

**BINOMIALS IN TRANSLATED OLD ENGLISH PROSE: THE  
THEODULFI CAPITULA**

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For Michael Herren

**Abstract:** *Each translation is a transformation. This is also true of the Theodulfi Capitula (ThCap) and its two Old English translations. These illustrate two opposite ways of translating. The Old English version which is here called ThCapA is a relatively free rendering with additions and omissions, whereas the Old English version here called ThCapB is a very literal translation with hardly any additions and omissions. This is also true of their treatment of binomials. Whereas the A-translator sometimes adds binomials in his OE version and changes those in his Latin source (the ThCap), the B-translator tries to render each binomial of his Latin source, but he does not add any new ones. The treatment of binomials in the ThCapA and the ThCapB will be discussed in more detail in the present article.*

**Key words:** *Latin, Old English, binomials,, multinomials, translation, etymology, synonymy, antonymy, complementarity*

1. Introduction: The *Theodulfi Capitula* and its Old English translations

Binomials are a striking linguistic and stylistic phenomenon that was used by many Old English (OE) authors and translators; a few examples are ‘day and night’, ‘father and mother’, ‘meat and drink’, ‘long and strong’, ‘buy and sell’.<sup>2</sup> Some authors, however, used them much more frequently than others. Wulfstan, for example, was very fond of them and they are part of his characteristic style, whereas his contemporary Ælfric used them only sparingly.<sup>3</sup> Many of the Alfredian texts also employ binomials.<sup>4</sup> Here I shall deal with binomials in two translated OE prose texts, namely the two OE translations of the *Theodulfi Capitula*.

The *Theodulfi Capitula* (ThCap) was originally written in Latin around 800 by bishop Theodulf of Orléans; it is a kind of handbook for parish priests

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<sup>2</sup> I have given them here in their Modern English form, but they occur in the Old English texts discussed here; see the Appendix. Binomials are also frequent in many Middle English and Early Modern English texts.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of binomials in Old English, see, e.g., Berger (1993), and chapters 1-6 in Kopacz & Sauer (2017).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Sauer (2018b). Most of the Alfredian texts are translations based on Latin sources.

in 45 chapters (or 46 in some manuscripts). This text was translated into OE twice, and the two OE translations are apparently independent of each other: The OE version which is here called ThCapA is now preserved in manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp. 179-272 (CCCC 201); the OE version which is here called ThCapB has come down to us only as a fragment, beginning at the middle of ch. 25; it is now MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 865 (S.C. 2737), fols. 97-112.

MS. CCCC 201 (containing the ThCapA) was written at the Exeter scriptorium directed by bishop Leofric probably between 1050 and 1072, i.e. shortly before or perhaps even shortly after the Norman Conquest. MS. Bodley 865 (containing the ThCapB) was written in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and is accordingly slightly earlier than the manuscript containing the ThCapA. Where Bodley 865 was written is not known; later it was probably also in Exeter, but it is not certain whether it was actually written there (before Leofric came to Exeter). The fact that the translator of the ThCapA apparently did not know or in any case did not use the ThCapB would seem to speak against a presence of ThCapB in Exeter when ThCapA was copied there.

It seems likely that both manuscripts preserve only later copies of the original translations. When and where those were made is also difficult to tell. ThCapA was perhaps originally translated in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> or in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century; the same applies to the ThCapB. The content of ThCap and both OE translations (ThCapA, ThCapB) fit in with the aims of the Benedictine Reform (or Monastic Revival) that began in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, namely to strengthen the church and to impose more discipline on its members. Whether the OE translations were actually made in connection with the Benedictine Reform is, however, not certain; they show no connection to the so-called Winchester vocabulary which was apparently introduced at Winchester by Æthelwold (bishop of Winchester 963-984), one of the leading reformers, and then used, for example, by Ælfric (but not, e.g., by Wulfstan). The language of the ThCapA, moreover, is basically late West-Saxon, but has some Anglian admixtures. The language of the ThCapB shows a “purer” Late West-Saxon than the language of the ThCapA, but the ThCapB also has no connection with the Winchester vocabulary.<sup>5</sup> Bishop Leofric of Exeter (bishop of Exeter 1046-1072), in whose scriptorium MS. CCCC 201 was copied, was also interested in ecclesiastical reform and discipline: MS. CCCC 201 was once bound together with CCCC 191, the enlarged *Rule of Chrodegang*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the texts and manuscripts see Sauer (1978); furthermore, e.g., Hofstetter (1987, pp. 323-324) (nos. 132-133). On the manuscripts see also Ker (1957, pp. 90-91 (no. 50), pp. 380-381 (no. 318)); Gneuss & Lapidge (2014, p. 88 (no. 66), pp. 468-469 (no. 608)); Scragg (2012, nos. 873-875). In comparison to some other OE texts, not much research has been done on ThCapA and ThCapB. Sauer (1978) is the revised version of my doctoral dissertation, but with the present article I return to the ThCap only for the second time (the first time was Sauer 2001, where time words and time concepts are discussed).

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Ker (1957, no. 46); Gneuss & Lapidge (2014, nos. 60 and 66).

The translation presented by the ThCapB is very literal; the translation in the ThCapA is somewhat freer. This also shows in their use of binomials: the translator of the ThCapA sometimes translated the binomials in his Latin source, but sometimes he added new binomials, and occasionally he simplified binomials in his Latin source to one OE word. The translator of the ThCapB, on the contrary, almost always translated the binomials of his Latin source, but he never added new binomials, nor did he simplify the binomials of his Latin source.

## 2. Binomials and multinomials: preliminary definition and occurrence in the ThCapA and ThCapB

Binomials are usually defined as pairs of words that belong to the same word-class, are situated at the same level in the hierarchic structure of the phrase, are connected by a coordinating conjunction (mostly *and*), and are in some semantic relation; see the examples given above.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, no uniform terminology; the combinations that are here called binomials have also been called word-pairs (repetitive word-pairs, tautologic word-pairs), doublets, twin-formulae, etc. But not all binomials are repetitive or tautologic or formulaic; therefore 'binomial' seems to be the most neutral term for the phenomenon under discussion here. Binomials can be formulaic, but they can also be created on the spur of the moment. On the distinction between binomials and non-binomials see 5.1. below.

Binomials can be extended into multinomials (trinomials, quadrinomials, etc.), shading off into lists. How far multinomials are actually extensions or combinations of binomials and how far they were created independently is a question to which there is no general answer; it has to be checked for each multinomial: *hwæðer þe gewealdes þe ungewealdes, 7 hwæðer þe færllice þe þurh ærbepohte wisan* 'whether voluntarily or involuntarily, and whether suddenly or with premeditation' A XXXI/12-14 is apparently a sequence of two binomials (*gewealdes – ungewealdes; færllice – ærbepohte wise*),<sup>8</sup> whereas 'Prayers, vigils and almsgiving' was created as a trinomial.<sup>9</sup> But there is no rigid borderline between binomials and multinomials. "Word' and 'deed' (OE *weorc*) occur as the binomial *word – weorc* A, but also as the first two elements in the trinomial *word – weorc – gepoht* 'word – deed – thought', A. Multinomials occur less frequently than binomials, the most frequent type of multinomials are the trinomials (triplets), i.e. lists consisting of three words.

This is certainly true of the ThCapA and ThCapB, i.e. their number of binomials is much larger than their number of multinomials (see the Appendix). The ThCapA has 81 different binomials, i.e. on average a little less than two binomials in each chapter; the ThCapB has 36 binomials – the lower number

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Malkiel (1959, p. 113); Sauer & Schwan (2017, p. 84).

<sup>8</sup> I have included *færllice þe þurh ærbepohte wisan* because it functions as an adverbial.

<sup>9</sup> Again I quote the Modern English translation; this trinomial occurs in ThCapA XLIII/8 *mid gebedum, 7 mid wæccum, 7 mid ælmessum*; ThCapB XLIII/7-8 *gebed 7 wæccan oþþe ælmesdæda*, for *L orationes, uigiliae, elemosinae*.

of binomials in ThCapB is, of course, largely due to the fragmentary state of this translation, which comprises less than half of the chapters in its present condition. The ThCapA has 15 trinomials and seven quadrinomials; the ThCapB has five binomials and five quadrinomials.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Research on binomials

Research on binomials in the Germanic languages (including English) started over two hundred years ago with an article by Jacob Grimm (1816);<sup>11</sup> subsequently there have been books and articles on binomials in legal language and in alliterative poetry, especially Old English alliterative poetry.<sup>12</sup> The most extensive list of OE binomials to my knowledge is provided by Berger 1993. Berger, however, was not able to investigate all OE texts;<sup>13</sup> therefore many binomials can be added to her lists, and more examples can be added to those binomials which she has (see further section 8 below). On the whole OE binomials (and binomials from later periods) are still an under-researched topic: There are many English authors and texts from all periods for which neither collections of their binomials exist,<sup>14</sup> nor are there comprehensive analyses of the structure and use of their binomials, including those of famous poets such as Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton.

We can only speculate about the reasons for this neglect: One reason may be changing stylistic ideals: Binomials are usually part of a rich rhetorical style, and rhetoric was highly regarded throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.<sup>15</sup> But later stylistic ideals changed in favour of a simple style, especially in 20<sup>th</sup> century poetry and prose,<sup>16</sup> and there was a distrust of rhetoric – a reflection of this may be the relative neglect of binomials in linguistic research. But this state of affairs is fortunately changing: In recent years there have been a number of studies of binomials, including, e.g., Mollin (2014) and Kopaczyk & Sauer (2017): the articles collected in Kopaczyk and Sauer provide a survey of the structure and use of binomials from the OE period to the present.

One factor contributing to the renewed interest in binomials were corpus studies and research into phraseology. They have shown (or confirmed) that a considerable part of language consists of prefabricated phrases, clauses

<sup>10</sup> Here I have counted only the number of different binomials (i.e. types); a few binomials are used more than once (tokens), e.g. *creda 7 pater noster* occur three times (see 5.4.(1) below), but I have counted them just once.

<sup>11</sup> Grimm did not yet use terms such as binomials or word-pairs. For brief reviews of research see, e.g. Kopaczyk & Sauer (2017, ch.1); Sauer & Schwan (2017, pp. 86-88 = § 5).

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., the bibliography in Kopaczyk & Sauer (2017).

<sup>13</sup> For example she has used none of the Alfredian texts. To be fair, for a doctoral dissertation such as Berger's it would not have been possible to read all OE texts and to collect their binomials.

<sup>14</sup> Or in any case have not been published. Klegr & Cermak (2008), for example, survey the binomials in *Beowulf*; Chaucer, and Shakespeare, but they do not append the material on which their analyses are based (this would probably not have been possible in the scope of an article).

<sup>15</sup> In the system of the seven liberal art (*septem artes liberales*), rhetoric occupied second place, following immediately upon grammar.

<sup>16</sup> In scientific prose the aim to achieve a simple style apparently began in England in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

and sentences; binomials, especially formulaic binomials, of course belong to prefabricated language, especially to prefabricated phrases.<sup>17</sup>

As far as I am aware there has been no study of the binomials in the ThCap, ThCapA and ThCapB.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4. Function of binomials

Binomials can have several functions, which do not exclude each other.<sup>19</sup> As just mentioned, one of the functions of binomials was rhetorical, i.e. to help create a rich, ornate, elevated style, and sometimes they were probably also used for emphasis. In oral societies they were used as an aid to memory and often alliterate.<sup>20</sup> Formulaic binomials also provide ready-made expressions for concepts that are often referred to in conjunction, e.g. 'heaven and earth', 'father and mother', 'men and women', 'day and night', etc. Perhaps they even show a human tendency to think in pairs. Especially for Middle English, the etymology of the words used in binomials is particularly interesting, because many binomials in Middle English and Early Modern English consist of loan-words or of a mixture of native words and loan-words, and according to the translation theory in some binomials the native word (or an older loan-word) served to explain the recently adopted loan-word – but as far as I am aware this happened only in a minority of instances. In Old English, the vocabulary was still largely native, apart from a number of loan-words mainly taken from Latin, and this also shows in the etymological structure of the OE binomials. InThCapA and ThCapB, the impact of Latin can be seen particularly in the Christian and ecclesiastical vocabulary (see further section 5.4 below).

Binomials were not only used by English authors and translators; they occur also in other languages.<sup>21</sup> Translated OE prose, including the ThCapA and ThCapB, is based on Latin models. The Latin models also have binomials, but English authors and translators were apparently particularly fond of binomials, because the translated OE texts often contain more binomials than the Latin originals. This is certainly true of ThCapA (but not of ThCapB; see further section 9 below). That the authors or translators of English texts were more fond of binomials than the authors of Latin texts is also confirmed by other scholars working on binomials.<sup>22</sup>

#### 5. The formal structure of binomials

##### 5.1. Basic structure, extended structures, and excluded structures

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g. Wray (2002).

<sup>18</sup> Apart from a brief mention in Sauer (1976).

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, also Berger (1993, p. 12).

<sup>20</sup> On the functions of binomials, see also, e.g., Sauer & Schwan (2017).

<sup>21</sup> A comparative analysis of binomials used in several languages would, of course, be useful, but cannot be undertaken in the present article.

<sup>22</sup> Siegfried Wenzel confirmed this to me.

The basic structure of binomials is ‘word + word’, as in the examples given above; this is also the most frequent structure in ThCapA and B.

This structure can be extended through the addition of modifiers such as articles, attributive adjectives and genitival phrases etc., e.g. *gyming – recenddom: seo gyming Godes folces and se recenddom heora sawle* (A I/2-3); binomials are also used in inflected cases, e.g. *ræding – gebed: ofthrædlice rædinga haligra boca 7 gelomlice gebedu* ‘frequent reading of holy books and frequent prayers’ (A II/8-9), or *geornfulnes – gleawnes: mid ealre geornfulnessse ond gleawnesse* (B XLIV/4-XX), or *begymen – gebed: halwendestum dædbote begymenum oþþe gemænum gebedum* (B XXX/14-15).

Very occasionally there are reduced binomials, where the coordinating conjunction has been omitted. There is one occurrence in ThCapB, in imitation of the Latin model: *nænige geflitu, nænige saca* B XLII/1-2; *nullae lites, nullae contentiones* L XLII/1-2; but ThCapA adds coordinating conjunctions in the translation of the same passage: *na ne geflytu ne gecid* A XLII/1-2 (on the connection between the constituents of binomials see the following section, 5.3). The same binomial occurs two more times in the same chapter (i.e. three times altogether); and in the other two occurrences the Latin text as well as ThCapA and ThCapB use a coordinating conjunction: *contentiones et lites* L XLII/4; *geflytu 7 gecid* A XLII/5; *geflitu 7 saca* B XLII/4; cf. also L XLII/8-9 ~ A XLII/8 ~ B XLII/8.

Of course a line between binomials and non-binomials has to be drawn somewhere; as a rule of thumb one could say that the longer a phrase is, the less likely it is a binomial. Thus the Latin text at XXX/13-14, *observatio – munitium: saluberrimis poenitentiae obseruationibus siue munitiis*, can probably still be regarded as a binomial, as can the OE translation of this passage in ThCapB XXX/14-15, *begymen – gebed: halwendestum dædbote begymenum oþþe gemænum gebedum* ‘with most salutary observations of penance and common prayers’, but the version of the same passage in ThCapA XXX/15-16 is too free and too long; it is not a binomial: *onfongum fram him halwendum geþeahstum ond læcedomum þara wamma þe we him on us sylfe for urum agnum gewyrhtum secgað*. I have also excluded the (rare) cases where an explicit explanation of a word or phrase is given, e.g., *his gastlicum læce, þæt is his scrifte* ‘his spiritual physican, that is his confessor’ (ThCapA XXI (50)).

But probably there will always remain an element of subjectivity in drawing the line between binomials and non-binomials. In my view it is better to err on the side of inclusiveness; a narrow view of binomials would probably exclude some interesting combinations.

## 5.2. Word-classes

Among the 81 binomials in ThCapA, the most frequent word class are the nouns, i.e. binomials consisting of nouns (counting the number of different binomials): with 53 different combinations they make up more than half of the

entire number of binomials in ThCapA. The nominal (substantival) binomials are followed – at a considerable distance - by 14 verbal binomials, eight adverbial binomials, five adjectival binomials and one prepositional binomial. In ThCapB the nominal (substantival) binomials are also most frequent with 28 different combinations, followed by adjectival and adverbial binomials with three different combinations each, one verbal binomial and one binomial consisting of numerals.

In comparison with the word-classes of the binomials in other texts<sup>23</sup> this confirms the impression that nouns are usually the most frequent word-class, followed by adjectives, verbs and adverbs.<sup>24</sup> It is a bit surprising that in ThCapA the verbal binomials are clearly more frequent than the adjectival binomials, and that even the adverbial binomials are more frequent than the adjectival binomials, but at present I have no explanation for this distribution. In ThCapB, the number of adjectival, verbal and adverbial binomials is probably too small to allow of any conclusions.

Among the multinomials, those consisting of nouns are also most frequent: ThCapA has 18 nominal (substantival) trinomials and quadrinomials, three verbal ones and one binomial consisting of numerals. ThCapB has eight nominal multinomials, one verbal and one adverbial multinomial. Apparently there are no adjectival multinomials in ThCapA or in ThCapB.

### 5.3. Connection

Binomials are mostly connected by 7 (the abbreviation for *and* or *ond*), but other coordinating conjunctions also occur, especially *ge ... ge*, *ne*, *ne ... ne*, *oððe*, *oððe ... oððe*, *hwæþer þe ... þe*.<sup>25</sup> ThCapA has a somewhat greater variety of coordinating conjunctions than ThCapB, because it uses a few conjunctions or rather combinations of conjunctions (especially *ge ... ge*; *oððe ... oððe*; *hwæþer þe ... þe*; *swa ... swa ... swa*) which do not occur in ThCapB; but those are admittedly also rare in ThCapA.

7 (for *and*, *ond*) is by far the most frequent coordinating conjunction in both ThCapA and ThCapB: A has 59 instances, B has 35 instances; some multinomials (trinomials, quadrinomials) are also connected with 7. ThCapA uses *ge ... ge* in twelve binomials and in seven multinomials; *ge ... ge* is not used in the extant part of ThCapB. *ne* and *ne ... ne* are used eleven times in ThCapA and also in two multinomials, but just once in ThCapB; *oððe* is used twice in binomials in ThCapA and three times in trinomials; it is used seven times in the

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g. Sauer (2014, 2017a,b, 2018); Sauer & Schwan (2017).

<sup>24</sup> Berger (1993, p. 46) also states that more than half of the 870 binomials that she has collected are nouns, followed by verbs and adjectives, and at some distance by adverbs.

<sup>25</sup> Most of these conjunctions are discussed in great detail by Mitchell (1985: I, pp. 693-763) in his Chapter V (on parataxis), but apparently he does not have the concept of 'binomials' or 'word-pairs'; in any case he does not separate examples involving binomials from other examples involving parataxis. Moreover, the ThCapA and ThCapB are not included in his group of "Major prose texts" (Mitchell 1985: I, xxxiv-xxxv); as a consequence, he has apparently no examples from ThCapA and ThCapB.

extant part of ThCapB – i.e. it is the only coordinating conjunction that occurs more frequently in ThCapB than in ThCapA: this probably reflects the closeness of B to the Latin source, because B tends to translate not only L *et*, but also *siue* and *aut* with OE *oððe*. ThCapA has *oððe ... oððe* twice in binomials and once in a trinomial; it has *hwæþer þe ... þe* twice, and *swa ... swa ... swa* once in a trinomial; the last three mentioned (*oððe ... oððe*; *hwæþer þe ... þe*; *swa ... swa ... swa*) do not occur in the extant part of ThCapB. To give a few examples:

- 1) **7 (and, ond):** *gebed 7 ælmesse: his agnum gebedum 7 his ælmessum* ‘with his own prayers and almsgiving’ A XXXIX/12; *druncennisse 7 oferfyllum* ‘drunkenness and gluttony’ B XLV/8-9. A once has *gelice and: þæm scipmannum is beboden gelice 7 þæm landbuendum* ‘it is commanded to the sailors and to those dwelling on land’ A XXXV/12 (in a freely translated passage);
- 2) **ge ... ge:** *ge his lif ge his rice* A XVIII/ii; *ge on æfenne ge on morgenne* A XXIII/15; *ge wif ge wæpned* ‘female and male’ A XLV (XLVI)/13; in the trinomials *ge corn ge hig ge hwylce woroldlicu þing* ‘corn or hay or other worldly things’ AVIII/1-2; *ægðer ge þreagende ge halsigende ge biddende* ‘either threatening or entreating or praying’ A XXVIII/16-17;
- 3) **ne; ne ... ne :** *cyse ne ægru* A XL/13; *nanþing unsyfernes on ne sy ne unclænnes* ‘no foulness nor impurity’ A V/8; *ne æfest ne andan* ‘neither envy nor anger’ A XXI (66-67); *ne oferga ne ne beswice* ‘neither attack nor deceive’ B XXXV/9 (for L *ne ... neque*); in trinomials or quadrimomials: *nænig facn ne nænig geflytu ne nænig ungebwærnes* A XXIII/20; *þæt nan mid him ete, ne ne drince, ne ne gebidde, ne on hys hus hine onfo* B XXVI/14-15 (for L *nullus ... neque ... neque ... neque*);
- 4) **oððe:** *dæges oððe nyhtes* A XXI (76); *mete oþþe drink* B XXXVIII/2 (for L *siue*);
- 5) **oððe ... oððe:** *oððe preosthades oððe læweddes hades men* A XVI/2; in the trinomials *aðer oððe calic oððe disc oððe ænig þara fata þe ...* A XVIII/2-3 (for L *aut ... aut*); *oþþe þreagende oððe halsiende oþþe cidende* B XXVIII/10-11 (for L *aut ... aut ... aut*);
- 6) **hwæðer þe ... þe:** *hwæðer þe gewældes þe ungewældes 7 hwæþer þe færlice þe þurh ærbepohte wisan* A XXXI/12-14 (an expansion of the L text without a precise L model);
- 7) **swa ... swa ... swa:** in the trinomial *swa ridan swa rowan swa swilce færelde faran* ‘ride or sail or use such a vehicle’ A XXIII/5-6 (for L *siue*);
- 8) a switch of conjunctions is rare, and in one of those rare cases the translators apparently followed the Latin model: *for gytsunge goldes 7 seolfres, oððe deorwyrða hræglas oððe ænigra woruldþinga* ‘for desire of gold and silver, or expensive clothes or any worldly things’ A XXVII/13-14; *for gytsunge goldes 7 seolfres, oþþe reafa oþþe æniges þinges ...* B XXVII/12; *pro cupiditate argenti et auri aut uestimentorum aut cuiuslibet rei* L XXVII/11. But the trinomial *gebed 7 wæccan oþþe ælmesdæda* B XLIII/7-8 renders the Latin asyndetic coordination: *orationes, uigiliae, elemosinae* XLIII/6; therefore the switch of coordinating conjunctions is due to the B translator.

#### 5.4. Etymology, especially loan-words in binomials

One aspect of etymology is the distinction between native words and loan-words. Binomials consisting of native words are in the majority in ThCapA and B, but a number of binomials containing (or consisting of) loan-words also occur. The following analysis concentrates on loan-words. Most of those were borrowed from Latin (some ultimately go back to Greek).<sup>26</sup>

In the following I do not deal with early loan-words having to do with food, such as *butere* 'butter', *cyse* 'cheese', *win* 'wine' (cf., e.g., *fram ægrum 7 cyse 7 buteran 7 fixum 7 wine forhabban* B XL/3-4) nor with *rice* 'kingdom, dominion' or with *ceapung* and *mangung* 'trade, business'.

I concentrate on the binomials that express Christian concepts (including concepts having to do with ecclesiastical offices). In this field there are, however, not only loan-words, but also loan-formations and loan-meanings.<sup>27</sup>

(i) Loan-words occurring in binomials: ThCapA has seven loan-words in the field of religious language; ThCapB has just one.<sup>28</sup>

- ***creda 7 pater noster*** A XXII/9 (for lat. *symbolum et orationem Dominicam*); also in different order: *pater noster 7 creda (credo)* A XXII/3 & XXIII/4; i.e. A uses the formula *creda 7 pater noster*, or *pater noster 7 creda* three times altogether. Instead of the Latin terms (*oratio Dominica, symbolum*), the first word or words of those prayers are used in OE. This binomial was apparently common in OE; see the entries in BT, BTS.

- *æmesse* 'alms' (from L *eleemosyna*)<sup>29</sup> is used three times in A and once in B: in A in the binomials *his agnum gebedum 7 his æmessum* A XXXIX/12; *ge mid fæstenum ge mid æmessum* A XLIV/5, and in the trinomial *mid gebedum ge mid æmessum ge mid gehwylcum godum weorcum* A XLIV/8-9; in B in the binomial *7 æmessum 7 gebedum onwunige* B XLIV/7-8; i.e. 'alms' is always mentioned in connection with other good works, especially 'prayer', and 'fasting', and it always appears as the second element in ThCapA.

- ***calic*** 'chalice' (< L *calix*) and ***disc*** 'plate, dish' (< L *discus*) occur in A in the trinomial *aðer oððe calic oððe disc oððe ænig þara fata ...* A XVIII/2-3

- ***cyrice, cyrce*** 'church' (e.g. A XLV/14), a loan-word possibly borrowed directly from Greek (*kyriaké, kyriakón*).

- ***oflæte*** 'sacramental wafer' (< L *oblata*; cf. G *Oblate*) occurs in A in the trinomial

<sup>26</sup> On loan-words in OE that ultimately go back to Greek, see especially Feulner (2000).

<sup>27</sup> On loan-formations and loan-meanings in Old English, see Gneuss (1955), and on loan-words, loan-formations and loan-meanings in Early Middle English, see Käsmann (1961).

<sup>28</sup> But the scarcity of clear loan-words in binomials in B may be due to the fragmentary nature of the text.

<sup>29</sup> According to the dictionaries (*AEW, ODEE*) Greek *eleemosyna* was borrowed into Latin, and the Vulgar Latin form *\*almosina, \*alimosina* was then borrowed into Germanic, from where it was passed on to the various Gmc languages, including OE.

*ge þa oflætan ge þæt win ge þæt wæter* A V/4-5 and also in A V/10, once rendering L *panis et uinum et aqua* - *oflæte* was probably used as a technical term and was more specific than *bread* 'bread' would have been.

(2) Hybrid formations consist of a loan-word and a native word (or a native word-formation element); as a whole they are native formations, i.e. in the case of the ThCapA and B, OE formations - if there were no available lexical resources, the translator had to create them.

(a) Hybrid formations referring to ecclesiastical ranks: ThCapA has the following words connected with ecclesiastical ranks in binomials: *preosthad* (*oððe preosthades oððe læwedeshades men* A XVI/2; for L *clerico aut laico*); *sacerdhad* (*nan sacerdhades man, ne læwedeshades* A XVIII/1; for L *sacerdos seu laicus*); and outside a binomial *mynstermen* (A XLIV/17; for L *ualde religiosus*), *mæssepreost* (e.g. A XLV/1; B XLV/2) and *bisceop* (e.g. A XVI/8).

*Preosthad* and *sacerdhad* 'priesthood' are opposed to laypeople (*læwedeshades man*; L *laicus*). Apparently *preost* and *sacerd* were not restricted in meaning to 'priest' in the modern sense; rather they refer to 'cleric' in general. In the Catholic Church, there were (and still are) seven ranks of clerics, from *ostiarus* to *presbyter*;<sup>30</sup> apparently they are all covered by the Latin term *clericus* and the OE terms *preosthad* and *sacerdhad*, at least in the OE translations of the ThCap. But only the priest (*presbyter*) was (and is) allowed to celebrate mass; this is reflected in the OE compound *mæssepreost* lit. 'masspriest'; whereas *preost* lit. 'priest' could apparently refer to a cleric of any of the seven ranks.

- *preosthad* 'priesthood, cleric-hood, status of a cleric' occurs in *oððe preosthades oððe læwedeshades men* A XVI/2 (for L *clerico aut laico*); see above.

- *sacerdhad* 'priesthood, status of a cleric' (< L *sacerdos*): *nan sacerdhades man, ne læwedeshades* A XVIII/1; see also above.

- *mynsterman* 'monk' (lit. 'minsterman', i.e. 'man living in a monastery') (A XLIV/17).

(b) Hybrid compounds expressing other ecclesiastical terms:

- compounds with *mæsse*: *heahmæsse* 'high mass', e.g. A XLV/3 4, 12, 15, 20, 21; *mæssedæg* lit. 'mass day' A XLV/2 (*ge Sunnandagum ge eac oðrum mæssedagum*, as an addition in A);

*mæssereaf* 'mass vestment' A VIII/5, for *uestimenta aecclesiastica (halige bec 7 huselfata 7 mæssereaf 7 cyrcean gegyrela ...)*.

(3) Loan-formations are imitations of a foreign word, in our case usually a Latin word, with native material. The assumption is that the word did not exist before; it was created to render a Latin word. This is usually relatively easy to prove with Christian terms, because on the whole they must have been unknown to the

<sup>30</sup> *Ostiarus, lector, exorcista, acolythus, subdiaconus, diaconus, presbyter.*

Anglo-Saxons before their conversion, which began in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> It is much more difficult to prove with other terms, e.g. words for occupations and professions; but here we are concerned with Christian terms. Loan-formations are often subdivided into loan-translations, loan-renditions, and loan-creations.<sup>32</sup> In loan-translations each element of the Latin model is imitated; in loan-renditions just one element is imitated; loan-creations were triggered off by a Latin word, but they have no morphological correspondence with it. Loan-translations are accordingly easiest to recognize, whereas loan-creations are most difficult to recognize. Loan-formations usually entail a semantic loan. There are eight certain or possible loan-formations attested in binomials in ThCapA or ThCapB:

- *æfensang* lit. 'evening song' (*gehyredum mæssan sylmlum 7 æfensangum* B XXXIX/5-6, for L *auditis missarum sollempnibus siue uespertinis officiis*) is apparently a loan-formation based on L *uespertinum officium*.

- *heahmæsse* 'high mass' (A XLV/15; for L *missarum sollempnia*).

- *huselfæt* 'sacramental vessel, vessel for the eucharist' (A VIII/4-6): perhaps a loan-rendition of *uasa sancta*.

- *soð lufu* lit. 'true love' (for *soðre lufan Godes 7 manna* A XXXVI/48; þurh soðe lufu B XXXVI/42; for L *per caritatem* L XXXVI/40) is probably a loan rendering of *caritas*; it refers to religious, spiritual love (towards God and towards other people), as opposed to worldly, sexual love (*lufu*; Lat. *amor*).

- *Sunnandæg* (> 'Sunday'); on *Sunnadagum oþþe on gehwylcum freolsdagum* B XLV/5-6; (for L *in diebus Dominicis siue in quibuslibet festiuitatibus*). *Sunnandæg* is a relatively early loan-translation that was originally based on *dies Solis*, but here (and generally) it is used for *dies Dominica*. It was (together with the other words for the days of the week) apparently created in West-Germanic in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. It also shows that once a loan-formation is created, it leads its own life and is no longer tied to its model.

- *synlustas* 'sinful lust, sexual desire, luxuria' (in: *wines druncennes 7 synlustas* A XL/11 for L *uini enim ebrietas et luxuria*): Since 'sin' is a specifically Christian concept, *synlust(as)* was probably formed under Christian influence; moreover *synlustas* apparently translates *luxuria* 'sexual sins'.

**world-spræc – worolddæd** (*ge wið woroldspræce ge wið worolddæda* A XXI (20); as an expansion of L *a saeculi actibus*): worldly talk and worldly actions are here implicitly opposed to religious talk and religious actions. *Saeculum* also refers to the world as opposed to God and his kingdom. *World-spræc* and *worolddæd* are therefore probably loan-renditions, based on *saeculi actus*.

#### (4) Loan-meaning

<sup>31</sup> It is, of course, dangerous to speak of 'the Anglo-Saxons': after the conversion, probably only a minority was able to read and to write, probably mainly clerics (monks and priests).

<sup>32</sup> See, e.g., Gneuss (1955).

Loan meaning<sup>33</sup> in a way is the opposite of a loan-formation; it refers to a pre-existing native word that after Christianization also took on a Christian meaning. Unfortunately it is sometimes difficult to know whether a word existed in Germanic or in preliterary Old English before the conversion. There are nine certain or possible examples of loan-meaning from binomials in ThCapA or ThCapB, namely *dryhten*, *gebod* ‘prayer’ (cf. G *Gebet*), *halgian* ‘to consecrate’, *haligdom*, *huselfæt*, *ofermedla* ‘pride’ and *ofermodlice* ‘proud’, *ræding*, *synlust*, plus the triad *word* – *weorc* – *geþoht*.

- ***dryhten***: it referred to a lord, originally to a secular lord, but under Christian influence it was also used to refer to God (God Father or Christ).

- ***gebod***: apparently a West-Germanic formation (WGmc \**ga-beda-*; cf. G *Gebet*): under Christian influence it was used for the Christian prayer.

- ***halgian*** ‘to hallow, consecrate’ is derived from *halig* ‘holy’. According to Gneuss (1955, p. 58 (§ 19)) *halgian* is a native word, but in OE it is only used in a Christian sense.

- ***haligdom*** (*Cristes lichaman 7 his blodas haligdomas* B XLI/1-2; for L *sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Christi*), i.e. in ThCapB *haligdom* is used to translate ‘sacrament’.<sup>34</sup>

- ***huselfæt*** ‘sacramental vessel, vessel used for the eucharist’ (in ThCapA VIII//5 for L *uasa sancta*) is a native formation; probably it had always the Christian meaning.

- ***ofermedla*** ‘pride’ (ThCapA XXXII/12-13; for L *superbe*); ***ofermodlice*** ‘proud’ (ThCapB XXXI/9-10, also for L *superbe*) are native formations and originally had perhaps a secular meaning, something like ‘high-spirited’, but under Christian influence they took on the meaning ‘superbia, pride’ and ‘superbus, proud’ – pride was regarded as one of the seven deadly sins.<sup>35</sup>

- ***ræding*** ‘reading’ is a native formation, but since the Anglo-Saxons could not read before their conversion to Christianity, the word probably always had a Christian meaning.

- ***synlust*** ‘desire to sin’ (*synlustas* A XL/11 as a relatively free translation of L *luxuria*; B XL/11-12 translates as *galnes* ‘lust’) is a native formation, but used in a Christian context (apparently applied to sexual sins) – sin was not a concept of the pagan Germanic religion, whereas in Christian thought *luxuria* was even regarded as one of the deadly sins.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Also known as semantic borrowing.

<sup>34</sup> The ModE continuation *halidom* ‘holy relics’ shows change of meaning.

<sup>35</sup> Schabram (1965) has a detailed study of the words for ‘superbia’ in Old English, but he does not deal with their presumed prehistory.

<sup>36</sup> On the seven deadly sins and their Old English terminology see Bloomfield (1952); cf. Sauer (1978, 426f).

- **word - weorc - gepoht** ‘word – deed – thought’ (ThCapA –XXXI/2), as an expansion of *siue in opere siue in cogitatione*, i.e. the translator of A has added ‘word’: all three words are native words, but as a triad they express a specifically Christian concept (of Irish origin).

(5) Loan-formation or loan-meaning? There are several native words or native formations with a Christian meaning which have not been discussed so far. Whether they represent loan-formations (i.e. were formed under Christian influence) or loan-meanings (i.e. whether the Christian meaning was added to an already existing pre-Christian meaning), is difficult to say.

- **genyprung - amansumung** (*swylcere genyprunge oþþe amansumunge* B XXVII/8; for L *tali damnatione et excommunicatione damnandum*): *genyþerung* ‘humiliation’ and *amansumung* ‘curse, excommunication’ are native formations. They are here used in a Christian context, but whether they were originally used in a pagan context is difficult to say.

- **dædbot** ‘penitence, amends’ and **hreowsung** ‘penitence, repentance’ are also native words, but in A & B they are used in a Christian context (*mid swiðe langre 7 strengre hreowsunge* A XVI/7; for L *longo tempore penitentiam agenda*; A XXXVI/55-56 *heora hreowsunge 7 dædbote*, as an expansion of L *penitentia*; B has just *dædbot*).

- **freolsdæg** ‘feast-day’ is a native compound, but here used in a Christian sense.

- **galnes** ‘lust’ is a native formation, but here it is used in the Christian sense, and is regarded as a (sexual) sin. **teopung** ‘tithing’, lit. ‘division into ten, tenth part’ (for Lat. *decima*) B XXXV/14 is also a native formation, but used in an ecclesiastical sense. Since the concept of tithing was unknown to the Germanic people, it was probably created as a loan-formation.

The topic of loan-formations and loan-meanings in Old English should still be pursued further; many of the words mentioned here are not discussed by Gneuss 1955 or Käsmann 1961.<sup>37</sup>

#### 5.5. Additional embellishment (alliteration, rhyme)

Occasionally alliteration is used as an additional ornament of binomials, but simultaneously it also strengthens the coherence of the constituents of the binomial. Alliterating binomials are, however, rare in ThCapA and ThCapB.<sup>38</sup> ThCapA has only seven alliterating binomials, plus one alliterating pair in a trinomial, i.e. eight alliterating word-pairs altogether out of a total of 81 binomials; in other words, only about one tenth of the binomials in A alliterate. In ThCapB,

<sup>37</sup> Gneuss (1955) lists only two of the words discussed here as having a loan meaning, namely *dryhten* (Gneuss, 1955, p. 51 = § 1) and *halgian* (Gneuss, 1955, p. 59 = §19).

<sup>38</sup> Berger (1993,47) also states that rhyme is rare, but that almost half of her binomials alliterate – this is probably due to the fact that she also takes the OE poetic corpus into consideration, and in OE poetry many binomials alliterate.

only two out of 36 preserved binomials alliterate, i.e. just one out of 18 binomials alliterates. Due to this rare occurrence of alliterating binomials in A and B it is also difficult to say whether alliterating binomials were created on purpose or rather happened by accident. It is nevertheless striking that out of the eight alliterating binomials in A, four are verbal binomials, i.e. half of the alliterating binomials are verbal.

- (1) vocalic alliteration:<sup>39</sup> *ne æfest ne andan* (A XXI(66-67));
- (2) consonantal alliteration (including repetition of the same word or element): *ge wið woroldspræce ge wið worolddæda* (A XXI (20)); *mid ealre geornfulnesse 7 gleawnesse* (B XLIV/4-5); *mid heortan 7 handum* (B XXIX/11-12); *gefed 7 gefyrðred* (A II/12); *getyhted 7 getrymed* (A II/4); *gewealdes ge ungewealdes* (A XXXI/13); *swa ridan swa rowan* (A XXIII/5-6); the first two words of the trinomial *word – weorc – gefoht* (A XXXI/2-3).

Prefixes were often unstressed, and I have therefore excluded binomials the elements of which begin with the same prefix, e.g. *unsyfernes – unclænnes* (A V/8); *behogode 7 begymde* (A V/7); *to gecide 7 to geflytum* (A XLII/8). Prefix formations where the stressed basic words alliterate, have been included above, e.g. *gefed 7 gefyrðred*. Perhaps a distinction should be made between oral alliteration and written alliteration.

Rhyming binomials are even rarer in ThCapA & B; they are also rare in most other OE texts, and generally certainly much rarer than alliterating binomials. Rhyme must involve a stressed syllable; therefore constituents of binomials which have the same inflectional ending or the same suffix are not really examples of rhyme and are disregarded here, because inflectional endings and derivational suffixes are (and were in OE) usually unstressed, e.g. *ge on æfenne ge on morgenne* (A XXIII/15), or *ægðer ge þreagende ge halsigende ge biddende* A XXVIII/16-17; *gallice 7 ofermoldlice 7 andiendlice 7 strudgendlice ...* (B XXXII/8-9) the same applies for second elements of compounds and of phrases, e.g. *nan sacerdhades man ne læweddes hades* (A XVIII/12). The only rhyming binomial in ThCapB is *æt – wæt* (*on æte 7 on wæte* B XXXIV/7; see further section 8 below); apparently there are no rhyming binomials in ThCapA.

## 6. Semantic structure of the binomials in ThCapA and ThCapB

The semantic analysis of binomials is more difficult and often less clear than the analysis of other aspects, e.g. of the word-class, the connection and the etymology.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless three broad categories can be distinguished, namely binomials based on synonymy, antonymy, and complementarity. The latter category has many subgroups. If we speak of synonymous, antonymous and complementary binomials, this refers, of course, to the relation between the two elements of a binomial. The borderline between the three groups is not always easy to draw. For example I have put 'eat and drink' into the group

<sup>39</sup> In OE, all vowels alliterate with each other.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Koskenniemi (1968).

of complementary binomials, but possibly it could also be put into the group of antonymous binomials.

### 6.1. Synonymy

Words are usually regarded as synonymous if they have a similar meaning (the same denotation), and if they can be exchanged at least in some contexts. But it is not always easy to distinguish synonyms from non-synonyms, and there have also been changes in time. *Sky* probably started as a synonym of *heaven*, but both words are no longer synonymous. Sometimes the basic meaning (denotation) is the same, but the connotations (e.g. the stylistic value) vary, e.g. ModE *man* is roughly synonymous with *bloke* and *guy*, but *man* is the neutral term, whereas *bloke* and *guy* are marked as colloquial; moreover *bloke* is typical of BrE, whereas *guy* is more typical of AmE. One problem especially with the analysis of binomials is that many words are polysemous; they are synonymous with other words in one meaning, but not necessarily synonymous in other meanings, at least according to their dictionary definitions. In the following I stress the synonymous meanings and disregard the meanings which are not synonymous. Some linguists speak of near-synonymy, but this rather highlights the problem and does not really solve it.

If words have exactly the same meaning (and can be exchanged in all contexts), they are regarded as tautologic (or tautologous), but it is often said that true tautology is rare. Some scholars dealing with binomials speak of tautology or of tautologous binomials (e.g. Leisi, 1947); but they seem to use tautology in the sense which is here called synonymy. Tautology is difficult to prove for ModE, and it is even more difficult to prove for OE. Therefore I restrict the analysis to synonymous binomials and do not try single out tautologous binomials. There are 16 different synonymous binomials in ThCapA and only three synonymous binomials in ThCapB:

1) ThCapA; nouns: *æfest* – *anda* ‘envy, hatred’ (A XXI (66-67); *mettrumness* – *tydderness* ‘weakness, frailty’; *unsyfernes* – *unclæennes* ‘uncleanness, impurity’; *geflytu* – *gecid* (also: *gefliu* – *gecid*; *gecid* – *geflytu*) ‘strife, dispute’; *unsom* – *geflyt* ‘disagreement, strife’; *gefliu* – *saca*; *lar* – *bodung* ‘preaching’; *genyþrung* – *amansumung* ‘condemnation, excommunication’; *geornfulnes* – *gleawnes* ‘eagerness, diligence – diligence’; adjectives: *þweor* – *yfel* ‘depraved, evil’; verbs: *behogian* – *begyman* ‘to care for, to look after’; *cyðan* – *bodian* ‘to proclaim, to preach’; *fylan* – *besmytan* ‘to defile, pollute’; *hiwian* – *wyrcan* ‘to form, produce’; *tyhtan* – *trymman* ‘to teach, strengthen’; adverbials: *clænlice* – *syferlice* (also in the order *syferlice* 7 *clænlice*, A and B) ‘clean, pure’; *geornlice* – *hihtlice* ‘diligently, zealously, pleasantly’.

2) ThCapB: nouns: *mangung* – *ceapung* ‘trade’ (both derivations from loan-words); perhaps also *syngalnes* – *gecneordnes* ‘perseverance – diligence’; verbs: *ofergan* – *beswican* ‘to overcome, deceive’.

### 6.2. Antonymy

Antonyms are usually defined as words with an opposite meaning. Often a subdivision is made between absolute antonyms, gradable antonyms, and converses. In absolute antonyms, one word excludes the other; in other words, the existence of one term entails the negation of the other, e.g. *dead* – *alive* (if someone is alive, he or she cannot be dead).<sup>41</sup> Gradable antonyms are mostly among the adjectives, e.g. *hot* – *cold*: they can be put into the comparative and superlative, i.e. *hotter* – *hottest*; *colder* – *coldest*. In converses or converse antonyms one element presupposes the other, e.g. one can only sell something if somebody else buys it, or someone can only be a mother if she has a son or a daughter.<sup>42</sup> Most antonyms in ThCapA are absolute antonyms, and there is just one example of converse antonyms ('buy – sell') – apparently there are no gradable antonyms. Often the antonymous words refer to a higher unit, but the word for the higher unit is often more abstract, e.g. 'father and mother' – 'parents', or 'son – daughter' – 'children', or 'woman – man' 'all human beings, people'; 'body and heart' – 'the entire human being', or 'day and night' – 'the entire 24-hour day'. The contrast between ThCapA and ThCapB is striking: ThCapA has 14 antonyms, ThCapB has just one antonym, which is probably due to the Latin source, the ThCap.

1a) ThCapA, absolute antonyms; (i) nouns: *dæg* – *nyht* 'day' – 'night'; *heorte* – *lichoma* 'heart' – 'body'; *morgen* – *æfen* 'morning' – 'evening'; *preosthad* – *læwed had*, and *sacerdhad* – *læwed had* 'priesthood', or rather 'state of being a cleric' – 'layhood'; *fæder* – *modor* 'father' – 'mother'; *sunu* – *dohtor* 'son' – 'daughter'; *scipman* – *landbuend* 'sailor' – 'someone living on land'; *wif* – *wæpned* 'woman' – 'man'; *word* – *weorc* 'word' – 'deed' (possible actions; they occur also as the first two words of the trinomial *word* – *weorc* – *geboht*, also in A); (ii) adjectives (or rather participles used as adjectives): *libbend* – *forðfaren* 'living' 'dead'; verbs: (iii) *don* – *sprecan* 'do' – 'speak'; *onscunian* – *ehtan* 'avoid' – 'persecute';

1b) ThCapA, converses, verbs: *bycgan* – *sellan* 'buy' – 'sell';

2) ThCapB, converses: *andfondlic* – *sellendlic* 'to be received' – 'to be given' (*on oþrum andfondlicum 7 sellendlicum þingum*; for L *dandis atque accipiendis rebus*).

### 6.3. Complementary binomials

Into this group I have put all binomials that are neither clearly synonymous nor clearly antonymous. Some (but not all) can be regarded as co-hyponyms in a semantic field. Here belong pairs that are generally positive or generally negative, pairs where a more general concept is followed by a more specific concept, and the other way round, where a larger unit is followed by a smaller unit, or the other way round, where there is a sequence of actions, where cause and effect are expressed, where there is a gradation, etc. Some pairs are difficult to assign to one of these groups, and some fit into two or more of these groups and are accordingly occasionally listed in two of the groups mentioned below. For example, *reaflac 7 gytsung* 'robbery and greediness' constitute a generally negative pair, but robbery

<sup>41</sup> Phrases such as 'more dead than alive' or 'half-dead' do not invalidate the general statement that *dead* and *alive* are antonyms.

<sup>42</sup> Here, of course, I stick to the literal meaning and ignore transferred (metaphorical etc.) meanings – *the mother superior*, for example, is (or should be) like a mother to the nuns in her charge.

can also be seen as a consequence of being greedy; *fryðing - lar* ‘promoting - teaching’, can be seen as a generally positive pair, but simultaneously also as a pair where the more general concept (‘promoting’) comes first, and the more specific concept comes second (‘teaching’ as a special way of promoting); cf. also *arfæstnys - halignes* (A), *æfestnes - halignes* (B) ‘piety’ - holiness’, which belongs to the generally positive pairs, but also expresses a gradation, because holiness probably ranks higher than goodness or piety. Binomials from ThCapB are marked as (B), binomials from ThCapA are unmarked.

(1) Generally positive pairs - some words are intrinsically positive, others have a positive meaning in context. Most of the following pairs are from the field of religion or are used in a religious context: *bisen - lar*; *fryðing - lar* (*fryðing* for *fyrðring*; ‘advancing, promoting - teaching’);<sup>43</sup> *gebed - Godes lufu*; *fæsten - ælmesse* ‘fasting - (giving of) alms’; *mynstermen - widwan* ‘monks (lit. ‘minstermen’) - widows’ (widows ranked higher than married women); *ege - arwyrðnes* ‘fear - reverence’ (one of the few binomials that ThCapA and ThCapB have in common); *dædbote begymen - gemæne gebed* ‘observations of penitence - common prayer, public prayer’.

(2) Generally negative pairs; some are negative from their meaning, with others the context shows that they are negative: *oferæt - druncennys* ‘overeating - drunkenness’; *druncennys - wist* ‘drunkenness - (too much) food’; *druncennis - oferfyll* (B) ‘drunkenness- overeating’ - on overeating and drunkenness as branches of the sin gluttony (*gula*) see section 6.5. below; *reaflac - gytsung* ‘robbery - avarice, greediness’ - also: more specific concept followed by more general concept, or effect (robbery) and cause (greed); *woroldspræc - worolddæd* ‘worldly talk - worldly deeds’ (as opposed to religious talk and to religious deeds).

(2a) A special case are negative concepts which are, however, positive in context: *tear - geomorung* ‘tear - groaning’ (as signs of repenting one’s sins); *geomrung - tearas* (B) ‘groaning - tears’; *geomrung - heortan forbrytednes* (B) ‘groaning - heart’s contrition’; *geomrung - heortan onbryrdnes* ‘groaning - heart’s contrition’ (in both cases: groaning as a sign of contrition);

(3) More general concept followed by more specific concept: *fryðing - lar* (*fryðing* for *fyrðring*) ‘advancing, promoting - teaching’ (teaching as a special kind of promoting);

(4) More specific concept followed by more general concept: *nefa - mæg* ‘nephew - kinsman’. Here belong also binomials where the second part gives a generalizing statement that includes all possible cases of a similar nature: *of geswincum æcera 7 oþrum geswincum* ‘labour on fields and other labours’(B); such generalizing statements are relatively frequent among the trinomials, e.g., *swa ridan swa rowan swa swilce færelde faran* A XXIII/5-6; see further 6.4. (4) below.

<sup>43</sup> CIH lists *fyrðran* ‘advance, promote’ and *fyrðringness* as ‘furtherance, promotion’, but not *fyrðring* (‘removal’) in the sense required here.

(5) Whole – part: in a religious context: *halgung* – *smyring* (anointing as part of consecration); *heahmæsse* – *Godes wurde bodung* (A; preaching as part of the mass), *mæssena symblu 7 bodung* (B) (preaching as part of the mass); *lichoma* – *blod*, *lichama* – *blod* (A, B; blood as part of the body, but Christ's body and blood are consecrated separately during the mass);

(6) Part – whole: *heorte* – *lichoma* (A, B); this could also be regarded as an absolute antonym.

(7) Larger unit followed by smaller unit: *tun* – *hus* 'village – house';

(8) Smaller unit followed by larger unit: there is no example in our texts.

(9) Sequence of actions: in a religious context: *hreowsung* – *dædbot*; *gyming* – *recenddom*;

(10) Cause and effect, and effect and cause: *reafiac* – *gytsung* (robbing as a consequence of avarice);

(11) Gradation (i.e. the second word of the binomial expresses a higher degree): *arfæstnys* – *halignes* (A), *æfestnes* – *halignes* 'piety – holiness' (B; cf. B *æfæst* – *haliglice libbend*) (holiness as a higher degree of goodness; the pair also belongs to the generally positive pairs).

(12) Others: Some pairs are difficult to assign to one of the above groups. Some can be regarded as co-hyponyms in a semantic field, e.g. religion (including prayers), human relationship, body parts, eating and drinking.

(a) religion (including prayers) of course plays a very important role in the ThCap, and accordingly in the ThCapA & B: *creda* – *pater noster* (also in the order *pater noster* – *credo*); *ræding* – *gebed*; *gebed* – *ælmesse*; *geteld* – *weofod*; *bodung* – *godra worca bigenc* (B); *lufu Godes 7 manna* (A); *mæssan symbel* – *æfensang* (B, 2x), *seo mæsse 7 se æfensang* (A); *sunnandagas* – *oðre mæssedagas* (A, 2x), *sunnandagas* – *freolsdagas* (B); *teopung* – *ælmesse* (B); *wines druncennes* – *synlustas* 'drunkenness from wine – lust for sin' probably 'lust for sex' (A; translating *luxuria*); cf. *druncennes* – *wist*, and *druncennes* – *oferfyll* B; *bisen* – *lar* 'example' – 'teaching.

(b) human relations: *modor* – *swuster* 'mother – sister'; *nefa* – *mæg* 'nephew – kinsman' (also: more specific – more general); I have put *fæder* – *modor* 'father – mother' among the antonyms, but it could also be put here.

(c) body parts: *hand* – *eage* 'hand – eye'; *heorte* – *hand* (B) 'heart – hand'.

(d) eating and drinking (food): *etan* – *drincan*; cf. *mete* – *drync*, *mete* – *drenc* (A, 3x; B); *æt* – *drinc* (trinomial); *æt* – *wæt* 'food – drink' (B); *cyse* – *æggru* 'cheese – eggs'; *meoluc* – *æggru* 'milk – eggs' (B, 2x), *meoloc* – *cyse* (A).

(e) others: *hæs* – *gewitnis* 'command – knowledge, testimony'; *lif* – *rice* 'life – kingdom'; *stede* – *æmta* (A); *rum* – *æmta* (B); *seoc* – *cild* (B). The binomial *seoc* – *cild* 'sick person – child' also nicely illustrates the postulate that the elements of a

binomial should have a semantic relation (see section 2 above): the semantic (and also real) connection between sick people and children in the context of the ThCap is that both need not fast during Lent when other people are expected to fast.

#### 6.4. Semantics of multinomials

Multinomials apparently do not have so many different semantic relations as binomials, but as with binomials, there are multinomials that express generally positive concepts (things that should be done), and multinomials that express generally negative concepts (things that should be avoided); moreover there are multinomials that express relatively neutral concepts and (rarely) multinomials that express a mixture of positive and negative concepts. It is also striking that in several multinomials, especially in trinomials, the last element is a generalising statement; the aim of a generalising statement at the end is apparently to make the multinomial as comprehensive as possible and to include all possible cases, so that the first two elements are just examples of what should be done or of what should be avoided. Sometimes the generalizing statement has been taken over from the Latin source, but sometimes it has been added by the translator of ThCapA – the translator of ThCapB almost never adds anything to his Latin source (i.e. the ThCap). The ThCapB has just two generalizing statement, one taken over from the Latin source: *andlifēn – scrud – nidbehefu menniscum bricum (uictum – uestitum – necessaria usibus humanis)*; the ThCapA has six generalizing statements at the end, e.g. *calic – disc – ænig þara fata ....* (taken over from the Latin ThCap *calix – patena – quelibet uasa sacra ...*); *corn – hig – woroldlicu þing* (expanded from ThCap *messes – fenum*); see also the following sections.

(1) generally positive things or concepts: (a) nouns: *mid ealre clænnysse 7 geornfulness 7 mid Godes ege A V/6-8; mid his freondum 7 his nyhstum 7 mid ælþeodgum A XXIII/25* (could also be regarded as a negative climax, from the people closest to the Christian to the people less close to him); *ge þa oflætan ge þæt win ge þæt wæter A V/4-5* (also A V/10); *ge on þære æ ge on witegna bocum ge on Cristes agenum bocum A XXVI.4-5 ~ on æ 7 on witigum 7 on Cristes bec B XXVI/3-4; mid gebedum, 7 mid wæccum, 7 mid ælmessum A XLIII/8 ~ gebed 7 wæccan oþþe ælmesdæda B XLIII/7-8; halige bec 7 huselfata 7 mæssereaf 7 cyrcean gegyrela on gehwylcum þingum, ge on hrægelum ge on fatum A4-6*; verbs: *7 he drenceð 7 he gescrideð, 7 he neosað. 7 he onfehð A XXXII/55 ~ he fedep 7 drencþ 7 scrydeþ 7 geneosaþ 7 onfehþ B XXXII/41-42*; the works of charity, as listed and interpreted in ThCap XXXII, and translated in A and B, go back to Matthew 25.35-36); (b) with generalising statement at the end taken over from the Latin source: *aðer oððe calic oððe disc oððe ænig þara fata þe to godcundum bigonge gehalgod bið A XVIII/2-3*; (c) with generalizing statement added by the translator of ThCapA: *mid gebedum ge mid ælmessum ge mid gehwylcum godum weorcum A XLIV/8-9*.

(2) Generally negative things or concepts or actions: (a) generalizing statement at the end taken over from the Latin source: *manslyht oððe æwbrice*

*oððe elles hwilc þara heafodlicra leahtra* A XXVI/8-9 ~ *swylce be æwbrice 7 be forligere 7 be manslihte 7 be oðrum heafodleahtrum* B XXVI/8-9; *ge geflytu ge plegan ge unnytta word ge gehwylce unnyttnesse* A X/3-4; *mid leasungum, 7 myd unnyttum gespræcum, 7 mid ungemethleahtrum, 7 mid gehwylcum unþeawum* A X/14-15; *for gytsunge goldes 7 seolfres, oððe deorwyrða hrægla oððe ænigra woruldþinga* A XXVII/13-14 ~ *for gytsunge goldes 7 seolfres, oþþe reafa oþþe æniges þinges...* B XXVII/12; *gyf he on wrænnesse 7 ofermedlan 7 on æfeste, 7 on oðrum manigfealdum unþeawum ...* A XXXII/12-13 ~ *gif he gallice 7 ofermodlice 7 andiendlice 7 strudgendlice... 7 gif he leahterfullice 7 unendebyrdelice lyfað* B XXXII/8-9; (b) generalizing statement added by the translator: *ge corn ge hig ge hwylce woroldlicu þing* A VIII/1-2; *nænig facn ne nænig geflytu ne nænig ungeþwærnes* A XXIII/20; *wines 7 ælces wætan dru[n]cennes 7 galnes* B; generalizing statement at the end of the first element, added by B – one of the rare cases where B has added something.

(3) Neutral concepts or things or actions: (a) nouns: *ge æt ge drinc, ge samodwunung on husum* A XXVI 14-XX; *oððe on worde oððe on weorce oððe on gepohte* ‘either with word or with deed or in thought’ A XXXI/2-3 ~ *oþþe on weorce oþþe on gepance* B XXXI/2 - B imitates the Latin binomial, whereas A has expanded *7 fixum 7 wine forhabban* B XL/3-4 (A has omitted the butter); (b) with generalising statement at the end taken over from the Latin source: *andlifene 7 scrud 7 nidbehefu menniscum bricum* ‘food and clothing and what is necessary for the needs of men’ B XXXV/12-13; *æne oððe tuwa oððe oftor* A XXX/1-2 ~ *æne oþþe tuwa*, but *hwa oftor mæge* B XXX/2; (c) with generalising statement at the end taken over from the source: *swa ridan swa rowan swa swilce færelde faran* A XXIII/5-6 (but A has expanded the Latin binomial into an OE trinomial).

(4) Generalizing statement at the end: As mentioned above, multinomials (trinomials and quadrimomials) sometimes have a generalizing statement at the end. The A translator has 13 multinomials with a generalizing statement at the end: he has translated the generalizing statement from his source in eight cases, but newly added it in five cases. The B-translator almost always follows his source very closely; he has added just one generalizing statement (see (2) above).

(5) Mixture of negative and positive concepts: verbs: *ægðer ge þreagende ge halsigende ge biddende* A XXVIII/16-17 ~ *oþþe þreagende oððe halsiende oþþe cidende* B XXVIII/10.

### 6.5. Semantic fields

Another way of looking at binomials and multinomial is to analyse the semantic fields to which they belong. Since the ThCap is a text of Christian instruction (more specifically, a kind of handbook for parish priests), many of the binomials belong to the word-field of religion (in a wide sense), including ecclesiastical offices as well as things that should be done (e.g. fasting during certain periods and giving alms) and things that should be avoided (e.g. committing sins). But here I shall not attempt a subdivision into semantic fields (or subfields)

of all binomials belonging to the field of religion; I shall just mention the rules for eating and for fasting, which are also important in the context of the Christian instructions, and the binomials involving sins.<sup>44</sup>

- (1) Apparently there were four competing binomials in Old English for the general concept of ‘food and drink’ (or ‘eating and drinking’), namely *æt – wæt*, *æt – drinc* (A), *mete – drinc*, and *mete – drenc*;<sup>45</sup> the most frequently used of those in Old English in general was apparently *æt – wæt*, perhaps because it entails a rhyme (see further section 8. below).
- (2) Capital sins: Theodulf gives a list of the eight principal sins (*capitalia uitia*; also called capital sins, criminal sins, deadly sins) in ThCap XXXI; I list them here together with their translation in A and B:<sup>46</sup>

ThCap	ThCapA	ThCapB
1. gastrimargia (uentris ingluuies)	gyfernes metes	gyfernis (wambe frecnes)
2. fornicatio	unrihthæmed	forliger
3. accidia (tristitia)	worulde unrotnes	asolcenness, unrotnes
4. auaritia	gytsung(e) feos	gytsung
5. uana gloria	ydel gylp	idel wuldor
6. inuidia	æfest	anda
7. ira	yrre	yrre
8. superbia	ofermedla	ofermodnes

There is exact agreement in the terminology of A and B only in the rendering of *ira* by *yrre*, and partial agreement in four cases: in three cases A adds a qualifying genitive: *gyfernis* (B) – *gyfernes metes* (A); *unrotnes* (B) – *worulde unrotnes* (A); *gytsung* (B) – *gytsunge feos* (A), and in one case the qualifying adjective is the same, but the noun is different: *ydel gylp* (A), *idel wuldor* (B). In three cases the wording is entirely different: *unrihthæmed* (A) – *forliger* (B) for *fornicatio*; *æfest* (A) – *anda* (B) for *inuidia*, and *ofermedla* (A) – *ofermodnes* (B) for *superbia*.

Several of the sins (or branches of sins) occur also in binomials (*inuidia*, *ira*, *gastrimargia*, *auaritia*) : *æfest – anda* (A; for *zelus – inuidia*), which shows that the A-translator also knew the word used by the B-translator. *Facn – geflytu* –

<sup>44</sup> How difficult a semantic classification is shown by the ThOE, which has only a brief list of sins 16.02.01.13ff. in its section on Religion (16.), but a much longer list of sins (12.08.06.01) in its section on Social interaction (12.)

<sup>45</sup> If *drinc* and *drenc* are taken to be two different words, as the dictionaries of Old English often do.

<sup>46</sup> On the eight (or seven) deadly sins in OE see Bloomfield (1952); The lists vary in their scope, wording and sequence. *fornicatio* falls also under the heading of *luxuria*, which Theodulf does not mention here, but in XL/11, translated as *synlustas* by A, and as *galnes* by B.

*ungeþwærnes* (A); the latter two are probably branches of *ira*. *Reaflac* is perhaps a branch of *auaritia*: *reaflac – gytsung* (A; for *rapina – cupiditas*). Too much eating and drinking are mentioned several times, they are branches of *gastrimargia* (also called *gula*) ‘gluttony’: *oferæt – druncennes* (A), *druncennys – wist* (A); *druncennys – oferfyll* (B). The connection of drunkenness and sexual desire (also called *luxuria*) is stressed in *wines druncennes – synlustas* (A) and in *wines 7 ælces wætan druncennys 7 galnes* (B; both A and B translating *uini ebrietas – luxuria*). Several sins are combined in the multinomial *adulterium – fornicatio – homicidium – cetera criminalia uitia* (with a generalizing statement at the end), translated as *manslyht – æwbrice – elles hwilc þara heafodlicra leahtra* by ThCapA, and as *æwbrice – forliger – mansliht – oðre heafodleahtras* by ThCapB. Adultery is a part of fornication, but *homicidium* ‘homicide, murder’ does not really fit into the list of the eight (or seven) capital sins; it seems to come from the Ten Commandments, as apparently does *leasunge* ‘lying’ in *leasunge – unnytte gespræcu – ungemethleahtra* (A, for *mendacia – uaniloquia – risus – huiuscemodi nugae*). A combination of several capital sins is also mentioned in the multinomial *luxuriouse – superbe – inuide ...*, translated as *wræennes – ofermedla – æfest ...* by A, and as *gallice- ofermodlice – andiendlice- strudgendlice ...* by B.

#### 6.6. Factual and stylistic binomials

Another possibility of classifying binomials would be into factual and stylistic ones. Factual binomials reflect divisions that exist in the real world, e.g. *æfen – morgen* ‘evening – morning’, *gebed – ælmesse* ‘prayer – alms’, *fæder – moder* ‘father – mother’, *etan – drincan* ‘eat – drink’, whereas stylistic binomials basically vary the same concept, e.g. *behogian – begyman* ‘to take care of’, *geflytu – gecid* ‘strife, altercation’. Binomials of the first group occur mainly among the antonyms and complementary binomials, binomials of the second group occur mainly among the synonyms – but I shall not pursue this aspect further here.

#### 7. Sequence of the elements

There has been a lot of research and debate about the sequence of the elements in binomials (see, e.g., Mollin 2014). Three factors seem to be particularly important, namely the length of the elements, the importance of the elements, and in translated texts the relation to the source. Sometimes these factors reinforce each other, but sometimes they are at odds. Since the translator of the ThCapB almost always follows his Latin source very closely and only very rarely deviates from it, the binomials and multinomials of the ThCapB almost always imitate the order of the binomials in the Latin source. The translator of the ThCapA renders his source more freely, i.e. sometimes he imitates his source, but sometimes he introduces new binomials. Therefore the following remarks pertain mainly to the ThCapA.

- (1) Length of the elements: It has often been said that the shorter element precedes the longer element, but as far as binomials are concerned this is a tendency rather than a rule. In Old English an additional complication

is that words sometimes have a different number of syllables in the nominative singular and in inflected forms, e.g. *hus* (nom. sing., one syllable), but *husum* (dat. plur., two syllables); see further some of the examples below. Thus in some cases the shorter element precedes the longer element in A, as we would expect, e.g. *creda – pater noster* (2 syllables – 4 syllables; two Latin loanwords); *heortan – lichoman* (2-3); *gyming – recenddom* (2-3), but there are also instances in A where the longer element precedes the shorter element, e.g. *to fryðinge and to lare* (3-2), or *on druncennysse 7 on wiste* (4-2), and there are instances where both elements are of equal length, e.g. *ge on æfenne ge on morgenne* (3-3) or *meder 7 swuster* (2-2).

- (2) Importance of the elements: The more important element usually precedes the less important element, but there are not many clear examples in ThCapA and B: Sunday precedes other days (cf. above section 6.3. (12a)); the words for ‘food’ and ‘eating’ apparently always precede the words for ‘drink’ and ‘drinking’ (cf. above section 6.3 (12d)). What is more important can change in time and also be different in different cultures.<sup>47</sup> Thus formerly men were regarded as more important than women, which is reflected in *mynstermen – widwan* ‘monks – widows’ (A), but OE *wif – wæpned* ‘woman – man’ (A; XX/1-2) reflects the more modern sequence (and also conforms to the tendency that the longer element follows the shorter element).
- (3) Relation to source: As mentioned several times, B almost always imitates the order of the binomials and multinomials in its Latin source. A is somewhat freer; the A-translator sometimes imitates his Latin source, but sometimes he creates new binomials, and occasionally he simplifies a binomial that is in his Latin source; for examples see section 9 below.

## 8. Formulaic and flexible binomials

Binomials can be created on the spur of the moment, but they can also be formulaic, i.e. they can be used repeatedly and in various texts and periods. Formulaicity does not mean, however, that the form is always absolutely identical – some of the most frequent binomials actually occur in various forms: *dæg and niht* ‘day and night’, for example, occurs in Old English very frequently in the adverbially used genitive *dæges and nihtes*; *hand and fot* ‘hand and foot’ occurs in Old English in the nom. sing., but also in the dat. plur. *handum and fotum*, etc. Some scholars apparently regard such forms as different binomials, but I regard them as variants of the same binomial.<sup>48</sup>

According to Berger (1993), the following eighteen binomials from ThCapA and ThCapB were formulaic in Old English. In brackets I give the number of

<sup>47</sup> Food was apparently regarded as more important or more basic than drink, but we are told that people can survive for a fairly long time without food if they get enough to drink.

<sup>48</sup> See also footnote 25.

examples quoted by Berger. Because Berger has not taken ThCapA or ThCapB into account, the examples from ThCapA and ThCapB can be regarded as additional evidence that these binomials were formulaic. But the frequency of the formulaic binomials varies a lot; some of them were obviously used very frequently, whereas others occur only rarely. And there may well be formulaic binomials among the binomials in ThCapA and ThCap B which have not been registered by Berger.

The list also shows that for some concepts several binomials were used, especially for the concepts of 'food and drink' (or 'eating and drinking'), namely *æt – wæt*, *æt – drinc*, *mete – drinc* and *mete – drenc*; the binomial: *æt – wæt* (with 13 occurrences listed by Berger) was much more frequent (perhaps because it entails a rhyme) than the binomial *æt – drinc* (just one occurrence listed by Berger), and the binomials *mete – drinc*, *mete – drenc*, which occupy a middle position as far as frequency of occurrence is concerned (seven occurrences listed by Berger).<sup>49</sup>

- 1) *æt – wæt* ,food – drink' (Berger, 1993, p. 56: 13x)
- 2) *æt – drinc* ,food – drink' (Berger, 1993, p. 56; 1x)
- 3) *bycgan – sellan* ,buy – sell' (Berger, 1993, p. 63: 2x)
- 4) *dæg – niht* ,day – night' (Berger, 1993, pp. 67-68: very frequent)
- 5) *don – sprecan* ,do – speak' (Berger, 1993, p. 70: 1x)
- 6) *etan – drincan* ,eat – drink' (Berger, 1993, p. 74: 16x)
- 7) *fæder – modor* 'father – mother' (Berger, 1993, 74-76: very frequent)
- 8) *fæsten – ælmesse* 'fasting – almsgiving' (Berger, 1993, 76: 1x)
- 9) *gewealdes – ungewealdes* 'voluntarily, on purpose – involuntarily' (Berger, 1993, 146; 1x)
- 10) *gold – seolfor* 'gold – silver' (Berger, 1993, 88-89: very frequent)
- 11) *hand – fot* (Berger, 1993, 93: 18x)
- 12) *libbend – forðfaren* (cf. Berger, 1993, 111, under *lybbend – forðfaren*: 2x)
- 13) *mete – drinc*; *mete – drenc* (Berger, 1993, 117: 7x)
- 14) *singan – cwedan* (Berger, 1993, 133; 1x)
- 15) *sunu – dohtor* (Berger, 1993, 137: 19x)
- 16) *wif – wæpned* (Berger, 1993, 151: 2x)
- 17) *willan – magan* (Berger, 1993, 152: 2x)
- 18) *word- weorc* (Berger, 1993, 155-156: very frequent)

<sup>49</sup> Berger 1993 has, of course, to be used with caution: because she does not take all OE texts into account, a survey of binomials in all OE texts may change the picture somewhat. But the binomials that are very frequent in Berger's material are likely to remain very frequent if the entire OE material is taken into account.

Several of these binomials are still formulaic in Modern English. The following three are mentioned in Tyrkkö's list of the most frequent (top twenty) binomials in his corpus of English novels from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Tyrkkö 2017, pp. 304-305):<sup>50</sup> *father – mother; day – night; gold – silver*; moreover some ModE binomials refer to the same concept as the corresponding OE binomials, although one or both of the OE words have apparently been replaced in ModE; this is true of *man – woman* (cf. *wif – wæpned*), *word – deed* (cf. *word – weorc*).<sup>51</sup> Tyrkkö lists only substantival binomials; it would be interesting to have also statistics concerning verbal and adjectival binomials.

The flexibility of binomials is shown by the fact that some words are used in different binomials. To give some examples of words that occur in various binomials in ThCapA and B:

- (1) *æmta: stede – æmta* (A); *rum - æmta* (B), both translating *locus – tempus*;
- (2) *æt* 'food': *æt – drinc; æt – wæt*;
- (3) ***drinc (drenc)***: *æt – drinc; mete – drinc; mete – drenç*;
- (4) ***gebed*** 'prayer': *ræding – gebed; gebed – ælmesse*;
- (5) ***geflyt*** 'strife': *geflytu – gecid; gecid – geflytu; unsom – geflyt; geflitu – saca*;
- (6) ***geomrung*** 'groaning, moaning' and ***tear*** 'tear': *tear – geomorung* (A); *geomrung – tearas* (B); *geomrung – heortan forbrytednes* (B); *geomrung – heortan onbryrdnes* (A).
- (7) ***lar*** 'lore, teaching': *bisen 7 lar; fryðing 7 lar; lar 7 bodung* (A);
- (8) ***sunnandagas*** 'Sundays': *sunnandagas – oðre mæssedagas* (A); *sunnandagas – freolsdagas* (B).

*Æt* and *sunnandagas* apparently always occurs as the first word in a binomial, whereas *drinc (drenc)* and *æmta* apparently always occur as second elements of a binomial, and the position of *gebed*, *geomrung*, *lar* and *geflyt* varies, i.e. they occur as first and as second elements in binomials; *creda – pater noster* also occur in the sequence *pater noster – creda* (A); cf. also section 7. above.

#### 9. Relation to source

As far as the relation to their source is concerned, which in our case is the relation of the OE binomials in the ThCapA and ThCapB to their Latin source, the ThCap, there are four basic possibilities, namely:

<sup>50</sup> Tyrkkö's (2017, pp. 304-305) tables also show that some of the most frequent binomials occur in a number of variant forms, e.g. *man and woman, men and women, man or woman, men or women; day and night, days and nights, day or night*. Tyrkkö apparently regards these as different binomials, whereas I regard them as variants of the same binomials (*man – woman; day – night*).

<sup>51</sup> According to the thinking of the (medieval) church, there were three kinds of perfection; first came the virgins (probably including the monks and nuns), second came the widows, and third came the married people.

- (1) a binomial in the Latin source has been translated in the OE version;
- (2) a binomial in the Latin source has been simplified to one word (or has been omitted) in the OE version;
- (3) one word in the Latin source has been expanded to a binomial in the OE version;
- (4) a binomial has been added in the OE version without any correspondence in the Latin text.

To put it differently, a binomial in the OE text could have arisen in three ways: it can go back to a binomial in the Latin text, or to a single word in the Latin text, or it can have been added without a correspondence in the Latin text.

As has been mentioned, the ThCapB is a very literal translation; i.e. in almost all cases the possibility mentioned under (1) above applies for the ThCapB: the translator has usually rendered the Latin binomials into Old English, but he has almost never added a new binomial or simplified a Latin binomial in his OE translation.

The ThCapA is a considerably freer translation, but the A-translator has also often (in 54 instances) rendered a Latin binomial with an OE binomial, i.e. used the possibility mentioned under (1) above. Among these 54 instances of literal translation in A I have also counted cases where the A-translator has transposed the elements. But in 19 instances the A-translator has simplified or entirely omitted a Latin binomial in his OE version, i.e. used the possibility mentioned under (2) above; also in 19 instances the A-translator has expanded a single word into an OE binomial, i.e. he has used the possibility mentioned under (3) above, and in 13 instances he has added a binomial in his OE translation without any correspondence (or at least without a clear correspondence) in the Latin text, i.e. used the possibility mentioned under (4) above. As far as binomials are concerned, the A-translator thus follows his Latin source in 54 instances, whereas he deviates from in 51 instances. In a few cases he uses fairly complex combinations of simplification and expansion (see below).

That the ThCapA and the ThCapB are independent translations can also be seen from the fact that they use mostly different OE binomials even when they translate the same Latin binomial; there are few cases where they have identical or very similar binomials. The differences in translation probably also show that for a number of Christian concepts there was no fixed terminology in Old English; rather there were competing translation equivalents. The only case of A and B using the same binomial is apparently *syferlice 7 clænlice* (A, B XL/2 for L *sobrie et caste*). Similar binomials in A and B are: *mid ealre arfæstnysse 7 halignesse* A XXXVII/8 - *mid eallre æfestnesse 7 halignesse* B XXXVII/7; *mid geomrunge 7 heortan forbrytednesse* B XXIX/15f. - *mid geomrunge 7 heortan onbryrdenesse* A XXX/8-9; on the translations of the capital sins in A and B see section 6.5. above. The multinomials *drenčan – gescriđan – neosan – onfon* (A; a quadrinomial) and

*fedan – drencan – scrydan- geneosan- onfon* (B; a quintuplet), are also very similar; they go back to the same biblical source which lists the works of charity (Matthew 25.35-36; *pascere – potare – uestire – uisitare – suscipere*).

In the following I give just a few examples for each of the categories mentioned above:

- (1) More or less literal translation, i.e. rendering of a Latin binomial with an OE binomial. This is the usual procedure in B, but it also occurs frequently in A, e.g.: (a) without transposition of elements: *tentoria et altaria: geteld – weofod* A XI/7-8 (but the Latin plurals have been translated as singulars); *religio et sanctitas – arfæstnys 7 halignes* A XXXVII/8, *æfestnes – halignes* B XXXVII/7; (b) with transposition of elements in A: *uerbis et exemplis – mid urum bisenum 7 larum* A I/5-6; *hora a matutina uel uespertina – ge on æfenne ge on morgenne* A XXIII/5; (c) free or partly free translation in A, but still a binomial, e.g.: *preter ualde religiosus et sancte uiuentibus – mynstermen -widwan* A XLIV/17, *ðam swiþe æfæstum 7 haliglice libbendum* B XLIV/14-15 (the A-translator gives a kind of interpretation and explains who the ‘very religious and living in a holy way’ are, namely the monks and widows;<sup>52</sup> B has, as usual, a very literal rendering); *lac et oua – cyse ne ægru* A XL/15, *meoluc 7 ægru* B XL/15 (A has substituted ‘cheese’ for ‘milk’).
- (2) Simplification, i.e. reduction of a Latin binomial to a single OE word, or entire omission of the Latin binomial (both only in A), e.g.: *gemitus et contritio cordis* – omitted in A (*geomrung 7 heortan forbrytednes* B XXIX/15f.); *cimiteria siue polliandria – lictun* A IX/5;<sup>6</sup> *per manuum operationem et corporis macerationem* ThCap III/8-9 – *þurh þæt handweorc* A III/12 (the A-translator has translated *manuum operatio*, but has omitted *corporis maceratio*); *sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Christi – husl* A XLI/1 (B: *Cristes lichaman 7 his blodes haligdomas*).
- (3) Expansion of one Latin word into an OE binomial (only in A), e.g. *regendarum animarum cura – se gyming Godes folces 7 se recenddom heora sawle* A I/2-3; *de instrumentis bonorum operum – to fryðinge 7 to lare godra worca* A XXI/6-7; particularly frequently the A-translator seems to have expanded Latin verbs into OE verbal binomials, e.g. *fedant – fylað 7 besmytað* A X/16.
- (4) Addition of a binomial without any obvious correspondence in the Latin text (only in A), e.g.: *be bisceopes hæse 7 gewitnesse* A XVI/8; *healdan 7 gelæstan* A XXI(76).

Occasionally the A-translator has introduced complex changes, e.g. when translating the Latin *per predicationem suam ... et bonorum operum exercitium* as *þurh lare 7 þurh bodunge Godes beboda* (A XXXVI/43-44), he has expanded the simple word *predicatio* into a binomial (*lar 7 bodung*), but he has omitted *bonorum operum exercitium* (B as usual translates quite literally: *þurh eowre bodunge 7 godra worca begenc* B XXXVI/37-38).

The multinomials (trinomials etc.) present a similar picture: B has usually translated those that are in the Latin source, whereas A has also translated some

<sup>52</sup> Here the etymology of the Latin binomial is interesting: both *cimiterium* (for *coemeterium*) and *polliandrium* (for *polyandrium*) are loan-words from Greek, and both were rare in Classical Latin (cf. Lewis and Short)

from the Latin source, but added some that are not in the Latin source, or expanded or reduced some in comparison with the Latin source, e.g. the A-translator has reduced a Latin quadrinomial to an OE trinomial.

#### 10. Conclusions

The *Theodulfi Capitula* (ThCap) was written around 800 by bishop Theodulf of Orléans in Latin as a work of religious instruction, more precisely as a handbook for parish priests. It became fairly wide-spread, and there exist even two Old English translations, here called ThCapA (preserved in MS. CCCC 201) and ThCapB (preserved in MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 865). When and where those OE translations were made, is difficult to say (perhaps around 1000 in the South rather than in the Midlands, and not in the North). A is a relatively free translation, whereas B is a very literal translation. Both the Latin original and the OE versions contain a number of binomials (word pairs). B always imitates the Latin binomials, whereas A sometimes imitates the Latin binomials, but sometimes omits them or simplifies a Latin binomial into one OE word; conversely the A-translator sometimes expands one Latin word into a binomial or introduces a binomial which has no correspondence in the Latin source. As far as I am aware the binomials in the ThCap, ThCapA and ThCapB have never been studied in any detail. Apparently they often serve as a rhetorical embellishment.

The most frequent group are binomials consisting of nouns; binomials consisting of verbs, adjectives, adverbs are considerably rarer. In most cases, the elements of binomials are connected with 'and', but – much more rarely – other connecting conjunctions also occur. Many binomials consist of native words, but especially binomials referring to ecclesiastical concepts often contain loan-words, loan-formations and words with loan-meanings – it is, however, not always easy to be certain whether a word is a loan-formation or has a loan-meaning. Some binomials alliterate (about a tenth of the binomials in A); rhyme is very rare, and the only clear example is *æt – wæt*.

As far as the semantic relation between the elements is concerned, some binomials (more precisely the two words making up a binomial) show synonymy, and some show antonymy. The largest group (with many subgroups), however, are the binomials that show complementarity. Those express, e.g., generally positive or generally negative concepts, a whole-part or a part-whole relation, a sequence of actions, etc. Apart from binomials there are also multinomials, shading off into lists. Semantically multinomials also often express generally positive or generally negative concepts; several also have a generalizing statement at the end. Several binomials (and multinomials) have to do with eating and drinking (because among other things the ThCap also regulate periods of eating and periods of fasting, and gluttony and drunkenness were regarded as capital sins), and with sins that a Christian should not commit.

The sequence of the elements is often determined by the source (in B exclusively so); sometimes the longer element precedes the shorter element, and sometimes the more important element precedes the less important element. A number of binomials were apparently formulaic, and some are still formulaic, e.g. 'day – night', father – mother', 'gold – silver', but binomials could also be used flexibly, which can be seen from the fact that some words occur in a variety of binomials.

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