This paper discusses the usage of MIND-words and analyzes the structure of the lexical-field of MIND in early Middle English. In particular, attention is placed on the vocabulary of the AB Language group, as the languages of the Ancrene Wisse and the Katherine Group texts are thought to represent a standardized language of the Southwestern dialect in the early thirteenth century. As it is believed these texts show continuity with the writing conventions of Old English, a study of the word usages in the AB language texts is expected to highlight the semantic change from Old English to early Middle English. A study of the AB Language texts in this paper reveals the usage of MIND-words distinctively different from Old English. One such feature is illustrated by the lack of some words formerly used in Old English, including hyge, sefa, and ferhþ. Another linguistic feature exhibited in the AB Language is the scantiness of the use of gemynd/minde for mnemonic senses contrasted with many occurrences of verbal and gerundive forms: munien, munegin, munnunge, and munegunge. The last

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feature is the prominence of herte, poht, and ṭonk for cognitive senses.

The texts examined of the Katherine Group are as follows: *Hali Meiðhad*, *Seinte Iuliene*, *Seinte Marherete*, *Seinte Katerine*, and *Sawles Warde*. For the analysis of Ancrene Wisse, MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402 is used. The occurrences of MIND-words are studied to determine the usages of the word-hoard of MIND-words, which enables us to picture the structure of the lexical field of MIND.

**Hali Meiðhad**

*Hali Meiðhad* survives in two manuscripts: MS Bodley 34 and MS Cotton Titus D. xviii. The work is an alliterative homily which *MED* dates to c1225 (?1200) with MS Bodley and to c1225 with MS Cotton Titus D. xviii. Thus, MS. Bodley may be slightly earlier. The lexical field of MIND, as represented in *Hali Meiðhad*, is mostly dominated by the word herte, followed by ṭonk and poht. There are twenty-one occurrences of herte (1/12; 2/1; 3/19, 4/22, 5/3, 7/19, 7/25, 8/24, 13/7, 14/31, 15/14, 15/31, 20/25, 20/31, 21/15, 21/28, 22/16, 22/32, 23/29, 24/9, 24/11). ṭonk has three occurrences (1/17, 2/1, 5/19) and poht has two (19/29, 23/10). Herte, in most of these occurrences, denotes various faculties including, thought, feeling, and will. There are no occurrences of minde. The only evidence that suggests an element of minde is one occurrence of munnen (12/10).

For mnemonic senses, *Hali Meiðhad* has one occurrence of munnen, which is closely related to Old English gemynd and a cognate of Old English gemynnan. The word meaning of munnen in the glossary to *Hali Meiðhad* is ‘to tell, recount’. The following is an example:

Ah schawi we het witerluker, as we ear bihten, hwet drehen
ṭe iwedded, ṭet tu icnawe ṭerbi hu murie ṭu maht libben,
meiden, i ṭi meiðhad ouer ṭet heo libbeð, [teke] ṭe murhðe ant te
menske in heouene ṭet muð ne mei munnen.
*(Hali Meiðhad p. 12, 7-10)*

[But let us demonstrate more plainly still, as we promised earlier, what the wedded endure: so that you, maiden, may know by this how cheerfully you could live in your maidenhood, next to the life they lead, quite apart from the joy and honour in heaven that mouth cannot tell.]*

Regardless of the sense given in the glossary, munnen seems to have a mnemonic aspect in its use. The sense ‘to tell, recount’ as implied in the word usage in *Hali Meiðhad* may seem remote from the mnemonic sense of ‘to remember’, which is the sense attached to Old English, gemunan. The co-occurrence of munnen with muð (10)
‘mouth’ may not invoke the reading of mnemonic concepts in the word usage. However, ‘the act of recounting by the mouth’ and ‘the act of remembering by the use of one’s mouth’ can be loosely associated in meaning when these two notions are bridged by ‘the act of reminding’. One can ‘remind’ by ‘telling’. In the above passage, the meaning of munnen (10) is ‘to remind’ if not ‘to remember’.

The *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth *MED*), however, seems to disagree with the interpretation above. The dictionary gives munnen the headword mönen and cites this example from *Hali Meiðhad* as the first attested occurrence of the word representing the sense ‘to tell, narrate; tell about’ along with other numerous examples from Katherine Group texts.\(^\text{16}\) Even though it cannot be denied that munnen in this context may imply the sense of ‘to tell’, the usage of munnen in the passage above has mnemonic element.

In *Hali Meiðhad*, herte dominates the cognitive usage of MIND-words. In contexts that concern mnemonic concepts, the verb munnen is used. *Hali Meiðhad* shows no evidence of MIND-words in nominal forms that can be associated with Old English *gemynd*.

**Seinte Iuliene**

*Seinte Iuliene* is a story about the martyrlogy of St. Juliana. The dates that *MED* ascribes to the text is c1225 (?c1200) for MS. Bodley and c1225 for MS. Royal. The following discussion is based on the edited text of MS Bodley 34 presented in the d’Ardenne’s edition.\(^\text{17}\) MIND-words in *Seinte Iuliene* show the predominance of herte, exhibiting the use of MIND-words similar to those found in *Hali Meiðhad*. Numerous occurrences of herte are observed in comparison to other MIND-words. In total, there are nine occurrences of herte (35, 20, 178, 199, 211, 325, 403, 417, and 486).\(^\text{18}\) This outweighs the other nominal MIND-words, as there are only two occurrences of *ponk* (202, 414) and one occurrence of *poht* (404).\(^\text{19}\) The denotations of herte include ‘locus of emotions’ and ‘locus of cognition’. The usage of herte in *Seinte Iuliene* is similar to the usage in *Hali Meiðhad*, showing capacity for various senses of cognition.

MIND-words for mnemonic concepts in *Seinte Iuliene* show a similar pattern to the one observed in *Hali Meiðhad*, exhibiting preference for the use of verbs versus nouns. There are no occurrences of nominal forms. The verb munien is found three times in the texts. One (11) is an intransitive verb and the other two (379, 531) are transitive verbs.\(^\text{20}\) Two occurrences of munien denote ‘to tell’ and one seems to denote ‘to remember’. The intransitive verb munien has the sense ‘to tell’ and the transitive verb munien has the sense ‘to remember’. D’Ardenne’s glossary gives the sense ‘to tell (of), commemorate’ for the relevant occurrences of munien. The citation below is seen at the beginning of *Seinte Iuliene* where the passage introduces the readers to the setting of the story. The sense conveyed by munnen (11) seems to be ‘to tell’. This is the same type of usage as munnen in *Hali Meiðhad*:
This particular passage introduces St. Juliana to the reader explaining that ‘this maiden and this martyr that I recount about was called Juliana’. Given that this is an introductory passage where accounts and background of the Saint’s life needs to be addressed, it seems plausible to assume that the denotation of the munnen (11) is ‘to tell, recount’ rather than ‘to remember’. On the other hand, munien when used intransitively seems to convey mnemonic senses:

Ant

ich hit am þe readde nerun þe riche keiser of ro
to don o rode peter. & to biheafdin pawel. ant
ich makede þe cniht to þurlin godes side wið schar
þe speres ord. þah ich talde aldei; het ich mahte
tellen. for ma wundres ich habbe iwraht; þene ich
mahte munien. & ma monne bone ibeon; þen
ei of mine brreðren.22

(Seinte Iuliene 373-79)

[…and I’m the one who advised Nero, the powerful emperor of Rome, to put Peter on the cross and to behead Paul --- and I made the soldier pierce God’s side with the point of a sharp spear. If I told all day I could still tell, for I’ve wrought more havoc than I can remember, and have been the destruction of more people than any of my brothers.]23
The contrastive use of *tellen* (376, 377) and *munien* (378) is indicative of the mnemonic usage of *munien* in the citation above. In denoting the act of ‘to tell, recount’, the verb *tellen* is used twice in the proximity of *munien* (378). The choice of *munien* by the author, following the use of *tellen*, suggests that the author intended a different shade of meaning that is not connotated by *tellen*. Following two occurrences of *tellen*, in *pah ich talde aldei* ‘though I recounted all day’ (376) and *het ich mahte tellen* ‘I must command myself to recount’, the use of *munien* (378) in *for ma wundres ich habbe iwraht; ene ich mahte* ‘for I have performed more miracles than I can remember’ (376-78) *munien* (378) is less likely to mean ‘recount’. If the sense ‘to recount’ is required to be conveyed, *tellen* again could be used instead of *munien*, as avoiding repetition does not seem an issue since already *tellen* is used twice in the preceding part in the passage. Therefore, *munien* (378) is best understood to mean ‘to remember’.

The last instance of the citations of *munien* is found in the next passage where St. Juliana is addressing God in the presence of Eleusius. The denotation of *munien* is ‘to remember’ as the reading of ‘to always remember God’ seems more appropriate than ‘to tell about God’ when the utterance is made to God:

> Ah eauer
> beo acurest colt of swuch cunde. þe mihti mild
> fule godd þ ich áá munne. hef me mihte of heo
> uene him forte hearmin. & te forte schen
> den. & makien to scheomien. þ shcalt swucche
> schuchen heien & herein.²⁴

(*Seinte Iuliene* 529-34)

> [But cursed be you for ever, the colt of such a sire! May the mighty merciful God whom I always keep in mind give me might and power from heaven to help me and to harm them, and to destroy and bring to shame whoever will exalt and praise such devils.]²⁵

In the above instance, the accompaniment of *áá*, ‘always’ to *munne* (531) strengthens the argument that this usage of *munne* (531) is mnemonic. The use of *áá* is a reference to time. This intensifies the sense of continuity in usage, thus elevating the sense from ‘to have a notion’ to ‘to keep a notion’. The word usage is likely to have mnemonic senses when notions in one’s mind are extended to past/future.

**Seinte Marherete**

*Seinte Marherete* also shows a similar pattern of the usage of MIND-words parallel to *Hali Meichhad* and
Seinte Iuliene, the only difference being that Seinte Marherete shows a higher frequency of munegin and munien. The preference for herte, jonk, and poht is another similar tendency observed. For mnemonic senses, the text exhibits two distinctive usages of MIND-words. First, the text offers the use of munde for the mnemonic sense, a word whose connection to Old English gemynd is plausibly suggested. Second, Seinte Marherete has a higher frequency of occurrences of munegin and munien than any other AB Language texts. Munegin has seven occurrences (28/5, 34/20, 48/14, 48/19, 49/5, 50/8) and munien has seven occurrences (4/12, 4/15, 34/18, 48/1, 48/18, 50/8, 52/37). Seinte Marherete is the only AB Language text that contains what seems to be the Middle English cognate of Old English gemynd, with one occurrence of munde (50/6).

The following is the example of munde in Seinte Marherete. The denotation is ‘seat of memory’:

Ant as he luuieð ow seolf, leofliche ich ow
leare, þet he habben mi nome muchel ine munde; for
ich chulle bidden for þeo bliðeliche in heouene, þe ofte
munneð mi nome ant muneged on eorðe.
(Seinte Marherete p. 50, 5-8)

[And as you love yourselves, I lovingly counsel that you have my name much in your mind; because I’ll pray joyfully in heaven for those who often remember and mention my name on earth.]

In the glossary to Seinte Marherete, Mack gives munde the sense ‘mind’. However, it seems more appropriate to interpret it as ‘recollection’. This interpretation is possible due to þe ofte munneð mi nome (7-8) ‘the one who often remembers my name’, which follows habben mi nome muchel ine munde (6) ‘have my name much in mind’. These two phrases have almost identical notions, with the latter rephrasing the former. The emphasis, therefore, is on the mnemonic mind rather than the cognitive mind. The mnemonic emphasis in these phrases is implied by the use of munneð (8) and muneged (8), both of which are mnemonic in sense. Thus, this usage of munde can be considered the remnant of the Old English usage of gemynd for mnemonic senses.

Seinte Katerine

For the analysis of Seinte Katerine, MS. Bodley 34 is used. Similar to other Katherine Group texts, Seinte Katerine exhibits a prominent use of herte with fifteen occurrences (30, 40, 42, 61, 65, 303, 548, 603, 628, 721, 772, 774, 780, 843, 869, 892). This is followed by one occurrence of poht (190). The mnemonic concept in the text is predominantly expressed by the verbal form munnen (266, 358, 439, 603, 875, 891, 907), a feature commonly used in other Katherine Group texts.
Seinte Katerine excels in its use of *mod* with the largest number of occurrences in the AB Language texts (225, 781, 852). The usage of *mod* in *Seinte Katerine* is similar to the usage of *mod* in Old English, still capable of expressing a more versatile ‘mental faculty’ than ‘mood’ or ‘temperament’. The usage of *mod* in *Seinte Katerine* still retains the archaic sense. The following is an example:

Eadi meiden, ernde me to þi leoue lauerde, for hwas luue ich þolie þet me bilm[eð] me þus, þet he, i þe tintreohe þet ich am iturnt to, heardi min heorte | þet tet wake ules ne wursi neauer mi mod swa þet ich ear[h]I to [ofearnin] heoueriche, þet ich ne forga neauer, for fearlac of na pine þet beo fleschlic[h], þe crune þe Crist haueð, efter þet tu cwiddest, ileuet his icorene.

(*Seinte Katerine* p. 112, 778-783)

[Blessed maiden, commend me to your beloved Lord, for whose love I suffer to be maimed in this way --- that he , in the torture to which I am sent, may strengthen my heart so that the weak flesh can never undermine my courage so that I am afraid to earn the heavenly kingdoms; so that I never give up, for fear of any fleshly torment, the crown which Christ has granted his chosen, according to what you say].

In the above example, *mod* (781) is used synonymously with *heorte* (780), both words denoting ‘determined mind’. For such an archaic use of *mod*, *Seinte Katerine* can be considered as the oldest text in the Katherine Group. However, this argument needs further consideration in light of other factors including palaeography.

**Sawles Warde**

*Sawles Warde* also shows a similar pattern of the usage of MIND-words as *herte* is more prevalent than other MIND-words for cognitive senses. There are four occurrences of *herte* (177, 217, 285, 337), one occurrence for each of *ponk* (22) and *poht* (389). *ponk* and *poht* follow *herte* in their number of occurrences for cognitive usage. For mnemonic concepts, there is one occurrence of *munne* (327) and four instances of *munegunge* (68, 83, 143, 234).

With the preceding discussion on the usage of MIND-words in the Katherine Group texts, we can envision the structure of the lexical field of MIND as represented in the Katherine Group. The Katherine Group texts share similar linguistic features. The cognitive part of the lexical field of MIND is represented by *herte, poht*, and *ponk*. The mnemonic part of the field is represented by the mnemonic verbs *munien* and *munnen* and by the mnemonic gerundive *munegunge* and *mungunge*.36
Ancrene Wisse

We will now turn our attention to the MIND-word usage in Ancrene Wisse. In the analysis of Ancrene Wisse, the data collected in the Concordance to ‘Ancrene Wisse’: MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge is first consulted and then the relevant sections of the text are examined. The usage of MIND-words in Ancrene Wisse shows a similar usage to the Katherine Group with one difference. Herte, ĵonk, and poht preside for cognitive senses while munien, munegin, mununge, and munegunge are used for mnemonic senses. Ancrene Wisse differs from the Katherine Group showing a trace more of French/Latin influence in its use of the MIND-word, entente. Entente is not attested in other AB Language texts. The use of entente indicates a stronger French/Latin influence in Ancrene Wisse than in the Katherine Group.

The high frequency of herte is a tendency observed in Ancrene Wisse, a similar phenomenon to the one observed in the Katherine Group texts. The most frequently used MIND-word in Ancrene Wisse is herte with 199. The predominance by herte in the lexical field of MIND is concluded not only for its high frequency, but also for the wide variety of cognitive senses that herte is used for. In Ancrene Wisse, herte is almost always used for senses related to the ‘cognitive mind’. The high dependence on herte for emotive senses is also noted in Ancrene Wisse.

The most prominent words for MEMORY-concepts in Ancrene Wisse are the variety of words related to munien. Ancrene Wisse has seven occurrences of munegunge (5a/14, 7a/18, 28a/19, 37a/25, 75a/1, 83b/9, 107/23), two occurrences of mungunge (106a/24, 113b/27), three occurrences of munegin (31b/28, 39b/14, 87a/20) and one occurrence of munnen (65a/21). The following two types express MEMORY-concepts in Ancrene Wisse: verbs (munien and munegin) and its gerundives (mungunge and munegunge) functioning as nouns. The ratio that gerundives occupy among mnemonic MIND-words is higher in Ancrene Wisse than in the Katherine Group texts. The use of gerundives as nouns, aside from Ancrene Wisse, is only observed in Sawles Warde with four instances in it. The use of gerundives, mungunge and munegunge, as nominal forms, clearly shows that Old English gemynd or its Middle English cognate minde is not the most prototypical word for mnemonic senses.

A possible French/Latin influence, entente, appears three times in Ancrene Wisse. Entente is used in Ancrene Wisse for such denotations as ‘determination’ and ‘intention’. The Oxford English Dictionary attributes the first example of entente to Ancrene Wisse. The following are illustrative examples of the use of entente in Ancrene Wisse:

Ich schriue me
to godd almihti & to þe. þ ich as ich drede riht repen
tant neauer nes of mine greaste sunnen þ ich as ich habbe
ischawet to mine schrift feaderes. Ant tah minen
tente beo to beten ham her inne; ich hit do se poure
liche.

(Ancrene Wisse 16b, 18-23)\textsuperscript{42}

[I confess to God almighty and to you, that I fear I have never been justly repentant for the greatest sins
which I have revealed to my confessors; and though my intent is to amend them here, I do it very
poorly.\textsuperscript{43}]

In this highly emotive context, where one’s aspiration is to serve God, \textit{min entente} signifies the state of mind
interpreted as ‘intention’. In the next example in Ancrene Wise, \textit{entente} also denotes ‘intention’. \textit{Entente}
signifies the devil’s evil intention to destroy people’s love for each other:

\begin{verbatim}
Al his entent is forte
tweamen heorten. forte bineomen luue\textsuperscript{p} halt men to
goderes.
(Ancrene Wisse, 68a, 10-12)
\end{verbatim}

[His whole intent is to separate hearts, to take away the love that holds people together.]\textsuperscript{44}

\textit{Entente} in the passage is highly emotive, showing the determination to cause distrust in the minds of people.

The usage of \textit{entente} in Ancrene Wisse, as illustrated in the examples above, can be equated with the usages
that \textit{hyge} or \textit{mod} had in Old English. These words, while considered as cognitive, can also be used for emotive
senses in emotive contexts. Note there is an overlap in the usage of \textit{entente} and \textit{herte} in early Middle English.
The distinction between \textit{entente} and \textit{herte} is that \textit{herte} is more likely to denote the container while \textit{entente} is the
content.

The lexical field of MIND observed from the analysis of the vocabulary in Ancrene Wisse shows a slightly
different picture from the one observed in the analysis of the Katherine Group. Ancrene Wisse is the only AB
Language text that shows an element of Latin/French influence in the lexical field of MIND. The occurrence of
\textit{entente} in Ancrene Wisse and its absence in the Katherine Group texts implies there is a stronger influence of
French/Latin in Ancrene Wisse. This may be ascribed to Ancrene Wisse’s later date of composition, with
Ancrene Wisse representing the change from the Katherine Group.

To coincide with the findings about the usage of \textit{entente} in Ancrene Wisse, there are studies, which suggest
more French elements exist in Ancrene Wisse than in the Katherine Group. Cecily Clark points out that the
frequency of French words in *Ancrene Wisse* is higher than in other Katherine Group works. Clark maintains that the divergence between the Katherine Group and *Ancrene Wisse* is apparent both in syntax and lexis. The examples by Clark include the following: the use of *unicorn* in *Ancrene Wisse* as opposed to *anihurnde* in *Seinte Maherete* and the use of *witege* in the Katherine Group versus *prophete* in *Ancrene Wisse*. According to the survey performed by Clark, the ratio of ‘Romance loanwords’ is 10.5% in *Ancrene Wisse* (Parts Six and Seven), 6.3% in *Hali Meiðhad*, 4% in *Sawles Warde*, almost 4% in *Seinte Katerine*, almost 3% in *Seinte Iuliene*, and almost 2.5% in *Seinte Marherete*.46

Clark relates the low frequency of Romance loanwords to the preservation of Anglo-Saxon alliterative patterns in Saints’ Lives. Clark argues that among the AB Language texts, Saints’ Lives are most rhythmical and alliterative, thus giving less freedom to use a variety of words. *Sawles Warde* and *Hali Meiðhad* follow *Ancrene Wisse* with a high degree of Romance influence and a low level of alliterative and rhythmical constraints. Clark points out that Romance loanwords could have penetrated into native alliterative phrases, as there are synonymous pairs like English *milce* and French *merci*. Clark also argues that despite such potential, writers must have been led to a conventional choice of words, which is semi-formulaic phraseology. Another argument by Clark is the effect of subject matter.47 Clark argues that Saints’ Lives, with their narrative texts, resulted in less Romance influence, followed by *Sawles Warde* and *Hali Meiðhad*. Finally, *Ancrene Wisse* has the highest degree of Romance influence with its genre of treatises.

The survey by Bately also generated similar results with the following ratio of Romance loanwords: 2.5% in *Seinte Marherete*, 2.9% in *Seinte Iuliene*, 3.9% in *Seinte Katerine*, 4.2% in *Sawles Warde*, 6.3% in *Hali Meiðhad*, and 10.7% in *Ancrene Wisse* (Parts Six and Seven).48 However, Bately herself warns of the dangers of heavy dependence on the statistical figures and writes that to evaluate French/Latin influence, care has to be taken. Bately argues that ‘variety of subject matter, differences in approach and the heavy use of alliteration’ have affected the percentage of words of French origin in the AB Language texts. In order to fully appreciate the impact of French/Latin elements on the word usage for the sense ‘intention’, a fuller investigation of related words in competition with native words is desirable. However, such an investigation is not the aim of this paper.

Compared to the Katherine Group, the pattern of usage of MIND-words in *Ancrene Wisse* shows much similarity in its use of the following MIND-words, *herte*, *hoht*, and *jonk*, with the exception of *entente*. *Herte* dominates the use of MIND-words in the lexical field of MIND, used both as the cognitive and emotive MIND. The mnemonic concepts are mainly expressed by certain verbs and gerundives. *Ancrene Wisse* also shows a trace of French/Latin influence in the lexical field of MIND, which is not exhibited in the Katherine Group texts.

**Conclusion**

Although the scope of analysis is restricted to AB Language texts, this study provides insight into the state
of the lexical field of MIND in early Middle English and how its structure changed from Old English. The analysis of the usage of MIND-words in the AB Language texts entailed the following three significant linguistic features concerning the lexical field of MIND: 1. the prominence of *herte* in the lexical field of MIND, 2. preference for verbs and gerundives in denotation of MEMORY-related concepts, and 3. the disparity between the Katherine Group and *Ancrene Wisse* in the degree of French/Latin influence on MIND-words.

Among the MIND-words in the AB Language texts, *herte* can be regarded as the word most representative of the lexical field of MIND. The dominance of occurrence of *herte* in the lexical field of MIND is observed in all of the texts examined in the AB Language. Not only does *herte* have a high frequency of occurrence but it is also used for a wide range of meanings, i.e., seat/state of various thoughts/emotions. The extensive use of the word seems to cover almost all of the meanings available in the lexical field of MIND. Secondly, the AB Language texts show a uniform pattern of preference for MEMORY-verbs to MEMORY-nouns. Either verbs or verb-derived gerundives are preferred to nouns. The AB Language texts show a high frequency of the use of MIND-verbs, such as *munnen* and *munien*. A large number of occurrences of gerundives, *muneguneg* and *mungunge* and a small occurrence of nominal forms are also observed. Finally, the language of *Ancrene Wisse* shows a disparity from the language of the Katherine Group texts by exhibiting an element of French/Latin influence with the use of *entente* for mnemonic concepts. As far as the lexical field of MIND is concerned, the data in the lexical field does not agree with the view that the AB Language shows influence of French and Scandinavian languages. This disparity may imply that the lexical field of MIND, in particular, may not have been as prone to foreign influence as other lexical fields. Whether the degree of French/Latin in English vocabulary varies depending on the lexical field needs to be considered with further investigation of the AB Language with reference to other lexical fields.

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2. This dialectal categorisation is from the Middle English Dictionary (henceforth *MED*), which divides ME into East Midland, Northern, West Midland, Southwestern, and Southeastern. In other literature, however, the ‘West Midland’ is used to describe the region of the AB Language. Regarding the provenance of the AB Language Millett, *Hali Meiðhad*, p. xvii, asserts: ‘The general area from which *Hali Meiðhad* originates is indicated by its language. ‘Language AB’ is a West Midland dialect; it includes a number of Welsh loan-words and a substantial Scandinavian element, which suggests that it was developed near the Welsh border and in an area of Scandinavian settlement.’ The difference between the categorisation of *MED* and of Millett’s is a matter of terminology. In this paper, the terms from *MED* is used throughout to avoid unnecessary confusion and so that diachronical and diatopical comparisons can be made with consistency.

Note some AB Language texts use *munegin*. In this paper, *munegin* is considered as a variant form of *munnen*.


Wilson R. M., ed., *Sawles Warde: An Early Middle English Homily*, Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs, 3 (Menston: Reprinted by The Scolar Press for members of the School of English Language in the University of Leeds, 1938).


*MED* puts a question tag to a dating that is questionable.

With reference to the Middle English cognate of Old English *heorte*, the morpheme *herte* is used in this paper. Similarly, *fonk* is preferred over *fonc*.

The numbers indicate page and line in order.

Millett, *Hali Meiðhad*, p. 12, notes in the footnote that in MS. Cotton Titus, the corresponding word reads *nummnen*.


In this paper, *munnen* is used over *mönen*.

The texts is a parallel version of MS Bodley 34, MS Royal 17A XXVII, and MS Boldey 285, which is written in Latin.

Locations are indicated by lineation.

The spelling varies between these two citations, *fonc* and *fonkes*.

D’Ardenne, ed., *īe Liſflaed Ante Tē Paſsium of Seinte Iuliene*, glosses all the word forms under the headword *munien*. D’Ardenne discusses the difficulty of identification of the occurring word forms related to *munien* in Etymological Appendix (1961, 163). I adhere in this paper to the spelling of the headword given by d’Ardenne.


The original text attaches a dagger to *brre ōren* (380) indicating that the word is in corrupt form or deficient spelling.

Savage, Watson, and Ward, p. 313.

The original text attaches a footnote to *hearmin* (532) and a dagger to *schuken* (534)

Savage, Watson, and Ward, p. 316.

*Munegin* is considered to be an equivalent to *munne*.

Millett, *Hali Meiðhad*, p. liii states: ‘The style of *Hali Meiðhad* shows a similar preoccupation with technique, drawing for its effects on both native and Latin traditions of prose writing.’ R.W. Chambers claimed in an influential essay of 1932 that the style of *Ancrene Wisse* and the ‘Katherine group’ belonged to a tradition of vernacular homiletic prose going back to the Old English period, but did not argue his case in detail; Dorothy Bethurum, in her 1935 article ‘The
Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose’, concluded that this tradition was less strong in Sawles Warde and Hali Meiðhad than in the saints’ lives of the ‘Katherine group’, whose style showed the influence of the rhythmical prose used by Ælfric in his Lives of the Saints.

The infinitive forms of munegin and munien are from Mack, p. 108.

Locations are indicated by pagination and lineation.

28 Seinte Marherete has one more occurrence of munde (28/8), which Mack regards as adjective with the sense ‘present to one’s thoughts’. I agree with Mack’s interpretation, and thus separated mund (28/8) from the nominal munde. The passage goes: ‘Wu cwenctest & a-cwaldest him wið þe hali rode & me þu makest to steouen wið þe strengðe of þine beoden, þe beoð þe se munde.’ The munde is used with reference to the strength of the belief that is in the mind.

29 Locations are indicated by pagination and lineation.


31 Locations are indicated by lineation.


33 Savage, Watson, and Ward, p. 280.

34 Note that the actual spelling in the text is heorte.

35 Locations of words in Sawles Warde are indicated by lineation.

36 Mack’s munegin is considered the equivalent of munnen.

37 Note in Ancrene Wisse, the spelling is heorte.

38 Juliette Dor, ‘Post-Dating Romance Loan-Words in Middle English: Are the French Words of the “Katherine Group” English?’ in History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics, ed. by Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), p. 484, points out the pitfalls of neglecting the quality of evidence and of too much reliance on the quantity of evidence: ‘We might wonder whether lexicographical data should not sometimes be reconsidered with a view to reinterpretation rather than count each occurrence indiscriminately. Statistical methods have reached a high level of accuracy, but, in general, too much emphasis has been put on the counting of distributions of occurrences, with a lack of qualitative interpretation of the material. What is also frequently found is a distorted assumption reversing information: the percentage becomes an indication of the time, place, social strata and even age of the author, with the general assumption that the higher the proportion, the later the composition.’

39 For details see: Jennifer Potts, Lorna Stevenson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Concordance to Ancrene Wisse: Ms Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993).

40 OED uses the title Ancrene Riwle for this group of texts.

41 The location of the text is indicated by the page of the folios and lines.

42 Savage, Watson, and Ward, p. 73.

43 Savage, Watson, and Ward, p. 139.


45 I retain the inconsistent usage of percentages as it appears in the original work cited.

46 Clark, pp. 119-20.

55-77, at p. 67.

49 Bately, p. 67.

50 The only exception to this tendency is one occurrence of munde in Seinte Marherete. This raises questions as to why Seinte Marherete shows a striking difference in the choice of words from the rest of the A/B Language texts. Dobson, p. 115, argues that Seinte Marherete is the first of the Katherine Group texts to be composed. If Dobson’s assumption is correct, then the occurrence of munde in Seinte Marherete may be a reflection of earlier English.

51 For studies of Norse elements in early Middle English, see Richard Dance, ‘The Influence of Old Norse on the Middle English of the South-West Midlands: Lexical Integration and Literary Context in the Major Texts and Glosses, C. 1175-1275’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997); Richard Dance, Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003). Dance, although offering not a lexical-field study, investigates the impact of Norse on the vocabulary of South-Western Middle English texts. Such a comparison goes beyond the scope of this paper, and thus was not attempted.

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初期中英語の「心」を表す語彙分野の研究

言語をめぐって

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中英語初期の「心」を表す語法および語彙分野の構造は古英語から中英語への変遷を顕著に表している。古英語で頻繁に使用されていた語が中英語初期ではほとんど見られない例は枚挙にいとわない。例えば中英語初期では「記憶」に関わる概念を表す語彙は動詞、動名詞が圧倒的であり、名詞はほとんど見られない。本稿の目的は中英語初期の作品における「心」を表す語の用法を検証することにより同時代の「心」を表す語彙および語彙分野の特徴について分析することである。

キーワード：中英語、古英語、語彙分野、言語、心

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