed 1819--; dead to rights 1859-- slang, orig US.
- and not acquitted: ungeladod OE.
- and not excused: unexcused c1650 (1).
- and not expiable: unfeormigende $0 E$; inexpiate 1819+1876;
inexpiated 1836 (1).
- and not reprievable: unreprievable 1593-al625.
- and not cleared: unclear al400-1607; unpurged 1530-1738;
unjustified 1678 (1); uncleared 1724+1903.
- of (something): guilty of al225-al715.
- of shameless sin: æwiscfiren OE.
. of bloodshed: blood-guilty $1597+1795+1858$.
- of murder: morporscyldig OE poet.
-as applied to the instrument/scene of.a crime: guilty 1.588-- transf.
. With no excuse: excuseless 1548-1711.
- Iaden with feelings which are: guilty 1593--.
$\therefore$ and sunk in: begriwen OE.
-partially: healfscyldig OE poet.
- equally: efenscyldig 0E.
.very: felasynnig OE; purhscyldig OE.
- flagrantly: strong c1290-1593.
agyltnes $0 E ;$ gylt $0 E ;$ scyld $O E ;$ scyldignes $O E ;$ sacu/sake $0 E-$ al400/50; wite/wyte al225-- now Sc \& Nth; blame 1297-1611+ 1859 arch; guilt cl330--; guiltiness c1375--; culp(e) 13771601; fault 1377--; culpableness cl380-1648; guiltyship 1557 (1); faultiness 1571--; blameworthiness 1580--; delinquishment 1593 (1); obnoxiousness 1610-1704; nocency 1611-1736; piacle 1619-al657; nocence cl620 (1); fact 1632 (1); delinquency 1648--; delinquence 1682-1832; deliquity 1692 (1). -mortal: damnability 1532--; damnableness 1638 (I).
- stain of: manwamm OE poet.
. of bloodshed: blod/blood 0E-1611; blood-guiltiness 1535+1649+ 1884; blood-guilt 1882 (1).
-obsession with: guilt-complex 1927--.
. instance/kind/degree of : guilt 1500/20-- rare.
gylt OE; blame 1393--; guilt cl510-- ; blam(e)ableness 1654--.

NP gyltend OE; nocent 1447-c1685; culpable 1480-al734; wite/wyte 1513-1725 Sc; misdemeanour 1533-1533/4; guilty 1550-1700; misdemeanant 1886--.
. over bloodshed: man of blood 1382-1648 Hebraism.

AvM guiltfully cl375 (l); blamefully cl400+1642; guiltily l594--; nocently 1646 (1); blam(e)ably 1726--; faultfully 1859 (1). -and in the very act: with the mainour/manner 1530-1611 obs exc hist or arch; with red hand $1577 / 8-1609$ (Sc Law) $+18 \overline{78}$ - (hist); in the mainour/manner 1597-1866 obs exc hist or arch; in flagrante 1612-- colloq; in flagrante delicto 1772--; in flagrant delict 1820-.

VG forwyrcan $0 E$; ge-gyltan/aguilt (vi) $0 E-c 1450$; to be to blame (vp) al225--; delinquish (vi) 1606 (1). -possibly, on account of being involved in something: to be concerned (vp) 1686--.

- and be caught in the act: to be taken with the mainour/manner (vp) ?al472-1832/42 obs exc arch \& hist; to be taken red( - ) hand (vp) 1535-1700 Sc Law; to be taken red-handed (vp) 1819 (I); to be caught red-handed (vp) 1857--.

VM forguilt (vt) all75-al225; guilt (vt) 1553 (1); beguilty (vt) al653 (1) rare.

See Also: EVIL C3, EVIL C5.

External X-R: III 4.2 Behaviour towards the law: crime.

C5 CRIMINAL

AjG criminal 1430--; criminous 1483-1674+1858; erroneous 15931819; crimeful 1593+1602 (both Shksp) +1877 .
.and vicious: tough 1884--.

- and resembling a gangster: gangsterish 1945--.
. and on behalf of a gang or mob: mob 1930--.
- and characterized by a particular type of organized crime: racketeering 1931+1967.

NQ criminality 1611--; criminalness al660-1775; piacularness 1702 (1); piacularity 1864 (1).
-proclivity to: toughness 1895 (1).
NA . among gangsters: gangsterism 1927--.
. a scheme of: racket 1928--.

- a system of organized: racketeering 1928-- US.
. which is also illicit: dirty work at the crossroads 1914--. .habit of relapsing into: recidivism 1886--.

NAC (ge)eofot OE; facen OE; man OE; manweorc OE; reof OE; wrohtscipe $0 E ;$ crime 1514--; fact 1539--
.hellish: hellfiren OE poet. - worthy of death: deapscyld OE. .attempt at: attentat(e) 1622-1721. - series of (plural): wrohtgetema OE poet.
-assistance in (plural): accompliceship 1834 (1).
.the location of: the scene of the crime 1923--.
NP ræpling OE; peodsceapa OE; *sceapa/scathe OE-cl205; *wearg/ wary OE-al225; felon 1297--; wandelard 1338 (1); malefactor c1440--; stigmatic 1597-1642+1856 arch; stigmatist 1607 (1); criminal al626--; crook 1879-- orig US colloq; mug 1890-slang; heavy man 1926+1963 US slang.
-female: malefactress 1647--.
. who actually performs a crime: rihthanddæda $0 E ;$ principal 1594--.
.hardened: hard case 1836--.
.habitual: rounder 1854-- N.Amer.
-who operates alone: lone wolf 1909-- fig.
-who frequents racecourses (plural): the boys 1834--.
-who uses violence: mugger 1865-- orig US; muscle man 1929-slang, orig US; muscle 1942--.
. and carries or uses a cosh: cosh-man 1869 (1) slang;
cosh-boy 1953+1954 slang; cosh-bandit 1954+1964 slang.

- who is not habitually so: first offender 1849+1935; criminaloid $1895+1909$.
-who habitually relapses into crime: recidive 1854 (I) rare; recidivist 1880--.
- a band of (plural): gang 1632--.
. $\because$ a member of: gangster 1896-- orig US; gangsman 1923 (1).
... who intimidates his victims: frightener 1962-- slang.
..involved in violent organized crime: (the) mob 1927-.
...which is the US mafia: cosa nostra 1963--.
. the head of: Mr. Big 1940--.
..the domain of: gangland 1912-- orig US; gangsterdom 1923--; gangdom 1926--
-who directs an enterprise: master-mind 1872--.

AvM criminally 16..--; criminously 1640-1654.

VG .by committing crime against: forwyrcan (wip) OE. -by engaging in fraudulent business: racketeer (vi) 1933+1934 US.

VM . by tainting with crime: infect (vt) 1580-1651+1828.
. by covering (self) with crime: becrime (vr) 1844 (1).
. by subjecting to organized crime: racketeer (vt) 1928 (I) US.

See Also: EVIL B3, EVIL B4, EVIL C3, EVIL C4.

External X-R: III 4.2 Behaviour towards the law: crime.

AjG unlawful ?cl475--; immoral 1660--; non-moral al866--; unethic 1871 (1); unethical 1871--; messy 1924-- colloq.
-possibly: questionable 1806--; doubtful 1838--; dubious 1860--.
.making: blemishing 1603+1868. -made: unmoralized 1668--. -showing, based on that which is: unprincipled 1782--. -to a low degree: depressed $1647+1661$; debased 1863 (1). .not consciously: *amoral 1882--.

AjP unhonest c1422-1640/1; uncharactered 1841 (1). - on account of having been abandoned by morality: forloren/ forlorn 0E-1683; forsaken 1572+1597; unprincipled 1644--; reprobate 1660 --.
. through one's own action: self-lost 1667--.

NQ unsidefullnes 0E; immorality cl566--; unethicalness 1886 (1); non-morality 1902 (1).
.to a low degree: degradation 1697--; debasedness al720--. .not conscious: *non-morality 1902 (I); *amorality 1923 (I).
untight al300 (2); (an) immorality al631--.
anarchy 1656-- transf.
laxist 1865--.
. unconsciously: *amoralist 1915--.

AvM immorally 1727--.

- possibly: questionably 1885 (1).

VM unmoralize (vt) $1640+1693$; immoralize (vt) al $754+1898$. - and ruin: perish (vt) c1440-1750.

- with a separate virtuous way of life: *to live/lead a double life (vp) 1888--.

See Also: EVIL C8.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality \& II 1.4 Logical thought: philosophy, ethics.
seducement 1605-1690.
perverser 1482-a1564; seducer 1545--; perverter 1546--; debaucher 1614-1828.

AvM
seducingly 1592-1602+1866; pervertedly 1816+1860.
AvB
seducedly $1642+1642$.

VG adwellan OE; amierran OE; ascrencan OE; awendan OE; (ge)dwelian
OE; (ge)dwellan OE; forcierran OE; forpæran OE; forteon/
fortee (vt) OE-al250; fortyhtan/fortiht (vt) OEtcl200;
bicharre/bicherre (vt) all00-c1305; pervert (vt) cl375--;
fait (vt) cl430 (1); sedue (vt) cl485 (1); seduct (vt) $1490+$ 1773; seduce (vt) 1519/20--; perverse (vt) 1574-1653; traverse
(vt) 1689 (1).
.from justice: pervert (vt) 1382--.
. habitually: seduce (vi) 1597 (1).

See Also: EVIL C8.
æwerd $O E$; forhwierfed $O E$; forhwierfedlic $O E ;$ forteah $O E ;$ forwordenlic 0 E ; ge-fyled 0 E ; ierre 0 E ; ge-lefed 0 E ; miswende OE; pweorh OE; pweorlic OE; pweortieme OE; wipermede OE; wiperweard $O E$; yfel(1)ic OE; ful/foul OE--; seoc/sick OE-1738; unhal/unwhole OE-c1325; yfel/evil OE--; unsound.13..-1811; corrupt cl325--; thewless al327+1513 (Sc); vicious cl340--; rusty 1362-cl586; unwholesome c1374+1602; rotten c1380--; rotten-hearted cl386--; infect c1400-1607; cankered c1440-fig; wasted 1483 (1); against nature 1500/20-1662; depravate 152.-al555; vitious 1535-1817; reprobate 1550-1760; deformed 1555--; corrupted 1563--; prave 1566-1689; poisoned 1578 (1); gomorr(h)ean 1581-1593; abusive 1589--; depraved 1594--; debauched 1598--; deboshed 1599-1637/50+1826 (Scott)--; tarish $1601+1610$ rare; diseased 1608--; ulcerous 1611-- fig; deboist 1612-1722; vitial 1614 (1); debauch 1616 (1); deboise 16321667/9; pravitious 1648/9 (1) rare; pravous 1653-1657; sunk 1680--; deprave al711 (1); vice-bitten 1754 (1); scrofulous 1842-- fig; mean 1848--.
.of the mind: base-minded 1586-1792.
-making: forweorbende 0 E; poisonful 1520-1679; infectious 1547/64-1742; infective 1576--; poisonous al586--; corruptful 1596+al851 rare; corruptive 1609--; leavenous 1649-1677; poisonal al660 (1); depravative 1682 (1); depraving 1686--; seducing 1780 (1); corrupting 1792--; demoralizing 1808 (1); blotching 1865 (I).
-capable of becoming: corruptible 1677+1863--; debauchable 1865 (1).

- partaking of that which is: vice-like 1590 (1).
-contaminated by that which is: poisoned 1567-1741; infected 1570-1638.
.full of blemishes and defects which are: speckled 1603-1664.
awemmednes $O E ;$ ge-brosnung $O E ;$ forhwierfednes $O E ;$ *pweora $O E ;$ \%(ge)pweornes 0 E ; \%pworscipe 0 E ; wipermednes 0 E ; wipermedo OE; wiperweardnes OE; rust/rust OE-1746; vice 1297--; corrumpcion al340 (1); corruption cl340--; viciousness 1440--; turpitude 1490--; intoxication 1494-1728; infection al5291828; bracery $1540+1886$ rare; insincerity 1548 (1); pravity 1550-1847; corruptness 1561--; perverseness 1561--; faultiness 1571--; uninnocence 1593 (1); reprobacy 1594 (I); baseness 1598--; base-mindedness 1599+1627; vitiosity 1603--; reprobance 1604 (1) Shksp; depravedness 1612/15--; debauchedness 1618--; deboistness 1628-1671; debauchness 1640-1659; depravity 1646--; corruptedness 1648 (1); depravation 1728+1862; base-spiritedness 1748 (1); miscreancy 1804--; demoralization 1809 (1); unprincipledness al812+1865; base-heartedness 1843 (1); moral turpitude 1879--; unwholesomeness 1881+1897; ne'er-do-wellism 1891 (1). . personified: vice cl420--.
. Self-produced: auto-intoxication 1893-~ fig. an instance of: vileness 1863--
.the stain of: wamm OE; ge-wemmednes OE; wemming OE; wem 13031519; tache cl330-1602; ordure c1374--; tack c1425-al603 obs or dial.
-an influence which causes: corruption al340-c1386+1813--; corrumpcion 1340 (1); ulcer 1592-- fig; taint 1613--; corruptive 1641 (1); depravation 1711 (1); virus 1778--. .a disfigurement caused by: deformity 1571--.
.seen as a festering sore: impost(h)ume 1565--.
culpa 0 E ; uncyst 0 E ; unrihtcyst OE ; unsidu 0 E ; ge-wemmednes OE ; wierdnes 0E; læst/last 0E-cl380; leahter/lahter 0E-al225; unpeaw/unthew OE-a1400; vice al300--; misthew cl325 (I); fault 1377-~; mistetch cl450+1828-1847 (dial) Nth dial; depravity 1641--; vitiosity 1643-1657; cachexy 1652--; misteach 1842 (1); unvirtue $1869+1869$. .plural: filths cl200-1583.
-grievously: unscyld OE.
- and most favoured: bosom-vice 1705 (1). -and worst: worst of 1865--. -action of making into: corrupting al626-1677. - capability of being affected by: corruptibility 1751--.

NP scabby sheep 1728--; brib(e)able 1867 (1).
-plural: the vicious 1390--.
-who makes another (thing/person) corrupt: defouler 14..--c1440; abuser c1450--; defiler 1546--; ulcer 1602+1615 rare, fig; blotter al631 (1).

AvM yfele/evil OE-1611; forwurpenlice cl200 (1); viciously al3251780; corruptly 1537--; evilly 1580--; pravely 1598 (1); deboistly 1604 (1); corruptedly 1610 (I); deformedly 1610 (I); debauchedly 1644-1663; depravedly 1652--; diseasedly 1672 (1); demoralizingly 1926 (1).

AvB corruptly 1596--.

VM afylan OE; awierdan OE; befylan OE; besylian OE; fordon OE; forhwierfan OE; forlæran OE; fyrentacnian OE; ge-hwierfan OE; (ge)leahtrian OE; ge-nætan OE; (ge)scendan OE; widlian OE; forbregdan/forbraid (Vt) $\overline{0 E}-a l 250$; awem (Vt) cll75 (1); file (vt) cll75-- obs exc dial; soil (vt) al225--; spill (vt) cl290-1623; smit (vt) al300-1562; corrupt (vt) a1300--; venom (vt) 13.. $-1681+190 \overline{6}$; beshrew (vt) c1325-1556; corrump (vt) a $\overline{1340-c 1532 ; ~ e n v e n o m ~(v t) ~ c l 374--; ~ i n f e c t ~(v t) ~ c l 374--; ~}$ subvert (vt) cl375-1715+1914 now rare; tache (vt) 1390-1827 obs or Sc dial; poison (vt) 1395--; shrew (vt) cl440 (1); stain (vt) 1446--; deprave (vt) 1482--; intoxicate (vt) al5291680+1860; vitiate (vt) 1534--; taint (vt) 1573--; invitiate (vt) 1598+1656; tack (vt) 1601-1643+1868 obs exc dial; debauch (vt) 1603--; perjure (vt) 1606 (I) Shksp; vilify (vt) 1619-1781; deturpate (vt) 1623-1657; ulcer (vt) $1642+1829$ rare, fig; tan (vt) cl̄645 (1); dross (vt) $16 \overline{648}$ (1); deboise (vt) 1654-1662; rust (vt) 1697--; unprinciple (vt) 1713+ 1760/72; demoralize (vt) cl793--; ruin (vt) 1832 (1); depravate (vt) 1847 ( $\overline{1}$ ).
. on the model of Nero: neronize (vt) 1675 (1). . by admixture: leaven (vt) 1550-- rare, fig.

VB (ge) brosnian OE; forbraid (vi) c1220 (l); corrupt (vi) 1598--; deprave (vi) 1655 (1).

See Also: EVIL Al, EVIL B5, EVIL C6, EVIL C7.

ILL-BEHAVED

AjG ungepeawfæst OE; misled al300-1614; misbearing al400 (1); misgoverned cl440-1611; misguided c1490+1500/20-1523 (Sc); misordered 1529-1605; misdemeaned 1586 (1); misbehaved 1592 (1); ill-behaved 1611 (1).
-being: misbehaving cl610--.

NC heardsælp OE; misfadung OE; misræd OE; unwyrht OE;
misleading al300(1); misgovernment cl384-1665; misgovernance cl386-1627; misusing 1395-1540; misorder c1400-1586 now rare; misdraught cl440 (I) rare; misbearing cl449 (I); misbehaving 1451-1529; misguiding ?al470-1530; misbehaviour 1486--; misgoverning 1487-1593; misdemeaning 1487-1706; misdemeano(u)r 1494-1775 now rare; miscraft 1496 (1); misordinance 1509 (I); demerit 1509- ; misusage 1532-1579; misguide 1596-1602; misuse 1596+1881 (poet); misdemean 1602 (1); miscarriage 1618-1682; misordering 1625 (1); demeanour 1681 (1); misconduct al729-.. -an instance of: ful OE; misbreyde 1303-c1380; unthrift 1303+ cl430; misfait $1 \overline{377}-1481$; misdemeano(u)r 1494-al 116 now rare; misdoing (s) 1543-- chiefly pl; delinquishment 1633 ( $\overline{1}$ ); miscarriage 1635-1760/72+1829 (Scott); delinquency 1636--; misconduct 1711--.

NP rappock cl350+1878--(dial) Nth dial.

AvM misorderly 1592 (1).

VG misfadian OE; misbear (vr) cl300-1502; mislead (Vr) cl3741390; misgye (vr) cl386 (1); misbehave (vr/i) 1475--; misorder (vr) 1505-1740; misgovern (vr) 1513-1621; misuse (vr) 1532-
1581; misdemean (vi/r) 1577/87--; misdemeanour (vr) 1620 (1) rare; malconduct (vi) 1801 (1) rare; misconduct (vr) 1883 (1). -by going too far: overact (vi) 1611--.

External X-R: III 2.2.3 behaviour based on custom: discourtesy.

C10 UNDUTIFUL

AjG soft cl386.(1); dutiless 1592-~ obs or arch; undutiful 1593--; unduteous 1594--; misbeholden $16 \overline{00+1} \overline{82} 8-1869$ (dial); inofficious 1603-1706. -and disrespectful (to parents): unkind al300-1595; unchildly 1597 (1); unfilial 1611--; impious $1613+1783$. - and rebellious: wiperræde OE.
. . of a female: mutine 1870-- mutinous 1882 (2).
.in attitude: undutiful 1582--.

NQ undutifulness 1549--; unduty 1594 (2) rare. - and disrespectful (to parents): impiety 1588--. .concerning something legal: laches 1574--.

NC .on account of divided duty: halve 1566-1680; halving 1613al680.

- on account of coming short of duty: short-comer 1865--.

AvM undutifully 1583--: unduteous 1745 (1).

VG by disregarding a duty: to dispense with (vp) 1559-1748. -by neglecting a duty: forlætan OE; desert (vt) 1647--; desert (vi) 1689--.
..through inadvertance: forgietan/forget (vt) 0E--.
. by falling away from it: shrink (vi) 1553-1594; defect (vi) 1596--

See Also: EVIL C11, EVIL Cl2.

External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: irresponsibility.

C11 FAILING IN DUTY

AjP transfugious 1611 (1); defectious 1630 (1); defaulting 1828--; derelict 1864-- US; defaultant 1884 (1).

NA default al225-1719; fail 1297-1847; default al300-1742; declining 1526-1650; declination 1533-1814; defect 1540+cl790; defection 1546--; delinquishment 1593 (1); declension 1594--; secession 1601 (1); delinquency 1648--; delinquence 1682-1832; deliquity 1692 (1); dereliction 1778--; derelictness 1888 (1) US:

NP transfuge 1548-1639+1855; transfuger 1611 (1); infidel 1655 (1); defector 1662--; defaulter 1666/7--; turn-away 1688 (1) Bunyan; defectant 1883 (1); derelict 1888 (1) US.

- female: defaultress 1736 (1) Swift.

VG fail (vi) 1340--; default (vi) 1596--; to fall short of (vp) 1890 (I).
-by not perceiving the duty: overlook (vr) 1723/4 (1).

See Also: EVIL CIO, EVIL C12.

Cl2 AVOIDING DUTY

AjP shirking 1883 (1); shirky 1897 (2); clock-watching 1945--. .by. pretending illness: malingering 1865--.

NA evasion 1603--; funking al845+1857; shirking 1899 (1). .by feigning illness: skulking 1805 (1); malingering 1861--.

NAc shirk 1877--.
NP. shrinker 1554-1719; shirker 1799--; shirk 1818--; funker 1864+ 1875.
.by feigning illness: skulker 1785--; malingerer 1785--;
sconcer 1843 (1).
-by passing the duty to someone else: buck-passer 1933-- fig, colloq, orig US.

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VG to shift off (vp) 1577-1774; flinch (vi) 1579--; scuff (vt)
1595 (1); to shuffle off (vp). 1601--; shift (vt) cl611 (1);
balk (vt) 1631-1785; evade (vt) 1722--; to go off (vp)
1749 ( \(\overline{1}\) ); skulk (vi) 1781 (1); shirk (vt) 1785--; to dodge the
column (vp) 1919-- colloq; bludge (vi) 1941-- Austral \& NZ
slang.
.habitually: shirk (va) 1853--.
.through feigned illness: malinger (vi) 1820--; skulk (vi)
1826--.
-by false pretences: feign (vi/r) cl300-1535.
. to wish or try: to funk (it) (vt) 1857--.
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See Also: EVIL C10, EVIL C1l.

External X-R: I 5.5 Avoidance.

C13 UNFAIR, UNJUST

AjG unrihtlic $O E$; unrihtwis $O E$; unsopfæst $O E$; woh $O E$; wohlic $O E ;$ Wrencwis $0 E$; unriht/unright $\overline{0 E-1627+1856+1880}$ now Sc or arch; wrongous al200-1535+cl550--(Sc); unmethe cl250-c1325; wrong al275--; wrongful cl311--; unrightful al325-1664+1880 now rare; uneven cl380-1613; untrue 1393-1622+1865; undue a1400 (1); unreasonable ?al400-1651; unjust c1400--; injust c14301711; unegal 1508 (1); inique 1521-1730; unequal 1535-1761; wry 1561-1593+1851; undeserved ?cl570 (1); justless 1578 (1); false al631-1812; unequitable 1647--; inequitable 1667--; unfair 1713--; iniquitable al734 (2); unsportsmanlike 1754--; unrighted 1775+1883; unsportsmanly 1778 (1); unsporting 1859+ 1894; red-hot 1896-- Austral slang; below-the-belt 1941 (I). - and without good reason: unjustifiable 1641--.
of an election: undue 1687-1764.
.of a statement: ex parte 1812--.
AjA wrongous al300-cl625+1907.
AjP wrongous al200-cl625; unjust 1382--; uneven cl400-1641; unequal 1588-1725.
belgnes $O E$ poet; undom $O E$; unrihtnes $O E$; unrihtwis(u) $O E ;$ unrihtwisnes 0 E ; unsobfæstnes 0 E ; woh OE ; unriht/unright OE-1599; wrang/wrong OE--; uniriht c1205 (1); unrightfulness al250-al470+1821 now rare; wrongousness al300-cl325; unreason al300-1597; injustice 1390--; unskilfulness cl410 (1); wrongfulness al425--; unrightness c1445 (1); unjustness cl449--; unevenness al470 (1); disreason 1480 (1); unjustice 1532-- obs exc Sc; unreasonable al533 (2); inequity 1556--; iniquity $15 \overline{87-1748 ; ~ u n e q u i t y ~} 1598$ (1); unequalness $1628+1695$; unfairness 1713--; wrongness 1833--.
NX the wrong al300--.
NAC
unriht/unright OE-1528; wrang/wrong OE--; injury 1382--; wrongness 1856 (1); inequity 1857+1884; raw deal 1912-- orig US; rough deal 1931--.

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AvM awoh OE; undomlice OE; wohlice OE; unrihte/unright OE-1603; unrihtlice/unrightly 0E-1643+1878 now rare; mid unrihte/ with/on unright OE-1563; with/mid wrong 1124-1598; wrong al250--; uneven cl275+a1300; unskilwisely al300+1340; falsely 1303-1711; unrightfully al325-- now rare; wrongously cl325-chiefly Sc; unskilfully 1338-a1470; wrongly 1340--; wrongfully c1374--; unevenly 1382+cl400; unjustly 1382--; in/by wrong al400-1611+1855; slanderously 1429--; unresnably 1461 (1); injustly 1502-al715; undeservedly 1549--; slanderfully 1550/1 (1); unequally 1596 (1); unequitably \(1649+1750\); unduly 1660 (1); unfairly 1713--; iniquitably al734 (1); unsportsmanly 1778 (1); unsportsmanlike 1789 (1); inequitably \(1842+1880\).

AvB unfairly 1791 (1).

VG to do (...) wrong (vp) cl220--; wrong (vi) 1390-al676; trespass (vt) 1427-1556; to hit/strike below the belt (vp) 1890-- fig.
wrong (vt) cl330--; injury (vt) cl484-1651; injure (vt) 1592--. .and disrespectfully: wrong (vt) cl449--.

See Also: EVIL Al.

External X-R: II 3 Misjudgement.

\section*{C14 IMPROPER, UNFITTING}

AjG uncynlic OE; uncynn OE; ungedafenlic OE; ungedafniendlic OE; ungefege 0 E ; ungeliclic \(\overline{\text { OE; unbecomely/-1iche(e) c1200-c1315; }}\) uncomely cl230-1759; ungainand a1300-1562 Nth \& Sc; unsete al310 (2)+cl325; unseemly al310--; unconable al340 (2) + c1440; mis-seeming al340-1603; unconvenable c1374 (Chaucer)-1542; unlikely cl386-1588; unsitting c1390-1585; disconvenient 13981660; undue 1398--; unhonest al400/50-1568; unsoundable cl440 (1); unconvenient 1450/80-1590; unorderly 1483-1800 now rare; inconvenient 1494-al694; graceless 1508--; unjust al \(\overline{533}-1713\); undecent 1546-1823 obs exc dial; ungreeing 1560 (1); unsetting 1567+al598; unhovable 1570 (1) rare; ugly 1584--; ill 1586--; unbefitting 1588--; uncouth 1589-1659; unfitting 1590--; unbeseeming 1594--; seemless 1596-1655+1855 (arch); unbecoming 1598--; unbeseemly \(1648+1801\) rare; ungainly al660 (1); indecorous 1680+1692; improper 1739--; ungainlike 1796 (1); paw-paw 1796-1830 slang or colloq; jive 1971-- US slang. .for a boy: unboyish \(1864+1881\).

NQ unsidu OE; unconableness al340 (1); unconablety al340 (1); unseemliness cl380--; disconvenience 14.. +1598 ; ungrace 1430/40+1871; unlikeliness \(1456+1685\); wangrace 1513 (1) Sc; uncomeliness 1542-1670; improperty 1555+1663; unproperness 1561-1692; unmeetness 1573--; unhandsomeness 1598--; unbeseemingness 1623-1723; unbecomingness 1652--; impropriety 1697--; indecence 1714-al797; paw-pawness 1828+1829 slang or colloq; unadaptedness 1846+1871; unbefittingness 1865 (1).

NAC inconvenient 1460-1538; misbehaviour 1486-1674; indecency 1639-1675.

NC unrihthad OE; unskill cll75-al500; uncunne cl200 (1); unthrift 13..-1483; inconvenience cl460-1560; indecency 1589--; unworthiness 1608 (1); inconveniency 1610+1747; mal-behaviour 1721-1736 rare; malconduct 1741-1804; misdealing 1863--.
unrihtwilla \(0 E\).
NT unseemly 1654 (1).

AvM ungeliclice OE; unsidelice OE; yfle/evil OE-1629; (at)/with unskill c1200-cl330; unworthly c1200-al400/50; wrong cl200--; unkindly al225-1602; ungraithly a1300-cl460; wrongly 1303--; out of course cl330-1553; unconably al340 (1); uncomely cl3751619; unseemly cl375--; unworthily 1377--; unkindly 1380-1588; ungoodly cl380-1545; unconvenably 1382+1387; falsely 13931594; ungainly cl400-1548; unsittingly cl412 (2)+1476;
uncomelily cl420+1561; unorderly 1471-al653; unconveniently 1538-1561/6; ill 1540--; unproperly 1561+1683; undecently 1563-1716; unmeetly 1596--; unbeseemingly 1617-al677; viciously 1617--; unbeseeming l645+1655; unbecomingly l653--; abusefully \(1656+1672\) rare; unbefittingly 1871 (1). . and naughty: naughty 1898-..

VG .for: missit (vi) ?a1366-cl430; mis-seem (vt) cl400-al641+ 1819-(1836) now rare; unbefit (vt) \(1621+1624\); unbeseem (vt) al657+1678.

See Also: EVIL E2.

External X-R: I 6.1 Comparison: unfitness.

\section*{D1. TREACHEROUS}


NX bealuinwit OE; biswæc OE; facen OE; facensearu OE; facenstafas OE poet; searo OE; swicdom OE; ungetreowp OE; unræd OE; untreowp OE; wedbryce OE; lewness c1175 (1) ; culvertship al225 (1); treachery al225--; falsedom 1297 (1); felony 1297al533; traitorhead 1303 (1); traitory 1303-1609; falsity cl330-c1430; falseness c1330--; covin 1375 (Sc) \(+1494-1710+\) 1877; train cl400-al600; traitorhood cl470+1871; traitorousness 1571--; traitorism 1591--; truth-breach 1597 (1); treacherousness 1610 (1); punic/carthaginian faith 1631-1768/74; (bad) faith 1631--; traitorship 1645--. .like an animal: serpent cl386-1647; snake 1593--.

NA false play 1567 (1); foul play l610--; treacherizing 1656 (1); not cricket 1955 (1) fig. - which is a quarrel: searonip OE.

NAC treachery al300--; troth-breaking 1464 (1); truce-breaking 1592 (1); double-cross 1834-..

NP swica OE; wedloga OE; serpent 1382--.
-to one's father: fæderswica OE.
. Wickedly, like Judas Iscariot: iscariot 1647--.

AvM hinderfullice cl200 (1); falsely al225-1742; traitorously cl330--; treacherously al340--; traitorly ?a1349-1535; treacherly cl394 (1); traitously cl450-1559; traditorously 1536 (1); traitorlike 1721 (1). - and dishonourable: unmanly c1400-1626.

VG betraise/-traish (vt) cl374-1501; treacherize (vi) 1656 (1); knee (vt) 1953 (1) fig.

VM traitor (vt) 16..-al649.

See A1so: EVIL D2, EVIL D3, EVIL D4, EVIL D5, EVIL D6.

External X-R: II 1.5 .5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception \& III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.
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AjG treasonful 13..+1650; treasonable 1375-1596 (Sc)+1634--;
treasonous 1593--; proditious 1635 (1) rare.
.somewhat: treasonish 1672-1681.
.to one's fatherland: patricidal 1821-1827; patricide 1901 (1).
NQ treasonableness 1679+1727.
NA treason al225-1611+1825 (Scott); treachery al300--; prodition
1412/20-- now rare; tradiment 1535-1561; treasony 1611 (1);
trahison 1858+1859.
.high: hlafordsearu OE; hlafordswice OE.
.against a subject: petty treason 1496-1828 now only hist.
treason cl330-1708.
-petty: treasonette 1824 (1).

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AvM treasonably cl375-1549 (Sc)+1660--; treasonously cl450+1821.
VG treason (vt) 13..-c1374+1890.
Int tray cl440+1660/1.

See Also: EVIL D1, EVIL D3, EVIL D4, EVIL D5, EVIL D6.

External X-R: II 1.5.5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

D3 BETRAYING

AjG betraying \(1628+1814\).
- affected by the result of : betrayed \(1597+1660\).

NA læwung OE; trechetting cl330 (1); traisement cl380 (1);
betraying 1382-1647; betraising cl385 (1); trayment 1468 (1);
tradition 1482-1653; betrayment \(1548+1863\) rare; betray
1600 (1); betrayal 1816--; double-crossing 1910--.
.of principles: betraying 1678 (1).
- of one's lord: hlafordswicung OE; hlafordsyrwung OE.
. of trust or confidence: betrayal 1826-; sell \(1838^{\circ}(1)\).
læwa OE; læwend OE; sellend OE; traditor c1375-1819; proditor 1436-1678; betrayer 1526+1552+1828; prevaricator cl555-al637; double-crosser 1927--.


See Also: EVIL D1, EVIL D2, EVIL D4, EVIL D5, EVIL D6.
\(\frac{\text { External } X-R: ~ I I ~}{\&}\) 1.5.5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

PERFIDIOUS

AjG ortriewe OE; (ge)treowleas OE; wærleas OE poet; trothless c1200-1647+1887; proditorious c1475-1641; truthless 1567al600; false-heart 1593 (1) Shksp; perfidious 1598--; fedifragous 1600-1651; fidious 1640 (1).

AjA perfidious l603--; perfidiate 1632 (1).

NQ (ge)treowleasnes OE ; perfidiousness 1597--.
NA perfidy 1592--; perfidity \(1607+1692+1903\); distrust 1667 (I) Milton; sinonism 1864 (1).
sinon 1581--.

AvM untreowlice OE; proditoriously cl475-1619; perfidiously 1589--; false \(1590+1593\) both Shksp; infideliously 1614 (1).

VG to do the dirty (vp) 1914--.
-to a trust of any kind: to play the bankrupt (미) 1614+1623 fig.

See Also: EVIL D1, EVIL D2, EVIL D3, EVIL D5, EVIL D6.

External X-R: II 1.5 .5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

AjG ungetreowe 0 E ; unhold/unhold \(0 \mathrm{E}+\mathrm{cl} 395\); untreowe/untrue \(0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{-}\); untrowing cl320 (1); untrusty 1553-1612; unfaithful 1565--; infidelious 1581 (1); fausen 1591+1654; inconfident 1603 (1); recreant \(1643--\); infidious \(1656+1657\).
. in love or wedlock: unconstant 1561-1757. . by breaking a vow/vows: vow-breaking 1533-1599.

NQ ungetreownes 0 E ; untreowp/untruth \(0 \mathrm{E}-1593+1859\) now arch \(\&\) rare; untrowness al200 (1); untrueness al200 (1); falsehood 12971534; mistruth al300-cl400 Nth; untroth c1374-1606; unfaithfulness cl480--; disloyalty 1481--; untrustiness 15261685; infidelity 1529--; deloyalty 1571 (1); disloyalness 1586+1727; recreancy 1602--; faithlessness 1605--; infaithfulness 1688 (1); trustlessness 1825--; disfaith 1881 (I).
.relapse into: recidivation cl420-1693; residuation 1534 (1) erron; resiluation 1577/87 erron.
- a letter telling of the writer's: Dear John 1945-- chiefly US.

NAc infidelity 1714--.
-spec. the breaking of an oath: oath-breaking 1596 (1); fedifraction 1650 (1) rare.

NP treowloga OE poet; wærloga OE poet; scand/shond OE-cl205; recreant 1570--.
- who breaks a promise: break-vow 1583+1596; break-promise 1600 (1); oath-breaker 1601 (1).
. who breaks a truce: truce-breaker 1534-1625.

AvM untreowlice/untruly OE-al548; untrue al310 (1); unhend 1338 (1); unfaithfully 1340/70-1722.

VG aleogan OE.
. by breaking a promise; aleogan OE; false (vt) 1303-1624+1923 (arch); to break touch (vp) 1594 (1); unpromise (vt/a) 15981672.

See Also: EVIL D1, EVIL D2, EVIL D3, EVIL D4, EVIL D6.

\footnotetext{
External X-R: II 1.5 .5 result of knowledge:falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity, infidelity.
}

DISLOYAL

AjG leas OE; unleal al300-cl560+1848 now arch; faithless 1362--; disloyal cl477--; disleal 1590 (1) Spenser; unloyal 1594-1741; illoyal 1626-cl694; disaffectionate 1636 (1).

NQ unlewty al300-al470; unlawty \(1456+a 1568\) Sc; unloyalty 1560 (1); disloyalty 1600--; faithlessness 1605--; disallegiance 1641 (1).
.in Russia, to things Russian: cosmopolitanism 1950+1963.

AvM disloyally 1552--.

VG betray (vt) al300--.
VM disalliege (vt) 1648 (1).

See Also: EVIL D1, EVIL D2, EVIL D3, EVIL D4, EVIL D5.

External X-R: II 1.5 .5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception \& III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

D7 DISHONEST

AjA unhonest 1583-1730+1901 obs exc dial or arch. .spec. of how something is contrived: rigged \(1879+1901\).

AjP unjust cl500-- now rare; bribing 1542+1567; unhonest 15451825; subornate al548 (1); sinistruous \(1582 / 8-1687\) Sc; sinistrous 1600-1717; horse-fair 1606 (1); dishonest 1611--; unparliamentary 1626--; leer 1629-al680+al830 (dial); left-handed 1694-1707; one-eyed 1833 (1) US slang; cross 1882-- slang; crook l911--.
. in proceedings: on the dodge 1904--.
.in dealings with others: unhonest 1545-1645+1825--(dial) obs exc dial or arch.
- by being insufficiently honest: under-honest 1606 (I) Shksp.

NQ falseship 14.. (1); foulness 1573-1654; dishonesty 1599--; falsity 1603--; unparliamentariness 1647 (1); sinisterity 1647-1758; adultery 1753 (1); deviousness 1791--.

NA trinketing 1646-al716+1827 (Scott) chiefly Sc; hanky-panky 1841--.
.plural: undue means 1477-1676.
-as a means of obtaining something: nobbling 1865--.
NAc hooky-crooky 1830 (1).
NP .who is a cheat: leasbreda \(0 E\); faitour al340-1828 obs exc arch; fob 1393 (1) rare; feature c1460-14..; foolmonger 1592+ 1681; napper 1653-al700 slang; tiddlywinker 1893 (1) slang. -who contrives something: rigger cl830--.

AvM falsely 1303-cl430; dishonestly 1590--; naughtily 1622 (1); crookedly 1655--; unparliamentarily 1727+al797; sinistruously 1817 (1); on the crook 1879 (1) slang.

VG cross (vt/i) 1823-- slang; smouch (vi) 1848 (1). -by falsifying (accounts etc.): fluff (vt) 1957 (1). .in contriving something: rig (vt) \(1851+1885\) slang or colloq.

See Also: EVIL D8, EVIL D9, EVIL D10.

External X-R: II 1.5 .5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception
\& III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

D8 CROOKED

AjG crooked al225-- fig; sinister 1455-1829; indirect 1570-1727; undirect al592-1652; involved 1607/12-1713; unstraight 1650+ 1671; obliquous 1757 (1); back-handed 1800-- fig; twistical 1815-- colloq; louche 1819--; tortuous 1823--; hooky-crooky 1833 (1); underhand 1842+1858; underhanded 1865+1899; twisty 1905 (1); bent 1914-- fig, slang orig US.
.and dubious: queer 1508-1513 (Sc)+1550--; fishy 1840--.
-and harmful: back-wounding 1603 (1) Shksp.
-spec. of the means of obtaining something: crooked 1864--; cross 1892 (1) slang, Austral.

NQ pweornes OE; crookedness c1380--; deformity c1400--; turningness al586 (1); indirection 1595--; curvity 1616-1678 fig; obliquity al619-1818; tortuosity 1621--; indirectness 1628-1821/30; unsingleness al658 (1); unstraightness al693
(1); tortuousness 1824 (1); underhandedness 1884--. -and dubiousness: fishiness 1919 (1) fig, colloq.

NAc crookedness 1869 (1) fig.
NP crook 1886-- US colloq; bent 1958 (1) fig, slang.

AvM undirectly 1535+1550; indirectly 1580-1603; obliquely 1646 (1); back-handedly \(1889+1957\).
-and dubious: fishily 1851-- fig.

See Also: EVIL D7, EVIL D9, EVIL D10.

External X-R: II 1.5.5.result of knowledge: falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

D9 SNEAKY

AjG sneaky 1860--; shady 1862--.
.somewhat: sneakish 1864--.
AjA surreptitious 1443--; surreptitial 1600 (2); surreptious
1630 (1); surreptive 1633 (1).
AjP swipor \(0 E ;\) sneaking 1582--; makeshift 1592 (1) glibbery 1602al634 fig; meeching 1610-- now mainly US; sneaky 1833--.

NQ sneakingness cl647-1727; sneakiness 1859--; sneakishness 1895 (1); shadiness 1914--.

NA stealth 1297-1797; surreption cl400-1720.
NP scua OE; snuch 1579/80 (1); sneaker 1598--; sheep-biter 1601-1778; roundabout 1605 (1); sneak al643-1677+1840--; sneaks 1653-al700; creep al876+1886 dial. -who attacks (someone) unfairly: back-stabber 1906+1960.

AvM by stealth 1390-1775; surreptiously 1573-1642; surreptitiously 1587/8--; on the cross 1802-- slang.

VG sneak (vi) 1633-- fig.
.in one's method of attacking (someone): back-stab (vi) 1925 (1).

See Also: EVIL D7, EVIL D8, EVIL D10.

External X-R: II 1.5.5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception
\& III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

AjG unwhole al352 (1); unsincere 1577-cl742; insincere 1634--; uningenious 1638+1656; uningenuous \(1638+1670\); disingenious 1655-1707; disingenuous 1657--; uncandid 1771--.

NQ uningenuousness 1644 (1); unsincerity 1646-1707; disingenuity 1647--; uningenuity 1650+1672; disingenuousness 1674--; uncandidness 1681+1754; unsincereness 1683 (1); insincerity al699--: uncandour 1879+1892.

AvM unsincerely cl555+1684; insincerely l625--; uningenuously \(1656+1796\); disingenuously 1661-..

See Also: EVIL D7, EVIL D8, EVIL D9.

External X-R: II 1.5 .5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

D11 UNSCRUPULOUS

AjG unconscionable 1565--; conscienceless l588--; conscionless 1607(1s) +1617(1s); unconscientious 1775--; unconscienced 1888 (1).

AjA contra-conscient cl625 (1); unscrupulous 1829 (I) Scott.
AjP conscienceless al420--; unconscionable 1570--; inconscionable 1596+1672; disconscient 1640 (1); unscrupulous 1803+1875; unscrupled 1813 (1) Scott; scrupleless 1823 (1) Scott; unconscientious 1827 (Scott)--; unconscienced 1833(1).

NQ unconscionableness 1607-1670; inconscionableness 1800 (1); unscrupulousness 1808+1879; unscrupulosity \(1847+1879\); unconscientiousness 1860+1879; consciencelessness 1882 (1).

NP Ned Kelly 1941-- Austral colloq.

AvM unconsciencely 1450+1485; unconscionably 1583-1705;
consciencelessly al603 (1); inconscionably 1634 (1);
contraconscientiously 1648-1649; unconscientiously 1649--; unscrupulously 1833+1884.

VG to think it no conscience (vp) 1579 (1); to stick at nothing (vp) 1615-..

External X-R: II 1.5.5 result of knowledge: falsehood, deception III 2.2.2 behaviour based on morality: insincerity.

\section*{E1: HARMFUL}

AjG bealublonden \(O E ;\) deriendlic \(O E ;\) hearm \(O E\); hearmful \(O E ;\) pleolic OE; sceapig OE; ge-sceppendlic OE; ungifre OE; unhiere \(O E\); wolberende 0 E ; bealuful/baleful OE--; lypre/lither OE-al300; sceapful/scatheful OE-1601+1855 arch; evil cll75--; wick al225-al450+1756; venomous cl290-1610; scathel al3001515; harmful al340--; grievous 1340--; wicked 1340--; fell c1340-1821; teenful 1340/70+al400/50; ill 1340/70--; contagious cl374--; venomed cl375--; mischievous cl380--; noyful 1382-al618; noisome 1382--; damageous c1386-1637; tortious 1387/8-1742; infective 1398+c1420; parlous al4001730+1839 (dial); unwholesome al400/50-1828; undisposing cl400 (1); nuisant cl400+l676; damnable cl420+1659; prejudiciable 1429-1674; contagious c1430-1653; prejudicial 1433--; damageful cl449-1645; pestiferous 1458--; damageable 1474-1796; nuisable 1483 (1); nocent c1485-1746; nocible 1490 (1); nuisible 1490 (2); pestilent 1513--; pestilential 1531--; pestilentious 1533-1748; nocive 1538-1644; offendant 1547 (1); offensive al548-1813; dangerous 1548-1576; dispendious 1557 (1); injurious 1559--; plaguy 1574-1763+1888 (arch); offensant 1578 (1); prejudicious 1579-1731 now rare; baneful 1579--; incommodious 1579/80+1655; prejudical 15941791 rare; naught 1596-1658; damnifiable 1604 (1); taking 1605-1636; offensible 1611 (1); obnoxious 1612-1683; noxious 1612--; nocivous 1616-1651; mischieving 1621 (1); nocuous 1635--; inimical l643--; nocumentous 1644 (1); disserviceable 1644--; detrimentous 1648 (2); vicious 1656 (1); detrimental 1656--; nocumental 1657 (1); inimicous 1657-1727; incommodous 1677 (1); fatal 1681--; offending 1694 (1); inimic 1696 (1); nociferous 1702 (1); damnific 1727 (1); inimicable 1805+1833; violational 1810+1876; insalutary 1836 (1); detrimentary 1841 (1); wronging 1845 (1); unsalvatory 1850 (I); damaging 1856--; vitiating 1858--; damnous 1870 (1); injuring 1877 (I); damnifying 1893 (1).
-morally: baleful cll75--; contagious cl440-1651; deleterious 1823-~.
. and destructive: succorrosive 1541 (I) rare; blasting 1591--; eating cl602--.
.and sinister: ominous 1634-1671; grim 1873--.
.to a thing/person: grievous 1398-cl400; injurious 1494--; nought 1532-1690; venomous 1607-1691; sinister 1725--. .to oneself: self-ill 1633 (1).
-spec. causing wounds: wundlic 0 E ; wounding al225--;
vulnerable 1609 (1); vulnerary 1615-1810; vulnerative 1818 (1); woundy 1826 (1).
- subject to that which is: wrackful 1581-1612+1811.
. affected by that which is: wronged al547--.
. the colour for that which is: blue 1742-- fig.
. an intensifying qualifier for something which itself is: shrewd 1387-1713+1819; shrode 1482-1623.
:more: wiers/worse 0E--.
- progressively more: worse and worse 1154--.
.excessively: outrageous 1456--.

AjA wrongous al300-cl625+1907; violent 13..--; wrongful cl325--.
AjT malign cl315--; malignant \(1591--\).
AjP teonful OE; mischievous 1473-- now rare.

NQ grievousness 1303-1682; noyfulness 1398 (1); fatality 1490--; harmfulness 1580--; illness 1595-1718; offensiveness 1618--; disserviceableness 1635+1678; injuriousness 1648--; fatalness 1652 (1); noxiousness 1654--; prejudicialness 1655-1727 rare; deleteriousness 1812 (1); vice 1837--; balefulness 1866 (1); disutility 1879+1886; nocuousness 1894 (1); disvalue 1925--.

NX \(\quad\) æfwyrdelsa \(0 E ;\) æfwyrdla \(0 E ;\) bealu OE; clacu OE; demm OE; pleoh OE; pliht OE; sceappignes OE; scendung OE; teonræden OE; teosu OE; unpearf OE; wol OE; yfel OE; daru/dere OE-c1485+ cl570-1674 (Nth); hearm/harm 0E--; lap/1oath 0E-cl460; sceapa/-u/-e/scathe OE--; teona/teen OE-1609; wemming 1100c1375; waning cll75 (1); ungrith cl200 (1); wrong c1275--; prejudice cl290--; torfer 13..-cl470; evilty cl330 (2); grief cl330-1584; wem 1338 (1); pestilence al340-1634+1875; injure c1374-1596 chiefly Sc; ill c1375--; tort 1387/8-1748; truit al400 (2); danger c1400-1601; inconvenience 14..-1695; supprise cl425-1500/20 chiefly Sc; injury cl430--; incommodity 1430/50-1579; mischieving cl447+1737 now arch or dial; noying 1474-1548/77; outray c1475-1610; interess 1489 (1); grudge \(1491+1641\) rare; wreak 15..-al600; impeachment 1548-1648; nocument 1550-1657; inconveniency 1553-1706; indemnity 1556+ cl629; interest c1575+1603; abuse 1593-1682; mischievance 1600-1628; oblesion 1656-1721/1800+1857; nuisance 1820--; grit 1876-- fig.
.a cause of: foe cl200-1807 transf \& fig; wathe al300-c1470; grievance al300-1768; wothe 13..-c1460; resentment 1683 (1); wound 1715+1844.
..to the body politic: poison c1470--.
- for which a legal remedy may be found: nuisance 1464--.
-to someone in holy orders: hadbryce 0 E .
- caused by war: wigbealu OE poet.
-supposedly proceeding from witchcraft: scathe 1795+1899.
.affecting others: outrage c1290--.
.in effect: malice cl380-1685; ill(-)effect 1675--;
.in influence: shirt of Nessus/Nessus shirt/robe 1606 (Shksp)+ 1835--; tares al711--.
-and comes from wrongful action: teona 0 E .
-and damaging to someone/thing: shake 1565--; blow 1605-- fig. -quite a lot of: a bit of no good 1958--.

NA derung OE; illing cl220+cl575; harming al300-1719; wrake c1300-al578; spite 13..-1633; damaging 13..--; offending 1388 (1); dering c1400-cl440; disservice 1599--; damagement 1603-- rare; violencing 1612-al615; damnification 1628-chiefly legal; injuring 1651 (1)
yfeldæd OE; scepdæd/scathe-deed OE+cl205; scathe-work c1205 (1); inconveniency al450-al722; inconvenience cl4891796.
-done to another: bad/ill/evil turn 13..--; shrewd turn 1526--; office 1575--; disservice 1611--; disoffice 1624 (1); diskindness 1678-1768/74; a shot in the eye 1897 (1) colloq. ..plural: filths 1481 (1).
-affecting society at large: inconvenience \(1622+a 1709\).
hearmscapa \(O E\) poet; mansceapa \(O E\) poet; peodsceapa OE;*sceapa/ scathe OE-cl205; wounder l483--; plague 1551--; scathe-causer 1559 (1); pestilent 1567-1583; harmer 1583--; wronger 15911727; injurer 1595--; injurier 1598 (2); griever 1598-1660; nuisancer 1769 (1); vitriolizer 1882 (1); menace 1926-collog.
- of one in holy orders: hadbreca 0 E . . of the people (=antichrist): peodsceapa OE.
-who gives ground for grievance: grievancer 1655 (1). .excessively: batterer 1611-1823; outrager 1873--. - a band of (plural): ploddeill cl425 (1) rare.

AvM leahtorlice OE; evil cl205-1749; unsoundly 13..+cl375; teenfully 13..-cl460; wickedly 13..--; balefully cl350+cl400+ 1842; harmfully cl374--; prejudicially 1467/8--; ill 14831642; mischievously 1500/20 (Sc)+1512--; pestilently 15281653; noisomely 1589 (1); infectiously 1606--; evilly l631--; damageably 1660 (1); offensively 1660 (1); disserviceably al670 (1); noxiously 1755--; injuriously 1809/10--; nocuously 1847 (1); damagingly 1854--; banefully 1865 (1); detrimentally 1879--; damnously 1884 (1) Law; deleteriously 1892 (1); prejudiciously 1899 (1) rare.
.and destructive: corrosively al691+1831.
-more and more: worse and worse 1487-1639.

VG (ge)derian OE; (ge)sceapian OE; nuise (vi) cl315 (2); harm (va) 1362-1633; grieve (vi) 1398-1577; unprofit (vi) 14..+ 1541; ennoy (va) cl420 ( \(\overline{1}\) ); disavail (vi) \(1430+1549\); scathe (vi) 1470 (1); prejudicate (vi) 1565 ( \(\overline{1}\) ); damnify (va) 1621 (1); endamage (va) 1635 (1).
-to a person/thing: (ge)derian \(0 E\); (ge)brys(i)an \(0 E\);
(ge)hrinan \(0 E\); myscan \(O E\); ge-scendan \(O E ;\) (ge) sceppan \(O E ;\) scyrdan OE; teoswian OE; ge-breagan OE; ge-preawian OE; wrohtian. OE; hearmian/harm (vt) OE--; (ge) sceapian/scathe (vt) \(0 \mathrm{E}-\)-; wemman/wem (vt) \(0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{cl375}\); werdan/werde (vt) \(0 \mathrm{E}-\) c \(\overline{1200 ; ~ y f e l i a n / e v i l ~(v t) ~ O E-c l 435 ; ~ f o r w o r k ~(v t) ~ c l 2 ~} \overline{05}\) (l); to make scathe (vp) c1205-c1489; to do/work Wough (vp) cl205cl550; to do scathe (vp) cl205--; ill (vt) cl220-1614; misdo (vt) al225-1597; to work scathe (vp) cl250--; teen (vt) cl275-1607; grieve (vt) a1300-1574; to do one (a) spite (vp) al300-1658; to do (a) villainy (vp) al300-al683; to do
 wrath (vt) 13..-14..; to wait (one) scathe (vp) 1303-cl350; shond ( \((\overline{\mathrm{vt}})\) 1338-c1450; endamage (vt) cl374-1 \(\overline{828} / 40\); unright (vt) \(13 \overline{90}\) (2) +1647 rare; to do disease to (vp) c1400-1493;
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outray (vt) cl400-1530; disvail (vt) 14.. (2); tame (vt)
cl430-cl480; wreak (vt) cl440-1683; disavail (vt) 1471-1754;
prejudice (vt) 1472/3-- now rare; mischieve (vt) 1475-1707
now dial or arch; damage (vt) 1477--; mischief (vt) 1483-
1682+1855 arch; damnify (vt) 1512--; danger (vt) 1538-1614;
prejudicate (vt) 1553-1670; abuse (vt) 1556-1756; inviolate
(vt) 1569-1681; mislest (vt) cl573+\overline{1847-1863 (dial); injury}
(vt) 1579+1630; indemnify (vt) 1583+1593; qualify (vt) 1584-
1\overline{644; injure (vt) 1586--; buse (vt) 1589 (1); interess (vt)}
1598-1607; bane (vt) 1601+1643; violence (vt) 1612-al677;
envy (vt) 1621 (I).
..spec. of people: grieve (vt) 1297-1651.
..spec. to an outsider who meddles: to burn (another's)
fingers (vp) 1865 (1) fig.
..spec. to a person's interests: to stand in a person's light
(vp) 1528-- fig.
...for the sake of a desired object: sacrifice (vt) 1751--.
..spec. to one's own interests: to sit in one's own light (vp)
1535-1637 Sc; to stand in one's own light (vp) 1546--.
..by doing an ill turn: disserve (vt) 1618/29--; disservice
(vt) 1837 (I).
..maliciously: to do dirt to (vp) l893-- slang, orig US.
.excessively: to do outrage (vp) 1297-cl430.
wreak (vt) 1817--.
to hent scathe (vp) 13.. (1); to have scathe (vp) 1303-1470/85;
to get scathe (vp) 1362-1642; to take scathe (vp) 1375--;
to thole scathe (vp) cl400 (I); to catch scathe (vp) cl420-
1730; to receive scathe (vp) 1549 (1); to kep scathe (vp);
1572-1721; to find scathe (vp) 1586 (1).
.to come: damnify (vi) 1712 (1).

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See Also: EVIL AI, EVIL E2--EVIL E14 inclusive.

External X-R: II 7.6 Ill intentions towards others.

\section*{E2 DISADVANTAGEOUS}

AjG unbiheve cl200+al240; disconvenable 1474+1484; discommodious 1540--; disprofitable 1548+1572; disadvantageable 1597/8-1631; disadvantageous 1603--; inexpedient 1608--; disvantageous 1622 (1); unbeneficial 1626--; inconvenient 1651--; unserviceable 1698 (1).
.to health of mind: unwholesome cl200--.
AjP .by acting to one's detriment: sinister cl500-cl548.
discommodity 1513-1829; inconveniency 1552--; discommodiousness 1580-1675; discommodious 1583 (1); inexpedience 1608-1653+1831; inexpediency 1641--; inconvenience 1653--; disadvantageousness 1727+1782.
unfrome al200 (1); unbiheve cl200 (1); unfreme cl200 (1); unbihoof/-hofthe cl205 (1); unneod cl205 (2); unframe c1250 (2); disadvantage cl380--; unprofit 1382-1598+1840; afterdeal 1481-1634; inconvenience 1578--; where the shoe pinches al580--; inconveniency 1640-1818; disinterest 1662-- now rare; inadvantage 1689 (1); let-down 1840 (1). -the side of something which embodies: the wrong side 1719--.

NAc superchery 1598-1656.

AvM to the worse 1549 (1); in (the) disfavour of 1590--;
to anyone's cost 1597--; disadvantageously l611--; disadvantageably 1627 (1); discommodiously 1633-1638; for the worse 1855 (1); to the disfavour of 1858--.

VT disadvantage (vt) cl534--; disvantage (vt) 1567 (I).

See Also: EVIL C17, EVIL El.

PLAYFULLY MISCHIEVOUS

AjG knavish 1552-1603; spritish 1569-1600; wicked 1600--; monkeyish 1621--; impish 1652--; mischievous 1676--; sly 1764--; wansonsy 1819 (I) Sc; pucklike 1845--; puckish 1874--; picklesome 1885 (1).

NQ monkeyishness 1824--; monkeyism 1845--; impishness 1876 (1); puckishness 1900 (1); sassiness 1976 (1) colloq. .tendency to: unluckiness 1762/72 (1).

NA miching malicho 1602 (Shksp)+1836--; mischief 1784--. .plural: carryings-on 1663-18...
wait-scathe 1481-al500; wag-pasty al553-1622; villain 1590--; rogue 1597--; devil 1601--; fiend \(1621+1807 / 8--\) transf; imp 1633--; torment 1784--; scapegrace 1809--; bad hat 1884--. -female: scapegrace al847 (1).
- young: crack 1597-1673; monkey 1604-- transf; irchin 1625 (I);
limb 1625--: imp 1642--; varment/varmint 1773--; hurcheon 1785 (1); hellion/hellyon 1846-- US colloq; puck 1852--; Peck's bad boy 1883-- US slang; (Iittle) bleeder 1952 (1) low slang.
. and boisterous: rigsby 1546-1607+1691-- dial; cow-boy/cowboy 1942-- slang, orig US.

AvM spritishly 1592 (1); mischievously 1730-1803; slyly 1837--; impishly l864--; sassily 1976 (1) colloq, orig \& chiefly US.

See Also: EVIL E1, EVIL E4.

HARMFULLY MISCHIEVOUS

AjG mischievous cl380-- ; unhappy 1474-1678; sinistral 1534-1561.
AjA mischievable 1680 (1).

AjT yfelwyrcende OE; shrewd cl380-1621.
AjP frec/freck OE-cl275; vicious cl386--; mischiefful 1541+1896 (dial) now dial.
.in look: sinister 1797--.
. in thought: bealuhycgende \(0 E\); bealuhydig \(0 E\).

NQ mischievousness 1567--; mischief 1646-1822 now rare or obs.
NX færnip 0E; qued(e) al225-1387+al529; folly 1303-1535; unhend 1377 (1); envy al400-cl460; sorrow cl430-1599; untroth 1470/85+1484 rare; diversity 1483-1523; unhappiness c1485al625; wriguldy-wrag 1519 (1); jeel \(1887+1890\) I of Man. - due to a particular cause: mischief 1480--. - a cause of: mischief 1586--. -the root of : bosom-mischief al662 (1).

NP disturber cl290--; troubler 1382--; disturbler 1440+c1449; distroubler c1440+15..; breed-bate \(1593+1598+1852\); boutefeu al598-1754; trouble-rest 1598 (1); trouble-feast 1603-1691; trouble-state 1604 (1); flight-head 1605 (1); trouble-house 1608--; trouble-cup al610 (l); seek-trouble 1611 (I); fling-brand 1616 (1); trouble town 1619-1690; blow-coal 1622 (1) fig; trouble-world 1663-1691; mischief-maker 1710--; fire-sprit 1848 (1) dial; fire-bug 1872 (1) fig, US; disturbant 1894 (1); ratbag 1937-- Austral \& NZ slang; mixer 1938-- slang.

AvM wickedly 1848--.

VG to play hob (vp) 1838--; to raise hob (vp) 1911-- chiefly US.

See Also: EVIL Al, EVIL E1, EVIL E3.

AjG nipful/nithful OE-al300; lap/loath OE+cl400; ondful cll75cl230; attery/attry cl200-1535+1868 (dial) obs or dial; teenful cl205-1572; malicious al225--; spitous al300-1481; spetous 13..-c1450; dogged al307-1684; envious cl330-al713; venomous al340--; despitous cl340-1578; venom al350-1660+ 1892 (dial); doggy 1388-1583; heinous al400-1580; doggish c1400-1672; venomy c1400-1594+a1849; sinister 1411-1601; sputous cl420 (1); envyful 1450/1530-al651 chiefly Sc; despiteful cl470-1748+1852; spity 1481 (1); spiteful 1490--; peevish ?al500-1601; despiteous c1510-1600; cankered 1513-1535 (Sc)+1555--; viperious cl520-al670; viperous 1535-1824; viperine al550--; vipered 1560 (1); unkindly 1591 (1) Spenser; viper 1591--; sinistruous 1593-1751; uncanny 1596 (1) Sc \(\&\) Nth; dogged-sprighted 1600 (1); maliced 16011643; ill-minded 1611+1726; virulent 1613--; ill-hearted al617+1.786; doleful 1617+1880; spitish 1627--; splenial 1641 (1); litherly al643+1805 (Scott); venomsome \(1660+1876--\) dial; slim 1668-1681; vipereal 1748 (1); viperish 1755--; vícious 1825--; maliceful 1839-- chiefly dial; viperian 1866. (1); waspish 1870--; viperan 1877 (1); cattish 1883+1893; catty 1886--; bitchy 1928--.
-in aim (of a dart): misintended 1594 (1) Spenser.
.spec. in intent: ill-meaning \(1633+1681\).
. spec. in words: word-spite 1857 (1).
AjA virulent 1607--.
AjT malicious al340--.
maliciousness al450-1791/1823; peevishness 1468-1664; spitefulness 1530--; sinisterness 1659 (1); viciousness 1879 (1); cattishness 1894--; cattiness 1920--; bitchiness 1934--.
- anger which embodies: nipgrama OE .
- personification of: fiend \(1590+1784\).
.an imaginary instrument of: tomahawk 1805-- fig.
NF æfest 0 OE bealu OE; hete OE ; hetenip OE; hol OE; niphete OE; anda/onde \(0 \overline{\mathrm{E}-\mathrm{al} 366 ;}\) hatung/hating \(\mathrm{OE}-\); teen cl200-1690+17191819 (Sc) obs exc Sc; malice 1297--; envy al300-1707; maligre cl320-1542; eft cl325 (2); spite cl330--; maligne al460-cl485; wroke al500-1513 Sc; doggedness 1530-1647; despitefulness 1535-1633; cankeredness 1538-1660; stomach c1540-1643+a1825 (dial); venomy 1548 (1); spight 1559-1774; doggishness 1592 (1); livor 1607-1675; viperousness 1651-1727; bitchery 1936--.
-an instance of: (a) spite al400--; (a) spleen 1616-1722.
. of the elements: spite 1562-- fig.
. spec. enjoyment of the misfortunes of others: schadenfreude 1895--.
.and premeditated: purpensed malice 1477-1548; pretenced/ pretensed malice 1483-1579; malice prepensed 1530/1-1704; malice purpensed 1538 (1); prepensed malice 1603-1659; propense malice 1650-1752; malice prepense 1702--; malice prepensive 1752 (1) rare; prepense malice 1752 (1). .action of expressing: spiting c1460-1573/80.
. action of regarding with: malicing 1604-al640.
NAc nipgeweorc OE poet; thucke al225 (1); malice 1390-1669; shrewd turn 1464-1724; serpentine cl510 (1); prank al5291737.

NP rumpelstiltskin 1949+1976.
.female: bitch al400--; wild cat 1573/80--.

AvM andiendlice OE; nipfullice OE; yfle OE; spitously 13..-al450; despitously cl340-al500; doggedly c1380-1655; maliciously 1382--; venomly 1387-1556; evilfully c1400 (1); spitous cl400 (1); spiteously cl400-cl460; venomously cl400--; spetuously cl440-1495; sputously cl450 (1); despiteously c1450-al641; despitefully c1470-1678; unhappily 1509-1660; enviously 1509-1664; peevishly 1530-1601; spitefully 1532--; cankeredly 1535 (Sc)+1559; viperiously 1538 (l); malignly 1543--; sinisterly 1549-al691; doggishly 1576 (1); cankerly 1580 (1); sinistruously 1582-al615; viperously 1587--; despitely 1619 (1); viciously 1841--; dolefully 1880 (1); cattishly 1923 (1); cattily l924--; bitchily 1961--.

VG bitch (vi) 1963 (I). -to a person: to get/have one's knife into (vp) 1890--; bitch (vt) 1934--.
-in order to vex or annoy one: to spite (one) (vp) c1555--.
VF hati(g)an OE; malign (vi) 1494-1652; to bear malice (vp) 1530--; spite (vi) cl560-1579/80; to spite at (vp) 1567/8-1641. - and give vent to these feelings: bewreak (vt) c1325-1586; wrack (vt) 1635-1720.

VL spite (vt) al400/50-1690; malice (vt/i) al547-1694.
VT spite (vt) 1592--.

See Also: EVIL E1, EVIL E6.

AjP ætrenmod OE poet; bealuful OE; hetlen OE poet; lapwende OE; lapwendemod 0 E poet; niphycgende 0 E poet; yfelwille OE poet; hetelic/hatelich 0E-c1320; hetol/hatel 0E-cl386; ill-willing a1300-1741; ill cl330--; ill-willed al340-1483+1825 (dial); hateful cl340--; evil-willy 1382-c1400+1500/20 (Sc); maltalentive cl450 (2) rare; malign cl450-- now rare; malice c1475 (2) rare; ill-willy l5..-- chiefly Sc; malevolent 1509--; malevolous 1536 (Sc)+1547-1727; ill-given al586+1819-- Sc; stomaching 1577/87-1579; malignant 1592--; gallful 1596-1608 rare; gall-wet 1597/8 (1); ill affected 1605 (1); evil-affected 1611 (1); manless cl611 (1); gallsome 1633 (1) rare; ill-meaning 1633+1681; ill-natured 1645-al788; unbenign 1651-1809/14; unpleasant 1654 (1); reptile 1654--; sullen 1676-1703; unbenevolent 1697--; swart 1852+1867; unbenignant 1856+1860; reptilian 1859+1888.
.and dark: swarthy 1651-1756.
. spec. of things and spiritual agencies: maleficent 1678--. . and poisonous: ge-ætred OE; ætrig OE; ætren/attern OE+1205+ 1868 (dial) obs exc dial; aterlic/atterlich \(0 \mathrm{E}+\mathrm{cl} 230\) rare; poisoned 1508-1588; invenemated 1716 (1); aconital 1834 (1). . superhumanly: fiendish 1529--.

NF æfpanc OE; bealusearu OE; lapwendnes OE poet; yfelnes OE; 1æpp(o)/leth OE-cl425; yfel willa/evil will OE-1598; loath cll75-1728; atterness cl230 (1) rare; ill(-)will al300--; ill 1303-1500/20; maltalent cl320-a1648+al649-1828 (Sc); ill-willingness al340+1580; talent al380-1695; hard grace cl384+c1386 both Chaucer; malignity cl386--; malignation cl470-cl485; malevolence cl489--; hatefulness 1548--; malignancy 1640--; malignance 1641--; malevolency al6621714; fellness 1678--; maleficence 1796--; reptilism 1821+ 1843; fiendism 1852 (1) rare; unbenignity 1867 (1). -an instance of: malignancy 1652--; virulence al744 (1). -superhumanly: fiendishness l613--.

NA unkindness 1505--; disfavour 1556-1647.
NTh .expressing a particular purpose: malengin 1390-1726; male entente cl450 (1).

NTP feond OE; demon 1614-1829.
NP
deofol/devil OE--; atterling cl430 (1); basilisk 1475-(1831)
fig; ill-willer cl500--; attercop cl505+1881 fig; viper
1591--; malevolent 1595-1670; foe 1607-- transf \& fig;
ill-wisher 1607--; malevolo 1648 (1) rare; evil wisher 1656 (1).
.female: viperess 1647 (1) rare.
.who is a guest: nipgest 0 poet.
.and petty: wasp 1508--
.and \(\sin -\) stained: synsceapa \(O E\) poet.

AvM hetelice 0 ; ill cl300--; hatefully 1412/20--; unlovingly 1512--; malignantly l606--; manlessly 1607 (1); malevolently 1615--; accursedly 1630 (1); malefically 1652--; unbenignly a1892 (1) Tennyson.

VG (ge)ehtan OE; will (vi) 1414 (1); wish (vt) 1577 (1); ill-wish (vt) 1865--.

See Also: EVIL E1, EVIL E5.

E7 BITTER

AjG biterwyrde OE; proh OE; pweorh OE; biter/bitter OE--; sour c1440--; festered al533-1602; infestered 1563/87-1609 rare; amarulent 1583-1742; stomachous 1590-1658; rancorous 1590--; enfested 1591 (1) Spenser; vitriolic 1841--. - of the heart: bitter-hearted 1775 (1). -making: festering 1596-1704; rancouring al814 (1). .made: rancoured 1600-1728.

AjP rancorous 1592--.
-and their feelings: rancorous 1590--.

NF proh OE; biternes/bitterness OE--; rancour 13..--; sour cheer c1400-c1440; amaritude 1490-1666; rust 1508-1533 Sc; stomach grief 1533 (1); fell 1590 (1) Spenser, rare; virulency al617--; nitrosity 1634+al693 fig; embitteredness 1643 (1); embitterment 1645--; virulence 1663--; sharpness 1673-1733; virulentness a1676-1727; rankle 1795 (1) rare.
-of the heart: bitter-heartedness 1775 (1). cherishing of: stomaching 1549-1671. .excessive: oferbiternes/over-bitterness OE-1626.

AvM wælgrimlice OE; biterlice/bitterly OE--; mortally cl386--; rancorously 1767--.
- of speech: sare 0 E .
.excessively: over-bitterly 1340-a1586.
rankle (vi) 1508 (Sc)+1590--; rancour (vi) 1530-1640; fester (vi) al639-. fig.
outsharpen (vt) 1382 (1); fester (vt) 1579--; rankle (vt) 1606--; infester (vt) 1611 (1) rare; rancour (vt) 1654-alill; verjuice (vt) \(1848=\).
. to continue: rankle (vi) 1735--.
sour (vi) 1748--.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{7}{*}{AjG} & yf \\
\hline & malicious 13..-cl477; shrewd 1303-1634+1879 (dial); shrewish \\
\hline & c1375-1481; ill-disposed 1432/50-- ; indisposed 1481+1597; \\
\hline & misaffectionate 1533 (1); ill aposit 1535 (1) Sc; shrode 1547- \\
\hline & 1606; unsavoury 1568 (1); ill-conditioned 1614-- ill-natured \\
\hline & 1635/56--; unamiable 1774--; malignant 1784 (1); nasty 1825--; \\
\hline & 11-thriven 1843 (1) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

NF uncost c1220 (1); spleen 1594--; ill(-)nature 1691--.
NP malicious 1535-1814.

AvM maliciously c1440-1555; ill-naturedly 1683+1865.

VL spleen (vt) al629-1675.

See Also: EVIL EI.

E9 HARSH, UNKIND

AjG styrnlic OE; uncup OE; unlipe OE; heard/hard OE--; unmilde/ unmild OE-1558; unmeek cl200-1819; unkind 1362--; foul cl440+ 1608; ungentle 1509--; rough 1530--; dure 1567-- arch; harsh 1579/80--; untender 1605--; unsoftened 1645-1802; unkindhearted 1759 (1); uncanny 1773+1814 Nth \& Sc; unkindly l805/6--; unbeneficent 1822+1864; kindless 1847-- rare; half-hearted 1864 (1); brash 1872-- US; bad-blooded 1928 (1).
.treated in a way which is: forhealden 0 E ; misdight 1596 (1); mishandled c1610+1896; mistreated 1799--; misused 1823+1837; maltreated 1829--.
.and unnatural: unkindly 1456/70-1647.
.excessively: over-harsh al639--.
AjA rough al300--; unkind cl400--.

NF heardlicnes OE; harshness cl375--; unkindship 1390 (1); unkindness c1400-1825 now rare or obs; unmeekness cl440+1509+ 1828; ingratitude c1447-c1566; ingratuity 1528+1603; ungentleness 1548-- ; unmildness 1570-1644; unbenevolence \(1688+1720\); untenderness 1724+1883; bad blood 1825 (1).
.treatment which embodies: læpp(o) OE; unkindness c1374--;
mishandling 1390--; mistreating 1453-1496; misusage 1554/5--;
now rare; misuse 1596 (1); ill(-)treatment 1667--;
mistreatment 1716--; maltreatment 1721-..
.excessively: over-harshness al639 (1).

AvM uncuplice OE; unfreondlice OE; roidly 1375-1480; unmeekly cl380+al400; unkindly cl384--; untenderly ?al400--; durely c1477 (1); brash 1868+1880 US; kindlessly 1883 (1).
. unnaturally: unkindly c1300-1605.
.excessively: over-harshly 1668 (1).

VT (yfle) habban OE; mistucian OE; tawian OE; (ge)tucian OE; wierdan \(0 E ;\) misbeodan/misbede (vt) OE-1496; wait (vt) al3001601; demean (vt) 1375-a1651; harry (vt) al400/50--; beshrew (vt) cl430 (1); mistreat (vt) c1465--; mishandle (vt) 1530--; misuse (vt) 1540--; misorder (vt) 1550-1575; mumble (vt) 16281753; ill-treat (vt) al704--; maltreat (vt) 1708--.
.in the manner of mohocks: mohock (vt) \(1 \overline{718}\) (1).

See Also: EVIL El, EVIL El0, EVIL Ell.

E10 HARD-HEARTED

AjG cealdheort \(O E\) :poet; gramlic \(0 E ;\) heardheort \(O E ;\) stænen \(O E ;\) *arleas/oreless/areless 0E-ci200; hatol/hatel OE-cl386; heard/ hard OE--; hard-hearted cl205--; cruel 1297--; dure cl375 (1); hard-heart 1475--; flinty 1536-- fig; flint-hearted 1560-1632; stone-hearted 1569--; stony-hearted 1569--; steel-hearted 1571--; flintful 1576 (1); blunt 1592+1593; cold-blooded 1595--; brassy 1596-- fig; flint-heart 1596 (1); unfeeling 1596--; heartless 1599--; cold-hearted 1606--; iron-hearted al618--; flinty-hearted l626--; unbowelled 1656 (2); callous 1679--; unsympathizing 1735/6--; pebble-hearted 1816--; unsympathetic 1823--; cold 1849--; hard as nails 1889--.
-becoming: ahierding OE. -having thoughts which are: stiphycgende 0 E poet. -treating in a way which is: incaressing 1608 (1). - of the mind: repemod 0 E ; pearlmod \(O E\) poet; stercedferhp \(O E\) poet; calloused 1834 (1).

AjP stip OE; stiplic OE; strang OE. -spec. their souls: stearc \(O E ;\) stearcferp \(0 E\).

NQ heardheortnes \(0 E\); unmiltsung \(0 E\); cruelty al225--; cruelness al300-1596; cruel cl440 (1) rare; crudelity 1483-1707; hardheartedness 1583--; callum al640-1646 fig; callosity 1658-- fig; stony-heartedness 1673--; callousness 1692-- fig; callus \(\overline{1692--~ f i g ; ~ u n f e e l i n g n e s s ~ 1780--; ~ c o l d-h e a r t e d n e s s ~}\) 1850 (1); unsympathy 1856+1871; cold-bloodedness 1878--;
heartlessness 1891--; inhumanism 1907--. .excessively: over-hardness 1582 (1).

NP knark 1851 (1) slang.

AvM stipe OE; cruelly al340--; hardheartedly 1583+1810; unfeelingly 1768+1902; cold-bloodedly 1838--; unsympathizingly 1856 (1); unsympathetically 1861 (I); callously 1870--; heartlessly 1886--.

VM ahierdan \(0 E\); onstipian \(0 E\); hard-heart (vt) 1581 (2); roborate (vt) 1652 (1).

VB harden (vi) 1667--.

See Also: EVIL E1, EVIL E9, EVIL E11.

\section*{E11}

MERCILESS

AjG
unmildheort 0E;*arleas/oreless/areless 0E-cl200; stern c12051600; fell al300-- now poet \& rhet; merciless 13..--; ruthless cl327--; unmerciable 1382-1509; unpiteous 1390-1725; pitiless al412--; unpitiful cl449-1658/9; unmerciful 1481--; wanton 1513-1764; unmerciless 1545-1614; unprayed 1567 (1); graceless 1588-al658; spareless 1589--; unrelenting 1590--;
uncompassionate 1591--; relentless 1592--; remorseless 1593--; unmercied cl600 (1); unpitying 1605--; incompassionate 16111679; heart-bound 1616 (I); irrelenting 1616+1636; pitiless a1618 (1); inclement \(1621+1725+1861\); compassionless 1625 (1) rare; unremorseless 1634 (1); bowelless 1649--;
uncompassionating al711 (1); dispiteous 1803--; inhumane 1822+ 1851; impiteous 1877--.
- and unappeasable/implacable: unprayable 1382 (1); mortal cl386--; unquemable cl440 (1) ; implacable 1522--; unplacable 1553-1676; inexorable 1553--; unentreatable 1561-1611; unexorable 1577-a1641.
. . by means of compensation: botleas/bootless \(O E(2)+1714+1839\).

NQ unmercy cl380-c1407; unpiteousness cl380+1447; unmercifulhead cl440 (1); unruth cl440+1888+1899 now arch; unpity 1447-1653; inhumanity cl477--; unpitifulness \(\overline{1526-1679 ; ~ u n m e r c i f u l n e s s ~}\) 1545--; merciless 1584 (1) rare; mercilessness 1591--; inclemency 1598-1658; incompassionateness 1621 (1); incompassion 1625-1675; unrelentance 1637 (1); unrelentingness 1727--; pitilessness 1755--; ruthlessness 1777--; relentlessness 1808+1883; dispiteousness 1861 (1); uncompassionateness 1862 (1).
- and unappeasable/implacable: unexorableness 1611 (I); inexorableness 1622--; implacableness 1631-..
unmurnlice 0 E poet; unruefully al300 (2); without(en) grith al300-c1410; unruthfully cl375 (2); unpiteously 1390-1513+ al856; without mercy 1470/85-1796; unmercifully 1548--; ruthlessly l586--; remorseless 1593+1742; inhumanely 1598 (1); unpitifully 1598+1709; uncompassionately \(1608+1612\); mercilessly l609--; pitilessly l611--; remorselessly 1612--; incompassionately 1638 (1); unpityingly 1741--; inclemently 1789 (1); relentlessly 1815+1870; impitiably 1835 (1). .and unappeasable/implacable: unquemably c1440 (1); inexorably 1610--; implacably l631--.

VT to handle without mittens (vp) 1678-1699.

See Also: EVIL A9, EVIL E1, EVIL E9, EVIL E10.

AjG deapreow OE poet; ferhpgrim OE poet; frecne OE; heapugrim OE; heorugrimm \(O E\) poet; hetegrim \(O E\) poet; hreow \(O E\); nipgrim \(O E\) poet; reoc \(0 E\); repig 0 E ; replic 0 E ; singrim 0 E poet; slipheard OE; unatemedlic 0 E ; unhiere 0 E ; unhierlic 0 E ; unmennisclic. 0 E ; wælhreowlic OE; wildeorlic OE; wrap OE; wulf OE; wulfheort OE poet; wylfen OE; bitre/bitter OE-1635; grimm/grim OE1726/46; grimful/grimful OE-13.. +1715 ; grimlic/grimly OE-obs or arch; repe/rethe \(0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{al300}+\mathrm{cl} 425\) (Sc); grill cl200a1529; breme c1200-al650; sturdy 1297-1589; fade al300+al400; cruel al300-1674; fell al300-- now poet \(\&\) rhet; felon al300-now poet; fierce al300--; bremely c1300 \(+\overline{a l} \overline{500}\); heter/hetter 13..-1400/50; renish 13..-1691+1866-- now dial; wicked 13..--; boistous c1325-1539; unkind 1340/70-1659; keen cl375+c1398; felonous cl386-1596; cursed/curst cl400-1727; bestial cl4001816 transf; vengeable cl430-1627; wolvish cl430--; fervent 1465-1814 now rare; inhuman 1481--; brutish 1494-1773; cruent 1524 (1) rare; unnatural 1529--; felonish 1530 (1) rare; mannish 1530 (1) rare; tigerous 1532 (1); truculent cl540--; lionish 1549--; unhuman 1549--; boarish 1550--; lion-like 1556--; beastly 1558+1587; orped 1567-1594; tigerish 1573--; raw \(1577+1847+1865\) rare; tiger-like 1577/87+1828; unmanlike 1579-1633; savage 1579/80--; boisterous 1581-1791; yond 15901600; savage-wild 1592 (1); truculental 1593 (1) rare; rhenish 1596 (1); tiger-minded 1597 (1); neronian 1598--; inhumane 1599-1777; phalarical1600 (1); immane 1602-1644+cl860; ungentle 1603--; feral 1604--; fierceful 1607 (1) rare; Dionysian \(1607+1879\); wolvy 1611 (I); tiger-hearted 1616 (1); lionly 1631--; tigerly 1633--; feroce 1641 (1) rare; brutal 1641--; savaged 1642 (1); ferocious 1646--; asperous 1650 (1); savagious 1650 (1) rare; ferous 1653 (1) rare; wolfish 1674--; savage-fierce 1784 (1); tartar 1809+1880; savage-hearted 1819 (1); tiger-passioned 1820 (1); tartarly 1821+1894;
tiger 1827/39--; tigery 1859 (1); neroic 1887 (1); unmannish al894 (1); neronic 1901 (1); brutalitarian 1909+1960; hunnish 1918 (1); inhumanitarian 1947 (1).
-in a sexually perverted way: sadistic 1892--; sadic 1919--; Sadean/-eian/-ian 1960--; neanderthalic 1967 (1) fig.
.in appearance: grim 1340--.
-in flight: flygereow OE.
-and destructive: hunnian 1607 (1); hunnican 1607 (1); hunnish 1820--; hunnic 1882 (1).
- and ignorant: beastly c1230-al703.
.and petulent (of boys): wanton 1605--.
- of the mind: grammod \(O E\); hreohmod \(O E\) poet; hygegrim OE poet; repemod \(O E\) poet; repigmod 0 E ; stipmod \(O E\) poet.
- indicating or characterized by that which is: ferocious \(1728+\) 1826.
-becoming: fiercening 1881 (1).
-making: brutalizing 1800+1844; brutifying 1817+1831; bestializing 1866 (1).
.made: brutified \(1594+1683+1863\); brutized al711 (1); unhumanized cl780-1815; brutalized 1803 (1).
- equally: efenrepe \(O E\).
. Somewhat: fellish cl650 (1) rare; grimmish 1864--.

\section*{AjT slipheard OE}
\(N Q\) grimnes \(O E\); manbealu \(O E:\) poet; rifnes \(O E\); wælgrimnes \(O E ;\) wælhneownes OE; wrap OE; repnes/retheness OE-al300; grimcundle3c c1200 (1) rare; savageness 13..--; fellhead 1340 (2); bestiality c1374-1714+1874; fertee c1380 (1); fellness cl380-- now poet \(\underline{\varepsilon}\) rhet; fierceness 1382--; bremeness cl400 (2) +1540 ; grimliness 14..-1580+1898; cruelness 1432/50-1631; fiercehead cl440 (1); inhumanity cl477--; fury 1534--; ferity cl534--; tigerness 1535 (1); wolvishness 1538 (1); bruteness \(1538+1577+1883\); brutishness 1547/64+1683+1850; immanity 1557-1699; truculency 1569--; phalarism 1581-1699; savagery 1595--; ferocity 1606--; brutality l633--; inhumanness \(1649+1895\) rare; wolfishness 1676--; boarishness 1682 (1); brutism \(16 \overline{87+1} 691+1845\); truculence 1727--; ferociousness 1766--; the tiger 1825--; bestialism 1871 (1); tigerhood 1871 (1); unhumanness 1885 (1); inhumanism 1907--; hunnishness \(1924+1928\).
-as a sexual perversion: sadism 1888--.
-and degraded and bestial: calibanism 1859 (1).
NA hyenaism 1833+1884; savagery 1883--.
-which affects the mind of another: mental cruelty 1928--.
ND (an) inhumanity 1647--.
NP docga \(0 E\); wolf cl205--; beast cl210-1723; lion al225--; wild man cl290-al639; fell al300+c1340; tiger 1500/20-- fig; turk 1536--; club-fist 1575 (1); scourgemutton 1581 (2); wolver 1593-1604+1883; vulture 1603--; savage 1606--; bandog 1610-1829 fig; inhuman 1653-1755; brutal 1655-1676; tartar 1663--; hyena 1671+1888; dragoon 1712+1856; hun 1784/5--; panther 1868 (1).
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-female: she-dragon 1838(1).
-Who enjoys cruelty, often as a sexual perversion: sadist
1897--.
. who preys ruthlessly on others: vampire 1741--.
.who advocates savage behaviour: brutalitarian 1904+1910;
inhumanitarian 1936 (I).
.and ignorant: brute 1670--.
.and degraded and bestial: caliban 1610 (Shksp)+1678--.
-collectively: savagery 1896 (1).
.the personality of: boarship 1796 (1) humorous.

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AvM bitre OE; deore OE; unhiere OE; unsofte OE; wælhreowlice OE; wilddeorlice OE; wrabe OE; wraplice OE poet; grimme/grim OE1675; grimlice/grimly 0E--; eteliche cli75 (1); het(t)erly al225-al461; fell al300 (1); felonly al300-1581; felly a1300--; cruelly 1375-c1470 (Sc)+al533-1598; asperly cl375+ 1490; cruently cl380 (1); breme cl386 (1); sternly 1398-1615; felonment cl470 (1) rare; unmanly cl475-1824; inhumanly cl489--; unkindfully cl500 (1); boarishly al563 (1); savagely 1563--: butcherly 1563/87-1678; tiger-like 1576--; unhumanly 1586--; inhumanlike 1595 (1); bitterly 1611 (1); immanely \(1612+1670\); wolvishly 1628 (1); savagiously 1632 (1); brutish 1647 (I); beastly 1652 (1); truculently 1654--; inhumanely 1684 (I); tigerously 1698 (1); brutally 1749+1847; ferociously 1775--; tigerishly 1879 (1). -and sexually perverted: sadistically 1922--.

VG grimman 0E; savage (vi) \(1563+1646\); to wolve (it) (vi) \(1702+\) a1909; to wolf it (vi) 1865 (1).
-by exercising one's rage upon: rage (vi) al540-1603.
VM savage (vt) 1611--; unmanner (vt) 1613/18 (1) rare; unhuman (vt) 1648 (I); unhumanize (vt) 1752--; savagize (vt) 1848+ 1864; inhumanize (vt) 1871 (I).

VT abrutalize (vt) 1795 (1) rare; savage (vt) 1796 (I); brutalize (vt) \(1879+1885\); to kick around (vp) 1938-..

See Also: EVIL El, EVIL E13, EVIL E14.

E13 BARBAROUS

AjG elreord \(O E ;\) elreordig \(O E\); hæpen \(O E\); unatemed \(O E\); barbarous 1538-- ; bauger 1544 (1) rare; scythical 1559+1602; incivil 1586 (1); turkish 1600-al700; negerous 1609 (1); moorish 1795 (1); turk-like 1857 (I). -making: barbarizing 1809--.

NQ elreordignes OE; turkishness 1545 (1); barbarousness \(1548+\) 1680; incivility 1584-1811; barbarism 1603-1665; ferity 1646--; barbarity 1685--.

NA barbarity 1718--.

NC ferity 1614-1718; moorism 1681 (1).
NP half-man 1610 (1); barbarian 1613--.

AvM barbarously 1611-1800; turkishly 1611-1828.

See Also: EVIL E1, EVIL E12, EVIL E14.

\section*{E14 BLOODTHIRSTY}

AjG blodhreow OE; blodig OE; blodigtop OE poet; wælgifre OE poet; wælgrim OE; wælhreow OE; bloodthirsty 1535--; bloody 1563--; bloodly \(1575+1591\) rare; sanguinolent 1577/87--; bloody-minded 1584--; cannibal 1596--; cannibalean 1602+1845 rare; sword-minded 1603 (1); sanguisugous 1615 (2); blood-thirsting al617-1763; sanguinary 1623--; sanguinarian 1637 (1); sanguinarious 1654 (1) rare; sanguine 1705--; sanguinous 1755 (1); cannibalish 1837+1863; cannibalic 1837--; cannibalistic 1851--.
. and drinking blood: blood-drinking \(1588+1591+1903\). - and greedy for corpses: hragifre OE; wælfel OE poet; wælgifre OE; wælgrædig OE.
.spec. of a feast or banquet: Thyestean 1667--. . concerned with that which is: bloody al225-1766.

NQ blood-thirst 1587-1610+1882; bloodthirstiness 1649+1862; sanguinolency 1664 (1); sanguinariness \(1689+1881\); bloody-mindedness 1789--; cannibality 1796 (1) fig; cannibalism 1796-- fig; blood-lust 1848--; sanguinolence 1891 (1).
. leading to bloodshed: bloodiness 1610-1685.
..eagerness for: acharnement 1816--.
NP cannibal 1563/87-1604 fig; lestrigon 1591-1693; fee-faw-fum \(1678+1824 ;\) lestrigonian al887 (1); blood-drinker 1898 (1) fig.

AvM bloodily 1594--; cannibally 1607-1702; sanguinarily 1850--; cannibalistically 1851 (1); bloodthirstily 1880 (1). .more: bloodierly 1602 (1) rare.

VG blodgian OE; acharne (vi) 1400 (1) rare.

See Also: EVIL E1, EVIL E12, EVIL E13.

\section*{Chapter 4}

\section*{Notes to the Classification}

\begin{abstract}
4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of detailed commentary on specific features occurring in individual categories (or sections) in the classification. It follows the order of the classification and comments on each category (or section) in turn, as appropriate. Not every category is mentioned - only those which contain specific points of interest not dealt with elsewhere in the thesis. In fact this includes most categories and sometimes if the comments apply to adjacent and closely related categories (as EE4 and EE5) the categories are commented on together.
\end{abstract}

In many categories the comments consist of a paragraph or more of general commentary concerning the whole category, followed by one or more usually shorter notes relating to particular subdivisions. Sometimes if a category or section exemplifies a broader general point or principle, there is some discussion of this in addition to an explanation of how it relates to that category.

Among the general points discussed are the distinction of categories by grammar rather than semantics (see notes to GA4), the defining of adjectives by referent (GB2), and the problems of closely related and overlapping categories (ED). The specific notes are wide-ranging, and deal with dating, conflation of OED senses, the matching of OED and Old English senses, and subdivision
and subordinate headings, among other things.
For many categories there are points of interest or lines of pursuit which could have been followed up or explored further. However, restrictions of time and space have prevented this, and it must be stated here that the purpose of this commentary is to draw attention to and discuss a wide range of points and features, but not to explore every line of possible interest fully and thoroughly.

Indeed, in chapter 5, in two places, detailed commentary of a statistical and etymological nature which supplements the information contained in this chapter is made on a selected range of Good and Evil categories. Many of these comments relate to the Old English material. See chapter 5, especially pp. 338 to 348 , and pp. 384 to 392.

Any references in this chapter to the number of items in a category - whether current, obsolete, or by part of speech - are drawn either from the statistical tables in chapter 5 (pp. 326 to 334) or from the part of speech tables in Appendix III.

\subsection*{4.2 Individual Category Comment}

GA1 Harmless
This category consists almost entirely of items which have a negative affix. For this reason one could argue that the extent to which it conveys the notion of 'good' is questionable. It covers the idea of 'that which is not evil' or specifically 'that which is without harm'. Its expression of Good is by no means as strong as that of other categories, although it is also certainly not an Evil concept. The existence of categories like this was discussed -
with particular reference to GAl - in chapter 2, p. 60. There are several categories in the classification chiefly made up of items with negative affixes (as GA8, GB3, EA9) but the extent to which each negates an opposing idea varies considerably.

GA2 Satisfactory
AjG 'well 1381--'. Two OED senses have been conflated in this entry. They are (under 'well' adj.) sense 7 'Of a state of things, work, an undertaking, etc.: Satisfactory...', and sense 7b 'ôf material things'. The OED often distinguishes adjective senses on the basis of referent, and where these are simple, and fit into the adjective subdivisions of the classification, it is sensible to keep them. Where they are not so simple though, and one appears dominant, as here, it is more satisfactory to conflate them.

GA3 Good

AjE This subdivision ( \(E=\) exclämatory epithet) only occurs in GA3. It consists of items which are adjectival but are also potentially interjectional or exclamatory in usage or definition. For example 'good cl410--' is defined' 'absol. as an exclamation, expressing satisfaction' (sense 4c of 'good' adj.). The items in this subdivision are also placed here to distinguish them from the more exclusively adjectival items of AjG. Similar items do occur in other categories, but they . are either so similar to the AjG uses that all are put together (as in GA5) or they are placed in AjG, but within a subordinated heading (as in EBlO).

NQ

\section*{Better}

This is one of four categories which could arguably be described as covering a grammatical rather than a semantic unit. The other three are GA7 Best, EA7 Worst, and EA10 Worst. GA4 and GA7 are, respectively, the comparative and superlative forms of GA3 Good, while EA7 Worse and EAl0 Worst are the comparative and superlative forms of EAl Evil (or perhaps, more usually, 'bad').

Apart from GA7, they are small categories and, because they are grammatical, they could be subsumed (under several subordinations) in GA3 and EAl respectively. However all four have been kept separate for the following reasons. The first and main reason is that this is how the OED treats them. As has been mentioned in chapter 1 and elsewhere, this classification is a reflection of the OED - both its strengths and its weaknesses. Most comparatives and superlatives of
adjectives are regular and are covered without comment under the positive form of the word. In the cases of 'good' and 'bad' though, the forms are so irregular, and so widely used, that the OED treats them as separate lexical items and gives them entries in their own right. All four have fairly large entries: the OED entries for 'better' and 'best' each run to more than one page, and those for 'worse' and 'worst' to more than two pages each. Hence, the concepts are also treated separately in this classification. A second reason is simply that these four concepts can be distinguished from GA3 and EAl, and can stand on their own. In addition, if they had been subsumed within GA3 or EAl by means of subordinate headings, the related items and parts of speech contained within the four categories would have become separated, and the connections between them, the unity of the categories, would have been lost. They would also have expanded the size and complexity of GA3 and EAl, quite possibly to the detriment of their clarity. Finally, all four categories (and especially GA7) contain items which are not derived from the comparative or superlative of 'good' or 'bad', but are quite distinct and belong in these categories in their own right. This means that the senses covered in these categories extend beyond the purely grammatical, and that the categories justifiably stand as semantic units.

VG The phrase 'to be better than one's word' is only illustrated in OED by one 1684 and one Mod. \({ }^{1}\) quotation. In spite of the date gap continued currency has been assumed, and the item is dated '1684--'.

\section*{GA5 Excellent}

This is the largest category in the Good part of the classification,
containing 549 items (only surpassed by EAl Evil, with 559 items). AjG This large subdivision contains items with wide definitions which cover many elements of meaning. All the items have the basic sense 'excellent', but beyond that the breadth of meaning in the words which form their definitions is so great, that no semantic classification could hope to cover every item under every word of its definition. This point is also mentioned in chapter 2 (p.68) where a list of words in the definitions of items in EAl AjG is given. Among the words in the definitions of items in this subdivision - GA5 AjG - are: admirable, capital, charming, delightful, distinguished, eminent, estimable, excellent, extraordinary, fine, first-class, first-rate, good, grand, immense, leading, magnificent, remarkable, renowned, pleasing, splendid, and worthy.

Another striking feature illustrated by this subdivision is the increased use of labels like slang and colloq from the 18th and especially the 19th centuries onwards. Before the 18th century, it is often not possible to tell from the written evidence if a word was ever used colloquially, and such labels are only rarely applied. In later English, and with the increase in records which include informal language, and especially - from the 19th century - with the additional evidence of oral usage as known to the lexicographers, these labels come to be applied much more widely and accurately.

One item missing from this AjG list, a popular word in the last 20 years or so to express the idea of 'excellent', is 'fantastic'. The simple reason for this is that the OED and Supplement do not cover 'fantastic' other than in its literal 'pertaining to fantasy
or fancy' senses, and as this classification is dependent on the OED the word cannot appear in it.
-and splendid, noble. This subordination - and the corresponding subordination in AvM - contains a large number of Old English items. As the concepts of splendour and nobility are central to Old English heroic literature, and OE verse especially uses many different words to express the same idea, \({ }^{2}\) the number of these words is not surprising, but it is interesting to see them so clearly displayed.

NQ 'virtue cl325--'. Two OED senses are conflated in this entry. They are senses 9d 'Without article...Superiority or excellence ...' and 10d 'In similar use of immaterial things'. In sense 10d the article is used, but otherwise the senses are effectively the same, and can be conflated (in the structure of the classification) without any loss of information. 'quality 1606--'. Again, two OED senses are conflated. They are senses 1c 'Without article or poss. pron.: excellence...' and 9c 'Without article...Peculiar excellence...'. They are both very similar, and the definition of each ends with a cross-reference (Cf. 9c/lc) to the other. They are therefore conflated here.

NT 'rumpty 1941-1946', 'rumptydooler 1941-1945' and
NTP 'bonzer 1904-1922', 'bosker 1906-1922'.
These four items are all labelled Austral \& NZ slang, and are all marked 'obs' or 'now obs' in OED. In keeping with the normal practice for obsolete words, a closing date has been provided, but the label obs is not used. However as all these words do have evidence which extends well into the 20 th century,
it is perhaps presumptious to treat them as obsolete. As long as there are people living who may use these words, they are not obsolete (the OED defines obsolete as 'that is no longer practised or used'). Therefore, although the closing date has been retained, these words have not been counted among the obsolete figures in the tables in chapter 5.

NTP The majority of items in this subdivision are 19th and 20th century - very different from the Old English bias of those in the '. and splendid, noble' subordination (see note under AjG above). Between them they provide an interesting example of how different semantic emphases within the same category can fall into widely different historical periods.

NP .plural 'eorpes sealt/the salt of the earth OE+c1386--'. There is no Old English slip for this phrase. In the OED it is dated from c950. In Bosworth Toller there is only an entry for sealt, with literal and figurative senses. The figurative sense is covered under NT in this category (where sealt is one of the items). Among the quotations in Bosworth Toller however, is one for eorbes sealt. So in the Old Eng1ish dictionary this phrase is only represented in a quotation illustrating its second element. As a phrase it therefore has no Old English slip and is an example of one way in which the Old English dictionaries and the OED simply do not match in their treatment of words.

AvM .and splendid, noble. See comment under AjG above.

GA6 Surpassingly Excellent
\(\mathrm{NQ}:\) 'chief \(1519+1602\) '. The 1602 quotation here is a disputed

Shakespeare use (see 'chief' n. 10, in OED) but has been counted nonetheless.

The verbs in this subdivision are both transitive and intransitive ('to be surpassingly excellent' or 'to surpass or excel in some quality') and as a result several verbs which have separate senses on the basis of transitivity in OED, are presented here with these senses combined. They are 'pass cl230-1704+1850' (OED 19 and 37 combined), 'precel c1400-1756' (OED 1 and 2 combined) and 'supērexcel cl450--' (combined in OED). 'surpass 1555--'. Two OED senses - 3 and 3 b - are combined here. The first is a general sense, '..to exceed;..to excel', while the second is a rare specific application of the same sense but with 'a specified measure' as the direct object. The two senses are therefore identical apart from their direct object.

\section*{GA7 Best}

See note under GA4 for a discussion on the reasons why this category - like GA4 - is separate from GA3, although its distinction from GA3 is arguably grammatical rather than semantic. Of the four categories like this in Good and Evil (the other two being EA7 and EA10) GA7 is the largest (145 items). It contains many items which are by no means simply superlatives of 'good', but which are distinct and independent words that are or have been used to mean 'best'.

AjG 'betst/best OE--'. Two OED senses are combined here. They are la 'Said of persons..' and lb 'Said of things..', both of which share the same general definition.
'top 1647--'. This item is sense 29 of the OED entry for 'top' noun. According to the OED senses \(27-30\) are 'attrib. uses passing
into adjective'. The definitions of the senses are adjectival, and this sense (and others like it in the classification) has therefore been treated as an adjective in Good and Evil. 'price/prise cl330-c1400'. This item is in OED under the entry for 'price/prise' adjective. Sense b. is 'absol. The most excellent..', and this absolute adjective (like others elsewhere) has been treated in Good and Evil as a noun - the reverse treatment of that for 'top' adj. (see preceding comment).

AvH This subdivision (adverb 'having') only occurs here, and contains only one item: 'best(+adj.)'. 'Best' is used adverbially (OED adv. 2c) to qualify an adjective, and both words together form an adjectival phrase with the sense 'having the best of whatever the second word is' as (in an 1863 quotation in OED) 'the bestnatured fellow alive'.

Matchless
This category has no 01d English items. This may seem surprising, but it is likely that items of or close to this sense in Old English are those meaning 'excellent' or 'worthy', and are in GA5 or GA9. The category also consists almost entirely of items which have a negative affix, usually the prefix 'un-'. However, unlike the categories mentioned in chapter \(2, \mathrm{p} .60-1\), the general sense of these items is not negative. The idea of being 'without match or equal' is used to mean (in full) 'so excellent as to be without match or equal', and the 'un-' prefix (and the other affixes) therefore intensify the basic concept of 'good' rather than negating it.

GA9 Worthy
AjG 'cabinet 1711--'. In OED this item (sense 11 of 'cabinet' noun an attrib. use: see note under GA7 AjG for treatment of attrib. uses as adjs.) dates from 1696, and its last quotation is Mod. \({ }^{4}\) The first quotations however are for 'cabinet organ' which the Historical Thesaurus compiler has treated separately, so the first date here is 1711. The Mod. quotation is late 19th century and indicates that the word was still current at that time. As there is no evidence in OED or Supplement to suggest that its currency is not continued, the word has been given an open-ended date.
'mappumsweord OE'. This word literally means 'treasure sword' and is thus a very specific item to appear here. However it does by definition qualify to be under the general sense of 'a worthy thing', and as it also appears in the Historical Thesaurus archive under (provisionally) R723 Arms, its specific 'sword' sense is also covered.

\section*{GA10 Meritorious}

VB. 'merit 1526--'. Two OED senses - one transitive and the other intransitive - are combined here. They are senses 4 'To earn by meritorious action..' and 5 'To acquire merit..'.

GA12 Honourable
AjG 'deorlic OE'. This item has no OE slip, although it is only current in OE. In OED it is described (in the etymology) as being 'illustrious, splendid, brave' in OE, while the later examples are from 'dear + -ly'. The OE sense has therefore,
quite justifiably, been treated separately by the Historical Thesaurus compiler, with the definition as above. However in Bosworth Toller the same word is defined 'brave, bold', and as such does not belong in Good and Evil at all. It is presumably under R855 Courage. We have here an illustration of the extent to which the Historical Thesaurus, and this classification, are bound by dictionary definitions. Logically, these two items should be together.

NP ..on account of being not negro. The one item in this subordination, 'white man', is one of several items in Good and Evil which are products of the social problems of black equality, originally in the US and now also elsewhere. See also notes under GB4.

\section*{GB2 Conscientious}

The adjectives in this category reflect the tendency of the OED to divide adjectives into different senses on the basis of referent. As was hinted at in chapter 2 (p.94) this tendency can lead to some inconsistencies, as more common adjectives are divided according to referent while less common ones are not. When both kinds of adjectives occur in the same category it could in theory result in some adjectives appearing only in \(A j G\), while others appear in \(A j T, A j P\), etc. but not in AjG. The implication would be that the AjG items had a different meaning from the other items when in fact the difference would not be in the items but in OED's treatment of them. Obviously the solution is either to split up the senses of the AjG items according to referent (on the basis of OED's quotations) or to conflate the referent-based senses of the other adjectives. Either way the adjectives ought to
appear under the same set of subdivisions.
In this category it was possible to divide three less common adjectives into AjC and AjP (thus matching the other adjectives), according to referent. They are 'faithful' (OED's sense 4) and, in the \(\cdot\) minutely subordination, 'scrupulous' (OED's sense 1) and 'punctual' (OED's sense 7b). Doing this eliminates the need for AjG in GB2.

There are close links in form here between two Old English items and the first Middle English items, but the forms are not close enough for the words to be treated as the same item extending from OE into ME. They are 'ingewitnes', 'ge-witt', and 'inwit'.

\section*{Impartial}

Like GA8, this category has no Old English items, and consists almost entirely of items which have negative prefixes. However, unlike GA8, the negative prefixes do actually negate - items here mean 'not partial or prejudiced'. As such they - and the central concept of this category - arguably express an idea which is 'not bad' as opposed to one which is 'actively good', or even somewhere indetween. They exemplify the problem with un- words and the like in a classification where the fundamental division is into good and bad. There is no proper place for any concept which is not clearly either 'good' or 'evil' - no central grey area. See further comments on this in chapter 2, p. 60.

AjG Many of the items in this subdivision are applied chiefly to people, but unless their use is only of people they are not placed in an AjP subdivision. If they can take any other referent then they are in AjG. In this instance we have, among other
items, 'unprejudiced \(1637 / 50-{ }^{-}\)' which can be used of people, opinions, inquiries, etc., and 'impartial 1593--', which is used of people and conduct.

In 'unprejudiced \(1637 / 50-\) ' two \(O E D\) senses have been conflated. they are 2 a and 2 b , and their distinction is purely one of referent. 2 a is 'Of persons, the mind, eye, etc.' while 2 b is 'Of opinions, inquiries, etc.'.

Fair
AjG 'sopfast OE'. This item, although only current in Old English, is also in OED and has an OED slip. In OED the word is under 'soothfast' adj. 2. The Historical Thesaurus compiler has separated the main part of the definition from the final obsolete part, and as this obsolete part is only illustrated by 0ld English quotations, it only has an 01d English date.

NQ -between negroes and whites. The one item in this subordination - like that in GAl2 under NP - relates to the problem of black equality in the US. In both, the subordinate heading is based on the wording of the Supplement and uses 'negro'. Today the word 'black' is preferable, but as both items are 19th century in origin, and likely to be little used today, the wording with 'negro' is retained.

NC. .in the treatment of Natives and Europeans in S.Africa. The one item here is also concerned with the problem of black equality, but this time in S.Africa rather than the US. The item is undefined in Supplement and the heading here is based on the wording of the 1924 quotation, in which the word 'native' is used, as opposed to 'negro' or 'black'. Even in the headings of
words such as these, the attitudes of the times the words first appeared are reflected.
'skill cll75-cl550'. Two OED senses (2 and 2b) are combined here. Sense 2 is 'That which is reasonable, proper, right, or just' and 2 b is a 'predicative use' of the same.

AvM' 'mid riht/with right OE-al400'. There is no Old English slip for this item, but the preceding item in the subdivision 'mid rihtan pingum' is very similar, and is from the Old Eng1ish dictionaries. The implication is that both items are the same. It appears that the same phrase has been treated differently in the Old English dictionaries and the OED and that because this classification reflects that the item appears twice - once in each form.

GB5 Righteous, Just
AjG Of the ten items here, seven are recorded only in Old English. Other subdivisions also have a number of Old English items. The concept is clearly one which is well documented in Old English.

Honest
This is one of the many categories on the classification where several closely related ideas are placed under a single word heading and any one or all could have formed the category heading. In addition to honesty, the ideas of decency, integrity, uprightness, and respectability also feature strongly in both items and definitions. However, for the reasons given in chapter 2 (p.68) only one word - in this case 'honest' - has been chosen as the heading.

There are a number of items in this category with negative prefixes
which are included in Good partly on the basis of what they are not, rather than what they are, for example (in AjG) 'uncorruptible 1843+ \(1897^{\prime}\) and 'unthievish 1858 (1)'. Because of what they negate (in these cases corruptible and thievish) these items come under Honest, although they are arguably not so much 'positively honest' as 'not positively dishonest'. It would be too complex within the structure of this classification to treat them separately, but it is worth drawing attention to them here, as they are perhaps slightly different from the items in the category which have the straightforward sense 'honest, decent'.

AjG Many of the items in this subdivision are applied chiefly to people but also, by extension, to conduct, character, etc. This is why they are under AjG. For example 'respectable 1879--' is, according to the OED definition, applied to 'persons..character, conduct' (sense 4) and 'appearance..institutions, etc.' (sense 4b) .

NQ 'clæne flæsc \(O E^{\prime}\) and 'clean hands 1382--' are almost certainly different forms of the same basic phrase but the date gap and the different second element means that they are treated separately. In spite of the date gap it is not unlikely that the phrase survived in the intervening years, but that no recorded evidence for it was found for the OED

\section*{GB7 Trustworthy}

AjG Like GB6, all the adjective items are in AjG, as their referents are many and varied. Again the chief referent is 'of people', but always in combination with at least one other referent. For example 'faithful 1340/70--' is applied to people, actions, and
(formerly) things, while 'trustworthy 1829--' is applied to people and comments. The majority of the nouns in this category appear in this subdivision. They include several key items - as faithfulness, fidelity, trustworthiness, and reliability - which on superficial consideration may not seem sufficiently synonymous to appear in the same category, but whose OED definitions suggest otherwise: 'faithfulness 1388--' is defined '..fidelity, loyalty..trustworthiness, conscientiousness..honesty, sincerity..',
'fidelity \(1508--\) ' is defined '..faithfulness, loyalty..', 'trustworthiness 1808--' is a derivative under 'trusty' and means \({ }^{1}\) the quality of being worthy of trust or confidence; reliable' ('trust' in this classification (1470/85--, OED 4) means '..fidelity, reliability; loyalty, trustiness'), and 'reliability 1816--' is 'the quality of being reliable' (which in turn is 'that may be relied upon;..trustworthy..'). On the basis of their OED definitions it is clear that these four items have closely related and overlapping definitions each has one or more of the other items as a component or components of its meaning - and as such it is sensible to keep them together.

However, one word which occurs in several definitions but which is not present in the main part of the subdivision is 'loyalty' This is because the OED defines 'loyalty' in a more precise way than it defines these other items. The relevant sense (OED 1) is defined 'faithful adherence to one's promise, oath, etc.', and on the basis of 'to one's promise, oath','loyalty' is in an NQ subordination headed .to an oath. However, the definitions of the

\begin{abstract}
related 'loyal', 'loyally', and 'loyalness' are not bound by the same precision of definition. 'Loyal' is specified as relating to 'duty, love, etc.' but not to the extent that it does not appear in the main part of the AjG subdivision. The treatment of 'loyalty' again reflects the OED, and its treatment of one particular item.
\end{abstract}

\section*{GB8}

Proper, Fitting
This category (along with EC14 Improper, Unfitting) is slightly different from the other GB (and EC) categories. Its 'rightness' consists in the idea of rightness or appropriateness in a given situation, rather than (as in the other GB categories) in moral rightness of conduct etc. It is more concerned with the idea of suitability than with morality. 'Proper 1477--' (OED 9) is defined '..fit, apt, suitable; fitting..appropriate to the circumstances or conditions..', while 'fitting 1535--' is 'Becoming, appropriate, proper, suitable'. Although it is different from the other GB categories it does still cover the idea of 'Good and Right' so it does belong here.

The category consists mainly of adjectives and adverbs. There are a total of 70 adjectives and adverbs, and 25 other items.

AjG All the adjectives in the category are in this subdivision. Many
are Old English - 24 out of 37, and of these 24, 13 have the prefix 'ge-'.
'well 1534-1713'. Two OED senses have been combined here. They are OED 8 'In conformity with approved standards of action or conduct; right, proper' and 8 b 'qualifying a noun of action'.

AvM One of the problems of matching up Old English items with OED items which date from Old English - that of matching actual forms
- is particularly well-illustrated here.
'ariht/aright \(0 E-]^{\prime}\) : these forms are correctly matched.
'onriht/on right 0E-cl420': in Bosworth Toller there is 'on-riht' adverb, which is all one word on the Historical Thesaurus slip, and has been matched with 'on right' (two words) from OED.
'on rihte/right \(0 E-\) ' ' the 01d English slip here contains two separate words, and has been matched with the white slip which has 'right' without 'on'.
'onrihtlice/rightly OE-al653': in Bosworth Toller there is both 'rihtlice' and 'on-rihtlice' which appear to have been combined on the slip as 'onrihtlice'; as 'rihtlice' is apparently covered here, the 0ld English has been matched with 'rightly'. (Also in AvM) 'at right(s) 1375-1535' and 'at rights al641 (1)' are so similar as to make their treatment as two separate items
 It is only Scots, and of the four examples, three are in the singular 'right'. 'At rights' is part of 'right' n. \({ }^{1} 14 \mathrm{a}\), and is an obsolete variant of 'to rights', only occurring in the plural 'rights'. The OED has separated them on this basis, and that is reflected in this classification.

GC1
Kind

AjG All the adjectives in GCl are in this subdivision. Most are applied to people and actions. In some cases the OED does not specify the referent, but the illustrative quotations indicate that it is variable, which is why the item is in AjG. Occasionally the OED has divided an item into different senses on the basis of referent, but it would appear inconsistent to have these
few items in several Aj subdivisions, and the rest under AjG (see further discussion on this in the notes for GB2). As a result these senses have been conflated. For example 'kind al300--' is a conflation of OED 5 'of persons', 5c 'of conduct', and 5d 'of action, language, etc.'.
'mæpful/metheful 0E-cl425'. There is no 01d English slip for this item, but in GC9 Considerate there is an entry for 'mapful \(O E^{\prime}\), which is the same item, but placed in a different category on the basis of its Bosworth Toller definition. Here in GCl 'mæpful/metheful' from OED is defined 'moderate, gentle'. This may not immediately seem appropriate for GCl, but 'gentle 1552--' (also in GC1) is defined '..kind, tender', so it does belong. OE mæpful on the other hand (in GC9) is defined 'moderate..having regard to others' (the missing part of this definition, from Bosworth Toller, is not appropriate for Good). The definition is clearly one which covers the more specific notion of considerate, rather than the more general notion of kind. Hence the purely Old English item is placed under GC9 Considerate. This suggests that the meaning of the word has shifted in emphasis in the course of the word's survival from 0ld English to Middle English - a shift which is reflected by the respective dictionary definitions. .the conferring or deriving of. The one item in this subordination ('benefiting') means 'the conferring or deriving of kindness' and therefore is an action, although it appears under NQ (noun, quality). However the part of its definition on the basis of which it belongs in this cłassification is 'kindness' (or kind quality) and that is the part which has been used to classify the item. That is why a noun of action appears in an NQ subdivision.

NAc 'god weorc/good work OE--'. This item has no Old English slip and it is likely that because it is a phrase each element has been treated separately in the Old English dictionaries, and it is only in the OED that it appears as one item.

\section*{GC2 Beneficial}

This category has comparatively few adjectives and adverbs (27 and 11), and a predominance of nouns and verbs (102 and 39). In its structure it is one of the most complex categories in the classification - it has eight noun subdivisions and two fairly complicated verb subdivisions (see below).
\(N Q, N X, N T\) The items in these three subdivisions are very closely related. Many of the items in NX are similar to those in \(N Q\), but in context they are preceded by an article (i.e. they are count rather than mass nouns - see chapter 2 p. 95 for a fuller explanation of the distinction between NQ andsN). For example, in NQ is 'profit 1315--' meaning '..advantage or benefit..' and 'profitableness 1398--' meảning 'advantageousness..beneficial quality', while in \(N X\) is 'profit \(1603+1604\) ' meaning 'that which is to the advantage or benefit of..'. In NT on the other hand, are items very similar to those in NX, but concrete rather than abstract. They include 'profitable 1681 (1)' meaning 'a thing that is profitable'. The examples quoted here illustrate well the distinctions between the three noun subdivisions of \(N Q, N X\), and NT .

VG, VM The verb entries in this category are the most complex in the classification, and are therefore worth discussing in some detail. The lexical items 'profit', 'avail', and 'prevail' are
divided by the OED into various senses and contextual uses all of which belong in this category. Some of these senses could have been conflated, and the verbs simplified, but when the distinctions have been made, and made fairly consistently over a number of different items (unlike adjective distinctions on the basis of referent which are frequently inconsistent) it is more valuable to reflect them. 'Profit' occurs five times in VG and four times in VM. 'Avail' also occurs five times in VG, and once in VM, while 'prevail' appears in VG twice and VM once.

VG is understood to mean (in this category) either 'to be beneficial' or 'to act beneficially'. For most of the items here 'to be beneficial' is more appropriate.

In VG the distinctions between the subordinations are chiefly based on transitivity, while in VM the distinctions are constructional. The main part of VG is intransitive, the second, third, and fourth subordinations (.to (someone), ..of a person, .to..a thing) are transitive, and the last subordination (.to oneself) is reflexive in meaning, and contains verbs which are either intransitive or reflexive. VM has no main part, but consists only of subordinations which specify particular uses of the verbs.

The fine distinctions, made in the \(O E D\) and represented here, can also be illustrated, by presenting the OED senses of 'profit' which appear in VG and VM, as follows: In the main part of VG ('to be beneficial') is sense 2 b (vi). In the first subordination (.of a person) is sense 3a (vi). In the second subordination (.to (someone)) is sense 2 (vt). In the subordination within this (. .of a person) is sense 3 a (vt).
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In the last subordination (.to oneself) is sense 4 (vi) and
and sense 3c (vr).
In VM .by deriving benefit from is sense 4b, divided into four
according to whether 'profit' takes the preposition with, by, of,
or from.

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PhX The first subordination here is to the greatest degree. The sense of the phrase is a simple superlative of the main Phrase heading For the benefit of, but the wording of the heading is such that a simple subordinate heading -most would not properly express the semantic relationship between the subordination and the heading. Therefore the subordinate heading is more detailed.

GC4 Well Disposed, GC5 Well-Meaning
The headings of these two categories are very similar, and as the latter contains only 11 items, one may ask why there are two separate categories here.

In GC4 the item which forms the heading, 'well disposed 1455-.'. is defined in the OED as 'Of a good disposition; esp. disposed to be friendly or favourable..'. In GC5 the corresponding item 'well-meaning 1387/8--' is defined 'Having, or actuated by, good intentions..'.

The distinction is that GC4 expresses certainty, and denotes a person etc, who is of a good disposition, while GC5 expresses intention and denotes a person etc. who means or intends to be of a good disposition etc., but who may not actually be such.

The OED's illustrative quotations for these items bear this out. Under Well Disposed the quotations express certainty, as one from Adam Smith in 1776, which runs 'The charity of well-disposed people..supplies him with the whole fund of his subsistence'. On the other hand those
for Well-Meaning express intention but not necessarily the realisation of this intention, as one from Mrs. Matthews in 1857: 'The wellintentioned but injudicious actions of what are called well-meaning people'.

NQ (in GC4)
'god willa/good will OE--'. There is no Old English slip for this entry, probably because 'god willa' is not treated as a compound in the Old English dictionaries. 'welwille(n)dnes/well-willingness OE-al390'. This entry also has no Old English slip. But in GCl Kind under NQ is 'welwille(n)dnes OE'. In OED 'well-willingness' is undefined, but is a derivative under 'well-willing' which is in GC4. In Bosworth Toller however 'welwille(n)dnes' is defined 'benevolence, kindness' and clearly belongs in GCl. Again, the differences between the Old English definition and the OED definition have kept two matching items, which have different emphases in meaning, apart.

AvM (in GC4) None of the main items included in the \(A j\) and \(N\) subdivisions have corresponding adverbial entries in the OED. There is no OED entry, and hence none here, for 'well-willingly', 'wellwishedly', or 'well-disposedly'. As a result the AvM subdivision chiefly contains items with no counterparts elsewhere in GC4.

\section*{Generous}

Many of the 01d English items in the category begin 'rum-' which means 'generous'. The cognate form for this in the post-OE period is 'room', but the only post-OE evidence of it in this sense is in the item 'room-handed cl200+c1205' in AjG. However, although 'rum-' occurs widely in Old English there is no Old English evidence of a
phrase corresponding to 'room-handed' so the \(O E\) and post-OE forms cannot be linked up.

AjG 'este OE'. On the Old English slip this item is defined 'generous, liberal (often of God's generosity)'. In GC8 Gracious, under AjG, there is an entry 'este/este \(0 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{al} 300^{\prime}\). . This consists of an 01d English slip defined simply 'gracious' and an OED slip for OED's sense a. defined 'gracious, kind, bountiful'. If this latter item were classified on the basis of each element in its definition, it would be placed in GC1, GC6, and GC8. The illustrative quotations for the word are not helpful in narrowing down its sense, so for the sake of simplicity, it has been placed in GC8, the category of the first of its components, where it is linked up to a corresponding OE slip. A separate more specific sense of the word - in OE only - appears here in GC6.

NQ 'bountines/bountenes \(1512+1560\) '. This item has the label doubtful, and is the only entry in the classification where the label is used. According to the OED the very existence of the item is doubtful. The 1512 quotation may be a form of the adjective 'bounteous' and the 1560 quotation may be a printing error for 'bountifulness', which is the word that is used in the first edition of the same work.

GC7 Magnanimous
This is a small category ( 20 items) conveying the notion of generosity but combining with it the ideas of superiority, loftiness, and nobility. 'magnanimous \(1598--\) ', from which the category heading comes, is defined in OED '..lofty of purpose; noble in feeling or conduct...loftily generous in disregard of injuries'.

Gracious
AjG 'este/este OE-al300': see note under GC6.
'wynsum/winsome OE-al300'. There is no Old English slip for this entry. In OED 'winsome' in this sense is defined 'Kindly, gracious, merciful'. However in GCl Kind there is an entry 'wynsum OE'. This comes from Clark Hall, which has an entry for 'wynsum' simply defined 'kindly'. What is essentially the same word appears in two different categories on the basis of different dictionary definitions, which almost certainly reflect a shift in emphasis over the period of currency of the word. 'quemeful 1388 (1)'. The first element of this word is the same as the first element of 'cwemlice \(O E\) ' under AvM. 'cwem-' in Old English became 'quem-' in Middle English as a result of French influence. D.G. Scragg, in a discussion on the influence of French on English orthography, comments that 'Old English <c> before \(\langle w\rangle\) has become \(\langle q\rangle\) before <u> ? 5 Other examples of this include 'cwic' becoming 'quick' and 'cwæp' becoming 'quoth'.

\section*{GC9 Considerate}
'mæpful OE': see note under GC1.

\section*{GC10 Humane}

Of the 22 items here, 18 begin with either 'man-' or 'human-'. The remaining four are negative forms of items conveying the notions of cruelty or bitterness.

NQ -action of imbuing with. The two items here both denote an action, although they are under the noun for quality. This is because, as in other similar cases (like GCl NQ ) the part of the definition
on the basis of which the items are included here is 'the quality' with which these actions imbue (someone/-thing). They therefore only belong in this classification in so far as they express 'humane quality', and must be classified under NQ.

\section*{GC11 Tender}

AjP This is the only adjective subdivision in this category. Where the application of the adjective is not always clear, or where it varies at all, the subdivision AjG is used, but in this case all the adjectives are clearly used only of people (although those under the subordinate headings are more specific in the ways mentioned), so the subdivision is AjP.

NF .action of becoming softened by. As in GC10 NQ, the one item here is an action, but the part of its meaning which involves tenderness is 'tender feeling' so it appears under NF.

AvM 'tenderly 13..--'. Two OED senses are combined here. They are 2a 'With affection or compassion; lovingly, dearly, kindly..' and 2b (which is obsolete) 'With kind or friendly consideration ..'. Both senses are covered by a general sense 2 definition: 'With tender feeling'.

\section*{GC12 Merciful}

VG., All verbs in this category are under VG, which is interpreted as either 'to be merciful' or 'to act mercifully'. In fact verbs for mercy can sometimes be understood as meaning 'to show mercy'. However one feature of this classification is only to have such subdivisions as are semantically necessary, and if an idea can be covered by the general subdivision, as this one can (and if
its initial has already been used - VS stands for 'verb, to seem'), then it is placed here.

GC13 Blessed
NX .one who confers. This subordination contains one item for a person, under NX. However, as in other cases where one kind of noun appears under another, the idea of. blessedness consists in 'that which is blessed' rather than in the person, and as it is on the basis of the 'blessed' part of its meaning that the item is in GC13, it is also on that basis that it is classified.

\section*{EAl Evil}

This category is the largest in the classification - 559 items and it covers the notion of 'evil' in a very broad general way. A list of some of the words which appear in the definitions of items here and which illustrate the breadth of the category - is given on p .68 . EAl dominates the EA section. The other nine categories are all comparatively small (although EA8 does run'to 122 items) and collectively they contain fewer items than EAl does on its own. Several of them are simply 'evil' plus one or more other components, and on the basis of these other components they have been pulled out of EAl Evil and made into separate categories (as especially Evil and Dark and Evil and Graceless). Their semantic dependence on EAl is very evident.

In spite of the breadth of EAl, it is worth noting that 'evil', 'wicked', and 'bad' are all together here, without qualification. 'Evil' and 'wicked' are generally regarded as very similar, but 'bad' in usage today seems a milder word, of less intensity than the other two. : However, this classification is based on OED definitions and, as
the following definitions of these key items demonstrate, they are quite properly treated together.
'Yfel/evil OE--' is defined in OED as 'The antithesis of Good... Bad in a positive sense...Morally depraved, bad, wicked, vicious.'
'wicked cl275--' is defined 'Bad in moral character, disposition, or conduct; practising or disposed to practise evil; morally depraved'.
'bad al300--' is defined 'Evil, ill...morally depraved;...wicked, vicious'.

Each is defined in terms of the other two, and all three are defined as 'morally depraved'. They have to go together.

AjG 'lypre/lither OE-1546'. This item has no 01d'English slip. It is defined 'Of persons, their actions, dispositions, etc.: Bad, wicked, base, rascally, unjust'. However in AjP there is an entry for 'lypre \(0 E^{\prime}\), the corresponding entry from the 01d English dictionaries. It is defined 'Vile, sordid, wicked, evil, of persons.' The referent for the item has broadened as it has moved beyond Old English - and as a result the same item occurs in two different places. See EB6 AjT for a similar comment on a different sense of the same item.
- dwelling on that which is. The label Casuistry has been omitted from the items here.

NQ 'wipercorennes \(0 E\) ' and 'witherfulness cl200 (1)' are similar items and it is possible that the latter is a later version of the former. However, because the forms do not match exactly the items cannot be put together.

NA \(\therefore\) person who is martyred through. This subordination contains a word for a person, under the noun 'an action'. This is because the action is the part if the item's meaning which embodies the
evil component.
ND
. a bag..everyone else's. In this subordination a thing appears under the noun 'a deed'. The thing itself does not embody evil at all. It is merely a receptacle for 'evil deeds' and as these are why the word is in EAl, they are also the part of its meaning under which the word is classified.

EA2 Evi1 and Dark, EA3 Evil and Graceless
Both GA2 and GA3 are very small (18 and 10 items respectively), and semantically both are specific types of EAl Evil. As such it may seem that the items in them should have been presented under various subordinations within EAl. However, as it is possible for the items in each - which in both cases are distributed over three parts of speech - to be separated from Evil and set out as discrete units, it is more valuable, in order to illustrate the different aspects and types of evil which are covered in this classification, to do this and to present them as separate categories.

The heading of each category begins 'Evil and', and in each case the following word conveys the distinguishing element of the category, and is also the key item in the category. Both headings retain the word 'Evil' because their key word (respectively 'dark' and 'graceless') is not used in a literal sense. Were each word to stand on its own as a heading, it could be taken in a literal sense, but by linking each with 'Evil', both are connected with the notion of evil, and some indication is given of the way in which they are used.
'deorc/dark OE--' (EA2 AjG) is defined in OED (sense 4) '..evil, wicked; also, in a stronger sense, characterized by a turpitude or wickedness of sombre or unrelieved nature; foul, iniquitous, atrocious.' The word
is sometimes used where the idea of evil relates to the powers of hell or the devil, and from the definition, is clearly evil of a serious and prolonged nature. These features - its seriousness and 'hell and devil' connections - are the ones which distinguish this concept from the general category EAl Evil.
'graceless 1399--' (EA3 AjG) is defined in OED (sense la) 'Not in a state of grace, unregenerate; hence, depraved, wicked, ungodly, impious'. The sense of 'grace' to which this refers is OED 1la: 'The free and unmerited favour of God as manifested in the salvation of sinners and the bestowal of blessings'. 'Graceless' therefore denotes evil of a theological nature - evil that causes one to lose the favour of God and be without salvation in His eyes. It is on this basis that EA3 is distinguished from EAl.

EA4 He1lish, EA5 Diabolical
EA4 and EA5 are closely related to each other and, like EA2 and EA3, both are semantically dependent on EAl, but each has an additional specific component (respectively 'hellish' and 'diabolical') by which it is distinguished from EAl, and which also forms the category heading. The word 'evil' is not included in these headings as, although the categories' key items (and headings) are not used in a literal sense (see below for their literal senses), their meanings in this context are evident. The notion of evil is inherent in 'hellish' and 'diabolical' and does not require to be specified, but in 'dark' and 'graceless', evil is not an apparent component of either item when the item stands alone, and it therefore does require to be specified in these headings.

Many of the items in EA4 and EAS are related to one another.

The key items and headings are used in a transferred sense here, but their closeness can clearly be seen in their literal sense. 'Hell' in its literal sense (OED 2) is 'The infernal regions..the abode of devils' while 'diabolism' (OED 1) is 'Action in which the devil has a share'. (The devil, according to OED sense 1 is '..the supreme spirit of evil..'.)

In the categories, 'hell cl374--' (OED 4) is defined 'Something regarded as resembling hell..A place or state of wickedness, suffering, or misery' while 'diabolism 1681--' (OED 2) is 'Action or conduct worthy of the devil;..devilry'. EA4 Hellish therefore covers items which express evil as derived from or related to hell, the abode of evil creatures, while EAS Diabolical covers items which express evil as related to the evil creatures which inhabit hell. Generally the items fall clearly into one category or the other, and the categories are therefore usefully distinguished from one another.

The only items which could belong to either category are 'infernality' and related words. The definitions of these items in the OED connect them to both 'hellish' and 'diabolical'. 'Infernality \(1805+1862\) ' is defined as 'The quality of being infernal..hellishness, diabolicalness..'. They have however been placed under EA4 Hellish, because by its derivation 'infernal' is more closely related to 'hell'. It comes from Latin infernalis from infernus meaning 'subterranean, of the lower regions'. Infernus is also used in later Christian contexts as a noun meaning 'hell' and - although latterly capable of being used of either 'hell' or 'diabolism' - has been placed in EA4 Hellish.

\section*{EA5} Diabolical

NP . who is an agent of satan. The first two items in this subordi-
nation are actually - in 01d English - the same item. 'lim \(O E^{\prime}\) is in Clark Hall and its definition includes 'agent, offspring?' and a reference to 'Bl. \(33^{\prime}\). In OED under ' limb \(n .^{1} 3 b\) is the phrase 'devil's limb' defined 'Agent. .of the evil one'. Its first quotation is dated 971 and is from 'Blickl. Hom. 33' clearly the same source as Clark Hall's 'Bl.33'. The actual quotation uses the phrase 'deofles leoma', but in Clark Hall this has been treated simply as a use of 'lim' \(n\)., while in OED it has been treated as a phrase. There may have been a case for conflating the two entries under the phrase, but as the 01d English one allows for the use of 'lim' on its own in this sense in 01d English, and the OED one indicates that only the phrase has survived beyond 0ld English, it is worth keeping them separate to maintain this distinction.

\section*{EA6 Offensive}

Of the 36 items here 20 are derived from the names of animals. The animal names involved are whelp, viper, vermin, spider, skunk, and crab. In chapter 6 the role of animal names in NP is discussed and analysed, and all the animal names mentioned here are covered. However many of the animal names in this category do not belong in NP. Their distribution is as follows. AjG: 7, AjT: 2, AjP: 4, NQ: 1, NP: 4, AvM: 2. Each animal name is the basis of the following numbers of items: vermin: 8 items, spider: 5, crab: 1,7 viper: 3, skunk: 2, whelp: 1. All these animals are generally regarded by man as unpleasant and inferior. The most productive, vermin, is defined in OED (sense 1) as 'animals of a noxious or objectionable kind'. Its transferred senses, which draw on this definition, and the
transferred senses of the other animal names, are therefore placed here.

\section*{EA7 Worse}

This category is the equivalent in Evil to GA4 Better in Good, and is arguably grammatically rather than semantically distinct from EAl Evil. The reasons why it, and others like it, have been kept separate, are fully explained in the note under GA4.

VG . The single item here is the verbal phrase 'to do worse'. This might suggest that it should be under the subdivision VD ('to do'), and not under VG ('to be/act'). However the OED definition of 'to do worse' (under 'worse' n .2 b ) is much broader than simply 'toido'. It is defined 'to behave more wickedly, badly, foolishly, etc.; also..to deal with or treat (a person) more harshly or unkindly'. That is why it is under VG.

\section*{EA8 Heinous}

NQ . \(\because\).combined with awe. The one item here is 'awfulness' and the logical heading would have been .and awful. 'Awful' however no longer means 'filled with awe'. It is - and has been, according to the OED, since the 1830s - a simple intensifier for anything bad, similar to frightful, dreadful, terrible, and so on. As a result it cannot be used in this heading, as it would be taken in its present-day sense and misunderstood. The longer 'combined with awe' must be used to make the sense of the subordination clear.

EA9 Unpardonable
There are 46 items in this category and every one has a negative affix (often un-, in-, or -less). To some extent therefore the category is included in Evil on the basis of what it is not - 'not pardonable, excusable, atonable, etc.' - rather than what it is. In - spite of being negative in formation though, many of the items have a positive meaning in their own right. When they are applied to something they imply that the referent is beyond pardon, or is too wicked or evil to be pardoned, and is 'unpardonable' for that reason. This element of meaning is, to a much greater extent, the reason why the category belongs in Evil. It is similar in this respect to GA8 Matchless. 'Unpardonable' itself is undefined in the OED, but in the illustrative quotations it is used of, among other things, 'an unpardonable crime' and 'the most unpardonable malefactor'. Both these quotations seem to convey the ideas of wrongness and wickedness in their use of 'unpardonable'. And 'irredeemable al834+1892' conveys a positive notion of evil in its definition: 'beyond redemption; irreclaimable; thoroughly depraved'.

EA10 Worst
See general discussion of this and the three other similar categories under GA4 Better. EAlO is the equivalent in Evil of GA7 Best and, like EA7, is arguably grammatically rather than semantically distinct from EAl Evil.

Evil and Inferior
This entire section is dominated by nouns for people. It has more nouns than any other section in the classification (see table on p. 86) and more nouns than any other part of speech in the section,
or than all other parts of speech in the section put together (866 nouns, 667 all other parts of speech). A breakdown of the number of nouns in each category can be found in Appendix III.

The majority of these nouns occur in the NP subdivision. Evil and Inferior seems to be an area in which names for people abound. These names are of two main types. Either they are insults, i.e. inferior names for people, and occur mainly in EBl, or they are words for rogues and base worthless people, i.e. names for inferior people, and occur mainly in the other categories, especially EB3.

Many of these NP items are also animal names, and are discussed fully in chapter 6. In fact the majority of the items discussed in chapter 6 are from EB. Of 164 such items 109 are from EB, and 84 of these are from EBl (see p. 410 for fuller details).

\section*{EB1 Inferior}

NP .according to...abuse: 'pot-hunter 1592+1592+1592'. This item is unique in the classification in having three quotations all of the same date and all from different sources. One is from Nashe, one from Greene, and one from an Admonition Book of Emmanuel College Cambridge.
'shick-shack 1855-- dial'. This item has a very specific definition which could only have been covered by means of a long subordinate heading, but as the item is dialectal, and can be generally regarded as a term of abuse, it has been placed here without reference to its specific sense. OED defines it as '..a term of abuse for persons who were found not wearing the customary oak-apple or sprig of oak on the morning of Royal-oak day (29 May)..'.

This category consists almost entirely of items in AjG and NP (122 out of 131 items). There is only one adverb and no verbs.

NP 'waster 1352--'. The label qualifying this item 'now chiefly dial' is taken from OED, but nowadays the word is slang rather than dialectal. In the 7th edition of the Concise Oxford Dictionary it is defined 'good-for-nothing' and labelled slang. The OED definition is considerably longer: '..An extravagant spender, a squanderer, spendthrift. Now chiefly dial...a worthless person, 'ne'er-do-well''. There are really two senses here, but OED has kept them both together, and as it is not easy to tell from the quotations when the 'worthless person' sense appeared, the earliest date has been retained and used here. In the Historical Thesaurus the item has also been provisionally placed in R815 Prodigality, so its earlier sense is covered as well.

EB2 Worthless, EB3 Roguish
These two categories are closely related and items which are structurally and semantically related or derived from one another are spread across both categories on the basis of their OED definitions and the way they are used. Two different examples can be used to illustrate this.

In EB2 NP is 'vagabond 1686--' defined 'A disreputable or worthless person', while in EB3 NAc is 'vagabondism 1840 (1)' defined 'A rascally or knavish act'. Each clearly belongs in its respective category, yet the latter is a derivative of the former.

The second example involves a set of 'losel' words which, for the sake of clarity, are presented overleaf in a column.


These definitions cause the items to be placed in EB2, although 'lorel' and, by equation, 'lorer' and 'lorelly' have a second part to their definitions by which they might be placed in EB3. The first part, however, is clearly EB2, and it is on that basis that they have been classified.
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In EB3 AjG is loselling 1624 (1) defined '..rascally'

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In NC are lorelship cl380 (1) defined 'rascality, lewdness'
loselry 1480-1594+1894 defined 'profligacy, debauchery, In NP is cock lorel cl515-1621 defined 'rogue, reprobate' By their definitions these items certainly belong in EB3, and not, like the items to which they are plainly related, in EB2. Apart from the three EB2 items mentioned above, which could also be in EB3 (the connection with which is made explicit by an internal cross-reference at the end of each category) these items are all correctly classified over two categories.

\section*{EB3 Roguish}

AjG 'slip-string 1629-16..+1824'. This is the order of dates for this item as given in the OED, but as \(16 \ldots\) could in theory be any
date from 1600 to 1699 , it could be earlier than the 1629 quotation. The OED source here is James 0. Halliwell's Contributions to Early English Literature. from the 15 th to the 17 th century, \({ }^{8}\), a 19 th century work which is here clearly quoting a 17 th century source which the OED has been unable to date more precisely.

NC There is no NQ in this category, but there is a large entry under NC (noun, conduct). This is because the notion of 'roguish' (on the basis of OED definitions has generated many items meaning 'roguish conduct' but none meaning 'roguish quality'. Even the item 'roguishness \(1578-1755\) ' is under NS (noun, state). Among those under NC are 'scoundrelship 1856--' defined as 'the behaviour of a scoundrel, scoundrelism' and 'rascality 1592-1825' defined as 'rascally character or conduct'. Neither would fit in an \(N Q\) subdivision.

EB5 Dissolute
This category is the closest in Evil to a semantic opposite of GAll Virtuous. It includes 'virtueless' and 'unvirtuous' and related parts of speech. 'virtueless \(1402-{ }^{-1}\) is defined 'destitute of virtue or moral goodness; immoral, vicious.'

NC .of youth: 'uncorn 1513+1710'. Although this item appears - from its dates - to have a currency of almost 200 years, the second quotation actually comes from a glossary of the work cited in the first quotation (Ruddiman's Glossary of Virgil's Aeneid). In effect, this means that the only evidence of the word in use is 16th century. However because it is in this Glossary, it is also recorded in the 18 th century, and both the OED and this classification reflect that written record. \({ }^{9}\)

This category covers 'wretched' in the sense of poor or degraded or inferior, as opposed to miserable or unhappy. Some items embody both notions in their definitions, but those that are placed here are primarily 'inferior'. In AjG 'wretched 1482--' (OED sense 5) is defined 'Of persons or animals: Poor in ability, capacity, character, etc.' The 'miserable' sense (covered by OED senses 1 and 2) is defined, in sense 2, as 'Of conditions etc.: Marked or distinguished by misery or unhappiness; attended by stress, discomfort, or sorrow.' This is not in Good and Evil, and it and other related items will have been placed, in initial Historical Thesaurus classification procedures, in R825 Suffering or R834 Dejection. A number of the items here have also been cross-referred to these categories, and at the end of EB6 there is an external cross-reference to Unhappiness in the Historical Thesaurus classification scheme. Among the other items in AjG which have overlapping definitions are 'bad 1297--' which is defined 'Of defective quality or worth..poor, worthless, 'wretched', 'miserable' ..' and 'squalid 1660--' defined 'Wretched, miserable, morally repulsive or degraded'.

This category also has no verbs at all, and in this respect illustrates a tendency of many of the categories in EA and EB. Apart from EAl Evil and EBl0 Accursed, all these categories have very few verbs, and four categories in EA and three in EB have no verbs at all. This is probably because most of the items which appear in these categories have never been used as verbs, and any verbal expressions for the concepts they cover are periphrastic or phrasal, and are not treated as verbs in the OED. 'For example in this category the verb could be expressed as 'to be wretched', 'to act meanly or pathetically',
and so on. These verbal phrases are not covered by the OED and hence are not in this clausfication. A full list of categories and the number of verba (and other parta of spech) in each can be found in Appendix III.

AjT 'lypre/lither OE-1622'. There is no Old English slip for this item. OED defincu it 'Of thinge:Bad..; poor, sorry, ill-conditioned, 1ll-looking, worthlebs..' and dates it cl000, on the basis of which it hat been placed here, dated from Old English. However In EB7 Banc AJT in 'lybre OE' and thic item - in the Old English dictionarice - is defined 'bad, eordid, vile (of things, bribes, etc.)'. These two entries are almost certainly for the same item but (as reflected by the definitions) its sense purely in 01d English differs from itu senuc as it moves from Old English into Middle English and later. An a result the same item appears in two different categorles. See EAl AjG for a similar comment on a different aenue of the name item.

AvM 'lyperlice/litherly 0e:-1550+al583'. As with 'lypre/lither' above this item is only from OED, where it is defined 'Badly, meanly, miserably, wretchediy.' But in EB7 AVM is 'lyperlice OE' defined 'wickedly, vilely'. Again the definitions support the placing of what is in cffect the ame item in two different categories.

EB7 Base
AjG 'vile cl290--'. Two ofD senses are combined here. They are (sense 1) 'Of actions, conduct, character, etc.: Despicable on moral grounda;..characterized by baseness or depravity', and (Senge 16 ) 'Uacd to quallfy nouns denoting faults of mind or character'. The accond aense is simply a specific application
of the first.
AjT, AvM See EB6.

EB8
Villainous
More than half this category - 25 out of 46 items - is NP. There are three adjective subdivisions, all very small. Unlike other categories (as GC1) items have been neither split up nor combined on the basis of referent. As a result 'villainous' does not appear under AjG, but instead appears under both AjA and AjP .
'villainy al225--'. In OED this item has five spelling variants (treated as \(\alpha-\varepsilon\) under the sense) and on the original Historical Thesaurus slip the item had been treated as five separate words on the basis of these variants. However, as the distinction was one of form, they have been conflated here under the now standard form 'villainy', and given the date of the earliest. In fact 'villainy' itself does not appear until 1605 - the earliest form is 'vileinie'.
'villain 1303--'. It is likely - and past usage indicates - that this item is applied chiefly to men, and the OED defines it in terms of 'a man'. However, the OED's standard policy is to define many agent nouns as 'a man who..' even when the item can be applied to a woman or child, and 'a'person who..' would be more appropriate. \({ }^{10}\) In this classification, unless a word is clearly only of a man (or woman) as borne out by definition and quotations, in which case it goes under a .male (or.female) subordination, it is treated as 'a person', and put under the general NP heading. This is especially so when, as here, the item is the agent noun of the category heading. It is often the case though
that nouns which appear under NP are applied chiefly to men. There are many such nouns in the EB categories.

EB10 Accursed
The majority of the items in this category are concerned with utterances. The idea of 'accursed' which is covered here is that of 'uttering curses or deserving of uttered curses'. The item 'accursed' itself appears in AjG under the subordinate heading •as an everyday imprecation. In most categories the item which forms the heading is under a straightforward adjective subdivision - it is an indication of how dominant the 'utterance' idea is in this category that the heading is under an 'imprecation' subordination. The category has also drawn supplementary material from R899 Malediction.

The OED has two main senses of 'accursed'. The one which predominates (and occurs) here is 'accursed 1591--' (OED sense 2) which is defined 'Worthy of the curse. ; execrable, damnable; detestable, hateful.' Also influential however is 'accursed cl220--' (OED sense l), defined 'Lying under a curse or anathema' ('anathema' in OED is defined in this sense as a religious 'act, or formula; consigning to damnation'). So 'accursed' here is a general sense which developed from, and is related to, a stronger religious sense. Some items have elements of 'accursed' sense 1 in their meaning, notably those in AjG under the subordinations and consigned (or consigning) to evil, and those in VU which are under the subordination .and invoke evil. In acknowledgement of this the category ends with an external cross-reference to 'Religion:curse'.

AjG and consigned to evil. There are two items here which date from Old English and continue into Middle English or later. Neither
has an Old English slip and for both the Old English forms are based on the evidence on OED. One is 'awyrgyde/awaried(e) OE1340' and the other is 'wærged/waried OE-a1585'. The post-OE forms of both are very similar, yet their 0 E forms are quite different. Perhaps one could have been 'normalized' to match the other, but as the policy here for words with no Old English slip is to take the form of the Old English quotation provided in OED this has been adhered to.
.as an everyday imprecation. 'damned 1563--'. Two OED senses have been combined here. They are senses 3 '..accursed, damnable, execrable. Obs. exc. as in \(4 .\). ' and 4 'Used profanely as a strong expression of reprehension or dislike, or as a mere intensive'.

NX . The heading \(N X\) is normally construed as 'that which is (in this case, accursed)', but in this particular subdivision every item is subordinated under the heading .spec. an utterance, and most are subordinated even further. So many of the nouns in EB10 are - or are related to - utterances, that the abstract NX subdivision has been used, along with a subordinate heading, purely to cover nouns meaning 'accursed utterances'. An alternative would have been to have created a subdivision NU (noun, an utterance), but as \(N X\) is capable of covering the items, it was decided to use NX. Among the further subordinations in NX are two which entail, respectively, the placing of an action (..action of saying) and a person (...person who performs) under NX. This is because in both cases the notion of 'accursedness' (which is why the items are in EB10) exists in the 'utterance' and not the action or person. Therefore both items go under NX .spec. an utterance. All of the verbs here are under subordinations-either .and
invoke evil (in which case they relate to both senses of
'accursed' as mentioned above) or as an everyday imprecation.
.. upon a person/thing. 'devote 1647--'. This entry combines
two OED senses. They are sense 3 '..invoke or pronounce a curse upon' where the object is the person being cursed, and 3b
(obsolete and only recorded once, in 1749) 'invoke or pronounce (a curse)' where the object is the curse.

Evil and Wrong
Of the 14 categories in this section, nine have headings of more than one word. Wherever possible category headings are limited to one word (see discussion of this on p. 68 ), but many of the categories here require either two words or a short phrase. Such headings are commented on below under the categories concerned.

EC1 Wrong-doing, Transgressive
This category has a double heading. 'Wrong-doing' on its own could be understood as a kind of wrong relating to either 'erroneous' or 'transgressive', and in order to make it clear that it relates to the latter 'transgressive' has been added to the heading. Similarly 'transgressive' on its own could be associated with 'sin' rather the general 'wrong-doing', and its sense is clarified by its being linked with 'wrong-doing'.

The category consists chiefly of nouns (116 nouns and 71 other items), but there is no NQ subdivision. This is because (as '-doing' in the heading suggests) the idea which the category covers is much more one of action than quality. Its principal noun subdivisions are therefore NA (noun, action), ND (noun, deed), and - as the agent
of the action or deed - NP (noun, person).
In ECI are many items which might appear, from our general knowledge of them, to be quite different from one another, and not to share the common idea of 'wrong-doing'. They include 'trespass', 'error', 'fault', and 'crime' (all in ND), among others. However, the noun definitions of both the key items, and of a selection of other items, indicate that they are all properly placed together. In NA the two key items are defined as follows:
'transgression 1426--' is 'The action of transgressing..; a violation of law, duty, or command; disobedience, trespass, sin:
'wrongdoing 1480--' is 'Transgression of or offence against the moral or established law; reprehensible action or behaviour; evil-doing, misdoing; misconduct.'

In ND several other items which may seem different from one another are defined as follows:
'trespass cl290--' is 'A transgression; a breach of law or duty; an offence, sin, wrong; a fault.'
'fault 13..--' is 'Something wrongly done...In moral sense: A dereliction of duty; a misdeed, transgression, offence.'
'error cl330--' is 'A departure from moral rectitude; a transgression, wrong-doing.'
'offence 1382--' is 'A breach of law, duty, propriety, or etiquette; a transgression, \(\sin\), wrong, misdemeanour, or misdeed; a fault.' 'crime 1514--' is '..An evil or injurious act; an offence, a sin..' From the above definitions it is evident that these items are legitimately in EC1.

NTh All the items in this subdivision are under subordinate headings as none means simply 'a transgressive thought', but each is a
particular kind of transgressive thought.

EC2
Straying, Aberrant
This category also has a double heading. 'Straying'on its own would tend to be taken literally, while 'aberrant' is a less widely used word, and would therefore be less effective as a heading on its own. The OED does not define 'straying' but includes it as a derivative of 'stray cl325--' meaning 'To wander from the path of rectitude, to err'. 'Aberrant \(1848-{ }^{\prime}\) ' is defined '. .fig. diverging or deviating from any moral standard'. The general idea is that of 'going wrong' (unlike ECl, where it is 'doing wrong').

Like ECl, this category is more one of action, or behaviour, than quality. Again there is no \(N Q\) and this time the main noun subdivision is NC (noun, conduct).

VB. All the verbs in this category come under the heading 'to become aberrant'. They could arguably have been put under VG 'to act aberrantly/be aberrant', but as the fundamental notion of this category is 'going wrong', it is more appropriate to place the verbs in a context in which they can be interpreted as such. Among the verbs here are 'stray' (defined above), 'err cl315--' which is defined 'To go astray morally; to sin', and 'to go wrong 1500/20-_' which is defined '..to fall into error; to err'. All these verbs involve the notion of becoming or going wrong, and are best covered by the heading 'Become'.

EC3 Sinful and Wrong
There is a close connection between this category and ' \(\sin\) ' as dealt with under Religion. In order to ensure that 'sinful' in the
heading is not understood in its purely religious sense, it is coupled with 'and wrong' (much as 'Evil and' accompanies 'dark' and 'graceless' in EA2 and EA3). As there is a close connection with religious sin though, the category ends with an external cross-reference to 'Religion:sin'. EC3 is concerned with items which mean 'sinful' but which are used in non-religious contexts. It covers the ideas of transgression and wrong-doing according to the law of man rather than the law of God. Many of the items it contains can, however, be used in both a religious and a secular sense and often, in their secular sense, have religious overtones. This is why the category is distinct, and why its items are not simply included among the 'wrong-doing' of ECl. There are many items where the distinction between religious. and secular is not clear, and these appear both here and in Religion. \({ }^{11}\)

AjG 'synful/sinful OE--'. This item has no Old English slip, because the appropriate Old English slip has a purely religious definition and is under Religion. 'synful/sinful' in EC3 is OED's sense 1 , and is defined 'Of persons etc.: Full of sin; wicked, corrupt'. This definition is both religious and secular. The first part, 'full of sin', relates to the sense of 'sin' quoted below, while the second part, 'wicked, corrupt', relates to the notion of secular wrong-doing covered by this category.

NA', ND The item 'sin' does not appear at all here. It is defined in OED (sense 1) as 'An act which is regarded as a transgression against the divine law and an offence against God..', and therefore only appears in Religion. There is no corresponding nonreligious sense.

NP There is no item 'sinner' here as, like 'sin' above, it is treated
as a purely religious concept by OED. Sense 1 is defined 'One who sins; a transgressor against the divine law.' Sense 2 is much less serious '..a rogue..' and appears under EB3 Roguish. There is no sense that belongs here.

EC4 Guilty
AjP Every adjective in this category - apart from one - is in this subdivision. Guilt is something which seems to be only experienced by people (or at least is generally conceived of as being only experienced by people). The one non-AjP item is in AjA ('guilty 1591--': 'Of actions..: involving guilt').

There are many subordinations in AjP. They include .as applied to the instrument/scene of a crime, by means of which an adjective, of a thing, is subsumed under the heading of an adjective, of a person. The item in this subordination, 'guilty 1588--' (OED lb) is a transferred use of 'guilty' (of a person) (OED l).

\section*{Criminal}

This category is closely connected with the notion of 'crime' as covered under Law. Indeed many items which were initially classified here, drawn from material under R914 Wrong, were removed to R954 Illegality (ultimately Law in the Historical Thesaurus). It is a more general notion of 'criminal', as a kind of wrong-doing, which is covered here.

Among the items here are, in AjG, 'criminal 1430--' (OED 1) defined as 'Of the nature of or involving a crime; more generally, of the nature of a grave offence, wicked', and in NAc, 'crime 1514--'
(OED 2) defined 'More generally: An evil or injurious act; an offence, a sin, esp. of a grave character.' Not included though is OED's sense 1 of 'crime': 'An act punishable by law, as being forbidden by statute, or injurious to the public welfare.'
\(N P^{: ~: ~ S o m e ~ o f ~ t h e ~ i t e m s ~ u n d e r ~ t h e ~ s u b o r d i n a t e ~ h e a d i n g s ~ h e r e ~ a r e ~ s i m i l a r ~}\) in sense to items under NP subordinations in EB3 and EB4. For example in EB3 there is (on interpretation of the headings) an item for 'a cunning rogue', in GB4 there is 'a ruffian who breaks windows' and 'a ruffian armed with a razor', while in EC5 there is 'a criminal who uses violence'. Many other headings in these categories suggest similar kinds of people. The difference between those in EB3 and EB4, and those in EC5 is one of emphasis. In EB3 and EB4 the emphasis is on the inferior status of the people - if they have criminal proclivities these are covered in the subordinations as additional features. In EC5 however, the fact that these people are criminal is the most important feature. If they also appear to be rogues or ruffians these features are additional.

EC6 Immoral
See note under EC8 below.

\section*{EC7 Leading Astray}

The heading of this category consists of a short phrase which does not itself appear in the category. The reason for this is that there is no obvious current adjective in the category which, were it used as a heading, would not be misunderstood. In AjG, and not in a subordination, the only current items are 'seducing' (which could be
understood sexually) and 'lenocinant' (which is not common and would not be enlightening as a heading). As a result a 'paraphrase' heading has been used. This heading 'Leading Astray' also links the category with EC2 Straying, Aberrant, as 'stray' occurs in both headings. The categories are related in so far as EC2 covers the idea of 'going astray' (the implication being that it is on one's own initiative) and EC7 covers the idea of 'causing another to go astray'.

As there is no obvious item in this category which can be used as a heading, one might question the legitimacy of having the category. However it does have 54 items, many of which are derived from either 'pervert' or 'seduce'. Both these words (and their derivatives) mean simply 'lead astray' and although both have now acquired sexual overtones, it is their non-sexual senses which are covered here. For example, in VG 'pervert cl375--' is defined 'To turn. .away from right opinion or action; to lead astray; to corrupt', and in NP 'seducer 1545--' is 'One who..entices (a person) into error or wrong-doing'. Of the 54 items here, 36 are no longer current (a fairly large proportion), and those which are still current are often used now in a specific (usually sexual) way (not covered in this classification). NA .the result of. There are two items within this subordination which are 'qualities' ('pervertness' and 'pervertedness') although they are under NA (noun, action). Had they been placed in an NQ subdivision their meaning would be interpreted as 'the quality of leading astray', when in fact they are 'the quality of being led astray', i.e. the resultant quality from the action of leading astray. To fit in this category they have to be placed under the noun of action.

This category is to some extent a 'completion' or 'result' of the idea covered in the previous category. The process of leading astray (as covered by EC7) is corruptive. It implies that corruption is in progress. The end result for any 'victim' is that they are corrupt, or have come to embody corruption (as covered by EC8). Each category ends with a cross-reference to the other.

EC8 is also related - and cross-referred -to EC6 Immoral. EC6 covers the basic idea of someone/-thing that is immoral, where the immorality is by implication inherent rather than imposed. It is a direct opposite of GBl Moral. In EC6 'immoral 1660--' is defined 'Not consistent with, or not conforming to, moral law or requirement; opposed to or violating morality; morally evil or impure..' (the definitions of 'moral' and related words (in GBl) are concerned with '..the distinction between right and wrong, or good and evil..'). EC8 is related to EC6 in so far as 'corrupt' is in effect 'made immoral', and it entails imposed rather than inherent immorality. The definitions of some of the items in EC8 reflect this. In AjG 'rotten cl380--' is defined 'Morally, socially, or politically corrupt' and 'debauched 1598--' is 'Seduced or corrupted from duty or virtue; depraved or corrupt in morals'. In NQ 'depravity \(1646-{ }^{-1}\) is 'Perversion of the moral faculties..'.

AjG 'corrupt cl325--'. Two OED senses (or parts of speech) have been conflated here. One is sense 3 of 'corrupt' adj.: 'Debased in character, infected with evil; depraved, perverted; evil, wicked'. The other is 'corrupt' pa. pple., obsolete since cl600, and defined 'corrupt, depraved, spoiled'.

There is a particular semantic link between categories ECl to EC8 (especially ECl, EC2, and EC6-EC8). This can perhaps be most clearly illustrated by expressing the idea covered in each category in 'terms of 'wrong' as defined adjectivally under the note for EC above:
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ECl is doing wrong
EC2 is going wrong
EC3-5 are kinds of wrong-doing
EC6 is being wrong
EC7 is causing to go wrong or making wrong
EC8 is gone or made wrong

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EC10 Undutiful
This category, and EC11 and ECl2, are borderline categories in Evil (their equivalents in Good were rejected from the classification). They are discussed, in this respect, in chapter 2 p. 55.

\section*{ECll Failing in Duty}

As in EC7 this category heading is a phrase which is not present in the category. None of the items in the category could have presented the idea covered here as effectively or obviously as this short phrase. For example, 'derelict \(1864-\) ' ' \(^{\text {is }}\) defined 'Guilty of dereliction of duty; unfaithful, delinquent' but it is not an obvious word to convey this idea. In addition the choice of a heading containing the word 'duty' draws a direct and important link between this category and those on either side of it. EClO Undutiful is the largest and most important of the three - EC11 and EC12 are specific kinds of undutifulness (either through failure or avoidance).

EC12 Avoiding Duty
Like ECIl, the category heading here is not an item in the category. The word 'shirking' could have been used as a heading instead (undefined under 'shirk' verb, which is defined (sense 4) 'To evade (one's duty, work, obligations, etc.)'), but if it had been, the link between this category and the preceding two, made explicit by the use of the word 'duty' in their headings, would have been obscured.

\section*{ECl3 Unfair, Unjust}

Most of the adjectives here are in AjG, but there are several which the OED has split up on the basis of referent, and although these too are in AjG, they also appear in AjA and/or AjP.

\section*{EC14 Improper, Unfitting}

This category is the equivalent in Evil of GB8 Proper, Fitting, and part of the commentary on GB8 is an explanation of why it differs from the other categories in its section. The same - but in terms of 'wrong' rather than 'right' - is true of this category. EC14 is more concerned with wrong meaning 'inappropriate' rather than 'immoral'. Chapter 2 ( p .65 ) gives the specific senses of 'wrong' to which EC1-13, on the one hand, and this category, on the other hand, relate.

EC14 is therefore, to some extent, the negative of GB8, and the majority of the items it contains begin with a negative prefix (usually un-). However, in addition to negating GB8, the items in EC14 also express a positive idea - 'improper' or 'unfitting' - in their own right.

Many of the categories in this section are fairly small and perhaps the most significant point about them is the way in which they relate to one another. As a result most of the commentary concerning them appears here, under the section, rather than under individual categories. The categories cover a series of closely related and finely distinguished ideas. Each is connected to the others, but in particular EDI to ED6 form one very close group, and ED7 to ED10 form another. The section finishes with EDll. The internal cross-references at the end of each category reflect these connections.

As the categories are so closely related, there are overlaps of meaning among the items contained in each, to the extent that the distinctions between some categories may be arguable or difficult to discern, and it is worth spending some time here digressing from the usual style of the notes in this chapter, and conducting an informal but quite detailed experiment, in order to justify these distinctions. As was mentioned in chapter 1 , there are some parts of this classification where componential analysis could justly be applied as a means of establishing the fine semantic distinctions between categories, and this section especially categories ED1 to ED6 - is one such part. However a full componential analysis would be inappropriate in a notes chapter. Instead, an informal sampling method based on principles similar to those of CA has been applied. By this method, the items which form the headings of EDl to ED6, plus several other items from each of these categories, are listed overleaf along with their OED definitions. This listing is followed by a brief non-componential summary of the essence of each category as extrapolated from the dictionary definitions, and by this means the distinctions
between the categoriesare clearly stated.

\section*{EDI Treacherous}
'treacherous cl330--': 'Of persons, their attributes, or actions: Characterized by treachery; deceiving, perfidious, false; disloyal, traitorous.'
'traitorous cl380--': 'Having the character of, or characteristic of, a traitor; treacherous, perfidious.'
'treachery al225--': 'Deceit, cheating, perfidy; violation of faith or betrayal of trust; perfidious conduct.'
'false al225--': 'Of persons, their attributes, or actions: Deceitful, treacherous, faithless.'

ED2 Treasonous
'treasonous 1593--': 'Full of or abounding in treason; characterized by treason or treachery; treasonable.'
'treason al225-1611+1825': 'The action of betraying; betrayal of the trust undertaken by or reposed in anyone; breach of faith, treacherous action, treachery.'
'treachery al300--': '..esp. The deception or perfidy of a traitor; treason against a sovereign, lord, or master.'

ED3 Betraying
'betraying 1628+1814': 'That betrays.'
'betrayal 1816--': 'A treacherous giving up to the enemy.'
'sellan/sell OE--': 'To give up (a person) treacherously to his enemies; to betray (a person, a cause, country, etc.).'
'betray cl275--': 'To give up to, or place in the power of, an enemy, by treachery or disloyalty.'

ED4 Perfidious
'perfidious 1598--': 'Characterized by perfidy; guilty of breaking
faith or violating confidence; deliberately faithless; basely treacherous.'
'perfidy 1592--': 'The deceitful violation of faith or promise; base breach of faith or betrayal of the trust reposed in one; treachery; often, the profession of faith or friendship in order to deceive or betray.'

\section*{ED5 Unfaithful}
'unfaithful 1565--': 'Of conduct: Characterized by want of good faith; not honest or upright.'
'disloyalty 1481--': 'The quality of being disloyal; unfaithfulness, falseness.'
'faithlessness 1605--': 'The quality or fact of being faithless...b. Want of good faith, insincerity.'

ED6 Disloyal
'faithless 1362--': 'Destitute of good faith, unfaithful, insincere; false to vows etc., perfidious, disloyal.'
'disloyal cl477--': 'Unfaithful to the obligations of friendship or honour, to the marriage tie, etc. ..b. Untrue to one's allegiance.'
'disloyalty 1600--': '..Now esp. Violation of allegiance or duty to one's sovereign, state, or government.'
'faithlessness 1605--': 'The quality or fact of being faithless. a. Want of fidelity, disloyalty, perfidy.'

The above definitions both emphasize the similarities of and provide the means of establishing the differences between categories ED1 to ED6.

The next step is to look in turn at the set of definitions drawn from each category, and to pick out from them the elements which are
central to these definitions and peculiar to that category only. From these, the essence of the category can be established. Often the definitions of quite a number of the items will refer to one or two other items in the category, and it is these items which contain in their definitions the key features of the category.

In EDI, 'traitorous' and 'false' mention 'treacherous' in their definitions. 'Treacherous' in turn mentions 'treachery' ('treacherous' though, has a fairly long general definition, which also includes as definition elements the category headings of ED4 and ED6). 'Treachery' has as the central part of its definition 'violation of faith or betrayal of trust'. 'Betrayal' is used here not in its ED3 sense, but in a wider 'violation of trust' (OED 2) sense. We can substitute 'break' for 'betrayal' (to avoid ambiguity) and paraphrase this in more simple terms as 'the breaking of another's trust or faith'.

In ED2, 'treasonous' refers to both 'treason' and 'treachery' (a different sense from that in EDI) and both these items have elements in their definitions which occur only in this category. Under 'treason' is 'betrayal of the trust undertaken by or reposed in anyone', a more specific form of 'treachery' in EDl, and under 'treachery' is 'treason against a sovereign, lord, or master'. These two elements can be combined and paraphrased as 'the breaking of trust accepted or granted, esp. by a superior'.

In ED3, all three definitions quoted include the idea of 'giving up to an enemy by treachery', and in fact that phrase can stand as a general paraphrase for the category. 'Treachery' is used as in EDl and hence its paraphrase is not repeated.

The items in ED4 are similar to those in ED1, and also ED2, but in both quoted definitions the basic qualities are intensified, and are
more extreme. The treachery here is 'base' and 'deliberate'. A paraphrase might be 'intense and deliberate treachery' (again the paraphrase of 'treachery' is not repeated).

ED5 and ED6 are particularly similar. The heading of each occurs in the definitions of items in the other. The item 'faithlessness' occurs in both categories (in senses \(a\). and \(b\). of the one sense in OED). In ED5 it means 'want of good faith' and in ED6 'disloyalty'. The definition of 'unfaithful' in ED5 also mentions 'want of good faith'. In OED 'faith al300--' is defined 'Confidence, reliance, trust (in the ability, goodness, etc...in the efficacy or worth of.. in the truth of..)'. The quality covered by ED5 is the negative of this, and can be summarized as 'without trust or faith, esp. that another might expect'.

In ED6 all the quoted definitions (except that for 'faithlessness', which refers to 'faithless') mention obligations or duty or vows, and the essence of this category seems to be contained in the idea of lacking in loyalty, or of not being true, specifically to ties or obligations. A paraphrase based on the definitions is 'not true, esp. to one's ties or obligations'.

If these six paraphrases are now listed consecutively (and converted where necessary to adjectival form, in keeping with the category heading) the basic idea covered in each category, and the fact that they are all different, can be clearly seen.

ED1 Treacherous breaking trust or faith
ED2 Treasonous breaking trust accepted or granted, esp. by a superior
ED3 Betraying giving up to an enemy by treacherous means
ED4. Perfidious intensely and deliberately treacherous
ED5 Unfaithful without trust or faith, esp. that another might expect
ED6 Disloyal not true, esp. to one's obligations

ED2, ED3, and ED4 are all extensions, in different specific ways, of ED1. Theyconfirm the fact, mentioned in chapter 2 (p. 73), that ED1 is the semantically most general category of ED. ED5 and ED6 are slightly different, expressing straightforward negativity ('without' and 'not') rather than active 'breaking'. However, 'without trust' and 'not true' in these contexts are semantically very close, and the distinction between the two categories lies more in the 'especially' parts of the paraphrases rather than the main parts.

Obviously this analysis of the distinctions between ED1 to ED6 is informal and unscientific. There is no metalanguage applied or defined, and no attempt made to reduce the paraphrases to semantic universals, but even this informal approach does bring out the key features of each category and indicate the potential value and findings that a full componential analysis could have.

ED2 Treasonous, ED3 Betraying, ED4 Perfidious
The principal noun subdivision in these three categories is NA (noun, action). Also, in ED2 and ED3, the noun is the part of speech for which there are most items. The ideas covered by these categories
- treason, betrayal, and perfidy - generally manifest themselves in actions, so it is not surprising that NA should be a dominant subdivision.

ED8 Crooked

This category covers the idea of 'crooked' in its figurative sense (OED 3): 'The reverse of straight in figurative senses..deviating from rectitude or uprightness..dishonest, wrong, perverse.' AjG ' \(\cdot\).and harmful. The one item here 'back-wounding 1603 (1)' is
undefined in OED and is recorded only once, in Shakespeare. It appears in the phrase 'back-wounding calumnie', as uttered by the duke in Measure for Measure on discovering that his own men have been talking ill of him behind his back. It therefore qualifies a calumny which is both underhand (or crooked) and personally harmful to the duke. It has consequently been placed here, despite its lack of a definition.

Sneaky
This category covers the notion of 'sneaky' in a figurative sense. 'Sneaky' itself is defined 'Characterized by..sneaking', which is not informative, but 'sneak al643--' (in NP) is defined '..one who acts in a shifty, shabby, or underhand manner.'

NQ 'shadiness 1914--'. This figurative sense of 'shadiness' appears
in OED under the literal sense of 'shadiness'. The literal sense
dates from 1611 but the only figurative evidence is one Mod. \({ }^{12}\)
quotation. 'Shadiness' here has therefore been dated from this
Mod. quotation by using the date of publication of the OED
fascicle in which it appears, which in this case is 1914.

ED10 Disingenuous
Every item in this category begins with a negative prefix: 'in-', 'un-', or 'dis-'.

ED11 Unscrupulous
If a prominent author coins or revives an item, his name is often mentioned in the classification after the item concerned (a full list of authors who are mentioned is on p.118). In this category four of
the 32 items are followed by Scott (short for Sir Walter Scott) indicating that he was the first, or only, person to use them. One other item ('unconscientious 1775--' in AjG) is also used by Scott, among others. This is a significantly high proportion of the total category to be initiated, or used, by one author.

This category, like EDIO and several others in the classification, consists almost entirely of items with a negative affix. However, although it does literally negate a positive Good concept ('scrupulous'), the category also expresses a positively Evil concept, as 'unscrupulous' and related words are used in their own right and not simply as negatives of their opposite.

\section*{EE1 Harmful}

This category begins the final section of the classification EE Evil to Self/Other - and is a large general category. It is the largest category in \(E E\) and elements of definitions of some of the items it contains form headings of other EE categories ( and indeed other categories elsewhere in Evil).

It covers the notion of 'harmful' both literally and figuratively (that is, on the one hand physical and mental harm, and on the other hand amoral and deliberate moral harm), although in this classification the figurative sense is more important. OED however often does not distinguish between literal and figurative in its definitions, and really by default both ideas are covered here. For example 'harmful al340--' has only one sense in OED and is defined 'fraught with harm or injury; injurious, hurtful', and 'injurious 1559--' is 'Tending to hurt or damage; hurtful, harmful, detrimental, deleterious.' In addition 'harm' itself - sense 1 in OED (under NX in EE1)
- is defined 'Evil (physical or otherwise) as done to or suffered by some person or thing; hurt, injury, damage, mischief.' The definition of 'harm' verb also includes this 'physical or otherwise' qualification. AjG and sinister. This subordination has the word sinister in its heading, yet the following subordination actually contains the item 'sinister'. The sense of 'sinister' which occurs in the heading and meaning of the items here is adj. 6 in OED 'Of omens etc.: Portending or indicating misfortune or disaster..'. .to a thing/person. This subordination includes 'sinister 1725--'. This 'sinister' is adj. 8 in OED and is defined 'Unfavourable, harmful, or prejudicial to a person, his interests, etc.'. -spec. causing wounds. Most of the items here are used of both literal and figurative wounds, and the OED definitions do not make the distinction. They are of the formula 'Causing a wound or wounds' and the illustrative quotations are both literal and figurative. 'Wound' itself is literal (OED 1) and figurative (OED ld) but both date from \(O E\), and either could be the 'wounds' being caused here.
-more, progressively more. These headings cover the comparative forms of the adjective, and may be thought to contain items more fitted to EB7 Worse (especially as the items themselves are 'worse' and similar). However they are actually comparatives of 'harm' rather than of the more fundamental notion of 'evil' and are thus properly placed here under EEl rather than in EA. NX 'wrong cl275--'. Two OED senses have been conflated here. They are (of 'wrong' noun) sense 5: 'Injustice, harm, or evil inflicted upon another or others; wrong-doing', and 5b: 'Injury, hurt, harm, or prejudice received or sustained by a person or
persons.' One is injury given and the other is injury received, but as that is a distinction not made by the subdivision headings (and not regarded as a distinction which needs to be made) the senses can be conflated with no classificatory loss.

This is one of the more complex verbal subdivisions in the classification. The main part of it covers intransitive verbs and absolute uses of transitive verbs, while the first subordination (.to a person/thing) covers transitive and phrasal verbs. Transitivity is not always a basis for distinction in verbal subdivisions - often VG will have both transitive and intransitive verbs - but in this case, in order to reflect the way in which OED has divided up the verbs, it is necessary and is effective. Of the 12 verbs which occur in the main part of the subdivision, as vi or va, nine are repeated in the subordination as vt.

\section*{EE2 Disadvantageous}

The concept covered by this category is to some extent a milder version of that covered by EEl. In EEl there is a strong element of 'Evil to Self/Other' (the section heading), but in EE2, where many of the items begin or end with a negative affix, there are distinct associations with the idea of 'not advantageous'. The category is therefore partly 'not a good concept' as opposed to (like EE1) an actively evil concept. it is by no means entirely such though. Not all of its items are defined in purely negative terms. 'Disadvantageous 1603--' is defined 'Attended with or occasioning disadvantage; unfavourable, prejudicial' and 'disadvantage cl380--' (in NX) is defined 'Detriment, loss, or injury to interest; diminution of or
prejudice to credit or reputation.'

EE3 Playfully Mischievous, EE4 Harmfully Mischievous
The milder quality of EE2 is maintained by EE3, but EE3 is also very closely related to EE4, which is stronger again. EE3 and EE4 both take their headings from the same word, but in different senses, and the difference in the senses is indicated by the qualifying word for each: 'playfully' and 'harmfully'. The full headings of these categories do not appear as items in the categories, but 'mischievous', and 'mischief', occur in both categories.

In EE3 is 'mischievous 1676--' (OED 4) defined as 'Of persons, their conduct, etc.: Disposed to or characterized by acts of playful malice or petty annoyance', and 'mischief 1784--' (OED 8) defined as 'Vexatious or annoying action or conduct; chiefly, conduct causing petty injury or trouble to others by way of sport, without any illwill.'

In EE4 is 'mischievous cl380--' (OED 3) defined as 'Of things, events, actions: Fraught with or entailing mischief or harm; having harmful effects or results', and 'mischief 1646-1822' (OED 5) defined as 'Hurtful character or influence; mischievousness.'

The EE3 definitions include 'playful', 'petty', and 'without..illwill', while the EE4 definitions include 'harmful' and 'hurtful'.

EE5 Spiteful, EE6 Ill-Willing, EE7 Bitter, EE8 Ill-Natured
As with categories EDl to ED6, these four categories are all very closely related. Simply from the category headings and the items each contains, unsupported by definitions, it is not easy to tell why the category divisions have been made in this way, and what the precise
differences are. It is therefore once again useful to digress from the normal style of these notes and to provide an informal analysis, based on definitions of items from each category, of the essence of each, and the distinctions between them. The definitions of selected items are as follows.

\section*{EE5 Spiteful}
'malicious al225--': 'Of persons, their dispositions, etc.: Given to malice, addicted to sentiments or acts of ill-will...'
'venomous al340--': 'Having the virulence of venom; rancorous, spiteful, malignant, virulent; embittered, envenomed.'
'spiteful 1490--': 'Full of, possessed or animated by, spite; malicious, malevolent.'
'malice 1297--': 'The desire to injure another person; active ill-will or hatred...'

EE6 Ill-Willing
'ill-willing al300-1741': 'Wishing evil to another; cherishing illwill; malevolent.'
'malevolent l509--': 'Of persons, their feelings and actions: Desirous of evil to others; entertaining, actuated by, or indicative of ill-will; disposed or addicted to ill-will.'
'malignant 1592--': 'Characterized by malignity or intense ill-will; keenly desirous of the suffering or misfortune of another, or of others generally.
'ill(-)will al300--': 'Evil or hostile feeling or intention towards another; malevolence, malice, enmity, dislike.'

EE7 Bitter
'biter/bitter OE--': 'Characterized by intense animosity or virulence of feeling or action; virulent.'
```

'rancour l3..--': 'Inveterate or bitter ill-feeling, grudge, or
animosity; malignant hatred or spitefulness.'
'virulence 1663--': 'Extreme acrimony or bitterness of temper or
speech; violent malignity or rancour.'
EE8 Ill-Natured
'ill-natured 1635/56--': 'Of evil disposition; having or showing
malevolent character or feeling; unkindly, churlish, spiteful.'
'nasty 1825--': 'Ill-natured, ill-tempered, disagreeable.'

```

From each set of definitions we can now pick out key elements which occur only or predominantly in that set, and which distinguish it from the others.

The EES definitions include the phrases 'animated by spite', 'active ill-will', and '..acts of ill-will'. We can summarize these as 'harm or ill-will in action'.

The EE6 definitions include 'wishing', 'desirous of', 'intention', and 'feeling', and the category seems to cover the idea of 'desiring' as opposed to, in EES, 'doing'. It can be paraphrased as 'harm or il1-will in desire'.

EE7 is more intense than either EE5 or EE6. Its definitions include 'intense', 'inveterate', 'extreme', and 'violent'. It covers both acting and feeling, but to a greater degree. It can be paraphrased as 'intense harm or ill-will in action or desire'.

Finally, EE8 is more concerned with disposition and temperament, rather than feelings or action, and covers a notion slightly separate from, but still related to, the preceding three, which is 'having a disposition which means one is spiteful, ill-willing, or bitter.' This can be shortened to 'disposed to be spiteful, ill-willing, or
bitter.' As the preceding three categories have already been summarized in simplified terms, their headings can be used here without repetition of the summary.

If the four paraphrases are listed consecutively below, expressed in adjectival form in keeping with the category headings, the semantic distinctions between the categories can be seen.

EE5 Spiteful displaying harm or ill-will in action EE6 Il1-Willing displaying harm or ill-will in desire EE7 Bitter displaying intense harm or ill-will in action or desire EE8 Ill-Natured disposed to displaying (intense) harm or ill-will in action or desire

EE5 and EE6 are very similar and complement one another, EE7 embodies both of them and intensifies them, while EE8 embodies all three preceding categories, but shifts the focus from 'displaying' to 'disposed to'.

As in EDl to ED6 this analysis is not scientific and does not break down the language of the definitions into any kind of metalanguage, but in an informal way it does enable the semantic distinctions between each category to be located and specified.

\section*{EE5 Spiteful}

AjG 'viperous 1535--'. Two OED senses have been conflated here. The first is sense 1: 'Of or pertaining to a viper or vipers. Rarely in literal use.' This definition is illustrated by figurative quotations from 1535 to 1886 , in which viperous is chiefly applied to speech, though indirectly, as the actual referent ranges from the tongue to the jaws or the spirit. The second sense is sense 3: 'Of actions, qualities, etc.: Worthy of or befitting a viper; malignant, treacherous, venomous.'

In the quotations for this sense viperous is applied to thoughts, behaviour, villainy, etc. The senses are very close in meaning and use, hence their conflation. The definition of sense 3 also contains elements which appear, and are key items, in other categories ('malignant' in EE6, and 'treacherous' in EDI). This repetition and overlapping of elements of definitions across categories is - as has been mentioned elsewhere - an almost inevitable by-product of any attempt to classify abstract vocabulary in this way.

NF This subdivision (noun, feeling) occurs in five consecutive EE categories, EE5 to EE9. The implication is that such notions as 'spite', 'ill-willing', etc. are expressed and embodied in people's feelings to a much greater degree than are the notions covered by other categories in the classification.

EE8 Il1-Natured
This category is fairly small (the smallest EE category) and consists almost entirely of adjectives. It forms a distinct category because - as explained above - it embodies the notions covered in EES to EE7 inclusive.

AjG 'yfelwillende \(O E^{\prime}\). This item translates into Modern English as 'evil-willing' which might lead one to wonder why it is not in EE6 Ill-Willing. The reason is that its definition is 'Illdisposed, wicked', and as 'ill-disposed' itself is in EE8, yfel willende also belongs heré.

EE9 Harsh, Unkind
VT .in the manner of mohocks. There is just one item here 'mohock

1718 (1)', but in EB4 NP ..aristocratic etc., there is an entry 'mohock 1711/12--'. These two items are related, yet they are in different categories. 'Mohock' noun, in EB4, is defined 'One of a class of aristocratic ruffians who infested the streets of London at night in the early years of the 18th century.' It is a word for a type of ruffian, and is therefore properly in EB4 Ruffianly. 'Mohock' verb, in EE9, is defined 'To assail or maltreat in the manner of mohocks.' This word therefore basically means 'maltreat', and as 'maltreat' is already in EE9, it is fitting that 'mohock' verb should also be. The part of its meaning which is related to 'mohock' noun is expressed by means of the subordinate heading, and the specific nature of 'mohock' noun in EB4 is similarly expressed by subordinate headings. Thus, although the words are related, each is classified according to its basic sense, and they are in different categories.

\section*{EE12 Savage}

AjG 'inhuman 1481--'. Two OED senses are conflated here. They are sense la 'Of persons: Not having the qualities proper or natural to a human being; esp. destitute of natural kindness or pity; brutal, unfeeling, cruel. Also fig. of things' and sense lb 'Of actions, conduct, etc.: Brutal, savage, barbarous, cruel'. The principal distinction is one of referent, and as AjG covers a wide range of possible referents, the senses are easily conflated. Furthermore, each sense separately would be in AjG, as its specified referents cover more than one other Aj subdivision, so it is essential to combine them.
1. A 'Mod.' quotation is one made up by the editors of the OED to indicate that a sense is still current, although no modern published quotation was available at the time the entry in question was being written. All Mod. quotations are late 19th or early 20th century - their date can be regarded as the same as the date of publication of the OED fascicle in which they appear.
2. An essential feature of Old English verse was the kenning - the single word or phrasal synonym. J.E. Cross in Vol.l of the Sphere History of Literature in the English Language (London: Sphere, 1970) talks of, in OE poetry, 'the prevalence of poetic alternatives' which include 'one-word synonyms...compound words or phrases' (p.17). G.W. Turner in Stylistics (London: Penguin, 1973) comments that 'Similarly in O1d English poetry the sea was called 'the gannet's bath' or the 'whale road'...called 'kennings' in Old English' (p.131).
3. Current practice among the lexicographers at the Oxford Dictionaries is not to label 20th century words obsolete, except in special circumstances, and where the last recorded evidence of the word is no later than the early part of the century.
4. See note 1 above.
5. D.G. Scragg, A History of English Spelling (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974) p. 45.
6. These senses are not in this classification.
7. See chapter 6 p .423 for an explanation of why 'crab-staff' and 'crab-stick' are not counted.
8. See OED's Bibliography for a fuller reference.
9. The Scottish National Dictionary records no further evidence of the word.
10. The current policy in the Oxford Dictionaries is to define such nouns 'A person..' or 'One..'.
11. In effect this means they also appear in the classification of Religion, which appears in T.J.P. Chase, A Diachronic Semantic Classification of the English Religious Lexis PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1983.
12. See note 1 above.

\section*{Chapter 5}

\author{
Two Statistical Studies
}

\begin{abstract}
5.1 Introduction

There are two sections to this chapter. The first considers all the items in the classification from a purely historical point of view and examines, by century, the pattern of accessions and losses in the semantic field Good and Evil. The second deals with a sample of some 1200 items chosen from the classification, and discusses this sample from both a historical and an etymological viewpoint. The selected items are examined on the basis of their century of entry into (and exit from) English and their source of origin.
\end{abstract}

\subsection*{5.2 A Historical Study}
5.2.1 Explanation and Presentation of the Tables of Accessions and Losses The tables on pp. 326 to 334 detail the number of items which are first recorded in each category, in each century (the upper number in every box, preceded by 'I', for 'in'), and the number of items which are designated obsolete \({ }^{1}\) in each category, in each century (the lower number in every box, preceded by ' 0 ', for 'out').

For this purpose, the span of English from Old English to the 20th century has been divided into ten chronological periods. The first period is 01d English (or OE), which is regarded as lasting until \(1150 .^{2}\) The second period covers the 12 th century, but so much of the written evidence surviving from this period is in Old English
that the items counted as belonging to this period chiefly date from the second half of the century. \({ }^{3}\) The other eight periods cover a century apiece, from the 13 th to the 20 th centuries inclusive. \({ }^{4}\) The last of these is also very poorly represented. \({ }^{5}\) There is an eleventh column in the tables, headed ' \(T\) ' (for 'total'), which gives the total number of items in each category which have come in and gone out. By subtracting the lower figure from the upper in this column, the number of items which are still current can be ascertained. For example, the 'T' column for GA5 indicates that, over the centuries, a total of 549 items made an appearance in the language, of which 205 became obsolete. Therefore there are 344 items which are still current to express the idea of 'excellent' (including its related parts of speech).

It must be stated that the century of entry and exit for each item refers to the particular sense of that item which is covered in the classification, and not necessarily to the very first or last date of the item as a whole, in all its senses. For example, in GA3 Good \(N Q\), 'proof' is counted as dating from the 17 th century. This is because in the sense in which it belongs in this classification '..good condition. goodness..' it dates from 1616. In its earliest sense of 'evidence sufficient..to establish a fact' 'proof' is first recorded in English in al225, but as that is not a sense which belongs here it is not the date which is used.

Every category in the classification has been treated separately in the count and there are also general totals for each section. In addition, there are separate totals for Good and Evil, and final totals for both together.

The tables are presented on the following pages, and they precede a discussion which examines the figures revealed by the tables, especially by both the final totals and the totals for various individual categories. A number of individual categories - which differ from the final totals in specific ways - are commented on separately. This commentary is followed by a second set of tables, giving numbers of items which are recorded only once in the OED, and the figures revealed by these tables are compared with those of the first tables.

Some OED dates are ambiguous, principally because they occur around the beginning or end of a century. They have been treated as follows:

1299, al300, and c1300 (for example) are counted as 13 th century.
1300 and 13.. (for example) are counted as 14 th century. al400/50 is counted as 14 th century (based on the earliest possible date of this span, which could be before 1400).

Category
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & & & & & & & & & & & & T \\
\hline GOOD AI Harmless & I
0 & 1 & & - & 3 & \[
3
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 5 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & 5
- & & 28
10 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD A2 \\
Satisfactory
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & & \[
1
\] & - & \[
2
\] & \[
5
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & 9 & 10 & 58
13 \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD A3 } \\
& \text { Good }
\end{aligned}
\] & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 47 \\
& 32
\end{aligned}
\] & - & \[
7
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
22 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & 4 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 28 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 32 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 13 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
38 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 10 \\
& -
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
201 \\
95
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline (GOOD) A4 Better & I & \[
6
\] & \[
1
\] & 4 & - & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
- & 3 & 22
8 \\
\hline GOOD A5 Excellent & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 117 \\
& 102
\end{aligned}
\] & & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 40 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 21 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 40 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 80 \\
& 41
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 39 \\
& 24
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
132 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & 64 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 549 \\
& 205
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline GOOD A6 Surpassingly Excellent & I & 7
6 & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 6 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
17 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 35 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 34 \\
& 27
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
9 \\
12
\end{array}
\] & \[
19
\] & & 140
65 \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD A7 } \\
& \text { Best }
\end{aligned}
\] & I & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & 2 & 5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
20 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
21 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 21
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 9 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
29 \\
1
\end{gathered}
\] & 16 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
145 \\
50
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline GOOD A8 Matchless & I & 1
- &  & \[
2
\] & \[
6
\] & 7 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
18 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 30 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & 5 & 15 & 1 & 85
38 \\
\hline G001 A9 Worthy & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 27 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
18 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 15 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
23 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 18 \\
& 22
\end{aligned}
\] & 6
7 & \[
\begin{gathered}
13 \\
4
\end{gathered}
\] & 1 & \[
\begin{gathered}
137 \\
85
\end{gathered}
\] \\
\hline GOOD A10 Meritorious & & \[
2
\] & & \[
1
\] & \[
8
\] & 5
4 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 5 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & & & 29
18 \\
\hline GOOD All Virtuous & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 25 \\
& 19
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
15 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 6 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
15 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 12 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 7
\end{aligned}
\] & 9
- & - & 93
58 \\
\hline GOOD Al2 Honourable & & \[
\begin{gathered}
14 \\
11
\end{gathered}
\] & 1 & 3 & 3 & 2
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 10 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & 1
4 & 5
1 & 1 & 51
33 \\
\hline ( 000 i A A TOTALS \({ }^{\text {² }}\) & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 266 \\
& 211
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 61 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
154 \\
45
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 89 \\
& 51
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
210 \\
62
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 260 \\
& 186
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
102 \\
89
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
277 \\
15
\end{array}
\] & & 1538
678 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Category
OE 12th 13 th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18 th 19 th 20 th \(T\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline GOOD Bl
Moral & I & 9
8 & & & & 4
2 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 20 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & & & 70
30 \\
\hline GOOD B2 Conscientious & I & 5
5 & - & & 1 & 3
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 21 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
2 & & - & 58
30 \\
\hline GOOD B3 Impartial & I & & & & \[
1
\] & \[
1
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 35 \\
& 25
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
1
\] & 55
36 \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD B4 } \\
& \text { F'air }
\end{aligned}
\] & I & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
1
\] & \[
6
\] & 10
2 & 8 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
16 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 12
\end{aligned}
\] & 6 & \[
13
\] & 3 & 97
40 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD B5 \\
Righteous, Just
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 38 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
21
\] & 3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & 7
6 & 4
2 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 7
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
4
\] & \[
6
\] & 1 & 81
47 \\
\hline GOOD B6 Honest & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 17 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] &  & \[
2
\] & 6
2 & 2
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
36 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 34 \\
& 26
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 11 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
13
\] & 5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
126 \\
56
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline GOOD B7 Trustworthy & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 23 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
24 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 12 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 19 \\
& 20
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 6 \\
& 7
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
16 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
1
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
136 \\
82
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline GOOD B8 Proper, Fitting & 0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 38 \\
& 32
\end{aligned}
\] &  & 5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
18 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & 5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 11 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 6
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
4
\] & - & \\
\hline GOOD B: TOTALS & 0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 142 \\
& 106
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
27 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 87 \\
& 18
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 42 \\
& 33
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
127 \\
43
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 169 \\
& 130
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 35 \\
& 42
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
67 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & 15 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 718 \\
& 387
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD CI } \\
& \text { Kind }
\end{aligned}
\] & I
0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 55 \\
& 39
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
3
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 35 \\
& 12
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 26 \\
& 16
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 31 \\
& 24
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
9 \\
10
\end{array}
\] & \[
23
\] & 2 & 212
117 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD C2 \\
Beneficial
\end{tabular} & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 56 \\
& 47
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 20
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 15 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
8
\] & 3 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 189 \\
& 126
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline GOOD C3 Wholesome & I & \[
2
\] & \[
3
\] & \[
2
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
1 & 5
3 & 4
5 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & - & - & 25
13 \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD C4 } \\
& \text { Well Disposed }
\end{aligned}
\] & I & & - & 1 & 9
2 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & 27 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 16 \\
& 20
\end{aligned}
\] & 2
2 & 4
4 & - & 87
52 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & & \multicolumn{11}{|l|}{OE 12th 13th 14th 15 th 16th 17 th 18th 19th 20th} \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD C5 } \\
& \text { Well-Meaning }
\end{aligned}
\] & I & - &  & - & 1 & - & 3 & 2
1 & 2
1 & 2
- & 1 & 11
2 \\
\hline GOOD C6 Generous & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 47 \\
& 45
\end{aligned}
\] & 2
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
15 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 31 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & 29
29 & 9
10 & 8 & 1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 165 \\
& 108
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline GOOD C7 Magnanimous & I & 1 & - & & & - & 7 & 5 & 4
2 & 2
- & I & 20
5 \\
\hline GOOD C8 Gracious & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 34 \\
& 27
\end{aligned}
\] & - & 5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & 5 & 5
3 & - & 1 & - & 61 \\
\hline GOOD C9 Considerate & I & 2 &  & - & 1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 1 & 3
3 & 3 & 6 & - & 18
7 \\
\hline GOOD ClO Humane & I & \[
2
\] & - & 1
1 & 6
3 & 1 & \[
1
\] & 6 & 3
- & 3
- & - & 22
10 \\
\hline GOOD Cll Tender & I & 5 & 4
- & 7 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & 2 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & 5
5 & 2
- & 5
- & 65
25 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD Cl2 \\
Merciful
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 27 \\
& 19
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
2 \\
2
\end{gathered}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 17 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
20 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & 9
10 & 5
11 & 1 & 4
- & 2
- & 97
74 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD C13 \\
Blessed
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & \[
1
\] & 9
- & 7
6 & 3 & 3 & 5
7 & 2
2 & 2
- & - & 42
28 \\
\hline GOOD C14 Fortunate, Lucky & I & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
4
\] & 6
6 & 17
5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 19 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 12 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
6 & 16 & 3 & \[
\begin{gathered}
103 \\
60
\end{gathered}
\] \\
\hline GOOD C: TOTALS & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 267 \\
& 203
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
22 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 84 \\
& 39
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
160 \\
62
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 96 \\
& 64
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
172 \\
93
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 157 \\
& 145
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 60 \\
& 55
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
81 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & 18 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1117 \\
678
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline GOOD TOTALS & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 675 \\
& 525
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
42 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
172 \\
62
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 401 \\
& 125
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 227 \\
& 148
\end{aligned}
\] & 509
198 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 586 \\
& 461
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 197 \\
& 186
\end{aligned}
\] & 425
27 & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3373 \\
& 1743
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Category
OE 12th 13 th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th \(18 t h\) 19th 20 th \(T\)


Category
OE 12th 13th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18th 19 th \(20 t h \quad T\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL BI \\
Inferior
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 13 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & 1 & \[
12
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 31 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 92 \\
& 33
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 87 \\
& 80
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 19 \\
& 30
\end{aligned}
\] & 44
\[
4
\] & 38
- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 361 \\
& 183
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL B2 \\
Worthless
\end{tabular} & I & 9
6 & - & 3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
15 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 27 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 21 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
30 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & 3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
131 \\
59
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline EVIL B3 Roguish & I & 2 &  & \[
6
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 78 \\
& 31
\end{aligned}
\] & & 20
21 & 30
7 & 4 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 215 \\
& 125
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EVIL B4 Ruffianly & I & - & - & - & 3 & 4
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
20 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
6
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
34 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & 16 & 94
23 \\
\hline EVIL B5 Dissolute & 0 & \[
3
\] & - & 1
- & 6 & 5 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
16 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 12 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] & 6
4 & 5 & - & 54
28 \\
\hline EVIL B6 Wretched & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 30 \\
& 25
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
2 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 7
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 17 \\
& 16
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 7
\end{aligned}
\] & 10
2 & 1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
128 \\
85
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { EVIL B7 } \\
& \text { Base }
\end{aligned}
\] & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 19 \\
& 18
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
20 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & 2
3 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 33 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 30 \\
& 29
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
6 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
21 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & 14 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
159 \\
83
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL B8 \\
Villainous
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & - & 4
2 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & 1 & 8 & 8 & 3
4 & 7
1 & 1 & 46
24 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL B9 \\
Foul, Filthy
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & - & 3 & 5
3 & 3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
19 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 13 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & 1
5 & 8
1 & 2
- & 65
30 \\
\hline EVIL BlO Accursed & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 30 \\
& 21
\end{aligned}
\] & 3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 28 \\
& 12
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 47 \\
& 20
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 51 \\
& 37
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & 55
2 & 17
- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 280 \\
& 117
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EVIL B: TOTALS & I & \[
\begin{array}{r}
121 \\
97
\end{array}
\] & 12
3 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 69 \\
& 19
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
141 \\
52
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 82 \\
& 44
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 364 \\
& 140
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 300 \\
& 271
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 104 \\
& 100
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
244 \\
31
\end{array}
\] & 96
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1533 \\
757
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Category
OE 12th 13th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18 th 19th 20 th \(T\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL Cl \\
Wrong-doing, \\
Transgressive
\end{tabular} & I
0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 46 \\
& 33
\end{aligned}
\] & 2 & 10
- & 35
13 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 15 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & 39
26 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 20 \\
& 28
\end{aligned}
\] & 6
12 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & & 187
124 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL C2 \\
Straying, \\
Aberrant
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 22
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
1 & 4 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
18 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 6
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 20 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 14 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 5 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] &  & 98
64 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVILC3 \\
Sinful \& Wrong
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 38 \\
& 36
\end{aligned}
\] & 3 & 3 & 4
2 & \[
1
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 5 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 17 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & - & 3 & - & 74
55 \\
\hline EVIL C4 Guilty & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 30 \\
& 26
\end{aligned}
\] &  & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & 6
3 & 28
6 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
3 \\
11
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
1
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
122 \\
77
\end{gathered}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVII C5 \\
Criminal
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 15 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] &  & 1 & 1 & 3 & 7
- & 9
3 & 1
3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
19 \\
1
\end{array}
\] & 24
- & 80
23 \\
\hline EVIL C6 Immoral & I & 2 & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & - & 3
- & 2
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & 4
1 & 14
- & 5
- & 41
8 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL C7 \\
Leading Astray
\end{tabular} & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 13 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & 1 & 4
1 & 6
3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & - & 4
- & - & 54
36 \\
\hline EVIL C8 Corrupt & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 59 \\
& 49
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
28 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
3
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 47 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 51 \\
& 43
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 13 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
20 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
1
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 243 \\
& 142
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EVII C9 III-Behaved & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 7
\end{aligned}
\] &  & 3
1 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 14 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 11 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
-1
\] & 63
49 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL Clo \\
Undutiful
\end{tabular} & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] &  & 1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & - & \[
\begin{array}{r}
14 \\
4
\end{array}
\] & 7
2 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
- & - & 30
13 \\
\hline EVIL Cll Failing in Duty & & - &  & 3
- & 1 & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
8
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & - & 33
17 \\
\hline EVIL Cl2 Avoiding Duty & & - &  & 1
- & - & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 5
\end{aligned}
\] & 15
- & 4
- & 35
8 \\
\hline EVIL C13 Unfair, Unjust & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 24 \\
& 16
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& -
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
11 \\
2
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
22 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
12 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 17 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 9
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 11 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & 8
- & 3
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
119 \\
66
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline EVIL Cl4 Improper, Unfitting & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 12 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 6 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
27 \\
9
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
13 \\
6
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 26 \\
& 20
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 17 \\
& 24
\end{aligned}
\] & 6
8 & 7
- & 1 & 119
79 \\
\hline EVIL C: TOTALS & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 273 \\
& 227
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
25 \\
7
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 57 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
165 \\
46
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 93 \\
& 43
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 245 \\
& 119
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 212 \\
& 196
\end{aligned}
\] & & \[
\begin{array}{r}
128 \\
12
\end{array}
\] & 42
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1298 \\
761
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Category
\(O E\) 12th 13 th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18th lyth 20 th \(T\)


Category
OE 12th 13 th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18 th 19 th \(20 t h \quad T\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL EI \\
Harmful
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 66 \\
& 50
\end{aligned}
\] & 7
3 & 29
3 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 63 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 49 \\
& 25
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 65 \\
& 31
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 60 \\
& 77
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 11 \\
& 35
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
37 \\
3
\end{gathered}
\] & 3
- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 390 \\
& 242
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVII E2 \\
Disadvantageous
\end{tabular} & &  & 5
3 & 3
4 & 2
- & 3
1 & 15
5 & 15
9 & 2
1 & 3
- & - & 48
23 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIM E3 \\
Playfully \\
Mischievous
\end{tabular} & \(I\)
0 & &  &  & - & 1 & 8
1 & 13
5 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 7 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & 15
- & 5 & 49
9 \\
\hline EVII E4 Harmfully Mischievous & I & 5
4 & - & 2
1 & 7
1 & 8
3 & 8 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 13 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & 2
1 & \[
6
\] & 3 & 54
34 \\
\hline EVII E5 Spiteful & \[
I
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 16 \\
& 12
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
- & 6
3 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
28 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 20 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 46 \\
& 25
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 34
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
5 \\
17
\end{array}
\] & 15
2 & 10 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 171 \\
& 108
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EVIL E6 Ill-Willing & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 25 \\
& 18
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
2
\] & 3
2 & 11
3 & 11
7 & 19
8 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 30 \\
& 15
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
10 & 9
1 & - & 113
64 \\
\hline EVIL E7 Bitter & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
10 \\
6
\end{array}
\] &  & - & 5
1 & 2
1 & 16
5 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 12 \\
& 10
\end{aligned}
\] & 6
9 & 3
- & - & 54
32 \\
\hline EVIL E8 Ill-Natured & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 1
1 &  & 2
1 & 4
- & 3
3 & 6
5 & 5
3 & 2
1 & 2
- & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 25 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL E9 \\
Harsh, Unkind
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 16 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
1
\] & 3
- & 13
2 & 8
5 & 13
5 & 9
9 & 9
4 & 10
1 & 2
- & 84
39 \\
\hline EVIL El0 Hard-Hearted & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22 \\
& 19
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
1
\] & 4
- & 2
2 & 3
1 & 16
6 & 13
5 & 3
1 & 15
- & 1
- & 79
35 \\
\hline EVIL EII Merciless & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
2 & \[
1
\] & 4
1 & 10
2 & 10
6 & 25
5 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 23 \\
& 23
\end{aligned}
\] & 6
7 & 8
2 & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 90 \\
& 49
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EVIL El2 Savage & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 56 \\
& 48 \\
& \hline
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
2 & 17
2 & 22
7 & 13
8 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 49 \\
& 24
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 50 \\
& 39
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 16 \\
& 14
\end{aligned}
\] & 34
- & 14
- & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 275 \\
& 144
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL E13 \\
Barbarous
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 5
5 & - & - & - & - & 7
3 & 11
7 & 2
2 & 2
1 & - & 27
18 \\
\hline EVIL El4 Bloodthirsty & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 11 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
-1
\] & 1
- & - & 1
1 & 11
1 & 15
9 & 5
5 & 11
- & - & 55
27 \\
\hline EVII E: TOTALS & \(I\)
0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 237 \\
& 189
\end{aligned}
\] & 22
10 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 74 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
167 \\
38
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
132 \\
72
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 304 \\
& 132
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 291 \\
& 260
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
79 \\
109
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
170 \\
11
\end{array}
\] & 38
- & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1514 \\
838
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

OF 12th 13 th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18 th 19 th 20 th \(T\)
\begin{tabular}{lr|r|r|r|r|r|r|r|r|r|r|r|}
\hline EVIL TOTALS & I & 968 & 78 & 286 & 613 & 389 & 1135 & 1032 & 295 & 689 & 213 & 5698 \\
& 0 & 801 & 32 & 71 & 200 & 202 & 476 & 934 & 391 & 67 & - & 3174 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{5.2.2 Some Extrapolations from the Final Totals}

It is most useful to consider these tables very generally to begin with. The last part, at the top of this page, gives the overall totals for each century, and for the whole classification. Of the 9071 items in the classification, 4917 (or \(54.21 \%\) ) are now obsolete. The relative proportions of items which have come in and gone out in each century varies considerably.

The figures reflect some predictable general trends which can be attributed to various influences on the data and some features of their sources.

The majority of the Old English items do not survive beyond the end of the 01d English period. 1326 (or \(80.71 \%\) ) of the 1643 items recorded in the \(O E\) period are obsolete by 1150. In addition, the number of items first recorded in the 12 th century is extremely low. 13th century accessions are also fairly low. These figures can be largely accounted for by historical events. After the Norman Conquest English fell out of favour and, for several centuries, French became the language of the upper classes and of written documents. When

English re-emerged, partly in the 13 th and substantially in the 14 th centuries, many Anglo-Saxon words had been lost altogether and huge numbers of French and Latin words had been borrowed. As A.C. Baugh comments, the changes in the vocabulary concerned 'the loss of a large part of the 01d English word-stock and the addition of thousands of words from French and Latin. \({ }^{6}\) The tables reflect this, with the loss of much of the \(O E\) vocabulary, low \(12 \mathrm{th}^{7}\) and 13 th century accessions, and a much greater number of accessions in the 14 th century. The second section of this chapter (5.3) includes tables which indicate that, from the sample examined, French based incomings in the 14 th century were high (for further details see p. 369 ff.).

The overall totals also include a very low figure for incomings in the 18 th century. This is largely attributable to the low number of illustrative quotations for this century in the OED. \({ }^{8}\) However, the number of items designated obsolete in the 18 th century is not particularly low and indeed often exceeds the number of accessions, a feature which emphasizes how unusual the incoming figures are. In the 19 th century the number of items designated obsolete is very low. This is because the OED (without the Supplement) is a substantially 19 th century work, and it was obviously safer for the editors not to mark as obsolete any items which had - for them - comparatively recent quotations. All items with a 19 th century final date have been checked in the OED, and those marked and counted as obsolete are listed in Appendix III. The same problem is now true of 20 th century words from the Supplement. Only two items are designated obsolete in the 20 th century. The number of 20 th century accessions is also low. The OED was too early to have many 20 th century quotations, and much of the Supplement was not used for the classifi-
cation in chapter \(3 .{ }^{9}\)
These tendencies can be observed throughout the tables.
Some further observations can be made from the overall totals. As was mentioned above, during the Old English period 1643 items are recorded, and of these 1326 became obsolete in the same period. The figures for the 17 th century are surprisingly similar: 1618 items appear and 1395 go out (although obviously these are not 1395 of the 1618 - many would have first appeared in earlier centuries). No other period has such a large number of obsolete items. One might speculate whether the 17 th century was not also - like 01d English - a period of great change. This is followed up on p. 356-7 when the figures are considered in the light of a second set of tables (which detail the number of items which have only one quotation in the OED). The 16 th century sees change too - more than 1600 items first appear, but only 674 become obsolete - a much lower figure. Obsolete figures are generally low after the \(O E\) period until the 17 th century. Figures for accessions are generally high in the 14 th, 16 th, 17 th, and 19 th centuries.

\subsection*{5.2.3 The Final Totals as Percentages}

In order to illustrate more clearly the significance of the comments on particular categories which appear on the following pages, the figures in the final totals are converted overleaf into percentages. In this table the 'in' (or 'I') figures are given as percentages of the total of 9071 items, and the'out'(or '0') figures as percentages of 4917 (the total number of obsolete items).
\begin{tabular}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & \multicolumn{3}{c}{ OE } & 12 th & 13th & 14 th & 15 th & 16 th & 17 th & 18 th & 19 th \\
\hline I & 18.11 & 1.32 & 5.05 & 11.18 & 6.79 & 18.12 & 17.85 & 5.42 & 12.28 & 3.88 & 100 \\
\hline 0 & 26.97 & .83 & 2.7 & 6.61 & 7.12 & 13.71 & 28.37 & 11.74 & 1.91 & .04 & 100 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Some other percentage figures, which are referred to for purposes of comparison of the following pages, are:
the percentage of the OE corpus which
(a) does not survive beyond the OE period: \(80.71 \%\)
(b) survives into ME or later: 19.29\%
the percentage of the 9071 items in the classification which are
(a) obsolete: 54.21\%
(b) still current: \(45.79 \%\).

References to these percentages are not always made explicit in succeeding pages, but they should be consulted if necessary, as the significance of the comments made about other percentages can only be fully appreciated when considered in relation to these percentages.

\subsection*{5.2.4 Good and Evil: the Separate Totals}

The separate totals for Good and Evil generally reflect the tendencies shown in the final totals.

The Good part of the classification contains 3373 items. Of these 1743 (or \(51.68 \%\) ) are now obsolete. The greatest number of accessions (675) is recorded in the Old English period. The 16 th and 17th centuries contain the next highest numbers - over 500 accessions each. They are followed by the 19 th century and then the 14 th century, with over 400 accessions each. The number of outgoings is highest in the \(O E\) period, and next highest in the 17 th century (the reverse of the final totals).

The Evil part of the classification contains 5698 items of which 3174 (or \(55.7 \%\) ) are now obsolete. This is a slightly higher percentage of the whole than is the percentage in the corresponding Good figures above. The greatest number of accessions is in the 16th century (over 1100) followed by the 17 th century (over 1000). These are followed by an Old English figure of 968 . The order is different from that of Good, but it is these same three periods which have the highest numbers. They are followed - some way behind - by the 19 th and 14 th centuries with over 600 accessions each. As regards outgoings, the 17 th century (as in the final totals) has the greatest number, followed by the OE period.

\subsection*{5.2.5 Some Differences (by Category) from the Final Totals}

Obviously, as the final totals reflect the averages for the whole classification, there are ways in which individual categories deviate from these averages.

In Good there are three ways in which the Old English material deviates from the averages of the final totals. They are:
1. Seven categories have a higher than average proportion of OE items, most of which do not survive beyond the OE period. They are GAll, GAl2, GB8, GC6, GC8, GC12, and GC13.
2. Three categories (GA3, GB5, GC1) have a high proportion of OE items, a relatively large number of which do survive beyond the OE period.
3. Two categories (GA7 and GC4) have a high OE survival rate.

In Evil there is more variety in the ways in which categories deviate from the average. They include the above three ways, but each affects fewer categories than in Good. The first only affects

EAl and EC3, the second EC1, and the third ED5.
A number of categories deviate from the averages in their own particular ways. The more significant of these are discussed under individual category comment on the following pages. Many comments relate to Old English material in the categories (in particular to its extent and duration) and should perhaps be considered along with the 0ld English discussion in chapter 2 (p. 105 ff .) and the notes in chapter 4 which deal with Old English items.

Other comments refer to the origins of the words in some categories, especially those words which form or are derived from the category headings. In this respect these comments anticipate the etymological discussion which forms the second section of this chapter.

GA3 Good
This category has a high proportion of Old English items. 47 items, or \(23.38 \%\) of the GA3 total, are first recorded in the OE period. 15 of these 47 - or \(32 \%\) (which is a high proportion) survive beyond the end of the OE period. Among these is the lexical item. 'good', which dates from \(O E\) and is still current. Many of the surviving items are different senses of \(O E\) 'god' and its derivatives, and the fundamental notion of 'good' is one which is still chiefly expressed in words of \(O E\) origin.

\section*{GA5 Excellent}

Most notable in this category is the high number of accessions which are recorded in the 19th century: 123 out of a total of 549 , or \(24.04 \%\) - about double the percentage which the final totals reflect. If we look at this category in the classification (p.132-6) we can see that under AjG especially, but also under several of the

N subdivisions and AvM , there are very many slang or colloquial terms for excellent which first appear in the 19th century. It is likely that the OED specifies slang terms from the 19 th century onwards with more ease and accuracy than in earlier centuries. Slang is often by nature restricted to informal contexts, and is easier to recognize with certainty if the items are still used or at least still within living memory. See the note on this in chapter 4, p. 257.

\section*{GA6 Surpassingly Excellent}

The \(O E\) figure here is very low - only 7 out of 140 items, or \(5 \%\). This is probably because most of the \(0 E\) items with the sense 'excellent' are fairly general in definition and application or, if specific at all, mean 'excellent and noble' rather than 'surpassingly excellent'. As a result they are all covered under GA5. It is quite possible that some of these 0 E items could have meant, or may have been used to mean, 'surpassingly excellent', but that their application is, in keeping with many \(O E\) items, so wide that they are under Excellent. See also the comment on the breadth of OE lexis on p. 108 and the comment on GA5 .and splendid, noble on p. 258 . GA7 Best

Like GA3, a high proportion of the OE items here (almost half) survive beyond the end of the OE period. Most of those which survive into Modern English are formed from the roots OE 'betst' or 'hiehst' (i.e. 'best' or 'highest'). Like 'good', of which 'best' is the superlative, it is an idea which is still generally expressed in words of Old English origin.

GAll Virtuous, GAl2 Honourable
Both these categories have a high proportion of 0 E items - \(26.88 \%\)
of the GAll total. This is perhaps predictable in that both'virtue' and 'honour' (particularly 'honour') are concepts which are held in high esteem in much of the corpus of Old English verse which has survived. They are essential to the heroic ideal with which much of OE verse is concerned. As E.V. Gordon says, in his introduction to the Battle of Maldon, 'The source of heroism was the instinctive sense of honour: to live without honour was universally agreed among the heroes of old to be worse than death. \({ }^{10}\) Because these ideas occur often in \(O E\) verse there are many different \(O E\) synonyms by which they can be expressed. \({ }^{11}\) This is borne out by the high proportion of \(O E\) items in these two categories.

It is also interesting that 'virtue' and 'honour' - words which we use today - are both of French origin. It appears that the strength of French influence in the post-OE period was such that the OE words by which these concepts were originally expressed are now largely obsolete, and the concepts are better known now by French words. (See also the comments on GAl2 on p.385).

GB2 Conscientious
Like a number of other categories in the classification, it might appear from the distribution of the figures in the tables, that the notion of 'conscientiousness' dies out almost entirely between the OE period and the 14 th century - apart from two accessions in the 13th century. In fact it is most unlikely that this was the case, but rather that the figures merely reflect the lack of English sources in the 12 th and 13 th centuries. \({ }^{12}\) This gap in the sources is also evident in the figures for GB6, GC7, GC9, ED4, and ED13. In some of the very small categories, such as EA2, the fact that the category is so small may partly be the reason for the gaps.

\section*{GB5 Righteous, Just}

The proportion of Old English items in this category is extremely high: 38 out of 81 , or almost \(47 \%\). Also very high is the number of Old English items which survive beyond the OE period: 15, or almost \(40 \%\) of the \(0 E\) total. These proportions are considerably above the averages of the final totals. 'Right' and related words are all OE in origin, and many words which are first recorded in OE in this category are still in use. Unlike the items in GAll and GAl2 they have not been replaced by French words. The extent of OE related words can be seen in the category itself on p.151. 44 of the 81 items contain the element 'right-'. The concept of 'righteousness' is, like 'virtue' and 'honour', appropriate to the heroic ideals (and also perhaps the religious nature) of much OE literature and it is not surprising that there are many words to express the concept in O1d English. \({ }^{13}\)

\section*{GB8: Proper, Fitting}

This category also has a high number of \(O E\) items, but unlike those in GB5, most have not survived beyond the OE period. \(40 \%\) (or 38) of the items in GB8 are OE, but of these only \(15.79 \%\) (or 6) survive, and half of these in turn do not last beyond the 15 th century. The word 'proper' comes from French and is first recorded (in this sense) in the 15 th century. 'Fitting' dates from the 16th century, and comes from the word 'fit', which is Middle English and of unknown origin.

GC1 Kind
Again, OE figures are high: 55, or \(25.94 \%\) of the total. Quite a number survive - 16 out of 55 , or \(29.09 \%\). Many of those which survive include the elements 'good' or 'well'. 'Kind' itself is
an OE word, but only in the sense (of the adjective) 'Natural, native' (branch I in OED). In the sense which it has here ('..benevolent..') it dates from the l3th century.

\section*{GC4 Well Disposed}

A very high proportion of the \(O E\) items here last beyond the OE period - eight out of 14 , or \(57.14 \%\). Five of these eight become obsolete at later stages. Many of the items in the category contain the element 'well' (from OE wel). They are often post-OE items and many of them are still current. 'Well disposed' first appears in 1455. The 'disposed' part is from 01d French.

GC5 Well-Meaning
If the figures in this category are taken at face value it would appear that there were no Old English words at all to express the idea of 'well-meaning'. It is unlikely that this is the case, but rather that the category is so small that similar or closely related notions are covered elsewhere. The cross-references at the end of the category point to other places, both within and beyond the Good and Evil classification, where items closely related to the concept may also occur. Other categories which also appear to have no 01d English are GB3, EA3, EA6, EB4, EC11; EC12, ED10, EDI1, EE2, and EE3.

GC6 Generous, GC8 Gracious, GC12 Merciful, GC13 Blessed
All of these categories have a high proportion of \(O E\) items: 47 or \(28.48 \%\) in GC6, 34 or \(55.74 \%\) in GC8, 27 or \(27.84 \%\) in GC12, and 10 or \(23.81 \%\) in GCl3. In each case most of the items become obsolete within the OE period. Like 'virtue' and 'honour' (GAll, GAl2) the four qualities covered here are all worthy of admiration and respect and are therefore appropriate to the sentiment of much \(O E\) verse.

Apart from 'blessed', they are, again like 'virtue' and 'honour', ideas now expressed by French words: 'generous' is first recorded here in 1696, 'gracious' in al310, and 'merciful' in al300. 'Blessed' is \(O E\) in origin, but it is interesting to note that in the category only the verb 'to bless' (OE 'bletsian') has an OE starting date. 'Blessed' and other derivatives are not recorded until early Middle English or later.

EAl Evil
Of the 559 items in this category 234 are 0ld English. This is \(41.86 \%\), a high proportion. Most of these items do not survive beyond Old English. Only 29 of the 234 , or \(12.39 \%\), survive. This is possibly a reflection of the fact that many \(O E\) items are used in a very general way and have very broad definitions.

Another feature of this category is that 19 th century accessions are low. Only 34 items - or \(6.08 \%\) of the total - are first recorded in the 19 th century. This is perhaps because our knowledge of 19 th century usage is so much more accurate than our knowledge of 0ld English usage, that the OED can define 19 th century words with much more precision. 19th century English was current English when the OED was being written. As a result, it is likely that 19 th century items have been placed in categories which reflect their respective meanings much more accurately. Old English was up to and over 1000 years old when the Old English dictionaries were being compiled. Their"definitions are often very wide, and hence many items appear in wide general categories.

\section*{EB2 Worthless}

The proportion of 18 th century items here is surprisingly high, given that this century is normally very poorly represented. 14

There are 13 18th century accessions, out of 131 items, which is very nearly \(10 \%\). The average for this century is \(5.42 \%\).

\section*{EB5 Dissolute}

After the 18 th century no items here are designated obsolete, and only five accessions are recorded in the 19 th century. The 16 th and 17 th centuries are, by a long way, the periods during which the greatest number of items come in and go out.

\section*{EC1 Wrong-doing, Transgressive}

The number of OE items in this category is fairly high - 46 out of 187 , or \(24.59 \%\) - and the proportion of those which survive beyond Old English is also high. 13 of the 46 - or \(28.26 \%\) - survive. Most of these 13 are no longer current - only 'misdeed' is obviously still current. 'Wrong-doing' itself dates from cl400 in this sense, although the word 'wrong' is late Old English (dating from alloo in OED). 'Transgressive' is not recorded until 1646 and is from Latin. EC3 Sinful and Wrong

There are many OE items here - 38 out of a total of 74 , which is just over 51\%. All but one are only OE. The one survivor is 'sinful'. There is a close overlap between this category and the section on 'sin' in Chase's classification of Religion. \({ }^{15}\) See chapter 2, p. 54 and chapter 4, p. 298 ff., for further information.

\section*{EC5 Criminal}

There are noticeably high figures for accessions in the 19th and 20 th centuries in this category. These accessions seem chiefly to consist of items designated either slang or collog (among criminals and in the criminal world there is a huge slang vocabulary, most of which is not covered here \({ }^{16}\) ), and items which are probably informal in use, although not designated as such. Examples include those items
under the subordinations in NA and NP.

EC6 Immoral

The highest number of incomings here is recorded in the 19 th century: 14 out of 41 , or \(34.51 \%\), some \(22 \%\) above the average for this century.

EC9 I11-Behaved
In both the 16 th and 17 th centuries a high proportion of items are designated obsolete: 27 out of the 49 obsolete items in the category. Many are only recorded once (see 5.2.6 (p.348 ff.) for more about the effect of such items on the figures for accessions and losses).

EC13 Unfair, Unjust
The figure for accessions in the 17 th century here is low. Only eight out of a total of \(119-6.72 \%\) are recorded. This is about \(11 \%\) below average. The highest figures are in the 14 th and 16 th centuries. ED Evil \& Treacherous

Many of the categories in ED are fairly small. Apart from EDI and ED5 the number of \(O E\) items is low. These two categories (Treachrous and Unfaithful) are the most general in the section and it is appropriate - in view of the broad definitions and applications of many \(O E\) items - that the majority of the \(O E\) items in this section should be under these categories. A similar tendency can be observed in GCl and EAl.

ED1 Treacherous
A high proportion of the items here are designated obsolete in the 16 th or 17 th centuries.

ED5 Unfaithful
Of the eleven \(O E\) items in this category, five survive beyond the
end of the \(O E\) period - a surprisingly high proportion. Two of the five are obsolete before 1400 , and of the other three (all 'untrue' and derivatives) only one ('untrue' itself) is still current. The word 'unfaithful' dates from 1565 - the root 'faith' is from Old French and it first appears in English in the 12 th century.

EDIO Disingenuous
Every item in this category begins with a negative prefix. Of the 21 items it contains, 16 are first recorded in the 17 th century, and seven of these are still current. In fact, all the accessions in this category are first recorded between the 14 th and the 19th centuries. This narrowness is probably partly due to the small size of the category. There are related items, whose dates cover a wider period of currency, in other places both within the classification and elsewhere in the Historical Thesaurus (the crossreferences (internal and external) at the end of the category point to where these might be).

ED11 Unscrupulous
The currency of this category extends from the 15 th to the 20 th centuries. Of the 32 items it contains, 21 have a negative prefix and six have a negative suffix.

It might appear from the figures in EC6, EC9, ED10, and ED1l, that formations with negative affixes are more likely to occur from the 16 th and 17 th centuries onwards. This is countered, however, by the distributions in categories EC13, EC14, and ED5. These three categories also contain many items with negative affixes, but the items concerned date from O1d English.

\section*{EE2 \\ Disadvantageous, EE3 Playfully Mischievous}

Neither of these categories has any OE items. They are both small and semantically specific, which probably accounts for this: see the comment on GC5 above (p.343). EE2 also has a noticeably high rate of accessions in the 16 th and 17 th centuries. As in EDlO most of these are items which begin with negative prefixes. EE3 has no items at all before the 15 th century. The small size of the category makes it probable that closely related items, which may fill this earlier period, are covered elsewhere: see comment above on EDIO. The number of items which are designated obsolete in this category is very low; only nine out of 49 , or just over \(18 \%\).

\subsection*{5.2.6 Items Recorded Only Once - (1) Items - in OED}

A number of items in the \(O E D\) are supported by only one illustrative quotation. These are noted in the classification by the addition of the number '(1)' after the date of the items concerned. In any category or century where there are many such items, they could affect the validity of the tables of accessions and losses already presented. To assess this a parallel set of tables, using exactly the same structure as the first set, but giving only the numbers of items that are recorded once in OED (the (1) items), has been drawn up. This set of tables does not include figures for 01d English, as the O1d English material was not compiled from the OED, and there is no explicit record on the slips or in the classification of those that are only supported by one quotation.

The tables are presented on the following pages, and precede a discussion on how they relate to and affect the first set of tables.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & & 13th & 14th & 15th & 16 th & 17th & 18th & 19th & 20th & T \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD AI \\
Harmless
\end{tabular} & - & - & 2 & 3 & 1 & - & 3 & 3 & - & 12 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD A2 \\
Satisfactory
\end{tabular} & - & - & - & - & - & - & 1 & 1 & 2 & 4 \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD A3 } \\
& \text { Good }
\end{aligned}
\] & - & - & - & - & 3 & 7 & 4 & 11 & - & 25 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
GOOD A4 \\
Better
\end{tabular} & - & - & - & - & 1 & - & - & 2 & 1 & 4 \\
\hline GOOD A5 Excellent & - & 1 & 5 & 2 & 2 & 16 & 11 & 29 & 9 & 75 \\
\hline GOOD A6 Surpassingly Excellent & - & 1 & 2 & 4 & 6 & 15 & 2 & 9 & - & 39 \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { GOOD A7 } \\
& \text { Best }
\end{aligned}
\] & - & - & 3 & 2 & 1 & 8 & 1 & 3 & 2 & 20 \\
\hline GOOI A8 Matchless & - & 1 & 2 & - & 5 & 12 & - & 6 & - & 26 \\
\hline GOO1) A9 Worthy & - & 1 & 4 & 1 & 3 & 7 & 1 & 5 & - & 22 \\
\hline GOOD A10 Meritorious & - & - & - & 1 & 1 & 3 & 1 & - & - & 6 \\
\hline GOOD All Virtuous & 1 & 1 & 4 & 1 & 2 & 4 & 1 & 6 & - & 20 \\
\hline GOOD A12 Honourable & - & 2 & - & - & 1 & 3 & - & 1 & - & 7 \\
\hline GOOD A: TOTALS & 1 & 7 & 22 & 14 & 26 & 75 & 25 & 76 & 14 & 260 \\
\hline GOOD BI Moral & - & - & - & 1 & 2 & 5 & - & 2 & 2 & 12 \\
\hline GOOD B2 Conscientious & - & - & - & 1 & 1 & 8 & - & - & - & 10 \\
\hline GOOD B3 Impartial & - & - & - & - & 3 & 12 & - & 3 & - & 18 \\
\hline GOOD B4 F'air & - & 1 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 6 & 3 & 5 & - & 19 \\
\hline GOOD B5 Kighteous, Just & 1 & 1 & 3 & 2 & - & 3 & - & 3 & 1 & 14 \\
\hline GOOD B6 Honest & - & - & 1 & - & 3 & 12 & 3 & 6 & 2 & 27 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}



Category 12th 13 th 14 th 15 th 16 th 17 th 18 th 19 th \(20 t h T\)

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & \multicolumn{9}{|l|}{12th 13th 14th 15th 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th} & T \\
\hline EVIL D6 Disloyal & - & - & - & - & 2 & 3 & - & - & - & 5 \\
\hline EVIL D7 Dishonest & - & - & 1 & 1 & 1 & 4 & 1 & 6 & 1 & 15 \\
\hline EVIL D8 Crooked & - & - & - & - & 1 & 4 & 1 & 4 & 3 & 13 \\
\hline EVIL D9 Sneaky & - & - & - & - & 2 & 4 & - & 1 & 1 & 8 \\
\hline EVIL Dlo Disingenuous & - & - & 1 & - & - & 2 & - & - & - & 3 \\
\hline EVIL Dll Unscrupulous & - & - & - & - & 1 & 4 & - & 7 & - & 12 \\
\hline EVIL D: TOTAIS & 4 & 3 & 12 & 4 & 19 & 39 & 5 & 23 & 8 & 117 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL El \\
Harmful
\end{tabular} & 2 & 2 & 10 & 8 & 11 & 23 & 4 & 21 & - & 81 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL E2 \\
Disadvantageous
\end{tabular} & 3 & 3 & - & - & 3 & 4 & - & 2 & - & 15 \\
\hline EVIL E3 Playfully Mischievous & - & - & - & - & 1 & 1 & 2 & 4 & 4 & 12 \\
\hline EVIL E4 Harmfully Mischievous & - & - & 1 & - & 2 & 8 & - & 3 & - & 14 \\
\hline EVIL E5 Spiteful & - & 1 & 3 & 3 & 11 & 4 & 3 & 5 & 2 & 32 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL E6 \\
Ill-Willing
\end{tabular} & - & 1 & - & 5 & 2 & 10 & 2 & 4 & - & 24 \\
\hline EVIL E7 Bitter & - & - & 1 & - & 3 & 2 & 3 & 1 & - & 10 \\
\hline EVIL E8 Ill-Natured & - & 1 & - & - & 3 & - & 1 & 1 & - & 6 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL E9 \\
Harsh, Unkind
\end{tabular} & - & - & 1 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 3 & 1 & 13 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EVIL E10 \\
Hard-Hearted
\end{tabular} & - & - & 1 & 1 & 4 & 3 & - & 5 & - & 14 \\
\hline EVVIL Ell Merciless & - & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 8 & 2 & 3 & - & 23 \\
\hline EVIL El2 Savage & 2 & 1 & 5 & 3 & 15 & 21 & 5 & 19 & 5 & 76 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


As with the first set of tables it is most interesting initially to look at and comment on the final totals of the (1) tables. There are 1839 items in the Good and Evil classification which are recorded only once. This is out of the total of 9071 items, excluding the 01d English material (1643 items) which is not counted in the (I) tables. Therefore 1839 out of 7428 items - or \(24.76 \%\) of the total post-01d English OED derived corpus - consists of items recorded only once. This is a high proportion.

The numbers of (1) items across the centuries partly parallels the total incomings and outgoings for each century, and major deviations can generally be explained. This is hardly surprising; given that each (1) item is counted in both the incomings and outgoings for the century in which it occurs. The exception is the 19 th century (see below). The largest number of (1) items occurs in the 17 th century and, excluding for the moment the 19 th century figure, the second largest occurs in the 16 th century, followed by the 14 th century. The incomings in the full tables (excluding, of course, the
the Old English figures) put the 16 th century just ahead of the 17 th, and follow up with the 14 th century.

The 19 th and also the 20 th centuries are different from the others. Logically, if each (1) item is counted in both the incomings and the outgoings then the outgoing figures for every category should be at least as large if not larger than the (1) figures (since they must include all the (1) figures plus any genuine outgoings). This is true for every century except the 19 th and 20 th. In the 19 th century there are 417 (1) items, but only 94 outgoings. In the 20th century there are 72 (1) items and only two outgoings.

These exceptions can be explained by the fact that the OED and Supplement were compiled during the 19 th and 20 th centuries and many items which were of recent innovation at the time of compilation are only illustrated by one quotation, but are not by any means obsolete. For recent current words the OED editors clearly either did not have more than one quotation, or considered that the provision of one quotation was adequate. (The 19 th century has a higher than average proportion of (1) items. Of 114 incomings, 417 - or \(37.43 \%\) are (1) items.) 19th century items like this have been checked in the OED and only those officially designated obsolete in OED (listed in Appendix II) are counted as such in the figures. Therefore there are many more (1) items in the 19 th century than there are obsolete items.

In the 20th century, the comparative recentness of most items means that they are likely to be in the living memory of some (or many) people, and not obsolete, and therefore as a matter of policy in this classification practically no 20th century items are counted as obsolete. Also, a lower than average proportion of the total 20th century incomings are (1) items (72 out of 352 , or \(20.45 \%\) ). This
can be attributed to the fact that the Supplement tends to illustrate new words and senses with several quotations wherever possible. \({ }^{17}\) However, the numbers of 20 th century items in the tables - and in the classification in general - are disproportionately low (because much 20 th century material was not covered for the classification \({ }^{18}\) ) and it would therefore be misleading to extrapolate from them.

As was mentioned above, the largest number of (1) items occurs in the 17th century. Of 1618 items, 522 are recorded only once which is \(32.26 \%\), or almost a third. It may be interesting to try and assess from the two sets of tables (full tables and (1) tables) the extent to which the 17 th century is a period of lexical change and innovation, and then to compare this with the 16 th century, as both have a similarly large number of incomings. Of the 1618 items first recorded in the 17 th century, if 512 appear only once, 1096 must have had some currency (however long or short). Also in the 17th century 1395 items became obsolete. Of these, 522 must be the (1) items, and if we subtract this 522 , we are left with 873 outgoings which must have had some currency. These 873 must include those of the 1096 whose currency, although of some length, was still confined to the 17 th century (a quick glance through some of the 17 th century items in the classification, e.g. in EBl, confirms that there are indeed items with more than one quotation whose currency is only 17th century).

From these various figures we can build (as was hypothesized on p.336) a picture of the 17 th century as a period of great lexical fluctuation. 1618 new items for various Good or Evil senses are first recorded, 1096 of which have some currency, and are not simply one-off coinages or uses. 1395 Good or Evil items disappear from
the language, consisting of 522 once-used items and 873 items of longer duration. If we subtract the genuine outgoings (873) from the items of some duration (1096) we are left with 223 . These 223 items are the minimum number of 17 th century incomings (1096-873) which definitely, on the basis of these figures, have a currency extending beyond the 17 th century. There may well be more (this is only a minimum) but they are not explicit in the figures.

We therefore have, as represented by the Good and Evil vocabulary, a picture of 17 th century change - many words coming in, very many words going out, and one-off uses in large numbers.

The 16 th century also sees many new words, but not nearly as much overall change. There are 1644 new items recorded, of which 292 are recorded only once. This means there are 1352 new items of some duration. Only 674 items are designated obsolete and again 292 of these must be the (1) items. Discounting them leaves 382 genuine outgoings - less than half the number in the 17 th century. If we subtract these outgoings from the items of some duration we are left with 970. Therefore 970 items - at least - appear in the l6th century and last beyond it. The century is clearly one of great innovation in Good and Evil, but not one of such great overall change as the 17th century.

Some further brief comparisons could perhaps be drawn here between the full tables and the (1). tables, but in general the distribution of (1) items reflects the numerical distribution of incomings and (prior to the 19th century) outgoings. The amount of detailed commentary which would be required at this stage to make full comparisons explicit is not justifiable in the light of the results which it would produce. A simple visual comparison of one
set of tables with the other (supported when necessary by the items themselves as set out in the classification) is adequate to convey many of their similarities and differences.

Some particular points are as follows. As a rule there are more (1) items in the 16 th, 17 th, and 19 th centuries than in other periods. This is usually followed by the 14 th century, although in some categories the 14 th century can have quite a few more (1) items than the l6th century.

The Good part of the classification has 618 (1) items and the Evil part has 1221. Evil therefore has nearly twice as many, although it does not have as much as twice as many items in total (5698 Evil items to 3373 Good). The section with the most (1) items is EB, which has 366 (followed by EE, with 342). Both EB and EE have over 1500 items altogether ( 1533 and 1514 respectively) and are two of only three sections of this size in the classification. It is therefore fitting that they should also have the largest number of (l) items. It is interesting however, that the third large section, GA, which is the largest in the classification with 1538 items, should have significantly fewer (1) items. It has only 262 (1) items (the third largest number, but still many fewer than EB and EE ).

Every category in \(G B\) has (1) items in double figures, but the categories in other sections are much more erratic. The largest number of (1) items in a single category - 100 - occurs in EBl Inferior. Of these 100,39 are 17 th century, and in fact EB as a section has 100 17th century (1) items - the largest number of any section. The categories in EB also have a significantly high number of NP (noun, person) items (see the table of these in Appendix III) and it is likely that many terms of abuse etc. for people, or names
for inferior people are recorded only once and often in the 17 th century, thus swelling these figures in the tables. Some consultation of the NP subdivision of EBI and other EB categories appears to bear out this proposal (although 19 th century (1) items are also high in \(E B\) - higher than in any other section, the next highest being (predictably) EE and GA).

There are no categories which do not have any (l) items, although there are several centuries - notably the early centuries and the 20th century - which have no (1) items in many categories. The lowest number of (1) items is found in EA3, which has only one, closely followed by EA4 and EA7, which have two apiece.

\subsection*{5.2.7 Summarizing Remarks}

In the course of this section, several aspects of the statistics concerning accessions and losses in the Good and Evil classification have been presented and discussed. The section began with a brief explanation of the tables for accessions and losses, which was followed by the tables themselves. Attention was then drawn to the more significant figures presented at the end of the tables - in the final totals - and especially to the figures for those centuries which saw considerable gains or losses. These figures were also presented as percentages. Some features of Good and Evil separately were then commented on. This was followed by commentary on individual categories, much of which related to the Old English material, and to its proportions and survival rate. Also noted were unusually high or low accessions or losses in other centuries in various categories. The section then turned to consider those items which are only supported by one quotation in the OED. It was pointed out that these
items could affect the figures for accessions and losses, and a parallel set of tables, covering them alone, was presented. This was followed by detailed commentary, which noted the high proportion of these items, compared them with the figures in the full tables of accessions and losses, and pointed out that the figures for the 19 th and 20 th centuries differed from the others, as many (1) items in these centuries are not counted as obsolete. By means of further comparison it was established that the 17 th century, more than any other period, was a time of great lexical change. The section concluded with some brief comments on various figures in the (1) tables.

\subsection*{5.3 A Historical and Etymological Study}

\subsection*{5.3.1 The Aims of this Study}

The purpose of this study is to examine the century of entry into and exit from English, and the sources, of a substantial number of items in the Good and Evil classification. In order to do this, nine categories have been selected from the classification and each is considered below, both individually, and collectively with the other eight, from a historical and an etymological viewpoint. Information about their currency and etymology is presented in a series of tables and in discussion. The results are then compared with several other studies, notably with a similar study conducted by Chase for Religion. \({ }^{19}\)

\subsection*{5.3.2 The Chosen Categories and Items}

The nine categories selected for this study are GA3 Good, GAl2

Honourable, GB7 Trustworthy, GC12 Merciful, EA9 Unpardonable, EB7 Base, EB10 Accursed, EC8 Corrupt, and ED9 Sneaky. They contain a total of 1247 items, which is \(13.75 \%\) of the complete classification. They were chosen with the aim of providing a reasonably sized and varied sample from across the breadth of the classification. Four are from Good and five are from Evil. They range in size from less then 50 items to more than 200 , and are very different in nature, as the comments on p. 384 ff . demonstrate.

The items in the categories which are counted for the tables on pp. 370 to 378 - and hence form the basis of this study - are single words and 'combinations' \({ }^{20}\) or compounds, that is, units of two words, often hyphenated, and usually forming nouns and adjectives (as 'rotten-hearted' in EC8).

Phrases have not been counted. This is because phrases consist of several different words, often from different sources, and to represent them in a table of etymologies would greatly increase the complexity of the information being provided. It would supply little extra at the risk of obscuring the clarity of the more important information being revealed by the majority of the items. Each element of the phrase would have to be derived from its own source. As units, phrases are less coherent than words and combinations, and as such the statistical information they might yield is less valuable. (It should be stated here that the excluded phrases can occur under any part of speech in a category, and are not simply those under PhX.) In EB10, 'God give you mischance' is a 14 th century phrase, the first three elements of which are \(O E\) in origin and date, and the fourth element of which is French and 13th century. To represent these four words as 14 th century and ' \(O E \& F r\) ' in origin (or, if all elements of
the phrase were \(O E\), as simply 'OE') would obscure the information under an 'OE \& Fr ' heading, as it would not be known how many items being counted there were words and combinations, and how many were several word phrases. The information about the accession of items from given sources would also be obscured. Therefore phrases are not counted.

The omission of phrases reduces the number of items covered in the tables from 1247 to 1132 , or \(12.48 \%\) of the total classification. The following table details the respective sizes and number of items omitted from the count, of the nine categories.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Total & Omissions & Total in Table \\
\hline GA3 Good & 201 & 29 & 172 \\
\hline GAl2 Honourable & 51 & 8 & 43 \\
\hline GB7 Trustworthy & 136 & 8 & 128 \\
\hline GC12 Merciful & 97 & 14 & 83 \\
\hline EA9 Unpardonable & 46 & - & 46 \\
\hline EB7 Base & 159 & 7 & 152 \\
\hline EB10 Accursed & 280 & 43 & 237 \\
\hline EC8 Corrupt & 243 & 4 & 239 \\
\hline ED9 Sneaky & 34 & 2 & 32 \\
\hline TOTALS & 1247 & 115 & 1132 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

With the omission of phrases, the largest category in the sample is EC8 with 239 items, closely followed by EB10 with 237 items. The The smallest is ED9 with 32 items, followed by GAl2 with 43 and EA9 with 46. The remaining four categories range in size from 83 to 172 items.

\subsection*{5.3.3 Dating and Origin}

The information extracted from each of the nine categories is set out in separate tables. This enables comparisons to be made
between categories. A tenth table draws together the more important information from the nine separate tables. The tables contain two types of information. The first is dating information. As with the tables on pp. 326 to 334 , each category has been divided into ten chronological periods - Old English and nine centuries (the 12th to the 20th inclusive). Within each period is recorded the number of items which first appeared (the upper figure) and the number of items which became obsolete (the lower figure) during that period.
'However, in addition to dates, the tables also indicate origin. The source language (or other source) of each item in each category is detailed along the top of the tables and items are placed according to both their century of entry and their derivation. We can therefore see at a glance how many words for the same concept came in from different sources in different centuries. Also, because the figures for outgoings are included, we can see which sources have the highest or lowest survival rate. To some extent, as with the full tables of accessions and losses, the outgoing numbers are affected by the number of (1) items, but as this has already been commented on, and of far greater importance here is the etymological data, it is not explicitly taken into account.

There are many different groups of language of origin in the categories, and the tables reflect the differing breadth and selection of these groups for each category. The origin given for each item is that of its source prior to its entry into English. The number of different senses the word has in English, and the different dates of these senses, is immaterial. Therefore 'proof' in GA3 NQ (which dates from 1616 in GA3, but al225 in OED) is counted as being of French origin, because the word came from French when it was first borrowed
into English in the 13th century. All etymologies are based on information in the Oxford Dictionaries. \({ }^{21}\)

The different origins of the items in this study can be divided into three main groups:
1. Single languages, as Old English, French, Latin, etc.
2. Two languages, as Old English and French, French and Latin, etc.
3. Other sources, as Unknown, Imitative, etc.

The first group, single languages, is the largest and embraces the majority of the items. It includes 14 different languages, although not all of them occur in any one category. Their order, as set out overleaf, is consistent in each table for each category. Some of them - notably ' Fr ' (for French) - are broad terms for several specific sources (again, as detailed overleaf).

A number of languages in the tables have a double entry. In these cases the first entry is headed simply, for example, ' Fr ' and the second 'Fr+'. Words under the first heading are purely from that source. Words under the 'Fr+' heading have a French root and one or more affixes of a different origin. For example, in GA3, 'respectable' is of purely French origin, and is counted under the 'Fr' heading, while 'respectably' has the additional Old English -ly suffix, and is therefore counted under the ' \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) ' heading. All hybrid words are treated in this way - each is put under a heading consisting of the source language of its root, with a plus sign to indicate that it has one or more foreign affixes. The advantage of this heading is that it brings to light the number of items of a given source which have become sufficiently naturalized in English to have become word forming bases, and to be linked with affixes from different sources. We can also tell in what century this
evidence of naturalization first appeared and if, or how closely, it relates to words coming in which are purely from the root language, with no extra affix. As A.C. Baugh says,

> 'The rapidity with which the new French words were assimilated is evidenced by the promptness with which many of them became the basis of derivatives. English endings were apparently added to them with as much freedom as to English words.' 22

This is illustrated more clearly in the tables and their explanations below.

The languages of origin cited are as follows (a (+) after the abbreviation for the language - as used in the tables - indicates that the language is also a source of words consisting of a root from that language and one or more affixes from another source): Language Heading in Tables

01d English \(\quad \mathrm{OE}(+) \quad\) Included here are all those items which were only ever current during the Old English period. One of the items here (in EC8 'culpa') may not be of purely \(O E\) origin, but may have come into \(O E\) through Latin. This is not detailed explicitly though, and all \(O E\) words are treated as being purely \(O E\) in origin. \({ }^{23}\)

Also included are all items of \(O E\) (or OE plus non-OE affix) origin which have a post-OE first date in the classification.

Language Heading in Tables
whose root etymologies in the Oxford Dictionaries are Fr , OFr , (0) Fr , AN , and AF or \(\mathrm{AFr} .{ }^{24}\)
Latin \(L(+)\)
01d Norse \(\quad\) ON(+)
German \(\quad G(+) \quad\) In addition to words of German \(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{c} 
origin, this heading also covers \\
\\
OHG (01d High German), MHG (Middle \\
\\
High German), and MLG (Middle Low \\
\\
German).
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
Dutch & Du(+) \\
Flemish & Flem \\
Greek & Gk \\
Italian & It (+) \\
Spanìsh & Sp \\
Irish & Ir \\
Aigonquin & Al \\
Sanskrit & Skr \\
Urdu & Urdu
\end{tabular}

The last three, plus Flemish and Spanish, each only cover one item and occur in one category.

The second group, two languages, mainly covers combinations or compounds - that is, words made up of two distinct and equally important elements, generally hyphenated and each from a different source (for example, in GB7, 'loyal-hearted', in which 'loyal' is from French and 'hearted' is from Old English). Such formations are comparatively few in this sample. Nonetheless they are interesting because, by
linking words from two different sources, they demonstrate the naturalization of those elements which are from non-native sources. The languages - and abbreviated headings - in this group are as follows.

Languages
Old English and French
Latin and French
Old English and Old Norse
01d English and German
Old English and Dutch
Italian and Spanish
Old English and Unknown

Heading in Tables
OE\&Fr
\(\mathrm{L} \& \mathrm{Fr}\)
OE \& ON
OE \& G
OE \& Du
It \(\& S p\)
OE\& Unkn

Of these seven, three occur only once for one item each - L \& Fr, OE \& G, OE \& Du.

The third group, other sources, covers the origins of those items which are not derived from any language. Some of the items included here may have an affix from another source, often from a specified language. These have not been singled out in a '+' column (as those in the single language groups were) because the combining of a word of an unknown root with, for example, an O1d English affix, does not tell us much about the naturalization and acceptance of a word of a particular language, as the roots here do not belong to any named language. The headings in this group are as follows. Source Heading in Tables

Unknown
Unkn
This heading covers items whose etymologies are given in the dictionaries as 'unknown', 'obscure',



\subsection*{5.3.4 The Historical/Etymological Tables}

The tables are set out on the following pages. From the source information and the incoming figures we can tell which centuries were most productive for which sources. They also indicate in which centuries, and in how many numbers, words with a root from one language came to be word-forming elements by being augmented with affixes from another language. This gives us some indication of the stages at which either words of Old English origin became firmly established in the language in the post-OE period, or at what stages words of foreign origin came to be naturalized in the language.

The first nine tables cover one category each. The tenth table conflates the information in the first nine, but does not include those sources for which there is either only one item in one category, or two or three items in two categories. The significant features of the material in each category are discussed in the pages after the tables.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 边 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(\rightarrow-\) & 11 & \(m 1\) & 11 & \(\sim \sim\) \\
\hline 告 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & N 1 & \(-1\) & \(\cdots-1\) & \(m 1\) & 11 & \(\cdots \square\) \\
\hline 或 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 \\
\hline 紶 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & \(\cdots 1\) \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 品 } \\
& \text { 义 } \\
& \text { \& } \\
& \hline
\end{aligned}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(m \rightarrow\) & \(N m\) & 11 & \(-1\) & \(\infty\) \\
\hline \(\square\)
\(\square\)
\(\square\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & \(\cdots 1\) \\
\hline जै & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots \sim\) & \(-1\) & 11 & 11 & \(N=\) \\
\hline \(\xrightarrow{ \pm}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\square 1\) & 11 & \(\square 1\) \\
\hline \(\stackrel{\square}{\square}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & \(1-\) & 11 & 11 & －1 1 & 11 & \(N \sim\) \\
\hline Z & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 \\
\hline \(\pm\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & & 11 & 11 & －1 &  & N 1 & 11 & \(v \sim\) \\
\hline \(\sim\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 & \(\sim 1\) & \(N m\) & \(-1\) & 11 & 10 m \\
\hline \[
\underset{\substack{4 \\ \hline \\ \hline}}{+}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & 1.1 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(\checkmark \square\) & \(-11\) & N 1 & \(-1\) & ar \\
\hline 品 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & n 1 & \(1 N\) & \(N \sim\) & n 0 & \(N \square\) & 10 m & 11 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline \[
\stackrel{+}{ \pm}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(\cdots\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & Nm \\
\hline [1] & N & 11 & \(\cdots\) & － & \(m N\) & \(0 \sim\) & \(\cdots\) & －rin & 0 O & － 1 & \％m \\
\hline & \[
H O
\]
\[
0
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H 0 \\
& \stackrel{\sim}{+} \\
& \underset{\sim}{N}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H O \\
& \stackrel{H}{m}
\end{aligned}
\] & HO
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \stackrel{I}{ \pm} \\
& \underset{\sim}{J}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H O \\
& \underset{\sim}{H} \\
& \sim \\
& \sim
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
m o
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H 0 \\
& \underset{\sim}{H} \\
& \underset{\sim}{H}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\] & \(H 0\)
上
苟
-1 & \(H 0\)
上
\(\stackrel{\square}{\square}\)
\(\sim\) & \[
110
\]
 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
2. GAl2 Honourable
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & & OE & Fr & Fr+ & L. & L+ & It & It+ & Sp & It \(¢ \mathrm{Sp}\) \\
\hline OE & I & 14
11 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 12th & I & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 13th & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
2 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 14 th & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 2
1 & - & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 15th & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 16th & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 1 & 3 & 3 & - & 1 & 1 & - & - & 1 \\
\hline 17th & I
0 & \(\overline{4}\) & 3
3 & 1 & 1 & - & - & 1 & 1 & 1 \\
\hline 18th & I & - & - & - & \(\overline{1}\) & \(\overline{1}\) & - & 1 & - & \(\overline{1}\) \\
\hline 19th & I & 1 & 1 & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 20th & I
0 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline Totals & 1 & 23 & 6
4 & 6
1 & 1
1 & 1 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 2
2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
3. GB7 Trustworthy
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & & OF. & Fr & Fr+ & L & L+ & ON & ON+ & Gk & OE\&Fr \\
\hline OE & I
0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 23 \\
& 17
\end{aligned}
\] & - & - & - & - & - & & - & - \\
\hline 12th & 1
0 & 3
1 & - & - & - & - & 1 & & - & - \\
\hline 13th & 1
0 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & - & - & - & - & 1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & - & - \\
\hline 14th & 1
0 & 6
4 & 5 & 5 & - & - & 3 & 3
1 & - & - \\
\hline 15th & 1 & 4
6 & 1 & 1 & - & - & 1 & 3
2 & - & 1 \\
\hline 16th & I & 1 & 8 & 3 & 1 & 1 & 2 & 3 & - & 2 \\
\hline \[
17 \mathrm{th}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
\] & 6 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 3 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & 4
3 & - & \(\overline{2}\) & 1 & 1 & \(\overline{1}\) \\
\hline \[
\overline{18 \mathrm{th}}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
2 & \[
1
\] & 1 & - & - & \(\overline{-}\) & - & \(\overline{2}\) \\
\hline 19th & \[
\begin{aligned}
& I \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & 2 & 4 & 3 & 1 & - & - & 4 & - & 1 \\
\hline 20th & I
0 & - & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline Totals & 1
0 & \[
\begin{array}{r}
48 \\
37
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
29 \\
14
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
15 \\
5
\end{array}
\] & 7 & 1 & 8 & 15
5 & 1 & \begin{tabular}{l}
4 \\
3 \\
\hline
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
4. GC12 Merciful
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & & OE & Fr & \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) & L & Skr \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{OE} & I & 27 & - & - & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & 19 & - & - & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{12th} & I & 2 & - & - & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & 2 & - & - & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{13th} & I & 7 & 5 & 1 & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & 9 & - & - & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{14 th} & I & 4 & 7 & 6 & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & 4 & 2 & 1 & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{15th} & I & 3 & 4 & 3 & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & 4 & 1 & 3 & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{16th} & I & - & 5 & 2 & 1 & - \\
\hline & 0 & 1 & 6 & 1 & 1 & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{17th} & I & - & 2 & 2 & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & - & 5 & 3 & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{18th} & I & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & 1 & 3 & - & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{19th} & 1 & 1 & - & - & - & 1 \\
\hline & 0 & - & - & - & - & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{20th} & I & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline & 0 & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Totals} & I & 44 & 23 & 14 & 1 & 1 \\
\hline & 0 & 40 & 17 & 8 & 1 & - \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
5. EA9 Unpardonable
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & OE & OE+ & Fr+ & L+ \\
\hline OE \begin{tabular}{ll} 
I \\
\\
\hline
\end{tabular} & 5
5 & - & - & - \\
\hline 12 th I & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 13 th \(\begin{aligned} & \text { I } \\ & \\ & 0\end{aligned}\) & 1 & - & - & - \\
\hline \[
\begin{array}{ll}
14 \text { th } & I \\
0
\end{array}
\] & - & - & - & - \\
\hline \[
\begin{array}{ll}
15 \text { th } & I \\
& 0
\end{array}
\] & - & 1 & - & 2 \\
\hline \[
\begin{array}{ll}
\hline 16 \mathrm{th} & \mathrm{I} \\
& 0
\end{array}
\] & - & 1 & 10 & 2 \\
\hline \[
\begin{array}{ll} 
& 17 \text { th } \\
& I \\
& 0
\end{array}
\] & - & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
\] & 12
7 & 3
3 \\
\hline \(18 \mathrm{th} \begin{aligned} & \text { I } \\ & \\ & 0\end{aligned}\) & - & - & \(\overline{4}\) & \(\overline{1}\) \\
\hline 19th \(\begin{aligned} & \text { I } \\ & \\ & 0\end{aligned}\) & - & 3 & 3 & 2 \\
\hline 20th \(\begin{array}{r}\text { I } \\ 0\end{array}\) & - & - & - & - \\
\hline \[
\text { Totals } \begin{array}{r}
\text { I } \\
0
\end{array}
\] & 6 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 6 \\
& 3
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 25 \\
& 11
\end{aligned}
\] & 9
4 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline ＋＋－＋ & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\square 1\) & 11 & －1 & 11 & N 1 \\
\hline 乭 & 11 & 1 i & 11 & 1 I & \(\cdots 1\) & N 1 & \(m \sim\) & 11 & \(\cdots \cdots\) & 61 & \(\cdots n\) \\
\hline 文 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(N \sim\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(m \cdots\) \\
\hline 近 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 1 m & 11 & 11 & \(\checkmark \sim\) \\
\hline － & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & － 1 & 11 & \(\square 1\) \\
\hline \(\stackrel{H}{H}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) \\
\hline \(\stackrel{\sim}{\square}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 1. & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots 1\) \\
\hline \(\stackrel{+}{\text { z }}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(\pm N\) & N 1 & \(N \sim\) & 11 & \(-1\) & 0 O \\
\hline \(\pm\) & & 11 & \(11^{\prime}\) & 11 & & \(\rightarrow 1\) & Nm & 11 & 11 & 11 & \[
m m
\] \\
\hline \(\cdots\) & & 11 & & 11 & & \(-1\) & \(\checkmark m\) & 11 & \(N-\) & 11 & NJ \\
\hline ＋ & & 11 & 11 & \(\infty\) v & & \(\cdots{ }_{\sim}^{-1}\) & \(\checkmark \infty\) & 1 － & N－ & 11 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline \％ & 11 & 11 & \(\square N\) & ＊ 1 & 1 N & \(a v\) & \(\cdots \infty\) & －1 & \(m\)－i & \(\sim 1\) & \(m\) \\
\hline \(\xrightarrow[+]{+}\) & 11 & \(-4\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & N 1 & 11 & \(m \sim\) \\
\hline \[
\stackrel{[1]}{0}
\] & on & \(m 1\) & \(\rightarrow-1\) & \(\infty \pm\) & \(1-\) & \(\checkmark m\) & \(\cdots m\) & \(\rightarrow m\) & 6 c & N 1 & － \\
\hline & HO
\[
4
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H O \\
& \stackrel{H}{+1} \underset{\sim}{\sim}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { HO } 0 \\
& \underset{\sim}{n} \\
& \underset{\sim}{c-1}
\end{aligned}
\] &  &  & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { HO } 0 \\
& \stackrel{1}{+1} \\
& \underset{\sim}{0}
\end{aligned}
\] & Ho
\[
\underset{\sim}{\text { 上 }}
\] &  & \(H 0\)
¢
¢
\(\rightarrow-1\) & HO
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{4} \\
& 0 \\
& \sim
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

7．EB10 Accursed
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 答 & & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\checkmark 1\) & \(\sim 1\) & 01 \\
\hline 䇾 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 01 & \(-1\) & －1 \\
\hline \(\stackrel{\text {－}}{\text {－}}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 1 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \underline{E} \\
& \underline{E}
\end{aligned}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 & \(\rightarrow-\) & \(\rightarrow \mathrm{N}\) & 11 & 11 & m 1 & \(m 1\) & のn \\
\hline 建 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & \(\rightarrow 1\) \\
\hline \(\stackrel{m}{\square}\) & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots \square\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow \square\) \\
\hline \(\pm\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots 1\) & \(1-1\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots \sim\) \\
\hline \(\underset{\text { 들 }}{\substack{\text { ¢ }}}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 1 & 11 & 11 & －1 1 \\
\hline \(\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\square}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & 11 & － 1 \\
\hline \[
\pm
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & N 1 & －1 & 11 & ナ 1 \\
\hline \(\bullet\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots 1\) & 11 & 11 & －1 & N 1 \\
\hline \[
\stackrel{+}{\underset{\sim}{¿}}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(\sim 1\) & N 1 \\
\hline \％ & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 1 \\
\hline \(\pm\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(N \sim\) & a．in & \(n \mathrm{~m}\) & \(\cdots \sim\) & 11 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline － & 11 & 11 & \(N \sim\) & \(-1\) & N 1 & \(\bigcirc \mathrm{O}\) & N & のJ & N 1 & 11 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline  & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots\) & ナ & \(m \sim\) & \(N-\) & \(\pm 1\) & \(m 1\) & \(\cdots \sim\) \\
\hline 近 & 11 & 11 & \(n-1\) & \(v m\) & un N & 10 m & さ & \(\checkmark\) さ & － 1 & 11 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline ＋ & 11 & 11 & 11 & N & 11 & 1.1 & 11 & & 11 & 11 & NN \\
\hline \[
\stackrel{18}{C}
\] & \(\cdots\) & m 1 & 10 m & an & － 1 & \(\cdots \mathrm{n}\) & \(\bigcirc \mathrm{O}\) & \(m m\) & \(\cdots 1\) & \(m 1\) & ぶさ \\
\hline & \[
H O
\]
\[
\stackrel{[1}{0}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \mapsto 0 \\
& \stackrel{\sim}{ \pm} \\
& \underset{\sim}{\sim}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H O \\
& \stackrel{c}{\omega} \\
& \underset{\sim}{m}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { mo } \\
& \underset{ \pm}{ \pm}
\end{aligned}
\] & HO
\[
\] & HO
\[
\begin{gathered}
\text { 工 } \\
\underset{\sim}{c}
\end{gathered}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H 0 \\
& \underset{\sim}{H} \\
& \underset{\sim}{H}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H 0 \\
& \frac{1}{4} \\
& \infty
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{ll}
H & 0 \\
\frac{2}{+} \\
0 & \\
\square
\end{array}\right.
\] & \[
H O
\]
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ع } \\
& \text { D } \\
& \text { N }
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{8．EC8 Corrupt}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \(\stackrel{\text {＋}}{\text {＋}}\) & 11 & 11 & & & 11 & \(\rightarrow-1\) & & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots \square\) \\
\hline 砍 & 11 & 11 & 11 & & 11 & 11 & \(\bigcirc \sim\) & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & \(m \sim\) \\
\hline  & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & 1 ！ & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots 1\) \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { w } \\
& \text { xu } \\
& \text { en } \\
& \hline
\end{aligned}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & N 1 & \(1-1\) & Nm & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & い \\
\hline ワ & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots \square\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\square \sim\) \\
\hline z & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\sim 1\) & 11 & 11 & & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 \\
\hline \(\stackrel{+}{\square}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(N \sim\) & \(\cdots-1\) & \(\sim \rightarrow\) & － 1 & 11 & \(\sim \checkmark\) \\
\hline \(\cdots\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\sim 1\) & \(-1\) & \(0 \sim\) & \[
\rightarrow 0
\] & \(\rightarrow m\) & \(\cdots \sim\) & 11 & \(\bigcirc\) \\
\hline ＋ & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 1 & \(n-\) & \(\cdots\) & \[
\sim \sim
\] & \(n \cdots\) & \(\checkmark 1\) & － 1 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline 品 & 11 & 11 & \(\checkmark \rightarrow\) & 10 N & in 1 & \(\cdots \sim\) & \(\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}\) & \(\cdots \mathrm{m}\) & \(0 \cdots\) & 11 & 6 \\
\hline \[
\stackrel{+}{\text { © }}
\] & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\sim \rightarrow\) & 11 & 11 & & & 11 & \(\square \sim\) \\
\hline \[
\underset{0}{4}
\] & \[
\text { on } \begin{gathered}
1 \\
y
\end{gathered}
\] & vm & \(m m\) & NJ & \(m m\) & \(-10\) & \(v \sim\) & 1 N & \(\checkmark 1\) & 11 & \(\cdots \mathrm{n}\) \\
\hline & HO
똥 & \[
\mapsto 0
\]
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 독 } \\
& \underset{\sim}{N}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { HO } \\
& \underset{\sim}{m} \\
& \underset{\sim}{m}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { HO } \\
& \stackrel{ \pm}{ \pm} \\
& \pm
\end{aligned}
\] & Ho
\[
\] & HO
\[
\underset{\sim}{\underset{\sim}{4}}
\] & HO
\[
\underset{\sim}{\text { N }}
\] & \[
m c
\] & \[
H O
\] & \(H 0\)
上
¢
¢ & \(H 0\)
0
W
¢
H
0
H \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & & oE & \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) & L & L+ & & OE\&Fr & OE\&Unkn & Unkn \\
\hline oe & I & 2 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 12th & I & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 13th & 1
0 & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 14th & I & - & - & 1 & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 15th & I
0 & - & - & 1 & - & - & - & - & - \\
\hline 16th & I & 1 & - & - & 2 & - & - & - & 3
1 \\
\hline 17th & 1 & 1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 3
3 & \(\overline{1}\) & 1 & 1 & - & 4
1
1 \\
\hline 18th & 1 & 2 & \(\overline{0}\) & \(\overline{1}\) & - & - & - & - & \(\overline{1}\) \\
\hline 19th & I
0 & 2
1 & - & - & - & - & - & - & 5 \\
\hline 20th & I & 1 & - & - & - & - & - & 2 & - \\
\hline Totals & I & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 8 \\
& 6 .
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 5
4 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \\
& 1
\end{aligned}
\] & 1 & 1 & 2 & 12
3 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline E & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(N-\) & \(\infty \mathrm{m}\) & 0 O & \(\cdots \mathrm{N}\) & \(\cdots \rightarrow\) & \(a 1\) & J N \\
\hline 艺 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(-1\) & 11 & －1 & \(N-\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\checkmark\) s \\
\hline  & 11 & 11 & 11 & － 1 & －1 1 & \(\sim 1\) & nm & v & N 1 & －1 1 & \(\cdots\) \\
\hline ＋ & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow 1\) & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & 11 & N 1 \\
\hline 山 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & N 1 & \(\rightarrow-\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & －\(n\)－ \\
\hline \(\pm\) & 11 & 1． 1 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & －1 1 & 11 & －1 \\
\hline コ & 11 & 11 & & \(\rightarrow 1\) & 11 & 1 H & \(N \sim\) & \(\square 1\) & \(\checkmark 1\) & 11 & \(n m\) \\
\hline \[
\underset{\sim}{\mathbf{z}}
\] & 11 & 11 & \(\cdots\) & \(n-1\) & ナ N & N & \(m 1\) & N & in 1 & N 1 & \(\sim_{N}^{\infty}\) \\
\hline \(z\) & 11 & － 1 & \(\sim \sim\) & in 1 & \(\rightarrow \mathrm{N}\) & N & \(\rightarrow \mathrm{N}\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & \(\rightarrow \mathrm{N}\) \\
\hline \(\pm\) & 11 & 11 & 11 & 11 & N 1 & F & \[
69
\] & \(n \mathrm{n}\) & \(\cdots \cdots\) & 11 & \[
\underset{\sim}{m}
\] \\
\hline \(\cdots\) & 11 & 1 I & N & \(\pm 1\) & \(\pm 1\) & さ さ & \(\stackrel{\sim}{n}\) & \(\bigcirc\) & \(\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}\) & 11 & ズさ \\
\hline ＋ & 11 & & － 1 & \(\sim_{N}\) & \(\infty \times\) & \(\mathrm{N}^{\text {N }}\) & \(\cdots\) & 6 N & \(\stackrel{n}{\square}\) & on 1 & \[
\underset{\sim}{n}
\] \\
\hline H & 11 & & Nさ & 示N & 10 & 앙 & \(\cdots\) & \(\cdots\) & \({ }^{0} \mathrm{~N}\) & N 1 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& m \\
& \cdots \\
& \cdots
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \[
\underset{0}{+1}
\] & 11 &  & 11 & N & N & N 1 & Nm & 11 & n 1 & 11 & \(\pm \infty\) \\
\hline \[
\frac{15}{0}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 0 \\
& \sim \\
& N
\end{aligned}
\] & 60 & \(\cdots\) & \(\cdots\) & \(\cdots\) & \[
m N
\] & \(\cdots \infty\) & NM & \(\cdots\) & N 1 & \(N \sim\)
\(\sim \sim\) \\
\hline & HO
\[
0
\] & \[
\mapsto O
\]
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \stackrel{\text { IN }}{N} \\
& \underset{\sim}{\sim}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { HO } \\
& \stackrel{1}{\perp} \\
&
\end{aligned}
\] & HO
\[
\underset{\sim}{\underset{\sim}{ \pm}}
\] & \[
H O
\]
\[
\underset{\sim}{\text { n }}
\] & \[
\mathrm{HO}
\]
\[
\underset{\sim}{\underset{\omega}{\omega}}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H O \\
& \underset{\sim}{\sim} \\
& \sim
\end{aligned}
\] & HO
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { r } \\
& \infty \\
& \infty
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& H O \\
& \stackrel{1}{4} \\
& \stackrel{y}{\square}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
H O
\] & HO
 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{5.3.5 General Comments}

The last line of table 10 consists of the totals for each source of origin in each century. As with the other tables in this chapter the upper figure is for incomings (or accessions), and the lower figure is for outgoings (or losses). If we add up the figures, the total for the upper figure is 1087 (being the total number of items in the sample, minus those items from the least common sources) and the total for the lower figure is 615 (being the total number of items now obsolete, excluding those from the least common sources). In the columns below, each figure from the last line of table 10 is expressed as a percentage of the total. The left hand column covers the upper figures, expressing each as a percentage of 1087 , and the right hand column covers the lower figures, expressing each as a percentage of 615.
\begin{tabular}{lcc} 
& Incomings & Outgoings \\
\cline { 2 - 3 } OE & 41.58 & 53.33 \\
OE + & 1.29 & 1.30 \\
Fr & 19.60 & 16.10 \\
Fr+ & 14.44 & 10.89 \\
L & 8.46 & 7.16 \\
L+ & 3.96 & 4.07 \\
ON & 1.01 & 1.14 \\
ON+ & 2.48 & 1.30 \\
Du & 0.46 & 0.49 \\
Du+ & 0.09 & - \\
It & 0.28 & 0.16 \\
It + & 0.18 & - \\
OE \& Fr & 1.75 & 1.95 \\
OE \& ON & 0.37 & 0.16 \\
Unkn & 4.05 & 1.95
\end{tabular}

In both columns 01d English on its own accounts for the largest percentage - it is the source of over \(40 \%\) of the total incomings. It should be borne in mind though, that 01d English was the sole dominant language in England for several centuries, until French threatened its supremacy, \({ }^{27}\) and as such it is largely to be expected, when the statistics include the 01d English period, that the largest number of incomings will be from this source. More than half of the total losses are items of 0ld English origin, and many of these are recorded within the 01d English period. The second most productive source is French, and the third is French+. The percentage losses from these groups are also high, but not as high as those from 01d English. Next is Latin, and Latin+, both of which sustain a similar percentage of losses and accessions. It should be remembered though that the incomings are expressed as a percentage of 1087 and the outgoings as a percentage of 615. In fact, of the 1087 being considered here, the obsolete items amount to \(56.58 \%\). Nonetheless as percentages of their respective wholes both columns exhibit similar tendencies.

Prior to discussing the tables for each category separately it is probably most valuable to make some further comments on table 10 . Table 10 covers the material in the first nine tables, apart from 45 items of origins which only produce one or two items each, as Urdu, Algonquin, and others. The 1087 items which are represented form \(11.98 \%\) of the Good and Evil corpus and from them some general observations about the sample can be made.

The main sources in the sample are 01d English, French, Latin, and 01d Norse, although words of unknown origin, and combinations of Old English and French origin also feature fairly strongly.

Half of the items of Old English origin (226 out of 452) date from the Old English period. If we count only those which came in after the 01d English period, then there are almost as many words of French origin (213) as there are of Old English origin (226).

Well worth observing are the figures in the columns whose headings include a ' + ' sign. The items in these columns, as has been already mentioned, have their root in the language at the head of the column but also include one or more affixes from other languages. There are only 14 such accessions in the sample which have an Old English root, and their dates of accession range from the 12 th to the 19 th centuries. Most of the 01d English accessions are purely Old English in make-up.

However, in the \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) column there are 157 items. When these are added to the figures in the Fr column they total 370 , and mean that in the post-OE period there are more words of French root than of any other source. The figure in the Fr+ column in table 10 also also indicates the large extent to which French words have become successfully naturalized in English. Purely French words are recorded from the 13th century, and naturalization of the words in this way begins very soon afterwards, with one Fr+ item being recorded in the same century, and over 20 in the following century. In the 16th and 17 th centuries there are more words of \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) origin first recorded than there are of purely Fr origin.

There are almost half the number of \(\mathrm{L}+\) accessions as there are of purely L accessions (43 as opposed to 92) - again a significant amount. However, the first \(\mathrm{L}+\) word is not recorded until two centuries after the first L words, and in no centuries are there more \(\mathrm{L}+\) words than L words.

ON+ words are interesting. There are more than twice as many of these as there are of straightforward \(O N\) accessions (27 as opposed to 11). The \(0 N\) accessions are also confined to the 12 th to the 17 th centuries, whereas the \(0 N+\) words run from the 13 th to the 20 th centuries.

OE \& Fr is the combined source which occurs most often. The first word, or two-word compound, consisting of these two elements is recorded in the 14 th century. Such compounds are indications of the co-existence of items from both languages and the acceptance in Britain of the non-native language (French).

Only one designated non-linguistic source produces enough items to be represented here. 'Unknown' accounts for the origin of 44 items. These are discussed more fully on the following pages in the sections relating to the categories in which they occur (chiefly EB7 and ED9).

The largest figures for both incomings and outgoings are predictably - recorded in the 01d English period (226 appear and 176 of these go out). By the end of the 01d English period there are only 52 items still current. Further OE-derived items come in and go out through the centuries. Highest \(O E\) incomings are recorded in the 14 th and 19 th centuries, although the 16 th, 17 th, and 13 th are also well represented. Greatest losses occur in the 17 th century, followed by the 16 th and 14 th centuries.

The first non-OE item to appear is from 01d Norse, in the 12 th century. One \(O E+\) item also appears at this time. Non-OE sources increase in the 13 th century with 24 French items, two Latin items, and the first (one each) Fr+ and ONt items. From the 14 th century onwards incomings appear from a wide range of sources, including
the first compounds from \(O E \& F r\) and \(O E \& O N\). The 16 th and 17 th centuries see the largest numbers of incomings. The single largest figure (excluding OE figures) is that of the 52 Fr+ items which appear in the 16 th century.

In the total figures 328 of the 452 OE derived items are obsolete - leaving 76 still current. These losses are spread fairly evenly, after 01d English and up to the 19 th century, when they drop considerably. Of the 213 French items 99 are obsolete, so 114 are still current. The greatest French losses occur from the 16 th to the 18 th centuries. In Fr+ there are 90 items still current out of 157 - a fairly high proportion. The greatest Fr+ losses are sustained in the 17 th and 18 th centuries. Just over half of the Latin items and somewhat less than half of the L+ items are still current. The sources with the highest survival rate are \(0 N(19\) out of 27 ) and 'Unknown' (32 out of 44).

The overall pattern of table 10 is reflected in most of the nine individual category tables. There are many accessions and losses in OE. As was mentioned above, the first foreign source to appear is 01d Norse, followed by French and Latin and, more tentatively, Fr+ and ON+. Incomings from French and Fr+ are high from the 13 th and 14 th centuries, they are joined by Latin and L+ in the 16 th century, and all four sources (plus \(O E\) ) contribute many items up to and including the 19th century, There are also losses in all these centuries and, apart from \(O E\) in the \(O E\) period, the highest losses for all the main sources are sustained in the 17 th century. This reflects the tendency to much change which seems to have been characteristic of that century (see p. 336 and p.356-7).

On the following pages each of the categories covered in tables

1 to 9 is discussed separately. Some of the items from the main sources in each category are specifically mentioned in the course of this discussion.

\subsection*{5.3.6 Specific Comments}

GA3 Good
172 of the 202 items in this category are counted in the table for GA3 (29 phrases are excluded). This is one of the larger categories in the sample. More than half the items - 96 - are 01d English in origin. A further 26 are French in origin, and these are easily the two largest sources. Among the other sources are nine items of Fr+ origin, eight \(O E \& F r\) compounds, seven items of unknown origin, and six from Latin. The remaining sources all have fewer items and they include the less common sources of Greek (two items), Urdu (one item), and five miscellaneous items.

Of the 96 01d English items just over two thirds - 63 - are no longer current. If we subtract from this the 0ld English items which were recorded only in Old English (which is \(32 ; 15\) OE items continued beyond \(O E\) ) these numbers are reduced to 64 and 31 - still considerably larger than the numbers for any other sources. Even if we do not count any of the \(O E\) items which appeared in \(O E\), we are still left with 49 incomings of Old English origin in the post-0E period. This is significantly more than for any other source. 'Good' is a concept expressed chiefly by \(O E\) derived items. Also interesting is the fact that the \(O E+\) and \(F r+\) columns contain very few items. \(O E+\) totals are low in all nine categories, but Fr+ totals are often high. This category is an exception.

Old English incomings are spread across all the centuries (except
the 12 th\()\). French incomings are strongest in the \(14 \mathrm{th}, 16 \mathrm{th}, 17 \mathrm{th}\), and 19 th centuries. The figures for other incomings are not high enough for conclusions to be drawn from them with certainty.

\section*{GA12 Honourable}

Only 43 items are included for the table for this category (eight phrases are not counted). Although it is much smaller than GA3, again over half the items (23) are Old English in origin. This is followed by French and Fr+, each with six. This time the Fr+ total is equal to the French total. The other sources all produce very low numbers, and there are no unusual sources.

Of the 23 01d English items, all but one are now obsolete. The one survivor is not recorded until the 19 th century and the other 22 are all obsolete by the 17 th century. (The survivor is 'white 1877--'.) This is very different from GAl where many \(0 E\) items are still current. Also in GAl2 there is only one item not of OE origin recorded before the 16 th century (of Frt origin, in the 14 th century - 'honourably \(1303--\) '). From the 16 th century, as the 0 items disappear, other items chiefly of French and Fr+ origin come in and take their place. Of the 12 French or Fr+ items seven are still current.

We can thus see in this category the replacement of \(O E\) based items (ll of the 14 recorded in the \(0 E\) period do not last beyond it) such as 'dear' and 'dearworthy' by French derived 'honourable' (and related items) and 'true'.

GB7 Trustworthy
128 of the 136 items in this category are counted in the sample. Again Old English is the most productive source, although less so than
in the previous two categories - 48 items are of \(O E\) origin. If we exclude from this figure those which appeared during the \(O E\) period (23) we are left with 25. This is less than the number of items of French origin (29) and considerably less than the French and Fr+ totals combined (44). So in the post-01d English period French was by far the most productive source for words in this category. Also productive was 01d Norse and \(0 N+\), which respectively produced eight and 15 items, their combined total of 23 being only two less than the 25 post-OE Old English items. A further seven items are recorded from Latin.

01d English incomings are recorded regularly up to the 19 th century - they include items like 'true' and 'truth'. The first O1d Norse incoming appears in the 12 th century (the earliest non-OE item in the sample - 'trig cl200+1818--'), and the first \(0 N+\) incoming in the 13th century. The \(O N\) and \(O N+\) items are generally formed on the root 'trust' (or obsolete variants 'trist' and 'traist') and seven of the eight purely \(O N\) words are obsolete by the end of the 17 th century. In the 14 th century French and Fr+ incomings appear and reach their height in the 16 th and 17 th centuries - they include 'faithful', 'loyal', 'reliable', and other words. The Latin (and L+) incomings are recorded chiefly in the 16 th and 17 th centuries among them are 'fidelious' and 'constancy'. Only three of these items survive and they are less common than the items from the other main sources.

Items from O1d English, Old Norse, and French are all still current to express this concept, and it is interesting to observe the sequence of dates in which they appear in English. By far the largest number of items still current are of French and Fr+ origin.

GC12 Merciful
There are 83 items in the table for this category ( 14 phrases are excluded). Once again more than half of these (44) are of Old English origin. There are 23 items of French origin and if we add to these the figure for \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) items (14) there are 37 items which are entirely or mainly from French. There are therefore only seven items fewer of French origin than of \(O E\) origin, and if we remove from the OE figure those items first recorded during the \(O E\) period (27), it is clear that in the post-OE period French was by far the single largest source of words or word-forming roots for this concept.

The range of sources for items in this category is very narrow. Apart from OE, French, and Fr+ there are only two other sources (Latin and Sanskrit) and only one item from each (respectively 'eleemosynous' and 'karuna').

Items of Old English origin appear fairly regularly up to the 15th century. Of the 44 recorded, 40 are now obsolete (a very high proportion), and of these 40,38 are obsolete by the end of the 15th century. Many of the OE derived items used to express this concept (and now obsolete) are derived from the root 'mild'. With the loss of most of the OE derived items, other items replace them, and these are the French and Fr+ items, which appear regularly from the 13 th to the 17 th centuries, as the \(O E\) derived items die out. Although 25 of the French and Fr+ items are now obsolete, 12 survive, and these include 'merciful', 'pitiful', and related words.

\section*{EA9 Unpardonable}

This is one of the smaller categories in the sample. It contains 46 items, all of which are counted, as there are no phrases.

The range of sources is even narrower than those for GC12, and for once Old English is not the dominant source.

There are six items of purely OE origin, all of which are obsolete by the 13 th century. The category also, unusually, includes some \(O E+\) items, and in fact all the items except the six from \(O E\) are from 'language + ' sources. There are no items purely from French of Latin. This is because most of the items in the category have negative affixes (like 'un-', 'in-', or '-less') and if the affix is not from the same source as the root then the word is from a 'language +' source ('un-' and '-less' are from OE, and 'in-' is from Latin).

From the distribution of the figures in the tables, it appears that the 14 th century is totally without items to express the concept of 'unpardonable'. For a general comment on gaps like this in categories see the note under GB2, p.341.

Items of \(\mathrm{OE}+\) amd \(\mathrm{L}+\) origin are recorded from the 15 th century, but the majority of the items here appear in a major influx of \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) items in the 16 th and 17 th centuries. They include words like 'unpardonable', 'inexpiable', and most of the words now current for this concept. From OE+ comes 'unforgiveable' among others, and from L+. 'unatonable' among others.

At least half of the items which come from each of the three 'language +' sources are still current: \(14 \mathrm{Fr}+\), five \(\mathrm{L}+\), and three \(0 \mathrm{E}+\).

EB7 Base
152 items (out of 159) are covered in the table for this category, and there is a fairly wide range of sources, including several less common ones.

The largest single source is 01d English, but it is less productive than in other categories, accounting for 51 , or less than a third, of the total incomings. In fact, if the French and Fr+ totals are combined they come to 56 , more than for \(O E\) (and more than for \(O E\) and OEt combined, which come to 54). ON+ is the next most productive language source, with ten items, followed by Latin and L+. Even more productive though, is. 'Unknown', which accounts for the origin of 13 items (including 'slubberdegullion' and 'shuck'). Ten of the 13 are still current. Among the less common sources are Algonquin, Irish, and Italian (which does feature in table 10 but is the source of only three items in the sample).

Of the 19 Old English items recorded in the OE period, 18 do not survive beyond OE (the one item which does is 'wretch' in NP). Four OE derived formations are recorded in the 12 th century, and although OE derived items continue to appear, the French items begin to come in in the 13 th century, followed by Fr+ in the 14 th , and these two sources continue to be more productive than OE. As with most categories, the 16 th and 17 th centuries see the greatest number of incomings, and the 17 th also sees more losses than any other period. The word 'base' itself comes from French and appears in the 16 th century. The word 'vile', which also has various derivatives and variants in the category, comes from French too, and appears in the 13 th century.

\section*{EB10 Accursed}

This is the largest category of the nine selected (280 items) and the second largest category in the sample: 237 items are used (43 phrases are omitted). It also has the widest range of sources
in the sample - there are 19 columns for sources in the tables. In addition, the items themselves are wide-ranging.

The most common sources are Old English (91 items - less than a third of the total and a lower proportion than in several other categories), Latin (39 items, and a further 18 if \(L+i s\) counted), and French (33 items, and a further \(17 \mathrm{Fr}+\) ). It is interesting that, unusually, there are more Latin and L+ items than there are French and Fr+. The survival rate for \(O E\) items is surprisingly high. Of the 30 recorded during the \(O E\) period, nine last beyond it, and of the 91 recorded altogether, 44 are still current. The high survival rate runs throughout the table. In general, more than half the items in most sources are still current.

Old English is the only source up to the 12 th century. In the 13th century French and Latin derived items begin to appear. These are joined by Fr+ items in the 15 th century and L+ items in the 16 th. Incomings from all these sources continue up to (and including) the 19th century. In the 19 th century these sources contribute a total of 33 items, and there is only one item designated obsolete.

From Latin comes 'maledict' and related words, and 'execrating' and related words (although 'execrable' comes from French). Also from French are 'damned' and related words. From 01d English comes 'cursed' and related words.

01d Norse and \(0 N+\) contribute very few items to this category a total of three, less even than the more unusual sources of German and \(G+\), which together contribute six items. The other less common linguistic sources here include Dutch, Flemish, Italian, and Irish. There are also 23 items from four non-linguistic sources, all of which have a high survival rate: 20 of the 23 are still current.

As in EB7, 'Unknown' is the non-linguistic source which contributes most items - nine in this category.

\section*{EC8 Corrupt}

This category contains the largest number of items in the sample - 239 items (out of 243, as four phrases are omitted). In spite of this the range of sources is considerably narrower than that of EB10 - there are only 12 columns for sources in this table.

Again 01d English is the dominant source (85 items) and it is followed by French (65 items) and Fr+ (45 items). The two French sources between them though, contribute considerably more items than Old English (110 items). Next is Latin, which contributes 26 items. The survival rate of the \(O E\) items is poor - only 12 out of 85 are still current. Of the 59 recorded in the \(0 E\) period, 49 do not last beyond it. Eight of the ten survivors are also now obsolete.

As with other categories, the \(O E\) items are replaced from the 13 th century by French words, and from the 14 th century by Frt and Latin words. These three sources all have high incomings in the 16 th and 17 th centuries, and high outgoings in the 17 th century. There is only one item from 01d Norse ('rotten' in AjG) and one ON \& OE compound ('rotten-hearted' in AjG) - a very low proportion. The overall losses for French and Frt are low. Over a third of the French items are still current, and over half of the Fr+.

In Old English this concept was expressed by words like
'forhwierfed' and 'pweorh' and derivatives. None of these survive beyond \(O E\), and in the 14 th century 'corrupt' and 'corruption' appear from French, followed in the 16 th century by 'depraved' and 'debauched'. It appears that this concept is one for which the commonly used 01d

English terms have died out totally, and been replaced by a range of French based items, many of which are still current.

There are two non-linguistic sources for this category, which contribute four items, and one less common linguistic source, Dutch, which produces the single item 'speckled', only current in the 17 th century.

\section*{ED9 Sneaky}

This final category is the smallest in the sample: 32 out of 34 items are covered in the table. Surprisingly there are no items of French origin, and only one of Fr+. The largest single source is 'Unknown', which accounts for 12 items. This is because the origin of 'sneak' is unknown (or obscure) and of the 12 'Unknown' items, ten are 'sneak' and its derivatives. Some of these items have 0ld English suffixes, but these have not been separated and put in an 'Unknt' column, since in most categories the number of 'Unknown' items is too low to merit this distinction. In addition, as 'Unknown' is not a language, its association with various languages does not tell us anything about the naturalization of a particular language in English. (See comment on p.367.)

The second largest source is Old English, which accounts for eight items, six of which are now obsolete. The next source is Latin, from which comes 'surreptitious' and four other related (and, in this sense, now obsolete) words. All sources apart from 'Unknown' have a high obsolescence rate.

As with other small categories there are gaps in the table in certain centuries (see also comments under GB2 on p.341).

\subsection*{5.3.7 Other Comparable Studies}

There are very few other studies with which this one can be compared. Several studies deal with the question of French loan words in English, the most notable of which are those by Jespersen and Baugh. 28 They are discussed below. However, the only really relevant work of this nature is that which was carried out by Chase in his thesis on Religion. \({ }^{29}\)

Chapter 5 of Chase's thesis presents three studies relating to historical and etymological information drawn from his classification. The first of these parallels that covered in section 5.2 of this chapter. The latter two are both relevant to the etymological study just covered here (5.3.1 to 5.3.6), although the first of them takes a different approach. It is a purely etymological study of a large sample (almost 12,500 items) of the religious classification. The items are sorted entirely on the basis of their language of origin and no mention is made of their dates of entry into English. The second study covers a smaller sample of material - some 1824 items (a similar percentage of Chase's total as the sample here is of the Good and Evil total) - and is both historical and etymological. In its approach it is very similar to the study just conducted here, although it makes considerably fewer observations on the data it contains.
, Chase succeeds in limiting the sources of the vocabulary in his classification to 13 groups (listed overleaf). \({ }^{30}\) This is convenient but it also, to some extent, glosses over several interesting distinctions which are made clear in the study here. Chase's 'H' (for Hybrid) group covers items whose roots are Latin, French, etc. but which also have an \(O E\) affix, and it also covers items which are
two word hyphenated compounds, each element of which is from a separate source. The figure in this column gives an overall impression of the extent of naturalization. The method used for Good and Evil places hybrid forms in several different groups, each of which (in the case of root and affix groups) is adjacent to the group covering the source of its root. It also specifies the root (as \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) ) and thus illustrates the extent to which naturalization has occurred in each individual source language. The \(O E+\) column also illustrates the extent to which native words adopt foreign affixes - something which Chase does not appear to deal with. \({ }^{31}\) The Good and Evil study further keeps separate the figures for compounds which are from two sources, by placing them under separate double headed groups (as OE \& Fr).

However, these points aside, it is interesting to compare the 13 groups from Religion with the groups used in the Good and Evil sample (which comprise 14 language groups, seven of which also form 'language + ' groups, seven two-language groups, and five non-linguistic groups). They help to illustrate the different natures of the two semantic fields.

The 13 source languages for Religion (discussed most fully in the second section of Chase's chapter 5) are as follows.

Language
Native (i.e. O1d English)
Latin borrowings into O1d English
Latin borrowings after Old English French
Other Romance languages
Hybrid words
German
Other Germanic languages
Celtic
Hebrew \& Yiddish
Abbreviation

\section*{N}

OEL
L
F
OR
H
G
G
OG
C
Hindu languages
HY
Arabic
H
Arabic A
Other languages

It is worth noting that all Chase's groups denote actual languages. The Good and Evil groups include five sources which are not specific languages. If it is really the case that all the items in the religious lexis are assignable to particular languages, and none are of unknown or other origin, then this is surely a reflection of the concrete and determinable nature of that semantic field. It is more likely though that Chase excluded from his count those items whose origins are not language specific. If this is the case, then it is in itself interesting, as it suggests that the numbers of those items are very small. Had they been substantial Chase would doubtless have covered them. The five non-language sources in Good and Evil contain a total of 66 items (almost \(6 \%\) of the items covered in the sample). Of these, 44 are of unknown origin, and a quantity of this size is too large to be ignored. It may be postulated that the largely abstract Good and Evil field generates more items whose sources are less easily allocable to specific languages than does the largely concrete field Religion.

It is also valuable to compare the actual languages which are sources of origin for Religion on the one hand and Good and Evil on the other.

The religious lexis includes several source languages not in evidence at all in the Good and Evil sample. These are covered by four groups: one for later Latin borrowings into 01d English, one for Hebrew and Yiddish, one for Hindu languages, and one for Arabic. Although the numbers in the latter three groups are not large, it is interesting that they exist at all, as there are no items from these sources in the Good and Evil sample (unless the one Urdu item counts as being from 'Hindu languages'). Hebrew, Yiddish, and

Arabic seem to be sources of items of particular relevance to Religion. \({ }^{32}\)

Chase tends to cover under general headings languages which are treated separately in the Good and Evil sample. The general headings are a useful means of restricting the number of source groups, but they also make some of the information - albeit possibly minor less explicit. By treating each source language individually a more accurate picture of the sources can be established. In addition, if, as sometimes happens in Good and Evil, there is only one item from a particular source (as Irish) it is more informative to state the source exactly. Therefore Chase's 'Other Romance' heading covers both the 'Italian' and 'Spanish' headings in Good and Evil, his 'Other Germanic' heading covers Good and Evil's 'Old Norse' and 'Dutch', and 'Celtic' covers 'Irish'.

Also worth comparing are the proportions of items from each source in Religion and Good and Evil. Chase provides a fairly accurate listing of the percentages of items from each source in his large sample (Chase, p.474). This is reproduced below along with, for purposes of comparison, the Good and Evil listing of incomings expressed as percentages of a whole, as given on p.379.
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
& \multicolumn{1}{c}{ Religion } \\
Source & \multicolumn{1}{c}{\(\%\)} \\
\hline Native & 19.66 \\
OEL & 1.01 \\
L & 8.84 \\
French & 37.31 \\
OR & 0.38 \\
Hybrid & 27.87 \\
German & 0.05 \\
OG & 0.11 \\
Celtic & 0.14 \\
HY & 0.97 \\
Hindu & 0.83 \\
Arabic & 0.68 \\
Other & 2.14
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{Good and Evil} \\
\hline Source & \% \\
\hline OE & 41.58 \\
\hline OE+ & 1.29 \\
\hline Fr & 19.60 \\
\hline \(\mathrm{Fr}+\) & 14.44 \\
\hline L & 8.46 \\
\hline L+ & 3.96 \\
\hline ON & 1.01 \\
\hline ON+ & 2.48 \\
\hline Du & 0.46 \\
\hline Du+ & 0.09 \\
\hline It & 0.28 \\
\hline It+ & 0.18 \\
\hline OE\& Fr & 1.75 \\
\hline OE\& ON & 0.37 \\
\hline Unkn & 4.05 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In both cases Old English and French are the main sources (excluding Hybrid in Religion), but it is most interesting to note that the respective percentages of each are virtually the reverse in Good and Evil of what they are in Religion. In Good and Evil the largest source is \(0 E\) (almost 40\%) followed by French (almost 19\%). In Religion the largest source in French (over 37\%) followed by \(0 E\) or Native (almost 20\%). Chase comments (p. 475 of his thesis) that Erench influence is 'particularly strong in areas of the lexis covering conceptual domains such as law and religion' and that 'the present tally allows us to judge for the first time the real extent of French domination of this lexical field.' This comparison with a totally different semantic field underlines that fact.

Almost \(28 \%\) of the Religious sample is of hybrid origin. This figure has not been broken down any further. The hybrid items in Good and Evil make up just over \(21 \%\) of the total, of which more than 14\% are French in root, almost 4\% Latin, over 2\% Old Norse, and over 1\% Old English.

Other differences between the samples in Good and Evil and Religion include the fact that Old Norse (alone, not ON+) accounts for almost \(1 \%\) of the Good and Evil total, whereas in Religion all 'Other Germanic' languages (except German) total only 0.11\%. 'Unknown', a source not covered at all in Religion, accounts for almost \(4 \%\) of the Good and Evil totals. A substantial number of the 'Other' items in Religion are of Greek origin (about \(1.7 \%\) of the \(2.14 \%\) covered by 'Other'). \({ }^{33}\) In Good and Evil only three of the 1132 items in the sample are of Greek origin. Like Hebrew etc., words of Greek origin may be more prevalent in the Religious semantic field than elsewhere.

It should be remembered of course that the comparison here is
between two samples of significantly different sizes. The Religious sample is that covered in the second section of Chase's chapter 5, and is just over 11 times as large as the Good and Evil sample (12,476 items as opposed to 1132 items). Nonetheless, particularly when the figures are converted to percentages, the two samples do provide some interesting respective statistics. The comparison most notably confirms the dominance of French as a source of religious vocabulary. It also provides some interesting smaller points about the differences between the respective sources in each of the two samples.

The third study in Chase's chapter is, like the Good and Evil study, both historical and etymological. However, Chase draws few conclusions from the figures which his tables reveal, particularly from the outgoing figures. As he comments (p.486), 'Accession-obsolescence ratios vary to the extent that it would be dangerous to attach special significance to them.' Chase also mentions that the figures in his sample are probably 'broadly valid for etymological groups which constitute the principal sources of the vocabulary' ( p .481 ). Unlike the approach taken in the Good and Evil study though, he does not discuss this validity in any depth, perhaps because he has already commented on etymologies in some detail in the preceding section of his chapter.

Chase does however make one interesting comparison. He compares the items of French origin in Religion with the study of French loan words carried out by A.C. Baugh. \({ }^{34}\) As has already been mentioned ( p .393 ) this is one of several studies of French loan words with which the Good and Evil study - and, of course, Chase's study - can be compared.

Any such comparisons should first be qualified as follows. The studies conducted by Baugh and others deal with the first occurrence of lexical items in English. This present study, and Chase's study, are concerned with the first occurrence of senses in English (the lexical items themselves may have been in English for some considerable time prior to their being used in a good, evil, of religious way (see chapter 6 especially pp. 429 to 431 for evidence of this in Good and Evil)). The comparisons are therefore of two related but different things - lexical items and senses.

This might lead one to question their validity. However, as long as (and perhaps especially if) the distinction between the two types of figures is borne in mind the comparisons are worth making. When Chase wrote his thesis there was no other data available which was similar to his, apart from Baugh's and others. The Good and Evil figures which this thesis makes available can now be compared with Chase's, but in addition, since Chase drew the comparison with Baugh, it is interesting to make it again here to see how the contribution of Good and Evil affects it. Also, although we now have figures from Religion and Good and Evil to compare, there are as yet no further such figures available for comparison. 35 It is therefore at present worth comparing the accession of new items with the accession of new senses.

The first study of French loan words was conducted by Jespersen and covered 'the first 100 French words in the New English Dictionary for each of the first nine letters and the first 50 for \(\underline{j}\) and \(\underline{1}^{36}-\) a total of 1000 words. Jespersen later supplements this with figures drawn from the second half of the alphabet as formulated by \(A\). Koszal. \({ }^{37}\) The figures are set out by half centuries. In 1935 Baugh
published the results of a similar study, \({ }^{38}\) in which the material was gathered from pages throughout the OED numbered \(-00,-20,-40\), \(-50,-60\), and -80 . In each of these studies the period 1250-1400 is notable as the time when French borrowings were at their peak. In Jespersen 427 of the 1000 words in his study appear during this time. In Koszal's supplementary study of 998 words, \({ }^{39} 404\) appeared between 1250 and 1400.

As in Chase, these half century counts have been converted into figures for periods of a full century each. In this form they can be compared more easily with the figures for words of French origin from both Chase's sample and the Good and Evil sample. The following table details comparable figures (for the 12 th to the 20 th centuries)
for - from left to right - Jespersen's original count, Koszal's supplementary count, Baugh, Chase, and the Good and Evil count.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Century & Jespersen & Koszal & Baugh & Chase & Good and Evil \\
\hline 12th & 16 & 13 & 9 & 1 & - \\
\hline 13th & 191 & 161 & 134 & 26 & 24 \\
\hline 14 th & 300 & 282 & 306 & 49 & 41 \\
\hline 15th & 146 & 137 & 164 & 27 & 16 \\
\hline 16th & 175 & 169 & 157 & 51 & 50 \\
\hline 17th & 103 & 111 & 98 & 60 & 39 \\
\hline 18th & 40 & 65 & 59 & 17 & 15 \\
\hline 19th & 25 & 49 & 71 & 33 & 26 \\
\hline 20th & - & - & 2 & 4 & 2 \\
\hline TOTALS & 996 & 987 & 1000 & 268 & 213 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

These figures should be considered in two ways. On the one hand a direct comparison can be drawn between Chase's figures and the Good and Evil figures. On the other hand, these two sets of figures can, with the qualifications already specified, be compared with the three sets of Jespersen, Koszal, and Baugh figures.

The figures in the counts for Religion and Good and Evil are considerably lower than those in the older counts, but both have between 200 and 300 items, which makes their direct comparison more accurate. In Chase the largest number of French accessions is recorded in the 17 th century, followed by the 16 th and 14 th centuries with very similar numbers. In Good and Evil the 16 th century has the most accessions, followed by the 14 th and 17 th centuries, again with very similar numbers. The same three centuries show the greatest innovation from French, but in a different order. Clearly though, the 16 th and 17 th centuries are the leading periods for new senses from French.

The older counts - of items, not senses - are quite different. The 14 th century is, by a long way, the most prolific period in all three counts. Figures are also high in the 13 th, 15 th, and 16 th centuries, but after that they tail off. In Jespersen the 13 th century has the second highest figure, in Koszal the 16 th century bas, and in Baugh the 15 th.

A pattern can be drawn from this. New items from French are most frequent in the early centuries, especially the 14 th, while new senses of items of French origin are most frequent in later centuries, especially the 16 th and 17 th. From this one can adduce that by the 16 th and 17 th centuries the French items which appeared in earlier centuries were more fully established and naturalized in the language, and were acquiring new senses in English. Chase's figures and the Good and Evil figures hence illustrate the next stage, following on from the earlier figures - that loan words become assimilated into the language and in time develop new senses in that language.

One point not made explicit here is the extent to which the
figures in Chase and Good and Evil are for new senses as opposed to entirely new words - the above comments make the assumption that they are largely (or even wholly) for new senses. The distinction between new words and new senses, and the time gap between the first appearance of a word, and the first appearance of its Good or Evil sense, is examined in detail, for a selected area of vocabulary, in chapter 6.

In the table below the figures from Jespersen, Baugh, Chase, and Good and Evil, from the 13 th to the 19 th centuries, are presented as percentages of the total number of items in each sample.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Century & Jespersen & Baugh & Chase & Good and Evil \\
\hline 13th & 19.17 & 13.4 & 9.7 & 11.26 \\
\hline 14 th & 30.12 & 30.6 & 18.28 & 19.24 \\
\hline 15th & 14.66 & 16.4 & 10.07 & 7.5 \\
\hline 16th & 17.58 & 15.7 & 19.03 & 23.47 \\
\hline 17th & 10.34 & 9.8 & 22.39 & 18.31 \\
\hline 18th & 4.02 & 5.9 & 6.34 & 7.04 \\
\hline 19th & 2.5 & 7.1 & 12.31 & 12.21 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In Jespersen and Baugh the 14 th century commands over \(30 \%\) of the total. The next most prolific centuries have, in Jespersen, only \(17.58 \%\), and in Baugh only \(16.4 \%\).

In both Chase and Good and Evil the 14 th century accounts for almost \(20 \%\) of the total, but in neither case is this the largest figure. In Chase the 17 th century has over \(22 \%\). In Good and Evil the 16 th century has over \(23 \%\). Neither has a century with such a high percentage as the 14 th century in the Jespersen and Baugh counts. Both, however, have a moderately high percentage for the 19 th century (over \(12 \%\) in each case), while Jespersen and Baugh (especially Jespersen) have a low percentage for this century.

It seems to be the case (although this cannot be confirmed
without more widely based data) that counts of senses are producing a regular pattern of consistent figures which is significantly different from the regular pattern produced by counts of items. Chase anticipates virtually the opposite \({ }^{40}\) which perhaps renders this line of pursuit even more interesting for future studies.

\subsection*{5.3.8. Summarizing Remarks}

This section has concentrated on a limited selection of categories from the classification in order to draw from them points of historical and etymological interest. The items in these categories were examined on the basis of both their century of entry into and exit from English, and their language (or other source) of origin. The range of sources of these items was outlined in some detail. This was followed by a series of historical and etymological tables containing that information. The final table, consisting of totals from the first nine tables, was commented on and the totals for its etymological information were set out in percentages. Further discussion concentrated on the dominance of certain sources in certain periods. The significant points conveyed by each table for each category were then explained in detail. As in the previous section, much of this commentary related to Old English, but on this occasion as a language of origin, and not just a period of time, or a range of vocabulary.

The section then turned to consider other similar studies. A datailed comparison was made between this study and two inter-related studies conducted by Chase on the semantic field Religion. A further comparison was then made between the Good and Evil and Chase studies, and several studies of French loan words by Baugh, Jespersen, and

Koszal. It was noted that these studies were concerned with the first occurrences of words rather than (as in Good and Evil and Religion) senses, but it was pointed out that the comparison was still of value. Two patterns emerged, one for the 'first words' figures, and another for the 'first senses' figures, and the section ended with the hope that future studies might produce even more interesting results.

The information presented in the tables throughout this chapter, and discussed in the course of the chapter, has only been made available by the classification of this large area of abstract vocabulary, and it reveals many interesting features and tendencies about the development of this field. They relate to two areas: firstly to the growth and change of the field throughout the centuries in English, and secondly to the range of sources and languages of origin from which a sample of the items in the field are derived.

\section*{Notes to Chapter 5}
1. 'Designated obsolete' means either marked obsolete in the OED or having a closing date in the classification of before 1800 . Some items have a closing date, or have only one date, which is after 1800. These items have been checked in the OED (see Appendix II) and only those actually marked obsolete in the OED have been counted as obsolete here.
2. This is the cut-off date adopted by the OED. See p.3.
3. H. Bradley, in 'Changes in the Language to the Days of Chaucer' in The Cambridge History of English Literature Vol.I (Cambridge: CUP, 1932), comments that 'the 12th century was an age of exceptionally rapid linguistic change' (p.383), and 'The date 1150, as the..point of demarcation..is..less arbitrary than chronological boundaries in the history of a language usually are' (p.383).
4. The structure of these tables imitates the structure of similar tables for the semantic field Religion, devised by Chase. See T.J.P. Chase, A Diachronic Semantic Classification of the English Religious Lexis PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1983, esp. p. 452 ff.
5. This is because the material for the Good and Evil classification was assembled before compilation of the Historical Thesaurus archive from the OED Supplement was complete. As a result there is a low proportion of 20 th century material. Appendix I covers most of the missing material, but it is not taken into account in the thesis.
6. A.C. Baugh and T. Cable, A History of the English Language 3rd edition (London: R\&KP, 1978) p.158. The changes in vocabulary between \(O E\) and ME are also discussed by Bradley, op. cit., pp. 397-404. Bradley particularly comments (p.401), \({ }^{\text {Tot }}\) less remarkable than the abundance of new words added to the English vocabulary in the early Middle English period is the multitude of Old English words that went out of use.'
7. The 12th century figure is also low because it only contains material with a starting date of 1150 or later.
8. The l8th century is very poorly represented in the OED. Much of the material was lost or not gathered at all. See K.M. Elisabeth Murray, Caught in the Web of Words (Oxford: OUP, 1977) pp.169, 184.
9. See note 5 above.
10. The Battle of Maldon ed. E.V. Gordon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976) p. 26.
11. See note 2 to chapter 4 (p.322).
12. Bradley, op. cit., comments 'The Norman Conquest..introduced..an age in which all educated Englishmen.. for the most part, wrote nothing but French and Latin.' (p.397). Baugh, op. cit., substantiates this (see chapter 5), although it is also true that the written evidence suggests a greater domination by French than may actually have been the case. More French was written because 'French was the language of the court and the upper classes, English the speech of the mass of the people.' (Baugh, p.120).
13. See note 2 to chapter 4 (p.322).
14. See note 8 above.
15. Chase, op. cit.
16. The OED is not comprehensive in its treatment of slang and cant terms. Further evidence and examples of criminal slang can be found in Eric Partridge's Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English 8th edition, ed. Paul Beale (London: R\&KP, 1982). According to Partridge approximately \(50 \%\) of the items in his dictionary are slang and cant, and the dictionary contains around \(35 \%\) more slang words than Farmer and Henley's Slang and Its Analogues and the OED taken together (Partridge, Preface to the First Edition, p.xiii). Many more slang words peculiar to crime and criminals are to be found in A Dictionary of the Underworld, also by Partridge, 3rd edition (London: R\&KP, 1968).
17. This is acknowledged Supplement (and latterly New OED) policy in the Oxford Dictionary Department.
18. See note 5 above.
19. Chase, op. cit. See especially chapter 5, p. 468 ff., and p. 481 ff.
20. Combinations usually form the last numbered section of an OED entry, and the section is headed 'Comb.' or 'In Combinations' or 'Attrib. and Comb.', or some other variation on this. Combinations can also appear as main entries.
21. Where possible, etymologies are based on the information in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 3rd edition with etymologies revised by G.W.S. Friedrichsen and revised Addenda (1973), as its etymologies are the most up-to-date available in a comprehensive historical dictionary. For words not in SOED the OED and Supplement were consulted. For common current words the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (1966) and, where it could be useful, the Concise Oxford Dictionary 7th edition (1982) were consulted.
22. Baugh and Cable, op. cit., p.178.
23. Were there a substantial number of items which had come into

Old English through Latin, they would be counted separately, but as there is only one, there is little to be gained from treating it separately, and it is sufficient simply to draw attention to it. Chase, op. cit., obviously counts separately those items which came in to late 01d English on account of the religious revival accompanying the Benedictine reform. See Chase p. 493 note 3, and Baugh and Cable, op. cit., p. 84.
24. OED, SOED, ODEE, and COD are not consistent in their terminology for words of French or Anglo-Norman origin. OED and COD use OF (Old French) and AF (Anglo-French). For the same terms SOED uses OFr and AFr. ODEE uses OF and AN (Anglo-Norman, another name for Anglo-French). In this study Fr is used to cover all these variations and varieties.
25. Many of the taboo words referred to here may not be taboo any longer, but were considered to be so at the time the euphemism was coined or the abbreviation first used.
26. See note 25 above.
27. See Baugh, op. cit., chapter 5
28. See 0. Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language 9 th edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967) pp.86-7, and A.C. Baugh, 'The Chronology of French Loan Words in English' in Modern Language Notes 50 (1935) pp.90-93.
29. Chase, op. cit., pp.468-489.
30. ibid., p.468.
31. Perhaps the sample of the Religious lexis which was studied does not contain any such items. There are certainly very few in the Good and Evil sample.
32. Chase, op. cit., pp.478-9.
33. ibid., p. 480 .
34. Baugh (1935) op. cit. See also Chase, op. cit., pp.487-9.
35. Work on other semantic fields drawn from Historical Thesaurus data is currently in progress and may in due course produce further statistics for comparison.
36. Jespersen, op. cit., p.86.
37. Koszal conducted a similar survey on the second half of the alphabet in the OED to that conducted by Jespersen on the first half. See Jespersen, op. cit., p. 86 for details.
38. For an account of this and the Jespersen study see Baugh and Cable, op. cit., pp.177-8.
39. Koszal's sample fell short of 1000 words as \(Q, U\), and \(W\) did not yield a full 100 words each: see Jespersen, op. cit., p.86.
40. Chase, op. cit., says, 'It is quite likely, moreover, that even broad similarities of pattern will disappear when a disparate lexical field..becomes available for comparison' (p.489).

\section*{Chapter 6}

\section*{Animal Metaphor in the NP Subdivision}

\subsection*{6.1 Introduction}

This chapter consists of a detailed examination of all the items in the classification which come under the NP (noun, person) subdivision, and which are made up, in whole or in part, of a name for an animal.

These items were chosen because they form a manageably small but complete unit ( 164 items), and yet they are drawn from across the classification (they come from 25 different categories). The restriction of the source to the subdivision \(N P\) does mean that some 'animal' items which are applied to people are excluded. This is because they are also applied to things and therefore come under the subdivision NTP (noun, thing or person). For example, 'the cat's whiskers' (in GA5) is under NTP as it can be applied as a term of excellence both to people and to things. As a result it - and others like it - are not included here.

Because all the selected items are partly or wholly animal names they can also be considered in terms of their places in the animal kingdom (and in a zoological classification). Their roles as animal names can then be related to their roles in the Good and Evil classification. By means of this relationship - between animal names, and names for good or evil people - the application of animal metaphor and the comparative time gaps between the literal and metaphoric uses of an item are made available for study.
6.2 The Spread of the Animal-based NP Items

        There are 164 such items in the classification and their distri-

bution is as follows:

\begin{tabular}{lcr} 
CATEGORY & ANIMAL NAMES IN NP & TOTAL ITEMS \\
GA5 Excellent & 5 & 38 \\
GAll Virtuous & 1 & 5 \\
GC14 Fortunate & 1 & 5 \\
\multicolumn{2}{c}{ Good Total } & 7
\end{tabular}

EA1 Evil 6

\begin{tabular}{llrr} 
EA4 & Hellish & 3 & 4 \\
EA5 & Diabolical & 2 & 25
\end{tabular}

EA6 Offensive \(4 \quad 10\)

EA8 Heinous 1 4
EB1 Inferior 84 ..... 257
EB2 Worthless ..... 86
EB3 Roguish ..... 119
EB4 Ruffianly ..... 67
EB6 Wretched ..... 25
EB7 Base ..... 10 ..... 44
EB8 Villainous ..... 25
EC2 Straying ..... 1 ..... 6
EC5 Criminal ..... 41
EC8 Corrupt ..... 8
EDI Treacherous ..... 5
ED9 Sneaky ..... 9
EE3 Playf. Misch. ..... 24
EE4 Harmf. Misch. ..... 23
EE5 Spiteful ..... 3
EE6 Ill-Willing ..... 15
EE12 Savage ..... 13 ..... 30
Evil Tota1 ..... 157 ..... 905
Good \& Evil Total ..... 164 ..... 953

These 164 items are drawn from categories containing a total of 953 NP items. Those categories not listed either have no NP section, or the \(N P\) section they do have does not contain any 'animal' items. Among them though, they contribute a further 269 NP items. \({ }^{1}\) This means that the 164 animal items are drawn from a total of 1222 NP items and that they therefore form \(13.42 \%\) of the NP total.

The proportion of animal-based items in each NP subdivision varies considerably. In some, as in EE4 and EE5, it is almost 100\% (although the actual numbers involved are very low). In others, as in EB3, the proportion is very small, in this case less than \(3.5 \%\).

There are considerably more animal items in Evil than there are in Good. The Good part of the classification has only seven such items, while the Evil part has 157. The Good items are drawn from three categories containing a total of 48 NP items (other Good categories contain a further 113 NP items). This means there are seven animal items in Good NP, out of a total of 161 NP items which is \(4.3 \%\). The Evil items come from 22 categories which together contain 905 NP items. A further 156 such items are in other Evil categories, making a total of 1061. Therefore there are 157 animal items in Evil NP, out of 1061 - which is \(14.8 \%\).

It is also evident that in general there are many more NP items in Evil than there are in Good (1061 as opposed to 161).

The spread of the animal items across the categories deserves comment - particularly in the Evil categories. In Good the items only fall into GA5, GAll, and GC14. One entire section, GB Good \& Right contains no names for people derived from animal names. In Evil, by far the largest number of animal items occurs in the section

EB Evil \& Inferior. Seven of the ten categories in EB contain a total of 109 such items. The largest number of animal items in any single category occurs in EB1 Inferior, whose \(N P\) subdivision includes terms of abuse, contempt, and reproach. Evil to Self/Other (section EE) has the second largest number of animal items (27), almost half of which are in category EE12 Savage. Section EA also has quite a few (16), while EC and ED have, like Good, a very low number (five between them).

\subsection*{6.3 The Four Animal Groups}

These animal-based items can be divided into four basic groups according to the way, or form, in which they are used as names for people. The four groups are as follows.
(i) This group covers any straightforward animal name which is applied directly to a person, as 'frog', 'bitch', 'rat', etc. Also included here are obsolete or unusual animal names, as 'foumart' and 'morpion'. They are explained in column two of the tables below.
(ii) Covered in this group is any word (or phrase) which is used of an animal in a figurative or transferred sense, and is subsequently applied to a person. Included here are items like (in GA5) 'thoroughbred' (an excellent animal, especially a horse) and (in EBl) 'trundle-tail' (a curly-tailed dog). They are also explained in column two below.
(iii)This group covers any animal name which is used in combination with another word, or even with an affix, to form an NP entry. For example, 'fish face' (EBl) or 'viperess' (EB6).
(iv) This last group covers any animal name making up one word of a
phrase, which forms an NP entry. There is only one item in this group - 'cock of the walk', in GA5.

Groups (i) and (ii) are similar, in that both contain items which are used of people in exactly the same lexical form as they are used of animals. Groups (iii) and (iv) are also similar. They both contain items in which the animal name has been combined with one or more other words, or with an affix, to form the NP sense.

\subsection*{6.4 The Structure of the Tables}

The clearest way of showing the distribution of the animal items in the NP subdivision is in a series of tables. These are set out on the following pages. They include the literal (animal) and metaphoric (NP) uses of each item, the first date of each kind of use, and the time gap between the dates of the two uses.

The tables are set out in a way which takes the similarities between (i) and (ii), and (iii) and (iv), into account. The items which fall into (i) and (ii) are covered first, each category being dealt with in turn. The categories are then repeated and the items which fall into (iii) and (iv) are covered.

The items covered include seven entries for mythical animals. Four words are for serpent, one is 'dragon', one is 'scolopendra' (a word for a mythical sea creature), and the last is 'basilisk' (a name for a fabulous reptile).

Some of the items in the tables are followed by an asterisk. This indicates that, in some way, their entry in the tables is not straightforward. In the notes which follow the tables each asterisked entry is commented on, and the point relating to it is outlined and explained.

The items themselves are set out in the same order in which they occur in the classification. Where an item comes under a subordination within an NP subdivision, this is indicated in the left hand column of the tables.

It should be borne in mind that each item is included on the basis of its sense in a particular category. The same item may therefore occur more than once in different senses in different categories (or even in different subordinations in the same category).

There are seven columns in the tables. Reading from left to right, each column covers the following details.
1. The category - number and title - to which the item belongs. Also given here, where appropriate, is the subordination (title, preceded by the relevant number of full stops) in the NP subdivision within which, in some categories, a number of items occur. This is normally indented by two spaces, but where it applies to the first item in a category, and cannot fit into the first line because of the space taken up by the category number and title, then it follows, without any indentation, at the beginning of the second line (as in EBl, on the first page of the tables).
2. The group which the item belongs to.
3. The item as it occurs in the classification (modern English forms are given except for words which date from \(O E\) in the classification, which are presented in their OE form).
4. The animal for which the item - or one of its elements - is a name. This is often a repetition of 3 , but is sometimes a paraphrase, or a more common name for an unusual or obsolete
animal name. Also, where the item is transferred in its application to an animal (as 'thoroughbred') the more normal name for the animal is given in this column.
5. The first recorded date in the OED (or Old English dictionaries) for this word as applied to an animal.
6. The first recorded date in the OED (or O1d English dictionaries) of the item as a name for a person.
7. The time gap, in years, between 5 and 6. 01d English dates are, for this purpose, treated as cl000, and dates such as al300, cl300, and 13.. are all treated as cl300. In each of these cases the number of years of the gap is preceded by ' \(c\) '.

\subsection*{6.5 The Tables (overleaf)}
GROUPS (i) \& (ii)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Group & Lexical Item & Animal Used For & First Date as Animal & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { First Date } \\
& \text { as NP }
\end{aligned}
\] & Date Gap in Years \\
\hline GA5 Excellent & (ii) & thoroughbred flyer & excellent animal, esp. horse bird, insect & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1842 \\
c 1440
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1894 \\
& 1930
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
52
\]
\[
490
\] \\
\hline EAl Evil & (i) & shrew sherew shrow & \begin{tabular}{l}
shrew \\
shrew \\
shrew
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
c 1250 \\
13.0 \\
\text { c1375 }
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c250 } \\
& \text { c300 } \\
& \text { c375 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { EA5 Diabolical } \\
& \text { (.female) }
\end{aligned}
\] & (i) & dragon haggard & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { dragon } \\
& \text { wild female hawk }
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
c 1220 \\
1567
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1508 \\
& 1658
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
c 388 \\
91
\end{gathered}
\] \\
\hline EA6 Offensive (.plural) & (1) & vermin crab* vermin & vermin crab vermin & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 13. . } \\
& \text { OE } \\
& 13 . .
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1581 \\
& 1825 \\
& 1562
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{c} 281 \\
& \mathrm{c} 825 \\
& \mathrm{c} 262
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EA8 Heinous & (i) & monster & misshapen animal & al300 & 1556 & c256 \\
\hline EBI Inferior (.abuse) & (i) & \begin{tabular}{l}
frog \\
shrew \\
swine \\
wariangle \\
paddock \\
baboon* \\
cockatrice \\
spink \\
rook \\
sow \\
pig \\
toad \\
spider
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
frog \\
shrew \\
swine \\
shrike (bird) \\
frog \\
baboon \\
serpent \\
finch (bird) \\
rook \\
sow \\
pig \\
toad \\
spider
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E \\
& O E \\
& O E \\
& c 1386 \\
& c 1350 \\
& c 1400 \\
& 1382 \\
& c 1425 \\
& O E \\
& O E \\
& \text { OE } \\
& \text { OE } \\
& \text { OE } \\
& 1340
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& c 1330 \\
& 1362 \\
& \text { c1380 } \\
& \text { a1400/50 } \\
& \text { a1450 } \\
& \text { c1500 } \\
& 1500 / 50 \\
& 1508 \\
& 1508 \\
& 1508 \\
& 1546 \\
& \text { al568 } \\
& 1568
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c330 } \\
& \text { c362 } \\
& \text { c380 } \\
& \text { c14/64 } \\
& \text { c100 } \\
& \text { c100 } \\
& 118 / 138 \\
& \text { c83 } \\
& \text { c508 } \\
& \text { c508 } \\
& \text { c321 } \\
& \text { c568 } \\
& 228
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline  &  \\
\hline  &  \\
\hline  &  \\
\hline  &  \\
\hline  &  \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { O } \\
& 0 \\
& 0 \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & त \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { in } \\
& 0 \\
& 00 \\
& 00 \\
& 0 \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & EBI contd． \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Group & Lexical Item & Animal Used For & First Date as Animal & First Date as NP & Date Gap in Years \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EBl contd. \\
(..male) \\
(..female) \\
(.reproach) \\
(..female)
\end{tabular} & (i) & \begin{tabular}{l}
insect \\
grubworm \\
hund \\
cur \\
cad-worm* \\
teg* \\
puss \\
dog's head \\
gib \\
scolopendra*
\end{tabular} & ```
insect
grub
hound
dog
larva
yearling sheep/
female deer
cat
baboon
cat
myth. sea creature/
centi-/millipede
``` & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1601 \\
& 1752 \\
& \text { OE } \\
& \text { al225 } \\
& 1653 \\
& 1530 / 37 \\
& \\
& \text { al530 } \\
& 1591 \\
& \text { c1400 } \\
& 1590 / 1608
\end{aligned}
\] & 1684
\(1807 / 8\) OE 1590 1630
a 1529
\[
\begin{array}{r}
1608 \\
1676 \\
\text { a1529 } \\
1633
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 83 \\
& 55 / 6 \\
& - \\
& c 365 \\
& -23 \\
& -c 1 / 8 \\
& \\
& c 78 \\
& 85 \\
& c 129 \\
& 43 / 25
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
(.abuse) \\
(.contempt)
\end{tabular} & (ii) & \begin{tabular}{l}
streaker \\
curtal \\
pismire \\
trundle-tail \\
turnspit
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
swift hunting hound horse w. docked tail ant \\
dog (w. curly tail) \\
dog (in treadmill)
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1375 \\
1530 \\
\mathrm{c} 1385 \\
1486 \\
1576
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1500 / 20 \\
& 1578 \\
& 1569 \\
& 1614 \\
& 1683
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 125 / 145 \\
& 48 \\
& 184 \\
& 128 \\
& 107
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EB2 Worthless
(.female) & (i) & \begin{tabular}{l}
dog \\
hilding \\
rip \\
sculpin \\
rip
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
dog \\
worthless beast, horse worthless horse small worthless fish worthless horse
\end{tabular} & OE 1589 1778 1672
\[
1778
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
c 1325 \\
1601 \\
\\
1797 \\
1833 \\
1791
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c325 } \\
& 12 \\
& 19 \\
& 161 \\
& 13
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{EB3 Roguish} & (i) & shreward & shrew & OE & 1297 & c297 \\
\hline & (ii) & shake-bag & large fowl, fighting cock & 1663 & 1794 & 131 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Group & Lexical Item & Animal Used For & First Date as Animal & First Date as NP & Date Gap in Years \\
\hline EB4 Ruffianly & (i) & keelie & kestrel & 1808 & a1825 & c17 \\
\hline EB6 Wretched & (i) & wyrm & serpent & OE & OE & - \\
\hline EB7 Base & (i) & \begin{tabular}{l}
whelp \\
beast \\
brock \\
reptile \\
skunk \\
tiger \\
white mouse*
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
young animal \\
beast \\
badger \\
reptile \\
skunk \\
tiger \\
white mouse
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { OE } \\
& c 1220 \\
& O E \\
& 1390 \\
& 1634 \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \begin{tabular}{l}
c1330 \\
c1400 \\
al600 \\
1749 \\
1841 \\
1849 \\
1850
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
c330 \\
c180 \\
c600 359 207 c849
\end{tabular} \\
\hline EC2 Straying & (ii) & stray & straying animal & c1440 & 1605 & c165 \\
\hline ED1 Treacherous & (i) & serpent & serpent & c1305 & 1382 & c77 \\
\hline ED9 Sneaky & (ii) & sheep biter & dog worrying sheep & 1548 & 1601 & 53 \\
\hline EE3 Playf. Misch. (.young) & (i) & \begin{tabular}{l}
monkey \\
irchin \\
varment \\
hurcheon
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
monkey \\
hedgehog \\
vermin \\
hedgehog
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1530 \\
\mathrm{c} 1290 \\
1539 \\
\mathrm{c} 1325
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1604 \\
& 1625 \\
& 1773 \\
& 1785
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
74 \\
\text { c335 } \\
234 \\
\text { c460 }
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline EE5 Spiteful (.female) & (i) & bitch wild cat & \begin{tabular}{l}
female dog \\
wild cat
\end{tabular} & OE
\[
1557
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { al400 } \\
& 1573 / 80
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& c 400 \\
& 16 / 23
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { EE6 Ill-Willing } \\
& \text { (.and petty) } \\
& \hline
\end{aligned}
\] & (i) & basilisk attercop viper wasp & ```
fabulous reptile
spider
viper
wasp
``` & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { al300 } \\
& \text { OE } \\
& 1526 \\
& 0 \mathrm{E}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1475 \\
\mathrm{c} 1505 \\
1591 \\
1508 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
c 175 \\
c 505 \\
65 \\
c 508
\end{gathered}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Group & Lexical Item & Animal Used For & First Date as Animal & First Date as NP & Date Gap in Years \\
\hline \multirow[t]{8}{*}{EE12 Savage} & \multirow[t]{10}{*}{(i)} & docga & dog & OE & OE & - \\
\hline & & wolf & wolf & OE & c1205 & c205 \\
\hline & & beast* & beast & c1220 & c1210 & -10 \\
\hline & & & lion & OE & al225 & c225 \\
\hline & & tiger & tiger & OE & 1500/20 & c500/520 \\
\hline & & vulture & vulture & c1374 & 1603 & c229 \\
\hline & & hyena & hyena & 1340 & 1671 & 331 \\
\hline & & panther & panther & c1220 & 1868 & c648 \\
\hline \multirow[t]{3}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (.female) } \\
& \text { (.and ignorant) }
\end{aligned}
\]} & & she-dragon & female dragon & 1500/20 & 1838 & 338/318 \\
\hline & & brute & lower animal & 1611 & 1670 & 59 \\
\hline & (ii) & bandog & chained guard dog & c1425 & 1610 & c185 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Group & Lexical Item & Animal Used For & First Date as Animal & First Date as NP & \begin{tabular}{l}
Date Gap \\
in Years
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{GA5 Excellent} & (iii) & pure merino rare bird & sheep bird & \[
1781
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1827 \\
& 1890
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{gathered}
46 \\
c 890
\end{gathered}
\] \\
\hline & (iv) & cock of the walk & cock & OE & 1823 & c823 \\
\hline GAll Virtuous & (iii) & juno's swan & swan & OE & 1592 & c592 \\
\hline GC14 Fortunate & (iii) & lucky dog & dog & OE & 1844 & c844 \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
EA1 Evil \\
(.female)
\end{tabular} & (iii) & black sheep hellicat* hell cat & sheep cat cat & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
1792 \\
1816 \\
\mathrm{a} 1605
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c } 792 \\
& \text { c } 816 \\
& \text { c605 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline  &  & － & \begin{tabular}{l}
 \\

\end{tabular} \\
\hline  &  & － & \begin{tabular}{l}
 \\

\end{tabular} \\
\hline  & 떵 떵떵 & \(\dot{\sim}\) &  \\
\hline  &  & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \underset{\sim}{E} \\
& \underset{\sim}{E} \\
& \underset{\sim}{5}
\end{aligned}
\] &  \\
\hline  &  &  &  \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& 0 \\
& 0 \\
& 0 \\
& 0 \\
& 0
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\underset{\sim}{\pi}
\] & \[
\underset{\sim}{\text { I }}
\] & \(\xrightarrow{\text {－}}\) \\
\hline  &  &  &  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Category & Group & Lexical Item & Animal Used For & First Date as Animal & First Date as NP & Date Gap in Years \\
\hline EBl contd. (.title)
(.reproach) & (iii) & \begin{tabular}{l}
snakeship \\
gaol bird
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
snake \\
bird
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1839 \\
& 1603
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c839 } \\
& \text { c603 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EB2 Worthless (.female) & (iii) & houndsfoot loose fish & hound fish & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{OE} \\
& \mathrm{OE}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1710 \\
& 1827
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c710 } \\
& \text { c827 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EB3 Roguish & (iii) & \begin{tabular}{l}
sheepman \\
gallow's bird
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
sheep \\
bird
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1640 \\
& 1785
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c640 } \\
& \text { c785 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EB6 Wretched & (iii) & wyrmlic & serpent & OE & OE & - \\
\hline EB7 Base & (iii) & \begin{tabular}{l}
dogbolt \\
hang-dog \\
dirty dog
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { dog } \\
& \operatorname{dog} \\
& \operatorname{dog}
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1465 \\
& 1687 \\
& 1928
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& c 465 \\
& \text { c687 } \\
& \text { c928 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline EB8 Villainous & (iii) & feondulf & wolf & OE & OE & - \\
\hline EC5 Criminal & (iii) & lone wolf & wolf & OE & 1909 & c909 \\
\hline EC8 Corrupt & (iii) & scabby sheep & sheep & OE & 1728 & c728 \\
\hline EE3 Playf. Misch. (.boisterous) & (iii) & cowboy* & cow & OE & 1942 & c942 \\
\hline EE4 Harmf. Misch. & (iii) & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { fire-bug } \\
& \text { ratbag }
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { bug } \\
& \text { rat }
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1642 \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1872 \\
& 1937
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{array}{r}
230 \\
c 937
\end{array}
\] \\
\hline EE6 I11-Will (.fem) & (iii) & viperess & viper & 1526 & 1647 & 121 \\
\hline EE12 Savage & (iii) & wolver boarship & \begin{tabular}{l}
wolf \\
boar
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& O E \\
& O E
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 1593 \\
& 1796 \\
& \hline
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { c593 } \\
& \text { c796 }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{6.6 Notes on the Tables}

Seven different features are commented on below. The notes are accordingly arranged into seven groups - one for each feature. In each group the notes are presented in the order in which the items occur in the tables.
1. Items which are possibly not based on animal names.

EA6 (i) crab This item has been treated as if it is derived from 'crab' the shellfish. It may instead be from 'crab', a common name for the wild apple. 'crab-staff' and 'crab-stick'
- in the same NP subdivision - are both from the wild apple name.

EBI (i) baboon The first recorded use of this item as a name for an animal is in c1400. The same item in the sense 'a grotesque figure' has a first date in the OED of cl325. The NP sense may possibly be derived from this earlier sense rather than from the animal sense.

EBI (i) pilcher This item may not be related to pilchard at all. Pilchard is only ever used to mean a fish. Pilcher, on the other hand, could equally well be derived from 'pilch' (a jerkin or doublet) or 'pilch' (to rob) and could have meant 'one who wears a pilch' or 'one who pilches', before being used as as a term of abuse.

EB1 (i) runt In 1501, 48 years before its first use in the sense 'a small ox or cow', this word
is recorded with the meaning 'a tree stump'. The NP sense - first recorded in 1614 could be drawn from either of these earlier senses, although it is more likely to have come from the animal sense.

EBl (i) windsucker This item is directly derived from 'windfucker' (the kestrel) - probably as a euphemistic variant - and appears 281 years after 'windfucker' is first recorded. It is included as an animal-derived item on this basis.

EAl (iii) hellicat This item has been treated as if it is derived from the word cat. In fact, it may be an alteration of the word 'halok' which means 'a foolish woman' and is first recorded in 1508.
2. One item which has possibly never had an animal sense.

EBI (i) creature In the OED 'creature' is defined as 'anything created' (sense 1) or 'a living being, often as distinct from man' (sense 2). Both senses date from al300. Sense 3 'a human creature' dates from cl300. The sense in the classification - a term of contempt dates from al400/50 and is clearly derived from an earlier general sense of creature, but whether or not it is specifically from an animal sense is not entirely clear.
3. Items possibly derived from more than one animal sense.

EBI (i) teg See note under 4 below.
EBI (i) scolopendra This item is first recorded in 1570 meaning 'a fabulous sea monster', and in 1608 meaning 'a centipede or millipede'. The NP sense, first recorded in 1633, could be derived from either of these animal senses.
4. Items where the NP sense antedates the animal sense. \({ }^{2}\)

EBI (i) land-rat This item is first recorded as a term of abuse in 1596. In its animal sense - 'a rat which goes on the land' - it first appears in 1609. The fact that the NP sense antedates the animal sense by 13 years suggests that perhaps the \(N P\) sense derives from 0 E ræt (rat) plus 'land', rather than from 'land-rat' as one word. However, the difference in years is not great and the item has been treated here as if it is from 'land-rat'.

EBI (i) beast This item is treated as if it is derived from the sense 'a living being or animal', first recorded in cl220. However, the item is actually recorded some ten years earlier (cl210) in an NP sense: see note on EEl2 'beast' below.

EBI (i) fox whelp This item is first recorded as a term of contempt in cl320, but it does not appear
as an animal name (meaning 'the young of the fox') until cl374, some 54 years later. Both fox and whelp individually date from Old English and it is likely that 'fox whelp' in an animal sense was known in spoken English from at least the same date as the NP sense, but was simply not recorded in written English before cl374.

EBI (i) teg As a term of contempt for a woman, 'teg' first appears in al529, one year before the sense 'a female deer in her second year' (1530) and eight years before the sense 'a yearling sheep' (1537). The NP sense could be equally well derived from either of these animal senses, although it antedates them both. The antedating is so small that it is probable that both animal senses were in existence, even if we do not have any written evidence, at the same time as the NP sense first appeared.

EB1 (i) cad-worm This item is first recorded as a term of contempt in 1630. As another name for the caddis or caddis-worm (the larva of the may-fly) it does not appear until 1654, 24 years later. However, once again the date gap is not enormous, and in addition 'worm' dates from Old English, and 'caddis-worm' from 1622.

EE12 (i) beast The first animal sense of beast appears in cl220 ('a living being or animal'). Further animal senses appear in c1230, but the \(N P\) sense 'a brutal, savage man' dates from cl210. As with 'teg' and others though, the difference in years is very slight and it seems likely that the animal and NP senses first began to be used at much the same time.
5. One item where the OED date has been altered.

EBl (i) foumart In the OED foumart meaning 'a polecat' is given a first date of 13.. . The source is Early English Alliterative Poems and, in keeping with the practice of the Historical Thesaurus compilers, \({ }^{3}\) this date has been altered to the more accurate cl375.
6. One item where the OED does not illustrate the animal sense. EB7 (i) white mouse In addition to the 'base person' sense the OED also defines this item as 'an albino variety. .of the common house mouse' and 'a name for the common lemming', yet it provides no examples of either of these animal senses. Therefore, unless the publication date of the OED fascicle Whisking-Wilfulness (which is 1924) is used, no first date for the animal senses can be given. As this date would postdate the 'base person' sense by some 74 years, there is no advantage in using it. As a result
the 'first date as animal' and 'date gap'
columns for 'white mouse' have been left
blank.
7. Items from group (iii) which have another, usually earlier, sense in addition to the one in the classification.
(a) Where OED records the earlier sense.

EB1 (iii) mole-catcher This item is first recorded as a term of abuse in 1603. In 1573, 30 years earlier, it appears in the sense 'one who catches moles'.

EBl (iii) wolf's fist In cl265 this item is first recorded meaning 'the puffball' (a fungus-like plant). It does not appear as a term of abuse until 1606, some 341 years later. It is likely that the term of abuse developed from the plant name, and that the item is linked to 'wolf', the animal, through this sense.

EB1 (iii) hog-rubber This term literally means 'one who rubs hogs'. The first quotation in the OED (1614) uses the item as a proper name, in a context where it can be understood both in this literal sense and figuratively, as a derogatory term. \({ }^{4}\) The first NP date is therefore the date of this quotation.

EB1 (iii) duck's meat In 1538 this item appears as the name of a kind of pondweed. It is not until 1599-61 years later - that it is used as a term of contempt for a man.

EE3 (iii) cowboy This item first appears in the sense
'a boy who tends cows' in 1725. In 1942 217 years later - it is used as a name for playfully mischievous person. It is likely that this sense is related to 'cow' the animal through the 'cowherd' sense, and especially through the American 'cattle rancher' sense (1849-- in OED).
(b) Where there is no actual evidence of the earlier sense. EB1 (iii) bull-beef The definition 'the flesh of bulls' is included in the OED, but no examples are given.

EB1 (iii) spider-catcher The sense 'one who catches spiders' is given in the OED, but it is not clear which sense the examples which follow actually illustrate. It is more likely that they are figurative, and that the item is used only as a term of abuse.

EB1 (iii) chicken shit The OED only defines and illustrates
this item as a term of abuse. However, it seems logical and obvious to suppose that it must also have, or have had, the meaning 'chicken droppings'.

\subsection*{6.7 The Literal/Figurative Time Gap}

The time gap between the first literal and first metaphoric uses of the items in the tables on pp .416 to 422 varies considerably. Those items which belong to groups (i) and (ii) - where the item
itself is simply transferred in its application from an animal to a person - are sometimes transferred after only a few years, and on other occasions take hundreds of years. 'Windfucker' (EBI) is recorded as a term of abuse only three years after it is first recorded as a word for a kestrel. This is doubtless largely due to the fact that '-fucker' is the second element of the word. 'Panther' on the other hand, is not recorded as a word for a cruel, savage person (EE12) until some 648 years after it first appears as an animal. These two examples are both extreme, but it is not uncommon for items with a difference of only 100 years or less to be side by side in the tables with items which have a difference of 300 years or more. For example, in EBl, 'babion' (a word for an ape) is first used as a term of abuse 25 years after it is recorded as an animal name, while 'rat', beside it takes 629 years to make the same transition.

The date gaps for items in groups (i) and (ii) are so widely varied that it would be unwise to draw conclusions from them.

The items in groups (iii) and (iv) are more consistent. These items comprise animal names which are used in phrases, or in compounds, or with affixes, to form transferred senses applied to people. Their transferral therefore involves some grammatical alteration or addition to the animal name, and is not a straightforward shift in application. Changes like this can take some time to occur and as a result this process is not swift. The time gap between the first literal and the first metaphoric use of the items in (iii) and (iv) is always fairly large.

Of the 54 items in these groups, all except two have a time gap of over 200 years. The two exceptions are 'pure merino' (GA5) and 'viperess' (EE6). 'Merino' is used of a sheep in 1781 and 'pure
merino' of an excellent person only 46 years later, in 1827. 'Viper' is first recorded in 1526, and 'viperess' meaning as ill-willing female person in 1647, just 121 years later. Otherwise the time gaps are much greater, and not uncommon in (iii) is a gap of more than 500 years. 'Dog's face' (EBI) is not recorded as a term of abuse before 1676, although 'dog' dates from OE (a gap of c626 years) and 'loose fish' (EB2) is not used as a name for a worthless person until 1827 although 'fish' also dates from 0 E (a gap of c827 years).

It clearly takes many years for the change to be effected which involves the combination of an item with other elements, and the subsequent use of this combination in a transferred sense. The tables provide ample evidence of this. The straightforward change in meaning of a word is often a much swifter process.

\subsection*{6.8 Good and Evil: The Relative Proportions}
G.N. Leech comments - in a discussion on semantic transfer that animal words which are applied to people are usually used unflatteringly. \({ }^{5}\) The evidence in the Good and Evil classification seems to bear this out. Of the 164 items in the tables, only seven are names for good people. None of these seven belongs to group (i), so no animal names are used in an unchanged form as names for good people. Two belong to group (ii). They are 'thoroughbred' and 'flier'. Neither item in isolation bears any obvious resemblance to an animal name.

Four of the Good items belong to group (iii) (animal names used in combination with other words). Again the item which is applied to a person is of a form quite distinct from the animal name. The last item belongs to group (iv) and hence forms one word of a phrase
which is applied to an excellent person.
Of the 157 animal-based items which are applied to evil people however, 98 belong to group (i), that is, they are animal names applied directly to people. Nine items belong to group (ii). Five of these occur in EBl and, as in Good, the items bear little relation to animal names (for example 'curtal' and 'turnspit' (both from EBI)). The remaining 50 items belong to group (iii).

These figures, and their distribution, are a clear illustration of the fact that animal names are applied much more frequently to evil people than to good people: The largest number of evil items belongs to the group which is made up of straightforward animal names, and the smallest number to the group where the item often cannot be directly connected with an animal name. No evil items at all belong to group (iv), in which the animal name forms one word of a phrase, but the second largest number belongs to group (iii) where the animal name - which is generally quite recognizably an animal name - is used in combination with another word or element. In a number of items in (iii) this other word carries a pejorative connotation instead of, or as well as, the pejorative connotation being conveyed by the animal name. In several items the other word is 'hell' and in several others it is 'whore'.

\subsection*{6.9 Metaphor}

An interesting area of study which an examination of the application of animal names to people reveals is that of the relationship between the animal (or its name) and the type of person to whom it is applied. Such relationships are examples of metaphor. The rest of this chapter deals with metaphor and with animal metaphor in
particular. It is prefaced by a brief discussion on the nature of metaphor in general.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary \({ }^{6}\) defines metaphor as '(the) application of (a) name or descriptive term or phrase to an object or action to which it is imaginatively but not literally applicable'.

According to Aristotle, one of the earliest writers to discuss metaphor, 'the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor ...it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars'. \({ }^{7}\)

Much more and by many others has been written on metaphor since. \({ }^{8}\) Metaphor is a type of semantic change - if a word is used of something in a way which is quite distinct from its literal, and often normal, application (as 'lion' in the sentence 'John is a lion') then we assign to the word a different meaning. Although the literal application is essential for our understanding of the word in a non-1iteral context, the meaning is not the same. \({ }^{9}\) Metaphor is often referred to as a kind of 'transfer', for example as 'transfer of meaning' or 'semantic transfer' or the like. \({ }^{10}\)

There are two essential criteria for a living metaphor to be successful. One is that the literal meaning of the word must be known to the reader (or speaker, listener, etc.). \({ }^{11}\) The other is that the word must occur in a context which suggests that its use is other than, or more than, literal. \({ }^{12}\) All the animal names in the tables are being used metaphorically when they are applied to people. Both criteria of metaphor are conveyed in the tables. The first column includes the title of the category and, where applicable, the headings of any subordinations within the NP subdivision. This effectively provides the metaphoric context of the item. The third
column gives the literal meaning of the word.
Many writers, when discussing metaphor, select as a basic example the application of an animal name to a person. \({ }^{13}\) R.A. Waldron also points out that 'the type of metaphor in which a similarity of evaluative response to tenor and vehicle \({ }^{14}\) is made the basis of the transfer can be illustrated least equivocally in the use of names of animals and objects for human beings. \({ }^{15}\)

\subsection*{6.10 Animal Metaphor}

There are very few works on animal metaphor which are directly relevant to the approach to the subject taken in this thesis. Gustaf Stern, in Meaning and Change of Meaning, includes a discussion on animal metaphor in a section entitled 'Metaphors based on Similarity' (p.320). In the course of this discussion he makes two important points. Animal names used for people are, he says, 'often depreciative, more or less abusive appellations for human beings' and 'the element of similarity is either a quality that is reprehensible or contemptible in itself, or else a quality that is neutral or favourable in an animal, but becomes reprehensible in a human being. \({ }^{16}\)

One article which does deal with the use of animal categories as verbal abuse is by Edmund Leach. 'Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse' \({ }^{17}\) makes a number of interesting points. Leach's approach is, not surprisingly, more anthropological than linguistic. He says (p.27) 'I shall be discussing the connection between animal categories and verbal obscenities...It is much easier to talk about the animals than about the obscenities. The latter will mostly be just off stage.'

He questions why animals should be used abusively of people: 'animal abuse seems much less easily accounted for. Why should..'you swine' carry the connotations it does when..'you polar bear' has no meaning whatsoever?' (p.29), and proposes that 'animal abuse is in some way linked with..the ritual value of the animal category concerned' (p.30).

\subsection*{6.11 A Simple Animal Taxonomy}

The following section of this chapter is concerned with establishing a connection between the animal names in the NP subdivision and the type of person to whom each name is applied.

The items are dealt with in the four groups in which they are set out in the tables, and which are explained on p.412. Within each group they are classified, on the basis of their animal names, according to an elementary Linnaean-based animal taxonomy. Their role in the animal taxonomy is then related to their role in the \(N P\) subdivision.

The subject of animal taxonomy is not one which it is relevant to discuss in depth in this thesis. Even at a simple level it is a complex and open-ended area of study. As Leach says, 'the English language classification of familiar animals is by no means alsimple matter. \({ }^{18}\) Therefore, in this study, only the partial classification which is used here is outlined and explained, and the subject is not taken any further. \({ }^{19}\)

The animal classification here is partial because it consists only of those levels which are necessary in order to cover the animal names in Good and Evil. Therefore, of the seven basic Linnaean levels no more than four are mentioned here. 20

The four are phylum, class, order, and family. Omitted are
kingdom (above phylum) and genus and species (below family) but included are two extra levels \({ }^{21}\) - subphylum and superorder. These six levels provide a hierarchy sufficient to cover every animal name mentioned in the NP subdivision of the Good and Evil classification. The partial animal classification used here is set out below.


In order to ensure that the headings are as clear and simple as possible, the terminology is no more Latinate than absolutely necessary.

Several points relating to these tables must be made. The order in which the headings under 'class' - and also the headings in other levels - are presented is a standard order in Linnaean based taxonomies. 22 The superorder 'ungulate' means 'having hoofs' and 'unguiculate' means 'having claws'. The other terms should not require explanation. \({ }^{23}\)

On the succeeding pages only the levels from class downwards are referred to. Presented in a vertical listing these are as follows.

\section*{Crustaceans}

\section*{Insects}

Arachnids
Fish
Amphibians
Reptiles
Birds
Mammals: Primates
Ungulates
Unguiculates: Carnivores: Cats
Dogs
Weasels
Insectivores Rodents

Each underlined word is the heading of a separate section under which the items are discussed. In addition there is, after Rodents, an extra section called Unclassifiable covering items like 'beast' and 'brute' which are non-specific animal terms (probably mammals) that cannot be classified any more precisely. This makes a total of 15 sections and they are discussed in the order given above.

A number of animal items in group (i) are applied to more than one kind of person and therefore recur in the Good and Evil classification. As a result there are 89 different animal names to cover 98

NP items. There is also - as already reflected in the tables (pp.416422) - a predominance of items from EBl, chiefly of terms of abuse.

\subsection*{6.12 Group (i)}

There are 98 animal based \(N P\) items in group (i). All are names for evil people. They fit into the animal classification as follows.
ANIMAL CLASSIFICATION \& ITEM CATEGORY \& NP USE

Crustaceans
crab
lobster

> EA6 offensive person
> EB1 term of abuse

\section*{Insects}
cad-worm
grubworm
louse
morpion
scarab
scarabee
wasp
insect

\section*{Arachnids}
attercop
spider
tick
Fish
dogfish
pilcher
thornback
sculpin
shad
scolopendra
conger

EB1 term of contempt for male
EBl term of contempt
EB1 term of contempt
EBl term of abuse
EBI term of abuse for male
EBI term of abuse for male
EE6 petty ill-willing person
EB1 term of contempt

EE6 ill-willing malevolent person
EB1 term of abuse
EB1 term of contempt

EBI term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse
EBI term of abuse
EB2 worthless person
EB1 term of abuse
EB1 term of reproach for female
EBI term of abuse for male

Amphibians
Erog
paddock
toad

\section*{Reptiles}
viper
reptile
cockatrice
serpent
wyrm
basilisk
dragon
she-dragon

\section*{Birds}
haggard
keelie
vulture
windfucker
windsucker
rook
spink
wariangle

\section*{Mammals: Primates}
babion
baboon
dog's head
monkey
Ungulates
pig
sow
swine
hilding
nag
rip
"
bulchin

EB1 term of abuse
EBI term of abuse
EBl term of abuse

EE6 ill-willing malevolent person
EB7 base person
EB1 term of abuse
ED1 treacherous person
EB6 wretched person
EE6 ill-willing malevolent person
EAS diabolical person
EE12 savage person, Eemale

EA5 diabolical person, female
EB4 ruffianly person
EE12 savage person
EB1 term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse
EBI term of abuse

EBI term of abuse
EBl term of abuse
EBI term of reproach
EE3 young playf. misch. person

EBl term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse
EBI term of abuse
EB2 worthless person
EBI term of abuse
EB2 worthless person
EB2 worthless person, female
EBl term of contempt
runt
teg
Unguiculates
Carnivores: cats
cat
gib
puss
wild cat
lion
panther
tiger
"
Carnivores: dogs
docga
dog
hund
cur
mongre1
bitch
"
brach
fox whelp
whelp
"
wolf
hyena
Carnivores: weasels
brock
fitchew
foumart
skunk

Insectivores
hurcheon
irchin
shrew
I
shreward

EBI term of abuse
EBI term of contempt for female

EB1 term of contempt
EB1 term of reproach for female
EB1 term of reproach for female
EE5 spiteful person, female
EE12 savage person
EE12 savage person
EB7 base person
EEl2 savage person

EE12 savage person
EB2 worthless person
EBl term of contempt for male
EBl term of contempt for male
EBI term of abuse
EBl term of abuse for male
EE5 spiteful person, female
EBl term of abuse for male
EB1 term of contempt
EBI term of contempt
EB7 base person
EE12 savage person
EE12 savage person

EB7 base.person
EB1 term of contempt
EBI term of contempt
EB7 base person

EE3 young playf. misch. person
EE3 young playf. misch. person
EAl evil person
EB1 term of abuse
EB3 roguish person
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
sherew & EAl evil person \\
shrow & EAl evil person
\end{tabular}

\section*{Rodents}
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
rat & EB1 & term of abuse \\
land-rat & EB1 & term of abuse \\
white mouse & EB7 & base person \\
porcupine & EB1 & term of abuse
\end{tabular}

\section*{Unclassifiable}
beast
"
"
brute
creature
monster
varmint
vermin
"

EBl term of abuse
EB7 base person
EE12 savage person
EE12 savage person
EB1 term of contempt
EA8 heinous person
EE3 young playf. misch. person
EA6 offensive person
EA6 offensive people

The order of the items within each of the sections is alphabetic where possible, but is sometimes divided further according to various animal based criteria. Those sections which are alphabetic are Crustaceans, Arachnids, Amphibians, Primates, Weasels, and Unclassifiable. The items in the non-alphabetic sections are distributed as follows:

Insects: two larvae, two lice, two beetles, one wasp (all seven in alphabetical order) and the general term 'insect'.

Fish: three specific fish names (alphabetic), two general names (alphabetic), one fabulous fish and one eel.

Reptiles: one specific reptile name, one general name, two items for serpent (alphabetic) and three items for fabulous serpents.

Birds: five birds of prey (alphabetic) and three other birds
(alphabetic).
Ungulates: three pigs•(alphabetic), three horses (alphabetic), two cattle (alphabetic) and one sheep or deer.

Unguiculates, cats: three domestic (alphabetic), one wild cat, and three wild 'big cats' (alphabetic).

Unguiculates, dogs: five items for male dog (alphabetic), two for female (alphabetic), two for young (alphabetic) and two wild (as they occur in the classification).

Insectivores: alphabetic (apart from the last two, which are as they occur in the classification).

Rodents: two rats (general and specific), one mouse and one porcupine.

Generally, the non-alphabetic sections above are arranged on the basis of finer taxonomic distinctions. Classes or orders are split up into families and genera. From the NP viewpoint however which is the viewpoint important to this thesis - these further zoological distinctions are only of value in so far as they can explain the distribution of the items in the above sections when this is other than alphabetic. The taxonomic distinctions are also often combined with a distinction between, and movement from, specific animal terms to general ones.

The Ungulates section is set out taxonomically (see more detailed comment below). The sections covering Insects and Rodents also follow this pattern, while at the same time including both general and specific terms. In four sections (Fish, Reptiles, Cats, and Dogs) the order follows an informal human view of animals which ranges from the familiar (to man) to the unfamiliar (while also, in the case of Fish and Reptiles, moving from the specific to the
general). One section (Birds) is set out in the opposite way, moving from the less familiar (from birds of prey, for which there are more items) to the more common (even if the names given here for the more common are unfamiliar words!).

A similar informal 'familiar - unfamiliar' approach is followed by Leach, in the article mentioned above (p.434). 24 Because Leach looks at animal names as applied to people from an anthropological viewpoint, he is principally concerned with man's perception of animals in relation to his (that is, man's) own sphere of living. 25

The animal groupings, particularly the larger ones, reveal some interesting facts.

The number of items falling into each class - from the largest down - are as follows:
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
Mammals & 51 \\
Insects & 8 \\
Reptiles & 8 \\
Birds & 8 \\
Fish & 7 \\
Arachnids & 3 \\
Amphibians & 3 \\
Crustaceans & 2
\end{tabular}

The greatest number belongs to the mammals - the class which is most familiar and similar to mankind (and to which mankind also belongs). The smallest number is in the class which is probably least similar to mankind - the Crustaceans. The pattern is roughly, but not entirely, borne out by the numbers inbetween. Insects, birds, and fish are all familiar to man and are well represented. However (in Britain) reptiles are less familiar, but still well represented, while arachnids, which are familiar to man, especially in the widely feared form of the spider, are poorly represented.

If we break down the mammals into orders (and superorder) they appear as follows:
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
Carnivores & 22 \\
Ungulates & 9 \\
Insectivores & 6 \\
Rodents & 4 \\
Primates & 4 \\
(Unclassifiable & 6 )
\end{tabular}

The Unclassifiable items cannot be allocated to any order, and are therefore not discussed further here. Of the others, it is interesting that primates, although closest to man, have the lowest number of items. This seems to contradict the first list in which the greatest numbers occurred in the classes most familiar to man. Perhaps names of primates are just too familiar, and too close to man, to be freely applied to people in a derogatory fashion. Otherwise the orders which are closer to man do have more items, and those less familiar (Insectivores and possibly Rodents) have fewer items. The order Carnivore is further broken down into families:
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
Dogs & 11 \\
Cats & 7 \\
Weasels & 4
\end{tabular}

The largest number of items belongs to the most familiar section (dogs being the animals which man has domesticated and established a closer relationship with than any other animals) and the smallest to the least familiar (cats are also domesticated but retain a greater degree of independence and tendency to the feral than dogs, while weasels are, in general, undomesticated). \({ }^{26}\)

These findings - that man applies to himself most often the names of those animals to which he is closest or with which he is most familiar - are also proposed by Leach in his investigations into people's attitudes to food, sex, verbal abuse, and other areas, in relation to their attitude to animals. \({ }^{27}\)

\subsection*{6.13 Comments on Individual Sections in Group (i)}

Points of interest can also be drawn - in some cases - from the sections individually.

Crustaceans. Only two items fall into this class, insufficient for any conclusions to be drawn

Insects. Of the eight items here, four are used as terms of contempt - a relatively large proportion. As insects are generally small and insignificant in relation to mankind their use as terms of contempt is appropriate. Three are terms of abuse (both words for beetle are terms of abuse for males), and one ('wasp') is used as a name for a petty ill-willing person.

Arachnids. As there are only three items here little can be said about them. 'Attercop' is the Old English word for a spider and literally means 'poison-head', so it is appropriate that it should be applied to an ill-willing malevolent person. 'Spider' however, is ultimately related to the word 'spin' and is simply used as a general term of abuse. A tick - very small and insignificant from man's point of view - is, like many of the insects, used as a term of contempt.

Fish. Five items out of seven here are terms of abuse. All are specific names for species of fish. One item is applied to a worthless person, and is itself a word for a worthless fish. A 'scolopendra' is used as a term of reproach for a female. There is nothing in the animal senses of 'scolopendra' to suggest that the word is particularly feminine, so this application probably comes from the fact that the ' \(-\mathrm{a}^{\prime}\) ending is feminine in Latin and other languages.

Amphibians. There are only three items here all of which are
terms of abuse.
Reptiles. The eight items here belong to seven different categories - a wide variety. A viper, like an attercop, is poisonous, and is therefore (like 'attercop') applied to an ill-willing malevolent person. A reptile - a low, crawling creature - is a base person. A serpent - doubtless on the basis of its role in the downfall of man in the garden of Eden - is a treacherous person. 'Wyrm' (which.is 01d English) is applied to a wretched person. In OE 'wyrm' can mean 'serpent or worm'. After the serpent was cast out of the Garden of Eden it was punished by being made to crawl on the ground as a worm. \({ }^{28}\) The application here of 'wyrm' to a wretched person may be based on this idea. A basilisk was a fabulous reptile with a fatal look or breath, and is applied here to a malevolent person.

Birds. The five birds here which are not birds of prey are used as terms of abuse. Not surprisingly this includes one with the ending '-fucker' and another with the corresponding euphemistic form '-sucker'. The vulture, as the most rapacious of the birds listed is, appropriately, applied to a savage person.

Primates. The applications of the four items here are not especially notable and require no further comment.

Ungulates. Animals from several different genera or families are included here. All are either insults or names for worthless people. The three items for pig are all terms of abuse. The three items for horse (all types of worthless horse) are applied to four kinds of people, as one is used twice, and of these applications three are to worthless people. One of the oxen-related items, 'bulchin' - which is a word for a bull-calf - is used as a term of
contempt. The fact that the animal name is applied to a young animal may be the reason why it is used contemptuously of a person. Contempt is more easily shown for something which is obviously inferior or insignificant in some way (see comments on Insects, above) and any young creature, simply by virtue of being young, can be regarded as possessing both these qualities (see also the comments under Dogs, below).

Cats. There are seven animal names here. One is applied to two different types of people, so there are eight different NP applications. Three of the seven items (two words for a domestic cat and the item 'wild cat') are specifically applied to females. Three other items are names for wild animals belonging to the cat family. All of these are applied to savage people. One, 'tiger', is also applied to a base person.

Dogs. There are 11 animal names here, two of which are applied to people in more than one way, giving a total of 13 NP applications. Four items are applied specifically to males. Of these, two are terms of contempt and are words for male dogs ('hund' and 'cur'). The other two are terms of abuse and are words for female dogs ('bitch' and 'brach').

One item is applied specifically to a female, and this is 'bitch', which is used to mean 'a spiteful woman'. It is interesting that the strongest terms of insult are those involving the application of a female animal name to a male person. It is also worth noting that the specific application of cat names is to women, while the specific application of dog names is chiefly to men.

In addition to 'hund' and 'cur' two other dog names are used as general terms of contempt. These are 'fox whelp' and 'whelp', both
items for kinds of young dogs. This lends more weight to the suggestion above, that names for young animals more readily lend themselves - because of the 'young' quality - to use as terms of contempt for people.

Three items are each used as a name for a savage person. One is \(O E\) 'docga', which was probably a broader term in \(O E\) than the term 'dog' is in Modern English. \({ }^{29}\) The other two are words for wild animals belonging to the dog family (used in the same way as the wild animals of the cat family).

Weasels. There are only four items here: two terms of contempt (both words for the polecat) and two names for a base person.

Insectivores. There are six animal items here, one of which is used twice, making seven NP applications. Two of the six ('hurcheon' and 'irchin') are words for hedgehog and four are words for shrew. Both words for hedgehog are used of a young playfully mischievous person and both are related to the word 'urchin'. \({ }^{30}\) Three of the words for shrew are applied to an evil person. One of these words is applied to two different kinds of people and in its other application it is used as a term of abuse. The fourth word for shrew is used of a roguish person.

Rodents. There are four items here, three of which are terms of abuse, but none of which require special comment.

Unclassifiable. Six items are listed here. One, 'beast', is used of people in three different ways, and another,'vermin', is used twice. Only one other - 'varmint' - deserves comment. This word is applied to a young playfully mischievous person and is a variant of 'vermin'. Along with 'hurcheon' and 'irchin' above it is a word for an animal, or animals, held in little regard by man, and
is applied here to a young person. These three items all share a common relationship between 'inferior' and 'young' - as do items already mentioned under Ungulates and Dogs above - but this time inferior is of the animal and young is of the person, the reverse of the 'roles' of the items in Ungulates and Dogs.

\subsection*{6.14 Group (ii)}

Only 11 NP items derived from animal names belong to group (ii). Two are used of good people and nine are used of evil people. They fit into the animal classification as follows:

ANIMAL CLASSIFICATION \& ITEM

\section*{Insects}
pismire EB1 term of contempt
flyer (see Birds)

\section*{Birds}
flyer
shake-bag

\section*{Mamma1s: Ungulates}
thoroughbred
curtal

\section*{Unguiculates}

Carnivores: dogs
bandog
sheep-biter
streaker
trundle tail
turnspit
stray

GA5 excellent person
EBl term of abuse
CATEGORY \& NP USE

GA5 excellent person
EB3 roguish person

The most significant point which can be made about the animal names in group (ii) is that they are chiefly applied to people in a manner which is based on their transferred sense, rather than on
any qualities which they may possess as animals. Their NP sense is drawn from a human perception of one of their features or characteristics.

Insects. One item here is a term of contempt. It is based on a name for an ant drawn originally from two words (piss and mire) used to describe the unpleasant smell of an ant-hill. In group (i) four of the eight insect names are used as terms of contempt, so this one in group (ii) can be regarded as further evidence of a general tendency.

Birds. There are two items here. The first, 'flyer' (also used of an insect), is applied to an excellent person. The basis for this is doubtless the view that a person who is excellent is also one who is above the rest and who therefore can be regarded as flying. The second item is a name for a fighting fowl, which is applied to a roguish person, probably more on the basis of the 'fighting' quality than the 'fowl' element, but perhaps chiefly because the item itself has the disreputable sounding name of 'shake-bag'.

Ungulates. 'Thoroughbred' is applied to an excellent person on the basis of the high and pure breeding of the animal so called (a quality introduced by man) rather than on the basis of any feature inherent in the animal itself.

Dogs. There are six items here. The first five are set out in alphabetical order, followed by one general item. Again the NP applications are based chiefly on a role or characteristic of the animal as attributed to it by man. A 'bandog' - a chained guard dog - is applied to a savage person. A 'turnspit' - a dog which turns a spit, i.e. which plays a menial role - is a term of contempt.

There is no immediately obvious reason why a 'streaker' should be a term of abuse, but the word is a name for a type of hunting hound, and in group (i) a name for a female hunting hound ('brach') is also used as a term of abuse - specifically for a male.

A11 the group (ii) items which belong to the dog family are animals which have been mastered by mankind and are to a greater or lesser degree domesticated.

As in group (i) more items belong to mammals than to any other class (eight of the eleven) and the majority of the mammals (six of the eight) belong to the dog family.

\subsection*{6.15 Group (iii)}

54 items belong to this group - four from Good and 50 from Evil. They are distributed within the animal classification as follows:

ANIMAL CLASSIFICATION \& ITEM CATEGORY \& NP USE

\section*{Insects}
fire bug EE4 harmf. misch. person
flea trap
EBI term of abuse
louser
louser-up
EB1 term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse

\section*{Arachnids}
spider catcher
EBl term of abuse

Fish
fish face
loose fish
conger head
EBI term of abuse
EB2 worthless person
EB1 term of abuse for male

\section*{Amphibians}
toad's guts EB1 term of abuse
Reptiles
snakeship
EB1 title of contempt
viperess
wyrmlic
Birds
chicken shit
duck's meat
juno's swan
hell kite
gallows bird
gaol bird
rare bird
whore's bird
Mammals: Ungulates
boarship
hog-rubber
bull-beef
cowboy
cowson
black sheep
pure merino
ram-skyt
scabby sheep
sheepman
Unguiculates
Carnivores: cats
chuff cat
hell cat
hellicat
Carnivores: dogs
dirty dog
dogbolt
dog's face
hang dog
lucky dog
she dog
hellehund
hell hound

EE6 malevolent person, female
EB6 wretched person

EBl term of abuse
EBI term of contempt for male
GAll virtuous person
EA4 hellish person
EB3 roguish person, deserving hanging
EB1 term of reproach
GA5 excellent person
EBl term of abuse for male

EE12 savage personality
EBl term of abuse
EB1 term of abuse
EE3 boisterous playf. misch. person
EB1 term of abuse
EAl evil person
GA5 excellent person
EBl term of abuse
EC8 corrupt person
EB3 roguish person

EBI term of abuse
EAl evil person, female
EAl evil person

EB7 base person
EB7 base person
EBI term of abuse
EB7 base person
GCl4 lucky person
EBI term of abuse for female
EA4 hellish person
EA4 hellish person
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
hound's foot & EB2 worthless person \\
hound's head & EB1 term of abuse \\
bitch clout & EB1 term of abuse for male \\
bitch son & EB1 term of abuse for male \\
whore's kitling & EB1 term of abuse for male \\
bear wolf & EB1 term of abuse \\
feondulf & EB8 villainous person \\
lone wolf & EC5 criminal person, working alone \\
wolf's fist & EB1 term of abuse \\
wolver & EE12 savage person
\end{tabular}

\section*{Insectivores}
mole-catcher
EBl term of abuse

\section*{Rodents}
ratbag EE4 harmf. misch. person

\section*{Unclassifiable}
verminaille
EA6 offensive people
The order of the items in each section above parallels, where it is possible and convenient, the order in group (i). Those with more than one item, and whose order is not purely alphabetical, are as follows:

Fish: two general fish terms (alphabetic) and one item for eel. Birds: three types of bird (alphabetic), one bird of prey, four general terms with the word bird (alphabetic).

Ungulates: two pigs (alphabetic), three cattle (alphabetic), five sheep (alphabetic).

Unguiculates, dogs: six items for (male) dog (alphabetic), four items with 'hound' (alphabetic), two female dogs (alphabetic), one young, five wild (alphabetic).
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
Mammals & 33 \\
Birds & 8 \\
Insects & 4 \\
Fish & 3 \\
Reptiles & 3 \\
Arachnids & 1 \\
Amphibians & 1
\end{tabular}

The order is similar to that of group (i), although there are no crustaceans. The largest number of items come under mammals, and the smallest under Arachnids and Amphibians. Inbetween, although in a slightly different order, are Birds, Insects, Fish, and Reptiles.

If we divide the mammals into their different orders (and superorder) their sequence is the same as that in group (i):
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
Carnivores & 21 \\
Ungulates & 10 \\
Insectivores & 1 \\
Rodents & 1
\end{tabular}

In group (i) there were 22 carnivores out of 88 animal items, while in group (iii) there are 21 out of 53-a considerably higher proportion. These 21 are divided up into two families:
\begin{tabular}{lr} 
Dogs & 18 \\
Cats & 3
\end{tabular}

Group (i) has only eleven items which belong to the dog family, so group (iii) has a higher number and a considerably higher proportion of its whole. As has already been mentioned (p.444), of all the animals covered in the \(N P\) subdivision, the dog is the domestically closest to mankind and names for dogs are those most often used of people.

The items in group (iii) chiefly consist of two kinds: those which follow the pattern of group (i) and those which follow the pattern of group (ii). There are also a number which are terms of abuse purely because they associate a person with the name of an animal - the precise animal is not important, as the abuse lies
simply in the association. Animals are inferior to man, and in that light the application of virtually any animal name to a person could constitute abuse. Items like this here include one under Arachnids ('spider-catcher'), one under Amphibians ('toad's guts'), and one under Insectivores ('mole-catcher').

\subsection*{6.16 Comments on Individual Sections in Group (iii)}

Some sections provide points of interest worthy of comment, particularly when compared with the points drawn from groups (i) and (ii).

Insects. Three of the four items here are terms of abuse. One, 'flea trap', seems to be like 'spider-catcher' and others referred to above - abuse simply because an animal name is being used of a person. In two items the agent noun ending '-(e) \(r^{31}\) has been added to the animal name (louse becoming louser) and an abusive application has developed from the word 'louser' as a name for a person (originally 'one who removes lice from' - an occupation despised both in its own right and because of its associations). The fourth item, a term for a harmfully mischievous person, 'fire-bug', derives its application as much if not more from the 'fire' element in the item as from the animal part. 'Fire-bug' is a name for an arsonist and it is on that basis that it fits in here as one who is harmfully mischievous.

Fish. Only three items belong here, two of which include the actual word 'fish': One, linked with '-face'; is a general term of abuse. The other is qualified by 'loose' (which, according to the OED, is applied to people to mean either 'relaxed' or 'free from moral restraint') and is used of a worthless person. The third item, 'conger-head', has the same application as 'conger' in group (i) -
both are terms of abuse for a male person.
Reptiles. Again, there are only three items here. Two are worthy of comment. Both have corresponding items in group (i) - that is (like 'conger' above), group (i) has the simple animal name, group (iii) has the same name accompanied by an affix or other word, and both are applied to the same kind of person. 'Viper' (group (i)) is applied to a malevolent person and 'viperess' (group (iii)) to a malevolent female person. \({ }^{32}\) 'Wyrm' (i) and 'wyrmlic' (iii) are both names for a wretched person.

Birds. There is very little connection between the eight items here and those (also eight) in group (i). In group (iii) there is only one bird of prey which, probably because of its additional element ('hell'), is applied to a hellish person. \({ }^{33}\) Group (i) has five items which are used as straightforward terms of abuse, while group (iii) has only one. Many of the group (iii) items also obviously derive their NP sense from another element in the item, rather than from the bird name part. This includes the one Good item, 'rare bird', in which the excellent quality is conveyed by 'rare' (OED sense 6 '...of uncommon excellence..; remarkably good or fine') rather than by 'bird'. One other - 'whore's bird' - is interesting, because it is a term of abuse applied specifically to a male. The 'bird' part means 'male offspring, or child' (OED sense lc) and is derived from 'bird' meaning 'young bird' (OED sense l). It is an item used abusively of a male in which the abuse lies in a view of the male as the offspring of a derogatory type of female - a whore being a kind of woman who is generally viewed with contempt. (See also comments below on 'cowson' and 'bitch' and others.)

Ungulates. Like Birds above, there is much greater variety in
this section than in the corresponding section in group (i). The ten items in group (i) are from two NP categories, while the ten in group (iii) are from seven categories. There is a further difference between (i) and (iii) in the zoological families and genera covered and the relative numbers of each. In group (i) there are three items which are kinds of horse, and only one which is a word for a sheep. Group (iii) does not have any horse-based items, but it does have five sheep-based items. Each of these five is used of a different kind of person. As with other items in (iii) the second element plays an important part in indicating the good or evil quality and specifying the kind of person to whom the animal is applied. This leads to a much greater diversity of application of the items in (iii) in comparison with those in (i).

One interesting word here is 'cowson'. This is a term of abuse, and although the OED, and hence this classification, does not specify that its application is purely male, and in some of the examples in the OED its application is not clear from the context, it is unlikely that it would be used to describe a woman. It is hence similar to 'whore's bird' above, in being a phrase meaning the offspring of a female, where the word for female is itself derogatory or vulgar, \({ }^{34}\) and where the phrase is used abusively, chiefly of a male.

Cats. There are only three items here. Two include the word 'hell' yet belong to EAl - general evil people - rather than to EA4 - hellish people. The connection between 'cat' and one item, 'hellicat', is questionable (see note on p .424 ). The other item 'hell-cat', is only applied to females - as are three of the cat items in group (i). This tendency - that names for cats are more likely to be
applied specifically to women - is discussed in more detail overleaf.

Dogs. There are' 18 items here. A number are general terms of abuse, or are items applied to people, on the basis of the meaning of the non-animal element. These include the first five and the last five items (apart from the final one, which is simply the animal name 'wolf' turned into the agent noun by the addition of the '-er' suffix (see note to 'louser', p.455)). Of those remaining, three are terms of abuse for males. They cover, and also bring together, two points already touched upon concerning the relationship between items used for females and terms of abuse for males.

The first point is that a female animal name, when applied to a male person, is a strong term of insult. This was already noted in the commentary on 'bitch' etc. in group (i) (p.447). Here, in group (iii), 'bitch-clout' is one of the items used as a term of male abuse.

The second point is that a strong male insult is also formed when the male is seen as the offspring of a female, and the term used for the female is derogatory. In this case the animal part of the item can be either the derogatory female word, or the 'offspring' word. This point has already been mentioned in the discussions above on 'whore's bird' (where the offspring is the animal) and 'cowson' (where the female is the animal).

Another term of male abuse here is 'bitch son'. 'Bitch' is both a female animal (which covers the first point) and a derogatory name for a woman. 'Son', in this context, is the male offspring of a bitch - and hence of this derogatory female term (which covers the second point). So both points made above come together in the item
'bitch son'. 35
A third such term is 'whore's kitling'.' This embodies a further illustration of the second point, and the animal name forms the 'offspring part'.

There are two items both of which include the word 'hell' and both of which are applied to a hellish person. It would appear that 'hell', when combined with an animal name, can either form an item meaning a general 'evil person' (as in Cats above), or can form one meaning a specific 'hellish person' ( as here and in Birds above).

Another relationship brought to light by the facts and commentary above is that which exists on the one hand between cats and names for females and on the other hand between dogs and names for males.

In group (i) three of the eight \(N P\) applications under Cats are specifically of women. None are specifically of men. In group (iii) one of the three cat items is specifically of a woman, making four out of eleven in all.

Under Dogs in group (i) there are 13 NP applications, four of which are restricted to males. One is restricted to females. In group (iii) three of the 18 items are used specifically of males, and again one is only of females. This means that out of the 31 dog items in groups (i) and (ii), seven are specifically male, and only two are female.

These restrictions are related to man's perceptions of cats and dogs (and other members of these animal families, although in general the specific male and female applications are restricted to names for the domestic species). The dog is seen as man's companion or 'man's best friend' and it also often plays a useful working role. \({ }^{36}\)

It is linked with male humans, and therefore it - and, in a strongly abusive sense, it in its female form - is more readily used as a name for males. The cat on the other hand is traditionally seen as a woman's companion - for the woman living alone or, even more traditionally, as a familiar for a witch. \({ }^{37}\) It is therefore more natural to apply names for cats to females.

Rodents. There is only one item here, 'ratbag', which on its own cannot generate any valuable comments. It is also not related in any specific way to any of the rodent items in group (i).

Unclassifiable. Again, there is only one item here, 'verminaille', and no special points can be made.

\subsection*{6.17 Group (iv)}

There is only one item in this group, as follows:

\section*{ANIMAL CLASSIFICATION \& ITEM CATEGORY \& NP USE}

\section*{Birds}
cock of the walk GA5 excellent person

As with 'ratbag' and 'verminaille' above, little can be said about one single item. This is one of five animal items from GA5, three of which involve names for birds. However, none belong to group (i), and each is therefore transferred or qualified in some way. In all three cases the non-animal element is essential for the effectiveness of the item in its application to an excellent person (see comments under Birds in groups (ii) and (iii) above).

A number of significant points have been raised and discussed
in this chapter.
The relationship between animal names and the kinds of people to whom these names are applied was subjected to close study.

Four clear groups of names for people based on animal names were established. The time gap between the first literal use of an animal name and its first transferred (or metaphoric) use, of a person, was clearly shown in a series of tables. It emerged that a straightforward animal name could be used of a person only a few years, on the one hand, or hundreds of years, on the other, after its first recorded animal use. An animal name forming part of a combination or phrase applied to a person, however, generally took some hundreds of years after its first animal appearance before being used, with other words or elements, of a person.

Considerably more names for evil people - even allowing for the larger size of the Evil part of the classification - turned out to be derived from animal names.

The study of animal metaphor, whch forms the second part of the chapter, also revealed some interesting points. Within the context of a zoological classification, it emerged that man's perception of animals, particularly in terms of how they are used of people, is generally based on an informal human-centred view, ranging from the familiar and domesticated to the unfamiliar or wild. This was indicated by the relative numbers of animal names drawn from different zoological classes, and the kinds of people to whom the animals were applied. Some interesting points and parallels arose. Names for small or young animals tend to be used as terms of contempt. Cats (chiefly domesticated) tend to be used as names for women, while dogs (also chiefly domesticated) tend to
be names for men. Abusive terms for men are often names for female dogs, or words for the male offspring of a contemptuously viewed female. The items which belong to group (iii) sometimes base their NP sense on the connection between an animal name and a name for a person (usually an agent noun) and sometimes on the non-animal part of the item, in which cases the animal part appears to have less significance in the context of this study.

Many of the above are hitherto unrevealed or unproven points about animal metaphor and the role of animal names as names for people.

\section*{Notes to Chapter 6}
1. The animal-based NP items are spread across 25 (out of the 93) categories in the classification. 22 categories have no NP items at all. This means that the other 269 NP items are spread over 46 categories. Their numerical distribution is as follows:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline GA3 & - 21 & GC2 & - 10 & EB10 - & 1 & ED5 & 8 \\
\hline GA6 & - 3 & GC4 & - 6 & EC1 & 33 & ED7 & 8 \\
\hline GA7 & - 15 & GC5 & - 1 & EC3 & 8 & ED8 & 2 \\
\hline GA8 & - 6 & GC6 & - 5 & EC4 & 8 & ED11 & - 1 \\
\hline GA9 & - 1 & GC8 & - 1 & EC6 & 2 & EEI & - 22 \\
\hline GA12 & - 4 & GC11 & - 3 & EC7 & 4 & EE8 & - 1 \\
\hline GB1 & - 2 & GC12 & - 6 & EC9 & 1 & EE9 & - 1 \\
\hline GB3 & - 1 & EA2 & - 1 & EC10 & 1 & EE10 & - 1 \\
\hline GB5 & - 8 & EA3 & - 3 & EC11 & 9 & EE13 & 2 \\
\hline GB6 & - 7 & EA7 & - 1 & EC12 & 8 & EE14 & - 5 \\
\hline GB7 & - 5 & EAl0 & - 1 & ED3 & 8 & & \\
\hline GCl & - 8 & EB5 & - 15 & ED4 & 1 & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
2. It is worth bearing in mind that although the OED always endeavoured to find the earliest recorded date for an item, its first dates should only be taken as a guidance rather than an absolute ruling, and a small discrepancy between dates should not be taken too seriously. See the comments on the weaknesses of the OED in chapter \(1, \mathrm{pp} .3-4\).
3. In fact not all the Historical Thesaurus compilers do (or did) this, but in keeping with those who did, and with scholarship in general, which now accepts c1375 as the standard date for these poems (the Middle English Dictionary and current work on Oxford historical dictionaries use it) it has been adopted here.
4. The item occurs in Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair (q.v. Three Comedies (London: Penguin, 1966) V.iv.158-160).
5. G.N. Leech, Semantics 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1981) p.214, '..the way in which animal words are applied metaphorically (and usually unflatteringly) to human beings'.
6. 7th edition, 1982 .
7. Aristotle, Art of Poetry ed. W.H. Fyfe (Oxford: OUP, 1940) p.62.
8. R.A. Waldron, in Sense and Sense Development 2nd edition (London: Andre Deutsch, 1979), mentions several people who have discussed metaphor, and outlines some of their views. See especially pp.l62-167. Notable works of this century which deal with metaphor include William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity (London: The Hogarth Press, 1930, 1984), I.A. Richards, The Philosophy of Rhetoric (Oxford: OUP, 1936, 1964) especially pp.89-138, and Gustav Stern, Meaning and Change of Meaning (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1931) especially pp.301-330.
9. For a discussion on the metaphoric meaning of 'lion' when applied to (for example) John, see Stern, op. cit., p. 301 ff.
10. I.A. Richards, op. cit., p.135, refers to 'discussions of 'transference' - another name for metaphor..'. Charles Barber's Early Modern English (London: Andre Deutsch, 1976) has a section called 'Transfer: Metaphor' ( \(p\).154) in which he says that change involving 'a leap to a remote semantic area..is often called transfer.' G.N. Leech, op. cit., says 'if we take metaphor as one type of semantic transfer..' (p.214).
11. John Lyons, Language, Meaning and Context (London: FontanaCollins, 1981) says (under the assumed persona of the 'addressee')
'I can work out the non-literal meaning..on the basis of the literal meaning' (p.215).
12. Stern, op. cit., p.304, says, of the comprehension of a metaphor, 'It is always the context that guides the hearer to a rapid and correct actualization of that.. meaning which is intended by the speaker.' G.W. Turner, Stylistics (London, Penguin, 1973) points out ( p .132 ) that 'a word is metaphorical only when it has both literal and figurative meaning together. A metaphor cannot..exist without a context.'
13. See Stern, op. cit., p. 310 ff., Lyons, op. cit., pp.213-215, Leech, op. Cit., p.214, and Waldron, op. cit., p.184.
14. For an explanation of the terms 'tenor' and 'vehicle' see Richards, op. cit., p. 96 ff.
15. Waldron, op. cit., p.184.
16. Stern, op. cit., p. 320.
17. Edmund Leach, 'Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse' in New Directions in Language Study ed. E. Lenneberg (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964) pp. 23-64.
18. ibid., p.54.
19. Further information about animal taxonomy can be found in among other works - G.G. Simpson, Principles of Animal Taxonomy (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), Lord Rothschild, A Classification of Living Animals (London: Longman, 1961), and Classification of the Animal Kingdom: An Illustrated Guide (London: Readers Digest, Hodder and Stoughton, 1972).
20. The levels and composition of the Linnaean hierarchy are detailed in G.G. Simpson, op. cit., pp.16-19. Simpson also says ( p .18 ) 'no animal is considered to be satisfactorily classified unless it has been placed..in some definite group at each of the seven levels.' I am also indebted to Mrs Lorna Knight for the information contained in some sections of a Linnaean-based taxonomy, forming part of her work on the
classification of animals for the Historical Thesaurus of English.
21. G.G. Simpson, op. cit., lists 21 possible levels (p.17).
22. This order is used in the Classification of the Animal Kingdom (see note 19 above).
23. If explanation is necessary the words can all be found in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, 7th edition, 1982.
24. Leach, op. cit.
25. ibid. Leach's view of man's perception (specifically the 'English' perception) of animals is set out on p.44.
26. Katharine M. Briggs in Nine Lives: Cats in Folklore (London: R\&KP, 1980) comments, in the context of their relative places in folk mythology, that 'The dog had been..long a servant of man...The cat had retained a wildness and independence of its own' (p.75).
27. Leach, op. cit., pp.37, 53.
28. See Genesis chapter 3, especially verses \(14-15\).
29. Old English terms are often broader and more general in their application than their Modern English counterparts. See comment in chapter 2, p. 108.
30. 'Urchin' is not covered in the main part of the Good and Evil classification, but it does appear in Appendix I.
31. OED '-er \({ }^{2 \prime}\) suffix.
32. Note that 'viperess' belongs to group (iii), as the formation is only ever applied to a person, and has not developed from an earlier meaning of 'a female viper'. 'She-dragon', on the other hand, is used first of a female dragon and is only later transferred in use to a person. It therefore belongs in group (i).
33. 'Hellish' person simply designates one who is placed under the category Hellish, in the Evil part of the classification. A fuller explanation of what this means can be found in chapter 4, pp. 282-283.
34. The Concise Oxford Dictionary designates 'cow' both derogatory and vulgar and defines it as '(a) woman, esp. (a) coarse or unpleasant one'.
35. Similarly, they come together in 'son of a bitch', but like 'urchin' this item is not in the main classification, but is covered in Appendix I.
36. Briggs, op. cit., says 'the dog works as a rule with the men' (p.33) and 'Men as a whole had an affection for dogs' (p.83).
37. ibid. Briggs comments 'The cat..works under the guidance of women' (p.33) and 'In common tradition all over the country it is hard to separate the witch from her black cat' ( p .87 ).

\section*{Appendix I}

\section*{Supplementary Classification}

The classification which forms chapter 3 of this thesis is based on material which was drawn from selected areas of the Historical Thesaurus archive between October 1981 and April 1984. Since then many additional items have been added to these areas, chiefly from the latter volumes of A Supplement to the OED (not compiled or available for compilation for the Historical Thesaurus in 1984), but also from the OED, as in the process of reclassification of other sections of the archive, items have been located which more properly belong in Good and Evil, and they have been transferred (see chapter 2, esp. pp. 43 to 57).

These supplementary items are of several kinds. Most are completely new chiefly 20 th century items from the Supplement and are not already covered in the classification. Some are repetitions of items which are already in the classification, but with additional dating information - chiefly with later quotations (e.g. 'well-doer', in GA3 NP). Others are items, often with a currency of some centuries, which were not under any of the Roget numbers drawn on for the Good and Evil classification, but which have since turned up under some other number, and which clearly belong in Good and Evil (e.g. 'son of a bitch' in EBI NP, and 'urchin' in EE3 NP).

There are a total of 404 items in this appendix. They are set out below within the structure of the Good and Evil classification. Each is allocated to one of the Good or Evil categories. Within their category, each is placed in one of the established subdivisions as 1isted in chapter 2 (pp. 94 to 97 ). Sometimes a subdivision which
is not used in a category in the main classification will be used here, to accommodate the new material (e.g. AjP under EB3). Subordinate headings, which are flexible according to the nature of each category, are created as required. Because the material below is supplementary and therefore incomplete there are many gaps in the classificatory structure, and there are also, on occasion, subordinate headings (preceding further subordinate headings) which have nothing in them. In general these headings do contain items in the main classification, but as these items are not repeated here, they appear blank (e.g. the headings under EC5 NP).

GOOD

\section*{GA2 SATISFACTORY}

AjG right as rain 1894--; quies/quash/quois 1919--; ridge 1938-Austral slang; tickety-boo 1939- collog; ridgy-didge 1953-Austral slang.

Int swell 1930-..

GA3 GOOD

AjE swinging 1958--.
AjG (as) good (nice, sweet, etc.) as pie 1857--; on (full) song 1967- collog. - of condition: in tone 1500/20-1647; in good nick 1905-- slang. - of a well-behaved convict: trusty 1856-- orig. US.

NX snap 1864--. - and resembles a light: ray 1634--. -an exclamation expressing: shabash 1843 (1). -spec. a year and for a particular thing: vintage year 1933-..

NT sweetheart 1942-- N.Amer; a snip of a (thing) 1952+1953 (2).

NP well-doer cl450-1684+1961; my tulip 1847+1895 (2); white-hat 1975-- slang, orig. US.

VG -by approaching an ideal: not to be the rose but to be near it 1818--.

Int shabash 1886--; quaiss kitir 1898-~ Mil slang.
PhX she's/she'll be right 1947-- Austral \(\underline{N}\) NZ colloq.

\section*{GA5 EXCELLENT}

AjG trim cl530--; rip-roaring 1834--; ripsnorting 1846--; gorgeous 1883-- colloq; outasight/out-a-sight/outasite 1893-- slang, chiefly US; smooth 1893-- colloq; super 1895-- slang; out-of-sight 1896-- slang; top-notch 1900--; top-shelf 1905 (1); smashing al911-- colloq; pulchritudinous 1912--; scrummy 1915-colloq; posh 1918-- slang; snodger 1919+1924 (2) Austral \& NZ slang; top-drawer 1920--; wicked 1920-- slang; shrieking \(\overline{1926}-\)-; swell 1926-- US; terrific 1930-- colloq; plenty 1933-- slang; solid 1935-U US slàng; too much 1937--; tough 1937-- US slang (orig. Blacks); top-flight 1939--; sharp 1940-- orig. US slang; super-duper 1940-- colloq, orig. US; righteous 1942--; in there 1944-- US slang; stud 1944-- chiefly US slang; supersonic 1947-colloq; reussi 1948--; ripe 1948-- slang; ridiculous 1959--;
supercool 1970-- slang, chiefly US.
- and splendid, noble: purhbeorht OE.
-apparently: shiny 1915+1970 (2).
NQ scrumptiousness 1881 (1); rippingness 1910+1927; splendiferousness 1934-- joc.

NT roarer \(1827-\) - twanger \(1877+1889\) slang; purler 1941-- orig. slang; snodger 1941+1950 (2) Austral \& NZ slang; sockeroo 1942-slang, orig. US.

NTP ripsnorter 1840-- orig. US; trimmer 1878-- chiefly Austral \(\underline{\text { NZ }}\).
NP. top-flighter 1950+1959.
AvM scrumptiously 1844--; splendiferously 1900-- joc; in a big way 1927~- orig. US; at the top of one's form 1933-~; snodger 1946 (1) Austral \(\& \mathbb{N Z}\) slang.

Int good show 1940--.

GA6 SURPASSINGLY EXCELLENT

AjG too too 1881--; supercolossal 1934-- US colloq. -and superior in quality: tiffany 1973+1978 (2).
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        .as if derived from a text-book: text-bookish 1914--; text-book
        1916--
    NQ classiness 1958--.
NT rolls-royce 1916--.
NTP superstar 1925--.
.state of being: superstardom 1973+1977.
GA7 BEST
AjG vintage 1939--.
NQ . and highest
..in ranking of excellence: top flight 1958--.
NT premier cru 1965--.
AvM summa cum laude 1900--.
GA9 WORTHY
AjG plum 1958--; three-valued 1965--.
NQ valorousness 1727+1920+1922.
NT relic cl385-c1470.
AvM pricelessly 1910 (1).

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\section*{GAll VIRTUOUS}
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    AjG .by being beyond reproach: squeaky(-)clean 1975--.
    NQ virginity 1975--.
    NP .ironically: plaster saint 1890--.
    VM whiten (vt) cl440 (1); envirtue (vt) 1692 (1); virtuefy (vt)
        1834-- rare.
    ```
    GA12 HONOURABLE
    AvM in the way of honesty 1595-1639.
    VG to go straight (vp) 1845-- colloq.

GBI MORAL

AjG .making: moralizing 1869--.
.in a political context: politico-moral 1875--.
NQ .false: pseudo-morality 1943 (1).
NX moralizer 1840 (1).
NA moralizing 1677-1691/98.
-that increases morality: bot OE; moralization 1848--.
- to a higher level: rehabilitation 1868--.
-.again: remoralization \(1967+1974\).
NP moralizer 1600-1837; moraller 1604 (1) rare. .false: pseudo-moralist 1964 (1).

VM (ge)godian OE; moralize (vit) 1592--.
-again: remoralize (vt) 1974 (1).
-by discourse or reflection: moralize (vt) 1722-1807/8. - to an increased level: better (vt) 1587--; moralize (vt) 1633--.

VB .to an increased level: stigan OE.

GB2 CONSCIENTIOUS

AjP well-conscienced al500+1534.
NQ. .personal: the bird in the bosom \(1550+1820\).

GB3 IMPARTIAL

AjG value-neutral 1946--; value-free 1949--.
NQ value-freedom 1959--.

GB4 FAIR

AjG well-dealing 1590 (1).
NP - female: sportswoman 1906--.

GB5 RIGHTEOUS, JUST
AjG .of a drawn sword: right-drawn 1593 (1) Shksp.

AjP .in thought: right-thinking 1829--.
NQ standardness 1972 (1).
- personified: themis \(1784+1880\) (2).
orthopraxis 1951--.

NP .in thought: right-thinker 1931+1961. - who is a spiritual leader: tsaddik 1873--.

AvM . despite the risk of unpopularity: on the side of the angels 1864--.

GB6
HONEST

AjG square-shooting \(1922+1932\) (2) slang, orig. \& chiefly US; straight-cut \(1936+1939\) (2) slang.

NP square-shooter 1914-- slang, orig. \& chiefly US; straight shooter 1928-- slang, chiefly US.
-who is not a criminal: square(-)head 1890-- criminal slang. - to an uncompromising extent: (a) sea-green incorruptible 1931--. - plural
-.community of: overworld 1938--.

GB7 TRUSTWORTHY

AjG well-trusted al586+1667+1856; straight-up 1910-- colloq. - to criminals: right \(1856--\) criminal slang.
-proved by experience: tried and true 1954--.
AjA trust 1967--.
AjT trusty 1596--.
NQ traistness 1456 (1).
VM ge-treowsian OE.

GB8 PROPER, FITTING

AjG proprietous 1844--.

AvM proprietously 1913 (1).
VG to play propriety (vp) 1836-(1925).

GCl KIND

AjG .and sympathetic: connate 1836 (1). - and sweet: figgy 1548 (1).

NAC .plural
- a source of: pie-counter 1903+1912 fig.

NP .who dashingly rescues others: Scarlet Pimpernel 1958--.

GC2 BENEFICIAL

NX plus 1959--.
-plural: points 1897--.
meat 1886--.
to stand to (vt) 1907-- Ang1o-Irish.
.from opposing standpoints: to have it both ways (vp) 1914--.

WELL DISPOSED

AjP well-meant 1849 (1) rare.

GC6 GENEROUS

AjG outgiving 1942--.
NQ outgivingness 1768--.
PhX The value of something lies in the sentiment behind it: it is the thought that counts 1934--.

GRACIOUS
\(N X\).that is an influence: sunshine al596--.

TENDER

AjP tender-hefted 1605 (1); soft-centred 1957--.
NQ soft-centredness 1967--.
NP tender-heart 1904 (1).
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CG14 FORTUNATE, LUCKY
NX thrift 13..-1679; faustity 1729(1).
-and rare: luck in a bag 1649-1711.
NTP .that gains from two other parties: tertius gaudens 1892--.
AvM fair 1606+1867 obs exc arch.
PhX May good befall: sonse fa' 1719-- Sc; more power to (someone)
1842--; floreat 1888--.

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PhXX Everything happening in one's favour: everything coming (or going)
    one's way 1903--.
EVIL
EAl EVIL
AjG *weargol OE; nefast \(1849+1887\) (2) rare.
NT .an influence which is: whammy 1940-- colloq, orig. \& chiefly US.
NP noughty pack 1526-1553.
VM forwyrcan OE.
    .by devoting to evil: desecrate (vt) 1825--.
EA4 HELLISH
AjG verdomd(e)/verdoemde 1850-- S.Afr slang.
    - and terrible: tartareous \(1619+1667\) (2).
EA5 DIABOLICAL
NP Iuciferian 1647 (1).
EA6 OFFENSIVE
AjG slaggy 1943-- slang.
    .of humour, a joke: sick 1959-- colloq.

AjP .in one's sense of humour: sick 1959--.

VG suck (vi) 1971-- slang.

EA8 HEINOUS

AjP terrible 1859-.
NP .plural (of two): terrible twins 1976--.

EB1 INFERIOR

AjG tail 1765--.
-and in receipt of abuse: well-abused 1879 (1).
AjP .according to another's insult/abuse: white-arsed 1922-- slang; turdish 1936-.

NP -according to another's term of abuse: wilrone 1508-al568 Sc; sod 1818-- vulgar; soor 1848-- Anglo-Indian slang; stink-pot 1854-- slang; swine-hound 1916 (1) rare slang; shitepoke 1926+ 1936 (2); so-and-so 1929-- euphem; son-of-a-bitching 1930--; son 1951 (1).
..male: son of a bitch 1707--.
.. black: smoke 1913-- US slang; spook 1945-- slang, orig. \& chiefly US.
- according to another's term of contempt: pup \(1589+1856+1870\); cheap skate 1896--; skate 1896--; stink 1916-- slang; tripe-hound 1923-- slang; swipe 1929-- slang; slag 1943-- slang; shower 1949-- slang; shite-hawk 1958--; tosser 1977-- slang.
- male: three-letter man 1946-- colloq.
. Who is foolish: twerp/twirp 1925-- slang; putz 1964-- US slang.

EB2 WORTHLESS

AjG stinko 1924-- (1) slang, orig. US; shoddy 1927--.
AjP blackguard 1784--; blackguardly 1847--; punk-ass \(1972+1977\) slang.
NC blackguardism 1785--; blackguard(e)ry 1881--.
NT stinking fish 1935--.
NP trash-bag 1886 (1) dial; suck-egg 1892-- US dial; punk 1917--;
ring(-)tail 1926-- US slang; suck 1974-- Canad. slang.
-male: stiff \(1899+1909\) slang.
.female: baggage 1596--.
```

AvM blackguardly 1827 (1); shickery 1851+1859 (2) slang;
rottenly 1905--.
VG shabby (vi) 1898 (1) rare.

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EB3 ROGUISH
AjG varlet 1456-1563; skellum 1673-- chiefly \(\underline{\&}\) now only \(\underline{S}\).Afr.
AjP ronk 1877/1905-- dial.
ND .esp among the English: vice anglais 1942--.
NP truant cl290-1656; two-for-his-heels 1837 (1); skeezicks 1850--
    US slang.
    -female: knavess 1833 (1) Carlyle.
    -young: pickle 1811 (1).
    -smart, and frequenting cities: slicker 1900-- orig. \& chiefly
        US.
    -who deserves hanging: thevis nek c1450+1549 (2) Sc.
    title for: knaveship 1589--; knavery 1871 (1).
AvM knavely cl592 (1) rare.

EB4 RUFFIANLY

AjP thuggish 1953--.
.and young: teddy-boyish 1960-- colloq.
.in streets in S.Africa: tsotsi-ism 1952--.
tough 1866-- orig. US; trog 1956-- slang; leather-jacket 1959--;
oafo 1959-- slang.
-who frequents the streets
.-in S.Africa: tsotsi 1949--.
..in Birmingham: peaky blinder 1896--.
-hired: trigger man 1930-- slang chiefly US. -nocturnal: night(-)man 1928--.
. on horseback: night-rider 1877--.
-young: tearaway 1938--; voyou 1901--; teddy boy 1954-- colloq.
-.female: teddy girl 1955-- colloq.
.. state of being: teddy-boyism 1959-- collog.
.black: skolly boy 1934-- S. Afr; skolly/scolly/scollie 1961-S.Afr.
- collectively: gangland 1928-- orig. US.
..a club of: hell-fire club 1721-.
VG thug (vi) 1937-- US.

DISSOLUTE

NP polecat 1598-1790.
- female: strumpet 1545--; chippy 1886-- slang orig. US.

EB7 BASE

NP footer 1753-1825; low-1ife 1911--.

EB9 FOUL, FILTHY
AjG shitty 1924-~; puk(e)y 1965-- collog.

EB10 ACCURSED

AjG as an everyday imprecation: sinful 1880-- colloq; putrid 1883-colloq; qualified 1886-- euphem slang; sodding 1912-- slang; septic 1914-- slang; somethinged 1922 (1) rare euphem; terrible 1925--; socking 1941+1945 (2) euphem; soddish 1959 (1).

NC soddishness 1938--.
NTP curse 1382-(1838).
AvM . of everyday imprecations: terribly 1930-- collog.
VU as an everyday imprecation: sod (vt) 1904~- slang.

ECl WRONG-DOING, TRANSGRESSIVE

AjG trespassing 1731/3-(1824). -that has committed that which is: trespassed 1631 (1).

AjC .likely to lead to delinquency: pre-delinquent 1951--.
NC . Iikely to lead to delinquency: pre-delinquency 1932-..
NP tresgressor 1549 (1) Sc rare.
- young
. 11kely to become: pre-delinquent 1951--.

EC2 STRAYING, ABERRANT

AjP .inclined to be: weak-principled 1913 (1).

EC3 SINFUL AND WRONG

AjA -and deadly: mortal 1426--; mortiferous 1542--; 1ethal 1583--

ND .venial: by-slip 1612 (1).

EC5 CRIMINAL

AjG .and acknowledged or habitual: common 1303--.
-and abusive of position or responsibility: white-collar 1934--.
-and organized: vice 1903-- orig. US.
-committed under the pretence of regulating public morals: white-capping 1900-- US.

NP villain 1963-- slang.
-male
. Who is a gentleman: raffles 1908--.
- young
- .admired: kid 1812--.
-petty: streetman 1908-- US slang; slag 1955-- slang.
-.plural, in a city: street people 1969 (2).
-habitual: old offender 1817--.
-who assists in crime: punter 1891-- slang.
- who prearranges a crime: putter up 1812-- slang.
- who commits war crimes: war criminal 1906--.
- who uses violence: strong arm 1907-- orig. US.
-a band of (plural): tribe 1914--.
- a member of
... involved in extortion or violence: racketeer 1928-- orig. US.
... who pretends to be regulating public morals: white-cap 1891-- US; white-capper 1895-- US.
... who is an Irish Protestant supporting Glasgow Rangers: tartan 1972-.
...which is the mafia: soldier 1963--.
...which is the US mafia: syndicate 1929--.
VG -under the pretence of regulating public morals: white cap (vt) 1908-- US.

EC6 IMMORAL

AjP -on account of having been abandoned by morality:

EC7 LEADING ASTRAY
AjG tempting 1546--.
AvM temptingly 1593 (1).
VG tempt (vt) al225--.

EC8 CORRUPT

Ajg sick 1931-- fig.
NX tare 1630+1896 fig.
NP sleaze 1976-- slang.
VM enflesh (vt) 1603 (1).

EC11 FAILING IN DUTY

NA flaw 1742--.
VG rat on (vp) 1932--.

EC12 AVOIDING DUTY
NP scrimshanker 1890-- Mil slang; scrimshank 1926-- Mil slang.
VG skate (vt) 1945- US slang.

EC13 UNFAIR, UNJUST

AjG solid 1916- Austral \(\&\) NZ slang.
VG to slip a fast one over/on (someone) (vp) 1912--; to play etc. dirty pool (vp) 1951 (1) collog N.Amer.
```

EDI TREACHEROUS
AjG snaky al586--.
ND stab in the back 1922-- fig.
AvM snakishly 1935+1963 (2).
VG to stab (a person etc.) in the back (vp) 1916-- fig.
ED2 TREASONOUS
NA .as declared by law: constructive treason al714--.
NC treasonry al600 (1) rare.
Int treason 1388-1602.
ED7 DISHONEST
AjP on the queer 1905-..
NA dirty pool 1973-- colloq N.Amer.
VG smell (vi) 1939--.
ED8 CROOKED
AjG shonky 1970-- Austral slang.
NAc wangle 1915-- collog.
NP twister 1863-- slang.
VG wangle (vi/r) 1918--; to pull a stroke (vp) 1970-- slang.
ED11 UNSCRUPULOUS
NP snopes 1962--.

```

\section*{EE1 HARMFUL}

AjA .in a way that anticipates Hitler: pre-Hitlerian 1959 (1).
NP .who exerts a baneful influence: poison 1910--.
AvM wa OE.
VG .to a person/thing: rough up (vp) 1942--.

EE2 DISADVANTAGEOUS

NX .in two ways: whipsaw 1873-- chiefly US.

EE3 PLAYFULLY MISCHIEVOUS

NQ puckery 1877 (1) rare.
NP flibbertigibbet 1821--; polisson 1866--.
-young: urchin cl530--; pertling 1581 (1); impling 1780+1835; pickle 1788-- collog; terrible child/infant 1859--; tinker 1925--.
..who frequents the streets: street urchin 1849+1977-..
AvM puckishly \(1972+1977\) (2).
VG .in one's usual way: to be at/up to one's (old) tricks (vp) 1823--.

EE4 HARMFULLY MISCHIEVOUS

NP tear-away 1891--.

EE5 SPITEFUL

NQ pussy-cat 1911 (1).
AvM waspily \(1854+1928\).

ILL-WILLING

NP poison-ivy 1939-- fig.
```

EE7 BITTER
AjG *weargol OE.
EE9 HARSH, UNKIND
AjG savage 13..-1655.
NF .treatment which embodies: misentreating l531-1581.
VT misentreat/-intreat (vt) 1450-1583.
EE10 HARD-HEARTED
AjG untender al659-al812.
NQ. untenderness al658+1680.
AvM untenderly 1651 (1).
EE12 SAVAGE
NP .and supernatural or monstrous: (the) thing 1888--.
EE13 BARBAROUS
AjG saracenic 1837(1).
NQ gothism 1715--; sub-humanity 1909--.
NP sub-human 1957+1970.
AvM saracenly 1596 (1); sub-humanly 1929+1970.

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\section*{Appendix II}

Obsolete Items in the 19th Century
Many of the items in the classification have a final date (occasionally in brackets) of between 1800 and 1899 , or have only one quotation, the date of which falls between these years. Every one of these items has been looked up in the OED or its Supplement and the following is a list, by category, of those among them which are indisputably designated obsolete. They do not include any items designated ?obs or obs exc dial, or by other similar labels. These, and all the items which have no such designation - the majority of those with 19th century final dates - are assumed, for the purposes of statistical analysis in this thesis, to be still current. The others, listed below, form the basis for the 19 th century figures for obsolete items as detailed in the tables in chapter 5 (pp.326-334).

GA2 Satisfactory
AjG sufficient 1473-c1800 clever:1757-1811 2 items

GA3 Good
AjG warrantable 1581-1821
respectable 1775-1800
NQ .chiefest good 1663-1869
ND benefit 1377-1480+1811
alms-deed cl432-1828
5 items
GA5 Excellent
AjG burly c1325-1535+1873
surprising 1580-1831
2 items
GA7 Best
\(\overline{\operatorname{AvM}}\) at (the) best c1325-1604+1812
1 item
GA9 Worthy
AjG condign c1470-1582+1854
estimable 1596-1803
well(-) found \(1601-1607+1887\)
.invalued 1603-1806 4 items
GAl2 Honourable
AjG just 1601-1809
1 item
GB3 Impartial
    NQ disinterest 1658-1805
    imprejudice 1806 (1)
    2 items
GB7 Trustworthy
    NQ confidence 1642-1800
        dependence 1752-1790/1811
    VG to keep touch al529-1825 3 items
GC4 We11 Disposed
    AjG candid 1633-1800
    NQ benevolence 1423-1817
        candour 1653-1802
        gratuity 1523-1646+1818 4 items
GC8 Gracious
    AjG courteous c1290-1609+1813
        1 item
GC14 Fortunate, Lucky
    AjG wel/well 0E-1825
    NX hap al225-1813 2 items
EAl Evil
    NP felon al300-1814
    AvM foully cl330-1655+1881 2 items
EA5 Diabolical
    NP deofles lim/devil's limb OE-1660+1833
    VM persatanize 1857 (1) 2 items
EA8 Heinous
    AjG strong al300-1593+1818
        enormous 1593-1827 2 items
EB1 Inferior
    NP .pole-hatchet al529+1826
        ..cullion 15..-al652+1843
            . cockloche c1611-1641+1863
            .stitchel 1659-1866 4 items
EB2 Worth1ess
    NP naughty pack 1526-1855
        unsel 155.-1691+1825+1894
        houndsfoot \(1710+1712+1814\)
            .shab(a)roon al700-1847 4 items
EB3 Roguish
    AjG cullionly 1605-1645+1822
        pickled 1691-1804
    NP pautener 13..-c1450+1843
        limmer 1456-1607+1637+1828
        rampallion \(1593-1639+1822\)
        bezonian \(1611+1632+1843\)
        .crack-rope c1450+1571-1708+1818 7 items
EB4 Ruffianly
    AjP tory-rory \(1682+1822\)
    NP ruffiano 1618-1819
        bu11y-rock/-rook 1653-1827
        .scamperer 1712-1804
        .blood-tub 1861 (1) 5 items
EB6 Wretched
    NP miscredent \(1577+1847\)
        scroyle 1595-1821
        2 items
EB7 Base
    AjG roinish 13..-1629+1814
        filthy c1400-1828
    NTP unlede c1315-1829
    NP tiger 1849 (1)
    VB deturpate \(1691+1833 \quad 5\) items
EB8 Villainous
    NSc scrap 1679/80-1809 1 item
EB9 Foul, Filthy
    NQ .fulsomeness 1481-1876
        1 item
EB10 Accursed
    NX ..deprecation 1634+al804
    AvW with a vengeance \(1525-1673+1836\)
2 items
EC1 Wrong-doing, Transgressive
    NP Faulter 1535-1840
    VG mistake cl330-c1500+1822
    2 items
EC2 Straying, Aberrant
    NC deviation 1625-al831 1 item
EC4 Guilty
    AjP culpable 1303-1844
    NQ delinquence 1682-1832 2 items
EC5 Criminal
    AjG Criminous 1483-1674+1858 1 item
EC8 Corrupt
    NQ bracery \(1540+1886\)
    VM intoxicate al529-1680+1860 2 items
EC9 Ill-Behaved
    NC .miscarriage 1635-1760/72+1829 1 item
    ECll Failing in Duty
    NA declination 1533-1814
        delinquence 1682-1832
    NP transfuge 1548-1639+1855
        3 items
ED3 Betraying
NP traditor cl375-1819 ..... 1 item
ED7 Dishonest
AjP leer 1629-a1680+al830
one-eyed 1833 (1)
NA trinketing 1646-al716+1827 ..... 3 items
ED8 Crooked
NQ obliquity al619-1818 1 item
ED9 Sneaky
NP creep al876+1886 ..... 1 item
EDll Unscrupulous
NQ inconscionableness 1800 (1) ..... 1 item
EE1 HarmfulAjG offensive al548-1813
.shrewd 1387-1713+1819NX oblesion 1656-1721/1800+18573 items
EE4 Harmfully Mischievous
NP breed-bate \(1593+1598+1852\) ..... 1 item
EE5 Spiteful
AjG 1itherly al643+1805
NF stomach c1540-1643+a1825 ..... 2 items
EE6 Ill-Willing
NF maltalent cl320-al648+al649-1828 ..... 1 item
EE9 Harsh, UnkindAjG half-hearted 1864 (1)1 item
EE11 MercilessAjG inclement \(1621+1725+1861\)
..bootless \(0 \mathrm{E}+1714+1839\) ..... 2 items
EE13 Barbarous
NQ incivility 1584-1811 ..... 1 item
TOTAL
94 items

Appendix III

A Distribution of Items in each Category according to Part of Speech
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Categ & gory & Aj & N & Av & v & I & Phr \\
\hline GA1 & Harmless & 16 & 5 & 5 & & & 2 \\
\hline GA2 & Satisfactory & 26 & 10 & 16 & 6 & & \\
\hline GA3́ & Good & 88 & 80 & 24 & 6 & 1 & 2 \\
\hline GA4 & Better & 10 & 4 & 5 & 3 & & \\
\hline GA5 & Excellent & 266 & 201 & 79 & 2 & 1 & \\
\hline GA6 & Surpassingly Ex. & 45 & 37 & 19 & 39 & & \\
\hline GA7 & Best & 50 & 77 & 12 & 6 & & \\
\hline GA8 & Matchless & 57 & 16 & 12 & & & \\
\hline GA9 & Worthy & 62 & 65 & 5 & 5 & & \\
\hline GA10 & Meritorious & 11 & 14 & 3 & 1 & & \\
\hline GAll & Virtuous & 36 & 41 & 9 & 6 & & 1 \\
\hline GAl2 & Honourable & 18 & 18 & 13 & 2 & & \\
\hline GA & TOTALS & 685 & 568 & 202 & 76 & 2 & 5 \\
\hline GB1 & Moral & 33 & 23 & 9 & 5 & & \\
\hline GB2 & Conscientious & 21 & 27 & 5 & 4 & & 1 \\
\hline GB3 & Impartial & 27 & 17 & 9 & 2 & & \\
\hline GB4 & Fair & 33 & 36 & 21 & 4 & & 3 \\
\hline GB5 & Righteous, Just & 32 & 38 & 7 & 4 & & \\
\hline GB6 & Honest & 59 & 42 & 22 & 3 & & \\
\hline GB7 & Trustworthy & 72 & 45 & 15 & 4 & & \\
\hline GB8 & Proper, Fitting & 38 & 16 & 32 & 7 & & 2 \\
\hline GB & TOTALS & 315 & 244 & 120 & 33 & & 6 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Categ & gory & Aj & N & Av & V & I & Phr \\
\hline GCl & Kind & 68 & 84 & 35 & 25 & & \\
\hline GC2 & Beneficial & 27 & 102 & 11 & 39 & & 10 \\
\hline GC3 & Wholesome & 15 & 6 & 4 & & & \\
\hline GC4 & Well Disposed & 33 & 43 & 6 & 5 & & \\
\hline GC5 & Well-Meaning & 5 & 4 & 1 & & & 1 \\
\hline GC6 & Generous & 70 & 60 & 28 & 7 & & \\
\hline GC7 & Magnanimous & 10 & 7 & 3 & & & \\
\hline GC8 & Gracious & 23 & 14 & 24 & & & \\
\hline GC9 & Considerate & 6 & 5 & 2 & 5 & & \\
\hline GC10 & Humane & 9 & 9 & 2 & 2 & & \\
\hline GC11 & Tender & 22 & 28 & 11 & 4 & & \\
\hline GC12 & Merciful & 22 & 45 & 11 & 19 & & \\
\hline GC13 & Blessed & 13 & 18 & 5 & 6 & & \\
\hline GC14 & Fortunate, Lucky & 27 & 40 & 10 & 14 & & 12 \\
\hline GC & TOTALS & 350 & 465 & 153 & 126 & & 23 \\
\hline GOOD & TOTALS & 1350 & 1277 & 475 & 235 & 2 & 34 \\
\hline EAl & Evil & 188 & 295 & 60 & 15 & & 1 \\
\hline EA2 & Evil \& Dark & 12 & 4 & 1 & & & \\
\hline EA3 & Evil \& Graceless & 3 & 5 & 2 & & & \\
\hline EA4 & Hellish & 7 & 13 & 2 & 1 & & \\
\hline EA5 & Diabolical & 15 & 44 & 8 & 7 & & \\
\hline EA6 & Offensive & 17 & 16 & 3 & & & \\
\hline EA7 & Worse & 10 & 2 & 3 & 1 & & \\
\hline EA8 & Heinous & 69 & 29 & 21 & 3 & & \\
\hline EA9 & Unpardonable & 30 & 9 & 7 & & & \\
\hline EA10 & Worst & 3 & 11 & 4 & 1 & & \\
\hline EA & TOTALS & 354 & 428 & 111 & 28 & & 1 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Categ & gory & Aj & N & Av & V & I & Phr \\
\hline EB1 & Inferior & 69 & 279 & 9 & 4 & & \\
\hline EB2 & Worthless & 35 & 94 & 2 & & & \\
\hline EB3 & Roguish & 44 & 160 & 4 & 7 & & \\
\hline EB4 & Ruffianly & 15 & 74 & 2 & 3 & & \\
\hline EB5 & Dissolute & 19 & 25 & 8 & 2 & & \\
\hline EB6 & Wretched & 58 & 41 & 29 & & & \\
\hline EB7 & Base & 64 & 74 & 19 & 2. & & \\
\hline . EB8 & Villainous & 11 & 28 & 4 & 3 & & \\
\hline EB9 & Foul, Filthy & 30 & 28 & 7 & & & \\
\hline EB10 & Accursed & 95 & 63 & 31 & 50 & 3 & 38 \\
\hline EB & TOTALS & 440 & 866 & 115 & 71 & 3 & 38 \\
\hline EC1 & Wrong-Doing & 22 & 116 & 10 & 39 & & \\
\hline EC2 & Straying & 14 & 37 & 5 & 42 & & \\
\hline EC3 & Sinful & 21 & 43 & 4 & 6 & & \\
\hline EC4 & Guilty & 55 & 43 & 12 & 12 & & \\
\hline EC5 & Criminal & 8 & 65 & 2 & 5 & & \\
\hline EC6 & Immoral & 22 & 13 & 2 & 4 & & \\
\hline EC7 & Leading Astray & 17 & 14 & 3 & 20 & & \\
\hline EC8 & Corrupt & 79 & 95 & 14 & 55 & & \\
\hline EC9 & Ill-Behaved & 10 & 39 & 1 & 13 & & \\
\hline EC10 & Undutiful & 14 & 7 & 2 & 7 & & \\
\hline EC11 & Failing in Duty & 5 & 24 & & 4 & & \\
\hline EC12 & Avoiding Duty & 4 & 14 & & 17 & & \\
\hline EC13 & Unfair & 43 & 35 & 33 & 8 & & \\
\hline EC14 & Improper & 45 & 36 & 34 & 4 & & \\
\hline EC & TOTALS & 359 & 581 & 122 & 236 & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline Categ & gory & Aj & N & Av & V & I & Phr \\
\hline ED1 & Treacherous & 26 & 46 & 10 & 4 & & \\
\hline ED2 & Treasonous & 7 & 12 & 2 & 1 & 1 & \\
\hline ED3 & Betraying & 2 & 24 & & 16 & & \\
\hline ED4 & Perfidious & 12 & 7 & 5 & 2 & & \\
\hline EDS & Faithful & 13 & 33 & 4 & 5 & & \\
\hline ED6 & Disloyal & 8 & 7 & 1 & 2 & & \\
\hline ED7 & Dishonest & 19 & 21 & 7 & 4 & & \\
\hline ED8 & Crooked & 21 & 17 & 5 & & & \\
\hline ED9 & Sneaky & 13 & 15 & 4 & 2 & & \\
\hline ED10 & Disingenuous & 8 & 9 & 4 & & & \\
\hline ED11 & Unscrupulous & 16 & 7 & 7 & 2 & & \\
\hline ED & TOTALS & 145 & 198 & 49 & 38 & 1 & \\
\hline EE1 & Harmful & 130 & 140 & 28 & 92 & & \\
\hline EE2 & Disadvantageous & 13 & 25 & 8 & 2 & & \\
\hline EE3 & Playfully Misch. & 11 & 33 & 5 & & & \\
\hline EE4 & Harmfully Misch. & 12 & 39 & 1 & 2 & & \\
\hline EE5 & Spiteful & 61 & 62 & 34 & 14 & & \\
\hline EE6 & Ill-Willing & 49 & 50 & 10 & 4 & & \\
\hline EE7 & Bitter & 18 & 19 & 6 & 11 & & \\
\hline EE8 & Ill-Natured & 18 & 4 & 2 & 1 & & \\
\hline EE9 & Harsh, Unkind & 32 & 23 & 11 & 18 & & \\
\hline EE10 & Hard-Hearted & 45 & 20 & 9 & 5 & & \\
\hline EE11 & Merciless & 43 & 23 & 23 & 1 & & \\
\hline EE12 & Savage & 138 & 79 & 43 & 15 & & \\
\hline EE13 & Barbarous & 13 & 12 & 2 & & & \\
\hline EE14 & Bloodthirsty & 31 & 16 & 6 & 2 & & \\
\hline EE & TOTALS & 614 & 545 & 188 & 167 & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


Nouns in EB with NP separated from other \(N\) Subdivisions
\begin{tabular}{|l|r|r|r|}
\hline Category & \multicolumn{1}{c|}{ N(exc.NP) } & \multicolumn{1}{c|}{ NP } & Total \\
\hline EB1 Inferior & 22 & 257 & 279 \\
\hline EB2 Worthless & 7 & 87 & 94 \\
\hline EB3 Roguish & 40 & 120 & 160 \\
\hline EB4 Ruffianly & 7 & 67 & 74 \\
\hline EB5 Dissolute & 10 & 15 & 25 \\
\hline EB6 Wretched & 16 & 25 & 41 \\
\hline EB7 Base & 30 & 44 & 74 \\
\hline EB8 Villainous & 3 & 25 & 28 \\
\hline EB9 Foul, Filthy & 28 & - & 28 \\
\hline EB10 Accursed & 62 & 1 & 63 \\
\hline EB TOTAL & 225 & 641 & 866 \\
\hline
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[^0]:    External X-R: III 2.2.2 Behaviour based on morality: sincerity II 1.5.5 Result of knowledge: truth, fact.

