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## A QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE PRESENTATION OF THE FORCES FOR LEXEMIC CHANGE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Abstract

The following article summarizes the most important results of a habilitation dissertation project on the processes and forces of lexical, or lexemic, change (with special reference to English). It offers a comprehensive catalog of forces for lexical, or lexemic, change and places these forces on a conscious—subconscious continuum. It then establishes a frequency ranking of these forces. The ranking is based on a corpus of 281 lexical innovations in the history of formal English. The most salient forces turn out to be fashion/prestige (based on the prestige of another language or variety, of certain word-formation patterns, or of certain semasiological centers of expansion), anthropological salience (i.e. anthropologically given emotionality of a concept), social reasons (i.e. contact situation with “undemarcation” effects), and the desire for plasticity (creation of saliently and “noticeably” motivated name).

### 1. Introduction

My habilitation dissertation (cf. Grzega [in press a]) deals with historical onomasiology (with special, though not exclusive, reference to English) in the light of cognitive linguistics and consists of two main chapters. First, I try to give a survey of the various formal possibilities of coining a new term for a concept<sup>1</sup>. Second, I try to discuss the possible driving forces for giving a concept a new name, in other words: what the driving motives and causes (I will call them *forces*) for lexical change are. Such a discussion has seemed necessary because, despite current discussions on other aspects of lexical change, explanations on why lexemic change happens have not been shed light on in any satisfactory way; even the new comprehensive handbook of lexicology edited by Cruse et al. (2002-) does not include a section on the forces that trigger off designation changes (or lexemic changes). The following article delves into this second main aspect of my habilitation dissertation. It first epitomizes the main results of my discussion of traditional, classical, older views of lexical, or lexemic, change—a discussion which is based on an analysis of several hundred cases of lexemic change in the history of English and other languages. It then presents a random corpus of 76 concepts and the history of their designations, indicating the probable and possible forces of lexemic changes. Finally, a ranking of these forces will be established.

### 2. The (Proposed) Catalog of forces for Lexemic Change

In the following section I will give a synthesis of the findings in my habilitation dissertation, which result from a critical discussion of both classical and more recent views of the causes for lexemic change. The (intentional or non-intentional) coinage of a new designation can be incited by a variety of forces, which can also co-occur. A new catalog of forces should, in my view, read the following items with the attached definitions (some of which do not totally blend with traditional definitions):

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<sup>1</sup> On this topic cf. also the respective preliminary studies (Grzega 2002b & 2003a).

- prestige/fashion/stylistic reasons (based on the prestige of another language or variety, of certain word-formation patterns, or of certain semasiological centers of expansion),
- aesthetic-formal reasons (i.e. avoidance of words that are phonetically similar or identical to negatively associated words),
- taboo (i.e. taboo concepts),
- disguising language (i.e. so-called “misnomers,” which express negative things in a seemingly positive way),
- insult,
- flattery,
- institutional and non-institutional linguistic pre- and proscriptivism (i.e. legal and peer-group linguistic pre- and proscriptivism, aiming at “demarcation” from other speech groups),
- social reasons (i.e. contact situation with “undemarcation” effects),
- anthropological salience of a concept (i.e. anthropologically given emotionality of a concept, “natural salience”),
- culture-induced salience of a concept (“cultural importance”),
- dominance of the prototype<sup>2</sup> (i.e. fuzzy difference between superordinate and subordinate term due to the monopoly of the prototypical member of a category in the real world, not to be mixed up with salience effects!),
- onomasiological fuzziness (i.e. difficulties in classifying the referent or attributing the right word to a given referent, thus mixing up designations<sup>3</sup>),
- morphological misinterpretation (keyword: “folk-etymology”, creation of transparency by changes within a word),
- communicative-formal reasons (i.e. abolition of the ambiguity of forms in context, keywords: “homonymic conflict”<sup>4</sup> and “polysemic conflict”),
- logical-formal reasons (i.e. “lexical regularization”, “deletion of suppletion”, creation of morphological consociation, deletion of dissociation),
- excessive length of words,
- word play/punning,
- desire for plasticity (creation of a saliently and “noticeably” motivated name),
- changes in things/changes in the referents (i.e. changes in the world),
- world view change (i.e. changes in the categorization of the world due to improved encyclopedic knowledge, a change in philosophies or cultural habits).

The following alleged forces found in previous works can be shown to be invalid (for arguments cf. Grzega [in press a]):

- decrease in salience,
- reading errors (this will only trigger off changes in the *parole* without consequences in the *langue*),
- laziness (dito),
- excessive phonetic shortness,
- difficult sound combinations,
- unclear stress patterns,
- cacophony.

By using the “word death” metaphor we can localize the valid forces on a conscious-

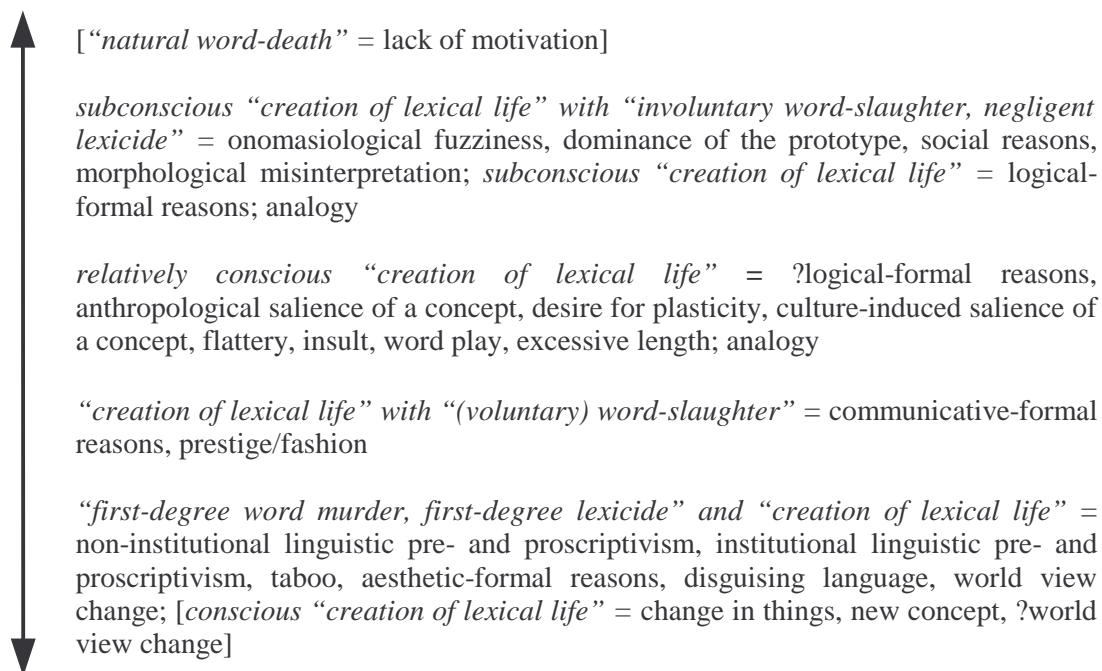
<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the preliminary study in Grzega (in press b).

<sup>3</sup> On the preference of this term and this definition of Blank’s (1997: 388ff. & 1999) ideas cf. Grzega (in press a).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the preliminary study in Grzega (2001a).

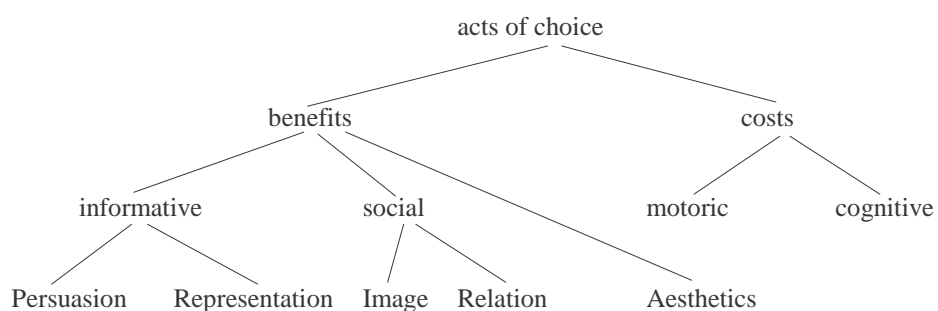
subconscious continuum, where the gradual subconscious loss of a word can be compared to “natural (word) death” and where the conscious avoidance of a word can be compared to “(word) murder” (these two poles embrace several intermediate degrees; cf. also the preliminary study in Grzego [2002a]):

subconscious



conscious

These forces can also be linked with the various maxims of conversion as presented by Grice (1975) and, particularly, Keller (1995), who distinguishes the following seven maxims:



While the maxims on the costs-side seem to influence the choice of the word-coinage pattern, the benefits-side seem to be connected with the forces for lexemic change. These maxims can therefore be linked with the forces of lexemic change in the following way:

<i>maxim</i>	<i>rather subconscious violation</i>	<i>rather conscious violation</i>	<i>conscious violation</i>	<i>rather subconscious observance</i>	<i>rather conscious observance</i>	<i>conscious observance</i>
<i>Quality (truth of content) (Persuasion)</i>	onomasiological fuzziness, dominance of the prototype	?flattery	word-play, disguising language			
<i>Quantity (appropriate quantity in content) (Persuasion)</i>		?anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, ?disguising language, ?flattery		desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience, recategorization, communicative-formal forces	
<i>Manner / Modality (order of utterance, appropriate quantity in form) (Representation)</i>	social reasons, dominance of the prototype	?anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, taboo, disguising language, ?flattery	logical-formal reasons, morphological misinterpretation, recategorization, length	desire for plasticity	communicative-formal forces, aesthetic-formal forces
<i>Image (of Speaker)</i>						disguising language, taboo, fashion, aesthetic-formal motives, word-play, pre- & proscriptivism
<i>Relation (between Speaker &amp; Hearer)</i>			word-play, ?insult	social reasons	insult	flattery, taboo, aesthetic-formal motives, pre- & proscriptivism
<i>Aesthetics (of form)</i>					anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, taboo, aesthetic-formal forces, fashion

### 3. The JGKUE Corpus

3.1. In order to see whether certain forces from the catalog presented in section 2 would be particularly prominent I have collected a random corpus of the lexical changes in the history of formal<sup>5</sup> English. The corpus consists of all concepts, i.e. lemmas, with initial J, G, K, U and E in Buck's (1949) *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principle Indo-European Languages*<sup>6</sup>. The information listed in Buck had to be supplemented by additional

<sup>5</sup> This means that forms of primarily regional/local significance or stylistic markedness are not listed.

<sup>6</sup> I have chosen these letters for the reason that they are the initials of my name (Joachim Grzegorz) and my

information provided by other dictionaries and works for Old, Middle, Early Modern and Modern English<sup>7</sup>. While the discussion of entities, or “types,” of forces is comparatively easy—their existence can be based on the analysis of a few clear cases of lexical changes—the determination of concrete instances, or “tokens,” in a random corpus is much more difficult due to the scarce information we often have on the concrete path of lexical changes. For onomasiological studies, we can establish the following rules of thumb. All neutral, unmarked synonyms for a given concept have to be cross-checked with their semantic ranges, in other words: the onomasiological information had to be checked with the relevant semasiological, geographical and stylistic information for a better interpretation of the lexical histories. Furthermore, it is important that the onomasiologist not only looks at the history of individual words. In order to find out the forces for a lexical innovation, the linguist has to look at the entire conceptual and lexical fields. If the forces are tied to the peculiarity of a given concept, then the analysis should also encompass cross-linguistic data. Finally, it is also crucial whether a new word is simply added to already existing synonyms or whether it is basically coined to replace an older word. The general and still most universal source for all historical lexicologists is the OED. Apart from this landmark work in English lexicography, ample information for Old English is now provided by the TOE (onomasiological perspective) as well as the OEC and the classical dictionaries by Grein and Bosworth/Toller (semasiological perspective). For Middle English onomasiological information can be gathered through the MEC, semasiological data is provided by the MED and Stratmann/Bradley. For Early Modern English, which I felt necessary as a fourth stage, which was not included in Buck’s lists, onomasiological dictionaries or data files do not exist yet. We therefore have to recur to Early Modern English dictionaries that gloss foreign words with English terms. For my purpose I have chosen Cotgrave (1611) and Florio (1611). For Modern English I have chosen Roget and Eaton (1940) as onomasiological sources and cross-checked with the semasiological information given by the CIDE and the AHD. For additional dialect information I have consulted Wright’s EDD and the more recent SED. Concomitantly, a number of specific individual studies could be resorted to<sup>8</sup>.

In the end my analysis has yielded 281 lexical innovations in 76 of the 112 concepts under the letters J, G, K, U, E. The corpus will show the following relevance rate of the forces: (1) prestige has turned out to be the most prominent force, it is relevant in more than half of the innovations; (2) more than a third of the innovations is triggered off, at least in part, by the anthropological salience, or emotionality, of the respective concept; (3) about a quarter of the innovations are initiated, at least in part, for social reasons (in the sense of language contact zones) and the desire for plasticity. The rest of the forces have proven of minor importance.

The following paragraphs will list the 76 concepts from the JGKUE corpus that show lexical innovations<sup>9</sup>, preceded by a few general remarks. The entries are organized as

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<sup>7</sup> In this article the periods of English language history are defined as follows: Old English from 449 (coming of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes) to 1066 (Norman Conquest), Middle English from 1066 to 1476 (Caxton’s importation of the printing press), Early Modern English from 1476 to 1776 (America’s official independence), and Modern English since 1776.

<sup>8</sup> The individual studies, which are given in footnotes for the corresponding concepts in section 3.2, date from more recent decades and have been used as supplementary information to the standard dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> The concepts from the JGKUE corpus that have constant designations throughout English language history are: “each,” “ear,” “early,” “east,” “eat,” “elbow,” “empty,” “end (spatial),” “enough,” “every,” “ewe,” “eye,” “gate,” “girdle,” “give,” “glass,” “glove,” “god,” “gold,” “good,” “goose,” “grass,” “green,” “grind,” “guest,” “kettle,” “key,” “kill,” “king,” “kiss,” “knead,” “knee,” “knife (general),” “knife (table-

follows. The entry line gives the concept (as precisely as possible) and its corresponding number in Buck (1949). The next lines list the respective (monolexematic) forms of “formal” Old, Middle, Early Modern and Modern English. Sometimes lines end in *etc.* This was necessary, where the dictionaries listed many more words for these concepts; it was my task to try to pick out what seemed the most general and stylistically neutral ones (i.e. those that are not clearly related to poetic or informal and slang language only and those that are not only recorded once or by one author or for a specific dialect zone only). Words that are an innovation are followed by two remarks in brackets. The first bracket indicates the origin of the coinage (loan, semantic change or word-formation) and the rough date of its coinage (the chronological determination is based on the first written recordings, which, however, are mostly later than the use in spoken language). I have also added the approximate time when a word must have died out (based on the last written attestation). Of course, spoken usage may sometimes clearly diverge from written uses. Also of note, the semantic classification must be looked upon with a critical view. The exact (change of) meaning of a word cannot be automatically determined from a specific context. A specific context may at first sight suggest a restricted use of a word; but this is only corroborated if the word is exclusively found in this specific context at a given period/point of time. Thus, it is therefore not easy to decide, e.g., when *wench* started to end as a word for “child,” and when it started as a word for “girl.” Most helpful for the determination of the meaning of a word are glossaries (e.g. \**“puella – wenche”*) and intralingual juxtapositions in quotations (e.g. \**“he hadde oon son and two wenches”*). The second bracket in the listing gives the force(s) which were probably relevant in the respective cases. This has not always been an easy task, although I do not adopt Görlach’s (1987: 1) pessimistic view that “[t]he historical causes that led to the avoidance, and ultimately non-use, of a particular lexeme cannot be reconstructed with any certainty.” But the comparison with related words and concepts enables us to reach a certain degree of probability. If a certain force cannot be assumed with probability, but only with possibility, it is followed by a question mark. A fifth line is reserved for notes. Lexical losses are not commented on except when particularly necessary for explaining a lexical innovation.

3.2. General Remarks: In order to spare the listing of frequent annotations in every entry where necessary I would like to mention them in advance. These annotations link some of the forces with the characteristic features of specific concepts.

- Abstract concepts are often connected with the desire for plasticity, i.e. for plastic, motivated names (e.g. “emotion,” “jealousy,” “understand”). This does not exclude that also concrete concepts are provided with a new, more plastic name through (e.g. “edge”).
- The desire for plasticity is often met by way of metaphors or (metaphorical) composite forms; but it also is the basis of onomatopoeic and expressive words, which occur with certain body movements and their derivatives (“grasp,” “groan,” “gape,” “urinate,” “excrement”) and human qualities (“evil,” “ugly”); these may not seldom be taboo concepts.
- The effects triggered off by the desire of plasticity and those caused by logical-formal reasons are not always easy to distinguish, and they frequently go together. Here, stages before and after changes are of paramount importance. If it is just suffixes that changes (e.g. ME *jolines* instead of ME *jolitee*), we face an innovation caused by logical-formal reasons since the word’s motivation doesn’t change (cf. also ME *goed* instead of OE *eode*). If a coinage cannot be classified as going back to a productive formation pattern, then we face a case of desire for plasticity. This means that the

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knife),” “knot,” “know,” “udder.”

desire for plasticity is connected with the relation between concept and form, whereas logical-formal reasons are connected with a given concept and its form plus neighboring concepts and their forms.

- Borrowings are basically connected with two forces, viz. social reasons, when the borrowing results from everyday contact (superstratum and substratum), and prestige, when the donor language is seen as a model language (adstratum). Since Old Norse did never represent a prestige language, loans from this tongue can clearly be traced back to social reasons (which may occasionally enter the “standard” dialect rather late via “lower” sociolects). On the other hand, Latin loans can always be tied to the force of prestige/fashion. With French loans in Middle English, the decision is more difficult. I have decided to apply the following general scheme: earlier loans, from Northern French, until 1300, are traced back to everyday contact plus prestige, loans between 1300 and 1400 are seen as possibly (!) due to everyday and probably (!) due to prestige, still later loans, all from Parisian French, must all go back to prestige. This will also concern Latinisms that have more probably be transmitted to English via French. This scheme is based on the fact that by 1300 the traditionally natural English-French bilingualism was over even among the nobility. By 1400 French had even stopped as a salient foreign language and as a language at the court, schools and administrative institutions; Henry IV (1399-1413) was the first monolingual king.
- Borrowings from the classical languages as well as from French (mostly in Latinized form) are particularly prominent among abstract and psychological concepts (e.g. “emotion,” “explain,” “ghost,” “glory,” “grief,” “understand”) as well as philosophical concepts (e.g. “evil,” “evil spirit,” “guilt,” “guilty”).
- Fashion/prestige/stylistic reasons (I will only use the first word in the lists below) must not only be associated with borrowing, but can also be connected with specific word-formation patterns (e.g. the replacement of prefixed verbs by phrasal verbs between the 14th and 16th centuries<sup>10</sup>) or specific metaphoric and metonymic patterns.
- We must also pay attention to the question whether a foreign word was directly borrowed from another language or whether it was already in the language in another sense; in the latter case we should then speak of semantic change, not of borrowing.
- Anthropological salience, or emotionality, is connected with a number of concepts expressing very basic things in the human world or excessive qualities. Koch/Oesterreich (e.g. 1996: 73f. & 79ff.) mention the following conceptual fields: (a) “very basic concepts of life,” such as eating, drinking, sleeping, body-parts, sexuality, excrements, death, diseases, states of body, states of mind, the weather, working, money, malfunction, destruction, fighting, etc.; (b) emotions and evaluations, such as love, hatred, joy, annoyance, fear, beauty, ugliness, good luck, bad luck, harmony, solidarity, criticism, aggression, etc.; (c) salient intensities and quantities with respect to qualities, negation; (d) orientation with respect to space and time and the speaker (spatial, temporal and personal deixis).
- Taboo refers to the desire of avoiding a specific (growingly stigmatized) designation for a concept with “undesirable” aspects. We can distinguish between mystic-religious taboos, so-called *taboos of fear* (cf. “evil spirit,” “ghost”), taboos of intimate things, so-called *taboos of propriety* (cf. “ugly,” “urinate,” “urine), and taboos of moral misdeeds, so-called *taboos of delicacy* (cf. “evil”). Lexical replacements for taboo terms are called taboo-driven euphemisms. If a word does not refer to a taboo concept, but equals a word referring to a taboo concept, its replacement can be said to go back to aesthetic-formal forces (cf. “girl”).

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Marchand (1969: 108f.).

- Insult, on the other hand, uses terms that underline the “undesirable” aspects that euphemisms tend to conceal (e.g. “ugly”).
- The naming of people has to conform to certain rules of politeness, even “exaggerated” politeness; therefore the designation for persons (in our list “general” as well as the kinship relations “grandfather,” “grandmother,” “grandson,” “granddaughter,” “uncle [paternal]” and “uncle [maternal]”) are combined with the force of flattery.
- “Onomasiological fuzziness” occurs especially with abstract concepts (“emotion,” “joyful/glad,” “joy/gladness,” “glory,” “grief”—which shows especially that emotions are very hard to differentiate). Buck (1949: 1101), e.g., desperately writes: “It is impossible to draw any sharp lines between the pleasurable emotions expressed by NE *pleasure, joy, delight, gladness, happiness*, etc., or by adjectives like *joyful, glad, merry, gay, happy*, etc.; and their differentiation in usage corresponds only in small measure to that in similar groups elsewhere.” But “fuzziness” may also characterize concrete concepts that are hard to delimitate from neighboring concepts (“equal,” “evening,” “eyebrow,” “jaw,” “ground,” “groan”); they also occur with lexical fields where, due to cultural changes, the exact places of certain elements in the field are no longer clear (“grain,” “jewel”).
- Analogy as a force must be kept apart from analogy as a process. Every word coinage is normally based on the pattern of already existing words; if the pattern is frequent we speak of a “productive” pattern. This is analogy as a process. However, analogy is a force only when a specific word or word-change triggers off a (second) word-change (e.g. “equal,” “give back,” “goat,” “granddaughter,” “grandmother,” “grandson”).

### 3.3. List of Annotated Entries (in alphabetical order):

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**Concept** “easy, not difficult” (9.96)

OE *īepe, īepelic, lēoht*

ME *ethe, light, aisy* (< Fr., 12th c.) (social reasons, fashion)

EModE *easy* (maybe the result of a confusion of *ethe* and *aisy*, the former still in dialects), *light*

ModE *easy*, (*light* now only with *task, work*)

Notes In OE there was no lexical differentiation between “not difficult” and “not heavy.”

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**Concept** “edge of a forest”<sup>11</sup> (12.353)

OE *rand, mearc, mære, bre(o)rd*

ME *mark, egge* (< ‘edge of a knife, a sword etc.’ late 14th c.) (desire for plasticity?) (vs. *mære* ‘artificial boundary’), *brērd*

EModE *mark, edge*

ModE *edge*, (*mark*: today only dialectal and only in compounds)

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<sup>11</sup> On the concept “border, edge” cf. also Grzega (2003b: 27ff.). Buck’s concept is actually “edge of a table, a forest etc.,” I have confined myself to “edge of a forest,” and there may be specific words for other collocations.



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**Concept** “egg” (4.48)OE *ǣg*ME *ey, egg* (< ON, 14th c.) (social reasons)EModE *egg, ey* (†16th c.)ModE *egg*

Notes The replacement of *ey* by *egg* has sometimes also been traced back to the shortness of the OE word (cf., e.g., Scheler 1977: 119). However, this argument seems invalid, since [eg] and [ei] are of the same length; moreover, English does generally not show an aversion to short nouns at all (cf., e.g., *awe* [ɔ:], *eye* [aɪ], *ear* [i:r], *air* [ɛ:r]). However, it is surprising that no modern dialectal forms seem to go back to the OE type, although this has survived at least until the first half the 16th century.

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**Concept** “elephant” (3.78)OE *elpend, ylp*ME *elp, olifant* (< Fr.-Lat., 1300) (fashion), *elefaunt* (< Fr.-Lat., 1398) (fashion)EModE *elephant*ModE *elephant*

Notes Already the OE words are loans; *elpend* from Lat. and *ylp* from Gk. Innovation was easy due to the fact that the animal does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon world.

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**Concept** “emotion”<sup>12</sup> (16.12)OE – (only periphrastic: *mōdes styrung*)

ME *feeling* (< [‘physical sensation’] < *feel*, 14th c.) (new concept?, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *passion* (< ‘suffering,’ 2nd half 14th c., < Fr.) (new concept?, desire for plasticity), *sentement* (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (new concept?, desire for plasticity, fashion, social reasons?)

EMod *feeling, sentiment, emotion* (< ‘moving out, political and social agitation’ [ultimately from Lat.], 2nd half 17th c.) (desire for plasticity, fashion)

ModE *feeling, emotion, (sentiment, now chiefly applied to emotion involving an intellectual element)*

Notes The absence of a monolexematic term for “emotion” in OE can be termed “lexical gap” (but on this problem cf. Grzega 2004, ch. IV.1.2.). The need for a monolexematic expression in the 14th c. can be connected with the growing importance of science and philosophy not only in specialists’ circles. The oldest word, *feeling*, is coined on the same pattern as earlier *smelling* and *hearing* (and possibly *tasting*).

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999) und Gevaert (in press).

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**Concept** “emperor” (19.34)OE *cāsere*ME *cāser* (†~1200), *emperere* (< Fr., ~1400) (fashion, social reasons?)EModE *emperor*ModE *emperor*Notes The conceptual field “titles” also includes the borrowing of other French words: *duke*, *count*, *viscount*, *baron*, *marquis*. On the other hand, a number of inherited terms have survived as well: *king*, *queen*, *lord*, *lady*, *earl*.

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**Concept** “end (temporal sense)” (14.26)OE *end*ME *end*, *close* (< vb., 14th c.) (desire for plasticity), *conclusioun* (< Lat.-Fr., 14th c.) (fashion), *fine* (< Fr., ~1200) (fashion, social reasons)EModE *end*, *close*, *conclusion*, *fine*ModE *end*, *close*, *conclusion*, (*fine* †19th c.)Notes The formation of *close* is not also triggered off by logical-formal reasons, since (1) *end* is already well consociated with the corresponding verb, (2) the verb *close* comprehends many more referents than the substantive.

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**Concept** “enemy” (19.52)OE *fēond*, *gefā*ME *fēnd*, *fō*, *enemi* (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience), *adversary* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience)EModE *enemy*, *foe*, *adversary*, (*fiend* restricted to the Devil since the late ME)ModE (*foe*), *enemy*, (*adversary*)Notes ModE *foe* is literary style; *fiend* is basically restricted to the Devil (cf. also “demon”); *adversary* is now basically used for ‘direct opponent’ or to refer to the Devil.

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**Concept** “enter, go in” (10.57)OE *ingān*, *infaran*ME *ingangen* (†15th c.), *infaren* (†12th c.), *gō in* (< prefixation replaced by vb.+adv. construction, 14th c.) (fashion), *fare in* (< prefixation replaced by vb.+adv. construction, 14th c.; †1590) (fashion), *enter* (< Fr. or Lat., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons)EModE *go in*, *enter*ModE *go in*, *enter*

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**Concept** “equal [not in the mathematical sense]” (12.91)

OE *gelīc, efen*

ME *even, ilike, alike* (< folk-etymological re-interpretation of *i-* or conscious replacement by a more frequent prefix) (fashion, analogy, misinterpretation?), *egall* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *same* (< ON, ~1200) (social reasons), *indifferent* (< L. or Fr. or autochthonous coinage, late 14th c.) (fashion?, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons?)

EModE *even, alike, equal* (< ‘[mathemat.],’ 16th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness, desire for plasticity?), *egall* (†17th c.), *identic* (< Lat., 17th c.) (fashion), *identical* (< Lat., 17th c.) (fashion), *indifferent* (†18th c.)

ModE *even, alike, same, equal, identic, identical*

Notes The distinction between the absolute “equal” and the similar “like, similar” is not made in all languages and/or not in all language periods (cf. the entries in Buck 1949). It is well imaginable that with the growing importance of scientific speakers attempted to find means to distinguish the two notions. In German there is a still more detailed distinction between *selb(ig)* ‘the same individual thing’ and *gleich* ‘a thing of the same type.’ The item *indifferent* does not clearly go back to fashion despite its Latin-Romance origin, since (1) other Latin-Romance words apply more naturally to the concept (e.g. Fr. *pareil* [which, as an adjective, was used only very rarely in the late 14th c. and still more rarely in the early 17th c. and is thus not a common word of “standard” speech], Lat. *equal* [which was used only in the mathematical sense in the late 14th c.] or *par* [borrowed only in the 17th c. as a noun]) or have already been borrowed (e.g. Fr. *égal*), (2) there is already the adjective *different*.

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**Concept** “error, mistake, moral wrongdoing” (16.77)

OE *gedwyld, gedwola*

ME *dwild* (†~1200), *dwole* (†1300), *dwele* (†1350), *errour* (< Fr./Lat., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience?), *fault* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience?), (*wrong* [< adj.?.])

EModE *error, (wrong), mistake* (< ‘error in a more concrete, mathematical sense’ or directly from the vb. [but the vb. never has a moral denotation], 1st half 17th c.) (desire for plasticity?, anthropological salience?), *fault*

ModE *error, (wrong), mistake*

Notes *wrong* is put into parentheses, since we cannot tell—down to this very day—whether it can be regarded as a noun in some contexts/collocations (what would the criteria be?) or whether it must always be viewed as an adjective (which I would prefer). It is interesting to note that, according to the chronologies given in the OED, *dwild* died out ca. 1200 and *dwole/dwele* in the 14th c. The earliest record of *error* is 1300 (in a mathematical sense first). It is astonishing that there was no larger overlap in written sources; it was obviously possible to get along with *wrong* in various collocations. On “error” in the religious sense cf. Käsmann (1961: 101ff.). The form *mistake* could also be directly from the verb, but the verb never has a moral connotation, and a derivation from it doesn’t bring more consociation, which is already well established through the pair *error—err*.

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**Concept** “evening” (14.46)

OE *ǣfen*

ME *eve(n)*, *evening* (< ‘the process or fact of growing dusk,’ 15th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness)

EModE *evening*, *eve*

ModE *evening*, (*eve*)

Notes “Onomasiological fuzziness” here refers to the difficulty in delimitating the various times of the day, e.g. “afternoon”—(“transitory period”)—“evening”—“night.” The “fuzziness” must even be bigger with the period from “morning” to “noon” since there is no lexical distinction as with *evening* vs. *afternoon*. This type of fuzziness can also be observed for other languages, cf., e.g., Sp. *tarde* ‘afternoon, evening.’ ModE *eve* is now poetic or used in the sense of ‘day before an important event,’ *morn* is restricted to poetic and dialectal language; the ModE coinage *forenoon* was an attempt to verbalize the transitory period from morning to noon, which, however, was not accepted in standard speech.

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**Concept** “evil [moral sense]”<sup>13</sup> (16.72)

OE *yfel*, *earg*, *wōh*

ME *uvel*, *wough*, *ill* (< ON, ~1200) (anthropological salience, social reasons, fashion?), *badde* (< ‘hermaphrodite?’, ~1300) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *ugly* (< ‘ugly,’ late 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *wikke(d)* (probably < OE *wicca* ‘wizard,’ late 13th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *wrongful* (< *wrong* [on the analogy of *rightful*], early 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *vicious* (< Fr.-Lat., 1st half 14th c.) (social reasons?, fashion), *lewed* (< ‘lay, unlearned,’ 14th c.) (desire for plasticity) (vs. *arwe* ‘cowardly, idle, bad,’ still exists in northern dialects)

EModE *evil*, *ill*, *bad*, *wicked*, *vicious*, *naughty* (< ‘poor, needy,’ 16th c., †~1700) (desire for plasticity), *lewd* (†early 18th c.)

ModE *evil*, *ill*, *bad*, *wicked*, *vicious*

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Thornton (1988).

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**Concept** “evil spirit, demon” (22.35)OE *dēoful, fēond, wārloga* (mostly referring to the Devil), \**unwiht*ME *unwight, devil, fēnd* (restricted to the Devil since late ME), *warlow* (†15th c.), *demon* (< Fr.-Lat., 13th c.) (taboo, fashion?, social reasons?), ?*gobelin* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (taboo, fashion?, social reasons?)EModE *demon, devil, goblin*ModE *demon, devil, (goblin)*

Notes Cf. also “ghost.” On the designations for the biblical devil cf. especially Käsmann (1961: 106ff.).

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**Concept** “excrement” (4.66)OE *meox, cwēad, scearn, dung, tord, ūtgang, fȳlþ, \*adeleþ* (only the corresponding adjective *adel* is attested in OE)ME *mix, tord, filth, adeleth, ordure* (< ‘[–human],’ 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity) (vs. *quēd* only ‘bad wicked person’; vs. *dung* nearly exclusively ‘[–human]’; vs. *sharn* more and more restricted to dialectal use, especially ‘dung of cattle’)EModE *ordure, excrement* (< Lat., 16th c.) (taboo, anthropological salience, fashion), *stool* (< metonymy, 16th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo), *turd*ModE *ordure, excrement, stool, waste* (< metaphor, 20th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo), (vs. *turd* [‘slang!’]) etc.

Notes There are naturally dozens of informal and slang expressions. Cf. also “urine,” “urinate.”

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**Concept** “exist, be” (9.91)OE *wesan, bēon, (am—is—art—sindon)*ME *bē (am—is—are—was)*EModE *be (am—is—are—was), exist* (< Lat., 17th c.) (fashion)ModE *be, exist*Notes It may be asked whether the introduction of *exist* was connected with a growing philosophical connotation of “being, exist,” but the noun *existence* had already been in the language since the late 14th c.

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**Concept** “expense, cost” (11.72)OE *andfengas, dægwine*ME *expençe* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *cost* (< Fr., ca. 1300 [but only rarely attested, more frequent in 2nd half 14th c.]) (fashion, social reasons), *dispense* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons)EModE *expense, cost, dispense* (†18th c.)

ModE *expense, cost, outlay* (< northern dial. < *lay out*, maybe on the analogy of *income*, late 18th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons?, social reasons)

Notes Cf. also the next entry and the entry “gain.”

**Concept** “expensive, costly, dear” (11.91)

OE *dēore*

ME *dēre, costful* (< *cost*, 1st half 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, culture-induced salience?), *costious* (< *cost* or directly < Fr., 1st half 14th c., culture-induced salience?) (fashion?, social reasons?, desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons?), *costleve* (< *cost*, 2nd half 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience?), *costly* (< *cost*, 2nd half 14th c.) (desire for plasticity?, culture-induced salience?)

EModE *dear, costly, expensive* (< *expense*, 1st half 17th c.) (fashion, desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons?)

ModE (*dear* today mostly not connoted with costs), *expensive, costly*

Notes Cf. also preceding entry. It is hard to account for the variety of forms with *cost-* (the sources encompass even further suffixations, which, however, haven’t entered general, common speech). The late 12th c. seems to be the period where paying with money becomes gradually more widespread than paying with natural produce in more and more social groups (due to the foundation and growth of cities) (culture-induced salience!); besides, a “concrete” quality will certainly be more emotion-laden than an “abstract” nominal concept “expense:” therefore we can regard the quality “requiring a lot of money” a culturally salient concept. Attempts to form derivations with *cost-* certainly contribute to consociation and motivation, and synonyms are quite natural in the first phase. The coinages of *costleve* and *costly*, after *costful* and *costious* had already been established cannot be traced back to logical-formal reasons, but to the desire to draw attention by to the “high” costs of a product by unexpected and thus more plastic formations instead of already established (and thus less striking and, consequently, less plastic) formations (cf. also, e.g., G. *teuer*, *kostbar*, *kostspielig*, *kostenreich*).

**Concept** “explain” (17.38)

OE (*ā*)*reccan*, (*ā*)*tellan*, *unfealdan*

ME *tellen, unfōlden, rechen* (†15th c.), *clāren* (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *declāren* (< Lat.-Fr., 14th/15th c.) (fashion), *clēren* (< *clēr*, late 14th c.) (desire for plasticity), *explainen* (< Fr.-Lat., early 15th c.) (fashion), *expoun(d)en* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion)

EModE *tell, unfold, explain, expound, explicate* (< Pseudo-Latinism, 1st half 16th c.) (fashion), *elucidate* (< Pseudo-Latinism, 2nd half 16th c.) (fashion)

ModE *explain, tell, unfold, clarify* (< Lat./Fr., 19th c.) (fashion), (*explicate, elucidate, expound* today very formal)

Notes According to the OED *explain* is first recorded in 1503; Wyclif uses the noun once (1382), the word does not occur again until 1532: therefore it can be assumed that *explain* is not a derivative of the noun *explanation*, but that *explain* entered the language from French-Latin and that the noun was reimported later or derived from the verb. The forms *explicate* and *elucidate* show the typical English derivation pattern of forming a present from the Latin participle or the noun (the more Latin form *explike* is recorded only once, according to the OED, and did not enter the *langue*).

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**Concept** “eyebrow” (4.206)<sup>14</sup>

OE *ofarbrū, ēagbrāw*

ME *uvere brey* (< “over-lid”) (desire for plasticity), *above brey* (< “above-lid”) (desire for plasticity), *eye browe* (< new compound) (desire for plasticity?), *browe* (< ‘lash’) (onomasiological fuzziness), *brew* (< ‘lid, lash,’ 15th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness)

EModE *eyebrow, brow*

ModE *eyebrow, brow*

Notes The same onomasiological insecurity between eyelid, eyebrow and eyelash is observed for other English dialects (cf. EDD s.v. *bree* sb.<sup>1</sup>) and other languages as well (cf. Buck 1949).

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**Concept** “gain, profit [commercial sense]” (11.73)

OE *gestrēon, tilung, gewinn, gewyrce*, etc.

ME *winn* (†2nd half 15th c.), *strēn* (†1300, afterwards only ‘progeny’), *profit* (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *gayne* (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons), *encrēs* (< *encrēsen* ‘to advance in wealth < to grow larger,’ 14th c.) (desire for plasticity), *lūcre* (< Lat. or Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *profit, gain, increase* (†early 18th c., now only in related senses), *chevisance* (< ‘providing of funds,’ 16th c., †17th c.) (desire for plasticity), *lucre*

ModE *profit, gain* (vs. *lucre* dated, disapproving or humorous)

Notes Cf. also the entry “expense.” ME *winne* may have come out of use due to the occasionally unclear “polysemy” that may have arisen due to the phonetic collision with *wynne* ~ *winne* ‘joy, pleasure.’

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**Concept** “gape, yawn, open the mouth wide” (4.52)

OE *ginian, gānian, cīnan, cinnan*, etc.

ME *yōnen~gōnen, gāpen* (< ON, 13th c.) (social reasons, anthropological salience?, desire for plasticity), *galpen* (< ?, maybe Du. *galpen* ‘yelp’ X *gāpen*, or onomatopoeic) (anthropological salience?, desire for plasticity)

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Norri (1998).

EModE	<i>yawn</i> [ja:n] (< new, onomatopoeic word or irregular phonetic development of <i>yōne</i> , 16th c.) (anthropological salience?, desire for plasticity), <i>gape</i> , <i>galp</i> (†1st half 16th c.)
ModE	<i>yawn</i> , <i>gape</i>
Notes	<i>yawn</i> must be seen as a lexical innovation or a dialect borrowing, since a regular continuance of ME <i>yōnen</i> should have yielded [jo:n]; evidently, the innovation has to do with the relation between form and concept. Some of the OE words have survived into ModE dialects.

**Concept** “garden” (8.13)

OE	<i>ortgeard</i> (also ‘garden of fruit-trees’), <i>wyrttūn</i>
ME	<i>orchard</i> , <i>gardin</i> (< Fr., 14th c.; vs. <i>wortyerd</i> ‘garden of herbs’) (social reasons, fashion, world view change?)
EModE	<i>garden</i> (vs. <i>orchard</i> ‘garden of fruit-trees’)
ModE	<i>garden</i>
Notes	The import of <i>gardin</i> and the coinage of <i>wortyerd</i> can be traced back to the 14th c.; at the same time <i>orchard</i> seems to get more and more restricted to gardens of fruit-trees only. These developments may be seen as interrelated; therefore world view change may play a role in the borrowing of <i>gardin</i> as a generic term.

**Concept** “gather, collect” (12.21)

OE	<i>gad(e)rian</i> , <i>samnian</i> , <i>lesan</i> , etc.
ME	<i>gaderen</i> , <i>sammen</i> , <i>lēsen</i> , <i>aggregaten</i> (< Pseudo-Latinism, 1st half 15th c.) (fashion), <i>assemble</i> (< Fr., mid-13th c.) (social reasons, fashion)
EModE	<i>gather</i> , <i>assemble</i> , <i>aggregate</i> , <i>collect</i> (< Pseudo-Latinism, 2nd half 16th c.) (fashion)
ModE	<i>gather</i> , <i>collect</i> , <i>assemble</i> , <i>aggregate</i>
Notes	The types <i>samn</i> and <i>lease</i> are still present in dialects, the first often in a restricted sense, the latter exclusively in the sense of ‘pick out, glean.’

**Concept** “gelding” (3.43)

OE	<i>hengest</i>
ME	<i>geldyng</i> (< vb., 1380) (desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience?, onomasiological fuzziness) (vs. <i>hengest</i> ‘horse, steed,’ †1225)
EModE	<i>gelding</i>
ModE	<i>gelding</i>



Notes Ad ME: Horse-breeding can be seen as a culturally important conceptual field in most medieval (and modern) European cultures. There are specific terms for various kinds of horses in several European languages. The introduction of *gelding* is in part due to onomasiological fuzziness that had already existed since OE times: OE *hengest* could translate Lat. *equus* ‘horse,’ *caballus* ‘horse for working,’ *canterius* ‘gelding’ (cf. OEC), and also OE *stēda* was used as a generic term as well as a term for the male horse; one possibility to overcome this insecurity was the coining of a more motivated term. Obviously, *hengest* hasn’t even survived in dialects (cf. EDD).

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**Concept** “gender (natural), sex” (2.242)

OE *cynn*

ME *kynde* (14th c.) ~ *kin*, *sexe* (< Lat.-Fr.; 1382, still rare in ME) (fashion), *gender* (< ‘class or kind of individuals or things sharing certain traits,’ late 14th c.) (fashion)

EModE *sex* (vs. *kind* ‘[–animate],’ gradually only in the sense of ‘species’), *gender*

ModE *sex*, *gender*

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**Concept** “general [military], commander-in-chief” (20.18)

OE *heretoga*, *lādþēow*, etc.

ME *marshal* (< Fr., 15th c.) (social reasons?, fashion, flattery), *heretowe* (†13th c.), *lattow* (†13th c.), *capitan* (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (social reasons?, fashion, flattery)

EModE *general* (< Fr., 16th/17th c.) (fashion, flattery), *commander(-in-chief)* (< *commander* ‘somebody who is in command of the army,’ 17th c.) (desire for plasticity, flattery) (vs. *marshal* vs. *captain*)

ModE *general*, *commander-in-chief*

Notes A rich synonymy can be observed for OE. In ME many terms denoting persons of (high) military or administrative rank are borrowed from French: *lieutenant*, *captain*, *officer*, *constable*; *mayor*, *chancellor*, *minister*, *chamberlain*, *treasurer*.

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**Concept** “gens, tribe, clan (in a wide sense)” (19.23)

OE *cynn*, *mægþ*, *strýnd*, *cynrēde* etc.

ME *kin*, *kinred*, *tribu* (< Fr.-Lat., 13th c.) (social reasons, fashion), *clan* (< Celt., 15th c.) (social reasons)

EModE *kin*, *kindred*, *tribe*, *clan*, *parentage* (Pseudo-Gallicism/Pseudo-Latinism, mid-16th c., †late 18th c.) (fashion)

ModE *kin*, *kindred*, *tribe*, *clan*

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**Concept** “get, obtain” (11.16)

OE *begietan*, *gebīdan*, *gefylgan*, *āwinnan* etc.

- ME *awinnen, geten* (< prefixation replaced by the simplex plus ON influence, late 12th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *receiven* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *obteinen* (< Fr., 1st half 15th c.) (fashion?)
- EModE *get, obtain, receive*
- ModE *get, obtain, receive*
- Notes OE *gietan* is just hapax legomenon in a gloss and therefore most probably not part of current formal speech at that time. The initial ME /g-/ instead of /j-/ makes us suppose that the word goes at least in part back to Old Norse influence. Looking at the citations in the MED, we may guess that Fr. *obtenir* was first borrowed in the context of politics or religion, not necessarily in everyday use.

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**Concept** “ghost, specter, phantom” (22.45)

- OE *scīn, scīnlāc, gāst*, etc.
- ME *gōst, fantome* (< ‘that which deludes the senses or imagination,’ 14th c., < Fr.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, fashion?), *spirit* (< Lat., 14th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, fashion?), *scīnlāc* († 1150), *fantasm* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, fashion?)
- EModE *ghost, phantom, spirit, fantasm, spook* (< Du., 17th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, social reasons), *specter* (< Fr., ~1600) (anthropological salience, taboo)
- ModE *ghost, phantom, spirit, spook, specter*, (*phantasm* now only poetic)
- Notes This concept is a classical taboo item. From the vast number of OE terms only *gāst* seems to survive into ME. The borrowing of *spook* seems connected with the every-day contact between the English-speaking and the Dutch-speaking communities in 17th-century New York (then New Amsterdam). Cf. also the entry “evil spirit.”

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**Concept** “girl [non-adult female human being]” (2.26)<sup>15</sup>

- OE *mægden, fāemne, mægþ, \*mægdecild* etc.
- ME *maid* (with growing negatively associated usages since the 14th c.), *wench(el)* (< ‘child,’ late 13th c., with growing negatively associated usages since the 2nd half of the 14th c.) (anthropological salience, aesthetic-formal reasons?), *?lasce* (< ON, 14th c.) (anthropological salience, social reasons, fashion, aesthetic-formal reasons?), *pucelle* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, taboo?), (vs. *maidechīld* ‘little girl’ vs. *maiden* with already negative connotations in OE)

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. also Diensberg (1985), Lenker (1999), Bammesberger/Grzega (2001) and especially Kleparski (1990, 1997), with good summaries of earlier literature.

- EModE *pucelle* (†late 16th c., lives only on in the sense of ‘prostitute’), *girl* (< ‘child,’ early 16th c.) (anthropological salience, aesthetic-formal reasons), *tit* (< ‘little horse’ or independent expressive coinage, ~1600) (desire for plasticity?, word-play?, anthropological salience), *woman-child* (< compound, on the analogy of the much older *man-child*, mid-16th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons?), (vs. *maid* ‘young girl, female servant’ vs. *lass* ‘girl(ie), “darling”’)
- ModE *girl*, *woman-child* (†2nd half 19th c.)
- Notes The concept is not easy to define: where does childhood end and adolescence begin (cf. Lenker 1999) (onomasiological fuzziness<sup>16</sup>)? As in the Middle Ages “adolescence” started much earlier than today, we can view the concept “girl” as a center of attraction (anthropological salience) due to its proximity to babyfacedness? Lenker (1999: 11s.) reports that a basic world view change occurred during the 17th c., when children were gradually perceived not just as smaller versions of adults, but as weak and innocent. But this change does not seem to be in part responsible for any of the lexical innovations. The semantic restrictions all seem secondary. It can be observed, recurrently, that the words for the concept undergo semantic deterioration, i.e. they gradually denote “taboo” words; as a consequence, new terms have to be found for the neutral concept “girl” to avoid unintended associations (this is meant by “aesthetic-formal reasons”). Whether ME *lasce* should be added here cannot be decided for sure. It seems as if a neutral term for “girl” *lasce* is rather northern, whereas in the south it is already mostly connected with affection (i.e. ‘darling’). A remarkable variety of terms has survived into the dialects (cf. SED item VIII.1.3.).

**Concept** “give back” (11.22)

- OE *agiefan*, *edgiefan*, *eft agiefan*, *ongiefan* etc.
- ME *ayeven* (†13th c.), *give again* (< prefixation replaced by vb.+adv. construction; between the 13th/14th c. and the 16th c.) (fashion), *restore* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)
- EModE *give back* (< because of the change in use of *again*, 16th c.) (analogy), *restore*, *return* (< Fr. *retourner* or < *turn*, 16th c.) (desire for plasticity?, fashion?)
- ModE *give back*, *return*, *restore*

**Concept** “glory” (16.41)

- OE *wuldor*, etc.
- ME *wulder* (†1st half 13th c.), *glorie* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *honor* (< Fr., early 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, onomasiological fuzziness?), *praise* (< Fr., ~1400) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *fame* (< Lat./Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, onomasiological fuzziness?), *renown* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *renomē* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?)
- EModE *glory*, *honor*, *praise*, *fame*, *renown*

<sup>16</sup> Onomasiological fuzziness, however, doesn’t seem to be relevant in any of the innovations listed here.

ModE	<i>glory, honor, praise, fame, renown</i>
Notes	The distinctions between “glory,” “fame,” “renown,” “honor” and “praise” are certainly hard to draw (onomasiological fuzziness!). Also of note, the context or collocation often seems important for the choice of a specific synonym; for OE, e.g., the TOE distinguishes between “glory, splendour, magnificence” (p. 422), “glory [in religious contexts on earth]” (p. 649), “glory, majesty of heaven” (p. 653)—OE <i>wuldor</i> is the only word that appears in all three sections and therefore can be regarded as the most general term. The development in ME is a typical instance of the huge amount of Fr. borrowings to denote positive qualities.

<b>Concept</b>	“go [generic: locomotion without necessary implication of direction or goal]” (10.47)
OE	<i>gān</i> - pt. <i>ēode, gangan, faran, racian, wadan</i> , etc.
ME	<i>gō</i> - <i>yēde</i> ~ <i>goed</i> (< new formation on weak inflection pattern) (logical-formal reasons), <i>gonge, fare, wenden</i> (< ‘turn’) - <i>went</i> (anthropological salience), <i>rāken</i>
EModE	<i>go</i> - <i>went</i> (< <i>wend</i> ‘turn’) (anthropological salience), <i>rake</i>
ModE	<i>go</i> - <i>went, rake</i> (†18th c., afterwards only dialectal)
Notes	Lexical innovations can of course only be found for the preterite forms here. The forms for “go” show (recurrently) suppletive paradigms also in other languages (cf., e.g., the Romance and Slavic languages as well as G. <i>gehen</i> (pres.) vs. <i>ging</i> (preterite, which must come from a present stem <i>gang-</i> ) (these and similar instances of suppletions were already illustrated by Osthoff [1899]).

<b>Concept</b>	“goat (female) (domesticated)” (3.36)
OE	<i>gāt</i>
ME	<i>gōte, she-gōte</i> (< compound, late 14th c., on the analogy of <i>he-goat</i> [and other sex-based animal antonyms]) (desire of plasticity, logical-formal reasons, analogy?)
EModE	<i>goat, she-goat</i>
ModE	<i>goat, she-goat</i>
Notes	Viewing the TOE (p. 83 & 85) we see that no generic OE term for “goat (domesticated)” existed, but that there were distinctions of sex-related terms between wild and domesticated goats. The introduction of the compound <i>she-goat</i> should be seen in connection with the preference of <i>he-goat</i> over <i>buck/hēver</i> in the late 14th century, but it must also be seen that animal sex distinction through compounds with <i>he-</i> and <i>she-</i> had begun to be regular and productive in the second half of the 14th c. Cf. also the entry “kid.”

<b>Concept</b>	“govern [in a political sense]” (19.31)
OE	( <i>a</i> ) <i>w(e)aldan, rīcsian, reccan, rihtan, stēoran, dihtan, h(e)aldan, wearden</i> etc.

- ME (a)*welden*, *rixen* (†later 12th c., in the 13th c. only in collocation with God), *righten* (†14th c., afterwards only connoted with God), *stēren*, *warden* (†14th c.), *dighen* (†14th c., later not in a political sense, but also in the more general, unspecific sense ‘rule’), *reule* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *govern* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?) (vs. *recchen* only ‘to care, to heed’), *gūten* (< Fr., 1st half 14th) (fashion, social reasons?), maybe also *hōlden*
- EModE *rule*, *govern*, *guy* (†early 16th c.), *steer* (†early 16th c., afterwards only in collocation with vessels) (vs. *wield* dial. ‘to manage successfully, to obtain by whatever means’)
- ModE *rule*, *govern*
- Notes ME *reule* seems to be a pseudo-Gallicism in the sense of ‘to govern;’ Tobler/Lommatzsch (s.v. *riuler*) only list the sense ‘rule,’ but often in collocation with “God” and “nature” and “the world”—this might have caused the word’s use as “govern.” The field of administration shows an enormous amount of Gallicisms since ME times (cf., e.g., Scheler 1977: 55). The use of OE *haldan*, ME *holden* shows a certain fuzziness between possessing and ruling.

**Concept** “grain, cereal” (8.42)

- OE *corn* (also [orig.:] fruit or seed of corn’), *spelt*, *hwāete*
- ME *corn*, *grain* (< ‘fruit or seed of corn’ or directly < Fr., early 14th c.) (fashion?, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?) (vs. *spelt* ‘(grain of) *Triticum spelta*’ vs. *hwēte* ‘wheat’)
- EModE *corn*, *grain*
- ModE (*corn*: now mostly specialized: ‘wheat (EngE), maize (AmE), oats (ScotE and IrE)’), *grain*, *cereal* (< Lat., 1832) (fashion?, onomasiological fuzziness?)
- Notes We do not know whether ME *grain* ‘cereal’ was the result of a (subconscious) metonymic extension of *grain* ‘fruit/seed of corn’ (this sense is attested about a century earlier) (onomasiological fuzziness!) or whether it is a direct loan reflecting the same semantic range as in French/Latin (fashion!); in general, the exact meaning cannot always be determined for sure. At any rate, the borrowing of a French loan into the miller’s vocabulary is rather strange. Maybe speakers looked for a lexical possibility to distinguish between the seed (*grain*) and the entire plant (*corn*) (fuzziness!). Secondarily, the terms lost their clear contents and references again (fuzziness!). At a third stage the term *cereal* became necessary, with the growing specialization of *corn* to ‘wheat,’ ‘corn,’ or ‘maize’ since the 18th/19th century (cf. also Grzega [in press b]) and, once again, with a growing need to clearly distinguish between the seed and the entire plant (fuzziness!). Similar shifts can also be observed for other European languages.

**Concept** “granddaughter” (2.48)

- OE *nefe*, *nift* (or periphrastic designation)
- ME *nift* (†1500 as ‘niece,’ the meaning ‘granddaughter’ had already died out in OE times), *nece* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, analogy)

EModE	<i>granddaughter</i> (< <i>grandfather</i> , 1611) (fashion, logical-formal reasons?, analogy) ( <i>niece</i> †17th c.)
ModE	<i>granddaughter</i>
Notes	The two OE terms also meant ‘niece’ (as <i>nefa</i> also referred to both “grandson” and nephew”); we can therefore assume a certain degree of fuzziness, which must have existed among the old extended families. This fuzziness, however, doesn’t seem responsible for these specific changes (in contrast to “uncle”). The “ <i>grand-</i> ” terms should not only be seen as patterned on <i>grandfather</i> (analogy), but they should also be seen in connection with the entire kinship terminology (logical-formal reasons, cf. also the entries “grandfather,” “grandmother,” “grandson,” and “uncle”).

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**Concept** “grandfather” (2.46)

OE	<i>ieldafæder</i>
ME	<i>ēldefader</i> (†ca. 1500), <i>grauntsire</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, flattery, social reasons), <i>grandfather</i> (< partial influence from Fr., 1424) (fashion, flattery), <i>aiel</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c., †ca. 1500) (fashion, flattery), <i>belsire</i> (< Pseudo-Gallicism, 15th c.) (fashion, flattery)
EModE	<i>grandfather</i> , <i>belsire</i> (†17th c.)
ModE	<i>grandfather</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “granddaughter.”

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**Concept** “grandmother” (2.47)

OE	<i>ealdemōdor</i>
ME	<i>ēldemōder/ōldmōder</i> (†15th c.), <i>graundame</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, flattery, analogy, social reasons), <i>grandmother</i> (< partial influence from Fr., 1424, on the analogy of <i>grandfather</i> ) (fashion, flattery, analogy)
EModE	<i>grandmother</i>
ModE	<i>grandmother</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “granddaughter.”

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**Concept** “grandson” (2.48)

OE	<i>sunsunu</i> , <i>nefa</i> (or periphrastic designation; ‘also nephew’)
ME	<i>neve</i> (†15th c.), <i>neveu</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, analogy, social reasons), <i>cosīn</i> (< Fr., 14th c., †15th c.) (fashion, analogy, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>grandson</i> (< <i>grandfather</i> , 1586) (flattery, logical-formal reasons?, analogy) (vs. <i>neveu/nephew</i> †1700, now only ‘brother’s or sister’s son’)
ModE	<i>grandson</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “granddaughter.”

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**Concept** “grape” (5.76)OE *winber(i)ge, ber(i)ge, corn*ME *winberie, berie, corn, grape* (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons?), *raysyn* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)EModE *grape, berry* (vs. *raisin* [restricted sense since the 17th c.], *winberry*)ModE *grape, berry*Notes ModE dial. *winberry* means ‘red currant’ and ‘gooseberry’ (cf. EDD).

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**Concept** “grasp, seize, take hold of [with the hand]” (11.14)OE *(tōge)grīpan, grippan, beclyppan, befōn, gehentan, (ā)læccan, (ā)fōn, on hrīnan, \*graspian, rācan* etc.ME *graspen, biclippen, ihenten, rēchen, fōn* (†15th c.), *bifōn* (†late 15th c.), *grīpen, grippen, lachen* (†15th c., today only intransitive), *tāken* (< ON, late 11th c.) (social reasons), *sēisen* (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons?)EModE *grasp, seize, grip, gripe, beclip* (†16th c.), *hent* (†17th c.), *reach* (†17th c.), *clitch/clutch* (< ‘to incurve the fingers,’ 17th c.) (desire for plasticity)ModE *grasp, seize, grip, gripe* (arch.), *clutch* (now mostly connoted with fear)Notes It may be that *seize* was used in a military, political sense first, but the chronological proximity of the sense recorded does not allow us to tell for sure.<sup>17</sup>

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**Concept** “grave, burial place [without (necessarily) implying a precise form]” (4.79)OE *byrgen, græf, stede*ME *burien, grave, stēde* (†late 15th c.), *tumbe* (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *burial* (< *burien* + Fr. suffix, ~1250-1612) (fashion), *sepulture* (< Fr.-Lat., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)EModE *grave, tomb, sepulture*, (*burial* until the 17th c., afterwards only ‘funeral’)ModE *grave, tomb*, (*sepulture* arch.)Notes The restricted use of *burial* is probably due to the suffix *-al*, which is mostly used as a suffix expressing the action of the verbal stem; *burien* was probably too much associated with the activity of burying. The various terms may at first have been applied to different types of graves, but the recordings do not allow us any safe conclusions (the situation seems clearer in German and the Romance languages).

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**Concept** “great, large, big [size]” (12.55)OE *micel, grēat* (with the connotation ‘coarse, stout, thick’)

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Schneider (1988) und Schneider (1998).

ME	<i>mikel/muchel, grēte, big</i> (< ‘strong, sturdy, robust’ / < ON; first rare recordings 14th c.) (social reasons, anthropological salience), <i>large</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, anthropological salience), <i>huge</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 13th c.) (social reasons, fashion), <i>immense</i> (< Fr., late 15th c.) (fashion)
EModE	<i>great, big, large, huge, immense</i>
ModE	<i>great</i> (only in peripheral use, e.g. in emotional speech, otherwise in the sense of ‘grand,’ i.e. quality instead of quantity/size), <i>big, large, huge, (immense now rather ‘very big’)</i>
Notes	In ME <i>grēte</i> covers a wide semantic area ‘large in size or quantity, big, much, abundant; swollen, fat, pregnant; lumpy, coarse; powerful; intrinsically important;’ ME <i>large</i> means ‘inclined to give or spend freely, munificent, open-handed; generous; ample in quantity; ample in range or extent; big in overall size.’ This means that there have been shifts between semantic centers and semantic peripheries. One would also have liked to add <i>enormous</i> to this list, but this rather denoted any kind of extremeness, ‘very positive + very negative,’ until the late 19th c.; today it can be seen as a synonym of <i>immense</i> , meaning ‘very big.’ <sup>18</sup>

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**Concept** “grief, sorrow” (16.32)

OE	<i>sār</i> (also ‘pain, suffering’), <i>sorh</i> (also ‘care’), <i>hearm, gyrn, wā, bitterness, langung, trega, bealo, caru, grama, hefignes, tēona</i> etc.
ME	<i>sōr, sorwe, harm, wō, bāle, cāre, grāme, heaviness, tēne, anguish</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (social reasons, fashion, anthropological salience?), <i>grēf</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience?), <i>distress</i> (< Lat., early 14th c.) (disguising language?, onomasiological fuzziness, fashion, anthropological salience?), <i>discomfort</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness, anthropological salience?), <i>dōl</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (disguising language?, onomasiological fuzziness, fashion, social reasons, anthropological salience?), <i>reuthe</i> (< ON, 13th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness, social reasons, anthropological salience?)
EModE	<i>sorrow, grief, woe, heaviness, teene, ruth, bale</i> (†early 17th c.), <i>grame</i> (†17th c.), <i>care</i> (†18th c.), <i>harm</i> (†17th c.), ( <i>distress</i> ), <i>anguish, sore, (discomfort only rarely in this sense)</i>
ModE	<i>sorrow, grief, heaviness, (teene arch., ruth †early 20th c., woe very formal)</i>
Notes	The mass of OE (and also ME) words to express “grief, sorrow” is really astonishing, and it is unfortunately hard to say what the exact differences are (cf. TOE p. 443) as it is hard to define the concept “grief, sorrow” at all—an onomasiological fuzziness that seems to exist throughout the entire language history. <sup>19</sup>

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**Concept** “groan [expressive of pain or grief]” (16.39)

OE	<i>grānian, stenan, þoterian, mēnan, etc., grymettan, grunnettan</i>
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<sup>18</sup> Cf. also Dekeyser (1994).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also Kurath (1921), Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999) und Gevaert (in press).



- ME *grinten* (†15th c.), *grunten*, *grōne*, *mēne*, *yowl* (< ON [onomatopoetic in nature], early 13th c.) (social reasons, desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *wail* (< ON [onomatopoetic in nature], 14th c.) (social reasons, desire for plasticity?, anthropological salience?)
- EModE *groan*, *grunt* (†17th c.), *yowl*, *wail*, *ululate* (< Lat. [onomatopoetic in nature], 1623) (disguising language?, desire for plasticity?, prestige?, anthropological salience?), *moan* (< conscious irregular development *mēne* toward expressivity or separate onomatopoetic formation, 1548) (desire for plasticity, onomasiological fuzziness?, anthropological salience?), etc.
- ModE *groan*, *moan*, *yowl*, *wail*, *ululate*
- Notes It may be asked whether still more Latinisms should be added to the ModE section of this list of general, neutral language: this must be denied since these cannot be regarded as neutral, but must be considered as markedly formal. ModE *moan* may ultimately go back to OE *mānan*, but the regular continuation should be [mi:n]; *moan* [moun] must therefore be regarded as a re-formation that aims at gaining an expressive shape in order to establish a better link between form and concept. Other languages also show a multitude of synonyms, but it is not always easy to decide whether the driving force for these innovations is fuzziness, anthropological salience, the desire for plasticity, the goal of disguising language or a mixture of them.

**Concept** “ground, earth, soil” (1.212)

- OE *grund*, *molde*, *eorþe*, *land*
- ME *ground*, *erth*, *land*, *soil* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion?, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness)
- EModE *ground*, *soil*, *earth*, *land*
- ModE *ground*, *soil*, *earth*, *land*
- Notes Buck lists “ground, earth, soil” as a sub-entry of “earth, land,” which already shows how vaguely the differences between these concepts are made by the various Indo-European speech communities (“onomasiological fuzziness”).

**Concept** “grow, increase in size [of an object]” (12.53)

- OE *weaxan*, *growan*, *grēatian*
- ME *waxen*, *growen*, *grēten* (†15th c.), *encreġesen* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)
- EModE *wax*, *grow*, *increase*, *amplify* (< Lat., 1580) (fashion)
- ModE *grow*, *increase*, (*amplify* now rare, *wax* is only used in connotation with *moon*)

**Concept** “guilt, fault, moral responsibility for wrong doing, culpability” (16.76)

- OE *scyld*, *gylt*, etc.

- ME *shīld* (†1st half 13th c.), *gilt*, *guiltiness* (< *guilty*, ~1375) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *faute* (< ‘physical or mental fault’ or directly < Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, world view change, anthropological salience), *error* (< Lat.-Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), *coupe/culpe* (< Fr., late 14th c., †15th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, world view change, anthropological salience), *demerit* (< Lat.-Fr., 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), *wīte* (< ‘fine imposed for certain offences or privileges; penalty,’ 1st half 13th c.) (desire for plasticity)
- EModE *guilt*, *guiltiness*, *error*, *fault*, *demerit*, *wite* (since 18th c. only dial.), *culpability* (< Lat. or derived from *culpable*, 1675) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *peccancy* (< Lat. or derived from *peccant*, 1656) (fashion, desire for plasticity?, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *culp* (†17th c. [maybe already before the creation of *culpability*])
- ModE *guilt*, *error*, *fault*, *culpability*, (*guiltiness* now very rare, *peccancy* now very rare, *demerit* now only ‘disadvantage’)
- Notes EModE *culpability* is either taken from Lat. or derived from the already existing adjective. With both assumptions it is clear that *culpability* can be related to the generally known *culpable*; therefore an underlying desire for plasticity and logical-formal reasons seem the probable impetus for this innovation. The same cannot be said for *peccancy*, though, since *peccant* has not yet been in the language for such a long period of time and was maybe not a generally known word yet, so that a desire for plasticity may be possible, but not clearly probable. In OE a separately lexicalized concept “moral responsibility for wrong doing” doesn’t seem to exist yet. ME *faute* covers the following semantic field: ‘1. lack, want, scarcity, deficiency; 2. blemish, flaw, fault, mistake, error with reference to belief; 3. failure to perform an obligation, neglect in duty, default; 4. moral defect or imperfection, wrong-doing, misdeed, offence, sin, crime; 5. culpability, blame, charge of blame or censure’ (cf. MED). ME designations for moral qualities are to a high degree from French. In ModE more Latinisms could be added, but these should be considered markedly formal. Cf. also next entry.<sup>20</sup>

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**Concept** “guilty” (21.35)

- OE *scyldig*, *gyltig*, *sæc*, *synnig*
- ME *shīldi* (†1st half 13th c.), *gylty*, *fauti* (< *faute*, 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *to blame* (< Fr., 1225) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *blāmeworthy* (< comp., 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *cou(l)pable* (< Fr.-Lat., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience), *defauty* (< *defaute*, 15th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons), *defectif* (< Fr., ~1400) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience), *guiltif* (< *guilt* or *guilty*, 14th c.) (fashion, morphological misinterpretation?)

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also Richards (1998).

- EModE *guilty, faulty* (†17th c.), *culpable, blameworthy, to blame, peccant* (< Lat., ~1600) (fashion, anthropological salience), *defective* (†2nd half 17th c.), *defaulty* (†16th c.) etc.
- ModE *guilty, culpable, blameworthy, to blame, at fault* (< periphrastic construction, 1876) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), (*peccant* now very rare)
- Notes Like ME *faute* (cf. the entry “guilt”) ME *fauti* (still in dialects) covers a wide range of meaning, viz. the corresponding adjectival meanings of the noun’s senses under (1) and (4) (cf. preceding entry).<sup>21</sup> The alternation of inherited -y and French -if can be observed for a limited number of adjectives (cf. OED s.v. -ive); this alternation may go back to a confusion of the two suffixes (cf. also “joyful”).

**Concept** “gulf” (1.34)

- OE *sā-earm, flēot, healh* etc.
- ME *flēte, goulf* (< Fr./It., ~1400; vs. *baye*) (world view change, fashion?, social reasons?)
- EModE *gulf, inlet* (< compound, 2nd half 16th c., now primarily dialectal) (world view change, desire for plasticity) (vs. *fleet* mostly ‘creek, inlet’ and rarely connected with the sea [until the 18th c.]
- ModE *gulf, inlet*
- Notes OE does not yet make a lexical distinction between the more inclosed gulf and the more open bay; the distinction resulted from a new classification of the world, i.e. world view change, that must go back to French influence. ModE *fleet* still exists in many dialects in this sense.

**Concept** “gun [i.e. the small or hand gun of the soldier or sportsman]” (20.28)

- OE —
- ME *gunne* (1339)
- EModE *gun, rifle* (< vb. ‘form the grooves,’ 2nd half 18th c.) (change in things?)
- ModE *gun, rifle*

**Concept** “jaw” (4.207)

- OE *cēace, ceafł, geaflas, gēagl, cēacbān*, etc.
- ME *cheek* [also already in the sense of ‘cheek’], *chavel, jaw ~ jow(e)* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion?, social reasons?)
- EModE *jaw ~ jawel* (< *chavel* × *jaw*) (morphological misinterpretation, onomasiological fuzziness?, 1598) (vs. *jowl*)
- ModE *jaw*

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also Richards (1998).

Notes It is evidently hard to draw clear lines between cheek, jaw and chin. This fuzziness also make speakers/hearers mix up, or blend, the similar sounding words *chavel* (inherited) and *jaw* (borrowed). According to the TOE and the MED, OE *cēace* and OE *ceafl* ~ ME *chavel* could even be used in the sense of ‘throat.’<sup>22</sup>

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**Concept** “jealousy, envy” (16.48)

OE *nīþ, æfest, anda*

ME *nithe* (†early 13th c.), *evest* (†~1300), *onde* (†2nd half 14th c.), *gelousy* (< Fr., ~1400) (anthropological salience, fashion, social reasons?), *gelousnes* (< Fr. + replacement of *-ie* by E. suffix or separate nominalization from the adj., 2nd half 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *jealousy, envy* (< ‘malignant or hostile feeling’ or directly < Fr., late 16th c.) (anthropological salience, fashion), *enviousness* (< *envious*, late 16th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, anthropological salience), *heartburn* (< *heart+burn*, 16th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *heartburning* (< *heartburn*, 16th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity)

ModE *jealousy, envy*, (*enviousness, heartburn, heartburning* now obsolete)

Notes Scheler (1977: 55) correctly writes that French loans were imported for all seven deadly sins in the 13th and 14th centuries (dates according to the OED): *gluttony* (1225), *lechery* (1230), *envy* (1300), *avarice* (1300), *ire* (1300), *fornication* (1300), *vainglory* (1340), *luxury* (1340), *jealousy* (1400). However, they don’t seem to have been borrowed together, but separately; furthermore, they did not completely oust the older words (e.g. *lust, wrath*). Therefore, I refrain from listing analogy as a driving force. Another difficulty that arises: do ModE *jealousy* and *envy* really verbalize the same concept? As Buck seems to assume this, I have tried to assemble all words that express “a negative feeling toward a person because s/he has something that speaker doesn’t have.”

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**Concept** “jewel” (6.72)

OE *gimm, gimstān, stān* etc.

ME *yim* (†after 1500), *yimstōne* (†ca. 1200), *gemme* (< probably from Fr. because of [dʒ-] and [e], ca. 1300) (fashion, social reasons?), *stōne*

EModE *gem, stone, jewel* (< ‘ornament made of gold, silver or precious stones,’ early 16th c. < Fr.) (onomasiological fuzziness, fashion?)

ModE *gem, gem-stone* (< compound, 1883) (desire for plasticity), *stone, jewel*

Notes Viewing the dates of records we can assume that ModE *gem-stone* is a new, separate formation that does not go back to ME *yimstone*.

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<sup>22</sup> On this topic see the recent study by Krefeld (1999) on the names for the extremities in Romance language history (supplemented with a few comments in Grzega [2001b] and Grzega [in press a]). The wide-spread fuzziness of body-parts, especially as regards the extremities, is already observed by Buck (1949: 235ff.).

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**Concept** “join, unite” (12.22)

OE	<i>(ge)ffēgan, geðēdan, gesamnian</i>
ME	<i>feien, joine</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons), <i>unyte</i> (< Fr., 15th c.) (fashion), <i>combīnen</i> (< Lat., ~1450) (fashion), <i>ōnen</i> (< <i>ōn</i> ‘one,’ 14th c.) (desire for plasticity)
EMod	<i>join, unite, combine, one</i>
ModE	<i>join, unite, combine, one</i>
Notes	Although ME <i>feien</i> <sub>1</sub> ‘join; combine, unite; go together, match in style; delay’ was homonymous with <i>feien</i> <sub>2</sub> ‘cleanse, clear; do away; make ready’ and <i>feien</i> <sub>3</sub> ‘put somebody on bad terms (with God)’ I do not think that homonymic conflict was at work here, since the homonymy had already existed for two centuries before <i>join</i> was first attested in English (1297). Moreover, when <i>join</i> entered the language <i>feien</i> <sub>3</sub> had already come into disuse. Furthermore, there is also a form OE <i>ānen</i> , but it is attested only once (in Bede), so that ME <i>onen</i> should be considered a new formation.

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**Concept** “joy” (16.22)

OE	<i>gefēa, bliss, blīps, glædnes, glædscip, wynn, drēam, myrþ, sælp</i> etc.
ME	<i>blisse/blith, gladness, gladship, wunne, mirth, sēlth</i> (†15th c.), <i>joy</i> (< Fr., early 13th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons), <i>drēm</i> (†13th c., afterwards only in the sense ‘dream’), <i>fē</i> (†12th c.), <i>chēre</i> (< ‘good mood, humor’, 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, onomasiological fuzziness?), <i>deduit</i> (< Fr., ~1300, until the 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), <i>delīce</i> (< Fr., early 13th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons), <i>delitabilitē</i> (< Fr.-Lat., 1st half 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), <i>felicite</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), <i>jocunditē</i> (< Fr., 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), <i>jolines</i> (< <i>joli</i> , early 15th c.) (fashion, logical-formal reasons?), <i>jolitē</i> (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), <i>mirines</i> (< <i>merry/mirry</i> , late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), <i>plēsaunce</i> (< Fr. or ‘satisfaction of a deity,’ 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?, social reasons?), <i>sōlās</i> (< Fr., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>joy, felicity, solace</i> (more and more restricted to ‘help and comfort’), <i>pleasance, joyance</i> (< <i>joy</i> , late 16th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), <i>joyfulness</i> (< <i>joyful</i> , 15th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons), ( <i>jocundity, joliness, mirth</i> ), ( <i>jocundness</i> , †17th c.) ( <i>gladness</i> no longer as strong as <i>joy</i> )
ModE	<i>joy, delight, joyfulness</i> , ( <i>felicity</i> poetic and formal, <i>pleasance</i> and <i>joyance</i> now obs.)

Notes Other languages also show great lexical variation for “joy,” e.g. MHG *vröude*, *wonne*, *ginde*, *munst*. Cf. also next entry.<sup>23</sup>

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**Concept** “joyful, glad, merry” (16.23)

OE *glæd*, *fægen*, *frēo*, *myrig*, *bliþ* etc.

ME *glad*, *fayn*, *merry*, *blithe*, *blithful* (< *blith(e)*, 12th c.) (desire for plasticity?, fashion, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *joyful* (< *joy*, 13th c.) (desire for plasticity, fashion, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *gay* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), *joyous* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?, logical-formal reasons?), *cheerful* (< vb., early 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, anthropological salience, onomasiological fuzziness?), *gladful* (< *glad*, early 13th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *gladsome* (< *glad*, 1st half 15th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *jocound* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (anthropological salience, fashion), *jolif* (< Fr., ~1300) (anthropological salience, fashion, social reasons), *joly* (< *jolif* ‘joyful’, early 14th c.) (morphological misinterpretation?)

EMod *glad*, *joyful*, *joyous*, *blithe*, *blitheful*, *jolly*, *gladful*, *gladsome*, *jocund*, *gay*, *merry*, *happy* (< ‘lucky,’ 16th c. < *hap* ‘good luck’ < ON) (onomasiological fuzziness?)

ModE *joyful*, *joyous*, *jolly*, *happy* (< ‘lucky,’ 16th c. < *hap* ‘good luck’ < ON) (onomasiological fuzziness?), (*glad* now less strong than ‘joyful’), *gladsome*, *gladful* (now arch.), (*blithful* †19th c.), *jocund* (arch. in the sense of ‘joyful’, today stronger ‘cheerful’) (vs. *gay* ‘[arch.] joyful; [now mostly:] homosexual’ vs. *merry* ‘[arch.] joyful; [now mostly:] drunken’)

Notes There may have been conceptual, onomasiological fuzziness between “joyful/joy, happy/happiness” and “lucky/luck.” It is also difficult to distinguish between shades of “joyful,” since these are rather subjective. It can also be noted that there are no complete correspondences between the commonest nouns and adjectives; the factor of logical-formal reasons must therefore be treated with care. A high amount of synonyms for (the different shades of) “joyful” can also be observed for other languages, e.g. It. *gioioso* ~ *liedo* ~ *allegro* ~ *contento* ~ *felice*, G. *freudig* ~ *froh* ~ *fröhlich* ~ *glücklich*. Cf. also the preceding entry.<sup>24</sup> On the alternation *joly* ~ *jolif* cf. the entry “guilty.”

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**Concept** “judge [vb.]” (21.16)

OE *dēman*

ME *dēmen*, *jugen* (< Fr., transitive late 13th c., intransitive 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons, change in things)

EModE *deme* (†early 17th c.), *judge*

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also Kurath (1921), Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999) und Gevaert (in press).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also Kurath (1921), Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999), Gevaert (in press) und Schneider (1998).

ModE *judge*, (*deem* only very arch.)  
 Notes Due to the introduction of French law, many legal have come into ME from French: *just*, *justice*, *crime*, *vice*, *trespass*, *felony*, *fraud*, *adultery*, *perjury*, *court*, *bar*, *jury*, *evidence*, *charge*, *plea*, *heir*, *heritage*, *attorney*, and many more. Cf. also the next two entries.

**Concept** “judge [sb.]” (21.18)

OE *dēma*, *dōmere*, (*dōmes man*)

ME *dēme* (†15th c.), *dōmere* (only once, in 1175, acc. to the MED, otherwise only in the sense ‘someone who is judging, “judger”’), *dēmere* (< *dēme*, 1225–1580) (fashion, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *juge* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), (*dōmesman*)

EModE *judge*, *deemer* (†late 16th c.)

ModE *judge* (less technical: *doomsman*)

Notes OE *dēmere* appears only once, around 950, so that the 13th-century formation *demere* must be considered a separate innovation. There is also a hapax legomenon ME *juger* (1450, cf. MED), but it is doubtful whether it actually refers to ‘someone who judges **as a profession.**’ Cf. also the entries “judge [vb.]” and “judgement.”

**Concept** “judgement” (21.17)

OE *dōm*

ME *dōm*, *jugement* (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons?, analogy?, change in things?)

EModE *doom*, *judgement*

ModE *judgement* (vs. *doom*, which is restricted to one of its ME peripheral, metonymic senses)

Notes Cf. also the entries “judge [vb.]” and “judge [sb.]”

**Concept** “jug, pitcher” (5.34)

OE *crōg*, *crocc(a)*, *crūce*, etc.

ME *crōgh* (†13th c.), *crock* (†14th c.); *pitcher* (< Fr., early 13th c.) (change in things, fashion, social reasons)

EModE *pitcher*, *jug* (< ?, 1538) (change in things)

ModE *pitcher*, *jug*

Notes The origin of *jug* is not entirely clear. The OED's explanation (s.v. *jug* n.<sup>2</sup>) is cautious: "possibly, as suggested by Wedgwood, a transferred use of *JUG* n.<sup>1</sup>, the feminine name, for which there are analogies. But no actual evidence connecting the words has yet been found." And under *jug* n.1: "A pet name or familiar substitute for the feminine name Joan, or Joanna; applied as a common noun to a homely woman, maid-servant, sweetheart, or mistress; or as a term of disparagement." It is not possible to find out whether the OE and ME words are purely synonyms and refer to various sub-concepts; I have tried to gather the most general terms. Labov (1973) has shown that speakers find it difficult to draw delimitating lines between the various types of vessels. However, I refrain from adding "onomasiological fuzziness" as a force, since none of the two innovations were inherited names for vessels. The most probable reason for the introduction of the new words, apart from the reason of fashion, appears to be changes in the usual form and/or usual material of the "concept," which can be observed for several vessels (e.g. "cup" and "mug")—also in other languages/cultures.

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**Concept** "jump, leap [vb.]" (16.73)

OE *hlēapan, springen, steortan* etc.

ME *lēpen, springen, sterten, skippen* (< 'run, go, travel, hasten', < ON?, late 14th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness?)

EModE *start* (†16th c., afterwards only in derivable senses), *leap, spring, skip, jump* (< expressive, 1st half 16th c.) (desire for plasticity), *vault* (< Fr. *vou(l)ter* 'jump, leap' and/or [!] 'to construct with a vault or arched roof' [< OFr. *vou(l)ter* 'dito'], 1st half 16th c.) (fashion, desire for plasticity?, morphological misinterpretation?)

ModE *leap, spring, skip, jump, vault*

Notes This is a good example for demonstrating that homonymic clash doesn't automatically lead to homonymic conflict.

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**Concept** "just, right [moral sense, of persons]" (10.43)

OE *riht, rehtwis, trēowe, \*rihtful*

ME *right, true, rightful, righteous, just* (< Fr., 14th c.) (change in things?, social reasons?, fashion), *honest* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *virtuous* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *right, true, righteous*

ModE (*right*), (*true* [now arch. and restricted to certain collocations only]), *upright* (< OE ME 'sincere') (desire for plasticity, onomasiological fuzziness?), (*just* [now arch.]), (*righteous* now very formal)

Notes Cf. the entry "judge [vb.]"

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**Concept** "keep, retain" (11.17)

OE *gehealdan*



- ME *hōlden, kēpen* (< ‘to lay hold with the hands,’ early 13th c. at the latest) (desire for plasticity), *retain* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (fashion), *reserven* (< Fr., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *withhōlden* (< *with-* + *holden*, ~1200) (desire for plasticity)
- EModE *keep, retain, reserve, withhold*
- ModE *keep, retain, reserve, withhold* (now arch., but in the 19th c. still very frequent)
- Notes According to the OED, OE *cēpan* has to be labeled vulgar/non-literary. Cf. also next entry.

**Concept** “keep safe, save, preserve” (11.24)

- OE *beorgan, healdan*
- ME *berwen, hōlden, kēpen* (< ‘to lay hold with the hands,’ ~1400) (desire for plasticity), *sāven* (< ‘to save someone from danger’ / Fr., early 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *preserven* (< Lat.-Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion), *reserven* (< Fr., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)
- EModE *save, preserve, (reserve †17th c., afterwards only in restricted meaning)*
- ModE *save, preserve*
- Notes Cf. also preceding entry.

**Concept** “kid, little goat” (3.38)

- OE *ticcen, hēcen*
- ME *ticche(n)* (†1400), *kid* (< ON, ~1200) (social reasons)
- EModE *kid*
- ModE *kid, goatling* (< diminutive form of *goat*, 1870, on the analogy of older *codling, duckling, gosling* and others) (desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons)
- Notes Cf. also the entry “goat.”

**Concept** “kindle, light [fire]” (1.86)

- OE *onāelan, (on)tendan*
- ME *lighten* (< sb., 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *kindlen* (< ON, ~1200) (social reasons)
- EModE *light, lighten, kindle*
- ModE *light* (~ *lighten* only in a figurative sense), *kindle*

**Concept** “ugly [in appearance]” (16.82)

- OE *unwlitig, unfæger, fūl*

- ME *unfair, foul, ugly* (< *ug* ‘fear’ < ON, ~1250) (social reasons, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *hideous* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, fashion, social reasons?), *unlovely* (< opposite, late 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unsightly* (< opposite, 1st half 15th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *grim* (< ‘cruel,’ 13th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, insult), *uncomely* (< opposite, ~1400) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unbeautiful* (< opposite, late 15th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult)
- EModE *unfair* (†mid-17th c.), *ugly, foul, uncomely, unlovely, unsightly*
- ModE *ugly, unsightly, hideous, unlovely, uncomely, grim, plain* (< ‘simple,’ 18th c.) (taboo, anthropological salience, disguising language?, taboo?), *homely* (< ‘simple’) (anthropological salience, disguising language?, taboo?), *unattractive* (< opposite) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unhandsome* (< opposite) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unpretty* (< opposite) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult)
- Notes The concept “ugly” is a classical example of a center of attraction in Sperber’s (1923) sense. Some innovations include a blatant motivation between form and may thus spring from a desire for ridiculizing and insulting, whereas other innovations tend to conceal the negative aspect (here it is difficult to decide whether this is because of social etiquette [taboo] or for personal ends [disguising language]).

**Concept** “uncle, maternal” (2.51)

OE *ēam*

ME *ēme, uncle* (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, flattery)

EModE *uncle*

ModE *uncle*

Notes Cf. the entry “uncle, paternal.” As in Romance and in other Germanic languages, the distinction between maternal and paternal is (subconsciously) given up. Already in OE the distinction between *mōdri(g)e* ‘mother’s sister’ and *faðu* ‘father’s sister’ is rare (cf. OEC). The “uncle” distinction is given up toward the ME period. The type *eme* is still present in dialects (‘uncle [paternal and maternal]’). Cf. also the entry “granddaughter.”

**Concept** “uncle, paternal” (2.51)

OE *fædera*

ME *ēme* (< ‘maternal uncle’) (communicative-formal reasons, logical-formal reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *uncle* (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, flattery)

EModE *uncle*

ModE *uncle*

Notes Cf. the entry “uncle, maternal.” The distinction between maternal relatives and paternal relatives is given up toward the ME period; additionally, the incipient homonymy of *fæder* and *fædera* will have played a role (both would have become ME *fader*). The type *eme* is still present in dialects (‘uncle [paternal and maternal]’). Cf. also the entry “granddaughter.”

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**Concept** “understand” (17.16)

OE *understandan, ongietan, (cnawan)*

ME *understanden, ongeten, knowen, comprehend* (< ‘to contain’ or directly Fr.-Lat., late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), *conceiven* (< ‘to experience, to feel’ or directly Fr.-Lat., late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), *apprehenden* (< ‘grasp’ or directly Fr.-Lat., 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), *seen* (< metaphor/metonymy, 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *undertaken* (< ‘to take note of,’ 1st half 15th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *entenden* (< Lat.-Fr., ~1300) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?)

EModE *understand, comprehend, conceive, apprehend, see, fathom* (< Lat.-Gk., 17th c.) (anthropological salience), *grasp* (< metaphor/metonymy) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *seize* (< ‘grasp’ [metaphor/metonymy]) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *take (in)* (< [metaphor]) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), (*know*), (*undertake* †16th c., *intend* †18th c.)

ModE *understand, comprehend, conceive, apprehend, see, take (in), get* (< ‘receive,’ 2nd half 19th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *fathom, sense, grasp, seize*

Notes The motivations of ‘grasp,’ ‘hold,’ ‘see’ for “understand” are recurrent (also in other languages). Some cases of innovation are hard to classify as clear metaphors or as clear metonymies; both cognitive processes seem to blend in cases like ‘see’ > ‘understand’ (cf. also Grzega 2000: 241, Koch 1997: 232ff., Warren 1992); Goossens (1990) calls such cognitive blends *metaphthonymies*.

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**Concept** “urinate” (4.65)

OE *mīgan*

ME *migen* (†late 13th c.), *pissen* (< Fr. or autochthonous onomatopoeic formation?, 1290) (social reasons?, fashion?, desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *wateren* (< sb., 14th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, disguising language), *stālen* (< Fr., 1st half 15th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, disguising language?, fashion)

EModE *piss, water, stale, urinate* (< Lat., 1599) (taboo, anthropological salience, fashion), *urine* (< sb., 1605)

ModE *piss, water, urinate, urine, micturate* (< Lat., 1842) (taboo, fashion, anthropological salience), *pee* (< onomatopoeic, 1879) (taboo, anthropological salience, disguising language?), (*stale* now very rare)

Notes Whereas *piss(en)* is clearly connected with the desire for plasticity due to its expressivity, the much weaker *pee* can be connected with disguising language. Cf. also next entry. There are naturally many more expressions in informal and slang speech.

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**Concept** “urine” (4.65)

OE *migoþa, mīgþa*

ME *migge, migethe* (†mid-12th c.), *pisse* (< vb., 1386) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *urine* (< Lat., ~1325) (taboo, fashion, anthropological salience), *water* (< metaphor, 1375) (disguising language?, anthropological salience, taboo)

EModE *urine, water, piss, stale*

ModE *urine, water, pee* (< vb., 1961) (taboo, anthropological salience, disguising language?, logical-formal reasons), (*mig* now mostly applied to animals, *piss* now slang)

Notes Cf. also previous entry. There are naturally many more expressions in informal and slang speech.

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**Concept** “use, make use of” (9.423)

OE *brūcan, nyttian*

ME *brouken, nutten* (†13th c.), *usen* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (social reasons?, fashion)

EModE *use, employ* (< Fr., late 15th c.) (fashion) (vs. *browk* now dialectal in Scotland and archaic in literature)

ModE *use, employ*

#### 4. A Ranking of Forces for Lexemic Change

The effectivity of the various motives, reasons, causes on the 76 concepts and their roles in the 281 lexical innovations is illustrated in the following tables. The tables will be supplemented by a few general remarks and a few statistical comments on the significance of the numeric intervals between the entries<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> For this purpose I have compared each pair of intervals between numerically neighboring factors (motives, reasons, causes) in a Chi Square test (respecting Yates correction, i.e. continuity correction) (cf. the calculator under <http://www.unc.edu/~preacher/chisq/chisq.htm>, March 2004). (On the statistical methods cf., e.g., Albert/Koster [2002: 118ff. & 139f.]).

## 4.1. Occurrence of Forces with All Instances of Innovations

(N.B.: Entries appear in numerical order. Percentages have been rounded.)

fashion	152-169 <sup>26</sup> (ø 160.5)	ergo 54-60%
anthropological salience	102-117 (ø 119.5)	ergo 36-42%
desire for plasticity	77-98 (ø 87.5)	ergo 27-35%
social reasons	48-108 (ø 78)	ergo 17-38%
logical-formal reasons	16-31 (ø 23.5)	ergo 6-11%
taboo	19-22 (ø 20.5)	ergo 7-8%
onomasiological fuzziness	11-28 (ø 19.5)	ergo 4-10%
flattery	12-17 (ø 14.5)	ergo 4-6%
analogy	9-11 (ø 10)	ergo 3-4%
insult	9	ergo 3%
disguising language	0-10 (ø 5)	ergo 0-4%
world view change	4-5 (ø 4.5)	ergo 1-2%
change in things	3-6 (ø 4.5)	ergo 1-2%
morphological misinterpretation	1-5 (ø 3)	ergo 0-2%
culture-induced salience	0-5 (ø 2.5)	ergo 0-2%
new concept	0-3 (ø 1.5)	ergo 0-1%
aesthetic-formal reasons	1-3 (ø 2)	ergo 0-1%
communicative-formal reasons	1	ergo 0%

“Fashion” is relevant in more than half of the innovations. “Anthropological salience” and the “desire for plasticity” are relevant in less than half of the innovations, but still more than a quarter of the innovations. The high frequency range with “social reasons” is due to the already mentioned English-French bilingualism in England from the 12th to the 14th centuries. But it is certainly not amiss to say that “social reasons” played a role in at least a fifth of the innovations. The remaining explanatory forces in the table play a role in not more than 10 percent of the innovations, about half a dozen is very close to zero. The rest of the explanatory factors mentioned in section 2 do not even occur in the JGKUE Corpus. A Chi Square test yields the following important significances (i.e. probabilities that the differences do not go back to pure chance). The interval between “fashion” (lower fig.) and “anthropological salience” (higher fig.) is very significant ( $\chi^2=8.24$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,004$ ). The interval between “desire for plasticity” (lower fig.) and “logical-formal reasons” is highly significant ( $\chi^2=23.21$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,001$ ). The interval between “social reasons” and “logical-formal reasons” is close to being statistically significant ( $\chi^2=3.77$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,053$ ).

<sup>26</sup> The lower figures give the number of probable instances; the higher figures give the number of probable plus possible instances.

## 4.2. Occurrences of Forces with Concepts

(N.B.: Entries appear in numerical order. Percentages are rounded.)

fashion	58-64 (ø 61)	ergo 76-84%
social reasons	36-62 (ø 49)	ergo 47-82%
desire for plasticity	36-41 (ø 38.5)	ergo 47-54%
anthropological salience	17-20 (ø 18.5)	ergo 22-26%
logical-formal reasons	13-19 (ø 16)	ergo 17-25%
onomasiological fuzziness	7-16 (ø 12)	ergo 9-21%
taboo	6-7 (ø 6.5)	ergo 8-9%
analogy	5-7 (ø 6)	ergo 7-9%
flattery	5	ergo 7%
change in things	2-5 (ø 3.5)	ergo 3-7%
morphological misinterpretation	1-5 (ø 3)	ergo 1-7%
disguising language	0-5 (ø 2.5)	ergo 0-7%
world view change	2-3 (ø 2.5)	ergo 3-4%
culture-induced salience	0-2 (ø 1)	ergo 0-3%
insult	1	ergo 1%
aesthetic-formal reasons	1	ergo 1%
communicative-formal reasons	1	ergo 1%
new concept	0-1 (ø 0.5)	ergo 0-1%

“Fashion” gives rise to innovations with more than three quarters of the concepts. The “desire for plasticity” is relevant with half of the concepts. Again, the high frequency range with “social reasons” is due to the English-French bilingualism, but it can be said that “social reasons” affect at least half of the concepts, possibly three quarters. “Anthropological salience” and “logical-formal reasons” play a role in the history of about a fifth to a fourth of the concepts. “Onomasiological fuzziness” has also proven to be sometimes hard to determine, as is shown by the relatively high frequency range, but it appears that it (co-)triggers off innovations in the history of 10 to 20 percent of the concepts. The other forces listed occur with less than 10 percent of the concepts. The rest of the potential forces mentioned in section 2 do not occur in the JGKUE Corpus. Again, a Chi Square test has been carried out to determine statistically relevant significances: The interval between “fashion” (lower fig.) and the “desire of plasticity” (higher fig.) is very significant ( $\chi^2=7.42$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,007$ ). The interval between “social reasons”/“desire for plasticity” (lower fig.) and “anthropological salience” (higher fig.) is significant ( $\chi^2=6.36$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,012$ ).

## 5. Final Remarks

The rankings have shown that the most driving forces for lexemic innovations in the history of formal English are fashion, anthropological salience of a concept, the desire for

plasticity, and social reasons (and to a lesser degree logical-formal reasons). Some explanatory forces, which are rather prominent in traditional works, such as homonymic conflict (i.e. communicative-formal reasons) or taboo, are comparatively rare.

Further studies may want to seek answers to the following questions:

- Why have other concepts from the corpus remained lexically constant?
- While the saliences of linguistic/language-internal forces can be expected to be similar in all languages, extra-linguistic/language-external/cultural forces will vary from culture to culture, from language to language, from variety to variety; therefore the following question should be asked: do the saliences of extra-linguistic forces like fashion or social reasons also hold true for other languages or is this specific to English with its large amount of French and Latin loans?
- What do the rankings look like for non-neutral, non-formal varieties of English (especially such forces as fashion and emotionality)?
- Are these rankings conducive to elucidating lexical innovations of unknown history and cause?

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