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## TOWARDS THE SEMANTIC PROFILE AND USAGE OF THE EME WORD *LŌND(E)*<sup>1</sup>

The present paper focuses on the word *lōnd(e)* and its semantic profile and usage as attested in preserved Early Middle English texts. The author critically analyses the *Middle English Dictionary online* (henceforth *MED*) entry for *lōnd(e)* in order to define the meanings and possible context of use characteristic for Early Middle English (1150-1350), not the whole Middle English period. Moreover, a linguistic material in the form of the whole text of *La3amon's Brut*, preserved in two extensive manuscripts, is selected for a closer investigation.

The analysis of the text reveals a considerable number of about 1,000 occurrences of the lexeme in each manuscript. Yet another observation is that the frequency of the word *lōnd(e)* in MS Otho, which is assessed about one sixth shorter than the earlier MS Caligula, is boosted by the substitution of *lōnd(e)* for some other lexemes from MS Caligula. The reason is that MS Caligula of *La3amon's Brut* is generally acknowledged to be the more elaborate manuscript using "great wealth of words for the same thing or idea".<sup>2</sup>

The aim of the paper is to provide all attested MS Caligula words subject to replacement by *lōnd(e)* in MS Otho and to group them according to their meaning. This will help us establish the shades of the semantic profile and possible context of use of the word *lōnd(e)* in Early Middle English.

### 1. THE TEXT

*La3amon's Brut*, also called *The Chronicle of Britain*, is an extensive instance of Middle English historiography describing the founding of Britain by mythical Brutus of Troy as well as the reign of King Arthur. The text survives in two manuscripts, i.e., MS Cotton Caligula A.IX (henceforth MS Caligula) and MS Cotton Otho C.XIII (henceforth MS Otho). MS Caligula, possibly written c. 1200, formally is rather a Late Old English text. MS Otho is a copy from c. 1300, though some linguists assume only a fifty-year difference between the two manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, MS Otho is a distinctive Early Middle English text.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Here, I would like to thank Professor Marcin Krygier for all his valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Wyld (1933: 48); Some changes of the MS Otho have been pointed out by, e.g., Wyld (1930), Strout (1952) and Keith (1960).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Wyld (1930: 1). For an overview of the discussion over various dating of MS Caligula see Roberts (1994).

<sup>4</sup> Krygier (1996), who dates back the Otho MS to the latter part of the 13<sup>th</sup> c., points out, however,

## 2. THE WORD *LAND* IN OLD ENGLISH

Bosworth and Toller (1898-1921) provide the following meanings of the noun *land*:

**LAND**, es; n.

**I.** LAND as opposed to water or air, *earth*

**II.** a *land, country, region, district, province*

**II c.**<sup>5</sup> fig. *realm, domain*

**III.** *land, landed property, estate, cultivated land, country* [as opposed to *town*]

(1) *ground, cultivated land, soil, field*

(1 a) *land* attached to a dwelling and in contrast with it

(1 b) *ground* in a general sense

(2) *ground as property, landed property*

(2 a) *an estate in land*

(2 b) where the extent of the land is defined

(3) *country* in contrast with *town*

(3 a) *on estate in the country*

**IV.** a *land, ridge in a ploughed field*

As can be seen, in Old English the word *land* referred exclusively to ‘a territory, a place’.

## 3. THE WORD *LŌND(E)* IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

The *Middle English Dictionary online* provides an extensive entry of the word *lōnd*, in which it records several meanings of the lexeme as well as compounds and phrases including *lōnd(e)*, together with quotations. The entry below includes only definitions:

**lōnd** (n.) Also **londe, lont, land(e, laund(e, laind, lend** & (?error) **longde** & (early) **loand, leond, lænde, lon** & (early pl. dat.) **londen, londum** & (cpds. only) **-lound, -lone, lan-, -langd**. Pl. **lōndes**, etc. & **lond(e** & (gen. pl.) **londe**.

[OE **land, lond**.]

**1.**

(a) A territory considered as a political unit, a country, a kingdom; also, a smaller political unit;

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that the plural markers of the OE nouns of relationship in the manuscript displays some peculiar features found in some later texts. Fisiak and Krygier (2002) make similar observations in a broader study.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly this “c.” is a misprint and it should be “a.”.

(b) **londes folk**, ~ **peple**, the inhabitants of a country; ~ **god**, a local deity; ~ **ivel**, plague, pestilence; also, epilepsy; ~ **knight**; ~ **riche** [OE *land-ricē*], a land, country; ~ **sorwe**, a national disaster, widespread ruin; **londes right** = **londes laue** [see *laue* 6a. (a)]; **don ut of ~, senden of ~**, to exile (sb.);

(c) one's own land, native land; **(lond)es speche**, the native language, the vernacular;

(d) *specif.* England; ~ **iren**, iron made from native English ore, often of inferior quality;

(e) a people, a nation of people, the inhabitants of a land;

(f) *fig.* a place or state of being, a region of the mind or spirit; also, heaven; also, God's realm, material and spiritual;

(g) in poetic tags, with little semantic content: **in ~, into ~, to ~**, to us, to people; **comen to ~**, to occur, happen.

## 2.

(a) Landed property; **lond(es and lede(s**, [see also *lede* n. (2) 3.]; ~ **and lith** [see *lith* n. (4) (a)]; **londes and rentes, rente and ~**; ~ **biere**, a buyer of land; ~ **lire**, loss of land; ~ **tenaunt; ple of ~**, a suit brought to restore rightful possession of land;

(b) arable land, productive land; ~ **and mede**, arable and pasture land; ~ **dol**, a section of arable land; ~ **mede**, meadow land; ~ **tilie**, ~ **tillere**, a farmer; **treuage of ~**, tribute of the fruits of the earth;

(c) a type of land, soil;

(d) a piece of land of fixed dimensions, a field; ?also, a yard attached to a building; ~ **share** [OE *land-scearu*], an open piece of land (?serving as a field boundary); **londes mark**, a boundary; **oxegang ~**, a bovate;

(e) a unit of land; ?a strip of land comprising two furrows and the ridge between; ~ **forwe**; ~ **rigge**, the central ridge;

(f) ~ **avese** [cp. OE *æfese & æfesn*], ~ **chere** [?cp. *share* n. (2)], ~ **mol**, ~ **silver**, ~ **tol-peni**, various rents on land; ~ **bras**, ?ground malt for common use; ~ **chep, lancept** [OE *land-cēap*], a fee to the lord on alienation of land; ~ **egging** [cp. *eggen* v. (3)], a service of harrowing; ~ **fish**, ?a fish brought overland to market; ~ **hok, landiok**, a hook-shaped piece of land; ~ **holdere**, one occupying land, a tenant; ~ **leve** [cp. *leve* n. (2)], fee paid to a landowner for permission to quarry on his land; ~ **mol-bok**, a rent book; ~ **multure**, ?ground corn for common use; ~ **reddinge** [OE *land-hredding*], redemption of land;

(g) **aker** ~ [see also *aker* n. (1) 1. (a)]; **bord** ~ [see also *bord-lond*]; **coterel ~, ? = cotman ~, cotman** ~ [see also *cot-man* (a)]; **feld** ~ [see *feld* 2.]; **for(e** ~ [see also *for(eland* 2.]; **forreple** ~ [?OE \**forer1pel-land*, cp. Löfvenberg *ME Local Surnames* 68], forest made into arable land; **hed** ~ [see also *hed* n. (1) 8. (c)]; **plough** ~, plowland.

## 3.

(a) The world, the earth; also, this world as distinguished from the next; **in (o, on, upon) ~**, on earth;

(b) a region of the earth, a piece of the earth; a district, a piece of territory large or small; ~ **win**, the wine of the district;

(c) an area of open land, the countryside; **up on** ~, **up of** ~, in the country; **over lond(es)**, across country, over the countryside; **taken ~ under fot** [see **fot 14.** (w)];

(d) a space of ground; **holden** ~, to hold one's ground in a fight; **losen** ~; **i)winnen** ~;

(e) in special designations: ~ **of biheste**, the Promised Land; also, *fig.* heaven [see also **biheste la.** (b)]; ~ **of ayenbehest (promissioun, repromissioun)**, the Promised Land; **holi** ~, Palestine [see **holi 5a.** (a)]; also *fig.*; **hoten** ~, the Promised Land [see also **hoten v.** (1) **4a.** (g)]; ~ **feminin**, country of the Amazons; ~ **of visiou (sight)**, Mount Moriah or the area containing it.

#### 4.

(a) The land as distinct from the sea, rivers, etc.; the dry land; **se and** ~, **bi** ~ **and bi ship (water)**; **bi** ~ **and se**; **bi** ~ **or bi navie (water)**; **bi** ~ **and (ne) bi lake** [see **lake n.** (1) **1.** (a)]; **in** ~ **and in se**; **on** ~ **and ses**; **on** ~ **ne se**; **bi water and (ne) bi** ~; **in water and in** ~; **on water and on lond(es)**; **in se and in** ~; **on se and (other) on** ~; **bi strond and bi** ~; **taken (lacchen, winnen)** ~, **nimen lond(es)**, to come to land, reach land, disembark;

(b) ~ **flood**, an inundation, a flood; ~ **gravel**, sand not from the seashore; ~ **half**, the landward side; ~ **metere**, a land surveyor; ~ **side**, the seashore; ~ **snail**; ~ **tortuse**; ~ **werre**; ~ **worm**; **bi** ~ **wei**, by a land route, overland;

(c) the element earth; also, the sphere of earth;

(d) an island;

(e) the ground floor of a castle.

#### 5.

(a) In surnames;

(b) in place names [see Smith *PNElem.* 2.13-14].

Exhaustive as this entry may seem, it does not provide the division of the meanings or quotations into Early and Late Middle English, though.

Moreover, the *MED* definition 1 (e)<sup>6</sup> may indicate that unlike the OE *land*, which exclusively conveyed the sense 'a territory, a place', the ME *lōnd* could also refer to people. However, a closer analysis of the quotations reveals the application of metonymy, e.g.,

c1325 *Flem.Insur.*(Hfl 2253) 111: Þe meste part of þe **lond** bygon forte synge, `alas, ant weylawo!'

a1550 \**Norton OAlch.*(BodeMus 63) 648: He remembred..howe gretter fame sholde hyme pursewe..then all the **lande** of hime wolde speake.

Hence, the *MED* entry should actually be treated as defining the ME *lōnd* as solely carrying the sense 'a territory, a place'.

<sup>6</sup> Meaning 1 (g) is marked in the definition as 'in poetic tags, with little semantic content'.

4. THE WORD *LŌND(E)* IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS

Further analysis of the *MED* entry reveals that all the meanings, and many compounds and phrases<sup>7</sup>, listed above, except for 3 (d) a ‘space of ground’, *holden* ~ ‘to hold one’s ground in a fight’, *losen* ~, *i)winnen* ~, have some representation in a bigger or smaller number of Early Middle English texts. Among these texts one can find the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1121-1160), *Bodley homilies* (1175), *Ormulum* (1200), *La3amon’s Brut* (1200)<sup>8</sup>, *Vices and virtues* (1225), *Owl and nightingale* (1275), *Bestiary* (1300), *Genesis and exodus* (1325), the Auchinleck MS texts (1330) and *Ayenbite of inwyt* (1340), which include *lōnd(e)* with at least one meaning.

Moreover, meanings and usage 2 (c), 2 (d), 2 (e) and 2 (g) are attested only in one EME text each and then more richly represented in Late Middle English text. Meaning 4 (c) of *lōnd(e)* occurs only in two EME manuscripts and then in *The Canterbury Tales*. Meanings 4 (d) and (e) appear in one EME text each and then are discontinued.

These Early Middle English texts, except for *La3amon’s Brut*, are preserved in one copy each, though, and do not allow for any comparison between the earlier and the later versions. Thus, the meaning of *lōnd(e)* which can be derived from them is rather “static”. The two manuscripts of *La3amon’s Brut* enable comparison and observation of the process of replacement as well as drawing some conclusions concerning a “dynamic” meaning of *lōnd(e)*.

5. THE WORD *LŌND(E)* IN *LA3AMON’S BRUT*

The *MED* recognizes the following meanings of the word *lōnd(e)* in *La3amon’s Brut*:

- 1 (a) a territory considered as a political unit, a country, a kingdom; also, a smaller political unit;
- 1 (b) *londes folk*, the inhabitants of a country; ~ *knight*; ~ *riche* [OE *land-ric*], a land, country; ~ *sorwe*, a national disaster, widespread ruin;
- 2 (a) landed property;
- 2 (b) arable land, productive land;
- 4 (a) the land as distinct from the sea, rivers, etc.;

All these meanings are labelled as occurring in MS Caligula. Moreover, all of them are associated with some kind of ‘a territory, a place’. The meaning of *lōndes folk* above, which refers to some ‘people, a group of people’, results from

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed list of EME meanings and possible phrases involving *lōnd(e)* see Conclusions.

<sup>8</sup> The date used by the *MED* is 1275.

the lexeme *folk*, though. In MS Otho, *lōnd(e)* is found to replace also lexemes denoting ‘people, a group of people’ in the earlier parallel MS Caligula. (See 7.4. below).

## 6. ANALYSIS

The number of the occurrences of the word *lōnd(e)* in the two manuscripts is distinguishingly high. This can be due to the fact that Britain is the key topic of the poem known also as *The Chronicle of Britain*. In MS Caligula, I have found some 1080 instances of the lexeme *lōnd(e)*. About 170 of these, i.e., c.16%, appear in the last 10% of the text, which part is the most damaged fragment of the parallel MS Otho. Taking into account yet another factor, i.e., MS Otho being about one sixth shorter than the MS Caligula due to numerous paraphrases<sup>9</sup>, some 940 occurrences of *lōnd(e)* in the later manuscript make a high frequency. This somewhat elevated rate of the lexeme *lōnd(e)* can be also attributed to paraphrases. These, unlike the above mentioned ones, however, were not intended to omit the word *lōnd(e)* but to apply it instead some other lexemes or phrases from the original copy of MS Caligula.

The material analysed here is a sample of 410 occurrences of the word *lōnd(e)* found in 6,500 lines (ll. 1-4,000 and 9,601-12,100) of MS Otho, i.e., about a half of some 13,300 lines of the actual text of the manuscript<sup>10</sup>. As can be calculated, these 410 instances make slightly less than a half of all 940 attestations in MS Otho. The bulk, i.e., 353 (86%) of the analysed MS Otho *lōnd(e)* occurrences are preserved from MS Caligula. They are representative of meanings 1 (a), 1 (b), 2 (a), 2 (b) and 4 (a) distinguished by the *MED*.

In the cases where the replacement of various other original words with *lōnd(e)* is applied, the corresponding MS Caligula lexemes include as many as 21 types, which fall into four major semantic categories.

6.1. ‘a land, the land (country), a city, a town, the world / a piece of land, a dwelling place, a place’

Here belong some 11 items, which can be further divided according to their structure and particular meaning.

Two lexemes are some proper place-names such as *Bruttene* (3 instances) and *Nor-wei(e)* (2 instances), e.g.,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See e.g., Strout (1952: 42).

<sup>10</sup> See Footnote 7.

<sup>11</sup> In the remaining part of the MS Caligula there are also types such as *France*, *Lunden*, *Irlōnde* and *Ærmorice lōnde*, in MS Otho substituted with *lōnde*.

- (1) Ich wilnie a mine þonke; to walden al Rome.  
and he wilneð me in **Brutene**; to binde swiðe uaste;  
(MS Caligula, ll. 12,523-12,524)

Ich 3eorne in min(e) þonke; to habbe al Rome  
and he wilneþ in þis **lond** binde me faste.  
(MS Otho, ll. 11,623-11,624)

- (2) he is Wæl((way))nes fader; þa ich wel luuie.  
For beoð icumen of **Norwei3e**; niwe tidende.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 11,532-11,533)

þat his Waweynes fader. wan ich moche louie.  
For me beoþ tydinge icome vt of þan **londe**.  
(MS Otho, ll. 10,662-10,663)

Moreover, MS Caligula contains some eight common nouns like *ī-lōnd* (*eit-lōnd*) ‘island’ (2 occurrences) as well as *bur3e* ‘a town/a city’, *eorþe* (here: ‘the earth as the dwelling-place of man and other creatures’), *weorld* (here in a phrase *3eond þa weorld* ‘in the whole wide world, in existence anywhere’), *folde* ‘a land, region, country’, *ærd* (*ærd*) ‘a bounded area of land; a country or region’, *dōl* ‘a part or subdivision’ and *hāven* ‘a harbour, port; a bay, estuary; a dockyard’, one instance of each in the sample,<sup>12</sup> which are replaced with *lōnd(e)* in MS Otho, e.g.,

- (3) þen oðer dai heo comen liðen; on æuen to londe.  
Logice hatte þat **eit-lond**. leode nere þar nane.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 560-561)

þane þridde dai hii come liþe to londe.  
Leogice heþte þat **lond**; men neore þar none.  
(MS Otho, ll. 488-489)

- (4) feouwer hundred þusende; cnihtes a þan hæpe.  
mid wepnen. and mid horsen; swa bihoueð to cnihten.  
Nes he neuere iboren; i nauere nane **bur3e**.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 12,675-12,677)

four hundred þousend cnihtes o þan heape.  
mid wepne and mid horse; ase bi-oueþ to cnihtes.  
Nas he neuere icore; ne in none **londe** ibore.  
(MS Otho, ll. 11,775-11,777)

- (5) Cloten hauede Cornwale; þat he heold wel one griðe.  
Cloten hauede enne sune; þe sel wes on **eorðe**.  
he wes feir he wes muchel; to feahten he wes mære.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 2,030-2,032)

<sup>12</sup> Beyond the sample there are also similar cases of *aðel* ‘hereditary possessions in land, domain’ and *wun-sæle* ‘dwelling place’.

Gloden hafde anne sone; þat bold was in **londe**.  
 he was fair. he was mochel. he was of 3eftes custi.  
 (MS Otho, ll. 1,936-1,937)

- (6) & scal þin mære kun; wælden þ[a]s londes.  
 3eond þa **weorlð** beon ihæ3ed; & þu beo hæl & isund.  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 627-628)

and solle þorh hire mihte; wel þat lond witie.  
 ouer **alle londes** hi-he3ed; and þou hol and sund  
 (MS Otho, ll. 555-556)

- (7) swulc. fare of fleo3en her was. þat heo freten þet corn & þat græs  
 wo wes al þen folke þe wu((ne))den **an folden**.  
 Pær-after com swulke mon-qualm; þat lute hær cwike læfden  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 1,948-1,950)

soch fare of fleien her was; þat hii heten corn and gras.  
 wo was al þat folk; þat wonede **in lond**  
 Par-hafter com soch man-cwalm; þat lute cwic lefde.  
 (MS Otho, ll. 1,857-1,859)

- (8) Þa hafde Ænglene **ard**; þat alre bezste here-word.  
 and þis leodisce uolc æc; leofuest þan kinge.  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 1,2306-1,2307)

Þ(o) hadde þis **lond**; þat (he)hest hereword.  
 of alle cune lon(d)es war men wonieþ.  
 (MS Otho, ll. 11,419-11,420)

- (9) In-to þisse londe heo comen; þis flocc heo hær slowe.  
 wide heo ærnde; tuones heo for-barnden.  
 mochel **ðal** heo iwesten; mid harmen þan mesten.  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 2,052-2,054)

In-to þisse londe hi comen; and þat folk of-slo[en].  
 =  
 moche lond iweste; mid harme þan meste.  
 (MS Otho, ll. 1,957-1,959)

- (10) & ich sugge þe to soðe; þat 3et leoueð þi broðer.  
 for he hald to þen **londe**; & wel com **to hauene**.  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 2,331-2,332)

And ich segge þe to soþe; þat 3et leueþ þi broþer.  
 for he heold to hauene; and wel com **to londe**  
 (MS Otho, ll. 2,230-2,231)

## 6.2. ‘a/the kingdom’

The MS Otho scribe replaces three words denoting ‘kingdom’ in MS Caligula with the word *lōnd(e)* in his manuscript. These lexemes include *kine-lōnde* and *riche*.<sup>13</sup>

*Kine-lōnde* is unique to the text of *La3amon’s Brut*. Of the 91 instances of *kine-lōnde* in the whole MS Caligula, 64 are repeated in MS Otho in the same context.<sup>14</sup> The remaining occurrences are either replaced with some other nouns or lost because of the manuscript damage or numerous paraphrases. In my sample there are seven occurrences replaced with three other lexemes, including four cases changed into *lōnd(e)*, e.g.,

- (11) on his heorte he hauede grome. on his mode muchele scome;  
 þat he hæuede iloren his **kinelond**. and his quene þe he leouede;  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 2,420-2,421)

on his heorte he hadde grame; on his mode mochel same.  
 þat he hadde his **lōnde** ilore; and his cwene deore.  
 (MS Otho, ll. 2,318-2,319)

- (12) wræken me a mine feonden; þa mine wines feolden.  
 & habbeð al mi **kine-lond**; awræht ut of mire hond.  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 7,702-7,703)

vp 3am þat habbeþ al mi **lond**; a-wreþt vt of mine hond.  
 (MS Otho, l. 7,210)

*Riche* from MS Caligula is found twice as substituted with *lōnd(e)*, e.g.,

- (13) alle þa castles bonien; and setten heom to mid Brutton.  
 & rixlien a þere **riche**; mid reh3ere strengðe.  
 (MS Caligula, ll. 11,527-11,528)

alle hire castles; sette mid Bruttus  
 and rixli in þan **lond** mid boldere strengþe.  
 (MS Otho, ll. 10,657-10,658)

## 6.3. ‘a nation, people, a group of people’ / ‘a country, a kingdom’

The MS Caligula scribe uses three nouns which could denote either ‘a nation, people, a group of people’ or ‘a country, a kingdom’. In the latter case, i.e., when a given lexeme referred to ‘a territory, a place’, the MS Otho scribe usually was very careful in specifying the meaning by means of the replacement by the word *lōnd(e)*. The three lexemes discussed here include *leode*, *þeode* and *cuððe*. The most frequently attested change is that of 23 instances<sup>15</sup> of *leode*, e.g.,

<sup>13</sup> In the remaining fragment of the text there is also one instance of *kine-riche* replaced with *lōnd*.

<sup>14</sup> See Ciszek (in press a).

<sup>15</sup> More or less the same number of such changes can be found in the other half of the text not scrupulously analysed her.

- (14) we wulle[ð] setten heom an hond; al þis Romanisce lond.  
& wur[ð]ien heom in **leoden**; al swa mon lauerd scal.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 2,648-2,649)

we wolleþ sette heom an hond; al þis Romanisse lond.  
and worþi heom in **londe**; also man sal his louerd.  
(MS Otho, ll. 2,548-2,549)

- (15) & þat folc of Ca[s]cuine; þe noht nælden griðien.  
& folc of fele **leode**; þe liðe forð mid Brennen.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 2,768-2,769)

and þat folk of Gascoyne; þat noht nolde griþie.  
and folk of many **londe**; wende aþein mid Brenne.<sup>16</sup>  
(MS Otho, ll. 2,668-2,669)

- (16) al hire vnðonkes. þerfore hire wes uneðe;  
and heo he wolden læiden; to-ward his **leoden**.  
næuede heo bute þreo nihte feorst; faren þat heo scolde  
(MS Caligula, ll. 2,247-2,249)

al hire onþonkes; þar-fore 3eo was sori.  
and he hire wolde lede; toward his **londe**  
nafde 3eo bote þreo niþt forst; faren þat 3eo solde.  
(MS Otho, ll. 2,148-2,150)

For more examples see Ciszek (2012b).<sup>17</sup>

*Þeode* can be found as changed into *lōnd(e)* in five cases and *cuððe* in one, e.g.,

- (17) Ða nom Kunedagius; & send 3eond his **cuððe**.  
& gadere[de] muchel folc; and 3ærwede his ferde.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 1,917-1,918)

+ + +unadegis; and sen++ +(uer al hi)s **londe**.  
(an)d gade+(ede) moche folk; a++ 3ar+(ede) his ferde.  
(MS Otho, ll. 1,826-1,827)

- (18) & of þan muchele wurð-scipe; þe he iwunnen hafeden.  
folc com to hirede; of feole cunne **þeode**.  
widen and siden; folc wes on selen.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 11,332-11,334)

of his mo(c)hele worsipe; þat he (a)-wonne hadde.  
folk þar was i-gadered; of mani cun(ne) **londe**.  
(MS Otho, ll.10,469-10,470)

<sup>16</sup> This could be an instance of social changes reflected in the text. The earlier measure of prosperity, i.e., the number of people/subjects is being replaced with the amount of territories possessed.

<sup>17</sup> The remaining part of the text, not subject to a detailed discussion here, includes also types such as, e.g., *Rōm-lēode* and *Scot-lēode*.

## 6.4. 'a nation, people, a group of people'

There is also a considerable group of six noun types which denote 'a nation, people, a group of people' and appear as replaced by the MS Otho scribe with the word *lōnd(e)*. These changes attested in the sample concern lexemes such as: *hired* 'an army, a royal court, the courtiers coll., the chief nobles of the kingdom' (3 instances) and *3islæs* (2 instances), e.g.,

(19) 3if her is æni cniht; þe of Eueline axeð riht.  
come to mine **herede**; & þer he hit scal habben.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 4,099-4,050)

3if here his (eni) cnihit þat of Euelyn (axi) riht.  
come to mine **lon(de)** and þar hit sal habbe.  
(MS Otho, ll. 3,944-3,945)

(20) 3eue us ænne ende; of his kine-londe.  
3eue us **3islæs** þer-to; & þis mei beon wel idon.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 451-452)

3if vs **lond** þar-to; þis vs þincheþ wel idon.  
(MS Otho, l. 381)

The other recorded instances of the analysed replacement involve solitary instances of *feonden*, *folk*<sup>18</sup>, *gumen* and *lēod-folc*:<sup>19</sup>

(21) For muchel we wleð dri3en; & habben care of ure life.  
ær we nulleð mid frescipe; faren from ure **feonden**.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 188-189)

for ++++++ we sollen dre3(en) ine (þis)se ++(ue).  
here we n+llep mid fr(eo)scipe; faren vt of **londe**.  
(MS Otho, ll. 117-118)

(22) eorles and beornes; & þa þe weoren baldest.  
and alle þa wiseste men; þa wuneden a þen **folke**.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 12,417-12,418)

kinges and eorles; bissopes and clearkes.  
and alle þe wiseste men; þat wonede in **londe**.  
(MS Otho, ll. 11,523-11,524)

(23) Hail wurh þu Belin king; Brennes is þi broðer.  
& ich hatte Godlac; **gumenen** ich wes lauerd.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 2,317-2,318)

<sup>18</sup> His is the only occurrence of *folk(e)* changed into *lōnd(e)* in the whole text. Otherwise, there are hundreds of attestations of the word *folk(e)* in both manuscripts.

<sup>19</sup> Altogether, there are ten instances of *leod-folc* attested in the whole MS Caligula. Of these only one is changed into *lōnd(e)*.

Hayl beo (þou Be)lyn king; Brenne (his þ)j broþer.  
and ich hote (Gutl)ac; **of lond(e)** ich was +(o)uerd.  
(MS Otho, ll. 2,217-2,218)

(24) Anan swa hit was euen; forð heo iwenden.  
heom ladden twelue; of þan **leod-folke**.  
(MS Caligula, ll. 13,433-13,434)

(And h)ii an hi3engge; forþ (3am i)wende.  
3am ladde twea(lf) cnihtes; of þa(n) ilke **lond(e)**.  
(MS Otho, ll. 12523-12524)

Instances (21)-(23)<sup>20</sup> are indicative of a social change from subjects/people to the amount of land under control being a marker of power/social position and wealth. This social change induced also some linguistic change since *lōnd(e)* apart from meaning ‘a territory, a place’ could be argued to have acquire a reference to ‘people/subjects inhabiting a territory/a place’.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the present paper was to investigate the noun *lōnd(e)* and draw some conclusions contributing to the semantic profile and possible contexts of use of the lexeme in Early Middle English texts. The reanalysis of the *MED* entry for *lōnd(e)* brings “static” meanings of the EME *lōnd(e)* such as:

1. (a) ‘a territory considered as a political unit, a country, a kingdom; also, a smaller political unit’
- (b) in phrases: *londes folk* ‘the inhabitants of a country’ ~ *god* ‘a local deity’ ~ *ivel* ‘plague, pestilence; also, epilepsy’ ~ *knight*, ~ *riche* ‘a land, country’ ~ *sorwe* ‘a national disaster, widespread ruin’ *londes right* = *londes laue*, *don ut of* ~, *senden of* ~ ‘to exile (sb.)’
- (c) ‘one’s own land, native land’ *lond(es) speche* ‘the native language, the vernacular’
- (d) *specif.* ‘England’
- (e) ‘a people, a nation of people, the inhabitants of a land’ (*lōnd(e)*) used as a metonymy<sup>21</sup>
- (f) *fig.* ‘a place or state of being, a region of the mind or spirit; also, heaven; also, God’s realm, material and spiritual’
- (g) in poetic tags, with little semantic content: *in* ~, *to* ~ ‘to us, to people’, *comen to* ~ ‘to occur, happen’
2. (a) ‘Landed property’, *lond(es and lede(s, londes and rentes*

<sup>20</sup> This instance is ambiguous since *leod-folke* might have been rather replaced with *cnihtes*.

<sup>21</sup> The comment is mine own.

- (b) ‘arable land, productive land’ ~ *tilie* ‘a farmer’  
 (c) ‘a type of land, soil’  
 (d) ‘a piece of land of fixed dimensions, a field’  
 (e) ‘a unit of land’  
 (f) in phrases: ~ *avese*, ~ *mol*, ~ *silver* ‘various rents on land’ ~ *chep, lancept* ‘a fee to the lord on alienation of land’ ~ *egging* ‘a service of harrowing’ ~ *hok, landiok* ‘a hook-shaped piece of land’, ~ *reddinge* ‘redemption of land’  
 (g) *plough* ~ ‘plowland’
3. (a) ‘The world, the earth; also, this world as distinguished from the next’, *in (o, on)* ~ ‘on earth’  
 (b) ‘a region of the earth, a piece of the earth; a district, a piece of territory large or small’  
 (c) ‘an area of open land, the countryside’  
 (d) in special designations: ~ *of biheste* ‘the Promised Land; also, *fig.* Heaven’, *holi* ~ ‘Palestine, also *fig.*’, *hoten* ~ ‘the Promised Land’
4. (a) ‘The land as distinct from the sea, rivers, etc.; the dry land’ *in ~ and in se; bi water and (ne) bi ~; in water and in ~; on water and on lond(es); on se and (other) on ~; bi strond and bi ~; nimen lond(es)* ‘reach land, disembark’  
 (b) in phrases: ~ *half* ‘the landward side’, *bi* ~ *wei* ‘by a land route, overland’  
 (c) the element earth; also, the sphere of earth;  
 (d) an island;  
 (e) the ground floor of a castle.<sup>22</sup>

The linguistic material selected for the study of a “dynamic” meaning of EME *lōnd(e)* were two extensive 6,500-line samples of the two manuscripts of *La3amon’s Brut*, in which the pattern of replacement of various lexemes from MS Caligula with 410 instances of *lōnd(e)* in MS Otho was observed. The analysis has demonstrated that in some 86 % (353) of cases MS Otho *lōnd(e)* was a lexeme copied from MS Caligula while the remaining 14% of instances of *lōnd(e)* replaced some 21 other word types, representing 57 tokens, from the earlier manuscript.

The MS Caligula *lōnd(e)* preserved in MS Otho in the same contexts could mean:

- ‘a territory considered as a political unit, a country, a kingdom; also, a smaller political unit’;
- ‘landed property’;
- ‘arable land, productive land’;
- ‘the land as distinct from the sea, rivers, etc.’;

<sup>22</sup> Surnames and place-names are excluded from the study.

– in phrases: *lōndes folk* ‘the inhabitants of a country’ ~ *knight*, ~ *riche* ‘a land, country’, ~ *sorwe* ‘a national disaster, widespread ruin’<sup>23</sup>.

The other original MS Caligula lexemes which the MS Otho scribe saw appropriate to replace with the word *lōnd(e)* in the same context could denote:

- ‘a land /a piece, a part or subdivision of land’;
- ‘the land (country)’;
- ‘a/the kingdom’;
- ‘a bounded area of land, a/the region’;
- ‘a/the town/city’;
- ‘a dwelling place’;
- ‘a/the place’ (e.g., ‘a harbour’);
- ‘the earth’/‘the whole wide world’ (*alle lōndes*);
- ‘a nation, people, a group of people or a/the country, a/the kingdom’;
- ‘a nation, people, a group of people’.

Some of these changes could have been dictated by the poetic diction to some extent, still, the analysis illustrates diverse possible Early Middle English usage of the noun *lōnd(e)*.

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<sup>23</sup> These definitions are taken from the *MED*.

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