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Some Thoughts on the Expression of 'Crippled' in Old English

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There are many things we find it hard to talk about; and there are some that go virtually unmentioned. The silence may not even be recognized. Topics that are taboo are almost non-topics. If we are honest with ourselves, we know what subjects we as a society are unwilling to discuss; but when we look back to earlier periods of the language, it is not easy to question their silences and their evasions. Although some at least of the causes for silence are likely to be universal, it is easier to recognize the areas of linguistic discomfort of the more recent than of the less recent past. We tend, indeed, to ascribe to our modern sensibilities more caring attitudes than we assume to have been the norm in the distant past. Nowadays the noun *cripple* is little-used in official and media publications, and the adjective *crippled* is often avoided, an evasion that may respond not just to a desire not to offend people but to a deep-seated fear within linguistic behaviour. When uttered by anyone disabled, the bluntness of *crippled* assumes a dysphemistic quality that shocks. In this short note I should like to explore, as far as the extant evidence will allow, the Old English words most concerned with the concept *crippled* (the participial adjective *crippled* is explained in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) as 'Deprived of the use of one's limbs; lame, disabled', with use also in transferred and figurative senses noted).[1]

It is a curiosity of the history of the English lexicon that the adjectives *blind, deaf* and *dumb* have served as central terms across the recorded history of the language, whereas *crippled*, which is popularly regarded as the straightforward old English word, appeared first in late Middle English. Although *crypel* was already in use in Old English, that it was not a central term is clear from the overall figures for the frequency of these words in the A-F materials edited by the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*) editors at Toronto.[2] They cite just one occurrence of *crypel* as an adjective:

And get ic þe, leofa Drihten, biddan wille [. . .] þæt innan
heora husum nan unhal cild sy geboren, ne crypol, ne dumb,
ne deaf, ne blind, ne ungewittes
Adhuc peto, Domine [. . .] in domo illius non nascatur
infans claudus aut cecus neque mutus
[And still Lord I beseech thee [. . .] that no sickly child be
born in their houses, neither cripple nor dumb nor deaf nor
blind nor crazed
Yet Lord I ask [. . .] that there be not born in this house any
child lame or blind or dumb][3]

The linking of the form with following adjectives and the presence of the
adjective 'claudus' in the source support this categorization, although, as is so
often the case with Old English, the form might alternatively be regarded as a
noun. Moreover, the other instances of the simplex *crypel* 'cripple' (x 5) and of the
compound *eorðcrypel* 'cripple' (x 19 in all) are categorized as nouns. The word's
semantic motivation is hinted at in the *OED*, where it is described as used 'either
in the sense of one who can only creep, or perhaps rather in that of one who is, in
Scottish phrase, "cruppen together", *i.e.* contracted in body and limbs'.[4] The
contrast presented by *blind, deaf* and *dumb*, all of which are adjectives that are
used frequently at the head of noun phrases, is striking: *blind*, not surprisingly
because it is so often used figuratively, occurs c. 475 times in the Old English
corpus; and *deaf* and *dumb* are recorded c. 110 and c. 175 times respectively.

Clearly, *-crypel* was not an everyday word in Old English. The earliest use
of the noun simplex is Aldred's 'ðæm cryple', above Luke 5. 24 'paralytico' in his
glossing of the Lindisfarne Gospels (Li), and four instances are in the lives of
Margaret and of Giles. The form occurs most often as the second element in the
compound *eorðcrypel* (x 19): Aldred's preferred translation for *paralyticus* (x 14),
it was carried over (x 5) into Farman's glosses to the Rushworth Gospels (Ru¹),[5]
as can be seen in the following table. Farman had access to the Lindisfarne
Gospels when writing his glosses for Mark 1–2. 15 into the Rushworth Gospels,
where he adopts *eorðcrypel*. But he had already glossed the first twenty-five
chapters of Matthew before obtaining access to the Lindisfarne glosses,[6] and for
parlyticus in Matthew's gospel where Lindisfarne has *eorðcrypel* he uses *lom-*
forms (x 5),[7] which accord with the *lam-* forms usual in the West Saxon Gospels
where Lindisfarne has *(eorð)crypel*.[8] In addition, Aldred once uses the abstract

noun *crypelnes*,[9] an invention he shares with Dr Johnson, for 'Crippleness, lameness; privation of the limbs' in his 1755 dictionary is the word's only *OED* occurrence. Thus, the distribution of *-crypel* 'cripple' and closely related forms is striking. Although in use in the late tenth century in Aldred's glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and in those parts of the Rushworth Gospels gloss that are regarded as influenced by Aldred's glosses, *-crypel* forms are not otherwise recorded before the twelfth-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303. Moreover, they are found there not in the CCCC 303 texts that date back to the tenth century but in the lives of Margaret and Giles, both of them 'transitional texts',[10] and sharing linguistic features that set them apart from the Ælfrician texts copied by the same hand.[11] There is therefore a gap of more than a century and a half in recorded usage for *-crypel* 'cripple'. Thus in Old English *-crypel* 'cripple' has all the appearances of a marginal word, for, apart from the Lindisfarne and Rushforth glosses, there are no examples of its use in until the early twelfth century. It may of course be that that the Anglo-Saxons evaded writing about cripples. The comparable southern noun *creopere*, with five citations in the *DOE*, is used even less frequently than is *-crypel*: three times by Ælfric in accounts of miracles and twice in the late Old English life of James the Greater. In addition, there are two unusual nouns for 'cripple' in poetry, *Andreas* 1171 'helle hinca' ('cripple of hell', of the devil) and *Guthlac B* 912 'adloman' ('fire-maimed wretches', of the demons that tormented St Guthlac).[12]

Of the forms that serve the notion *crippled* in Old English, only *healt* and *lama* are well represented in the Old English corpus, the former clearly an adjective, and the latter behaving typically as a noun of the weak declension.[13] There are, according to the word senses recorded in the standard dictionaries of Old English, a few others as well as *crypel*:[14]

.**Crippled, lame:** crypel, fēþelēas, healffēþe[og], healt, lama, lemphealt[g], limlēas, limmlama[o], limsēoc[p], unfēre

There are three occurrences of *feþeleas*, one with the meaning 'crippled' in the *Old English Martyrology* Se 5, B 8 'sum deaf man ond feþeleas'.[15] The single occurrence of 'healffeþe' is an element by element translation of the Latin *semipes*.[16] Better evidenced is the compound *lemphealt* (x 6, for *lurdus*).[17]

Corresponding forms in gospel translation

	WSCp	Li	Ru[1] Ru[2]
Matthew heading 31		eorðcryppel *paralyticum*	
Matthew heading 70		halte *claudos*	
Matthew 4. 24	laman	eorðcryplas *paralyticos*	loman *paraliticos*
Matthew 8. 6	lama	eorðcryppel *paralyticus*	loma *paraliticus*
Matthew 9. 2	ænne laman	eorðcrypel *paralyticum*	loma *paraliticum*
Matthew 9. 2	to þam laman	ðaem eorðcrypel *paralitico*	to þæm loma *paralitico*
Matthew 9. 6	to þam laman	ðaem eorðcrypple *paralitico*	to þæm loman *paralitico*
Matthew 11. 5	healte	halto *claudi*	halte *cludi*
Matthew 15. 30	healte	halto *clodos*	halte *claudos*
Matthew 15. 31	healte	halto *clodo*	ða healte *claudos*
Matthew 18. 18	healt	halt *clodum*	healt *clodum*
Matthew 21. 14	þa healtan	halto *claudi*	healte *claudi*

Mark heading 6		ðæn eorðcryple *paralytico*	
Mark 2. 3	anne laman	ðone eorðcrypel *paraliticum*	þone eorðcrypel *paraliticum*
Mark 2. 4	se lama	se eorðcryppel *paraliticus*	þe eorðcrypel *paraliticus*
Mark 2. 5	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcrypple *paralitico*	to þæm eorðcrypele *paralitico*
Mark 2. 9	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcryple *paralitico*	þæm eorðcryple *paralitico*
Mark 2. 10	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcrypple *paralitico*	to þæm eorðcryple *paralitico*
Mark 9. 45	healt	halt *claudum*	halt *claudum*
Luke heading 17		ðone eorðcrypel *Paralyticum*	
Luke 5. 18	lama	eorðcrypel *paraliticus*	-
Luke 5. 24	þam laman	ðæm cryple *paralytico*	-
Luke 7. 22	healte	halto *claudi*	-
Luke 14. 13	healte	haltum *clodos*	halte *clodos*
Luke 14. 21	healte	haltum *clodos*	halte *cludos*
John 5. 3	healtra	haltra *claudorum*	haltra *cludorum*

WSCp = West Saxon Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 140);
Li = Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D. iv);
Ru = Rushworth Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 2).

This word is to be found in the *OED* under † *limphalt* and † *limphalting*, although with a gap between the two Old English glosses cited there and the sixteenth century citations:

> 1530 Palsgr. 317/2 Lympe hault, boiteux.
> 1549 Chaloner *Erasm. on Folly* A iij, Vulcane, that lymphault smithe.
> *Ibid*. C ij, But when the Gods are sette at bankette, he plaieth the jester, now wyth hys lymphaultynge, now with his skoffinge.

The mysterious winning move *limpolding* in backgammon as played by the English does something to bridge this gap:

> c1330 *Ludus Angl.* in Fiske *Chess Iceland* (Roy 13.A.18)
> 163: Hæc victoria vocatur lympoldyng. Si autem tota pagina [. . .] fuit occupata per adversarium [. . .] non vocabitur illa victoria limpolding sed vocatur lurching.[18]
> [This victory is called 'lympoldyng'. If indeed the whole field [. . .] should be held by an opponent [. . .] this victory should not be called 'limpolding' but 'lurching'.]

A word used in a French version of the game, *la linpole*, must also be related.[19] So too is modern English *limp*, a verb not found in English before late Middle English. In the nonceword *limmlama*, the limiting element reinforces the meaning 'crippled': HomU 21 (Nap 1) 62 'manege gefettan lichamlice hæle, and þær wurdan hale, þe ær wæran limmlaman' [many who had been crippled received bodily health there and became fit]. There are only three instances of *limleas*, all in Ælfric's homilies: twice it is linked with *alefed* and could well mean 'crippled';[20] and once it is a transparent compound used of the Eucharist.[21] Like *feþeleas*, this is hardly an everyday word. Neither is *limseoc* common, for it occurs only in poetry: in *Andreas* 577; and in *Elene* 1212, where it is in variation with *lefe*. The four instances of *unfere*, all late Old English, need not be as specific as 'crippled', but may perhaps be explained as 'weak'.[22]

    There are striking differences between how *healt* and *lama* are used in Old English. One oddity is that although the adjective *healt* is found in both Li and Ru translating *claudus* (or *cludus* / *clodus*), as is to be expected,[23] *lama* forms are

absent from the Northumbrian glosses, Li and the Durham Ritual manuscript as well as Ru². In addition, often the two words appear to be very similar in meaning, as, for example, in:

> He awende wæter to wine 7 eode ofer sæ. mid drium fotum.
> 7 he gestilde windas. mid his hæse. 7 he forgeaf blindum
> mannum gesihðe. 7 healtum 7 lamum rihtne gang. 7
> hreoflium smeðnysse. 7 hælu heora lichaman. dumbum he
> forgeaf getincnysse 7 deafum heorcnunge;
> [He turned water into wine and he walked in water with dry
> feet, and with his command he made the winds lie still, and
> he gave sight to the blind and a true ability to walk to the
> crippled and to lepers smooth skin and the health of their
> bodies. To the dumb he gave speech and to the deaf
> hearing.][24]

So, how far a true distinction was made in Old English between being paralised and incapable of movement and being less completely crippled is hard to tell. From the evidence of glossed gospel texts and the West Saxon Gospels, the adjective *healt* had about it the notion of crippled movement, more so than *lama* (or *-crypel* in the more northerly texts), but this apparent distinction may have resulted from the choice of specific equivalents for translating from Latin. In the *TOE* the data led us to create two parallel groups, 02.08.04.03 Paralysis and 02.08.04.04 State of being crippled, with the adjectives in the first of these groups, *adeadod, aslapen, aslegen* and *slapende*, indicating inability to move, whereas the second group deals with impaired movement. Action verbs are of course not found in the 'crippled' group, movement being unlikely for full paralysis. From a fuller examination of Old English *healt* and *lam-* words, it is clear that *lama* should also stand among these adjectives because of its use for more serious afflictions as well as of being impaired in movement.[25] Whereas for the self-standing *TOE* we made every attempt to cut back on multiple placings for forms, erring on the side of caution, the resultant under-representation of Old English word senses should be redressed in the forthcoming Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE);[26] and there the evidence for the changing uses of both *halt* and *lame* and of the forms etymologically related to them will be available. Already, however, it seems clear that in the Old English period *lam-* forms commanded a

wider field of meaning than did *healt*, and I should like to argue that *healt* was the central adjective for impaired movement.

That *healt* was the central Old English word for 'crippled, lame' is supported by the frequent collocation of *blind* and *halt* and the comparatively rare co-occurrence of *blind* and *lama*. In Ælfric's homilies, where there are frequent contexts requiring the concept, the pervasive form is *healt*. For 'bedridden, paralytic', his preferred word is *beddrida*: the *DOE* editors point out that although there are approximately thirty-five occurrences of *beddrida*, they are 'mainly in Ælfric'. He appears to use *lama* relatively infrequently (x 8, of which seven are in homilies and '*debilis* lama' in ÆGl 304.16). This is not, however, the choice of the West Saxon Gospels, where *lama* is general in translation of *paralyticus*. Across the last millennium the use of the adjective *halt* has fallen away, except in archaistic tags from older biblical translations or in poetic use, a gradual erosion in which *lame*, wider-ranging in reference in Old English than was *halt*, must have played a significant part. In modern English *lame* is clearly an adjective, but it is used generally of less severe disablement than paralysis.

The vocabulary to do with cripples, every bit as much as with the left-handed, is particularly liable to change and renewal.[27] In writing this note I am acutely conscious that Joyce, who has just retired from the directorship of the Equality Challenge Unit, must often have pondered on the inventiveness of insult and invective when dealing with issues of discrimination against the disabled. Could it be that *creopere*, *crypel* and *eorðcrypel* were a little blunt even to the Anglo-Saxon ear? That might explain the surprising infrequency of these words in Old English. I should like to speculate that the *Andreas* poet has left us another uncomfortable word when using the phrase 'helle hinca' of the devil. The Old English and early Middle English *hoferede* was succeeded by a multiplicity of cruel adjectives, among them *hunch-back*, an adjective that could well be cognate with *hinca*. The *OED* entry for the verb *hunch* notes its sudden appearance 'in the comb. *hunch-backed* substituted in the 2nd Quarto of Shakspere's *Richard III* (1598) iv. iv. 81, for the earlier and ordinary 16-17th c. word *bunch-backed*, which the 1st Quarto and all the Folios have here, and which all the Quartos and all the Folios have in the parallel passage i. iii. 246'.

Unusual words and forms appear in the vocabulary of invective, often massaged from written records, but a couple of clues remain to support the assumption that the word *hinca*, used in *Andreas* of the devil, is focused on crippled movement.[28] First, *hinca* can be aligned with the *(h)inca* found in glosses.[29] Secondly, in three of the glossed psalters, strange verb forms are added

by way of further clarification above the verb *claudicauerunt* in Psalm 17.46,[30] in PsGlG 'healtodon 1 hlyncoton' (Cot. Vit. E. xviii),[31] PsGlD 'healtodon 1 huncetton' (Royal 2. B. V),[32] and PsGlI 'ahealtedon & luncodon' (Lamb. 427),[33] Two of these, 'hlyncoton' and 'luncodon' are best reconciled as a weak verb **hincian*, and possibly the third also, unless it is interpreted as a cognate frequentative *huncettan*. The standard dictionaries provide an array of putative infinitives in explanation of these forms.[34] Clark Hall has **huncettan** 'to limp, halt', for the Regius Psalter form, and for the Lambeth form **luncian ?** 'to limp', hesitantly comparing Norwegian *lunke*.[35] Toller gives **huncettan** 'To limp, halt' for the Regius form, and opts for **hincian (?)** 'To limp, hobble, halt', reading the Lambeth form as *hincodon* and commenting '*In support of* hincian cf. *Icel.* hinka ; *p.* aði : O. H. Ger. hinchan; *p.* hanch *claudicare. See also* hinca.' The Vitellius Psalter (G) form 'hlyncoton' is registered under **hincian** by Campbell, who suggests that it stands for *hync-* although inscrutably he adds the Regius form alongside. But I have opened up a can of worms, because the only comparable forms to be found in the *OED* are the Scots verb *hink* (used by Henryson c. 1450 and Cleland 1697) and the Scots noun *hink* recorded as in use in Older Scots into the eighteenth century. The former is, according to the *OED*, very likely a borrowing from ON *hinka* 'to limp, hobble', and the latter probably from the verb *hink*, except that 'Some would identify it with OE. *inca* doubt, question, scruple. But the prefixing of a non-etymological *h* is against Scottish practice.' Yet *h*- is found in one of the extant Old English forms,[36] and it could be that the forms without it may have lost the etymological initial consonant.

Finally, if I have strayed a long way from the expression of the concept *crippled* in Old English, it is because of the range of words found, the immediate contexts in which they play a part, and the spotty distribution of some of the forms in play. That English should across time have lost from everyday use the adjective *halt* owes much to the inherent nature of the concept. So too, the surprisingly infrequent use of *-crypel* in the earliest records of English, together with the interesting distribution of the forms recorded, may suggest a feeling of discomfort about the very use of the word; alternatively *-crypel* may be seen as a northern form that took a long time to come into more southerly use. Our adjective *crippled* makes its first appearance in the fourteenth century in one of the early manuscripts of the northern version of *Cursor Mundi*, 1. 19048, in the Cotton Vespasian A. iii manuscript, and the *Middle English Dictionary* editors date it to 'a1400(a1325)',[37] refining on the *OED* date 'a 1300'. The parallel Göttingen text of the northern recension manuscript reads 'croked', another world

ill-attested in Old English and a reminder that, in a short note, it is as impossible to include discussion of the Old English adjectives dealing more generally with injury and disfigurement.

NOTES

[1] A. H. James and others, eds, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884-1933); Robert W. Burchfield, ed., *Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972-86); John A. Simpson and Edmund S. C. Weiner, eds, 2nd edn, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); John A. Simpson, Edmund S. C. Weiner and Michael Proffitt, eds, *Additions Series* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993-97); John A. Simpson, ed., 3rd edn (in progress) *OED Online*, March 2000-Oxford: Oxford University Press. www.oed.com.

[2] *Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A-F* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2003). Citations, unless other sources are given, are taken from the Toronto database: Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price-Wilkin, and Takamichi Ariga, *Dictionary of Old English Corpus on the World-Wide Web*, Society for Early English and Norse Electronic Texts (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997, rev. 2000).

[3] Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, eds, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 168 (§19) and p. 214 (§19).

[4] The *DOE* editors gather fifteen citations under *crypel* noun^2: 'narrow passage, drain; low opening' (x 14, of which x 13 are in Aldhelm glosses and x 1 in twelfth-century charter bounds Ch 1546 (Birch 684) 3 'swa andlang mores on fisclace innan crypeles heale'); 'lattice' (x 1 OccGl 49 7.6 '*per cancellos* ðurh crepelas'); and note its use also as a place-name element. These forms are clearly closely related semantically.

[5] The standard edition for both the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses is Walter W. Skeat, ed., *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions: Synoptically Arranged, with Collations Exhibiting all the Readings of all the MSS together with the Early Latin Version as Contained in the Lindisfarne MS., Collated with the Latin Version in the Rushworth MS.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1871-87). Farman's glosses (Ru^1) are to Matthew, Mark up to 2. 15 including 'hleonadun', and John 18. 1-3. Otherwise the glosses are by Owun (Ru^2).

[6] A. S. C. Ross, 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth One', *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1979), 194-98 (p. 198).

[7] Robert J. Menner, 'Farman vindicatus', *Anglia*, 58 (1934), 1-27 (p. 8).

[8] Unfortunately, manuscript loss prevents us from knowing how Owun, the second Rushworth glossator, dealt with *paralyticus* in his form of Northumbrian (Ru^2), which differs from Aldred's. For Owun, see Paul Bibire and Alan S. C. Ross, 'The Differences between Lindisfarne and Rushworth Two', *Notes and Queries*, 226 (1981), 98-116.

⁹   LkHeadGl (Li) 17: '*Paralyticum nudato tecto dimissum ante se et a peccatis et a paralysi curat* ðone eorðcrypel miððy gehreafad wæs hus forleton before him & from synnum & from crypelnise gemeð 1 gehæleð' [*A cripple being let down by an uncovered roof to in front of him, he heals him both from sins and palsy* the cripple with whom unroofed was house they left in front of him and from sins and from palsy he heals and cures].

¹⁰   The phrase is used by E. M. Treharne, ed., *The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s. 15 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1997), p. 1.

¹¹   Clayton and Magennis, eds, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, p. 103 and n. 24.

¹²   See *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles*, ed. by Kenneth R. Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) and *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, ed. by Jane Roberts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), where these words are discussed in the commentaries.

¹³   Alfred Bammesberger, 'Old English *lama* and its Morphological Analysis', *Notes and Queries*, 249 (2004), 342-44, argues for its classification as a masculine substantive with the meaning 'lame person, cripple'. There is some slight evidence, however, for its use as a modifying adjective even in Old English. Most convincing is the phrase found at Ælfric's *CH* II.6 (59.199) 'þes lama wædla' [this lame beggar] (behind which may lie ultimately 'egenus' [poor]: see Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 394). Cf. also PPs 108.22 'Alys me, lifes weard, forþan ic eom lama þearfa' ('quia egenus et pauper ego sum') [Deliver me, Guardian of life, because I am a lame pauper (because I am destitute and needy)]; *LS* 30 (Pantaleon) 185 'And þa cwæð pantaleon, <Hat> me bringan to <ænne><laman><man> & <hat><gangan> þine sacerdas to him' [And then Pantaleon said, 'Have a cripple brought to me and have your priest go to him'] (a similar reading is adopted by Phillip Pulsiano, 'The Old English Life of St Pantaleon', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall with assistance from Thomas D. Hill and Charles D. Wright (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 61-103 (p. 83, ll. 182-84), against the facing Latin text 'Pantaleon respondit, "Iube unum paraliticum affere de his qui in ciuitate iacent, et ueniant sacerdotes tui"' [Pantaleon replied, 'Ask for a cripple to be brought from among those who are lying about the city, and let your priests come'].

¹⁴   See 02.08.04.04 in *A Thesaurus of Old English*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy, King's College London Medieval Studies, 11, 2 vols (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1995; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000; also at: http://libra.englang.arts.gla.ac.uk/oethesaurus/, 2005).

¹⁵   GenA 903 and Rid 77.1 reflect the word's elements literally: 'without feet, footless'.

¹⁶   PrudGl 1 (Meritt) 566.

¹⁷ CorpGl 2 (Hessels) 10.296 '*Lurdus* lemphalt'; EpGl (Pheifer) 450 '*lurdus* laempihalt'; ClGl 1 (Stryker) 3597 '*Lurdus* lemphealt'; ClGl 3 (Quinn) 45 '*Lurdus* lemphealt'; ErfGl 1 (Pheifer) 589 '*lurdur* lemphihalt'; LdGl 47.45 '*lurdus* lemphald'.

¹⁸ This is the only citation for *limpolding* in *The Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath, Sherman Kuhn and Robert Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001).

¹⁹ H. J. R. Murray, 'The Mediæval Game of Tables', *Medium Ævum*, 10 (1941), 57-69 (p. 61).

²⁰ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 311 (no. 16, ll. 131, 135).

²¹ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1979), p. 154 (no. 15, l. 134). Note that *limbless* is recorded five times only in the *OED*, with the explanation 'Having no limbs, deprived of a limb or limbs': the 1594 and first 1624 citation might be interpreted more narrowly as 'crippled, disabled', the second 1624 citation as '(Of the Eucharist) without movement' and the 1770 and 1881 citations as '(Of creatures or trees) having no limbs'.

²² Compare the related noun *unfernes* (x 2), placed in the *TOE* in 05.09 under the heading 'Impotence, infirmity'.

²³ Cf. Bammesberger, 'Old English *lama*', p. 344, who points out that the Old English translation of *claudus* is *healt*.

²⁴ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, p. 187 (no. 1, ll. 254-58).

²⁵ Its presence already in the group should be noted within the noun phrase 'laman legeres adl', mistakenly placed alongside '.To be paralysed' instead of alongside 'Paralysis'. The elements of this phrase, used in the translations both of Bede (178.34) and of Gregory's *Dialogues* (GDPref and 4 (C) 283.25), are unsettled.

²⁶ For up-to-date information about this project, see: http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESLL/EngLang/thesaur/homepage.htm.

²⁷ This is clear from the numbers of forms listed in the HTE files. Interestingly, two of today's commonest overarching terms, *disabled* and *handicapped*, go back as far as 1837 and 1915 respectively.

²⁸ Listed for 'cripple' in the *HTE* files. The plural noun *adloman* in *Guthlac B*, equally a jeering taunt, needs no further justification as 'fire-maimed wretches' or 'cripples', once compared with the words *vulcanist* and *vulcan* recorded in the *OED* for 'cripple' in 1656 and 1682. See *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, p. 163.

²⁹ The initial *h* is found only in OccGl 45.1.2 (Meritt) C45.1.2 315 *scrupulo* hincan; five forms without initial *h-* are found glossing *scrupulum* in AldV 1 4079 (in layers B and C), AldV 13.1 4198, AntGl 2 112 and ClGl 3 1143.

[30] Forms of *healtian* 'to cease haltingly or hesitatingly from (a way or course); to fall away' are found in eleven glossed psalters and in the Old English Bede 472.19 '& fram rihtum stigum healtiað'.

[31] *The Vitellius Psalter*, ed. by James L. Rosier, Cornell Studies in English, 42 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

[32] Fritz Roeder, *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 18 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1904).

[33] *Der Lambeth Psalter*, ed. by Uno L. Lindelöf, Acta societatis scientiarum Fennicae, 35, i and 43, iii (Helsinki: Societas Fennicae, 1909, 1914). Lindelöf (ii, 321) compares 'luncedon' with Swedish and Norwegian forms *lunka* and *lunke* and with a Shetland verb 'to lunk'. These forms are all noted by Toller in his entry under **hincian (?)**.

[34] These three psalter glosses are not recorded in T. Northcote Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898), but relevant discussion is to be found in Toller's *Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921) and in Alistair Campbell's *Revised and Enlarged Addenda* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[35] John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, with suppl. by Herbert D. Meritt, 4th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 222, under **'luncian ?'**.

[36] See note 29 above.

[37] *The Middle English Dictionary*, under **lame** (adj.).