Mid ðare soðe luue ðe is icleped karite: Pastoral care and lexical innovation in the thirteenth century

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The religious life of western Europe around 1200 saw a remarkable re-orientation towards greater emphasis on moral instruction of the laity, especially, following the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the spread of the mendicant orders from the 1220s onwards (d'Avray 1985: 13–16). It was now obligatory that the Christians of both sexes confessed their sins and received the Communion at least once a year (Jones 2011: 2–3). Obliged to preach, instruct, receive confessions, and perform other spiritual ministrations in the vernacular, the clergy had to approach these tasks with an arsenal of English religious terminology that could name and explain the persons of the Trinity, the main points of the Creed, the seven deadly sins, the sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the formulas used in confession and baptism, and so on. In one of the key subdomains of the religious lexis —terminology for vices and virtues— a peculiar division of vocabulary along etymological lines was taking shape: English-based lexemes were used to denote sins (*greediness*, *lust*, *sloth*, *wrath*), whereas lexemes to denote virtues were predominantly French in origin (*charity*, *chastity*, *diligence*, *humility*, *patience*, *temperance*). Whether these distributions have a sociolinguistic dimension is addressed in this paper. In particular, I aim at establishing the patterns that have determined survival and loss of old (English) lexemes and adoption of new (French) ones. I take into account frequencies of individual Old English terms (if available) in the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC) and track geographic distributions of old and new terms in early Middle English, by means of *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME) mapping function. As in my previous study (Timofeeva 2018), lexical change in the religious domain is reconstructed against the social changes within the church, such as the new ways of pastoral instruction and preaching, by examining the specificity of social networks within the clergy and between the clergy and secular communities.

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1. Introduction

The pastoral care and devotional practices in England began to change already in the last decades of the twelfth century. The religious life of western Europe around 1200 in general saw a remarkable re-orientation towards greater emphasis on moral instruction of the laity, especially, following the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the spread of the mendicant orders from the 1220s onwards (d'Avray 1985: 13–16). It was now obligatory that the Christians of both sexes confessed their sins and received the Communion at least once a year (Jones 2011: 2–3). They were commonly required "to know and be examined on the Creeds, the *Pater Noster*, the Commandments and the Deadly Sins, sometimes supplemented by the Sacraments and later joined by the *Ave Maria*" (Gillespie 2004: 129). The duty of pastoral instruction in these matters and the explanation of the key Christian concepts fell on parish priests, cathedral clergy in cities, monks and friars in both urban and rural communities (Jones 2011: 4–5).

Although there is evidence of vernacular preaching even before 1200, e.g. accounts about bishops and abbots undertaking "preaching tours", and although parish priests were expected to perform sermons on a weekly basis, the growing demand for large-scale popular preaching was answered in particular by the mendicant orders (d'Avray 1985: 16). Both the Dominicans (established in England in 1221) and the Franciscans (in 1224) saw preaching as central to their mission:

> From the earliest years, friars travelled extensively throughout Christendom and far beyond it, preaching wherever opportunity arose [...] Both orders rapidly established an impressive network of schools to train men for preaching and other pastoral work, and members of both orders played a leading role in devising and producing aids for preachers. (Jones 2011: 5)

Unlike parish priests and the majority of traditional monks, who were bound to their local and monastic communities and seldom travelled outside them, the mendicant orders encouraged and expected their brothers to be mobile both for the sake of their own education and for the edification of others (O'Carroll 1980). In terms of linguistic norms this difference would suggest

that traditional clergy was characterised by strong ties within local communities and, hence, by more conservative professional terminology. The friars, on the other hand, surpassing all other orders and secular clergy in their geographical and social adjustability would have to be characterised by weak ties and, hence, by more innovative lexis and more potential to spread to it among the uneducated classes (Ingham 2018, Timofeeva 2018). These tendencies were probably more pronounced in the early decades of the thirteenth-century reforms. As university education was expanding to incorporate wider ecclesiastical layers and city schools were getting increasingly more accessible to the laity (Orme 2006: 189–217), the routes of introduction and the patterns of diffusion of new French-based vocabulary were also becoming more complex.

That French was indeed a more common source of religious vocabulary may look counterintuitive —after all Latin was the universal language of the church in the West, including the most basic level of common prayers and the mass— and requires some explanation. Firstly, the predominance of French as a source language in this domain is in line with general accounts of lexical growth through borrowing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which register a much greater portion of French loans than loans from any other language up to around 1400 (Dekeyser 1986, Chase 1988, Coleman 1995, Durkin 2014). Secondly, when we take the preachers' perspective, we have to bear in mind that French was used as a vehicle language for grammar-school teaching in England throughout the thirteenth century and probably until *c.* 1375 (Ingham 2012, 2015). Functional command of French was thus typical for all clerics who had completed at least the trivium (Orme 1973: 71–78; Ingham 2012, 2015) and would still be useful during the study of the upper liberal arts, philosophy and theology, especially, if one was educated at a clerical university like Oxford or Paris, where French was presumably used as a lingua franca between the nations. Paris was typically also the centre from which friars reached England and from which sermon collections and other preaching aids diffused all across Europe. Although these collections were transmitted predominantly in Latin, it is not uncommon for sermon manuscripts to also include material in Continental French, Anglo-Norman, and English (Fletcher 2009: 11–31), reflecting the multilingual settings, in which preaching aids were produced and in which preachers had to perform, switching between different languages and layers of society. Thirdly, when we take the audience's perspective, we also have to acknowledge that preachers specifically targeted urban communities, where people, money for alms, and

sins concentrated. The demand for good preachers in cities, whose populations of educated layfolk —primarily merchants and lawyer— were gradually increasing, was also high (d'Avray 1985: 30–32). Lay education, again, presupposed French proficiency sufficient to follow instruction in grammar schools and more than acceptable to attend sermons delivered in English with some francophone lexis.

Obliged to preach, instruct, receive confessions, and perform other spiritual ministrations in the vernacular, the clergy had to approach these tasks with an arsenal of English religious terminology that could name and explain the persons of the Trinity, the main points of the Creed, the seven deadly sins, the sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the formulas used in confession and baptism, and so on. In many cases established English terms were already available, e.g. *Father*, *Son*, *Holy Ghost*, *God*, *Almighty*; others were getting obsolete, e.g. *drihten* 'Lord', *sheppend* 'Creator', *helend* 'Jesus; Saviour' (Timofeeva 2018); yet others were being borrowed from French, e.g. *deliverer*, *saveour*, *persone*, *seint*.

A predilection to Romance lexis, already observable in the thirteenth century, develops further, especially, during the Reformation, and into the later periods. The peak of lexical growth (and obsolescence), however, is recorded in the seventeenth century, together with a surge of devotional and theological writing, leading to a kind of standardisation of religious vocabulary and relative stability in the eighteenth. The last peak of the nineteenth century is less relevant here, as it reflects the growth of semantic fields associated with secular spirituality, atheism and religious traditions outside the Christianity (Chase 1988: 485–497). In one of its key subdomains (terminology for vices and virtues) this standardisation leads to a peculiar division of lexis along etymological lines: in modern English, lexemes that denote sins are predominantly English —*greed* (1609), *lust* (*c.* 888), *sloth* (*c.* 1175), *wrath* (*c.* 900)—, whereas those that denote virtues are predominantly French —*charity* (1154, but see below), *chastity* (*c.* 1225), *diligence* (1340), *humility* (*c.* 1315), *patience* (*c.* 1225), *temperance* (1340).[1] Moreover, while with sin-lexemes there is a lot of variation and competition between Middle English (ME) terms within the individual subdomains (e.g. 'wrath' can be expressed by *erre*, *wemodnesse*, *mod*, *grame*, *gramcundnesse*, *wraþþe*, *wraþhede*,

[1] The dates of the first attestations are taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), although these may often be at variance with the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), corpora, and secondary literature.

braþþe, etc., cf. also HTOED ANGER 02.04.12 n.) and between English and French terms (*ire* and *erour*), which continues into the later periods, the first attestation dates of virtue-lexemes suggest that the French terms became relatively established already in the early ME period. Whether these distributions have a sociolinguistic dimension is addressed in the following sections.

The processes of lexical resilience, obsolescence, and replacement, as I am going to argue, were far from random. This study attempts to establish the patterns that have determined survival and loss of old lexemes and adoption of new ones. It takes into account frequencies of individual Old English (OE) terms (if available) in the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC) and tracks geographic distributions of old and new terms in early ME, by means of the *Linguistics Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME) mapping function. As in my previous study (Timofeeva 2018), lexical change in the religious domain is reconstructed against the social changes within the church, such as the new ways of pastoral instruction and preaching, by examining the specificity of social networks within the clergy and between the clergy and secular communities. I consider one subdomain of religious vocabulary closely: terms that have to do with the deadly sin of greed and its theological opposite, the virtue of charity, by listing all available lexemes between OE and 1325 (the end point of LAEME) registered by the *Historical Thesaurus of English* (HTOED) and the *Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE), and checking their individual entries in the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), and the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary Online* (AND). I then relate my lists to previous diachronic studies of religious lexis (Käsmann 1961, Chase 1988) and offer a sociolinguistic reconstruction of lexical conservatism or innovation and diffusion within the chosen semantic fields.

Although the deadly sins (and their respective virtues) had been important topoi in moral theology since the early days of Christianity (Bloomfield 1967, Wenzel 1968, Newhauser 2000, Newhauser & Ridyard 2012), in the period between around 1130 to 1275, they become the central theme of scholastic psychology and "the most widely used scheme according to which a priest was taught to ask about the sins of his penitent, or a Christian, to examine his conscience" (Wenzel 1968: 13). The most prominent theologians of this period —Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1141), Robert Grosseteste (*c.* 1170–1253), Alexander of Hales (*c.* 1185–1245), John of La Rochelle (*c.* 1200–1245), Albertus Magnus (*c.* 1200–1280), Bonaventure (1221–1274), and Thomas

Aquinas (1225–1274), most of them either Franciscans or Dominicans— were trying to establish the concatenation (order and kinship) of the sins and their opposites, the psychological rationale for the corruption of the soul in relation to the body, reason and will, and the symbolic rationale that connected the vices and virtues to physiology, elements of the body and planets (Wenzel 1968: 4–12).

Echoes of these intellectual debates can be heard in the early history of ME. Many treatises, e.g. the *Vices and Virtues* or the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, deal explicitly with the terminology for the vices and virtues, their definitions, hierarchies, and categories, while homilies, saints' lives, and many narrative genres, from the *Ormulum* to the *Cursor Mundi*, discuss the vices and virtues in their own right and as part of exempla and anecdotes (Newhauser 1993: 142–150). With various religious genres and Bible translations and commentaries constituting over 500,000 words, or 79 per cent of the LAEME corpus (Gardner 2014: 44–45), the history of these concepts is largely representative of the major trends in lexical change in the surviving record of early ME. Moreover, the history of the terminology for sins and vices, in particular, gives us important insights into the circulation of these lexemes among the uneducated classes, for, although those were not the immediate audience of the major treatises, confession and penance were regular practices for all social strata, and the lexemes that are used as unflagged and unmarked in the texts must be generally representative of common linguistic competence, at least at its receptive end.

The choice of the individual concepts for this study, in turn, is conditioned by their emblematic development within the greater semantic field of vices and virtues. *Charity* has a typical story of a French term that comes to replace an older and established OE lexeme. It is also one of the earliest French loans among virtue-terms. Sin-lexemes, on the other hand, tend to be Germanic, and, if there is variation between an English word like *greediness* and a Romance word like *avarice*, it is typically that of register and productive vs. receptive competence of English speakers. The two theological opposites are, furthermore, central to the history of medieval moral thought, for just like charity was heralded as the greatest of the three virtues (faith, hope, and charity) by St Paul (1 Cor 13.13) and St Augustine (*Enchiridion* 31.117), greed was condemned as the root of all evil (1 Tim 6.10) and from the fourth century to the end of the early Middle Ages continued to head the list of vices, especially for those authors "who were engaged in the task of converting the newly European aristocracy from pagan materialism to Christian

spirituality" (Newhauser 2000: xiv, 99–100). The rejection of possessions by the Dominicans and Franciscans in the early thirteenth century brought avarice and charity once more to the fore of theological moral debate and required vernacular preachers to develop new rhetorical and linguistic ways of dealing with the two antipodes.

2. Analysis

2.1. CHARITY

In patristic sources, following St Paul's *nunc autem manet fides, spes, caritas tria haec*; *maior autem his est caritas* (1 Cor 13.13), the term *caritas* emerges as prototypical for the 'love for God'. Although for authors like Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and Benedict of Nursia (*c.* 480–550) it is often interchangeable with *amor* and *dilectio* (Weigand 2011), *caritas* becomes standard in the nomenclature of virtues, that undergoes codification at about the same time, and is an established term among the theologians of the Anglo-Saxon period (Zöckler 1904: 124–129). *Caritas Dei* had a redemptive role for the Christian soul and allowed it to prevail over excessive love for worldly pleasures and possessions, typically expressed by *cupiditas* (see below). In the history of English, LOVE, CHARITY has had several names, whose emergence, replacement, and obsolescence between OE and 1325 is traced in this section.

In the HTOED, we find *charity* in all three main categories: 01 THE WORLD, 02 THE MIND, and 03 SOCIETY. While today we mainly associate *charity* with benevolent behaviour towards the needy or suffering (category 03), and it is indeed in the context of alms-diving that the lexeme *charity* is attested for the first time in the *Peterborough Chronicle* around 1154 (see below), in the Middle Ages, *charity* is also a more abstract notion, a theological virtue of 'man's love of God and his neighbour', which in the modern categorisation of the HTOED places CHARITY somewhere among the social manifestations of the mind in its relation to the physical world. Accordingly, *charity* is also part of 02.04 EMOTION > 02.04.13 LOVE > 02.04.13.17 CHRISTIAN LOVE, whose subfields 17.03 MAN'S LOVE OF GOD AND HIS NEIGHBOUR and 17.04 CHRISTIAN LOVE OF FELLOW MEN are covered exclusively by the Latin *caritas* 1862 —and its French reflexes *charity* *c.* 1175— and *karité* *c.* 1200. In category 01 THE WORLD > 01.15

ACTION/OPERATION > 01.15.21 BEHAVIOUR, *charity* is included in one of the subcategories of kindness — 01.15.21.04.02.06 LOVING-KINDNESS, represented by *soþlufu* OE, *charity* a1225–, and *loving-kindness* 1535–.

In the TOE, CHARITY is a subfield in its own right, placed in 16 RELIGION > 16.02.01 FAITH > 16.02.01.12 SPIRITUALITY > 16.02.01.12.04 A CARDINAL VIRTUE > 16.02.01.12.04.01.01 CHARITY. This subfield features two lexemes: *siblufu* 'peace-love' and *sōþlufu* 'true-love'. Of these the former compound occurs exclusively in poetry and only in alliterating positions (4 occurrences), while the latter is attested mostly in glosses (10 out of 13 occurrences, but see also *(seo) soþ(e) lufu* as phrase below). The emotional aspect of *charity* is classified under 08 EMOTION > 08.01.02 DISPOSITION TOWARDS OTHERS > 08.01.02.02 LOVE, AFFECTION, CARE > 08.01.02.02.04 LOVE, CARITAS, with lexemes *brōþorlufu* 'brotherly-love', *lufu*, and *sibgeornes* 'peace-eagerness'. Of these <broðerlvfv> is restricted to glosses in the *Durham Ritual* (2 occurrences), while <sybgeornes> has a single attestation in one of the homilies by Wulfstan (WHom 10c). Of the five OE lexemes recorded in the TOE, only *lufu* has continuity in ME, and also beyond; *soþlufu* survives in ME as a phrase *(the) soþ(e) luue* rather than an univerbated noun. More frequent phrasal equivalents of *caritas*, however, are not included in the two thesauri. It is to their analysis in OE and ME that I now turn.

Sermons on the vices and virtues were by no means an entirely new genre in the thirteenth century. English expositions on this subject are known from at least the time of Ælfric (*c.* 950–*c.* 1010), while the beginning of the 'codification' of the vices and virtues in the Christian West can be dated to the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius (348–413), an allegorical battle between vices and virtues (Bloomfield 1967: 64–67). For many vernacular texts, it is typical to introduce the terms in Latin, gloss them in English, and then provide an exposition. Ælfric's definition of the virtue of charity in his homily on the Memory of Saints is reminiscent of St Paul:

(1) Nu synd ðreo heahmægnu, ðe menn sceolan habban,
Fides, *Spes*, ***Caritas***, þæt is geleafa and hiht and **seo soðe lufu**
[...]
Þæt is **seo soðe lufv**, þæt man his scyppend lufige
mid unametenre lufe, and ða menn þe wel willað,
swa swa hine sylfne on soðfæstnysse æfre.
For Godes lufon we sceolon eac lufian ure fynd,
swa þæt we ðone man lufian, and his misdæda onscunian.
(ÆLS (Memory of Saints) ll. 246–257)

> 'Now there are three main-virtues, which men must have,
> *Fides*, *Spes*, ***Caritas***, that is, Faith, and Hope, and **true love**
> [...]
> This is **true love**, when a man loves his creator
> with unmeasured love, and those people who wish [him] well,
> even as [he loves] himself, in sincerity forever.
> For God's love we shall also love our enemies,
> so that we love the man, but hate his misdeeds.'
> (based on translation by Skeat 1966: 353, 355)

Ælfric goes on to introduce the deadly sins and other virtues with whose help the vices can be overcome. Each time he repeats the same procedure: a Latin term, its English gloss, and exposition. This homily appears in the *Lives of Saints* commissioned by and dedicated to ealdorman Æthelweard and accompanied also by a Latin preface, which suggests both secular aristocratic, secular clerical, but also monastic audiences who might have studied the work *siue legendo, siue audiendo* (Stephenson 2015). In this potentially mixed reception context, Ælfric still deems it necessary to introduce the Latin terms first, if only to replace them with English equivalents later on.

Seo soþe lufu (or *soþ lufu*) 'true love' is a frequent equivalent for *caritas* in the OE glossatorial tradition, occurring a total of 140 times in the C text category (interlinear glosses) of the DOEC. The phrase is almost equally frequent in the homiletic texts —137 occurrences, of these ninety in Ælfric. The rest of the DOEC contains a further eighty-seven occurrences, giving a total of 364, or 120 tokens per one million words. Another semantic equivalent for *caritas* in OE is *lufu godes and manna* (seventeen occurrences) or *soþ lufu godes and manna* (twenty occurrences) '(true) love of God and men'. Both phrases and *soþ lufu* can be traced back to *De doctrina christiana*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and homilies by St Augustine, where their Latin prototypes are introduced and explained: *amor/caritas/dilectio Dei et proximi* and *caritas/dilectio vera/perfecta* (Cross & Hill 1982: 149–150).

In the early ME period the reliance of the patristic definitions of *caritas* and, especially, their OE equivalents is strongly present up to around 1300. Many authors still use ME reflexes of the OE phrases *luue godes & mannes* and *soþ luue* alongside the French loan *charite*. To demonstrate these tendencies, I have extracted statistics on charity-lexemes from Käsmann's discussion in (1961: 247–249) and arranged them chronologically (based on LAEME datings) in Table 1.

Table 1. Distributions of 'charity' terms in individual texts in early ME (based on discussion in Käsmann 1961: 247ff)

	luue	***soþ luue***	***soþfast luue***	***luue godes & mannes***	***charite***	**Totals**
Homilies in Bodley 343	4	7	-	4	-	**15**
Trinity Homilies	-	11	-	9	-	**20**
Ormulum	4	-	27	4	6	**41**
Lambeth Homilies	1	1	-	2	6	**10**
Vices & Virtues	1	5	-	11	23	**40**
Cotton Vespasian Homilies	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Winteney *Regula S. Benedicti*	1	13	-	1	-	**15**
Hali Meidenhad	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Ureisun of Ure Louerde	-	2	-	-	-	**2**
Ancrene Riwle	4	2	-	1	6	**13**
Duty of Christians	-	5	-	-	-	**5**
Lyrics xiii	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
Ayenbite	4	2	-	-	43	**49**
Totals	**19**	**50**	**27**	**33**	**84**	**213**

Although the first attestation of *charite* is in the *Peterborough Chronicle* dated to *c.* 1154, it is not included in the table, contextual evidence suggesting that the chronicler uses this lexeme in the sense 'hospitality' (Käsmann 1961: 248; cf. OED s.v. *charity* 4.b). We can observe that the earliest two texts —Homily collections in Bodley 343 and Trinity 335, dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century and well-known for their strong association with the pre-Conquest homiletic tradition— use *luue godes & mannes* and *soþ luue* in addition to *luue* on its own. The *Ormulum* (*c.* 1200), notorious for its idiosyncrasies, shows a clear preference for a 'true love' expression *soþfast luue*, unattested in other sources (Käsmann 1961: 248). The same text also records ones of the first instances of *charite* in the sense 'charity'. The roughly contemporary *Vices and Virtues* prefers *charite* to all other native-based words or phrases taken together. The same tendency is true in *Ancrene Riwle* (MS Nero A.xiv, 1240s), although two other AB-language texts (*Hali Meidenhad* and *Ureisun of Ure Louerde*) employ only *soþ luue*. A thirteenth-century redaction of the OE *Regula S. Benedicti* is unsurprisingly conservative in its

lexis (cf. Gretsch 1978), and so are the two short poetic texts from the middle of the thirteenth century. It is only in the much later *Ayenbite of Inwit* (1340) that the dominance of *charite* becomes almost complete. More generally, Table 1 suggests that whenever there is variation between *charite* and older expressions within the same texts, it is the former whose relative frequencies are higher. As shown in Figure 1, by the early fourteenth century, *charite* is attested in all localities that possess any significant record of religious texts, including the *South English Legendary* and *Cursor Mundi* in the north.[2]

One of the texts that displays lexical variation in the chosen domain, *Vices and Virtues* (VV), a prose dialogue between the penitent Soul and Reason, surviving uniquely in BL Stowe 34, produced in *c.* 1175–1225 in Essex (Gunn 2012, Pelle 2015), deserves closer attention, for it demonstrates both how virtue-concepts were tackled in contemporary devotional literature and sermon-like settings and how particular terms associated within them could be introduced and explained.

(2) Of **charite**. ***Caritas*** is swiðe hali, forðan ðe godd self is icleped **karitas**, þat is, **godes luue and mannes**. Alle ðe habbeð ðese halie luue, godd wuneð inne hem, and hie inne gode. (*Vices & Virtues* 35.15–17)
'Of **charity**. ***Caritas*** is very holy, because God Himself is called ***caritas***, that is, **love of God and man**. God dwells within all who have this holy love, and they within God.' (trans. Holthausen 1888: 34, emphasis added)

This passage opens with a French-based rubric *Of charite*, switches into Latin *caritas*, showing spelling variation between <c> and <k>, provides an English gloss *godes luue and mannes*, and goes on to the exposition. In itself the procedure is very similar to the one that we have observed in Ælfric (example (1) above), but the rubric and the use of the French lexeme later in the text indicate that code-switching routines had become quite different in the meantime. In the course of the sermon the concept of CHARITY is mentioned twenty-seven times: four in Latin (including two biblical quotations), twelve in French, and eleven in English (seven instances of *godes luue and mannes*, three of *soð luue*, and one of *luue*). In six cases, the English expressions occur

[2] Phrasal equivalents of *caritas*, unfortunately, cannot be mapped by means of LAEME.

in the immediate proximity of *charite*, either expanding (example (3)) or glossing it (examples (4) and (5); cf. example (2)).

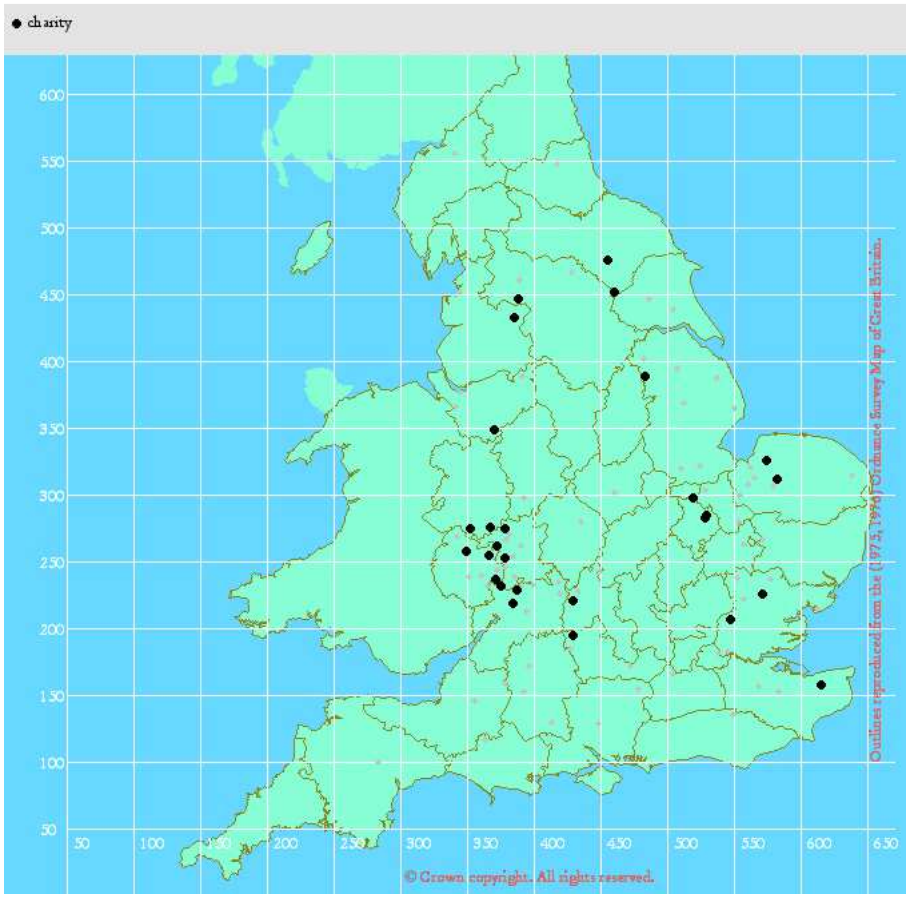


Figure 1. Regional distributions of *charite* (LAEME)

(3) Gif ðu na þing ne luuest on ðare woreld ðurh hwat ðu miht forliesen godes luue oðer mannes … ðanne ðu ðus dest, ðanne hafst ðu **charite** mid ðe and iwis **godes luue and mannes**. (*Vices & Virtues* 39.31–41.2)
'If thou lovest nothing in the world by which thou mayst lose God's love or man's … if thou doest thus, then thou hast **charity** in thee and assuredly **God's love and man's**'. (trans. Holthausen 1888: 38, 40, emphasis added)

(4) Gif ðu luuest ðat ilke þing ðe godd fastliche ðe forbett, hu miht ðu ðanne wunigen on **karite**, þat is, **luue of gode and of mannen**? (*Vices & Virtues* 37.23–25)
'If thou lovest the same thing that God firmly forbids thee, how canst thou then abide in **charity**, that is, **love of God and of men**.' (trans. Holthausen 1888: 36, emphasis added)

(5) ðe bieð ibroiden mid þrie strænges, of rihte ileaue and of faste hope te gode and of **ðare soðe luue** ðe is ihoten **carite**. (*Vices & Virtues* 45.14–16)
'which [the ropes of the boat of the holy church] are woven of three strings, of right belief and of firm hope in God and of **the true love** which is called **charity**.' (trans. Holthausen 1888: 44, emphasis added)

I have quoted these examples at length to demonstrate how the author is flagging a potentially problematic term. His persistent use of the English equivalents next to *charite* seems to suggest that, on the one hand, it was a convenient and established term in his professional variety of English and, on the other, he was conscientious enough to highlight and explain it to his audience both as a theological concept and as a foreign word. Further, the spellings of the French lexeme in examples (3)–(5) and the whole section *Of charite* display remarkable variation: <carite> two occurrences, <charite> five, and <karite> five (elsewhere in the VV text <cariteð> and <kariteð> are also attested; cf. Käsmann 1961: 249). The same variation of the initial consonant is also present in Latin: <caritas> one, <karitas> two, <charitas> one. This is in sharp contrast to the English equivalents: <luue>, <soð luue> and <godes luue & man^{n}es>, which are stable both in their spellings and abbreviations (ampersand and <n^{n}>). These discrepancies may point to an author/scribe who was more used to writing in English than in Anglo-Norman. Yet, at the same time, he was a fluent speaker of the second vernacular, to the extent that it even contaminated his Latin. His glossing of the Romance terms in English, employed throughout the work, forms a stylistic pattern and a helpful mnemonic device. Such 'macaronic doublets',[3] as we have seen, were also used

[3] For Siegfried Wenzel, these are primarily "structures of coordination in which a single thought is expressed twice by elements taken from different etymological backgrounds or [...] from different languages" (Wenzel 1994: 86). I suggest that this definition could be extended to bilingual contexts in sermon and sermon-like texts in which other syntactic structures than coordination are involved.

by preachers of the earlier period, and continued to be common place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Wenzel 1994: 86–87). Through the circulation of devotional works and, especially, of popular oral sermons, terms like *charite*, glossed by their macaronic doublets, could reach uneducated monolingual English speakers in urban and rural parishes.

Among the many virtues discussed in VV, charity is the only one to be introduced by a French loanword in the rubric and to be verbalised as French *charite* rather than an English equivalent most consistently (see Table 1). Why? Käsmann suggests the following language-internal reasons: *lufu* was too polysemous and unspecific, and phrasal equivalents were too long or inconvenient (Käsmann 1961: 35). To these I would like to add a few pragmatic considerations. The non-specificity of *lufu* should not necessarily be viewed as a factor that could have precluded its continuity as a term for 'charity'. Non-specific linguistic features generally have a higher survival rate, and this is also true for borrowed lexis, including semantic loans (Timofeeva 2018). In modern and Present-day English, *love* is used as 'charity, charitable love', which points to a later semantic re-borrowing (or continuity; see the triad *faith*, *hope*, and *love* in modern translations of 1 Cor 13.13; cf. OED s.v. *love* n.2). On the other hand, historical semanticists observe that vocabulary at the level of greater specificity is, in general, more heavily weighted towards loanwords (Kay & Allan 2015: 98–99, Sylvester 2018), that is: the more specific a concept, the more likely it is to be expressed by a borrowed lexeme. Thus, the non-specificity of *lufu* could have determined the reason why *lufu* was not selected as a good-enough equivalent in the OE period. The compound *soþlufu* and phrasal *(seo) soþ(e) lufu* were favoured instead. Common in glosses to Latin *caritas* and in the West Saxon homiletic tradition, the phrase was still in use in the early ME period and until 1340. In the new preaching contexts, however, it was probably perceived as slightly old-fashioned and belonging to the old monastic tradition. Coming to England from France, the mendicant tradition, which, by definition, relied on alms and charity, was more likely to promote *charite* both as a word and concept. The use of *par charite* as an exclamation that can express a variety of emotional attitudes, as already observed by Käsmann (1961: 249), could have contributed to the diffusion of the noun, speeding up its acceptance as a prototypical term ahead of other French lexemes for virtues.

2.2 GREED

In the Western Christian tradition, a variety of lexemes is used to denote the deadly sin of greed: *avaritia*, *cupiditas*, *cupido*, *philargyria*, *pleonexia*, and quite a few other contextual terms and terms for subtypes of greed. Among these, *avaritia* eventually becomes prototypical, although many authors continue to use *avaritia* and *cupiditas* largely interchangeably (for two very detailed accounts of GREED and the deadly sins, see Bloomfield 1967 and Newhauser 2000). *Avaritia* is derived through *avarus* 'greedy' from the verb *aveo* 'to crave', and unlike such specific terms as the Greek loan *philargyria* 'love for money', "stresses the forcefulness of yearning more than the object of desire" (Newhauser 2000: xii). Although *cupiditas* originally means 'passionate, immoderate desire', it is often more specific than *avaritia*, becoming the preferred term for 'the desire of possessions' (Käsmann 1961: 283).

In the HTOED, greed-lexemes are found under category 02 THE MIND > 02.05 WILL > 02.05.03.03 DESIRE > 02.05.03.03.05|03 (n.) INORDINATE DESIRE OF POSSESSIONS, which lists a total of thirty-seven items, of which I reproduce only those that are attested before 1325: *deofolgitsung* OE, *feohgitsung* OE, *feohgyfernes* OE, *gifernes* OE, *gitsiendnes* OE, *nahtgitsung* OE, *unrihtgitsung* OE, *woruldgitsung* OE, *woruldwilnung* OE, *yissing* < *gitsung* OE–a1400, *greediness* < *grædignes* OE–, *greedilaik c.* 1200, *covetise* 1297–a1652, *avarice* a1300–, *winninghead c.* 1315, and *coveting c.* 1315–. These lexemes represent one side of GREED, desire to acquire wealth and money; the other side, unwillingness to part with wealth and money, is NIGGARDLINESS. This subcategory is part of 02 THE MIND > 02.06. POSSESSION > 02.06.10 RETAINING > 02.06.10.02 (n.) NIGGARDLINESS/MEANNESS. The HTOED contains fity-seven words at this level, those up to 1325 being: *forhæfednes* OE, *gneadnes* OE, *gneaþlicnes* OE, *hneawnes* OE, *minsung* OE, *uncyst* OE, *fastship* a1225, *nithinghead* a1300, and *scarceness* a1300–1509. Although the two concepts are kept distinct in the HTOED, the meanings of the individual lexemes, especially *hapax legomena*, are often ambiguous (see also TOE list below), and the acquiring vs. retaining divide fuzzy. Niggardliness-lexemes are, therefore, kept in the pool of terms that, at least partly, intersect with greed-lexemes (see Appendix).

In the TOE, COVETOUSNESS, AVARICE is a subcategory of PARSIMONY, NIGGARDLINESS: 10 POSSESSION > 10.03 GIVING > 10.03.09 MODERATION IN EXPENDITURE > 10.03.09.01 (n.) PARSIMONY, NIGGARDLINESS > 10.03.09.01.01 (n.) COVETOUSNESS, AVARICE and includes *feohgeornes* (o),

feohgītsung, *feohgȳferness* (o g), *feohlufu* (q), *gīfernes*, *gītsiendnes* (o), *gītsung*, *grædignes*, and *uncyst*. The superordinate PARSIMONY, NIGGARDLINESS lists *fæsthafolnes*, *forhæfednes*, *gnēadnes*, *gnēaþlicnes* (g), *hēamolscipe* (o), *hnēawnes*, *minsung* (g). Because of the different classification principles of the two thesauri, some of the lexemes compactly listed in the HTOED under 02.05.03.03.05.03 INORDINATE DESIRE OF POSSESSIONS are somewhat more scattered in the TOE, e.g. *woruldgītsung* is part of 06 MENTAL FACULTIES > 06.02.05 STRONG LIKING FOR, DEVOTION TO > 06.02.05.01|01.04 (n.) EARTHLY DESIRE, while *dēofolgītsung* is classified as 12 SOCIAL INTERACTION > 12.08 PRINCIPLE CHARACTER > 12.08.07 IMMODERATION, EXCESS > 12.08.07|03 (n.) DEVIL-LIKE GREED. In spite if these discrepancies, the OE greed-lexemes can be divided into morphological categories: derivatives that denote 'desire, longing' and compounds that specify a particular desire (of wealth and money *feoh*- compounds, an immoral desire *deofol*-, *naht*-, *unriht* compounds). Niggardliness-lexemes, on the other hand, often derive from adjectives meaning 'stingy' and deverbal stems meaning 'holding fast, gripping hard'. Although the word lists look extensive, especially compared to the charity-lexemes, the portion of rare words and *hapax legomena* on them is high.[4] I have merged the two thesauri lists, additional information from individual word entries in DOE, MED, and OED, and the lexemes discussed by Kasmänn (1961) in the Appendix, where the information on attested frequencies can also be found. Here, more general observations and a discussion of the most frequent terms will suffice. The lexemes that are attested in LAEME appear in Figure 2.

Among the nine terms that can potentially be used to express PARSIMONY, NIGGARDLINESS in OE, only *forhæfednes* 'abstinence, restraint' > 'excessive restraint, parsimony' has a substantial record of *c.* 225 occurrences. Nevertheless, the derived sense is not very frequent and tends to be associated mostly with glosses to the Latin *parsimonia*, which is itself polysemous — 'parsimony' and 'temperance, abstinence' (DOE). *Forhæfednes* is still attested in the early ME period up to *c.* 1200 in the meaning 'abstinence; esp., abstaining from food or drink'. A virtue rather than a sin, it occurs in homily collections and recipes derived from the OE tradition (MED).

[4] As also indicated by the distribution flags in the TOE: 'o' —occurs once or infrequently; 'g' —occurs in glosses/glossaries; 'q' —existence is uncertain (for details, see http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/flags/).

In the early fourteenth century, *scarceness* (a1300–1509) emerges as one of the dominant terms for 'niggardliness, stinginess' (MED, OED). Derived from the Anglo-Norman adjective *(e)sc(h)ars* 'insufficient; stingy' it joins the most productive deadjectival suffixation pattern of the early ME period in *-ness* (Gardner 2014: 73–76). *Scarceness* features frequently in rhyming juxtaposition with *largesse* 'largesse, generosity', which may have contributed to the preference of the *-ness* derivative over the direct loan *scarcity*, attested only a few decades later than *scarceness* (OED, MED). It is the proximity of *largesse* and its inclusion among the seven deadly sins that makes the interpretation of *scarceness* as 'greed, avarice' most likely in the following example from the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340) and confirms the possibility of overlap between GREED and PARSIMONY.

(6) Þe boȝes of þise trawe: byeþ þe zeuen principals uirtues / þet ansuerieþ to þe zeue vices. ase deþ boȝsamnesse a-ye prede. Loue: a-ye enuye. Mildenesse: a-ye felhede. Prouesse: a-ye slacnesse. Largesse: a-ye **scarsnesse**. Chasteté: a-ye lecherie. Sobreté a-ye glotounye. (*Ayenb.* (Arun 57) 159.34)
'The boughs of this tree [of rightfulness] are the seven principal virtues that correspond to the seven vices, as does obedience to pride, love to envy, mildness to cruelty/wrath, prowess to slackness, largesse to **scarceness/avarice**, chastity to lechery, sobriety to gluttony.'[5]

That avarice can be subdivided into the desire to gain and the desire to keep is emphasised earlier in the same text. Here, again, the unwillingness to part with wealth and money is expressed by an adverb derived from *scars*.

(7) Þet vifte heaued / of þe beste / beuore y-zed. is the zenne / of **auarice** / and of **couaytyse** / þet is rote / of alle kueade ... **Auarice** / is disordene loue. zuo disordene / him sseweþ / in þri maneres generalliche. ine wynnynge: boldeliche. ine ofhealdinge: streytliche. ine spendinge: **scarsliche**. (*Ayenb.* (Arun 57) 34.19)
'The fifth head of the beast mentioned before is the sin of **avarice** and of **covetousness**, that is the root of all evil ... **Avarice** is disorderly love, which generally shows itself in three ways: in seizing boldly, in holding tightly, in spending **scarcely/stingily**.'

[5] All translations from example (6) on are my own, emphasis added.

Although for Dan Michel the derivatives of *scars* do belong to the semantic field of greed, the lexemes that he prefers for the core meaning 'greed, avarice' are *avarice* (twenty-nine occurrences) and *coveitise* (thirty-three occurrences).

Among the English terms for 'greed' that have a solid record in OE and continue into the ME period, one should name *gifernes*, with *c.* 115 occurrences in DOE, mainly in sense 1 'gluttony' (example (8)), but also 2 'greediness for possessions / gain: covetousness, cupidity, avarice'. Both senses survive into the late ME period, the OED last attestations being a1400. The most frequent term in OE is, however, *gītsung* 'desire, longing; greed, avarice' with *c.* 300 occurrences. It can translate and gloss a variety of Latin terms, including those denoting 'desire or greed for food': *appetitus*, *avaritia*, *cupiditas*, *cupido*, *desiderium*, *gula*, *philargyria*, *usura* (DOE). In the early ME period *gitsung* is the default English term for 'avarice, covetousness'.

(8) Seððen comen to ðe ða werȝede gastes of **giuernesse**, of drunkenesse, of galnesse, of **ȝitsinge**, and manie oðre, alles to fele, and þe habbeð iwelt after here aȝene wille on here þewdome æure to longe. (*Vices & Virtues* 23.26–28)
'Afterwards came to thee the cursed sprits of **gluttony**, drunkenness, lust, **greed**, and many others, all too many, and have ruled thee after their own will in their bondage ever too long.'[6]

The only OE term that survives into the present day is *greediness* < *grædignes* 'greediness for food; carnal pleasures; wealth'. This lexeme is attested about forty-five times in OE, as equivalent to Latin *avaritia*, *aviditas*, *cupido*, *cupiditas* (DOE). It is the most general term for 'greed', which, especially when augmented by a prepositional phrase, can be extended to mean a variety of vices: 'gluttony', 'drunkenness', 'covetousness', 'lust', 'importunity', 'ferocity' (MED). Another generic term is *uncyst* 'vice, fault' but also 'avarice; niggardliness' (BT). Although it has a reasonable record in OE —eighty-four occurrences in DOEC— in ME *uncyst* becomes obsolescent by around 1150, lingering exclusively in redactions of pre-Conquest homilies (MED).

[6] Holthausen (1888: 22) translates: "the cursed sprits of **greed**, of drunkenness, of lechery, of **covetousness**...", but I do not think that the order of sins bears this out. The tautology "of greed, ... of covetousness" is unwarranted in the context.

At about 1300, three French lexemes enter the semantic field of GREED: *coveitise* 1297–a1652 'covetousness, greed' (MED, OED; see Figure 2), a closely related verbal noun *coveting c.* 1315– (MED), and *avarice* a1300– (MED). The former two are reflexes of the Latin *cupiditas* and *cupido*, whose semantic structure includes the extension 'love, desire' > 'excessive desire' > 'greed', paralleled very closely by the OE *gitsung* and *gitsian*. For the scribe of *Cursor Mundi* (as preserved in MS Cotton Vespasian A.iii), the sin of greed is called *couaitise*, while *gredines* and *nithinghede* are its subtypes, the unwillingness to share (example (9)).

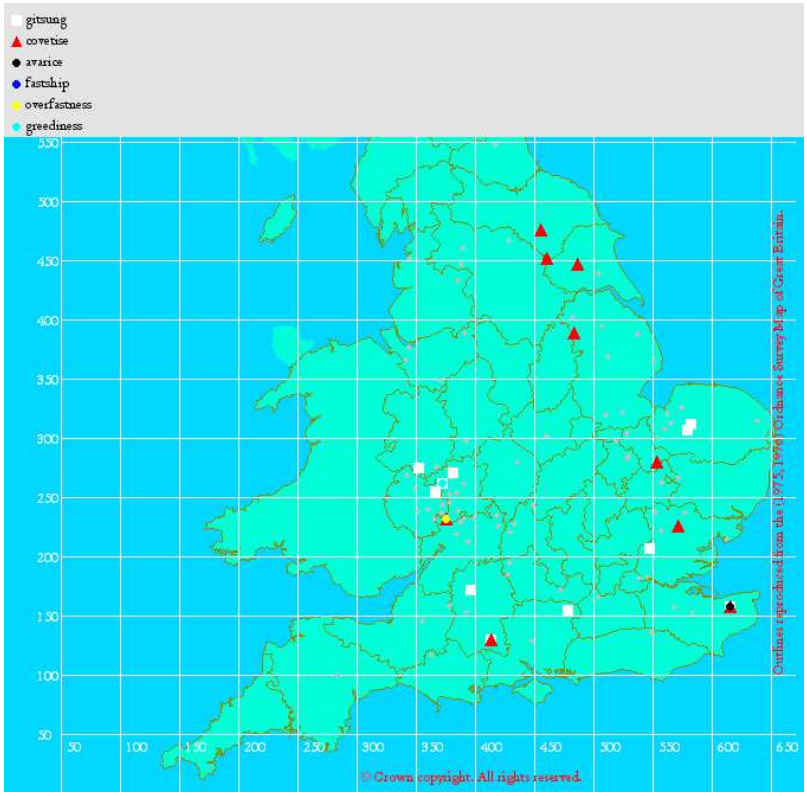
(9) Þe first sin es o **couaitise** ... O þis cumes ... **Gredines** and **nithinghede**, To be o goddes gyft to gnede. (Cursor (Vsp A.3) 27842)
'The first sin is that of **avarice** ... From this comes ... **greediness** and **niggardliness**, to be too stingy about giving goods.'

In this Northern text of *c.* 1300, *couaitise* is the prototypical term for 'avarice', while a hundred years earlier in the west and many parts of the Midlands it was still *gitsung* (see also Figure 2). The difference between the native *icinge* (< *gitsung*) (one occurrence) and the two French terms, postulated in the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, is instructive (example (10)).

(10) Þet uerste heaued / of þe beste of helle: ys prede. Þet oþer / is enuie. þe þridde / wreþe. þe uerþe / sleauþe / þet me clepeþ / ine clergie: accidye. þe vifte / **icinge**. in cle[r]gie / **auarice**. oþer **couaytise**. þe zixte / glotounye. þe zeuende lecherie / oþer luxurie. (*Ayenb.* (Arun 57) 16.2)
'The first head of the beast of hell is pride, the second is envy, the third is wrath, the forth is sloth, that we call in learned speech accidie, the fifth is **greed**, in learned speech **avarice** or **covetousness**, the sixth is gluttony, the seventh is lechery or luxury.'

Accidye, *auarice*, and *couaytise* are associated with clerical and learned usage. Although they are habitual for Dan Michel, a Benedictine monk and, not unlikely, a preacher himself, and although in his translation of the *Somme le Roi* many of the occurrences of these lexemes are influenced by the source language (generally *avarice*, but also *covoitise*), this metalinguistic comment makes it clear that the difference between *icinge* and *auarice* or *couaytise* is not of the semantic kind but that of register, very similar to the difference

between *greed* and *avarice* in Present-day English.[7] While sermons certainly introduced the learned terms for the deadly sins to common believers, glossing and explaining them in English, these lexemes probably remained restricted to the higher registers of English and to the receptive competence of uneducated speakers. When their productive competence was summoned at the time of confession, they were much more likely to define their sins as *gitsung* or *grædignes*, although the Appendix also suggests that there were many other local and shorter-lived terms.



[7] Although the first comment, on *accidie*, is prompted by the original, the second comment, on the distinction between *icinge* and *auarice* or *couaytise*, is Dan Michel's own: 'Li premiers chiez de la beste est orgueuz, li seconz est envie, li tierz ire, li quarz peresce —qu'en apele en clergois accide—, li quinz **avarice**, [b] li sisiesmes gloutenie, li septieme luxure' (*Somme le Roi* 32.2–3).

Figure 2. Regional distributions of 'greed' (LAEME)

Summing up ME developments, as in the earlier period, greed-lexemes are more numerous than charity-lexemes, they may serve different registers, and the rate of innovation and obsolescence in their semantic field is probably much higher. The OE term *gitsung* is dominant for most of the early ME period up to *c.* 1300, after which date *covetise* gradually becomes more prominent and ousts *gitsung* by a1400 (MED). Geographically (Figure 2[8]), the old term is stronger in the West Midlands and the South, although there are also attestations in the East Midlands: # 64 (Vices & Virtues, C13a1, SW Essex), # 150 (the Bestiary, C13b2-C14a1, W Norfolk), and # 155 (Genesis and Exodus, C14a1, W Norfolk). In the North only *covetise* is used, although this is likely to reflect the imbalance of geographical coverage in LAEME — the West Midlands constitute the majority of the corpus (*c.* 43%) and are covered well until *c.* 1310, while textual evidence from the North is mostly limited to the subperiod after 1310 (Gardner 2014: 40–43). There is little lexical variation within individual texts. We have seen that only the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (example (10)) uses three terms, also reflected on the map in Figure 2 (# 291, C14a2, Canterbury). There is one more text —# 140 (Lyrics, C14a1, Salisbury)— that displays variation between *gitsung* and *covetise*. Further, the Digby scribe of # 2002 (Digby 86, C13b2, NW Gloucestershire) employs *overfastness* (a hapax legomenon) and *covetise*, one time each; and the scribe of the Lambeth Homilies (# 2000, *c.* 1200, NW Worcestershire) alternates between *gitsung* (six occurrences) and *grediness* (two occurrences).

3. Discussion

In this section, I concentrate on major similarities and differences between the OE and early ME charity/greed lexicons and try to account for them as socially-motivated linguistic developments. Both periods display a quantitative disproportion between the sizes of the respective lexicons. In OE, we can count as many as twenty-three greed-terms (see Appendix and Section 2.2) but only six charity-terms (phrasal equivalents included and all variants of *soþ-lufu* counted as one; see Section 2.1). In early ME, nine new terms for GREED are attested but only two new terms for CHARITY (the two reflexes of

[8] The term *fastship* (# 119) is not placed in LAEME.

caritas counted as one, plus *soþfast luue* in *Ormulum*). Thus, during its early history, the greed lexicon is about four times bigger than the charity lexicon.

In itself this finding is not surprising at all. Cognitive linguists have long noticed the fact that negatively-evaluated words show on average a 15–20 per cent higher type richness than positively-evaluated words (even though the proportion is reversed if we look at token frequencies; see Nöth 1992, esp. 80–85, and references therein, but also Diller 2014: 112–118). The under-lexicalisation of CHARITY, though, probably has an additional explanation. It reflects the foreign status of the Christian concept, especially, if compared to the rich semantic fields of the Anglo-Saxon aristocratic virtues of courage, loyalty and generosity (Wormald 2006: 68; see HTOED and TOE). In the early medieval period, charity-terms are cultural loans, technically, semantic extensions or loan translations, that are introduced into English as part of the general Christian innovation (Timofeeva 2017). Although charity featured prominently in sermons and other situations of moral instruction and was a recognisable concept, spreading in the educational settings within monastic communities as well as, to an extent, from the clerics to common believers, it was not accepted too readily by the aristocratic warrior culture, and the lexemes associated with it were probably not part of active vocabulary among average speakers of OE. Moreover, such terms as *sib-lufu* or *sib-georne*s appear as geographically-limited technical glosses. The phrasal terms that survive into ME —*soþ luue* and *luue godes & mannes*— continued to be transparent but also had a strong connection with the old pre-Conquest tradition, which was to be transformed in the course of the thirteenth century.

The main difference between the charity and greed lexicons, apart from their sizes, is that the greed terms define a social transgression which is not necessarily associated with the Christianity. Hence the terms that are promoted by the professional religious community introduce pragmatic and stylistic distinctions within the existing semantic field rather than create an entirely new semantic field. Within this field, there are many technical glosses, *hapax legomena*, and many profane terms for GREED, AVARICE, from the mass of which only *gitsung* emerges as a lexical norm selected and accepted by the religious community at large. It is possible that, as *soþ-lufu*, *gitsung* remains restricted to the receptive competence of English speakers or, at least, carries a strong association with the elevated style and religious usage. As lexemes at the level of greater specificity —'a special kind of religious love', 'a special kind of unchristian greed'— they would be more prone to (re)borrowing in the ME period. In this process, OE religious terms were often discarded and replaced

with French loans (Timofeeva 2018). The early adoption of *charity* (*c*. 1200) and *covetise* (1297) bears out this prediction. Although the number of lexemes associated with GREED continues to expand in the ME period, native formations (with the exception of *greediness*) remain region- or author-specific.

Thus, in OE we have two native-based professional terms, *soþ-lufu* and *gitsung*, which are replaced, respectively, by French-based *charity* and *covetise/avarice* in the course of the thirteenth to early fourteenth century. How exactly and why this happens? Towards 1000, in the wake of the Benedictine reforms, West Saxon religious vocabulary becomes increasingly standardised and is disseminated, together with influential texts, to other dialectal areas. Homiletic materials, especially Ælfrician, continue to be copied well into the ME period in the South, but also in the East and West Midlands (Treharne 2012). In Worcester Priory, old texts are studied particularly closely by a scribe known to us as the Tremulous Hand, possibly in order to compile an English glossary (Franzen 1991, 2003), not unlikely for a preaching aid within a Franciscan setting (David Johnson, personal communication). In the late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries, however, Anglo-Norman becomes a much wider used vernacular in monastic communities and in mixed (clerical and lay) educational environments (Legge 1950, Wogan-Browne et al. 2009). As a written code, it is certainly less standardised than Latin, but as a spoken language it possesses an immense advantage over English —it has no dialects (Legge 1950: 90). Similarly, religious vocabulary borrowed from Anglo-Norman is much more functional, much more universal than either old monastic norms or new English-based formations (cf. the richness of new English terms for GREED attested in the ME period, with their low frequencies and geographical restrictedness, in Appendix). The circle is repeated: post-Lateran IV reforms result, among other things, in standardisation of professional terminology. For the new terminology to spread outside professional bilingual (and multilingual) communities (monasteries and cathedral schools), social mobility and widespread lay bilingualism are required. Just these two conditions are facilitated by the rapid urbanisation of the thirteenth century. Towns, about fifty of those having 2,000 or more inhabitants by *c*. 1300, were places where the concentration of the clergy could reach 5 per cent of the townfolk. About a third of new cities grew around monasteries and friaries (Dyer 2002: 187–227). In these urban environments, the clergy were in daily contact with other inhabitants, both in the workshops and market squares and in schools and churches, teaching and performing spiritual ministrations (Ingham 2018, Timofeeva 2018). Among

these later functions, preaching and receiving confessions were especially important for the diffusion of vices-and-virtues vocabulary with which the present study is concerned. These two occasions activated the linguistic competence of the laity in two different ways. While during sermons, lay participation was mostly passive and required only reception, at confession, everyone was prompted to talk about their sins and, hence, had to develop productive lexical competence in this field. Clearly, different social groups had different productive competences, and francophone lexis probably featured more often in confessions made by the literate middling classes, those further down the social ladder were more likely to employ everyday English terms.

4. Conclusions

My conclusions fall into three categories: those that have to do with 1) lexicography and historical semantics, 2) language competence, and 3) diffusion of religious lexis and social networks. First of all, a close examination of the two antipodes —CHARITY and GREED and their semantic fields— revealed a marked imbalance between the sizes of those fields. The domain of GREED is not only larger,[9] but also more varied in terms of region and register. This is also where the rate of innovation and obsolescence is high in all periods in the history of English (see Appendix, HTOED, TOE). Secondly, in the religious domain, these tendencies, in turn, were intensified by and included into the processes of social innovation. In the thirteenth century, wider and wider groups of people were reached by popular preaching and exposed to religious terminology used to explain the basic Christian concepts, including that for the vices and virtues. Although both semantic domains feature prominently in surviving sermons, treatises and preaching manuals, the lexical competences in common believers were very much defined by the sociolinguistic settings in which the vices and virtues were activated —the vices more often during confession and penance vs. virtues more often during sermons and religious instruction. In other words, while everyone was expected to confess their sins and, hence, to be able to describe them in suitable words, the virtues, being rather less human and not confessable, did not require productive competence and remained confined to the higher

[9] This lexical richness has a parallel in Anglo-Norman: *avarice*; *coveiter*, *coveitie*, *coveitise*; *cupidité*; *guluser*, *gulusie*, *gulusité*.

registers and more educated speakers. Thirdly, the adoption and diffusion of such Romance lexemes as *avarice*, *charite*, and *coveitise*, were clearly top-down developments, which would, on the one hand, spread from high clergy to low clergy via schooling, preaching and the circulation of manuals, and, on the other hand, from the clergy to the laity within the groups of similar social standing via preaching and other religious ministrations. Although we do not have texts written by parish priests for common believers, we can confidently assume that throughout the ME period both lower-class groups were much more likely to verbalise their avarice as *gitsung* and *grediness* and to talk about charity as a kind of *luue*. The obsolescence of the OE vice- and, especially, virtue-lexicons and the adoption of Romance terms was conditioned by the changing patterns of education (increasing literacy among the nobility, gentry and the urban middle classes, and the introduction of French as vehicle language at schools) and the greater reach of religious instruction (more emphasis on the edification of the laity through confession, explanation of the doctrines, and preaching in general). Here, the universality of mendicant preaching played an important role for the diffusion of new lexemes across regions and social strata. As the old native-based monastic terms were getting marginalised and obsolete, the new ones expanded and shaped receptive competences of common and less educated classes throughout the country.

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Appendix[10]

- *deofol-gītsung* 'devilish desire, avarice': 1 occurrence <deofol gitsung(es)> in LkGl (Li) (16.11), glossing *mamone* (DOE);
- *fæst-hafolnes* 'hard-gripping-ness, parsimony, niggardliness': 3 occurrences in JDay II (232), SedGl 2.1 (11) and 3 (75), translating Latin *cupido* and glossing *tenacitas* (DOE);
- *fæstnes* 'steadfastness; niggardliness': 1 occurrence <fæstnysse> in MS CUL Ii.2.4 of CP (60.453.28) (see *hnēawnes* below) (DOE);
- *feoh-geornes* 'wealth-eagerness, avarice, greed': 1 occurrence <feohgyrnesse> in LawSwer (4) (DOE);
- *feoh-gītsung* 'wealth-desire, avarice, greed': 2 occurrences in Bede 2 (9.130.31), rendering *amore pecuniae* by a binomial phrase *feagitsunge & feohlufan*, and CP (20.149.4), rendering *largitas* (DOE);
- *feoh-gyfernes*: 1 occurrence <feohgyfernes> in ArPrGl 1 (42.21), glossing *philargyria* (DOE);
- *feoh-lufe* 'wealth-love, love for money': 1 occurrence <feohlufan>, see *feoh-gītsung* above (DOE);
- *forhæfednes* 'abstinence, restraint': *c.* 225 occurrences, used as equivalent to Latin *abstinentia*, *continentia*, *parcitas*, *parsimonia* (DOE);
- *gifernes*: *c.* 115 occurrences, mainly in sense 1 'gluttony', but also 2 'greediness for possessions / gain: covetousness, cupidity, avarice', often glossing and translating *ambitio*, *avaritia*, *cupiditas*, *gastrimargia*, *gula*, *ingluvies*, *philargyria* (DOE);
- *gītsiendnes* 'longing, desire, greed': 1 occurrence <gitsiendnes> in HomU 32 (B) (121) (DOE);
- *yissing* < *gītsung* 'desire, longing; greed, avarice': *c.* 300 occurrences, also translating and glossing Latin *appetitus*, *avaritia*, *cupiditas*, *cupido*, *desiderium*, *gula*, *philargyria*, *usura* (DOE);
- *gnēadnes* 'frugality; scarcity': 5 occurrences, glossing *frugalitas* (with *temperantia*) and *parsimonia* (with *abstinentia*) (DOE);
- *gnēaþlicnes* 'frugality, parsimony': 3 occurrences in glosses to Aldhelm as equivalent to Latin *frugalitas* (with *temperantia*) (DOE);

[10] The list is arranged alphabetically for OE lexemes and alphabetically and by date for ME lexemes. The numbers of occurrences are derived from the DOEC for the letters D to H and from the DOE for the letters M to W. ME occurrences are only recorded if this information is retrievable from the MED.

- *greediness* < *grædignes* 'greediness for food; carnal pleasures; wealth': *c.* 45 occurrences, equivalent to Latin *avaritia*, *aviditas*, *cupido*, *cupiditas* (DOE);
- *hēamolscipe* 'miserliness, niggardliness': 1 occurrence <heamolscipas> in HomU 8 (Verc 2) (69);
- *hnēawnes* 'niggardliness, stinginess': 2 occurrences in CP (20.149.4) and (60.453.28), replaced in one of the MSS (CUL Ii.2.4) by *uncystignysse* and *fæstnysse* (DOE);
- *minsung* 'parsimony': 2 occurrences in glosses to Aldhelm as equivalent to Latin *abstinentia* (BT, DOEC);
- *naht-gītsung* 'wicked avarice': 1 occurrence <nawhtgitsunga> in CP (44.333.4) (BT, DOEC);
- *unriht-gītsung* 'unlawful desire, greed': 10 occurrences including glosses of *avaritia* (BT, DOEC);
- *uncyst*: 84 occurrences, generally 'vice, fault' but also 'avarice; niggardliness' (BT, DOEC)
- *uncystignes* 'niggardliness, stinginess': 1 occurrence <uncystignysse> in MS CUL Ii.2.4 of CP (20.149.4) (see *hnēawnes* above) (DOE);
- *woruld-gītsung* 'world-desire, greed for this world's goods': 2 occurrences in Bo (7.15.7) and Met (7.11) (BT, DOEC);
- *woruld-wilnung* 'world-desire': 3 occurrences in CP (51.399.20), BenR (4.17.4), and BenR (i*) (4.124.14) (BT, DOEC);
- *greedilaik* (?*c.* 1200): 3 occurrences <grediȝleȝȝc> in *Ormulum* 3994, 4560, and 4648 (all within the same chapter, Luke vii) (MED);
- *fastship* (a1225) 'niggardliness, parsimony': 2 occurrences in *Ancrene Riwle* (BL Cotton Titus D.xviii) and 1 occurrence in *AR* (BL Cotton Nero A.xiv) (Käsmann 1961: 285, MED);
- *covetise* (1297–a1652) 'covetousness, greed': (MED, OED; see Figure 2);
- *avarice* (a1300–): (MED);
- *nithinghead* (a1300) 'niggardliness, miserliness': 1 occurrence *Cursor* (Vsp A.3) 27842 (MED; see example (9));
- *overfastness* (?a1300) 'over-steadfastness, niggardliness': 1 occurrence <ouerfastnesse> in *Sayings St. Bede* (Dgb 86) (73) (Käsmann 1961: 285; MED translates this term '?the sin of sloth');
- *scarceness* (a1300–1509) 'niggardliness, stinginess': plenty of attestations, especially in the fourteenth century (MED, OED);
- *coveting* (*c.* 1315–) 'covetousness' (MED).

- *winninghead* (*c.* 1350(a1333)) 'disposition to get gain, covetousness': 1 occurrence <wymynghede> in Shoreham *Poems* (Add 17376) (95.286) (MED);

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