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# Identifying, Categorising and Exploring ‘Ælfrician’ Vocabulary Using the *Dictionary of Old English*, *A Thesaurus of Old English* and Evoke

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## Abstract

Ælfric of Eynsham (c.955×957–c.1010) is one of the most prominent authors of the Anglo-Saxon period. Despite this fact, there has not yet been an exhaustive study into his typical vocabulary. This article employs the *Dictionary of Old English* and prior scholarship in order to collect and categorise the lexis that is characteristic for his works. This vocabulary is then analysed using the web application Evoke together with *A Thesaurus of Old English*, which provides insights into the semantic domains that predominate in Ælfric’s vocabulary, as well as the degrees of ambiguity, synonymy and specificity of his typical lexis.

## Keywords

Ælfric of Eynsham – vocabulary – Old English – *Dictionary of Old English* – *A Thesaurus of Old English* – Evoke

## 1 Introduction

Ælfric of Eynsham (c.955×957–c.1010) is arguably the best-known and most prolific writer of Anglo-Saxon England (Hill, 2009: 36–37). Ælfric’s significance for the history of the English language stretches beyond the Norman Conquest, since his works were copied until the early thirteenth century (Treharne, 2009: 400). Aside from his own works being copied in the centuries after the Conquest, Ælfric’s influence on new compositions made in this period

is also occasionally cited. For instance, one study by Elaine Treharne, which focuses on the twelfth-century English translation of Ralph d'Escures' homily on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, notes that "[m]uch of the vocabulary [of the text] is Ælfrician in nature, so that relatively rare words like 'wiðmeten,' 'bearneac[n]inde,'<sup>1</sup> and 'earplættigen' appear to be based on a thorough knowledge of Ælfrician prose" (Treharne, 2006: 185, n. 26). The three lexemes that Treharne provides as examples of 'Ælfrician' vocabulary differ in some important aspects. According to the *Dictionary of Old English (DOE)*, the adjective *bearnēacniende* 'big with child' and the verb *ēarplætt(i)an* 'to strike on the ear' are quite rare in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC)*: *bearnēacniende* occurs only three times in the corpus, twice in the works of Ælfric and once in Ralph d'Escures' homily (*DOE*, s.v. *bearn-ēacniende*), while *ēarplætt(i)an* occurs twice in the *DOEC*, once in the works of Ælfric and once in d'Escures' homily (*DOE*, s.v. *ēar-plættan*, *ēar-plættian*).<sup>2</sup> By contrast, a search in the *DOEC* for all instances of the verb *wiðmetan* 'to compare' reveals that 20 out of its 56 occurrences are found in the works of Ælfric, and that this lemma is found in more than 20 distinct texts in the corpus.

The discrepancies between these lemmata, which have all been termed 'Ælfrician' by Treharne, raise some important questions. First of all, if a lemma is found only in the works of Ælfric and one other text, but occurs rarely, can this lemma really be considered characteristic of Ælfric's lexis? Similarly, can a lexical item that is found in more than twenty distinct texts also be labelled as 'Ælfrician'? Indeed, how can 'Ælfrician' lexemes such as *bearnēacniende* and *wiðmetan* be compared to each other? Is it possible to make a classification system that can differentiate between lexemes which are either more or less typical for Ælfric's vocabulary?

In order to answer these questions, a general overview of Ælfric's characteristic vocabulary would be helpful. To my knowledge, such a large-scale study has not yet appeared, although there are some smaller studies in which some tendencies in his lexis are highlighted (e.g., Jost, 1927; 1950; Pope, 1967: 99–103; Ono, 1988). In order to fill this lacuna, this article demonstrates how this prior scholarship and the *DOE* can be used to collect and categorise vocabulary that

1 The lack of the medial <n> in Treharne's quotation is most likely a typo, since the word appears as "bearneacninde" in Rubie D.-N. Warner's edition of the manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv (Warner, 1917: 138, l. 6), and also appears as such on fol. 156r of the manuscript: see [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_vespasian\\_d\\_xiv\\_f156r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_vespasian_d_xiv_f156r).

2 The related verb *ge-ēarplættan* has one occurrence in the corpus, in the works of Ælfric (*DOE*, s.v. *ge-ēar-plættan*).

has been identified as being characteristic of Ælfric's writings. Next, the article shows how the web application Evoke (Stolk, 2018) may be used to further explore this Ælfrician vocabulary.

Section 2 will address the collection and the categorisation of the Ælfrician lemmata, as well as discuss a number of issues relating to the use of the *DOE* for studies of this type. Subsequently, section 3 will focus on using *A Thesaurus of Old English (TOE)* and Evoke to explore Ælfrician lexis. I will discuss the process of tagging the Ælfrician vocabulary in Evoke and the issues that were encountered during this process, the tendencies which characterise Ælfric's typical lexis, and a number of categories in *TOE* in which Ælfric's vocabulary is over- and underrepresented. In the conclusion, some further possible avenues of research into Ælfric's vocabulary will be pointed out. A full overview of the Ælfrician vocabulary established on the basis of the *DOE* and prior scholarship is provided in Appendices A and B.

## 2 Identifying and Categorising Ælfrician Vocabulary

The label 'Ælfrician' is not one which was used in Ælfric's own day. Rather, it is a term that will be employed in this article to refer to vocabulary which prior scholarship and the *DOE* have identified as being restricted or predominantly found in Ælfric's works, or lexical items that were preferred by him over synonymous lexemes. When the term 'Ælfrician' is used to refer to vocabulary that is primarily found in or restricted to the works of Ælfric, it is quite likely that his contemporaries, whose works have simply not come down to us, may have used the same words. Since the corpus of Old English texts is incomplete and Ælfric's works are overrepresented in this corpus, especially so in particular text genres, such as grammars, the label 'Ælfrician' is simply used in relation to the texts that we have left (see also section 2.4).

### 2.1 Sources: *DOE* and Prior Small-Scale Studies

The *DOE* is the most important source for any study dealing with Old English lexis. In addition to listing senses of lemmata, the *DOE* also provides citations for these senses, and occasionally provides information on the usage of particular lemmata, for instance, when they are found frequently in the works of Ælfric. For this reason, the *DOE* was consulted first in order to find lemmata which have been labelled by this dictionary as Ælfrician. These words can be identified in the *DOE* by the information that the entries provide following the number of occurrences of a lemma. For instance, the entry for the lemma *antimber* 'material, substance' mentions the following about the occurrence of the lexeme in the *DOEC*: "ca. 45 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)" (*DOE*, s.v. *an-timber*). The

*DOE* uses a number of different labels for Ælfrician vocabulary. For instance, the lemma *anmōdlice* 'resolutely' has six occurrences "in Ælfric", meaning that it is wholly restricted to the works of Ælfric (*DOE*, s.v. *an-mōdlice*). Two other labels which are often encountered are "mainly in Ælfric" (see, e.g., *DOE*, s.v. *æfnung*) and "freq. in Ælfric" (see, e.g., *DOE*, s.v. *ed-wist*), which are applied to lemmata that also occur outside of Ælfric's works.<sup>3</sup> Searching for 'ælfric' in the "Occurrence" field identifies all of the lemmata which have been labelled as Ælfrician in the *DOE*. In addition, searches were performed for the short titles of Ælfrician works, such as 'ÆCHom', 'ÆLS', and 'ÆGram' in the same field, since lexemes that primarily or exclusively occur in these works can also be seen as part of Ælfric's vocabulary as a whole.<sup>4</sup> These lexemes employ labels similar to those mentioned above, such as "in ÆGram" (see, e.g., *DOE*, s.v. *āxiendlic*) or "mainly in ÆGram" (see, e.g., *DOE*, s.v. *dæddlic*).

The current edition of the *DOE* only goes up to the letter I. In order to complement the data from the *DOE* with information about lemmata beyond the letter I, a literature review was also conducted, which has aimed to include as many sources as possible that mention lexemes seen as characteristic for Ælfric.<sup>5</sup> Through a number of small-scale studies, previous scholarship has established that Ælfric exhibits a consistent lexical usage which is characteristic of his works. The first to note Ælfric's preferred usage of certain lexical items over synonymous lemmata was Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). Since Dietrich's article, there have been many studies which have mentioned similar preferences, as well as the restriction of particular lemmata to the works of Ælfric; prominent studies include those by Jost (1927; 1950), Pope (1967: 99–103), Godden (1980), and Ono (1988).<sup>6</sup> Another important facet of research into Ælfric's vocabulary relates to his usage of the 'Winchester vocabulary' – a particular lexical usage associated with the school of Ælfric's teacher Æthelwold – of which "Ælfric is considered [the] most prominent and most consistent proponent" (Gretsch, 2009: 125).<sup>7</sup>

3 It is not immediately clear what the difference is between these labels; see section 2.2.

4 I also searched for the abbreviations of the biblical books that were translated, either wholly or in part, by Ælfric, which resulted in four lemmata that primarily occur in the prose translation of the book of Genesis (search term: 'gen'; I also searched for 'num', 'josh' and 'judg'). In order to identify which parts of Genesis (and the other books of the Heptateuch) were translated by Ælfric, I relied on Kleist (2019: 132–135) and the citations given there.

5 Due to the scope of this endeavour, these claims were not verified in the *DOEC*. The grammatical terms that occur in Ælfric's *Grammar* form an exception to this rule, since their relevancy has been determined by checking their occurrences in the *DOEC*. See section 2.2 below.

6 For a summary of the earliest research into Ælfric's vocabulary, see Ono (1988: 75–84).

7 Cf. Gretsch (2001: 47) and Hofstetter (1987: 58). For an analysis of Ælfric's usage of the Winchester vocabulary, see Hofstetter (1987: 38–66) and see also Gretsch (2001: 47–54) for possible additions to the vocabulary items mentioned by Hofstetter.

An attempt has been made to include as many studies as seemed relevant, but sources that have been shown to be problematic in later literature have been avoided.<sup>8</sup> In consulting the sources, the focus was solely on Ælfric's lexical usage, which includes lexemes that are restricted to his works, preferred lexemes, and the use of meanings which are particular to Ælfric. In other words, data such as Ælfric's preferential use of the verb *bedēlan* with an object in the genitive, rather than the dative (Jost, 1950: 122), have not been included. Features of Ælfric's vocabulary that either I or the relevant source deem of questionable relevance, such as Ælfric's preference of *swā swā* over a single *swā* (Pope, 1967: 102–103), have also not been cited. It should be stressed that there is a vast amount of literature on the peculiarities and tendencies in the vocabulary of Ælfric of Eynsham. Although my study is not exhaustive, I believe that I have gathered the most important sources on Ælfric's vocabulary.

## 2.2 *Categorisation*

Although the *DOE* employs a number of different labels for Ælfrician vocabulary, it is not immediately clear how labels such as “mainly in Ælfric” and “freq. in Ælfric” differ from each other, nor how these labels differ from other, less frequently used labels, such as “disproportionately freq. in Ælfric” (see, e.g., *DOE*, s.v. *cyre*). For this reason, it was deemed necessary to create a categorisation which could be used to create a distinction between the lexemes which are more strongly associated with Ælfric and the lexemes which may be less characteristic of his works. In this categorisation system, an Ælfrician lemma is assigned to one of four categories, A–D, based on the number of non-Ælfrician texts in which the lemma occurs. The reasoning behind this system is that a higher number of non-Ælfrician texts implies that a lemma is less exclusive to the works of Ælfric and, for this reason, may be less characteristic of his lexis. The four categories are given below:

- **Category A** contains lexemes which exclusively occur in the works of Ælfric, e.g., *bedūfan* ‘to sink’ (*DOE*, s.v. *be-dūfan*).
- **Category B** contains lexemes which occur in the works of Ælfric and one other text, e.g., *hremman* ‘to hinder’ (*DOE*, s.v. *hremman*).
- **Category C** contains lexemes which occur in the works of Ælfric and between two and four other texts, e.g., *flāesclicnes* ‘incarnate condition; incarnation (of Christ)’ (*DOE*, s.v. *flāesclicnes*).
- **Category D** contains lexemes which are frequently found in the works of Ælfric and occur in five or more other texts, e.g., *æpelboren* ‘of noble birth’ (*DOE*, s.v. *æpel-boren*).

<sup>8</sup> For a brief overview of these studies and the criticism that they have received, see Ono (1988: 75–78).

In order to make a more detailed distinction between more and less characteristically Ælfrician vocabulary, categories A–C each have two subcategories, which relate to a lemma's total number of occurrences in the *DOEC*:<sup>9</sup>

- **Category 1** contains lexemes which occur five or more times in the *DOEC*.
- **Category 2** contains lexemes which occur fewer than five times in the *DOEC*.<sup>10</sup>

If a lemma is rare even in the works of Ælfric, it may be argued that this lemma is less characteristic of his vocabulary, and of limited relevance for the identification of typically Ælfrician lexis. The four categories listed above, in combination with the subcategories used for categories A–C, facilitate the use of a convenient shorthand. A lemma such as *dydrung* 'delusion' may be referred to as a 'B1 lemma', which indicates that it occurs in the works of Ælfric and only one other text, and has at least five occurrences in total in the *DOEC* (*DOE*, s.v. *dydrung*).

In order to categorise the lemmata retrieved from the *DOE* using the categorisation given above, it is necessary to be able to identify Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician texts. The works of Ælfric are indicated as such in the *DOE* by either their Cameron number (B1) or otherwise the prefix 'Æ' (e.g., 'ÆLS', which refers to Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*).<sup>11</sup> In addition, I have relied on the work of Aaron J. Kleist in order to determine which parts of the Heptateuch were translated by Ælfric, and to identify any other texts which are believed to have been written by Ælfric, but which have not been categorised as such by the *DOE* (Kleist, 2019: 66–206).<sup>12</sup> Counting the number of non-Ælfrician texts in which a lemma occurs was carried out based on the texts cited in the entry of a lemma in the *DOE*. Whenever these texts numbered fewer than five and not all occurrences of the lemma were given in the entry, I also consulted the *DOEC* in order to check for any other texts, whenever this was reasonably possible. Determining whether similar texts, such as manuscript variants, should be considered different texts is always a complicated task. Whenever possible, the *DOE* entries have been followed. For instance, if different texts are given

9 This information is provided in every *DOE* entry.

10 This subcategorisation is not possible for category D, since the lemmata in this category occur in at least five non-Ælfrician texts, which means that they have at least five occurrences (not counting their occurrences in the works of Ælfric).

11 Notable exceptions are 'ÆColl' (the gloss to Ælfric's *Colloquy*), and 'ÆGL 1', 'ÆGL 2' and 'ÆGL 3' (the additions to his *Glossary*) which were not written by Ælfric.

12 All of the categorised lemmata may be found in Appendix A (Ælfrician vocabulary found in the *DOE*) and Appendix B (Ælfrician vocabulary found in prior scholarship) at the end of this article. In the appendices, references to Kleist (2019) are provided in the appropriate footnotes whenever this is relevant, for instance, if the consideration of a text as Ælfrician has led directly to a particular categorisation of a lemma (e.g., as C1, rather than D); in other cases, references are not provided.

in a single quote, these texts are usually counted as one single text. However, other texts have been counted separately despite their similarities; charters, for instance, may use similar formulas, but are nevertheless different texts. Composite homilies which make use of Ælfrician material presented a difficult case. Sometimes the Ælfrician text in the composite homily may be virtually identical to the edition of the Ælfrician base text in the *DOEC*; at other times, the composite homily may differ from the base text in terms of word order, omissions, etc. In order to be consistent, all composite homilies containing Ælfrician material have been counted as non-Ælfrician texts.

Works that have been identified by the *DOE* as having been written by the same author have been counted as a single text, such as the combined works of Wulfstan. These texts are arguably all examples of the same, idiosyncratic lexical usage of their author. Other texts that have been taken to constitute a single unit include the various versions of the glosses to Aldhelm's *De laude virginitatis*, such as 'AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1' and 'AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1', due to their similarity and the fact that they gloss the same text, and three versions of the *Benedictine Rule* in 'BenR B10.3.1.1', 'BenRW B10.3.4' and 'BenRWells B10.3.3', for the same reason. However, individual glosses to the psalter and canticles have been counted separately, since the gloss to the Vespasian Psalter is obviously not the same as the one to the Royal Psalter. If a lexeme occurs in a psalter gloss and a canticle gloss in the same manuscript, both glosses have been counted as one text, even though the two have been assigned different Cameron numbers. With respect to this policy, I believe my results would not be significantly different if I had made different choices.

The categorisation of the lemmata in prior scholarship is based, for the most part, on the secondary sources themselves; the claims made in the sources have not been checked against the *DOE* or *DOEC*. Nevertheless, the *DOE* and *DOEC* have been used for the categorisation of a number of lexemes about which very little information, e.g., in terms of their frequency, was given in the sources.<sup>13</sup> I limited myself to those lemmata which are found in the *DOE*. Lemmata that do not begin with the letters A–I, which are not found in the *DOE*, have been placed in a separate category. Lastly, whenever sources have indicated that a specific lemma or specific lexical usage is part of the Winchester vocabulary, this has been indicated in the relevant footnotes in Appendix B.

In contrast to the other lexemes found in prior scholarship, the words found in previous research on Ælfric's *Grammar* have been checked in the *DOEC* as far

13 See, for instance, *gramlic* and *gramlice* in categories B1 and C1, respectively, in Appendix B. Consequently, some of the lemmata that are part of Appendix A also appear in Appendix B.

as possible.<sup>14</sup> It seemed preferable to categorise only those grammatical terms which had a significant number of occurrences in the works of Ælfric, and reject such lexemes mentioned in the literature as *nama* 'noun' and *word* 'verb' (Chapman, 2010: 423), which are arguably quite general. My rule of thumb is as follows: if a lexeme has been determined to belong to category D and fewer than 50% of its occurrences are found in the works of Ælfric (not necessarily Ælfric's *Grammar*), then this word is not categorised. If, however, a lexeme has been determined to belong to categories A, B or C, it is always categorised, even if, for instance, only one of nine occurrences of this word is found in the works of Ælfric.<sup>15</sup> A number of words which were quite difficult to check in the *DOEC* (because their forms were similar to other lemmata and these forms could not easily be distinguished from each other) have been discounted.

One guiding principle of the categorisation is that the *DOE* is followed whenever this is possible. This principle has led to some inconsistencies in the categorisation of the words in Ælfric's *Grammar*. For instance, if a word mentioned in a secondary source is a present participle such as *fæstnigende* 'affirmative' (Chapman, 2010: 441), and this word can only be found as part of the *DOE* entry for the whole verb (*fæstnian*), which is not an Ælfric word according to the rule above, then it is not categorised. However, for words beyond the letter I, i.e., those which could not be checked in the *DOE*, present participles are taken as separate from their main verbs if these present participles are specifically mentioned in prior scholarship, e.g., *ofcumende* 'derivative' (Chapman, 2010: 443), since the *DOE* is not always consistent in categorising present participles or lemmata derived from present participles.<sup>16</sup>

The secondary sources that I consulted often featured various types of information about Ælfric's lexical usage, which could not easily be compared to each other. Information such as Ælfric's preference of one lemma over another

14 For these words, I primarily made use of Appendix 2 in Chapman (2010: 438–445), ignoring the multiword terms on pp. 443–445; I also consulted Sauer (2009: 171) and Williams (1958: 461–462).

15 I applied the same rule to the four lemmata which are labelled by the *DOE* as frequently or exclusively occurring in the prose translation of Genesis.

16 For instance, the lemma *healfclīpiende* 'semivocalic' can be found in this form in the *DOE* (s.v. *healfclīpiende*), rather than being subsumed under a reconstructed infinitive *\*healfclīpian*. Similarly, some citations in the entry for the agentive noun *dāelnimend* 'participant; participle' feature forms ending in *-ende* in the nominative singular (*DOE*, s.v. *dāel-nimend*); this ending indicates that they are present participles, rather than agentive nouns (which would end in *-end* in the nominative singular). Hence, instances of the present participle *dāelnimende* seem to have been subsumed under the entry for the agentive noun *dāelnimend*, rather than having been assigned to a reconstructed infinitive *\*dāelniman* in the *DOE*.

for the expression of a certain concept seemed relevant to record, but could not be categorised in categories A–D due to the lack of information pertaining to the number of non-Ælfrician texts in which these preferred lemmata occurred, and their total number of occurrences in the *DOEC*. In order to ensure the accurate categorisation of the Ælfrician vocabulary identified by prior scholarship, it was necessary to add an additional four categories to the categorisation outlined above. The following four categories were created:

- **Category E** contains particular lexemes that Ælfric prefers over synonymous lexemes. This category is further subdivided into categories E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub>, which relate to whether these preferences are constrained by semantic, contextual or other factors:
  - **Category E<sub>1</sub>** features preferences which are, generally, unrelated to specific semantic or contextual usages.
  - **Category E<sub>2</sub>** features preferences which are, generally, related to specific semantic or contextual usages, or certain other factors.

One example of an entry in category E<sub>1</sub> is Ælfric's preferred usage of *gefředan*, rather than *fēlan*, to express the verb 'to feel'.<sup>17</sup> This preference is independent of contextual or semantic factors. Conversely, an example of an entry in category E<sub>2</sub> is Ælfric's preference of the verb (*ge*)*rihtlācan* over (*ge*)*rihtan* when expressing the verb 'to correct' in figurative senses (and, conversely, the verb (*ge*)*rihtan* over (*ge*)*rihtlācan* in literal senses) (Hofstetter, 1987: 51).<sup>18</sup>

- **Category F** contains particular morphological forms of lexemes that Ælfric prefers over other morphological forms. The root is the same for both preferred and dispreferred equivalents; the synonyms merely differ in terms of the other morphemes that they may contain, such as prefixes. For instance, Ælfric prefers the form *bebod* 'command', with the prefix *be-*, over *gebod*, with the prefix *ge-* (Sato, 2011: 308).<sup>19</sup>

17 Pope (1967: 99), who cites Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). Klein (2012: 491) notes that Ælfric never uses *fēlan* or related forms.

18 While the verb (*ge*)*rihtlācan* is part of the Winchester vocabulary according to Hofstetter (1987: 38), it would seem that the difference in usage between (*ge*)*rihtlācan* and (*ge*)*rihtan* is particular to Ælfric (51). Jost (1950: 137–138) labels *gerihtlācan* as an 'Ælfricwort'.

19 According to Sato (2011: 308), there are no instances of *gebod* in both series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints*.

- **Category G** contains widely used lemmata that Ælfric uses in particular contexts or with specific meanings. For example, the sense 'to bury' for the verb *bestandan* is primarily attested in the works of Ælfric (Jost, 1950: 144).<sup>20</sup>
- **Category H** contains lemmata that do not fit in the preceding categories. This is where claims have been placed such as 'most instances of *þwýrlíc* can be found in Ælfric' (Jost, 1950: 130). Since there is no information pertaining to the number of occurrences of this lemma in non-Ælfrician texts, it is not possible to place it in categories A–D. At the same time, it is impossible to place *þwýrlíc* in categories E–G, since the source does not mention if Ælfric prefers this lemma over an equivalent lemma, or if he uses it in a specific sense.

Taken together, categories A–H allow for the creation of an overall characterisation of Ælfric's lexical usage, featuring lemmata that are primarily or exclusively restricted to his works, preferences of particular lemmata over others, and lemmata that have semantic or contextual usages which are specifically Ælfrician.

### 2.3 Results

The results of the categorisation are presented in Tables 1 and 2.<sup>21</sup>

TABLE 1 Results of the categorisation of Ælfrician vocabulary in the *DOE* and prior scholarship for categories A–D

Categories	1 (≥ 5 occ.)	2 (1–4 occ.)	Total
A (0 non-Ælf. texts)	32	120	152
B (1 non-Ælf. text)	49	25	74
C (2–4 non-Ælf. texts)	66	0	66
D (≥ 5 non-Ælf. texts)	NA	NA	118
Total A–D			410

<sup>20</sup> See the *DOE* (s.v. *be-standan*, sense 3). The *DOE* (s.v. *be-standan*) lists sense 1 as 'to stand around (a place *acc.*)', sense 2.a as '*utan bestandan* "to surround (someone *acc.*)"' and sense 2.b as 'to beset (someone / something *acc.*)'.

<sup>21</sup> Note that, for categories A–D, lemmata found in prior scholarship which have also been labelled by the *DOE* as Ælfrician (i.e., lemmata which appear in both Appendix A and Appendix B) are seen as duplicates, and have only been counted once.

TABLE 2 Results of the categorisation of Ælfrician vocabulary in prior scholarship for categories E–H

Categories	Total
E1 (preferences unrelated to semantic/contextual usages)	26
E2 (preferences related to semantic/contextual usages)	8
F (preferences related to morphological forms of lexemes)	12
G (lemmata used in particular contexts or with specific meanings)	3
H (lemmata that do not fit in the other categories)	6
Total E–H	55

Out of the eight categories A–H, which contain a total of 465 items, the two largest categories are those which, respectively, contain words which are the most (category A) and the least (category D) restricted to the works of Ælfric. The vast majority of the 152 lexical items in category A can be found in category A2, which features 120 lemmata (78.95%). These Ælfrician words are quite rare, occurring between one and four times in the works of Ælfric. For categories B and C, this tendency is reversed: category B2 contains fewer items than B1, and there are no lexical items at all in category C2. This outcome is not surprising, since a higher number of non-Ælfrician texts in which a word occurs directly correlates with a higher overall frequency of that lemma. In categories E–H, there are 55 items, of which the majority can be found in category E: 34 items (61.82%).<sup>22</sup> Within category E, the best represented category is category E1, which contains 26 items (76.47%). This result implies that Ælfric's preferences for particular lemmata over other, synonymous lemmata that are unrelated to specific semantic or contextual constraints have received the most attention in prior scholarship.

Note that there is an important difference in the way the items in categories A–D and those in categories E–H have been counted. Whereas in categories A–D each lemma is counted individually, this is not the case for categories E–H; in the latter categories, the entire entry, regardless of the fact that it may contain more than one Ælfrician lemma, is counted as a single unit.

22 Note that a search in the *DOE* for 'ælfric' in the "Definition" field yields 84 entries with senses primarily or exclusively found in the works of Ælfric, which could have been placed in category G. However, in order to keep the data to be categorised at a manageable level, I decided to consult only prior scholarship for categories E–H.

For instance, the entry “*ælc/gehewā/gehewilc* ‘every’ preferred to *æghwile*”<sup>23</sup> in category E1 is counted as a single unit, despite the fact that there are three preferred lemmata. One reason for counting in this way is that the logic of having ‘preferred’ lemmata versus ‘dispreferred’ lemmata breaks down when counting entries in category E2. Recall the aforementioned example of (*ge*)*rihtlācan* being preferred over (*ge*)*rihtan* when expressing the verb ‘to correct’ in figurative senses: this fact does not entail that (*ge*)*rihtan* is a dispreferred lemma, since Ælfric, conversely, prefers to use (*ge*)*rihtan* over (*ge*)*rihtlācan* in literal senses. In other words, the preference goes both ways. Furthermore, all lemmata in an entry, whether preferred or dispreferred, have identical or strongly related senses, which also implies that it is sensible to count them as a single unit.

#### 2.4 *Reflection on the Use of the DOE for the Collection of Ælfrician Vocabulary*

The collection of data on the lexis of a particular author from a dictionary such as the *DOE* is perhaps somewhat unorthodox when compared to such methods as consulting secondary sources or analysing a corpus of the author’s works. In this section, I will briefly reflect on some of the issues that were encountered during this study.

The choices made by the *DOE* with respect to lemmatisation directly influence which lemmata are considered to be Ælfrician in this study. Some of these lemmata are of questionable relevance. For instance, due to the policy of the *DOE* to create two separate entries for lemmata with and without the prefix *ge-*, the lemmata *edcennan* and *ge-edcennan* are lemmatised separately in the *DOE*. Although the A1 lemma *edcennan* occurs six times, only in the works of Ælfric (*DOE*, s.v. *ed-cennan*), the longer form *ge-edcennan* occurs twice, both times in non-Ælfrician texts (*DOE*, s.v. *ge-ed-cennan*). Lastly, the past participle *ge-edcenned* also receives an entry of its own, because it cannot be determined if this past participle belongs to *edcennan* or *ge-edcennan*. Although the past participle, which has 21 occurrences in total, does appear in Ælfrician texts, it is also found in at least six non-Ælfrician texts (*DOE*, s.v. *ge-ed-cenned*). It is very likely that, if all these forms had been subsumed under a single entry, e.g., (*ge*)*edcennan*, this entry would not have been labelled as Ælfrician in the *DOE*. In addition, the lemma *edcennan* is, according to its label in the *DOE*, primarily

23 Jost (1950: 162–166), reiterated by Pope (1967: 100). According to Jost (1950: 162–166), the first lemma, *ælc*, is used most frequently by Ælfric; he also mentions that there are only three occurrences of *æghwile* in the works of Ælfric; see also Jost (1950: 162–166) for more detailed information on the usage of these lemmata.

found in a late twelfth-century manuscript (*DOE*, s.v. *ed-cennan*).<sup>24</sup> It may be argued that a lemma which is mainly restricted to a copy written almost two centuries after Ælfric's lifetime cannot be seen as characteristic of his lexical usage. Both of these factors – the lemmatisation policies of the *DOE* and the restriction of certain lemmata to late copies of Ælfric's works – affect the way the *DOE* might be used as a source for Ælfrician vocabulary.<sup>25</sup>

Manuscript-specific readings such as *edcennan* can be problematic in other ways. For instance, if two authoritative copies use different lemmata, it may be difficult to determine the 'true' Ælfrician reading. A relevant example is the lemma *flocc* 'flock', which has been placed in category C<sub>1</sub>, based on the fact that it occurs in four non-Ælfrician texts.<sup>26</sup> However, one of its occurrences, 'flocum', occurs in manuscript P of Ælfric's translation of the book of Judges, while manuscript Z, which is the base manuscript used by the *DOE*, employs a form that is based on the lemma *folc*, namely, 'folcum'.<sup>27</sup> If 'folcum' is the original Ælfrician reading, the occurrence of 'flocum' in manuscript P should be counted as non-Ælfrician, which brings the total number of non-Ælfrician texts to five, and requires this lemma to be placed in category D. Although both readings make sense in the context, a case can be made for 'flocum' being the original Ælfrician reading, due to the fact that it is the more plausible variant: according to the *DOE*, the two instances of *folc* with the sense "band of men, company, division of an army" (one of which occurs in the quotation found in Judges, and the other in the D version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) were "perhaps intended for *flocc* q.v." (*DOE*, s.v. *folc*, sense 13).<sup>28</sup> The issue of counting an instance of a particular lemma as Ælfrician if it only occurs in one or two manuscript copies is especially relevant to the works of Ælfric, which often exist in multiple manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> This factor may, therefore, also influence the use of *DOE* data in studies on Ælfrician vocabulary.

24 The label is "in Ælfric, mainly in MS of s.xii<sup>2</sup>". According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ed-cennan*), four out of its six occurrences are found in manuscript B, which refers to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (see Kleist, 2019: 208).

25 For similar examples, see, for instance, *ge-bōgian* (A<sub>2</sub>), *bōgian*<sup>2</sup> (C<sub>1</sub>); *cwēmednes* (A<sub>2</sub>), *ge-cwēmednes* (B<sub>1</sub>); *edcwician*, *edcucian* (B<sub>1</sub>), *ge-edcwician*, *ge-edcucian* (C<sub>1</sub>), *ge-edcwicod*, *ge-edcucod* (D); *ge-hreþian*, *ge-hreþpan* (A<sub>2</sub>), *hreþian*, *hreþpan* (D) in Appendix A. As *TOE* does normally subsume variants with the prefix *ge-* under a single form (e.g., (*ge*)*cwēmednes*), this poses a problem for tagging the *DOE* entries in *Evolve* (see section 3.1).

26 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *flocc*), and a search in the *DOEC* for 'floc'.

27 Manuscript P refers to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115; manuscript Z refers to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 (see Kleist, 2019: 226, 236).

28 See also the entry for *flocc* in Appendix A, category C<sub>1</sub>.

29 See, for instance, the *DOE* (s.v. *for-scyldig*); this adjective occurs in some copies of Ælfrician texts, whereas other copies instead have the adjective *scyldig* or the verb *forscyldigian*.

Lastly, there were a number of more general issues with this study. As has been mentioned above, Ælfric was a prolific writer whose works have been well-preserved. This fact is borne out by his presence in the *DOEC*, in which his works may be said to be overrepresented. The works identified as having been written by Ælfric constitute 22.66% of the prose corpus (B) and 15.91% of the entire *DOEC* – these percentages would be even higher if the word counts of the Ælfrician parts of the Heptateuch were included.<sup>30</sup> In other words, there may be said to be a higher-than-average chance of a lexeme being found exclusively in the works of Ælfric.

An issue that is related to this overrepresentation is that some lemmata which, according to the *DOEC*, are found exclusively in the works of Ælfric were possibly used by other writers as well. For instance, the A1 adverb *cēnlīce* 'boldly', which has eight occurrences (*DOE*, s.v. *cēnlīce*), is derived from the more common adjective *cēne* 'bold', which occurs around fifty times in a number of different, mainly poetic, Old English texts (*DOE*, s.v. *cēne*). The higher frequency of occurrence of *cēne*, coupled with the transparent derivation of *cēnlīce*, makes it plausible to believe that this adverb must also have been used by other authors, whose texts have now simply been lost to us.<sup>31</sup> A similar example is provided by the A1 adjective *hārwenge* 'grey-haired', which occurs six times in Ælfrician texts (*DOE*, s.v. *hār-wenge*). The existence of a derived noun *hārwengnes* 'greybeardedness', which occurs only once in a non-Ælfrician glossary (*DOE*, s.v. *hār-wengnes*), seems to imply that the adjective must have been more common than the corpus shows. If exclusively Ælfrician lemmata, such as *cēnlīce* and *hārwenge*, have strongly related lemmata which are not restricted to the works of Ælfric, then this factor may reduce the significance of these Ælfrician lemmata for studies into Ælfric's vocabulary.

One final point is that the *DOE* has not consistently labelled words that primarily or exclusively occur in the works of Ælfric. The noun *alēfednes* 'infirmity', for instance, has only one occurrence in the corpus, in Ælfric's works, but it does not receive a specific label in the *DOE*. This lack of labelling implies that there are still more Ælfrician lemmata to be found in the *DOE*, which may perhaps be labelled in future editions of the dictionary.<sup>32</sup>

30 Calculated based on the word counts of 'OE words' given by the *DOEC*; see <https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/wordcount.html>.

31 Cf. the equivalent adverb in Present Day English, *keenly*, which is, of course, not restricted to any particular author.

32 Lemmata that are in some way restricted to or frequently occur in the works of Ælfric, as indicated by prior scholarship or by analysing their occurrences in the *DOE* or *DOEC* myself, but which have not been labelled as such by the *DOE*, are preceded by a plus symbol in the appendices. I have not systematically searched the *DOE* for these non-labelled, Ælfrician lemmata, but I did think it was relevant to include those I had found.

### 3 Analysing Ælfrician Vocabulary in Evoke

#### 3.1 Methodology

In order to discover the characteristics of the Ælfrician vocabulary that was categorised in the previous section, the lemmata were tagged in Evoke. Since Evoke uses a Linguistic Linked Data version of *TOE*,<sup>33</sup> which lemmatises differently from the *DOE*, a number of choices had to be made in order to tag the words found in the *DOE* and prior scholarship in Evoke. These choices will be outlined in this section. More specific information about the tagging of individual lemmata can be found in the footnotes in the appendices. For the purpose of tagging the Ælfrician vocabulary in Evoke, only categories A–D have been taken into account, since the lemmata in these categories form a cohesive unit in that they are either restricted to or occur frequently in the works of Ælfric. The lemmata in categories E–H are more difficult to quantify in this sense. For instance, Ælfric may prefer the verb *gefrēdan* ‘to feel’ to its synonym *fēlan* (see section 2.2), but this fact does not imply that the verb *gefrēdan* is in some way restricted to the works of Ælfric; this entry in category E1 simply indicates a preference.

Each lexical entry (i.e., not the individual lexical senses) for an Ælfrician lemma in Evoke receives three tags:

- **#Ælfrician**: All Ælfrician lemmata receive this tag, which allows for the immediate selection of all Ælfrician vocabulary in Evoke.
- **#Ælfrician\_A/#Ælfrician\_B/#Ælfrician\_C/#Ælfrician\_D**: These tags indicate the category (A–D) to which a lemma belongs.
- **#freq5plus/#freq1to4**: These tags indicate the subcategory (1 or 2) to which a lemma belongs. Subcategory 1 is tagged as #freq5plus (since the lemma which receives this tag has five or more occurrences in the *DOEC*) and subcategory 2 is tagged as #freq1to4 (the lemma has between one and four occurrences in the *DOEC*).

In addition, a number of lemmata also receive the tag **#comment**, which is accompanied by a brief explanation outlining the discrepancy between the ways in which these lemmata are treated in the *DOE* and *TOE* (see below).

There were a number of issues with tagging the Ælfrician vocabulary in Evoke. One issue is that some *DOE* lemmata do not have equivalent lemmata

33 Henceforth simply referred to as ‘*TOE*’; cf. Stolk in this issue. *TOE* is constantly being updated; the Linguistic Linked Data version of *TOE* available in Evoke at the time of writing this article is based on the version of *TOE* that was ported by Sander Stolk on 26 May 2017. A number of issues mentioned in this article have already been solved in the latest version of *TOE*.

in Evoke, which means that they could not be tagged.<sup>34</sup> Other issues relate to the different lemmatisation choices made by the *DOE* and *TOE*. For instance, the *DOE* considers words which occur with and without the prefix *ge-*, such as the verbs *gehūslian* and *hūslian* 'to administer the Eucharist', as separate lemmata (*DOE*, s.vv. *ge-hūslian*, *hūslian*). Since the past participle *gehūslođ* could theoretically belong to either of these verbs, it too receives its own entry (*DOE*, s.v. *ge-hūslođ*). In *TOE*, however, these three entries correspond to a single entry: *(ge)hūslian*, which creates problems for categorisation, since the three *DOE* entries each have their own category (*gehūslian* is A<sub>1</sub>, *hūslian* is B<sub>1</sub>, and *gehūslođ* is not in the appendices). Conversely, the opposite may be true: a single entry in the *DOE* may correspond to two or more entries in *TOE*. For instance, a search for the verb *bedydrian* 'to delude' in Evoke gives two results: *bedydrian* and *bedydrian ... wip*. The second of these entries, with the sense 'to conceal', is listed as sense 2 in the *DOE* (s.v. *be-dydrian*).

In order to employ a consistent strategy for dealing with these discrepancies, it was once again established as a main principle that the *DOE* is followed whenever possible (see section 2.2), since the categorisation of the Ælfrician vocabulary is primarily based on the *DOE*. This principle led to the following solutions to the problems mentioned above: when the *DOE* has multiple lemmata which correspond to a single lemma in *TOE*, the labels for these lemmata are consolidated. In other words, the lemmata *gehūslian* (A<sub>1</sub>), *hūslian* (B<sub>1</sub>) and *gehūslođ* (not part of the appendices) are taken as a single lemma, and their occurrences in non-Ælfrician texts are combined. Therefore, the equivalent lemma *(ge)hūslian* has been tagged in Evoke as C<sub>1</sub>. Comments have been added to Evoke entries which subsume multiple *DOE* lemmata for the purposes of clarity; e.g., in the case of *(ge)hūslian*: "#comment Conflation of three *DOE* entries: *gehūslian* (A<sub>1</sub>), *hūslian* (B<sub>1</sub>) and *gehūslođ* (not in appendices)." Conversely, when a single *DOE* entry corresponds to multiple *TOE* entries, all relevant *TOE* entries in Evoke are assigned the same category as the *DOE* entry; the *DOE* lemma has not been 'split up' into *TOE* lemmata which are then recategorised. In other words, both *bedydrian* and *bedydrian ... wip* are tagged as C<sub>1</sub> in Evoke; the fact that *bedydrian ... wip* with the sense 'to conceal' only occurs once in total, in the works of Ælfric (*DOE*, s.v. *be-dydrian*, sense 2), has not been taken into account.

Note that for entries in *TOE* in which a preposition is part of the lemma for a verb (such as *bedydrian ... wip*), only those entries have been tagged which have demonstrably been used by Ælfric, i.e., there is an Ælfrician quote for this

34 E.g., *forneān* 'almost', which was not yet available in the Linguistic Linked Data version of *TOE* used for this article. See footnote 33.

particular verb + preposition combination in the equivalent *DOE* entry. This decision was also made in order to reduce the number of errors with respect to tagging senses of Ælfrician lemmata which do not actually occur in Ælfric's texts. For instance, with respect to the D lemma *abūgan*, one of the four results in *TOE*, *abūgan fram*, has not been tagged, since the sense that is attested for it in *TOE*, 'to move from', seems to correspond to sense 2.b in the *DOE* (s.v. *a-būgan*), which does not list any Ælfrician quotes. The same principle has been applied to other lemmata: if a *TOE* entry is solely associated with senses which are not found in the works of Ælfric for that particular lemma, then this entry is not tagged in *Evoke*.<sup>35</sup>

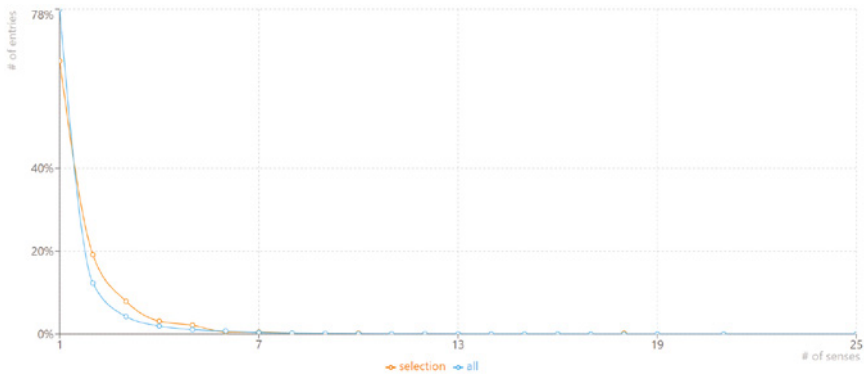
### 3.2 Results

The Ælfrician vocabulary which has been tagged in *Evoke* can be subjected to a number of statistical analyses, which highlight the similarities and differences between Ælfric's vocabulary and all words in *TOE* as a whole. Therefore, these analyses provide insights into the characteristics of Ælfric's vocabulary. Due to the discrepancies between the *DOE* and *TOE* (see section 3.1), the number of tagged entries per category in *Evoke* differs from the number of entries which have been categorised based on the *DOE* and prior scholarship, as found in Appendices A and B (see Table 3 below and cf. Table 1 above). For reasons of space and since this is an exploratory study, Ælfric's lexis will be analysed as a whole in this section, without taking into account the differences between categories A–D.

35 Discrepancies between the *DOE* and *TOE* and the subsequent choices with respect to tagging in *Evoke* have been indicated in the footnotes in the appendices (and the corresponding entries are preceded by asterisks), but, for reasons of space, no information is given about the reasoning which underlies these choices (e.g., the sense of a *TOE* entry does not occur in the works of Ælfric). Occasionally, tagging multiple *DOE* entries as one *TOE* entry in *Evoke* leads to category D words with fewer than 50% of their occurrences in the works of Ælfric. These *TOE* entries have nevertheless been tagged, since they subsume at least one lemma which the *DOE* has labelled as Ælfrician (the only exception being *ge-ered* in category A2, Appendix A). However, if a lemma found in scholarship on Ælfric's *Grammar* corresponds to a *TOE* entry which subsumes another lemma (e.g., a variant with the prefix *ge-*) and these lemmata taken together are categorised as D with fewer than 50% of their occurrences in the works of Ælfric, then this word is not categorised at all (i.e., it is not part of the appendices either). A slightly stricter approach towards the categorisation of the words found in Ælfric's *Grammar* is warranted, since the claim in the literature (Williams, 1958; Sauer, 2009; Chapman, 2010) is not that all of these words are frequently found in the works of Ælfric, but rather that they simply occur in Ælfric's *Grammar* as translations of particular Latin lemmata.

TABLE 3 Results of the tagging of Ælfrician vocabulary in Evoke

Categories	1 ( $\geq 5$ occ.)	2 (1–4 occ.)	Total
A (0 non-Ælf. texts)	28	102	130
B (1 non-Ælf. text)	45	25	70
C (2–4 non-Ælf. texts)	64	0	64
D ( $\geq 5$ non-Ælf. texts)	NA	NA	153
Total A–D			417

FIGURE 1 The degree of ambiguity of Ælfric's vocabulary (orange) and *TOE* (blue)

First of all, Evoke can be used to determine the degree of ambiguity of Ælfric's lexis. The degree of ambiguity is related to the number of senses that a lemma may have. For instance, if Ælfrician words generally have a low number of different possible senses, this result would imply that Ælfric's lexical usage can be characterised as unambiguous, and could mean that he is particularly concerned about writing as precisely as possible. A high degree of ambiguity would indicate the opposite: a lack of a particular concern for precision in lexical usage, and perhaps a deliberate effort to allow for multiple interpretations of his words.

As Figure 1 shows, Ælfric's vocabulary is somewhat more ambiguous than the vocabulary in *TOE*. Around two-thirds – 65.95% – of the lexical entries tagged as Ælfrician have only one sense associated with them, as opposed to 78.40% of the entries in *TOE* as a whole. Conversely, Ælfric's vocabulary contains relatively more lemmata with two, three, four or five senses than *TOE* does. According to Evoke, an Ælfrician lemma has, on average, 1.66 senses associated

with it, while a lemma in *TOE* has 1.45 senses. While this is perhaps not a significant difference, it seems that, on average, Ælfric's vocabulary is somewhat more ambiguous than Old English vocabulary in general. Nevertheless, this difference is not great enough to allow for the conclusion that Ælfric was deliberately ambiguous or unconcerned with lexical precision in his works.

Evoke can also determine the degree of synonymy of Ælfric's vocabulary. One crucial difference between this analysis and the previous one is that the degree of synonymy relates to lexical senses, rather than lexical entries. Since only lexical entries have been tagged in Evoke, not lexical senses, the analysis in Evoke takes into account all 693 senses that are associated with the 417 Ælfrician lemmata, including those senses which have not been attested in the works of Ælfric.<sup>36</sup> The degree of synonymy is related to the number of synonyms that are available for a lexical sense. If Ælfric mainly uses lexical senses with a high number of synonyms, the implication would be that Ælfric, in choosing one particular synonym over other available equivalents, often made deliberate lexical choices in his writings. On the other hand, if the works of Ælfric generally feature lexical senses with few synonyms, this fact would make it more difficult to argue that Ælfric frequently made particular conscious lexical choices.

The graph in Figure 2 shows that a quarter of the senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary (25.69%) have zero synonyms available for them (i.e., there is only one lemma associated with these senses). This percentage is almost the same for the senses in *TOE*: 24.63% of all senses in *TOE* have zero synonyms

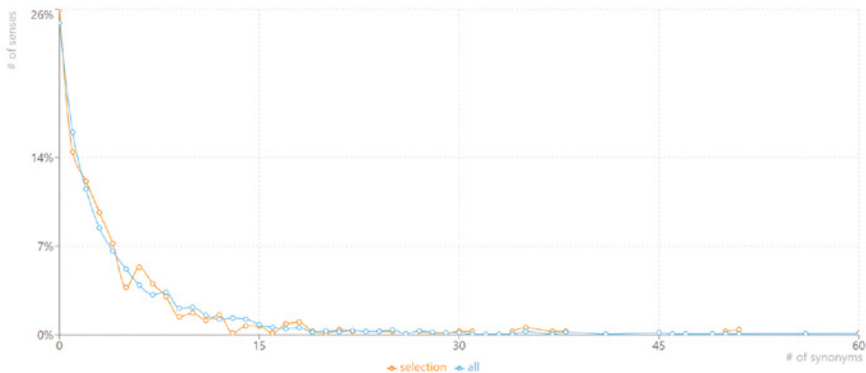


FIGURE 2 The degree of synonymy of Ælfric's vocabulary (orange) and *TOE* (blue)

36 An attempt has been made to mitigate this effect somewhat: if a *DOE* lemma corresponds to multiple *TOE* entries, the *TOE* entries are only tagged if they are associated with senses that actually occur in the works of Ælfric (see section 3.1).

available for them. The graphs for the senses of the *Ælfrician* lemmata and the senses for the *TOE* lemmata are roughly equivalent. This fact is borne out by Evoke's statistical analysis, which shows that, on average, a sense of a given *Ælfrician* lemma has 4.88 synonyms available for it, while a sense of a lemma in *TOE* has 4.92 synonyms associated with it. In other words, it is very likely that *Ælfric* made deliberate lexical choices in his writings, something which is also borne out by categories E and F, which feature lemmata that *Ælfric* prefers over their synonyms. Nevertheless, *Ælfric* probably did not make particular lexical choices to a greater extent than was normal in Old English.

Another analysis which can be carried out in Evoke relates to the degree of specificity of particular vocabulary. This analysis also uses the total number of senses associated with lexical entries to show the distribution of these senses in the taxonomy of *TOE* (which Evoke refers to as the 'tree depth' of these senses), with 1 being the most abstract level and 11 the most specific level in meaning. For instance, if the senses associated with *Ælfric's* vocabulary are found, overall, at higher taxonomy levels, then *Ælfric's* vocabulary may be said to have a high degree of specificity. This result might imply that *Ælfric* created some of his vocabulary in order to fill gaps in the Old English lexicon. On the other hand, if many senses are found at lower taxonomy levels, this tendency would point to a preference on *Ælfric's* part for using specific terms for more general concepts. This vocabulary is less likely to have been created by *Ælfric*, as the chances are higher that *Ælfric* simply made use of particular pre-existing lexemes.

Figure 3 shows that the senses associated with *Ælfric's* vocabulary follow much the same distribution in *TOE's* taxonomy as the distribution of all senses found in *TOE*. On average, a sense found in *Ælfric's* vocabulary has a taxonomy level of 5.14, which is virtually identical to the average for all *TOE* senses:

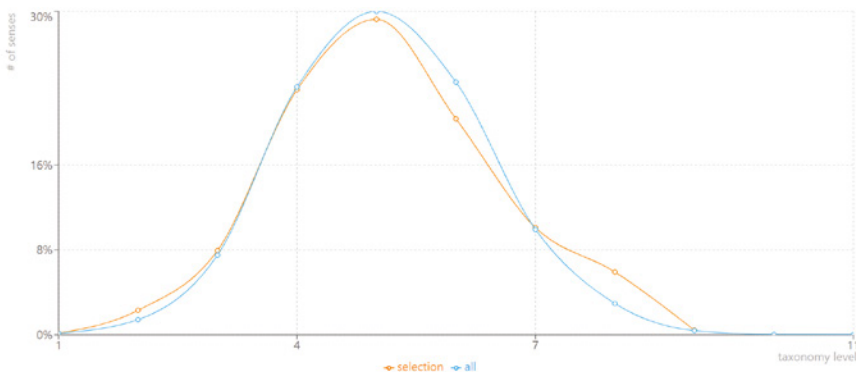


FIGURE 3 The degree of specificity of *Ælfric's* vocabulary (orange) and *TOE* (blue)

5.11. This result is to be expected, since words are seldom extremely general or extremely specific: most words fall somewhere in between these two extremes. Nevertheless, the graph does show that senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary are found relatively less often at a taxonomy level of 6 (Ælfric: 20.35%; *TOE*: 23.81%) and relatively more often at a taxonomy level of 8 (Ælfric: 5.92%; *TOE*: 2.95%). Although it is true that the degrees of specificity of Ælfric's vocabulary and all of the vocabulary in *TOE* are, on average, virtually the same, it does seem that Ælfric's vocabulary is somewhat more specific than Old English vocabulary in general, since it features a higher-than-expected percentage of senses at taxonomy level 8 and a lower-than-expected percentage of senses at taxonomy level 6.

Lastly, Evoke can show how the senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary are distributed across the categories in *TOE*, in order to establish the semantic domains in which Ælfrician vocabulary predominates and the domains in which it is underrepresented.

One category that immediately stands out in Figure 4 as containing a particularly high proportion of the senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary is "09 Speech, vocal utterance": 15.73% of all the senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary are found in this category, whereas the same category contains only 3.67% of all senses in *TOE*. If the bars belonging to this category are clicked, Evoke shows a new graph, featuring the distribution of senses across the subcategories of "09 Speech, vocal utterance". This graph shows that the vast majority of the senses associated with Ælfric's lexis in "09 Speech, vocal utterance" are found in the category "09.03 A language" (Ælfric: 12.41%; *TOE*: 1.34%), and, more specifically, in a subcategory of "09.03 A language": "09.03.02 Art of grammar" (Ælfric: 10.25%; *TOE*: 0.29%). This result is not surprising.

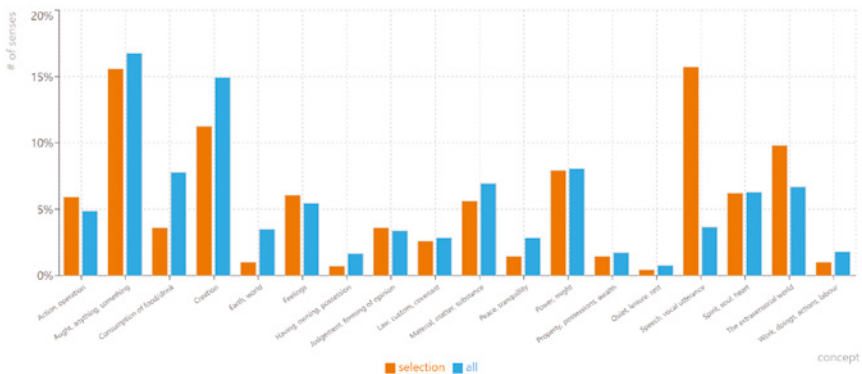


FIGURE 4 The distribution of the senses of Ælfric's vocabulary (orange) and all senses in *TOE* (blue) across the *TOE* categories

*Ælfric's Grammar* teaches Latin grammar, but was written in Old English. For the purposes of this grammar, "Ælfric rendered into English practically every Latin term at least once [...]. Thus Ælfric used over two hundred English grammatical terms, most of which he presumably coined" (Chapman, 2010: 422). In other words, the restriction of a great amount of Old English grammatical terminology to *Ælfric's Grammar* means that grammatical terminology is overrepresented within Ælfric's characteristic vocabulary.

Another category in which Ælfric's vocabulary is overrepresented, albeit to a lesser extent than in the category "09 Speech, vocal utterance", is the category "16 The extrasensorial world". In this category, 9.81% of the senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary can be found, compared to 6.68% of all senses in *TOE*. When clicked, the graph shows that 3.75% of the senses linked with Ælfric's lexis occur in the subcategory "16.01 A divine being" (*TOE*: 1.98%), while 6.06% of the senses of Ælfric's vocabulary are found in the subcategory "16.02 Religion" (*TOE*: 4.71%). The slight overrepresentation of Ælfric's vocabulary in these categories is most likely related to his literary output, which, among other texts, consists of homilies, saints' lives, Bible translations and other religious texts.

Some of the categories in which Ælfric's vocabulary is underrepresented include "04 Consumption of food/drink" (Ælfric: 3.61%; *TOE*: 7.79%), "02 Creation" (Ælfric: 11.26%; *TOE*: 14.94%), and "01 Earth, world" (Ælfric: 1.01%; *TOE*: 3.50%). The lack of Ælfrician vocabulary in the first category is perhaps not unexpected, but "02 Creation" and "01 Earth, world" seem like categories in which Ælfric could have used his own characteristic vocabulary, since words relating to these domains may be found in texts such as homilies. When analysing the subcategories of "02 Creation", Ælfrician vocabulary is especially lacking in the categories "02.07 A plant" (Ælfric: 0.00%; *TOE*: 2.45%) and "02.06 Animal" (Ælfric: 0.58%; *TOE*: 1.72%). Moreover, within the subcategories of "01 Earth, world", Ælfric's vocabulary is conspicuously absent in the category "01.01 Surface of the earth" (Ælfric: 0.43%; *TOE*: 2.60%). One possible reason for the lack of characteristically Ælfrician vocabulary in these categories is that Ælfric did not feel the need to choose or create his own terminology when referring to concepts in these semantic domains, but was simply happy to use lemmata which enjoyed a wider usage.

### 3.3 Discussion

Based on the statistical analyses of Ælfric's vocabulary in *Evoke*, it would seem that the characteristics of Ælfric's lexis are not vastly different from those of Old English vocabulary in general, as found in *TOE*. The averages of the degrees of ambiguity (Ælfric: 1.66 senses per lemma; *TOE*: 1.45 senses per lemma), synonymy (Ælfric: 4.88 synonyms per sense; *TOE*: 4.92 synonyms per

sense) and specificity (Ælfric: average sense has taxonomy level of 5.14; *TOE*: average sense has taxonomy level of 5.11) show that Ælfric's vocabulary exhibits the same tendencies as Old English vocabulary as a whole. Nevertheless, there are differences: the very similar averages for Ælfric's vocabulary and all vocabulary in *TOE* with respect to their degrees of specificity obscure the fact that Ælfric's vocabulary has a higher chance of having a sense at taxonomy level 8 (Ælfric: 5.92%; *TOE*: 2.95%), and a lower chance of having a sense at taxonomy level 6 (Ælfric: 20.35%; *TOE*: 23.81%). Furthermore, a comparison of the distributions of the lexical senses associated with Ælfric's vocabulary and the senses associated with all vocabulary in *TOE* shows that Ælfric's vocabulary is overrepresented in the category "09 Speech, vocal utterance" (Ælfric: 15.73%; *TOE*: 3.67%) – especially in its sub-sub-category "09.03.02 Art of grammar" (Ælfric: 10.25%; *TOE*: 0.29%) – and in the category "16 The extrasensorial world" (Ælfric: 9.81%; *TOE*: 6.68%). The relatively higher percentage of Ælfrician vocabulary with a taxonomy level of 8 is most likely due to the overrepresentation of his vocabulary in the category "09.03.02 Art of grammar". A number of the typically Ælfrician words in this category, such as names of grammatical cases (e.g., *wrēgendlic* 'accusative' in *TOE* category "09.03.02.03.01.01.01|03 Case: Accusative") and names for verbal moods (e.g., *āsciendlic* 'interrogative' in *TOE* category "09.03.02.03.01.02.01|02 Mood: Interrogative"), can be found at a taxonomy level of 8. All in all, Ælfric's vocabulary does exhibit a number of features of its own.

The present analysis of Ælfric's vocabulary in *Evoke* must be seen as an exploratory study: a first step towards understanding the characteristics of the typical lexis of Ælfric of Eynsham. Future refinements with respect to the data set and methodology of this study are necessary.<sup>37</sup> Firstly, during the process of tagging the Ælfrician lemmata in *Evoke*, a number of unlabelled lemmata were encountered in the *DOE* which may be added to a subsequent version of the appendices.<sup>38</sup> In addition, the present analysis of Ælfric's vocabulary

37 Note also that the comparison between Ælfric's vocabulary and all Old English vocabulary in *TOE* involves data sets which are vastly different in terms of their sizes: Ælfric's vocabulary in *Evoke* consists of 417 lexical entries associated with 693 senses, while *TOE* features 35422 lexical entries associated with 51480 senses.

38 Many of these lemmata have, nevertheless, been taken into account in the analysis in *Evoke*, since they have indirectly been tagged as part of *TOE* entries which subsume them. See, for instance, the *DOE* entries for *gehūsod* (tagged as part of *(ge)hūslian*), *gebyrþere* (tagged as part of *(ge)byrþre*), *bytlung* (tagged as part of *(ge)bytlung*), ? *gegyht*, ? *gegyhte* (tagged as part of *(ge)gyht*), *ānlācan* (tagged as part of *(ge)ānlācan*), *gehremman* (tagged as part of *(ge)hremman*), *efernācing*, *efernācung* (tagged as part of *(ge)efernācung*), *ge-egesod*, *ge-egsod* (tagged as part of *(ge)egesian*), *elþeodlice* (tagged as part of *elþeod(ig)lice*), *ge-andwyrd* (tagged as part of *(ge)andwyrdan*), *cneordnes* (tagged as part of *(ge)cneordnes*) and *efernācan* (tagged as part of *(ge)efernācan*). In addition, the adverbs *stōwlīce*

in Evoke has, for reasons of space, not individually analysed categories A–D, which show the degree to which the Ælfrician lemmata are restricted to his works. Future analyses could focus on the four categories (and subcategories 1 and 2) separately and contrast them with each other, in order to find out how they differ. For instance, almost a third (32.36%) of the senses of the lemmata in category A can be found in “09.03.02 Art of grammar”, which means that much of the vocabulary that exclusively occurs in the works of Ælfric is related to grammar.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, much of Ælfric’s grammatical terminology is virtually restricted to his works: of the 71 senses which are associated with Ælfric’s vocabulary in the category “09.03.02 Art of grammar”, almost two thirds (46 senses = 64.79%) are found in category A (cf. Chapman, 2010: 422). Another improvement to this study would be to tag in Evoke only those lexical senses which occur in Ælfrician texts, rather than tagging lexical entries which incorporate lexical senses that do not necessarily occur in the works of Ælfric. This process is time-consuming, but would improve the accuracy of the statistical analyses in Evoke, since these primarily work with lexical senses, rather than lexical entries. Lastly, future analyses should take the remaining categories (E–H) of Ælfric’s vocabulary into account. Contrasting Ælfric’s preferred lemmata in categories E and F with their dispreferred equivalents, for instance, would provide insights into the semantic differences between these lemmata.

#### 4 Conclusion

This study has collected, categorised and characterised the vocabulary of Ælfric of Eynsham using the *DOE*, secondary literature, *TOE* and Evoke. Although the present study does not claim to be exhaustive, it is hoped that it has demonstrated the usefulness of resources such as the *DOE*, *TOE* and Evoke for researching the particular vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon authors. While it is true that the use of the *DOE* for studies of this kind is not entirely without its flaws, the *DOE*’s corpus-based approach allows for the quantification of lemmata in the works of particular authors such as Ælfric, and its usefulness will increase with each new fascicle that is published. The results of the analysis of Ælfric’s vocabulary in Evoke are perhaps not entirely surprising: the predominance of vocabulary relating to grammar and religion may be expected for an author who is primarily known for his *Grammar* and religious texts, such as homilies.

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and *wiflice*, derived from *stōwlic* (B<sub>1</sub>) and *wiflic* (D) may be added (these have not been tagged in Evoke).

39 Cf. the representation of “09.03.02 Art of grammar” in the remaining three categories: B (13.64%), C (7.84%) and D (1.38%).

There are a number of further avenues of research which may employ the corpus of Ælfrician vocabulary compiled for this study. For instance, the overview of Ælfrician lexis can be useful for the establishment of Ælfrician authorship of anonymous texts. In addition, the corpus can be used to establish the influence of Ælfric's vocabulary on later texts, such as post-Conquest works.<sup>40</sup> Lastly, once the typical lexis of other known authors, such as Wulfstan, has been compiled, these vocabularies may be compared to each other, in order to discover the differences and similarities between Ælfric's lexical usage and that of other Old English authors. For all of these avenues of research, it is hoped that this study may be a useful starting point for finding *þā cæge, ðe ðæra worda andgit unlicð*<sup>41</sup> of the most prolific writer of Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric of Eynsham.

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<sup>40</sup> For an example of this type of research, see Van Baalen (2021), which uses an earlier version of the present article's corpus of Ælfrician vocabulary to analyse two early twelfth-century English translations – one of which is Ralph d'Escures' homily on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, discussed by Treharne (2006) – and their possible use of Ælfrician vocabulary.

<sup>41</sup> Original quote: "stæfcraeft is seo cæg, ðe ðæra boca andgit unlicð" [grammar is the key which unlocks the meaning of the books], cited from the first line of the *DOEC* version of Ælfric's *Grammar*. Since *andgit* also means 'understanding', the intended meaning of the modified quote is 'the key which unlocks the understanding of the words'.

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## Appendix A: Ælfrician Vocabulary Found in the *DOE*

This appendix features vocabulary that has been labelled by the *DOE* as frequently, primarily or exclusively occurring in the works of Ælfric of Eynsham. In addition, the appendix also features lemmata (starting with letters A–I) which have been found in secondary sources on the vocabulary of Ælfric's *Grammar* (Williams, 1958; Sauer, 2009; Chapman, 2010). As all of these lemmata can be found in the *DOE*, no direct references to these sources are given in Appendix A. The spelling of the lemmata generally follows the *DOE*, but hyphens in compounds have been removed for the purposes of presentation, and in order to save some space. Minor spelling differences between entries in the *DOE* and their corresponding entries in the Linguistic Linked Data version of *TOE* (henceforth: *TOE*) are not mentioned, but major differences are given in the footnotes. The information regarding the frequency of the lemmata in the *DOEC* and the labels that have been assigned to them have all been copied directly from the entries in the *DOE*. Whenever there are discrepancies between the *DOE* and *TOE*, e.g., when one *DOE* entry corresponds to multiple *TOE* entries, or vice versa, the relevant entries in this appendix and Appendix B are preceded by an asterisk and feature a footnote explaining the difference. Whenever relevant, these footnotes also mention the new category assigned to the *TOE* entry or entries (see section 3.1). Entries which could not be tagged in *TOE* are also preceded by an asterisk.<sup>42</sup> Plus symbols in this appendix and Appendix B indicate lemmata which are restricted to or frequently occur in the works of Ælfric – either based on my own counts or (in Appendix B) on claims made in prior scholarship – but which have not been labelled by the *DOE* as such; i.e., they do not have a label featuring the name 'Ælfric' or an Ælfrician text such as 'ÆGram'.<sup>43</sup>

42 See footnotes 33 and 34.

43 I have also added plus symbols to words labelled 'gram.' (since there is no indication that this label specifically refers to Ælfric's *Grammar*) and words with the label 'in Gen' (since the book of Genesis was only partially translated by Ælfric). Note that the plus symbols do not necessarily indicate lemmata which would have been labelled by the *DOE* as Ælfrician (see, e.g., the B2 lemma *edlesende* which has two occurrences in a non-Ælfrician text, and only one occurrence in the works of Ælfric), but they do indicate lemmata which are restricted to Ælfric in some way, and which cannot be found by searching the *DOE* for 'ælfric' or a specific Ælfrician text.

*Category A: Lemmata That Only Occur in the Works of Ælfric*

Subcategory A1: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* ≥ 5

* <i>anmōdlīce</i>	6 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>44</sup>
<i>atollīce, atelīce</i>	5 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>awendedlic</i>	11 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>awyrðnes</i>	9 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>āxiendlic</i>	7 occ. (in ÆGram)
<i>bærmann/bærmann</i>	8 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>45</sup>
<i>besāwan</i>	5 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>ge-bitt</i>	7 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>46</sup>
<i>cāsus</i>	ca. 80 occ. (in ÆGram)
<i>cēnlīce</i>	8 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>cennīngstōw</i>	5 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>clīpiendlic</i>	5 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)
<i>eallmidde, ælmidde</i>	13 occ. (in Ælfric)
* <i>edcennan</i>	6 occ. (in Ælfric, mainly in MS of s.xii <sup>2</sup> ) <sup>47</sup>
<i>endelēaslice</i>	9 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>forsworenes</i>	5 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>forpearle</i>	16 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>48</sup>
<i>godspellbodung</i>	7 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>49</sup>
<i>grāpfung</i>	7 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>hārwenge</i>	6 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>hāþengylða</i>	ca. 40 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>hēafodwind</i>	6 occ. (in ÆTemp)
<i>hredding</i>	5 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric)

44 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *ānmōdlīce*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *anmōdlīce* (A1) and *ānmōdlīce* (D). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke. The entry in the *DOE* (s.v. *an-mōdlīce*) mentions that “[s]ome of the occurrences given s.v. *ānmōdlīce* ‘unanimously’ may belong here.”

45 The two occurrences in the translation of Joshua (3:2 and 3:14) (*DOE*, s.v. *bær-mann*) have been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

46 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ge-bitt*) this noun only seems to occur as part of the collocation “*toþa gebitt* ‘gnashing of teeth’”, and this is the entry which has been tagged in Evoke.

47 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ed-cennan*), this lemma only occurs as a past participle in the collocation “*beon edcenned* ‘to be regenerated, born again’ (mainly ref. to rebirth through baptism)”. Hence, only the past participle has been taken into account, which corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*edcenned*. This entry subsumes two *DOE* entries: *edcennan* (A1) and *ge-edcenned* (not in appendices) (the verb *ge-edcennan* constitutes a separate lemma in both the *DOE* and *TOE*). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke.

48 The occurrence in the translation of Judges (3:8) (*DOE*, s.v. *for-pearle*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

49 See also the entry in Appendix B, category A1.

* <i>ge-hū</i>	5 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>50</sup>
* <i>ge-hūslian</i>	7 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>51</sup>

Subcategory A2: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* < 5

<i>abropennes</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric)
<i>a-efesian</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram) <sup>52</sup>
<i>āfæstlā</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)
<i>āgennes</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>āgenslaga</i>	4 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>53</sup>
*+ <i>āgniendlic</i>	2 occ. <sup>54</sup>
<i>ge-āgniendlic</i>	4 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)
+ <i>ahyldendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+ <i>alecgendlic</i>	1 occ. <sup>55</sup>
+ <i>alēfednes</i>	1 occ.
+ <i>andgytfullic</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)
* <i>andwyrdnes</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>56</sup>
<i>arabisc</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>ascrēadian</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆCHom) <sup>57</sup>
+ <i>ascyriendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+ <i>asēþan</i>	1 occ. (in two MSS)
+ <i>aslaciendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+ <i>ætbreǵendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
<i>etēowiendlic</i>   <i>ætȳwiendlic</i>	3 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)

50 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

51 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*hūslian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *ge-hūslian* (A1), *hūslian* (B1) and *ge-hūsloð* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as C1 in Evoke.

52 The hyphen in the entry in this appendix has been retained for clarity.

53 The one occurrence which is not Ælfrician can be found in the thirteenth-century Lambeth Homilies (*DOE*, s.v. *āgen-slaga*), but this seems to occur in an Ælfrician quote: “Nan seolf cwale, þæt is, aʒen-sclaza, ne cumeð to godes riche”; cf. Ælfric, *De duodecim abusivis*: “nan sylfcwala, þæt is agenslaga, ne becymð to Godes rice”; quotes taken from *MED* (s.v. *āʒen-slaza n.*) and *DOE* (s.v. *āgen-slaga*), respectively. In any case, since the *DOEC* does not contain the Lambeth Homilies, it would be more accurate to say that this lexeme occurs only three times, all in works by Ælfric.

54 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

55 Tagged in Evoke as *alecgendlic* word.

56 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged. The *DOE* (s.v. *andwyrdnes*) mentions that these forms may be variants of the A1 lemma *awyrðnes*, and, for this reason, a comment has been added to the entry *āwierðnes* in Evoke.

57 Tagged in Evoke as *of āscrēadian*.

+ <i>ǣþryt</i> noun	2 occ. <sup>58</sup>
<i>ge-bēat</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>bedūfan</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>behegian</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric)
+ <i>behrēowsungtīd</i>	2 occ.
+ <i>betwuxalegednes</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+ <i>betwuxaworpennes</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+ <i>ge-bīgendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
<i>bisceopealdor</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric)
* <i>ge-bōgian</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>59</sup>
<i>bræs</i>	4 occ. (in ÆGram and ÆGI)
+ <i>bræslan, brasian</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
<i>brocung</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>burhealdor</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric)
* <i>byrþere</i> <sup>1</sup>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>60</sup>
* <i>ge-bytlung</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>61</sup>
* <i>catanenscisc</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>62</sup>
+ <i>ge-cīgendlic</i>	2 occ. (gram.)
<i>cliferfēte, cliferfōte</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric)
* <i>cneordlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric) <sup>63</sup>
* <i>ge-cneordlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric) <sup>64</sup>
<i>cnyssung</i>	2 occ. (in Ælfric)
+ <i>cræftspræc</i>	1 occ.
<i>cwealmbēarnes</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric)
* <i>cwēmednes</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>65</sup>
+ <i>dāelnimendlic</i>	1 occ.
<i>declīnian</i>	3 occ. (in ÆGram)

58 Cf. the C<sub>1</sub> lexeme *ǣþryt* *adj.*, *ǣþryte*.

59 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged. Cf. the C<sub>1</sub> lexeme *bōgian*<sup>2</sup>.

60 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*byrþere*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *byrþere*<sup>1</sup> (A<sub>2</sub>) and *ge-byrþere* (not in appendices).

61 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*bytlung*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ge-bytlung* (A<sub>2</sub>) and *bytlung* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B<sub>1</sub> in *Evoke*.

62 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

63 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*cneordlic*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *cneordlic* (A<sub>2</sub>) and *ge-cneordlic* (A<sub>2</sub>).

64 See footnote for *cneordlic* (A<sub>2</sub>).

65 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*cwēmednes*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *cwēmednes* (A<sub>2</sub>) and *ge-cwēmednes* (B<sub>1</sub>). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B<sub>1</sub> in *Evoke*.

+ <i>declīniendlic</i>	3 occ. (gram.)
<i>dēofolgylda</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>ge-drēoglācan</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>drēoriglice</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric)
* <i>ge-dwimorlice</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>66</sup>
* <i>dwolmann</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>67</sup>
<i>eallgōd</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>68</sup>
*+ <i>ge-ēarplættan</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS) <sup>69</sup>
<i>edlesendlic</i>	4 occ. (in ÆGram)
+ <i>edlesendlice</i>	2 occ.
+ <i>edlesung</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)
<i>efencempa</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric)
+ <i>endelēasnes</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)
<i>eorpfæst</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆLS)
+ <i>ēowiendlic</i>	1 occ.
* <i>ge-ered</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram) <sup>70</sup>
* <i>fāgettan</i>	3 occ. (in multiple MSS of Ælfric) <sup>71</sup>
<i>fāgettung</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of Ælfric)
* <i>fīperhama</i>	3 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric) <sup>72</sup>
*+ <i>ge-fīperhamod</i>	2 occ. <sup>73</sup>

66 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*dwimorlice*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ge-dwimorlice* (A2) and *dwimorlice* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B2 in Evoke. According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ge-dwimorlice*), this lexeme only occurs as part of the collocation “*gedwimorlice swaþeah* ‘but only as an illusion’”.

67 See footnote for *gedwolman* (Appendix B, category D).

68 The *DOE* (s.v. *eall-gōd*) notes that “[t]his compound may alternatively be taken as two words” and this is how it appears in *TOE*.

69 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*ēarplætt(i)gan*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ge-ēarplættan* (A2) and *ēarplættan*, *ēarplættian* (Appendix B, category B2). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B2 in Evoke.

70 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*erian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *ge-ered* (A2), *erian* (not in appendices) and *ge-erian* (not in appendices). Since neither of the main verb entries have been labelled as Ælfrician by the *DOE*, but only the past participle *ge-ered*, the *TOE* entry has not been tagged in Evoke.

71 This lemma corresponds to three entries in *TOE*, *fāgettan* (as a verb), *fāgettan* (as an intransitive verb) and *fāgettan mid wordum*, all three of which have been tagged.

72 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *fēperhama*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *fīperhama* (A2) and *fēperhama* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke.

73 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*fīperhamod*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ge-fīperhamod* (A2) and *fēperhamode* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B2 in Evoke.

<i>foca</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>74</sup>
+ <i>forbēodendlic</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)
*+ <i>forbodenlic</i>	1 occ. <sup>75</sup>
+ <i>foresettendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS)
*+ <i>forgyffendlic</i> ,	1 occ. (in multiple MSS) <sup>76</sup>
<i>forgyfenlic</i>	
* <i>forscrencend</i>	4 occ. (in multiple MSS of Ælfric) <sup>77</sup>
+ <i>gefrēdendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS) <sup>78</sup>
<i>fremfullic</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>fyrðlic</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>79</sup>
<i>gadriendlic</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)
<i>gafolgyldere</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric)
<i>glēsing</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)
<i>goldmæstling</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram and ÆGl)
* <i>grama</i> <sup>2</sup>	4 occ. (in Ælfric) <sup>80</sup>
<i>grāpiendlic</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric, in multiple MSS)
*? <i>gyht</i>	3 occ. (in ÆGram MS H) <sup>81</sup>
*+ <i>ha ha interj.</i>	1 occ. <sup>82</sup>
<i>hāsian</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of ÆGram)
*+ <i>he he</i>	1 occ. <sup>83</sup>
+ <i>healfclipiende</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)

74 The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (18:6) (*DOE*, s.v. *foca*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

75 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

76 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *forgifendlic* and *forgifenlic*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

77 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *forscrencend* in *TOE*, a noun and an adjective, of which only the noun has been tagged. The *DOE* (s.v. *for-screncend*) notes that, in all instances, this lemma is given as “an interpretation of the name *Jacob*”.

78 Tagged in *Evoke* as *gefrēdendlic* (*on*).

79 The occurrence in the translation of Joshua (11:10) (*DOE*, s.v. *fyrðlic*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there). According to the *DOE*, this lexeme only occurs as part of the collocation “*fyrðlic truma* ‘war-like band’”.

80 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *grama*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *grama*<sup>1</sup> (not in appendices) and *grama*<sup>2</sup> (A2). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in *Evoke*.

81 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*gyht*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: ? *gyht* (A2) and ? *ge-gyht*, ? *ge-gyhte* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B1 in *Evoke*.

82 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *ha ha/hē hē*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ha ha interj.* (A2) and *he he* (A2).

83 See footnote for *ha ha interj.* (A2).

* <i>hnācan</i>	1 occ. (in multiple MSS of Ælfric) <sup>84</sup>
<i>hrædmōd</i>	3 occ. (in Ælfric)
* <i>ge-hrepian, ge-hreppan</i>	3 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric) <sup>85</sup>
*+ <i>hui(g)</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS) <sup>86</sup>
<i>hundseofontigfeald</i>	2 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric)
<i>hwōnlic</i>	4 occ. (in Ælfric)

**Category B: Lemmata That Occur in the Works of Ælfric and One Other Text**

Subcategory B1: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* ≥ 5

<i>alēfan, alēfian, alēwan</i>	25 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>87</sup>
<i>andgytlēas</i>	7 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
* <i>āngenga</i>	5 occ. (in <i>Beo</i> and in Ælfric) <sup>88</sup>
* <i>ge-ānlācan</i>	5 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in Ælfric) <sup>89</sup>
* <i>ge-ānlāht</i>	6 occ. (in Ælfric and in glosses) <sup>90</sup>
<i>ārwurfþfull</i>	12 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>awendendlic</i>	12 occ. (mainly in Ælfric, esp. ÆGram)
<i>āfnung</i>	25 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>91</sup>
<i>ānlice</i>	9 occ. (in Ælfric and the gloss of Ælfric's Colloquy)
+ <i>bebēodendlic</i>	5 occ. (in multiple MSS)
<i>bedecian</i>	6 occ. (5× in Ælfric, 4× in the same homily)
<i>begrīwen</i>	6 occ. (in homilies, mainly in Ælfric)
<i>bestreowian/bestrēowian</i>	9 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>ge-bīgednes/ge-bīgendnes/ge-bīgnes</i>	10 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in ÆGram)

84 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*hnācan*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *hnācan* (A2) and *ge-hnācan* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as B2 in *Evoke* (the occurrences listed under *DOE* (s.v. *ge-hnācan*, sense 1) have not been taken into account, since they correspond to the sense associated with the *TOE* entry *gehnācan*).

85 See footnote for *hrepian, hreppan* (D). See also the entry in Appendix B, category E1.

86 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

87 See also the entry in Appendix B, category B1.

88 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *āngenga* in *TOE*, a noun and an adjective, which have both been tagged.

89 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entries *geānlācan* and (*ge*)*ānlācan*. The first of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *ge-ānlācan* (B1) and *ge-ānlāht* (B1); the second *TOE* entry subsumes the same two *DOE* lemmata, in addition to *ānlācan* (not in appendices). Both *TOE* entries have been tagged as C1 in *Evoke*.

90 See footnote for *ge-ānlācan* (B1).

91 The three occurrences in the translations of Genesis (8:11, 15:12) and Joshua (2:5) (*DOE*, s.v. *āfnung*) have been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

<i>blysa/blȳsa, blyse/blȳse</i>	5 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>bysmorfull</i>	26 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>92</sup>
* <i>ge-cwēmednes</i>	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>93</sup>
<i>dædlic</i>	16 occ. (mainly in ÆGram)
+ <i>declīnung</i>	ca. 60 occ. (gram.)
*+ <i>diptongon</i>	6 occ. (in multiple MSS) <sup>94</sup>
* <i>dwołlice</i>	20 occ. (all but 1× in Ælfric) <sup>95</sup>
<i>dydrung</i>	17 occ. (all but 1× in Ælfric)
<i>eallnīwe</i>	8 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>96</sup>
<i>eargian</i>	9 occ. (in Wulfstan and Ælfric)
* <i>edcwīcian, edcucian</i>	14 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>97</sup>
<i>efentwā, emntwā</i>	6 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>98</sup>
<i>ess</i>	8 occ. (mainly in ÆGram)
<i>fenlic</i>	6 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>fþerrīca</i>	6 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in Ælfric)
<i>ge-flāschamod</i>	8 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>99</sup>
<i>flēring</i>	11 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>100</sup>

92 The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (19:3) (*DOE*, s.v. *bysmor-full*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

93 See footnote for *cwēmednes* (A2). According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ge-cwēmednes*), this noun only occurs in the works of Ælfric as part of the collocation “to *gecwēmednesse* (with dat. of person) ‘to the satisfaction (of someone)’”. Cf. the A2 lexeme *cwēmednes*, which also only occurs as part of this collocation (and note that two of its instances occur where another manuscript has a form of *ge-cwēmednes*).

94 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

95 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*dwołlice*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *dwołlice* (B1) and *ge-dwołlice* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as C1 in Evoke.

96 The occurrence in the translation of Judges (16:11) (*DOE*, s.v. *eall-nīwe*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

97 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*edcwīcian*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *edcwīcian*, *edcucian* (B1) and *ge-edcwīcian*, *ge-edcucian* (C1). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as C1 in Evoke. Cf. the D lexeme *ge-edcwīcod*, *ge-edcucod*.

98 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *efen-twā*, *emntwā*) this lemma is only attested as part of the prepositional phrase “on *emtwa* ‘in/into two equal parts’” and this is the entry which has been tagged in Evoke (*on efentwā*).

99 The occurrence in the *Mæsse creda* (*DOEC* short title: ‘Lit 3.2 (Thorpe)’; Cameron number: ‘B12.3.2’) (*DOE*, s.v. *ge-flāsch-amod*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 193).

100 The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (6:16) (*DOE*, s.v. *flēring*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

<i>fordrencan</i>	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>101</sup>
<i>forscyldig</i>	5 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>102</sup>
<i>forþgenge</i>	5 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>fyrlen</i> noun	7 occ. (in Ælfric and BenR texts)
<i>gramlic</i>	ca. 35 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>103</sup>
* <i>ge-hāthyr̥t, ge-hātheort</i>	14 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>104</sup>
<i>hēahþegn</i>	8 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in Ælfric)
* <i>hremman</i>	10 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in Ælfric) <sup>105</sup>
<i>husclīce/hūsclīce,</i> <i>huxlīce/hūxlīce</i>	ca. 25 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>106</sup>
* <i>hūslian</i>	12 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>107</sup>
<i>ge-hwanon</i>	6 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>hyrnstān, hymestān</i>	8 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)

Subcategory B2: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* < 5

<i>asmīþian</i>	4 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
*+ <i>ge-bīcnendlic,</i> <i>ge-bīcniendlic</i>	3 occ. (in multiple MSS) <sup>108</sup>
+ <i>edlesende</i>	3 occ.
<i>el</i>	4 occ. (mainly in ÆGram)
+ <i>endebyrdlic</i>	3 occ. (in multiple MSS)
*+ <i>fēging</i>	4 occ. (in glosses, in multiple MSS) <sup>109</sup>

- 101 The three occurrences in the translation of Genesis (19:32, 19:33 and 19:35) (*DOE*, s.v. *fordrencan*) have been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).
- 102 The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (19:15) (*DOE*, s.v. *for-scyldig*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).
- 103 The occurrence in the translation of Judges (4:2) (*DOE*, s.v. *gramlic*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there). See also the entry in Appendix B, category B1.
- 104 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *gehāthiert* and *(ge)hātheort*, but only the first of these has been tagged.
- 105 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *(ge)hremman*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *hremman* (B1), *ge-hremman* (not in appendices) and *ge-hremmed* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke.
- 106 The occurrence in the translation of Judges (5:11) (*DOE*, s.v. *husclīce, huxlīce*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).
- 107 See footnote for *ge-hūslian* (A1).
- 108 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *(ge)bīcn(ig)endlic*. However, since the sense associated with this entry does not correspond to the sense in which Ælfric uses this lemma, the entry has not been tagged in Evoke.
- 109 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *(ge)fēging*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *fēging* (B2) and *ge-fēging* (B2). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as C1 in Evoke.

*+gefēging	3 occ. (in glosses) <sup>110</sup>
+forpriht	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+gefyllendlic	2 occ. (in multiple MSS)
+geornfullic	4 occ. (in multiple MSS)
hordian	4 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
+hundnigontigwintre	4 occ. (in Gen) <sup>111</sup>
+hundwintre	4 occ. (in Gen) <sup>112</sup>

**Category C: Lemmata That Occur in the Works of Ælfric and between  
Two and Four Other Texts**

Subcategory C1: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* ≥ 5

*a	ca. 90 occ. (mainly in ÆGram)	[in 4 other texts] <sup>113</sup>
acumendlic	5 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
ancorsetla	7 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
ǣbrǣce, ǣbryce	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
ætslīdan	9 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
ǣþryt adj., ǣþryte	7 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>114</sup>
*babilonisc	13 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>115</sup>
basing	16 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>116</sup>
+bæcestre	14 occ. (freq. in Gen)	[in 4 other texts] <sup>117</sup>
becĕāpian	21 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]

110 See footnote for *fēging* (B2).

111 Two occurrences in the translation of Genesis (5:9 and 5:17) (*DOE*, s.v. *hundnigontigwintre*) have not been taken as Ælfrician, while two other occurrences in the translation of Genesis (17:1 and 17:17) have been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

112 Two occurrences in the translation of Genesis (5:6 and 5:18) (*DOE*, s.v. *hundwintre*) have not been taken as Ælfrician, while two other occurrences in the translation of Genesis (17:17 and 21:5) have been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

113 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

114 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ǣþryt adj.*, *ǣþryte*), “the instances without final *-e* may conceivably belong to *ǣþryt* noun, q.v.” Cf. the A2 lexeme *ǣþryt* noun.

115 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

116 The occurrence in the translation of Joshua (7:21) (*DOE*, s.v. *basing*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

117 The nine occurrences in the translation of Genesis (40:1, 40:2, 40:16, 40:20 and 41:9) (*DOE*, s.v. *bæcestre*) have not been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

* <i>beddrida</i>	ca. 35 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>118</sup>
* <i>bedydrian</i>	18 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>119</sup>
* <i>bōgian</i> <sup>2</sup>	10 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>120</sup>
<i>brýdbedd</i>	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>burhscīr</i>	21 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>121</sup>
* <i>ge-bysgian</i>	13 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>122</sup>
* <i>ge-býsnian</i>	20 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>123</sup>
* <i>ceorlian</i>	17 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts] <sup>124</sup>
* <i>+clýsing, clýsung</i>	20 occ.	[in 4 other texts] <sup>125</sup>
<i>cwealmbære, cwylmbære</i>	29 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>cystiglice</i>	7 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>dēadlicnes</i>	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric and Bede)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>dēofollīce</i>	11 occ. (in homilies, mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>drýmann</i>	ca. 45 occ. (in homilies, freq. in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts]
* <i>dwollic</i>	18 occ. (all but 3× in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>126</sup>

118 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *bedreda* in *TOE*, a noun and an adjective, of which only the adjective has been tagged.

119 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *bedydrian* and *bedydrian ... wip*, which have both been tagged. The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (44:15) (*DOE*, s.v. *bedydrian*) has not been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

120 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged. The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (21:34) (*DOE*, s.v. *bōgian*<sup>2</sup>) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there). Cf. the A2 lexeme *ge-bōgian*.

121 The occurrence in the translation of Joshua (14:2) (*DOE*, s.v. *burh-scīr*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

122 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*bisgian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *ge-bysgian* (C1), *bysgian* (not in appendices) and *ge-bysgod* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke.

123 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, (*ge*)*býsnian* and (*ge*)*bīsenian*, which have both been tagged. Both *TOE* entries subsume three *DOE* entries: *ge-býsnian* (C1), *býsnian* (not in appendices) and *ge-býsnod* (not in appendices). For this reason, the *TOE* entries have been tagged as D in Evoke.

124 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*ceorlian*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ceorlian* (C1) and *ge-ceorlian* (not in appendices).

125 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *clýsing* and *clýsung*, but only the second of these has been tagged.

126 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*dwollic*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *dwollic* (C1) and *ge-dwollic* (not in appendices). The occurrence in the translation of Judges (15:24) (*DOE*, s.v. *dwollic*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135)

*e	ca. 40 occ. (38× in ÆGram)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>127</sup>
<i>ealdorbisceop</i>	20 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts]
<i>eallwealdend,</i> <i>ælwæaldend</i>	13 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>eallwealdende</i>	12 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>ge-edcwician,</i> <i>ge-edcucian</i>	19 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>128</sup>
* <i>ge-efenlæcing,</i> <i>ge-efenlæcung</i>	9 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>129</sup>
* <i>ge-egesian,</i> <i>ge-egsian</i>	11 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>130</sup>
* <i>elþēodiglice</i>	8 occ. (mainly in ÆGram)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>131</sup>
<i>fantwæter</i>	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>ge-fēgednes</i>	11 occ. (mainly in glosses, esp. ÆGram)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>flæsclignes</i>	9 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>flocc</i>	21 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts] <sup>132</sup>

(and the citations given there). Consequently, I take there to be only two non-Ælfrician occurrences, not three, as the *DOE* notes in the entry to this lemma.

- 127 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.
- 128 This lemma simply corresponds to the *TOE* entry *geedcwician*. See also the footnote for *edcwician*, *edcucian* (B1). Cf. the D lexeme *ge-edcwicod*, *ge-edcucod*.
- 129 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*efenlæcung*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *ge-efenlæcing*, *ge-efenlæcung* (C1) and *efenlæcing*, *efenlæcung* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke.
- 130 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*egesian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *ge-egesian*, *ge-egsian* (C1), *egesian*, *egsian* (not in appendices) and *ge-egesod*, *ge-egsod* (not in appendices). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke. The occurrence in the translation of Judges (7:22) (*DOE*, s.v. *ge-egesian*, *ge-egsian*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).
- 131 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *elþēod(ig)lice*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *elþēodiglice* (C1) and *elþēodlice* (not in appendices).
- 132 The four occurrences in the translation of Genesis (32:8, 32:10 and 33:8) (*DOE*, s.v. *flocc*) have not been taken as Ælfrician, while the occurrence in the translation of Joshua (8:10) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there). According to the *DOE*, the form ‘floccum’ occurs in manuscript P of Ælfric’s translation of Judges, while manuscript Z has ‘folcum’. If ‘folcum’ is the original Ælfrician reading, this lemma should be moved to category D. However, the *DOE* (s.v. *folc*, sense 13) does point out that the two instances of *folc* with the sense “band of men, company, division of an army” (one of which occurs in the quotation found in Judges, and the other in the D manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) were “perhaps intended for *flocc* q.v.,” which would argue in favour of ‘floccum’ being the more plausible, and, therefore, more authorial, reading of the two.

<i>flotmann</i>	15 occ. (mainly in Ælfric and in glosses)	[in 3 other texts]
<i>forhraþe</i>	11 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>133</sup>
<i>fōrmete</i>	8 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>134</sup>
<i>formolsnian</i>	10 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>forpēaran</i>	14 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts]
<i>forrotodnes</i>	15 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>forsecgan</i>	20 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>fracophnes</i>	11 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>frumsceapen</i>	28 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>frumwæstm</i>	10 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>fugelcynn</i>	29 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts] <sup>135</sup>
* <i>fyrmlīc</i>	15 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>136</sup>
<i>fyrwitnes</i>	9 occ. (in multiple MSS, mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>hengen</i>	24 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 3 other texts]
<i>hlȳwþ, hlēowþ</i>	11 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
<i>hrepung</i>	ca. 35 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 4 other texts]
+ <i>hungorgēar</i>	9 occ. (mainly in Gen)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>137</sup>
<i>husclīc/hūsclīc,</i> <i>huxclīc/hūxclīc</i>	11 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts] <sup>138</sup>
<i>hwearftlian,</i> <i>hwyrftlian</i>	7 occ. (in multiple MSS, in Ælfric and glosses)	[in 2 other texts]

133 The occurrence in the translation of Genesis (20:7) (*DOE*, s.v. *for-hraþe*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

134 The two occurrences in the translation of Genesis (42:25 and 45:21) (*DOE*, s.v. *fōr-mete*) have not been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

135 The three occurrences in the translation of Genesis (1:30, 7:3 and 7:8) (*DOE*, s.v. *fugel-cynn*) have been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

136 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged. The *DOE* (s.v. *fyrmlīc*) notes that some citations may also be seen as instances of the lemma *firenlīc*, rather than *fyrmlīc* (but *firenlīc* has not been tagged in *Evoke*).

137 Six occurrences in the translation of Genesis (41:27, 41:36, 41:50, 41:53 and 45:11) (*DOE*, s.v. *hungor-gēar*) have not been taken as Ælfrician, while one other occurrence in the translation of Genesis (12:10) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 132–135) (and the citations given there).

138 The occurrence in the *Letter to Brother Edward* (*DOEC* short title: 'Let 2 (Clayton)', Cameron number: 'B6.2') (*DOE*, s.v. *husclīc, huxclīc*) has been taken as Ælfrician, based on Kleist (2019: 156–157) (and the citations given there).

<i>hwīwendlice</i> ,	7 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)	[in 2 other texts]
<i>hwīlendlice</i>		
* <i>hȳra</i> <sup>2</sup>	14 occ. (mainly in ÆCHom 1, 17)	[in 3 other texts] <sup>139</sup>

Subcategory C2: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* < 5

None

**Category D: Widely Used Lemmata, Found in Five or More Other Texts, Frequently Found in the Works of Ælfric**

<i>abītan</i>	ca. 65 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ablāwan</i>	29 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>140</sup>
<i>ablycgan</i>	ca. 30 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
* <i>abūgan</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>141</sup>
<i>acennednes</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>acwician</i> , <i>acucian</i>	20 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>adrāfan</i>	ca. 250 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>142</sup>
<i>adȳdan</i>	ca. 50 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>afindan</i>	ca. 80 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>aflygan</i> , <i>aflyan</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>afyllan</i> <sup>1</sup>	ca. 200 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>143</sup>
<i>afyrhtan</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ahreddan</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>144</sup>
* <i>anbidian</i> , <i>andbidian</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric and psalter/canticle glosses; 1× in poetry in Beo, see sense 1.a.ii) <sup>145</sup>
<i>andsēte</i>	ca. 35 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)

139 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *hȳra*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *hȳra*<sup>1</sup> (not in appendices) and *hȳra*<sup>2</sup> (C1). For this reason, the entry has been tagged as D in Evoke.

140 This lemma corresponds to four entries in *TOE*, *āblāwan*, *ūp āblāwan*, *ūt āblāwan* and *āblāwan on/ofor*, all four of which have been tagged.

141 This lemma corresponds to four entries in *TOE*, *ābūgan*, *ābūgan fram*, *ābūgan (tō)* and *ābūgan (fram)*, of which only *ābūgan fram* has not been tagged.

142 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *ādrāfan* and *ūt ādrāfan*, which have both been tagged.

143 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *āfyllan*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *afyllan*<sup>1</sup> (D) and *afyllan*<sup>2</sup> (not in appendices).

144 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *āhreddan wip/fram* and *āhreddan (æt/on/fram)*, which have both been tagged.

145 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry *(ge)anbidian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *anbidian*, *andbidian* (D), *ge-anbidian*, *ge-andbidian* (not in appendices) and *ge-anbidod* (not in appendices).

* <i>andwyrdan</i>	ca. 600 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>146</sup>
<i>ge-angsumian</i>	ca. 35 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
* <i>ānmōdlice</i>	ca. 60 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>147</sup>
<i>ānræde, ānræd</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>148</sup>
<i>ānrædnes</i>	ca. 70 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ansund</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>149</sup>
<i>antimber</i>	ca. 45 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>anweald</i>	ca. 1100 occ. (freq. in Alfredian translations and Ælfric; Wulfstan prefers <i>geweald</i> ) <sup>150</sup>
<i>arodlice, ardlīce</i>	ca. 85 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>asolcennes</i>	ca. 35 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>aspendan</i>	ca. 50 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>atēoriendlic</i>	28 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>awēdan</i>	ca. 35 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>awendan</i>	ca. 700 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>awreccan</i>	ca. 55 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>151</sup>
<i>ælic</i>	ca. 40 occ. (mainly in Ælfric and in glosses to Aldhelm)
<i>ætflēon</i>	28 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ætforan adv. and prep.</i>	ca. 500 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>152</sup>
<i>ætwindan</i>	ca. 60 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>æpelboren</i>	ca. 70 occ. (freq. in Ælfric, none in poetry)

146 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*andwyrdan*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *andwyrdan* (D), *ge-andwyrdan* (not in appendices) and *ge-andwyrd* (not in appendices). See also the entry in Appendix B, category E1.

147 See footnote for *anmōdlice* (A1). The *DOE* (s.v. *ān-mōdlice*) mentions that “[s]ome of the occurrences given s.v. *anmōdlice* ‘resolutely’ may belong here.”

148 See also the entry in Appendix B, category D.

149 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *ansund* in *TOE*, a noun and an adjective, which have both been tagged; the only sense associated with the noun is ‘healthy’, an adjective, which means that this *TOE* entry has most likely received an incorrect part of speech label.

150 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *anweald* and *onweald*, but only the second of these has been tagged. Two multiword entries in *TOE* which feature this noun, *in anweald gereccan* and *anweald/(ge)weald agan*, have not been tagged. The *DOE* (s.v. *anweald*) mentions that “[s]ome of the occurrences spelled *an-* and given here may belong to *ānweald*, especially when the word refers to God’s sole power or to an earthly ruler’s absolute (or tyrannous) sway.”

151 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *āwreccan* in *TOE*, a verb and a specifically transitive verb, which have both been tagged.

152 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *ætforan* in *TOE*, a preposition and an adverb, which have both been tagged. See also the entry in Appendix B, category F.

<i>æpelborenes</i>	ca. 25 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>bemānan</i>	ca. 35 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>ge-bēor</i>	25 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>berȳpan</i>	26 occ. (disproportionately freq. in Ælfric and Wulfstan)
* <i>besārgian</i>	ca. 50 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>153</sup>
<i>beswingan</i>	ca. 65 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>bibliopēce, biblipēca</i>	23 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>154</sup>
<i>bigleofa</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>bōclīc</i>	ca. 50 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>155</sup>
<i>bodung</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric and glosses)
<i>bræþ</i>	ca. 50 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ge-bȳsning</i>	ca. 50 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>156</sup>
<i>ge-bytlu</i>	30 occ. (mainly in Ælfric, 9 × in ÆLS [Thomas])
<i>campdōm</i>	27 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ceasterge-wara,</i> <i>ceasterge-waru</i>	ca. 60 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>157</sup>
<i>ceorian, cyrian</i>	ca. 45 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>cēpan</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>158</sup>
* <i>ge-cneordnes</i>	ca. 55 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>159</sup>
<i>cwellere</i>	ca. 150 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>cyre</i>	ca. 60 occ. (disproportionately freq. in Ælfric)
<i>cystignes</i>	26 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>dægþerlic</i>	ca. 30 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>dēofollic</i>	ca. 125 occ. (in prose and glosses; freq. in Ælfric)

153 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *besārgian* and *besārgian* (*be/for*), which have both been tagged.

154 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *bibliopēce* and *biblipēca*, which have both been tagged. The *DOE* (s.v. *bibliopēce, biblipēca*) notes that Ælfric uses this noun in its second sense: “in Ælfric, specifically: the Scriptures in Jerome’s canon”.

155 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *bōclīc* and *bōclīc stæf*, which have both been tagged.

156 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

157 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

158 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *cēpan* and (*ge*)*cēpan*, which have both been tagged. The second of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *cēpan* (D) and *ge-cēpan* (not in appendices).

159 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *gecneordnes* and (*ge*)*cneordnes*, which have both been tagged. The second of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *ge-cneordnes* (D) and *cneordnes* (not in appendices).

<i>deriendlic</i>	ca. 60 occ. (esp. freq. in Ælfric [25×] and HyGl [18×]) <sup>160</sup>
* <i>diht</i>	ca. 100 occ. (disproportionately freq. in Ælfric) <sup>161</sup>
* <i>drȳ</i>	ca. 90 occ. (disproportionately freq. in Ælfric) <sup>162</sup>
<i>drȳcræft</i>	ca. 100 occ. (disproportionately freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>dyrstelice</i>	21 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>163</sup>
<i>earfoþnes</i>	ca. 175 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>ge-edcwicod, ge-edcucod</i>	ca. 30 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>164</sup>
<i>edwist</i>	ca. 40 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
* <i>ge-efenlācan</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>165</sup>
<i>ēhtere</i>	ca. 80 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>ēhtnes</i>	ca. 200 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>elcian, ylcian</i>	ca. 35 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>endelēas</i>	26 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>endenēxt</i>	ca. 70 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
* <i>+ge-endung</i>	ca. 200 occ. <sup>166</sup>
<i>ēstmete, estmett</i>	18 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>fērlīce</i>	ca. 200 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>+ge-fēged</i>	ca. 125 occ.
<i>fēowerfeald</i>	18 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>167</sup>
<i>fōda</i>	ca. 65 occ. (mainly in Ælfric and in glosses)
<i>forgāgednes</i>	30 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)

160 See also the entry in Appendix B, category D.

161 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *diht* and (*ge*)*diht*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

162 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *drȳ* and *drȳ(lāc)*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

163 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *dyrstiglice* and (*ge*)*dyrstiglice*, which have both been tagged. The second of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *dyrstelice* (D) and *ge-dyrstelice* (not in appendices).

164 Cf. the B1 lexeme *edwician*, *edcucian*, and the C1 lexeme *ge-edcwician*, *ge-edcucian*.

165 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *geefenlācan* and (*ge*)*efenlācan*, but only the second of these has been tagged. The second of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *ge-efenlācan* (D), *efenlācan* (not in appendices) and *ge-efenlāht* (not in appendices).

166 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *geendung* and (*ge*)*endung*, which have both been tagged. The second of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *ge-endung* (D) and *endung* (not in appendices).

167 From the citations in the *DOE* (s.v. *fēower-feald*), it may seem as if there are only four non-Ælfrician texts (I have counted Byrhtferth's *Manual* and the glosses to the *Manual* as one text); however, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* should obviously be seen as distinct from the *West-Saxon Gospels*, even if they are translations of the same text.

<i>*fornēan</i>	ca. 45 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>168</sup>
<i>*forscyldigian</i>	ca. 40 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>169</sup>
<i>forsēon</i>	ca. 600 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>forwel</i>	ca. 70 occ. (mainly in Ælfric)
<i>fracoplice</i>	11 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>*frætwing</i>	24 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>170</sup>
<i>frēcednes</i>	ca. 110 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>*fremming, fremung</i>	ca. 40 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>171</sup>
<i>*frēolsian</i>	30 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>172</sup>
<i>frēolstūd</i>	ca. 40 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>fūle</i>	18 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>ge-gada</i>	20 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>godspellere</i>	ca. 275 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>godspelic</i>	ca. 75 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hæfenlēas, hafenlēas</i>	28 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hæfenleast, hafenleast</i>	26 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hælp</i>	ca. 45 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hæþengyld</i>	ca. 70 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>173</sup>
<i>hæþenscipe</i>	ca. 80 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hēafodleahter</i>	ca. 70 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>*hēahge-rēfa</i>	ca. 50 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>174</sup>
<i>heardheortnes</i>	14 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hellesūsl</i>	17 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>175</sup>
<i>helic</i>	ca. 50 occ. (in prose and glosses, freq. in Ælfric)
<i>hēofung</i>	ca. 45 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)

168 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

169 This lemma corresponds to three entries in *TOE*, *forscyldgod*, *forscyldigian* and *forscyldigod*, all three of which have been tagged.

170 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*frætwing*, which subsumes two *DOE* entries: *frætwing* (D) and *ge-frætwing* (not in appendices).

171 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *fremming* and *fremung*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

172 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*frēolsian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *frēolsian* (D), *ge-frēolsian* (not in appendices) and *ge-frēolsod* (not in appendices).

173 See also the entry in Appendix B, category D.

174 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *hēahgerēfa* and *hēahgerēfa*, which have both been tagged.

175 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *helle-sūsl*), “[t]he forms may alternatively be taken as two words with *helle* as gen.sg. of *hell*.”

* <i>hrepian, hreppan</i>	ca. 100 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) <sup>176</sup>
* <i>hrȳman</i>	ca. 110 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>177</sup>
* <i>ge-hwær</i>	ca. 110 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>178</sup>
* <i>ge-hȳrsumian</i>	ca. 150 occ. (freq. in Ælfric) <sup>179</sup>
<i>hȳsecild</i>	17 occ. (freq. in Ælfric)
<i>i</i>	ca. 55 occ. (42× in ÆGram)

## Appendix B: Ælfrician Vocabulary Found in Prior Scholarship

This appendix features vocabulary or specific lexical usage that has been noted by previous scholarship to be indicative of the lexical usage of Ælfric of Eynsham. The formatting of the lemmata in this appendix differs somewhat from the formatting used in Appendix A, in that the conventions of the *DOE* are generally not followed, but rather, the formatting used in the secondary sources. For instance, the spelling of the lemmata in this appendix has directly been taken from the sources (although macrons have been added to indicate long vowels). However, whenever multiple sources are cited that use different spellings for the same lemma (e.g., *gecīgan/gecȳgan*), the *DOE* is followed. Similarly, while the *DOE* treats verbs with and without the prefix *ge-* as two different lemmata, the sources are followed in this appendix: if a source mentions the lemma (*ge*)*gearwian* (indicating that it is treating *gearwian* and *gegearwian* as a single lemma), then it receives a single entry here. The entries in categories E–G feature translations, which are usually taken directly from the sources that are mentioned in the relevant footnotes (or are translations of these senses, if the sources are written in a language other than English). If a source provides multiple definitions, no more than two are provided in this appendix, but usually only the first definition. Lastly, if a source does not provide a definition for a lemma, the most basic definition is provided

176 This lemma corresponds to five entries in *TOE*, *hrepian*, (*ge*)*hrepian*, *hrepian/hreppan*, (*ge*)*hrepian* (*ymbe*) and (*ge*)*hrepian/hreppan*, all five of which have been tagged. The three entries with the optional *ge-* prefix subsume the *DOE* entries *ge-hrepian*, *ge-hreppan* (A2), *hrepian*, *hreppan* (D) and *ge-hrepod* (not in appendices). For this reason, these three entries have been tagged as D in *Evoque*. See also the entry in Appendix B, category E1.

177 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *hrīeman* and (*ge*)*hrīeman*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

178 This lemma corresponds to four entries in *TOE*, *gehwær*, (*ge*)*hwær*, *elles gehwær* and *gehwær and þær*, of which only *gehwær* and *gehwær and þær* have been tagged.

179 This lemma corresponds to the *TOE* entry (*ge*)*hīersumian*, which subsumes three *DOE* entries: *ge-hȳrsumian* (D), *hȳrsumian* (not in appendices) and *ge-hȳrsumod* (not in appendices).

here, based on the consultation of Old English dictionaries.<sup>180</sup> Information about the frequency of the lemmata in categories A–D is copied from the *DOE* whenever possible (i.e., for words starting with the letters A–I). Otherwise, this information is taken from the secondary sources or I have counted the occurrences in the *DOEC* if the secondary sources do not provide any information. Similarly, the categorisation of the lemmata in categories A–D is based on the *DOE* for lemmata starting with the letters A–I. For words beyond the letter I, the secondary sources or the *DOEC* are used. Note that some lemmata in Appendix A also appear in Appendix B. For the significance of the asterisks and plus symbols, see the introduction to Appendix A.

### *Category A: Lemmata That Only Occur in the Works of Ælfric*

#### Subcategory A1: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* ≥ 5

<i>godspell-bodung</i>	7 occ. (in Ælfric) (Timofeeva, 2017: 221) <sup>181</sup>
<i>ofgangende</i>	7 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 442) <sup>182</sup>
<i>part</i>	6 occ. (Williams, 1958: 460; Chapman, 2010: 438)
<i>sealmwyrhta</i>	22 occ. (Godden, 1980: 213) <sup>183</sup>
<i>undecliniendlic</i>	10 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 438)
<i>underðeodendlic</i>	5 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>ungeendigendlic</i>	6 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>woruldcempa</i>	5 occ. (Jost, 1950: 139) <sup>184</sup>

#### Subcategory A2: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* < 5

<i>mistihtendlic</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>misworohht</i>	1 occ. (Fleming, 2015: 838) <sup>185</sup>
<i>nemniendlic</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)

180 Primarily the *DOE*, but also Clark Hall's (1960) *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Note that this 'primary' sense is not necessarily the sense in which Ælfric most frequently used a lemma. Conversely, the senses given in the literature are not always the first senses recorded by the dictionaries. In any case, Ælfric certainly used lemmata more frequently in particular senses than in others, but as this information would be too time-consuming to record, it has been omitted.

181 According to Timofeeva (2017: 221), this lemma occurs seven times in total in the works of Ælfric. See also the entry in Appendix A, category A1.

182 Chapman (2010: 442) lists this lemma as "ofgangend", but it is found in the works of Ælfric in the nominative singular as "ofgangende", and this is the spelling that is adopted here.

183 According to Godden (1980: 213), this lemma "is not recorded outside Ælfric and may be his own coinage", and it occurs twenty-two times in total in the works of Ælfric.

184 The corresponding entry in *TOE* has been tagged as A1, based on Jost (1950: 139), who states that this lemma occurs five times in the works of Ælfric. However, I can only find four occurrences in the *DOEC*.

185 The corresponding entry in *TOE* is the infinitive, *miswyrcean*. According to Fleming (2015: 838), this lemma occurs once in the works of Ælfric.

<i>ofcumende</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 443)
<i>oferstīgendlic</i>	3 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>ofgāgendlic</i>	2 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>ongēancyrrendlic</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 443)
<i>onginnendlic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
* <i>rūnung</i>	4 occ. (Fleming, 2015: 838) <sup>186</sup>
<i>smēagendlic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>gespræcelic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 443) <sup>187</sup>
<i>sundor-rūnung</i>	2 occ. (Fleming, 2015: 838) <sup>188</sup>
<i>swēgendlic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>swerigendlic</i>	2 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>swīgeniht</i>	1 occ. (Hill, 1985: 124) <sup>189</sup>
<i>syndrigendlic</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>tihtendlic</i>	4 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>tōc̄lypigendlic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>tōgeīcendlic</i>	2 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 443)
* <i>geðēodendlic</i>	2 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442) <sup>190</sup>
<i>underhlystung</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>undertōdāl</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>waniendlic</i>	3 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>wiðerrædlic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>wiðmeten(d)lic</i>	3 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442–443) <sup>191</sup>
<i>wiðsacendlic</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>wrēgendlic</i>	1 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>wundrigendlic</i>	1 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 443)

186 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *rūnung* and *rūning*, which have both been tagged. According to Fleming (2015: 838), this lemma occurs four times in the works of Ælfric.

187 Chapman (2010: 443) lists this lemma as “gespræclīc”, but it is found in Ælfric’s *Grammar* as “gespræcelice”, i.e., with a medial <e>, and this is the spelling that is adopted here.

188 According to Fleming (2015: 838), this lemma occurs twice in the works of Ælfric.

189 According to Hill (1985: 124), this lemma occurs only once in the works of Ælfric. See also the related term *swīgdæg* in category B2.

190 This lemma could not be found in *TOE* and has not been tagged.

191 Chapman (2010: 442–443) seems to consider “wiðmetendlic” and “wiðmetenlic” as two separate lemmata, but seeing as they are both the equivalent of Latin “comparativus”, they have been taken as one lemma in this appendix (cf. *TOE*, which has *wiþmeten(d)lic*).

**Category B: Lemmata That Occur in the Works of Ælfric and One Other Text**

Subcategory B1: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC*  $\geq 5$

<i>alēfian</i>	25 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) (Jost, 1950: 188, fn. 5) <sup>192</sup>
+ <i>gecyndbōc</i>	5 occ. (mainly in Aldhelm) (Hawk, 2014: 358) <sup>193</sup>
<i>gramlic</i>	ca. 35 occ. (mainly in Ælfric) (Jost, 1950: 121) <sup>194</sup>
<i>liflēast</i>	6 occ. (Shaw, 2014: 331) <sup>195</sup>
<i>gelōmlācende</i>	6 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>stōwlic</i>	6 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442) <sup>196</sup>
<i>gestrȳnendlic</i>	5 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>unlichamlic</i>	15 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 441)

Subcategory B2: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC*  $< 5$

+ <i>bearnēacninde</i>	3 occ. (Treharne, 2006: 185, n. 26) <sup>197</sup>
*+ <i>ēarplættigen</i>	2 occ. (Treharne, 2006: 185, n. 26) <sup>198</sup>
<i>lārestre</i>	3 occ. (Timofeeva, 2017: 233) <sup>199</sup>
* <i>gelōmlācung</i>	2 occ. (Not found in sources) <sup>200</sup>
<i>sēdende</i>	4 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 441–442)

192 According to Jost (1950: 188, fn. 5), this lexeme almost exclusively occurs in the works of Ælfric. See also the entry in Appendix A, category B1.

193 According to Hawk (2014: 358), the only other occurrences of *gecyndbōc* are found “in the glosses to Aldhelm’s *De virginitate* IIII.”

194 According to Jost (1950: 121), this lexeme is typical for Ælfric and it is not often found elsewhere. See also *gramlice* in category C1 in this appendix.

195 If the text *De diebus malis* was written by Ælfric, as Shaw (2014) argues, this lemma would only occur in the works of Ælfric. However, this text is not mentioned as part of Ælfric’s canon in Kleist (2019: 66–206). For this reason, I have not counted *De diebus malis* as an Ælfrician text, and have placed *liflēast* in category B1.

196 Chapman (2010: 442) lists this lemma as “stōwelic”, but it is found in the works of Ælfric as “stōwlic”, i.e., without a medial <e>, and this is the spelling that is adopted here.

197 According to the *DOE* (s.v. *bearn-ēacniende*), the only non-Ælfrician occurrence of this lemma is in Ralph d’Escures’ homily on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

198 See footnote for *ge-ēarplættan* (Appendix A, category A2). According to the *DOE* (s.v. *ēar-plættan*, *ēar-plættian*), the only non-Ælfrician occurrence of this lemma is in Ralph d’Escures’ homily on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

199 According to Timofeeva (2017: 233), this lemma occurs three times in total, twice in the works of Ælfric.

200 This lemma corresponds to two entries for *gelōmlācing* in *TOE*, one with the sense ‘repeated action’ and another with the sense ‘a multitude, mighty company’. Only the first entry has been tagged.

<i>swīgdæg</i>	4 occ. (Hill, 1985: 118, 123) <sup>201</sup>
<i>trūð</i>	4 occ. (Breeze, 1995: 155) <sup>202</sup>
<i>twȳnigendlic</i>	4 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>ðeodlic</i>	2 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 441) <sup>203</sup>
<i>ungebunden</i>	2 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 441)
<i>gewiscendlic</i>	4 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>gewiscendlice</i>	2 occ. (Not found in sources)

**Category C: Lemmata That Occur in the Works of Ælfric and between Two and Four Other Texts**

Subcategory C1: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* ≥ 5

+ <i>gramlice</i>	8 occ. [in 2 other texts] (Jost, 1950: 121) <sup>204</sup>
<i>lēdenbōc</i>	10 occ. [in 4 other texts] (Shaw, 2014: 331) <sup>205</sup>
<i>lēdenspræc</i>	44 occ. [in 3 other texts] (Chapman, 2010: 440)
* <i>stæfcraeft</i>	8 occ. [in 2 other texts] (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 440) <sup>206</sup>
* <i>ðrōwiendlic</i>	25 occ. [in 2 other texts] (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 441) <sup>207</sup>
* <i>unefn</i>	9 occ. [in 4 other texts] (Chapman, 2010: 441) <sup>208</sup>

<sup>201</sup> The corresponding entry in *TOE* is the plural, *swīgdagas*. According to Hill (1985: 123), three out of four total occurrences of this lemma are found in the works of Ælfric, with the remaining instance found in a translation of the *Regularis concordia*. See also the related term *swīgeniht* in category A2.

<sup>202</sup> According to Breeze (1995: 155), the other text in which this lemma occurs is a “late glossary”.

<sup>203</sup> Chapman (2010: 441) lists this lemma as “ðeodlic nama”, but seeing as it corresponds to Latin “gentile (nomen)”, the second element, “nama”, should have been placed in brackets (and it has, therefore, not been given here).

<sup>204</sup> According to Jost (1950: 121), this lexeme is typical for Ælfric and it is not often found elsewhere. See also *gramlic* in category B1 in this appendix.

<sup>205</sup> If the text *De diebus malis* was written by Ælfric, as Shaw (2014) argues, this lemma would occur in only three non-Ælfrician texts. However, this text is not mentioned as part of Ælfric’s canon in Kleist (2019: 66–206). For this reason, I have not counted *De diebus malis* as an Ælfrician text, and have counted four non-Ælfrician texts for *lēdenbōc*. Shaw (2014: 331) states that, aside from its occurrences in *De diebus malis*, six out of the nine remaining instances of this lemma are found in the works of Ælfric.

<sup>206</sup> This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *stæfcraeft* and *stæfcraeftas*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

<sup>207</sup> This lemma corresponds to three entries in *TOE*, *þrōwendlic*, *þrōwiendlic* and *þrōwendlic dēap*, of which only the first two have been tagged.

<sup>208</sup> This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *unefn* and *unefen*, but only the first of these has been tagged.

<i>unfulfremed</i>	5 occ. [in 3 other texts] (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 442)
<i>ungebigendlic</i>	6 occ. [in 2 other texts] (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 441)

Subcategory C2: Lemmata with Frequency in *DOEC* < 5

None

**Category D: Widely Used Lemmata, Found in Five or More Other Texts, Frequently Found in the Works of *Ælfric***

<i>ānrēde</i>	ca. 100 occ. (freq. in <i>Ælfric</i> ) (Shaw, 2014: 331, fn. 29) <sup>209</sup>
<i>deriendlic</i>	ca. 60 occ. (esp. freq. in <i>Ælfric</i> [25×] and HyGI [18×]) (Shaw, 2014: 331) <sup>210</sup>
*+ <i>gedwola</i>	ca. 140 occ. (Jost, 1950: 252, fn. 1) <sup>211</sup>
*+ <i>gedwolman</i>	ca. 50 occ. (Jost, 1950: 252, fn. 1) <sup>212</sup>
+ <i>gōdnrys</i>	ca. 250 occ. (Jost, 1950: 123 and fn. 2) <sup>213</sup>
<i>hæðengild</i>	ca. 70 occ. (freq. in <i>Ælfric</i> ) (Jost, 1950: 131) <sup>214</sup>
<i>orðung</i>	16 occ. (Chapman, 2010: 440)
<i>stæfgefēg</i>	33 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 440)
* <i>getācning</i>	208 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 440) <sup>215</sup>
* <i>geðeodnys</i>	50 occ. (Williams, 1958: 461; Chapman, 2010: 440) <sup>216</sup>
<i>wiflic</i>	27 occ. (Williams, 1958: 462; Chapman, 2010: 441)

209 See also the entry in Appendix A, category D.

210 See also the entry in Appendix A, category D.

211 This lemma corresponds to three entries in *TOE*: two entries for *gedwola*, and one for (*ge*)*dwola*. Only one *gedwola* entry and (*ge*)*dwola* have been tagged, since *gedwola* with the sense 'a madman' is not attested in the works of *Ælfric*. The entry (*ge*)*dwola* subsumes the *DOE* entries *ge-dwola* (D) and *dwola* (not in appendices). According to Jost (1950: 252, fn. 1), *gedwola* and *gedwolman* are common in the works of *Ælfric*.

212 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, (*ge*)*dwolmann* and *gedwolmann*, which have both been tagged. The first of these entries subsumes the *DOE* entries *dwolmann* (A2) and *ge-dwolmann* (Appendix B, category D). For this reason, this entry has been tagged as D in *Evoke*. See also the previous footnote.

213 See also Jost (1950: 137). According to Jost (1950: 123 and fn. 2), this lexeme, which is used of God and good people, is very common in the works of *Ælfric*.

214 According to Jost (1950: 131), this lexeme is almost exclusively found in the works of *Ælfric*. See also the entry in Appendix A, category D.

215 This lemma corresponds to two entries in *TOE*, *getācning* and (*ge*)*tācning*, which have both been tagged. The second of these entries subsumes the lemmata *ge-tācning* (D) and *tācning* (not in appendices).

216 This lemma corresponds to three entries in *TOE*, *geþeodnes*, (*ge*)*þeodnes* and *lichamlice geþeodnes*, of which only the first has been tagged.

*Category E: Ælfric Has a Relative Preference for Particular Lemmata over Synonymous Lemmata*

Subcategory E1: Preferences Are, Overall, Unrelated to Specific Semantic or Contextual Usages

<i>āgan</i>	'to have, possess'	preferred to <i>geāgnian</i> <sup>217</sup>
<i>andwyrdan</i>	'to answer'	preferred to <i>andswarian</i> <sup>218</sup>
<i>ǣlc/gehwā/gehwilc</i>	'every'	preferred to <i>ǣghwilc</i> <sup>219</sup>
<i>ǣlfremed/ǣlþeodig</i>	'foreign'	preferred to <i>fremde</i> <sup>220</sup>
<i>bōcere</i>	'scribe, writer'	preferred to <i>writere</i> <sup>221</sup>
<i>burh</i>	'city'	preferred to <i>ceaster/port</i> <sup>222</sup>
<i>cennan/acennan</i>	'to bear a child'	preferred to <i>geberan</i> <sup>223</sup>
<i>cweartern</i>	'prison'	preferred to <i>carcern</i> <sup>224</sup>
<i>gedyrstlæcan</i>	'to dare'	preferred to <i>(ge)þristlæcan</i> <sup>225</sup>
<i>ēadig</i>	'blessed'	preferred to <i>gesælig</i> <sup>226</sup>
<i>forhogian</i>	'to despise'	preferred to <i>forhycgan</i> <sup>227</sup>

217 Ono (1998: 304); Ono (1998: 304) indicates that, in the works of Ælfric, *āgan* occurs 38 times and *geāgnian* occurs 24 times. These numbers include derived forms such as 'geag-niendlice' (Ono, 1998: 302–303). See also *geāgnian* in category F.

218 Jost (1927: 184); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325); Takeuchi (1998: 342). According to Takeuchi (1998: 342), *andswarian* occurs only 30 times in the works of Ælfric, while *andwyrdan* occurs 374 times. See also the entry in Appendix A, category D.

219 Jost (1950: 162–166); reiterated by Pope (1967: 100). According to Jost (1950: 162–166), the first lemma, *ǣlc*, is used most frequently by Ælfric; he also mentions that there are only three occurrences of *ǣghwilc* in the works of Ælfric; see also Jost (1950: 162–166) for more detailed information on the usage of these lemmata.

220 Pope (1967: 99); citing Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140); reiterated (but only mentioning *ǣlþeodig*) by Magennis (1986: 325). According to Hofstetter (1987: 38), *ǣlfremed* (and the related adjective *geǣlfremod*, also used by Ælfric) is part of the Winchester vocabulary. Pope (1967: 99–100, fn. 3) and Hofstetter (1987: 38) both mention that Ælfric uses *fremde* only once.

221 Fleming (2015: 834).

222 Jost (1927: 185); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325). According to Jost (1927: 185), Ælfric uses *ceaster* much less frequently than *burh*, and uses *port* only a handful of times.

223 Jost (1950: 122, fn. 4); according to Jost (1950: 122, fn. 4), *geberan* is not infrequent in the works of Ælfric.

224 Pope (1967: 99–100); citing Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). According to Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140), Ælfric only uses *cweartern*.

225 According to Hofstetter (1987: 38), *gedyrstlæcan* is part of the Winchester vocabulary; Ælfric never uses *(ge)þristlæcan* (44).

226 Jost (1950: 123).

227 Jost (1950: 174); reiterated by Pope (1967: 100). According to Jost (1950: 174, fn. 3), the single occurrence of the form 'forhygedon' in the first series of *Catholic Homilies* probably shows scribal influence. Cf. *hogian* in this category.

<i>gefrēdan</i>	‘to feel’	preferred to <i>fēlan</i> <sup>228</sup>
<i>gegaderian</i>	‘to gather’	preferred to <i>gesamnian</i> <sup>229</sup>
<i>(ge)gearcian</i>	‘to prepare’	preferred to <i>(ge)gearwian</i> <sup>230</sup>
<i>hātan/gecīgan</i>	‘to call’	preferred to <i>(ge)namian/</i> <i>(ge)nemnan</i> <sup>231</sup>
<i>hogian</i>	‘to think; to be concerned about’	preferred to <i>hycgan</i> <sup>232</sup>
<i>hreppan/(ge)hrepian</i>	‘to touch’	preferred to <i>onhrīnan/</i> <i>æthrīnan</i> <sup>233</sup>
<i>mōdig-</i>	lemmata relating to ‘pride’	preferred to <i>ofermōd-/prūt-/oferhygd-</i> <sup>234</sup>

228 Pope (1967: 99); citing Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). Klein (2012: 493) argues that *frēdan* (and related forms) is part of the Winchester vocabulary, although it also appears in early West Saxon; he also notes that Ælfric never uses *fēlan* or related forms (491).

229 Jost (1950: 137, fn. 7).

230 Jost (1950: 156, 174); reiterated by Pope (1967: 99); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325); first mentioned by Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). Both Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140) and Jost (1950: 174) mention that Ælfric never uses *gearwian*. According to Hofstetter (1987: 38), *(ge)gearcian* and the related noun *gearcung* (which Ælfric also uses) are part of the Winchester vocabulary, and he also confirms that Ælfric never uses *(ge)gearwian*.

231 Jost (1927: 184); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325). According to Jost (1927: 184), Ælfric uses *genamian* and *(ge)nemnan* only occasionally. According to Godden (1980: 213), the verb *gecīgan* is used much less frequently by Ælfric in the later part of his career.

232 Jost (1950: 174); reiterated by Pope (1967: 100); first mentioned by Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). Jost (1950: 174, fn. 3) points out that *hycgan* is occasionally used by Ælfric, but in quite a different sense, namely, ‘to endeavour; to make an effort’. Cf. *forhogian* in this category.

233 Pope (1967: 99); citing Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140); Jost (1927: 202) (who mentions the optional *ge-* prefix before *hrepian* and the verb *æthrīnan*); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325). Klein (2012: 485) argues that *hrepian* (and related forms) is part of the Winchester vocabulary; he also notes that Ælfric never uses *hrīnan* or related forms (484). See also the entries in Appendix A, category A2 (forms with the *ge-* prefix) and category D (unprefixed forms).

234 Schabram (1965: 92). Schabram (1965: 92) mentions that the works of Ælfric feature 124 occurrences of lemmata based on *mōdig-*: *mōdigness* ‘pride’, *mōdig* ‘proud’, *mōdiglice* ‘proudly’, *mōdigian* ‘to be/become proud’, against three instances of lemmata based on *ofermōd-* (*ofermēttu* and *ofermōd*, both meaning ‘pride’), one instance of *prȳte* ‘pride’ and one instance of *oferhygdig* ‘proud’. According to Hofstetter (1987: 38), the *mōdig-* lexical family is part of the Winchester vocabulary; in addition, he argues that the one instance of *prȳte* in the works of Ælfric is semantically distinct from the other lemmata, because Ælfric apparently uses it to translate *arrogantia* ‘arrogance’, not *superbia* ‘pride’ (54).

<i>nān</i>	'no, none'	preferred to <i>nāenig</i> <sup>235</sup>
<i>ordfruma</i>	'beginning'	preferred to <i>fruma</i> <sup>236</sup>
<i>gereord</i>	'language'	preferred to <i>geþēode/læden</i> <sup>237</sup>
<i>sundorhālga</i>	'Pharisee'	preferred to <i>phariseus/fariseisc</i> <sup>238</sup>
<i>tācn</i>	'sign'	preferred to <i>mircels</i> <sup>239</sup>
<i>tōbrȳtan/tōcwȳsan</i>	'to crush, destroy'	preferred to <i>forþrēstan</i> <sup>240</sup>
<i>understandan</i>	'to understand'	preferred to <i>undergytan/ongytan</i> <sup>241</sup>
<i>yrðling</i>	'farmer'	preferred to <i>tīlia/eorðtīlia</i> <sup>242</sup>

235 Jost (1950: 160–161); Pope (1967: 100); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325). According to the sources that Jost (1950: 160, fn. 1) mentions, Ælfric never uses *nāenig*. Jost (1950: 161) and Pope (1967: 100) both note that this seems to have been a more general preference of West Saxon.

236 Sato (2011: 308); according to Sato (2011: 308), who cites the *DOE* (s.v. *fruma*, sense 1.c), Ælfric “uses *fruma* exclusively in the phrase *æt fruman* ‘at first’ and never uses it on its own.” Note, however, that a search for ‘angin’ in the *DOEC* shows that *anginn* is used much more frequently by Ælfric for ‘beginning’ than *ordfruma*.

237 Jost (1927: 185); according to Jost (1927: 185), *geþēode* does not occur infrequently in the works of Ælfric, and *læden* is only used in the sense of ‘Latin’ rather than ‘language’. See also Jost (1950: 181).

238 Fleming (2015: 836, 839–841). According to Fleming (2015: 836), “[*sundorhālga*] occurs at least thirty-five times in [Ælfric’s] writings, whereas there are only four or five occurrences of the loanwords.”

239 Jost (1927: 194); according to Jost (1927: 194), Ælfric uses *mircels* with the meaning ‘sign’ only once, in his *Lives of Saints*.

240 Hofstetter (1987: 38). According to Hofstetter (1987: 38), the verbs *tōbrȳtan* and *tōcwȳsan* are both part of the Winchester vocabulary, and they are used about equally as often by Ælfric. He also notes that Ælfric uses *forþrēstan* only once.

241 Ono (1988: 84–85); Ono (1988: 84–85) mentions that in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, *Lives of Saints*, and the homilies edited by Pope, *understandan* occurs 112 times, *undergytan* occurs 40 times, and *ongytan* occurs 15 times. Ono (1986: 571) notes that 39% of occurrences of *undergytan* in the Old English corpus can be found in the works of Ælfric; in addition, Ono (1986: 572) adduces the numerous occurrences of this verb in texts associated with the Winchester vocabulary to argue that *undergytan* is a Winchester lexeme.

242 Jost (1927: 185); according to Jost (1927: 185), Ælfric never uses *eorðtīlia*.

Subcategory E2: Preferences Are, Overall, Related to Specific Semantic or Contextual Usages, or Other Factors

<i>ege</i>	‘fear’	preferred to <i>ōga</i> (when “refer [ring] to the fear of the Lord”) <sup>243</sup>
<i>gēar</i>	‘year’	preferred to <i>winter</i> (when indicating ages) <sup>244</sup>
<i>gelapung</i>	‘church’	preferred to <i>cirice</i> (in senses relating to communities of Christian believers, e.g., ‘the universal church’) <sup>245</sup>
<i>miht</i>	‘power’	preferred to <i>mægen</i> (for the translation of Latin <i>virtūs</i> in senses relating to ‘power’, not ‘virtue’) <sup>246</sup>
<i>(ge)rihtlācan</i>	‘to correct’	preferred to <i>(ge)rihtan</i> (in figurative senses) <sup>247</sup>
<i>snotor(ness)</i>	‘prudent’/ ‘prudence’	preferred to <i>wær(scipe)/glēaw(ness)/snyttru</i> (when rendering Latin <i>prūdēns/prūdēntia</i> ) <sup>248</sup>

243 Gretsch (2001: 59–60); *ōga* is used “in a general sense” (Gretsch, 2001: 59). According to Gretsch (2001: 59–60), this particular usage is part of the Winchester vocabulary, and *ōga* is a “Winchester word”. She notes that Ælfric adheres to this semantic differentiation quite consistently: “The vast majority of the seventy-one occurrences of *ege* in his works (almost four fifths) refer to the fear of the Lord, whereas God is referred to only once among the thirty-seven occurrences of *oga*” (Gretsch, 2001: 60). See also Hofstetter (1987: 38, 49–50).

244 Jost (1927: 188).

245 Hofstetter (1987: 9–11, 38). According to Hofstetter (1987: 9–11, 38), this particular usage is part of the Winchester vocabulary. Hofstetter (1987: 38) indicates that, in senses relating to communities of Christian believers, Ælfric uses *cirice* only 3 times, and *gelapung* 223 times; for the discussion of other possible examples of non-Winchester usage of *cirice* in the works of Ælfric, see Hofstetter (1987: 44–48).

246 Hofstetter (1987: 12–13, 38, 48–49). According to Hofstetter (1987: 12–13, 38, 48–49), this particular usage is part of the Winchester vocabulary. Hofstetter (1987: 38) indicates that, when translating Latin *virtūs* in senses relating to ‘power’, Ælfric uses *mægen* only twice, and *miht* 94 times. In the sense of ‘virtue’, Ælfric uses *miht* and *mægen* almost equally as often: 38 and 40 times, respectively.

247 Hofstetter (1987: 51); conversely, *(ge)rihtan* is primarily (but not exclusively) used in literal senses. While the verb *(ge)rihtlācan* is part of the Winchester vocabulary according to Hofstetter (1987: 38), it would seem that the difference in usage between *(ge)rihtlācan* and *(ge)rihtan* is particular to Ælfric (51). Jost (1950: 137–138) labels *gerihtlācan* as an ‘Ælfricwort’.

248 Seebold (1974: 311, 332–333). According to Seebold (1974: 324), this preference is characteristic for the so-called “Benediktiner-Gruppe”; Ono (1988: 83) states that “the Benedictine group [...] includes the Winchester group”.

<i>wīs(dōm)</i>	'wise'/'wisdom'	preferred to <i>snotor/snyttru</i> (when rendering Latin <i>sapiēns/sapientia</i> ) <sup>249</sup>
<i>wuldorbēag</i>	'crown'	preferred to <i>cynehelm</i> (in a figurative and Christian sense) <sup>250</sup>

**Category F: Ælfric Has a Relative Preference for Specific Morphological Forms**

<i>geāgnian</i>	'to have, possess'	preferred to <i>āgnian</i> <sup>251</sup>
<i>ætforan</i>	'before'	preferred to <i>beforan/tōforan</i> <sup>252</sup>
<i>bebod</i>	'command'	preferred to <i>gebod</i> <sup>253</sup>
<i>behrēowsian/</i>	'to repent'/	preferred to <i>hrēowsian/</i> <i>hrēowsung</i> <sup>254</sup>
<i>behrēowsung</i>	'repentance'	

- 249 Seebold (1974: 311, 332); according to Seebold (1974: 321), this preference is characteristic of 'southern English' in general. Seebold (1974: 311, 313) notes that Ælfric does use *snotor* as an epithet for King Solomon. Interestingly, Ælfric renders *insipiēns* as both *unwīs* and *unsnotor*, using the former somewhat more often than the latter (Seebold, 1974: 313).
- 250 Hofstetter (1987: 17–18, 38, 56), citing (on p. 56) J. Kirschner, *Die Bezeichnungen für Kranz und Krone im Altenglischen* (Munich: Salzer, 1975), p. 216. According to Hofstetter (1987: 17–18, 38, 56), *wuldorbēag* and the related verb *wuldorbēagian* are part of the Winchester vocabulary, and, considering the fact that the use of *cynehelm* in a figurative sense is avoided in Winchester texts, the semantic differentiation is also characteristic of this vocabulary. Hofstetter (1987: 38) indicates that, in a figurative and religious sense, Ælfric uses *cynehelm* only 3 times, and *wuldorbēag* (including related lemmata) 15 times. Hofstetter (1987: 56–57) provides arguments for not counting as such a number of figurative instances of *cynehelm* that are mentioned by Kirschner, which makes the semantic differentiation between *wuldorbēag* and *cynehelm* even more salient. In other words, *cynehelm* is used in the works of Ælfric primarily to refer to a literal 'crown'.
- 251 Ono (1998: 304); Ono (1998: 304) indicates that, in the works of Ælfric, *geāgnian* occurs 24 times and *āgnian* occurs only once. These numbers include derived forms such as 'geagniendlice' and, as the only instance of *āgnian*, the agentive noun 'agnigend', which translates Latin 'possessorem' in Genesis 14:23; furthermore, two past participles have been counted as instances of *geāgnian* (Ono, 1998: 302–304). According to Ono (1998: 304), the preference of *geāgnian* to unprefix *āgnian* seems to be typical of Winchester usage. See also *āgan* in category E1.
- 252 Jost (1927: 185); reiterated by Magennis (1986: 325) (who adds the form *tōforan*). See also the entry in Appendix A, category D.
- 253 Sato (2011: 308); according to Sato (2011: 308), there are no instances of *gebod* in both series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints*.
- 254 Jost (1950: 176); Hofstetter (1987: 38, 53). Both Jost (1950: 176) and Hofstetter (1987: 38, 53) mention that Ælfric never uses the unprefix forms. According to Hofstetter (1987: 38, 53), this particular preference is part of the Winchester vocabulary.

<i>forgyfan</i>	‘to give’	preferred to <i>aggyfan</i> / <i>gyfan</i> <sup>255</sup>
<i>forgielðan</i>	‘to reward’	preferred to <i>gielðan</i> <sup>256</sup>
<i>forwiernan</i>	‘to prevent’	preferred to <i>wiernan</i> <sup>257</sup>
<i>libban</i>	‘to live’	preferred to <i>gelibban</i> <sup>258</sup>
<i>oncnāwan</i>	‘to recognise’	preferred to <i>tōcnāwan</i> / <i>gecnāwan</i> <sup>259</sup>
<i>sellan</i>	‘to give’	preferred to <i>gesellan</i> <sup>260</sup>
<i>underfōn</i>	‘to receive’	preferred to <i>onfōn</i> <sup>261</sup>
<i>untrum</i>	‘weak, sick’	preferred to <i>mettrum</i> <sup>262</sup>

- 255 Takeuchi (1998: 342); Takeuchi (1998: 342) indicates that, in the works of Ælfric, *forgyfan* occurs 361 times, *aggyfan* occurs 52 times, and *gyfan* occurs 18 times. Takeuchi (1998: 348) notes that these verbs are not entirely semantically equivalent: 12 out of the 52 instances of *aggyfan* in the works of Ælfric are part of the collocation *gāst aggyfan* ‘to die’, and, moreover, Ælfric “does not use [*aggyfan*] in the sense in which *sellan* or *forgyfan* is used.” Concerning *gyfan*, Takeuchi (1998: 346) states that “[i]n Ælfric, *gyfan* occurs in contexts where some supernatural being, like God or Christ, for instance, bestows something on someone.” See also Sato (2011: 308), who states that there are only four instances of *gyfan* in both series of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints*. See also *forgyfan* in category G.
- 256 Sato (2011: 308); according to Sato (2011: 308), there are no instances of *gielðan* in both series of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints*.
- 257 Sato (2011: 308); according to Sato (2011: 308), there are no instances of *wiernan* in both series of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints*.
- 258 Jost (1950: 135, fn. 2); according to Jost (1950: 135, fn. 2), Ælfric never uses *gelibban*, and Jost mentions that this verb generally means ‘to experience’, except in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.
- 259 Jost (1950: 137, fn. 4); Ono (1988: 85). According to Jost (1950: 137, fn. 4), *gecnāwan* is used much more rarely by Ælfric than *tōcnāwan*; Ono (1988: 85) mentions that in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, *Lives of Saints*, and the homilies edited by Pope, *oncnāwan* occurs 170 times, *tōcnāwan* occurs 71 times, and *gecnāwan* occurs 12 times. Jost (1950: 131) also notes that *tōcnāwan* is rarely found outside of the works of Ælfric.
- 260 Takeuchi (1998: 342); Takeuchi (1998: 342) indicates that, in the works of Ælfric, *sellan* occurs 370 times and *gesellan* occurs 34 times. Takeuchi (1998: 345) notes that these verbs are not entirely semantically equivalent: in general, *gesellan* seems to be used primarily “with concrete objects, material and animate”, and it is also found in the works of Ælfric with the meaning ‘to sell’. Conversely, *sellan* takes “almost any kind of accusative object” (Takeuchi, 1998: 343).
- 261 Jost (1927: 184); according to Jost (1927: 184), Ælfric uses *onfōn* much less frequently.
- 262 Pope (1967: 100); citing Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140). Pope (1967: 100, fn. 4) mentions that Bosworth-Toller contains one Ælfrician quotation featuring *mettrum* (in the *Catholic Homilies*). The lemmata *untrum* and *mettrum* are given as examples of the more general observation, made by Dietrich (1855: 544–545, fn. 140) and reiterated by Pope (1967: 100), that Ælfric avoids using the prefix *med-*.

***Category G: Widely Used Lemmata, But Ælfric Uses Them in a Specific Context or Meaning***

*Bestandan* in the sense of 'to bury' is primarily found in the works of Ælfric (Jost, 1950: 144).

*Forgyfan* is often used with the sense of 'to give' (Jost, 1950: 120; Takeuchi, 1998: 349–351).<sup>263</sup>

The regular present participle of the verb *libban* 'to live', used by Ælfric, is 'libbende', while the alternative form "*lifi(g)ende* [...]" is used by Ælfric exclusively as an honorific adjective applied to the divinity or to some pretender to divinity" (Pope, 1967: 100).

***Category H: Other (Lemmata That Do Not Fit into the Categories Above)***

*faran* is a composite verb in the works of Ælfric: "Ælfric uses *faran* in the present and in the past participle, *fēran* in the preterite, thus making a single verb" (Pope, 1967: 101).

*mycclum* is commonly used by Ælfric to intensify verbs (Jost, 1950: 137, fn. 6).

*ormāte* is a favourite of Ælfric's (Jost, 1950: 137, fn. 2).<sup>264</sup>

*onbryrdan* is typical for Ælfric (Jost, 1950: 137, fn. 5).

*þwȳrlīc* can mostly be found in the works of Ælfric (Jost, 1950: 130).

*wiðmeten* is "relatively rare" and Ælfrician (Treharne, 2006: 185, n. 26).

263 Takeuchi (1998: 349–351) notes that Ælfric uses *forgyfan* in the senses of 'to forgive' and 'to give', but that the former sense becomes much less frequent in Ælfric's later works; the table on p. 350 shows that there is a distinct drop in occurrences with the meaning 'to forgive' after the first series of *Catholic Homilies*.

264 See also Jost (1950: 145 and, on that page, fn. 1).