

## Verbs and Expressions of Calling a Person/Place/Thing in Old and Early Middle English Chronicles and Homilies

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There were many ways of calling or naming a person, a place, or other things in Old English: *se wæs noe gehaten* ‘he is called Noah’, *Ioppe hatte sum burh* ‘a city was called Joppa’, *æt þæm beorge þe mon Athlans nemneð* ‘at the mountain which they name (precisely, one names) Atlas’, *þe Grecas nemnað paralysis. and we cweðað lyftadl* ‘which the Greeks call paralysis, and we call palsy’, *his nama is iohannes* ‘his name is John’, etc. A clear difference in the use of these verbs and expressions of calling is found between chronicles and homilies. Also, when the contents that describe the same object or theme like false god or the deadly sins, lexical variations or flexible uses of verbs can further become obvious. The aim of this study is to exemplify a variety of expressions of calling found in Old and early Middle English texts, especially in chronicles and homilies, which show syntactic and stylistic continuity with some morphological and lexical alterations. Tables are given to show the choice of each verb form used in each text.

**Keywords:** Old English; early Middle English; verbs of calling or naming; chronicles; homilies

### 1. Introduction

Old English verbs of calling show a variety of synonyms and synonymous expressions. *Hatan* is a special verb, which has a simple form *hatte* with passive meaning ‘is/was called’;<sup>1</sup> the verb also has usual active forms as well as the periphrastic passive form, i.e. *beon/wesan (ge)haten*. In addition, the indefinite pronoun *man* is used in *man hateð* ‘one call (i.e. they call).’ Other verbs, *(ge)cigan*, *(ge)cleopian*, *(ge)cweðan*, *(ge)namnian* and *(ge)nemnan*, are used in the active and in the periphrastic passive, together with the *man*-periphrasis. *(His/hwæs) nama is/wæs* can be added as a synonymous expression.

The semantic field of calling a name of a person, a place, a thing, etc. has not been studied for these decades. Strite (1989) has collected and classified papers of various fields, especially those of nouns, but there are comparatively small number of studies on verbs and other parts of speech. Modern English *call* was borrowed from ON *kalla*, but OE *ceallian* appeared only once in an Old English poem.<sup>2</sup> OE *hatan* had many meanings

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<sup>1</sup> See *OED hight*, v.<sup>1</sup>, Etymology, and *MED hōten* v. (1) Etymology. A typical use of the old form *hatte* is found in a famous *b*-verse formula in Old English *Riddles*: *Saga hwæt ic hatte* in *Rid* 3.72b, 10.11b, 12.13b, 19.9b, 23.16b, 62.9b, 73.29b, 80.11b, 83.14b, 86.7b, and *Frige hwæt ic hatte* in *Rid* 14.19b, 16.10b, 27.15b), while the passive sense ‘is/was called’ becomes obscure during the Middle English period.

<sup>2</sup> *Battle of Maldon* 91 (*DOE*, s.v. *ceallian*). For the form of this verb as a Scandinavian loan word see Campbell (1959, §566).

and functions, among which the causative function is discussed by Mitchell (1985, §679), competing with *lætan* ‘to let’ and *don* ‘to do’.<sup>3</sup> Synonyms of the verb of calling, therefore, seem worthy of investigation.

The texts which should include many examples are chronicles and homilies. In chronicles, expressions for calling persons, places, and special things, dates, etc. can be expected. In homilies, especially saints, clergymen, both men and women in episodes, etc. may appear, as well as abstract nouns personified in contexts. To get statistical results and to find some features particular to each text, editions are used, but the data in the *DOE* should be checked to see if the examples are attested as reliable. Early Middle English texts are included to see historical changes in the choice of verbs. The texts chosen in this study are *Parker Chronicle*, *Peterborough Chronicle*, *Lazamon’s Brut* (MSS Cotton Caligular A. ix and Cotton Otho C. xiii) for chronicles, including *Orosius* as a text related to chronicles; for homilies, *Vercelli Homilies*, *Blickling Homilies*, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies*, *Ælfric’s Homilies* (Pope’s edition), *Homilies of Wulfstan*, *Lambeth Homilies*, *Trinity Homilies*, *Ancrene Wisse* (MS CCC 402) and *Ancrene Riwe* (MS Cotton Nero A. xiv), together with *Bede* (a text which includes stories between a chronicle and homily) and *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*.

## 2. Chronicles

Examples should be given to see the choice of verbs and verbal expressions in Old and early Middle English contexts. Examples (1) to (4) are from *Parker Chronicle*. In example (1) the place (*stowe*) is called by *is gecueden*, (2) is a *man*-periphrasis with *nemnan*, (3) has the subject *we* with *hatan*, and (4) appears in *The Coronation of Edgar*, where the special day is named by a pair of the verbs of calling, *nemnan* and *cigan* (with *n*-alliteration).<sup>4</sup>

(1) ChronA 455.1

Her Hengest & Horsa fuhton wiþ Wyr̥tgeorne þam cyninge, in þære stowe þe **is gecueden** Agelesþrep, & his broþur Horsa man ofslog;

‘In this year Hengest and Horsa fought against King Vortigern at a place which is called *Agælesþrep*, and his brother Horsa was slain.’

(2) ChronA 584.1

Her Ceawlin 7 Cupa fuhton wiþ Brettas, in þam stede þe **mon nemneþ** Feþan leag, 7 Cupa mon ofslog.

‘In this year Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place called *Feþanleag*, and Cutha was slain.’

(3) ChronA 892.6

<sup>3</sup> OE *hatan* kept its multiple senses through the medieval period. See Kaita (2020).

<sup>4</sup> Texts and abbreviations are quoted from the *DOE(C)*. In longer quotations, editions are constantly referred to as well as the web corpus, because the *DOE(C)* data are partly based on manuscripts and partly based on editions. The editions I examined are listed under References. The verb or expression in each question is highlighted in boldface. Modern English translations are based on Garmonsway (1953), Madden (rpt. 1970) Nicholson (1991), Salu (1955) and EETS editions as far as there are translations.

Se muþa is on eastewardre Cent æt þæs miclam wuda eastende þe we Andred **hatað**.

‘The estuary is in east Kent, at the east end of great forest which we call Andred.’

- (4) CEg 5 (= ChronA 973)

Þær wæs blis micel on þam eadgan dæge eallum geworden, <þone> niða bearn **nemnað and cigað** Pentecostenes dæg.

‘On that blessed day, called and named Whit Sunday by the children of men, there was great rejoicing by all.’

From *Peterborough Chronicle* I give three examples which have no corresponding contexts in *Parker Chronicle*. Example (5) has two examples of *man*-periphrasis with *cleopian*. Example (6) shows *hatan* in the active and in the periphrastic passive, while (7) has a periphrastic passive and *hatte*.

- (5) ChronE 963.27

And ic gife þone tun þe **man cleopeð** Vndela mid eall þet þærto lið, þet is þet **man cleopeð** Eahtehundred & market & toll,

‘And I give the village called Oundle with all that belong to it, that is, the Eight-hundreds and market and toll’

- (6) ChronE 963.62-64

& he macode first þa wealle abutan þone mynstre, geaf hit þa to nama Burch þe ær **het** Medeshamstede; ... Þa cæs man oðer abbot of þe silue minstre þe **wæs gehaten** Ælfsi; se Ælfsi wæs þa abbot syððon fiftig wintre.

‘He first built the wall around the monastery, and then gave it the name *Burch*, which was formerly called *Medeshamstede*. ... Then another abbot named Ælfsige was elected from the same monastery; this Ælfsige was abbot afterwards for fifty years.’

- (7) ChronE 1123.31

Ða cusen hi an clerc, Willelm of Curboil **wæs gehaten**, he was canonie of an mynstre Cicc **hatte**,

‘Then they chose a cleric called William of Curbeil; he was a canon from a monastery called St. Osyth’s’

*Orosius* shares the feature of chronicle and is expected to contain examples of calling or naming a person or a place using similar varieties of expressions. Example (8) has two instances of *man*-periphrasis, one with *nemnan* and the other with *hatan*. In (9) *man hæt* appears four times in succession. *Hatan* is also used in the following two examples: (10) *wæs haten* for a place and (11) *hatte* for a person.

- (8) Or 1 1.9.15

& hire rihtwestende is æt þæm beorge þe **mon** Athlans **nemneð** & æt þæm iglande þe **mon hæt** Fortunatus.

‘and its right western boundary is at the mountain called Atlas, and at the island called the Fortunate’

## (9) Or 1 1.18.24

Pa land þe **man hæst** Gallia Bellica, be eastan þæm is sio ea þe **man hæst** Rin, & be suðan þa beorgas þe **man hæst** Alpis, & be westansuðan se garsecg þe **man hæst** Brittanisca, & be norðan on oðre healfe þæs garsegges earme is Brittanica þæt land. 'The land which is called Gallia Belgic, to the east of which is the river called the Rhine, and to the south the mountains which are called the Alps, and to the southwest the sea which is called British, and to the north on the other side of the sea's arm is the land of Britain.'

## (10) Or 2 5.46.8

Pa wæs mid him an wræccea of Læcedamania, Creca byrg, se **wæs haten** Damerað, 'Then with him was an exile from Lacedaemon, Greek city, which was called Demaratus'

## (11) Or 3 6.60.14

Raþe æfter þæm on þara tvegea consula dæge, Claudius, þe oðre noman **hatte** Marcellus, & Ualerius, þe oðre noman **hatte** Flaccus, þa gewearð hit, 'Immediately after that in the day of these two consuls, Claudius, who was called Marcellus by the other name, and Valerins, who was called Flaccus by the other name, it happened then'

Example (12) shows how to call Lammas day. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* also has a description, where the same verb is used. *Orosius*, therefore, as well as *Bede*, shares the features of chronicles and homilies in its text and context.

## (12) Or 5 13.130.3

Þæt <wæs> on þære tide calendas Agustus, & on þæm dæge þe we **hatað** hlafmæsse.

'That was in the time Kalends of August, and on the day which we call Lemmas.'

Cf. *ÆCHom* II,28 222.50

Næs swa ðeah ðis gedon on ðisum andwerdan dæge. ac we hit healdað on ðære nihte. þe ge **hatað** hlafmæsse;

'This was not done, however, on this present day, but we observe it on the night which you call Lemmas.'

Lazamon's *Brut* is added from the thirteenth century, which also shares the feature of chronicle, though verse and influenced by Anglo-French. Two manuscripts, Cotton Caligula A. ix and Cotton Otho C. xiii, which are said to be written in the vicinity of West Midland to the Southwestern around 1250 to 1275,<sup>5</sup> show similar choice of verbs and expressions in this survey. Spellings show contrasts as seen in (C) *wes ihaten* and (O) *was ihote*. *Cleopian* and *nemnan* often appears, referring to a person or a place, both in the active and in the passive. In most instances they use the same verb or expressions, but in 20 contexts their choices differ, as listed in (13).

<sup>5</sup> For dialects and dates of the manuscripts I follow Laing (1993).

(13) Differences in the manuscripts of *Laʒmon's Brut*

|       | Laʒ (C)                          | Laʒ(O)                               |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1953  | He wes ihaten Brutus             | He was Brutus ihote                  |
| 1954  | þis lond he clepede Brutaine     | þat lond Brutaine                    |
| 1976  | & his folc wes ihaten Sexuns     | and cleopede his men Saxuns          |
| 2038  | & Trinouant heo nemneden         | and Trineavant hine hehte            |
| 2113  | þat æfter him Locres wes icleped | (2114) Locris was ihote              |
| 2355  | þe Trinouant wes ihaten          | þat Trinouand was inemdid (inemnid?) |
| 2572  | Ebrauc he wes i-cleped           | Ebrac was ihote                      |
| 2673  | ʒeorc heo ihæhten                | ʒorc hine cleope                     |
| 4078  | His nome wes ihote þus           | His name was icleoped þus            |
| 6051  | & heo inemned Kaer-Usc           | and hit cleopede Kair-Uske           |
| 6309  | Bruttus nemneden þa laʒen        | Bruttus cleopede þe laʒe             |
| 6312  | þe laʒe hehte Marciane           | þa laʒe hatte Marciene               |
| 7023  | Ældolf men cleopeden þene king   | Deldol was i-hote                    |
| 7101  | & hehten heo Kær-Lud             | and cleopede hine Kay[r]lud          |
| 7117  | and nemneden heo Lundres         | and hehte hit Lundres                |
| 9144  | & þa tscolde beon i-haten Hælend | and he solde hete                    |
| 9145  | & helpen his freondes            | worlene Helare                       |
| 11150 | þe ældeste hæhte Leonin          | þat þus were i-hote                  |
| 11151 | Traharn & Marin                  | Traharn Marin and Leonin             |
| 11188 | heo hehten hine forð right anan  | þat child was i-hote                 |
| 11189 | þene hæʒe Maximian               | Maximian þe gode                     |
| 14244 | & Lane-castel hine hæhten        | and Leane-castel hine cleopede       |
| 14690 | þe men nemneð Darewente          | þat Darwent his ihote                |
| 14830 | ich hatte Vortimer               | ich hote Vortimer                    |
| 14831 | mi broðer hatte Catimer          |                                      |
| 26185 | þat water hehte Able             | þat water hatte Aube                 |
| 30449 | he hehte Gille Patric            | he was icleoped Gillopart            |

**3. Homilies**

The notable stylistic distinction between chronicles and homilies concerning the expression in question is that, while chronicles tell names mostly in a straightforward way, homilies often explain the origin and meaning of the names based on biblical

records. When the names of saints, foreign places, abstract nouns (especially sins), foreign gods, days to be commemorated, flora and fauna, etc. are to be mentioned, these verbs and expressions are used not only in the meaning ‘to call’ or ‘to name’ but in the sense ‘to signify’ or ‘to translate’ in homiletic contexts.

### 3.1. *Angels, Christ, disciples, etc.*

Most of the examples of this kind are found in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*. Example (14) is about Cherubim and Seraphim; (15) and (16) are for Christ, in similar contexts but with a variation of verbs chosen in naming.

#### (14) ÆCHomI, 24 374.95-97<sup>6</sup>

Cherubim **is gecweden** gefyllednyss ingehides, oððe gewittes: hi sind afyllede mid gewitte swa micele swiþor. swa hi gehendran beoð heora scyppende þurh wurðscipe heora gearnunga; Seraphim **sind gecwedene** byrnende oððe onælende: hi sind swa micele swiðor byrnende on godes lufe. swa micclum swa hi sind to him geþeodde:

‘Cherubim are interpreted fullness of knowledge or understanding; they are filled with so much the more understanding as they are nearer to their Creator through the worthiness of their deserts. Seraphim are interpreted burning or inflaming; they are so much the more burning in love of God as they are associated with him.’

#### (15) ÆCHomI, 25 384.138-146

Crist **is manegum naman genemned**: he **is** wisdom **gehaten**. For þan ðe se fæder ealle gesceafta þurh hine geworhte; He **is** word **gecweden**: for þan ðe word is wisdomes gewutelung: ... He **is** lamb **gehaten** for þære unsæððignysse lambes gecyndes. ... he **is** leo **geciged** of iudan mæigðe. dauides wyrtruma: ...

‘Christ is named by many names. He is called Wisdom, because the Father wrought all things through him. He is called Word, because a word is the manifestation of wisdom. ... He is called Lamb, from the innocence of the lamb’s nature. ... He is called the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, ...’

#### (16) ÆCHomII,15 152.94-101

He **is gecweden** hláf þurh getacnunge. and lamb. and leo. and gehú ells; He **is** hlaf **geháten**. for ðan ðe hé is ure líf. and engla; He **is** lamb **gecweden**. for his unsæððignysse; Leo for ðære strençðe. þe he oferswiðde þone strangan feofol. ... Hwí **is** ðonne þæt halige husel **gecweden** cristes lichama. oþþe his blóð. gif hit nis soðlice þæt þæt hit **gehaten is**;

‘He is called bread typically, and lamb, and lion, and whatever else. He is called bread, because he is life of us and of angels; he is called a lamb for his innocence; a lion for the strength wherewith he overcame the strong devil. ... Why then is the holy housel called Christ’s body or his blood, if it is not truly that which it is called?’

Examples (17) and (18) show the naming process of Peter in similar contexts with different verbs and expressions.

<sup>6</sup> Modern English translations of *ÆCHom I* and *II* are based on Thorpe (1844[1983]).

(17) *ÆCHomI*,38 512.156-157

Petrus **wæs geciged** symon. ær his gecyrrednysse: ac crist hine **gehet** petrus. þ getacnað oncnawende  
 ‘Peter was called Simon before his conversion, but Christ called him Peter, which signifies ‘acknowledging’

(18) *ÆCHomII*,28 226.163-168

Ær ðan fyrste **wæs his nama** Simon. ac drihten him gesette þisne naman Petrus. þæt is stænen. to ði þæt he hæfde getacnunge cristes gelaðunge; Crist **is gecweden** Petra. þæt is stán. and of ðam naman **is gecweden** Petrus. eal cristen folc;  
 ‘Before that time his name was Simon, but the Lord appointed him this name, Petrus, that is, *of stone*, to the end that he might be typical of Christ’s church. Christ is called ‘petra’, that is, *stone*, and from that name the whole Christian people is called ‘petrus.’

Example (19) shows the naming process of John the Baptist, with four different expressions of calling the name.

(19) *ÆCHomI*,25 379.12-13, 380.29-33

⁊ þu **gecigst** his naman iohannes. ... Se ealde cynnystre wiðcwæð þam magum: ac **beo** he **geciged** iohannes; hi andwyrdon; Hwi wiðcwyst þu urum geþeahum? **Nis** nan man on þinre mægðe iohannes **gehaten**; Hi þa bicnodon þam dumban fæder: hwæt him be þam gepuhte; Se fæder þa awrat: **his nama is** iohannes;  
 ‘and you call his name John. ... The old mother spoke against the kinsmen and (said that) he should be called John. They answered, “Do you speak against our counsel? No one in your family is called John.” Then they beckoned the dumb father what it seemed to him about it. The father then wrote: his name is John.’

An ex-angel is named Lucifer and the meaning of the name is interpreted. In most instances the signification is expressed by *be gereht*, as in example (20).

(20) *HomS* 34 (Verc 19) 13

⁊ þone þe he foremærostne hæfde ofer ealle þa oðre englas þe Lucifer **wæs haten**, þæt **ys** on ure geþeode leohtberend **gereht**,  
 ‘and him whom He considered foremost over all the other angels, who was called Lucifer, that (name) is reckoned in our language “light-bearer,”’

It is a notable feature of Wulfstan’s holimies that *namnian* is used instead of *nemnan*, as illustrated in (21).

(21) *WHom* 8b 59

Ealswa bealdlice se þeowa **clypað ⁊ namað** on his pater noster his Drihten him to fæder swa se hlaford, ⁊ seo wylen eallswa wel swa seo hlæfdige.  
 ‘The servant also boldly calls and names in his Paternoster his lord as his father as the Lord, and the female servant as well as the lady.

In Middle English, *Ancrene Wisse* and *Ancrene Riwe* keep using traditional expressions with morphological alterations and at the same time accept new members. Example (22) shows the use of *be icleopet* and (23) a new member *spe(a)len*.

(22) AW 3.329-332 (f. 39<sup>r</sup>)

For-þi **is** ancre ‘ancre’ **icleopet**, ... Alswa al Hali Chirche (þet **is** schip **icleopet**) schal ancrin o þe ancre,  
 ‘It is for this reason that an anchoress is called an anchoress, ... So all Holy Church, which is called a ship, shall be anchored to the anchoress’

Cf. AR (Nero) 63.2-5 (f. 36-36<sup>v</sup>)

7 for þi **is** ancre **icleoped** an-cre. ... also al holi chirche ðet **is** schip **icleoped**. schal ancren oðer ancre.

(23) AW 141.377 (f. 101<sup>v</sup>)

Ant tis þridde bitternesse is understonden bi Marie Salomee, þe þridde Marie, for ‘Salome’ **spealeð** ‘pes’;  
 ‘and this third bitterness is signified by Mary Salome, the third Mary, for Salome means ‘peace’

Cf. AR (Nero) 170.24 (f. 103)

And þeos bitternesse is understonden: bi marie salome: þe þridde marie. Vor Salome **speleð** peis.

### 3.2. False gods

Greek and Roman gods as well as the Northern gods are treated as false gods in contrast to Christian God. Examples are (24) to (27), in which (24) and (25) are in the same context with different choice of verbs and expressions, especially *namnian* in *WHom*.<sup>7</sup> (26) and (27) are comparatively short and fragmental.

(24) *ÆHom* 22 99-180

Án man wæs eardiende on þam ílande Creta, Saturnus **geháten**, swiðlic and wælhreow,... He læfde swaþeah ænne to l[i]fe ... se **wæs** Iouis **geháten**, hetol and þrymlíc. ... Se Iouis wæs swa swiðe gál, þæt he on hys swustor gewífoð; seo **wæs geháten** Iuno, swiðe healic gyden. ... and he **hatte** Þór betwux sumum þeodum, þone þa Deniscan leoda lufiað swiðost. His Sunu **hatte** Mars, se macede æfre saca, ... Sum man **wæs gehaten** Mercurius on lífe, se wæs swiðe facenfull and swicol on dædum. ... ðes god wæs [a]rwyrdæ betwyx eallum hæþenum, and he **is** Óðon **geháten** oðrum naman on Denisc. Nu secgað þa Deniscan on heora gedwyldæ þæt se Iouis wære, þe hi Þór **hátað**, Mercuries sunu, þe hi Óðon **hatað**; ... Sum wif **hatte** Uen[us], seo wæs Ioues dohter, ... ðone sixtan dæg hi gesetton þære sceamleasan gyldenæn Uen[us] **gehaten**, and Fric[g] on Denisc.

‘A man was living in the land of Crete, called Saturnus, violent and fierce, ... Yet he left one alive ... he was called Jove, hostile and powerful, ... Jove was so very wanton

<sup>7</sup> Texts are quoted from: *De Falsis Diis* in *ÆHom* 21 (Pope 1968, 677–712) and *De Falsis Dies* in *WHom* 12 (Bethurum 1957, 221–24).



that he married with his sister; she was called Juno, very haughty goddess ... and he was called Thor among his people, whom the Danish men loved most. His son was called Mars, who behaved in pursuit of war, ... A man was called Mercurius in the lifetime, who was very deceitful and false in deeds, ... This god was worshipped among all heathens, and he is called Odin by another name in Danish. Now the Danish say in their heresy that it would be Jove whom they call Thor, son of Mercurius whom they call Odin; A woman was called Venus, who was Jove's daughter, ... They assigned the sixth day to the shameless goddess called Venus, and Frigg in Danish.'

## (25) WHom 12 35-80

An man wæs on geardagum eardiende on þam iglande þe Creata **hatte** se wæs Saturnus **gehaten**, ... He læfde swaþeah uneaðe ænne to life, ... ⁊ se wæs Iouis **gehaten**, ⁊ se wearð hetol feond. He aflymde his agene fæder eft of ðam ylcan foresædan iglande þe Creta **hatte** ... ⁊ se Iouis wearð swa swyðe gal þæt he on his agenre swyster gewifode, seo wæs **genamod** Iuno, ... And he **hatte** Þor oðrum naman betwux sumum þeodum; ... His sunu **hatte** Mars, se macode æfre gewinn ⁊ wrohte, ... Sum man eac wæs **gehaten** Mercurius on life, se wæs swyðe facenfull ... Ðes gedwolgod wæs arwurðe eac betwux eallum hæðenum on þam dagum, ⁊ he **is** Oðon **gehaten** oðrum naman on Denisce wisan. Nu secgað sume þa Denisce men on heora gedwylde þæt se Iouis wære þe hy Þor **hatað**, Mercurius sunu, þe hi Oðon **namiað**, ... And sum wif **hatte** Uenus seo wæs Ioues dohtor, ⁊ seo wæs swa ful ⁊ swa fracod on galnysse ... .

'A man was living in the days of yore in an island called Crete, who was called Saturnus, ... Yet he left one alive unwillingly ... and he was called Jove, and he became a hostile fiend. He put his own father to flight again from the aforesaid island called Crete ... and Jove was so very wanton that he married with his own sister who was named Juno, ... And he was called Thor in other name among some people; ... His son was called Mars, who always fought and made war ... A man was also called Mercurius in the lifetime, who was very deceitful ... This false god was also venerable among all heathens in that days, and he is called Odin in other name in a Danish way. Now some Danish men say in their heresy that he was Jove whom they call Thor, son of Mercurius whom they name Odin ... And a woman called Venus who was Jove's daughter, and she was so foul and so wicked in wantonness ... .

## (26) ÆLS (Martin) 710-718

Mid þusend searo-cræftum wolde se swicola deofol þone halgan wer on sume wisan beswican. and hine ge-sewen-licne on manegum scin-hiwum þam halgan æteowde. on þæra hæþenra goda hiwe. hwilon on ioues hiwe. þe **is ge-haten** þór. hwilon on mercuries. þe men **hatað** oþon. hwilon on ueneris þære fulan gyden. þe men **hatað** fricg. and on manegum oþrum hiwum. hine bræd se deofol on þæs bisceopes gesihþe.

'With a thousand wily arts the treacherous devil would deceive the holy man in some way, and he showed himself visible in diverse phantasms to the saint, in the appearance of gods of the heathen; sometimes in Jove's form, who is called Thor, sometimes in that of Mercury whom men call Odin, sometimes in that of Venus,

the foul goddess, whom men call Frigg; and into many other shapes the devil transformed himself in the bishop's sight.'

(27) Bede 1 12.52.11

Hi wæron Wihtgylses suna, þæs fæder **wæs** Wittu **haten**, þæs fæder **wæs** Wihta **haten** ⁊ þæs **Wihta** fæder **wæs** Woden **nemned**, of ðæs strynde monigra mægða cyningcynn fruman lædde.

'They (Hengest and Horsa) were sons of Wihtgils, whose father was called Wittu, whose father was called Wihta, and the father of Wihta was named Woden, from whose race the royal families of many tribes sprouted forth.'

### 3.3. *The Angles*

The famous episode of Pope Gregory at the slave market is found in examples (28) and (29). The context is much the same, but *Bede* prefers forms of the past participle without the prefix *ge-*.

(28) *ÆCHomII,9* 74.66-77

Eft hé axode hu ðære ðeode **nama wære**, þe hí of comon; Him wæs geandwyrð. þæt hi angle **genemnode wæron**; Ða cwæð he. rihtlice hí **sind** Angle **gehátene**. for ðan ðe hí engla wite habbað. ... Gyt ða Gregorius befrán. hu ðære scire **nama wære**. þe ða cnapan of alædde wæron; Him man sæde. þæt ða scírmenn **wæron** dere **gehatene**; Gregorius andwyrde. Wel hi **sind** dere **gehatene**. for ðan ðe hi sind fram gramann generode. and to cristes mildheortnyse gecygede; Gyt ða he befrán. Hu **is** ðære leode cyning **gehaten**? Him wæs geandswarod þæt se cyning **Ælle gehátene wære**;

'Again he asked what the name of the nation was, whence they came. He was answered that they were named Angles. Then he said, "Rightly they are called Angles, for they have the beauty of angels ..." Gregory yet inquired what the name of the shire was, from which the youths had been brought. They said to him that the shiremen were called Dere. Gregory answered, "Well are they called Dere (Deira), for they are saved from wrath, and called to Christ's mercy." He yet inquired, "How is the king of that country called?" He was answered that the king was called Ælle.'

(29) Bede 2 1.96.21-31

Eft he frægn, hwæt seo þeod **nemned wære**, þe heo of comon. Ondswarede him mon þæt heo Ongle **nemde wæron**. Cwæð he: Wel þæt swa mæg: forðon heo ænlice onsyne habbað. ... Ða gyt he furðor frægn ⁊ cwæð: Hwæt **hatte** seo mægð, þe þa cneohtas hider of lædde wæron. Ða ondswarede him mon ⁊ cwæð, þæt heo Dere **nemde wæron**. Cwæð he: Wel þæt is cweden Dere, *de ira eruti*; heo sculon of Godes yrre beon abrogdene, ⁊ to Cristes mildheortnesse gecegeð. Ða gyt he ahsode hwæt heora cyning **haten wære**: ⁊ him mon ondswarade ⁊ cwæð, þætte he **Æll haten wære**.

'Again he asked what the people was called from which they came; they answered that they were called English. He said, "That may well be; for their look is angelical, ..." Then he further asked and said, "What is the people called, from which the youths were brought here?" They answered him and said that they were named

Deiri. He said, “Deiri is well said, de ira eruti; they shall be rescued from God’s wrath and called to the mercy of Christ.” Further he asked their king’s name; and they answered and said that he was called Ælle.’ (tr. by Miller)

### 3.4. Eight deadly sins<sup>8</sup>

Seven or Eight Deadly Sins are listed fully or partially with the expression ‘is called’ or just ‘is’ without the past participle. Examples are (30) to (33); in examples (30) to (32) *geweden/icweden* is used instead of *is gereht* even when it means ‘is rendered’ (cf. (20), while *is gehaten/ihaten* is widely chosen.

#### (30) ÆLS (Memory of Saints) 267-311

Nu syndon eahta heafod-leahtras. þe us onwinnað swiðe. An **is gewæden** gula. þæt is gyfernysse on englisc. ... Se oðer leahtor is forligr and unge-metegod galnyss. Se **is gehaten** fornication. and he befylð þone mann. ... Se sixte leather **is accidia gehaten**. þæt is asolcennyss oþþe slæwð on englisc. ... Se seofða leather **is iactantia geweden**. þæt is ydel gylp on ængliscre spræce ... Seo eahteoðe leather **is superbia gehaten**. þæt **is** on ænglisc modignyss **geweden**.

‘Now there are eight Chief Sins, which sorely fight against us: one is called *Gula*, that is, Gluttony in English, ... The second sin is Adultery and unbridled lust; it is called *Fornicatio*, and it defiles the man, ... The sixth sin is called *Accidia*, that is, in English, Idleness or Sloth, ... The seventh sin is called *Jactantia*, that is in English speech, Vain Boasting, ...’ (tr. by Skeat)

#### (31) HomS 38 (Verc 20) 61<sup>A</sup> -125<sup>A</sup>

Se forma heafodleahtor ys ofermodignes, seo **ys geweden** cwen eallra yfela. ... Þonne **ys** se oðer heafodleahter **geweden** gifernes, ... Þonne **ys** se þridða heafodleahter **geweden** forlyr, ... Þonne **ys** se feorðe heafodleahter **geweden** gytsung, ... Þonne **ys** se fifta heafodleahter **geweden** yrre, ... Þonne **ys** se syxta heafodleahter **geweden** sleacnes, ... Þonne **ys** se seofeða heafodleahter **geweden** unrotnes. ... Þonne **ys** se eahtoða heafodleahter **geweden** idelwuldor.

‘The first capital sin is pride, which is called the queen of all evils. ... Then the second capital sin is called gluttony ... Then the third capital sin is called adultery ... Then the fourth capital sin is called avarice ... Then the fifth capital sin is called anger ... Then the sixth capital sin is called sloth (slackness) ... Then the seventh capital sin is called sadness ... Then the eighth capital sin is called vainglory.’ (tr. by Nicholson)

#### (32) LambHom 103.4-34

Nu beoð .viii. heafod sunnan þe rixað on us to swiðe. On **is icweðen**. *Gula*. þet is zifernesse on englisc. ... Þa oðer sunne ... þet **is ihaten** fornication. ... þe þridde sunne is. *Auaricia*. ... þeo feorð[e] sunne **is ihatan**. *Ira*. ... Þeo fifta sunne is. *Tristicia*. ... Þeo sixte **is ihaten**. *Desidia*. ... Þe seofeða sunne **is icweden**. *Iactancia*. ... Þe ehtuða sunne **is ihatan**. *Superbia*.

‘Now there are eight cardinal sins that reign very powerfully in us. One is called *Gula*, that is, greediness in English ... The second sin ... which is called *Fornicatio*.

<sup>8</sup> For “eight” instead of “seven” see Ogura (2013, Chapter 4, esp. 92–99).

... The third sin is *Avaritia* ... The fourth sin is called *Ira* ... The fifth sin is *Tristitia* ... The sixth sin is called *Desidia* ... The seventh sin is called *Jactantia* ... The eighth sin is called *Superbia*.'

(33) AW 75.245 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>)

Ʒe liun of prude haueð swiðe monie hwelpes, ant Ich chulle **nempni** summe. *Vana gloria*: ... Ʒe fifte hwelp **hatte** Inobedience ...

'The lion of pride has many young cubs, and I will name some of them. Vainglory ... The fifth cub is called Disobedience ...'

Cf. AR (Nero) 87.33 (f. 51<sup>v</sup>)

Ʒe liun of prude haueð swuðe monie hwelpes, ⁊ ich chulle **nemmen** summe. *vana gloria*: **hette** Ʒe forme. ... oþer hweolp **hette** indignatio. ... Ʒe vifte hweolp **hette** inobedience.

### 3.5. Places

Names of places are more frequently written in chronicles than in homilies. Here I give five examples, (34) to (38), three of which are from *Bede*, the text that show both features.

(34) HomS2 (Verc 16) 64

Iordan **is haten** seo ea Ʒe hælend on gefulwad wæs.

'Jordan is called that river which the Saviour was baptised in.'

(35) HomS21(BlHom 6) 254

He hie gereceþ to eallum godum, and he hie gelædeþ on sibbe gesyhþe; forþon Ʒære burge nama Ʒe **is nemned** Gerusalem **is gereht** sibbe gesyht, forþon Ʒe halige saula Ʒær restað.

'He will direct them to all good things and will bring them into the sight of peace; for the name of the city, which is called Jerusalem, signifies 'sight of peace', because the holy souls rest there.'

(36) Bede 4 7.282.9-12

tu æðele mynster he getimbrede, ... Him he getimbrade in Súðrigna lande bi Temese streame in stowe, seo **is geceged** Ceortes eig, his sweoster, in Eastseaxna mægðe in stowe seo **is nemned** in Bercingum,

'he built two noble monasteries, ... For himself he built (one) in Surry by the river Thames, at the place called Chertsey, (the other) for his sister, among the East Saxons at a place called Barking.'

(37) Bede 4 18.308.8-11

Ða Ceadwalla se cyning mid Ʒy here in Ʒæt ealond for, Ʒa flugon Ʒa cneohtas út of Ʒæm ealonde, ⁊ wæron gelædde in Ʒa neahmægðe, seo **is geceged** Eota lond, in sume stowe seo **is nemned** Æt Stane.

'When king Ceadwalla landed on the island with his force, the princes fled out of the island and were conveyed to the neighbouring province, which is called the land of the Jutes, to a spot called Stoneham.'

(38) Bede 5 12.422.5-8

Salde him 7 forgeaf Piipin biscopseðl in his þere meran byrig, sio alde worde þere þiode **is nemned** Wiltaburg; Galleas **nemnað** Traiectum; we **cweðað** Ættreocum.

‘Pippin gave and assigned to him a bishop’s seat in the famous town which is called Wiltaburg, an old appellation among this people; the Gauls call (it) Traiectum; we call (it) Utrecht.’

### 3.5.1. Places and names

Sometimes the name of a person is explained by the name of the place where the one has come. Expressions used for a person and a place tend to be altered stylistically. Examples are (39) to (42); (41) has a manuscript variant.

(39) ÆCHomI,34 465.8

Ðær eardode sum þurhspedig man garganus **gehaten**: of his gelimpe **wearð** seo dun swa **geciged**:

‘There dwelt a very rich man called Garganus: from his adventure the mountain was so named.’

(40) ÆCHomII,2 12.14

Eucharius **hatte** sum mæssepreost on þam lande þe **is gehaten** Hispania.

‘A mass-priest is named Eucharius in the land which is called Spain.’

(41) ÆLS (Peter’s Chair) 53-55

Ioppe **hatte** sum burh. gehende þære liddan. on þære wæs an wydeuwe. wel gelyfed thabitas **geciged** [B. **í-háten**]. and swyþe ælmes-georn

‘There was a city called Joppa, near at hand to Lydda, wherein was a widow, a true believer, called Tabitha, very diligent in alms-deeds’

(42) HomS21(BIHom 6) 45

Hælendes þegna sum þa wæs swyþe gebolgen, se **wæs haten** Iudas se Scariothisca; forþon he com of þæm tune þe Scariot **hatte**;

‘One of the Saviour’s disciples named Judas Iscariot, because he came from the town called Scariot, was then exceedingly angry.’

### 3.6. Days and months

Names of days and months can be commemorated and translated from Latin into English. Examples are (43) to (45); (45) has a variant reading.

(43) ÆHom 12 94, 171

On ðam feowertegoðan dæge fram his acennednysse, þe we **cweðað** on Englisc Candelmaessedæg. ... Eft ðæs embe tyn niht on urum ðeowdome we mærsiað þone dæg mid mærlicum wyrðmynte þe we **hatað** Pentecosten.

‘On the fourteenth day from his birth, which we call in English Candlemas day. ... Again after ten nights on our slavery we celebrate the day with great dignity, which we call Pentecost.’

(44) HomS 47 (BlHom 12) 37

Mid þon dæge wæs gefylled se dæg þe **is nemned** Pentecosten ymb fiftig nihta æfter þære gecyþan ærist,  
 ‘With that day, the day which is named Pentecost was fulfilled about fifty nights after kinship’s resurrection’

(45) ÆLS (Peter’s Chair) 1-4

We cweðaþ on gerím-cræfte Cathedra Sancti Petri seofon nihton er þam monðe þe we martius **hatað**. Nu synd sume men þe nyton hwæt se nama ge-tacnað. Carhedra **is ge-reht** [B. **í-cwæden**.] bisceop-stól on englisc.

‘We commemorate in the calendar ‘Cathedra Sancti Petri’ seven days before the month which we call March. Now there are some men who do not know what this name signifies. *Cathedra* is interpreted ‘Bishop’s throne’ in English.’

3.7. *Miscellanies: Cross, book, tears, and jewel*

Only a few examples are given as the last subclassification: (46) for Christ’s cross and for the gospel, (47) kinds of tears, in which *LambHom* and *TrinHom* share the content of the text with regular use of *is nemned* in the former and with slight variation in the latter, and (48) for agate.

(46) HomS 39 (Verc 12) 16-18

⁊ we sculon beran usse reliquias ymb ure land, þa medeman Cristes rodetacen þe we Cristes mæl **nemnað**, on þam he sylfa þrowode for mancynnes alysnesse. Swelce we sculon beran ða bec þe man **hateð** godspel, on þam syndon awritene þa halgan ⁊ þa godcundan geryno.

‘And we must bear around our land our relics and the worthy sign of Christ’s Cross, that we call the sign of Christ, on which He Himself suffered for mankind’s ransom. Also we must bear those books which one calls the gospels, in which are written those holy and divine mysteries.’

(47) LambHom 159.4-20

Þe tere þet mon wepð for his azen sunne: is also salt water. *and* þer fore hit **is inemned** see water. ... Þe ter þet .Mon. schet for his em-cristenes sunne: **is inemned** snaw water for hit melt of þe neche horte swa deð þe snaw to-zeines þe sunne. ... Þe ter þet .Mon. wept for laðe of þisse liue: **is inemned** welle water. for he welleð of þe horte swa doð water of welle. ... Þe ter þet .Mon. wept for longing to heouene: **is inemned** deu water for alswa se þe sunne drach up þene deu. *and* madeð þer of kume reines: ...

‘The tear that a man weeps for his own sin is as salt water, and therefore it is named sea-water. ... The tear that a man sheds for the sin of his fellow-Christian is called snow-water, for it melts from the tender heart as does the snow against the sun. ... The tear that a man weeps for loathing of this world is called well-water, for it wells

from the heart as does water from the well. ... The tear that a man weeps through longing for heaven is called dew-water, for as the sun draws up the dew and makes thereof the rains to come ...'

Cf. TrinHom 151.4-22

Ðe wop þe man wepeð for his agene sinne is swiðe biter also saltwater. *and* þerefore **is nemned** se water. ... Ðe wop þe man wepeð for his emcristenes wowe. cumeð of þe wlache heorte. also þe sunne hete þe snow. þat he hit for-melteð to watere. ... Ðe teares þe man wepeð. for þat him wo beð. þat he wunie shal on loðe erde: **ben nemmed** welle water. for þat hie walleð of þe heorte rotes: swo water doð of welle. ... Ðe teares þe man wepeð for longenge to heuene **ben cleped** rein water. oðer deu water. for þat also þe sunne teð water fram eorðe up to þe wolcne: *and* þer-offe cumeð reines.

'The weeping that a man weeps for his own sins is very bitter, like salt water, and is therefore called sea-water. ... The weeping that a man weeps for his fellow Christians' woe comes from the warm heart as the sun heats the snow and melts it to water. ... The tears that a man weeps because he is sorry that he must dwell in hateful abode, are names well-water, for they well (flow) from the heart's roots as water does from the well. ... The tears that a man weeps for longing to heaven are called rain-water or dew-water; for as the sun draws water from the earth up to the clouds and thereof comes rain, ...'

(48) AW 54.234-236 (f. 37<sup>r</sup>)

Þe earn deð in his nest a deorewurðe zimstan, achate **hatte**, for nan attri þing ne mei þe stan nahhin,

'The eagle places in his nest a precious jewel called agate, because no venomous thing can come near it.'

Cf. AR (Nero) 59.29-31 (f. 34<sup>v</sup>)

Þe earn deð in his neste enne deorewurðe zimston ðet **hette** achate. vor non attri þinc ne mei ðene ston neihen.

#### 4. Summary and conclusion

Examples quoted from my data and tables at the end of this article show that the verbs and expressions of calling someone or something vary from text to text. The distinction between chronicles and homilies is clear, though *Bede* stands in between. Some diachronic tendencies have been made manifest through the investigation.

Among various verbs and expressions each text chooses certain types and shows its preference. *ChronA* uses *be (ge)cweden* and *be (ge)nemned* for calling a place, while *ChronE* chooses *be (ge)haten* in most instances. *Or* has *be (ge)haten* for a person and *man hatedð* for a place. *Laz (C)* and *(O)* choose *be (ge)haten* and inflected forms of *hatan*, *be (ge)cleped* and inflected forms of *clipian*. *Bede* uses *be haten* and *nama is/wæs* for a person but *be nemned*, *be geciged* and *be cweden* for a place. *ÆCHomI* chooses *be gehaten*, *be geciged* and *be gecweden*, while *ÆCHomII* and *ÆHom* use *be gehaten* and *X gehaten*. *ÆLS(p)* has not so many examples to show its liking, while *ÆLS(v)* chooses *X (ge)haten*, *be gehaten* and *hatte*. *WHom* has *hatte*, *be genamod* and *be gehaten*. *VercHom* uses *be (ge)nemned*, *nemnan* and *be (ge)cweden*, while *BlHom* has *be*

(*ge*)*nemned* and *nama is/wæs*. In the transitional period, *LambHom* uses *be ihaten* and *be (i)cleped*, and *TrinHom* especially chooses *be (i)cleped*. *AW* and *AR(Nero)* use inflected forms of *cleopien*, *be cleopet* and *nempnin*. Along with these preferences, each text shows a variety of choices.

Here are some concluding remarks:

(i) Various morphological types of *hatan*, i.e. *we hatað*, *is/wæs haten*, *hatte*, *man/me hateð*, etc. had been used in Old and early Middle English. *Cweðan* and *be gecweden*, *nemnan* and *be genemned*, *gecigan* and *be geciged* (*be* represents all possible forms of *beon* and *wesan* with a limited number of *weorðan*) were used with different numbers of occurrences. *Be gereht* is used in the sense ‘be translated’ or ‘be signified’ in homiletic context especially Ælfric’s. *Clepan* and *be (i)cleopet* are used in the homilies of the transitional period. The use of *namnian* and *be genamod* is obvious in Wulfstan’s homilies. *Spe(a)len* and *be ispe(a)let* are preferred in *Ancrene Wisse* and *Ancrene Riwele*. Comparisons of the same context, especially examples (24) and (25), (28) and (29), (47) (*LambHom* and *TrinHom*), show that there has been no strict rule of choosing the same verb for the same object.

(ii) Ælfric’s homilies often use periphrastic forms *be gehaten*, *be gecweden* and *be geciged*. *Hatte* is chosen at times, but in the verse part of *ÆLS* it is preferred as well as the ‘X *gehaten*’ type. In *VercHom* and *BlHom*, *be (ge)nemned* and *nemnan*, i.e. in the passive (‘X is called’) and in the active (‘we call X’), are visible. *VercHom* also likes *be (ge)cweden*. (*One’s*) *nama is/wæs* appears in *ÆCHomI* (especially for person), and in other homilies at times. Notable is the feature of *WHom*, where *be genamod* and *namnian* are chosen, while *be genemned* occurs only once.<sup>9</sup> *Ancrene Wisse* and *Ancrene Riwele* show the choice of *be icleopet* and *cleopian* as well as *be ispe(a)let* and *spe(a)len*; *seggen* and *nempnin* in both active and passive constructions also occur. When *Bede* is compared, having features of both homily and chronicle, *be haten* is preferred for naming persons, while *be cweden*, *be geciged* and *be nemned* are used for calling places. *Hatte* and *man*-periphrasis appear throughout the Old and Middle English periods. Tables are given to show the results of the investigation. (“Other” in tables includes examples in subdivisions 3.4, 3.6, and 3.7.)

(iii) In earlier texts the choice was found among *be gecieged*, *be gecweden* and *be (ge)cleped*, the last of which survived into Middle English, while *be (ge)haten* and *be (ge)nemned* were kept in use throughout the medieval period.

The choice of verbs and expressions continued, even though *be called* showed the first appearance in the transitional period: *a1250 Wooing of our Lord* 271.28 *nis nan wisere þen þu þat art wisdom cald of þi fader in heuene* ‘there is none wiser than thou that art called wisdom of thy father in heaven.’<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The *OED* (*name*, v. under Etymology) tells that “[i]n Old English the prefixed form *genamnian*, *genomnian* are also attested; ... However, the usual word in Old and Middle English is NEMN (v.). Cf. †*nemn*, v.”

<sup>10</sup> *OED call*, v. and *MED callen*.



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Table 2. Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I and II, and Homilies of Ælfric.

|                        | ÆCHomI |       |       | ÆCHomII |       |       | ÆHom   |       |       |
|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
|                        | person | place | other | person  | place | other | person | place | other |
| be gehaten             | 33     | 15    | 11    | 22      | 21    | 8     | 31     | 2     | 1     |
| hatan                  | 4      |       | 2     | 2       |       | 4     | 8      |       | 3     |
| hatte                  | 6      |       |       | 5       |       | 2     | 8      |       |       |
| X gehaten              | 1      |       |       | 11      |       |       | 14     | 2     | 1     |
| be<br>gecweden         | 13     | 5     | 1     | 7       | 5     | 3     | 2      | 1     | 1     |
| cweðan                 | 1      |       |       |         |       | 1     |        |       | 2     |
| be geciged             | 21     | 1     |       | 3       | 3     | 2     | 2      | 1     | 1     |
| gecigan                | 4      |       |       |         |       |       |        |       |       |
| X geciged              |        |       |       | 1       |       |       |        |       |       |
| be<br>genemned         | 3      |       |       |         |       |       |        |       |       |
| be gereht              | 6      | 1     | 1     |         | 1     |       |        |       |       |
| be gereht<br>& gehaten |        | 1     |       |         |       |       |        |       |       |
| nama<br>is/wæs         | 12     |       |       | 3       |       |       |        |       |       |

Table 3. Ælfric's Lives of Saints (prose part and verse part).

|                  | ÆELS(p) |       |       | ÆELS(v) |       |       |
|------------------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
|                  | person  | place | other | person  | place | other |
| be gehaten       | 3       | 1     | 1     | 33      | 7     | 3     |
| hatan            |         |       | 1     | 5       | 1     | 2     |
| mon hateð        |         |       |       |         |       |       |
| hatte            | 2       | 1     |       | 25      |       |       |
| X (ge)haten      |         |       |       | 45      | 14    |       |
| be<br>(ge)cweden |         |       |       |         |       | 4     |
| cweðan           |         |       |       |         |       |       |
| be (ge)ciged     | 1       |       |       | 9       |       |       |
| gecigan          |         |       |       | 1       |       |       |
| X geciged        |         |       |       | 5       |       |       |
| be<br>(ge)nemned | 4       |       | 2     |         |       |       |
| nemnan           | 1       |       |       | 1       |       |       |
| mon nemneð       |         |       |       | 3       |       |       |
| nama is/wæs      | 3       |       |       |         |       |       |
| be gereht        |         |       |       | 1       |       |       |

Table 4.1. Lambeth Homilies and Trinity Homilies.

|              | LambHom |       |       | TrinHom |       |       |
|--------------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
|              | person  | place | other | person  | place | other |
| be ihaten    | 5       | 1     | 10    | 1       |       |       |
| haten        |         |       |       | 1       |       |       |
| me hat       |         | 2     |       |         |       |       |
| be (i)cleped | 4       | 2     | 6     | 13      | 2     | 17    |
| clepen       |         |       |       | 3       |       | 1     |
| be nemned    |         |       | 4     |         |       | 1     |
| nemnen       |         |       |       | 1       | 1     | 5     |
| be icweoðen  | 1       |       | 2     |         |       |       |

Table 4.2. Vercelli Homilies and Blickling Homilies.

|               | VercHom |       |       | BlHom  |       |       |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
|               | person  | place | other | person | place | other |
| be (ge)haten  | 5       | 4     |       | 1      | 2     |       |
| hatte         | 1       | 3     |       | 1      | 5     |       |
| hatan         |         | 1     |       |        |       |       |
| man hateoð    |         |       | 1     |        |       |       |
| be (ge)nemned | 12      | 5     | 2     | 3      | 4     | 2     |
| nemnan        | 2       |       | 8     | 3      |       |       |
| nama is/wæs   | 4       |       | 2     | 4      | 1     |       |
| be (ge)cweden | 2       |       | 8     | 1      |       |       |
| be gereht     |         | 1     |       |        | 1     |       |

Table 5. Ancrene Wisse and Ancrene Riwe (Nero)

|               | AW     |       |       | AR (Nero) |       |       |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|
|               | person | place | other | person    | place | other |
| be ihaten     |        |       | 3     |           |       | 5     |
| haten         | 1      |       |       |           |       | 1     |
| me hateoð     |        |       |       |           |       | 2     |
| hatte         |        |       | 3     |           |       | 3     |
| be icleopet   | 3      | 1     | 3     | 2         |       | 5     |
| cleopien      | 3      | 2     | 7     | 7         |       | 10    |
| me cleopeoð   |        |       | 2     |           |       | 4     |
| be iseid      |        |       |       |           |       | 2     |
| seggen        | 1      |       | 1     | 2         |       | 5     |
| me seið       |        |       | 1     |           |       | 2     |
| be inempnet   |        |       | 1     |           |       | 2     |
| nempnin       |        |       | 4     |           |       | 8     |
| me nempneoð   |        |       | 1     |           |       |       |
| be ispe(a)let | 2      |       |       | 1         |       |       |
| spe(a)len     |        | 2     |       | 11        | 2     |       |

Table 6. Homilies of Wulfstan.

|                   | WHom   |       |       |
|-------------------|--------|-------|-------|
|                   | person | place | other |
| be gehaten        | 4      |       |       |
| hatte             | 8      |       |       |
| hatan             | 1      |       |       |
| be genemned       | 1      |       |       |
| be genamod        | 5      | 1     |       |
| namnian           | 1      |       |       |
| clypian 7 namnian | 1      |       |       |

Table 7. Bede.

|             | Bede   |       |       |
|-------------|--------|-------|-------|
|             | person | place | other |
| be haten    | 44     | 3     |       |
| mon hateð   | 1      | 3     |       |
| hatte       | 6      | 5     |       |
| X haten     | 4      |       |       |
| be cweden   | 1      | 14    |       |
| cweðan      | 1      |       | 1     |
| be geciged  | 1      | 18    |       |
| be nemned   | 8      | 36    | 1     |
| nemnan      | 2      | 1     | 1     |
| mon nemneð  |        | 4     |       |
| nama is/wæs | 33     | 3     |       |