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SWIFT, SWIFTLY, AND THEIR SYNONYMS

A CONTRIBUTION TO SEMANTIC
ANALYSIS AND THEORY

BY

GUSTAF STERN

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION,
WITH DUE PERMISSION TO BE PUBLICLY DIS-
CUSSED IN ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
GÖTEBORG, DECEMBER 15TH 1921, AT 10 O'CLOCK
A. M., FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY.

WETTERGREN & KERBER
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YHTHRETTIENDE

STAVELAND

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THE SUBJECT of this investigation was suggested to me by Professor K. F. Sundén, to whom I am greatly indebted for his friendly and helpful criticism and for his constant interest in my work. I further wish to express my gratitude to Professor M. Jacobsson, who has most kindly assisted me by indicating psychological works dealing with the problems which I had to study; to Mr. Godfrey Greene, M. A., and to Mr. G. E. Fuhrken, Ph. D., who have read the book in MS. or in proof in order to revise my English; and to the Librarians of the Gothenburg City Library, for their unfailing courtesy.

G. S.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The science of semasiology may be said to occupy a border-ground between philology and psychology, involving, as it does, both linguistic and psychological problems. The reason for this duality is that the meanings of words¹⁾, the study of which is the subject of semantic research, may be treated from a double point of view.

They may be treated with regard to their ideational (logical) import (Begriffsinhalt), as when we say that the meaning of the word *swift* is 'moving, or capable of moving, at high speed'. This idea is an objective thought (cogitatum, etwas Gedachtes), and it is such objective thoughts that are generally referred to when we speak of the meaning (signification, sense) of a word. But as no *cogitatum* can exist without a *cogitatio* (act of thinking, Denken), the meanings of words involve acts of thinking (psychic acts). The nature of these acts is of the greatest importance for the nature of the objective thoughts with which they are intimately connected. Moreover, the study of these psychic acts furnishes us with a basis for a scientific classification of sense-changes, and contributes greatly to our knowledge of the psychological side of language. Semantic research can therefore not be confined to the logical import of the meanings of words, but must be extended to the psychic acts underlying them.

We have thus two branches of semasiology, one of them treat-

¹⁾ In this book, I have to do only with the meanings of *words*, in the usual sense of that term. I have therefore not considered it necessary to introduce a term embracing also *word-groups* (the word-group *a recti-lineal figure with three angles* has the same meaning as the word *triangle*), or *parts of words* (the ending of the genitive *man's* has a distinct meaning of its own). Professor A. Noreen has coined for this purpose the term *sémème*, formed on the analogy of the French terms *phonème* and *morphème*, and signifying »a definite ideational content, expressed in some form of speech». *Vårt Språk* V 6. Cf. also Oertel 277.

ing the meanings of words as objective thoughts, that is to say, with regard to their logical import; the other dealing with the psychic acts involved.

The first task of the former branch is to analyse and define, as thoroughly as possible, the meanings of words, or, to speak more precisely, their logical import; to discover their variations in different contexts and at different periods, to study their changes and to trace them back to their original sources. Cf. Ch. II.

Further, words which show a more or less parallel development, or which diverge from a similar initial meaning, or converge towards a similar final meaning, must be compared. Attempts to formulate the result of such comparisons in 'laws of sense-change', giving the genetic explanation of certain sense-developments, have as yet met with but little success. No doubt more progress will be made as more material is brought forward. Cf. Ch. III.

As the subject of such investigations is the logical import of meanings, we shall call this the *logical* branch of semasiology. (Cf. Sweet, *New Engl. Gr.* § 17.) It has attracted the attention of philologists more than the other branch, chiefly because of its importance for lexicography and etymology.

The *psychological* branch of semasiology must first define the nature of the psychic acts underlying the meanings of words, whether they are to be considered as conceptions (*Vorstellungen*, in a restricted sense), as feelings, or as some other kind of psychic function. Two definitions must be formulated, the one stating what the meaning of a word is, from the psychological point of view, the other stating the nature of the connexion between a conception (in the widest sense of the term), and its expression in speech; in other words, the connexion between a word and its meaning.

Next, the genetic problem has to be discussed. When we say that the meaning of a word has changed, this signifies that the word is used to express a new conception (*Vorstellung*, as a general term), not identical with the conception or conceptions previously (or habitually) denoted by that word. The linking together of the word and the new conception is evidently an act of our mind, an act of association. It is therefore necessary to study the associations which produce sense-changes, their nature and their causes. With the assistance of psychological theories we

may then hope to arrive at an understanding of the process of sense-change itself, and of its psychological causes. In many cases we have to be content with hypotheses, as the functions of our mind can be made the object of direct investigation only to a limited extent. (Cf. Wundt II 493—494, 622—623. Oertel p. 296 note 4, 297. Also Ch. IV and V below).

2. *Methods of work.* We may say that there are two different methods for investigating the sense-development of individual words. The first, which aims, essentially, at establishing the actual occurrence or the probability of a certain sense-change, consists in discovering parallels. If we have two words, identical or similar in form, which we suspect of being etymological cognates, and if we wish to know if their respective meanings, A and B, are genetically connected with each other, we may establish the possibility of such a connexion by finding other cases, in the same language or in other languages, where those two senses occur in one word or in etymologically related words. If the parallels are satisfactory, they prove that sense A may change into sense B, or vice versa, or that A and B both derive from a common source. It will sometimes also be possible to determine whether the development has proceeded from A to B, or from B to A, or from a third sense to A and B. However, such is not always the case; nor does this method show the exact circumstances in which the development has taken place. (Cf. Wellander 131).

In order to solve such problems, the second method must be employed. This consists in collecting, from different periods, a number of instances of the word to be investigated, sufficient to show in detail the progress of the change. The quotes. will then also furnish us with the contexts in which the change was effected; they will show whether sense A or sense B was the original one, and afford the means of studying the circumstances and conditions of the change.

It is evident that the latter method can be used only in the case of developments occurring during the literary periods of a language. (An exception to this rule is mentioned in § 8). For pre-literary changes, the former method alone is available, and it is of great value also for later times when a comparison be-

tween several languages is desirable, and when sufficient material for the application of the second method is not at hand.

In this work, the second method will be used almost exclusively, as our main object is to investigate the circumstances and conditions of certain sense-changes (cf. § 4.).

3. Whether semasiological investigations are conducted from the logical or from the psychological point of view (cf. § 1), it is evident that they must be based on adequate material. It might be thought that, in a work like the present, the material afforded by NED and other dictionaries would furnish a satisfactory basis for conclusions regarding the semantic history of the words to be treated. For a detailed analysis, however, it is quite insufficient. There are several reasons for this.

A dictionary always tries to find and to describe such signs and shades of sign as may be defined clearly enough to prevent confusion, although the definitions must be made as short and concise as possible. Of the material at its disposal, a dictionary prints chiefly the instances that prove and elucidate the definitions given. But if we collect a sufficient number of quotes. of a word, we shall find groups of intermediate or transitional signs, which cannot be so clearly and unequivocally defined, but which *oscillate* between two signs of more pronounced character. Such intermediate senses are not systematically reproduced in the dictionaries, though they are of course more or less to be found, especially in the larger ones. They are, however, of the greatest importance not only because they are often very common, but because they serve as links in the development; and they must therefore be made the object of special attention. In the case of adjs. and advs., these intermediate senses (like the unequivocal senses) are generally characterized by the presence of certain governing words (nouns or verbs), in connexion with which the adjs. (advs.) have an oscillating meaning. If a sufficient number of instances are available, it will be found possible to define the nature of the oscillation (Cf. Stöcklein, Programm, quoted by Wellander, Ab, p. 3).

Further, a research concentrated on a limited number of words often succeeds in discovering important facts not noticed by the dictionaries. Thus, if we take the adj. *fast*, we find that

several of its senses actually occur in our texts a considerable time before the date of the earliest instances given by NED. The sense 'swift' is given only from 1552, but in reality it occurs nearly two centuries earlier. The phrase *a fast sleep* is quoted from Shakspeare, but is found several times in OE. (Beowulf). Sense 4 in NED is quoted from 1400, but is frequent in OE. (cf., however, the second quot. in NED 1, which I think belongs to NED 4). Similarly in the adv. *fast*. Senses 1 c, 1 d, 2 b, and 3, quoted in NED only from the ME. period, all occur already in OE. And the sense 'swiftly' in connexion with a verb not denoting motion or growth, is quoted in NED from 1585, but was well established already c. 1300.

I do not mean to say that so many additions can be made in the case of every word, but the facts adduced will be sufficient to make it clear that special research is necessary in order to have an adequate collection of material. The earliest quotes. of each sense are the fixed points in the semantic history of a word, and their dates must therefore be ascertained before we begin the analysis. Otherwise we run the risk of assuming developments which in reality have never taken place. (Cf. Paul, *Wiss. Lex.*, p. 54, on the importance of »eine genügende Ausnutzung der Quellen«. Also Wellander, *Betydelseutvecklingens lagbundenhet*, p. 54—55).

4. The preceding remarks will have indicated the manner in which, in my opinion, an investigation of this kind should be conducted. A few explanations concerning the plan and methods of the work are necessary.

The object of this essay is to study the semantic history of English adjectives and adverbs denoting speed, and to discover whether any conclusions of general interest may be drawn from the material collected. It is not my task to prove that these words *have* changed their meaning in a certain way, that, *e. g.*, *fæste* originally signified 'strongly', and later on acquired the sgn 'swiftly'. This fact is well-known, and does not require further proof, though additional evidence is naturally afforded by my collection of instances. My investigation is concerned, primarily, with the conditions and circumstances of the sense-changes through which the 'swift'-words have passed. For this purpose, the shades of sense found in each word will be analysed as carefully as possible

and arranged with regard to their mutual connexions. In addition to the lexicographical points of view involved in a work of this kind, special attention will be paid to the following three problems:

- 1) When the sense 'swift, swiftly' is secondary in a word, which is its proximate source?
- 2) What modifications and developments of the sense 'swift, swiftly' do we meet with?
- 3) Can the sense-developments which are instanced by the available material, be arranged under any distinct psychological types?

The research has been restricted to the Old and Middle English periods, or the time from c. 700 to c. 1400; including, however, a number of texts from the 15th century, especially from the Scottish dialect, which is scantily represented before 1450. An analysis of the 'swift'-words in Modern English literature would have required more time than I have been able to devote to this work. I have further been obliged to leave out the French loanwords, as a satisfactory account of their semantic history could not have been given without an extensive study of OF. and AN. literature. (These words are: ME. *apertly*, *asperly*, *briefly*, *deliver*, *eagerly*, *erraunt* (see glossary to *Sowdone of Babylon*), *expedient*, *fersly*, *hasty*, *ingnel*, *instantly*, *jamby*, *pertly*, *prest*, *prompt*, *sodein*). For similar reasons the Scandinavian loanwords (except *spack(ly)*, q. v.) have also been left out. (ME. *bain*, *brath*, *derfly* (?), *enkerly* (?), *erly* (?), *gain*, *graith*, *hagherly*, *naitly*, *rapely*, *skete*, *tait*, *tidliche*, *tite*, *wight*).

Among the remaining words, of native English origin, a distinction has been made between those denoting speed in relation to action, and those denoting speed in relation to time only. With one important exception, the latter group has not been included.

This distinction, which is of considerable importance, especially for the adverbs, requires a few words of explanation. In the phrase *he wrote rapidly*, the verb is durative, and the adv. denotes that the action is performed at a rapid rate. There is no reference to the time at which the action begins or ends. In the

phrase *he wrote immediately*, on the other hand, the verb is perfective, the action is apprehended as a unit, no attention being paid to the circumstance that it must necessarily have taken some time to perform; the adv. signifies that the action of writing commenced shortly after a given point in time, expressed or implied; and the adv. implies nothing about the speed with which the action of writing was performed. In many cases the adv. may be interpreted in either manner, as for instance *he went quickly out of the room*. Though the verb is perfective, the action may then be apprehended as taking some time to perform. (Cf. introductory remarks on *hrædlice*, p. 24).

In order to have a convenient way of denoting these different modes of speed, the following terms will be employed. For speed in relation to action¹), *rapidity*, *rapid*, *rapidly*; for speed in relation to time, *promptitude*, *prompt*, *immediately or shortly*, *quickly begun and ended*; for oscillating instances, *quickness*, *quick*, *quickly*. As general terms I shall use *speed*, *swift*, *swiftly*.

It will be shown below (Ch. II and III), that the sense 'rapidly' may change into 'immediately', but that no instance of the reverse development is found; and that the sense 'immediately' may arise in other ways, not involving 'rapidly' as a preliminary stage (Cf. especially Tallgren, *Neuphil. Mitteil.* XVIII, 1917, p. 112). It would have been interesting to investigate thoroughly the English adjs. and advs. of the two kinds, those denoting both rapidity and promptitude, and those having only the latter sense. However, considerations of space have prevented me from treating both kinds exhaustively, and in such circumstances it seemed advisable to concentrate the research on the former, and to give only some specimen words of the latter. For this purpose the words originally signifying 'ready, prepared' have been chosen. They form a group showing changes which

¹) Instead of speed in relation to action, one might use the term speed in relation to space, as the distinction between the two modes of speed is especially clear with regard to verbs denoting motion or action implying motion in space. Cf. 'he went home rapidly', 'he went home at once'. But as verbs occur in which the idea of motion in space is scarcely present to the mind of the persons using them (as for instance 'to eat rapidly'), I prefer to use the expression 'speed in relation to action'.

in many respects are similar, and therefore capable of being used to elucidate each other. Some of them are well instanced and as their development has taken place, at least partly, in the literary period, it can be established with comparative certainty. If we find no instance of the sense 'rapidly' in these words, we may therefore venture to assume that it did not exist.

Words denoting speed in relation to time only (promptitude), and so not included, are OE. *ædre*, *anunga*, *ƒæringa*, *ƒærlíc*, *instæpes*, *instyde*, (*onstyde*, *ofstede*), *recen*, *hreconlice*, *samtingu*, *semninga*, *sona*, *stundum*, *ƒærrihthe*; ME. *anon*, *at ones*, *bidene*, *eftsones*, *forðright*, *mididone*, *mið ðon*, *newen*, *shortly*, *streck*, *timliche*, *tyme*.

There are, further, many words which imply speed in certain contexts only. *He galloped madly* means 'he galloped very fast indeed', though the idea of speed is not the only element of sense of the adv. But *he laughed madly* does not mean 'he laughed quickly'. Thus, an adv. may receive the sense of speed in connexion with verbs of a certain signification, viz. verbs of motion. The number of words of this kind is considerable. (OE. *fromlice*; ME. *balde*, *breme*, *busily*, *cantly*, *crouselly*, *dernly*, *even*, *fere*, *feirie*, *frek*, *fresh*, *giferly*, *hard*, *hedily*, *hedling*, *hende*, *hertely*, *heterly*, *hot*, *keenly*, *kete*, *maynly*, *mightily*, *orpedly*, *queme*, *rehliche*, *ripely*, *sternly*, *stiffly*, *stithly*, *swicly*, *winly*.) They have not been included, though it would have been interesting to do so, as their development, as far as it goes, is in many cases parallel to that of the words treated.

I have also left out some words which appear to denote rapidity but which are too scantily instanced to afford any certain information concerning their semantic development (OE. *arod*, *caƒ*, *cwiferlice*, *earu* (? See Clark Hall), *efstende*, *elne*, *fleotig*, *flugol*, *ƒus*, *gesceote*, *getæl*, *horsc*, *lungre*, *nemul*, *ofstig*, *ofstum*, *rempende*, *rynlice*, *scrid*, *sneome*, *snude*, (*ge*)*swiƒor*, *unlæt*, *unslaw*, *untraglice*; ME. *amain*, *apace*, *arape*, *belife*, *foot-hot*, *frow*, *gederly*, *heili*, *hizendliche*, *hyingly*, *kot-foot*, *hot-spur*, *kask*, *quidder*, *rackle*, *rank*, *rash*, *rife*, *slick*, *smyther*, *snellic*, *untoomly*,¹⁾) and the derivates of the OE. noun *sped*. The

¹⁾ Note that of each stem only one derivate is generally given. — The exact meaning of many of the words in these lists is uncertain. They show

instr. case *spedum* signifies 'swiftly' already in OE. and the sense then appears to have been transferred to *speedly*, *speedy*, etc., in ME. The latter words can therefore not be used to illustrate the manner in which adjs. and advs. develop the sense of speed. Cf. NED, GK, and BT.

It follows from the above that the words treated are 1) native English adjs. and advs. which in OE. or ME., through independent development, have acquired the sense 'rapid, rapidly', which may have this sense in any connexion, and which are comparatively well instanced, so that at least the main points of their semantic development may be ascertained; 2) the two Scand. words *spack* and *spackly*; 3) a group of words originally signifying 'ready, prepared', and acquiring the sense 'prompt, promptly'.

5. *Collection and reproduction of material.* With regard to texts read, see Bibliographical List.

Rare words, and rare senses of common words, have always been noted. In such cases the quotes. printed represent all the material found. With regard to common senses it has been impossible to make the collection exhaustive. Generally one or two quotes. have been noted from each text, and sometimes only a selection of the material has been printed. A dagger indicates that all my quotes. are given, an *etc.* that a selection has been made. In the latter case I have generally given the earliest quot. from each dialect, and have also tried to exemplify the variations of sense dependent on varying contexts and different governing words.

The quotes. are printed, approximately, in chronological order and with the spelling of the editions from which they have been quoted¹⁾. OE. poetical quotes. are given before the prose ones, as the usage in poetry and prose is often different. I have sometimes refrained from giving the quotes. themselves, only that an exhaustive account of adjs. and advs. denoting speed would have had to embrace a far greater number of words than those dealt with in the present work. I think, however, that the groups of words which I have selected for treatment are those which afford the best material for conclusions concerning the development of the sense of speed.

¹⁾ In OE. quotes., the type *g* has always been employed, not *ȝ*. The type *p* is used as an abbreviation for *þæt*, & for *and*, *ond*. — I have not always followed the punctuation of the editions.

printing the reference. When the quotes. represent only insignificant variations of sense, this expedient has been more especially resorted to; but it has been used also when the quotes. were numerous, and it seemed desirable to give an idea of their distribution among different dialects and periods.

The quotes. given by NED and other dictionaries have generally not been reprinted when my additional material was sufficient for adequately illustrating the sense in question. The dictionaries have been carefully collated for quotes. and senses which might have escaped my attention, and I therefore venture to hope that no sense of importance has been overlooked, though its occurrence in individual texts and dialects may have passed unnoticed. When a quot. has been taken from a dictionary, not from the text itself, that circumstance has always been indicated by adding the abbreviated name of the dictionary.

6. *Arrangement of senses.* The arrangements and definitions of senses given by dictionaries, especially those of NED, have been of the greatest service to me, and I have made use of them as much as possible, but in many cases I have had to deviate from them.

The chief reason for this deviation is that, whenever practicable, I have consistently applied the genetic point of view, while NED often arranges the senses in logical groups (Cf. for instance *light*, adj.). Another reason is the restriction of this work to OE. and ME. Shades of meaning, which, from the ME. point of view, represent only variations of the established ME. senses, may have given rise to important Mod. E. senses, or may represent their first traces. In NED they are therefore given under the heading of the respective Mod. E. sense, while I have to leave the subsequent modern development out of consideration and treat them as ramifications of some ME. sense. These differences in the point of view sometimes involve a complete rearrangement of the plan given in NED. — References to the corresponding sections in NED are given whenever possible.

Other languages than English have been adduced only when they may have influenced the English development. In many cases, quotes. analogous to the English ones are found in Scandinavian and continental Teutonic dialects, and the occurrence of these

parallels is naturally of interest. But they would have been of real value for my investigation only if one could have ascertained when and in what contexts a sense first appeared, because we should then have been able to see if the development was parallel to that in English, or not. As it is, we know so little of the conditions and possibilities of sense-change, that the mere existence of similar senses in two languages does not prove that they arose in the same manner and in the same order in both. I have pointed out above that the material given by dictionaries cannot be regarded as satisfactory evidence for the date and origin of new senses. Analogous instances from Grimm's *Wörterbuch* and other dictionaries would therefore only prove that a certain sense existed in the respective language, not that the development of the word in question was similar to its development in English. As it would have occupied too much space to print such parallel quotes. in full, references only could have been given, and the reader who is interested in these questions would thus in any case have had to look them up himself.

7. *Unequivocal and oscillating instances.* From a semantic point of view, the instances of a word may be divided into two groups. First those in which the meaning is absolutely definite and can be interpreted only in one way. They are of the greatest importance for proving the existence of a certain shade of sense at a certain period and in a certain dialect, and furnish us with fixed points in the semantic history of the word. Even an isolated instance of this kind may be regarded as sufficient to prove the existence of a sense.

Secondly, there are the instances which may be interpreted in more than one way. When we say *he went quickly out of the room*, the verb may be apprehended as referring primarily to the beginning of the action, or to the action as a unit; in that case the adv. means 'immediately'. Or the verb may be apprehended as referring to the continuous action of moving in a certain direction; in that case the adv. means 'rapidly' (cf. § 4 above). I shall call such senses and instances *oscillating*. With regard to them it is generally not the isolated instance, but the type, that is of importance. If we have only one instance which, as far as can be judged from our point of view, oscillates between the senses A and B, we must be extremely

careful about using it as a basis for conclusions. We cannot be sure how it was apprehended a thousand years ago. But as soon as such instances appear in greater number, some of them approaching closer to A, others closer to B, the existence of the oscillating type may be regarded as proved, irrespectively of varying opinions concerning the classification of individual quots. And, as pointed out in § 3, these oscillating instances are of great importance for the semantic development of a word. (Cf. the analysis of oscillation, in Ch. IV.)

In the instance just quoted, the oscillation reflects a development from the sense 'rapidly' to 'shortly, immediately'. The distinction of stages in a continuous growth, for instance some types of sense-change, is always in some measure arbitrary. Such a development is not a sequence of stages, separated from each other by gaps, not represented by instances, but a continuous series of slight modifications. In this series, certain points are more prominent than others, and more often instanced, the reason being the greater frequency of this or the other construction in which a word is liable to be used, or certain characteristic linguistic habits (*innere Sprachform*), or perhaps the existence of certain synonymous words which have previously made a certain shade of sense familiar. Such shades of sense, being more frequent, can therefore be more clearly defined than other points in the series of changes, but it is only natural that these other points should also be represented by instances, more or less numerous. Sometimes a smaller or greater part of the shades of sense go out of use, so that there is a gap in our evidence which can only be filled conjecturally, and the remaining senses appear to be isolated from each other. (Cf. Bosanquet I 15).

Oscillating instances occur not only as links in a development. When two or more different signs of a word are current, it will sometimes happen that the word is used in a connexion where any one of these senses might be suitable. Even if one of them predominates in the mind of the person speaking, or listening, associations with the other sense, or senses, may cause the meaning to oscillate. An oscillation of this kind does thus not indicate that one of these senses is the source of the other.

I have made a point of printing numerous oscillating instan-

ces, and I have not always expressly stated in the definitions that other senses of the same word may be implied, regarding this as a matter of course.

8. *Chronological questions.* The fixed points in the semantic history of a word are, as pointed out above, the earliest unmistakable and unambiguous instances of new senses. They serve as termini ante quos for the sense-change leading up to a certain point, and the oscillating intermediary quotes. illustrating a development should consequently always be of earlier date than those of the fully developed new sense. Exceptions to this methodical rule must, however, be admitted, when earlier intermediary quotes. are lacking, and we find only later instances of the oscillating applications which, for one reason or another, may be regarded as links in the development up to the new sense. If the inner, psychological and logical, connexion between the old and the new sense is sufficiently well established, or if the analogy with other words having a more or less parallel development is evident, such instances of later date may be considered as evidential. It is only natural that an oscillating meaning may remain in use after the attainment of the ultimate stage of development. Cf. for instance the development of *fæste* from 'strongly, immovably' to 'closely, securely', which has taken place in the pre-literary period, but may be reconstructed because the intermediate senses have remained in use.

As a rule, however, the ascertaining of the earliest instance of a sign is of the greatest importance, and the process of development assumed must not contradict the actual chronological sequence in which the senses make their appearance. Only when a word is rare, or when a new sense may be assumed to have arisen during a period insufficiently represented in the texts, may we be justified in disregarding the evidence of the quotes. in this respect.¹⁾

9. *Plan of Ch. II and III.* In chapter II, the sense-development of the individual words is analysed. On examining the adjs. and advs. dealt with, it will be found that they are of two kinds with regard to the sense 'swift, swiftly'.

¹⁾ Cf. Paul, *Wiss. Lex.* p. 72: Für die historische Entwicklung der verschiedenen Bedeutungen eines Wortes bilden natürlich die Ermittlungen darüber, wann und wo dieselben zuerst vorkommen, eine unentbehrliche Grundlage, ohne die man leicht fehl greifen kann.

The first division contains the words in which the sense 'swift' is, from the OE. point of view, primary. They furnish material chiefly for replying to the second question stated in § 4. (Group I).

The second contains the words in which the sense 'swift' is secondary, a product of development. They have been arranged in groups with regard to the meaning from which the development, regarded from the English point of view, may reasonably be assumed to have started, and which I have called the original meaning. The words within each group are largely parallel in development. These words form the basis for a reply to the first question in § 4. (Cf. Sandegren 2).

The original meaning is, in Group II 'strong', in Gr. III 'sharp', in Gr. IV 'living', in Gr. V 'eagerly', in Gr. VI 'clever', in Gr. VII 'ready.' The sequence of the groups is of no importance.

These are not the only original meanings from which the sense of speed may arise, but other developments are not so well instanced that they can be traced with any degree of accuracy.

With regard to the analysis of each word, all OE. and ME. senses have been described, even if they have no connexion with the sense 'swift'. This method of work was necessary in order to ascertain the possibilities of development to 'swift'. In the conclusions (Ch. III) are included only facts relative to the sense 'swift', as other developments are not numerous enough to afford a satisfactory basis for conclusions regarding them.

The arrangement of Ch. III is conditioned by the two first problems stated in § 4. In the third subdivision of this chapter, I have summed up some conclusions of general interest.

10. *Plan of the psychological part* (Ch. IV and V). The third question in § 4 leads over into the psychological branch of semasiology. The psychological point of view has not generally been taken into consideration by philologists writing of sense-development. It seems highly necessary, however, that they should pay more attention to this side of the problem. The semantic history of a single word or group of words must necessarily extend over a comparatively ample space of time. Recourse must be had to the ancient dialects, and with these the psychologist is seldom conversant, and so cannot readily utilize for testing and illustrating his theories the material that has been obtained. The

result is that semasiological theories are mostly founded on an unsatisfactory linguistic material.

A summary analysis or at least a rough classification of the material, from the psychological point of view, is an indispensable part of a work like this, if it is to contribute to the establishment of a systematic semantic theory, and help to furnish the theorist with the means of founding his hypotheses on facts. Such a classification, with an analysis of some of the more interesting phenomena, is given in Ch. V.

In Ch. IV, a short account is given of the general principles on which this psychological analysis has been founded. It is true that attempts have been made to formulate comprehensive semasiological theories, but none of them can be regarded as satisfactory. Moreover, they are in some cases not accessible in a concise and handy form; that of Wundt, for instance, is accessible only as part of his great work, *Die Sprache*; and many details of interest are scattered in a number of different works, philological and psychological. It therefore seemed advisable to give a statement of the general principles of the analysis. Among the many theories propounded, I have chosen those which seemed best evidenced, and which appeared to furnish the best instruments for this work. I wish to lay stress on the fact that these theories are utilized as working hypotheses only; their psychological validity is not discussed.

11. Some of the difficulties of semantic investigation must be indicated here.

The actual proof of the existence of an individual sense-change will in many cases, perhaps in most cases, be impossible to give. A development may have taken place in the pre-literary period, and a smaller or greater part of the applications may have disappeared without leaving any traces, so that only isolated fragments of the development are known to us. In that case we must be content to establish the possibility or the probability of the change by parallels from other words, or from other languages. Sometimes the psychological or logical connexion between the different senses will make a certain sequence probable.

Further, a development may have taken place in the spoken

language, with only the result appearing in our texts, perhaps at a late date. In that case, as in the preceding, we must be content with conjectures.

The lack of evidence (I am speaking of the English language) from many periods and dialects may once for all make it impossible to trace the development of a word.

And, finally, many words are of rare occurrence, even when there is a sufficiency of texts, and their development can therefore not be instanced.

The case of the adv. *fæste* shows how closely sense-changes may be traced if sufficient material is at hand, but even in that word there are important senses the origin of which cannot be discovered with certainty. It is therefore only natural that, with regard to less common words, we should so often be reduced to conjectures.

The problem is further complicated by the differentiation of the language into dialects. A quot. should, strictly speaking, be regarded as evidence only for its own dialect, but in practice it is impossible to follow this rule, as the literary material at our disposal is much too scanty to furnish us with the complete history of each dialect. And, on the whole, the English language is so uniform that this deficiency is not of great importance. We must therefore sometimes regard a development A>B>C as proved, even if the three senses are found only in different dialects.

When the quotes. clearly point to one special dialect as the home of a certain sense, that circumstance has been taken into account.

CHAPTER II

SENSE-DEVELOPMENT
OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORDS

GROUP I. WORDS IN WHICH THE SENSE OF SPEED IS PRIMARY

OE. HRÆD, adj.

The ordinary OE. form is *hræd*, but there are also spellings with *-a-* or *-e-*, with *r-*, and with *-þ* or *-ð*. In early ME. *rad* appears to be predominant, but is later on to a great extent displaced by *rath*, which is also the common form in several modern dialects (cf. NED and EDD s. v. *rad* and *rath*).

The regular OE. form *hræd* is derived from Prim. Teut. **hraðá-*, Idg. **kret-*, **krot-*: 'to shake'. The variations of the stem-vowel in OE. may be explained as graphical or dialectal, or as due to levelling between different forms in the paradigm. The variations of the initial and final consonants in OE. are no doubt due to the influence of the adv. *raþe* (q. v.). The prevalence of ME. *rath* is probably to be ascribed to the same cause, especially to the adverbial comparative *rather*, which was very common in ME. ME. *rath* is common in the sense 'early', which seems to have been transferred to the adj. from the adverb. This fact also points to the adv. as the source of the forms with *r-* and *-þ*.

Another possible explanation of the variant forms is that they are derived from another root, Prim. Teut. **ráþa-*, Idg. **reth-* (or **ret-*), **roth-*: 'to run', which would have given OE. **ræþ*. The variant spellings would then be due to a contamination of two adjectives nearly identical in form and meaning. But in that case it seems likely that the instances with *r-* and *-þ* would have been much more numerous than they actually are, and especially that the form **ræþ*, which is not found at all, would have been frequent. The first alternative given above is therefore to be preferred. (Cf. Fick III 101 and 336; Sievers, Ags. Gr. 201: 1 and 217: 1; and *raþe*, p. 29).

Under these circumstances there is no etymological reason for treating the *-d*-forms separately from the *-th*-forms, as has been done in NED. NED has found a certain semantic difference between *rad* and *rath*, but, as just mentioned, the sense 'early' which is characteristic of the latter, is transferred to the adj. from the adv. *raþe*. The spelling with *-th* (*-þ*) and the sense 'early' consequently do not constitute a separate word, but are simply two parallel phenomena, both due to influence from the same word, but otherwise independent of each other. It is impossible to deny that *rath* might not, at some period, have been apprehended as a distinct word, with a specific signification of its own, but with regard to its origin it was merely a collateral form of ME. *rad*.

The earliest OE. quots. give no indication of any other meaning than 'swift'. A subjective element of sense, 'eager, willing', is noticeable, and sometimes predominant. Nearly the whole semantic development of *hræd* has taken place in pre-literary times, so that there is no chronological support for the arrangement of senses given below.

Hræd was a common word in OE., especially in prose, and shows a greater variety of senses than *swift* or *snel*.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) Speedy; expeditious, rapid in action or movement. Material and immaterial. OE. ME
- 2) Swift, eager to get something done; ready, willing. OE. ME.
- 3) Precipitate, rash, hasty. OE. ME.
- 4) Mentally quick, of ready apprehension or wit. OE.
- 5) Of an action, process, etc.: happening or passing quickly. OE. ME.
- 6) Early, preceding another in point of time. The former. OE. ME.
- 7) More to be chosen, preferable. ME. 1430.¹⁾

Glosses. Hraed. . rad *percitus*. Ep. 742. Corp. 1539. Hraed *percitus*. WW 38:23. Hraed *perpes*. Corp. 1574 (hraed. WW 39:17.) Hred *festinus*. WW. 73:38. Ræddre *strenue, i. fortis*. Nap. Gl. 2343.

Ælfric Gr. 16:12 has *hræd oððe glæd* 'agilis', *hræddre* 'agilior', *ealra hrædost* 'agillimus'. And ibm 44:8 *glæd oððe hræd* 'alacer'. The identification with *glæd* is remarkable, as no extant senses of the two words coincide, and *glæd* is not known to NED or BT in the sense of 'alacer' or 'agilis'.

¹⁾ The approximate date of the earliest known instance.

1. *Speedy, expeditious, rapid in (action or) movement.* Material or immaterial. If the etymology given above is correct and *hræd* consequently derived from a verbal stem denoting movement, this sense may plausibly be regarded as primary in relation to the others. NED *rad*.

OE. Him nið godes hreð of heofonum hete gesceode. Dan. 620. — Me is snegl swiftra, snelra regnwyrn, ond fenyce fore hreþre,¹⁾ is þæs gores sunu gonge hrædra. Riddles 38:71—72. — Þu þe on hrædum færeldre þone heofon ymbhweorfest (:qui rapido coelum turbine versas). Boethius 10:2. — Gemedema hræd beon ongebroht urum geondgoten breoste (: S Spiritus. . dignare promptus ingeri Nostro refusus pectori). Durham Hymn. 10:3. (Perhaps sense 2?)†

Cf. *hrædwæn*, 'currus velox'. Metra 24:41. — *Flanhred*, 'sagittarius expeditus'. Rhym. Poem 72.

ME. Redely theis rathe men rusches owtte swerdez, Hittes one hellmes full hertelyche dynttys. Morte Arth. 2550 (The only ME. inst. found. May belong to sense 2).

2. *Disposed to act swiftly, eager to get something done, ready, willing.* Sometimes implying *hasty, rash* (cf. sense 3). When an adj. denoting swiftness is applied to living beings, it often acquires a new element of sense, implying not only an objective statement that somebody moves or acts swiftly, but also that the reason of the swift movement or action is the eagerness or willingness of the subject. This subjective or mental element constitutes the difference between the preceding sense and the present one, which is used chiefly of persons, but also of personifications, qualities of the mind, etc. NED *rad* and *rath*.

OE. Hreðe foet heara to ageotenne blod (:veloces). VP. 13:3. — Ic lære, þæt þu beo hrædra mid hreowlicum tearum & þæt yre forfoh eces deman. Doomsday 75. — Riddles 51:11. — CP 41:19. 280:15. — Þa onfangenre þære (bletsunge) he was swiþe hræd & ferde æfter his fæder bebode, oþ þæt he com etc. Gregorius C 115:13. — Wulfstan 148:2 — Rædere geornfull ma to gefyllenne þe he ræd, þænne to witenne hræd ys (lector strenuus potius ad implendum que legit quam ad sciendum promptus est). Scintillarum 219:17. — Ibm 12:13. — Thorpe's Psalter, 20:3, (quot. by Wülfing, Syntax, II:581). — Martyrologium 104:10. †

ME. Þe hule was wroþ, to cheste (:fight) rad. O & N 1043. — And ho boþ alle for me þe gladdere, and to songe boþ þe raddere. Ibm 738. — Gen. & Ex. 2481, 3617. — To sunfole men he was ful rad to wissi and to teche. ESEL

¹⁾ Trautmann, in the Glossary to his edition of the Riddles, gives *hreþe*, adj. = schnell, but *hreþre* is probably only a graphical variant of *hrædre*. Cf. GK, s. v., and the quot. from Liebermann in section 6) below, where *hræd* is spelt in three different ways in the same sentence.

466:159. Ibm 464:84, 468:202, 475:458, 475:473. (This word occurs only in Mary Magdalene, which is older than the other legends in MS. Laud 108). — Seven Sages 1290, 2090. — Perceval 98. — The freike (:Jason) was a-ferd of þat fele beste, And raght to his Ryng in a rad haste. Destr. Troy 917. — But the Renke vp rose with a rad wille, And foght vpo fote as a freke noble. Ibm 7036.†

3. Characterized by undue quickness of action, *precipitate*, *rash*. In an unfavourable sense. Of persons and their actions. — A modification of the preceding sense, easily arising when *hræd* is preceded by *too*, or when the context favours the idea of exaggeration. NED *rad*.

OE. Bið ær his worda to hræd. Wyrðum 50. — For ðære geornfulnessse ðære ryhtinge ne sie he to hræd ne to stið to ðære wrace (Sweet: his zeal in correcting must not be too excessive, nor his severity in punishing). CP 78:11. — On oðre wisan ða slawan, on oðre ða þe bioð to hræde (sc. are to be admonished). CP 176:1. Similarly 16:7, 280:17, 19, 286:4. — Ða hradan ðonne sint to manianne ðæt hie to unwærlice ne onetten. CP 280:20. — Ðylæs ða smyltnesse ðes domes hine gewemme (oððe) se dyrna æfst oððe to hræd irre. CP 78:14. — Ne beo þu swa hræd to deaðe, forðan þe us is þin lif nydbehefe git. Ælfric Saints 22:225. — Gif na bið eðhylde & bræd (b above line, read *hræd*. Logemann) caþ on hlehtre (facilis ac promptus in risu). Benet 35:6. — Reg. Ben. A. 30:9. Wint. 41:2. — Ne gerisaþ heom hræde weametta (passion). L. I. P. Th. ii. 318:32. BT. (BT translates 'sudden', but that sense is not found in any other case). — Cf. Ne sceal no to hatheort ne to hrædwyrde. Wand. 66. — Yrre hæfð wununge on ðæs dysegan bosme þæt is ðonne he bið to hræd-mod. Ælfric Saints 16:342. Etc.

ME. Ðu art of dede and o word to rad. Gen & Ex. 2730. — Get he was wis and nogt to rad, Gede he nogt ut til god him bad. Gen & Ex. 617. — Heo beoþ to rad vpon huere red to loue þer me hem lasten bed. Harl. 2253, 166:16. — Than rewit (:rue) thir riallis (:nobles) of that rath mane (:moan). Howlat 859. (Amours: 'earnest', a sense not found elsewhere). — Wallace 7:526.†

4. When the quality of speed is transferred to the purely mental sphere, the adj. acquires the sense: *mentally quick, of ready apprehension or wit; prompt to learn, think, or invent*. This sense is rare in *hræd*.

OE. Sum biþ hræd tæfle. Cræftum 73 (Printed as one word by Grein-Wülker). Cf. Moises cväð to drihtne: Ic eom unhrædspræce. Exod. Æ 6:30.†

5. Of an action, occurrence, process, etc.: that *takes place, happens, or is done rapidly or with speed; passing quickly*. It is noticeable that this use of *hræd* (cf. also *swift* 4) appears in OE. only in translations and in texts influenced by Latin sources. In the quotes. Gregorius 226 and Ælfric I.618 *hræd* denotes speed

in relation to time, which is unusual. It is not impossible that these variations are due to Latin influence.

OE. Hrædne gang: rapidum. . . (gressum), uelocem. Nap. Gl. 50:43. — He þær hræde geworce of treo cirican getimbrode. Beda 138:21. — Similarly Ibm 154:23 (hraðe weorce geworhte). — Heora hors mid swa hræde ryne þa ea offerferdon. . . Gregorius C 15:31 (:tanto cursu. MS. H hrædlic.) — Þa weaxendre þære adle on hradum fyrste he his lif geendode. Gregorius C 226:10 (:citiu). — Mid hrædestan ryne þenigende arn. Ælfric Saints 23 B: 186. — Forðan swa hwæt swa geendað, þæt bið sceort and hræd. Ælfric I 618:28.†

ME. The Tuchet (:lapwing) gird to the Golk (:cuckoo), and gaif him a fall, Raif his taile fra his rig, with a raith pleid (:cry). Howlat 835 (Amours: sudden, quick.)†

6. *Early*: done, occurring, coming, etc., before the usual or natural time. Preceding another in point of time, coming at an earlier hour, date, etc. *The former*.

The comparative is found once in *OE.*, the positive in *ME.* only. It is therefore probable that this sense was transferred to the positive from the comparative, which in its turn no doubt was influenced by the comparative of the adv. *raþe*, in which the development of the sense 'earlier' can be traced in detail (cf. *raþe* 5, p. 34). *NED* (s. v. *rather*, adj.) distinguishes between several shades of sense which are of no importance for the present work. They are therefore taken together in this section. Additional instances, see *NED*, *rather* 1, 2, 3.

a. *Comparative.*

OE. Forðam on manegum landum tilð bið redre ðonne on oðrum: ge yrðe tima hrædra, ge mæda rædran (Liebermann: Auf manchen Landgütern ist die Feldarbeit frühzeitiger als auf anderen: sowohl die Zeit des Pflügens eher, als auch Wiesen (-Mähungen) früher). Liebermann p. 453, Ger. 1. (Acc. to Liebermann this MS. has often e for æ. He thinks it written c. 1020—1030, in Wessex or South Mercia). †

ME. Seint Edward þe martir as ich sede er was is sone Bi is raþere wiue. Rob. Glouc. 5809. — Rouland answerd, «nay, Mine worþ þe raþer pay». Vernagu 840. — So þæt þe raþer welles beþ now but lakes, oþer more vereyliche dreye chaneln wiþ oute watir (:qui ante fontes fuerant nunc rivuli). Trevisa I 177. — But yet to purpos of my rather speche. Troilus V 1799. III 1337. — Thou languisest and art defeted for desyr and talent of thy rather fortune (:fortunæ prioris. Migne 658). Chaucer Boethius B. II Pr. 1:8. — This rather man that I spak of. Ibm B. II. Pr. 7:89. — So þæt now no man duelleth at the rathere toun of Damyete. Mandeville 29:31. †

The previous or preceding day or year. Þe trauail of þe raþer day. Tre-

visa Higden III 145. NED. — As thouze he had I-knowe hir al the rathir yeer. Beryn 26 (c. 1400) NED.

b. Positive. Rare. NED *rath* 2.

ME. Ase me zenezep ine to raþe (:early or hasty?) arizinge uor to ethene: and alsuo me zenezep late to soupi. Ayenbite 52:16. — Tilyng is not to rathe yf dauis thryis fyue Hit be preuent. Pallad. on Husb. I 247. NED. † —

Cf. also NED *rathest*, adj.

7. More to be chosen, preferable. In predicative use. Probably from the adverb *raþe*. NED *rather* 4.

ME. It is raþir to bileeue þe waginginge wijnde þan þe chaungeable world. Hymns Virg. 86 (c 1430) NED. — Pecoock Repr. III. xvii, 393. NED. †

OE. HRÆDLIC, adj.

According to NED (s. v. *-ly*) the suffix *-lic* had already in OE. ceased to be used to form adjectives, and there are instances of *-lice* being used to form adverbs from adjectives without the intervention of an adjective in *-lic* (as *bealdlice* from *beald*). *Hrædlic* is not found in the oldest texts; this may be a mere coincidence, since the literary remains are so scanty; but if we take it to signify that the adj. really did not exist before c. 900, it cannot have been formed from *hræd*, but is a back-formation from *hrædlice*, which is found e. g. in *Beowulf* (cf. NED, s. v. *-ly*, suffix¹). That would explain why *hrædlic* never denotes speed as a quality of a living being or a material object (corresponding to senses 1—4 of *hræd*), but is used only of actions, processes, etc., signifying 'happening or passing quickly', etc. That sense is closely related to the idea of speed in time, which is the most frequent sense of the adv. *hrædlice*. If we assume *hrædlic* to be formed from *hræd*, it is difficult to see how its semantic peculiarities are to be explained. No ME instances are found.

1. Happening or passing quickly, perhaps with implication of *suddenness*.

OE. He wæs mid hrædlice deaðe forgripen (:morte immatura). Beda 336: 20. — Hie þær æfter hrædlice tide. . . ofslægene wurdon. Oros. 44:28. — Þa gelicode. . . þam. . . Langbeardum. . . þat hi huru butan hefigum cwealme mid hrædlicum deaðe his lif geendodon. Gregorius CO 254:11. — Hyra hors þa mid swa hrædlicum ryne oferferdon þa ea. . . Gregorius H. 15:28 (C hræd. Lat. tanto cursu). — Ne mihte se cuiht adreogan þa neownesse. . . ac mid

hrædlicum ryne he fleah ut beforan þa duru (:cursu concito). Gregorius CO 278:15. — Þa se ylca þegn þæt his hors, þe he geseah acyrred fram his wedenheortnesse mid swa hrædlicum bebode þæs halgan wundres, he þa bebead, þæt man þam halgan were þæt ilce hors eft bringan sceolde (:celerrimo miraculi imperio). Gregorius CH 78:17. — Ve bid' þætte hrædlic vs ðinræ milsa' gi-nyhtsvmisse gimonigfaldadvn giðingvngvm agefiaga (:Quesumus ut celerem nobis tuæ propitiationis habundantiam multiplicatis intercessoribus largiatur). Durham Ritual 124:17. — & ðær forðferde Sidemann bisceop on hrædlican deaþe. Chr. C 977/122. †

2. *Sudden.*

OE. Forðy sint ða to manienne ða ðe mid hrædlice luste bioð oferswiðde, ðæt hie to georne ne giemen ðissa eorðlicena ymbhogena. CP 431:11. (Twice in the same paragraph *færlíc* is used in similar connexions). †

3. *Hasty, precipitate.*

OE. Hit wære to hrædlic gif he ða on cild-cradole acweald wurde. Ælfric I 82:28. †

OE. HRÆDLICE, adv.

Derived from *hræd*. As in the case of the adj. *hræd*, the spelling with *-þ-* (*-th-*), which was rare in OE. but common in ME., was probably due to the influence of the adv. *raþe*. The different forms are therefore treated as one word (cf. NED *radly* and *ratherly*), especially as there is no semantic difference between them.

Hrædlice is used almost exclusively with verbs of material action, the figurative applications being comparatively rare. The sgn 'rapidly, quickly, immediately' seems to be almost free from implications of any kind, even such as might have been expected to arise through influence of the adj. *hræd*. In this adj. a mental or subjective element of sense ('eager, willing') is noticeable in a great number of instances, and sometimes predominates, but in *hrædlice* the purely material import is prevalent. The reason for this contrast is obscure.

Hrædlice is rare in the sense 'hastily, rashly', and lacks the sense 'early', which is found in *hræd* and *raþe*, and which we assumed to have been transferred from the latter word to the former. The reason why *hrædlice* was not influenced in the same way was probably that the sense 'early' appeared chiefly in the comparative form of *raþe*, which was not so similar to the corresponding form of *hrædlice* as to that of *hræd*.

Hrædlice is not very frequent in the earliest OE. texts, nor in poetry. It is common in the C and H MSS. of the Gospels, but not in Li or Ru. This fact would seem to support the assumption made on p. 22, that *hrædlice* was formed directly from *hræd* at a comparatively late pre-literary period, when *-lic* was no longer used to form adjs.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) Rapidly. OE. ME.
- 2) Quickly. OE. ME.
- 3) a) Shortly after a given point in time. OE.
b) Shortly, immediately, or quickly begun and ended. OE. ME.
- 4) Soon said or finished, briefly. OE.
- 5) Hastily, rashly. OE.

Glosses. Oft, *rædlice crebro, .i. celebros, frequenter, manifesto.* WW 215:25. *Hrædlice cursum.* WW 375:4. 531:31. (Read *cursim.* Wülker). *Færinga, hrædlice inprouiso,* WW 422:4. *Tidlicor, hrædlicor maturius.* WW 422:7. *Hrædlice nauiter.* WW 485:28. *Hrædlice perneciter,* WW 494:30. Nap. Gl. 4321. 2212. *Hrædlice extimplo, .i. statim,* Nap. Gl. 89. *Rædlice extimplo,* Nap. Gl. 3676. *Hræd(lice) quantotius,* Nap. Gl. 56:321. *Cursim hrædlice,* Ælfr. Gr. 233:12. *Ocissime hrædlicost,* ibm 230:10. *Actutum hrædlice,* ibm 238:12.

1. Rapidly. With durative verbs denoting motion, or action implying motion. —

The meaning of an adverb denoting speed is partly dependent on the mode of action (*Aktionsart*) of the governing verb. NED, s. v. *quickly*, distinguishes the following three shades of meaning: »1) Describing the rate of progress in a motion, action, or process, without consideration of the time at which it begins and ends. 2) Denoting that the whole action or process is begun and ended within a comparatively short space of time. 3) Denoting that there is little or no interval between a given point in time and the doing of an act or happening of an event (freq. also implying 1 or 2), without delay, very soon, shortly.»

Sense 1 occurs in connexion with durative verbs, sense 2 in connexion with perfective verbs, and sense 3 also with perfective verbs when the action is regarded as commencing shortly after a given point in time, expressed or implied.

In adverbs where all three senses occur, it seems to be the rule that 1) is the earliest sense, and that 2) and 3) arise out of it. The actual development is better shown if the senses are arranged according to the following plan, which will be used in analysing the adverbs treated in this work. See Introduction § 4.

1) Rapidly, denoting rate of progress (: speed in relation to action). Purely durative verbs (= NED 1).

2) When the verb is perfective, but the action of the verb is apprehended as taking some time to perform, the adv. oscillates, or may oscillate, between the senses 'rapidly', and 'shortly, immediately, or quickly begun and ended'. Cf. section 2 below.

3) When the verb is perfective and the action of the verb is apprehended as a unit (as momentary), no attention being paid to the circumstance that it must necessarily take some time to perform, the adv. has one of the senses numbered 2 and 3 in NED. The difference between them is that an action which happens 'shortly' or 'immediately' is referred to a preceding action or point in time, expressed or implied, or to the time of speaking (NED 3), while in the case of an action that is 'quickly begun and ended' there is no such reference (NED 2. Cf. also the quots. in section 3 below). The sgn 'shortly, immediately' is clearly indicated when the reference to a preceding action or point in time is expressed by *æfter þæm*, or similar phrases. In other cases where it appears to be predominant, the sense 'quickly begun and ended' is often implied. The latter sense is seldom found without implication of 'shortly, immediately'. Neither sense can be shown to precede the other in the process of development. Both derive from the sgn 'rapidly', the oscillating instances given under the heading 'quickly' serving as links in the development. Both imply speed in relation to time, and the appearance of one or the other is determined by the context. The distinction between them is not essential to the present investigation, so they are taken together, with the exception of *hrædlice æfter þæm*, etc.

In this word there is no chronological support for the assumption that sense 1 is earlier than 2 and 3, as they all appear in OE.; cf. analysis in Ch. III and V, and Introduction § 4.

OE. Tunge min hreod writ hræðlice writendes (:calamus scribae velociter scribentis). VP 44:2. — Hreðlice eorneð word his (:velociter currit). VP 147:15. — Ac (se læce) grapað swiðe fægre ymbutan ðæt ðæt he sniðan wile, & snið swiðe hræðlice. CP 186:2. — Geaf he & sealde þæt betste hors. . . þæm biscope. . . þæt he hræðlicor feran scolde. Beda 196:10. — Habbað gescy on eovrum fotum and stafas on handum and etað hræðlice (:festinanter). Exodus Æ 12:11.†

ME. For so raythely þay rusche with roselde speris, That the raskaille was rade and rane to þe grefes. Morte Arth. 2881. — Maluesye & muskadell. . . Raykede full rathely in rossete cowpes. Morte Arth. 237. — Raithly he raid, and maid full mony wound. Wallace 9:1805.†

The interpretation of the *ME.* instances is not quite certain. An oscillation 'rapidly/violently' is perhaps discernible. Cf. *ra þe* 12 note.

2. Quickly (oscillation between 1 and 3). The verbs may be perfectivized by a prefix or by having the destination of the movement or the object of the action indicated. — It will be seen from the instances below, that the action of the verb may be apprehended on the one hand as being rapidly performed, on the other hand as beginning within a short space of time, or as being quickly begun and ended. Sometimes both the latter ideas may be implied. The adv. will often, without appreciable difference in the import of the sentence, cover all three ideas. Cf. Ch. III, analysis of oscillation. — Most of the verbs denote motion.

OE. Hwearf þa hræðlice, þær Hroðgar sæt. Beow. 356. — Cumað & ge-seoð þa stowe. . . & farað hræðlice & secgað hys leorningnihtum. AS. Gosp. Mt. 28:7. C. (Li and Ru hræþe) — Sume feollon on stænihte. . . & hræðlice upsprungon. AS. Gosp. Mt. 13:5. C. — Alexander. . . hræðlice þone weall self oferclom. Oros. 134:12. — Þa þæt Perpena gehierde. . . he þa hræðlice fird gaderade. Oros. 224:12. — Cume an spearwa & hræðlice þæt hus þurh fleo, cume þurh oþre duru in, þurh oþre ut gewite. Beda 136:1. — & forþon þe he wæs scearpre gleaunesse, he hræðlice his sealmas geleornade. Ibn 452:2. — Se halga cyðdere Mercurius gewæpnod hræðlice com, and be hyre hæse ferde. Ælfric I 450:34. — Ga ræðlice and sege him, þæt etc. Apollonius 25:34. — Him þa aþas sworon . . . þæt hie hræðlice of his rice foren. Chr. A 876/74. — Fleo þa mettas þa þe. . . to hræðlice meltan. Læceboc 68:12. Etc.

ME. To þis þai all assented þan, And rathly out of þe toune þai ran. Northern Passion 786' (p. 166). — Rachches in a res radly hem folges. Gawain 1164. — Sirs, 3e þat will has to wend 3our wapens deuoidis. . . & radly me folows. Alexander 4961. — Ho raght to hym radly, reft hym his sheld, And betoke (hit) full tite to a triet maiden. Destr. of Troy 10882. — Toward Ro-

me he radly ranne. Gowther 256. — The yettis wappit war wyde, The knyght can raithly in ryde. Gol. & Gaw. 128. Etc.

3. As pointed out in section 1 above, the senses 'immediately, shortly' and 'quickly begun and ended' can often not be clearly distinguished in the individual instances. They are therefore placed in one group here, with the exception of the construction 'hrædlice æfter þæm' etc.

a. *Shortly after a given point in time, expressed by æfter þæm, or similar phrases.*

OE. Him mon þæt æfter ðæm hrædlice forgeald. Oros. 84:19. — Similarly Oros. 100:32. — & hrædlice æfter þæm Somnite awendan on oþre wisan. . . heora sceorp. Oros. 138:29. — & he wæs æfter þam swiðe hrædlice. . . gehalgod to cyninge. Chr. E. 979/123. — Oððon hwilcan geþance mæg ænig man æfre geþencan on his mode þæt he. . . æt hlafgange heora hand cysse, and sona þær æfter hy hrædlice syððan scyrde oððe scynde. . .? Liebermann p. 473. Grid 27. Etc.

b. *Shortly, immediately, or quickly begun and ended, or oscillating between these two senses. The instances are very numerous.*

OE. Nu þu hrædlice. . . þine bene onsend. Elene 1087. — Þa sæde him. . . Plenius. . . þæt he. . . miclum on þæm syngade. He hit þa hrædlice eft forbead. Oros. 264:29. — Ac hrædlice on hie begen com Godes wracu. Oros. 274:21. — Ond heo ealle þær mid þy wæle þæs foresprecenan wooles hredlice forðferdon. Beda 234:4. — Nane sælða ne sint, forðam hi swa rædlice gewitaþ. Boethius 21:14. — Hreðlice geher mec. VP. 68:18, 101:3, 142:7. — He. . . swerede þæt he næfre þone man ne cuþe, & hrædlice þa creow se cocc. AS. Gosp. Mt. 26:74. C. — Soðlice hit ys godes spræc and his varnung and seo tid cymð hrædlice. Genesis *Æ* 41:32. — Hrædlice him þa wæs þæt heofenlice gehat, & þære gastlican strengre toþon mycel hyht þæt hie ealle þa eorþlican sorga forleton. Blickling 135:26. — Þa fyrenfullan. . . beoð. . . on þære wynstran healfe gehwyrfede, and he þonne hrædlice to heom cwyð. Wulfstan 184:16. — Eft he agean asende (sc. the ball): he rædlice sloh, swa he hine næfre feallan ne let. Apollonius 25:13. — Aniane 120:15. — Etc.

ME. God in þane castel þet is onzein eou and ze finded redliche þar ane asse ze-bunden. . . unbinded heo and leaded heo to me. ȝif eniman seid eawiht to eou, segged þet þe lauere haued þar-of neode, and redliche heo eou leted fere þermid. Lamb. Hom. 3:7, 10. — Þa wes sancte paul swiðe wa, and abeh him redliche to his lauertes fet. Lamb. Hom. 45:9. — Iren þet lið stille gedereð sone rust: and water þet ne stureð nout readliche (T radliche) stinkeð. Ancr. R. 422. — Ich hadde isehen þe rode þe arudde me so redlich of his reowliche rake. Marherete I 11:11.¹) — Wiþ hir radli a doghter he gatte. CM, F

¹) Compare these instances with quot. Lamb. Hom. 23 (p. 28), and with the following: Auh al þet schrift (: shrift) ne schreapeð nout of. . . al he wule a domesdel

12665. — Hir barons bir ful rathly red To tak a lord hir forto wed.
Yw. a. Gaw. 1177. — Þis diuinour. . . ȝede him furthe eftirsons herbis to seche.
Reft þam vp be þe rotis & radly þam stampis. Alexander 409. — All þe ost
euyñ ouir he openly comandis To be radly all arayd & redy to fiȝt. Alexander
1382. — Than your curst king desyryt off ws a trew; Quhilk maid Scotland full
rathly for to rew. Wallace 8:1362. Etc.

As radly as: as soon as.

ME. Þus þe deofel wule bilesnien þe wreche. . . alswa redliche swa adam. . .
us forgulte erest in to helle. Lambeth Hom. 23. — Als radly as þe riche kyng
rase on þe morne, Riȝt in þe dawynge of day a diuinour ha callis. Alexander
430. Similarly 1354, 1494, 1950.†

Implying *suddenly*.

OE. Ac sio ðe hrædlice ðurhtogen bið, sio bið hwilum for giemeleste. CP
435:14 (*færllice* is used in the same paragraph in exactly the same context).
Similarly 178:2.†

4. With *verba dicendi hrædlice* assumes the sense of *briefly, soon said or finished*, of a story or recital. This sense is a modification of 3 b, and may be influenced by Latin sources. Cf. *raþe* 4 e.

OE. Ac we nu sculon hrædlice hwæthwugu be hire forðfore anre secgan
(L. breuiter dicere). Beda 172:29. — Be þæm æfteran is hrædlice to witan-
ne, þæt etc. (L. breuiter intimandum). Ibm 334:26 — Ond ðæt ic hrædlice
cweoðe, þæt etc. (L. breuiter dicam). Ibm 406:28. — Her sind hrædlice ge-
sæde micle Godes wundra. Ælfric II 40:6.†

reden ful readeliche (T rekene & rede ful witterliche) uorte biclopien (: accuse)
þe mide. Ancr. R. 344. — Swa somet readeliche þurh seli martirdom ferden . . .
to Criste. Katherine 1409. — Nu þu miȝt wite readeliche, þat eauere þu spekest
gideliche, for al þat þu me seist for schame, ever þe seolve hit turneþ to grome. O
& N 1281. — In these three quots. (all with *-ea-*) I think we should assume the
adv. to be identical with ME. *redili*, signifying in Ancr. R. 344 'completely, cer-
tainly'; in Katherine 'willingly, eagerly'; in O & N 'certainly, clearly, well'. Cf.
readily, in Group VII below. In Ancr. R. 422 the context and the reading of MS.
T show that we should apprehend the adv. as representing OE. *hrædlice*. The
same is, I think, the case with the other quots. in the text above, which all have the
spelling *redlich*. (Cf. Cohn, Die Sprache d. ME. Predigtsamml. in Hs. Lambeth 487
(Berlin 1880) pp. 7 and 10; Stodte, Ueber d. Sprache u. Heimat d. »Katherine-
Gruppe« (Göttingen 1896), pp. 12 and 30). ME. *redili* did not, as far as can be seen
from the material at my disposal, acquire the sign 'promptly, immediately' 'till
a later period. — Gadow, in the glossary to his edition of O & N, gives »read-
liche (rædlice) Adv. *sogleich*«. The translation is no doubt a mistake. See also
raþe 3 c, p. 33.

5. In a few instances *hrædlice* clearly means *hastily, rashly*. This may be an independent development of the adv., or an influence from the adjective, or, even, Latin influence. The quotes. are too few to furnish material for a safe conclusion. Cf. *hræd* 3.

OE. Oft mon bið swiðe reampende, & ræsð dollice on ælc weorc & hrædlice. CP 148:12. — Se geðyldega... gemon ðone demm oððe ðæt bismar, ðæt him ær gedon wæs, & ðonne swiðe hrædlice & swiðe ungemetlice eahtað eall ðæt him ær gedon wæs, & hit ðonne swiðe unabereudlic talað. CP 226:16. — Hie himselfum forðiligen ðone weg ðære bote... ðonne hi him to tioð ða byrðenne swa micelre ðenunge swa hrædlice. (Sweet: lock up for themselves the way of reformation, when they assume so hastily the burden of so arduous a ministration). CP 383:24. — & na hadige man æfre wudewan to hrædlice (:nimium cito). Liebermann p. 360. II Cn 73.3.†

OE. (H)R A Þ E, adv.

The form *hraþe* is slightly more frequent in OE. than *raþe*; (*h*)*raþe* is comparatively rare, and (*h*)*reþe* found only a few times. The variations of the stem-vowel are to be explained as dialectal, or else as due to influence from the adj. *hræd* (q. v.). With regard to the interchange of *hr-* and *r-* it is difficult to come to a certain conclusion. The OE. forms point to the existence of two Prim. Teut. bases, **ráþ-* and **hráþ-*, (see p. 17), of which the latter would be a variant of Prim. Teut. **hraðʰ-*, with the accent shifted to the stem-syllable. If both were the sources of advs., these would be almost similar in form, and might be so in meaning too, so that they easily coalesced into one word. It appears necessary to assume a Prim. Teut. base **hraþ-*, for if the OE. forms with *hr-* are assumed to be derived from Prim. Teut. **hraðʰ-*, it is difficult to see how the rare occurrence of OE. forms with *-d-* is to be explained. The same objection applies to the assumption, that only Prim. Teut. **ráþ-* gave rise to an adv., that the regular form was OE. *raþe*, and that the other forms were due to influence from the adj. *hræd*. If such had been the case, it also seems likely that the influence would have been mutual, and that consequently the OE. adj. would have shown a greater number of forms in *r-* and *-þ* than it actually does. (Cf. Fick III 101, 336. Sievers, *Ag. Gr.* § 201:1, 217:1, and the introductory remarks on *hræd*, p. 17 above).

NED makes two articles of this word, distinguishing the ME. adv. *rad* from *rath*. As it is impossible to find any semantic difference between them, it seems more convenient to treat them together.

The comparative and superlative forms are also separately treated in NED (s. v. *rather* and *rathest*). They show a certain independent development, but also follow that of the positive form, and even seem to have influenced it on some points. In order to make these connexions clear it is necessary to treat positive, comparative, and superlative together. The senses are divided into two groups: I. Senses denoting speed in relation to action or time. II. Senses signifying 'more readily, preferably'.

Scheme of senses.

I. Senses denoting speed in relation to action or time.

- 1) Rapidly. OE. ME.
 - 2) Quickly. OE. ME.
 - 3) a) Shortly after a given point in time, expressed by *æfter þæm*, etc. OE.
b) Shortly, immediately; or quickly begun and ended. OE. ME.
c) Fast enough, probably, perhaps. ME. 1200.
 - 4) Superlative form.
a) *Swa (he) raþost (meahte)*: as quickly as (he could). OE.
b) Most quickly, soonest, first. OE. ME.
c) Most quickly, earliest. OE. ME.
d) Most quickly, immediately, at once. OE.
e) *Raþost to secganne*. OE.
 - 5) Comparative form. More quickly/earlier, sooner/earlier. OE. ME.
 - 6) a) Comparative form. Earlier as compared with other actions or objects. OE. ME.
b) Comparative form. Previously, beforehand. OE. ME.
c) Positive form. Early. ME. 1220.
 - 7) *Swa raþe swa*: at the very moment when, whenever. OE. ME.
 - 8) *To raþe*: hastily, rashly, too soon, too early. OE. ME.
- II. Senses signifying 'more readily, preferably, willingly', etc.*
- 9) a) More quickly/more easily or readily. Comp. OE. ME.
b) Same sense. Superl. ME. 1377.
 - 10) (Not) the more readily, the more easily or willingly, for objective reasons. OE. ME.
 - 11) More readily, willingly, for subjective reasons. ME. 1200.
 - 12) More truly or correctly, more properly speaking. ME. 1380.

Glosses. *Propero* hraede, Corp. 1675. WW 42:11. *Hraþe ultro*, WW 507:22. *Raþe ocius*, WW 461:32, 529:32. *Raþe ilico*, WW 420:25. *Reþe cele-*

riter, Nap. Gl. 56:15. *Swyþe raþe dicto citius, .i. uelocissime*. Nap. Gl. 2075. *Swyþe raþe quantoties, .i. uelociter*, Nap. Gl. 3125. *Sage raþor dicto citius, .i. ilico*. Nap. Gl. 3130. *Cito hraðe*, Ælfr. Gr. 235:13. Etc.

I. *Senses denoting speed in relation to action or time.*

1. *Rapidly*. Purely durative verbs. Only verbs of motion found, but this is probably a mere coincidence, as other verbs of action are represented in the next section. From the ME. period I have only Scottish quotes., but no doubt this sense existed also in other dialects, though perhaps rare. NED *rathe* I.

OE. Ðu ealne hraðe hefon ymbhwearfest (*rapido coelum turbine versas*). *Metra* 4:3. — Ðæt leoht was weaxende mare & mare, & hraðe to me was efstende. *Beda* 428:20. — Gif heo (sc. a pregnant woman) gæð late & hæfþ hole eagan heo cenneð eniht, gif heo hraðe gæþ & hafað aþundene eagan heo cenneð mæden cild. *Lchdm.* III, 144:8. †

Comparative. No he wiht fram me flod-yrpum feor fleotan meachte, hraþor on holme. *Beow.* 543. †

ME. The queyn & als dame mariory. . . ar ridin raith. . . rycht to the gyrrh off tayne. *Bruce* 4:45. — As he went outward bayne, He met ane Porter swayne, Cummand raith him agayne, *Fast fra the zet.* *Rauf* 609. †

2. *Quickly* (oscillating instances. Cf. remarks on *hrædllice* p. 24). The instances are very numerous, especially in prose, and only a small selection can be given. As the comparative form is of importance for the subsequent development, it is given separately. NED *rathe* I.

OE. Aris, rices weard; uton hraþe feran (Note the alliteration). *Beow.* 1390. *Ibm* 224. — Nu ge raþe gangaþ. *Elene* 372. *Ibm* 406. *Andr.* 1272. — Sprang. . . mersung. . . his sona ƿ. instyde ƿ. ræþe in eallum þæm londe galilææ. *AS. Gosp. Mc.* 1:28. *Ru* (*Li hraðe*). — Þa þis wundor þus gecyðed wæs, timbrede mon hraðe eft þa cirican. *Beda* 204:19. — He aras swaðeah and swiðe hraðe ferde to aþelwolde bisceope. *Ælfric Saints* 21:255 — Ga swiðe hraþe (:vade citius) & sæge *Stephane*. . . þæt he cume recene. *Gregorius* CO 314:5. — Gif þu raðe wille lytle wunde lacnian. *Læceboe* 3:29. — Ridað hraþe to þære fæmnan and axiað hire, gif hi seo frig. *Assmann Hom.* 171:55. Etc.

ME. And sethþe to þe flum Iordan heo ladde me ful raþe. *ESEL* 476:500 (*Raþe* occurs only in the legend of Mary Magdalene, which is older than the other legends in the *Laud MS.*). — Cum to þe king, ful swiþe and raþe. *Havelok* 2391. — Heize we to toun raþe! *Arth. a. Merl.* 7242. — Þan þe king bad knyghtes two Wend efter þe maydens bath, And so þai did ful swith rath. *Yw. and Gaw.* 3728. — He. . . sette it (his signet) Upon the wex deliverliche and rathe. *Troilus* II 1088. — Thir riche restles renkis ruschit out full raith. *Rauf* 822. Etc.

Comparative. NED has not defined this sense of the comparative.

ME. If þu comberd be In sin, þan sal it helpe þe Vte o þi sin rapre to rise. CM 26516. — Wel rathere (sc. than a blessed soul goes to heaven, which is more swiftly than lightning) me mai to helle come. Fragm. on Pop. Science 117 (MS. Harl. 2277). — Allas, huet is ous worþ oure pouer worþssippe. . . al hit ys ywent wel rapre þanne sseð oþer uoþel ulyinde, oþer quarel of arblaste. Ayenbite 71:14.

3 a. *Shortly after a given point in time, expressed by æfter þæm, or similar phrase.* NED *rathe* 1.

OE. Raþe æfter þon on fagne flor feond treddode. Beow. 724. — Hraþe seopðan was æfter mund-gripe mece geþinged. Beow. 1938. — Raþe æfter þæm he for mid firde on Chorasmas. Oros. 130:32. (Very common in Orosius). — & raðe æfter (C æfter ðan) Romulus hiora anginn geunclænsade mid his broðor slege. Oros. 64:22. — & raðe ðæs Atheniense gelæddon XXX M folces. . . angean Antigone. Oros. 144:19. — Ða se Wisdom þa ðis lioð asungen hæfde. . . þa fullhraðe ðæs ic cleopode to him. Boethius 50:11. — Ah he sona hraðe, þæs þe he biscop geworden wæs, þætte he gefremede þæt weorc þæt he longe wilnade. Beda 98:8. — Mid þi (þe) he þus cwæð . hraþe sio stænene onlicnes sendde mycel wæter þurh hiora muþ. Blickling 245:24. — Deorhege heawan & raðe æfter ðam. . . mederan settan (Wildgehege verhauien, and bald nachdem. . . Krapp setzen). Liebermann p. 454. Ger 12. Etc.

b. *Shortly, immediately, or quickly begun and ended.* Very common. NED *rathe* 1.

OE. Ac he hraþe wolde Grendle forgyldan guð-ræsa fela. Beow. 1576. — Him oncwæð hraðe caseres mæg. Elene 669. — Swe swe leaf wyrtas hreðe fallað (cito cadent). Vesp. Ps. 36:2. — & miðþy cwæþ hraþe foerde from him þe hriofal (:statim). AS. Gosp. Mc. 1:42. Ru. (Li C H sona) — Ac seo hreowsung. . . wearð swyðe raðe (:mox) on wýrsan geþanc gehwyrfed. Oros. 38:21. — & þa sona hraðe beforan his fotum wæs wyl upp yrnende. Beda 38:31. — Sy þæt reaf ge-broht hraðe hider to me. Ælfric Saints 31:923. — Þa he hine (sc. the castle) swa hraðe gewinnan ne mihte, he let þær toforan castelas gemakian. Chr. E 1102/237. Etc.

ME. & tatt wass þurh þe ȝife off Godd, þatt he swa mihte trowwenn Swa swiþe raþe. Orm 13766. — To þe Amyral of Babyloyne þey solde þat mayde swythe soone; Rath and soone þey were at oone. Floriz T. 193. — Ðis sonde hem ouertakeð raðe. Gen & Ex 2313. — And þe Romanisse men ful raþe hit wuste. Lay. B 5491. — And if i fall in ani skath, þou do me for to rise all rath. CM 25425. — Better is þat we raþe Hir o liue bring Al stille. Tristrem 1745. — Þe king it al hem graunted raþe. Arth. a. Merl. 1591. — Ryche robes ful rad renkeȝ hem broȝten. Gawain 862. — Ne ware it for reuerence of my ryche table, þou sulde repent full rathe of þi ruyde wordez. Morte Arthure 1332. — Bot gif thow raik out of my renk (:way), full raith sall thow rew. Rauf 549 Etc.

The following seems to mean *quickly begun and ended*: Þere shal þe rounde table lese þe renoune, Beside Ramsey, ful rad at a riding. Awntyrs 294.

c. In early ME. the phrase *inoh raþe* seems to have changed its original sign, *quickly enough*, to *fast enough, readily enough, probably, perhaps*. The attention is directed towards the cause of the quickness, which is apprehended as being either objective (lying in the circumstances) or subjective (lying in the willingness of the subject). Cf. sections 9—11 below. All the instances are from the South Midland district. On the spelling with *-ea* see Luick, HEG § 363, and p. 27 above, note. This sense of *raþe* is not given by NED. Cf. NED *fast* adv. 6 c.

ME. Me leoue sire, seið sum inouh reaðe, & is hit nu so ouer vuel uor te toten (:look) utward? Ancr. R. 52. — Þus wolde Eue inouh reaðe (T inoh raðe) habben i-answered. Ibm 54. — Sum seið inouh reaðe þet heo gedereð hord; so þet hire hus mei beon ibroken & heo boðe. Ibm 224. — Ant so ofte, inouhreðe, ne dest tu hit nout i rihte time. Ibm 270. — Sum wummon inouhreaðe wereð þe brech of heare ful wel i-knotted (:drawers of hair-cloth). Ibm 420. Ibm 106:23, 108:14. — Ȝef he wule leuen an god al mihti, þenne mei he speoken þrof & inohraðe speden. Juliane (Royal) 12 (Bodl. inoh reaðe). — Ich mahte inoh raðe wel habben aweld hire (: Poteram sane inpellere.) Katherine 555. — An he mahte inoh raðe don of þeos twa þing (: Certum sit alterutrum fieri posse); ba somet, nanes weis. Ibm 972. — Iwurðe þi wille euer, uor þu wult inouhreðe don betere bi me þen is þet ich wilni. Lofsong of Oure Louerde 215:10. — Ȝif þu iwurðest him unwurð (: if thou become of small esteem to thy husband), & he ase unwurð þe, . . . hit greueð þe se swiðe þat tu wilt inoh raðe. . . makien puisun & Ȝeouen bale ibote stude. Hali Meid. 33:15. — Ibm 47:15. †

4. *Superlative.* The superlative form shows some peculiarities which must be separately treated.

a. *Swa (he) raþost (meahte)*: as quickly as (he could).

OE. Aras ða eorla wynn. . . swa he hraþost meahte. Guðlac 1081. — And cild fullian swa raþe swa man raþost mæge hi geradian to fulluhte. ÆPL II 177. Similarly: Genesis Æ 45:19. — Ælfric Saints 23:794 — Liebermann p. 458, Geþyncðo 8. — Læceboc 106:2. — Chr. A 905/94. †

b. *Most quickly*, and therefore *soonest*, or *first*. NED *rathest*, adv. 1.

OE. Se þe raþust com on þone mere æfter þæs wæteres styrunge wearþ gehæled. AS. Gosp. John 5:4 C (H raðest. Li and Ru ærist: qui primus descendisset). — Swa hwilc swa ðonne gearo wearð hraðost. Chr. E 755/49.¹⁾ — & utan don, swa us þearf is, helpan aa þam raþost, þe helpes betst behofað. Liebermann p. 354, II Cn. 68.†

¹⁾ See NED *rathest*, adj., with quot. from MS. A.

ME. And he þat repentþ Raþest schulde aysen aftur, And greten Sir gloten with a galun of ale. P. Pl. A 5:186. — But lesings, with hir false flaterye, With fraude covered under a pitous face, Accepte been now rathest unto grace. Lydg. Compl. of the Black Knt 427. †

c. *Most quickly* and therefore *earliest*, or *very early*. NED *rathest*, adv. 2. Cf. also NED *rath-ripe*.

OE. Þæt nan man hit nah to geahnianne raþost þinga ær syx monðum, æfter ðam þe hit forstolen was (Dass niemand es als sein Eigenthum erklären darf vor frühestens etc.). Liebermann p. 328, II Cn 24.3.†

ME. Þanne bereth þe crophe kynde fruite. . . Maydenhode, angeles peres, and rathest wole be ripe. P. Pl. B 16:71. — Þat lyghtliche launceþ vp, litel whille dureþ, And þat þat raþest rypeþ roteþ most saunest. P. Pl. C 13:223. †

d. *Most quickly*, absolute construction, and so meaning *immediately*, at once.

OE. Se mæsse-preost se þe bið to læt þæt he þæt deofol of men adrife, & þa sawwle raþost mid ele & mid wætere æt þon wiferweardan ahredde, þonne bið he geteald to þære fyrenan ea, & to þæm isenan hocce. Blickling 43:23. — Him þa se heora arwyrdða biseop. . . lærede þæt hie raðost to Rome sendon to ðæm papan. Ibm 205:19. — Neron cwæþ, 'Ac to hwon yldest þu þæt þu raþost do?' (Morris: Why delayest thou that which thou shouldst at once do?). Ibm 183:1.†

e. In the phrase *raþost to secganne* 'in short, briefly', NED assumes *raþost* to be an adjective, while BT takes it as adverb (cf. NED *rathest*, adj.). The latter interpretation is probable, so that we should apprehend *raþost* as qualifying *secganne*, and the whole phrase, not *raþost* alone, as predicative (cf. *hrædlice* 4). But note the spelling in *Wulfstan*, below.

OE. Swa hit is nu hraðost to secganne be eallum þam woruldgesældum þe seo wyrd brengð. Boethius 39:9 — Þ is nu hraðost to secganne þ ic wilnode weorðfullice to libbanne þa hwile þe ic lifde. Boethius 41:3. — Ðyder sculon wiccan and wigleras and, hrædest to secganne, ealle þa manfullan. *Wulfstan* 27:1. — Þonne wyrð þæt wæter mid þam halgan gaste ðurhgoten, and, hrædest to secganne, eal, þæt se sacerð deð þurh ða halgan þenunge gesawenlice, eal hit fulfremeð se halga gast gerynelice. *Wulfstan* 36:7. — Ryperas and reaferas and, hrædest to secganne, ealle þa manfullan, þe god gremjað. *Wulfstan* 115:3. — And freorihht fornumene and ðrælriht generwde and ælmesriht gewanode, and hrædest is to cweþenne godes laga laðe and lara forsewene. *Wulfstan* 158:16. †

5. *Comparative form.* That which happens sooner than another event or action, happens earlier. Referred to time, the comparative form of *raþe* therefore easily ac-

quires an implication of 'earlier'. It may be more or less pronounced, but I think it is to be found in all the following quots., which oscillate between the senses *more quickly* / *earlier*, or *sooner* / *earlier*. This oscillating sense shades into the fully developed sense 'earlier' (see next section), and it is often difficult to distinguish between them. NED *rather*, adv. 1.

The quots. show that the comparison with another event or action may be only implied by the context. Most of the quots. have verbs of motion, but it is not possible now to determine exactly in what connexion the change took place. This sense, as well as all the following, is found in OE. only in the prose texts.

OE. Him ðæt to longsumere wrace come, þær hie ðe raðor gesemed ne wurden. Oros. 70:6. — Seo broðorþinen. . . cvað: þes cymð raðor (? more rapidly). Genesis Æ 38:28. — Hvi comon ge raþur þonne eover gevuna vās? Exodus Æ 2:18. — Se oðer leorning-cniht for-arn petrus forne & com raðor to ðære byrgenne. AS. Gosp. John 20:4. C. — Cantwarabyrig. . . raðe geeodon, gif hi þe raðor to him friðes to ne girndon. Chr. E 1009/139. — Swegen. . . tealde þæt his sciperes woldon wændon fram him buton he þe raðor come. Chr. E. 1046/169. — Do swa nigon dagas & IX niht, butan ðe raðor bot come. Lacnunga 124:7. — Beo he. . . wið þone cyning scyldig ealles þæs þe he age, buton he ðe raðor ge-swice & þe deopplicor gebete wið God. Liebermann p. 274, Cn. 1020, 17. †

ME. Wenest þu, þah ich al iseo, þat hit for me þe raþere beo? O & N 1242. — Þis men þat penis tas Draus tuin at ans wit-vten hon (:delay), þat þai þe raþer mai ha don. CM 26735 (F sonir). — And his hede he had him benome Had not grete socour to him the rather come. Guy, Caius MS., 2092. — Boute þow þe raþer hennes te, I schel þe greue. Beues 431. — His broþir Ihon Wolde do corowne hym anon. . . But he(: Richard) þe raþir wolde come home. Richard 6542. — Vor raþre comp þe dyaþ, þanne me uelþ þane byte (:than one feels the snake's bite). Ayenbite 61:19. — Dyaþ. . . hine wile nime, raþre þanne he ne wene. Ibm 179:29. — Merci. . . is þe armure huer-by he is þe raþre ouercome. Ibm 187:27. — P. Pl. A 7:111. Ibm B 17:67. — Ferumbras 426, 2331. — Assembly of Ladies 418. †

6 a. *Comparative form.* *Earlier*, as compared with other actions or events, expressed or implied. The OE. instance seems to show that this sense was developed already in OE. NED *rather*, adv. 2.

OE. Sume lator felað þara læcedoma sume raþor. Læceboc 26:36. †

ME. A hwilke time se eure Mon of þinchþ his mis-dede, Oþer raþer oðer later, milce he scal imeten. Poema Morale (Lamb.) 131. — Whan Arondel (:Beues' horse) herde, what he spak, Be-fore þe twei kniȝtes he rak, þat he com raþer

to þe tresore, þan hii be half and more. Beues 3537. — Oþer þere was anoþer Dido. . . oþer Cartage was raþer i-founded (prius fuerit fundata, sc. than some say). Trevisa I 167. †

b. *Comparative form. Previously, beforehand.* Referred to a date or time previous to the one now present or in question. NED *rather*, adv. 3.

OE. & butan his man raþor tilige, he bið ymb þreo niht gefaren. Læceboc 15:16. (? To 6 a) †

ME. Of me he habben scal guodne reað, bute ich beo þe raðer ded. Lay. A 3539. — Þo was þat an hous of beden, þat raþer was of folie. ESEL 183:68. — King henryes store, þat raþer ded was. Rob. Glouc. App. XX:99. — Story of Joseph 315. — I haue suwed þe þis seuen ðer, seþe (þou) me no raþere? P. Pl. A 9:66. — Ibm B 13:84. — Trevisa I 93, 223, 225. †

c. *Positive form. Early.* My first instance of the sense 'early' in the positive form of *raþe* is from c. 1220. It may have existed earlier, and may have been the result of separate development, but it seems more advisable to ascribe it to the influence of the comparative form, in which such a development was more natural. Cf. the adjective *hræd*, of which the comparative is found before the positive in the sense 'earlier'. NED *rathe*, adv. 3.

ME. Al þat þu singst raþe oþer late. O & N 1147. — And to þi wil þu schalt habbe grace Late and rathe in eche place. Floriz C 8. — No schaltow have othir lathe, Bote mete and drynke, late and rathe. King Alis. 7723. — Lete not þi luft hond, late ne raþe, Beo war what þi riht hond worchep or deleþ. P. Pl. A 3:56. B 10:144. — Þe messagers. . . hermyeþ hem late & rathe. Ferumbras 3874. — Non of myne schal do ȝow skathe, Nother late, erly, ne rathe. Troy Book 8106. — E. E. P. 154:8 (Harl. 913). — Chaucer Rose 6650. — Hous of Fame 2139. — Why ryse ye so rathe. . . What eyleth yow? Cant. A 3768. Similarly B 1289. †

I am not sure how to interpret the regular appearance of the phrase *late and rathe*. Did *rathe* need the contrast with *late* in order to get the sense of 'early'? Without *late*, *raþe* = 'early' is first found in Chaucer.

7. *Swa raþe swa:* *At the very moment when, whenever.* NED *rathe*, adv. 2.

OE. Sva raðe swa þät scrin in bið geboren, swa oft stint se stream. Iosua E 3:9. — Chrodegang 21:30, 63:27. †

ME. Sva raðe swa ani þing harm hire wile don, swo hie crepþ in to hire hole, and swo hie berhð hire lif. Vices 101:28. — Ac swa raðe so ðu to him (: Peter) lokeðest, sone him rewh þat he hadde swa ȝie-don. Vices 145:24. †

8. To *raþe*=*hastily, rashly, too soon, too early*. Cf. the corresponding development of *hrædlice* (5). The sense is vague, implying disapproval. NED *rathe*, adv. 1 b.

OE. Ic wat þ þu hæfst þara wæpna to hraðe forþigen. Boethius 8:20. — Hi to hraðe bugon ond flugon, forþam þe hi næfdon fultum þe hi habban sceoldan. Chr. E. 999/131. †

ME. Per weore al þat fiht i-don, ah þat niht to raðe com. Lay. A 28362. — Edmond was al to raþe alas to deþe ydo. Rob. Glouc. 6329. — Richard 5037 — Wit ax he wald haf scorn it þan, Al to rath he þat be-gan. Vte o þat tre it brast a blese, þat brent þam al wit-in a rese. CM 8876. — Wel beleue is luanne me ne leþþ ne to raþe, ne to late. Ayenbite 152:4. — He regned fiftene 3ere, & died alle to rathe. Brunne Chron. 9. NED. — For he was after traytour to the toun Of Troye; allas! they quitte him out to rathe. Troilus IV 205. Similarly V 937. †

II. Senses signifying 'more readily, preferably', etc.

The arrangement below is a little more summary than that of NED, and the sections do not coincide exactly. NED has taken into consideration syntactical points of view, of less importance for the present investigation. The senses in this division represent a separate development of the comparative form.

9 a. *More quickly | more easily or readily*, for this reason or on this account. NED *rather*, adv. 4.

In the sentence: »I have put a mark in the book, that the reader may *the rather* find the place», *rather* has an almost purely temporal import: that he may find the place *the more quickly*; but it also implies that the quickness is the result of a certain cause, expressed (in other cases perhaps only implied) in the context. In the following: »If a priest wishes to receive monk-hood, it shall not be conceded to him *the rather*, because he is a priest», the implication of 'for this reason, on this account' is predominant, the idea of time is weaker. Already in OE. there are instances where the time element has almost completely disappeared.

OE. Ac God geworhte æfre wundra ongemang ðam þurh hi, swa þæt þa hæðenan ðe raðor þurh ðæt on Crist gelifdon. ÆPL (MS.D) II 46. — Ic hæbbe gesett ane mearke beforan þam rædingum, & þa ic wylle her amearkian þæt se rædere hig ma ge þe raþor gemetan. Byrhtferth 333:15. — Gif hwylc mæssepreost wilnað, þæt hine mon to munuchade to mynstre underfo, ne sy him na ðe raþor getiþað, forþy þe he mæssepreost is (:Non ei quidem cicius assentiatur). Reg. Ben. 105:15. †

ME. No vlesshes derf (:pain) nis forte luuien bute uorði þet God þe raðer loke þideward mid his grace. Ancr. R. 384. — Feirnesse... makes moni mon beo

luued te raðer and te mare. Wohunge 269. — Þe more þet þet gold is clene, þe more hit wecþ, and þe more þet hit is heui, þe rapre hit ualþ to þe botme. Ayenbite 140:3. — If thou wolt yelde thee hastily, Thou shalt (the) rather have mercy. Chaucer Rose 1934. †

b. The superlative is found in late ME. in a similar sense. NED *rathest*, adv. 3.

ME. Ac wiþ ricchesse þat Ribaude rathest men bigyleth. Pl. P. B 14:203. — For it is wont, quod þe wy, as wise men tellys, The hyest thyng rapest heldes oþer while. Alexander 726. †

10. In OE. we find the phrase *no þe raþor*: *not the more readily* (for this reason or on this account), *not the more easily*. Corresponding phrases without negation are not instanced till the ME. period. The reason why one thing is preferred is objective, the circumstances, etc. NED *rather*, adv. 4.

OE. Þonne ne mæg he no þe raðor beon swa welig swa he wolde. Boethius 5:31. — Ne sceal he na þe hræþor to ungemetlice fægrian ðæs folces worda. Boethius 68:18. — Ne do ic hi na ðe raðor gelice, þeah ic hy togædere nemne. Aug. Solil. 17:12. — Þanc ic wolde secgan, ne cwæde ic þeah na ðe raðor 'genoh'. (Agerem quidem gratias, sed satis esse non dicerem). Aug. Solil. 17:5. †

ME. Heie monnes messenger, me schal heiliche underuongen. . . & so muchel þe raðer, 3if he is priué mid te kinge of heouene. Ancr. R. 190. — Vor þeruore . . þe more mede to-uore god him ne worþ þe rapre, yef he sterfþ wyþ-oute charite: y-damned ha worþ. Ayenbite 90:28. — Men schulde him rather mayme or bette. . . Than suffren him in such malice. Chaucer Rose 6620. — Thou shalt . . . be rather fals than I. Cant. A 1153. — Which I trust veryly ye do the rather for the grete love that ye deme I have therto. Paston 76. †

11a. In ME. we find *rather* meaning *sooner, more readily, willingly*, as a matter of individual choice. In sense 10 the reason why something should be done or happen sooner than something else, was *objective*, the circumstances, etc. The earliest instance of the *subjective* sense is from c. 1200, and as some of the quotes. show oscillation between this sense and the purely temporal application, it is a matter of doubt if the former arose out of sense 10, or out of senses 5—8. Perhaps both contributed.

The distinctions made by NED (*rather*, adv. 8, 9) seem to be of less importance from the semantic point of view, so these shades of sense are placed in one group, with the heading: *sooner, more readily, for subjective reasons*. The modifications are not pronounced enough to merit a separate treatment.

ME. He sholde . . . raðer helden hit (sc. a drink) ut, þene men þermide fordrenchen. OEHD II 213:10 — Raþir ich wolle þe slean mid mine spere. Lay. B 3943. — ʒwi nelþou raþer fette me and bringe me of þusse liue, þane soffri alle mine men to leose. ESEL, 99:264. — & suor he wolde raþer deye þan euere eft fle. Rob. Glouc. 4554. — Þou shuldyst raþer to þe deþ turne, Ar þou shust wyþ hys seruyse scorne. Handlyng 5129. — Ibm 6170. 3667. — I nam no þef. . . Raþer ich wald hing bi a cord. Arth. a. Merl. 2324. — Whi com he raþer to eue, þan he com to adam? EEP 13:27 (Fall and Passion. Harl. 913). — For him ic wole þane deþ aponge, ynabbe þerof no doute, Raþer þan to abowe adoun myn heued ʒoure false godes to aloute. Margarete II 108. — Sythe it is soo. . . Rather I wille þe bataille take. Ip. B 2039. — Hath ther nat many a noble wyf. . . y-slayn hir-self. . . Rather than with hir body doon trespas? Cant. F 1366. †

b. Of the superlative form in the same sense I have only one instance.

ME. And te poure þu raðeste cheas, pouerte þu luuedes (Morris: Thou choosest the rather to be poor, for poverty thou didst love). Wohunge 279.†

12. *More truly or correctly, more properly speaking; with greater correspondence between the word or words and the fact.* This appears to be a modification of sense 10. I have no other instances than those in NED, *rather*, adv. 5.

a. With *than*.

ME. It were raþere almes to lordis to hire. . . þan to holde (etc.) Wyclif Wks 118. NED. — Þe Romeyns were in poynt te pas; Til ther were a þow-sand, rathir mo þen les, Men I-armyd cleen. Beryn 2908. NED.

b. Without *than*, in opposition or contrast to a preceding statement.

ME. We have litil mater for to laughe, but rather for to morne. Wyclif Sel. Wks. I 409. NED. — I pray yow that ye for-yeve it me that I haue mys-don. 'So helpe me god, quod the damesell, rather shalt thou a-bye it full dere'. Merlin xxxiii. 690. NED.

c. Used to introduce a statement more correct than the one already made.

ME. Myn autorite is as grete as theris, and rather more as I tolde you. Paston Lett. I 508. NED.

Note. The following four quotes., from Scotland and North-East Midland, appear to mean *violently*, which sense is otherwise not instanced. Cf. *hrædlice* 1.

ME. Anon þai gun to striue raþe Wheþer of hem him schuld haue, To duelle in her meine. Horn Childe 709. — All þat ever abode þat becur,

Of hor deȝþus meȝtt be secur, He styrd his hondus so rathe. Gowther 624. — The kingis men. . . Stekit men and stedis bath, Till red blude ran of voundis rath. Bruce 8:322. — The roy ramand (:scream) full raith, that reuth wes to se, And raikit full redles to his riche tent. Gol. & Gaw. 1129. †

OE. SWIFT, adj.

»Prehistoric **swipt-*, repr. Indo-eur. root (**swoib-*) **sweib-* **swib-*: (**swoip-*) **sweip-* **swip-*, 'to move in a sweeping manner', with ppl. suffix *-to-*.» (NED). Cf. OE. *swīfan* 'to move quickly', OIcel. *svifa* 'to rove, turn, sweep', and OHG. *sweibōn* 'to move or turn quickly'. Fick (III 555) says that Teut. **swip-* means 'drehend bewegen'. Wood (Colour-names 34) gives as base **sueigo-* 'swing, move'. (Cf. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterungen* 192, 193, 215; *Beiträge* 86).

The suffix *-to-* originally signified »dass ein Substantiv von einem Vorgang betroffen und durch ihn in einen gewissen Zustand geraten ist» (Brugmann, *Kurze Vergl. Gr.* p. 317). »In Zusammensetzung mit der Privativpartikel bekamen [die Verbaladjektiva mit *-to-*] seit uridg. Zeit den Sinn der Möglichkeit und Fähigkeit. . . wonach im Griech. auch einfache Formen auf *-τός* diesen Sinn empfangen» (l. c. 317—318). In literary times, at least, it is just the latter meaning that is characteristic of *swift*. Cf. Kluge (Stammbildungslehre § 224): »[Verbaladjektiva auf *-to-*] haben meist passive funktion, selten active oder die von verbaladj. der möglichkeit und notwendigkeit».

The original meaning of the verbal root, 'sweep, swoop, fly', is reflected in the adj., which is used chiefly of animate bodies or of objects having, or apprehended as having, a motion of their own: persons, animals, the wind, the heavenly bodies, the firmament, feathers, ships, the soul, etc. Other uses must be considered as secondary in relation to these.

The mental (subjective) element of sense is much less prominent than in *hræd* and *snel*. (Cf. *hræd* 2, *snel* 3).

Scheme of senses.

- 1) Moving, or able to move, with speed. Of persons, animals, and inanimate objects. OE. ME.
- 2) Of feet or wings: rapid in motion, or imparting rapid motion. OE. ME.

- 3) Acting or disposed to act swiftly, eager to get something done. OE. ME.
- 4) Of motion: Rapid, taking place rapidly. OE. ME.
- 5) Of an event or occurrence: Coming on, happening, or performed without delay, prompt, speedy. OE. ME.
- 6) Of an event or division of time: Done or finished within a short time, passing quickly, brief. ME. 1225.

Glosses. *Alacer*, Corp. 128. WW 349:12. *Expeditus, generosus, hilaris, fortis, alacer, promptus, paratus*, WW 232:5. *Perpes*, WW 464:16. Nap. Gl. 508. *Pernix, velox*, Nap. Gl. 9:10. Ond swiftum: *et passiuus*, Nap. Gl. 264. Mid swiftum: *reciprocis*. Nap. Gl. 2408. *Rapaci, i. ueloci*. Nap. Gl. 2667.

1. *Moving, or able to move, with great speed or velocity; going quickly or at a great rate; rapid, fleet.* Probably the oldest of the extant senses. Well, though not copiously, instanced in OE., where *hræd*, and in verse also *snel*, were used in the same sgn. Said of persons, animals, and inanimate objects. NED *swift*. I.

a. *Persons.*

OE. Swiftran þonne tigris. Boethius 72:6. — Þa sende se halga wer swyftne ærendracan to þæs bisceopes ceastre. Ælfric II 184:34. — Ne þearfum eces cristes gospelsia on cumena huse gedafenlicum læt & asolcen þenian elcigende geswice seþe swift & weallende welegum gewitendlicum þenigende ongean yrnan gewilnaþ (: qui celer ac feruidus diuitibus caducis ministrando occurrere desiderat). Cons. Mon. 1073 (Implying 'eager, willing'). †

ME. Alle þeo ine heouene schulen beon ase swifte ase is nu monnes þouht. Ancr. R. 94. — Ibm 170. 196. — Lay. A 5902. 26068. — Ha beoð alle ase lihte ant as swifte as þe sunne gleam. Sawles Warde 265:4. — ESEL 303:142. — Þat folk (sc. the people working on a castle) was boþe swift & sleize. Arth. a. Merl. 535. — Vernagu 410. — CM F 3730 (Other MSS. light). 23381. p. 987: 186. — Ayenbite 141:6. 268:12. 269:8. — Pearl 570. — Cleanness 1509. — Chaucer, Compl. of Mars 112. Boethius B. II Pr. 6:67. Leg. of G. W. 2711. Cant. B 3449. — Benet Vesp. 987. †

b. *Animals.*

OE. Ne se swiftra mearh burh-stede beateð. Beow. 2264. — He is snel & swift & swiðe leoht. Phoenix 317. — Ruin 19. — Riddles 17:3. 73:1. 83:3. — Oros. 20:34. 21:1. 21:5. — Beda 400:3. — Martyrologium 28:22. †

ME. Þatt der, þatt iss swa swift (sc. the Dromedary). Orm 6972. — Rob. Glouc. 8174. — The stede was swifter than the mere. Perceval 713. — Þe larke ... (is) wel away of wenge swifter þan þe pecok. P. Pl. B 12:263. — Leg. of G. W. 1195. — Troilus III 1703. — Cant. A 190. — Octavian S 1347. 1417. — Mandeville 134:21. — Howlat 138. 290. — Wallace 8:185. †

c. *Objects*, concrete or abstract, generally personified or apprehended as having a motion of their own.

OE. Ne mæg hæleða gehwæm hus on munte lange gelæstan, forðæm him lungre on swift wind swapeð. *Metra* 7:20. 11:60. — Ne mæg mon æfre þy eð ænne wræccan his cræftes beniman, þe mon oncerran mæg sunnan onswifan (:detrudere) & ðisne swiftran rodor. *Metra* 10:40. 28:17. — Se (æfenstiorra) bið þære sunnan swiftra. *Metra* 29:31. — Ic (: the wind)... wide fere swift ond swiþfeorm. *Riddles* 1:102. 38:68. — Me (: Creation, according to Trautmann) is snegl swiftra, snelra regnwyrn. *Riddles* 38:71. 64:3. — *Menologium* 235. — *Gnom. Verses* I 3 (Cotton). — *Lchdm.* III 248:3. — *Scipu.*... þa wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unwealtran. *Chr. A* 897/90. †

ME. Also... ine swifte wateres, þe þet mot ouer waden... euerichon halt oðres hond. *Ancr. R.* 252. — A water, boþe swift & stepe. *Arth. a. Merl.* 1450. — Vor þer is a feloun þet heþ þe tonge... more zuyfter þanne arwe ulyinde. *Ayenbite* 66:11. — The swiftest of these arowes fyve. *Chaucer Rose* 949. — It (:time) is more swift than any thought. *Ibm* 5024. — *Chaucer Boethius B. IV. M.* 1:2. — The swifte firmament. *Ibm B. IV. M.* 1:18. — A swifte pointel (:stylus). *Ibm B. V. M.* 4:11. — His eyen two... Out stremeden as swifte welles tweye. *Troilus IV* 247. — The swifte Fame. *Ibm IV* 659. 350. — The tonge of man so swift is and so wight That... *Hoccleve, Letter of Cupid* 143. — Þe swoþing of the swift wynde. *Alexander* 4385. †

2. *Of feet or wings.* The sense is sometimes ambiguous, as the adj. implies not only that the feet or wings were rapid in their movement, but also that the bodies to which they belonged were carried rapidly forward, so that *swift* signifies not only *rapid in motion* but also *imparting rapid motion*. Cf. the quot. from *P. Pl.* in 1 b.

OE. Ic (: mens humana. *Migne* 788) hæbbe fiðru fugle swiftran, mid þæm ic fleogan mæg. *Metra* 24:1. †

ME. I (: mens humana. *Migne* 788) have... swifte fetheres that surmounten the heichte of hevene. *Chaucer, Boethius B. IV. M.* 1:1. — His officers with swifte feet they renne And ryde anon at his comaundement. *Cant. A* 2868. — The stede of Perseus was callid the Pegasè, With swifte wengis. *Lydg. Horse, Goos & Sheep* 55 (*P. R. & L. Poems p.* 17). †

3. *Disposed to act swiftly, eager to get something done.* Sometimes implying *hasty, rash*. Cf. *hræd* 2, and *snel* 3.

NED places this sense in a subdivision of the sense 'coming on, happening, or performed without delay' (*NED* 2), which implies speed in relation to time. It is true that such an implication is discernible in some instances, but it is only secondary, the origin of sense 3 being (cf. p. 19) that the attention

is directed towards the mental state of a person, which state is apprehended as the cause of his swiftness. Genetically, sense 3 is therefore to be regarded as closely connected with sense 1.

OE. Æfter ðam gemænelicum æriste we beoð ful swyfte to farenne geond ealle widgynnyssa Godes rices. Ælfric I 296:33. — And ða earan aslawjað, þa þe ær wæron ful swifte and hræde to gehyrenne fægere dreamas and sangas. Wulstan 148:2. †

ME. He es swyft to spek on his manere; And latsom and slaw for to here. Pricke 792. — Right so was fayre Cecilie the whyte Ful swift and bisy ever in good werkinge. Cant. G 116. — Wyclif Jas. 1:19. NED. †

Cf. Forwel oft cymð se bæftan us, þe us mid swyftnyssse godre drohtnunge forestæpð (: who had preceded us in swiftness of good conduct). Ælfric II 82:18. — Alexander 1017 (NED s. v. *swiftness* 2).

4. Of motion: *that takes place rapidly or with speed, that is rapid.* (Cf. *hræd* 5). When qualifying a noun which denotes speed, *swift* seems to have the force of an intensive. As most of the quots. are from texts dependent on Latin or French sources, it seems probable that this sense is due to foreign influence, not to native development. If this assumption is correct, it may explain the lack of instances in *ME.* before Chaucer. NED 1 b.

OE. Mid swyftum ryne to lande arn. Ælfric II 160:11. — Swa þæt on sumum gefeohte him sende god swa micelne wind, þæt þa wæmna flugon mid swyftum gesceote swiðe on heora find. Ælfric's Epilogus 264:12. — Mid swyftum ryne. Gregorius H 115:18 (C *færlicum: rapido cursu*). — Appollonius. . . yrrende þone ðoðor gelæhte and mid swiftre rædnesse geslegene ongean gesænde to ðam plegendan cyng. Appollonius 25:11. †

ME. That thing that men calle foudre, That smoot somtyme a tour to poudre, And in his swifte coming brende. Hous of Fame 537. — The right swifte cours of my prosperitee (: *velocissimum cursum*. Migne 677). Chaucer, Boethius B. II Pr. 4:2. — The swifte moevinge of the firmament (: *agili motu*. Migne 789). Ibm B. IV. M. 1:6. — (He) wot nat. . . why that Bootes. . . unfoldeth his over-swifte arysinges (: *nimis celeres explicet ortus*. Migne 811). Ibm B. IV. M. 5:6. — Troilus II 1385. — My horse. . . All swoty for swyme and his swift course. Destr. Troy 2366. †

5. That which comes or happens rapidly, is soon here or soon ready, hence *swift* in such applications may signify: *coming on, happening, or performed without delay, prompt, speedy.* Cf. *hrædlic* 1. This sense implies speed in relation to time (promptitude). Its origin is probably to be sought in Latin influence.

There is no evidence in this word, nor in any other adj., for an independent development from the sense 'rapid' to 'prompt'. The advs. *swifte* and *swiftly* have the sense 'promptly', but only in ME. NED 2.

OE; Se miccla Godes dæg is swiðe gehende, and ðearle swyft. Ælfric I 618:14, 26. †

ME. Patt sez3þ he forr to tacnein uss þurh Cristess swifte sihþe Eorþlike shorrt lif. Orm 12170. — Of þis swift answer þei wer swith glad. Alis. 1.567. — Suffraunce is a souereygne vertue and a swyfte veniaunce. P. Pl. B 11:370. †

6. That which is done rapidly is soon over: hence, *swift* may sometimes refer to the speedy termination of an event, *done or finished within a short time, passing quickly, of short continuance, that is soon over, brief.* Only ME. Cf. *hrædlic* 1. NED 3.

This sense was perhaps due to Latin influence, or possibly to influence from the advs. *swifte* and *swiftly*, in which the sense of speed in relation to time was common. See below.

ME. For þis swifte pine, þ aswikeð se sone, blissen buten ende, & murhðen aa mare. Katherine 2156. — Thou (:God) dividest the swifte tydes of the night (: agileis noctis horas. Migne 636). Chaucer, Boethius B. I. M. 5:13. — Or trowest thou that any stedefastnesse be in mannes thinges, whan ofte a swift houre dissolveth the same man (: velox hora dissolvat. Migne 674). Ibm B. II. Pr. 3.37. †

OE. SWIFTLICE, adv.

Swiftlice is not very common in OE. BT has only four quots., GK none at all.

1. The earliest sense was no doubt *rapidly*, in connexion with purely durative verbs of motion, corresponding to sense 1 of the adj. *swift*. NED *swiftly* 1. (The first quot. there belongs to my next section).

OE. Hi fleoð swiftlice. Wulfstan 200:17. †

ME. Þe reue het. . . swingen hit (: a wheel) swiftliche abuten and tidliche turnen. S. Juliane 58. — Seileden wel swyftely est. King Alis. 5640. 5837. — Wel was him in þe world þat swifliet migt hige. Palerne 3454. — Mi tunge rede-pipe maister-writer, Of swifftlike writande be þer. NE Psalter 44:1. — Cleaness 87. — Lydg. Compl. of the Black Knt. 595. †

2. *Quickly.* *Swiftlice* shows the same sense-development from 'rapidly' to 'immediately' as *hrædlice* (see p. 24).

OE. Eft, ðaða seo halige cwen hine asende. . . þa ferde his gast swyftlice, and mid lichamlicum wæpne ðone Godes feond ofstang. *Ælfric I* 452:30 (NED 3). — Zacheus ða swyftlice of ðam treowe alihte, and hine blissigende underfeng. *Ibm* 580:24 (NED 1). — God. . . ðone witegan Abbacuc lichamlice fram Iudea lande to Chaldea rice swiftilice ferode. *Ibm II* 174:2. — Galful witodlice lif flæsc raþe geuntrumað & tobrocenre swiftilice gelæt to ylde. *Scint.* 88:37. — Gregorius *H* 124:29. †

ME. Pat yure abes cumandes yu at do, þat ye do it suiftlike. *Benet Lansd.* 9.32. — Þe se (:the sea) wel swiftiliche hire with-drawþ, and with gret eyr In gan eorne. *ESEL* 338:498. — Forþ him went a messenger Swiftilich on a gode destrer. *Arth. a. Merl.* 1370. — Tho come theose dukis swiftly flynge. *King Alis.* 7211. — *Palerne* 2102. 3200. — *Joseph of Arim.* 529. — *Patience* 72. — *Chaucer, Parl. of Foules* 76. — *Alexander* 1184. 3970. — *Destr. Troy* 2358. — *Gol. & Gaw.* 380. Etc.

3. *Shortly, immediately, or quickly begun and ended.* There is no OE. instance of this sense, and although it is not always advisable to draw conclusions from the absence of evidence, especially when a word is comparatively rare, we may perhaps in this case venture to assume that the sense did not exist in OE. It should be noted that *swiftly* occurs only in OE. prose texts, from c. 1000. An adj. **swiftilic* is not found, and it is therefore possible that *swiftilice* was formed from *swift* at a comparatively late period (cf. pp. 22 and 24). The non-appearance of sense 3 in OE. would then be natural, as it would take some time for the word to pass through the development to 'immediately'. — The OE. instance in NED 3 belongs to my sense 2.

ME. Swiftiliche anonriht schutted al þet þurl to. *Ancr. R.* 96. — *Heo. . .* strahte forð swiftiliche þe snawhwite swire. *Katherine* 2442. *Ibm* 690. — All his comament was don, Suiftliker þen hee may wink. *CM* 341. (F squyfter, G and T smartlier). — He smot him swyftly in the swyre. *King Alis.* 4248. — *Arth. a. Merl.* 6435. — And þous ssel ech man wel do zuyftliche uor his zaule þerhuyle þet ha leueþ, and hol. *Ayenbite* 194:26. *Ibm* 140:19. — It is so fer to þat cuntre. . . þat he may nouzt saile swifli as he wold. *Palerne* 2673. (*Saile* here implies: arrive by sailing). — *Ibm* 2068. — For wislich I slept, Whan I þat sweuen so sweete swiftly mette. *Alis.* 1755 (suddenly?) — He swoundande diede. . . Sweltes ewynne swiftly, and swanke he no more. *Morte Arth.* 2961. — And after þat kissinge þe wormis taile and winge Swiftly felle her fro. *Libeaus* 2115. — *Alexander* 2069. 4193. — *York Plays* 259:144. — The duk dotered to the ground. On erthe swyftly he swounded. *Degrevant* 1110. 1314. †

Note the frequent use of *swiftly sweren*, which in some cases seems to be caused only by the alliteration. *Palerne* 4027. *Ip. A* 5421. *Gawain* 1825. *Alis. I.* 283. *Destr. Troy* 642. 650. 711. 748. *Rauf* 952. †

As swiftly as.

As swiftli as he wist þat his em was slawe. . . Palerne 3421. †

OE. SWIFT(E), adv.

Here too, we find indications of the development 'rapidly > immediately', though the instances are so few that the groups are not very clearly defined, and the chronology is doubtful. However, the only OE. instance means 'rapidly', and the other senses are found only in ME., which corresponds to the usual order of development, and therefore is probably not a mere coincidence.

1. Rapidly. NED *swift* adv. 1.

OE. (Seo heofon). . . æfre tyrnð onbutan us swiftre þonne ænig mylen hweol Lchdm III 232:20 (De Temp.)

ME. Ic com þider sone swift as an erne. Margarete III 53. — And evermo, so swift as thought, This queynte hous aboute wente. Hous of Fame 1924. — Cant. E 1673. †

2. Quickly.

ME. He swenges me þys swete schip swefte fro þe hauen. Patience 108. — & syþen sunder þay þe sydeð swyft fro þe chyne. Gawain 1354. — Destr. Troy 13299. †

3. Shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended. NED 2.

ME. Bot sayde wit worde and als sone al his comandement was done, squyfter þan any eye may wynke. CM F 341. — His swerd. . . Amyd the crowne he yaff hym swiftre. Ip. B 1912. †

OE. SNEL, adj.

The ultimate etymology is obscure. Fick (III 522) thinks that the original sgn of the stem may be 'einen knallenden Laut machen, mit einem knallenden Geräusch emporspringen', and suggests that **snella-* is from **snelná-*.¹⁾ Van Wijk proposes

¹⁾ Tallgren, Neuphil. Mitteil. XVIII 120, gives several instances from different languages, where the sense of promptitude has arisen in advs. primarily denoting some kind of noise (:L'idée de *craquement* ou d'autre bruit. Effet acoustique considéré comme caractérisant un mouvement prompt > promptitude). But as it seems doubtful whether the idea of promptitude can change into that of rapidity (cf. Ch. III below), these parallels can be adduced in support of

**snez-la-*, **sneð-la-*, or **snel-na-*, as possible alternatives, and says that the original sense is uncertain. FT (II 1006) thinks that the sign of Teut. **snella-* (or **snellu-*) may be 'zappelnd'. Kluge contents himself with stating that the origin of the word is obscure.

The OE. instances give no clear idea of the semantic history of the word. A development from sense 1 to senses 2 and 3 may seem probable, but among all the other words investigated in this work there is no instance of an adj. passing through such a development (Cf. Ch. III). The sense of rapidity always arises in the advs. The adv. *snelle* is not found at all in OE., and *snellice* is rare, and so they cannot afford any information for explaining the early development of the adj. It is evident, from the appearance of the sense 'rapid' in the other Old Teut. dialects (cf. the dictionaries quoted above), that this sense was very old in *snel*. In these circumstances I think I am justified in regarding it as primary, from the English point of view, and in placing the word in this group, leaving out of account the problem of the origin of the sense 'rapid'.

Senses 4 to 7 all make their appearance c. 1300, in Northern texts, especially CM. Their origin is uncertain. With regard to the sense of ON. *snjallr*, Fritzner gives the following definition: »Dygtig, duelig til sin Gjærning, til at gjøre hvad der anstaar en Mand eller med Rette kan kræves, ventes af ham. I Besynderlighed: modig, veltalende, god, tjenlig, udmærket i sit Slags». (Cf. similar definitions in Cleasby-Vigfusson, Gering, and Hægstad-Torp). This is the same sense as the word has in OE. and ME., and if senses 4 to 7 are developed from it, it is not necessary to assume ON. influence. Native English development is just as possible.

As the evidence is so scanty, we are restricted to assumptions. I venture to suggest that sense 4 is developed from 1, applied to mental qualities (cf. *hræd* 4, *quick* 11). Intensified, and used in a

Fick's theory only if we assume the supposed original sense to have first changed into 'smart, active, strenuous', which sense in its turn might have changed into 'swift'. On the probability of the latter development, see above. Cf. also Hilmer, Schallnachahmung, Wortschöpfung und Bedeutungswandel (1914) p. 119 sqq.

dyslogistical sense, it might then have given 5. Applied to weather, etc., this sense might change to 6, and with further extension of use, to 7. The development may have taken place in the spoken language, only the results appearing in the texts.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) Smart, active, strenuous. OE. ME.
- 2) Rapid, swift in action or movement, OE. ME.
- 3) Disposed to act swiftly, eager to do something. OE. ME.
- 4) Keen-witted, clever, acute. ME. 1300.
- 5) Severe, sharp, unsparing; hostile, fierce. ME. 1300.
- 6) Of weather: keen, bitter, severe. ME. 1300.
- 7) Grievous, heavy, stinging, rigorous, painful. ME. 1300.

Glösses. Alacris. Ep. 77; Corp. 127; WW 5:8; 274:33; 349:11. *Expeditus, velox, fortis.* Corp. 823; WW 21:6; 393:27. — Orpede, *snellie adultum, iuwenem.* Nap. Gl. 3361. — *Snelra prestantior.* Nap. Gl. 4542. — *Explicitus, liber, efficacus.* WW 232:3.

1. *Smart, active, strenuous.* Of persons or animals. Often difficult to distinguish from sense 2. Common in ME. as an epithet of commendation, and perhaps functioning as such already in the OE. epics. NED *snell* adj. 1.

I have placed this sense first because it is the most common, and evidently one of the oldest senses of the word.

OE. Ne-meahte se snella sunu Wonredes ealdum ceorle hond-slyht giofan. Beow. 2971. — Snelle gemundon weardas wigleoð. Exodus 220. — Het ða gefetigan ferend snelle. . . haligre fæder recene to rune. Juliana 60. — Þa wearð snelra werod snude gegearwod, cenra to campe. Judith 199. — Sum. . . streamrade con weorudes wisa ofer widne holm, þonne særofe snelle (GK: instr.?) mægne arum bregdað yðborde neah. Cræftum 56. — Me sendon to þe sæmen snelle (sc. the Vikings). Byrhtnoth 29. †

ME. ðe ðridde (sc. weapon of light) is þat man be waker, and liht, and snel, and seli. OEH II 13 (Trin. Coll.). — Þa wenden to þere welle cnihtes þe weoren snælle. Lay. A (B) 19811. — Þene þer beon of-slažene ure þeines snelle. Lay. A (B) 23656. — O. & N 531. 768. — Ac naþeles mid alle his wrenche ne kan he (sc. a fox) hine so biþenche, þež he bo žep and suþe snel, þat he ne lost his rede vel. Ibm 829. (Clever, smart?). — Ac wane nižtes cumeþ longe & bringeþ forstes starke and stronge, þanne erest hit is isene, war is þe snelle, war is þe kene. Ibm 526. — He . . . tok felazes fewe, Of knižtes suiþe snelle. King Horn C 1581 (L felle, H beste). — Olibrius heitte þe mai ut of prisun don, ðe sergauz weresnelle ant broukten hire son. Maregrete III 55. — Wyþ þeoues, wiþ reueres, wiþ lechurs, þu most beo waker and snel (: and guard your treasure carefully). Luue Ron

150. — 3were ben thine cokes snelle, that scholden gon greithe thi mete? Body and Soul 41. — For who that is gode & snelle. . . Grete worþschipe he winneþ. Guy 815. — Maseger, be 3ep and snel, And on min helf þow grete wel þat emperur. Beues 88. — Arth. a. Merl. 1196. — Roulond þat was good & snel. Sir Otuel 1610. 1716. — Minot 5:22. — Ferumbras 3825. — Cov. Myst. xii 121. NED. — Caxton Reynard xxxix 106. NED. †

2. *Rapid, swift in movement or action.* Of persons, animals, ships, (water?). In many cases it is impossible to decide with certainty whether a quot. should be placed here or in 1. The following instances seem to be comparatively free from implications of other senses. NED 1.

OE. (Scip) on brim snoweð snel under segle. Andreas 505. — Wæterþisa for snel under sorgum (GK: sargum, unter dem traurigen?). Guðlac 1304. — Se haswa fugel. . . fareð feþrum snell flyhte on lyfte. Phoenix 123. 163. 347. — (Phoenix) is snel & swift & swiðe leoht. Ibm 317. — Me is snegl swiftra, snelra regnwyrn (MS. snelro). Riddles 38:70. — Sum bið rynig, sum ryhtscytte, sum leoða gleaw, sum on londe snel, feþespedig. Cræftum 52. †

ME. Mi stede þai han, þat is so snelle. Guy 4668. — An hors gode and snel. Beues 1823. — Ibm Manchester MS. 749. — The messengers were ful snelle, Hastilich the way thay nomen. Seven Sages 316. — A grewhond that was good and snel. Ibm 738. — Minor Poems fr. Vernon MS. 558. NED. — Brunne Chron. 132. NED. — To arme hym wele þay were full snelle. Otuel 403. — Arthure. . . Sweys (: betakes himself) into Swaldye with his snelle houndes. Morte Arthure 57. †

Uncertain: Þu farest so doð an ydel wel, þat springeþ bi burne þat is snel, and let fordruwe þe dune & floþ on idel þar adune. O & N 918.

3. *Disposed to act swiftly, eager to do something,* sometimes implying *hasty, rash*. Cf. *hræd* 2 and 3, *swift* 3. As soon as the idea of exaggeration is implied in the context, this development is natural, and when used in an unfavorable sense, the adj. assumes the sgn 'hasty, rash'. Cf. NED 1 c.

OE. Se was mid his dædum snelra þonne he mægenes hæfde (: celeritate magis quam virtute fretus). Oros. 78:27. — Hiræ fet hræpe 1 snelle (: veloces) to ægiotænæ 1 to scedende blod. Eadwine Ps. 13:3. †

ME. Ne may no tunge telle. . . of þare pyne of helle, þar-to we beoþ to snelle. Sinners Beware 41. — Hie boldus to bulde be we not snelle. Alex. & Dind. 437. NED. †

4. *Keen-witted, clever, sharp, acute, smart.* This sense and the three following appear c. 1300, in the Northern dialects (cf. EDD). The only early exception is the quot. from Seven

Sages, but the MS. (Cambr. Univ. Libr. Dd I 17) shows many Northern forms (Wells 187). NED 2. Cf. *hræd* 4.

ME. The mayster was wys and snel, and made hys medicine wille. Seven Sages 1540. (MS. Cambr., end of 14th cent.) — Teche hem alle to be war and snel, That they conne sey þe wordes wel. Myrc 121. — Melachiell, that proffett snell, Hais tolde vs of that babb so bright. York Plays 437:111. †

5. *Severe, sharp, unsparing.* Perhaps also *fierce, tart, austere* (see EDD). Quot. CM 23996 seems to mean *hostile, fierce*. NED 3.

ME. Bot quen i sagh þaa juus snell, Rise again mi sun sua fell, Ful wanles (: miserable) wex i þan. CM 23996 (C, F and G). — Sore þei augte him drede: þe folke þat were so snelle. CM Trin. 16628. (F snell, C and G fell). †

6. *Of weather: keen, bitter, severe.* Perhaps first of winds: a swift wind is strong and therefore severe, biting, keen. Cf. *sewifta wind*, p. 42. NED 4.

ME. Þe seuend on-sand þat siþen fell, Was a weder ful selcut snell. CM 6018 (F suel [sic], G and T fell). — Sa hard anoy thaim then assayit, Off hungir, cauld, with schowris snell. Bruce 3:377. †

7. *Grievous, heavy, stinging, rigorous, painful.* NED 5. Evidently closely related to the preceding sense.

ME. Ful snaip it was þair stur and snell, þe folk al fled of israel. CM 7753. — O þis batail þat was sa snell, þe force a-pon þe king it fell. CM 7759. — Þai hailed him be-for, bi-hind, buffet þai gaf him snell. CM 16638. — Þe thrittend (day) sal be to snell, Mar þan man wit tung mai tell. CM 22671. — Of al and al þou wist hu snell It es to drei þe paine of hell. CM 25890. — In hys hand a mase ful snel, þat was maad off good steel. Beues (Egerton MS., end of 14th century) 4312—147, p. 211. †

ME. SNEL(LE), adv.

Senses 1—3 are chiefly Southern, sense 4 chiefly Northern.

1. *Rapidly.* Purely durative verbs. This sense has probably existed, though there is no good instance. Least open to objection is perhaps the following quot. NED *snell* adv. 1.

ME. Þe lyoun after him folweþ snelle. Guy 4144. †

2. *Quickly.* Comparatively common. Chiefly verbs of motion.

ME. Þo answered alle: wende we snelle. Lay. B 7926 (A: biliue). — Schipes he doth make snel. King Alis. 1511. — Ibm 2670. 4120. 6974. — Kildare 110:145. — Richard 4448. 4824. — Ferumbras 2273. 3250. — Emare 309. — Pyderward Florent well good pas He rood full snelle. Octavian S 1170. — Troy Book 2782. — Chron. Vilod. 556. NED. †

3. *At once, immediately, shortly, quickly begun and ended.*

ME. Segyn oxed him snelle, What newe tidinges he coupe telle. Guy 2461. — Ibm 801. — To Ascopard þai come snel. Beues 3145. — Now quyk, sire, and snel, Do ryng alle thy bellis. King Alis. 3391. — Ibm 4420. 6845. — CM 14946. — Ferumbras 809. — Libeaus 1444. 1613. 216 a Naples MS. †

Als, as, also snel: immediately. Cf. *swiþe* 8 a.

ME. I wile, queþ Beues ase snel, þe leter bere treuliche & wel. Beues 1245. — Ibm 3353. — Hem. . . þai welcomed. . . & hem deliuerd þe toun als snel. Arth. a. Merl. 1789. — King Alis. 7276. — Sir Libeaus also snel Rod hom to his ostell, No leng he nolde abide. Libeaus 862. — Ibm 784. 853. 1078. †

4. *Actively, smartly, strenuously, vigorously, keenly.* This sense corresponds to senses 4—7 of the adj. As it appears simultaneously with the latter, it may be assumed to be derived from them. Some of the instances imply the sense of speed, but it is uncertain whether they indicate a development of the adv., or the two senses arose independently of each other, and later gave rise to intermediary forms. NED 2.

ME. Pat þe soudan wiþ his men elle þe cite wil aseyle snelle. Guy 3142. — Per þai fouzten togider snelle, & smiten strokes wiþ gode wille. Ibm 5381. — So mani kniztes to him come, & on Herhaud þai smiten snelle. 3ernne þai strengþed him to quelle. Ibm 5397. — Sum rammed & doluen snel & gun þat castel fair & wel. Arth. a. Merl. 533. — Þe messangers bad him þo telle, Whi it was, he louz so snelle. Ibm 1322 (Cf. line 1320: Swiþe schille & loude he louz). — I wille assaye fulle snelle To make that lady to duelle. Perceval 2170 (Uncertain). — Swiche messes þey eteþ snel; and þat makeþ hem drynk wel. Trevisa I 405. — Þe geaunt smot to hym well snell With a scharp fachoun of stell. Octavian S 1111. — For þe slete and þe snawe, þat snayppede þame so snelle. Awntyrs T 82. — Sir Porrus with a proude swerd him on þe pan strikis So snelle at he snatris with, nere snaypid (: marred) him for euire. Alexander 3995. — This man went doun, and sodanlye he saw, As to hys sycht, dede had him (: another man) swappyt snell. Wallace 2:250. †

Snellic and *snellice* are too scantily instanced to give information of value, and are therefore left out. See dictionaries.

OE. LEOHT, adj.

Derived from Prim. Teut. *lenhta-, *lenhtia-, from the verbal stem *leng- (*lang-, *lung-), which, according to Fick (III 360), means 'vorwärts kommen, gelingen'; Idg. *lengh-, 'sich schnell bewegen, springen'. If this opinion is correct, the sense 'swift' may be primary in the adj., and 'levis' secondary. However, the latter also seems to be very old, as it appears in related words in Sanskrit, Latin, Lithuanian, and Irish (Cf. Fick, l. c., Walde, s. v. *levis*, Kluge, s. v. *leicht*, Feist, s. v. *leihts*).

It therefore seems advisable to regard the two senses 'swift' and 'levis' as equally original, from the point of view of the English language, and not to attempt to derive one of them from the other.

It is true that there are some instances (7 a and c) which appear to oscillate between the two senses mentioned. But it is possible (though in this case perhaps not probable) that the oscillation is only apparent, and that the word, at the time of the quots. referred to, was actually apprehended as being unequivocal in meaning. (Cf. Ch. IV, on oscillation). And even if the meaning really did oscillate, oscillation between two senses does not always prove that one of them is the source of the other. They may have arisen through different developments and be independent of each other with regard to their origin. If the word is used in such a context that both senses are compatible with the meaning of the whole sentence, both may be more or less clearly associated with the word, which thus receives an oscillating import (cf. *fæste* 7 and 8). The oscillating instances are then later than the fully developed senses.

The arrangement in NED is founded on logical principles. I shall make an attempt to trace the lines along which the semantic development in English may have proceeded, radiating from the two original senses 'levis' and 'swift'. Many of the senses are so closely related that it is often a matter of some difficulty to determine how a quot. should be interpreted.

Latinisms. Some of the OE. and ME. uses of *leoht* are evidently directly copied from Latin sources. In Bede's Hist. Eccl. (410:12) the following phrase occurs: *Me leoht slæp oferarn: levis mihi somnus obrepsisset.* And in Prose Guthl. (136: 6): *Pa*

wæs he sæmninga mid leohte slæpe swefed: velut imaginato sopore opprimeretur.¹⁾ No other instances of the phrase 'light sleep' are found in OE. or ME., and the earliest Mod. E. instance in NED is from 1827. The OE. phrase is therefore probably to be regarded as a verbal translation from the Latin, and as it seems to have had no influence on the native development during the periods treated in this essay, it is left out of consideration.

Similarly: *Never ne shal his bytinge (:mordax) bisnesse forleten him whyl he liveth, ne the lighte riches ne sholle nat beren him companye whan he is ded* (Chaucer, Boethius B. III M. 3:6), is a verbal translation of 'defunctumque leves non comitantur opes'. It is therefore not included in the plan of senses.

Ælfric (Saints 35:13) writes: *Crisantus þa leornode mid leohtum andgite and mid gleawum mode grammatican cræft*. Skeat renders this: 'C. learned with quick intelligence'. BT, on the other hand, takes it to mean 'lucidus' = 'with clear understanding'. NED does not give the phrase. (But cf. NED *light*², 1 b 'enlightened mentally', with a quot. from Trin. Coll. Hom.: *þæt is heorte be liht* : illuminacio mentis). Skeat gives as Ælfric's sources De Vitis Sanctorum, ed. Lipomannus, which I have not been able to procure; and De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis (founded on Lipomannus), which has no phrase of this kind. In Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists (also referred to by Skeat), vol. 59 p. 470, in the same legend and context, we find the expression: erat enim *ardentis ingenii*. If we may venture to assume that Ælfric's phrase is a translation of a similar expression in De Vitis Sanctorum, then *leoht* is here = 'lucidus', and not = 'levis'.

Scheme of senses.

I. Senses denoting, or derived from, the idea of light weight.

- 1) Of little weight, not ponderous. Of physical objects. OE. ME.
- 2) Figurative uses of sense 1.
 - a) Of immaterial objects: easy to bear or endure. OE. ME.
 - b) Of food: easy to digest. Of wine: weak. OE. ME.
 - c) Mild, gentle. ME. 1200.

¹⁾ The Latin text goes on: Visum est sibi tumultuantis turbæ audisse clamores. Tunc dicto citius levi sono expergefactus extra cellulam, qua sedebat, egressus est. In OE.: Þa onbræd he Guðlac of þam slæpe, and eode þa sona ut. Did *levis sono* suggest the adj. *leoht* to the translator?

- 3) (Comparatively) free from burdens or weights.
 - a) Literally. ME. 1200.
 - b) Fig.: free from sorrow, merry, cheerful. OE. ME.
- 4) a) Of small weight or importance, slight, trivial. OE. ME.
b) Of small value, cheap. ME. 1200.
- 5) a) Unthinking, frivolous; unstable, shifty. ME. 1200.
b) Of persons: wanton, unchaste. ME. 1375.
- 6) a) Easy to perform or accomplish, easy to obtain or to utter. OE. ME.
b) Same sense, construed with a verb: easy to do. ME. 1170.

II. Senses denoting speed.

- 7) Active, nimble, swift.
 - a) Of living beings. OE. ME.
 - b) Light of foot, of tongue, etc. ME. 1300.
 - c) Of vehicles or vessels. OE. ME.
- 8) a) Swift to do something, ready, eager, willing. OE. ME.
b) With a light will, light of will. ME. 1400.
- 9) Cursory, hasty, ME. 1400.

Glosses. Paucula, .i. parua † exigua, leoht. Nap. Gl. 1692. Leuissimos, leoh(testan). Ibm 7:18. Leni, leoht. Ibm 58:1. Lasciue, wild, leohthædnesse. Ibm 4706. Lyghte, or wyghte (liht of wyhte K, light of weight or mesure P), Levis. Lyght of knowynge, or werkyng, Facilis. Lyghte foote. Levipes. Lyghte handyd, Manulevis, alicirus. Lyght herthyd, Letifer. Pr. P. 304.

I. Senses denoting, or derived from, the idea of light weight.

1. Of little weight, not ponderous. The opposite of heavy. Resting or pressing lightly on something. Said of physical objects. NED *light* adj.¹ 1.

OE. *Leohltre ic eom micle þonne þes lytla wyrn. Riddles 38:76. (Said of Creation, acc. to Trautmann). — See also Riddles 92:7, where the context is fragmentary.*

ME. *Þet is, þet heui ulessis, þet draweð hire (: the soul) aduneward, auh þu-ruh þe heuschipe (T hehschipe. Morton: nobleness) of hire hit schal iwurðen ful liht: 3e, lihture þen þe wind is. Ancr. R. 140. — Gude lycht harnes, fra that tyme, wsit he euir. Wallace 3:85. — Additional instances, see BT and NED 1.*

2. *Figurative and transferred uses of sense 1. Cf. Paul, Wörterbuch, s. v. leicht: »es wird nach Analogie des Gefühlseindrucks auf Unkörperliches übertragen».* Many of the quotes. in this section seem to be influenced by Latin sources.

a. Of immaterial objects: *easy to bear or endure.* Weighing or pressing but little on the powers, senses, or feelings. NED 17.

OE. Mid nanum leohtran þinge gebete ðonne him mon aceorfe ða tungan of. Liebermann p. 66. Af. 32. — Eðor ȝ eðre ȝ lihtre bið eorðe (: tolerabilius erit terrae) & tuoege burgas in dæg domes ðon ðær ceastre. AS. Gosp. Mt. 10:15 Li. — Byrðen min leht is. Ibm. Mt. 11:30. Li. (Ru C H). — For þam þe leohtre is þam bearnum maga swingcela to geþolianne þonne Godes yrre on to beyrnanne (: leuius est filii parentum flagella suscipere). Theodulf 109:27. †

ME. My burþene (is) liȝt I-nouh to beren. C. of Love 958. — Additional instances, see NED 17.

b. Of food: *that does not lie heavy on the stomach; easy of digestion.* Of wine: *containing little alcohol.* NED 9 b and 10.

OE. Melle dulci: leoht beor. WW 282:6. 445:12. — Drince leoht wyn. Lechdm III 122. †

ME. For yf a man ette fryste grete mettes and sethyn lyght mettis, the lyght mettis shal be annone defyete. Secreta 241. — Esyere yt ys stonys to mollyfe And to makyn as soft as ys lyht brede. Bokenham 11:149. — Pan take youre loof of light payne. J. Russell Bk. Nuture 339. NED. †

c. *Mild, gentle.* When *light* is used of an object that may be apprehended as having an activity of its own, there is a slight change in the point of view. In the senses previously treated, the object is regarded as pressing upon something (literally or figuratively) simply by reason of its weight, and without exercising any activity. In the quotes. below, it is not the weight of 'temptation' or of 'medicine' that is the object of attention, but their action, which is similar in its effect to a light weight, being mild and gentle in its effect on the senses. Perhaps the two *OE.* quotes. in b) should have been placed under this heading? — Latin influence is probable. NED 8.

ME. Under þe two tentaciuns. . . (beoð) uour dolen. . . uondunge liht & derne — uondunge liht & openliche — uondunge stronge & derne — uondunge stronge & openliche. Ancr. R. 220. — Ne shrewes ne requeren nat lighte medes ne veyne games, whiche they ne may folwen ne holden (: neque enim levia aut ludicra praemia petunt. Migne 794). Chaucer Boethius B. IV. Pr. 2:112. — Some syke folk ben holpen with lighte medicynes, and some folk ben holpen with sharpe medicynes (: his quidem dulcia, illis vero amara conveniant. Migne 818). Ibm B. IV. Pr. 6:142. — Lanfranc, Cirurg. 88. 92. NED. †

3. *Free (or comparatively free) from burdens or weights.* The quality of lightness is transferred from the light burden to the person that carries such a burden, so that he himself is said to be light.

a. *Literal sense.* Only two ME. instances. NED 5.

ME. *Þeo men þet habbeð worldlich þing & ne luið hit nout. . . & goð untrussed lihte ase pilegrimes toward heouene.* Ancr. R. 350. — A male twayfold on his croper lay, It semed that he caried lyte array. Al light for somer rood this worthy man. Cant. G 568. †

b *Fig. sense.* A person who is lightly burdened in respect of sorrows and cares, is *merry, cheerful*. Said also of mood, mind, heart, or countenance. NED 21.

OE. *Him wæs leoht sefa, ferhð gefeonde, þeah hira fea wæron.* Elene 173. — *Læddan þa leode laðne gewinnan to carcerne: he wæs Criste swa þeah leof on mode; him wæs leoht sefa, halig heortan neh, hige untyddre (:not feeble).* Andreas 1251.¹⁾ — *Wið modes (MS. innopes) hefignesse syle etan rædic mid sealte & eced supan, sona biþ þ mod leohtre.* Lchdm. III 50. †

ME. *Ac he akeuered wiþ hert lizt & smite hem on wiþ main wiȝt.* Arth. a. Merl. 9443. — *When y was passed þe riuer ariȝt, In hert y was glad & liȝt.* Guy 4640. — *Beues 4524. — Þemperour. . . þonked god fele siþe, his hert nas neuer so liȝt.* Vernagu 64. — *Seven Sages 2836. — Now es a man light, now es (he) hevy, Now es he blithe, now es he drery.* Pricke 1454. — *Yw. a. Gaw. 781. 3375. — Þan said þe lady with light chere.* Yw. a. Gaw. 1116. — *Þat is of hert boþe clene & lyȝt.* Pearl 618. — *Fore when I was in my flowres, Than was I lyȝt as byrd on brete.* The Adult. Falm. Squire 45. P.R. & L.P. p. 124. (Furnivall: gay). — *I leue wel, quod þe king, þi lates ar liȝte, But I nolde, for no lordshippe, se þi life lorne.* Awntyrs 469. (Amours: light, unconcerned). — *Libeaus 170. — Roland 986. — Destr. Troy 1411. — Ouer the tyme of Solace, hit appendyth to a kyng that he be of demure berrynge and fayre, And that hebe not ouer-moche laghyng, and of lyght contenance hym kepe.* Secreta 141:15. — *York Plays 111:286. 185:11. — Now lycht, now sadd; now blisful, now in baill.* Wallace 4:337. — *The king rasauit it with a lycht attend.* Wallace 8:1728. Etc.

Cf. *To Jason he wendith anone ryght And takith hys leve with hert vnlyght.* Ip. B 472.

4 a. That which is easy to bear (sense 2) is often of *small importance or consequence, slight, trivial, not weighty*. Often difficult to distinguish from sense 2. NED 13.

OE. *Ðætte hwilum ða leohtan scylda bioð betran to forlætonne, ðylæs ða he- wefgran weorðen ðurhtogene.* CP 22:1. 457:7. †

¹⁾ Both BT and GK place the quotes. from Elene and Andreas under *leoht* 'lucidus'. NED does not quote them, and has no analogous instances, nor has M. But considering the quot. from Lchdm, in which the contrast with *hefignesse* makes it clear that *leoht* is to be apprehended as 'levis', and the numerous ME. instances, it is highly probable that the two quotes. in question also contain the word *leoht* = 'levis'. Cf. *heavy* (NED VI and VII), and the play on the double meaning of the two words in Chaucer's *Complaint to his Purse*.

ME. Ne beo hit no so lutel, ne so liht sunne. Marherete I 15:7. — Lihte gultes beteð þus anonriht, bi ou suluen. Ancr. R. 346. — Seint Thomas and þis Aben wenden to þis feste, So Manie Men wel ofte doth, with liȝt biddingue oþur heste. ESEL, 379:82. — Hit ne is no zenne, and yef þer is zenne hit is liȝt zenne. Ayenbite 11:19. — And yche wegh þat is wise & of wit stable, Lightharmeslet ouer-passe. Destr. Troy 1424. — So lurkes (: to be concealed or latent) with lordes of a light wrathe, þat growes into ground harme, greuys full sore. Destr. Troy 1430. Similarly 2067. — O, how lyght cause blynde the troians eyen, and namely hector, that the vndoynge of hym-Selfe and al hissyn myght haue enched. Secreta 162:32. †

Same sense. Used predicatively or absolutely. Cf. NED 13 d.

ME. Badde me. . . acounte clergye liȝte. P. Pl. B 11:15. — Rauf 637. 939. — And thoct it be (: Wallace), I cownt him bot full lycht. Wallace 7:329. †

b. *Of small value, cheap.* A variation of sense 4 a.

ME. And ȝif þu seist þet tu nult nout leten þeron so liht cheap: auh wultu ȝet more, nem hwat hit schule beon. (Morton: And if thou sayest that thou wilt not set so light a value upon it, but thou wilt have yet more, name what it shall be). Ancr. R. 398. — More instances in NED 13 b.

Substantivized:

ME. Giffe I sayd he did noȝte wele, He said, God send hit eueryche dele, And sette my wurdus atte liȝte. Amadas 14. — At the last. . . All his good was spent awaye: Than hade he but lyght. Cleges 69. †

5 a. Sense 4 may sometimes receive a pejorative colouring and then changes into: *characterized by levity, frivolous, unthinking*; also *unstable, shifty*. NED has another explanation for the origin of 'unstable, shifty', referring this sense to the idea of 'moving, or being moved, easily or with slight pressure', but as far as regards the *ME.* instances it is not convincing. The two first quotes. in NED 16 (Tristr. and Wycl.), as well as the fourth and fifth (Destr. Troy 1229 and Caxton), belong to sense 8 below, as no pejorative element is discernible in their meaning. The third quot. (Leg. G. W. 1699) is not sufficient to establish a separate shade of sense, but should rather be classed as a subdivision of 7 below. Cf. a similar sense in Lat. *levis*. NED 14 and 16.

ME. As þeo þet nes nawt of lihte beleaue. S. Juliane 36. — Ne luuede heo nane lihte plohen (: puellares jocos) ne nane sotte songes. Katherine 106. — Mi liht onswere, oðer mine liht lates, tulde (: enticed) him erest upon me. Ancr. R. 320. Similarly 204. — Þ þe muð ne mei uor scheome, þe liht eie spekeð hit.

Ibm 60. — Auh iðe muðe sit tet iren, & oðe lihte tunge. Ibid 74. — Mete & drunch ouer rihte temeð þreo teames (: bringeth forth a threefold progeny): lihte wordes, & lihte werkes, & lecheries lustes. Ibid 288. — Lihte þouhtes. Ibid 314. — So þat an vewe wilde hinen a liȝt red þer of nome, & a dai after mete wiþ axes þuder come & þat ȝat to hewe. Rob. Glouc. 11198. — Sum dros of syn, Als light speche, or thought in vayn. Pricke 3346. — Hit is propyr to Prudencia. . . to examyne and to Proue his consaille, and not by lyght credence to fall in erreure or falsenesse. Secreta 156:34. — Fortunes wheel goth round aboute A thousand tymes, day and night: Whos cours standeth ever in doute For to transmew: she is so light. Lydg. Beware of Doubleness 44. — Allas! what womans witte was light. York Plays 33:133. Etc.

b. When used of persons, chiefly women, sense 5 a may change into: *wanton, unchaste*. NED 14 b.

ME. Thadee. . . licht women wes & richt brukil of hyre flesche. Sc. Leg. Saints 35:3. NED. — This Absolon ful Ioly was and light, And thoghte, 'now is tyme wake al night'. Cant. A 3671. — Quhen scho is proud to schaw her than Is takin of a licht woman. Thewis off gud women 38. 192. †

6 a. When *light*, in sense 2, is said of something which not only presses or weighs on a person, but also implies a certain activity on his part, the meaning of the adj. may be changed accordingly. A journey that is easy to endure, is also easy to perform, and a *light journey* may imply both these ideas. *Light* then signifies *easy to perform or accomplish, requiring little exertion*. Also *easy to obtain*. Of speech: *easy to utter*. NED 18.

Note that the OE. instances show oscillation between senses 2 and 6.

OE. Bidde ic nu god, sigeres godes miltse, siðfæt godne, smyltne and lihtne. Spells VIII 34. — (The old bishop said to St. Lawrence): We underfoð, swa swa ealde men, scortne ryne ðæs leohtran gewinnes: soðlice þu geonga underfehst miccle wulderfulran sige æt ðisum reðan cyninge. Ælfric I 418. — Smyre mid ele þa fet, hy habbaþ þæs þe leohtran gang' (or = swifter?). Lchdm. I. 342. †

ME. His reades beoð of hah þing. . . & derue beoð to fullen, & lihte þah hwase haueð riht luue to him & treowe beleaue. Hali Meid. 19:34 — Þe leaue beo liht in alle þeo þinges þer nis sunne. Ancr. R. 428. — Þe toun me clupeþ ludes-toun. . . & now me clupeþ it londone, þat is liȝtore in þe mouþ. Rob. Glouc. 1030. — Mani hondes makeþ liȝt werk. Beues 3352. — Brunne Chron. Prol. Pref. 99. NED. — Vor hit is wel liȝter þing, alle þe guodes of þe wordle lete at on tyme uor god, þanne his ofhyealde and naȝt louye. Ayenbite 78:19. — Ful lihte rewles. Chaucer Astrol. Prol. p. 176:1. — Whan ony commyth from the worlde to entre in-to religion, a light or soden entree is not to be grauntyd. Benet Caxton 135:12. — We may thaim wyne, and mak bot lycht trawaill. Wallace 6:672. †

b. In the same sense, *light* is often followed by a verb. Not found in OE.

ME. For it is strong to stonde longe, and liht it is to falle. Poema Morale (Lamb. MS.) 312. — Acc witt tu þatt itt niss nolht lihht to betenn hefiȝ sinne. Orm 4500. — Similarly 10316. 13020. 13032. 15181. — Lay Folks' Mass Bk. App. iv. 78. *NED.* — Liȝt to zigge an sotil to onderstonde. Ayenbite 99:7. — He ouercomþ þane viȝt þet is wel liȝt to ouercome to þe bolde herte. Ayenbite 170:16. — Lyght of knowynge or werkyng, facilis. Pr. P. 304/1. — Lanfranc, Cirurg. 229. *NED.* †

II. Senses denoting speed.

As pointed out in the introductory remarks above, it is not impossible to derive the sense 'swift' from 'levis', but both senses are so old that it seems advisable to regard them as equally original.

7. *Moving readily, active, nimble, swift.* Generally of living beings. Material sense. *NED* 15.

The implication of nimbleness is presumably due to influence from senses 1 or 3 a.

a. Of living beings.

OE. Sum bið swiðsnel, hafað searolic gomen, gleodæda gife for gumþegnum, leoht & leoþuwaç. Cræftum 84. — He is snel & swift & swiðe leoht. Phoenix 317. †

ME. Ðe ðridde is þat man be waker and liht and snel and seli (Morris: the third weapon of light is that a man should be watchful and nimble and active and tidy). OEII 13. — Ha beoð alle ase lihte ant as swifte as þe sunne gleam. Sawles Warde 265:4. — Auh ancren (þ) bituned her (sc. shut up on earth), schulen beon (þer, sc. in heaven) ȝif eni mei, lihture beon & swifture. Ancr. R. 94. — Þir (sc. the good) sal be light als fuxul to flei. CM 23621. — To hontyng on a day he wente. . . wt houndes þt were liȝt & lent, To leten of lece, to cacche beste. Greg. Leg. 821. — Ibm 534. — Herui, þat was vigorous & liȝt. Arth. a. Merl. 9060. — King Alis. 3891. — Guy 1231. — Sir Otuel 831. 1060. — Þe squier . . . hadde a good hors & a liȝt. Sir Otuel 1640. — Harl. 2253, 246:39. — Pricke 688. — Horn Childe 383. 424. — Yw. a. Gaw. 1303. — (They) wolden brusten þe best, nad he be þe liȝttere, & fled a-way þe faster. Palerne 154. — Octavian C 657. — Ip. A 608. — Gawain 199. 1464. — Bruce 10:61. — Men of Saxonia. . . beep boþe liȝter and strengre þan oþer skymours of þe see (: virtute et agilitate praestantior). Trevisa I 261. — With limes wrought at poynt devys, Deliver, smert, and of gret might; Ne sawe thou never man so light (: plus legier homme ne véistes). Chaucer Rose 832. — Libeaus 1446. — Secreta 240:6. —

Destr. Troy 5675. 5922. 7234. — York Plays 281:262. 325:148. — Wallace 6:723. — Henryson 2240. Etc. Additional instances, see NED 15 and M.

In some cases, *light* appears to function merely as an epitheton ornans.

ME. Thenne said Percyvelle the lyghte, In gayte skynnes that was dyghte. Perceval 313. — Antenor Amyt (:went) after anone To the palis of.. priam.. Among Lordys full light & oþer les peopull. Destr. Troy 2025. — Out Of Lachan, a lond, come a light kyng, Euphymus the fuerse, fell of his hondes. Destr. Troy 5451.

b. *Light* is further used in phrases like *light of foot*, *light of tongue*, etc. In the latter combination, the sense is related to sense 5, and probably more or less influenced by it.

ME. »I?« he said, »nai, nai, goddote, Moght i not be sua light o fote«. CM 3730. (G and T: liht of fote. F: squyft on fote). — Ful light of lepes has þou bene ay. Yw. a. Gaw. 72. — Gamelyn 123. 302. — And in his pley Tarquinius the yonge Gan for to iape, for he was light of tonge. Legend of G. W. 1699. — Ibm 2711. — Brut 124:23. — A foul vice is of tonge to be light, For who-so michel clappeth, gabbeth ofte. Hoccleve, Letter of Cupid 141. — Lyghte foote. Levipes. Lyghte handyd. Manulevis, alicirus. Pr. P. 304. †

c. When used of vehicles or vessels, *light* is apprehended by NED (6) as signifying 'lightly constructed, adapted for light loads and for swift movement'. There are only three quots. earlier than the sixteenth century. The second of them (Oros. 19:8, see below) may belong to sense 1. The third (Chaucer Boethius) is directly influenced by its Latin original. The first (Guðlac) is best explained as an occasional use of sense 7 a, in connexion with a noun denoting a material object, especially as the context clearly indicates that the writer is speaking metaphorically, comparing the ship to a living being that has power of motion.

OE. Brimwudu scynde leoht lade fus; lagumearh snyrede gehlæsted to hyðe. Guðlac 1306. — [Hy habbað swyðe lytle scypa & swyðe leohte. Oros. 19:8 (The sentence occurs in Wulfstan's narrative; we have therefore no Latin original). †

ME: Ablinge (:lift) hem (: the souls) heye by lighte cartes (: levibus curribus, Migne 762), thou (:God) sowest hem in-to hevене and in-to erthe. Chaucer Boethius B. III. M. 9:24. †]

8 a. Like *hræd*, *swift*, and *snel* (pp. 19, 42, 48), *light* acquires the sense *swift to do something*, *ready*, *eager*, *willing*. Said of persons, of the mind, and once, metaphorically, of the hand.

NED has not distinguished this sense, but the first, second and fifth quots. in NED 16 should be taken here.

OE. *Se hæfde moncynnes mine gefræge leohteste hond lofes to wyrrenne* (BT: to call forth praise, GK: Lob zu erwerben), *heortan unhnucaweste hringa gedales. Widsið 72.¹* †

ME. *Patt a33 wass lihht all allse chaff, To foll3henn alle sinnes. Orm 10534.* — *To harme hii weren lihte. Lay. B 19762.* (A: *wiþte* (wihte?). — *Quað tristrem: »so god me rede, þer to icham al li3t».* *Tristrem 1062.* — *Ful lyght þan art þou for to turne A3en to synne, and to soiurne. Handlyng 5179.* — *Bot preuely both day and night To visit pouer men, was scho lyght, In þaire mischef þam to mend. NEL 25:22.* — *The spirit forsothe li3t to wrathen. Wyclif Prov. 18:14. NED.* — *Libeaus 360.* — *Bees Li3t & laches 3ow a lose, it is a lord gamen (Dublin MS: it is a lordez gamme). Alexander 2604 (Doubtful. Skeat says 'cheerful').* — *The colerike... lyght to wrethe and lyght to Peyse. Secreta 220:14.* — *The X. degree is yf one be not lyght and redy to laughter or to dissolucyon. Benet Caxton 125:30.* — *For euery man oughte to be lyght to heeryng and slowe to speke. Caxton Cato C vij b. NED.* †

b. *With a light will, or light of will.* NED places the former phrase under the heading, 'fickle, shifty, unsteady' (NED 16). It is found only in *Destr. Troy*, and in some of the instances the interpretation of NED is inappropriate. *Eager, ready* suits all the quots.

ME. *He left all his ledis & a launse caght, Launches euyng to Lamydon with a light wille. Destr. Troy 1229.* — *To þe lady, þat lege kyng, with a light wille, Past full pertly all with prise wordys. 3427.* — *Agamynon... was store man of strenght, stoutest in armes, With lymes full large; light of his will, Meke as a maiden, mery with all. 3744.* — *All suyt on þat syre in a sad hast, And laited aftur þe lede with a light wille. 7669.* — *Priam, at the prayer of þo prise kynges, Deliuert the lady with a light wille, In eschaunge of þo choise... Thoax... and þat tothir duke. 7903.* — *Telamon with tene turnyt to þe lady (: Penthesilea), To venge of hir velany, & voide hym of harme. He launchit to þat louely with a light wille, And ho keppt the kyng, kest hym to ground. 10886.* — (When the Trojans had fallen asleep) *The ffreike (:Sinon) shuld frusshe out, & a fyre make, And light vp a low with a light wille, þat the ost might haue entre euyng as hom liked. 11894.* †

9. *Cursory, hasty.* The following quot. is not quite analogous either to those in 5 or those in 7. Cf. *leohtlice* 8 b.

¹) NED translates 'acting gently, gentle, not violent', but this sense seems not quite appropriate to the context. It is true that we have no OE. analogies for the sense 'eager', but it is well established in ME., and it is so often found in words signifying 'swift', that a similar import would be quite natural in the adj. *light*. Perhaps due to influence from the other adjs.? Cf. Ch. IV, on association with synonyms.

ME. Þo freikes were fourmet of feturs alike... ffor, to loke on þe ledys with a light egh, The ton fro þe tother was tore for to ken In sight at þat sodan, somyn & þai were. *Destr. Troy* 3910. †

OE. LEOHTLIC, adj.

The senses of this word, which is comparatively rare, correspond to those of the adj. *light*, except for the sense 'scornful'. The following are all the quotes. I have been able to find. See *NED lightly*, adj.²

1. *Merry, cheerful.*

ME. Who loketh lightly now but Palamoun? *Cant. A* 1870 (*NED* interprets *lightly* as an adverb. Cf. *NED look* verb 9 b). †

2. *Of small importance, trivial, slight.*

OE. Pæs lyðra sæd þe ægðer sæwð gelomlice gelasor (:weeds) ge coccul (:chaff) on manna æceron and syððan hyt grymlice geegð mid sace & wrace betwyx þissum leohtlican life. *Byrhtferth* 300:26. †

ME. Ah nis nawt lihtliche of þis meidenes mot (*Einenkel*: Of this maiden's reasoning there is nothing to be despised). *Katherine* 1313. †

3. *Of small value, cheap.*

ME. Ah noble men... ofte winnen luue lihtliche cheape, for ofte moni wummon letes hire mensket þurh þe luue of wepmon þat is of heh burðe. *Wohunge* 273. †

4. *Scornful, contemptuous.*

ME. And als he had off lychly (*Moir*: error for *lychly* scornful) wordis ynew. He salust thaim, as it war bot in scorn. *Wallace* 6:130. — His lychtly scorn he sall repent full sor. *Wallace* 8:51. †

5. *Thoughtless, credulous.*

ME. Sampson, þi first wijf lerd þe witte, If þat þou cuth haf halden it! Þis wijf alsua, þat þou has now, If þou ne war sua lightli to tru. *CM* 7222. — Bot ye be fowle deceyed in your syght, By lyghtly vndurstandyng, as I gesse. *La Belle D.* s. M. 648 (*P.R.* & *L. Poems* p. 104). †

6. *Frivolous.*

OE. Forðæm ðæm ofergifrum wile fylgean ofersprecolnes & leohtlicu weorc & leaslicu & wrænnes. (*Sweet*: because loquacity, levity, frivolity, and wantonness are apt to follow gluttony). *CP* 309:1 †

ME. To men and wemmen bath i (: pride) wate, þat oft i helde my lightly late. *CM* 28087. †

7. *Easy to perform.*

ME. To seche hine is lihtlich þing, he naveþ bute one woning. O & N 1759. — Al tymes ette they mettis, wyche ben moiste, lyghtly to defy. *Secreta* 241:19. †

8. *Swift.*

ME. And the mone is of lyghtly mevyng & the mone is planete of weye. *Mandeville* 108:15. †

OE. LEOHTLICE, adv.

This word has, to a large extent, followed the development of the adj. *light*; in some cases Latin influence is discernible. Independent development is found in sense 4, which was extensively used in ME.

Many of the instances are extremely vague in meaning, and their interpretation therefore is in some measure arbitrary. However, the different shades of meaning given below, which in the main agree with those given in NED, may be considered as well established.

The following quot. should probably be regarded as directly caused by Latin influence: *þa semninga wæs, swa swa he leohtlice onsepte*: quasi leviter obdormiens. *Beda* 296:15. — As NED has no other instance of the same sense before the 19th century, I leave it out of the plan of senses. (Cf. corresponding sgns in the adj. *light*, p. 52).

Scheme of senses.

- 1) In such a manner as to press with but light weight upon, or to touch, smite, etc., with no great force against something; mildly, gently.
 - a) Material sense. OE. ME.
 - b) Immaterial and fig. sense. OE. ME.
- 2) In no great quantity or in no great degree. OE. ME.
- 3) Gaily, merrily. ME. 1350.
- 4) Easily, readily, without difficulty.
 - a) Easily, readily, willingly, without difficulty, by reason of the ability or willingness of the subject to perform or to endure the action expressed by the verb. OE. ME.
 - b) Easily, readily, without difficulty, by reason of the situation or the circumstances. ME. 1200.
 - c) Easily / perhaps, probably, as may easily happen. ME. 1360.
 - d) Commonly, often. ME. 1290.

- 5) For a slight cause, without careful consideration, without strong reason. OE. ME.
- 6) Depreciatingly, slightly. ME. 1170.
- 7) For a small price, cheaply. ME. 1200.
- 8) a) In the manner of light object, actively, nimbly / swiftly. ME. 1200.
 b) Hastily, cursorily, transiently, fugitively. ME. 1200.
 c) Quickly, immediately. ME. 1350.

1. *In such a manner as to press with but light weight upon, or to touch, smite, etc., with no great force against something; mildly, gently.* NED *lightly* adv. 1.

a. Material sense, corresponding to sense 1 of *light*. Few quotes.

OE. Cyrcce... is culfre haten, seo na mid clawum ne mid fotum spyrnþ ne ne clyfrað, ac leohtlice mid feþerum slihð (:Columba ... eclesia appellata est, que non unguibus lacerat, sed alis pie percudit). Chrodegang 62:16. †

ME. If clerkes... smites oþer lightli in gamen. CM 29419. †

b. *Same sense, immaterially and figuratively.* NED 1. — The two OE. quotes are evidently verbal translations from the Latin originals, but as the same sense appears several times in ME. they are placed here. Cf. *leoht* 2 c.

OE. Ða weras mon sceal hefiglecor & stiðlecor læran, & ða wif leohtlecor (:illis graviora, istis injungenda sunt leviora). CP 179:16. — Swa he eadmodra heo, & his gyltes geþafera, swa micle mildelicor & leohtlicor him ma deme (:leuius indicetur). Chrodegang 29:1. †

ME. Ic (:the devil) ... scheote swiþe dernlich ant wundi er ha witen hit wið swiðe attri halewi (:lotion) hare unwarie heorte lihtliche on alre earst wið luueliche lates. Marherete I 14:4. — Loure on me and lyghtliche chide and seye ich loue anopere. P. Pl. C 8:302. — Whiche caused the deuyll fyrst to tempte them lyghtlyer. Caxton G. de la Tour lv. E. v. b. NED. †

2. *In no great quantity or in no great degree.* Probably due to Latin influence. Rare. NED 2.

OE. Swa swa heo leohtlice gebylged wære (:quasi leviter indignata). Beda 290:18. — Awringe þa wyrta. . . & geswet swiþe leohtlice mid hunige. Lchdm II. 36. †

ME. Ac ine oþre cas me may zenezi, oþer lihtliche oþer dyadliche, and specialliche ine þri cas. Ayenbite 223:1. †

3. *Gaily, merrily.* Rare. Probably from *light* 3 b. NED 3. — NED has a quot. from Chaucer: "*Who looketh lightly now*

but Palamon'. I think *lightly* is to be regarded as an adj. Cf. p. 62.

ME. His brokyne wede behelde he faste And sayd full lygttly at the laste. . . Ip. A 6740. — It is lyke, said Schir Rolland, and lichtly he leuch. Rauf 521. †

4. *Easily, readily, without difficulty.* This sense may be due to influence from the adj. (cf. *leoht* 6). In the adv. it became more common than it was in the adj., and fluctuated in various directions. In many instances the meaning is vague, and the exact interpretation cannot be determined. The idea of speed is frequently implied in the instances placed in this section.

a. *Easily, readily, willingly, without difficulty, by reason of the ability or willingness of the subject to perform or to endure the action in question.* Sometimes implying *with but slight resistance*. In some instances the idea of ability may be predominant, in others that of willingness, but the two ideas shade into each other by imperceptible modifications, and sometimes both interpretations are possible, so that they cannot be consistently distinguished. This sense corresponds in the main to NED 4. It is common in ME. theological literature, especially in Southern and South West Midland texts. Nearly all the quots. have the verb *may*.

OE. Ac þam þe þæt lyden ne understandað, hig magon þe leohtlicor witan hwæt gerimcraeft forstande. Byrhtferth 312:44. — We woldon þæt iunge men mihton þe leohtlicor þæt lyden ongitan. Ibm 321:35. †

ME. Hi muwen lihtliche gon mid ðere nuðer hulde (:along a downward slope). Poema Morale (Lamb.) 343. — Ne mei nan mon seggen hu lihtliche þu maht hebben godes milce. Lamb. Hom. 37. — Ne muhte he mid lesse gref hebben ared us? 3e siker, ful lihtliche: auh he nolde. Ancr. R. 392. — Ibm 356. — So grislich þ ne mahte hit na mon lihtliche areachen. Marherete I 10:28. — Ah heo hit lihtliche aber, & lahinde þolede. Katherine 1544. — S. Juliane 14. — Godess Lamb. . . Lihtlike mihte & wel inoh þa seffne innseggless oppnenn. Orm Dedic. 283. 289. — Ne wende ich þat na man a þissere weorlderichen me mihte þus lehtliche aleggen mid fehte. Lay. A 26079. — Þu (:Mary) miht lihtliche 3if þu wult al mi sor aleggen. . . þu miht for3elden lihtliche mine gretunge. Ur. of Ure Lefdi 133—135. — Þat hii wolde lihtliche to hym tourne he þo3te. Mid hom he spac so quinteliche. . . so þat þe king basian hii bitraiede in is nede. Rob. Glouc. 1761. — Ibm 1348. — Ayenbite 179:36.

219:2. — Morte Arth. 3349. — For a cat of a courte cam whan hym lyked, And ouerlepe hem (:the rats) lyztlich and lauhte hem at his wille. P. Pl. B Prol. 150. — Chaucer Boethius B. I. Pr. 2:16. — Cant. B 2776. — And gif that ze will wit how I Wat this, I sall zow lightly say (implying speed?). Bruce 10:550. — Secreta 134:29. 172:9. — Pr. P. 304. Etc.

b. *Readily, easily, without difficulty, by reason of the situation or the circumstances.* Corresponding partly to NED 4. Often difficult to distinguish from the preceding sense.

ME. An honful zerden beoð erued forte breken, þeo hwule þet heo beo togederes: auh euerichon to dealed from oðer lihtfluker to bersted. Ancr. R. 254. — Katherine 2095. — Þat lic þatt smeredd iss þærwiþþ (:myrrh) biforr þatt mann itt dellfeþþ, ne ma33 itt nohht affterr þatt da33 lihhtlike wurþenn eorþe. Orm 6487. — Þai er noght swa closed about þat þai ne mught lightly com out. Pricke 4459. — Huanne he comþ ase uelaze oþer ase uriend. . . and sseweþ þe zennes, hou hi byeþ likinde, and lostuolle, liztliche me may hit knawe. Ayenbite 158:27. — Þer-uore ich þe rede wel, þet þou ne musy (:wonder) nazt to moche hit uor to zeche, uor þou myztest lyztliche guo out of þe rihte waye. Ayenbite 104:22. — P. Pl. B 4:106. — They weren wont lightly to slaken hir hunger at even with acornes of okes. (:Facili quæ sera solebat jejunia solvere glande. Migne 696). Chaucer Boethius B. II. M. 5:4. — Thou partest nat so lightly. Cant. C 752. — Alexander 1055. — Fortune his fall felli aspies. . . Lurkis in lightly with lustis in hert, Gers hym swolow a swete, þat swellis hym after. Destr. Troy 13682. — Spices & sulphur & oþer thinges þat wolen brënnen lightly. Mandeville 30:28. — Y telle yow trewly, Hyt leyves not so lyeghtly, Many dowghty schalle dey Or hyt ende soo. Degrevant 446. Etc.

c. *Easily | perhaps, probably, as may easily happen.* Corresponding in the main to NED 6 a. Cf. Germ. *vielleicht*.

ME. I schal tee in-to Tarce, & tary þere a while, & lyztly when I am lest, he letes me alone. Patience 88. — And liztlich owre lorde at her lyues ende Hath mercy on suche men þat so yuel may suffre. P. Pl. B 17:339. — (Thou, a rich priest) Woldist liztly, and it wer in þine power, do þis worde & siche oþer owte of þe gospelle for euer. Wyclif 375. — Ye haue ledis, þat ye loue, & lightly may happyn Of your sons to be sesit, or sum sib other. Destr. Troy 7581. †

d. *Commonly, often.* Corresponding to NED 6 b. The first part of the heading in NED: 'as is apt to happen', is better left out, as it may cause confusion with the preceding definition: 'as may easily happen' (6 a).

ME. For liztliche Men holdeth euere with þe quike, and þe dede is sone stille. ESEL 49:90. — He smot to gronde & liztliche he ne zef stroc non þat he ne brac heued oþer arm oþer som oþer bon. Rob. Glouc. 2683. — Richessis

ben perilouse, for liztli wole a riche man use hem unto moche lust. Wyclif Sel. Wks. I. i. NED. †

5. *For a slight cause, without careful consideration, without strong reason, hastily, rashly.* Closely related to sense 4 a, but with a pejorative colouring, which may be due to influence from the adj. *light*, sense 5. The implication 'hastily, rashly' is perhaps caused by influence from the sense of speed (8), but does not necessarily indicate that the latter is the origin of the present sense. NED 8.

OE. Forleton þa scipo þus leohtlice. . . & leton ealles ðeodscipes geswinc þus leohtlice forwurðan (: they abandoned the ships thus lightly. . . and let all the nation's labour thus lightly come to nought). Chr. E 1009/139. †

ME. He nis naht lichtlich to ilieuen. He me hafð ofte beswiken. Vices 93:8. — Als wa lichtsliche oðerhwile he misdoð, al swo he ðe non god ne cann. Ibm 81:20. — Auh þe tunge is sliddri, uor he wadeð ine wete, & slit lichtsliche uorð from lut word into monie. Ancr. R. 74. — (She who hath her death always before her eyes) Lichtliche nule heo nout uoluwen flesches likunge. Ibm 116. — Þo it com to þe strengthe hii fouzte feintliche & inome were of hor frend & hii zolde hom lichtsliche. Rob. Glouc. 10597. — Ayeubite 184:26. 184:30. — Melayne 212. — Fool, wille thou lyghtly goo Fro thy love, and lovys her soo? Ip. A 1153. — (Arthur sees in a dream a man tied to the wheel of fortune, who says) I was lorde. . . of londes i-newe. . . And nowe es lefte me no lappe my lygham to hele, Bot lightly now am I loste. Morte Arthure 3288. — P. Pl. A 2:93. — Þe men. . . leueþ ofte lichtsliche what þey haueþ bygonne (: facile deserit quod inceptit). Trevisa II 169. — (The ost of shrewes is to dispyse) For it nis governed with no leder of resoun, but it is ravished only by fleting error folly and lightly (: errore tantum temere ac passim lymphante (v. r. bacchante) raptatur. Migne 609). Chaucer Boethius B. I. Pr. 3:51. — The propretee of a fol is this: he troweth lightly harm of every wight, and lightly troweth alle bountee in him-self. Cant. B 2363. — Ibm 2472. — And now ze leue me þus lichtsly bot for a litill pyne. Alexander 3506. — So lightly ho (: Briseis) left of hir loue hote, And chaunget hir chere for cherisshyng a litle. Destr. Troy 8176. Ibm 3365. — York Plays 243:68. †

6. *Depreciatingly, slightingly.* NED 7 b. NED 7 a should rather have been moved to 8, to which it is more closely related, and only the quotes. in which a pejorative import is clearly discernible should have been placed in NED 7. Cf. *leoht* 4.

ME. Ful wombe mei lichtsliche speken of hunger and of festen. Poema Morale (Lamb.) 145. — Ant lichtsliche talden to alles cunnes neowcins (: harm) ant eorðliche tintreohen. Sawles Warde 261. — Hali Meid 17:31. — Off swilke. wærenn alle þa þatt himm lihhtlið forwurpenn. Orm 16577. — Ibm 16517

— Lat *līgtly*, my lord, for in a litill stonde My-self with a serop sall saue ȝo be-lyue. Alexander 2557. — Additional instances, see NED 7.

7. For a small price, cheaply. I have found a single instance of this sense, which is evidently due to influence from the adj. *leoht* 4 b. Not given by NED.

ME. Me buð līhtliche a þing þet me lueð lutel (Morton: men buy for an easy price a thing for which they care little). Ancr. R. 392. †

8. The earliest instances of *lightly* qualifying verbs of motion appear c. 1200. The sense oscillates between 'in the manner of a light object, nimbly, actively', and 'swiftly'. C. 1350 we find *lightly* in conjunction with other verbs in the sense 'swiftly'. Recollecting that the sense 'swift' in the OE. and ME. adj. *leoht* nearly always implied 'nimble, active', and seeing that *lightly* shows a similar oscillation when first used to qualify verbs of motion, it seems to be a plausible assumption that the sense 'actively / nimbly / swiftly' was taken over from the adj., and that the sense 'swiftly' (without the implication of nimbleness) arose in the period 1200—1350, and was due to the combination with the verbs mentioned. In phrases containing such verbs the idea of swiftness will so often be the predominant one, that subsidiary elements of sense will be liable to repulsion and finally to elimination. When the development had proceeded so far, the use of the adv. could be extended to verbs of various kinds, which were not compatible with those subsidiary elements. If the sense 'swiftly' (without implications) had been taken over from the adj., I see no reason why *lightly* should not at once, in that sense, have been used to qualify verbs of all kinds.

In several other words treated below we shall find cause to assume that a complex sense, containing the element 'swiftly', is taken over by an adv. from an adj., and that the element of speed is then, in connexion with verbs of motion, dissociated from the other elements of meaning, so that it appears isolated from implications of other senses.

In *lightly* the sense of speed is often blended with other senses, so that the three signs 'rapidly — quickly — immediately' cannot be so clearly distinguished as in the adverbs previously treated.

a. *In the manner of a light object* (when referred to an inanimate object); *actively, nimbly* (when referred to a living being). Generally oscillating between these senses and *swiftly*. Sense 4 is sometimes implied. With verbs of motion. NED 5.

ME. Erest heo scheot þe earewen of þe liht eien, þ flecð lichtliche uorð, ase earewe þ is iwiðered. Ancr. R. 60. — Þuruh sor & scheome, þet ouerturnd lihtliche & ageð sone. Ancr. R. 356 (Perhaps = 'quickly'. Sorrow and shame are likened to a wheel). — And ge (:the fox) it wel feleð, ligtlige ge leped up and letteð hem (:the birds) sone gelt hem here billing raðe wið illing. Bestiary 416. — Templers Lyztly lopen on here destrers. Richard 6480. — Gij it of-þouzt when he it seye, þat he so lizteliche oway fleye. Guy 3040. — Fore we suld lightly spede To waste oure syn & win us mede. NEL 143:23. — Þe flagetes he let falle & gan to fle zerne, þe liztliere to lepe his liif for to saue. Palerne 1894. — Stifli he vp-keuerede, & swam swiftili awei, þat þei sezen alle, & lauzt liztli þe lond a litel hem bi-side. Palerne 2761. — Ip. A 2866. 8618. — If ani freke be so felle to fonde þat I telle, Lepe lyztly me to, & lach þis weppen. Gawain 292. Similarly 328. 1131. — Cleanness 853. — Patience 179. — P. Pl. A 2:101. 6:59. — Kynges and knyzttes þat kepen holycherche, And ryztfullych in reumes reulen þe peple, Han pardoun thourgh purgatorie to passe ful lyztly (sense 4?). P. Pl. B 7:11. — Bruce 6:638. — Usk, Test. of Love I. ii. 106. — P. Pl. C 13:222. — Roland 103. 299. — Brut 287:12. — Mandeville 134:24. — Destr. Troy 1082. 1409. 5139. 6723. 8530. 9316. — Secreta 205:8. — York Plays 293:39. — Gol. a. Gaw. 614. Additional instances, see NED 5.

b. In some phrases *lightly* signifies *hastily, cursorily, transiently, fugitively*. (Cf. sense 9 of *leoht*.) Not separately given by NED.

ME. Uor ich go lihtliche ouer, ne do bute nempnie ham. Ancr. R. 200. — Swuch fulde, ase hit cumeð lihtliche, ageð awei lihtliche (sc. with the help of prayer, confession and good works). Ancr. R. 288. — 3yf þou be prout of þy rychesse. . . Hyt may passe þe more lyghtly, And þe sunner, þat þou beryst þe hyy. (Richesse, Qe tost vient, & tost passe. Manuel des P.). Handlyng 3053. — Right as a mirour nothing may enpresse, But, lightly as it cometh, so mot it pace, So fareth your love. Chaucer, Ag. Women Unconstant 9. — The richesse that hastily cometh to a man, sone and lightly gooth and passeth fro a man. Cant. B 2769. — Of othere humours coude I telle also. . . But I wol passe as lightly as I can. Ibm 4129. — This tresor hath fortune un-to us yiven. . . And lightly as it comth, so wol we spende. Cant. C 781. †

c. *Quickly*. Sometimes signifying *immediately, at once*. Verbs denoting material action, other than motion. NED 5.

ME. He wend, he shuld haue knowen ben. . . And lyghtly he waxe red panne. Ip. A 2858 (Meaning not quite certain). — Gauan gripped to his ax. . .

Let hit down lyȝtly lyȝt on þe naked, þat þe scharp of þe schalk schyndered þe bones. Gawain 423 (The adv. must mean 'swiftly'. The only alternative is 'heavily, vigorously', and that sense is not found. It was evidently a very heavy blow, as it shore off the head of the Green Knight). — Ho laȝt a lace lyȝtly, þat leke (:encircled) vmbe hir sydeȝ. Ibm 1830. — He lyfetes lyȝtly his lome (:axe), & let hit down fayre, With þe barbe (:edge) of þe bitte bi þe bare nek. Ibm 2309 (Does it mean 'he lifted the axe easily'?). — Loth þenne ful lyȝtly lokeȝ hym aboute, & his men amonestes mete for to dyȝt. Cleanness 817. — Þanne laughed haukyn a litel and lyȝtly gan swerye. . . P. Pl. B 14:34. — Pan was a warden (:warder) ware. . . laȝt lyȝtly his ledis & leuys his warde. Alexander 77. — Þan part þai þe prouder sele. . . vn-lappis lyȝtly þe lefe & þe lirie redes. Ibm 1932. — The old wedo on way wendys belyue, And þo louers ho leuyt lightly to-gedur. Destr. Troy 689. — But Ector aurthwart þis (sc. that they were about to slay a prisoner) auntrid to se, Bade hom leue of lightly, let hym pas forth. Ibm 6797. — Was not honorable Ector, oddist of knightes, In this batell on bent britnet to deth, And lightly his lif lost in a stound? Ibm 9770. — Roland 522. — Delyuere þe lightly with-outen any lette, We haue no tome all day to tente on-to þe. York Plays 318:344. — Schir Kay ruschit to the roist (:the roast) and reft fra the swane, Lightly claught, throu lust, the lym fra the lyre. Gol. a. Gaw. 82. †

ME. LIGHT(E), adv.

This word is comparatively rare, and shows no other senses than those found in *lightly*.

1. *Gaily, merrily.*

ME. The kyng and quene laughed light And sayd, he was a fole welle dight. Ip. B 1657. †

2. *Easily.*

ME. Þou ne ssalt, bi him þat made me, ofskapie so liȝte. Rob. Glouc. 582. — For sith no cause of deeth lyth in this cas, Yow oghte been the lighter merciable. Legend of G. W. 410. — He þaim laught all þe lighter (sc. because he encountered no resistance. Ashmole MS liȝtlyere). Alexander 1055. †

3. *Depreciatingly, slightingly.*

ME. Otuwel. . . Tolde of hem alle so liȝt. Sir Otuel 280. — He was a-tened of his envy, he tok of hym so liȝte. Ferumbras 114. — Loue lete of hir liȝte and lewte ȝit lasse. P. Pl. B 4:161. Ibm 11:15. — Sowdone 1717. †

4. *Actively, nimbly, swiftly.*

ME. Ðo nomen he forð weie rigt, Til he ben cumen in-to egypte ligt (= soon?). Gen. & Ex. 2252. — Bot titter þan o tunge es tald, Fra hus he lepe selcutli light, Was neuer ern sa fus o flight. CM 18059. — He took hys hors,

and forþ he rod In-to Weste-mynstyr so lyȝt. Athelston 407. — A knyȝt, Prykyng so doþ þe foul on flyȝt. . . Lord, þe stede þat he goþ lyȝt (= rapidly). Ferumbras 4245. — He toke his spere anone ryght And lepte on his stede so light. Ip. B 810. †

GROUP II. WORDS ORIGINALLY SIGNIFYING 'STRONG'.

OE. FÆSTE, adv.

Prim. Teut. base **fastu-*, which, according to Ff, is related to Sanskr. *pastyà* 'fester Wohnsitz', and to Armen. *hast* 'fest'. Cf. Fick III 239.

The cognate words in the other Teut. languages, and the earliest development of the OE. adj. *fæst* and the adv. *fæste*, clearly indicate that both the OE. words originally signified 'strength and immobility'. The idea was 'strength that is combined with, or caused by, the immobility or rigidity of the object'. The adv. was purely passive in import, denoting strength in resistance, not strength in action (: vigour), and all implication of activity or subjective energy is a later acquisition. The original sgn of the word in the other Teut. languages appears to have been the same.

We have now to explain how the sense 'swiftly', which is decidedly active in import, arose from the original passive sgn of *fæste*. The line of development which leads up to 'swiftly' will be regarded as the most important, and will determine the arrangement. Other developments will be treated as collateral. From this point of view, the English senses may be arranged in four groups:

- I. Passive senses, denoting strength, immobility, security, etc.
- II. Senses oscillating between passive and active import.
- III. Active senses, denoting vigour, energy, swiftness, etc.
- IV. Senses denoting proximity.

This arrangement appears to correspond better to the actual development of the word, than that of NED, in which passive and active uses are sometimes mixed in the same section.

None of the other words dealt with in this book is so copiously instanced as *fæste*. Its development can therefore be traced with a comparatively high degree of accuracy.

*Scheme of senses.**I. Passive senses, denoting strength, immobility, security, etc.*

- 1) Firmly, strongly, immovably. Durative, intransitive verbs. OE. ME.
- 2) a) Firmly, strongly, implying closely, securely. Passive forms of to bind, join, etc. OE. ME.
- b) Closely, securely / firmly, strongly. Passive forms of to shut, enclose, surround, etc. OE. ME.
- c) Closely, securely, thoroughly, well. Passive forms of to hide, conceal. OE.
- 3) Firmly, strictly, inflexibly. Passive forms of verbs signifying to order, forbid. OE.

II. Senses oscillating between passive and active import.

- 4) a) Osc. between sense 2 a and vigorously, violently, energetically. Active tenses of verbs in 2 a. OE. ME.
- b) Osc. between sense 2 b and the same sense with active import. Active tenses of verbs in 2 b. OE. ME.
- c) Osc. between sense 2 c and the same sense with active import. Active tenses of verbs in 2 c. OE. ME.
- 5) Strictly, firmly, decidedly. Active tenses of verbs in 3. OE. ME.
- 6) a) Strongly, firmly, immovably / vigorously, energetically. Verbs: to hold and have. OE. ME.
- b) Same oscillation. Verbs: to resist and protect. OE. ME.
- c) Firmly, inflexibly / vigorously, vehemently, energetically. Verbs: to hate, love, dread, desire, etc. OE. ME.

III. Active senses, denoting vigour, energy, swiftness, etc.

- 7) Firmly, vigorously, violently, energetically / eagerly, earnestly, zealously, thoroughly, with fixity of effort, purpose, or attention. Verbs of chiefly material action.
 - a) Idea of violence predominant. OE. ME.
 - b) Mental element predominant. OE. ME.
- 8) Firmly, steadily, diligently, earnestly, eagerly, zealously, intensely, vehemently. Verbs of chiefly mental action.
 - a) Verba declarandi, implying volition or emotion. ME. 1200.
 - b) To laugh, to weep. ME. 1300.
 - c) Verba percipiendi et sentiendi. ME. 1300.
- 9) Vigorously, violently, energetically / rapidly, quickly, immediately, quickly begun and ended.
 - a) Verbs of motion. ME. 1250.
 - b) To grow, increase, diminish. ME. 1290.
 - c) Other verbs. ME. 1290.
 - d) As faste as. ME. 1300. As fast. ME. 1360.

IV. Senses denoting proximity.

- 10) Close to, near. With prep. or adv. Local sense. ME. 1200.
Faste by, or before, temporal sense. ME. 1370.

- 11) Onfast: near. Local sense. ME. 1200. Temporal sense. ME. 1200.
 Onfaste: at once. ME. 1200.
 12) Vigorously / swiftly / closely. To follow and approach. ME. 1290.

I. *Passive senses, denoting strength, immobility, security, etc.*

Fæste has a purely passive import and is referred to the subject of an active, intransitive, durative verb, or to the grammatical subject of a passive, transitive verb. The subject is always immovable and passive, and the verb expresses a state or condition of the subject. Material, immaterial, or figurative senses.

In order to explain the passive senses found in OE., I have assumed a pre-literary development from the sense 'strongly, firmly, immovably' to 'closely, securely, tightly, well'. In the absence of chronological evidence, the assumption is founded on the logical and psychological connexions between the different senses.

1. *Firmly, strongly, immovably.* Material or figurative senses. Durative, intransitive verbs, denoting a state or condition of the subject. This state may be inherent or brought about by an external agency, and may be more or less permanent. In some cases the notion of immobility seems to predominate, in others that of strength; sometimes it cannot be determined if one of them is stronger than the other. NED *fast* adv. 1, and 2 d.

When the subject is a living being, there easily enters a subjective element of meaning. If a wall stands fast, it does so only because of its inherent rigidity and strength; but if a man stands fast, the reason may be his determination to do so. In such contexts *fæste* acquires an implication of subjective energy, which no doubt contributed to the subsequent development of the sense 'vigorously, energetically'. The use of *fæste* with a material, inanimate subject may therefore be supposed to be earlier.

OE. *Inanimate subject*: *Þæt þæt treow sceolde... afeallan, þæt ær fæste stod.* Daniel 557. — Cross 38, 43. — Riddles 86.22. — *Pa sceat he mid þy spere, þæt hit sticode fæste on þæm herige* (: sanctuary). Bede 138:9. — *Nanwuht nis fæste stondendes weorces a wuniende on worulde.* Boethius 21:8. — *Ibm 91:28.* — & he... *þæs þeofes fot onlvsde of þam gærde, þe he ær fæste on clyfode* (: in qua inhærerat). Gregorius 25:11. — Blickling 225:34. †

Personal subject: *ʔonne gefeleð facnes cræftig* (: the whale) *þæt him þa ferend on fæste wuniap.* Whale 25. — *Þær wæs stið gemot, stodon fæste wigan on*

gewinne. Byrhtnoth 301. — Inn ðone stream eode & ðær in sealmsonge & in gebedum stod & fæste awunode hwilum oð midden sidan, hwilum oð ðone sweoran. Beda 434:32. — With the verb implied: Ac he beald in gebede bidsteal gifeð fæste (: sc. standing) on feðan. Juliana 389. †

Figuratively: Ðæt in ðam (sc. an inscription)..... seo gemynd his wilsumnisse ðurh ealle woruld fæste awunode. Beda 406:6. — Þis is min riht eðel. . . her ic wile nu standan fæste, nelle ic nu næfre hionon. Boethius 105:23. †

ME. Nule he nout, he seið, wenden ouer, auh wule sitten ful ueste. Ancr. R. 266. — Þat sweord stike feste. Lay. A 7533 (B stekede faste). — Þe nome. . a summe stude cleouied faste. Ibm 1960. — Þa eorles . . . to-gæderen stoden faste. Ibm 7501. — Ibm 20720. — Hol bi-cam a-non And sound. . . þat heued al-so faste to þe bodi, ase it was euerer. ESEL, 299:93. — And in the caudron sone he lepe, And anoon he styked faste. Seven Sages 1246. — His hend claf to þat ber (: bier) fast. CM 20745. — King Alis. 2627. — Þis es þe leef þat hanges noght faste, þat es blawen away thurgh a wynd blaste. Pricke 684. — Cant. B 509. †

I have a single instance where *fæste* refers to the rigid consistence of the subject. Probably due to influence from the adj., in which that sense was common.

OE. Swiðe fæste gesoden ægra. Lchdm II 194:5.

The use of *fæste* in the phrases *liggen* and *beon fæste*, meaning *immovable*, or *ill*, seems to be a South-Western peculiarity. The latter sense is probably only contextual. Not in NED or EDD.

ME. Aurilien seoc is iwurðen, & lið inne Winchæstre, a bedde ful faste. Lay. A 17561. — On uast þan castle þer Arður lei uaste. Lay. A (B) 26600. — After Penda sende, þer he wes ful faste in þan castle of Æxchæstre, and. . . hine hehte cumen to Lundene. Lay. A (B) 31136. — Seak was Howel. . . faste liggende. Lay. B 21115. — So hol he was of body ek, þat he ne lay neuere uaste Sik in is bed vor non vuel. Rob. Glouc. 7736. †

To sleep fast. Like NED, I regard the phrase *to sleep fast* as a figurative application of sense 1, taking it to mean *firmly*, *so as not to be easily moved or awakened*. I have only one OE. quot. but several from early ME. The sense may be explained, either as due to influence from the adj., the phrase *a fast sleep* being found in Beowulf and Cynewulf, or as due to internal development of the adv. If there had been any OE. instances of *liggen fæste* (see above), *slepan fæste* might have represented a further development in that direction. The only OE. quot. is from Ælfric, but I do not think that Latin influence should be assumed, as the usual Latin adjectives in this connexion were *altus* and *gravis*.

(cf. *leoht slæp* p. 52). Sometimes in a transferred sense.
NED 1 b.

OE. And þa on middre nihte þa men fæstost slepon. *Ælfric Saints* 31:857. †

ME. Sume men slapede faste, and sume nappede. . . Ðe man slapede faste, þe lið on swilche sinnes þe him þuncheð swete. *OEH II* 201:14. — *Ibm.* 39:21. — *Slep wel faste, and dred þe nouht. Havelok* 661. Similarly 2108. 2128. — *ESEL* 77:219. — *Rob. Glouc.* 2780. — *CM* 7716. — *Guy* 195:6. — *Palerne* 2738. — *Ip. A* 4176. — *Patience* 192. — *Chaucer Rose* 25. — *Cant. A* 4194. — *Destr. Troy* 817. — *York Plays* 244:98. †

Faste a-slepe (on slepe). *Ʒwane oþur men weren faste a-slepe. ESEL* 124:635. — When the fomen were fast fallyn vpon slepe. *Destr. Troy* 13363. †

2. *Strongly, firmly, securely, closely, tightly, with firm grasp or attachment, so as not to permit of escape or detachment.* NED 2 and 3.

With passive import, *fæste* may further be used to qualify passive forms (pa. pples.) of verbs signifying *to hold, bind, take, join, shut, enclose, surround, hide, conceal*. If the assumption is correct, that a passive import was originally essential to the adv., it is evident that the latter could be used with transitive verbs of action only as referring to the result caused by the action, not as referring to the action itself. *Ic binde hine fæste* could at first only mean 'I bind him so that he becomes firmly and immovably bound, so that he is immovable'; it could not mean 'I perform, in a vigorous manner, the action of binding him'¹). The action of binding necessarily implies motion in space, and the idea of motion was naturally incompatible with the adv. *fæste* as long as its meaning included the element 'immobility'. I therefore assume that *fæste* was first used with the passive forms of such verbs, as the conception of result is relatively stronger in these forms than in the active tenses. It is probable that *fæste* was soon extended to the active forms, acquiring an implication of activity, and such an element of sense would then no doubt sometimes occur also when *fæste* qualified a participle. As it is frequently impossible to determine when *fæste* was purely passive, and when not, the quotes. have been arranged according to the form of the

¹) Cf. the corresponding phrases in Mod. Germ. *Ich binde ihn fest*, and Swed. *Jag binder honom fast*, in which the adv. refers primarily to the result of the action.

verb. All the passive forms are given in this section, and it is left to be understood that in some cases the meaning may oscillate between active and passive import.

As already mentioned, a development from the sense 'strongly, firmly, immovably' to 'closely, securely' has been assumed (Cf. the analysis in Ch. V.) The change did perhaps not take place exclusively in the passive forms, but they are separated from the active tenses in order to show the chief line of development from the sense 'strongly' to 'swiftly'. It is possible that *fæste* was transferred to active tenses of the verbs in 2 a, before it was used at all with the verbs in 2 c. By comparing the corresponding verbs in section 4, a complete account of the sense-development to 'closely, securely' may be had.

The development may be described as the addition and gradual strengthening of the sense-element 'closely, securely', accompanied by a gradual weakening (:repulsion), and finally, elimination of the sense-element 'firmly, immovably'. If an object is strongly, firmly, and immovably bound, it may easily be apprehended as being also closely and securely bound. The latter element may then in certain connexions become predominant. In 2 b, with verbs signifying *to shut, enclose, surround*, etc., the idea of strength and immobility was liable to be more or less completely eliminated; and in 2 c, with verbs denoting *to hide*, such elimination seems to be the rule.

It must be remembered that the idea of security may appear already in quotes. in section 1, and that it may very well be predominant in an instance of the kind placed under 2 a, just as well as the idea of strength and immobility may be predominant in an instance from 2 b. The possibilities of variation in individual cases are extremely numerous, and the groups into which the quotes. are divided are determined by the regular features of each use. The definitions indicate what elements of sense are the rule in certain connexions, but are not to be regarded as rules without exceptions (Cf. Ch. V).

a. *Strongly, firmly, with firm grasp or attachment*, also implying *securely, closely, so as not to permit of escape or detachment*. With passive forms of *to bind, join, fasten*, etc. Literally or figuratively. NED 2.

OE. (Heorot) fæste was. . . irenbendum. . . besmīþod. Beow. 773. — Ibm 1295. — Mægen was on cwealme fæste gefeterod. Exodus 469. — Domes Dæge 66. — Whale 41. — Wæron . . . gefeterade fæste togædre. Riddles 50:4. — Nu earttu. . . feste gebunden. Sat. 58. 104. 324. — Riddles 54:6. — Fæste gefeged. Metra 20:116. — Middangeard wæs of swiðe manegum & mislicum þingum gegaderod & swiðe fæste tosomne gelimed & gefangod. Boethius 96:14. †

ME. We liggeð here i Lundene uaste ibunden. Lay. A 19309. — Þer hit (: the dust) lið in one clotte ueste ilimed togederes, þer hit lið al stille. Ancr. R. 254. — Sansumes foxes. . . weren bi þe teiles iteied ueste. Ancr. R. 254. — And þe strapeles adun to hire uet, i-laced ful ueste. Ancr. R. 420. — He was so faste with yuel fest, þat he ne mouhte hauen no rest. Havelok 144. — To one huy (: the saplings) weren alle i-come, and weren i-morede suyþe faste, þat huy ne miȝten beo op i-nome. ESEL 8:256. — His hend (wore) nayled so fast. CM p. 959, 129. — Ibm 8223. 17123. — My hert es sett fast opon a stone, þat es Jhesu. NEL 46:33. — Athelston 242. — With his spere faste in his hande (verb implied.) Otuell 1370. †

b. When *fæste* is used to qualify passive forms of verbs like *to shut, enclose, encompass, surround*, the element *closely, securely, so as to leave no opening or outlet*, appears to be more prominent than in the preceding group. Sometimes in transferred uses. NED 3.

OE. Sawlum Iunnon, fæste befarene (: they lost their souls, being closely encompassed, sc. by the waters of the Red Sea). Exodus 497. — Up astodan þa þe heo (: the earth) ær fæste bifen hæfde deade bibyrge. Crist 1158. — (Eom) fæste gearwad. Riddle 69:4. — Seo (burg) was ungemettan fæste mid cludum ymbweaxen (: saxum mirae asperitatis et altitudinis). Oros. 132:10. — Stod on merigen þæt cweartern fæste belocen. Ælfric I 230:22. †

ME. Þis shipe þat is holi chirche. . . is mid storne faste bistonden (: encompassed). OEHL II 43. — Ant ich am þat wes sum hwile þurh þe wise salomon feste bitunet. S. Juliane 40. — His ban beoð iloken faste i guldene cheste. Lay. A 32202. — Ancr. R. 160. — He (: the pit) is bi-walled faste a-boute, and faste i-loke þe ȝate. ESEL 200:13. — We nadde poer non, þe while we were so faste idut, among men to gon. Margarete II 210. — Oure way to Paradys is faste i-stopped by cause of þe synne. Trevisa I 77. — Brut 359:15. 430:9. — ȝit god of his grace closed the mountaynes togydre, so þat þei dwellen þere all faste ylok- ked & enclosed with high mountaynes alle aboute. Mandeville 176:31. †

Faste may also be referred to the doors, gates, etc. by means of which something is shut in or enclosed. The point of view is different, but the import of the adverb is still passive and much the same as in the other application, when it is referred to that which is shut in. Transferred from the adj.? See *fæst* 3.

ME. Þe yates fand he sperd fast. CM 13200. — Þe dore he steked stille anon As fast as it was biforn. Amis 2319. — Bot þai (: the gates) war sperred ferli fast With lokkes. Yw. a. Gaw. 2979. — A dore honginge þer-on, haspet ful faste. Joseph of Arim. 205. — Þe bryge watȝ breme vp-brayde, þe ȝateȝ wer stoken faste. Gawain 781. — And qhan he com thedder, the dors were fast sperid. Paston 102. †

The following is similar: Þe bok was i-closed faste to, seint Fraunceis hine gan vndo. ESEL, 58:158.

Figurative applications.

OE. On ferhðcofan fæste genearwod mode & gemynde, þæt he mægða sið wine druncen gewitan ne meahhte. Gen. 2603. — Him was Cristes lof on fyrhðlocan fæste bewunden. Andreas 58. — Similarly Juliana 234. †

c. In connexion with verbs denoting to *hide, conceal, fæste* has almost completely lost the elements *strongly, immovably* and signifies *closely, securely, thoroughly, well, so as to leave no opening*. I have only one instance with passive form, but the corresponding active forms are more numerous, so that it may be assumed that the passive phrases were current, though perhaps not common.

OE. Ac stod bewrigen fæste folde mid flode. Gen. 156. †

3. With verbs denoting command or prohibition *fæste* may be used in the sense *strictly, firmly, inflexibly*, with mental import. With their passive forms, the meaning of the adv. may be passive, and thus analogous to the previous uses. I have no *ME.* quots. Cf. 5.

It is not improbable that *verba voluntatis* were the first verbs of immaterial import to be qualified by *fæste*. The element of meaning common to them and to the material verbs, was that of firmness and strength. But it is not possible now to determine the exact context in which the transfer took place nor to ascertain whether the adj. or the adv. first received a mental import. NED 2 b.

OE. Adame sealdest wæstmē, þa inc wæron. . . fæste forbodene. Gen. 895. †

II. *Senses oscillating between passive and active import.*

This section comprises instances in which the sense of *fæste* oscillates or may oscillate between the senses 'firmly, strongly immovably' and 'vigorously, violently, energetically', or between 'closely, securely, tightly' as referred to a state or condition, and the same senses as referred to an action.

The verbs to be considered first (in sections 4 and 5) are the active senses of those enumerated in sections 2 and 3. In the phrase *ic binde hine fæste*, the idea predominant in the speaker's mind may be that, as a result of the action, the object is strongly and immovably bound; or it may be that the action of binding is performed in a vigorous and energetical manner. If we assume the former import to be the original one, it was consequently possible to extend the use of the adv., without sense-change, from the passive to the active tenses of such verbs. The extension may be regarded as the result of a simple analogy. If it was possible to say *fæste gebunden*, why not *fæste bindan*? But in the latter connexion, the idea of activity would naturally tend to rise in the speaker's consciousness, at first perhaps only indistinctly, but later on more clearly, and it would then influence the meaning of the adv., giving it an implication of subjective energy or active strength.

In the case of the verb *to hold* (6 a) no instances of the passive form qualified by *fæste* have been found. Even if such combinations did not occur, the use of *fæste* with this verb may easily be explained. The idea of a state or condition, of subject and object, is predominant also in the active tenses; in a phrase like *ic healde hine fæste* no motion is implied, and both subject and object may be apprehended as immovable. The adv. may thus mean 'strongly and immovably', as in sense 1. Nevertheless I think it correct to place such phrases in this group, as the verb, though it does not imply motion, still implies the performance of an action and perhaps also implies volition on the part of the subject. These elements of sense distinguish *healdan fæste* from *standan fæste* (with inanimate subject). — Similarly with *to have*.

Like *to hold*, the verbs *to resist* and *protect* (6 b) do not necessarily imply motion in space, and the adv. may therefore, when used to qualify such verbs, have the sense 'firmly, strongly, inflexibly'. At the same time, the verbs imply an activity directed against some person or thing, and the meaning of *fæste* may oscillate accordingly.

Similarly, the verbs *to hate, love, etc.* (6 c) denote an activity directed against some thing or person, but they also denote a (mental) state or condition of the subject. The sense of

the adv. oscillates accordingly, referring either to the activity or to the mental state.

It is impossible to say if the first use of *fæste* in an oscillating sense occurred in connexion with the verbs in 4 or with the verbs in 6. Both methods of development seem equally natural. For a detailed analysis, see Ch. V.

In sections 4-6 below, there are more than fifty OE. instances. In sections 7, 8, 9, 12, comprising verbs in connexion with which *fæste* must have a purely active import, there are only five certain OE. instances in all (section 7). Considering that the verbs in the latter group are much more numerous than those in the former, the disproportion in OE. cannot be a mere coincidence, but must reflect an actual difference in use. If this fact is compared with the internal evidence adduced, I think we may venture to interpret it in the following manner. The original meaning of the word was, as previously shown, purely passive. Extension to phrases in which *fæste* had an oscillating (passive / active) import took place in the pre-literary period, and that use was common in OE. A further extension to phrases of purely active import began to take place in OE., but this new meaning had not yet grown common. It became so only in ME., where *fæste* was applied to a great number of different verbs.

It is thus assumed that the active element was added to the meaning of *fæste* when the adv. began to be used with the active tenses of certain verbs. As the first combinations of this kind occurred in the pre-literary period, there is no chronological evidence for the assumption that the adv. had previously been used with the passive tenses of the same verbs. The chief support for the theory is the circumstance that *fæste* could be used in such passive connexions without any material change of its original meaning.

There is another factor which may have contributed to the introduction of an active element of meaning. I pointed out above (p. 73) that if the subject of the governing verb was a living being, there easily entered into the meaning of the qualifying adv. an implication of subjective energy, and this might be the case already in sense 1. In the quotes. in sections 2 and 4, the action of the verbs is nearly always performed by living be-

ings, and this circumstance no doubt was of importance for the sense-change from 'strongly, immovably' to 'vigorously, energetically'. Cf. Ch. III, where this question is further discussed.

4 a. Same sense as in 2 a, but oscillating between passive and active import, as described above. Active tenses of the verbs in 2 a; also verbs signifying *to guard*, of which no passive instances are found, but which are analogous to *bind*, etc. NED 2.

In late instances, as Cant. C 259, the sense of speed may be intended by the author. The same is the case with many quot. in the following sections.

OE. Habbað me swa hearde helle clommas fæste befangen. Gen. 374. — Þu þæt fær (: the Ark) . . . wið yða gewyrc gefeg fæste. Gen. 1310. — Se modga . . . him fæste wiðfeng. Beow. 760. — Þa he þone cniht genam fæste mid folmum. Exodus 407. — Juliana 433. — Cræftum 48.66. — Metra 11:34 — Sal. 277. 458. — Riddles 10:3, 24:26. — Sie. . . fæste genæglað on rode. AS. Gosp. Mt. 27:22 Li. — Do on þ dolg & bind fæste. Lchdm. II 132:18. †

ME. Fæste heom heo bunden. Lay. A 10006. Similarly B 16683. — To þan sparewen uoten uaste heom (: the shells) icnutten. Lay. A 29272. — Claudien. . . hæhte heo wite wel faste. Lay. A 9628. — And duden hine i benden. . . and biwusten hine wel faste. Lay. A 31013. — And nomen anon ihesu crist, and hyne vaste bunde. Passion of Our Lord 196. — ESEL, 30:46. 125:669. — Margarete II 113. — A rape he gatt al priueli. . . And fast he fest abute his hals. CM 16504. — Kildare 123/52. — E. E. P. 19:26 (On the seven sins. MS. Harl. 913). — Handlyng 8056. — And Ianuarie hath faste in armes take His fresshe May. Cant. E 1821. — And whan the Iuge it saugh. . . He bad to take him and anhange him faste. Cant. C 259. — Octavian S 221. — Wallace 1:222. †

Figurative applications.

OE. Þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw, þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde. Wand. 13. — Metra 11:90. — Nim þe nu fæste Petrus þæt ic sprece (: fixum tene quod loquor.) Gregorius 172:33. †

ME. Hwi wið earmes of luue ne cluppe ich þe swa faste, þet na þing ne þeonne ne mæze breide min heorte. Ur. of Ure Louerde 187. — This covenant was affermed wonder faste. Legend of G. W. 790. †

Another figurative application of *fæste*, wich presupposes a corresponding material use (not instanced), is closely related to the preceding. The verbs signify *to strengthen, to build up*. The adv. signifies *in a firm, reliable, stable manner*.

OE. Him (: the congregation) naman minne on ferðlocan fæste getimbre! Andreas 1671. — Hio to gode hæfde freondrædenne fæste gestaþelad. Jul. 107. — He his modsefan wið þam færhagan fæste trymede feonda gewinna. Guðlac

933. — *Blickling* 43:6. — Þa was he mid gastlicre blisse gefylled, and his geleafan fæste on god sylfne getrymede and fæstnode. *Prose Guthl.* 122:114. †

b. Sense as in 2 b, but oscillating between passive and active import. Active tenses of verbs in 2 b. *NED* 3.

OE. Wearð. . . se halga wong þurh feondes searo fæste bitýned. *Phoen.* 419. — Hwílum mec min frega fæste geneawað. *Riddle* 1:31. — Oft mec fæste bi-leac freolicu meowle. *Riddle* 59:1. — Þonne he þa grimman goman bihlemmeð. . . fæste togædre. *Whale* 77 (I am not certain of the meaning. *Behlemman* is causative of *hlimman*: 'to roar, clang, clash'. It is rendered 'collidere cum strepitu', but with a ?, in *GK.*) †

ME. Heo... bi-læien anan Port-chæstre mid heore folke swiðe faste. *Lay. A* 9237. — He.. hæuede Valentin wel uaste bi-clused in ane castle. *Lay. A* 12191. — Þe eorl...wende to ane oðere castle and bichisde hi ful uaste. *Lay. A* 18646. — *Ibm* 9767. 18607. — Ase men wolden steken veste euerich þurl. *Ancr. R.* 62. — Þer in sche was don on hast & þer in bischet ful fast. *Arth. a. Merl.* 970. — It is for-wit þe saul a wall Bateild fast wit-vten fall. *CM* 28853 (MS. Galba grunded ful fast). — In þat pit him (:the dragon) sperd fast. *CM* 22059. — *Rob. Glouc.* 444. — In a bath they gonne hir faste shetten. *Cant. G* 517. — Ho wolde not yeuen tham noone lewe to goone out, but mor fastyr he wold tham enclos. *Secreta* 200:11. Etc.

Of doors and gates. Cf. 2 b.

ME. Þa zæten heo tunden uaste. *Lay. A* 15320. — Similarly 15311. — In þe Eueninge he bad is knaue to steken þe dore faste. *ESEL* 126:689. — Make faste þe dore aftur þe. *ESEL* 443:428. — *Rob. Glouc.* 6120. — *Arth. a. Merl.* 832. — *King Alis.* 1206. — Fast þe dors þan did he sparr. *CM* 2788. — Thai thair zet barrit so fast, At thai mycht do at thame no mair. *Bruce* 4:433. — This Nicholas his dore faste shette. *Cant. A* 3499. — (Thai) cloyt zettis fast. *Wallace* 4:495. †

Figurative application.

ME. Ant tun ueste hore zeteten, muð, & eien, & earen. *Ancr. R.* 104. †

c. Same sense as 2 c, but oscillating between passive and active import. Active tenses of verbs in 2 c.

OE. Þu him fæste hel soðan spræce. *Gen.* 1836. — (Þu) heora fyrene fæste hæle. *Ps.* 84:2. — Þeh þe he hit fæste wið þa senatus hæle. *Oros.* 196:16. — Wæron hi þy swyðor afyrhte and hie fæstor hyddan. *Nar.* 10:26. *BT.* †

ME. Salomon it liet nimen sone. . . and burede hit wel faste. *ESEL* 10:300. — Þe king hopede wel to him (: himself) & let him helie vaste & stille was wiþoute noyse & lay & slep is laste. *Rob. Glouc.* 3170. — Hii porueiede an derne stude & þer inne hit caste Villiche & stilleliche & burede it þere vaste. *Ibm* 1875. — *Pricke* 5297. †

5. *Strictly, firmly, decidedly.* With *verba voluntatis*; corresponding to sense 3, but oscillating between passive and active import. I have passive instances only of verbs meaning *to command* and *to forbid*, but I think that *to decide* should also be included in this group. It is remarkable that there are so few ME. instances of this kind. NED 2 b.

OE. Fæste mynted̄ ingeþancum þæt. . . Gen. 2182. — Oþþæt hy fæste ðær æt þam wærlagan wic geceosað. Whale 36. — He him fæste gehet þæt. . . Metra 1:35. — (Gecynd) þe him cyning engla fæder æt frymde fæste getiode. Metra 13:13. — Ða ilca lufu swiðe fæst bebead (:instantius commendans). AS. Gosp. John p. 7:11. Li. — Geþenc nu be ðe selfum hwæðer þu ænig þing swa fæst (v. r. fæste) getiohhod hæbbe þæt þe þince þ hit næfre þinum willum onwend ne weorðe. Boethius 144:21. †

ME. Ne sende men in-to Walakye. . . And bidde him faste anoon that he Go hoodles to the drye see. Chaucer, B. of the Duch. 1027. — Wher he comandeth and forbedeth faste, Man shal nat suffre his wyf go roule aboute. Cant. D 652. †

6 a. *Strongly, firmly, immovably | vigorously, energetically.* Verbs: *to hold* and *to have*. The adv. refers to the state of the object of the action, which is that of being strongly etc. held; or to the action of the subject in holding, which may be vigorous and energetic. The meaning of the adverb then oscillates between passive and active import. NED 2.

OE. Heold hine (:Grendel) fæste se-þe manna wæs mægenes strengest. Beow. 788. — Þe king. . . nam of hire eall þæt heo ahte on golde ond on seolfre. . . forþan heo hit heold to feste wið hine. Chr. E. 1042/163. †

ME. (He) let hemm stekenn inn an hus, & haldenn swiþe fasste. Orm 8088. — Claudienes cnihtes. . . heolden heo wel fæste. Lay. A 9605 — Þe Bruttes weoren swiðe whæte, & heolden fæsten heore zæte. Ibm 11241. — Swiðe wel he heold his fiht, and faste he heold Chirchestre. Ibm 29205. — A sauter held she faste in honde. Chaucer Rose 431. — Cant. B 1760. †

Figurative and transferred applications.

OE. Heold hyne syðþan fyr ond fæstor, se þæm feonde ætward. Beow. 143. — Forþon we fæste sculon. . . wærlice wearde healdan. Crist 766. — Þa aras he from þæm slæpe, & eal, þa þe he slæpende song, fæste in gemynde hæfde. Beda 344:15. — Similarly Boethius 106:30. — Arcus. . . artus. . . partus. . . healdap þone u fæste on menigfealdum dativo and ablativo. Ælfr. Gr. 81:2. †

ME. Þis beoþ þe, þat weren her Mid hwom me heold feste, And þeo þat gode bi-heyhte wel, and nolden hit ileste. Poema Morale (Jesus MS.) 237. — Þatt ifell. . . þatt held himm þa swa fasste (said of a sickness). Orm 8152. — Heng-

est hine gon werien & nalde hit noht iþeuen, ah he heold hine ful faste, þe while þat feht ilaste. Lay. A 15280. — Holdeð hine (: your Saviour) ueste. Ancr. R. 34. — Ake he heold him faste in his folie. ESEL, 30:36. — Hor louerdes hii entisseyde þat hii hulde to gadere vaste. Rob. Glouc. 752. — Fra mi lauedi, sco said, i gang, For sco me halds fast in thrang. CM 2622. — Bot þat þi stabil pes mai last, To crist þou hald þi penance fast. CM 26771. — Handlyng 6223. — An heghe strete he helde feste, till þat he come till a forest. Eglamour 274. — Quha gredy is and fast haldand, Thar sal na grace be folowand. Ratis Rav. II 241. †

b. In a similar oscillating sense, *fæste* is used with verbs meaning *to resist* or *protect*. The predominant element of sense is that the subject is firm and inflexible in its resistance, but there is also an implication of subjective energy which makes the meaning of the adv. different from what it is in sense 1. Probably a direct development from the original sense.

OE. Heahcleofu, þa wið holme ær fæste wið flodum foldan sceldun (MS. scehdun). Crist 980. — Ðu. . . wiðsæcest fæste þone ahangnan cyning. Elene 933. — Heo þæs beornes lufan fæste wiðhogde. Juliana 42. (Do these two quot. belong to c?). — Swa he a wile ealra feonda gehwane fæste gestondan. Sal. 97. — Þa was ðy ðriddan dæge þære æfterfylgendan nihte, þæt he ðam wolberendan geþohtum fæste wiðstod (: robusta mente pestiferis meditationibus insisteret). Prose Guthl. V 121:77. †

ME. Ac Bruttēs weren kene, and faste him wiþstode. Lay. B 10275. — Sua fast þe Iuus he wit-stod. CM 19709. †

c. Finally *fæste* appears in an oscillating sense in combination with verbs denoting a subjective state of mind of the subject as *to hate*, *to love*, *to dread*, *to desire*. This state of mind is apprehended as being directed towards some object, and if that point of view grows predominant, the import of the adv. changes accordingly. The sense may be defined as oscillating between *with fixity of purpose*, *inflexibly* and *vigorously*, *energetically*, *vehemently*.

OE. Þa me georne ær fæste feodan. Ps. 85:16. 82:2. †

ME. Teȝȝ wærenn forr þatt lihht. . . Forrdredde swiþe fasste anan. Orm 3778. — Þan make þay (: those who have been married too early) men on hem to wundryr, And coueyt faste to be asundryr. Handlyng 1672. — Similarly; desyred faste. Ibm 2103. — Ac he ssel. . . uest wil þet neuremo to zenne ne ssel wende ayen, þaȝ me ssolde hine al to-heawe. Ayenbite 178:6. — Whan he had mad thus his complaynte, His sorowful herte gan faste faynte. Chaucer, B. of the Duch. 488. — I se na godlaik in gold bot grefe to þe saule, For þe fastir it falis on a freke þe fastir he couettis. Alexander 4689. — Desyryt fast. Wallace 8:871. †

III. *Active senses, denoting vigour, energy, swiftness, etc.*

The earliest purely active sign of *fæste* was *vigorously, violently, energetically, earnestly, eagerly, with fixity of effort, purpose, or attention*. It arose, as described above, out of the sense *firmly, strongly, immovably*, and cannot always be clearly distinguished from it. The characteristic trait of the active sense is that the adv. is referred to the activity of the subject (the action denoted by the verb), and that the idea of immobility is eliminated from the adv.

If we except the verbs of motion, which will be treated separately (9), the other OE. and ME. instances may be divided into two groups. In one of them, we have verbs denoting material action, in the other, verbs denoting purely mental action. In the former, the adv. may vary in meaning; sometimes the idea of violence is predominant, sometimes the idea of eagerness, and the exact interpretation is often a matter of doubt. We have all shades of meaning, from 'violently, vigorously, (energetically)' to 'eagerly, earnestly, diligently, zealously'. In connexion with verbs of the second group, the latter meaning is the only one. All these varying signs of *fæste* may be comprised in the definition 'with fixity of effort, purpose, or attention' (NED).

A great number of shades of sense are thus instanced, from the purely material to those in which the idea of eagerness or earnestness is clearly predominant. This series does not, however, reflect a sense-development from 'vigorously' to 'eagerly'. It is rather to be apprehended as the result of an extension of use from two centres, verbs of material action (4, 6 a, 6 b) on the one hand, *verba voluntatis* and *affectuum* (5, 6 c) on the other. This is evident from the fact that the latter use is found already in OE; and it is only natural that if we have the two senses *A* and *E* in use, instances of the intermediate senses, *B*, *C*, and *D*, should also be found (Cf. *leoht*, p. 52 above).

7. *Firmly, vigorously, violently, energetically | eagerly, earnestly, with fixity of effort, purpose, or attention*. With verbs denoting material action.

I find it convenient to divide this section into two groups, but as just remarked, they do not represent a development, only a

logical distinction. *Fæste* is extremely common in ME., indeed, it is one of the most common words in the language, and it is extended to almost all classes of verbs, with the force of an intensive. However, it never sinks down to a mere intensive without other meaning of its own: it always adds something to the meaning of the verbs, besides intensifying it.

Several editors translate *fæste* by 'quickly' in OE. instances of the kind included in this section. As will be shown below, it is highly improbable that it could have acquired that sense before the 13th century.

a. The idea of *violence* is predominant. This group is extremely numerous in ME. Most of the verbs mean to *fight, beat, etc.* I can give only a selection of instances from the different dialects. NED 1 d.

OE. Ricene weorðe his feonda gehwylc fæste toworpen. Ps. 67:1. — Ic was hearde cnyssed & ic me helpe fand, þæt ic fæste ne feoll. Ps. 117:13. (There is no corresponding word in the Latin text). — & com þa seo Centisce fyrde þær ongean & hi þær fæste to gedere fengon. Chr. E 999/131. †

Note that the verb in the first quot. is passive, and that therefore the idea of result may be implied, perhaps through influence from senses 1 and 4; that the interpretation of the adv. in the second quot. is somewhat uncertain, *fæste* being perhaps added merely for the sake of alliteration, as often seems to be the case with *gearwe* (q. v.) in the same text; and that consequently the quot. from Chr. 999 is the earliest reliable instance.

The following instances are uncertain:

þæt þone mandrinc gecepað wer fæste feore sine (:that a man must acquire the poison violently (?) with his life. Emended in different ways by different authorities). Riddle 21:14. — Ðonne gewundrade git giee ʒ huoeðer geliorade fæst (: Pilatus autem mirabatur si iam obisset) AS. Gosp. Mk. 15:44. Ii. — *Luxoriant*, fæste geþuf. WW 435:34. 492:27. (Clark Hall *geþuf* 'thriving, luxuriant'; BT 'growing, luxuriant'). †

ME. I divide the ME. instances into two groups, with personal subject and with impersonal subject.

a. *With personal subject.* Very numerous instances. Only the earliest quot. from each dialect is given.

ME. Fleshliche lustes þe flited to-ʒenes þe soule. . . and fæste bisetteð. OEH II 189. — Þa þudde ha uppon þe þurs feste wið hire fot. Marherete I 12.

— Heo wurpen ut enne rap, & Baldulf hine faste igrap. Lay. A 20334. — Þe see bigan to flowen, ant hy faste to rowen. King Horn H 1622. (Not in the other MSS). — With his host he wende in-to is lond, and weorrede on him wel faste. ESEL 13:425. — Fast he fauȝt y wot. Vernagu 829. — Þe post þat al þat huse ypbare Wit bath his handes he it scok, Sua fast þat al þe hus quok. CM 7260. — And hys ore faste he drowe. Seven Sages 3153. — And euer the fastur that he dang, The more softlye wold she (: the mare) gange. Ip. A 6265. — Be thai [presit]. . . A litill fastar, ȝhe sall se That thai discumfit soyn sall be. Bruce 13:129. Etc.

β. With impersonal subject. The verb generally denotes a phenomenon of nature.

ME. A Caudron he liet fulle With eoyle, he liet it seoþe faste. ESEL 12:384. — A smart wind... on heom bleuȝ wel faste. ESEL 207:247. — Þæt weder bi-gan to reinie faste. ESEL 284:235. — CM 1765. 22631. — The fyere was hote and ber-nyd faste. Seven Sages 2042. — Hyt raynyd and lygnyd and thonryd fast. Ibm 2213. — His wounde gan faste blede. Sir Otuel 968. — The ringes on the temple-dore that honge, And eek the dores, clatereden ful faste. Cant. A 2423 (the first quot. not referring to a natural phenomenon). Etc.

b. In this group, the conception of physical violence is less prominent, in some cases it has almost disappeared, and *faste* means *eagerly, zealously, thoroughly, with fixity of attention or purpose*. The verbs denote an activity in which a material element enters, though it is sometimes very slight. NED 1 c.

OE. Ane misdæda he dyde þeah to swiðe. . . & hæðene þeawas, innan þysan lānde, gebrohte to fæste. Chr. E 959/115. — Nu wylle ic bysne ætywan ymbe þa þing þe we nu handledon & fæste ymbe wæron. Byrhtferth 304:24. (Cf. georne ymbe wæron. *Georne* 3 a, quot. from Boëthius). †

ME. Menn himm sohhtenn fasste to, forr himm to seon & herenn. Orm 9241. — Eadithþe. . . Bi-clupte þat bodi and custe it fæste. ESEL 51:150. — Heo setten bord and spradden cloth, and bi-gonne to soupe faste. ESEL 126:697. — His iugelour adai to-fore him pleide (: a harp) faste. E. E. P. 60:19 (St. Christopher, MS. Harl. 2277). — Rob. Glouc. 492. 7416. — Seven Sages 245. — He gadred vn-to storē fast, þat hys purs he fylled at þe last. Handlyng 6117. 6473. 6475. — Pricke 1342. 4211. — Hym besyed faste Ipomadon. Ip. A 612. — Chaucer, Rose 2970. Compl. unto Pite 19. Cant. A 3306. — This Absolon. . . Gooth with a sencer on the haliday, Sensinge the wyves of the parish faste. Cant. A 3341. — Cant. B 839. Cant. D 520. — Gyf fast (? quickly) of þi goode To folke þat failene þe fode. Awntyrs 232. — Paston 130. — Wallace 2:266. Etc.

There are also some *ME.* instances of the phrase *to be fast about*: 'to be busily employed in something'. (See NED *About adv.*)

11.) Cf. the quot. from Byrhtferð above, and *georne* 3 a, quot. from Lay.

ME. His brother. . . was fast aboute. . . for to hyre the quest to hangen his brother. Gamelyn 785. — Thanne seyde Gamelyn to the champioun, Thou art faste aboute to bringe me adoun. Ibm 240. — But wisdam and wit weoren ȝeorne aboute faste To ouercome þe kyng with (catel) ȝif heo mihten. P. Pl. A 4:68. — Wyclif 15. — Syr Tryamour 65. NED. †

8. *Firmly, steadily, diligently, earnestly, eagerly, zealously, intensely, vehemently. With fixity of effort, purpose, or attention.* Verbs with predominantly or exclusively mental (immaterial) import. NED 1 c.

The earliest quots. (c. 1200) have verba declarandi, generally implying volition or emotion. The latter elements of sense were of importance in facilitating the extension of *faste* to these verbs, probably from verba voluntatis and affectuum (5 and 6 c). C. 1300 we find verbs signifying *to laugh* and *weep*, and simultaneously verba percipiendi and sentiendi. In the latter, the element of volition or emotion is weak or altogether absent. The use of *faste* in such connexions may be explained either from verba declarandi or from the verbs in 7 b. In both cases the common element of sense is aptly defined by NED as 'fixity of effort, purpose or attention'. There is in this sense a certain intensifying element. *Faste* was not a word of the kind usually called 'intensives'. It always retained an important meaning of its own, and could not be used as an intensive in contexts where this meaning was unsuitable. But where it could be used, it was probably apprehended as intensifying the action of the verb, and this circumstance no doubt contributed to its extensive use, as intensifying advs. are always liable to be transferred to new phrases and contexts. (Cf. Wellander, Betydelseutvecklingens lagbundenhet 31.)

This use of *faste* is extremely common in late ME. In early Mod. E. it disappeared completely. In late quots., oscillation between this sense and 'quickly' is often discernible.

The three classes of verbs mentioned above are given separately.

a. *Verba declarandi* of different kinds, generally implying volition or emotion.

ME. Hise Lerningcnihthtes tokenn to sannenn faste onnzæn þe Judewiss-he lede. Orm 17930. 18202. 18216. 19509. — He þrettnede faste hermogenes. ESEL 35:41. — A king. . . wolde ire habbe to his spouse, and wowede hire wel faste. ESEL 80:84. — Men acuseden him faste of þe dede. ESEL 118:421. 129:779. 132:887 (speken). 158:1793 (blessen). — Rob. Glouc. 1629. — CM 19706. 19749. — Handlyng 945. 1261. — Joseph of Arim. 530. — Þan bigan. . . hir self fast forto blame; Unto hirself fast gan sho flyte. Yw. a. Gaw. 1026-7. 1963. — Ip. A 1399. — Sche hire fader cumfort fast as sche miȝt. Palerne 1512. — Pere he denyyd faste þe kyng, þat he made neuere þat lesyng. Athelston 765. — Oure knyghtis made þaire prayere faste To Criste. Melayne 464. — Octavian I 825, C 910. — Scho braid hir armes and faste gan crye And called faste one oure lady. Ysumbras 307-8. — Minot 2:27. — Gawain 1042. — P. Pl. B 14:331. — Þat piler pilgrims and palmers þat faste con liȝe (: qui semper frivolis abundant) clepeþ it seint Petris corn hepe. Trevisa I 225. — Nicholas. . . spak so faire, and profred hir so faste, That she hir love him graunted atte laste. Cant. A 3289. — Libeaus 282. — Octavian S 1742. — He gapede, he groned faste. Morte Arth. 1076. — Þe quene. . . frayns him fast quat þe freke of hire fare þingis (: thinks). Alexander 672. — Destr. Troy 7915. — Otuell 577. — Gowther 227. — York Plays 105:81. Etc.

b. Verbs signifying to *laugh* or *weep*.

ME. þþe eorl seide: ȝeo greteþ faste. Greg. Leg. 145. — Þat barn. . . wepte so wonder fast. . . þat. . . Palerne 38. — Ysumbras 137. — Alle. . . Loughē so faste, þay were nere wode. Octavian I 844 (C laghed as they were wode). — P. Pl. A 5:255. — Chaucer Rose 2580. Cant. D 672. †

c. Verbs signifying to *see*, *hear*, *think*, *wonder*, etc.

ME. Fast him biheld al þo in þe toune, For þe mouþe he had grininge. Arth. a. Merl. 5660. — Guy 258:7. — Seven Sages 2698. — The hold man bythout hym faste How he myght at the laste Any thyngē dyvyse. Ibm 2671. — Margarete II 205. — Havelok 2148. — Wel fast he gan hem aspīe. Amis 701. 2269. — CM 13557. — Quen þai sagh him þe birthin vnder, Fast þai can on him to wonder. CM 13803. — Þou cark þe nought sa fast wit car. CM 24233. — Handlyng 4094. 5469. 6251. — Ip. A 999. — Yw. a. Gaw. 1814. — Perceval 1238. — Alis. I. 606. — Emare 402. — His consell fast discordit them. Bruce 17:842. — P. Pl. B 16:169. — He. . . argued with his owne thoght, And in his wittedisputed faste, Why and how his lyf might laste. B. of the Duch. 505. — I merveyle me wonder faste How. . . Rose 2725. — Cant. C 124. — Alexander 2570. — Wallace 6:880. Etc.

9. The extensive use of *fæste* described in the preceding sections did not long survive. In the 13th century a subdivision of the verbs of material action began to play an important part in the semantic history of the adverb.

Though *fæste* could be connected with verbs of material ac-

tion already in OE., we do not find any instance with a *verb of motion* till much later. The reason must have been that there remained something of the idea of immobility in the adverb. And so, perhaps, while it could be referred to a subject performing an action that implied movement, it could not be used when the subject itself moved from one place to another. The idea of immobility must naturally have been completely eliminated before the latter use was possible. When that change had been effected, *fæste* could be used to denote that a movement was performed in a *vigorous, violent, or energetic manner*. NED 6.

When *faste* was first applied to verbs of motion, it no doubt had the sgn indicated. But we soon find it signifying 'swiftly'. This development evidently took place in connexion with the verbs of motion, and we shall now proceed to see if the approximate date of this sense-change can be discovered.

a. *Faste with verbs of motion*, oscillating between the senses *vigorously, energetically* and *swiftly*. The latter meaning is generally predominant.

Before 1300. — Note that the first quot. in NED 6 belongs to my section II.

ME. [For to-sommen we scullen gliden, faste to-gadere, & ure ifan fællen. Lay. A 8598. — Heo. . . forð gunnen wenden, to-sommen heo riden uaste, þat heo comen to Æxechæstre. Lay. A 9754. (B: Hii. . . forþ gonnewende, wonderliche faste). — Fuse we nu forð ward, uaste to-somen. Lay. A 21190.] — Þe se þat schup so faste drof, þe children dradde þer of. King Horn C 129 (L and H swiþe). — Ayol forþ gan springe. . . Faste after horn he rende. King Horn O 1319. — His chnihtes. . . faste to þam rakede. Lay. B 18058. — Þo comen Arthures men, faste in þan weye. Lay. B 26943. — Ibm 9754 (see above). — Rennes fast do wilis ye haue liht. Benet Lansdowne 2:6. †

About 1300 *faste* appears with verbs of motion in a great number of instances in texts from all parts of the country.

ME. Pat cri was sone wide couth, þat folk orn faste i-novʒ. ESEL 158:1809. 71:38. 415:423. — Þe mar to þaim þat he him bedd, þe faster ai þai fra him fledd. CM 14457. 121 (p. 986). 4809. 14280. 16112. 19288. 19478. — Þys ermyte hyed fast and ran. Handlyng 12335. 507. 5619. — He clam uppon the tree on hyghe. The bore byhyde hym thydyr faste. Seven Sages 952. — Malcus ʒaf hire furst, & bad hire hiʒie faste. Margarete II 267. — Gode was þe hors þat Gwichard rod on, & so fast hiʒ stede gan gon, þat Gij miʒt him nouʒt atake. Guy 1515. 1429. 5800. — Þat folc fley him vaste. Rqb. Glouc. 404. 459. — Arth. a. Merl. 463. 1228. — Alisaundre comuth. . . Al fast as he may. King Alis. 3446. — The galeye wente alsoo fast, As quarel dos out off þe arweblast. Richard 2538. Etc.

According to this theory, we get the following chronology for the sense-development of *faste* from 'strongly' to 'swiftly'.

1. Sense 'vigorously, energetically', with active import, qualifying verbs of action (except those denoting motion in space), OE.

2. Sense 'vigorously / swiftly', with verbs of motion, before 1250.

3. Sense 'swiftly', with verbs of all kinds, c. 1300.

It is remarkable that the sense of speed in relation to time appears so early and so frequently. We have seen that in *hrædlice* and other advs. previously discussed, this sense arose out of the sgn 'rapidly'. The account of the sense-changes of *fæste* given in the preceding paragraphs, clearly indicates that the sense of rapidity must have arisen before that of promptitude. It is impossible to determine how long the development 'rapidly > immediately' would take. The dates of our instances provide only fifty years for it, if we count from the earliest *oscillating* instance of 'rapidly'. The earliest instances *without implication* of other shades of sense occur only c. fifteen years before those of 'immediately' (Lay. B — ESEL).

It is true that we have in several cases been compelled to assume the existence of sgns a considerable time before their appearance in our texts. But in this case I think it inadvisable to do so. *Faste* is so common during the ME. period, in the sense 'vigorously, energetically', that if a modification of this sense (at its first appearance, the sense of speed may be qualified in that manner) really did exist, we should expect to find it instanced.

I am therefore inclined to believe that other influences were at work. As we shall see in the following sections, the compound *onfaste* is found in the sense 'immediately' already c. 1200. As far as the extant evidence goes (it is very scanty), it does not contradict the assumption that this sense occurred also in the simplex *faste* at the time mentioned. I therefore venture to infer that it actually did exist in the simplex. Its non-appearance before 1300 may be explained by assuming that before that date this sense was restricted to one dialect, or a few dialects, scantily represented in literature, or that it belonged to the spoken language only.

Accordingly, we may perhaps assume that the first ME. instances of the sense 'immediately' do not reflect a development similar to that of *hrædlice* ('rapidly > quickly > immediately'), but that the simultaneous appearance of the senses 'rapidly' and 'immediately' (: promptitude) is the result of two different lines of development, both starting from the original sense of *fæste*: 'strongly > vigorously, energetically > rapidly', and 'strongly > securely, closely > near, in space > near, in time > immediately'. The latter change is very scantily instanced.

I think this explanation is to be preferred, for the reason just given, that the adv. *fæste* was so common, in sense 7, during the ME. period, that it is not advisable to assume the existence of sgns related to that sense, when no quots. can be adduced as evidence. It is true that the development from 'closely' to 'immediately' is also founded on assumptions for which we have very little evidence. But the sense of proximity is on the whole much less frequent than that of vigour and energy, and it is therefore not surprising that we are not able to trace its changes in detail.

NED brings together in one section (5) the senses 'closely, at once, immediately', which agrees with my explanation. But when NED, in section 6, refers the origin of the sense 'quickly, rapidly, swiftly' not only to the sgns 'strongly, stoutly, vigorously', but also to the sense of proximity and of promptness, it must be objected that, as will be shown in Ch. III, a development from the sense of speed in relation to time to that of speed in relation to action (: from promptness to rapidity) is improbable. The origin of the latter sense should therefore be sought only in the ideas of vigour, energy, etc. (cf. above).

d. *As fæste as: as swiftly as, as soon as.* It was pointed out above that *fæste* appeared in the sense 'immediately' already c. 1300. The above phrase is therefore to be apprehended simply as another way of construing the word in senses which already existed.

ME. Beues goþ fæste ase he mai. Beues 457. — Than went he agayn anoon, As fast as he myght goon With hys fet oppon the grounde. Seven Sages 3329. — Als fast as þai had don þat sinne, Bigan all vr baret to biginne. CM G 823. (MS. from c. 1350—1400. T fæste. C and F son quen þai had don etc.). — As fast a

hire fader was faren of þe weie, sche wept & weiled as sche wold haue stourue. *Palerne* 1514. — *Alexander* 3844. 3944. 5307. — *Brut* 421:1. — *Paston* 221. †

We further find *as fast*, signifying *at once, immediately*, the subaudition being, according to Stoffel (*Intensives and down-toners* 107) 'as can be imagined', 'as may be', 'as possible'. But see also *swithe* 8 a.

ME. Þe howndez þat hit herde, hastid þider swyþe, & fellen as fast to þe fuyt (: track), fourty at ones. *Gawain* 1425. — And whan he comth, as faste shul ye see A wonder thing, which ye saugh never er this. *Cant. G* 1105. Similarly 1235. — As fast was he fysche-hale & Philip he callis. *Alexander* 2575. — *Ibm* 4130. †

IV. *Senses denoting proximity.*

10. A separate line of development is represented by certain phrases in which *faste* denotes proximity in space or time: *close to, near*. The early history of this sense is obscure. It is true that senses 2 and 4 of the adv., and senses 6—8 of the adj., in many instances imply proximity, but that element does not become predominant in any of the quotes. found. As the sense 'near' seems fully developed and independent at its first appearance, c. 1200, there is consequently a gap in the evidence, which can only be filled conjecturally. It is a plausible assumption that the sense in question arose just in phrases like those from *Lay. A* (cf. below), in which *faste* originally may have had the meaning 'firmly': bound, joined, etc. firmly together. In this combination the idea of close contact may easily have entered and gradually become predominant, and the idea of the firmness of the binding or joining may have been correspondingly weakened and finally eliminated. *Faste togadere* could then be employed in conjunction with other verbs than bind, join, etc.

Another possibility is that the sense 'near' arose in phrases like that quoted from *Passion of Our Lord* (below) or the following: *Wel faste he stant her bi me* (ESEL), signifying originally 'he stands firmly by (:beside) me', in which the idea of firmness was weakened in favour of the idea of proximity.

In this section are included instances in which *faste* is combined with an adverb or preposition, and denotes proximity in space or time. A solitary instance of *faste* without the following

adverb may be a scribe's error, and should not be taken as proving that this was a current use. NED 4.

Faste togadere, or tosommen = close together.

ME. For to-sommen we scullen gliden, faste to-gadere, & ure ifan fællen. Lay A. 8598. — Heo. . . forð gunnen wenden, to-sommen heo riden uaste, þat heo comen to Æxechæstre. Lay. A 9754. — Fuse we nu forð ward, uaste to-somen. Lay. A 21190. †

Faste bi, as adv. or prep. = near, closely.

ME. Per com^o of heuene on engel, and stod hym vaste by, Hyne vor to gladye, he wes ful redi. Passion of Our Lord 163. — Onder one faire wode, faste bi þan castle, þar Arthur lay faste. Lay. B 26599. — His swete moder and seint Iohan faste bi him stode. ESEL 403:28. — Seven Sages 3009. — Handlyng 4746. — King of Tars 1050. — Palerne 240. 2850. Etc.

Faste beside = near.

ME. Faste bi-side þe heiȝe weuede. ESEL 416:463. — Þar com þider mani an ost, To turnaien in þat tide Al most fast þer bi side. Arth. a. Merlin 2846. — King Alis. 4916. — Joseph of Arim. 54 — Palerne 3. — Yw. a. Gaw. 2962. — Destr. Troy 326. Etc.

Faste to = close to.

ME. A strong rop þer was siþþe aboue, fram þe schuldre ido To his buttok of hors her, to holde hit faste to (sc. to hold his hair-shirt close to his body). E. E. P. 75:163 (Harl. 2277. S. Edmund) — So is þe foundement al grene þat to þe roche faste liþ. C. of loue 707. 775. †

Fast at = near.

ME. Þe grete nauy (: of the Greeks). . . Segh þe fires so faire fast at here honde, Euyñ bounet to þe bonke barges & othir. Destr. Troy 12687. †

Fast vpon, on = near.

^f ME. Abandounly Cambell agayne thaim baid, Fast vpon Aviss that was bathe depe and braid. Wallace 7:654. — Syn on a wail that ner was ther besid, Fast on to Tay his buschement can he draw. (Or does *fast* mean 'quickly'?), Wallace 4.429. †

Fast = near.

ME. Choliers þat cayreden col come þere bi-side. . . fast þer william was & his worþ burde. Palerne 2522. †

Faste, in a temporal sense = near.

ME. The array is wroght, the tyme is faste by. Leg. of G. W. 2607. — Cant. A 1476. — Fast byfore vndre (: noon) þis ferly cone falle. Awntyrs 72. †

11. In *Lay. A* and *Orm* we find the compound *onfast*, denoting local or temporal proximity, and in *Lay. A* *onfaste*, signifying *at once*. According to NED (s. v. *onfast* and *onfaste*) the former is *on* + the adj. *fast*, and the latter *on* + the adv. *faste*. As they evidently are closely related semantically, they are both treated here.

NED says that *onfast* contains the adj. *fast*: 'fast, firm, close', and that would be a very good explanation if the third of the senses mentioned was found in the adj. But it is not. Proximity is implied in some of the senses of the adj., (see *faest* 6, p. 107), but the idea of proximity is not found so early as a predominant sense-element. Under these circumstances it seems probable that the meaning of *onfast* is due to influence from the adv. *faste*. Cf. the preceding section.

With regard to the syntactical nature of the compound *onfast*, the following analogies may be adduced. *On high* (c. 1200), *on fer* (c. 1300; but NED suggests that it may be an erroneous expansion of *aferr*, for *of feorr*, quoted from 1175); *on fer-rum* (c. 1300); *on hard*, 'with violence, fiercely' (c. 1470). All these are explained by NED as containing quasi-substantives, formed generally from the adjectives, on the analogy of *on life*, and similar OE. expressions. It should be noted, however, that *onfast* is used not only as an adverb (in conformity with the other expressions quoted above), but also, in about half of the instances, as a preposition.

The sign of *onfaste* may be regarded as the result of a development from the idea of proximity in time to the idea of speed in time. In some of the instances, an oscillation is discernible between the ideas of proximity and speed, but it is impossible to say whether such phrases really served as links in the development. (Cf. the sense-development of the adv. *immediately*). Though we find *onfaste* only in *Lay. A* (the B-text always substitutes another expression for *onfast* and *onfaste*), it may have occurred also in other dialects, perhaps only in the spoken language. An author like *Layamon* would be liable to use colloquialisms, rejected by the writers of theological works, who would try to give their language a more literary turn. *Onfaste* was perhaps also growing old-fashioned, as it was so carefully weeded out by the B-editor.

The ON. compound *áfast*, which Fritznér renders 'fast for-
enet, sammenhængende med', has apparently no connexion with
the English word. Both elements of the ON. word have retained
their original meaning, while in the case of *onfast* the elements
have coalesced completely.¹⁾

Onfast = *near*. *Local sense*. In Lay. A and Orm.

ME. He makede an temple onfest þe baðe. Lay. A 2852. (B: anewest). —
Pa iherde Hengest þat Aurilien wes on uast. Lay. A 16348. (B: anewest). — On
uast þan castle. Lay. A 26599 (B: faste bi). — Onnfast te kingess bure. Orm
8134. Similarly (as preposition) 9869. 18102. 19501. — Þær onnfast i þatt ilke
land wass seghenn mikell takenn. Orm 3334. Similarly (as adv.) 3357. 8440.
9256. †

Temporal sense:

ME. Alls itt off þiss werrldess daȝȝ rihht onnfast efenn wære. Orm 13181. †

Onfaste = *at once*. Only in Lay. A.

ME. Balu (: mischief) com on ueste. 1455. — Þane (Wane? Madden) com on
west. 3756. — Lettinge com on ueste. 7820. — Pliht com on ueste. 8132. —

¹⁾ A number of later instances of *on* + *faste* are to be explained in another
manner. Cf.: Þo gradde he to is felawes mid god herte þere To legge on vaste þe
lupermen þe wule hii versche were. Rob. Glouc. 4424. — Þe Sarrazins we willen
agast, For godes loue, smiteþ on fast. Guy 2930. — Heterly to þe hyȝe hylleȝ
þay aled (: ran) on fast. Cleanness 380. — Now prikke on faste, and ryd thy
journey. Hoccleve, Letter of Cupid 106. — In all these cases, and in several
others, *on* belongs to the verb, and was originally stressed. The phrase is some-
times so placed in verse, that *on* stands in thesis, and consequently is rhythmically
weak. The preposition has then a tendency to attach itself proclitically to the fol-
lowing stressed word, which may happen to be *faste* (or *swithe*, q. v.) The import-
ance of the metre is clearly shown by the two following quots. from Sir Otuel:

King clarel made hem torne aȝein,
Oppon cristene men to lein,
& he leide on faste,
& þe þef ate laste,
Slou dromer of alemaine:
Þat rue fol sore þe king charlemaine. 1107. —
Þe kniȝtes leiden on so faste,
Þe sarazins flouwen ate laste. 1129.

In the second quot. the insertion of *so* changes the rhythmical value of *on*,
and shows that it really belongs to the preceding verb, not to the following adv.
Cf. also: Ipomadon layd on so faste, The duke yolde hym at þe last. Ip. A
3791. See NED *on*, adv. 9.

Wæne com on ueste. 9399. — (Cæsar) warnede alle his cnihtes & to scipen ferdan & fusden an veste. 7986. — Puderward com on ueste Cassibellaune. 8579. — Sum on uæste bæh in to þere burh. 10732. — On uest he gon riden. 21559. — Sonde he sende sone an uest toward Rome. 23440 (Madden: 'the nearest way toward Rome'). — He on uaste iueng fæiere his iweden. . . and forð he gon wenden. 22583 (The only instance with a verb not denoting motion). †

12. Two groups of verbs of motion, those signifying *to approach* and *to follow*, have to be separately discussed. When *faste* is employed to qualify verbs of this kind, its meaning oscillates between *swiftly* and *close, closely*. The oscillation is the natural result of the previous development: if a living being follows another vigorously and energetically, this may mean that he follows swiftly, or that he follows closely, according to the circumstances. As the senses 'swiftly' and 'closely' were both fully developed at the time when the earliest instances of *faste* with verbs of this kind make their appearance, association in both directions would naturally occur. In addition to this, sense 7 of *faste* may also be implied, so that we get oscillation in three directions: 'vigorously', 'swiftly', and 'closely'. It is impossible to distinguish exactly the predominant element in the individual instances.

NED 4.

Follow.

ME. Mathen. . . tok to cristindom, And siwede ore louerd swiþe faste, and is Apostel bi-com. ESEL 78:14. — Folweþ alle faste me. Havelok 2601. — Quen þay (: the hounds) seghe hym with syzt, þay sued him fast. Gawain 1705. — Faith folweth after faste and fonded to mete hym. P. Pl. B 17:80. — But I. . . Wente up and doun ful many a wey, And he me folwed faste alwey. Chaucer, Rose 1346. — (He) followit fast eftir the ky. Bruce 6:405. Etc.

Approach.

ME. Pis foules. . . fram wodes and fram oþer studes þuderword drowen faste. ESEL 64:363. — Hit neght fast toward nyght, And the mone schone wil bryght. Seven Sages 331. — Similarly 3188. — Now lijs iacob in bedd o care, And helds fast to his ending. CM 5434. — At the last The dulfull dede approachit fast. Bruce 20:246. Etc.

OE. FÆST, adj.

On the etymology, see *fæste*, p. 71. — In the sgn of the adj. *fæst*, we may discern, more clearly than in that of the adv. *fæste*, the two elements of *strength* and *immobility*. In the first

group of senses below, the conception of strength is originally predominant, changing into *secure*, *tight*, and showing a number of figurative and transferred uses. In the second group, the conception of immobility predominates, blended with the idea *securely fixed, that cannot easily escape or be extricated*. This group, too, comprises figurative and transferred applications. The third group contains the senses which were taken over from the adv. *fæste*.

Senses 1 and 2 correspond to NED 1 and 2, but in the opposite order. I have changed their places chiefly because sense 2 is the starting-point of the development described in section 3. Otherwise, senses 1 and 2 must be regarded as equally original, representing only different applications of the same idea. When the word is used of a substance, the conception *solid, compact* becomes predominant, when it is used of a material object, the conception *not easily broken, stable, strong*. When the firmness and stability is apprehended in relation to surrounding or adjacent objects, the idea of *firmly fixed, immovable* becomes prominent (6).

I believe this arrangement is clearer than that of NED, in which it is difficult to distinguish, as separate categories, the groups numbered 1 and 4. The latter corresponds in the main to my group II, to which also belong some of the quotes. in NED 1. As usual, the senses shade into each other, and the correct interpretation of instances is often uncertain.

The import of the adj. was originally strictly *passive*, it denoted strength in resistance, the strength of a wall or post, which cannot be moved or shaken, which is strong by reason of its immobility and firmness. There is no trace in the internal development of *fæst* of any implication of active strength or vigour (cf. *fæste* p. 71), and there are no intermediate stages leading over to senses 9 and 10. It is therefore no doubt correct to regard these senses as transferred from the adv., in which word the development of an element of activity can be traced in detail. Cf. NED *fæst* adj. II.

The development of *fæst* took place chiefly in the pre-literary period. Note the numerous instances of sense 6 in the earliest OE. texts, against only a few of sense 2, and none of sense 1.

I stated above that the sense of speed was transferred to *fæst* from the adv. *fæste*, and that the other senses of the adj. were all

strictly passive in import. This conclusion was drawn already by NED (s. v. *fast*, adj.). It might therefore seem unnecessary to include the adj. in this work, as its development has no direct bearing on the sense of speed. However, the material adduced by NED cannot be considered as conclusive evidence in this respect (cf. *Introd.* § 3), and the point is of considerable importance with regard to the views advanced in Ch. III concerning the parts played by adjs. and advs., respectively, in the development of the sense 'swift, swiftly'. In several other adjs., dealt with below, there is reason to assume that this sense was taken over from a cognate adv., but in none of them the instances are so copious as in *fæst*, nor is the contrast between the original sgns of these adjs. and the sense of speed so pronounced as in this word. The gap between the original and the transferred sgns is therefore here more clearly marked, and as the word is so common, the lack of intermediate senses, which might have formed the connecting links in a development from the sgn 'firm, immovable' to 'swift', may, I think, be regarded as evidence that such a development has not taken place.

Fæst occurs as second element in a great number of compounds in OE. In some of them, the adj. retains its literal sgn, the senses 'strong' and 'firmly fixed' both being represented. The former in *leoþufæst*, *mægenfæst*; the latter in *stedefæst*, *stadolfæst*, *hamfæst*. Corresponding figurative sgns are found in *hygefæst*, *soþfæst*, *treowfæst*, *wærfæst*. In such compounds, the second element serves to denote a high degree of the quality indicated by the first element. In a similar function, *fæst* was then also used with first elements not compatible with ideas of strength or immobility, as in *æfæst*, *gemetfæst*, *liffæst*, *sigeþæst*, *tirfæst*, *whitigfæst*, *wuldorfæst*, and others. Additional instances, see BT and GK. As this use of the adj. has nothing to do with the development of the sense of speed, it need not be further discussed.

- 3) Secure, tight, firmly closed.
- a) Of locks: firm, securely fastened. OE. ME.
 - b) Of bonds, chains, knots: strong, firmly tied, not easily loosened. OE. ME.
 - c) Of doors, windows: firmly and securely closed, locked. Also impl. strong, not easily broken. ME. 1290.
- 4) a) Of castles or fortified places: strong, secure against assault. Also firmly locked or shut. OE. ME.
- b) Of rooms: securely, firmly, closely shut. OE. ME.
- 5) Figurative and transferred uses, corresponding to 1—4.
- a) Fig. use of sense 2. OE. ME.
 - b) Of peace, covenant, law: firm, stable, not to be broken. OE. ME.
 - c) Of sleep: deep, sound, unbroken. OE.
 - d) Of hope, belief, fidelity, friendship: firm, steadfast, stable, not easily broken or shaken. OE. ME.
 - e) Of mood, mind, heart: firm, strong, steadfast. OE. ME.
 - f) Of persons: steadfast, stable, constant, reliable. OE. ME.
 - g) Of persons: close-fisted, mean, niggardly. ME. 1200.

II. *The idea of immobility predominant.*

- 6) Immovable, firmly fixed in relation to some thing, implied or expressed; fixed to the spot; that cannot escape or be extricated.
- a) The idea 'firmly fixed' is predominant. OE. ME.
 - b) The idea of immobility is predominant. OE. ME.
- 7) Figurative and transferred uses of sense 6. OE. ME.
- 8) As 7, but with subjective implication, denoting some degree of activity on the part of the governing word. OE. ME.

III. *Senses with active import.*

- 9) Actively strong, vigorous. Material sense. ME. 1380.
- 10) Rapid, swift. ME. 1350.

Glosses. *Tuta, .i. firma.* Nap. Gl. 793. *Munitum castrum* ða fæstan ceastre. WW 449:8. *Forti* þy fæstan WW 525:39. *Forti* fæstes. WW 406:16. 509:11. *Tenacissimis* þæm fæstestum. WW 510:9.

I. *The idea of strength predominant.*

1. Of the composition or texture of material substances: *compact, dense, solid, hard, firm.* NED *fast* adj. 2.

OE. *Þæt hnesce & flowende wæter hæbbe flor on þære fæstan eorðan, forþamþe hit ne mæg on him selfum gestandan.* Boethius 80:14. — (The people who built the tower of Babel) woldon witan. . . hu ðicce se hefon wære & hu fæst. Ibm 99:13. — *Gif mannes innoþ to fæst sy.* Lchdm I:74. — *Þeos wyrft. . . bið cenned on dunlandum & on fæstum stowum.* Ibm I:114. Similarly: on fæstum landum & on strangum. Ibm I:134. †

ME. *Wipþ fast & findiþ* (: heavy, firm) *laf & harrd.* Orm 1602. — *Þe erth sal quak, neuer ar sa fast.* CM 22539. (Tending towards the sense 'immov-

able'). — Trees that ben moost sad (: strong, firm) and faste. Trevisa Barth. De P. R. XVII. 11.598. NED. (Does *faste* also mean strong?) †

2. Of material objects: *firmly settled, not easily shaken, broken, or crushed; stable, strong*. One of the original shades of sense of the word. Cf. NED 1, where, however, are included quots. which I interpret in another manner. Quot. 1000 in NED belongs to my section 6, as referring to stars that are fixed in relation to the heavens. Quot. 1400 is doubtful, as *fast* may be past part. of the verb *to fast*. — In some quots., *fast* seems to imply 'secure', a sense which is dealt with in the next section.

OE. He... geseah wundrum fæste... stapulas standan. Andr. 1494. — Het his hereciste healdan georne, fæst fyrdgetrum. Exodus 178. — Eodor wirum fæst. Riddle 15:2 (Strong by reason of... Or does it belong to 3?) — Se þe wille fæst hus timbrian ne sceal he hit no settan up on ðone hehstan cnoll (: stabilis. Migne 687). Boethius 26:23. — Timbrian þ hus his modes on þam fæstan stane eaðmetta. Ibm 27:6. — Fylle nu his fætels, se ðe fæstne hider kylle brohte. Cume eft hræðe, gif her ðegna hwelc ðyrelne kylle brohte to ðys burnan, bete hine georne, ðylæs he forsceade scirost wætra. CP 469:9. — Uncertain: Fæstum fæðmum freodowære (: tutela) heold. Exodus 306. The context is fragmentary.

ME. Per-inne dide he a ful god mast, Stronge kables and ful fast. Havelok 710. †

3. Tending towards, and passing into, the sense: *secure, tight, firmly closed*. That which is bound, shut in, etc., is immovable, cf. sense 6. The development corresponds to that of the adv. *fæste*, but we lack the series of oscillating instances by the help of which the sense-change of the latter word could be reconstructed. As the development of the adj. is pre-literary, it is doubtful if we should assume that the intermediate links have existed but have now disappeared, or that this sense was transferred to the adj. from the adv.

a. Of locks: *firm, securely fastened*. No instances in NED.

OE. Ðæt... god sylf wile... þurh þa fæstan locu (sc. portæ coelestis) foldan neosan. Crist 321. †

ME. For sele and lok all fast þai fand. CM 17363. †

b. Of bonds, chains, knots: *strong, firmly tied, not easily loosened*. NED 4 b (no OE. or ME. quots.).

OE. On þissum fæstum clomme. Gen. 408. — Pæt þu gesomnige side weallas fæste gefoge. Crist 6. — Þis is ðeostræ ham ðearle gebunden fæstum fyrclommum. Crist a. Sat. 39. — Ðeah (seo leo) fæste racentan habbe. Boethius 57:9. †

ME. On þe feste bindunge, þet tet blod wrong ut et his eadie neiles. Lof-song of Ure Lefdi 207. †

c. Of doors, windows, etc.: *firmly and securely closed, locked.* Also implying *strong, not easily broken.* Not found in OE. NED 5.

ME. Nuste heo neuere ȝware he cam In, þe doren weren alle faste. ESEL 386:321. — Make faste þe dore after þe. E. E. P. 82:416 (Edm. Conf.). — When they hadde done thayre wyle. . . The wyf fonde the dore faste. Seven Sages 1355. — Þorw þe faste ȝat he con in teo, And at þe out-ȝong he lette faste beo (said of Christ's conception and birth). C. of Love 877. †

4 a. Of castles or fortified places, or of districts: *strong, secure against attack or access, also firmly locked or shut.* According to the context, the conception of strength or that of security may be predominant. NED 3.

OE. Beorh. . . wunode on wonge. . . nearo-craeftum fæst. Beow. 2243. — Fæst is þat eglond, fenne beworpen. First Riddle 5. — Fæstostan eardungstowe (: firmissimo habitaculo). Lamb. Psalter fol. 189:4. BT. — Þa hie ongeatan þæt þæt festen sceolde abrocen bion, & hi sendon on oðer fæstre fæsten. Oros. 148:23. — Seo burg wæs to þon fæst þæt he ne meahte . . . heo abrecan ne ge-gaan. Beda 200:32. — Ða fæstan ceastre (: munitum castrum). WW 449:8. †

ME. He gon fare. . . in to Ex-chæstre, þa burh wes þa fæstre. Lay. A 9775. — He makede his castles treowe & swiðe næste. Ibm 11898. †

b. Of rooms: *securely, firmly, closely shut.*

OE. Gefere þæne mannan on swiðe fæstne cleofan and wearne. Lchdm II. 280. †

ME. Lokeð þ te parlurs beon euer ueste on eueriche halue, & eke wel istekene. Ancr. R. 50. †

5. Figurative and transferred uses, corresponding to senses I to 4: *strong, firm, stable, constant, permanent, reliable, steadfast, not to be broken or shaken.* In varying contexts, different elements of meaning become prominent. NED 1 b.

a. *Figurative use of sense 2.*

OE. We us naman drihtnes neode habbað on fultume fæstne & strangne. Ps. 123:7. — Efre fremde cynn foran of Tyrum, folc Sigelwara naman þær fæstne eard (: ecce alienigenæ, et Tyrus et populus Æthiopum, hi fuerunt illic). Ps. 86:3. — Sy gehalgod, hygecraeftum fæst, þin nama. Hymn 6:3. — Þær he mæge findan eaðmetta stan ungemet fæstne grundweal gearone. Metra 7:33. — Ðu sclfa eart sio fæste ræst. . . eallra soðfæstra (: requies tranquilla piis. Migne 762.) Metra 20:271. †

ME. Who that hem (: men) loveth shal hem fynde as fast As in a tempest is a roten mast. Anelida & Arcite 313 (NED 1). †

b. Of peace, covenant, law, etc.: *firm, stable, reliable, not to be broken*. NED 4 b and c.

OE. Hie getruwedon fæste frioðu-wære. Beow. 1096. — Geheald þu . . . mine fæste æ. Ps. 77:1. — Fæste sibbe forð anhealdað. Metra 11:42. — Fæste sibbe. Boethius 49:10. — (God) sealde swiðe fæste gife & swiðe fæste æ. Ibn 142:11. — (Cf. Sio wyrd ne mæg nane gesælða sellan. . . forþæmpe ægþer is unfæst, ge seo wyrd, ge seo gesælð. Boethius 25:30). †

ME. Betre is make forewardes faste, then afterward to mene ant mynne. Wright Lyric P. ix. 37. NED. — Now Gawayn, quod þe god mon, þis gomen is your awen, Bi fyn for-warde & faste. Gawain 1636. — Thus the grete of the grekes grymly þai sware ffast pes to afferme & flit of the londe. Destr. Troy 11835. †

c. Of sleep: *deep, sound, not easily broken, unbroken*. It is remarkable that no MF. instances of this sense have been found. Latin influence is not likely, as the usual Latin words were *gravis* and *altus*, and the occurrence of the phrase in Beow. and Cynewulf points to native development. (Cf. *leoht slæp*, p. 50, *slapan fæste*, p. 74, and *fast on slepe*, section 6 below). NED 1 d. (No OE. or ME. quotes.).

OE. Bið se slæp to fæst . . . bona swiðe neah. Beow. 1742. — Uppastan dan sneome of slæpe þy fæstan. Crist 890. Similarly: of slæpe þam fæstan. Andreas 795. — Gif he ðonne ðære hnappunge ne swicð, ðonne hnappað he oð he wierð on fæstum slæpe (: ad plenissimum somnum ducitur). CP 195:12. †

d. Of hope, belief, fidelity, friendship, etc.: *firm, steadfast, stable, not easily broken or shaken*. NED 1 b.

OE. Ic hæbbe me fæstne geleafan up to þam ælmihtegan gode. Gen. 543. — Similarly Elene 1037. Ps. 77:36. — Freondscipe fæstne. Beow. 2069. — Similarly Elene 1207. — Þæt þu wið-waldend wære heolde, fæste treowe. Exodus 422. — Fæste fyrhðlufan. Andreas 83. — Freode fæste. Crist 166. — Wen. . . ðe ic. . . fæste hæbbe. Phoenix 569. — Beda 192:12. — Prose Guthl. 173:11. †

ME. Ich nabbe ihafd rihte ileaue, ne faste hope. Vices 15:27. — Þe holi gost . . . alihte hem of brihtere and of festere bileue þe hie hedden er. OEHL II 119. †

e. Of mood, mind, heart: *firm, strong, stable, steadfast*. NED 1 b.

OE. Þonne eode he to cirican. . . & on sealmsonge fæste moode awunode (: fixa mente). Beda 268:22. — Mid fæstum sefan. Hymn 10:40. †

ME. Vayre zuete uader, make oure herten ueste an stedeuest, þet hi ne ssake uor none uondynge þet to hare comp. Ayenbite 116:33. †

f. Of persons: *steadfast, stable, constant, reliable*. NED 1 b.

OE. Ic þa leode wat ge wið feond ge wið freond fæste geworhte. Beow. 1864. (Is *fæste* an adj. or an adv.? Holthausen says adj., and translates *fæste geworhte* 'treu, festen Sinnes'. Similarly GK. Klæber, M. Ph. III 461, regards it as an adv., and quotes *wislice geworhtne* and *wel wið me geworht* from Ælfric [Saints 31:307 and Gen. 31:5] But cf. also *swiðne geworhtne*, *swiþ* 1 a, p. 126). — Hio. . . wiðersæc fremedon fæste on fyrhðe. Elene 570. — Drihten... tirum fæst Daniel 312. — Swa bioð þa men eallra orsorgestæ ægðer ge þisses andweardan lifes earfoða, ge þæs towardan, þa þe fæste bioð on Gode. Boethius 130:25 (Or sense 8?). †

ME. In faith luke þou be fast and fyne, And trewly trow I am þat same þat was cristend in Cristes name. NEL 91:878. — He is a man þt is fast & stabile ageyns ese. Hampole Psalter I.1. NED. — We þat fourmed is & fast & has a fre wil. Alexander 4616. †

g. *Close-fisted, mean, niggardly*. NED 6 b. The development leading to this sense is not instanced. I can only refer to the phrase *gredy and fast haldand* (*fæste* 6 a), and to the similar meaning of the adj. *close* (NED s. v. 8; earliest quot. 1654). Cf. also ON. *fastr af drykk* 'tilbøielig at spare paa Drikke'. Sturl. II 107 (Fritzner).

ME. Þa feste Men þa þet mei lutel to wreche (Morris: the close-fisted men, those that gave little to the poor). Lamb. Hom. 143. — Ho-so hath of þe eorpe mest, he is slouȝ ase þe Asse. . . Of slouȝ wreche and Aruȝ mouth (al. fereblet), fast and loth to gyue guod, Some old and nouȝt willesfol, stable and studefast of mod. ESEL 319:674. †

II. *The idea of immobility predominant.*

When the firmness and stability denoted by the adj. *fæst* are apprehended as firmness etc. in relation to surrounding or adjacent objects, the idea of immobility easily becomes predominant in the meaning of the adj. That is the case with the senses recorded in this group.

6. *Immovable, firmly fixed in relation to some thing, implied or expressed; fixed to the spot; that cannot easily escape or be extricated.* The variations of sense caused by varying contexts are all within the bounds of the definition given. It is possible that the senses in this group are influenced by the verb *fæstan*, but such an assumption is not necessary; they may just as well be the result of internal development of the adj. NED 4.

The agent by which, or the locality to which, something is fixed, or in relation to which it is immovable, may be expressed

or not. The different constructions are of some interest from the syntactical point of view, and are therefore given separately. — In some cases an implication of *proximity* is discernible.

a. *The idea 'firmly fixed' is predominant.* — Agent not expressed.

OE. (Plants) þa þe fæst ne biþ. Riddle 32:6. — Ceolas stondað bi staþe fæste (adj. or adv?). Whale 18. — Alys me of lame, þe læs ic weorþe lange fæst. Ps. 68:14. †

ME. Abouen his heed. . . a bord was made fast. CM (Trin. MS.) 16684. — Þan hee loses his lockes. . . That hee nas fast in no foote, bifore ne bihynde. Alis. 1. 1177. — Lanfranc Cirurg. 352. NED. — Fast, or bowndyn, or festyd. Vincetus, ligatus. Pr. P. 151. †

Agent denoted by instrumental case.

OE. Þæt ic. . . on wæl crunge feond-grapum fæst. Beow. 636. — Similarly of persons: bendum fæst: Beow. 722. 998. 1918. 2086. 3072. Jul. 535. Andreas 184. 962. 1038. 1357. Riddle 50:7. Clommum fæst. Andreas 130. Fetorwrasnum fæst: Andreas 1107. Lonnum fæst: Sal. 265. — Wudu wyrstum fæst. Beow. 1364. — Similarly Dan. 499. Phoen. 172. — Segl sale fæst. Beow. 1906. — Ancrum fæste. Crist 864. Elene 252. †

Agent denoted by prepositional phrase.

ME. In rapes fast. Alexander 747 (Dubl. MS.). — Fast, or festyd by cleyunge to, or naylinge. Fixus, confixus. Pr. P. 151. †

b. *The idea of immobility is predominant.* — With locative case, denoting locality where, or object to which, something is fixed.

OE. He wæs reste fæst & softe swæf. Gen. 178 — Similarly of persons: Beow. 1007. 2901. Guðlac 1005. Elene 722. 882. Crist 730. Riddle 58:3. — Þa wæs. . . sid-rand manig hafen handa fæst. Beow. 1290. — Stanbogan stapulum fæste (Or 'strong by reason of?'). Beow. 2718. — Stapelum fæste. . . wyrta. Guðlac 1248. — Similarly of things: Runic Poem 36. Dan. 517. Of animal: Gen. 2928. †

Locality or object denoted by prepositional phrase.

OE. Scip on ancre fæst. Beow. 303. — Manhus (: hell) witon (: know) fæst under foldan. Exodus 536. — Þa aslogon his geferan teld. . . on westan þære cirican fæst (: ut ipsum tentorium parieti hereret ecclesiae). Beda 204:1. — Sæde þ his ancor wære þa git fæst on eorþan (: tenaces haerent ancorae. Migne 680). Boethius 4:5. 23:6, 14. Similarly 110: 23—24. 129:27. 130:1, 4, 12. — Gregorius 24:26. — Þa steorran synt gecweden þurh heora stede forðon hig synd fæste on þære heofene. Býrhtferth 320:31. Similarly Lchdm II:268. (NED 1). †

ME. Þer weoren fifti hundred (sc. rafters) faste i þon grunde. Lay. A 7834. — In a strong vetles ous broʒte & in a put ous caste & makede ous þerinne faste ynouʒ. Margarete II 208. — Þe find was in his (: Saul's) licam fest, He thold

him to haue na rest. CM 7415 (This should perhaps be considered as a fig. use, but I suspect the person who wrote it meant it to be understood pretty literally). — Guy 327. — His chin was fast until his brest (: said of a monster). Yw. a. Gaw. 265. — Þe þreo nayles. . . In his honden and his feet alle þei weore faste. Joseph of Arim. 272. — Lanfranc's Cirurg. 174. NED. †

7. Figurative and transferred uses of sense 6. NED 1 d.

OE. Him on hreþre hyge-bendum fæst æfter deorum men dyrne langað. Beow. 1878. — Wæs ða deaðe fæst. Ibm 3045. — Is in witum fæst... susle gebunden. Elene 770. — Þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde. Ibm 908. — Guðlac 928. — Mode 56. — Se cwide swiðe fæst is on minum mode, swa fæst þ his me nan mon gedwellan ne mæg. Boethius 78, 16—17. — Ða gesælða wæren on ðæm hehste goode fæste (:beatitudinem... in summo Deo sitam. Migne 781). Ibm 100:14. 110:22. 128:16. †

ME. Morgadour sone he founde Wiþ his nevou in conseyl fast. Guy 4377. — All on-slepe he fand þam fast. CM 15649. — For-þi þof man be fest in sin, O god dede agh he neuer blin. CM 26892. — On slepe fast. Yw. a. Gaw. 1775. — He is sori of his lif, þat is fast to such a wit. E. E. P. 155:18 (Of men lif þat woniþ in lond. Harl. 913). — Thow seyst, we wyves wol our vyces hyde Til we be fast, and than we wol hem shewe. Cant. D 283. (*Fast* = 'married'. Perhaps to be explained as ellipsis of the preceding expression). †

Implying *quiet, calm*.

A man, that wylle synge or carpe . . Gyf anoþyr be ludder than he, Lyttyl lykynges ys in hys gle, But men be fast and styлле. Hermit a. Outlaw 12. †

8. In the main the same sense as in 6 and 7, but with an implication of activity, more or less distinct, on the part of the governing word. This implication appears to be contextual, and does not develop into a separate sense of the adj. Quots. uncertain.

Of persons.

OE. (Grendel) was to fæst on þam. Beow. 137. — (Hi) vunodon on Israhel on þam veorce fæste (:in isto opere constantes, sc. as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation). Jos. Æ 9:27. †

ME. In hir foli sua was sco fest þat dai ne night ne had sco rest. CM 4281. — Heo was faste in oreisons bi day & bi nyȝte. Marg. II 154. — But Pharao was harde and faste in his malice. Trevisa II 327. †

Of the abilities or thoughts of a person.

OE. Eall þu þa gefremest þurh þine fæste miht. Ps. 67:10. — Ælcne wicce-cræft ic eaðelice ofer-swiðde... and ic næfre ne afunde swa fæstne drycræft. Ælfric Saints 35:179. †

III. Senses with active import.

The preceding analysis will have shown that there are in the adj. *fæst* no oscillating intermediary instances linking together

the senses discussed in groups I and II with the active senses treated in the following sections. The dissimilarity between the passive and the active senses is so great that a change from the former to the latter could not have taken place without leaving traces in the form of oscillating instances. As no such instances are found, we may safely conclude that the hypothesis of NED is correct, that the sense 'swift' was transferred from the adv. *faste* to the adj. Such sense-loans are no doubt very common, though theorists do not seem to have paid much attention to them, confining their investigation to loans from foreign languages (cf. Wellander 103 sqq., and the literature quoted there). Adjs. and advs. are so often similar both in form and function, that their sgns must have more or less influenced each other. If one can say *flen faste*, why not a *fast fleinge*? If *writen faste*, why not a *fast writer*? Cf. Ch. V.

9. *Actively strong, vigorous*, in a material sense. The only quot. might also be interpreted as meaning 'quickly effective', but as *fast* seems to stand in contradistinction to *light* 'mild, gentle', I think the above rendering probable.

ME. But for as moche as It is nat tyme yit of faster remedies... shal I assaye... by lighte and meneliche remedies (: firmioribus remediis nondum tempus est. Migne 654). Chaucer Boethius B. I. Pr. 6:71, 76. †

10. *Rapid, swift*. This sense appears in the second half of the 14th century, in connexion with nouns denoting motion. The nature of the governing words supports the hypothesis that this sense is transferred from the adv., for it is only natural that the first use of the adj. in the new sense should be in combination with *nomina actionis*, corresponding to verbs of motion. *Vleynge*, *cours*, and *trott*, all denote the action of moving, just as much as the corresponding verbs do. NED 8.

ME. (Against temptation) of þing þat vs egget, a vast vleynge. P. R. & L. Poems p. 268 (MS. Harl. 7322, written in various hands of the 14th century, according to Wells p. 396). — Preye hir she go no faster cours than ye... No faster cours than ye thise yeres two. Cant. F 1066-8. — Ffloreant and Floridas... on þe way fowndys, Fflyngande a faste trott, and on þe folke dryffes. Morte Arth. 2758. †

OE. FÆSTLICE, adv.

Both BTS and NED attribute the sense of speed to this word, the former in a quot. from Run. Poem, the latter in one from Lay. A. If *fæstlice* signified 'swiftly' in OE., we should have to take into consideration the possibility that the sense-development of *fæste* was influenced by the former word, and the theory regarding the origin of the sense 'swiftly' which has been formulated above would have to be modified accordingly.

In order to settle this question, the significations of *fæstlice* must be investigated. We find that they are in the main parallel to those of *fæste*. It is probable that the sense-development of *fæstlice* was influenced by that of *fæste* and *fæst*. — I have not reprinted all the instances quoted by NED and BTS.

In ME. *fæstlice* is found only in texts from the Southern parts of England.

1. *Firmly, immovably.* With durative, intransitive verbs. Corresponding to sense 1 of *fæste*. BTS 5. No instance in NED.

OE. Oððe gif hit on ænegum ænige hwile fæstlice wunað, se deap hit huru aferreð þ hit bion ne mæg þær hit ær wæs. Boethius 20:22. — Swiðe nearewe sent & swiðe heanlice þa menniscan gesælþa, forþam oþer twega oððe hie næfre to nanum men ne becumað, oððe hi ðær næfre fæstlice ne ðurhwuniað swelca swelce hi ær to coman. Boethius 23:28. — Þæt heo in þæm geleafan soðfæstnisse. . . symle fæstlice astoden & aa wunedon. Beda 146:11. — Þa sona flugon East Engla. Þa stod Grantabrycg scir fæstlice ongean (: against the Vikings). Chr. E 1010/140. †

The same sense is found with passive forms of some verbs.

ME. Ine þe byleue of Iesu crist huer hi byeþ zuo to-gidere and yzet uestliche, þet hi ne moze ham to-dele uor dyap ne uor torment. Ayenbite 243:35. Similarly Ibm 251:4. †

2. *Firmly, steadfastly.* With verbs signifying *to strengthen*, etc. The adv. is referred primarily to the condition which is the result of the action, not to the action itself. Cf. the development of *fæste* from passive to active import, especially 4 a. NED 2.

OE. Ic gelyfe þe sel & þy fæstlicor ferhð staðelige, hyht untweondne on þone ahangnan Crist. Elene 796. Similarly ibm 427. Jul. 270. — Ðu gestaðoladest eorðan swiðe wundorlice & fæstlice, þ heo ne helt on nane healfe ne on nanum eorðlicum þinge ne stent. Boethius 81:11. — Beda 160:22. — Neod is þæt hi þæra preosta claustru þe him betæhte synt, fæstlice trymmon on ælce healfe (: necesse est ut claustra. . . firmis undique circumdent munitionibus). Chrodegang

21:15. — Hi trymedon hi fæstlice ongean, þæh him lað wære þ hi ongean heora cyne hlaforð standan sceoldan. Chr. E 1048/174. †

ME. Þa wolde he for þon her on worlde heoræ beleafæ festlicor trymmen. Bodley Hom. 120:23. †

The following two quots. show a similar meaning, the first of them also implying 'permanently'.

OE. Rofe rincas sohton rumre land, oð þæt hie becomon corðrum miclum folc ferende, þær hie fæstlice ædelinga bearn eard genamon. Gen. 1653. — Eowdon me ða wunde þæs snides. . . ða wæs heo fæstlice gehalad, þætte wundorlice gemete for openre wunde & geoniendre. . . þa seo þynneste dolgswæð & seo læsseste æteawde (Miller: instead of an open and yawning wound. . . there appeared only the thinnest and slightest scar). Beda 322:10. †

3 a. *Firmly, securely, steadfastly, inflexibly | vigorously, energetically.* Cf. *fæste* p. 78 sqq., 83. Verbs of material action.

OE. ðeodric Amuling. . . heht fæstlice folcgesiðas healdan þone hererinc: wæs him hreoh sefa ege from ðam eorle. Metra 1:70. — Þæt þu bihygdlice þæt geceose ond in Ongolðeode cirican fæstlice to healdenne gesette, seo nu gena is neowu in geleafan. Beda 66:23. — Fæstlicor, *artius*. WW 354:24. †

ME. Þanne þat folc godes word ʒierneliche listede and fastliche hield. OEHL II 163. — Þe sixte anchesun is, þet tū þerefter þe wisluker wite him, hwon þu hauest ikeiht him, & te uestluker holde. Ancr. R. 234. — Ich þis forward wulle fastliche halden. Lay. A (B) 23608. — Vor huo þet heþ þane guode way ynome, hit behoueþ þet he him hyealde vestliche ine his wyllē. Avenbite 166:1. †

b. *Quietly, steadily.* I think this sense is to be assumed in the following quots. Cf. *fæst* 8. NED 1.

OE. Þ hweol hwerfð ymbutan & sio nafu next þære eaxe sio færð micle fæstlicor & orsorglicor þonne ða felgan don. Boethius 129:22. †

ME. And na man bi his liue lude ne wurchen (: make noise) ah faren fæstliche. Lay. A 21201. †

c. In the following quot., *fæstlice* is rendered 'quickly' by BTS. I prefer to translate it *irrevocably, inexorably*, which is a natural extension of the sense 'inflexibly' and which is supported by the analogous sgns in the following section.

OE. (Ear, tir) byþ egle eorla gehwylcun, ðonne fæstlice flæsc onginneþ, hraw colian, hruan ceosan blac to gebeddan: bleða gedreosaþ, wyuna gewitaþ, wera geswicaþ. Runic Poem 91.

4. *Firmly, decisively, irrevocably.* With *verba voluntatis*, etc. The adv. denotes that the action is performed with fixity of effort, purpose, or attention. The ME. quots are all from the South East. Cf. *fæste* 5, p. 83, with ME. quots. only from Chaucer

OE. Forþon ic fæstlice fyrenwyrrende oft elnade (: zelavi super iniquos): noldun earne mid him sibbe secean, sohton fyrene. Ps. 72:2. — Ic þin wundur eall wrælic sæge, swa ic fæstlicast mæg befor wordum, & eac soð symble deme. Ps. 74:2. — In eallum his rice he heht deofolgild toweorpan & fæstlice forlætan. Beda 172:8. — Þe gesetton heo fæstlice fore unmætnisse þæs gewinnes þæt heo eallinga forlete þa getimbro þisse cirican. Ibm 176:11. — Me is nu fæstlice in mode... þæt ic wille mine leahtorfulle þeawas gesecgan, & to bebode þæs godcundan willan eall min mod & min lif fæstlice gecerran. Ibm 190:26, 28. — Ibm 192:16. — Þa was se cyning openlice ondettende... þæt he wolde fæstlice þam deofolgildum wiðsacan ond Cristes geleafan onfon. Beda 136:22.

ME. His blod, ðurh hwan ich ilieue fastliche are and mildze to habben. Vices 21:10. — Gif ðu luuest ðat ilke þing ðe godd fastliche ðe forbett. Ibm 37:23. — Ac fastliche haue ðin iþanc te godd. Ibm 39:5. — Ðanne ðe cumð a michel lust after ane þinge, ne teiþe þu him naht anoan, ac beðenc ðu ðe wel ʒerne and fastliche wiðheald þe. Ibm 135:25. — Volʒeþ þet lamb of mildnesse þet is Iesu crist, lokinde uestliche þet þou hest behote to god. Ayenbite 232:30. †

5. *Violently, vigorously, energetically.* Referring to the manner in which an action is performed. Material or immaterial import. Cf. *fæste* 7.

OE. Fremmaþ fæstlice frean ece word in þam frumstole, þe him frea sette. Creation 50. — Þa noldon æt þam forða fleam gewyrcean, ac hi fæstlice wið ða fynd weredon, þa hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan moston. Byrhtnoth 82 (Or sense 3?) — He ful yrre wod, feaht fæstlice, fleam he forhogode. Ibm 254. — God þa geeadmette Iabin þone cining äforan his folce, and hig fæstlice veoxon and mid strangre mihte hine ofþriton. Iud. Æ 4:24. — And begunnon to feohtenne fæstlice mid cræfte. Ælfric Saints 25:419. — Ibm 25:631. 25:634. — Heo þa anes æfenes began faran to ðæs foresædan cytan. . . and fæstlice on þære cytan duru cnocode. Assmann Hom. 196:26. — Gif þonne se broðor þe þeos gimen betæht bið, heora gimene forgimeleasað. . . þreage him ma fæstlice & do hine of þære note (: seuerissime correptus ab officio amoueat). Chrodegang 55:4. — Fæstlice feohtende wæron. Chr. E 994/127. 1001/133. Similarly 1004/135, 1008/138. †

ME. Ic ðe. . . bidde, ðat tu. . . understande and lierne fastliche ða ʒekyndes of sennes. Vices 69:34. — So hit (: the desire of the flesh) unmeðluker is, wunnen aʒean þe uestluker. Ancr. R. 238.

6. NED (2 b) finds the sgn *without intermission or cessation* in the following instances.

OE. Gif þa lareowas þis nellap fæstlice Godes folce bebeodan. Blickling 47:20. — Hig fæstlice veoxon (:crescebant quotidie). Iud. Æ 4:24.

ME. Of þe folce we siggeð þat hit cumþ fastlice, fram middenardes anginn also fele also deade beoð also fele beoð to beʒie (Morris: to the city) icome, wat frend, wat fa, and elce deʒie þicce þringeð (: the dying day is compared to a gate, at which people arrive). Bispel 237.

The second OE. quot. has already been given in sect. 5. The first probably also belongs there. If the idea of continuity is implied by these quotes, I do not think it lies in the meaning of the adv., but in the context. The exact import of the ME. quot. cannot be seen from the context.

There now remains only the quot. from Lay. A which NED translates 'quickly'.

ME. Riden to Rom-leoden mid razere wraððen & fæstliche heom to buzen, and breken þere Freinsee trumen (: broke their French ranks). Lay. A 27774.

Fæstliche is probably to be translated 'violently, vigorously', and this view is supported by the last words of the quot.: 'they rode vigorously against them, and broke their ranks'.

I think we may conclude that the adv. *fæstlice* has not preceded *fæste* in developing the sense of speed. That the former word should be strongly influenced by the sgns of *fæste* was only to be expected. I see no reason for assuming influence in the reverse direction.

OE. SWIPE, adv.

Prim. Teut. **swenþ(i)a-* 'strong', weak grade *(*ga-*)*sunda-* 'healthy' (Fick III 547; cf. NED s. v.; FT s. v. *svint*; Feist s. v. *swinþs*; Kluge s. v. *geschwind*). The related words in Teut. all point to an original sgn 'strong, vigorous'. We had the same original meaning in *fæste*, combined with the idea of immobility. There is no trace of any such implication in *swiþe*, which seems from the beginning to have denoted strength in action, the strength or vigour of a living being, or of water, wind, and other objects that may be apprehended as having a motion of their own.

Swiþe was often used as a mere intensive, also before adjs. and other advs., in which function *fæste* is not employed. The sgn 'much, exceedingly' may in many cases be substituted for 'vigorously' or for 'swiftly'. All three senses are fully developed in OE. and shade into each other, so that it is often difficult to determine the correct interpretation. The existence of the types defined may, I think, be regarded as certain, even though opinions should differ more than usual concerning the classification of individual quotes.

In *fæste*, the sense of speed arose from the sense 'vigorously, energetically', when the adv. was combined with verbs of motion. In *swiþe* the problem is complicated by the existence of the sgn 'much, in a high degree, exceedingly': it is evident that if the word was used, in that sense, to qualify a verb signifying *to hasten*, the sense of speed might develop.

NED treats *swiþe* somewhat summarily; I have therefore thought it advisable to give a comparatively large number of instances.

The senses may be divided into two main groups: I. Senses denoting vigour or high degree. II. Senses denoting speed.

Scheme of senses.

I. Senses denoting vigour or high degree.

- 1) Vigorously, forcibly, violently / energetically, eagerly, willingly.
 - a) Material element predominant. OE. ME.
 - b) Mental element predominant.
 - a) Verba voluntatis, etc. OE. ME.
 - β) Verba affectuum, etc. OE. ME.
 - γ) Verba declarandi. OE. ME.
 - δ) Verba sentiendi. OE. ME.
- 2) Much (more, most), in a high degree, exceedingly, extremely, qualifying verbs.
 - a) Comparative form.
 - a) More. OE. ME.
 - β) Rather, sooner, more readily, or preferably. OE.
 - b) Superlative form: most, in a very high degree, especially. OE. ME.
- 3) Excessively, extremely, very, qualifying adjs. or advs. OE. ME.

II. Senses denoting speed.

- 4) a) Much / quickly. OE. ME.
- b) Vigorously / quickly. ME. 1290.
- 5) Rapidly. Durative verbs. OE. ME.
- 6) Quickly. OE. ME.
- 7) Immediately, shortly. Quickly begun and ended. ME. 1200.
- 8) a) Asswithe: at once, immediately. ME. 1175.
- b) So swithe so, as swithe as. ME. 1250.

Glosses. *Quacumque, quantisper, suae suithae.* Ep. 843—844. *Suae suidae.* Erf. *Suae suiðe.* Corp. 1691—1692. *Tantisper Þus suiþae.* Ep. 1037. *Þus suidae.* Erf. *Þus suiðe.* Corp. 1982. *Difimis suiðe micel.* Corp. 691. WW 385:26. *Matura satis swiðe ripe.* WW 449:6. *Magnopere swiðe.* WW 502:4. *Dextro cornu fram swiþre healfe* WW 221:23. *Potissimum ealra swiðost.* WW 487:29. *Magis swyþer, ma.* Nap. Gl. 709. *Quantotius, i. celerius wel swiðe.* Ibm. 980. *In tan-*

tum, i. tam ualde þam swyþe. Ibm 1625. 2750. 4426. *Satis, i. ualde* swyþe. Ibm 2108. *Adeo* to ðan swyðe. Ælfric Gr. 193:5. Etc.

I. *Senses denoting vigour or high degree.*

1. *Vigorously, forcibly, violently | energetically, eagerly, willingly.* There is a continuous series of instances, from those with a purely material, to those with a purely mental import. In some cases, these senses occur without any implication of other senses, but in other cases (perhaps the majority) we find oscillation between them and 'much, exceedingly, in a high degree'. Sometimes 'swiftly' may also be implied. NED *swiþ* adv. I.

According to the etymology given, this should be the original meaning of the word, and the other senses may all be assumed to have arisen out of it. Note that *swiþe* always refers to the vigour etc. of a living being or of an object that may be apprehended as having a motion of its own. The quot. from Gen. 1381 illustrates the difference in meaning between *swiþe* and *fæste*. The former denotes vigour or violence in attacking or harrassing; *griþan fæste* would mean to grip so as to keep a firm hold of something. See *fæste* 7 a, quot. from Lay.

The date and dialect of the ME. quotes. indicate that this sense was, in the main, restricted to the South Western parts of the country, and that it was rare after 1300. On the whole, the senses in this group seem to have been going out of use, while the word at the same time was acquiring the sense of speed, to which it was later on restricted. In the other uses it was supplanted by *fæste*, which, at a later period, went through a similar development, and in its turn was supplanted by other words in the sense of 'vigorously, energetically'.

a. *Material element predominant.*

OE. He his torn gewræc on gesacum swiðe. Gen. 59. — Symle bið þy headra þe hit hreoh wæter, swearte sæstreamas swiðor beatað. Gen. 1326. — Mere swiðe grap on fæge folc feowertig daga. Gen. 1381. — Gen. 1764. — Wæs þæt beorhte bold tobrocen swiðe. Beow. 997. — Juliana 47. — Guðlac 423. — Riddles 60:8. — (Se snaw)... reafað swiðor micle ðonne se swipra nið. Sal. 307. — Rhyming Poem 29. — He mid billum wearð swiðe forheawen. Byrhtnoth 115. — Ibm 118. — Þa com he to swiðstremre ea. Beda 38:6 — Ibm 156:18. — Boethius 49:4. 121:25. Ps. 92:5. — Man worhte þa micel fyr to middes ðam gebeorum, and þa spearcan wundon wið þæs rofes swyðe, oð þæt þæt hus færlice eall on fyre wearð. Ælfric Saints 26:229. — Ibm 31:1057. — Blickling 221:13 — Lchdm I. 82:1. 160:14.

— Næfde se here... Angelcynn ealles for swiðe gebrocod; Ac hie wæron micle swiþor gebrocede.. mid ceapes cwilde & monna; ealles swiþost mid þæm þæt manige þara selestena cynges þena... forðferdon. Chr. A 897/89—90. Etc.

ME. Pot þet walleð swuðe, nule he beon ouerladen? Ancr. R. 368. — So large-liche ant so swuðe vleau þet ilke blodi swot of his blisfule bodie, þet te streames vrnen adun to þer eorðe. Ibm 112. — Arðures men... merden Irisc folc & hit swiðe ualden. Lay. A (B) 22346. — We bi-foren þon kinge fuhte ful swiðe & driuen ut þene kaisere. Lay. A (B) 8822. — Þu swenchest te to swiðe. Marherete I. 5:10. Similarly 18:24. — Wohunge 283:7. — Barth. De P. R. IV:xi NED. †

b. *Mental element predominant.* It is not improbable that the combination with *verba voluntatis et affectuum* represents the earliest instance of the purely mental shade of sense. The reason would be that in qualifying such verbs, the idea of vigour or energy, transferred to the mental sphere, would be prominent in the meaning of the adv. Cf. *fæste* p. 78.

a. *Verba voluntatis*, and other verbs of similar import, in connexion with which the idea of vigour or energy is predominant in the adv. — Note the quot. with impersonal subject from Dan.

OE. Ac heo þriste ongan wið Sarran swiðe winnan. Gen. 2240. — Gif hie swa swiðe synna fremmað. Gen. 2412. — Wiðsæcest ðu to swiðe soðe & rihte? Elene 663. Ibm 939. — Jul. 99. 194. — Swiþe geheton þæt... Guð. 205. — Daniel dyglan swefnes soðe gesæde, þæt ær swiðe oðstod manegum on mode minra leoda. Dan. 483. — Riddles 93:12. — Ne fleah he (: Christ) ðy rice ðy his ænig monn bet wyrðe wære, ac he wolde us ða bisene astellan, ðæt we his to suiðe ne gitseden. CP 33:18. — Sua suiðe utedlice him fore-bead swa swa suiðor mara forðor hi bodadon. AS. Gosp. Mk. 7:36. I.i. Similarly Ru C H. — Dionisius... gebigde fela to geleafan... and menn sohton þa cyrcan swiðe mid geleafan. Ælfric Saints 29:157. †

ME. Nu beoð .viii. heofod sunnan þe rixað on us to swiðe. Lamb. Hom. 103:5. — Hwen þai sehen me swa wak... þei swiðre sohten uppo me. Wohunge 277:5. Hali Meid. 39. — Ho bere on hym þe belt, & bede hit hym swyþe. Gawain 1860. †

β. *Verba affectuum* and similar verbs.

OE. Godes him ondredon... heofoncyniges nið swiðe onsæton. Gen. 768. — Hreaw hine swiðe, þæt he folcmægþa fruman aweahte. Gen. 1276. — Forðon mec sorg dreceð on sefan swiðe. Gen. 2180. — Heo... þone hleodorewyrde husce belegde on sefan swiðe. Gen. 2383. — Hæfde gistmægen stiðe strengeo, styrnde (:severus esse, GK) swiðe werode mid wite. Gen. 2495. — He þa fæhðe ne þearf... eowre leode swiðe onsittan. Beow. 597. — Jul. 185. — Crist 1493. — Guð. 634, 1043. — Huru ic swiðe ne þearf hinsiþ behlehhan. Guð. 1330. — Nu snottre men swiþast lufiað midwist mine. Riddle 93:7. — Runic Poem 65. — Metra 5:38, 19:38, 24:64. — Ealle... þa mine sawle ær swyþust tældun (:insulted). Ps. 70:12. — Weorðað gescende... þa to Sione hete swiðost hæfdon. Ps. 128:3. — Sione bearn (on sylfra

cyninge) symble hihtan (:rejoice) swiðust ealra. Ps. 149:2. Ibm 68:32 — Boethius 8:1,2. 16:4, 54:29. — Lchdm III 438:27. †

ME. Muchel is us þenne neod...swiðe adreden ure monifolde sunne. Lambeth Hom. 11:3. — Ibm 13:27. — Ant eauer se ha i þis world luueden ham mare, se ha þer heatieð ham swiðere. Sawles Warde 251:32. — Fearlac... haueð wið his (tidinges) offearet us swiðe mid alle. Ibm 257:31. — Mi leone swete lefdi, to þe me longeð swuðe. Ur. of ure lefdi 115. — Swa swiðe godes grace agaste & ageide (:confound and awe) ham, þ euch an biheold oðer as heo bidweolet weren. Katherine 1248. — Þa wes he auered feondliche swide. Lay. A 16248. — Þas burh he luuede swiðe. Lay. A (B) 2044. — Þa wakemenn well swiðe offdredde wærenn. Orm 3813. — Him swiðe longeð þider. OEH II 149:20. — Hire þurst swiðe. Ibm 199:31. — Ancr. R. 178. — Cleanness 987. — Trevisa Higden III:479. †

γ. *Verba declarandi*. In this case there are no ME. quots. from the early South Western Midland texts. — The interpretation of the quot. from *Palerne* is uncertain. On the one hand the context seems to indicate that *swiðe* means 'eagerly, earnestly, vehemently', on the other hand it is not so certain that the sense which, from our modern point of view, appears to suit the context best, is the one intended by the writer. Cf. *swiftly sweren*, p. 45. — Note that all the instances imply emotion or volition.

OE. Eorl...þancode swiðe lifes leohtfruman. Gen. 1888. — Ða hie tempel strudon, Salomanes seld: swiðe gulpon. Dan. 712. — Drihten crist is þearle swiþe... to herienne. Lchdm III 436:18. — Hia swiðor cliopodon cuedende se ahoen (:illi magis clamabant dicentes crucifigatur). AS. Gosp. Mt. 27:23.Li. Similarly Ru C H. — Þæt drihten swore að swiðe. Wulfstan 209:27. †

ME. His kniȝtes swiþe swore what so it bi-tidde, þei wold winne william wiȝtly oþer quik or dede. *Palerne* 1211. — He þonkkes hir oft ful swyþe, Ful þro with hert & þoȝt. *Gawain* 1866. †


δ. Verbs signifying *to think, wonder, etc.* In such combinations the meaning of *swiðe* oscillates between the senses given above and 'much, exceedingly'.

OE. Swyðe wendon þæt he sleac wære. *Beow.* 2182. — Crist 310. — Jul. 452. — Sohton þa swiðe in sefan gehydum. Dan. 732. — Þæt dysie folc... swiðor wundrað. *Metra* 28:66. — Ibm 28:71. — Þa broþor oðerra weorca swiður gemdon. *Beda* 176:9. — Ibm 178:11. — Swa swiþe swa he weneþ sylf þæt he sceole to heofenum ahafen weorþan, swa swiþe he biþ bedyped on þa neoþemestan helle witu (Morris: as quickly — so quickly. Uncertain). *Blickling* 185:5. †

ME. Auh abuten þeos, þencheð & astudieð wel swuðe. *Ancr. R.* 200. — Kunde of gode heorte is to... weien swuðer his sunne summechere þen he þurfte (: to ponder his sin somewhat more than he need). *Ancr. R.* 336. — Swiðe he awundrede him of hire wlti westum, & swiðere of hire wordes. *Katherine* 309. — Low

he funded swiðe me to forswolhen. Marherete I 10:12. — Lamb. Hom. 7:25. — C. of Love 1039. †

2. *Much (more, most), in a high degree, exceedingly, extremely,* qualifying verbs. s pointed out in the introductory remarks on sense 1, many of the instances there appear to imply 'much, more, most', and it is difficult to determine exactly what shades of meaning were attached to the adv. in the mind of an Englishman a thousand years ago. Where it seems to us to signify 'forcibly' or 'eagerly', it may be that we interpret the phrases from a point of view that would have been strange to those who originally used them.

The combinations given in the preceding section seem to exhaust the uses of the *positive* form of *swiþe*, when qualifying verbs, and I have no instance where it appears strictly necessary to render the word by 'much, in a high degree'. The sense 'forcibly, eagerly', etc., is always a possible alternative. As the governing verbs always (with the exception of *verba sentiendi*?) seem to imply emotion or volition, we may perhaps venture to interpret this circumstance as signifying that the implication of 'forcibly, eagerly', etc., always remained as a subsidiary element of meaning in the positive form. In the comparative and superlative, on the other hand, we find many instances of the senses 'more' and 'most'. The reason must be that when making comparisons, the idea of a higher degree is especially prominent. 

Though we may thus assume that *swiþe* did not altogether lose its original import when it was used to qualify verbs, it is undeniable that the extensive use described in section 1 tended to transform the word into a mere intensive. It is not now possible to discover exactly in what contexts this change was effected. The facts at our disposal point to a development of the following kind. In connexions like those instanced in the preceding section, the addition of an adv. signifying 'vigorously', etc., would import that the action of the verb was intensified. When such phrases became habitual, the chief function of the adv. would be apprehended as being that of an intensive, and the original meaning of the word would tend to disappear, not being made the object of attention. Cf. the adv. *fæste*, in which,

however, the development does not proceed to the stage exemplified in the present section. (Paul 92, Wundt II 547). NED I.

a. *Comparative form.*

a. *More.*

OE. Of ðam twige siððan ludon (:grew) laðwende (:hateful) leng swa swiðor reðe wæstmē. Gen. 989. — Ic... (him) willa spedum dugeða gehwilcre on dagum wille swiðor stepan (:exalt). Gen. 2365. — (He) morðra gefremede... & þæt swyðor gyt ycan wolde. Jud. 182. — Ac for oðrum ðincgum ic hit spræc get swiðor. Boethius 118:28. — We willað furðor ymbe þas emnihte swiðor spreca... Embe þis we sprecað eft swiðor. Lchdm III 240. — We nellað be ðam na swiðor awritan. Ælfric II 466. — Ageotan þær heora bena on Drihtnes gesyhðe, swiðor mid heortan þonne mid muðe (:magis corde quam ore), þæt heora stefn Gode gehendre. Chrodegang 22:34. — Swa hig swiðor beon on heora broðra neode abisgode, swa hi geornlicor hyrsumion þam heofenlican bebodum (:quanto plus implicantur in fratrum curis, tanto magis studeant celestibus obtemperare monitis). Ibm 52:21. — Witodlice se þe swiþor be eorðlicum þingce þonne be his sawle hæle ðincgþ, swiðe fram soðfæsþnesse wege he dweleþ (:qui plus de terrena re quam de anime salute cogitat, ualde a uia ueritatis oberrat). Theodulf 110:31. †

ME. So lengre heo ilest, se he brihteð hire swuðure (:the longer it [the sickness] lasteth, the more exceedingly doth he [the goldsmith] brighten it [your crown of bliss]). Morton). Ancr. R. 182. †

β. *Sooner, rather, more readily, preferably.* We have found this sense in the comparative form of the adv. *raþe*, in which it arose from the sense 'earlier, more quickly' (cf. p. 37). An oscillation between the sense of speed and 'rather, more readily' is perhaps to be assumed, for instance, in the quot. from Oros. 148:32, but in the other quots. given below the adv. oscillates between 'more, in a higher degree' and 'rather, more readily'. The latter sgn appears clearly predominant in Beow. 960, Beda 36:6, and Blickling 63:17. These three quots. may, I think, be regarded as sufficient evidence to establish the existence of this sgn. As the majority of the oscillating instances signify 'more / rather', the development has probably originated with the former of these senses.

As the instances are so few I take them together in one group, only pointing out that, just as in the case of *raþe*, the reason why something is preferred may be objective or subjective.

This sense of *swiþe* apparently did not survive the OE. period. It is not given by NED or BT.

OE. Uþe ic swiþor þæt ðu hine selfne geseon moste. Beow. 960. — He to gyrnwraece swiðor þolhte, þonne to sælade. Beow. 1139. — Antigones... wolde þæt þa folc him þy swiþor to buge, þe he hæfde hiera ealdhlafordes sunu on his ge-wealde. Oros. 148:32. — Forðon ðe ðu þone mangengan... me helan woldest, swyðor þonne minum ðegnum secgean, þonne wite ðu etc. Beda 36:6. — For ðæm geþylde me ðincð þ he sie ðe swiðor forsewen. Boethius 120:4. — Forþon þe sume myc-cle swiþor rihtaþ Godes folc þonne hie reafian earme & unscyldige. Blickling 63:17. — Þa deman beoþ swiþor to herigenne þonne to leanne. Ibm 63:21. — Wilnion hi swiðor an þære rædinge & an þam sange þæs folces getydnysse þonne heora ydelan herunge (:plusque uelint in lectione uel cantu populi edificationem quam popularem uanissimam adulationem). Chrodegang 58:2. †

b. Superlative form. When used absolutely, the superlative acquires the sense *in a very high degree, especially*, sometimes implying sense 1, or *most quickly*. Cf. *raþost* p. 33. NED I.

OE. Þurh heora miclan mod & þurh miht godes & þurh ofermetto ealra swiðost. Gen. 337. 351. (According to GK *swiþost* is here an adj. I prefer to interpret it as an adv.: 'most of all'). — Iudas... cwæð þæt he þæt on gehðu gespræce & tweon swiðost. Elene 668. — Þu me furþor scealt secgan... hu þu soðfæstum... swiþast sceþþe. Jul. 349. — Ibm 620. — Sybbe he his folces seceð geornast & swiðust to þam, þe hine seceað. Ps. 84:7. (Sense 1?). — Weorðað gescende & hiora scamiað swiþust ealles. Ps. 128:3. (Sense 1?). — Ps. 63:5. 70:13. 108:28. 131:19. — Metra 22:31. — His unþeawas ealle hatian & ofsniðan swa he swiðost mæge. Metra 27:33. — Forlæte unnytte ymbhogan swa he swiðost mæge. Boethius 95:2. 109:12. — Ac for þæm he genedde swiþost ofer þone munt þe he wiste þæt etc. Oros. 188:3. (Swiþost = very quickly?). — Blickling 223:27. — Hwilc wildeor swyþost gefeht þu? (Quales feras maxime capis?) WW 92:15. — Swiðost we swapeah buton ælcon twy we gelyfað, þonne, etc. (Maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus, etc.). Chrodegang 33:13. Similarly ibm 69:35. †

ME. And þis beot þa twa sunne þe men fulieð alra swiðest. Lamb. Hom. 33:21. — Ibm 119:31. — Þe king walde weden, swa him gromede wið ham, ah wið þe cwen swiðest. Katherine 2076. †

3. Excessively, extremely, very, qualifying adjs. or advs. When *swiþe*, in the manner described above, had grown capable of being used as an intensive qualifying verbs, it was also extended to be used with adjs. and advs. We find this use already in the earliest OE., and it is continued throughout the ME. period. I have not been able to discover any development, or any restriction to certain groups of governing words, and as the earliest connexions of this kind occurred during the pre-literary period, we cannot now discover which adjs. or advs. were the first to be qualified by *swiþe*. Perhaps past participles of verbs, when used

as adjs.? As this use of *swiþe* is of no immediate importance for the development of the sense of speed, I content myself with giving a few instances only, referring to NED and other dictionaries for additional information. See also Glosses, p. 114. NED 2.

OE. Wæron swiðe gesælige. Gen. 18. — Eallum folce ðæs swiðe ungetyrn (: very soon afterwards) he geswutelian wolde hwæs ge-hwa gelyfan sceolde mid gewisse. Ælfric Saints 23:405. Etc.

ME. Swiðe uæle þusend. Lay. A 22349. Etc.

II. Senses denoting speed.

It is evident that the development of the sense of speed in the adv. *swiþe* may have taken place in the same way as in the adv. *fæste*, *i. e.* when the adv., in the sgn 'vigorously, energetically, eagerly', etc., was used to qualify verbs of motion. But a similar result would have been attained if *swiþe*, in the sgn 'much, exceedingly, in a high degree', was used to qualify verbs signifying 'to hasten'. There are several OE. instances where *swiþe* is combined with such verbs, and where therefore the adj. might oscillate between the sense just mentioned and 'rapidly'. But, as I pointed out a few pages ago, it is impossible to determine, in the individual quotes., how much of the original sgn of the adv. remained, and the exact nature of the oscillation of meaning is consequently obscure. *Efste þa swiþe* may originally have meant, to the writer of the phrase: 'he hurried eagerly (or energetically) on'. A theory of development can therefore not be founded on the evidence of these oscillating instances.

We must make use instead of the evidence afforded by the earliest certain instances of the sense 'rapidly'. They are few in number, and all have verbs of motion, *not* signifying 'to hasten'. If the sense 'rapidly' had originated in the intensifying function of *swiþe*, it seems likely that at least a considerable portion of the earliest quotes. would have had verbs signifying 'to hasten'. As this is not the case, the development has probably been 'vigorously > swiftly'.

The analogous case of *fæste* supports this assumption. The functions of *swiþe* and *fæste*, when these words were first connected with verbs of motion, were so similar that it is only reason-

ble to expect them to develop in a similar manner. Cf. Paul, Wörterbuch, on the sense-development of Germ. *geschwind*.

4 a. *Much, exceedingly, in a high degree | swiftly.* When *swiðe* serves to qualify a verb meaning 'to hasten', it may be interpreted as simply intensifying the verb: 'to hasten exceedingly', 'to be in a great hurry'; or it may have signified 'to hasten vigorously, energetically'.

OE. Efst e þa swiðe & onette forð foldwege. Gen. 2872. — Mid þy þæt hors swiðust orn & onælp hiene, wæs þæt hit sume sloh (: slough) on þæm wæge mid swiðþran ræse oferhleop & oferstælde. Beda 400:20. — Hit bið lang-sum to awritene þa wundra þe hi gefremodon. . . for þan þe we efstað swyðe eow mannun to secgenne hu hi gemartyrode wæron. Ælfric Saints 35:220. — He fram þære ciricean sona sviðe efste, oð þæt he geseah þæra sceaðena fār. Ælfr. De Test. 18:13. †

ME. Auh ȝif ich hie swuðe uorðward, demeore ȝe þe lengre. Ancr. R. 242. — Similarly 226. — King Horn C 938. — Lay. B 16249. — Rob. Glouc. 8714. — Arth. a. Merl. 1797. — Do buske us thedir swythe. Eglamour 1020. — Þer as he hers þe howndes, þat hasted hym swyþe. Gawain 1897. — Olyuer sone y-seȝ þat cas, & swyþþer bi-gan to haste. Ferumbras 816. †

The same oscillation should perhaps be assumed in the following quotes.

OE. Þæt sio Wyrð on gewill wendan sceolde yflum monnum ealles swa swiðe. Metra 4:35. — Hi (The heavenly bodies) ne moten ofer metodes est. . . swiðor stirian þonne him sigora weard his gewealdleðer wille onlætan. Ibm 11:27. — Ne mæg hio (: the earth) hider ne ðider sigan þe swiðor, þe hio symle dyde. Ibm 20:165. †

b. *Vigorously, energetically, eagerly | swiftly.* The following instances seem to show an oscillation 'vigorously' / 'swiftly' (cf. the use of *fæste* with verbs 'to grow', 'to increase' etc.).

ME. His bodi bi-gan to heuegy swiþe: grete feblesse he fiede. ESEL 76:196. — Þurh hiss (:Christ's) fulluhht þatt wex full swiþe. Orm 19790. — Þet is þet bread and þe mete, þet þou nymst of þe sacrament of þe wyeuede, þet þou sselt ete zuyþe and gloutounliche, ase tekþ þe writinge. Ayenbite 111:1. — Þat foyson flode out of þat flet, Swyþe hit swange þurȝ vch a strete. Pearl 1058. — Therwith the teres from hir eyen two Doun fille, as shour in Aperill, ful swythe. Troilus IV 751. †

5. *Rapidly, in connexion with purely durative verbs of motion.* (No other verbs are found). Whether the origin of this sense is to be sought in the sgn 'vigorously', or in 'much, exceedingly', I think we may safely assume it to be earlier than the sense of

speed in relation to time. The preceding senses may sometimes be implied. NED 3.

OE. Ic seah. . . swiftne (: a horse) ofer sælwong swiþe þrægan (: run). Riddle 17:3. — (A ship) Sceal on anum fet. . . swiþe feran, faran ofer feldas. Ibm 30:7. — Forþan þe þes middan-earð flihð aweg swyðe, and ure dagas gewitað swa swa weg-færende menn. Ælfric Saints 28:153. — Forþon þe hit nu swiþe nealæceþ urum ende-dæge. Blickling 51:35. †

ME. Brutus. . . ferde riht on his wei, his scipen runden swiðe. Lay. A (B) 1349. — Þa gon he to riden æfne al swa swiðe swa hund þene heort driued. Lay. A (B) 26761. — Neh al so swiþe so þe fowel flieþ folwede þan kinge fif and twenti þousend. Lay. B 21355 (A: Neh al swa swi swa. . .). — Þe se bigan to flowen And horn faste to rowen. And here schip swiþe drof. King Horn O 129 (H suyþe, C faste, q. v.) — Seynt Thomas of ynde thederward com, also swithe as he myght gone. Assumption H 612. — Loke þat 3e renne suiþe, yef 3e will to þe lange liue. Benet Lansdowne 3:33. — After heore schip so swyþe he (: a great fish) schef, þat he cam al-mest þer-to. ESEL 231:414. — A day, ase heo wolde to churche gon, he siwede hire wel swiþe. ESEL 335:420. — They doth go swithe on steden. King Alis. 1250. — Salome. . . rideth swithe, so foul may fleon. King Alis. 1982. — Toward þe se þai token her way, So swiþe her hors hem bere may. Guy 1798. — No dromedarie no is þer non, So swiþe goand so is he on. Guy 6126. — Þe blonderes. . . resembleþ an eddre. . . þet yernþ more zuyþere þanne hors. Ayenbite 61:17. — Sir Otuel 1403. — Þe schipmen of Ingland sailed ful swithe, Þat none of þe Normands fro þam might skrithe. Minot 5:67. — P. Pl. C 14:53. — Howlat 171. — Than they roode by þat ryuer þat rynnys so swythe. Morte Arthure 920. †

6. *Quickly*. Of this oscillating sense there are only four late OE. instances. Taking into consideration the circumstance that the sense of speed in relation to time is not found at all in OE., and that the development always appears to proceed from the sense 'rapidly' to 'immediately' (cf. Ch. III), I think we may interpret the scarcity of OE. instances of the present sense as signifying, that it was on the point of being developed during the OE. period. It is true that in the OE. quotes. below, *swiþe* might be considered as having the sense 'rapidly'. In that case the earliest instances of the sense 'quickly' are from early ME., and as the sense 'immediately' is found simultaneously, we must assume that 'quickly' occurred during the transition period, though not instanced. It is not possible to determine which of these two assumptions is the correct one, and as the process of development in both cases would be the same, the question need not be further discussed. — In ME. the instances of this sense are extremely

numerous. A selection from different periods and dialects is given.

OE. Pæt wif gewende þa to ðam westene swiðe. *Ælfric Saints* 3:563. — Pa arn pæt earne wif ofer pæt westen swiðe, oð pæt heo to þære byrig be-com. *Ibm* 3:650. — And he sona mid myclum ofste fram constantinopolim þære byrig swiðe mid his crætum to ephese ferde. *Ibm* 23:813. — Þa hæðenan ða ferdon to ðam gefeohte swyðe. *Ælfric* 25:574. †

ME. 3e schulen biholden sumetime toward te pine of helle. . . & fleo þe swiðere urommard ham (2 a β?). *Ancr. R.* 92. 208. 248. — Flužen his iferen feondliche swiðe. *Lay. A (B)* 1471. — Swiðe he fusde þider ward. *Lay. A (B)* 1662. — Ah fær swiðe & cum raðe. *Lay. A* 4396. — Come alle strikinde, þe strengest te swiðest of eauer each strete, for to heren þis strif. *Katherine* 733. — *Ibm* 2028. 2261. — S. Juliane 31. — And ghe knew wel ðe faderes kire, And made swiðe on sele ðat mete. *Gen & Ex.* 1537. — *Ibm* 1009, 1086, 2726. — 3if hundes urneþ to him ward, he gengþ wel swiþe awai wart. *O & N* 376. — Assumption *Harl.* 671, Add. 843. — And þe sonde. . . bad him come swiþe. *King Horn* 289. *Ibm* 845. 1314. — *Lay. B* 552. 7546. 23952. — To þe dore he orn swyþe, þe dune for-to i-seo. *ESEL*, 108:72. — Sco (: Noah's dove) went forth and com ful suith, Son sco com and duellid noght. *CM* 1902. *Ibm* 1936. 4401. 16553. 18119. 18430. 19757. 23385—7. — To armes, kniȝt and swayn, And swiftly ride 3e And swiþe. *Tristrem* 834. — Havelok 601. — *Handlyng* 7843. 9093. — *Amis* 732. — *Freine* 39. — *Orfeo* 472. — *Beues* 694. — *King Alis.* 1274. — *Arth. a. Merl.* 328. 420. — *Richard* 379. — *Pricke* 5713. — *Octavian C* 146. 285. 800. — The rede knyghte. . . graythed hym armours ful swythe. *Perceval* 123. — *Minot* 8:51. — He garte swythe sadyll hym a palfraye. *Melayne* 106. — Alle men. . . seweden after ful swiþe to se þat mury chase. *Palerne* 2193. — Swyfte swaynes ful swyþe swepen þer-tylle. *Cleanness* 1509. — Bad him (: Noah) not lette Swiþe to schapen A schup of schides and Bordes. *P. Pl. A* 10:160. — Till armys swyth, and makys ȝow ȝar! *Bruce* 2:316. — He. . . Shal renne to the tounne, and that ful swythe. *Cant. C* 796. — Þe domes of my destany drawis to me swythe. *Alexander* 706. — Do charge oure charyottis swithe. *York Plays* 91:393. — Syne thay sought to the chalmer, swiftly and swith. *Gol. & Gaw.* 380. Etc.

7. *Shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended.* Here, too; the instances are very numerous. *NED* 4.

ME. Al swa his festen (: fasts) þe swiðe ouerkimet þes flesces wlongnesse. *Lambeth Hom.* 9. — Stala and steorfa swiðe eow scal hene (*Morris*: Rapine and pestilence shall quickly consume you). *Ibm* 13. — Swiðe sei me hwet art þu. *S. Juliane R* 38. — Neomeð hire swiðe, quod he to þe cwelleres. *Marherete* I 5:18. — *Ibm* 3:1. 12:34. — Heo. . . forȝeten to swiðe þat heom tæhte þe hehȝe mon. . . Dunian. *Lay. A* 10239. — *Lay. B* 5639. — Bot tell me suith, sir cayn, Wy has þou þi broiþer slain? *CM* 1127. — Þe king dede Ubbe swiþe calle. *Havelok* 2464. — A king þai mosten haue swiþe, Al her sorwe for to liþe. *Arth. a. Merl.*

241. — Swilk comfort to my saul shew swythe, þat mught make it in þe glade and blythe. Pricke 1390. — Octavian C 606, 659, 626. 734. — Minot 9:43. — Eglamour 848. — Ip. A 8605. — Swiþe he ȝald vp his swerd to saue þanne his liue. Palerne 1256. Ibm 1303. 4843. — I wol sey my verdit faire and swythe. Chaucer, Parl. of Foules 503. — Þe king consayuit his come, keppit (: stopped) hym swithe, Ricchis his reynys & the Reenke metys. Destr. Troy 1230. — Pas agane, Porter, and let him swyith in. Rauf 625. Etc.

8 a. Also *swiþe*, als (as) *swiþe*, *asswiþe*: at once, immediately. Cf. as *fast*, as *tite*, as *so*, etc. NED 4 b.

This phrase occurs earlier than '*as swiþe as*'. Stoffel (Intensives and Downtoners 107) regards it as an ellipsis, »the subaudition being 'as can be imagined', 'as may be', 'as possible'.» We should then have to assume that the complete phrase had existed before 1225, though not instanced, or that *also swithe* was formed on the analogy of other similar expressions. NED (As, A III c) also assumes ellipsis, and compares Lat. *quam in quam maximum*.

One may also compare the OE. emphatical use of *swa*: so, exceedingly, as much as possible. See BT s. v. Ongan hine baðian swa swatigne: when perspiring profusely (Oros.). ðu meah t swa wide geseon (Gen.). Sio onlicness sendde mycel wæter swa sealt (Blickl. Hom). Genim ðas wyrte swa mearwe: as tender as possible (Lchdm). Wel on swa hatum (Lchdm). Cf. also NED s. v. So, 14.

ME. And si ȝeleste sume wile. . . swa lange þat si als wa swið abreað and adiliȝede (Morris: and this law lasted for some time. . . so long that it also was soon perverted and corrupted). Bispel 235. — Aþelbrus also swiþe Went to halle bliue. King Horn C 501. — The liȝtinge. . cometh in that on half of the wordle and as swithe is at thother ende. Fragm. on Pop. Sc. 115. — Als swiþ þar com a uord, Fra þe croice o crist suord. CM 24329. — So they dude al so swithe, And madyn mony mon unblithe. King Alis. 3233. — I wol ȝou telle as swiþe trewly þe soþe. Palerne 108. — As swythe ye shall be payde Off noble stedys, þat he you brynges. Ip. A 3464. — To soper þay ȝede asswyþe. Gawain 1400. — A lady. . . als swiþ Sped hir till hym in ful gret hy. Bruce 5:136. — The kynge. . . oisent hir (: Mede) alswythe with seriauntes manye. P. Pl. B 3:101. — Him that she cheest, he shal hir have as swythe. Chaucer, Parl. of Foules 623. — I mon swelte as swythe, ore ȝe tell me my swefen. . . Morte Arth. 813. Etc.

b. So *swiþe so*, as *swiþe as*.

Swithe may denote speed in relation to time or in relation to action, but as the sense is exactly the same as in 4—6 it is unne-

cessary to specify it. I only give a few quots. for the sake of completeness.

ME. Thider he wente him anon So suithe so he miȝtte gon. Dame Siriz 156 (MS. Digby 86). — Als-suith als þai þar cam, Drightin him sceud til abram. CM 2383 (C, F, and G soon). — He come als swiþe as he miȝt driue. Guy 907. — He wald hem com to As swiþe, as he miȝt it do. Arth. a. Merl. 1744. — He prikede as swiþe (sense 1 or 2?) as he miȝt hiȝe his hors for hurtyng of spors. Palerne 1481. — With a spere he rynnnes hym to, als swythe als he myghte ryde. Eglamour 384. — Quikly loke þat þou be þare, As swyþe as he may gon. Ferumbras 3828. Etc.

Note. In Lay. A we find a single instance of *on swithe* (cf. *on faste*).

Cadwadhan þis i herde... and iwærð him abolȝe bitter ane swiðe. Lay. A 30302.

I am not certain how it should be explained. Is *ane=and?* Later examples of *on swithe* may all be explained by referring *on* to the preceding verb (Cf. note, *faste* 12).

Joseph and his cumpanye keueren on swiþe. Ioseph ferde bi-foren, and þe flote folewede. Joseph of Arim. 27. Similarly Destr. Troy 8462. 8646. 11572. 13156.

In swith occurs a few times in Destr. Troy, and it seems as if there, too, the preposition may be referred to the preceding verb. Not quite certain.

Menelay with his men meuyt in swithe, Thre thousaund full þro þrang into batell. 8282. Similarly 7452, 7690, 10019, 10055.

OE. SWIÐ, adj.

The adj. *swiþ* was not very common in OE., and rare in ME. NED states that it survived in ME. only in the comparative *swither*, but see 1 c and 4 below. I have very little to add to the information afforded by BT and NED, q. v.

1. *Powerful, vigorous, forcible.* This was probably the earliest sense. It is used of living beings and of personifications, of material objects that may be apprehended as having a motion of their own, and of immaterial objects.

a. *Of persons and personifications.*

OE. Ænne hæfde he swa swiðne geworhtne (: God had made one of the angels very powerful), swa mihtigne on his modgeþohte. Gen. 252. — Meotud meahtum swið. Crist 716. — Cræftum 4. Andreas 1207. 1513. Dan. 284 (= Az. 5). — Hleahtor alegdon, sorge seofedon, þa hi swiðra oferstag weard on

wonge (: they laid laughter aside, woes they bewailed, when a stronger guard overcame them. BT). Guðlac 201. — Hi beoð swiþran þon ic (sc. an anchor) & mec slitendne sona flymað. Riddles 14:5. — Sio moddor (: mother) bið. . . fromast & swiþost. Ibm 82:23. †

b. Of material objects.

OE. Ða heora tungan teoð teonan gehwylce sweorde efenscarpe & heora swiðne bogan & unscyldige mid þy scotian þenceað. Ps. 63:3. (BT interprets this 'not easily broken'. As that sense is not elsewhere instanced, nor any corresponding sense found in the adv., I think it should not be assumed here). — Hwæt wæs þe, sæ swiþa? forhwan fluge þu swa? Ps. 113:5. — Gehweorf ure hæftned. . . swa suðhealde swiþe hlinman (sicut torrentem in austro. Swed.: lát vårt fångna folk komma tillbaka som bäckar i sydlandet. 126:4) Ps. 125:4. — Gif þonne swiðra wind aras, þonne. . . (flatus venti major. A few lines above: Gif semninga mare blæd windes astah). Beda 268:18. — Ða geseah he ealne norðdæl heofones, swylce he wære þam sweartestum wolcnum afylled swiðra genipa (: septentrionalis coeli plaga fuscis atrarum nubium caliginibus nigrescere videbatur). Prose Guthlac V 130:077. †

c. Of immaterial objects.

OE. Wæs þæt gifeðe to swið, þe ðone þeodcyning þyder ontyhte. Beow. 3085. — Tosweop hine & toswende þurh þa swiðan miht ligges leoman. Dan. 342. — Ealdfeonda nið searocraftum swiþ. Guð. 113. — Ic eom swiþra þonne he (sc. in smell). Riddle 38:94. — Stenc. . . wynsumra steam swettra & swiþra swæcca (:flower) gehwylcum. Panther 46. — Wyrð seo swiþe. Ruin 25. Sal. 442. — Ðu me sniome alys þuruh þine þa swiþeran miht. Ps. 70:1 — Ðonne hi gebolgene weorðað, him wyrð . . . beswungen sefa on hreðre mid ðæm swiðan welme hatheortnesse. Metra 25:46. — Hwilum bið se willa swiðra þonne þ gecynd, hwilum þæt gecynd ofercymð þone willan. Boethius 93:15. †

ME. For icham riche, of swithe powere; The finde bet than thou hast here. Freine 289. †

Similarly: Þy læs he for wlence mon mode swið of gemete hweorfe. Cræftum 25. Cf. *swið-mod*.

2. Producing a powerful effect. Of medicine, drink, etc.

OE. Wylle swa swiþre medo. . . Wyrð swiðran (: the draught) gif he wille. Lchdm II 270:7, 16. — Gif ðu wolde þ sio sealf swiðre sie. Ibm II 84:8. — Ofgeot ðas wyrte mid swiþe beore. . . wyl on swiþum beore. Ibm II 358:14. — Swið drenc wiþ aswollenum milte. Ibm II 256:14. †

3. Swið slæp: deep sleep. Cf. fast sleep, p. 105.

OE. (Michael) þæt tacn þæs siges gesette, & gecyðde into ðy swiðan slæpe. Blickling 205:4. †

4. Swift, rapid (or violent, vehement, eager?) Probably transferred from the adv. Cf. *fast*, p. 109.

OE. Mid þy þæt hors swiðust orn & onælp hine, wæs þæt hit sume sloh on þam wæge mid swiðþran ræse oferhleop & oferstædde. Beda 400:22. †

ME. Alisaundre nom Clorpatras, And out hire hasted a swithe pas. King Alis. 1116. †

5. The comparative is used to denote the *right* hand or side (*dextra*), because that hand is apprehended as normally the stronger of the two. The sense is so old that there are no oscillating instances. OS. *suithora*. Cf. Grimm, *Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache*³, 685. NED *swither*.

OE. Hwæpre him sio swiðre swaðe weardade hand on Hiorte. Beow. 2098. For further instances see NED s. v. *swither*, and BT.

There is no indication anywhere that the adj. has acquired the sense of speed through independent development. *Swiþ* is therefore of no further importance for this investigation.

GROUP III. WORDS ORIGINALLY SIGNIFYING 'SHARP'.

OE. SCEARP, adj.

Prim. Teut. **skarþa*- 'eingeschrumpft, rauh, scharf', from the base **skerþ*- 'einschrumpfen', contaminated with a similar derivate from the base **skerþ*- or **skrep*- 'ritzen, aufschneiden, kratzen, scharren', Fick III 456. See also NED s. v., Frank-van Wijk s. v. *scherp*, Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfusson s. v. *skarþr*. The sense 'indskrumpen, sammenskrumpen; scorched or pinched from dryness' is found in ON.

According to this etymology we may regard the two material senses (1 and 2) as equally original; the other senses are derived from them. It seems to be chiefly sense 1 that has given rise to transferred and figurative applications, many of which are difficult to classify. The adj. at first denotes that the governing word has the quality of being penetrating(1) or rough (2). Then the word is transferred to the pain which is caused by a sharp instrument. The subsequent development is founded on these two notions, that of being *penetrating* and that of *causing a certain kind of pain*. In some senses, one or the other of the two ideas is predominant, in others they are blended. Many of the secondary uses are evidently old, and at the time of our earliest instances they have mutually

influenced each other in several ways. The adj. is comparatively rare in OE. and ME., so that it is difficult to establish the essential import of the types of use. In Mod. E., *sharp* appears to have become more frequent, and NED is able to distinguish a great number of senses. Some of these are represented in OE. and ME. by only one or two quotes. In such cases I have sometimes classified them as contextual variations of the established older senses. (Cf. Introduction § 6).

The chronology of the quotes. is of very little assistance in arranging the senses, as most of them are found already in OE., and the plan followed here is mainly based on the inner logical connexion between the meanings of the word. As senses 1-6 and 8 are OE., the arrangement is not directly contradicted by the evidence with regard to the chronology. Sense 7 has been placed before 8 for reasons which will be discussed below.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) a) Well adapted for cutting or piercing, having a keen edge or point. OE. ME.
b) Sharp, with reference to form only. ME. 1340.
- 2) Rough, rugged. Material sense. OE. ME.
- 3) Keen, penetrating, piercing, intense. Transferred uses.
a) Of the rays of the sun. OE.
b) Of a sound: penetrating, shrill. ME. 1360.
c) Of sight, or the eyes: acute, keen. OE. ME.
d) Of intellect or understanding: acute, keen, discerning. OE. ME.
- 4) Of words: cutting, severe, harsh, stern, peremptory. OE. ME.
- 5) Of material and immaterial objects, and of persons: stinging, acute, intense, stern, severe, harsh, irritable. OE. ME.
- 6) Of taste: sharp, pungent, acrid. OE. ME.
- 7) a) Of weather, or a season: stinging, cutting, keen, intense, hard, heavy, violent, vehement. ME. 1340.
b) Of a conflict, warfare, attack: keen, fierce, carried on with vigour. ME. 1350.
- 8) Of persons, etc.: vigorous, violent, vehement, strenuous; implying: brisk, active, swift. OE. ME.
- 9) Effective. 1500.

1 a. *Well adapted for cutting or piercing, having a keen edge or point.* Literally and figuratively. I assume this to be one of the original material senses. NED distinguishes several shades of this sense, but as they are only scantily represented in OE. and

ME. they are here taken together under one heading. The variations do not seem to be important for the development of the sense of speed. NED *sharp* adj. 1.

OE. Gripon unfægre under sceat werum scarpe gas. Gen. 2064. — Sweordes ecg scerp & scurheard. Andreas 1133. — Similarly Crist 1142. Judith 78. Soul's Address 120. Riddles 1:82. 31:4. 60:1. — Strele ðine scarpe (: sagittae tuae acutæ). VP 44:6. — Tung ðin swe swe scersaex ðu dydes facen (: lingua tua sic ut novacula acuta fecisti dolum). VP 51:4. — Similarly VP and Ps. 56:5, 119:4. — Adrifon sumre ea ford ealne mid scarpum pilum greatum innan þam wetere. Chr. E. p. 5. — Diden an scerp iren abuton þa mannes throte & his hals. Ibm. 1137/264. — Genim ðæs scarpan þistles moran. Lchdm II 314:11. †

ME. Swe scarp wes þe pic. Lay. A 30752 — Scharpe, of egge. Acutus. Pr. P. 444. — Additional instances, see NED.

b. *Sharp, with reference to form only, without implication of cutting or piercing.* NED 9.

ME. Hys nese, at þe poynt, es sharp and smalle. Pricke 820. — Take blaunchid Almaundys, & kerf hem long, smal, & scharpe. Two Cookery Books 38. NED. †

2. *Rough, rugged.* NED (2) points out that *scarp* is used to render Lat. *asper*. Perhaps it was influenced by that word with regard to some of the transferred senses given below. Cf. also ON. 'ujævn, grov' (Fritzner).

OE. Pær sint swiþe scarpe wegas & stanihte (: situ terrarum montoso et aspero). Oros. 10:25. — Dide scærpe stanes þer inne (sc. in a narrow prison) & þrengde þe man þær inne, ð him bræcon ale þe limes. Chr. E 1137/264. — Scarp-
peste stanas, cautes uel murices. WW. 147:40. †

ME. Thei dredinge lest we schulden falle into scharp places. Wycl. Acts xxvii 29. NED. — Add. inst., see NED.

3. *Keen, penetrating, piercing, intense.* I have arranged in this section several transferred senses in which the idea of being keen or penetrating appears to be predominant. With very few exceptions, the OE. quotes. are found in texts which are dependent on Latin sources. Cf. similar sgns in Lat. *acutus* and *acer*. However, native English development is just as probable as Latin influence.

a. *Of the rays of the sun: piercing, intense.*

OE. Seo sunne scinþ mid hyre scarpan leoman. . . mannum to lihtinge. Assmann Hom. 43:484. †

b. *Of a sound: penetrating, shrill.* NED 7. This is an in-

stance of synæsthesia, or transfer of terms from one sense sphere to another. (Cf. Wundt II 554, Paul 97, Oertel 327., and the literature quoted there). »Die Bedingungen zu solchen (Uebertragungen) liegen aber überall darin, dass gewisse an sich disparate Sinnesqualitäten übereinstimmende Gefühle wachrufen, so dass infolge der ausserdem stattfindenden engen Gebundenheit des Gefühlstons an die Empfindung, die Sinnesindrücke selber als verwandte empfunden werden, daher nun auch weiterhin das einen bestimmten Sinnesindruck bezeichnende Wort für den gefühlswandten Eindruck eines andern Sinnesgebiets als ein adäquater Ausdruck erscheint. Die dominierenden Elemente. . . bedeuten also hier verwandte Gefühle, die eben deshalb die Uebertragung auf ein anderes Sinnesgebiet unwillkürlich und unbenutzt, durch die Macht der bei jedem Sinnesindruck in gleicher Weise sich wiederholenden Assoziationen, bewirken können.» (Wundt I. c.).

The material at my disposal is too scanty for a thorough discussion of this phenomenon, so I restrict myself to pointing out that the part played by feelings in the meaning of words, and its development, is as yet not sufficiently investigated.

ME. With kene clobbez of þat clos þay clatz on þe woweȝ (: walls), & wyth a schrylle scharp schout þay schewe þyse worde. Cleanness 840. — Nou scharpe notes and nou softe. Gower Conf. III:90. *NED.* — Be vertue only of the werbles sharpe That he made in Mercuries harpe. Lydg.Thebes 1:205. *NED.* †

c. *Of sight, or the eyes: acute, keen.* In this case, the attention is directed only to a quality of the governing word, not to its effect, the pain caused by it, etc., as is the case, to a certain degree, in 3 a and b. *NED* 3 c.

OE. Omonima. . . *acies* ege oððe se ord on here oððe scearp gesihð. *Ælfr.* Gr. 12:3. — Sio syn biþ þy scearpre. *Lchdm* II 30:21. †

Cf. Gif hwa bið swa scearpsiene. *Boethius* 72:31. 73:3. †

ME. Þarfor he þat had als sharp syght, And cler eghen and als bright Als has a best þat men *Lynx* calles. *Pricke* 574. — The royal egle. . . That with his sharpe look perceth the sonne. *Parl. Foules* 331. †

d. *Of intellect or understanding: Acute, keen, discerning.* The quality of being penetrating is here transferred to the mental sphere, to the ability of 'seeing through' a problem, circumstances, etc. Also used of persons who are said to be *sharp* with

regard to their faculties. Note that this sense is instanced in OE. poetry. NED 3.

OE. *Æghwæpres sceal scearp scyld-wiga gescad witan, worda and worca.* Beow. 288. — *Eala! Gabrihell hu þu eart gleaw & scearp.* Desc. Hell. 76. — *Ongiet georne, hwæt sy god oþþe yfel, and toscead simle scearpe mode in sefan þinum.* Fæder Larcwidas 46. — *Ne cymð he næfre to openum ende, buton he hæbbe swa scearp andgit swaðær fyr (: nisi quis eas vivacissimo mentis igne coerceat.* Migne 813). Boethius 127:17. — *Þa onget he mid scearpre gleawnisse hwæthwugu wundorlicre halignesse in þære stowe beon.* Beda 178:31. — *Ða geças him geferan, ða þe æghwæðer ge on hiora dædum ge on gelærednesse frome & scearpe wæron Godes word to bodienne & to lærenne (: sociis strenuissimis et ad prædicandum verbum idoneis utpote actione simul et eruditione præclaris).* Ibm 410:4. — Similarly ibm 336:18. 452:2. — *Acre ingenium scearp andgyt.* Ælfr. Gr. 44:8. †

ME. *Nu is þe michel nied þat ðu understande mid scarpe witte hwat hie bien.* Vices 23:30. — *Hymself loved for to harpe, And layde þereon his wittes scharpe, He lernyd so, þer noþing was A better harper in no plas.* Orfeo 38 (MS. Harl. 3810. After 1450). — *For þu zongare is þane I, Scharpare of wyt & mare mychttly.* NEL 197:670. — *The colerike. . . of sharpe witte, wyse and of good memorie.* Secreta 220:15. — *ttho that haue a lytill body, bene sharpe of body and of witte.* Ibm 231:16. †

4. Of words: *cutting, severe, harsh, stern, peremptory.* Also of persons, who are said to be sharp with regard to their words. In this case it is difficult to determine whether the idea of being penetrating, or the idea of causing pain, is predominant. Both seem to be implied in many quotes., and the import of the adj. may have varied in contexts of this kind. NED 5 b.

OE. *He biþ scarp and biter and swiðe wær on his wordum.* Lchdm III 162:13. (Or does *scarp* mean 'keen-witted'?). †

ME. *Sweord & knif eiðer beoð scherpe & keoruinde wordes.* Ancr. R. 212:18. Similarly 212:21. — *Lo! which a sharp word for the nones. . . Iesus. . . Spak in repreve of the Samaritan.* Cant. D 14. — *Men hopen bi goddis grace wiþ sich sharp speche & trewe, þat somme freris shal be amendid.* Wyclif 308. — *Many men for sich slowþe of sharp reprouyng synnen meche, for sharp wordis byten ofte where soft speche shulde not moue.* Ibm 313. — *My woord from hens forthe, is scharp and bytynge as a Swerd.* Maundeville (1839) xxiii 254. NED 1 a. †

5. *Stinging, acute, intense;* sometimes implying *stern, severe, harsh; irritable, merciless.* On the basis of Mod. E. quotes., NED has defined several shades of sense, which, in ME., cannot be with certainty distinguished, as the instances are few in number. *Sharp*

is used, in this sense, not only of material objects which cause a pain similar to that of a sharp instrument, but also of persons and their mood (implying *stern, severe, irritable*), and of hunger, wounds, sorrow, etc., which are apprehended as something objective that causes the unpleasant feeling; in a similar sense *sharp* is also used with nouns signifying 'pain'. NED 5 a, c, e, f.

In sense 3, the predominant idea was that of being *penetrating, acute, keen*. It is difficult to determine whether this idea, or the idea of causing a certain sort of pain is predominant in the present sense. Probably both ideas are more or less implied.

OE. Syððan com se scearpa hungor & adyde hi mid ealle. Chr. E 1086/218. — Se scearpa deað þe ne forlet ne rice menn ne heane, seo hine genam. Ibm 1086/219. — Hyre (: black horehound) miht ys scearp. Lchdm I 310:7. — Biþ sar scearpre þonne þæs welmes sar þe on þære lifre selfre beoð. Ibm II 206:3. †

ME. Heo weoren swiðe iharmede mid scærpen þan hungre. Lay. A 21944. — Gnattes. . . smale to sen, and sarp on bite. Gen & Ex. 2989. — So wurð he wroð, o mode sarp, His tables broken dun he is warp. Ibm 3577. — And qua ne dos noht yur bidding, Wit scarp scurges yee þam suing. CM 5876. — Þe ferthe (: pain of hell) es hunger sharpe and strang. Pricke 6553. — To punysch him in sharp & bittire pyne. Hampole Ps. 9:25. NED. — Sa sare and sharpe martiring was neuer sene on siche a king. CM F 9103. — Þe god man (: Loth) glyfte (: was frightened) with þat glam & glosed (: was terrified) for noyse, So scharpe schame to hym schot, he schrank at þe hert. Cleanness 850. — This sorwe. . . shal been hevy and grevous, and ful sharpe and poinant in herte. Cant. I 130. 131. 132. — Þei (: poor priests) schullen not be suffrid to do scharp execucion of goddis lawe aȝenst here sugetis. Wyclif 249. — And men sette vpon her Heuedes chapelettes of sharpe netles. Brut 240:6. — Ellis thei shuld deie an harde and sharpe dethe, and withoute eny mercy or grace. Ibm 394:10. — I schrenk for the scharp stound (: an acute pain), bot schout dar I nought For schore (: threatening) of that auld schrew, schame him betide. Dunbar 33:109. †

In a similar sense, *sharp* is used of a mode of life: *austere*. NED 5 g.

ME. Þe oþer del is zuo þet hi makeþ. . . þet lyf þet zuo moche sseweþ ssarp and dreduol to chiese. Ayenbite 165:11. †

6. *Sharp, pungent, acrid* in taste. Of wine: *sour*. NED 6.

OE. Meng wið scearpum ecede. Lchdm I 354:22. — Mettas ge drincan þa þe habban hat mægen & scearp. Ibm II 184:10. — Sio scearpe docce, oxylapatium (*Rumex acetosa*). WW 464:1. †

ME. Shrifte shope sharpe salue and made men do penaunce For her mysdedes. P. Pl. B 20:304. — Wo was his cook, but-if his sauce were Poynaunt and

sharp. Cant. A 352. — Also drynke grene wyne, clere, sharpe, and sparklynge in tempure. *Secreta* 244:29. †

Of blood: *acrimonious* (?). See NED 6 a, quot. 1732.

ME. He schal vse no metis ne drinkis þat engendriþh scharp blood & greet. Lanfranc's *Cirurg.* 289:25. †

7 a. Of the weather, or of a season: *stinging, cutting, keen, intense; hard, heavy, violent, vehement.* The quality of being *sharp* is transferred from the feeling caused by the weather, to the weather itself, which is said to be *sharp*, or perhaps the adj. is transferred directly from sharp instruments to storms etc., by reason of the similarity of the pain caused by them. When used in this manner, the adj. appears to acquire an implication of 'violent, vehement': a stinging, cutting storm, is a violent, vehement storm. From the *ME.* point of view, the distinction made by NED, 4 d and j, cannot be maintained, except as implied by the context.

ME. With smert stormes als of wynd and rayn, And with stormes of hayle, sharpe and kene. *Pricke* 3258. — Thane he schoupe hym to schippe and schowntes no lengere, Scherys with a scharpe wynde ouer þe schyre waters. *Morte Arth.* 3600. — 'After sharpe shoures', quod pees, 'moste shene is þe sonne'. *P. Pl. B* 18:409. — Whan deeth, as tempest sharp & violent, With woful trouble hem shall vexe & trauaill. *Hocleve Learn to Die* 556. *NED.* — This same yere was a Riht Sharpe Wynter. *Chron. London* 2. *NED* †

Figuratively.

ME. Wan þay y-seze þat þes frensche men ʒyue hem so scherp a schour, Faste a-wayward gunne þay flen. *Ferumbras* 958. †

b. Of a conflict, warfare, attack: *fierce, keen, carried on with vigour.* Perhaps derived from the preceding sense. Cf. the last quot. above. In this sense, too, the notion of vigour and violence is noticeable. Cf. *ON.* 'heftig, voldsom, vanskelig at modstaa' (*Fritzner*). *NED* 4 c.

ME. Ful scharp it was, þat stour, and snell, All fledd þe folk of israel. *CM G* 7753. (T sharp, C and F snaip). — Thassay so hard, so sharp the conquering. *Parl. Foules* 2. — Betweyn þis Rollande of Galoway And Kylkpatrick a batel fel Was don, bath sar, scharpe and snel. *Wyntoun Chron.* VII. viii. 1982. *NED.* †

8. *Vigorous, violent, vehement, strenuous.* Implying, contextually, when used of living beings, *brisk, active, swift.* The last of these sgns may be partly due to influence from the adv. *sharply.* Cf. *ON* 'stærk til at modstaa eller holde' (*Fritzner*). *NED* 4 a.

It is probable that this sense arose when the adj. was used of living beings. It may represent a development of 3 d, characterized by the addition of sense-elements referring to physical qualities. The origin of these elements may be sought in senses 7 (and 5?). An indication that this assumption is correct is perhaps to be seen in the circumstance that the earliest OE. quots. in 3 d and 8 appear to oscillate between the ideas of mental and physical 'sharpness'. The adj. is here used as an epithet of commendation, applying to distinguished qualities in a person, without specifying whether they are physical or mental. After the adv. *sharply* (see below) had developed the sense of speed, the latter might be implied in the adj. too, but I have no instance where it is predominant.

Note that this sign of *sharp* is in all essentials identical with the signs of *fæste* (p. 85) and *swithe* (p. 121) from which the sense of speed arose, implying, like these signs, physical and mental efficiency or ability.

Of persons.

OE. *Scealcas wæron scearpe, scyl (: sonans) was hearpe.* Rhyming Poem 27 (GK acres?). — *Ða asende he him (: the Jews) to ðone scearpan here of Romana rice mid reðum wæpnum.* Ælfric II 302:18. — Similarly Assmann Hom. 61:244. †

ME. *Hwær is . . . Ector wiþ his scharpe meyne? Luue Ron 69.* — *An hundred þousand of Sarzȳns fier, Sherpe men at nede. Ferumbras 4484.* — *Hast þow be scharpe and bysy To serue þy mayster trewely? Myrc 1089.* — *And tho' (people) that haue eyen moche mevyng, bene sharpe and raueners y-like to the gosehauke. Secreta 230:36.* — *Sharpe, or egyr: Acer. Sharp, or delyver: Asper, velox. Pr. P. 444.* — *That men of armes shold haue no wyues to thende that they myght be more sharpe & fiers in the warre. Caxton Recuyell I 246. NED.* — *Also she may be calde an aspare hawke of sharpenesse or hir corage. . . she is moost asper and sharpe in all thyngs that belong vnto hir of any other hawkys. Bk. S. Albans Hawking c. viii. b. NED (NED 4 f renders this 'eager for prey, hungry'. I think this sense should be regarded as contextual only, the import of the adj. being that of the heading above). †*

Of waves: violent. NED 4 d.

ME. *Scharpe wawes þat Schip has sayled. Minor P. Vernon MS. 716/33. NED. †*

Of wings, implying swift.

ME. *Ho (: the dove) wyrlt out on þe weder on wynges ful scharpe, Dreȝly alle alonge day þat dorst neuer lyȝt. Cleanness 475. †*

Of haste, implying intensification. NED 4 b, second quot.

ME. Then he shope hym to ship in a sharp haste. Destr. Troy 1780. 2758. †

9. *Effective*. The following quot. should probably be interpreted 'effective', a sense not given by NED, but corresponding to sense 7 of the adv. *scearplice*, q. v. I have no satisfactory explanation for its origin.

ME. The feind plettis his nettis scharpe and rude. Henryson 1911. †

OE. SCEARPLICE, adv.

The adv. does not show any independent development, if we except sense 6, but seems to follow that of the adj. *scearp*. I have therefore arranged the senses in a sequence corresponding to the senses of the adj., though this order does not agree with the dates of the quotes.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) In the manner of a sharp instrument, with a sharp edge or point. Material sense. ME. 1300.
- 2) In a sharp, stinging manner, with sharp or painful effect. Transferred sense. OE.
- 3) Of a sound: shrilly, penetratingly. ME. 1387.
- 4) With intellectual acuteness, sagaciously, shrewdly; attentively, with keen observation, vigilantly, closely. OE. ME.
- 5) Of punishment, discipline, etc.: severely, sternly, harshly. OE. ME.
- 6) Vigorously, vehemently, eagerly, actively, briskly, swiftly.
 - a) Idea of speed predominant. OE. ME.
 - b) Idea of violence predominant. ME. 1375.
- 7) Effectively. OE.

1. *In the manner of a sharp instrument, with a sharp edge or point*. Corresponding to the original material sense of the adj., and probably one of the earliest senses of the adv., though not instanced till c. 1300. For this reason NED puts it in the fifth place. The word seems to have been comparatively rare, which may explain the lack of early instances of this sense. NED 5.

ME. Wiþ þe spere him smot smertliche, þat was kerueand scharpeliche. Guy 7212. — He took an arowe ful sharply whet. Chaucer Rose 1723. — 3ee schull vnderstonde þat it (: the crown of thorns) was of jonkes of the see, þat is to sey russhes of the see, þat prykken als scharpely as thornes. Mandeville 8:17. — Ane schene scheid and ane schaft, that scharply was sched. Col. & Gaw. 604 (Amours: 'sharply cut'. The meaning is not quite clear; see NED *shed* v.¹ 3). —

So wondir scharply he schare throu his schene schroud. *Ibm* 968. (Implying sense 6?) Similarly 930.990. †

2. *In a sharp, stinging manner, with sharp or painful effect.*
Transferred, material sense.

OE. Stingað hine scearplice on þone muð, forði, swa hwæt swa hine lyste etan oððe drincan oððe on unnyt spreca, eall he hit aræfnode. *Wulfstan* 141:7. †

3. Of a sound: *penetratingly, shrilly.* NED 6.

ME. Oon of þe goldene calues. . . lowede ful scharpliche. *Trevisa Higden* III. 29. NED. †

4. *With intellectual acuteness: acutely, sagaciously, shrewdly. Attentively, with penetration and keen observation; vigilantly, closely.*
NED 3.

OE. Ða þe mehton smealice & scearplice mid hiera ondgiete ryht gesion. *CP* 68:6. — *Hawa swyðe scearplice hwær sy XII kl'. aprelis.* *Byrhtferth* 309:36. †

ME. Þe sharpliere þat þai thynke, þe mare þai faille fra sothfastnes. *Hampole Ps.* lxiii. 6. NED. — Men miȝten expoune. . . the bible in English. . . myche sharpliere and groundliere than manie late postillatouris. *Wycl. Prol.* 58. NED. — *Alexander. . . biheld þe Phisician in þe vesage riȝte scharpely.* *Alexander (prose)* 40. NED. — *Mony allegiance leile (: true instance), in leid nocht to layne (: deny) it, Off Arestotill and ald men, scharplie thai schewe.* *Howlat* 268. — *The Sothron kest scharply at ilka side, And saw the wood was nothir lang no wide.* *Wallace* 4:599. †

5. Of punishment, discipline, etc.: *severely, sternly, harshly.*
Perhaps the *OE.* quot. in section 2 should have been placed here?
NED 1.

OE. Scearplice, acerbatim. *OET* 181:47 (*Bede Glosses*, c. 900). †

ME. Ouerscharply ponyschen hem for smale synnes. *Wyclif* 17. †

Of speech, rebuke, command: *sternly, severely, harshly; in stern or angry tones.* NED 1 b. Common in *Wyclif*.

ME. When þou spekes sharpely til þe pure, þat sum gode askes at þi dore. *Pricke* 3450. — *Freris wile flaterre & spare to reprove scharply synnes of grete men for drede of los of worldly goodis.* *Wyclif* 50. — Similarly *Ibm* 67. — *ȝif al þe secte assenteþ, speke we sharpliche aȝen þe secte; þus spak crist sharpliche aȝen þe secte of pharisees.* *Ibm* 296. — *Whan a man is sharply amonested in his shrifte to forleten his sinne.* *Cant.* I 583. †

6. *Vigorously, vehemently, eagerly, actively, briskly, swiftly,* varying contextually. In the adj. *scharp*, we found the sense 'vigorous, violent, vehement, strenuous', sometimes with implica-

tion of 'brisk, active, ?swift', but the idea of speed did not appear to constitute a predominant element of sense in any of the quotes. In *scearplice*, the idea of speed seems to be predominant in several cases, already in OE. In order to explain this circumstance, I assume that the adv., which in the main followed the sense-changes of the adj., also took over the sense 'vigorous' etc. If this is correct, we have a sense of the adv. *scearplice*, similar to senses 7 and 8 of the adv. *ƿæste*. We may then expect a sense-development similar to that of *ƿæste*. In the latter word the sense of speed arose when the adv. was used to qualify verbs of motion. The quotes. of *scearplice* below, all have verbs denoting motion, or action implying motion. The evidence is very scanty, especially in OE., but I think we may venture to assume that the idea of physical eminence, vigour, and activity, arose in the adj., in application to living beings, that this sense was taken over by the adv., in which, in combination with verbs of motion, the element of speed was strengthened and finally became predominant. This development took place in the OE. period or perhaps earlier. NED 4. Cf. ON. 'ivrigen' (Fritzner).

a. The idea of *speed* is predominant. Note that in some quotes. (e. g. Morte Arth. 1212) the adv. expresses speed in relation to time. Perhaps *scearplice* passed through a development 'rapidly > immediately', as several other advs. did. Cf. *smartly* 3.

OE. Him (refl.) se clæna þær oðscufed scearplice, þæt he in scade weardað on wudubearwe weste stowe. Phoenix 168. — Caflice, scearplice: efficaciter, i. uelociter. WW 226:33. †

ME. To Wales he went his way fulle scharply & fulle brim. Brunne Chron. 244. NED. — Than, shortly to showe, þei sharplich went, And foughten for Philip. Alis. I 82. — Schipe-men scharply schoten þaire portez (: ports). Morte Arth. 749. — He somond þan þe schippemen scharpely þeraftyre. Ibm 1212. — Take þat launce vp in þyn honde, & loke þou hym hytte; And whenne þat shafte is schyuered, take scharpelye another. Chev. Assigne 301. — (King Arthur says of the Romans) Go we now, and seche ham sharpely. . . and slee we þe paynemys and Cristen men þat bene enemys wiþ ham forto destroe Cristen men. Brut 86:16. — Þe Scottis comen ferseliche in iiij wengus. . . and come fast and sharpely aʒeynes evesong tyme. Ibm 283:18. — Þei (: hunting leopards) taken more scharpelych the bestes & more delyuerly þan don houndes. Mandeville 17:29. †

b. In the following quotes., the idea of *violence* seems to be predominant. They are so late that they cannot be used to ex-

emphify the development leading up to the preceding sense, and are therefore placed here.

ME. Al so scharply þes men of mayn þan smyte to-gadre aȝy. Ferumbras 724. — And he anoþer (: spear) tok an hye, & scherply til him gan bere. Ibm 1593. — He commandede anone alle his men sharply forto assaile þe castel. Brut 153:24. — Off the formast rycht freschly (Ed. of 1570: schairply) doun thai ber. At that retorn fyfteyn in feild war slayne. Wallace 5:800. †

7. *Effectively.* This sense is given by BT, but not by NED. Cf. sense 9 of *scarp*.

OE. Hyt ys gelyfed þ heo (:the flux) scearplice gehæle. Lchdm I 154:9. — Heo gehælp þ sar to ðam scearplice, þ he eac gan dyrre (: that he may even venture to walk). Ibm I 176:8. (Both quotes. from Herb. Apuleii). — Caffice, scearplice, efficaciter, i. uelociter. WW 226:33. †

ME. SMART, adj.

The adj. is derived from a verbal stem which is represented by OE. *smeortan*, Engl. *to smart*, Germ. *schmerzen*, Sw. *smärta*. According to Fick (III 527) the original sgn of the verb is 'to bite, prick, sting'. Cf. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterungen* 64 sq., Beiträge 215. Wundt II 558.

The adj. appears to be formed from this verbal stem in the same way as *sharp* from the corresponding root, Prim. Teut. **skerþ-*, **skrep-* (see above). In both cases, it seems probable that the original meaning is concrete, 'having a keen edge or point'. This sense of *smart* is only found later than sense 2, but the extant senses are best explained by assuming them to be derived from it. We have two principal lines of development: 1) that which is sharp is penetrating, literally and figuratively; 2) that which is sharp cuts sharply, and therefore inflicts a pain of a certain kind.

It is not quite clear from the extant evidence how the sense 'swift, swiftly' arose. The most plausible assumption seems to be that the adj. developed the sense 'intense, vigorous', which was transferred to the adv. In conjunction with verbs of motion this sense then changed in the same way as the corresponding sense of *sharply*. When the sense of speed has thus arisen in the adv., it could be taken over, in its turn, by the adj. I think this theory is the best, as long as we have no evidence pointing to an internal development of the adj. from the sense 'sharp' to 'swift'.

Numerous parallels to the figurative uses of *smart(ly)* are afforded by *sharp(ly)* and *keen(ly)*. NED renders the latter adv. by 'swiftly' in some cases, but this sense seems to be only contextual and *keen(ly)* is therefore not included in the present work.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) a) Sharp, keen. Literal sense. ME. 1200.
b) Transferred sense: of sounds. Penetrating, keen. ME. 1300.
- 2) Inflicting a pain like that caused by a sharp instrument. Sharp, biting, stinging.
a) Of a whip, rod, etc., or of words. OE. ME.
b) Same sense, said of a blow, stroke, etc. ME. 1200.
c) Of wounds: sharp, painful, severe. ME. 1300.
d) Rough to the touch. ME. 1400.
- 3) Of wind, waves, fire: sharp, intense, vigorous. ME. 1290.
- 4) Of persons: forward, impudent, cutting. ME. 1300.
- 5) Of persons: active, brisk, alert. ME. 1300.

1 a. *Sharp, keen, penetrating.* Literal sense. NED does not give this sgn. Quots. OEH and Chron. Engl. are given under the heading 'inflicting or causing pain: sharp, biting, stinging' (NED 1).

ME. He. . . hef up hatelest alre wepne ant smat smertliche adun, þ te dunt defde in ant tet scharpe sweord ant eke smart scher hire bi þe schuldren. Marherete I 22. — Þu ahst to habben ehte wepnecin, þat beoð sceold, helm and brenie, swrd and spere, Stede and twei sporen, and ane smearte 3erd (Morris: Thou oughtest to have eight kinds of weapons. . . two spurs, and a smart staff. If Morris' translation is correct, this quot. belongs to 2 a. But it is perhaps not impossible to translate *3erd* 'goad' or 'lance'). OEH 243. — Forþ þai gun bring. . . a spere long & smert, þat longys put to godes hert. Vernagu 119. — He was yschote With an arewe kene ant smert. Chron. Eng. 929. NED. †

b. Of sounds: *penetrating, shrill.* Transferred sense. NED 5. NED gives another explanation of this sense, taking it to signify 'vigorous, having a certain degree of intensity, force, or strength'. Both interpretations are possible, and both lines of thought may have contributed to the development. Cf. NED *sharp* 7, and *keen* 4 c, where NED seems to prefer the theory which is adopted here. See also *scearp* 3, p. 131.

ME. To mouth he set his olifaunt; He blowith smert and loude sones. King Alis. 1183. †

2. *Sharp, biting, stinging; painful; severe, cutting.* Inflicting a pain like that caused by a sharp instrument. This sense represents another line of development than sense 1.

a. Of a whip, rod, etc. Material sense. NED 1.

OE. Ic wylle swingan eow mid þam smeartestum swipum. Wulfstan 295:10 †

ME. Yeitt drightin fanded pharaon, And send þe tent on-saand (: plague) him on, Mare þan all þas oþer smert. CM 6059. — Þe wande, he says, of disciplyne smert, Sal chace foly out of þe childes hert (2 b?). Pricke 5878. †

Also of words: *sharp, severe, cutting*. NED 4.

ME. Abraham hit tok til hert, And thought þis wordes war to smert. CM 3034. †

b. Of a blow, stroke, etc. The quality of being *stinging, painful*, etc., is transferred from the instrument to its effect or mode of function. Because a painful blow is generally *vigorous*, the latter idea may be implied. NED 2.

ME. ʒif þi sulf, hwon he (: the temptation) strongest stont, one smerte discepline (: flagellation). Ancr. R. 294. — Þenne me hine pined mid... smerte smiten of smale longe ʒerden. OEH II 207. — (They) uppen Colgrime smiten mid swiðe smarte biten. Lay. A (B) 21364. — Sir Amoraunt... smot to Gij a dint ful smert Wiþ alle þe miȝt he gan welde. Guy 100:2. — A leyde to þe Sarsyn strokes smerte, riȝt als til his dedly fo. Ferumbras 600. †

c. Of wounds, or of the pain itself, which is spoken of as an agent which causes the unpleasant feeling. Also transferred to the feeling of pain. NED 3.

ME. Wyt chance of ded, or chance of hert, þat soft began has endyng smart. CM 58. — For þe payn of þe dede þat es swa smert, þat es þe hard stour at þe last ende. Pricke 1837. — As a stynkande stanc (: pool) þat stryed (: destroyed) synne, Pat euer of synne & of smach (: smell) smart is to fele. Cleanness 1019. — NEL 109:101. — Northern Passion Add. MS. 1224. — Quair 101. — Sowdone 1309, 3149. †

d. *Rough to the touch*. NED 1 b.

ME. Þis stone... Be it smethe owþer smert, smaragden hit hat. Destr. Troy 924. †

3. *Sharp, intense, vigorous*. Of the wind, waves, etc. Cf. *sharp* 7 a. It was pointed out above (2 b) that the meaning of *smart* may in certain connexions oscillate between the senses 'sharp' and 'vigorous'. This is the case also in the present application.¹⁾ NED 5.

1) Cf. Ane bowe that is ay bent, Worthis vnsmart and dullis on the string. Henryson 23. Note that *unsmart* is used here in a way which implies that *smari* had the sgn 'vigorous'. The quot. is late, and may represent a Scottish idiom. Cf. *smart* adv. 1, below, quot. from ESEL.

ME. A smart wind also to oþur wo on heom bleuþ wel faste. ESEL, 207: 245. — When tempestes falles and stormes smert. Pricke 2940. — Ibm 3258. — *Quen* it (: Alexander's fortifications) was smeten in small with þe smert wazes. Alexander 1309. — The smoke of þe smert loghys, þat waivet in the welkyn, wappond full hote. Destr. Troy 9512. †

4. Of persons: *pert, forward, impudent, cutting*, with respect to their speech or thoughts. Evidently closely related to sense 2 a, though used of the agent, not of the feeling caused by it. NED 8.

ME. Darrie was wel sore anoyede... And seide 'Of tale þou art smart! King Alis. (Bodl.) 4160. NED. (Weber (Lincoln's Inn MS.): Darie was ful sore anoyed. . . And saide of tale, »Beo smart, Alisaundre thyseolf thow hit art«). †

5. Of persons: *Active, brisk, alert*. We may perhaps venture to assume that this sgn arose in the same manner as the corresponding sense of *sharp* (p. 134), that is to say through the application of senses 2 and 3, or of certain elements of these senses, to living beings. In some late quots., the sense 'swift' is implied, which may be due, or at least partly due, to influence from the adv. *smartly*. The sense of speed does not appear to be predominant in any of the early instances. NED 9.

ME. Bot sampson þat was selcuth smert, Vte o þair handes son he stert. CM 7168. — Man þat wel spedýþ hym yn dede, And messenger smart at nede. Handlyng 4816. — Now er we smert, now er we slawe. Pricke 1464. — Gweynes þanne hym gan to doute, Wanne he saw to hym-ward route, Sarazyns stronge & smerte. Ferumbas 5352. — Þe Sarzyn, þat was fers & smert, howel oppon þe helm he gert, With his swerd with mayne. Ibm 5575. — Then was I war of a gret hert, Fair and gret and ful smert, That ȝede on land. Troy Book 2416. — Ther come a kyng ridynge a-cost... With many a knyȝt hard & smert. Ibm 5287. Similarly 5506. — Be blycht and besy, quyk, & smert, And lat na langour throw thi hart. Ratis Raving III:23f. †

ME. SMARTLY, adv.

Smartly is not found in OE., and it is rare in early ME. C. 1200 the sense 'vigorously, forcibly' makes its appearance. In the absence of evidence for internal development (there are no earlier instances of any kind) it is assumed to have been taken over from the adj. Cf. the two first instances of *smart* 2 b, both from c. 1200, and showing oscillation 'stinging / vigorous'. C. 1300

smartly is found with verbs of motion, signifying 'swiftly'. This development has no doubt proceeded in the same way as the corresponding process in *sharply*. The senses 'quickly' and 'shortly, immediately' also appear c. 1300.

1. *Painfully: in a sharp, severe manner*, in respect of treatment, language, etc. NED 1 b. None of the quotes. is quite conclusive. The first two may signify 'quickly', and the third may be an early instance of the sense 'cleverly, in an acute manner' (NED 3). However, we may assume that this sense has existed in the adv., as the corresponding sgn of the adj. is one of the original senses of the word.

ME. Me war leuer yow for to lere Quar lijs your lauerd rode-tre, þan dempt sua smer(t)li to be. CM C and F 21496 (G sua sone; so that it is not quite certain how this quot. should be interpreted). — And when þe cors in erth was layd, þan was his gast full smertly grayd: Vnto his wyfe he went ogayne And suede hir with mykell payne. Gy 44. — Of this same mater it is quikli and smertli spoken in a litil book therto and therefore maad. Pecoock I. ix. 47. †

2.] *Vigorously, forcibly*. In a physical sense. As mentioned above, in the introductory remarks, this sgn is assumed to be due to influence from the adj. The usual verb is *smiten*, which corresponds to the use of the adj. with nouns signifying a blow or stroke. The notion of pain may also be implied in such connexions. NED 1 a.

ME. Smit se smertliche herto, þ alle þeos fowr hweoles tohwiderin to stucchen. Katherine 1990. — Ah smat smertliche adun hire cneon to þe eorðe. Marherete I 9. — Amidde þe pas þai ben to-gider come, & asaileþ hem smerteliche. Guy 3485. — Similarly 5753. — Þat swine anon oꝝain him com, And Gij smertlich smot him anon, Þat þe hert he clef euen atvo. Guy 6758. Similarly 7211. 7257. — Gij he drof (:pursued) smertliche... Wiþ his kniȝtes on heye stede. Guy 6960. — Palerne 3345. — NEL 26:104. — Cleanness 711. — Chev. Assigne 318. — But many of Troye In his defence At that tyme ful smartly stryues. Troy Book 6217. — Ibm 8952. †

3. C. 1300, we find *smartly* in connexions where it denotes speed. The immediate source of this sgn is no doubt the sgn 'vigorously, forcibly', and the development takes place when the adv. is used to qualify verbs of motion. It is true that we find other verbs almost simultaneously with the earliest instances of verbs of motion, but we find them only when the adv. signifies speed in relation to time (:shortly, immediately). The reason for

this state of things is discussed in Ch. III C, q. v. — We may thus venture to assume that the development of the sense of speed is essentially identical with the corresponding process in the advs. *sharply*, *fæste* and *swiðe*. NED 2.

a. *Rapidly*. With durative verbs of motion. An implication of 'vigorously' is sometimes discernible in this and the following senses.

ME. Wel smart-loker (sc. than lightning) scheot ane mannes soule, ȝe more þane swuche seuene. ESEL 314:505. — Pürch þat ost he rode smartliche, His hors him bar hastiliche. Guy 3977. — Parfor þai swippe þurgh purgatory Als a foul þat flies smertly. Pricke 3323. — The moste of ȝone (:horses) that I see, Smertly schalle bere mee, tille I come to my dame. Perceval 335. — Her Archer faste Afftir hem spedde; The Archer hadde so smartly ronnen, That he hadde lond of hem wonnen (:he had gained on them). Troy Book 7771. — Be that is berard reddy in his bright wed, spedithe hym smertly And sparithe no led. Roland 697. — Smertly affire he pursued tho To reskue his dere brother. Sowdone 1419. †

b. *Quickly*. Cf. *hrædlice*, p. 24, and *swiþe*, p. 123.

ME. Quen þat þai herd þis word be said, Ful smertli þai þam þider graid. CM C and G 17810 (F and T wonder fast). — Do now wele, ȝeld þe to me, & smertlich vnarme þe. Guy 265:5. — Smerteliche he dede him in þe ways, Ouer þe dounes & þe valeys. To the Sarrazins y-comen he is. Guy 3875. — Palerne 2590. — Out of þe chamber come þe kyng... Smertly rase þai him ogayne. Yw. a. Gaw. 512. — Hy þe smertly unto me. Ibm 573. — Togeder smertly gan þai drive, þaire sheldes sone bigan to ryve. Ibm 635. — Ibm 961. 2598. — Octavian L 1360. — Perceval 342. — Northern Passion 62. 1988. — Gamelyn 187.243. — Ferumbras 3383. — Cleges 257. — Roland 653. 785. — Troy Book 6165. — Brut 161:19. — Gol. a. Gaw. 706. 1118. †

c. *Shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended*. Note the frequent occurrence of the verb *to tell*. An implication of *sharply*, *severely* is sometimes discernible. The phrase *als smertly* = 'at once' occurs c. 1350. See *swiþe*, p. 125.

ME. Þe best rede þat we can don, Smertliche & hastily Messangers we schul now sende Ouer alle þis lond. Guy 39:6. — Listef nouh boþe ȝong and olde, And ȝe shole here smertly hem (:the deadly sins) tolde. Kildare 186/10 (MS. Laud 463, Septem Peccata Mortalia). — Ete noght ar þou haue holy brede... þy body, ȝyf it þan smartly endes, hyt ys for housyl azens þe fendes. Handlyng 841. — Anoun cumforted was Troyle so weyl, þat hys sykenes he forgate eche deyl, And so smartly, yn tyme so lyte, þat þey alle myȝt wele wyte, etc. Ibm 6997. — Sir Kai said þan ful smertli: Madame, etc. Yw. a. Gaw. 117. Similarly 466. — I salle sla ȝow alle three, Bot ȝe smertly now telle mee Whatkyns thynggez that ȝe bee. Perceval 294. — Penne be-spak þat erchebysschop... Smertly to þe kyng. Athelston

467. — Gamelyn 247. — Ip. A 8432. — Pat sall we smertly se, For in comune bordell sal þou be And þore be fyled with men of myne. NEL 18:133. — Bot þou tite turne þi mode... With diuers doles þou sal be ded, And þarfore smertly þe auyse. NEL 46:95. — Pan in his hert he had grete tene, and als smertly þare in stede He demed Romane to be dede. NEL 110:223. — Ibm 5:109. 68:369. — Quen I þe tape (: given a blow) haue, & þou me smopely hatȝ smyten, smartly I þe teche of my hous. Gawain 407. — Ferumbras 3141. 3376. — Bruce 3:179. 5:596. — Cleges 304. — Hoccleve, Letter of Cupid 109. — York Plays 193:2. 337:5. Etc.

ME. SMART, adv.

Comparatively rare. Only two senses are clearly discernible, 'vigorously' and 'quickly'. The former is found first, which agrees with the general trend of development, but otherwise the evidence is too scanty to permit the establishing of a plan of development.

1. *Vigorously, forcibly.* Sometimes with implication of *painfully*, or of *quickly*.

ME. Þe king... dede him sore swinge, And wit hondes smerte dinge. Havelok 215. — For he (: a bow) wolde... þe smartore dryue eft-sonne And þe betere dunt ȝyue to euerech þing þat ich habbe with to done. ESEL 412:333. — Kyng Richard... Gaff þe bataylle hard and smerte, þat no paynym myȝte wiþsterre. Richard 5431. — Pat ffyr ffleyȝ aboute so smerte, þat manye Crystene-men it herte. Ibm 6173. — With þat ich word wel smert Gij him smot vn-to þe hert. Guy 1365. 1507. — Ful kene it (: a voice) was and com ful kene, Ful soth it was apon vs señe, þat smitten war sa smert. CM 24334. — Libeaus 646. — Roland 734. — The flies that now haste away chassid, thay ben full and haue etty n y-nowe, and thes newly come me shale moche more Smerre assayle. Secreta 180:12. †

2. *Quickly; shortly, immediately.* The instances are so few that it is not possible to distinguish shades of sense corresponding to *smartly* 3 a-c. As *smert* = 'at once'.

ME. He toke hys kyrtyl of, as smert, And ded hyt on þe man aboue. Handlyng 5704. — Pan þe erlys chyldryn were war ful smerte, And wyȝtly to þe traytour sterre. Athelston 789. — Ȝef þow haue more in herte, Telle me, sonne, now alle smerte. Myrc 1394. — But he lepe vp with gret spede... And drow his swerd raply & smert. Troy Book 1481. — Ibm 4554. 10526. — Syr Gowther went to a chambur smart. Gowther 403. — Gawayne gloppeden in hert (: was sorry that his horse was killed), Of he were (:he sprang off) hasty and smert, Oute of sterops he stert, Fro griselle þe goode. Awntyrs 544. — Pan made he smythis to gaa smert & smethe him a chaiere. Alexander 5515. †

OE. HWÆT, adj.

Prim. Teut. **hwata-* 'schnell, scharf', from the verbal stem **hwat-* 'antreiben, erregen, schärfen' (Fick III 115). ON. *hwatr* 'hurtig, schnell; kühn, tapfer' (Gering). OHG. 'heftig, scharf'.

Tamm (s. v. *hwass*) assumes that 'sharp' is the original sgn, and that 'brisk, bold' was a later development. Considering the parallel development of *sharp* and *smart*, this theory is very plausible, though nothing can be proved by the OE. instances of *hwæt* itself. It appears in OE. only in the latter sense, to which, in ME., is added that of 'swift, quick'.

In OE. epic poetry, there are a number of compounds with *-hwæt* (cf. GK and BT), in which the word has a general commendatory import. That is sometimes the case also when it occurs as simplex. When transferred to the adv., this sense might evidently have formed the starting-point for the development of the sgn 'quickly'. However, there are no instances showing how the development actually proceeded.

This word, as well as the related advs., should have been excluded according to the principle that words too scantily instanced to permit us to trace their development are not discussed. But as there are so few words in this group, I have thought it advisable to give another specimen, even if it is of small importance with regard to the conclusions. — In ME., this word is found only in the Southern districts.

1. *Vigorous, bold, brave, brisk.* Often as an epitheton ornans.

OE. *Swa se secg hwata secgende wæs laðra spella.* Beow. 3028. — *Nis þæs modwlanc mon ofer eorþan, ne in his geoguþe to þæs hwæt, ne in his dædum to þæs deor... þæt he a his sæfore sorge næbbe.* Seafarer 40. — *Sum biþ to horse hwæt.* Cræftum 81. — *Hy beoð þy gesundran ond þy sigefæstran, heortum þy hwætran ond þy hygebliþran* (sc. if they use books). Riddles 24:20. — *Þone cræft-gestan dæl & þa hwatestan men ealles þises middangeardes* (:fortissimas mundi partes). Oros. 48:6. 48:14. — *Þeh þe Scipþie hæfdon maran monmenie, & self hwætran wæron* (:et numero et virtute præstarent), *hie þeh Philippus besiredede mid his lotwrencum.* Oros. 116:25. — *Ne... se hwata esne scyle ymb þ gnornian, hu oft he fiohtan scyle* (:virum fortem non decet indignari). Boethius 138:18. — *Sona swa him hwæt beboden bið... mid hwatum hyrsumnesse fet* (:Uicino pede obedientie. Swift?) *þæs beodendan stefne mid weorce gefolgiað.* Reg. Ben. 20:3. †

ME. *Pa Bruttes weoren swiðe whæte & heolden fæsten heore ȝæte.* Lay. A 11240. †

As epitheton ornans.

OE. *Hwate Scyldingas. Beow. 1601. 2052. 2517, etc. Elene 22. Chr. A 937/106. Etc.*

2. *Active, brisk, swift, cager.* Meaning often vague, implying the preceding sense.

ME. To gode þu ware slau and let, and to euele spac and hwat. OEH II 183. — Þe ben alto smiele (smieliche: crafty) on swikedom, and hwatte us to bi-swikende. *Ibm 193.* — Mid his spere he wes wæht. *Lay. A 9320.* — Heo iseizen an heore riht hond a swiþe fæier æitlond,.. þiderward heo weoren whæte. *Ibm 14737.* — Þa cnihtes weoren swide whæte and wefden up þa castles zæte. *Ibm 19002 (B: wate).* Similarly A 7138. — To þere dure he wes ful wæt. *Lay. A 13588.†*

OE. HWÆTLICE, adv.

Only temporal senses are found, and, in contradistinction to *hwæt*, no implication of 'active, bold, vigorous' is discernible. The ME. instances are all from the Southern and the Eastern dialects.

1. *Quickly, soon, immediately.*

OE. *Gehyr me hwætlice & me hraðe gedo micle mine sawle on þines mægenes sped (Exaudi me: multiplicabis in anima mea virtutem). Ps. 137:4.* — Þa arn se cniht & mid þweorum gehigde eode hwætlice (: *velociter*) on þa mædwe. *Gregorius C H 36:11.* — Swa hwylc swa hwætlice to þeoginge efstað butan tweon hraðlice hi beoð geendude (: *quicumque uelociter ad profectum tendunt*). *Scint. 101:16.* — Nu we hwætlice þis habbað gegaderod (: *united*) þæt ys on lyden actiuum opus. *Byrhtferth 330:35.* — Uton towurpon hwætlicor þas geflitu: *dissoluamus citius has contentiones. WW 100:7. †*

ME. *Aftterr þatt he seȝde þuss Till þa þatt saldenn cullfress: Gaþ till, & bereþþ heþenn ut Whattlike þise þingess. Orm 15571. 16093.* — Þatt deofell let te Laferrd seon Whattlike inn an hanndwhile Off all þiss wide middellærd Þe kin-domess alle. *Orm 12166.* — ȝif hie (: *thoughts and words*) cumeð fram mannen, hie (: *prudence*) cann hwatliche underfinden, an hwos half he is icumen, and ðar after hie hine underfengð. *Vices 99:32.* — Þeos hule spac wel baldeliche; for þah heo nadde swo hwatliche ifare after hire here (: *army*), heo walde neopeles ȝefe answere þe nihtegale mid swucche worde. *O & N 1708. †*

2. The following instances of the comp. and sup. forms seem to show a development similar to that of *raþer*, implying *sooner, rather, earlier, more preferably*. The quots. are so few that it is impossible to trace the development. See M. s. v.

ME. *Bute ðu iswik, ðe hwatliker hit te scall æure ma rewen. Vices 87:19.* (Holthausen translates 'bitterly', but as that sense is not otherwise instanced, it

should not be assumed here). — Wheper of þuse tuei schires whatlokest miȝte awake, Al sauf scholde wende forþ & þe bodi mid hem take. E. E. P. 56:315 (S. Kenelm. Harl. 2277). — Whatlokere scholde such an heȝ man. Beket 1249. M. (Harl. 2277). — Þulke vorewarde were uor noȝt, & watloker it aȝte her þat ich suor an oþ þat was al in þi poer. Rob. Glouc. 7348. — Worri he wolde watloker mid worde þan mid arme. Ibm 8846. †

ME. HWATE, adv.

It is found only in the sense *quickly, soon*, and only in a few ME. texts from the Southern dialects.

ME. Also wat swo þe man his sinne sore bimurneð, ure drihten leðeð þe sinne bendes. OEHL II 71. — Similarly II 125. 127. — To Thebes hy wendith whate. King Alis. 2639. — Hy stolen the kayes under their yate; The kyng there hy leten in whate. Ibm 3278. — He smoot his mule with sporen whate. Ibm 5534 (M interprets this 'scharf, spitz'. Improbable, because no instance of that sense is found in the adj. *hwæt* or in any of the related words). — He blew and cried: As armes wate! Richard 6985. — Forþ a wente also whate In at þe castel gate. Beues 3081. — As greyhound doþ þe hare, To ham he ran full whate. Iibeaus 1638. — Lambard ladde hym forth well whate, And broghte hym at the castell-gate. Ibm (Cotton) 1843. †

GROUP IV. WORDS ORIGINALLY SIGNIFYING 'LIVING'.

OE. CWIC, adj.

Prim. Teut. **kwikwo-* (**kwiwo-*), cf. Goth. *qius*, Lat. *vivus*, etc. (Fick III 63. NED s. v.). The original meaning is 'living, endowed with life'.

The semantic development offers several difficult problems. There are a number of transferred and figurative applications, regarding which it is often doubtful whether they are the result of native development, or due to foreign (esp. Latin) influence. The latter seems to have been of considerable importance in this word, which was used to render, not only L. *vivus* and *vivens*, but also *vivax* and *vividus*.

The sense 'swift' makes its first appearance c. 1300; in the adv. *quickly* we find it a century earlier. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct the development of the latter word. The earliest instances already have the sense 'swiftly' fully developed. An independent development of the adj., 'active, nimble,

brisk > swift', might be argued. If such a development has taken place, it was probably in phrases like those given in section 9 below: a nimble, brisk movement is a swift movement. This would correspond to the development of the advs. when qualifying verbs of motion. But we cannot get away from the fact that the adv. *quickly* must have influenced the meaning of the adj. *quick*, and it is very doubtful whether this influence, or internal development, was the main source of the sense of speed in the adj. Instances of the kind mentioned (: quick movement) are scarcely numerous enough to warrant the assumption that they have played such an important part in the history of *quick*. At any rate, this adj. cannot be adduced as proving the possibility of the sense 'rapid' arising in an adj. by internal development, a case for which there is, moreover, no analogy among the other adjs. dealt with in this work. Cf. especially *liflic*.

The adv. *quick* seems to have followed the development of the two other words.

None of the three words was common in early ME. The quotes. indicate that the development of the sense 'swift' took place in the Southern dialects.

Scheme of senses.

I. Literal senses.

- 1 a) Living, endowed with life. Of persons, animals, or plants. OE. ME.
- b) Of parts of living bodies, implying 'sensitive'. With the noun *life*, emphatically. ME. 1200.
- 2) Pregnant. ME. 1450.

II. Transferred and figurative applications of the original sense.

- 3) Of lifeless objects, having some quality suggestive of a living thing.
 - Of water, streams: running, flowing. OE. ME.
 - Of coals: alive, burning. OE. ME.
 - Of sand: mobile, shifting, 'quick-sand'. ME. 1340.
 - Of a public place: full of activity. ME. 1386.
 - Of rock: natural. ME. 1475.
- 4) Living, giving life. Of Christ, his doctrine, word, etc. OE. ME.
- 5) Characteristic of a living being. Of voice: loud, clear. OE. ME. Of colour or hue: vivid, bright. ME. 1225.
- 6) Producing a strong effect on the mind. Of speech or writings: vivid, effective, strong in reasoning. Of prayer: fervent, ME. 1225.

III. Senses denoting physical energy or speed.

- 7) Of persons or animals: full of energy or activity, prompt or ready to act, active or nimble of body. ME. 1300.
- 8) Moving, or able to move, with speed. ME. 1290.
- 9) Of movement: taking place rapidly or with speed, swift. ME. 1300.
- 10) Hasty, impatient, hot-tempered. ME. 1330.
- 11) Of persons or their qualities: mentally active or vigorous; of ready apprehension or wit; prompt to learn, think, or invent. ME. 1475.
- 12) Of eyes, feeling, perception: rapid or keen in function; capable of swift or ready perception. ME. 1374.

I. *Literal senses.*

1 a. *Living, endowed with life. Of persons, animals, and plants.*

The several groups into which this section is divided in NED represent variations that are of no importance for my object. They are therefore treated together, and as I have nothing essential to add, only a few instances are given, and the reader is referred to NED, BT, and GK for further information. NED *quick*, adj., 1 a and b, 2 a and b, 3 a.

OE. Nales deaðe swealt...ac he cwic gewat.. of þysson lænan life feran. Gen. 1210. — Uneaþe cwic ætberstende: vix uiuus euadens. WW 96:17. Etc.

ME. Monye of þis heyemen in chirche me may yse Knely to god as hii wolde al quic to him fle. Rob. Glouc. 7607 — Y schal the bete and dyngge... and afterward quyk the flen. King Alis. 1734. — Þei moun us alle quic henge or slo. Havelok 2588. — Nat fully quike, ne fully dede they were. Cant. A. 1015. — Why make you as dede men... and yet ye be not dede, but more quicke beggars than you were before? And it semeth evil a dede man to go about and beg. PPS II 20:18 (Jacke Upland). Ibm 74:8 (Reply of Friar Daw Topias). Evidently a play on the double meaning of *quick*. Cf. sense 7. — Quyk, or a-lyve. Vivus. Pr. P. 421. Etc.

b. *Quick* is further used of parts of living bodies, sometimes implying *sensitive*; and with the noun *life*, in an emphatical sense. Cf. Latin *caro viva*, *membra viva*. NED 2 c and d.

ME. Þo unbileffule men þe bi here quica liue here sunnes ne forleten. OEH II 171. — And as tat swote smirles (: unguent).. wit þat deade licome þat is ter wið ismittet from rotunge, als wa deð meidenhad meidenes cwike flesch, wiðute wemunge halt alle hire limen & hire fif wittes. Hali Meid. 13:24. — In his flesche was the pine more & sarre... þet his fleschs were tendrust & cwickest of alle vlesches. Ancr. R. 112. — Similarly 114. — Wyclif Lev. xiii. 15. NED. — A lyuyng mone, þt hadde be lette blode in a quyke veyne. Chron. Vilod. 2624. NED. †

2. *Quick: pregnant*, see NED 4 a. The phrase 'quick (with child)' is explained by NED, no doubt correctly, as an inversion of 'with quick child', found 1450.

ME. She hath not gon viij. weks quykke. Paston 305. †

II. *Transferred and figurative applications of the original sense.*

3. *Quick* is used of lifeless objects which have some quality suggestive of a living thing, an appearance of life, a certain motion of their own, etc.

The idea of attributing life to a burning brand, to flowing water, or to sand that appears to move and swallow objects placed on it, was so natural to primitive man, that these applications may very well be of native Teutonic origin. The same may be said of the application to a street, 'busy, full of activity', while the expression 'a quick rock' is no doubt a sense-loan, from the Latin *vivo saxo*, *pumice*.

Of water, streams, etc.: running, flowing. NED 9.

OE. He... clifu cyrreð on cwicu swylce wæteres wellan (:convertit rupem.. in fontem aquarum). Ps. 113:8. †

ME. In þe mydis þe altere a quyk wel sprang. Sc. Leg. Saints xxxiii. 319. NED. — A litel welle, That had his cours... Under an hille, with quikke stremes colde. Lydg. Compl. of the Black Knt. 77. †

Of coals: live, burning. NED 11 a.

OE. Do to fyre on croccan, ofer wylle on godum gledum clænum & cwicum. Lchdm. II 224. †

ME. Ase moche ase þer is be-tuene dyad col and quyk, man dyad and man libbinde. Ayenbite 126:25. — A qwik cole. Sowdone 2001. — If a man... couer þe coles þeroff with aschez, þai will hald in quikk a twelfmonth. Maundeville xxxi. 142. NED. †

Of sand: mobile, shifting, 'quicksand'. NED 10.

ME. As he þt gas on qwik grauel þat gers him synkþt standis þar on. Hampole Psalter I. i. NED. †

Of a public place: full of activity or business, busy. NED 13.

ME. This squyer.. happed hir to mete Amidde the toun, right in the quikkeest strete. Cant. F 1502. †

Of rock: natural, living. From the Latin. NED 7 a.

ME. Vppon the quicke Roche thay it sett tho. Parth. 1125. NED. — Similarly Ibm 4352. †

4. *Living, giving life.* In this section I place a number of instances which are clearly due to ecclesiastical and Latin influence, esp. the expressions used of Christ, and of his doctrine or word. NED 1 c.

OE. Engel hine scierpeð (:clothes) Cristes cempan on cwicum wædum, godes spyrigendes geonges hrægles. Sal. 139. — Ac godes word is cucu and scearp, innan lærende þis mennisce andgyt. Ælfric Saints 23 B:595 (Evidently from Heb. iv. 12. Cf. the quot. from Wyclif below). — (He) ualde gesealla ðe uæter cuic ʒ lifwelle uæter (:aquam vivam). AS. Gosp. J. 4:10. Ii. (Ru. wæter cwic-welle. C and H Lifes water). †

ME. Ic am cwuce bread (:panis vivus). Bispel 241:7. — To lhade of þe zeue streames þe quikke weteres uor to wetery þe zeue trawes. Ayenbite 98:29. — Ðanne we ðus brennen bihoueð us to rennen to cristes quike welle. Bestiary 341. — Forsoth the word of God is quyk. Wyclif Heb. iv 12. NED (:Vivus enim est sermo Dei, et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti. Modern: For the word of God is quick... and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit). — Ðai suffre not criste to be alyue in þe sowlis of his peple be qwike faythe. Wyclif 369. (NED 2 d). †

5. *Having some quality that is characteristic of a living being.*

Of voice: loud, clear. In the first quot. perhaps a slightly different sense, as 'viva voce' appears to be said in contrast to 'from books'.¹⁾ NED 1 c and 16.

OE. Endebyrdnesse & þeaw þæs songes cwicre stæfne (:viva voce) þæs fore sprecean mynstres sangeras lærde. Beda 314:21. †

ME. Him to cleopeden quickere stæuene. Lay. A 12306 (B: mid swipe loude stemne). — Þo saide þe king mid cwickere speche. Lay. B 15805 (A: swikere = cwikere?) — Ða andswarede þe king quicliche steuene. Lay. A 16558 (B: cwikere). — Lay. A 15873. †

Of colour or hue: vivid, bright. NED 5.

ME. Þe cwike rude of þe nebbe makeð to understonden þet te soule þet... nefde bute dead heou haueð ikeiht cwic heou. Ancr. R. 332. — The V:e (tokyn) of good complexion is that a man haue quyke coloure. Secreta 223:5. — Ibn 232:33, 236:1. †

These three senses (3, 4, and 5) represent a direct transfer of the adj. from the original material sense to various figurative uses, and they may all be included under the heading given above for sense 3: 'having some quality suggestive of a living thing'.

¹⁾ According to Du Cange (s. v. *vivus*) 'viva voce audire' means 'proprio ore' = 'from his own mouth'.

Their appearance in English is probably to be regarded as the result both of internal development and foreign influence.

6. *Producing a strong effect on the mind.* Of speech, writings, etc.: *vivid, effective, strong in reasoning.* Of prayer: *fervent.* NED 12.

The origin of this sense is not clear. It is tempting to explain it as a figurative use of 7, with which it seems to be closely connected. But its early appearance is an obstacle. As most of the instances occur in texts of ecclesiastical character, it may be regarded as due to Latin influence, chiefly as a rendering of Latin *vividus*. Cf. *vivida eloquentia* (Tacitus) and *vivida exempla* (quot. from De Imitatione, below).

ME. Ye eituðe reisun (sc. to flee the world) is uorte habben cwike bone (Morton: fervent. The context shows that *cwikh* means a prayer that is effective, that is granted). Ancr. R. 170. — Þe soth he sceud him al clere, And prouide him, wit quik resun. CM 22917. (C and F. G quilk). — The quene greteth, with quyk bon, By the false god Ammon. To Neptanabus heo made hire mon. King Alis. 464. — Hi nollep yleue god, wyþ-oute guod wed, þet is to ziggene, bote yef hi y-zy kuik scele. Ayenbite 134:22. — Hi nollep y-leue þing þet god zayþ, bote yef me ne betoke ham guod wed, þet is to zigge, oþer þane quicke scele oþer aperte miracle. Ibm 134:29. — Vor more quic scele ne more uayrer uorbisne he ous ne may sseawy of zoþe louerede. Ibm 146:22. — Noght o word spak he more than was nede, And that was seyð in forme and reverence, And short and quik, and ful of hy sentence. Cant. A 306. (Cf. *quick* adv. 1.) †

The following quotes. seem to represent a variation of this sense. NED 6.

Me payed ful ille to be out-fleme So sodenly of þat fayre regioun, Fro alle þo sygtez so quykez & queme. Pearl 1178 (: *life-like, vivid*). — Beholde þe quicke ensamples of olde fadres. De Imitatione I.xviii. 19. NED (: *Intuere sanctorum patrum vivida exempla: inciting, stimulating.* Clearly a loan-sense).

III. Senses denoting physical energy or speed.

Senses 7—10 all make their appearance c. 1300. This circumstance is the strongest argument in favour of the assumption that they are due to influence from the adv. *quickly*, not to internal development, in which case one would expect them to appear in succession. An exception should perhaps be made for sense 7. It is not unlikely that it existed previously to 1300, and was the result of internal development of the adj.

It might then have formed the basis for senses 8 and 9, which were formed by the influence of the adv. It should also be noted that sense 7 in some measure corresponds to Lat. *vivax*, which may have played a part in its genesis. The oscillation between 7, 8, and 11, shows that these signs are closely related, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish clearly between them.

NED has the following common heading for these senses: 'Having in a high degree the vigour or energy characteristic of life, and hence distinguished by, or capable of, prompt or rapid action or movement'. This definition is evidently intended to show how NED thinks the meaning 'swift' has originated. Such a view would be plausible if it were not for the dates of the earliest instances, and the previous existence of the sense 'swiftly' in the adv. The arrangement in NED is more logical than chronological and historical.

7. *Of persons or animals: full of energy or activity; active or nimble of body; brisk.* Often fluctuating towards 'swiftly', and difficult to distinguish from that sense. Also in transferred applications. NED 19.

ME. Pere as of stedes a god & quic me fond. Rob. Glouc. 11562. — Pey smette to-gedere so bitterlyke, Pat eyþer side fond oþer quyke. Brunne Chron. Wace 16372. NED. — A grene hors gret & þikke, A stede ful stif to strayne, In brawdren brydel quik, To þe gome he watȝ ful gayn. Gawain 178. — Þenne orpedly in to his hous he hyȝed to Saré, Comaunded hir to be cof & quyk at þis oneȝ. Cleanness 624. — So þat qwen þa rise to pray, þa be qwhickar þen þai before were. Misyn Mending Life 118. NED. — The Gregeis were apert and quyk, That arwes on londe thei dede styk, That many of Troye to dethe fell. Troy Book 4307. — Quyk, or lyvely, or delyvyr. Vivax. Pr. P. 421. — PPS II 20:18, 74:8, cf. quot. in section 1. — Be blycht and besy, quyk, & smert, And lat na langour throw thi hart. Ratis Raving III 231. †

Transferred sense.

ME. Alisaunder wol or nyght Breke the castel down ryght And take him with quyk vigour. King Alis. 4584. — Crist fastide fourty daies. . . and he was in quyke age, and listide wel to ete. Wyclif Sel. Wks. I 109. NED. †

8. *Moving, or able to move, with speed.* Cf. sense 7, and quickly sense 4. NED 23.

ME. Ne wende þou no so wide, þei heo were quickore þane ani best, þat is bi þis wode-side. ESEL 458:60. — Slou to fiȝte & quic to fle & þat nis no manhede. Rob. Glouc. 9327. — I am as whyt (:whyk) as thought. Cov. Mys. 30:298. NED. †

9. *Of movement: taking place rapidly or with speed, swift.*
NED 24.

ME. He fley into paris mid wel quic pas. Rob. Glouc. 3806. Similarly 4538, 4544. 5452, 7941. — Quyke mevyng and delyuere, tokenyth good vndyrstondyng and hasty witte. *Secreta* 221:27. †

10. *Hasty, impatient, hot-tempered.* NED 22. Cf. a similar development of *hræd* (3), *snel* (3), *swift* (3).

ME. He lyued seþþen many ðeres, A quyk man, and a feres (:fierce). *Handlyng* 2574. †

11. *Mentally active or vigorous; of ready apprehension or wit; prompt to learn, think, or invent.* Also of the qualities of a person. Mental application of sense 8. Cf. Latin *vividum ingenium, vis animi*, etc. Cf. also *hræd* 4 and *snel* 4. NED 21.

ME. (The cellarer is to be) Suche one that is wyse, quicke, well condycyoned. Benet Caxton 127:31. — Two prestes... of whome that one was quyk and coude putte hym self forth. Caxton *Fables of Poge* xii. NED. †

12. *Rapid or keen in function; capable of swift or ready perception.* Of the eyes, perception, feeling, etc. Also transferred. Probably partly due to Latin influence. NED 20.

It is true that there is an OE. quot. which falls under th's heading: *He þa cwices modes geornlice leornade þa þing þe he þær geseah & sceawode* (Beda 452:26), but *cwices* is evidently a mechanical translation of the adj. in the Latin phrase *erat adolescens animi vivacis*. NED 21 b.

This sense may perhaps be regarded as a development from senses 8 and 11, perhaps supported by foreign analogies. The quot. from Chaucer Boethius is quite differently analyzed by NED (see NED 11 b), but it seems to me that the idea of mind is predominant, not the idea of fire, though NED evidently regards it as a figurative application of sense 3.

ME. Digestioun hit maeth and eyon quyk. Pallad. on *Husb.* viii. 136. NED. — She... hadd a quicke yee, and a light. Knt. de la Tour 18. NED. — Transferred: (This horse was) Ther-with so horsly, and so quik of ye, As it a gentil Poileys courser were. Cant. F 194. — Ne ther ne were no manere ne non ende, but-yif that a wight constreinede tho doutes by a right lyfly and quik fyr of thought; that is to seyn, by vigour and strengthe of wit. Chaucer Boethius B. IV. Pr. 6:15 (: nisi quis eas vivacissimo mentis igne cocercoat. Migne 813) — Quyk and feruent and solempne and miche deuout remembraunce. Pecoock Repr. II viii. p. 183. †

ME. QUICKLY, adv.

Derived from the adj. *quick*. — Only one OE. instance is known: *Me on soðne weg ðinne þone leofan læde cwiculice* (in via tua vivifica me), Ps. 118:37, in which *læde cwiculice* evidently is a clumsy attempt to render *vivifica*. This instance may therefore be left out of consideration. — Pr. P. gives the translation *vivaciter* (421. 524).

The ME. instances are of two kinds. First, those in which *quickly* signifies 'vividly, with animation (or vigour), in a lifelike manner, in the manner of a living being'. These senses are probably taken over from the adj. or due to foreign influence. They appear after 1300, and are comparatively few in number.

The other group contains instances where *quickly* denotes speed. They are found c. 1200, and are considerably more numerous than the other group.

*Scheme of senses.**I. Senses signifying 'in the manner of a living being'.*

- 1) In a lively manner, with animation or vigour. ME. 1330.
- 2) With quickness of perception. ME. 1330.
- 3) In a life-like manner. ME. 1477.

II. Senses denoting speed.

- 4) Rapidly. ME. 1200.
- 5) Quickly. ME. 1200.
- 6) Shortly, immediately; quickly begun and ended. ME. 1200.

I. Senses signifying 'in the manner of a living being, vividly, with animation or vigour, in a lifelike manner'.

The quots. are so few that it is impossible to establish any distinct types. NED has the following arrangement.

1. *In a living or lively manner; with animation or vigour; also, with strong feeling, sensitively.* In some cases the interpretation is not quite convincing.

ME. Be 3e doughty & lereþ of armes & quykly defende 3ow fro harmes. Brunne Chron. Wace 6722. NED. — Wene ye Love wol consent... To draw myn herte out of his honde, Which is so quikly in his bonde. Chaucer Rose 3314. — Men shulden... do quycly wiþ þer lippis bi resoun of Goddis cause. Wyclif Serm. Sel. Wks. II 251. NED. — Thei be-gan the Gregeis to assyale; To þe Gregeis fresche and so quykly, That thei died thanne thikly. Troy Book 5671. — I suld more Ioy or ellis quyklyar synge. Misyn Fire of Love 77. NED. — Suche a

man... is soo quyckely and soo felyngly inspired. Hylton Scala Perf. II xxviii. NED. — Of this same mater it is quikli and smertli spoken in a litil book therto and therefore maad. Pecoock Repr. I ix. p. 47. †

2. *With quickness of perception.*

ME. By alle þe costes quykly to wake þat no Saxoyn on þow aryue. Brunne Chron. Wace 7782. NED. — Of sharpenesse of hir corage and of hir loking quyly. Bk. St Albans C viii. b. NED. †

3. *In a life-like manner; to the life¹.*

ME. An ymage of fyn golde so quickly made after the facon of apollo that it semed proprely his persone. Caxton Jason 84. NED. †

II. *Senses denoting speed.*

The exact origin of the sense 'swiftly' must remain a matter of conjecture, as we have no early instances showing any other meaning. The adj. *quick* is too scantily instanced before 1200 to be of any assistance, and the adv. *quick* is not found at all before that date.

It can scarcely be doubted that one of the earliest signs of the adv. was 'in a manner characteristic of a living being', that is to say, 'in a vivacious, active, lively, energetical manner', the possession of vital force expressing itself in bodily vigour, activity, or energy. Combined with verbs of motion (all the earliest quotes. have such verbs) this sense would naturally tend to develop in the direction of 'swiftly', and the idea of speed might finally become predominant, the other elements of meaning being eliminated. This development is in the main parallel to that of the advs. in the preceding groups.

The senses 'rapidly', 'quickly', and 'immediately', all appear simultaneously. The scarcity of texts (esp. Southern texts) before 1200 entitle us to assume that the first sense existed before the others even if not found previously in literature. Cf. also p. 24.

4. *Rapidly, swiftly.* With purely durative verbs. Only verbs of motion. NED 2 a.

ME Sturied ou euer cwicliche ine Gode werkes. Ancr. R. 404. — Þis þreomanere men ne mouwen nouht in purgatorie bi-leue, Ake smitez þoru-out quic-

¹) Cf. Latin: vivos ducent e marmore vultus (Vergilius); vivida signa (Propertius).

lokur þane þe leyte doth an eue. ESEL, 428:272. — Also quicliche ase lighthingue þoru purgatorie huy doz gon. Ibm 429:297. — They hied heom quykliche And that sone and pryveliche. King Alis. 3764. †

5. *Quickly.* Verbs denoting motion or other action.

ME. Ich chulle gon nu slepen & arisen nunon, & don cwicluker þen nu þet ich schulde don nu. Ancr. R. 270. — And suppe cwicliche fleh to his iveres. Lay. B 9324 (A rehliche). — Cwicliche he þider com. Lay. B 10376. (A færliche). — His folc quicliche to þe bataile sset. Rob. Glouc. 7455. — His folk ful of orped-schype Quicliche leputh to hepe. King Alis. 1414. — Ibm 2671. — Theo water quycliche they passith. Ibm 3576. — The stewarde... Quickly out of the castell ran. Richard 2165. 5989. — Many wyzt man Hastely to hys armes ran, And wenten quykly to þe dyke, And deffendyd hem hastelyke. Ibm 3017. — Penne fersly þay flokked in folk at þe laste, & quykly of þe quelled dere a querré þay maked. Gawain 1324. — To bee Ladie of his land, & his leewe make, Men to queme hur as Queene & quiklich hur serue. Alis. I. 227 (Or does this belong to sense 1?). — Anon, riht as þe kyng hym sez, Quyklich þanne a rod hym nez, & sayde til hym ful zare... Ferumbras 4255. — To þe drauztbrigge before he goþ, & quylich let hur down. Ibm 3976. — Ibm 3893. — Quickliche cam a cacchepol and craked a-two here legges (: the legs of the crucified thieves). P. Pl. C 21:76. — Sum braidis to þar bowis, bremely þai schut, Quethirs out (: fly whizzing) quarels quickly be-twene. Alexander 1414. — Whan it (: obedience) is done quickly and wythout grutchynge. Benet Caxton 123:16. Etc.

6 *Shortly, immediately; quickly begun and ended.* Verbs denoting motion or other action. NED 2 b, c.

ME. In alle our neoden, sendeð cwicliche anon þeos sonden touward heouene. Ancr. R. 246. — He sende his boden to Belin his broðer & bad hine quicliche azeuen him his quene. Lay. A (B) 4697. — 3if þou miht eni finde... cwikliche anon riht leie heom to grunde. Lay. B 3696. — Ich hine wole ahon and cwikliche al fordon. Ibm 19441 (A hiþenliche). — Ibm 31606. — He sende anon as quicliche as he mihte is sonde. Rob. Glouc. 7860. — Similarly King Alis. 2607. — He hette quycly al the rowte Bysette the cité al abowte. Ibm 3231. 4070. 7005. — Theo duyk feol down to the grounde, He starf quykliche of that wounde. Ibm 3793. — Pere was many gentyl heued Quykly ffro þe body weued. Richard 3020. — Schewe me quykly my galye. Ibm 6714. — Arth. a. Merl. 7809. — Sum-time it hentis me wiþ hete as hot as ani fure, but quicliche so kene a cold comes þer-after. Palerne 908. — Whan william herd þise wordes... he kneled quikli on knes & oft god þonked. Ibm 1003. — Ibm 1182. 2127. — Quikliche a-boute þe quarrer were kene men of armes. Ibm 2288. — »3et I kende yow of kyssyng», quod þe clere þenne, »Quere-so countenance is coupe, quikly to clayme». Gawain 1490. — Þe Queene quitt hym his speche & quikly saide... Alis. I 586. — Ibm 593. 1106. — Fyrumbras was glad, & toke vp þat brond, quiklich at a brayde. Ferumbras 684. — Quyclych payeþ þys truwage (:toll) þat ze han i-hurd me sigge. Ibm 1742. — Ibm 2347. — To Mantrible anon most þou fare, Quikly loke þat þou be þare, As

swyþe as he (:the dromedary) may gon. Ibm 3827. — Desyre thow not the thyng that may not endure and anoone Passyth, and that thow most quykly forsake and leue. Secreta 138:20. †

ME. QUICK, adv.

Most of the instances represent the senses 'rapidly-quickly-shortly', which are arranged in the usual manner. Some quotes of doubtful meaning are placed in section 1.

1. There are a few quotes. in which *quick* seems to have a meaning corresponding to senses 1—2 of *quickly*, though it must be admitted that the interpretation is very uncertain. However, it is not surprising that a sense could be transferred from the adj. *quick*, or from *quickly*, to the other cognate adverb. Not in NED.

ME. He... smot ful sore An erl... þat with him wolde al quic wede. Havelok 2641. — Ther may no marchaunt live at ese, His herte in sich a were is set, That it quik brenneth (more) to get. Chaucer Rose 5700. — Thei wounden the Troyens thikke, And faught with hem wel quykke. Troy Book 4374. — He hes reft Merseir his endite, That did in luf so lifly write, So schort, so quyk, of sentence hie. Dunbar 50:75. (Cf. Noght o word spak he more than was nede, And that was seyð in forme and reverence, And short and quik, and ful of hy sentence. Cant. A 306. *Quick* adj. 6). †

2. *Rapidly*. With purely durative verbs. Rare, but implied by the next sense. Verbs of motion. NED *quick* adv.

ME. He... wende him vor wrappe aȝen so quic so he miȝte hie. Rob. Glouc. 11281. — Þenne comen seune galyes behynde To þe drowound quyk saylynde. Richard 2556. †

3. *Quickly*. Verbs denoting motion, or action of other kinds.

ME. ȝif heo is þanne with-oute sunne, heo hath Aungles cuynde And mai beo nouþe here and þer, ase quik ase mannes muynde. ESEL 314:502. — Iesu Crist he þankede anon; A wente quik out of prisoun Be þe rop, þe gailer com adoun. Beues 1651. — Who gef the leve hider to com? Quik do the hennes sone. King Alis. 872. — Alisaundre in the mornyng Quik hath armed al his gyng. Ibm 922. — Quic he lad hire hom. Ibm 1149. — They wentyn quyk, heom thoughtelonge. Ibm 1966. — Salomè leop on his juster... And dyghte him quyk over the strond, And rideth swithe, so foul may fleon. Ibm 1981. — Alisaundre wente ageyn, Quyk asiweth him al his men. Ibm. 2494. — Ibm 2480. 2620. 2839. — Al quyk Y hote that ye yarke, That Y have by letre yow saide. Ibm 2940. — Aleyn quyk, and men jnowe To þat drowound begunne to rowe. Richard 2483. — Kyng Ry-chard aftyr þat meruayle Wente quik to lond saun fayle. Ibm 2684. — Wip

al hys hoost he hym wiþdrow³, And ffley³ quyk wiþ hys barounnage. Ibm 3169. — Þa þey wenten quyk, withouten ffable, And slowe here stedes in here stable. Ibm 6155. — So to her coffer quick she cam. Freine 357. — Quik he rod hem till. Li-beaus 1948. — He made his eres the grounde likke. But he ros vp stoutly and quykke, As he no harm hadde y-lacched. Troy Book 9206. — Ibm 1036. 6403. †

4. *Shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended.*

ME. To þe pope Eleuthery hasteliche hii wende, þat he quic in to is lond cristen-
dom him sende. Rob. Glouc. 1647. — He swore he wold ³elde al quyk al þt he þer
mys toke. Greg. Leg. 737. (North East Midl.) — I shall hym do suche a shonde, And
all his men quycke slayne, But he in haste tourne agayne. Richard 2161. — Whan
kyng, other eorl, cam on him to weorre, Quyk he loked in the steorre. King Alis.
76. — Alisaundre, quyk withalle, Of Cartage wan the walles. Ibm 983. — Ac A-
lisaundre quic hoteth his hynen Under heore walles to myne. Ibm 1215. — Ther
quik fallith into his hond Alle the citées of that lond. Ibm 1419. — Ibm 1912.
2708. 2767—8. 3391. 3405. — Þay kallen hym of a quoynounce, & he hit quyk
aske³ To be her seruaunt sothly, if hem-self lyked. Gawain 975. — Troy Book
1515. — Helpes now alle quyk & soun. Ibm 5658. †

As quick = at once, immediately. Cf. *swithe*, p. 125.

ME. As quik þai wald him sle... In þaþ þai hadden him slain, No were it for
þe king. Tristrem 1591. — Al so quyk, al the contréy...gan the kyng preche, He
scholde tak of heom wreche. King Alis. 2855. — And y shal telle þow as quyk,
How he was boþe god and wyk. Handlyng 5571. — He shulde take þe acquitance
as quik and to þe qued (:the Devil) schewe it. P. Pl. B 14:189. †

OE. LIFLIC, adj.

A compound of OE. *lif* and *lic*, 'possessed of life, living'.
The adj. never acquires the sense 'swift', but in order to show its
relations to the corresponding adv., the OE. and ME. senses are
given here, with some additions to the material of the diction-
aries. The senses are in a large measure influenced by Latin
sources.

1 a. *Possessed of life, living, animate.* NED *lively* adj.1.

OE. Uiuacis, .i. uiui, liflices. Nap. Gl. 72. — Liflic uitalis. Ælfr. Gr. 54:8.
— He ... wæs.. his Fæder liflic onsægednys, on lambes wisan geoffrod. Ælfric
I 358. †

ME. But the second sort (: division) sothely, þat sewet hom aftur, Were grai-
ther of gouernance, grippet hor sailes, And light vnto lond lyuele and sound.
Destr. Troy 5720. — Calcas... carpit... þat neuer þo lordis to hor londis lyuely
shuld wyn, Till ho (: Polixena) duly were ded & drestit in pesis. Ibm 12111. —
Lyuevely, or qwyk, or fulle of lyyf: vivax. Pr. P. 308. †

b. *In various transferred applications of Latin vivus, especially ecclesiastical.* NED 1 b.

OE. Wylf liflic: fons vivus. Durham Hymn. 92:15 — Eowre saula, þe nu synd adylegode of þære liflican bec. Ælfric I 68. — Ic eom se liflica hlaf, þe of heofenum astah. Ælfric II 202. — Ðæra næddrena geslit wæs deadlic, Cristes deap wæs liflic. Ibm 238. †

2. *Of or pertaining to life; necessary to life, vital.* NED 2.

OE. Liflicum mid þinum alysedum blode (:vividus tuo redemptos sanguine). Durham Hymn. 80:21. — Is hwæðere swa to lætanne swa þ liflice mægen ne aspringe (Cockayne: that his vital power may not be unsettled). Lchdm. II 254. — Liflic ys mona blod lætan (: dangerous to life) Lchdm III 190. — God.. ableow on his ansyne liflicne blæd. Hexam. 11. NED. †

ME. Gyf he liffis, he ma spek, and ga, and oþir lifly taknis ma. Sc. Leg. Saints i. 484. NED. — That bleþ in to hym a lifli spirit (: Insufflavit ei spiritum vitalem). Wyclif Wisd. xv. 11 NED. — Utterly these thinges be no dremes ne iapes, to throwe to hogges, it is lyflich mete for children of trouthe. Usk, Test. Love 4:121. †

3. *Of an image, picture, etc.: Life-like, animated, vivid.* NED 3.

ME. So lifliche weren þai alle, Ymages semed it nouȝt, To abide. Tristrem 2845. — Like ymages were all, abill of shap, Lokend full lyuely as any light angels. Destr. Troy 8742. — (A statue of Hector) Turnyt to the tenttes of tho tore grekes, With a lyuely loke, ledis to be-hold. Ibm 8762. †

4. *Of persons, their faculties and actions: vigorous, energetic, active, brisk.* NED 4 a.

ME. Sum is ȝung & liuelich, & is neode þe betere warde. Ancr. R. 6. — Ne ther ne were no manere ne non ende, but-yif a wight constreinede tho doutes by a right lyfly and quik fyr of thought (: vivacissimo mentis igne. Migne 813), that is to seyn, by vigour and strengthe of wit. Chaucer Boethius. B. IV. Pr. 6:15. — Palomydon... Vne made of a mene in the medyll shap, Large of a lenth, lyuely & small. Destr. Troy 3831. — Similarly 3864. 3948. — Archelaus, a lede lyuely in armys. Ibm 6335. — There come launchand o þe lond a lyuely yong knight. Ibm 7304. — Men whych kepyth reysonabill diette and lywen temprely, bene more... delyuerir, more strongyr, more lyueloker. Secreta 237:37. †

5. *Of colour: vivid, brilliant, fresh.* NED 5.

ME. I saw...a woman... with a lyfly colour (:colore vivido. Migne 588), and with swich vigour and strengthe that it ne mighte nat be emptied. Chaucer Boethius B. I Pr. 1:5.

ME. LIVELY, *adv.*

OE. *liflice* (found once), from *lij* + *lice*.

Nearly all my quotes. are from Destr. Troy. The sense 'quickly' was restricted to the Northern dialect, and app. disappeared in Mod. E. The development is obscure, as the instances are so few. We can only say that the immediate source of 'quickly' is 'actively, briskly', when combined with verbs of motion. (Cf. *quickly*). It is not possible to distinguish the usual shades of sense, 'rapidly-quickly-immediately', though the first of them may very well be intended in some of the instances in sense 6, below. Are we to assume that the connexion of *lively* with *life* and *live* always retained sufficient force to prevent the word from following the development of advs. in which the sense 'rapidly' had become independent and free from implications of earlier meanings?

1. *So as to impart life.* OE. only. Cf. the figurative uses of the adj. *liflic*. NED *lively* adv. 1.

OE. He genam þa hlaf and hine liflice gehalgode. Ælfric II 244. †

2. *As a living person or thing.* NED 2.

ME. Though an angel take a body for euery nedefull doying, he may take it Not lyfly, neyther gyuyth therto lyfe. Trevisa Barth. De P. R. II xviii 44. NED. — And non eire of myn own neuer yet I hade, þat I my londes might leue, lyuely to kepe. Destr. Troy 5316. (Or does the adv. signify 'vigorously?'). †

3 a. *In a lifelike manner, vividly, to the life.* NED 4.

ME. Wel couthe he peynten lyfly that it wroghte. Cant. A 2087. — He hes reft Merseir his endite, That did in lufe so lifly write, So schort, so quyk, of sentence hie. Dunbar 50:74. †

b. *Clearly, plainly.* NED 4 b.

ME. He knew hym full lyuely by colore of his armys. Destr. Troy 6609. †

4. *Vivaciously, actively, briskly, vigorously.* NED 3. Cf. sense 4 of the adj. I have only two comparatively certain instances.

ME. When þe freke was fallen & on foote light, He laid vpon lyuely & no lede sparit. Destr. Troy 1274. — Ector hym met. . . And aither lede full lyuely lachit vpon other. Ibm 7247. †

5. *With animation, eagerness.* The mental element of sense s predominant.

ME. All the ledys of the lond lyuely were fayn. . þat Eneas was also euyñ in the toune. Destr. Troy 12873. — Pan Vlixes full lyuely the lege (kyng) pray-et, To kaire in his company with knightes a few. Ibm 13353. †

6. *Actively, briskly / quickly.* In the majority of cases, *live-ly* qualifies a verb of motion, and the sgn oscillates. The idea of speed seems to predominate, but it is difficult to determine if the idea of activity or animation has completely disappeared or not. — The sense 'promptly, at once' (NED 3 c) is not with certainty to be recognized in any quot. Of those given by NED the first and the third have the sense 'quickly', the second is of doubtful meaning (: *And so the ledis of the lond lyuely hym cald, Sum beall, sum belus, sum bell þe god.* Destr. Troy 4355. Very likely the adv. is put in only to fill the line).

The origin of this sense may plausibly be sought in sense 4, when combined with verbs of motion.

ME.¹⁾ Than he fongid þo freikes with a fine^e chere. . . And led hom furthe lyuely into a large halle. Destr. Troy 368. Similarly 3206. 6208. 6561. 6952. — Glod on full gayly, þe gaynist to the bonke, There light þai full lyfely, lept into bo-te. Ibm 2997. Similarly 6458. 7437. 11802. — Nestor. . . cairyt him with Ly-uely to his londe, & leuit hym noght. Ibm 3574. — He lepe on a light horse ly-uely enarmyt, And soght to þe se banke to socur his pepull. Ibm 5922. — Ector. . . His aune batell full breme vppon bent leuyt, Hym selfe liuely o þe launde laun-chit aboute. Ibm 6936. Similarly 11023. — But leches full lyuely lokid his wound. Ibm 7525. — Achilles. . . Lep vp full lyuely, Launchit on swithe, To þat entent. . . To deire Ector with dethe. Ibm 8646. — Pan þes lordys to Election lyuely þai went To chese hom a cheftan. Ibm 8951. — In grounde late vs graue hym and goo, Do lifely, latte vs laie hym allone. York Plays 371:392. †

GROUP V. WORDS ORIGINALLY SIGNIFYING 'EAGERLY'.

OE. GEORNE, adv.

Idg. **gher-*, Prim. Teut. base **ger-* 'to desire', with the participial suffix *no-*, *na-*. Cf. Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre* § 228. Brugmann, K. Vgl. Gr. § 387. Fick III 128. Mätzner s. v.

¹⁾ Vp he lepe full lyulye (Ip. A 5382), probably belongs here. Kölbng emends it to *lyuerlye*, and remarks in his notes: »*lyuerlye* nehme ich mit Hall als Abkürzung von *delyuerlye* = unverzüglich, schnell.» I have found no other instance of such an abbreviation, and I am therefore inclined to regard the word as a careless spelling of *lyulye*.

Of the English derivatives from this base it is only the adv. *georne* that is of interest for the present investigation. *Georn*, *geornlice*, *geornful*, and *geornfullice* did not acquire the sense of speed, and as they were not very common in OE., and very rare in ME., they probably did not influence the sense-development of *georne*. They are therefore left out of consideration.

Georne originally signified that an action was performed 'according to the desire or will, with the consent, of a person'. An essential characteristic of the original sign was that it referred exclusively to the mental state of the subject of the qualified verb. (Cf. below, section 3). Already in OE. we find a great number of variations of this sense, most of them only contextual. They may be divided into two groups; in one of them the adv. signifies that the action is performed according to the will of the person performing it, in the other that the subject in performing the action complies with the command or will of another person; the command may be expressed or implied. The subsequent development proceeds from the former senses. *Georne* was apparently at first used only with verbs denoting a purely mental action.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) With fixity of will or purpose, zealously, eagerly, earnestly, diligently.
 - a) Verba voluntatis, and verbs signifying to ask, investigate. OE. ME.
 - b) Verba affectuum. OE. ME.
 - c) Verbs signifying to think, meditate, etc. OE. ME.
 - d) Verbs signifying to know, understand, remember. OE. ME.
 - e) Verba percipiendi. OE. ME.
 - f) Verba dicendi. OE. ME.
 - g) Verbs signifying to believe, to trust in, etc. OE.
- 2) Willingly, readily, according to the will or command of a person. OE.
- 3) With fixity of will or purpose, zealously, eagerly, earnestly, diligently / vehemently, vigorously, effectively.
 - a) Verbs signifying to strive, endeavour, exert oneself. OE. ME.
 - b) Verbs signifying to fight, smite, resist, hold, etc. OE. ME.
- 4) Eagerly, zealously / vehemently, vigorously, effectively / rapidly. OE. ME.
- 5) Quickly, sometimes implying 'eagerly'. ME. 1290.
- 6) Shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended. ME. 1300.
- 7) Swiftly / vigorously. ME. 1290.

1. *With fixity of will or purpose, zealously, eagerly, earnestly, diligently.* With verbs denoting mental action. The adv. refers

primarily to the state of mind of the subject of the verb, but it is inevitable that it should come to refer also to the manner in which the action is performed. The former notion, however, appears to be essential to the adv., for its chief use in OE. is to qualify verbs of mental action. The manner of its extension to other verbs supports this view; cf. sense 3 below. The import of the adv. varies with the nature of the governing verb. The following groups may be distinguished.

a. *Verba voluntatis*, and verbs signifying to ask, investigate.

OE. Span (: persuade) þu hine georne, þæt he þine lare læste. Gen. 575. — Se hie georne frægn. Ibm 2268. — Loth. . . him georne bead reste & gereorda (: Loth offered the two angels rest and hospitality.) Ibm 2440. — (God) cunnode georne, hwilc þæs æðelinges ellen wære. Ibm 2846. — Elene 322. 600. — ðe georne gebide gece & miltse. OET 174 (Lorica Prayer 1). — Boethius 50:25. — Ic wat ðæt þu woldest swiðe georne þider fundian. Ibm 51:7. — Me lyste nu þ swiðe georne geheran. Ibm 78:32. — Beda 18:2. — Herodes dæglice geceigde tungul-cræftiga georne & innweardlice gelearnade from him tid stearres ætdeawude him (: clam uocatis magis diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellæ quæ apparuit eis). AS. Gosp. Mt. 2:7. Li. Similarly Ru C H. †

ME. Ferde þa to þam Hælende & hine bæd 3eorne þ he sceolde faren & his sune hælen. Bodley Hom. 22:14. — (Summe) georne bisecheð þat me ham ibureze from þam uuele pinan. Lamb. Hom 43. — No mon þet ðe 3eorne bit of helpe ne mei missen. Ur. of Ure Lefdi 195:80. — Ha seide, hire luste swiðe 3eorne speoken mit te meiden. Katherine 1576. — Forbuh (: avoid) georne þat tus unboteliche lure of mahe arisen. Hali Meid. 17:24. — Ancr. R. 174. — Þat heo (: a woman) þurh sume sottes lore þe 3eorne bit & sikeþ (: sighs) sore. O & N 1352. — Floriz T 495. — Rob. Glouc. 9980. — CM 2795. — Chron. of Engl. 49—53. M. — Chærlis clipede ys leches þo, & 3erne gan him praye þat. . . Ferumbras 1092. †

b. *Verba affectuum*. Implying earnestly, vehemently.

OE. Þæt he lufige godra gehwilcne, swa he geornost mæge. Metra 27:29. — God lufað geornast ealles, þæt. . . Ps. 83:12. — Ne him godes fyrhtu georne ond-rædaþ. Ps. 54:20. — Ic þa mid heortan ongann hycggan nihtes: wæs min gast on me georne gebysgad. Ps. 76:6. †

ME. He se 3 Rymenhild sitte. . . Sore wepinge and 3erne. King Horn 1165. — 3erne a wep, is hondes wrong. Beues 298. †

c. Verbs signifying to think, meditate, etc.

OE. Ac se sceaða georne swicode ymb þa sawle. Gen. 606. — Eodon ða fram rune . . . georne smeadon, sohton scarþancum hwæt sio syn wære þe. . . Elene 413. — Scyle gumena gehwylc on his geardagum georne biþencan þæt. . . Crist 822. — Ic þære sawle ma geornor gyme ymb þæs gæstes forwyrd þonne þæs lichoman. Juliana 414. — Þa gemde se Godes mon symle georne, swa his gewuna

wæs þæt he ær dyde. Beda 216:17. — Gif he hit georne ymbe smeagan willað & æfter spyrgan. Boethius 36:5. — Þonne smeage se ealdor hit georne on manifealde þing þæt hi (: the monks) drinc hæbbon. Chrodegang 15:26. — Þu scealt gyman swyðe georne hwænne etc. Byrhtferth 309:34. — Ic to soðe gelyfe þæt mine word magon wel fremian þam þe hig wile georne ascrutnian. Ibm 332:40. — Chr. E 1006/137. †

ME. (The nightingale) þoʒte ʒorne on hire mode ʒif ho oʒt elles understode. O & N 661. — Þæt gode wif. . . ʒeorne fondeþ hu heo muhe do þing þæt him (: her husband) beo iduʒe. Ibm 1581. — To ger þam for him gru and grise, Vm-thought him gern on quatkin wise. CM 7984. — He stont & biþouʒt him ʒerne, Wæper he forþ go oþer oʒain terne. Guy 1899. †

d. In connexion with verbs signifying *to know, understand, remember, georne* means *in an earnest, thorough, or exact manner, well*. OE. and early ME.

OE. We þæs sculon hycgan georne þæt. . Gen. 397. — (Grendel) wiste þe geornor, þæt his aldres wæs ende gegongen. Beow. 821. — Ic georne wat. Andr. 498. — Hio in gæste bær halge treowe, hogde georne, þæt. . . Juliana 29. — Georne hy ongeaton, þæt. . . Guðlac 524. — Ðus frod guma, . . gieddade. . . þæt we þy geornor ongietan meahthen tirstæst tacen. Phoenix 573. — Daniel 218. 421. — Symble þæt on heortan hogode geornust, hu he mid searuwe swylce acwealde. Ps. 108:16. — Hwæt, we genog georne witon ðæt nanne mon þæs ne tweoð. Boethius 38:2. — Gif ðu nu wilnige weorulddrihtnes heane anwald. . . ongitan giorne. Metra 29:3. †

ME. Þæt ich wot wel ʒeorne. Ur. of Ure Lefdi 197:103. — Me awaited ou, þet wute ʒe ful georne, wiðuteu, as me deð þeoues. Ancr. R. 174. †

e. With verbs denoting perception (*to see and to hear*), implying *carefully, attentively, clearly*. Also figuratively.

OE. Nu we sceolon georne gleawlice þurhseon usse hreþercōfan heortan eagum, innan uncyste. Crist 1328. — Þær hi to worulde wynnun motun godes onsyne georne bihealdan. Guðlac 787. — To þam ic georne gefrægn gyfum ceapian burhgewardas þæt he him bocstafas arædde. Daniel 739. — (Phoenix) sceal þære sunnan sið bihealdan & ongean cuman godes condelle, glædum gimme, georne bewitigan. Phoenix 92. — Fugel feþrum wlonc on firgenstream under lyft ofer lagu locað georne, hwonne up cyme eastan glidan ofer sidne sæ swegles leoma. Ibm 101. — Georne (: intente) gehyreð heofoncyninga hyhst hæleda dæde. Domes Dæge 107. — Ga on tun & loca swyðe georne hwær beo luna prima. Byrhtferth 309:35. — Hi þæt ongeaton and georne gesawon þæt. . . Byrhtnoth 84. †

ME. As he hefde en chere bihalden swiðe ʒeorne hire utnumne feire & freo-liche ʒuhede (he) felde him iwundet. Juliane 7:1. — Georne lustne (imperat.) me wið earen of þin heued. Hali Meid. 3:14. — He houyd, and byheeld vs ʒerne. Richard 559. — Ac al þai loked swiþe ʒerne After Tintagel & Ygerne. Arth. a Merl. 2377. — ʒern he biheld hir, and sche him eke. Orfeo 321. — Þe sargant

yern can on hir loke. CM 3290 (F ȝorner, G and T fast). — Ac whose is witer and wys of wit, And ȝerne bi-holdeþ þis ilke writ. C. of Loue 76. — ffulle ȝerne he wayttis Sir Wawayne þe wighte, Bot hym lympeþe þe werse. Awntyrs 614. †

f. With *verba dicendi*, implying *earnestly*, *zealously*.

OE. Ongan þa dryhtnes æ dæges & nihtes þurh gastes gife georne cyþan. Elene 199. — Ðonne hi þy geornor gode þonciað. Crist 1256. — Wese of dæge on dæg drihten user. . . georne gebletsad. Ps. 67:19. — Is nu for ði godes þeowum and mynstermannum georne to warnigenne þæt. . . Ælfr. Gr. 3:10. — He weorðode Godes naman georne. Chr. E 959/115. — (Hi) gyrne cleopedon to Gode, his miltse biddende. Ibm 1083/215. †

ME. Vre drihten cweð to moyses þet he scolde wissien his folc and wernede him ȝeorne. Lamb. Hom. 13. — Wiit. . þonkeð god ȝeorne wið swiðe glead heorte of se riche lane. Sawles Warde 257. — Þe mesager him þankede ȝerne. Beues 157. — As vche mon ouȝte wt al his mihte Lof-song syngen to God ȝerne. C. of Loue 29. — And asked of Rychard of normandy, if he knew þat knyȝte þæt. . . auauntid (: boasted) him þo so ȝerne. Ferumbras 116. — Kay callut on Gauan ȝorne. Avowyng 23. †

g. The sense *earnestly*, *firmly*, with fixity of purpose and attention, sometimes implied in **2**, seems to be predominant in connexion with verbs signifying *to believe*, *to trust in*. I have only *OE.* instances.

OE. Huru Geata leod (: prince) georne treowode modgan mægnes metodes hyldo. Beow. 669. — (He) getruwode. . . on idel gylp ealra geornost. Ps. 51:6. — Ic. . . on god swylce georne gelyfe. Ps. 55:4. 55:9. †

2. *Willingly*, *readily*, *according to the will or command of a person*, expressed or implied. With verbs signifying *to obey*, *to fulfill a person's will*, and with some other verbs when the idea of acting according to somebody's will is implied contextually. Only *OE.* instances.

In this case too, the adv. refers to the state of mind of the subject of the governing verb, and it seems to do so exclusively, denoting the mood in which, or because of which, the action is performed, not the manner in which it is performed. This is the case even when the verb has a material import.

OE. Læste þu georne his ambyhto. Gen. 517. — Gife ic hit þe georne (: Eve speaking of the apple). Ibm 679. — Ibm 238. 782. — Þa wæs Hroðgare herseþed gyfen. . . þæt him his wine-magas georne hyrdon. Beow. 66. — Þæt is gedafenlic þæt ðu. . . þæs cininges bebod georne begange. Elene 1171. — Crist 1224. 1582. — He him dæda lean georne gieldeð þam þe his giefe willað þicgan to þonce. Guð. 95. — Ibm 777. 1057. — Dryhtnes bibod geofonfloda gehwylc

georne behaldeð. Az. 125. — Pæt we hælende heran georne. Sat. 595. — Riddles 2:2. — Ps. 131:5. — Ac gif þu wilt beon heora þegn, þonne scealt þu georne geðolian gehwæt þæs þe to heora þenungum. . . belimpet. Boethius 16:22. — Geornor we woldon iowra Romana bismora beon forsugiende þonne secgende. Oros. 122:9. †

3. *With fixity of will or purpose, vehemently, vigorously, zealously, eagerly, earnestly, diligently.* This definition is the same as that given for sense 1, but its import is here in some measure different, as it is referred not only to the state of mind of the subject of the action, but also to the performance of the action itself.

It was stated above that *georne* originally referred only to the state of mind of a living being. If that had not been the case, there is no reason why the adv. should not have been used from the beginning with verbs of all kinds. Any action may be performed *vehemently, eagerly*, etc. In reality we find that in OE. *georne* was, with one exception, used only with verbs of purely mental action. The exception is the two groups *to strive, endeavour, exert oneself*, and *to fight, smite, hold, resist*. With other verbs denoting some kind of material action we find *georne* only in ME.

The reason why the adv. could be used with the verbs just mentioned was evidently that they all denoted an action which is often, or generally, the expression of a state of mind of the subject, of a certain purpose, eagerness, etc. No doubt the adv. at first referred only to the mental state which accompanied, or rather was accompanied by, the action in question. *Georne sohte* would then mean: 'he was eager to attain a certain object, and this he tried to do by seeking for it'. But in phrases like *georne sohte* it was inevitable that the adv. should come to be apprehended as referring also to the action itself. An action which is the outcome of a mental state characterized by fixity of will or purpose, etc., is performed in a *vehement, vigorous, effective* manner, and the adv. *georne* thus acquires the latter sign.

The use of *georne* with verbs of the two groups mentioned above may be very old, as it is found in the oldest texts, and, moreover, must be considered as closely related to the use with *verba voluntatis*.

a. Verbs signifying *to seek, strive, endeavour, exert oneself*. The most common verb is *secean*.

OE. (Noe) seow sæda fela, sohte georne, þa him . . . wæstmas brohte . . . grene folde. Gen. 1559. — Hord-weard sohte georne æfter grunde, wolde guman findan. Beow. 2294. — His moder het . . . georne secan. . . hwær se wuldres beam . . . hyded ware. Elene 216. — Pæt fyr . . . georne aseceð innan & utan eorðan sceatas. Crist 1004. — Hu ne wastu mine þeawas, hu georne ic symle wæs ymbe godra manna þearfe? Boethius 18:17. (Cf. *fæste ymbe beon* and *faste aboute*; p. 87). †

ME. He fondede god solf mid his wrenche, and walde hine ʒorne swenche. Lamb. Hom. 67. — To lakenn Godd, to þeowwtenn Godd, To sekenn kirkke ʒorne. Orm 2717. — Melga . . . ʒorne wes abuten hu he mihte aʒeinnen þ he weoren binnen. Lay. A 12563. — Hi boþ hoʒfule (: thoughtfull, sorry) & vel arme and secheþ ʒorne to þe warme. O & N 538. — Þe deuel was wel ʒurne aboute him to mislere. E. E. P. 57:6. — But þe segges of spayne souʒt to him ʒerne, to haue holpen here lord hastili ʒif þei miʒt. Palerne 3610. †

Sometimes other verbs, when endeavour or exertion is implied contextually.

OE. Hine weard biheold halig of heofonum, se þæt hluttre mod in þæs gæstes god georne trymede. Guðlac 78. — Gyrede hine (: himself) georne mid gæstlicum wæpnum. Ibm 148. — Geoca us georne. Az. 12. — Friðað & fyrðrað (: protect and support) swiðe georne, swa lange swa hiora gecynd bið þ hi growan moton. Boethius 91:24. — He dyde, swa him þearf wes, earnode þæs georne. Chr. E 959/114. — On his dagum hit godode (: improved) georne (or = 'rapidly?'). Ibm 959/114. †

b. With verbs signifying *to fight, smite, resist, hold, etc.*

OE. No ic him þæs georne ætfealh (: that he could not escape). Beow. 968. — Het his hereciste healdan georne fæst fyrðgetrum. Exodus 177. — Ic him georne oft þæs unrihtes andsæc fremede. Elene 471. — Georne hine healdað witan Filistina. Sal. 256. †

ME. Assayle yerne The pauylyon with the golden herne. Richard 2283. — To hem þai smiten swiþe ʒerne. Guy 2380. — Alle þei wasted quitely, & slouh þe folk full ʒerne. Langt. 56. M. — Per was no reste betwene hem to, bot laide on ʒerne beyne. Ferumbras 661. †

4. *Eagerly, zealously | vehemently, vigorously, effectively | rapidly.* With the sense-change described in the preceding section, *georne* has acquired an import essentially analogous to the meaning which, in the advs. of Groups II, III, and IV, was the starting-point of the development resulting in the sense of speed. *Georne* then denoted that an action was performed in a vehement and vigorous manner, and that the cause was the mental state of the subject. When used, in this sense, to qualify a verb of motion, the adv. acquires the sense of speed.

At first, we may expect the adv. to oscillate between the

previous senses and 'rapidly'. Unfortunately, the change took place during the late OE. and early ME. periods, when the evidence is very scanty. There is only one late OE. instance with a verb of motion, and in ME. no instance at all till c. 1300, when the adv. appears in several texts, in the senses 'rapidly', 'quickly' and 'immediately' simultaneously. However, the OE. instance appears to oscillate between 'eagerly' and 'rapidly', and the same is apparently the case with several ME. quotes. The analogy of the advs. previously dealt with makes it probable that the development 'rapidly > immediately' proceeded in the same way as in *hrædlice* and other words (see p. 24). The lack of ME. instances before 1300 is to be ascribed to the scarcity of texts from the earlier part of the ME. period.

All the verbs in this section are durative verbs of motion; the subject is a living being.

OE. Þa þær wendon forð wlanca þegenas, unearge men efston georne: hi woldon þa ealle oðer twega, lif forlætan oððe leofne gewrecan. *Byrhtnoth* 206. †

ME. A leon þare cam eorne And kipte me and bar me forth toward þe wode wel zeorne. *ESEL* 399:214. — Similarly 395:88 (MS. Cott. Tul. D. ix.) — So þai deden & riden zeorne Toward þe castel. *Arth. a. Merl.* 2509. — We seþ . . . þe kniȝtes of þe rounde table; Alle þai comen zeorne, a plizt. *Ibm* 6245. — Þe oþer flouen al so zeorne, So her stedes miȝt erne. *Ibm* 6843. — Of al þat sewede him so zeorne, To Mombraunt gonne neuer on terne. *Beues* 4099. — *Guy* 6823. — Bring hem vnder zon wodeside, Al so zern astow may ride. *Horn Childe* 896. — God gaf þe werwolf grace to go a-wei so zeorne, þat horse ne hounde for non hast ne miȝt him of-take. *Palerne* 2197. — *Ibm* 1893. 3826. — Hunger hiderward aȝeyn hiȝeþ him zeorne. *P. Pl. A* 7:307. — For he (: my horse) scholde zeorne go, his side y made blede. *Ferumbras* 505. — *Ibm* 2478. 3973. — Forte heilse þat hende þei hiȝed ful zeorne. *Susan* 133. — I see the traytoure come zondyr trynande full zeorne. *Morte Arth.* 4189. — Myn hondes and my tonge goon so yerne, That it is Ioye to see my bisnesse. *Cant. C* 398. — Toward the whiche daunce he drow ful yerne, In hope that som wisdom sholde he lerne. *Cant. D* 993. — The cuntrey gedyrd soon in haste, And aftur hym zorn they chast. *Erl of Tolous* 449. — He cam redyng fro Wantown Gappe. . . and we folwyd as yarn as we myth. *Paston* 60. — And eke there nis no swallow swift, ne swan So wight of wing, ne half so yern can fly. *Court of Love* 1299 (*Skeat*: eagerly). — zeorne, hastily (zeorne or fast P) *Festinanter, celeriter, festine*. *Pr.* P. 536. †

Referring to inanimate subjects.

ME. A zere zernes ful zeorne, & zeldeȝ neuer lyke. *Gawain* 498. — The dredful Ioy, that alwey slit so yerne. *Parl. Foules* 3. †

With *to grow*.

ME. Sleuthe wex wonder *zerne* and sone was of age. P. Pl. B 20:158. †

5. *Quickly*, sometimes implying *eagerly*. This sense occurs not only with verbs of motion, but also with verbs denoting action of other kinds. The instances are not so numerous as those in the preceding section.

ME. To þe chapele *zeorne* heo orn. ESEL 339:533. — Þey armyd hem swyþe *zerne*, And wenten out by a posterne. Richard 4271. — Tintagel & eke Ygerne To her in went ful *zerne*. Arth. a. Merl. 2340. — Alle þe londes he wan *zern*, Til he com to lucern, So stout he was & fers. Vernagu 275. — Ac as *zerne* þay miȝte, þay caste þanne on hure gere. Ferumbras 822. — Whene his spere was sprongen, he spede hym full *zerne*, Swappede owtte with a swerde, that swykede hym never. Morte Arth. 1794. — I rede we hye us ful *zerne* In at the ȝond posterne. Degrevant 605. †

6. *Shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended*. Perhaps sometimes implying *eagerly*. Verbs denoting actions of different kinds. The interpretation of the instances is not always certain, but I think the following have the sense of speed in relation to time.

ME. Þe ȝates þey vushette ful *zerne*, And fledden away by a posterne. Richard 6315. — He hem dede *zern* schriue Of alle . . . & penaunce on hem layd. Arth. a. Merl. 708. — Þis barouns & eke Merlin Wenten to þe bischopes in & al him teld fair & *zerne*, Hou Arthour was biȝeten of Ygerne. Ibm 3037. — An Aungel toke hys sowle ful *zerne*, And bare it in to the blysse of heuene. Northern Passion MS. Camb. II 277. (Other MSS. *even* or *in haste*). — ȝeld þe to me ȝeply, or *zerne* þou schalt deie. Palerne 1252. — Go wiȝtly, seide þemperour, and a-wake hire *zerne*, bid hire busk of hire bed & bliue be a-tyrid. Ibm 1996. — Warfore? seide þemperour, seye me now *zerne*. Ibm 2027. — Ibm 3267. 3896. †

Also *zern*, as *zern*: *immediately, shortly*.

ME. Þus þonked godes grace, Alle þo þat speke wiþ tong. To otuel also *zern*, þat was a sarrazin stern, Ful sone þis word sprong. Vernagu 878. — With that he spak to me as yerne, And seyde. . . Hous of Fame 910. — 'Nay', quod she, 'and that shalt thou see as yerne'. Usk, Test. of Love II viii. 41. — Him þouȝte, his body wold berne, But he miȝt also *zerne* Fille Libeaus adoun. Libeaus 533. †

7. *Swiftly / vigorously*. Finally, I have a few quotes. where *georne* is used of fire and water, and, once, of blood. I regard them as representing a development which is charac-

terized by having the element *vehemently, violently* still further strengthened.

ME. Pe se cam eorne & rotte (: rush) ȝeorne, ase þat child a-slepe laye. ESEL 339:522. (Cf. the first ME. quot. in section 4). — For þe blod of kniȝtes dede & of destres & of stede Ran hem after al day so ȝerne, So water out of wel streme. Arth. a. Merl. 6057. — Þat fyr þat setlede so on þe walle, ȝerne hit gan to brenne. Ferumbas 3281. — Who haþ do þe þis scham? Why bledest þou so ȝerne? Libeaus 423. †

GROUP VI. WORDS ORIGINALLY SIGNIFYING 'CLEVER'.

OE. GEAP, adj.

From Prim. Teut. **gup-*, **gaup-*: 'sich bücken, krumm sein' (Fick III 137). From the original sense the development proceeded in two directions, which both are represented in OE. 1) Material: 'broad, roomy, spacious, wide'. 2) Mental: 'deceitful, crafty, cunning: callidus, astutus, versutus'. (Trautmann, ZfdW 7:268). Persson, Beiträge 835 A. 2, separates the two senses, and assumes confusion of two different Teut. roots. (Cf. also *ibm* 100 sq.). As the former, material, sense is of no consequence for the development of the sense 'swift', it is here left out of consideration, together with the etymological problem.

Parallels for the transfer of the designation 'crooked' from material substances to mental qualities are found in several languages. Cf. Latin *versutus*. (Wundt II 562)

With two exceptions, *geap* is used exclusively of persons or animals. The exceptions are *wordess* (1), and *ȝer* (2 b).

Glosses. *Geap callidus* WW 168:10. 334:39.

1. *Clever, prudent, cunning, astute*, said of living beings. In the OE. instances the pejorative colouring has almost worn off, and though sometimes present as an implication, it is never predominant.

OE. Seo nãddre vãs geapre þonne ealle þa oðre nytenu (: callidior cunctis animantibus). Gen. Æ 3:1. — Mann gep bediglað ingehyd (: Homo uersutus celat scientiam). Scint. 94:17. — Se þe soðlice gehealt þreagincga (: he who retains corrections) geap (: astutus) he wyrð. *Ibm* 114:1. — Gep (: astutus) ealle deð mid geþeahte. *Ibm* 199:10. †

ME. Þe ȝeape wastlare nimeð ȝeme hwat turn his fere ne cunne nout, þet he mid wastleð. Ancr. R. 280. — Heo weren iliche þeos ȝeape children þet hab-

beð rīche uederes, þet. . . tetereð hore cloðes forto habben neowe. Ibm 362. — Nu bien sume oðre ðat healden hem seluen wise and ȝeape and befasteð here paneges ðe haðene menn, for to habben of hem biȝeate (:gain). Vices 79:11. — Iesv Crist hiet ðat we scolden bien ȝeape and sæde: Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, Bieð ȝeape al swa næddre. Ibm 101:18. — Swich ȝepshipe (sc. craftiness in money matters) forbedeð þe apostel þere he seið: Nolite esse prudentes apud uosmetipsos. Ne beo ȝe noht ȝeape to-ȝene ȝiu seluen. OEH II 195:4. — Ure helende... seide (: to the apostles): Estote prudentes sicut serpentes. Here ich ȝiu sende also shep amang wulfes, beoð þenne ȝiepe; and seide hem wu ȝiepe also þe neddre. Ibm 195: 15—16. — He wass full ȝæp & wis to swarenn & to fraȝgnenn. Orm 8937. — Uortiger, ȝæp mou & swiðe war (: cautus). Lay. A (B) 12998. — Vor he nis noþer ȝep ne wis, þat longe abid, þar him nod nis. O & N 465. — A wise man es þi sun ioseph, In al egypti es nan sa yepe. CM 5369. — Haf he ben forwit neuer sa yepe, Fra þan i tell him for a nape. CM 9019. (F ȝape, G and T sly). — Wise men þat were ȝepe. Langt. p. 320. M. — From helle to hevene ant sonne to see nys non so ȝeep. Lyr. P. p. 39. M. — We sende oure Messager, Wise and ȝepe, on fair maner. Troy Book 3812. †

Of words: Forr riht he toc Natanael Wiþþ hise ȝæpe wordess, Riht alls an hunnte takeþþ der Wiþþ hise ȝæpe racchess. Orm 13505. †

2. Among the ME. instances there are several in which it is doubtful whether *geap* refers to mental or to physical qualities. Both interpretations are possible without any appreciable change of meaning with regard to the sentence as a whole. This is especially the case when *geap* is used as an epithet of commendation. The context did then not always clearly indicate what kind of qualities were referred to by the adv. In this manner physical qualities would gradually come to be included in its meaning. In most cases the sgn is vague, and the exact import of the adj. cannot be determined. I have attempted to distinguish the instances where the sense of speed is also implied, but the classification is very uncertain.

a. Oscillating sense: *clever, prudent, cunning* / *active, brisk, smart, efficient*.

ME. Her wass wiss Filippe sleh & ȝæp & haȝherr hunnte. Orm 13498. — Ac napeles mid alle his wrenche ne kan he (: the fox) hine so biþenche, þeȝ he bo ȝep and suþe snel, þat he ne lost his rede vel. Ibm 829. — Pan can is mester don swiþe wel in Ihesu cristus hous he wole beo ȝep and eke rad, sley and eke vous. ESEL 475:458 (Mary Magdalene. ȝep occurs only in this legend, which is older than the others in MS. Laud 108). †

b. *Active, brisk, smart, efficient*. Of physical qualities. Also: *having the vigour of youth, fresh*. Generally used as an epithet of

commendation, sometimes with a comparatively vague import, and often implying *swift*. Always of living beings.

ME. Forr rihht he toc Natanael Wipþ hise ȝæpe wordess, Rihht alls an hunnte takeþþ der Wipþ hise ȝæpe racchess. *Orm* 13505. — Cheorles ful ȝepe. *Lay. A (B)* 21503. — Loke, Herhaud, þat tow him kepe, & þine felawes þat ben ȝepe. *Guy* 772. — Gij to aseylen þai wer ȝep. *Guy* 3983. — Maseger, be ȝep and snel. *Beues* 88. — ȝe haue ȝape men him forto ȝeme. *Northern Passion* 1943. — Þer-fore of face so fere, He stiztleȝ (: dwells) stif in stalle, Ful ȝep in þat nw ȝere, Much mirthe he mas with alle. *Gawain* 105. — For hit is ȝol & nwe ȝer, & here ar ȝep mony. *Ibm* 284. — Bot vn-lyke on to loke þo ladies were, For if þe ȝonge watȝ ȝep, ȝolȝe watȝ þat oþer; Riche red on þat on rayled ay quere, Rugh ronkled chekeȝ þat oþer on rolled. *Ibm* 951. — So ȝong & so ȝepe, as ȝe ar at þis tyme. *Ibm* 1510. — Þe ȝonge men (: those who wanted to come into Loth's house) so ȝepe, ȝornen þer oute, Wapped vpon þe wyket & wonnen hem tulle. *Cleanness* 881. — Þow art ȝonge and ȝepe and hast ȝeres ynowe, Forto lyue longe and ladyes to louye. *P. Pl. B* 11:17. — War þe fro þat synne That lecherye is. . . And whil þow art ȝong and ȝep, and þy wepne kene, Awreke þe þerwith on wyuynge. *P. Pl. C* 11:287. — Mast hiȝe ȝe ere hersid & herid of ȝoure strenthe. And nowe sa ȝape men as ȝe þe ȝatis hase stoken (: shut yourselves up behind the gates). *Alexander* 2201. — I þat was ȝustirday so ȝape & ȝemed all þe werld, To day am dreuyn all to dust to dolour & paynes. *Ibm* 3304. — ȝynerly the ȝepe knight ȝokit hom belyue. *Destr. Troy* 902. — So faire freikes vpon fote was ferly to se, So ȝonge and so yepe, ȝynerus of wille. *Ibm* 357. — So fele men broght on hepe, That hardi were, doughti, and ȝepe. *Troy Book* 3336. — And the ȝaip ȝeman (: the porter) to the ȝet is gane. *Rauf* 630. †

Substantivized.

ME. Watȝ non autly in ouþer, for aungels hit wern, And þat þe ȝep vnderȝede þat in þe ȝate sytteȝ. *Cleanness* 796.

The following inst. may perhaps be explained as representing a figurative use of the sense 'having the vigour of youth, fresh'.

Wyle nw ȝer watȝ so ȝep þat hit watȝ nwe cummen, þat day double on þe dece watȝ þe douth serued (: while New Year was so fresh (youthful?) that it was new come, that day the nobility was served doubly on the dais). *Gawain* 60.

OE. GEAPLICE, adv.

The instances are not numerous enough to give us a clear idea of the sense-development. We may expect the adv. to take over the senses of *geap*.

1. *Cunningly, craftily.*

OE. Þa betælde he hine (: Herod cleared himself from the accusations) swiðe geaplice, swa swa he wæs snōtorwyrde. *Ælfric* I 80. — Hig eac tosecaðð

þæt stafgefeg (: verse) on þrym wisan geaplice swyðe. Byrhtferth 313:17. — Glosses: Geaplice *callide*, *ingeniose*, WW 197:26. *Procaciter*, WW 77:28. †

ME. Pre fan fihten azaines me, and zet mai ich sare for hare dundes drede, and bihoues þurh þi grace zapliche to wite me. Wohunge 275. †

2. It seems best to assume that the adv. took over the sense *briskly*, *smartly*, with reference both to mental and physical qualities, from the adj. If the adv., in this sense, was combined with a verb of motion, the sense of speed would be liable to arise.

The quotes. are too few to show in detail the progress of the change, and the dates of the earliest instances give no guidance. This may be ascribed to the scarcity of texts from the earliest ME. period. We find the adv. with verbs of motion in a sgn oscillating between 'briskly, efficiently' and 'swiftly' c. 1350, and simultaneously in the sense 'swiftly' with verbs of other kinds. There are no certain instances of the sense 'rapidly', but I think it is implied by the occurrence of the sense of speed in relation to time, and that we may assume the development of the sense 'swiftly' to be similar to the corresponding development in the advs. previously treated. This assumption is in some measure supported by the circumstance that the oscillating sgn just mentioned is found in phrases where the adv. is used to qualify verbs of motion. In connexion with verbs denoting a material action of other kinds, the sense of speed appears to be more free from the implication of 'briskly, actively', and in the two instances of verbs denoting immaterial action we have the sense 'soon, immediately'.

a. With verbs of motion: *briskly*, *smartly* | *swiftly*.

ME. (William) gerne opened þe zates & zeply out rides. Palerne 3346. — Þen zode hym furthe þis zong man zapely & swythe. Alexander 761. — Pai zarkit to þe yatis zepely onon, Barrit hom bigly on hor best wise. Destr. Troy 10738. — We muste yappely wende in at þis yate. York Plays 279:231. — To the zate zaply þei zeoden ful zare (: fleeing from us). Susan 228. †

b. With other verbs of material action: *swiftly*, sometimes implying *smartly*, *briskly*.

ME. zeld þe to me zeply, or gerne þou schalt deie. Palerne 1252. The same phrase in: Palerne 3896. Morte Arth. 1502. Alexander 2107. — Zepli zomen þan dede þe zates schette. Palerne 3649. — With care & wyth kyssyng he carpeþ hem tille (: Gawain to the ladies)... & þay z lden hym azayn zeply

þat ilk. Gawain 1981. — I schulde at þis nwe zere zeply þe quyte (:the Green Knight speaking to G.) Ibm 2244. — zet I a-vow verayly þe avaunt þat I made, I schal zeply aȝayn & zelde þat I hyȝt, & sothely sende to Saré a soun & an hayre. Cleanness 665. — His barounes boȝed hym to, blyþe of his come. . . & so zeply watȝ zarked & zolden his state. Ibm 1708. — Then he zerneþ in-to þouht and zepliche he secheþ Pruyde, with alle þe portinaunce. P. Pl. C 17:328. — zere þe now zepely, or zild vp þi rewme. Alexander 80. Similarly 2909. 4866. — He shapis him of shire wax litill shipis many, And zepely zarkid in his hand a zerd of a palme. Ibm 114. — Archars. . . schotis vp scharply at shalkis on þe wallis. . . and þai zepely a-zayne & zildis þam swythe. Ibm 1393. — Fe messagere. . . knelid down befor þe kyng & . . . zerey tribute him to geue zepely him hetis. Ibm 2406. — (Medea had the power) Yong men yepely yarke into Elde, And the course agayne calle into clere youthe. Destr. Troy 414. †

c. With verbs of immaterial action: *soon*, *shortly*.

ME. A lure (: loss) þat was light & of long tyme, þat wold zepely haue bene forȝeton in yeres a few. Destr. Troy 2068. — Now is zepely a zere yarket to end, Syn we light in this lond. Ibm 5595. †

ME. SPACK, adj.

A Scand. loan-word, from ON. *spakr*, signifying 1) 'Mild, placid in one's conduct, so that one does not cause trouble or annoyance to other persons: 2) accustomed to intercourse with human beings, and to being handled and guided by them (L. mansuetus), of persons and animals: 3) prudent, wise, esp. of persons possessing what may be considered as the gift of divination' (Fritzner, s. v.). For *spakligr* and *spakliga* corresponding sgns are given; the sense of speed seems consequently to be unknown in ON. (Cf. also Gering and Cleasby-Vigfusson). On the etymology, see Fick III 506, and Persson, Beiträge 396 A. 2.

The ultimate etymology is of no importance for the English development, as the senses in which the word was taken over from ON. are well defined. It is true that the sense 'swift', which I assume to have arisen in English, is found much earlier than the others, but as there are only five instances of the adj. found in ME., too much weight must not be attached to the lack of evidence.

The adv. *spack* is known only in the sense 'swiftly'. I have found no other instances than the three given by NED (from Sir Orfeo, King of Tars, and Cleanness).

1. Quiet, mild, tame. NED 2.

ME. Y sagh hyt (: the Spirit) so mylde and spake, þat with my hande y myght hyt take. Handlyng 319. — Seynt Benet wende he myȝt hyt ha take, For hyt (: the bird) sate by hym so spake. Ibm 7486. †

2. Wise, clever. NED 1.

ME. Penne bispeke þe spakest, dispayred wel nere. Patience 169. †

3. Swift. I assume this sense to be taken over from *spackly*. See below. NED 1.

ME. To gode þu ware slau and let, and to cuele spac and hwat. OEHD II 183. — Tovel spac and slow to Godd. Lofsong of Ure Lefdi 205. †

ME. SPACKLY, adv.

Most of the quots. have the sense 'quickly'; the other senses are rare.¹⁾

1. Prudently, wisely, knowingly. NED 2.

ME. Was a big bold barn & breme of his age, For spakly speke it coupe tho & spedeliche to-wawe (: move about). Palerne 19. — Or y wende fro þis walle ȝe schul wordes schewe & efte spakloker speke. Sege Jerus. 784. NED. †

2. Mildly, quietly (?). Not in NED.

ME. ȝet for þretty in þrong I schal my þro (: anger) steke, & spare spakly of spyt (: vengeance) in space of my þeweȝ, & my rankor refrayne for þy reken (: wise) wordeȝ. Cleanness 755. — Barfote on an asse bakke botelees cam prykye, Wyth-oute spores other spere spakliche he loked, As is þe kynde of knyȝte þat cometh to be dubbed. P. Pl. B 18:12. (V. r. spracliche, sharpliche). †

3. When considering the question of the origin of the sense of speed, we have to keep in mind that *spak*, as a Scandinavian loan-word, must have been used in spoken English perhaps two centuries, or more, before its first appearance in literature. We do not find it in its original sgns till the 14th century, which shows how rare it was in literary language. The adv. *spackly* is not found at all till c. 1350, and then both in the original senses, 'prudently' and 'mildly', and in the secondary sense 'swiftly'. The whole development of the latter sense, which we must assume to have taken place in England, can therefore only be conjec-

¹⁾ The statement in NED that *spackly* is frequent in 14th century poetry, seems too positive. William of Palerne is the only text in which the instances are numerous.

tured. We only know, from the two quots. of sense 3 of *spak*, that the adj. denoted speed already before 1200.

Under such circumstances we can only try to formulate a hypothesis, based on the analogy of other words, and not contradicting the extant evidence. We have first to settle the question whether the sense of speed arose in the adj. or in the adv. I think we may assume that the latter was the case, as we have no instance, among the words investigated, of the sense 'rapid' arising in an adj. (Cf. Ch. III C).

Next comes the question of the circumstances of the change. On the analogy of the advs. previously investigated we may assume that it occurred when *spackly* was used to qualify verbs of motion. A comparatively large percentage of the quots. have such verbs.

Finally, which was the immediate source of the sense 'swiftly'? I think the semantic history of *geaplice* and *georne* shows that it cannot have been the senses 'prudently' or 'mildly'. It must have been a sense which referred also to physical activity; otherwise it would not have been combined with verbs of motion sufficiently often for this combination to influence the sgn of the adv. At this point the evidence leaves us in the dark. There is no quot. in which the sgn of *spakly* can be said to oscillate between 'efficiently', etc., and 'swiftly'. The sense of speed appears to be free from such implications. If the development was at all analogous to that of *geaplice*, we have then to assume that the adj., before 1200, was used in a sense implying physical eminence, that this sense was taken over by the adv., that the sense of speed arose in the adv., when used to qualify verbs of motion, and that it was then transferred to the adj., in which it appears before 1200.

It must be admitted that there are many unknown factors in this theory, but as far as I can see there is no better one to be found. And there is actually one quot. which may perhaps be adduced as proof of the existence of a sense 'vigorously, violently': *Eld me haþ so hard ihent. Seo, how spakly he me spent, Vch toþ fram oþer is trent, Awerid is of rote.* Kildare 171/6.

Rapidly, quickly, immediately. NED 1.

a. With verbs of motion. If the theory propounded above

is correct, it is only to be expected that the sense of speed in relation to time should have arisen by the time of our earliest quotes, and further, if the adv. had once signified physical eminence, that its meaning should sometimes be oscillating, 'vigorously / swiftly'.

ME. Þe spaynolnes hem hade a-spiede & spakli gun ride. *Palerne* 3357. — Of þe spaynolus wol i speke how spacli þei fled; þilke þat went with þe lif a-wei fro þat sthoure, spakli to þe king of spayne þei sped hem þat time. *Ibm* 3529-3531. — Whan þe spaynols þat a-spied, spakli þei him folwed. *Ibm* 3631. — Boldli, for alle þe burns, as him nouȝt nere, spacli to þe king of spaine he spedde him on gate. *Ibm* 4014. — Þan william wiȝtli. . . & þe comli quene, spacli forþ þei went in-to þe chois chaumber. *Ibm* 4499. — Þei sped hem to spayne spacli þer-after. *Ibm* 5169. — *Ibm* 4190. 4887. 4898. Etc. — Faith folweth after faste and fonded to mete hym, And *spes* spaklich hym spedde, spede if he myȝte, To ouertake hym and talke to hym, ar þei to toun come. *P. Pl. B* 17:81. — With þat he brochis his blonke þat þe blode fames, Sparis (: darts) out spacky as sparke out of gledes. *Alexander* 2975. †

b. With verbs denoting other kinds of action.

ME. Such reed me myhte spaclyche reowe, when al my ro were me at raht. *Harl.* 2253, 159:29. — Spacli boutte speche his spere þanne he hente, & euen to þat stiward dede his stede renne, & manli as miȝti men eiper mette oþer, & spacli þe oþeres spere in speldes þan wente. *Palerne* 3389-3392. — Ac spacly þe spaynoles speiȝed he was slayne, þei were wode of here witt, wittow for soþe. *Ibm* 3399. — William þan wiȝtly . . . þe kinges sone of spayne spakli to hire ȝalde, to putte in hire prisoun. *Ibm* 3661. — Þe king of spayne spacli, . . . krouned alþouns to king. *Ibm* 5225. — *Ibm* 1535. 2691. 3410. 3794. 3855. etc. — Thenne oure fader to þe fysch ferslych biddeȝ, þat he hym (:Jonah) sput spakly vpon spare drye. *Patience* 338. — The blode sprete owtte and sprede, as þe horse spryngez, And he sproulez (:sprawl) full spakely, bot spekes he no more. *Morte Arth.* 2063. — Now aithire stoure (:army) on þar stedis strikis to-gedire, Spurnes out spakly with speris in hand. *Alexander* 786. †

GROUP VII. WORDS ORIGINALLY SIGNIFYING 'READY'.

OE. GEARU, adj.

Idg. base **g^hher-* 'warm sein, dampfen'; »Im German. mit dem weiteren Bedeutungsentwicklung 'gähren', wonach Ableitungen, teils mit der Bedeutung '(gegohren), reif, fertig', teils mit der Bedeutung 'im Gähren begriffen, halbverdaut, Dung'». *Fick* III 128. Teut **garwa-* 'gegohren, reif, fertig' (*Fick* l. c.) is originally a participial derivation of verbal stem.

The original sense was therefore probably strictly passive, signifying that a material object was brought into a state of readiness or completion. The application to living beings served to infuse a subjective or active element into the meaning of the adj., as explained below.

The sense 'swift (prompt)' does not seem to become independent and isolated, but is always blended with other elements of meaning. As far as the development goes, it is not necessary to assume external influence in order to explain it.

BTS has analysed the shades of meaning very minutely, but has a general arrangement which obscures the genetic connexion between the senses.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) Made ready, finished, complete. Passive. OE. ME.
- 2) Of material objects: Made ready, in a state of readiness or preparation, so as to be capable of immediately being used for some purpose, expressed or implied. Available, at hand, conveniently placed for use. OE. ME.
- 3) Of persons: In a state of readiness or preparation, so as to be capable of immediately performing some action. At hand, available. Ready armed, equipped. Object of preparation not expressly indicated. OE. ME.
- 4) Of persons. Object of preparation expressed.
 - a) Prepared / willing, eager, prompt. With following infinitive. OE. ME.
 - b) The same, with following clause. OE.
 - c) The same: object of preparation denoted by noun or by prep. + noun. OE. ME.
 - d) Ready, willing, eager, prompt to go to a place, etc. OE. ME.
 - e) Ready, prompt according to the will or requirements of a person. OE. ME.
 - f) Attributively: available, at hand, also implying eager, willing. OE.
 - g) Eager, willing / prompt. OE. ME.
- 5) a) Of immaterial objects: prepared, ready for somebody. Also: at hand, available. OE. ME.
 - b) Of word, speech, etc.: ready, available, at hand when required. OE. ME.
- 6) Of an event: near at hand, soon coming. OE. ME.

Glosses. *Expeditis gearuum.* Corp. 796. WW 20:23. 393:13. *Promptus gearu.* WW 180:2 (Suppl. to Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary). *Paratos gearuwe.* WW 96:6. 101:19.

1. *Of material objects: made ready, finished, complete.* *Gearu* signifies that the action of making the object ready has come to an end, but does not imply anything about the purpose for which

the object is to be used, or for the sake of which it has been prepared. The sense is thus strictly passive, denoting a condition which is the result of previous action. (BTS VII).

OE. Geseah þa . . . geofonhusa mæst gearo hlifigean. . . fæf Noes. Gen. 1321. — Here-Scyldinga betst beado-rinca wæs on bæl gearu. Beow. 1109. — Ða feorde se abbot ham & ongan to wircene. . . swa þet in feuna gearu wæs þ mynstre gare. Chr. E 656/30. — Similarly Ibm E 999/133:4, E 1009/138:8. †

ME. Þa þe tur wes al ȝaru, þa hæfde Cesar þe lasse kare. Lay. A 7783. — Þa þe burh wes al ȝare þa scop he hire nome, he hæhte heo ful iwis Kaer-Carrai. Lay. A (B) 14231. — Þa þe draken (: the images of the dragons) ȝaru weoren. Lay. A (B) 18210. — Ibm A 2633. †

2. *Of material objects: Made ready, in a state of readiness and preparation, so as to be capable of immediately being used for some purpose, expressed or implied. Of ships: equipped for service.* Gearu thus denotes a condition which is apprehended, not (or not only) as the result of the previous action, but as a state of readiness or preparation for something. The distinction between the two senses is often uncertain, but the two types are well evidenced. Gearu sometimes implies *available, at hand, conveniently placed for use*. Attributive or predicative. BTS VII, VII a, and IX.

OE. (Grendel) gesecan sceal. . . niþða bearna, grundbuendra gearwe stowe, þær his lic-homa. . . swefef æfter symle. Beow. 1006. — Sie sio bær gearo ædre geæfned, þonne we ut cymen. Ibm 3105. — Fearoðhengestas ymb geofenes stæð gearwe stodon. Elene 227. — Andreas 1535. — Gnostic Verses (Ex.), 203. — VP 92:2. — On þyssum grenan wege. . . me oferhydige æghwær setton gearwe grine (:snare). Ps. 141:4. (Not in the Latin). — He willnade from him onfon þera eadigra apastola reliquias. . . ðæt he ðer gearwe hefde haligra reliquias in to settenne. Beda 420:1. — Ðæt hi ealneg hæbben ða sealfe gearuwe ðe to ðære wunde belimpe. CP 453:9. — Blickling 39:28. — Þet hit him georo wære swa hwilce dæge swa hi hit habban woldon. Chr. E 874/73. — Þa to ðam middan wintran eodon heom to heora garwan feorme (: quarters) ut þurh Hamtun scire in to Barruc scire. Ibm 1006/136. — Ealle mine þing synt gearwe (: omnia sunt parata), cumað to þam gyftum. AS. Gosp. Mt. 22:4. C H. †

ME. ȝærwe wes þat ferde & forð warð ifusede. Lay. A (B) 4983. — Similarly 17258. 23279. — Bruttes þa andswarede. . . Al ure wepnen sunden ȝarwe, nu to-marȝen we scullen uaren. Lay. A 28224. — Þa hit wes dæi-liht, ȝaru þa wes heore fiht (: they were prepared for fight). Lay. A 28397. — Whan þou art redi to fare, For soþe þi swerd sschal be ȝare. Sir Otuel 222. — Her scippes were ful ȝare. Horn Childe 846. — Þe werwolf waited wigtly which schip was ȝarest to fare forþ at þat flod & fond on sone, þat was gayly greyt to go to þe seile. Palerne 2729. — The schip is ȝare & redi dight. Troy Book 388. †

3. Of persons: *In a state of readiness or preparation, so as to be capable of immediately performing some action. Also at hand, available.* In certain contexts: *ready dressed, ready armed or equipped.* Attributive and predicative. The object of the preparation is not indicated. BTS I and IV.

The development from the original *sgn* to 'prompt' is conditioned by the idea that the state of preparation is to serve as the basis or starting-point of subsequent action, and by the application of *gearu*, in this sense, to living beings. It was therefore necessary to distinguish between senses 1 and 2, though they shade into each other, and it is necessary to give separately the quotes. where the adj. is used of living beings. It is only natural that the notion of the subsequent action grows more prominent when the governing words denote living beings, who are generally not made ready by others, but make themselves ready for some purpose, mostly for the purpose of performing an action, or being the object of an action. Capability or willingness to perform that action may then also be implied.

OE. Op ðæt he (:diabolus) Adam. . . godes handgesceaft gearone funde, wislice geworht. Gen. 455. — Ond þa sið-frome searwum gearwe wigend wæron. Beow. 1813. — Ibm 1825. — Fore him englas stondað gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum. Guðlac 60. — VP 56:8. 107:2. 118:60. — Ac westu gearo. Beda 462:29. — CP 433:28-31. — Þider urnon, swa hwilc swa ðonne gearo wearð hraðost. Chr. E 755/49. — Com se cyning. . . mid fulre fyrde þider ær hi gearwe wæron. Ibm 1014/145. — Ic her eom andweard and gearu, and bidige mines drihtnes willan. Prose Guthlac 133:228. — Chrodegang 23:4. 25:23. †

ME. Zarewede heom to fehten. Ær heo weoren hælf ðaru þer com Androgeus faren. Lay. A (B) 8657. — Gij him graipæd & made him zære. Guy 1917. — Make zow zære, zif þat ze wille with me fare. Beues 2293. — He bad hys men all in fer To busk and make þem yare. Erl of Tolous 819. — Then II of þem made þem yare, And to þe cyte þe chyldre þey bare. Oct. C 565. †

The two following instances probably belong here:

OE. Beornas gearwe on stefn stigon. Beow. 211. — Weard unhiore, gearo guðfrecra gold-maðmas heold. Ibm 2414.

4. When the object for which a person has put himself in readiness (prepared himself) is expressed, the attention is more especially directed towards the action which follows on the state of preparation. The context may imply that the person was not only ready and willing to perform the action, but also that he actu-

ally did perform it, and in the same degree the adj. changes its meaning from 'ready, willing' to 'prompt'. A person who is ready and willing to perform an action, is generally capable of performing it *at once*. The senses are difficult to distinguish and shade into each other by imperceptible modifications. The arrangement below is based partly on syntactical grounds.

a. *Prepared / willing, eager, prompt* to perform an action, indicated by an infinitive (gerund). Verbs of material or immaterial import. BTS II.

OE. Gif þin willa sie. . . þæt me wærlogan. . . sweordum aswebban, ic beo sona gearu to adreoganne, þæt ðu. . . deman wille. Andreas 72. — Cwæð þæt he selfa geara wære mid Godes fultome þæt weorc to fremmenne, gif þæm apostolican papan þæt licade. Beda 98:3. — Forðon he gearu wære in þam ylcan gewinne mid him beon, gif him lefnys seald wære. Ibm 56:20. — Ic hæbbe nu ongiten þ þu eart gearu to ongitanne mina lara (:ad intelligendum promptissimum). Boethius 107:32. — Eall folc gearu wæs heom on to fonne. Chr. E 1009/139. — Theodulf 104:20. — Additional instances, see BT and BTS.

ME. Þe Hælend. . . wæs gearu to farenne to þam bæddrædæn cnapæn. Bodley Hom. 26:29. — Seouen hundred cnihten al zærewæ to fihten. Lay A (B) 21220. — Ibm A (B) 22280. A 27333. — Ich iseh þe apostles. . . zærowe forte demen i þe dei of dome kinges ant keiseres. Sawles Warde 261. — King Alis. 1187. — Than messengers were zære, After the childe for to fare. Seven Sages 305. — Havelok 1391. — [Pai busked hem & made hem yare, To costentin for to fare. Vernagu 83. — Eglamour 196. †

b. Same sense; the object of preparation is expressed by a clause. BTS II a.

OE. Nu þonne ic eom gearu þæt ic gange to minum discipulum. Blickling 247:32. — Gearu is min heorte þæt ic god cweme (: paratum cor meum). Ps. 56:9. †

c. Same sense; the object of preparation is expressed by a noun or by a preposition + noun. BTS III and III a.

OE. Þa wæs eft hraðe gearu gyn-wræce Grendeles modor. Beow. 2118. — Wæron hwate weras. . . gearwe to guðe. Elene 23. — He wæs anræd ellenweorces. . . nalas hildlata, gearu guðe, fram to godes campe. Andreas 234. — Ibm 1369. — Beo þu on sið gearu, sibþan lic & leomu & þes lifes gæst asundrien somwist hyra þurh feorggedal. Guðlac 1148. — Sum bið deormod deofles gewinnes, bið a wið firenum in gefeolt gearu. Cræftum 90. — VP 16:12. 37:18. — Seulon ða halgan weras simle stondan gearuwe to gefeolte wið ðæm lytegan fiend. CP 433:16. †

ME. Et þe schape þe douel smuzed in dernliche, hwenne hit bið zaru to galiche deden. Lamb. Hom. 153. — Þu ne uorsakest nenne mon uor his luðernesse, gif he is to bote zæruh and bit þe uorziuenesse. Ibm 197. — For ich am zaru

to al þe wa þ tu const me ȝarkin. Katherine 2302. — Similarly 1748. 2334. — Weoren alle þa cnihtes ȝærewe to þon filhte. Lay A (B) 9457. — (I will) to æuer ælche ræde beon ȝæru to þire neode. Lay. A (B) 22506. Similarly A 31057. — Pan was þar non of al þe wacche þat ys herte ne by-gan to cacche, & to fiȝte mad hem ȝære. Ferumbas 5186. — To offyr loke þat ye be yore. York Plays 36:30. †

d. *Ready, eager, willing, prompt to go to a place, etc.*, expressed by preposition + noun or by a local adv. Also in figurative use, which BT defines as *brought into such a condition as to be immediately liable to*. In the quots. from Crist and Rob. Glouc., BT adds: *sc. eundi*. BTS III a α and β .

OE. Sona wæron gearwe hæleð mid hlaford (: the disciples with Christ) to þære halgan byrg. Crist 460. — Þa ðe gearwe beoð to gramum (: hostile) bendum, eft hi gelædeð ece drihten mid þæm þe unriht æghwær wyrceað (L. *declinantes in obligationes*. Mod: As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the Lord shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity). Ps. 124:5. — He wiste þ hi wæron to deaþe gearwe; þa gelaþode he hie to ecean life. Blickling 103:7. †

ME. His god he delde pouere men. . . & made him to god al ȝare. Rob. Glouc. 7153. — Cristabelle. . . herde telle, þat he was comen hame; till his chamber mad hir ȝare. Eglamour 639. — Sir Eglamour. . . hamwardes made hym ȝare. Ibm 927. †

e. *Ready, prompt, eager, according to the will or requirements of a person.* BTS III, III a.

OE. Ic beo gearo sona unwaclice willan þines. Jul. 49. — He him aþas swor . . . þæt he gearo wære mid him selfum, and on allum þam þe him læstan woldon, to þæs heres þearfe. Chr. A 874/72. — He sceal. . . geara beon on manegum weorcum to hlafordes willan. Liebermann 448. Rect. 5:2. †

ME. Merlin seyð, were so he ware, To his wil he war al ȝare. Arth.a. Merl. 2002. †

f. Of persons, attributively: *available, at hand / eager, willing.* BTS IX a.

OE. Swa hwelce men swa swa wilnaden þæt heo in halgum leorningum tyde wæron, heo hæfdon gearwe magistras, þe ðe heo lærdon & tydon. Beda 258:23. — He is god min and gearu hælend. Ps. 61:2. †

g. Of persons, etc.: *eager, willing / prompt.* The object of the preparation is not expressed, but nevertheless the adj. evidently has the sense indicated. BTS VI.

OE. Ðæm synfullan nauht ne helpað his godan geðohtas, forðæmðe he næfð gearone willan untweogendne to ðæm weorce, ne eft ðæm ryhtwisan ne deriað his yflan geðohtas forðæmðe he næfð gearone willan ðæt woh to fulfremmanne. CP 423:25-28. (: *Nec malos bona imperfecta adjuvant, nec bonos mala inconsummata condemnant*. BTS VIII renders *gearone* 'finished, complete', but as that

sense is not found in such connexions I prefer to translate it 'eager', denoting that a sinful person can intend nothing truly good, cannot be *really and truly willing* and *eager* for good). — ðe gast Is ec georo. AS. Gosp. Mt. 26:41. Li. (Ru gearo. C hræd. H ræd). †

ME. Ich rede þi þat men bo ȝare and more wepe þane singe, þat fundeþ to þan hovenkinge. O & N 860. — Þe Sarezynes. . . runne out at þe gate. In here herte þay were so ȝarwe, Alle here ȝates hem þouȝte to narwe. Richard 6821. — Ich wolde be ȝare Whan ich wiste to finde þe þare. Sir Otuel 299. †

5 a. Of immaterial objects: *prepared, ready for somebody*. Also *at hand, available*. Cf. sense 2. BTS VII and IX.

OE. Him bið lean gearo. Gen. 435^f. — Þe synt tu gearu, swa lif, swa deað, swa þe leofre bið to geceosanne. Elene 605. — Him. . . grim hellefyr gearo to wite andweard seoð. Crist 1270. — Þær bið symle gearu freed unhwilen, þam þe hie findan cann. Andreas 1153. — Ibm 907, 1567. — Þe is susl weotod (: prepared) gearo togegnes. Sat. 693. — Wyrce him siððan his modes hus þær he mæge findan eaðmetta stan ungemet fæstne grundweal gearone, se togliðan ne þearf. Metra 7:34. — He is se goda god and gearu standeð his mildheortnys mære to worulde. (Quoniam in sæculum misericordia eius). Ps. 117:2, 3, 4. — On gode standeð min gearu hælu & wuldor min & wyn mycel. Ps. 61:7. †

ME. Bi-hold, heie louerd, hu monnes help trukeð me: þin help beo me þe ȝarewere. Lofsong of Ure Louerde 213:5. — Ah ute we þah to him fare, for þar is unker dom al ȝare. O & N 1780. †

b. Of word, speech, etc.: *ready, available, at hand when required, prepared*, sometimes implying *prompt*.

OE. Habbað word gearu wið þam æglæcan eall getrahtod (:considered). Andreas 1359. — Þa him unbliðe andswaredon deofolwitgan (næs him dom gearu to asegganne swefen cyninge). Daniel 128. — Onstep (: raise) minne hige, gæsta god cyning, in gearone ræd. Hymn 4:39 (BTS V: characterized by quickness or promptness). — Hæbbe æfre se lareow gearwe stemne to bodunge, þæt he mid his swigan ne gebylge þæs uplican wlateres dom. Chrodegang 96:23. †

ME. Ich habbe herto gode answare anon iredi & al ȝare. O & N 488. — ȝif hundes urneþ to him ward, he gengþ wel sviþe awai wart & hokeþ papes sviþe narewe & haveþ mid him his blenches ȝarewe & hupp & stard suþe cove and secheþ papes to þe grove. Ibm 378. (Said of a hare, not of a fox, as stated in NED s. v. *blench*). — Ich bidde þat men beon iwarre and habbe gode reades ȝarre. Ibm 1222. †

6. Of an event: *near at hand, soon coming*. BTS IX.

OE. Tid min ne ðaget cuom, tid uutudlice iuerro symble is gearua (: tempus autem uestrum semper est paratum). AS. Gosp. Jn 7:6. Li. (Ru C H). †

ME. Mi dere gode damisele, my deþ is al ȝare, so a botteles bale me byndeþ so harde. Palerne 895. †

The following perhaps also belongs here: *Loke þat þu ne bo þare, þar chaving* (:dissension) *boþ & cheste* (:fight) *ʒare, lat sottes chide & vorþ þu go.* (Adj. in nom. plur. according to Gadow). O & N 296.

OE. GEARWE, adv.

Senses 2 and 3 represent an independent development of the adv., which has no correspondence in the adj. *gearu*. Sense 4 shows the transition to an active import. Senses 5 and 6 denote speed. The origin of this sense is discussed below.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) So as to be ready, completed, finished. Material, passive. OE.
- 2) a) Material: thoroughly, completely, well. OE. ME.
b) To know, remember, learn, etc.: thoroughly, completely, clearly, certainly, well. OE. ME.
- c) Verba affectuum: completely, thoroughly, in a high degree. OE.
- 3) In truth, verily, really, even, utterly. OE. ME.
- 4) Mental: completely, much, in a high degree, in truth / eagerly, readily. OE.
- 5) Promptly, immediately, soon. Material sense.
a) Verbs of motion. OE. ME.
b) Other verbs. ME. 1200.
- 6) Thoroughly, certainly, clearly, well / promptly, immediately, soon. ME. 1200.

1. If my assumption regarding the earliest sense of the adj. *gearu* is correct, it is probable that the adv. originally had a corresponding sgn: *so as to be ready, completed, finished*, referring only to the completion of a certain action, and not implying any activity on the part of the subject of the clause, nor any subsequent action. The evidence for the existence of this sense is unsatisfactory: the two quots. below are the only support I have been able to find for it. Perhaps both belong to sense 2 a?

OE. Hierusalem, geara ðu wære, swa swa cymlic ceaster getimbred (: aedificatur ut civitas), þær syndon dælas on sylfre hire (Modern: J. is builded as a city, that is compact together). Ps. 121:3. — Hafa gebrocen glæs geara gegrun- den (? thoroughly). Lchdm. II:144 (according to BTS V; but not found at the place indicated). †

2. When an action has reached the point of completion it may be said to be *thoroughly, completely, well* done. The distinctive difference between the instances in this section and those in 4 is that there is here as yet no implication of activity on the part of the subject, nor of promptness. Add. inst. see GK.

a. With verbs of material action: *thoroughly, completely, well*. BTS V.

OE. He het him to gamene geara forbærnan Romana burg, sio his rices wæs ealles eðelstol. *Metra* 9:9. — Forþon hi Jacob geara ætan & his wicstede westan gelome (: quia comederunt Iacob). *Ps.* 78:7. — Strele beoð scearpe, strange & mihtige, syððan of gledon wesað gearwe ahyrde (: sagittæ potentis acutæ, cum carbonibus desolatoriis). *Ps.* 119:4. — Eow sona wyrð heofona rices duru geara untyned. *Wulfstan* 71:15. †

ME. Se that thou leis thame not, bot ȝeme thame full ȝair. *Rauf* 643. †

b. With verbs signifying to *know, remember, learn, hear*: *thoroughly, completely, clearly, certainly, well*. BTS I, II.

OE. Se hellsceaða gearwe wiste, þæt hie godes yrre habban sceoldon. *Gen.* 695. — Hine gearwe geman witena wel-hwylc wide geond eorþan. *Beow.* 265. — Ic sceal forð sprecan. . . þæt ðu geare cunne. . . to hwan syððan wearð hond-ræs hæleða. *Ibm* 2070. — *Ibm* 246, 715, 878. — Hio him andsware ænige ne meahton agifan togenes, ne ful geare cuðon sweotole gesecggan be þam sigebeacne. *Elene* 167. — M manne. . . þa þe fyrngemynd mid Iudeum gearwast cuðon. *Ibm* 328. — Wite ðu þe gearwor, þæt ðu unsnyttrum anforlete leohta beorhtost & lufan dryhtnes. *Ibm* 946. — *Guðlac* 1018. — *Riddles* 81:6. — *Ps.* 61:11. 118:21. 139:12. — Geare ic þet ongeat þæt ðæt nowiht wæs þæt we beeoðan (: worshipped). *Beda* 136:13. — *Ibm* 64:11, 200:27, 402:15, 468:10. — *Boethius* 12:26. 31:17, 96:6, 98:20, 103:6. *Wulfstan* 199:4. 305:32. †

ME. Soð, soð, ic þe sæcge þ we soðlice sprækæð þ þæt we ȝeare witen. *Bodley Hom.* 2:23. — He ferde. . . to þan ilke weie þe he ful ȝeare wuste þat þe king. . . forð sculde iwenden. *Lay. A* 525 (B wel). — God wot ȝenoh ȝeare, ȝif ȝe of þan treowe æteð, þanne beoð ȝiure eagen ȝeopened. *OEH* I 223 (De initio creature, c. 1200-1250, probably SW.). †

Cf. *ȝearowitele*. *OE.* *ME.* See dictionaries.

c. Finally, we have *gearwe* in a similar sense with *verba affectuum*: *completely, thoroughly, in a high degree*. Only two *OE.* instances. No implication of activity on the part of the subject.

OE. Ic gearewe gode licode on lifgendra leohte eallum (: ut placeam coram Deo in lumine viventium). *Ps.* 55:11. — Peos eorþe sceal eall abifigan & for Jacobes gode geara forhtigean. (Not in the Lat.). *Ps.* 113:7. †

3. *Verily, really, in truth, even, utterly*. In a number of instances *gearwe* appears as a term of asseveration. This sense may have arisen in phrases where the adv. denoted that a thing was *completely* or *thoroughly* so and so, which shades into *it is really, in truth, so*. The meaning is sometimes vague. In *Ps.*, *gearwe* is often introduced to fill out the line, without any corresponding word in the Latin original.

OE. Swa þu god of gode gearo acenned sunu soðan fæder. . . butan anginne æfre wære. Crist 109. — Judith 2. — Forðon þu me god eart geara andfengea (:defender). Ps. 58:9, 18 (BTS IV). — Forþon þu me, god, wære geara trymmend, freoða fultumiend. Ps. 70:3 (BTS IV). — Min is Galaad, gearwe Mannases, is Effrem his agen broður efue heah strengðu heafdes mines (Mod.: G. is mine, M is mine. E. also is the strength of mine head). Ps. 107:7. — Me is micle betere, þæt ic bebodu healde, ðines muðes gemet, þonne mon me geofe geara ðusende gol-des & seolfres. (Bonum mihi lex oris tui super millia auri et argenti). Ps. 118:72. — Þone cuþon manige urra cuðra freonda & eallra gearost seo halige fæmne. (quem nostrorum multi noverunt, et maxime sacra virgo). Gregorius 199:11. (BTS I). Additional instances, see GK.

ME. For prestes wike (:service), ich (the owl) wat, þu (the nightingale) dest, ich not ʒef þu were ʒavre prest, ich not ʒef þu canst masse singe. O & N 1180. (Gadow: wirklich). †

4. *Completely, thoroughly, in a high degree, verily, in truth | eagerly, readily.*

In this and the following sections, *gearwe* always refers to an activity on the part of the subject, and signifies not only that an action is performed *thoroughly* and *completely*, but also that the subject is *eager* and *willing* to perform it. The development may have been due to influence from sense 4 of the adj. It was pre-literary, so we cannot now ascertain which of the words first acquired the sense in question.

The difference between the quots. given here, and those in 5 b, is that the latter all have the sense-element 'promptly', which is not found in the OE. instances.

Verbs denoting perception or other mental action. In Ps. *gearwe* is often added as an expletive, without any correspondence in the Latin original. BTS II.

OE. Bio nu on ofoste þat ic. . . gearo (?Unflekt. adj. GK) sceawige siglu, searo-gimmas. Beow. 2748. — Ge þa fægran gesceaft in fyrndagum. . . gearo forsegon (:despised), þa ge wiðhogdun halgum dryhtne. Guðlac 602. — Naman þine neode swylce geara andette, forðon ic hine goodne wat. Ps. 53:6. — God, min gebed gearuwe gehyre ond earum onfoh min agen word. Ps. 53:2. — God min! ic þe gearuwe to æt leohte gehwam lustum wacie (:watch). Ps. 62:1. — Ic on þe, god drihten, gearuwe gewene. Ps. 70:1. — Feorran angeate fore mine & mine gangas gearwe atreddest (:investigasti) & ealle mine wegas wel foresawe. Ps. 138:2. — Ða dioflu gearwe (? adj.) bidað, hwonne heo mec gegrypen & to hel-le locum gelæde. Beda 440:15. Etc. Additional instances, see GK.

5. In one late OE. instance, and in a great number of ME. instances we find *gearwe* qualifying verbs of material action, and

signifying *promptly, immediately, soon*. Sometimes sense 2 a is implied.

We have first to note that the sense 'rapidly' does not occur in the quotes. The origin of the sense of speed, in this case only speed in relation to time, can therefore not be the same as in the other advs. examined. Among the senses of *gearwe* previously investigated, it is only 1 and 2 a that appear in connexion with verbs of material action, and it does not seem likely that any one of them can have given rise to the sense 'promptly', whether in connexion with verbs of motion or with other verbs.

Under these circumstances we turn to the adj. *gearu*, in order to see if the origin of the sense 'promptly' can be found there. And I think it can, though it is not fully developed in the adj. We have seen that sense 4 of *gearu*, used of persons, sometimes implies not only readiness or willingness, but also that this state of mind was actually followed by the action for which the person had prepared himself. A person who is ready to perform an action and then actually performs it, will in most cases be *prompt* to do so, and thus the adj. receives the sense of speed (in relation to time). It is not fully developed, appearing blended with other elements of sense. If we assume this sense to be taken over by the adv., it is evident that it may easily be subjected to further change, the element 'eager', etc., being weakened, and the element of speed becoming predominant.

This development must have taken place in the OE. period, as the quot. from Ælfric already has the sgn 'promptly'. The long time which then elapsed before the date of the ME. quotes. explains the lack of ME. oscillating instances.

The OE. instance, and many of the ME. ones, have verbs of motion, but as far as I can see those verbs did not play such an important part in the development of this adv. as in some others. The change of meaning described would take place just as well with other perfective verbs.

a. With verbs of motion.¹⁾

¹⁾ The compound *gearu-gongende* in: Ic eom bleað to þon, þæt mec bealdlice mæg gearu gongende grima abregan (Riddles 38:17), is emendated by Trautmann to *geanum gongende* (he compares *gegnum gangan*, Beow. 314). GK translates 'expedite incedens'. If the reading of the MS. is correct, *gearu* must be rendered 'promptly' (suddenly?).

OE. Ðis is to soþan sum wundorlic gesihð þe god ælmihtig þysan geongan menn onwreogan hæfð, ac uton nu ealle swiðe gearwe arisan and mid him þyder geond gan. And se bisceop marinus sona aras, etc. *Ælfric Saints* 23:747. †

ME. Ho sende it into asye wid messagers ful yare (?adj.). *Margarete III* 4. — Þe wardein wente him out ful zare. *St. Alexius* p. 43 (MS. *Laud* 108). *M.* — 'Haste,' he said, 'þan þeder yaar, For i do noght til þou come þar'. *CM* 2837. (F: haste þe fast wiþ-outen mare). — Vr lauerd ledd þam in þair fare, þat þai come to þair fader yaare. *CM* 5002 — Þan was iacob busked yare, Wit al þe gyng þat wit him ware. *CM* 5225. — Schipmen him gun bring To inglond ful zare. *Tristrem* 930. — This ilke daye Lat dyght messangers zare, Aftir hym for to fare. *Seven Sages* 289. — King of Tars 957, 1017. — *Guy* 34:2. — The thryd day he ryse yare. *Ip. A* 4221. — *Perceval* 1794. — *Melayne* 534. — *Bruce* 3:696. — *Susan* 228. — *Gowther* 510. — *Degrevant* 624, 788, 932, 1228. †

b. With other verbs of material action.

ME. Schended hire nuðe, zeldeð hire zarow (?adj.) borh (:pledge) efter þat ha wurðe is. *S. Juliane* 73 (Bodl.). — A-non-riht þene moruwe i-poruicid it was al-zare (? put in order, made ready), At seint poules church, þat heo scholde Icristned beo riht þare. *ESEL*, 110:125. — When þai of þe cite wist hem þare, Ozaines hem þai diht hem zare. *Guy* 1986. — A scarlet wiþ riche skinne Ybrougt him was ful zare. *Tristrem* 688. — His swerd, sche gan it schewe, And broken hye fond it þare. Out of a cofer newe þe pese sche droug ful zare And sett it to þat trewe. *Ibm* 1568. — *Richard* 615. — Þemperour of rome þanne was rede zare. *Palerne* 1963. — Þe wylde worme. . . schott fyre appon hym zare, Ever agayne evyn mare and mare. *Eglamour* 730. — (Charles). . . Braydes vp Baners zare. *Melayne* 939. — To the buttery dore he went And offe he caste hit (: his mantle) yare. *Ip. A* 466. — He zelde hit yow zare þat zarkkez al menskes. *Gawain* 2410. — Anon, riht as þe kyng hym sez, Quyklich þanne a rod hym nez, & sayde til hym ful zare. *Ferumbras* 4256. — *Avowynge* 14, 30. — *Gowther* 133. — *Erl of Tolous* 232. — *Troy Book* 2590. — *Alexander* 1107. — *Degrevant* 1380, 1416, 1513, 1699. †

6. With verbs of mental action: *thoroughly, certainly, clearly, well | promptly, immediately, soon.* Evidently a continuation of senses 2 and 4, with the second element added through influence from sense 5. In some cases the idea of speed is perhaps predominant.

ME. Þa Romanisce men ful zare hit isezen. *Lay. A* 5491 (B ful raþe hit wuste). — Iff mikel is sorge and more care, Adam and eue it wite ful gare. *Gen. & Ex.* 390. — Moyses bi-ðogt him ful gare Of ðat ðe is kin haueð sworn. *Ibm* 3180. — Bot þat bes noght kid so zaire. *CM* 915 (T: But hit shal not zitt be so nez). — He. . . bisougt Apelston þe king His bodi to leden oway. He it graunted him ful zare. *Guy* 298:7. — Þaye assentede on hym zære þat Gwenes schudde to Ameral fare, þat erand for-to bede. *Ferumbras* 5289. — We bidde þe noupe. . . tþinge sende, Of þat we zernen of zou ful zare to kenne. *Alex. a. Dind.* 239. *M.* †

OE. GERÆDE, ME. REDI, adj.

Early ME. *rædi*(3), *readi*, *redi*, in Southern texts also *3eredi*, *ireadi*, etc., apparently formed on the analogy of other adjs. by the addition of *-i3*, *-y* to OE. *ræde* (?), or *3eræde*, from the Teut. stem **raið-* 'to put in order, prepare'. (NED). Cf. Fick III 344; Persson, Beiträge 856 A. 2.

There is thus a break in the morphological development, but the addition of a new suffix probably did not prevent *rædi3*, *redi* and *irede* from being apprehended as one word. From the semantic point of view, the different forms may therefore be assumed to form one continuous whole, but it seems convenient to give separately the OE. forms, and the ME. forms with a prefix, in order to show clearly their frequency and distribution. We find that they always signify 'prepared, available'. When other senses are found in *redi*, they consequently appear to represent a ME. sense-development.

OE. *Ræde* and *geræde*.

Unfortunately, the interpretation of the OE. quots. is rather uncertain. In the quot. from Ps. Th., BT renders *geræde* 'celerēs'. (Latin: *perfectit pedes meos tamquam cervi*. Mod.: 'He maketh my feet like hinds' feet). If *geræde* is not merely an expletive word of lax import, it can only mean 'prompt' (*Redi* sense 5). Clark Hall (OE. Dict.) translates it 'prepared'.

OE. *Swa he deð* (: gives help) *anra gehwylcne her buendra, þe hyne him to helpe seceð mid ræde & mid rihte geleafan*. Jud. 97. — *He gedyde mine fet swa geræde swa swa heorotum*. Ps. Th. 17:32. GK. — *On hwan mæg se iunga on godne weg rihtran þe rædran ræd gemittan?* (In quo corrigit adolescentior viam suam? BT 'ready, prompt'). Ps. 118:9. — *Halig læce rede & rihtwis rumheort hlaford*. Hymn 7:63. (Pater Noster 3:63). †

On OE. *gerad*, see BT s. v., and NED *irad*.

ME. forms with prefix.

1. *Ready, prepared, of material substances*. Cf. *redi* I below.

ME. *Pair mete to þam i rede* (v. r. *redi*) broght. CM 5270. †

2. *Available, at hand when required, convenient for use*. Cf. *redi* 2 b.

ME. Ich hadde herto gode ansvare anon iredi & al zare. O & N 488. — I f ich. . . bitraye ihesu, hwat schal beon my mede? þrytty panewes, hi seyden, hi beoþ alle iredede. Passion of Our Lord 119. — Þe dyað þet is yredy, ond ouera aspib þane zenezere. Ayenbite 173. †

3. Of persons: *prepared, ready*, for something. May imply *willing, prompt*. Cf. *redi* 3 and 4.

ME. Ecce venio, loke ic am (i)radi ðine wille to werchen, and mankenn to aliesen. Vices 117:5. Similarly 117:21. — Bispel 239:9. — Rob. Glouc. 3094. — St. Brandan p. 30. M. — Beket 766. NED. — Iredi was þe schrewe þere, þe soule he nom anon. E. E. P. 58:27. — Ferumbras 354. †

ME. Redi.

Scheme of senses.

- 1) Of material objects: in the condition of having been prepared or put in order for some purpose, (so as to be available or at hand when wanted). Object of preparation may be expressed. ME. 1200.
- 2) Available, close at hand, at hand when required or wished for, convenient for use.
 - a) Of persons. ME. 1200.
 - b) Of objects, material or immaterial. ME. 1300.
 - c) Of a way or path: lying directly before one, direct, near. ME. 1300.
 - d) Ready token: clear, evident. Of a word, etc.: clear, plain, distinct. ME. 1400.
- 3) Of persons: in a state of preparation. Purpose expressed or implied. ME. 1200
- 4) Of persons: Ready, willing, eager, to do something, expressed or implied. ME. 1200.
- 5) Of persons: Prompt; expert, dexterous. ME. 1300.
- 6) Of action or movement: Prompt, quick. ME. 1390.
- 7) Of the mind or mental powers: Prompt to devise, comprehend, observe. ME. 1300.

1. Of material, inanimate objects: *That has passed, or been brought, into such a condition as to be immediately liable or likely to (something); in the condition of having been prepared or put in order for some purpose, sometimes implying: so as to be available or at hand when wanted* (cf. next section). The purpose of the preparation may be implied or expressed. NED 3 and 8.

There are no certain instances with an import corresponding to sense 1 of *gearu*, implying only that the condition of the object is the result of a previous action or process, with no reference to the purpose of the preparation. *Ready* always seems to signify

that the qualified object is in a condition which makes it capable of becoming the object of an action.

NED has distinguished, in sections 3 and 8, contextual variations of this sense, which are of no great importance for the subsequent sense-development, and which are therefore taken together here. The same is the case with several instances of the phrase *to make ready*, which is also separately given by NED (13-15).

ME. Heore lezhe (:pay) birrþ hemm beon Rædiȝ, þann itt iss addeledd (:earned). Orm 6235. — He bad al schuld be bounn. . . Redi to this somoun. Tristrem 259. — Sowdone 1476. 1656. — Additional instances, see NED 3, 8, 14.

2. As in *zearu*, the sense *prepared* passes over into: *available, at hand, close at hand, when required or wished for; convenient for use*. Some of the quots. in section 1 show an implication of this sense. NED 9.

a. *Of persons:* Cf. sense 3.

ME. I þi childhad hafdes tu. . . ti moder readi hwen þu pappe ȝerndes. Wohunge 277. — Orfeo knokkeþ atte gate, þe porter was redi þerate. Orfeo 378. — Whon þe lust speke with me, lift þe lide sone: þou schalt fynde me redi riȝt bi þi side. Joseph Arim. 42. — He hadde a Somnour redy to his hond. Cant. D 1321. †

b. *Of objects, material and immaterial.* Often difficult to distinguish from sense 1.

ME. My sone hende, J wole þe swere vpon a book, Redy is it j off þe took; Redy is al þy tresore, And ȝyff þou wylt as mekyl more J schal þe geue, my pes to make. Richard 1608-9. — What maner thing that may encesse wo, That have I redy, unsoght, everywhere. Chaucer, Compl. unto Pite 104. — Wo was his cook, but-if his sauce were Poynaunt and sharp, and redy al his gere. Cant. A 352. — What nedeth man thanne to been despeired, sith that his mercy so redy is and large? Cant. I 705. — If. . . that ye list apoynte some redy place, Bothe Natanell and I. . . noo thing shall be lette To mete yow ther. Generydes 4323. †

The phrase *ready pennies* probably belongs here. NED 10.

ME. (We have brought) al redi penijs for to tell. CM 4835. (Similarly G and T. F redy payment for to tell) — Amadas 12. — Add. inst. NED 10.

c. *Of a way or path: lying directly before one, direct, near.* NED 11.

ME. Pou sal see it cleue in tua, And giue yow redi wai to ga. CM 6252. — zette God will graunte hom alle hor wille, Tille heuyn the redy waye. Amadas 70. — Nowe they raike to Rome the redyeste wayes. Morte Arth. 2352, 3469. — To ther logging they toke the redy waye. Generydes 604. — Sette me in the way Whiche were most redyest to the Citee. Ibm 3700 (Common in this poem). †

d. A further extension of this sense is the application of *redi* to *token*: convenient for use and therefore *clear, evident*. NED 9 c.

ME. (A man may go to confession elsewhere) ȝef he knewe by redy token þat hys schryfte he wolde open (:that the priest would reveal his confession). Myrc 715. — Þat goddes son calde shal bene, I shewe þe redy token to sene. CM 10890. †

The meaning of *redi* in the following three quots. is perhaps a little vague, but I think it must be: *clear, plain, distinct*.

ME. Fro that grownde he will nott part Away, Till he haue redy word what ye will saye. Generydes 1743. — All this he told hym in full redy wise. Ibm 2406. — Bere with yow sum tokyn that she may Of your persone haue redy knowlaching. Ibm 4246. †

3. Of persons: *in a state of preparation, so as to be capable of immediately performing such action as is expressed or implied in the context*. The purpose of the preparation may be more or less clearly implied or expressed. The predominant idea is that of preparation, stated as an objective fact, not implying anything about the willingness or eagerness etc., of the person in question (about his subjective condition, his state of mind). NED 1, 13, and 16.

ME. Julius wes al rædi, also he to wolde ræsen (: as if he would rush forth, sc. from his ambush). Lay. A 8652 (B readi). — Cassibilane. . . armede his cnihtes redi to fihte. Lay. B 8656. — Þar com Arthur him aȝein redi to fihte. Lay. B 20071 (A ȝaru). — Þat hii beo redi sone mid þe fare to Rome. Lay. B 25169 (A ȝarewe). — Messengers were redy dyȝt, To schippe þey wente þat ylke nyȝt. Richard 53. — CM 11595. — Whan þou art redi for to fare, For soþe þi swerd sschal be ȝare. Sir Otuel 221. — Ibm 306. — Brunne Chron. 97. NED. — Þemperour of rome þanne was rede ȝare, & alle þe best barounes & boldest of his reaume. Palerne 1963. — Bruce 19:718. — Ferumbas 489. — In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay, Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage. Cant. A 21. — Avowynge 5. — Erl of Tolous 56. — Wallace 4:425. †

Signifying (ready) *dressed*. NED 1 b and 14.

ME. Up ryseth fresshe Canacee hir-selve. . . Noon hyer was he (:the sun), whan she redy was. Cant. F 387. †

4. Of persons: *Prepared, willing, eager, to do something*, expressed or implied. *Redi* may indicate merely 'feeling or exhibiting no reluctance', or there may be an element of willingness, more or less prominent. Some quots. might no doubt be distinguished as having the former or the latter sense predominant, but others may be interpreted in either manner. I therefore find it most

convenient to place them all in one group, especially as they are not very numerous. The object of the willingness may be denoted by a verb or by a noun. NED 2.

ME. ȝif hie redie ben to golliche deden. OEH II 191. — Tær wass efft te laþe gast Rædiȝ forr himm to fandenn (:tempt). Orm 11758. — Godd is rædiȝ tunnerrfon þatt folle þatt rihht himm follȝheþþ. Orm 12936. — Swa þatt I muzȝe findenn ȝuw. . . All rædiȝ folle to follȝhenn me. Orm 13436. — To lothes hus he cumen ðat nigȝt And bi-setten it redi to figt. Gen. & Ex. 1066. — Aungles þare weren redie I-nowe hire soule to heuene lede. ESEL 106:176. — Raymund giues us here ansuer þat iesus crist es redier To merci giue þan jugement. CM 26471. — Redi ich am it to vnder-fong. Guy 641. — Sir Otuel 402. — NEL 5:105. — Handlyng 254. — I rede the þat þou be redy for to flee. Northern Passion 504. — The renke rebell has bene vnto my rownde table, Redy aye with Romaynes and ryotte my landes. Morte Arth. 2403. — Icham Redi, quod Reson, to Reste with þe enere. P. Pl. A 4:155. — Than turnyt thai thame. . . And stude redy to giff battale. Bruce 19:454. — The body is ay so redy and penyble To wake, that my stomak is destroyed. Cant. D 1846. — Avowynge 19. 21. — Sowdone 263. 1036. — Additional instances, see NED.

5. Of living beings (or of the tongue): *prepared and willing to act, prompt, (expert, dexterous)*. When the attention is directed more especially towards the action which follows after the state of preparation, and a living being is not only prepared etc. to perform an action, but actually does perform it, the sense of *redi* changes into 'prompt'. Cf. *gearu* 4. Senses 4 and 5 shade into each other by imperceptible modifications, and cannot always be clearly distinguished. NED 5.

My earliest quotes. are from c. 1300; the development of the present sense thus seems to have taken place during the 13th century.

ME. Beues was redi wiþ is tronsoun And smot hire, þat ȝhe fel adoun. Beues 1551. — Forþ þer com on redi reke, þat renabliche kouþe frensch speke. Ibm 2973. — Rohand, þe riche kniȝt, Redy was he ay. Tristrem 798. — Þof salamon þi sone be ȝonge, he is ful wise and redy of tonge. CM F 8404. — In euery felde full redy for oure right. Kyng Edward the iiij:th 39. (P. R. & L. Poems). — For they are my retenuz, to ryde, whare I wyll, Es non redyare renkes regnande in erthe. Morte Arth. 2666. — Promptus, paratus. Pr. P. 426. — Ye may nott faile to send hider all your bookes and some readie man for to answer unto him. Plumpton Corr. 2. NED. — She knew not of so redy a massanger as I had. Paston 223. — And by cause that the yonge woman was redy in speche and malycious, she ansuerd forth with. Caxton Fables of Alfonse xii. NED. †

Of the tongue. NED 6 b.

ME. Pof salomon mi sun be yong, He es wis and o redi tung. CM 8404. — (Pride rises). . . for steuen suet, for rede tung. CM 27566. †

6. Of action or movement: *prompt, quick*. NED 7. It is doubtful if this sense represents a direct development from sense 5. It may be influenced by the adv. (5).

ME. Leonin it herde telle. . . And bad him gon a redy pas To fetten hire, and forth he wente. Gower, Conf. III. 322. NED.

The phrase *ready payment* (NED 12) seems related to this sense. Or is *payment* concrete = the money paid? Cf. 2 b.

ME. A party of siluer (we have) wiþ vs broȝt, redy payment for to telle. CM F 4835. — Amadas 26. — Add. inst. NED 12.

7. *Redi* is applied to the mind or mental powers: *quick to* devise, comprehend, observe. NED 6 a. Cf. *hræd* 4, *snel* 4, *cwic* 11.

ME. Nu es us nede of redi thoght. CM F 17432. (C o rede i-nogh). — To every craft. . . He hadde a redi wit to helpe Thurgh naturel experience. Gower Conf. II. 162. NED. — Suche as were of moost redy wyt counthe taken hede of alle. Pilgr. Sowle 4.35:82. NED. †

ME. REDILY, adv.

NED gives the following words and sgns.

1) *Redly*, OE. *rædlice*, (spelt *ræd-*, *red-*, *reed-*, *read-*, *redd-*): prudently, carefully, distinctly, clearly, correctly, certainly.

2) *Redely*, (spelt *red-*, *read-*): app. a var. of *Redly*, but metrical examples freq. indicate that the connecting *e* was pronounced. The various senses are not easily distinguished, and in some cases (see sense 4) the form is perh. written for *redily*, *Readily*. Sgns: 1) Clearly, plainly, distinctly. 2) Certainly, assuredly. 3) Carefully, attentively. 4) ? Readily, quickly.

3) *Redily*, f. *Redy* [cf. ON. *ráðugr*]: prudent, wise; but in many cases app. written for *Redely*. (Spelt *red-*, *?ryd-*). Sgns: a) Wisely, discreetly, prudently. b) Precisely, certainly, assuredly.

4) *Readily*, f. *Ready*. In early use sometimes difficult to distinguish from *Redily*. (Spelt *red-*, *redd-*, *5-read-*). Sgns: 1) Promptly, in respect of the voluntariness of the action, with alacrity or willingness. 2) Promptly, in respect of the time of action, quickly, without delay. With ease or facility. 3) In a state of readiness.

The spellings with *-æ-* and *-ea-* of the adj. *Ready* show that similar spellings in the adv. do not necessarily indicate that the

word is *redely* or *redily*. We have therefore no help from the spellings in distinguishing between the different advs.

It will be seen that NED gives, s. v. *readily*, only the senses denoting speed, with the addition of one single instance meaning 'in a state of readiness'. With regard to the other sgns quoted above, it is probable that 'wisely, prudently' belong only to OE. *rǣdlice* and its ME. descendants, and to *redily* (from *redy* 'prudent') All instances with this sgn are therefore left out of account, as having no connexion with the word we are discussing.

The development of *gearwe* shows that all the other sgns given by NED under the four different forms may belong to one word. It therefore appears advisable to treat them together, and we shall see that there is no point in the arrangement below, where it is necessary, for semasiological reasons, to assume a contamination or confusion of two words.¹⁾

Scheme of senses.

- 1) So as to be ready or finished. Passive import. ME. 1375 (?).
- 2) So as to be complete in some respect.
 - a) Of material action: completely, entirely. ME. 1360.
 - b) To dress or arrange: properly, correctly. ME. 1350.
- 3) With mental import.
 - a) To know: completely, wholly, certainly, clearly, truly. ME. 1220.
 - b) Verba dicendi et scribendi: Same sense. ME. 1300.

¹⁾ A few words must be said concerning *iradliche*. Though no other sgn than 'prepared, made ready; instructed, learned, expert' is given for the adj. *irad* (see NED s. v. and BT s. v. *gerad*), the adv. *iradliche* is rendered 'promptly, readily, straightway' by NED. M assumes the sense of speed for both adj. and adv. The following instances are given. He iradliche lǣdde hine to ræde. Lay. A 11532. — Þu scalt iradliche in to hefne-riche: heofne is þe al ȝaru. Lay. A 29631. — To vynde yredliche. . . ine huyche leave of þe boc þet hy by. Ayenbite 1. — The first quot. from Lay. is translated 'prudently' by Madden, which is probably correct. The second no doubt means 'assuredly, certainly, verily', and the whole phrase is an imitation of Christ's word on the cross (cf. Luke 23:43). The sgn of the third instance is doubtful. It may be 'correctly', 'promptly', or 'easily'. I think the last of these translations probable (cf. 6 below), but at such a late date all three senses were developed in the adv. *readily*, and therefore possible also in the form *iradliche*. If the quots. from Lay. are correctly interpreted by NED and M, it is difficult to account in a satisfactory manner for the late appearance of the sense of speed in the adv. *readily*.

- c) In various connexions, as a term of asseveration: certainly, truly, in truth. ME. 1300.
- d) Verbs denoting perception: clearly, certainly, distinctly; carefully, attentively. ME. 1390.
- 4) Willingly, eagerly. Sometimes implying promptly. ME. 1200.
- 5) Promptly, immediately, soon. ME. 1350.
- 6) Easily. ME. 1360.

1. *So as to be ready, prepared, finished, completed.* This sense, which corresponds to the original sgn of the adj. *ready*, is very rare. The interpretation of the quot. below is not certain. NED *readily* 3.

ME. þai schall fynd before þam redily puruayd all maner of thinges þat er necessary. Maundev. 25:118. NED. †

2. When an action is performed so as to be finished, it is *complete* in some respect.

a. *Completely, entirely*, of material action (or = 3 c?).

ME. In þe raikē of þe furthe they righten þeire breyns (: they tear the armour of their enemies) þat rane all on reede blode redylve all ouer. Morte Arth. 1526. †

b. *Properly, correctly*, with verbs denoting *to dress, arrange*.

ME. Whanne þe renkes were arayed redly as þei wold, bugles & bemes men gun blowe fast. Palerne 1153. — All his burnes bliue in x batailes he sett, as redili araiȝed as any rink þort wilne. Ibm 3563. — A surcott of sylke. . . With ladily lappes the lenghe of a ȝerde, And all redily reuersside with rebanes of golde. Morte Arth. 3255. — He rewlis þe rerewarde redyly thareaf tyre, The reke- neste redy men of þe rownde table. Ibm 4080. †

The same, with other verbs.

ME. Redeli bi resoun þefore hem rette i mai ni sorwe (: I ascribe my sorrow to them). Palerne 461. — Þe real emperour of rome þanne redli him þonked. Ibm 2143. — Þe men of þat lond beeþ rediloker (v. r. reedloker) i-cleped Gothy þan Gogi. Trevisa Higden I. 145. NED. †

3 a. With verbs denoting *to know* or *to learn*: *completely, wholly*, and therefore *certainly, clearly, truly*. Sometimes implying *promptly*. Cf. *gearwe* 2 b. NED *redly*; *redily* b.

ME. Nu þu miȝt wite readliche, þat eavere þu spekest gideliche, for al þat þu me seist for schame, ever þe seolve hit turneþ to grome. O & N 1281. — Qua þat dees in dedli sin sal duell in bale. . . And sua we find ful redeli. CM 25852. — Hire hys a mane That rydilich telle can, Why the ravens on the crye. Seven Sages 3254. — To hem were gode to here þys ryme; þan myght þey wyte redly what shame þat þey were wurþy. Handlyng 2139. — Þat mark saw alle men

comunly But no man wyst redely why. Ibm 2332. — Ip. A 2307. — Beryn 3116. NED *redely* 1. — In swiche wordes gan to pleyne Dido of hir grete peyne, As me mette redely. Hous of Fame 313. — For hit was lyk a thing of glas. . . But of what congeled matere Hit was, I niste redily. Ibm 1127. — Of his comyng full redely she knewe. Generydes 4687. — On of Harcourts men smot hym in the bak with a knyfe; men wotte not ho hyt was reddely. Paston 89. †

b. With verba dicendi et scribendi *redili* has a similar meaning. NED *redily* b.

ME. Quarfor oft þai fand his wrake, Als i sal tell you redili. CM 6297. — If any man wille witen, & se of hir storie, At Westmynster written er þei redilie. Brunne Chron. 105. NED. — Of hem of spayne to speke my speche now i lete. . . of þe riche emperour of rome redeliche to telle. Palerne 5467. — When this rink had arad & redeli showed All þe burth of þe bern by his art one. Alis. 1.647 — Þou hatȝ redily rehersed, bi resoun ful trwe, Clanly al þe couenaunt þat I þe kyng asked. Gawain 392. — Þe paume for he putteth forth fyngres and þe fust bothe, Riȝt so redily reson it sheweth, How he þat is holygoste sire & sone preueth. P. Pl. B 17:154. †

c. *Certainly, truly, in truth*, as a term of asseveration, in various connexions. Sometimes the word seems merely to be added for the sake of alliteration or metre. Cf. *gearwe* 3. NED *redely* 2.

ME. Þe fleche has redili him bi Foli liking and gloteri. CM (C G) 10113. (F T The flesh hath redy hym by lechory and glotony). — Than kyng Iour. . . Forthe went vnto Surry, But his stywarde, syr Grassy, He left at home ful redely. Beues O 2100. — Þe mayde melior ful mekly him brouȝt a ful real rose, and redly it him takes. Palerne 866. — He is so sounde nowþe, þat he may redly ride & rome when þat him likes. Ibm 1381. — Þei. . . hiȝed hem homward fast as þei miȝt, & token redli here rest at here owne wille. Ibm 2488. — Þei made hem þan merye wiþ mete þat þei hadde. . . & rested þere redeli al þat longe day. Ibm 2516. — If þou (:Gawain) redeȝ hym (:the Green Knight) ryȝt, redly I trowe, þat þou schal byden þe bur þat schal bede after. Gawain 373. — ȝus, rediliche (= 'willingly?') quod Repentaunce, and Radde him to goode. P. Pl. A 5:103. — Wel wiste I hit was of Venus redely The temple. Hous of Fame 130. — On his fader riȝt hand redeliche he sitteþ. P. Pl. Crede 811. NED. — And therefore the seid first premissis is redili trewe. Pecoock Repr. I. xx 129. †

d. With verbs denoting perception, *clearly, certainly, distinctly*. Perhaps *carefully, attentively*. NED *redely* 1 and 3.

ME. This knyht behield hir redely. Gower Conf. I 93. NED. — And when eueryche mon hadde rediliche y-sey þat fayre body. Etheldreda 870. — Whan she sawe syr Gareth redely in the vysage she. . . fel down in a swoune. Malory Arthur VII. xxxiv. NED. †

The following instance is a little uncertain. Morton renders

readeliche with *readily*. It may mean *completely*, 'without omissions'. NED *redely* 1.

ME. Auh al þæt schrift ne schreapeð nout of — al he wule a domesdei reden ful readeliche uorte biclopien (:accuse) þe mide. Ancr. R. 344 (T rekene & rede ful witterliche).

4. *Willingly, eagerly*, in later use often implying *promptly*. It is probable that this sense was taken over from the adj. (4). The earliest quots. are contemporary. NED *readily* 1.

ME. Swa somet readliche þurh seli martirdom ferdn. . . to Criste. Katherine 1409. — His hinen. . . sweried somet readliche, þat efter hire (wille) hit schal gan. Sawles Warde 247. — He. . . redily ʒaf him sa Of wel gode monc. Tristrem 611. — Þis tale he bi gan And redyli gan to say. Ibm 1523. — For ʒyf he wyl hym mercy craue, Redyly mercy shal he haue. Handlyng 234. — Euere suppe y haue me raid, redely to þy seruise. Ferumbras 270. (NED *redely* 4). — We ben redy, quop thei, to do this deede redely. Gesta Rom. lxx. 324. NED *redely* 2. †

5. *Promptly, immediately, soon*. I believe this sense of the adv. to have arisen in the same way as the similar sense of *gearwe* (q. v.). In the adj. *redi*, the sense of speed appears c. 1300, fifty years earlier than in the adv. I pointed out that in *gearwe* we find no oscillation between the sense 'promptly' and other sgns, and that this circumstance was probably due to the long period which had elapsed between the development of the sense in question and the ME. instances of it. In the present word, the development takes place in ME., and there are plenty of instances from that time. Consequently, we may expect to find oscillating instances, and such is actually the case. It is sometimes uncertain whether the sense 'promptly' is intended, or 'willingly, eagerly, easily'.

If this hypothesis is correct, it is evident that we can scarcely assume *iradliche* (cf. p. 197, note) to have signified 'swiftly' c. 1200. Words so similar in form, and partly also in meaning, as *iradliche* and *redily*, are always liable to influence each other, and we should then have expected to find the sense of speed in the latter word much earlier.

As in *gearwe*, I give the instances with verbs of motion separately. NED *readily* 2, *redely* 4.

Verbs of motion.

ME. Þanne þat barn as biliue by-gan for to glade þat he so realy schuld ride & redeli as swiþe. Palerne 352. — He rydez furthe ryallye and redely theraftyre,

Thare this reall renke was in areste halden. Morte Arth. 1472. — Bote Rediliche, Reson, þou Rydest not heonnes, For as longe as I liue lette þi I nulle. P. Pl. A 4:153. — A morowe on þe mirie daie þis menskfull Queene Arises up redely and a rink sendes Anon too Nectanabus. Alis. 1. 746. — This god, which herde of his grevance. . . had him go forth redily Unto a flod was faste by. Gower Conf. II. 137. NED. — Þei do drawe hem nere hym as redely (?carefully) and waredly as þei may. Master of Game xxv. NED *redely* 3. — And straught vnto the presence sodeynly Off dame Minerue. . . Gude hope my gydē led me redily. Quair 126. — And with his swerd where that his stroke glynt Owt of ther sadill full redely they went. Generydes 2422. — Aboute sir Beues they cam redely To venge his dethe on eyther partye. Beues O (printed copy) 789. — Also ye shal sende your sonde After my fader into Skotlonde, He wyl come to you redely Wyth a ful great company. Ibm 2973 (A an hiȝe). †

Other verbs.

ME. Þei hadde perced þe pres pertily to here maister & rescuede him rediliche fro rinkes þat him ladden. Palerne 1226. — Ibm 439. 1367. 1824. 1828. — The Romaynes than rēdyly arrayes them bettyre. Morte Arth. 1453. — Ewayne. . . Braydez owt his brande. . . Reuerssede it redelye and awaye rydys. Ibm 2070. — Ibm 363. 1752. 2550. 2918. 3228. 3374. 4117. — Wrong þenne vppon Wisdom wepte to helpe, Him for his handidandi Rediliche he payede. P. Pl. A 4:61. — ȝif here rente be not redily paied, here bestis ben stressid & þei pursued wiþouten mercy. Wyclif 234:5. — Þat verrey pees, prosperite & brennyng charite be encreased in cristendom. . . for to bryng men redily to þe blisse of heuene. Ibm 276:8. — And on hir feet wexen saugh I Partriches winges redely. Hous of Fame 1392. — Go bet, quod he, and axe redily, What cors is this that passeth heer forby. Cant. C 667. — Redely the right ere he pullid from the hed. Roland 102. — For I sopose that I xal redelyer have tydyngys from yow herr dan I xulde have ther. Paston 56. †

6. That a thing may be done promptly often implies that it may be done *easily*. This sense is not given by NED. Cf. *raþe* 9, 10.

ME. The rente ne rede golde, þat vnto Rome langes, Sall noghte redily, renke, raunson thyn one (Arthur's reply to the Roman envoy). Morte Arth. 466. — Raunson me resonabillye, as I may ouerreche, Aftyre my renttez in Rome may redyly forthire. Ibm 1509. — Thyn herte was Ioli but not sage, When thou were brought in sich a rage To yelde thee so redily. Rose 3293. — And redily mych harme had fall by cause þerof, ne had pees þe sonner be made bitwene hem. Brut 325:19. — For redly wyls in women Sonnar apperis þan in men. Wyntoun Cron. II. vi. 499. NED *redly*. †

CHAPTER III

PARALLEL SENSE-DEVELOPMENTS IN DIFFERENT WORDS. CONCLUSIONS.

In the preceding chapter, the sense-development of each word has been discussed separately. We shall now proceed to compare the different words with regard to analogous developments which start from, or result in, the-sense of speed.

I shall first attempt to define the proximate source from which the sense of speed has arisen (section A), dealing afterwards with the modifications and developments of this sense (section B); finally, the results of the preceding investigation will be summed up and discussed (section C).

The object of this chapter is a comparison of similar developments in different words. I have therefore left out of account sense-changes which do not arise from or result in the sense of speed, as such changes are represented by single cases only, and the necessary basis for a comparative examination is lacking.

As far as practicable, I have restricted myself to the logical point of view (see Introduction § 1), leaving the psychological problems for the following chapters.

A. PROXIMATE SOURCE OF THE SENSE OF SPEED.

In Ch. II the words were arranged with regard to their original meaning (from the English point of view). The analysis has shown that the original meaning in most cases did not change directly into the sense of speed, and that it was consequently by no means always identical with the proximate source of that sense. In several cases a considerable sense-change is necessary before a stage is attained which may serve as starting-point for the final development of the sense 'swift'.

As the development is essentially the same for all the words of each group, it will be found convenient to retain the same divisions as in Ch. II.

Group I is not included, as the sense of speed in the 'primary' words arose long before the literary period, and its development therefore cannot be ascertained. I shall only point out that the words are all derived from verbal stems. The stems of *hræd* (*raþe*), *swift*, and *leoht*, denote some kind of motion. The sgn of the stem of *snel* is uncertain, but may have had a similar import.

In Groups II—VI, with a partial exception in Gr. II, it is the sense of rapidity (speed in relation to action), which first arises; in Gr. VII it is the sense of promptitude (speed in relation to time). In both cases, the idea of speed arises when the adj. or adv. is referred to a living being, or to the actions of a living being, respectively.

Group II. Original sgn: *strong*. (*Fæste*, *fæst*, *fæstlice*, *swiþe*, *swiþ*).

It is evident that the advs. lead the development of the sense 'rapidly', which is transferred from them to the cognate adjs.¹⁾

The immediate source of 'rapidly'²⁾ is the idea of vigour and energy, perhaps, in the case of *swiþe*, blended with the idea of intensification. When the advs., in this sense, are used to qualify verbs of motion, they acquire the sgn 'rapidly'.

With regard to *fæste*, I have assumed that the sense of speed in relation to time arose also by a separate line of development, from the sense of proximity. The development is not instanced, and I have no good parallels. However, the sense 'at once' is indisputable in the compound *onfaste*, and it seems improbable that it did not at the same time occur in the simplex *faste*.

Group III. Original sgn: *sharp*. (*Scearp*, *scearplice*, *smart* adj. and adv., *smartly*, *hwæt*, *hwætlice*, *hwate*).

The development of the sense of speed cannot be clearly seen from the extant evidence. With regard to *scearp*, I have assumed that the adj. acquired the sgn 'vigorous, vehement, strenuous', and that this sgn was taken over by the adv. When used

¹⁾ The reader is referred to the analyses in Ch. II, which cannot be repeated here.

²⁾ 'Rapidly' always means the idea or the sense of speed; *rapidly* means the word.

to qualify verbs of motion, the adv. then changed its meaning to 'swiftly', in the same manner as *fæste* in the preceding group. Similarly with *smartly*, while the adv. *smart* probably only followed the changes of the cognate words. For *hwætllice* and *hwate* the evidence is very scanty, but as far as it goes it does not contradict the assumption that the sense-development of these words was parallel to that of the other advs. in this group. None of the adjs. seem to denote speed.

In any case, the extant quotes. of *scearþlice* and *smartly* point to a development of the kind assumed, so that in this group too, the proximate source of the sense of speed was presumably the idea of physical and mental eminence.

Group IV. Original sgn: *living*. (*Cwic, quickly, quick, liflic, lively*).

The development of these words cannot be traced in detail. With regard to *cwic, quickly*, it was assumed in Ch. II that the adv. acquired the sense 'swiftly' through independent development, and that the corresponding sense of the adj. was due, at least partly, to influence from the adv. There are no instances showing the original sense of the adv., but it can scarcely be doubted that it was 'in a lively, vivacious, active, energetical manner'. When combined with verbs of motion (the earliest instances all have such verbs), the adv. acquired the sense of speed. From *quickly*, this sense is extended to *cwic* and *quick*.

With regard to *lively*, the dates of the instances make it probable that the adv. took over the sense 'actively, briskly, energetically' from the adj.; independent development of this sense in the adv. is not instanced, and I do not think it probable. In combination with verbs of motion, the development of the adv. proceeded in the same way as in *quickly*.

We conclude that the proximate source of the sense 'swift, swiftly' in this group is the idea of physical activity, animation, vivacity, briskness, when combined with verbs of motion. The difference between this and the preceding groups is that the element of strength or vigour is less prominent.

Group V. Original sgn: *eagerly*. (*Georne*).

Georne is the only word of importance in this group. I have

assumed that it was originally used only with verbs of mental import, that it acquired the sense 'vigorously, vehemently, zealously', and then, in connexion with verbs of motion, developed the sgn 'swiftly'. The genesis of the latter is thus essentially analogous to the corresponding process in the preceding groups. The proximate source of the sense of speed is the idea of vigour and energy, blended with the idea of eagerness and willingness, which, considering the original sense of *geornz*, is probably more prominent in this case than in the advs. previously treated. Here too, the adv. is referred to living beings.

Group VI. Original sgn: *clever*. (*Geap, geaplice, spack, spackly*).

The evidence is scanty. With regard to *geap* and *geaplice*, I have assumed in Ch. II that the adv. took over the sense of mental and physical eminence from the adj., and that the sense of speed arose when the adv., in that sense, was combined with verbs of motion. For *spack, spackly*, a similar assumption is possible. In these words, as in *georne*, the sense of mental efficiency had to be changed into that of physical efficiency, or at least to acquire an implication of the latter, before the advs., qualifying verbs of motion, could develop the sense of speed. The proximate source of the sense 'swiftly' was consequently essentially the same in this group as in the preceding.

Group VII. Original sgn: *ready, prepared*. (*Gearu, gearwe, redi, redily*).

With regard to *gearu*, I have assumed in Ch. II that it acquired the sense 'willing / eager / prompt', that is to say, the sense of speed in relation to time here arose in an adj., through internal development, not through the influence of an adv. In groups II-VI we have had the sense 'rapidly' arising in the advs., and changing into 'promptly', both senses then being transferred to the cognate adjs. In this case, the adj. leads the development, acquiring the sense of promptitude; the sense of rapidity does not occur at all. In *gearu*, the sense 'prompt' is blended with other elements of meaning. When it was transferred to the adv. *gearwe*, and used in combination with verbs, the element of speed was strengthened, and finally became predominant, to the exclusion of other elements.

The proximate source of the sense of speed is therefore in this case the idea of being prepared, physically and mentally (:the idea of being ready and willing), to perform an action, and then actually performing it. The qualified noun denotes a living being.

For *redi* and *redily*, the evidence points to a similar development.

The genesis of the sense of speed is thus of another nature in this group than in the others.

B. MODIFICATIONS AND DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SENSE OF SPEED.

1. *Rapid*.¹⁾ Moving, or capable of moving, at high speed. Of objects, animate or inanimate.

This sense occurs in all adjs. and advs. in which the sense of speed is primary (Group I), and in the following words from the other groups (not Gr. VII).

Advs. *Fæste* 9, 12, *swiþe* 5, *scearþlice* 6 a (?), *smartly* 3 a, *smart* 2 (?), *hwætllice* 1 (?), *hwate* (?), *quickly* 4, *quick* 2, *lively* 6 (?), *georne* 4, *þapely* 2 a b (?), *spackly* 3.

Adjs. *Swiþ* 4, *cwic* 8, *spack* 3.

In the advs., with the exception of those in Group VII, and probably *fæste*, this shade of the sense of speed is the first to appear. Its origin is dealt with in section A. The adjs. have probably taken over the sense from the cognate advs. In *quick*, it is doubtful whether this sense or the following one was primary.

In some of the advs., marked with a ?, the sgn 'rapidly' cannot be clearly discerned, but if my theory concerning its genesis is correct, it must have existed in them all. In the cognate adjs. of Groups II—VI, on the contrary, we do not always find it, at least not in ME.

The sense 'imparting rapid motion', in *swift* 2, is a variation of the sense 'rapid'.

2. *Rapid*, of an action or process.

Adjs. *Hræd* 5, *swift* 4, *fast* 10, *cwic* 9.

In *hræd* and *swift* this sense occurs in texts where Latin or French influence may be suspected. In *fast*, transfer from the

¹⁾ For the sake of convenience, the adjectival form only is given.

adv. *faste* is assumed. Similarly in *cwic*, independent development of the adj. not being probable.

3. *Rapid* (*Keen?*) in function, of the eye, or of the faculty of perception.

Adj. *Cwic* 12.

The quots. do not clearly show the origin of this sense. It may be due to foreign influence, or to native development from the sense 'rapid in motion'. In the latter case the implication of keenness is perhaps a later addition: if the eye, or the mind, of a person is swift in function, the reason will generally be that it is keen in perception, the keenness enabling it to perceive swiftly.

4. *Hasty, rash*, of living beings.

Adjs. *Hræd* 3, *hrædlic* 3, *swift* 3, *snel* 3, *leoht* 9, *cwiç* 10.

Adv. *Hrædlice* 5, *raþe* 8, *leohtlice* [5], 8 b.

The origin of this sense is no doubt to be sought in phrases where the adj. (adv.) is preceded by *too*, or where the idea of exaggerated speed is implied in the context. A pejorative colouring is often noticeable.

5. *Mentally quick, swift to think or invent, keen-witted, clever.*

Adjs. *hræd* 4, *snel* 4, *cwic* 11, *ready* 7.

The idea of speed is transferred from material to mental activity. As in No. 3, the idea of keenness may be implied, as being the reason of the swift functioning of the mind or mental powers. In *hræd*, *snel*, and *ready*, we may assume native development, in *quick* foreign influence is not improbable.

It will be apparent from the analysis in Ch. II, that in *hræd*, *snel*, and *quick*, we have, originally, the sense 'rapidly', while in *ready* we have the sense 'promptly'. I do not think that this makes any appreciable difference in the present case.

6. *Eager, willing; preferably, more readily or willingly.*

Adjs. *Hræd* 2, [7], *swift* 3, *snel* 3, *leoht* 8 a b, [gearu 4, redi 4].

Adv. *Raþe* 9, 10, 11, *swiþe* 2 a ß, *hwætlice* 2, [gearwe 4, redily 4].

The origin of this sense is not identical in all the words given, though it is always conditioned by the application of the words to living beings or their actions.

In *hræd*, *swift*, *snel*, and *leoht*, the sense 'eager, willing' arises from 'swift', when the attention is directed, not (or not only) towards the objective fact that a being is swift in performing an ac-

tion, but also to the reason of his swiftness, which is apprehended as lying (or partly lying) in his willingness or eagerness to perform the action. If the sense-change starts from the sgn 'rapid', the willingness is apprehended as continuing to actuate the subject during the whole performance of the action. If, on the other hand, the sense-change starts from the sgn 'prompt', the willingness is apprehended chiefly as a preliminary state of mind while waiting for the action to begin, for the word of command, and the like.

In *raþe*, the idea of willingness seems to have originated in phrases where one thing is said to be done *sooner* than another, which sense, the reason for preferring a thing being apprehended as lying in the mental state of the subject, easily changes into 'more willingly'. It is therefore only natural that we find this sense chiefly in the comparative form (one instance of the superlative is found). In *hwætlice*, the case seems to be similar.

In *gearu* and *redi*, the implication of willingness does not arise from the idea of speed, but from the idea of being prepared, the preparation of the subject for the performance of an action being apprehended as not only physical, but also mental, that is to say, the subject is willing to perform the action. The willingness is then a state of mind, preliminary to the performance, but may perhaps be apprehended as persisting also during the performance.

In *redily*, the sense 'willingly' may be taken over from the adj. *redi*. The quotes. give no indication of any other mode of development.

Though not properly belonging to this section, the words of Group VII are mentioned here for the sake of comparison. Cf. p. 205.

7. *Severe, sharp, painful*, of persons, weather, battles, pain, etc. Adj. *Snel* 5, 6, 7.

Vigorously, strongly, keenly. Adv. *Snelle* 4.

As stated in Ch. II, the genesis of these senses cannot be ascertained. The quotes. give no guidance, and there is no analogous development in any of the other words.

8. *Quickly, and shortly, immediately, quickly begun and ended*, in Groups I—VI.

All the advs. in these groups are assumed to acquire the sense

'rapidly' (cf. No. 1), and it is not improbable that they all pass through the sense-change to the sign of speed in relation to time. In some of them (placed in brackets in the list below) this development cannot be clearly discerned. I give the approximate date of the earliest instances, when they occur in ME. The OE. evidence is so scanty that too much importance must not be attached to the circumstance that a sense appears only in late OE.

Advs.	Rapidity	Quickness	Promptitude
<i>Hrædlice</i>	1. OE.	2. OE.	3. OE.
<i>raþe</i>	1. OE.	2, 4 a. OE.	3, 4 d, 5, 7. OE.
<i>swiftly</i>	1. OE.	2. OE.	3. ME. 1200.
<i>swift</i>	1. OE.	2. ME. 1360.	3. ME. 1300 (1400).
<i>snelle</i>	1. ME. 1300.	2. ME. 1275.	3. ME. 1300.
[<i>leohtlice</i>]	8.	8.	8].
[<i>lighte</i>]	4.	4.	4].
[<i>fæste</i>]	9, 12.	9.	9, 12].
<i>swiþe</i>	5. OE.	6. OE.	7, 8. ME. 1175.
[<i>scearþlice</i>]	6 a.	6 a.	6 a].
<i>smartly</i>	3 a. ME. 1290.	3 b. ME. 1300.	3 c. ME. 1300.
[<i>smart</i>]	2.	2.	2].
[<i>hwætlice</i>]	1.	1.	1].
[<i>hwate</i>]	1.	1.	1].
<i>quickly</i>	4. ME. 1200.	5. ME. 1200.	6. ME. 1200.
<i>quick</i>	2. ME. 1300.	3. ME. 1290.	4. ME. 1300.
[<i>lively</i>]	6.	6.	6].
<i>georne</i>	4. OE.	5. ME. 1290.	6. ME. 1300.
[<i>zeaplice</i>]	2.	2.	2].
[<i>spackly</i>]	3.	3.	3].

This is one of the most important developments, representing a change from the sense of speed in relation to action, to that of speed in relation to time (from rapidity to promptitude). Cf. p. 24 sq., and Ch. V.

The reason why the advs. pass through this development is to be sought in the mode of action implied by the verbs which they qualify. In the sense 'rapidly', they are used with purely durative verbs. All durative verbs are liable to be perfectivized, which implies that the action of the verb is apprehended not only

as being performed, but also as leading to a result, as coming to an end. If an action that is apprehended as being performed rapidly, is apprehended also as coming to an end, it is evident that the end will be attained comparatively soon, within a short space of time. The idea of speed in relation to time will thus arise, and will be associated with the adv. (Cf. also the analysis in Ch. V A). When this association has become habitual, the adv. in question may be used with verbs denoting a momentary action, not compatible with the idea of rapidity, which is thus repulsed, the idea of promptitude becoming predominant. Instances, see Ch. II, under the above advs.

As far as can be seen from the available material, all the advs. investigated may plausibly be assumed to pass through such a development. It does not follow that all other advs. denoting rapidity do so. Cf. the adv. *rapidly*.

The sense of speed in relation to time appears in two shades: 'shortly, immediately', with reference to a point in time, expressed or implied; and 'quickly begun and ended', without such reference. As stated on p. 25, these two shades of meaning can in many cases not be clearly distinguished; the advs. may be interpreted in either way without any appreciable difference in the meaning of the sentence. Instances, see Ch. II. Cf. also Ch. IV, on oscillation.

With regard to the individual advs., we find that in some of them the instances are too few to permit us to distinguish clearly the three stages of development. In *faste*, I have assumed that the sense of promptitude arose also in another way, from the idea of temporal proximity; in the other advs. placed in brackets in the above list, the sense of speed seems to be blended with other elements of meaning, which circumstance may have to some extent modified the process of development. The instances are not sufficiently numerous to enable us to arrive at a certain conclusion.

The sense of speed in relation to time occurs also in the comparative and superlative forms. See for instance *raþe* 4 and 5.

9. *Briefly, soon said or finished*, with verba dicendi.

Advs. *Hrædlice* 4, *raþe* 4 e.

A modification of the sense 'quickly begun and ended', oc-

curing in connexion with *verba declarandi*. Of *raþe* only the superlative form appears in such phrases. Latin influence is not improbable, though difficult to prove.

10. *Soon passing, brief*, of an occurrence, event, action, or of time.

Adjs. *Hrædlic* 1, *swift* 6.

Hrædlic is too rare in our texts to furnish any information concerning the origin of this sense. With regard to *swift*, Latin influence is the probable source.

11. *Soon happening or coming*, of an action or event.

Adjs. *Hrædlic* 1, *swift* 5, *gearu* 6.

We have no instance, among the *adjs.* investigated, of a development from the sense of rapidity to the sense of promptitude. The latter may be due to influence from cognate advs., as in *hrædlic*, or from foreign languages (which is probably the case with *swift*), or it may have arisen from the sense of readiness, as in *gearu* 6.

12. *Sudden, suddenly*.

Adj. *Hrædlic* 2. Adv. *Hrædlice* 3 b.

This sense does not occur isolated, and the instances are so few that its origin remains obscure. It may be connected with the preceding *sgn.*, with the addition of the idea of being surprising.

13. *Earlier (early, earliest)*.

Advs. *Raþe* (4 c), 6 a c, *hwætlice* 2.

Adj. *Hræd* 6.

A modification of the sense of promptitude, arising when an action is said to happen sooner than another, or before a certain point in time. This sense was transferred from the comparative to the positive and superlative forms of *raþe*, and to *hræd*. The development of 'earlier' in *hwætlice* cannot be traced, but was perhaps similar.

14. *Previously, beforehand, first*.

Adv. *Raþe* 6 b, 4 b.

A *sgn.* closely connected with the preceding one, arising when the adv. refers to a time or date previous to the one now present or in question. In the superlative form the sense is 'previous to all others', and therefore 'first'.

15. *Fast enough, readily enough, probably, perhaps*.

Adv. *Raþe* 3 c (cf. *leohtlice* 4 c, d).

Occurring only in the phrase *inoh raþe*. The sense 'readily enough' seems to have arisen from the sense 'quickly enough', when the attention was directed towards the cause of the quickness, which was apprehended as lying in the mental state of the person referred to. How the sign further changed into 'probably, perhaps' cannot be clearly seen from the quotes.

16. *Easily*.

Adv. *Redily* 6.

The sense 'easily' appears to arise from 'promptly', and is sometimes implied in sense 5, q. v. The development cannot be clearly seen from the instances. Cf. also *leohtlice* 4.

C. CONCLUSIONS.

The results of the preceding analysis may now be summed up. The conclusions apply only to the words which have been examined in Ch. II.

1. In the *adjs.* of Group VII (*gearu* and *redi*) we find that the idea of speed in relation to time arises through internal development. With this exception, there is no instance of an *adj.* acquiring the sense of speed through internal development: it is always transferred to the *adjs.* from cognate *adv.* If we restrict the assertion to the sense of *rapidity* (: speed in relation to action), there is no exception to the rule, for, as shown in Ch. II, that shade of meaning does not occur in the 'ready'-words (Group VII). In some cases, as in *faeste* and *faest*, the transfer of the sense from the *adv.* to the *adj.* can be clearly demonstrated. In others, it may be plausibly argued on chronological or psychological grounds and from the lack of evidence for internal development of the *adj.*

We conclude that the sense of *rapidity* always arises in the *adv.*

2. Confining ourselves to the *adv.*, and leaving out of account the collateral development 'near (in time) > at once' in *faeste*, and also the 'ready'-words, we find that the proximate source of the sense of speed in Groups II—VI is essentially identical, being in all the *adv.* the idea of physical excellence or eminence (vigour), blended with the idea of mental efficiency, energy, eagerness, etc. (especially in Gr. V and VI), or with the idea of

intensification (Gr. II: *swiþe*). The idea of physical excellence appears in several modifications; in Gr. II, the idea of vigour is predominant; in Gr. III the idea of vehemence or briskness; in Gr. IV the idea of activity and briskness. The exact shade of meaning which serves as starting-point for the development of the sense 'swift', thus varies, but the definition 'with physical and mental efficiency' may be said to cover them all.

We began by arranging the words in groups according to the original *sgns* from which the development, from the English point of view, may be assumed to have started. A *logical* connexion between these original senses and the sense of speed may easily be demonstrated. An action which is performed in a vigorous or energetical manner (Gr. II and III), or in a vivacious, active manner (Gr. IV), or in an eager, zealous manner (Gr. V), or in a clever, astute manner (Gr. VI); such an action is, or may be, performed swiftly. Similarly, a person who is vigorous and energetical in the performance of an action, may be swift in doing it; and so on for the adjs. of each group. But we have seen from the analysis in Ch. II that the actual sense-development did not proceed so directly from the original sense of the advs. to 'swiftly'. Thus, if *georne*, in its original sense, was used to qualify a verb of motion, as *yrnan*, then *yrnan georne* would mean 'to run willingly or eagerly', and the *sgn* of the adv. would not change to 'swiftly'. The meaning of each adv. must first, by being used in certain other connexions, be changed so that it affords a suitable starting-point for the development of the sense of speed. This starting-point has been found to be the *sgn* defined above: the idea of physical and mental efficiency.

Some of the advs., as *faeste* and *scearplice*, could not, in their original sense, be used with verbs of motion. With regard to them, a certain sense-change was therefore also a *logical* necessity, before the development of the sense 'rapidly' could begin. But even when there seems to be no such logical necessity, we find that the semantic development *non facit saltus*, but proceeds by a series of stages, each representing only a slight modification of the preceding one. And one stage through which all the advs. had to pass before acquiring the sense of speed was, as we have shown,

essentially identical for the five groups II — VI. (Cf. Sandgren 114—115).

3. We have further to examine the origin of the sense of speed in the cases left out of account in the preceding paragraph.

In *faste*, the sense of speed in relation to time ('at once') may have arisen from the idea of proximity in time. (See *faste*, p. 93) No analogous developments are available for comparison.

In the adjs. of the 'ready'-group, it appears that the sense of speed in relation to time arises through internal development, not through influence of the cognate advs., as in Groups II—VI. The origin of this sense is set forth above (pp. 182, 195, 205), and as the material for comparisons is limited to two words, it is impossible to draw conclusions of an import more general concerning this type of development. Cf. Tallgren, Neuphil. Mitteilungen XVIII.

These sense-changes are left out of consideration in the following paragraphs, if not otherwise expressly stated.

4. Having thus concluded that the development of the sense of speed in Groups II—VI takes place in the advs., and that the proximate source of this sense is essentially the same idea in all the words, we have next to consider the question whether the genesis of the sense 'swiftly' is conditioned by any regularly recurring factors. The analysis in Ch. II has shown that such is the case, and that this sense-change takes place only when the advs. are used to qualify verbs of motion. We have here a striking illustration of the fact that a new sense arises only in certain definite contexts.

The manner in which the idea of swift motion is associated with the advs., and finally becomes a predominant element in their meaning, is analyzed in Ch. V A.

It is true that other actions than that of moving from one place to another may be performed with speed, and it might be argued that when verbs denoting such actions are qualified by an adv. signifying 'vigorously, energetically', etc., the element of speed might enter into the sgn of the adv. But though many verbs of this kind imply motion in space, that element of their meaning is not so prominent that it can have a lasting effect on the sgn of the qualifying adv. In some cases the advs., in the sense 'rapidly', appear with verbs of motion earlier than with

other verbs (for instance *fæste*, *swiþe*, *smartly*, *quickly*, *quick*, *lively*, *georne*) which supports the assumption that the development in question took place in such connexions. In other cases, the evidence is not so conclusive in this respect (for instance *scarplice*, *smart*, *hwætlice*, *hwate*, *zeaplice*, *spackly*).

It was pointed out on p. 143 that the adv. *smartly* is used, in early quotes., in the sense 'rapidly', with verbs of motion only, but in the sense of speed in relation to time also with other verbs. A similar state of things, in some cases not without exceptions, is found in *hrædlice*, *raþe*, *swifly*, *swifte*, *snelle*, *swiþe*, *quickly*, *quick*, and *georne*. What is the reason?

With regard to the first five of the advs. just mentioned, it is to be noted that they are derived from verbal stems denoting some kind of motion in space (cf. p. 203). It is therefore natural that they should be used, in their original meaning, chiefly with verbs of corresponding import. The other advs. mentioned have acquired the sense 'rapidly' when used to qualify verbs of motion. These verbs are therefore intimately associated with the sense 'rapidly' in the advs., an association which manifests itself in the manner indicated.

Secondly, the verbs of motion appear to be used with durative import more frequently than other verbs. If this peculiarity is universal, occurring not only in conjunction with advs. of speed, it must be conditioned by a characteristic quality in these verbs. It may perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that, in connexion with the idea of moving in space, the idea of the rate of progress of this motion is more liable to be of interest, and therefore more often the object of attention, than is the case with regard to other kinds of action. When the instances, as is often the case, are comparatively rare, verbs of the other kinds, occurring less frequently, may by chance not be represented.

With regard to the sense of speed in relation to time, there appears to be no characteristic difference between the several kinds of verbs. Any action may begin 'shortly, immediately', or may be 'quickly begun and ended'. As soon as these senses have developed, they may therefore be used in all connexions.

5. The conclusion that the proximate source of the idea of speed is essentially identical for all the advs. of Groups II — VI,

being the idea of physical and mental efficiency, leads to the question: what, then, is the source of this idea? For the sake of brevity, I shall call it the idea of *efficiency*. We must again analyse each group separately.

Group II. The advs. evidently lead the development. In *fæste*, the source of the sense 'efficiently' is the idea 'firmly, immovably', referred to inanimate objects. This idea was gradually transformed into the idea of vigour (: strength in action), the change being, naturally, conditioned by the circumstance that the governing verbs denoted actions performed by living beings. The reference to a living being is an indispensable factor in this development, and the cause also of the addition of the sense-element 'energetical'. — In *swiþe*, the sense of efficiency appears to have been primary.

Group III. In *scearp*, the source of the sense 'efficient' is not so clear. I have assumed that it should be sought in the idea of mental acuteness, keenness, when blended with sense-elements denoting physical qualities, and deriving from the senses 'stern, severe' or 'violent, vehement', perhaps especially the latter. In any case, it arises when the adj. is used of living beings. The adv. *scearþlice* did apparently not acquire the sense 'efficiently' by independent development, but took it over from the adj. A similar conjecture may plausibly be made for *smart* and *smartly*, while the evidence with regard to *hwæt*, *hwætlice*, and *hwate*, is too scanty for positive conclusions, but does not contradict the assumption of a parallel development. In this group, the sense 'efficient' has thus arisen first in the *adjs.*

Group IV. These words were from the beginning applied to living beings, denoting the quality of possessing life. We cannot be quite certain how the adj. *cwic* acquired the sense 'efficient'. It was, however, probably the result of independent development, taking place when the attention was directed towards the circumstance that vital force expresses itself in the physical and mental vigour of its possessor. Of *quickly*, nothing can be said for lack of early instances. The adv. *quick* seems to have followed the sense-development of the other two words. With regard to *liflic*, the evidence does not at least contradict the assumption

of a development similar to that of *cwic*. Thus, the sense 'efficient' arises in the *adjs.*

Group V. *Georne*, too, is always referred to living beings, but originally to mental, not to physical, qualities. The element 'vigorously' was added when the *adv.* was used to qualify certain verbs, in connexion with which the eagerness was apprehended as expressing itself in vigorous action. Here, again, the *adv.* leads the development.

Group VI. Like *georne*, the words in this group originally denote mental qualities of a living being. The change into the idea of efficiency seems to have taken place in the *adjs.*, when these were used of persons in a commendatory sense, in which case they came to imply not only mental but also physical qualities. There are no indications of any corresponding independent development in *geaplice*, which is therefore assumed to have taken over the sense in question from *geap*. We may perhaps venture to make a similar assumption in the case of *spack* and *spackly*.

This summary shows us several interesting facts. First, we find that the sense of efficiency may arise not only, like the sense of rapidity, in *advs.*, but also in *adjs.*

Secondly, the sense of efficiency has several different sources. It may be primary, as in *swiþe*. It may arise from the idea of purely physical qualities: the idea of strength, as in *fæste*, or the idea of possessing life, as in Group IV. Or it may arise from the idea of mental qualities, as in Groups III, V, and VI. In these cases, the element 'vigorous(ly)' is in different ways added to the meaning of the words.

And thirdly, we see that it is an indispensable condition for the development in question that the words should be referred to living beings, or to the actions of living beings. It is again apparent that a particular new meaning will arise only in particular connexions. The application to living beings has obviously a strong effect on the meaning of *adjs.* and *advs.* If they originally denote physical qualities, a mental element may enter into their meaning and vice versa, because physical and mental qualities are often closely connected with each other. An action may be performed vigorously for the reason that the subject performs it with energy and with fixity of purpose (*fæste*, *swiþe*), or the possession of vital

force will be apprehended as expressing itself not only in bodily vigour but also in mental vigour: energy (Group IV). Words originally denoting eagerness may acquire an implication of vigour when the eagerness is apprehended as not only applying to the mental state of the subject, but also expressing itself in a quality of the action which is being performed (*Georne*). Or a similar addition of sense-elements may take place when an adj. denoting mental qualities is used in a commendatory sense, no strict distinction being made between one sort of qualities and the other (Group VI)¹). Finally, a blending of physical and mental qualities in the meaning of a word may take place when each kind occurs in separate senses, and elements from both are associated with each other in certain contexts (Group III). Cf. Sandegren 115.

6. We have found that advs. of Groups II — VI developed the sense 'rapidly' (:speed in relation to action), and that this sense then changed into that of speed in relation to time. Cf. section B, No. 8, p. 208.

It is evident that if the immediate source of the sense of speed is of the nature previously stated (:the idea of physical and mental efficiency), it will be the sense 'rapidly', not 'immediately, shortly' or 'quickly begun and ended', that first arises. The former of these senses is much more closely related to the idea of efficiency. The latter of them does not refer to the manner of performing an action, but to its immediate beginning or completion. The development of this sense can not be explained as arising directly out of the sense of efficiency, the two senses having no element in common.

The manner in which 'rapidly' changed into 'shortly, immediately' has been analysed in section B, and will be further discussed in Ch. V. At present we have to examine the possibility of a development in the reverse direction, from 'immediately' to 'rapidly'. We have no such development in any of the advs. in Groups II — VI, and this circumstance indicates that its absence is not accidental, but conditioned by a psychological principle.

I stated that the change 'rapidly > immediately' took place when the durative verbs qualified by an adv. signifying 'rapidly'

¹) In this manner we may explain the connexion between senses 1 and 2 of the adj. *keen* (see NED s. v.), 'clever, wise', and 'bold, daring'.

were perfectivized, *e. g.* by having the object of the motion expressed in the context. If the action is performed rapidly, it will then also be apprehended as coming to an end within a relatively short space of time, and the idea of speed in time is thus associated with the meaning of the adv. Could not advs. signifying 'immediately' be used to qualify durative verbs, and be influenced by the context so as to acquire the sgn 'rapidly'?

It is first to be noted that such an adv. could not be used to qualify a *purely durative* verb, as the adv. denotes the speedy beginning of an action, and a durative verb implies only that the action is in progress, not that, or when, it begins or ends. The advs. in question might, however, be used with verbs denoting that an action begins and continues. We may say, for instance, *he began to write at once*. But note that in this case the sentence does not imply that the action of writing was performed *rapidly*; nothing at all is said of the manner in which the writing was performed, while in the case of the change from rapidity to promptitude, the latter idea was *necessarily* implied in expressions of the kind indicated above, when the durative verb was perfectivized.

There is thus no reason why the sense 'immediately', in such contexts, should change to 'rapidly'; and I have not found any other contexts in which such a change would be more likely to occur. (Cf. Sandegren 106).

7. The conclusion of the preceding paragraph raises the question: are there no instances of 'reversed' sense-change among the words investigated?

Only the following case is to be considered.

'*Swift*' > '*eager, willing, ready*' (B 6): '*eagerly*' > '*swiftly*' (A V).

The former development occurs in certain adjs. and advs., when they are applied to living beings, and not only the physical quality of speed, but also the state of mind which causes the swiftness, is the object of attention.

The reverse development does not, as far as my material goes, occur in any adj. (cf. also NED s. v. *eager* and *eagerly*. The latter word may signify 'swiftly', but no corresponding sense of the adj. is given). Moreover, it is not direct (cf. Ch. II), '*eagerly*' first changing into '*vehemently*', etc., which sense in its turn changes

into 'swiftly'. A point of similarity is that this change, too, is conditioned by the reference of the word to living beings. Such a reference may, as pointed out in § 10 below and in Ch. V A, be the cause of sense-changes of several kinds, physical and mental qualities not always being clearly distinguished from each other. In so far, there is a possibility of change from physical to mental qualities, as well as from mental to physical. Note, however, that this possibility is not due to the logical relation between the senses involved, but to the context in which the senses occur. This is clearly shown by the circumstance that we have several cases of direct change from the sense of physical rapidity to the idea of mental qualities (as B 4, 5, 6 above), but no instance of a direct change originating in the latter idea and resulting in the sense physical rapidity. The existence of the sense-change $A > B$ in no way proves or conditions the possibility of the change $B > A$. When both are found, they are conditioned by different contexts and circumstances. The *logical* relation between two meanings is no reason for one of them to change into the other, or we should no doubt have plenty of instances of 'reversed' sense-changes. It is the *psychological* conditions that determine the change.

8. The development from 'rapidly' to 'promptly' in the advs. has already been spoken of. In the *adjs.*, the sense of speed in relation to time is not so common. In *hrædlic* (1 and 2) we found the sgns 'soon passing; brief', and 'sudden'; their origin cannot be ascertained, as the instances are so scanty, but if the assumption is correct that *hrædlic* is a back-formation from *hrædlice*, it seems probable that the adj. is influenced by the adv also with regard to its meaning.

We have, further, the sgns listed in section B, Nos. 9 to 13, above. They are all assumed to be due to influence from cognate English words, or from foreign sources.

There is thus no instance, in my collection, of the sense-change 'rapid' $>$ 'prompt' occurring in an adj.

9. A few words should be said concerning those modifications and developments of the sense of speed which have not yet been touched upon in the present section.

Of the signs listed in section B, Nos. 1 — 5 are rather to be regarded as modifications of the sense of rapidity than as separate senses. The nature of No. 7 is obscure. Nos. 8 — 14 are modifications of the sense of speed in relation to time. Remain Nos. 6 and 15. The former is the only important development which leads altogether away from the sense of speed, which is completely eliminated. The nature of No. 15 is uncertain.

We thus find that the sense of speed seems to have no great possibilities of development, only one important change to another meaning being clearly instanced by the available material. On the other hand, the modifications in which the idea of speed appears are relatively numerous.

10. Are there any points in the conclusions arrived at which we may venture to apply to other words than those investigated above? I think that there is one result which may perhaps be applied to other groups of words as well. It is the circumstance that, though many words of *originally* widely different signs acquire the sense of rapidity, they do not do so till after having acquired a meaning which is essentially similar in all of them. From this meaning they all pass through a development of similar nature, resulting in the sense of rapidity. An important and frequent shade of meaning is thus found to have only one proximate source in advs. where it is not primary. If this is the case to some extent with other meanings, the number of actually occurring sense-developments should be less than might be assumed, and the task of mapping out and classifying the semantic changes of a language, or group of languages, less intricate than it would be if every shade of meaning had several different sources. Further investigations of the sense-changes of semantically related word-groups are necessary in order to arrive at certain conclusions in this respect.

It may also be pointed out that though the sense of efficiency has several different sources, and though it may arise both in adjs. and in advs., its development is conditioned by the application of the words to a living being, or to the actions of a living being, respectively. It is consequently possible to ascertain, to a certain extent, the conditions of sense-changes for whole groups of words; or, in other words, the effect of certain ideas on other

ideas when they are combined in compound conceptions forming the basis of speech. For, if the application to living beings causes certain adjs. and advs. of material import to receive an implication of mental elements, and vice versa, it seems probable that other adjs. and advs., too, should be similarly affected by the same cause.

Cf. also § 4 above, on the verbs of motion, and the part played by them in the sense-development of the advs. dealt with here.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF SENSE-
CHANGE

Introductory remarks. Before proceeding to analyze and classify, from the psychological point of view, the sense-changes of the 'swift'-words, it is necessary to establish the principles on which this work is to be based.

The most important attempts to formulate exhaustive semantic theories on a psychological basis are those of Wundt (in *Die Sprache*, Vol. II) and Falk (*Betydningslære*). Neither of these theories can be adopted for the purpose of analysis.

The chief reason is that I do not feel convinced that either of the two authors has succeeded in discovering a theoretically tenable and practically serviceable system of classification. The adoption of one of these systems would have compelled me to discuss the problem of classification in its whole extent. The analysis in Ch. II does not furnish instances of more than a few of the many varieties of sense-change which occur in language, and I wished to avoid entering upon a discussion of other varieties, which are of no interest for the work in hand, and for which I have no instances in my own collections. It is not my intention to formulate a complete semantic theory.

I have therefore found it more expedient to give, in this chapter, a short statement of the principles which, in Ch. V, have been utilized for the psychological analysis and classification; thus restricting the discussion, in the main, to problems of immediate interest, and leaving other questions out of account.

Two important descriptive problems must first be dealt with:

1) What is meaning? 2) What is the nature of the relation between a thought (conception) and its expression in speech?

1. *Definition of meaning.* In Chapters II and III, the words¹⁾ have been examined with regard to the logical import (Begriffsinhalt) of their meanings. We shall now proceed to discuss the question how meaning is to be defined from the psychological point of view.

Three factors must be taken into consideration²⁾. 1) *The word*, as a physical phenomenon, acoustic, optic, or kinaesthetic. 2) *Its mental import*, or the complex of conceptions (Vorstellungen, in the widest sense of these terms) corresponding to this physical phenomenon, and intimately associated with it. 3) *The object* named by the word. The object may be physical or psychical, concrete or abstract; in short, anything that may be made the subject of thought and speech. (Gomperz' terms are: *Aussagelaute*, *Aussageinhalt*, and *Aussagegrundlage* [l. c. 61]. Cf. also Husserl II 30 sqq., Wellander 9).

The word as a physical phenomenon does not concern us here. I need only point out that a word as such has no meaning. A word from an unknown language is to us only a group of meaningless sounds. A mental element must be present before we apprehend the word as an intelligible statement (:sinnvolle Rede, Gomperz l. c. 65. Cf. Martinak 2).

Associated with the word as such there are certain acoustic, optic, or kinaesthetic sensations or conceptions, referring to its form (pronunciation, writing, hearing, reading). These have nothing to do with its meaning, and are not included in its mental import. (Cf. Wellander 13, on so-called *Wortvorstellungen*. Also B. Erdmann II 362 sqq.)

The mental import of a word (excepting, as mentioned, the 'Wortvorstellung'), will provisionally be called its *content*. The content of a word may then be termed our mode of apprehending its object (Auffassung, Gomperz l. c. 61, 64).

We have already stated that the word as a physical phenomenon does not constitute an element of meaning. It is also evident that the object and the meaning of a word are two different

¹⁾ See note on p. 1.

²⁾ For the whole exposition of this subject, cf. Gomperz, *Weltanschauungslehre* II:1, 54 sqq.

things. The meaning is consequently either identical with the content of the word, or with some part of it, or with the content in certain circumstances.

Turning to Paul (Prinz. 75) we find that he distinguishes between two kinds of meaning, usual and occasional, giving the following definition: »Wir verstehen also unter usueller Bedeutung den gesamten Vorstellungsinhalt, der sich für den Angehörigen einer Sprachgenossenschaft mit einem Worte verbindet, unter okkasioneller Bedeutung denjenigen Vorstellungsinhalt, welchen der Redende, indem er das Wort ausspricht, damit verbindet und von welchem er erwartet, dass ihn auch der Hörende damit verbinde.»

The distinction between the meaning of a word as intended by the speaker, and as apprehended by the hearer is evidently justified (cf. Wellander 8; and § 5 below). But, as Wellander points out, Paul's definition in reality takes into consideration only the intended meaning of the speaker. The meaning which the speaker *expects* the hearer to attach to a word is not necessarily the same as that which the hearer actually does attach to it.

Disregarding this distinction, and also the difference between usual and occasional meaning, we may say that Paul defines meaning as the 'Vorstellungsinhalt' which is associated to the word by the person using it (or at least thinking of it).

Wellander (7), wishing to comprise the different kinds of meaning in one definition, proposes the following: »Die Bedeutung eines Wortes ist die Vorstellung die ein Individuum mit diesem Worte verbindet.»

Wellander's term *Vorstellung* is evidently identical with Paul's *Vorstellungsinhalt*, and the two definitions are therefore essentially identical. They state that the meaning of a word is a conception (*Vorstellung*, in the widest sense of the term) and that this conception is associated with the word in question. Both statements may, I think, be regarded as axiomatic.

Still leaving the 'Wortvorstellungen' out of account, we find that *meaning*, according to the terminology of Paul and Wellander, is identical with what Gomperz calls *content*. But Gomperz does not identify these two terms. He argues in the following manner.

If I say *there flies a bird*, the *content* of that phrase, taken in isolation, is vague and indetermined; that is to say, such a phrase may, like a single word, have 'usuelle Bedeutung' (Paul) or 'lexikalische Bedeutung' (Wellander). But if the phrase is referred on one occasion to a sparrow fluttering about among the branches of a tree; on another to a swallow shooting swiftly through the air; on a third to an eagle sailing majestically along; then the content of the phrase is in each case made definite by the reference to a definite object (Aussagegrundlage). The content, as well as the meaning, is different in each of the three cases, because the objects referred to are different. Only when the content of a phrase (or word) thus refers to a definite object, and consequently receives a definite import, Gomperz calls it *meaning*. (Cf. Husserl II 37).

On the other hand, if a sparrow is fluttering about outside my window, I may call attention to it by saying *there flies a bird*. Another person would perhaps have said *how frightened it is*, a third, *I see something moving*. In all three cases the object is identically the same, but words and content, as well as meaning, are different. As the words are referred to a definite object, they have, in Gomperz' terminology, *meaning*; and the meaning changes with the content, that is to say, with our mode of apprehending the object (Gomperz: Auffassung). It is the latter that varies; the object has more than one aspect (Gomperz: mehrere intelligible Teile), it may be regarded from more than one point of view.

Thus, meaning includes, according to Gomperz, on the one hand the content of the word or phrase, on the other hand a reference to a definite object (Aussagegrundlage). In a definition, these two circumstances must be included.

With a simplification of Gomperz' formula, I define meaning as *the content of the word, in so far as it represents our mode of apprehending a certain object.*¹⁾

¹⁾ What I have called meaning, Gomperz calls *Sachverhalt*, and *Bedeutung* is, according to him, the relation between intelligible Speech (:sinnvolle Rede) and *Sachverhalt*. When Gomperz says: »Die Aussage (speech, sinnvolle Rede) bedeutet den ausgesagten Sachverhalt», and calls the *relation* between Aussage and *Sachverhalt*, *Bedeutung* (p. 69), he gives a subjective import to the term *Bedeutung*. When it is taken objectively, as I prefer to do, it becomes identical with *Sachverhalt*. For Gomperz' term *Bedeutung* we might then substitute *das Bedeuten*. Cf. Gomperz II 54 sqq., Dittrich 25 sqq.

When the complex of conceptions associated with (revived in consciousness by) an isolated word, by Paul and Wellander is called *meaning* (Paul: usual meaning, Wellander (l. c. 12) *lexikalische Bedeutung*), by Gomperz *content*, but *not* meaning, that is mainly a question of terminology. The former authors are no doubt in agreement with the common usage, both popular and scientific. It is not necessary, for the purpose of this book, to choose between the two terms. I shall have nothing to say of 'usual meaning'. Only words referring to definite objects and therefore occurring in definite contexts, will come under discussion, and it is the meanings of such words only that are comprised in my definition.

It is more important to compare Gomperz' definition of meaning with Paul's *occasional meaning*, Wellander's *individual meaning* (l. c. 12). The latter says: individual meaning. . . 'die Bedeutung die das Wort in dem jeweiligen Zusammenhang hat'. This expresses essentially the same thought as Paul's definition of occasional meaning. (Cf. also Hilmer p. 49. sqq.).

How does this agree with the definition given above: the meaning of a word is its content, in so far as it represents our mode of apprehending a certain object? I think it agrees in the main, though the latter definition is given from a different point of view and in different terms. For if a word refers to a definite object, the external sign of this fact is that the word appears in a definite context¹⁾, not isolated. Gomperz in his definition states the psychological fact; Paul and Wellander the outward manifestation in speech of that fact.

The agreement of the two modes of defining meaning is not complete. The phrase 'there flies a bird' may be uttered without any reference to an actually existing object (*Aussagegrundlage*), and in that case the words have not, according to Gomperz, meaning. But even then, they might be said to appear in a certain context (:*Zusammenhang*) and would thus, according to Wellander, have 'individual meaning'. And they may also fall under the heading 'occasional meaning' according to Paul's definition. But as I pointed out a few pages ago, a phrase like this, as well as a

¹⁾ Or accompanied by a gesture, as a substitute for spoken words.

single isolated word, may have usual (Paul) or 'lexikalische' (Wellander) meaning, and the term 'Wort' in their definitions should be extended to comprise also certain phrases or groups of words.

In Ch. II and III, where the meanings of words were treated chiefly from the logical point of view (cf. Introduction), I have often made use of the expression that 'a certain meaning appears only in certain contexts' or 'in connexion with certain other words.' In this and the following chapters, where the psychological point of view is applied, the term 'referring to a definite object' will be used instead.

2. *Psychic constituents of meaning.* In Ch. II, we found that the meanings of words when looked at from the logical point of view, were nearly always of a complex nature. We shall now proceed to examine the *cogitatio* which underlies this complex *cogitatum*. (Cf. Introduction § 1).¹)

It will be generally admitted that *feelings* (of pleasantness or unpleasantness) may be associated with the meaning of a word, for instance, *villain*. On the other hand, words like *philosophy*, or *and*, are normally quite free from all affective colour. Feelings may consequently constitute an element in the meaning of a word, but they are not indispensable.

Further, *images* (Vorstellungen, conceptions, in a restricted sense) are admittedly often present in the meaning of a word; according to some authorities they are always present, though they may be extremely vague. They are certainly of the greatest importance, especially when we are speaking of concrete objects.

But when we come to abstract things like *philosophy*, or words like *naught but, either (one) or (the other), although, nevertheless* (cf. James I 252), psychologists are divided in opinion regarding the psychic constituents of meaning. Some of them (as G. E. Müller and Titchener, see note on this page) assert that here too, it is feelings and images that give us the understanding of the words; feelings and images which may be highly vague and transi-

¹) Cf. the works by Benno Erdmann (II 355 sqq.), K. O. Erdmann, Bühler, Geyser, Messer, Calkins, Titchener, Hikoza Kakise, Ogden, G. E. Müller (528 sqq.), Messer, Ward (297, 300-302), Messmer, and Wellander; all quoted in the Bibliography.

ent. Others contend that in many cases they are not able to find in their consciousness any traces of such psychic elements, and assume the existence of »a third kind of elemental consciousness»¹⁾, generally called *Bedeutungsintention*, *intentionales Erlebnis*, or *intentionaler Akt*. (Cf. Husserl II 38, 369). This 'intentional knowledge', or 'awareness of meaning' (Ogden l. c. 184), is a sort of direct knowledge of the object named by the word, irrespective of the presence or absence of images and feelings. *Imageless thought* (*unanschauliches Denken*) is a term often used.

As yet the discussion between the sensationalists and the advocates of imageless thought has not led to any decisive results. The question has no direct bearing on the subject of this essay, but with regard to its great importance and interest for semasiology in general, I have considered it expedient to mention it briefly. The reader is referred to the works quoted, especially to those of Bühler, Messer, and Titchener.

For the present I only wish to emphasize that meanings are complex also when seen from the psychological point of view (cf. Oertel 297), consisting of a complex of images, to which may be added feelings; or, according to the 'intentional' theory, consisting of intentional knowledge, to which may be added images and feelings. I shall use the terms *images* and *feelings* only, but this does not mean that I regard the other theory as improbable. On the contrary, it seems to me a highly interesting attempt to penetrate more deeply into the problem of our mode of apprehending speech. As a general term for all psychic elements of meaning I shall use the word *conception*.

3. *Relation between thought and speech, for the speaker.*²⁾ We

¹⁾ »In 1893 Wundt... was still designating the affection (Gefühlston, pleasantness or unpleasantness) as an 'attribute of sensation'. To-day almost all psychologists agree in recognizing at least two classes of not further analyzable elements of consciousness — on the one hand, the sensational elements, on the other hand, the affective elements, pleasantness and unpleasantness... But the effort to correct the crude and misleading simplicity of sensationalism has not stopped short at the admission of a new class of elements including merely pleasantness and unpleasantness. Explicitly or implicitly many psychologists now admit the occurrence of still other elemental kinds of consciousness». Calkins l. c. 269. Cf. also James I 252 sqq.

²⁾ What is said of speaker and hearer is naturally valid also for writer and reader.

now come to the second fundamental problem indicated at the beginning of this chapter: what is the nature of the relation between a thought and its expression in speech? The answer to this question may be given in the form of a psychological definition of the idea of sentence. I have adopted the one formulated by Wundt (II 248. Cf. also Gomperz II 57—58; Sütterlin, *Das Wesen d. sprachl. Gebilde* 144 sqq., Delbrück, *Grundfragen d. Sprachforschung* 136 sqq., Oertel 280).

According to Wundt, a sentence is »der sprachliche Ausdruck für die willkürliche Gliederung einer Gesamtvorstellung in ihre logische Beziehungen zueinander gesetzten Bestandteile». The fundamental principle underlying this definition is thus expressed by James: »However complex the object may be, the thought of it is one undivided state of consciousness» (I 276); and »Whatever things are thought in relation are thought from the outset in a unity, in a single pulse of subjectivity, a single psychosis, feeling, or state of mind» (I 278.)

This definition implies that, as the first stage of preparation for the uttering of speech, we assume a *total conception* (*Gesamtvorstellung*. Oertel (l. c.): compound idea). In order to be expressed in words, this total conception must be resolved into *partial conceptions* (*Einzelvorstellungen*), gaining thereby a greater degree of clearness with regard to its constituent parts. Assuming that these partial conceptions are sufficiently well-defined, each calls up in consciousness a word which serves as its name, and which is apprehended as adequate in this respect. (Cf. Wundt II 616 sq.). Thus, the conceptions are prior in existence, the sentence (words) posterior.

The partial conceptions are assumed to constitute the meanings of the words revived in consciousness by them. Consequently, according to the analysis of meaning, these partial conceptions may include feelings and images, and must include the latter (or, according to the intentional theory, they may include feelings and images, and must include intentional knowledge). The partial conception may be capable of reviving an adequate word, but it is not always so: sometimes we are at a loss for the right word, though it exists; sometimes there is no word which adequately expresses our conception.

The definition of sentence implies that the individual meanings of the words in a sentence are not simply in juxtaposition to each other, but are closely linked to each other and to the total meaning by a network of relations (Wundt II 244, 254 sq. 615, 617). The meanings of the words are »embedded in the total meaning of the sentence» (Gomperz II 261). The total meaning may contain reference to an object which could not be meant by any of the separate words, though, when this reference becomes clear, each word contributes to express the total conception which the speaker wishes to convey. (Cf. below, p. 223, and Stout 598).

The circumstance pointed out in the immediately preceding paragraph is of some importance with regard to the analysis of the meanings of the individual words. If these meanings are thus intimately connected with each other and with the total meaning, it follows that in order to arrive at a correct understanding of the meaning of one word, we must take into consideration the total meaning of the sentence and the meanings of at least some of the other words. In practice, and with regard to adjs. and advs., it is sometimes sufficient to examine the meaning of the governing word, and determine its relation to the meaning of the adj. or adv. which is being investigated, in order to understand the meaning of the latter. Noun and verb generally serve as subject, predicate, and object in a clause. They are consequently its most important constituents, in which the essential part of the total meaning finds its expression. (Cf. Wundt II 296). This must not be taken to mean that it is sufficient to give two words only, when quoting instances illustrating the sense-changes. The remainder of the sentence may be necessary in order to determine the exact meaning of the head-word. As has been shown in § 1 above, the object to which a word refers must be known before the meaning of the word can grow clear. It is from the context that we must infer what that object is. (Cf. Hadlich 43.)

4. *Relation between speech and thought, for the hearer.* It is evident that the relation between conception and word is not the same in the consciousness of a speaker (producer) as in that of a hearer (receiver) of speech. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the relation in the latter case is merely an inversion of what

it is in the former. It must be remembered that we do not attach a full and definite meaning to a word, that is to say, we do not fully understand it, until we are able to refer it to its object. This is in many cases impossible till we have heard the whole of the sentence, and in any case the sentence as a whole must be present to the consciousness of the hearer, before he is able to refer the sentence to its object, and to realize its correct total meaning.¹⁾

Bühler has analysed this problem experimentally (Arch. f. d. ges. Psych. XII). He read to his observers (Versuchspersonen: they were Professor Külpe, and Dr. Dürr) certain sentences. The observers were asked to give a sign as soon as they understood the meaning of the sentence, and then to describe their state of mind. I give a few instances.

»Hat Eucken recht, wenn er meint: Selbst die Schranken der Erkenntnis könnten nicht zum Bewusstsein kommen, wenn der Mensch nicht irgendwie über sie hinausreichte?« . . . (Kurze Überlegung, wie E. wohl zu diesem Satz gekommen. Dann plötzlich aha!): Das ist die bekannte Anschauung, dass Grenzen nur von Übertragendem aus festgestellt werden können. (Ohne Worte). . (p. 15).

(Verstehen Sie?) »An welche Menschen hast du einmal geglaubt? Ihre Summe verrät dir deinen Glauben an dich« . . . Erst war mir das 'Summe' ganz unverständlich. Dann kam mir ein allgemeiner Gedanke, den ich ungefähr so formulieren kann: Dass aus dem Verhalten zu anderen Menschen auf die eigenen Ideale oder Ziele geschlossen werden könne. Damit hab' ichs verstanden (p. 16).

(Verstehen-Sie?) »Man muss sowohl mitleidig als grausam sein, um eins von beiden sein zu können« . . . Zunächst war ich dem Satze gegenüber vollständig ratlos. Es trat ein Suchen ein, das hier den Charakter eines wiederholten Sichvergegenwärtigens der beiden Teile des Satzes trug; so etwa, wie wenn ich mich gefragt hätte: »wie fängt man das an, grausam zu sein, um mitleidig sein zu können, und umgekehrt?« (Das ist nur Umschreibung, im Wirklichkeit nichts gesprochen). Auf einmal kam mir plötzlich und unerwartet der Gedanke, dass die Ausschliesslichkeit des

¹⁾ I leave out of account, for the present, the circumstance that the meanings of words are always to some extent fluctuating. See below p. 236.

einen oder anderen Zustandes sich selbst aufhebt, dass beide eben nur durch den Kontrast bestehen können (was durch diese vielen Worte wiedergegeben werden soll, ist gedanklich ein einziger Akt gewesen). Dann hab' ich mir die Sätze noch einmal wiederholt, und dabei hatten sie eine andere Beleuchtung, ich verstand sie. (p. 13).

From these and other experiments, Bühler draws the conclusion (p. 17) »dass das charakteristische Verständniserlebnis zwischen Ganzem und Ganzem stattfindet. Daraus geht aber ohne weiteres hervor, dass das Aufzufassende zunächst *ein Ganzes geworden sein muss, bevor es aufgefasst werden kann*«. (My italics).

In many cases, as when we are speaking of simple and everyday things, the understanding of the sentence does not require any concentration of thought, but comes more or less mechanically, sometimes before we have yet heard the last words. Cf. the descriptions of Bühler's observers: »diesen einfachen Gedanken habe ich ohne weiteres verstanden«, »ich habe den Gedanken einfach entgegengenommen«, »ich habe nichts erlebt, als dass ich wusste, was der Satz ausdrücken will« (p. 19). But it is evident that the total meaning must be present to our mind before the meanings of the individual words can be correctly apprehended. The sentences quoted by Bühler make it clear that the total meaning is not simply a sum of the individual meanings of the words, but is something quite different (Cf. Edm. Jacobson, 553 sqq., 573).

Cf. Oertel's description: »This double process, first of analysis by the speaker, then of synthesis by the hearer, may, with a fair degree of accuracy, be likened to the similar double process in writing and reading. In writing a word we start with the aggregate of sounds (for a word is present in the mind as one whole, not as a succession of sounds) which can only gradually be transmitted. This sound mass is divided into a convenient number of elements, each one of which is represented by a written symbol (the letter). Reading implies a synthesis of these symbols and of the sounds associated with them. Here also the number of symbols is restricted for every language. The simultaneous presence in mind of the symbols is necessary to obtain the word-picture, just as the simultaneous presence of all the elements into which a

compound idea has been split is necessary to grasp the idea. As the letters of a word are the stable elements which enter into a large variety of combinations, so the words of our dictionaries are the comparatively stable elements which, entering into a large number of combinations, may convey many meanings. The comparison may be carried one step farther. Every single element into which an idea may be analyzed, if taken by itself alone, is capable of a great variety of combinations, just as every element (letter) into which a word has been divided may enter into an almost indefinite number of combinations. In both cases as one element is added to another the possibility of these combinations steadily decreases, the area is more and more closely circumscribed, until, when the word is spelt out or the statement completed, all combinations are definitely determined and no freedom of association is left to the hearer. This at least is the ideal of all communication» (pp. 281—283). Similarly Gomperz II 260—261, and Elsenhans 341.

The assigning of definite meanings to the individual words must be a very swift and cursory mental process, taking place mechanically, except where the understanding is difficult and a greater degree of attention must be given to one or more of the words of the sentence (as in definitions). But is it well-known that we are very sensitive to discrepancies between the total meaning and the meaning of individual words, even though the discrepancy consists *e. g.* only in the use of a word not belonging to the same style as the remainder of the sentence.

If we compare these results with Wundt's definition of sentence: »the expression in speech of the resolution of a total conception into its constituent parts, which are in a state of logical relation to each other», we find that for the hearer, too, a sentence may be qualified as the resolution of a total conception, in so far as the total conception must be present to his mind before he can correctly realize the partial conceptions. But the case is different in so far as the method of resolution is fixed beforehand by the speaker, being bound to the words as they are uttered by him. (Cf. on these matters Wellander 9 sqq.).

The discussion concerning the best formulation of the definition of sentence, so that it may include both speaker and hear-

er, is of no immediate importance for my investigation, which is concerned only with the actual relation between a thought and its expression in speech. It is therefore left out of account.

The same is the case with the difficult and interesting problem how the total meaning (the total conception) is built up in the mind of the hearer on the basis of the individual meanings of the words which he hears. The reader is referred to Bühler's remarks, l. c. XII p. 18 sq.

5. *Relation between thought as producing speech, and thought as produced by the same speech.* A speaker naturally expects his hearers to attach to his words the same meaning as he himself attaches to them (cf. Paul's definition of meaning, p. 225, and Wellander (l. c. 9): gemeinte und erfasste Bedeutung). Considering the fact that most words have many signs, the identity of the speaker's thoughts with the thoughts actually called up by his words in the hearer's mind is by no means a matter of course. In fact, this identity is probably never absolute.

For the purpose of this work it is not necessary to discuss at length the factors which assure the identity, or at least the relative identity, between thought as producing speech and thought as produced by the same speech. I shall only point out that I am dealing only with words referring to definite objects (: occurring in definite contexts, cf. p. 227), and that it is chiefly this reference which enables the hearer to associate the correct conceptions with the words he is apprehending. If we are walking in a forest and discussing our surroundings, the word *leaves* will without hesitation be interpreted as applying to the leaves of the trees; in a library it will be understood to refer to the leaves of books. The whole mass of conceptions connected in any way with forests, or books, will be in a state of subexcitation, so that one of them will be revived in preference to conceptions belonging to other spheres of knowledge. The correct conceptions will be more easily revived by a certain word, because they are connected by associative bonds not only with the word itself but also with a whole mass of conceptions simultaneously in a state of excitation. A word belonging to the sphere that is being the object of our attention will therefore also be more swiftly and easily classified and understood (cf. Claparède 162, Geyser, *Psychologie* 3rd ed.,

II 228 sqq., Thorndike II 13, on set, attitude, adjustment, determination).

I pointed out above that we are extremely sensitive to discrepancies between the total meaning of a sentence and the meanings of the individual words. The latter must necessarily, in combination, present to the hearer a coherent train of thoughts. Should he find that they do not, he will know that he has apprehended one or more words incorrectly (assuming that the speaker has not been talking nonsense), and must try to rectify his mistake. This negative security against misunderstandings is no doubt of considerable importance.

Nevertheless, there are always discrepancies between the ideas a speaker intends to convey, and those his words actually do call forth in the minds of his hearers. And as the hearer in his turn becomes a speaker, misunderstandings may be perpetuated and so cause a sense-change. The learning of language by new generations furnishes opportunities for such processes on a large scale (cf. Paul 34, Wellander 9 sqq.)

6. *Fluctuation of meaning.* As long as the predominant elements of meaning of a word remain unchanged, and the discrepancies spoken of in the preceding paragraph affect only subsidiary elements, the word is said to retain the same meaning. Slight modifications of subsidiary elements are inseparable from the use of words in varying applications and contexts. *Swift* does not denote exactly the same quality of speed when applied to a horse, an arrow, and a river. Nevertheless, we do not say that the word has different meanings in these varying connexions. (Cf. p. 247 below. Wundt II 538. Oertel 309).

Such modifications may be caused not only by the application to different objects, but also by different modes of apprehending the same object (*Auffassung*). When the adv. *fæste* changes its meaning from 'strongly, immovably' to 'closely, securely', that change is the result of a series of gradual modifications of the mode of apprehending the object denoted by the word. (Cf. analysis in Ch. V A.). Differences in the mental state of the subject are in this case of influence. («Es schwanken die subjektiven Akte, welche den Ausdrücken Bedeutung verleihen».

Husserl II 91. See also Falk 53—54, James I 229 sqq., Mauthner II 262 sqq., Rozwadowski 31, Stöcklein 11).

These modifications of subsidiary elements, whatever their cause may be, may be compared to a fluctuation of the meaning away from and back towards a central point, represented by certain predominant elements, (and perhaps maintained by certain frequently occurring contexts or constructions). I shall call this phenomenon *fluctuation*.

7. *Oscillation of meaning*. The term 'oscillation' has been frequently used in the analysis of our adjs. and advs., and in the Introduction (p. 11) a preliminary explanation of its import was given. The statements of the two immediately preceding paragraphs now raise the questions: when a word has an oscillating meaning, are not then considerable discrepancies liable to occur between the meaning as conceived by the speaker, and as apprehended by the hearer? And, how are we to draw the line between fluctuation and oscillation? In order to make these matters clear, the psychological nature of oscillation must be examined.

I think we may assume that, in most cases, a person saying *he went quickly out of the room* (where we assume the meaning of the adv. to oscillate between 'rapidly' and 'immediately') does not, in the rapid flow of speech, stop to think out the exact meaning of the adv. It may be objected that he must know what he wants to say, and that the two ideas involved are, in this case, not so similar that they must necessarily be confused. But it must be remembered that the greater part of our conceptions remains vague and indistinct, not coming into the focus of attention (see p. 247 below). And further, a person going rapidly out of a room will in any case have left it within a very short space of time: in most situations of this kind, either interpretation of the adv. will therefore answer equally well. This is an essential characteristic of an oscillating meaning. A person observes a situation (object, *Aussagegrundlage*, p. 224) which may be apprehended in two ways, but if the difference is not for the moment essential, and a word covering both ideas is handy, he will use that word without troubling to define his intention more clearly. Another eventuality is that the speaker has in his mind one only of the two ideas

in question, but happens to use a word capable of denoting also the other, which is not at all revived. In such a case there is evidently no oscillation for the speaker. But in written texts, from the point of view of the readers, oscillation must be assumed in such cases too, as we have no means of knowing exactly what the writer had in his mind.

A person hearing a sentence like the one given above may have apprehended the situation (object) in such a manner that only one of the possible meanings of the word presented itself to his mind; or perhaps associations in both directions were vaguely revived. Both senses are equally adequate to the situation, and the conceptions are liable to be as vague and indetermined in the hearer's mind as in the speaker's. Thus we have here, too, cases of real oscillation, where vague associations in two directions are actually awakened by a word, but it is left undecided which of them is the correct one, the difference between them not being for the moment essential; and, secondly, cases where the hearer interprets the word in one way only. A word which the speaker conceives as having one distinct meaning, may be apprehended by the hearer as oscillating, and vice versa, and as the hearer in his turn uses the word in speech, his interpretation of it may be perpetuated.

I referred above, when explaining the use of words with oscillating meaning, to the vagueness of our conceptions. It was also pointed out that the difference between the two possible interpretations was not for the moment essential. The latter circumstance is of especial importance. The difference between the two ideas 'rapidly' and 'immediately' is so considerable that it must be said to involve predominant elements of meaning. But when the word *quickly* is used in a phrase like that quoted above, these predominant elements are *for the moment* reduced to play the part of subsidiary elements only, having their place taken by others. The latter are no doubt to be conceived as vague and indistinct, and therefore scarcely possible to define. If the meaning of the word were made the object of special attention, it would turn out to be either 'rapidly' or 'immediately', not a third sense including the two others, because such a sense does not exist.

We are now in a position to define the difference between

fluctuation and oscillation. The former involves modification of subsidiary elements of meaning, the latter involves change of predominant elements of meaning which are reduced to subsidiary ones only in a certain context. It goes without saying that the border-line between the two phenomena is in the highest degree fluctuating.

It follows from the above that oscillation is a phenomenon of which the users of language are unconscious. It is also evident that if the *sgn* of a word is assumed to oscillate between the senses A and B, we have to classify as oscillating *all* instances in which both senses may be implied, and we have to leave it an open question whether the original author had in his mind only one of them, or used the word to express a vague conception which, on being made the object of attention and thereby gaining greater clearness, might have turned into either of the two senses.

As a general rule, the *sgn* of a word should not be assumed to oscillate if the younger of the two shades of sense involved cannot be conclusively shown to occur at a date not too distant from that of the instance in question. Thus, it is not advisable to assume that *faeste* implied 'rapidly' in OE. texts, even if it appears in contexts where that sense seems 'natural' from the modern point of view (cf. p. 86).

Recurring now to the first of the two questions proposed at the beginning of this paragraph, we may say that the discrepancies between the meaning of a word as conceived by the speaker, and as apprehended by the hearer, may, if that meaning is of the kind we have called oscillating, involve predominant elements of sense, and in so far have a greater scope than discrepancies in the case of fluctuating meanings. But it will also be evident, that the same discrepancies that exist between the conceptions of speaker and hearer, may also exist between the conceptions of each of them on different occasions. Thus, in the sentence quoted above, the speaker may attach the meaning 'rapidly' to the adv., the hearer the meaning 'immediately'; but on another occasion the speaker may, when using exactly the same phrase, conceive the meaning 'immediately'. If the meaning of a word oscillates, it does not do so because the speaker may apprehend it in one

way and the hearer in another; it does so because either of them may apprehend it in two different ways. And the sense-change involved in the oscillation is thus not necessarily conditioned by the circumstance that speech is an affair of at least two persons (mindestens Zweiheit von Individuen. Wellander 12).

8. *The process of change.* The fundamental characteristics of sense-change may now be examined. (Cf. Wundt II 615 sqq.).

Basing our explanation on the definitions of meaning and of sentence, given above, we say that a sense-change implies (for a person speaking, or writing) that *a word is associated with a partial conception not identical with those with which it has previously been associated.* If the association between the word and the new conception grows habitual, we say that the word has acquired a new shade of sense. (Cf. Marty 668).

Comparing the new sense and the old one from the *logical* point of view, we may say that the logical elements of meaning of the word have been modified, or a new element has been added, or an element has disappeared. Care must be taken not to confuse this circumstance, — which in reality is only a way of stating the difference between the two senses after having compared them with each other, — with the *psychic process* by which the change is effected. (Oertel 297).

Proceeding now to a detailed analysis of the characteristics of sense-change, when regarded from the psychological point of view, I take into consideration those developments only which are instanced in Ch. II. They represent two distinct types, which must be dealt with separately.

A. A situation (object, Aussagegrundlage, see p. 224) causes a total conception (Gesamtvorstellung) to arise in the mind of a person. The nature of the total conception is determined not only by the nature of the object, but also by the manner in which the observer apprehends it (Auffassung). We assume that when this total conception is resolved into its constituent partial conceptions (Einzelvorstellungen), one of the latter revives a word, the meaning (logical import) of which, when the word is used of

this object, habitually comprises the two elements *a* and *b*. On this occasion, however, the observer happens to apprehend the object in a manner which is not quite the same as usual. Consequently, the new sense-element *c* is also present in his mind. We assume that it is of a nature to be associated with the elements *a* and *b*, and that it is not pronounced enough to call up in consciousness a separate word. Under such circumstances, the habitual association between the conception *ab* and the word will be strong enough to revive the latter, in spite of the fact that the new element *c* is now combined with *ab*. The word will be felt as an adequate expression for the conception *abc*, provided only that *c* is comparatively weak. It must be remembered that in the rapid flow of speech the meanings of most words are present to our minds only in a very vague and indefinite form (see p. 247 below). Slight discrepancies, such as we assumed to exist between *ab* and *abc*, will not be an obstruction to the use of the same word to denote these two conceptions. In the case of gradual sense-changes, consisting of a long series of changes of the kind just described, the whole process takes place unconsciously.

Let us take an example. The phrase *faste rennen* (see p. 90) originally signified 'to run with vigour and energy, to run with all one's might'. An observer who sees somebody running with all his might, and makes a remark on the fact, cannot help perceiving that the runner is moving *rapidly* forward. Only a slight change in the point of view is necessary to make the idea of speed enter the observer's mind as he is uttering the phrase. In this case, the idea of speed was of the kind that is expressed by an adverb, and it would therefore be associated with the other adverbial partial conceptions contained in the total conception. Assuming that the new idea was comparatively weak, it would not call up a separate word. Assuming further that people were in the habit of using sentences like *he renneth faste* to denote situations of the kind we are discussing, the circumstance that a new idea, that of speed, was also in the observer's mind, would not prevent him from using his habitual phrase. And the complex adverbial conception, comprising also the idea of speed, would be associated with the adv. *faste* as its meaning. If situations of

this kind recurred frequently, the association between the idea of speed and the adv. would become habitual. ¹⁾

For a person speaking (writing), the conception is thus assumed to be prior, the word posterior. For the *hearer*, the word is prior to the conception, but, according to the theory adopted (cf. p. 231 above), it is assumed that the hearer cannot fully comprehend a sentence until it is present to his consciousness in its totality. A hearer, too, has to resolve a total conception into its constituent parts, and these must be attached to the words heard. The phrase *faste rennen* may be used as an illustration. Whether the situation is present to the hearer only in the form of mental images, or in the form of direct perception, the element of *rapid* motion must be as liable to enter into his consciousness, as into that of the speaker. This element will consequently tend to be associated with the adverb not only when a person is speaking about such a situation, but also when he is listening to a description of it or has it pointed out to him. The concomitant circumstances, the trend of conversation, etc., may be of such a nature that the attention is directed towards the idea of speed, not only towards the ideas of vigour and energy. These circumstances will have just as much influence on the hearer as on the speaker, and as each person alternately speaks and listens, the modifications will easily be perpetuated.

As long as the original and the secondary sense of *faste rennen* both remain current, the meaning may oscillate between them. This is a prominent characteristic of the present type. See the analysis of oscillation, p. 237.

The new sense-element is not the result of a logical deduction that a person who runs with all his might, necessarily runs swiftly, but it is the result of the direct observation that the runner, who is said to run with all his might, also moves rapidly forward. I

¹⁾ The association of words with conceptions of a new kind is accounted for by the psychological law that to »any new situation, man responds as he would to some situation like it, or like some element of it. In default of any bonds with it itself, bonds that he has acquired with situations resembling it, act» (Thorndike II 28). »Starting with the response X made to *abcde*, we may successively drop certain elements and add others, until the response is bound to *fghij*, to which perhaps it could never otherwise have become connected» (Ibm II 30.)

am not prepared to assert that a new sense never arises in the former way, but I have no instance of it among my words, and it does not seem likely.

In a similar manner we may analyse changes resulting in the modification of an element of sense, or in its disappearance. The former is extremely common, as, strictly speaking, a word is never used twice with exactly the same meaning (cf. p. 236). It is a question of the degree of modification whether a sense-change should be said to have taken place, or the word should be considered as having the same sign as before. The border-line between the two is always fluctuating.

When an element of meaning completely disappears, the reason, for the speaker, lies in the circumstance that it does not occur in the partial conception which, for the time being, corresponds to the word. The meaning of the word comprises other elements, which are sufficient to assure its revival, though the element first mentioned is no longer associated with them.

Using the same symbols as before, we may illustrate the disappearance of an element of meaning in the following manner. The partial conception *ab* revives in the speaker's consciousness a word which is habitually used to denote the conception *abc*. If the element *c* has been comparatively weak, its absence will not prevent the word from being felt as an adequate name for the conception *ab*, and the association between the word and the element *c* will be inhibited. Claparède (*L'Association des idées* 361) makes use of the expression that the relevant elements are *dissociated* from the irrelevant element, which is not revived. Ward (295, 297, 300) speaks of 'repulsion', Wundt (*II* 621) of 'Verdrängung unvereinbarer Elemente', but as it is not the irrelevant elements, but the relevant ones, that are made the object of mental activity, I think Claparède's term better expresses the actual process.

The disappearing sense-element 'vigorously, energetically' in the adv. in the phrase *faste rennen* is an instance in point.

It may be pointed out in passing that most words have more than one sense, and that the psychic process by which one of these senses is revived and made the object of attention, is also a dissociation. The associative bonds between the word and the

irrelevant sense or senses are inhibited by the contrary influence of the total meaning, only the relevant sense being called up in consciousness. (Geysler, *Psychologie* 3rd ed. II 226).

We may sum up the characteristics of this type of sense-change as follows. 1) By apprehending an object (Aussagegrundlage) in a new manner, but still denoting it by the same word as before, a person associates with this word a conception which is different from the conception usually associated with it, *i. e.* from its usual meaning. 2) Because the modifications of meaning are conditioned by the varying modes of apprehending the same object, the meaning may oscillate. 3) When the new modifications have become usual and habitual, the word has acquired a new sense, and may then be used of objects to which it was not previously applicable. 4) The finally resulting sense-change is the effect of numerous small modifications, all tending in one direction.

B. The second type of sense-change referred to above does not require such a lengthy analysis. We assume that the meaning of an adj. habitually comprises the sense-elements *abc*. This is the case when the partial conception corresponding to the adj. is associated with other partial conceptions of a certain kind, which find their expression in a certain class of governing nouns. The adjectival partial conception is then brought into relation to a new kind of substantival partial conceptions, corresponding to a new kind of governing nouns. These new substantival conceptions are incompatible with the element *c*, and require instead the sense-element *d*. The conception to be expressed by an adj. is thus changed from *abc* to *abd*. Nevertheless, the same adj. is used to express it, being revived by the elements common to both conceptions. As in the previous type, we must assume that *c* and *d* are not, at least not for the moment, predominant.

An example of this type of sense-change is afforded by the adj. *light*. Originally signifying 'levis', and being used for instance of arms and clothes, it may be transferred to the persons carrying light arms, so that he himself is said to be light, that is 'lightly burdened.' In the former case the lightness is an inherent quality of the objects themselves, in the latter it is conceived as due to reasons of an external nature.

The explanation of such transfers lies in the circumstance

that the change takes place in the total conception (see especially Wundt II 619). The arms, the persons carrying them, and the idea of lightness, all form constituent parts of one complex conception. The quality of lightness is conceived in relation to the person, instead of in relation to the arms, and the conception to be expressed by the adj. consequently changes. Nevertheless, it may be expressed by the same word as before, certain predominant elements of sense being identical.

It is obvious that in this case there can be no oscillating instances. The quality of lightness is apprehended in two different ways, each compatible with one class only of governing nouns. The characteristics of this type are therefore: 1) The change takes place when a qualitative conception (to be expressed by an adj. or an adv.) is brought into relation to another kind of substantival or verbal conceptions than had previously been the case, but is denoted by the same word as before. 2) The change takes place in one single act of association. 3) There is no oscillation.

9. '*Irregular*' factors of sense-change. We must now turn our attention to some factors of sense-change which may occur in any word and therefore have to be dealt with before we begin to analyse individual sense-developments.

I take first some phenomena which Wellander (54 sqq.) has called '*irregular*': *Bedeutungsunterschiebung*, *Bedeutungsenilehnung* and *Namengebung*. (See also Falk [56]: *psykiske og kulturelle faktorer*; Paul 104; 401; 32, 87 sqq.)¹⁾

The first includes changes caused by material and cultural factors, or by some other kind of external influence; as for instance, the change which makes us attach another meaning to the word *city* than the ancient Romans did to the corresponding word in their language. This kind of sense-change is without doubt very important, especially in nouns and verbs which de-

¹⁾ I have not been able to discern, in my material, any circumstances tending to corroborate the theories of H. Sperber (*Über den Affekt als Ursache der Sprachveränderung*, Halle 1914; and *Studien zur Bedeutungsentwicklung der Präposition Über*, Upsala 1915) concerning the preponderance of emotion among the causes of sense-change. — Hadlich (p. 46 sqq.) discusses similar questions, dealing chiefly with emotional intonation and stress. As these are to be regarded as concomitant circumstances rather than as causes of sense-change, they are here left out of account. Cf. Martinak 82.

note an object or an activity in any way connected with the material or spiritual culture of a nation. The import of such words is liable to be effected by the perpetual development of civilization.

As the idea of speed was probably not materially modified between the years 700 and 1400, this point of view may be left out of consideration here.

The same may be said of the third kind of sense-change mentioned above, the arbitrary naming of an object. (A well-known instance is the word *gas*, invented by van Helmont). Nobody has taken the trouble consciously to invent new adjs. or advs. to denote the idea of speed.

Sense-loans, on the contrary, have occurred among the words treated in this work. A change of meaning may be caused by the introduction of a new shade of sense from a synonymous word in another language, or from a cognate English word.

Thus, we find *Latin* influence in the phrase *leoht slæp*, from *L. levis somnus* (p. 52), and in many signs of the adj. *quick* (p. 150 sqq.). It occurs especially in translations and in works of an ecclesiastical or religious nature, which are often dependent on Latin sources, even if they are not direct translations.

French influence was probably combined with that from Latin, in works belonging to the categories mentioned above. It is often difficult to distinguish, and as it is generally of no importance for my object if the source of the foreign influence is to be sought in one of these two languages or in the other, that question is often left undecided. Latin and French were the means of expression of a civilization essentially uniform, materially and spiritually, and the influences from these two sources would therefore be likely to run parallel to each other.

Scandinavian influence is more difficult to prove. I think that if a full account of it could be given, it would not essentially alter the results of my investigation. See Ch. V C.

Another kind of sense-loans, curiously enough not mentioned by Wellander, is that caused by the influence on a word by a related word in the same language. A good instance is the transfer of the sense of speed from the adv. *faste* to the adj. *fast* (cf. p. 109 above). I think this kind of sense-loan is very common,

and I have often used it in Ch. II to explain the appearance of a new sense when there was not sufficient evidence for assuming internal development of a word. See Ch. V C.

10. *Vagueness of images (conceptions).* We have further to discuss certain other factors of a psychic nature, the presence and activity of which in individual cases can generally not be proved, but which may be assumed to play a part of considerable importance in many sense-changes. One such factor has already been discussed: the discrepancy between the conceived meaning of the speaker, and the apprehended meaning of the hearer (p. 235).

Another factor is the vagueness of images, already mentioned above (p. 237). Whatever opinion one may have of the theory that thought is possible without images, one thing is universally admitted: that the mental state corresponding to a word (*i. e.* the conceptions which constitute its meaning) is often extremely indistinct. It is not made the object of special attention and therefore remains vague and hazy. We pay just enough attention to it to enable us to apprehend what it represents, and its connexion with the total meaning, and then we pass on to the next word of the sentence. James I 252 sqq., 260; B. Erdmann II 394.

In popular use, most words are vague in meaning. Their meanings are not communicated to new generations of speakers by the means of exact definitions, but have to be learned from numerous concrete instances. It will then often happen that the conception in question is not clearly defined, but is present to the mind only in the form of a vague impression: more or less similar to x or y . But similarity does not denote something definite. In this way are formed our ideas of great and small, much and little, young and old, swift and slow. Under different circumstances, entirely different things may then be qualified as great, old, or swift. (Marty 527—531. Cf. p. 236 above. Müller 505 sqq.).

Keeping in mind the explanation given above (p. 240) of the psychological nature of sense-change, it is evident that the lack of clear outlines will make us less sensitive to a discrepancy between the habitual meaning of a word, and the meaning it receives when made to serve as the name for a new conception, not identical with its previous meaning. If only some one relatively

important element, which for the moment is the object of attention in a higher degree than the other elements of sense, is identical, or at least in the main identical, discrepancies in the other elements may pass altogether unnoticed.

If it is too much to say that this circumstance is a cause of sense-change, we may at least contend that it removes an obstacle. If the conception we want to denote, and the habitual meaning of the word, were both clearly defined in our mind, every small discrepancy would be noted, and would tend to hinder the application of the word to that conception.

The possibility of being combined with a great number of different governing words (see p. 236 above) is probably of some importance for the sense-development of the adjs. and advs. Cf. § 12 below. For as the head-words are used in new contexts, the qualifying words habitually associated with them may accompany them into contexts forming constituent parts of new total conceptions, and thus come under the influence of new surroundings. The gradual extension of use will in this way be facilitated, each new use opening up still further possibilities of association.

11. *Association with synonyms.* It is a well-known psychological law that «ideas associated by the same idea, will associate one another» (James I 261). One application of this law is of interest to us here. I take for an illustration the phrase *he renneth faste*. The adv. originally meant 'vigorously, energetically', and the whole phrase thus at first signified 'he runs with all his might, or for all he is worth'. But this necessarily implied rapid motion, and the associative bonds formed between the idea of rapidity and the adv. gradually became stronger, so that *faste*, in such connexions, really signified 'swiftly', though it did no doubt at first retain elements of its old sgn. (Detailed analysis of this sense-change on p. 241 sqq.). When this stage had been attained, and one consequently could say *he renneth faste* in the same, or almost the same, sense as *he renneth swiftly*, or *radly*, *faste* became associated with the group of synonyms formed by these advs., and others of similar meaning, being apprehended as a new synonym; or, strictly speaking, a partial synonym. This feeling of synonymy must have helped to establish the new sense

of *faste* in the usage, and the analogy with the other advs. no doubt also facilitated the extension of *faste* to new contexts. For if one could say *rennen swiftly* and *rennen faste*, meaning essentially the same thing, and if one could say *writen swiftly*, why not also *writen faste*? Cf. also James I 503 sqq.

This question is discussed by Falk (99). I think, however, that Falk overestimates the influence of association with synonyms when he asserts that it may be the sole cause of a sense-change. («The similarity of meaning is the sole active factor in levelling out the shades of sense between words of cognate content: partial synonyms will often, in the course of time, become total synonyms.») ¹⁾

On the other hand, by making association with synonyms a special class of sense-change, he restricts its field of influence too much. In most cases of sense-development, the result of the change is not a new idea, but an idea which has previously been denoted by other words. A new word acquiring such a meaning will necessarily come into contact with new synonyms which will exert their influence in the manner described. (Cf. also Oertel 324, Paul 260).

It is therefore advisable to regard association with new synonyms as a phenomenon which does not, by itself, cause sense-changes, but which plays a part in most sense-changes as a furthering influence.

It is evident that sense-loans, whether from foreign language

¹⁾ Falk's two instances are not conclusive. Norw. *fiff* (Germ. *Pfiff*), originally meaning 'trick', is said to have acquired the sense 'ornament, finery' through influence from Norw. *puss* which has both these senses (Germ. *Putz* and *Posse*). But it is not certain that *fiff* in the latter sense is the same word (see Hellquist, Etym. Ordb. s. v. *fiffa upp*). Words of this phonetic type are not unlikely to be of onomatopoeic origin. The second instance is Norw. *fundera*, originally signifying 'to found' (cf. Lat. *fundare*), which has received the sense 'to ponder' through the influence of Norw. *grunne*, which had both senses. But according to v. Friesen and Hellquist (Etym. Ordb. s. v. *fundera*) the verb *fundera* 'to ponder' is another word altogether, of Teutonic origin. And are we really justified in qualifying the senses 'ornament' and 'trick', or the senses 'to found' and 'to ponder', as «cognaté» (nærbeslektet)? Even if Falk's instances had been more tenable, the bare fact that the words have such and such a sign cannot be regarded as proof that the development took place in the manner he thinks. A careful investigation of contexts and dates is required.

ges or from cognate words in the same language, may be classed under this heading.

The fundamental principle underlying the association with synonyms is the circumstance that we arrange in groups the great mass of ideas which are stored in our minds. Ideas which, from some point of view, are similar, are bound together in one group by association, in contra-distinction to certain other ideas, which, from the same point of view, are opposed to the first group, though resembling each other. See Noreen (*Vårt Språk* V 25) on *semantic categories*, and Sweet (*NEG* 8 sqq.) on *association-groups*. On the whole, we do not think in isolated ideas, but in complexes of ideas. This circumstance is, as we have seen, of importance for the process of sense-change.

12. *Set phrases. Influence of change in governing words.* The existence of certain standing phrases or sets of words, pairs of adj.-noun or adv.-verb, formed by habit, and recurring regularly in certain sgn, is probably of importance for the changes of meaning. Assume the verb *V* and the adv. *A* to be habitually combined, signifying *v* and *a*, respectively. *V* is then used in the sense *vx*, not compatible with *a*, but requiring instead the qualification *ay*. If the difference between *a* and *ay* is not too considerable, it is possible for *A* to be used with the latter sense, because the presence in the speaker's mind of *V* habitually recalls *A*.

In cases where the governing word, in such set phrases, acquires a *new* sgn, the meaning of the qualifying word may also change, but I do not think that it is strictly correct to say that the former change causes the latter. We may take for an example the sense-change 'rapidly > immediately', occurring in many advs., and running parallel to the perfectivizing of the governing verbs. The latter change implies that the action of the verb is no longer apprehended merely as being performed, but as leading to a result. The notion that the action takes some time to perform may completely disappear, the action being apprehended as a unit (as momentary). The adv., instead of denoting the performance of an action at a high rate of speed, denotes that it occurs shortly after a given point in time, or that the action is quickly begun and ended. The reference to time, which thus

is introduced into the meaning of the adv., cannot come from the verb, as there is no trace of any such idea in the meaning of the latter word. It can arise only in the complex total conception underlying the sentence, the idea of moving swiftly to a certain point (the change takes place mainly in connexion with verbs of motion). In this complex idea is involved the notion that the destination of the movement is 'soon' attained, and it is thus the element of time comes to be associated with the meaning of the adv. The sense-changes of verb and adv. are therefore to be apprehended as two parallel phenomena, both caused by changes in the total conception which the sentence serves to express.

13. Finally, a few words should be said of the *conservative influences* that to a certain extent counterbalance the forces which favour sense-changes.

Falk (pp. 54—55) considers that the strongest conservative influence is the association of a word with its cognates, when these retain the original meaning. Cf. Stöcklein 8.

So little is known of the psychological causes of sense-change that it is impossible to express definite opinions on a matter like this. For my part, I am inclined to believe that the intimate association of the word with its own habitual meaning or meanings is of more importance than the association with its cognates. I have pointed out above that the meaning of a word will fluctuate in different contexts and because of variations in the manner of apprehending the object (Aussagegrundlage). But it must not be forgotten that we proceed to the resolution (Zergliederung) of our total conceptions according to certain rules and habits (often called *innere Sprachform*; Oertel 61: inner speech-form) and that the word, when revived, reacts on the conception, serving to give it a greater degree of precision. »By uttering the name, or hearing it uttered, we have secured to us, in a greater or less degree, that superior vividness and definiteness that pertain to images reinstated by impressions: our idea approximates to the fixity and independence of a percept» (Ward 296. Cf. also Wundt II 511, Messer, Empf. u. Denken 100.) This reaction of the habitual meaning on the conception which revived the word in the speaker's mind will prevent new subsidiary

elements of sense from intruding into the meaning of a word if they are not supported by the total meaning of the sentence. And it may sometimes happen that a speaker is unable to find a word which exactly corresponds to his thought, being then compelled to choose an expression which does not adequately express his intention, and which even may force his train of thoughts into new channels.

CHAPTER V
PSYCHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION
OF SENSE-CHANGES

The object of this chapter is to give a classification, from the psychological point of view, of the sense-changes instanced in Ch. II, adding, in cases of interest, an analysis of their chief characteristics. As the psychological nature of sense-development is not dependent on the ideational content of the senses, there is no reason, in this case, for restricting the investigation to sense-developments involving the idea of speed (cf. Ch. III, p. 202).

It was pointed out in the introductory remarks to the preceding chapter (p. 223) that the instances at my disposal do not furnish material for a complete psychological system of classification. I have therefore selected some prominent characteristics noticeable in the sense-development of my adjs. and advs., and made them the basis of my classification. Whether these characteristics would form a suitable basis for a comprehensive system of classification, is a point which for the present is left out of consideration.

The principal distinction made is between changes due to the independent, internal development of a word, and changes due to external influence. Of the former kind, there are two distinct types: the first (Group A) is characterized by a development consisting of numerous slight modifications of meaning, all tending in the same direction, the cumulative effect of which is apparent as a manifest sense-change. Oscillating instances serve as links in the development. The second type (Group B) comprises sense-changes which consist of a single act of association, their result being a sense of the kind generally termed

'transferred' or 'figurative'. No oscillating instances occur. (Cf. Ch. IV, p. 245). Changes due to external influence (Group C) are, as previously stated (p. 246), of one kind only, sense-loans.

For the three groups, A, B, and C, I shall use the terms *cumulative sense-changes*, *sense-transfers*, and *sense-loans*, respectively.

It will be seen that the instances furnished by my material are of varying value. By far the greater number are uncertain: the nature of the sense-change cannot be proved by quotes., but remains a matter of conjecture. In some cases, too, more than one factor has contributed to the result. My main object, as pointed out in the Introduction, is to find sense-developments which are so well instanced that they can be traced in detail and form a reliable basis for conclusions. Nevertheless, I have included, in the lists given in this chapter, as many sense-changes as possible, even though they represent merely my own conjectures. I have done this in order to show the relative frequency of the different types, a matter of considerable interest. Note especially the great number of sense-loans, which show how important it is always to take into consideration the possibility of external influence on the developments; and note, further, that sense-transfers, especially of groups IV and V, are considerably more numerous than it would appear from the number of instances quoted in this chapter, as I have only included senses which have been classed separately in Ch. II.

A. Cumulative sense-change.

The characteristic features of this kind of sense-change are best shown by a detailed analysis of a typical case. I have selected, for this purpose, the development of the adv. *fæste* from the sense 'strongly, immovably' to 'closely, securely, well'. Other cases belonging to the same type are then given, the words following each other in the same order as in Ch. II. The reader is referred to the instances in Ch. II, which cannot be reprinted here. In most cases, the development does not extend over so many intermediate stages as in the first case analysed. A glance at the instances in Ch. II will then immediately show the nature

of the intermediate instances through which the development took place.

1. 'Strongly, firmly, immovably' to 'securely, closely, tightly, well'. (*Fæste* 1 and 2.)

This development takes place in the pre-literary period, but may be plausibly reconstructed from the OE. instances. It may be illustrated by the following typical phrases (p. 73 sqq.):

1) *Fæste stician*: 'strongly, immovably'.

2 a) *Fæste gefeged*: oscillating between 1) and 2 c), with the former sense in the main predominant.

2 b) *Fæste belocen*: oscillating between 1) and 2 c), with the latter sense in the main predominant.

2 c) *Fæste bewrigen*: 'securely, closely, well'.

Apart from the inevitable fluctuations within each group of instances, which are now left out of consideration (cf. p. 236), the problem is to discover how the new element of sense arose, and how it was introduced into the meaning of *fæste*, gradually becoming predominant, while the formerly predominant elements at the same time were modified and weakened, finally disappearing. We must treat the case of the speaker and that of the hearer separately, beginning with the former.

Originally, the meaning of *fæste* included the two predominant elements of strength and immobility, together with a number of vague fluctuating elements, varying in different contexts. Designating the idea of strength by the letter S, that of immobility by I, and the fluctuating elements by X, the meaning of the adv., when qualifying a verb like *stician*, may be illustrated by the following formula:

1) (*Stician*) *fæste*: S I X.

We now assume that the use of *fæste* was extended to pa. pples of verbs signifying to *join together*, as for instance *gefeged*. This extension may take place without any change in the predominant elements of meaning: *fæste gefeged* signified that an object was 'strongly and immovably joined' to another. The subsidiary, fluctuating elements are of course more or less modified, but such modifications do not constitute a sense-change. As long as the predominant elements are identical, the word is

apprehended as having the same meaning. Denoting the modification of the minor elements by the use of X_1 , instead of X , we get the formula:

2) (*Gefeged*) *fæste*: SIX_1 .

Speaking psychologically, the adverbial partial conception denoted by *fæste* enters, without any essential change, as a constituent part into a new kind of total conceptions. These are characterized by having their verbal element expressed by pa. pples like *gefeged*, instead of by verbs like *stician*, in any form.

In the new context, where *fæste* refers to a thing that is strongly and immovably joined together, or joined to another thing, it is evident that the idea 'securely, closely, tightly' may easily arise. For if we say *it is strongly joined*, or *it is securely joined*, that will in many cases be very much the same thing, though the two phrases express two different qualities of the object. If a person perceives an object which he is accustomed to call *fæste gefeged*, (signifying 'strongly and immovably joined') and it strikes him as being also 'securely' joined, he will be liable to use the same adv. as before to denote the quality of the joining, though that quality is not apprehended by him in exactly the same way as previously.

Speaking psychologically, the partial conception which revives the adv. in the speaker's mind is not identical with those habitually denoted by it, but the differing elements are not for the moment prominent. The attention is at the moment of speaking directed only towards such elements as are identical in the two conceptions. (Cf. Ch. IV, on oscillation, p. 237). A well-known psychological law states that in a new situation a man will act as he would in a situation like it, or like some of its elements (cf. p. 242). In this case, both the situation as a whole and most of its elements are identical with the situation which habitually called forth the response *fæste*. It is therefore only natural that it should be called forth again.

If, at a period when *fæste* was still = SIX_1 , a partial conception corresponding to an adv. and containing only the idea of security, not the ideas of strength or immobility, appeared in conjunction with *gefeged*, it would no doubt have been denoted

by another adv. than *fæste*. And if, in similar circumstances, the adverbial conception contained the ideas of strength, immobility, and security, in *equal* degree, it seems likely that *fæste* + another adv. (signifying 'securely') would have been revived. We must therefore assume that if the new adverbial conception is to be denoted by *fæste*, the element of security must be comparatively weak, belonging to the fluctuating elements which we have designated by the symbol X. The reason why this element, in preference to others of similar nature, could grow prominent, was that it was favoured by the import of the verbs, *gefeged* and its synonyms. In connexion with these, the idea of security would tend to become the object of attention in a higher degree and would therefore be gradually strengthened, finally becoming a predominant element, coordinated with the former ones. Using the letter C to denote this new predominant element, and denoting the inevitable fluctuations of the minor elements by the use of X₂, instead of X₁, the new meaning of *fæste* may be illustrated in the following manner:

3) (*Ge/eged*) *fæste*: S I C X₂.

At this point, it is evident that when an object (situation, Aussagegrundlage) of the kind we are discussing presented itself, it might have been apprehended either as S I X₁ or as S I C X₂. In other words, the meaning of the adv. could oscillate between the primary meaning and the secondary one. The manner in which the object was apprehended varied with the concomitant circumstances and the constellation of ideas, and the meaning of the adv. then varied in a corresponding manner. Thus, the object remains the same, but it is apprehended differently. The variations in the manner of apprehending the object are at first apparent as fluctuations, then as oscillations, and finally, if the circumstances are favourable for a variation in a certain direction, as a distinct sense-change. Oscillations are therefore characteristic of this type of change. (Cf. p. 242).

At first, the association between the conception S I C X₂ and the word *fæste* was compound, consisting in an association by similarity between the conception to be expressed, S I C X₂, and the habitual meaning of *fæste*, S I X₁, followed by an association

by contiguity between the latter conception and the word. As the use of the word in the new sense grew habitual, the process became mechanical, the intermediate link being dropped out, so that a direct association was established between the new conception and the word, which thus acquired a new shade of meaning.¹⁾

From the point of view of the word, we may say that its meaning has changed by having a new element added to it. But we must be careful not to let this terminology lead us to regard the development of meaning as analogous to the development of organic beings, which grow by adding new cells to their body, the body remaining *the same*. In our case, the elements C and I are not *the same* as previously; with regard to their origin they are independent of previously existing conceptions with the same ideational content, though similar to them. The similarity of the elements S and I in S I X₁ and S I C X₂ is apprehended only after having compared them with each other (Ward 192).

The revival of *fæste* as the name for non-identical partial conceptions may be favoured by the existence of an habitual connexion between the adv. and the governing verb. If the adv., in its original sense, had been used to qualify pa. pples like *gefesged*, the association between the two words might cause the adv. to be revived again even if it was felt as not quite an adequate name for the conceptions to be expressed (cf. p. 250).

I assumed that the new element (C) at first belonged to the minor fluctuating elements of sense, growing gradually more prominent. Simultaneously, the original predominant elements, S and I, no doubt underwent various modifications, caused by different ways of apprehending the object²⁾ (Aussagegrundlage). The whole process is much too complicated to be traced in all particulars, and only the main points of it can be determined.

¹⁾ On the process of mechanization, see especially Thorndike II 185—187. — According to another theory, we should regard the association between the new conception and the word as being from the beginning direct, in so far as the identical elements, S I, having formerly concurred with X₁ and the word, and being now present in S I C X₂, again revive the word, while X₁ is not revived, as not being compatible with the other elements of the present conception. The mechanization would then consist in the forming of associative bonds between the whole conception S I C X₂ and the word. See Ward 191—192.

We next assume that *fæste* was extended from verbs of the type *gefeged*, to verbs like *belocen*, a process which might take place without any other sense-change than a modification of the minor elements:

4) (*Belocen*) *fæste*: *SICX*₃.

In such connexions, the element 'securely, closely' would be still further strengthened, and the other two elements, especially 'immovably', would tend to become less prominent. (Instances, see pp. 77 and 82). In principle, the change would proceed on the same lines as the preceding one. Under certain circumstances, the elements S and I might be completely eliminated from the conception denoted by *fæste*, but the same adv. could still be used, because these elements had been gradually weakened, so that their final disappearance did not involve any great change of meaning.

5) (*Belocen*) *fæste*: *CX*₄.

The adv. could then be used with verbs signifying 'to hide'.

6) (*Bcwripen*) *fæste*: *CX*₅.

And in this connexion, the meaning of the adv. might be further modified, so that 'securely, closely' changed into 'well'.

The possibility of the sense-change from *SIX* to *CX*₅ thus depends on the occurrence of a long series of intermediate links, each of which represents a slight modification of sense, and which connect the original meaning with the final stage of the development.

As pointed out on p. 76, this change did not perhaps take place exclusively in the passive forms.

We have now to consider the case of the *hearer*. Assuming that the words used by the speaker express the total meaning with sufficient precision, so that the hearer is able to apprehend it correctly, he will, on resolving it, receive a partial conception which he will be compelled to associate with the adv. *fæste*, and which will be identical with the corresponding conception of the speaker. The usual fluctuations of meaning may here be left out of account. For the hearer, too, there will be a certain

antagonism between a partial conception of changed import and the habitual meaning of a word, but if the new elements of the former are sufficiently well supported by context and situation, they will necessarily impose themselves on the hearer, and make him apprehend the object (Aussagegrundlage) in the manner intended by the speaker. He will then also apprehend the meaning of the word in a new way. See p. 231 sqq.

In the above analysis I have assumed that the element C did not make its appearance till *fæste* was used to qualify verbs of the type *gefeged*; that it became predominant, or at least coordinated with the other predominant elements in 2 b (p. 77), and that S and I disappeared completely in 2 c (p. 78.) The actual development was no doubt much more fluctuating. The element C could very well be of considerable importance already in 1, in an expression like 'the wall stands fast'; 2 a and 2 b might each have offered instances of S I, as well as of S I C, or of C. But it is impossible to follow all these variations in detail. We can only say that in 1, taken as a whole, the element C is non-existent or of slight importance. In 2 a, taken as a whole, it commences to appear more clearly. In 2 b, it generally occupies a prominent position. And in 2 c, finally, the original sense seems to have almost completely disappeared. When this stage had been attained, the new meaning no doubt reacted on expressions like *standan fæste*, so that the idea of security was more easily revived than it would have been if the development in that direction had not taken place. And whether the first origin of C is to be sought in a phrase like *standan fæste*, or in a phrase like *gefeged fæste*, the psychological process was in principle identical. In order to make the process clear, I have necessarily had to represent it in a schematic manner. Cf. p. 76.

The essential features of this type of sense-change have already been summed up on p. 244. To these characteristics we may now add that cumulative sense-change implies that the meaning of the adv. (adj.) changes so as to denote a new quality of the same governing word. It is true that in some cases, as for instance no. 5 below, the meaning of the governing word is modified in correspondence to the sense-change in the qualifier,

but this modification does not involve essential predominant elements of the governing word.

The whole process consists of a series of small changes, each representing an imperceptible advance in one direction, and capable of being explained as an association of the simplest kind. It is not necessary, at any point, to assume complicated psychic processes in order to explain the development. I regard this circumstance as an important criterion for the correctness of the analysis.

2. '*Rapid*' to '*eager, willing*'. (*Hræd* 2, *swift* 3, *snel* 3, *leoht* 8).

This sense-change appears to belong here, as it probably took place by degrees, though not by such a long series of changes as the one described in No. 1. Cf. Ch. III B 6. When used of a living being, the quality of rapidity might be apprehended as purely physical, which was probably the original import of the adjs.; or it might be apprehended as referring to mental qualities, and the adj. would then change its meaning correspondingly, so as to denote the mental state which was regarded as the cause of the physical rapidity. The physical element of sense could then be eliminated, the meaning '*eager, willing*' remaining. Generally speaking, an adj. used of living beings often changes its import from physical to mental, or vice versa.

3. '*Rapid*' to '*rash*'. (*Hræd* 3, *snel* 3, *quick* 10, *swift* 3, *raþe* 8).

Pre-literary. The exact combinations in which the change took place cannot be ascertained; it was probably, like the preceding, when the adj. was used of living beings. Under favourable circumstances, when the idea of exaggerated speed was implied by the context, the sense '*rash*' would occur. Cf. Ch. III B 4.

4. '*Rapid*' or '*prompt*' to '*mentally quick*' (*Hræd* 4, *snel* 4, *cwic* 11, *redi* 7).

Probably analogous in its origin to the two preceding senses, that is to say, representing a transfer from the physical to the mental qualities of a living being. Thus, the meaning of an adj. signifying '*rapid*' and used of a living being might vary in three different directions (nos. 2, 3, 4), in accordance with different concomitant circumstances. In *hræd*, *snel*, and *cwic*, the basis of the development is the sense of speed in relation to action, in

ready that of speed in relation to time: this difference is of no importance for the nature of the change. Cf. Ch. III B 5.

5. '*Rapidly*' to '*immediately, shortly, quickly begun and ended*'. (See list of advs. on p. 209).

This important sense-change has already been discussed (pp. 6, 24, 209). It is not exactly similar in type to No. 1, in so far as the sense-change of the adv. here involves a corresponding change of the governing verb. It may be illustrated by the following three OE. phrases (cf. *hrædlice* 1, 2, 3 b):

- 1) *Hrædlice writan*: 'rapidly'.
- 2) *An spearwa hrædlice þæt hus þurh fleo*: 'quickly'.
- 3) *Hrædlice forþferdon*: 'shortly, immediately'.

In the first phrase, the verb is durative, and the adv. denotes the rapid performance of the action. In the second phrase, the verb is perfective, but denotes an action which takes some time to perform. The adv. may then at first have denoted only the rapidity of the flight. But an action which is performed rapidly, and which is apprehended as coming to an end, or attaining a destination, must inevitably be finished within a short space of time, that is to say 'shortly, immediately'. If the attention is directed to this point of view, it is no longer the progress of the action of flying that is prominent in the mind, but the accomplishment of the action, which is regarded as a unit, no attention being paid to the circumstance that it must necessarily have occupied some time. Accordingly, the adv. qualifying the verb can no longer signify 'rapidly', but must change its import to denote the immediate accomplishment of the action. The change is prepared by the use of the adv. in phrases like the second one, in which it may be apprehended in both ways. Also, the existence of one or more advs. signifying both 'rapidly' and 'immediately', no doubt facilitated the analogous development of others (cf. p. 248, on association with synonyms).

The sense-change of the verb and of the adv. thus run parallel, as the latter cannot signify 'immediately' when qualifying a durative verb.

It has been pointed out before (p. 250) that the idea of speed in time is not contained in the meaning of the governing verb. It arises in the complex conception, the total conception, under-

lying the sentence. This is a good illustration of the fact that new senses arise only in certain definite contexts, and it shows that the cause of the change is not influence from the other words in the sentence, but the nature of the total conception. Such is no doubt the case in other sense-changes too, even if the fact is not always so apparent as here.

6. 'Sooner, or more quickly' to 'earlier'. (*Raþe* 5, 6).

In the comparative form of *raþe*, the sense of speed underwent a further development. That which happens or comes sooner or more quickly than another object or event, happens earlier. When only two events, etc., are being compared, the adv. has the former sgn; when the attention is directed to the fact that they also arrive, or happen, at different points in time, one of them before the other, the adv. signifies 'earlier'. Several oscillating instances are given on p. 35. When the sgn 'earlier than another action or event' has become habitual, the adv. may also be used to signify 'earlier than a certain point in time'.

The development is so scantily instanced, that it cannot be traced with accuracy. Cf. Ch. III B 13.

7. 'More quickly' to 'more easily or readily'. (*Raþe* 9, 10.).

As typical oscillating instances, I gave »I have put a mark in the book, that the reader *the rather* may find the place», and »If a priest wishes to receive monkhood, it shall not be conceded to him *the rather*, because he is a priest.» In the first sentence, *rather* may mean simply 'more quickly', but if the attention is directed to the reason of the swiftness, *i. e.* the presence of a mark which makes the place *easy* to find, the idea of facility may enter into the conception of the speaker, and so into the meaning of the adv. In the second sentence, the idea of speed is much less prominent, and it is the idea of willingness, rather than the idea of facility, that is predominant in the sgn of the adv. Cf. Ch. III B 6.

8. 'More quickly' to 'more willingly, preferably'. (*Raþe* 11, *hwætlice* 2).

The sense-change cannot be traced, but appears to be caused by the application of the adv. to the actions of living beings. That which a living being does sooner than another thing, he

does more willingly, when the context implies that he chooses between them.

In connexion with certain verbs, we find oscillation between 'more, in a higher degree' and 'preferably'. This appears to be the development in *swiþe* 2 a β . Cf. no. 20 below.

The development of *hwætlice* is probably analogous to that of *raþe*. Cf. Ch. III B 6.

9. '*Rapid in motion*' to '*imparting rapid motion*'. (*Swift* 2).

This development takes place when *swift* is used of feet or wings. If these are rapid in motion, they also impart rapid motion to the bodies to which they belong.

10. '*Of small importance, trivial, not weighty*' to '*characterized by levity, frivolous, unthinking; unstable, shifty*'. (*Leoht* 5 a).

The change takes place when the adj. is applied to persons, their belief, behaviour, etc., with a pejorative import. The exact context in which it originally occurred cannot now be determined.

11. '*Easy to bear*' to '*easy to perform*'. (*Leoht* 6).

'A light journey' probably at first signified a journey that was easy to endure, but when the attention was directed not only towards the manner in which the action affected the person performing it, but also towards the degree of activity which it required from that person, the action of journeying was no longer apprehended as weighing upon the performer, but as requiring activity or exertion, and accordingly the adj. changed its sign, no longer implying 'easy to endure', but 'easy to perform'.

12. '*Easily*' to '*probably, perhaps*'. (*Leohlice* 4 c).

13. '*Easily*' to '*commonly, often*'. (*Leohlice* 4 d).

It seems likely that these two changes were the result of gradual modifications, though the precise circumstances cannot be discovered.

14. '*Strongly, firmly, immovably*' to '*vigorously, energetically*'. (*Fæste* I, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8).

Typical phrases (cf. p. 78 sqq.):

1) *Gebunden fæste* 'strongly, firmly, immovably'.

2) *Bindan fæste*: oscillating between 1 and 3.

3) *Fæste toweorpan*: 'vigorously, energetically'.

I have assumed in Ch. II that the development proceeded

from the idea of purely passive strength to that of active vigour and energy. In the phrase *fæste gebunden*, the adv. at first had only its original sgn, 'firmly, immovably bound', referring to the state of the object which was bound, perhaps also to the strength of the bonds. The oscillating instances may be represented by the phrase *fæste bindan*. A person observing such an action, and at first referring the adv. only to the result of the action, could not fail to see that the action itself was performed in a vigorous and energetical manner. The ideas of the action and its result, together with the idea of firmness, formed part of one complex conception (total conception), so that an association between the idea of action and the adverbial partial conception might easily take place. The adverbial conception must then be modified, as the sense-element 'immovably', which was original in the adv., was not compatible with the idea of an action, which must necessarily involve motion.

As the element 'immovably' was weakened, the element 'strongly, firmly' simultaneously was transformed into the idea of active strength, 'vigorously', and the use of the adv. with reference to the actions of living beings caused the idea of energy to be associated with its meaning (cf. p. 80).

When the idea of immobility had become completely eliminated, the adv. was capable of being used with most verbs of material action.

The development discussed here might also have taken place in conjunction with verbs like *healdan* (cf. p. 79). *Fæste healdan* may have been apprehended as signifying 'to hold something so that it is immovable', or 'to hold something in a vigorous manner.'

The development of the sense of vigour and energy is conditioned by the reference of the adv. to the actions of a living being.

15. 'Vigorously, energetically, eagerly' to 'rapidly'. (*Fæste* 9, *swiþe* 4, 5, *scearþlice* 6 a, *smartly* 3 a, *hwætlice* 2 a, *quickly* 4, *lively* 6?, *georne* 4, *geaplice* 2?, *spackly* 3?).

As I have shown in Ch. III A, it is probable that all the advs. of Groups II to VI passed through a development of this kind. This is especially evident in the adv. *fæste*, and the sense-change may be illustrated by the phrases:

- 1) *Fihten faste*: 'vigorously, energetically, eagerly'.
- 2) *Rennen faste*: oscillating between 1 and 3.
- 3) *Eten faste*: 'rapidly'.

If we assume a situation which is described by a person observing it by the words *he renneth faste*, signifying 'he runs with vigour and energy', it is evident that the runner cannot fail to move rapidly forward. The rapidity of the movement must also be apprehended by the observer, even if it is not for the moment the object of special attention. The idea of rapidity is therefore liable to be associated with the meaning of the adv., and as, in connexion with verbs of motion, this idea will very often be prominent, the association will become habitual. The adv. may then be used with verbs of all kinds in the sense 'swiftly'. Cf. p. 241.

As so many advs. passed through this development, association with synonyms probably contributed.

16. 'Closely, securely, tightly' to 'near'. (*Fæste* 10)

The development is not instanced, but I have assumed (p. 95) that it took place in phrases like *faste togadere (bunden)*, where the idea of proximity was implied in the idea 'securely etc. bound'. Another possibility is that the change occurred through the medium of the phrase *standen faste bi*, where the original meaning 'to stand firmly by' was changed to 'stand near'.

17. 'Near (in time)' to 'immediately'. (*Fæste* 9 c, 11).

The development is not instanced. Phrases like *balu com on ueste* might have signified originally 'the mischief approached', and then 'the mischief came soon.' (Cf. p. 97 sq.).

18. 'Strong, firm, immovable', to 'secure, tight, firmly closed'. (*Fæst* 3, 4).

The development is not instanced. If a door or a lock is said to be firm and strong, that will imply that the door is securely and firmly closed. Similarly with a lock, chain, etc. On the other hand, influence from the adv. *fæste* (see p. 103) is also possible.

19. '(More) vigorously' to 'much, (more), exceedingly'. (*Swi þe* 2 a).

The manner of development is discussed on p. 118. Some of the OE. instances seem to show oscillation, but the development was probably pre-literary, so that the exact circumstances remain obscure.

20. '*More exceedingly*' to '*more readily, rather, preferably*'. (*Swiþe* 2 a).

When the context implies a choice between two alternatives, the sense of *swiþe* may change in the manner indicated. Cf. no. 8 above.

21. '*(The) stronger (hand)*' to '*(the) right (hand)*'. (*Swiþ* 5).

The development is not instanced, but may reasonably be assumed to be of the cumulative type.

22. '*Mentally keen*' to '*vigorous, violent, vehement, strenuous*'. (*Scearþ* 8, *smart* 5, *hwæt* 1?)

I have suggested a development of this kind (p. 134), though it cannot be proved. There are, however, instances where it seems indisputable that an adj. denoting physical qualities has acquired an implication of mental qualities when used of living beings. In suitable contexts the reverse development may be assumed, especially as the adjs. also have sgns with material import, used of inanimate objects, which sgns may be transferred to living beings. Cf. no. 25 below.

23. '*Living*' to '*active, nimble*'. (*Cwic* 7, *liflic* 4).

This sense-change, too, can only be conjectured. It is conceivable that influence from the corresponding advs. contributed.

24. '*Eagerly*' to '*vehemently, vigorously*'. (*Georne* 3).

This development is conditioned by the application of the adv. to verbs signifying 'to fight' or 'to strive'. In such connexions, *georne* may retain its original sgn, referring only to the mental state of the subject of the action, or it may be referred also to the action which is caused by this mental state, denoting that it is vehement, etc. The subject is generally a living being, and in such cases physical and mental qualities are often not kept strictly apart, as has been pointed out on several occasions.

In connexion with verbs of motion, we find the sgn of the adv. changing into '*rapidly*', which presupposes the sense of mental and physical efficiency, though the latter is scantily instanced.

25. '*Clever*' to '*active, smart, brisk*'. (*Geap* 2).

The adj. was nearly always used of living beings. I have already pointed out that in such cases physical and mental qualities were not clearly distinguished, and the sgn of a word could change either way. Cf. no. 22 above.

26. 'Made ready' (passive sense) to 'ready' (for some object, of things or persons) to 'ready, willing' (to act, of persons). (*Gearu* 2, 3, 4, *redi* 3, 4).

The development is conditioned by the application of the adj. to living beings. In its original passive sense, *gearu* may be used both of inanimate and animate objects. In the former connexion, the *sgn* remains passive: inanimate objects are made ready by others. When used of living beings, *gearu* might retain its original sense, but as soon as the context indicated that the subject had made itself ready for some purpose, the idea of willingness, that is to say of mental preparation, was added to the idea of physical preparation. Numerous oscillating instances occur (see *gearu* 3).

27. 'Ready, willing' (of persons) to 'prompt'. (*Gearu* 4, *redi* 5).

A person who is ready and willing to perform an action, is capable of performing it promptly. The instances often oscillate (see *gearu* 4 a etc.).

28. 'So as to be completed, finished' to 'thoroughly, completely, well', to 'clearly, certainly, well, really, in truth.' (*Gearwe* 2, 3, *redily* 2, 3).

The change from the first to the second of these senses is scantily instanced. Phrases like *geara ætan* 'to devour completely', may perhaps be considered as representing an oscillation. The change to the third sense is clearly dependent on the use of the adv. in connexion with verbs signifying to know, remember, etc. That which one knows completely, one knows certainly and well.

29. 'Promptly' to 'easily'. (*Redily* 6.)

This change occurs when the attention is directed to the circumstances which permit the action to be promptly performed. It does not appear to have been frequent.

B. Sense-transfers.

In contradistinction to the type of sense-change analysed in the previous section, the changes instanced below involve only a single act of association. An adjectival (or adverbial) partial conception, habitually associated with substantival

(verbal) partial conceptions of a certain kind, is, for some reason or other, associated instead with a substantival (verbal) partial conception of a new kind. The adjectival (adverbial) conception expresses the same quality as before, but being placed in new relations the quality is apprehended in a new manner. Nevertheless, as some predominant elements in the adjectival (adverbial) conception are identical with the predominant elements in the meaning of the adj. (adv.) habitually used to denote the quality in question, the same word may be revived, and by frequent repetitions be associated with the changed conception, thus receiving a new meaning. It is evident that the distinction between mere fluctuation, caused by the use of an adj. (adv.) in varying contexts, and a definite sense-change, caused by the same circumstance, must be vague. It is also evident that no oscillations can occur, as the adj. (adv.) must necessarily be associated with one or the other of two kinds of governing words, having in one case the primary meaning, in the other case the secondary one.

An instance will serve to illustrate this. A person furnished with clothes or arms of *light weight* is himself said to be *light* (section I, no. 3, below.) The transfer seems to be caused by the circumstance that though, in this instance, the idea of the light weight of the clothes (or arms) was no doubt present, more or less clearly, to the mind of the person speaking, yet the trend of thought and the concomitant circumstances caused the speaker to form a total conception not containing the idea of clothes (or arms). Instead, the conception contained the idea of the person carrying light clothes (arms), that is to say the idea of an object in some way affected by the lightness of the clothes (arms). The person was affected in a manner that could be expressed by qualifying him as *light*, at first in a figurative sense.

However, an intimate connexion between the primary and the secondary governing word, as in the instance above is not necessary. Thus, there is no such connexion in the first instance in section I.

In this section as well as in the others in group B, the changed conception functioning as the new meaning of an adj. or adv. is at first applied to the new governing word in a figurative sense.

But as the connexion between the new conception and the word grows habitual, the latter acquires the literal meaning which corresponds to the figurative sense. Thus, in section I no. 1, the adj., which originally signified 'levis' in a figurative sense, receives when this use grows habitual the literal sense 'easily digestible', or 'weak' (of wine). (Cf. Stöcklein (20) on *adaequation*).

The possibility of a sense-transfer is thus conditioned by the occurrence of sense-elements which in a figurative sense may be applied to the new governing word.

In a cumulative sense-change, the cause of the change is a modification in the manner of apprehending the object. The change is therefore gradual, and the meaning may oscillate. In a sense-transfer, on the other hand, the combination of the adj. or adv. with the new governing word *necessarily* involves a change of meaning, *i. e.* the modification, or addition, or disappearance of certain elements of meaning. Oscillation is therefore impossible. Cf. the instance just quoted.

Sense-transfers no doubt occurred at a very early period in the history of language, and the changes instanced in our texts were therefore produced on the analogy of a large number of similar cases, with which speaker and hearer were equally familiar. Association with synonyms (see p. 248) probably contributed, but, as previously stated, it can not be distinguished in the individual cases. Influence from foreign languages, or from cognate words in the same language, is sometimes discernible, and when this factor appears to be predominant, the change in question has been classed in section C.

It should also be pointed out that no doubt many sense-changes, perhaps most, are not the result of one single factor, but of two or more of them in combination. In classifying, the predominant factor has determined the place of each instance.

It was stated above that the cumulative type of sense-change implied that the meaning of the adj. or adv. was changed so as to denote a new quality of the same governing word. In contradistinction to this, sense-transfer implies that the adj. or adv. is used to denote the same quality but in another governing word, and therefore more or less modified. Cf. p. 245.

As a sense-transfer consists of one act of association only,

there is no occasion, in this section, for detailed analyses such as were given in section A. When both the primary and secondary use of the adj. or adv. are instanced, the nature of the association and the common element of meaning are generally at once apparent. I therefore give only lists of the senses assumed to have originated through a sense-transfer, together with the primary sense which forms the basis of the association, referring the reader to Ch. II for instances and further explanations of the development.

It has already been mentioned that the circumstances of the transfers in section I are not all of the same kind, and it is not inconceivable that such variations might be used for purposes of classification. But as my material is very limited I have not ventured to make any attempt at such a classification, but have contented myself with dividing the instances into groups with regard to the nature of the meanings involved. Note that these distinctions are of a logical nature. Their introduction into a psychological classification is justified only in cases like the present one, where they furnish us with a convenient method of arranging the material.¹⁾

I. *Transfer from one material object or action to another.*

The sense of the adj. or adv. remains material, but is modified by being referred to objects or actions of a new kind, in connexion with which the import of the adj. or adv. is apprehended in a new way, so that other sense-elements than previously become predominant.

I think this group may be regarded as partly corresponding to Wundt's assimilative sense-change with varying predominant element (Wundt II 543 sqq.), though some of his instances seem to represent the type which I have termed cumulative sense-change. In the moment of change, the elements common to the primary and the secondary meaning must be predominant (l. c. 535). Wundt states that these predominant elements are after-

¹⁾ Cf. Wundt II 553: *Verschiedene Gruppen. . . die sich weniger durch die bei ihnen stattfindenden psychischen Prozesse als durch die Formen psychischer Gebilde unterscheiden, auf die sich die Prozesse beziehen.* — Falk has committed the mistake of not always clearly distinguishing in his classification between the logical and the psychological points of view.

wards superseded by others. This appears to agree with the observation made above, that the word, in the new connexion, is at first used in a figurative sense, changing afterwards into a literal one.

1. *Leoht* 2 b. Of food: *that does not lie heavy on the stomach, easy of digestion*. Of wine: *containing little alcohol*. Probably a direct transfer from the original meaning of the adj.

2. *Leoht* 2 c. Of objects (medicine) that may be apprehended as having an activity of their own: *Mild, gentle*. From the original meaning of the adj.

3. *Leoht* 3 a. Of a person carrying a light burden: *light*. The idea of lightness is transferred from the burden to the person carrying it.

4. *Scearp* 1 b. Of the nose, etc., *sharp, pointed*, referred to form only, and so losing the idea of being penetrating. From the original sense.

5. *Scearp* 5. Of scourges and other objects that cause a pain similar to that caused by a sharp instrument: *painful, stinging*. From the idea of a sharp pain. Similarly *smart* 2 a.

6. *Scearp* 7 a. Of weather, etc.: *stinging, keen, intense, violent, vehement*. The similarity of the feelings caused by a scourge (see no. 5) etc., and by weather (storms, rain, hail), causes the same word to be applied to both. Similarly *scearp* 7 b, of conflict, warfare, attack, etc.

7. *Smart* 2 b (cf. above no. 6). Of a blow or stroke: *stinging, painful?* because inflicting a pain similar to that inflicted by a sharp instrument.

8. *Smart* 3. Of waves, wind, etc.: *sharp, intense, vigorous*. Similar to no. 6. Cf. *scearp* 8, where the use of the adj. applied to waves appears to be merely a modification of sense.

9. *Cwic* 2. Of a woman: *pregnant*. The idea of having life is transferred from the child to the woman bearing it. Cf. *Leoht* 3 a.

10. *Cwic* 3. Of water, streams: *running, flowing*; of coals: *burning*; of sand: *mobile, shifting, quicksand*; of a public place: *full of life and activity*: and thus in some respect similar to a living thing.

11. *Liflic* 3. Of an image, picture: *life-like, vivid*, and in this respect similar to a living thing. Or due to foreign influence?

II. *Transfer of a quality from a material object to a living being, its faculties, mood, character, etc.*

This group appears to correspond partly to the one which Wundt (II 561) defines as »die Übertragung von Benennungen äusserer Eindrücke auf subjektive Gemütszustände und auf die psychischen Kräfte, von denen diese abhängig gedacht werden». He classes this group as a subdivision of »Komplikative Bedeutungswandel», complication being his term for »Verbindungen zwischen Vorstellungen oder Vorstellungsbestandteilen verschiedener Sinnesgebiete» (l. c. 551).

1. *Leoht* 3 b. Of persons, their mood, mind, heart, or countenance: *merry, cheerful*. The idea of being lightly burdened is transferred to the mental sphere, and apprehended as denoting lightly burdened in respect of sorrows or cares, and therefore merry and cheerful.

2. *Fæst* 5 e, f. Of mood, mind, heart: *firm, strong, stable, steadfast*. Of persons: *steadfast, stable, constant, reliable*. Transfer from sense 2.

3. *Scearp* 3 d. Of persons, their intellect or understanding: *acute, keen, discerning*. The quality of being penetrating is transferred to the mental sphere.

4. *Scearp* 5. Of persons: *stern, severe, irritable*. From the idea of being stinging, penetrating, or of causing a pain of a certain kind. The common element may be either of these two conceptions.

5. *Smart* 4. Of persons: *pert, forward, impudent, cutting*. I think we may regard this development as similar to the preceding one (*scearp* 5), but with the attention directed more especially to the subjective state which makes a person 'sharp'.

III. *Synæsthesia*.

Cf. the quotes. on p. 131 sq. Also Falk 62. Only a few cases.

1. *Scearp* 3 b. Of a sound: *penetrating, shrill*, like a sharp instrument. Similarly *smart* 1 b.

2. *Scearp* 6. Of food: *pungent, acrid, in taste*. Of wine: *sour*. Analogous to the preceding.

IV. *Transfer of a quality from material to immaterial objects or actions.*

Corresponding partly to the same group in Wundt as group II (p. 273 above. Wundt II 561). On the other hand, it seems to me that these cases might just as well be classed as »Assimilativer Bedeutungswandel mit konstanter dominierender Vorstellung» (l. c. 532), the psychic process being of the simplest kind. The predominant element remains the same: the primary and the secondary meaning are both apprehended as »unmittelbar kennzeichnend» (l. c. 533). The difficulty of classifying sense-changes according to Wundt's system is apparent. Cf. Falk 85.

Practically all adjs. and advs. of material import may be used in this manner. I give below a list of the cases which in Ch. II have been distinguished as separate senses, and of a few others of greater importance.

1. *Leoht* 2 a. Of immaterial objects: *easy to bear or endure*. From sense 1.
2. *Leoht* 2 c. Of temptation: *mild, gentle*. From sense 2 a.
3. *Leoht* 4 a. Of sins, harm, etc.: *of small importance or consequence, slight, trivial, not weighty*. From sense 2 a.
4. *Lēohlice* 1 b. Of verbs of immaterial action: *gently, mildly*. (In the ME. quotes. The OE. ones seem to be influenced by the Latin originals. Perhaps we should regard the ME. instances as representing merely a continuation of the OE. use?).
5. *Fæste* 1, in the expression *slapan fæste*: *firmly, so as not to be easily moved or awakened*. A direct transfer from the original material sense.
6. *Fæste* 3, 5. With verba voluntatis: *strictly, firmly, decisively*. The common element was that of firmness and strength, here transferred to the mental sphere. From sense 1.
7. *Fæste* 6 c. With verba affectuum: *with fixity of purpose, vehemently*. Analogous to the preceding sense-change.
8. *Fæst* 5, b, c, d. Of peace, covenant, law: *firm, stable, reliable, not to be broken*. Of sleep: *deep, sound, not easily broken*. Of hope, belief, fidelity, friendship, etc.: *firm, steadfast, stable*. Transfer from the original meaning of the adj.

9. *Swiþ* 1 c. In a similar way, *swiþ* is used of immaterial objects, as will, fate, power, etc.

10. *Swiþ* 3. In the phrase *swiþ slæp*: 'deep sleep'. From sense 1: Cf. *fæst* 5 c.

11. *Scearp* 3 a. Of the rays of the sun: *piercing, intense*. From the original sense.

12. *Scearp* 3 c. Of the sight or eyes, *acute, keen*. From the original sense.

13. *Scearp* 4. Of words: *cutting, severe, harsh, stern, peremptory*. Similarly *smart* 2 a. From the idea of being sharp and therefore inflicting pain.

14. *Scearp* 5. Of hunger, sorrow, etc.: *stinging, intense, severe*. Of a mode of life: *austere*. As the preceding.

15. *Smart* 2 c. Of pain, etc.: *Stinging, severe*. As the preceding.

16. *Cwic* 5. Of voice: *loud, clear*; of colour or hue: *vivid, bright*. From the original sense. Similarly *liflic* 5. Foreign influence may have contributed to the development, see next section.

17. *Cwic* 7. Of vigour, or age: *possessing vital force or vigour*. From the same sense with literal import.

V. *Figurative senses.*

In these cases, the whole phrase, including the adj. or adv. and the governing word, is used in a figurative sense. This may incidentally occur with practically any word.

This group corresponds to Wundt's type of assimilative sense-change with constant predominant element (II 532, cf. p. 274 above). The change is an association of the simplest kind, and the secondary sense is apprehended as »unmittelbar kennzeichnend».

A list of the instances would be simply a repetition of what has been already printed in Ch. II, so I content myself with giving the words, with the number of the senses that have been classed separately.

Fæste 1 (p. 74), 2 b (p. 78), 4 a b, 6 a.

Fæst 5 a, 7.

Scearp 7 a.

C. Sense-loans.

»Wo ein Wort aus einer fremden Sprache sich in seiner Bedeutung nur teilweise mit einem Worte der eigenen Sprache deckt, da wird man leicht dazu verführt, jenem den vollen Umfang der Bedeutung beizulegen, die diesem zukommt.« (Paul 401). We are here interested only in the influence of the foreign languages on English. This process may be analyzed as follows. The foreign word A and the native word B have in the main the same sense x , and B is therefore used to render A. But the word A has also the sense y , to which there is originally no correspondence among the shades of sense of B. A person translating from the foreign language, and finding there A in the sense y , will then, because of the habitual association between A and B, render A by B in this case too. In the instances furnished by my material, the difference between x and y is generally inconsiderable, y representing a meaning which might very well, under favourable circumstances, have arisen by native development. If the difference between x and y is too great, a transfer of the latter meaning to B is possible only in certain connexions, where the context will make the new meaning clear to the hearer (reader). Cf. Paul 401 sqq., Wellander 103 sqq.

The psychic process thus consists in an association between the foreign word and the native one, of sufficient force to repulse the association between the object (Aussagegrundlage) and the native word habitually corresponding to it.

Sense-loans represent an influence of one language on the »inner speech-form« (innere Sprachform) of another. During the periods dealt with in this work, such influence on the signs of the English language comes chiefly from three sources: Scandinavian, Latin, and French. (Cf. p. 246). Scandinavian influence can scarcely be ascertained in any of the words analysed here. In two languages so closely related, developments of this kind were likely to run parallel, and ON. influence can therefore not be distinguished from the results of native development.

As pointed out in Ch. IV, Latin and French influences are also difficult to distinguish, as the two languages represent sim-

ilar tendencies. I will therefore classify in one group all senses which I regard as due to foreign influence.

There remains to be discussed another kind of sense-loans, not mentioned by Paul and Wellander, *viz.* influence on the sign of a word from cognate words in the *same* language. In Ch. II, this kind of influence has often been used to explain the signs of words.

In principle, this phenomenon is similar to foreign sense-loans. It may be described as a conclusion by analogy: *fæste* means 'firmly', and *fæst* means 'firm'. The two words thus stand to each other in the relation of adv. and adj., a relation extremely common. When, by and by, *fæste* acquires the sense *swiftly*, the conception of the relation between the two words causes the adj. *fæst* to be used in the sense 'swift'. The attribution of the new sense to the adj. is facilitated by the existence of nomina actionis, corresponding to the verbs in combination with which *fæste* was used in the sense 'swiftly.' Thus, from the phrase *to run fast*, the transition is easy to the phrase *a fast run*. (Cf. p. 109).

Sense-transfers of this kind are very common. They are especially noticeable in the advs. formed from an adj. by the suffix *-lice*, which advs. take over the senses of the corresponding adjs. Further in advs. similar in form to adjs. And, naturally, between different forms of comparison in the same adj. or adv. Instances of these different modes of transfer are found in the list below. (Cf. Sandegren 116).

In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, only the words and the numbers of the senses are given. The corresponding explanations will be found in Ch. II.

I. Sense-loans from foreign sources.

Hræd 5.

Hrædlice 4.

Raþe 4 e.

Swift 4, 5, 6.

Leoht 2 a (partly), 2 c (partly), 7 c (partly).

Leohtlice 1 b, 2.

Scearp 2.

Cwic 3 (partly), 4, 5, 6, 12.

Liflic I b, 2, 5.

Gearu 6.

(*Spack* I, 2.)

(*Spackly* I, 2).

II. Sense-loans from cognate English words.

Note that sense I of all advs. in *-lice* is here listed as a sense-loan from the corresponding adj.

Hræd 6, 7.

Hrædlic, all senses.

Hrædlice I, 5 (?).

Raþe 3 c, 4 c, 6 c, 9 b, 11 b (all from the comp. form of the adv.).

Swittlice I.

Swifte, all senses.

Snelle I, 4.

Leohtlic, all senses, perhaps with the exception of 'scornful'.

Leohtlice I, 3, 4 a b, 5, 6, 7, 8 a (partly), 8 b.

Lighte, all senses.

Fæste I (?), 2 b (as used of doors, etc.).

Fæst 9, 10.

Fæstlice, all senses.

Swiþe I (?), 2 b.

Swiþ 4.

Scearplice I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (partly).

Smarly I, 2.

Smart, adv. Both senses.

Hwate (?).

Cwic 8, 9.

Quickly I, 2, 3.

Quick, adv. I, 2 (?).

Lively I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (partly).

Geap 2 b (partly).

Geaplice I, 2 (partly).

Spack 3.

Gearwe I, 4, 5.

Readily I, 4, 5.

It is thus possible to arrange all the sense-changes instanced in my collection of material under the three headings given above, and we may, I think, conclude that this system of classification can be applied to all adjs. and advs. Moreover, it is not improbable that the sense-changes of other words may also be arranged according to these principles. They have at least the advantage of being comparatively easy of application; on condition, however, that the sense-changes to be classified are known in detail. This condition is indispensable, and the neglect of it — largely, it is true, for the reason that sufficient material was not available — is one of the chief causes of the weak points in the classifications of Wundt and Falk.

The possibilities of drawing conclusions of general applicability are limited, in semasiology, by the lack of previous research. An investigator in the department of phonology, for instance, can compare his results with those of similar works in the same or in other languages, and will thus be able at once to ascertain whether his conclusions are valid outside his own field of work. He has, further, at his disposal a great mass of facts and theories which he can utilize for the purpose of testing his conclusions, and into which they must fit.

In semasiology it is otherwise. Investigations of the sense-development of single words, or of groups of words, are few in number; no satisfactory system of psychological classification has been established, nor is there any general consensus of opinion regarding the fundamental principles of such a system. Conclusions from the sense-development of one group of words can therefore be applied to other words with reservations only. Much additional research is necessary before it will be possible to gain a comprehensive view of the whole field of semasiology.

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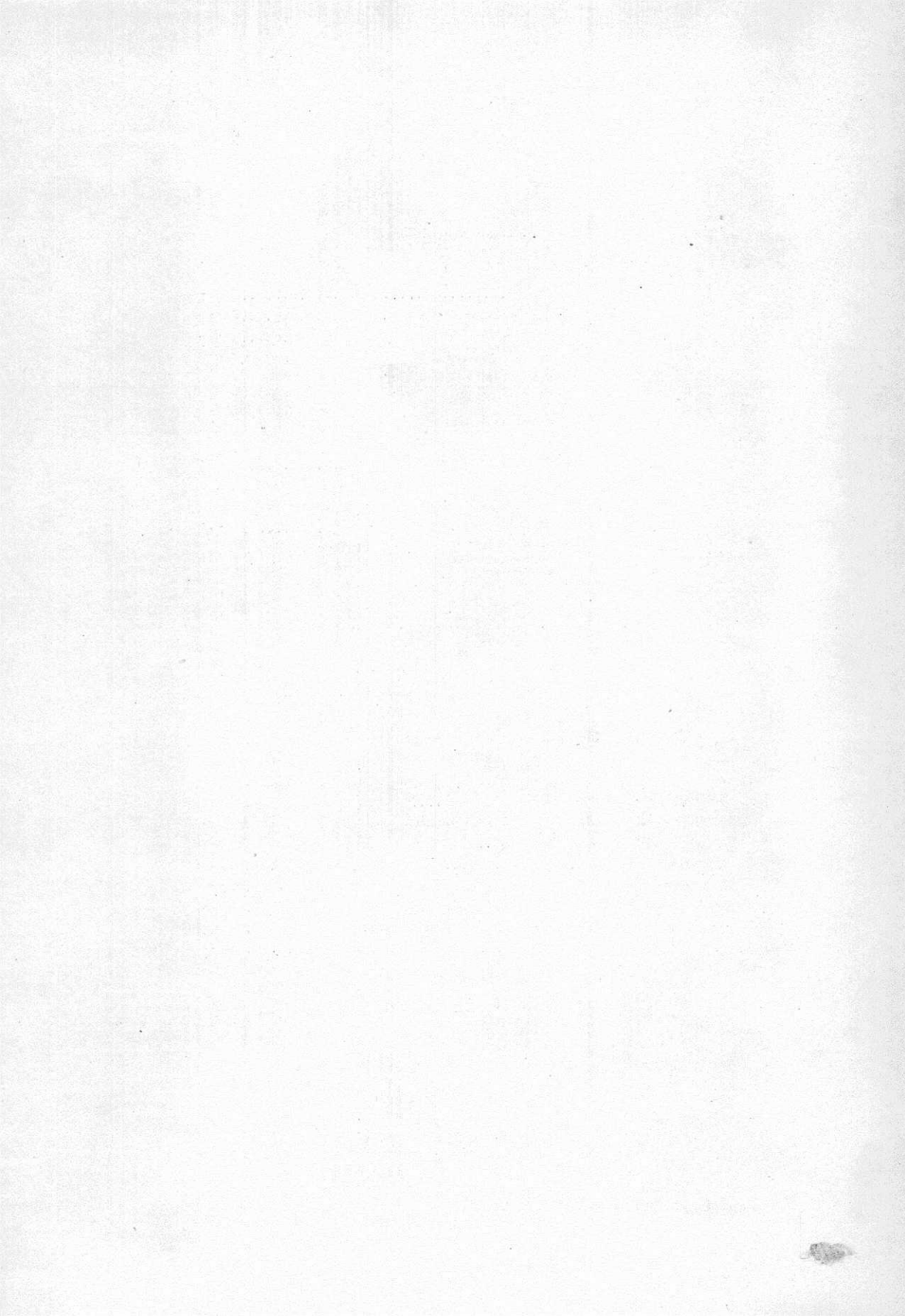
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ERRATA

- P. 90, line 12, *insert*: See Ch. IV and V, pp. 241 and 265.
 P. 105, line 20, last word, *add* a hyphen.
 P. 192, line 1, last word, *read*: If.
 P. 192, line 3, last word, *read*: oueral.

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