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THE ALLITERATIVE PHRASES IN THE ORMULUM.

No student of Old and Middle English can fail to be grateful to Dr. J. P. Oakden for the remarkable collection of alliterative phrases in Part III of his recent *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: A Survey of the Traditions* (Manchester University Press, 1935), but his treatment of one text in particular calls for certain criticisms. On pages 258-61 of his book he gives a list of the alliterative phrases in *The Ormulum*, including in his table of comparison (p. 378) the number of phrases Orm has in common with various texts and groups of texts in Old and Middle English. He has, however, omitted at least two-thirds of Orm's phrases and consequently the statements based on this material are extremely misleading. He categorically states (p. 257) "Orm's long paraphrase yields 109 alliterative phrases," noting further (p. 258) "Orm's phrases are somewhat few in number." Far from this being true, Orm makes great use of alliteration, often mechanically,¹ but sometimes with admirable effect as in his *slætenn affterr sawless* "to hunt for souls", *herrtess hus* and *drinnkenn dæþess drinnch*.² The following passage illustrates the part sometimes played by alliteration in *The Ormulum*:

Forr hæpenndom & hæpenn lif
 & hæpenn follkess herrte
 Iss harrd & starrc all allse stan,
 Unnmeoc & all unnmilde,
 & arelæs & grimme & grill,
 & butenn rihht rewwsunnge,
 & drizze & all wipputenn dæw
 Off Hali3 Gastess frofre,
 & stunnt & stidi3, dill & slaw
 To sekenn sawless seollþe,
 & dumb & dæf, & blind off Godd
 To cnawenn & to cwemenn. (9877-88).

¹ Or with what Dr. Oakden refers to as "painful recurrence."

² Found also in *Ayenbite* 130.

The large error in the number of Orm's phrases naturally renders the numerical comparisons with Old and Middle English of little value. On p. 257 Oakden writes "Very few . . . seem to be of native origin. Fourteen are found in Old English religious poetry and twenty-two in Old English homiletic prose." Among the examples of additions to these numbers are several phrases of especial interest in that they are otherwise rare or unrecorded in Middle English, such as *biddenn* & *bedenn* and *mahhtiz* & *mære* (both in Wulfstan), *millce* & *mildherrtlez3c* (cf. *miltse* and *mildheortnesse* in Wulfstan), and *þolenn ne þafenn* (found in Old English religious poetry). Additional phrases of native origin, paralleled in Oakden's Old English lists, will be found in the list below. The statistics are also misleading in that Oakden has many omissions in his Old English lists. Though he includes Orm's *drerizmod* & *dreofedd* he omits Old English *dreorig* & *gedrefed*³ from p. 199; he gives a Middle English example of *a buten ende* on p. 236 (though he omits Orm's examples) but not Old English *a butan ende*⁴; neither Old English *mennisc mann*⁵ nor Orm's *mann mennissh* occurs in his lists.

As to comparison with other Middle English texts, Oakden states (p. 258): "That few of Orm's phrases occur in later Middle English is not surprising, for quite evidently he coined many new phrases, which, like his work, never became popular."⁶ This statement cannot stand.

In the first place Oakden has not noticed that several of the phrases he himself lists from *The Ormulum* do occur in the later verse he has examined. As examples may be cited *zemenn* & *gætenn* which is found in *Havelok* 2690 as *zeme* & *gete* (to be added to Oakden's list on p. 327),⁷ *rowwst* & *reord* found in *The*

³ *Beowulf* 1417.

⁴ *Blickling Homilies* 131.

⁵ Alfred's *Boethius* xxxiii, § 1.

⁶ What is the evidence for Orm's many "coined" phrases? A large majority of his phrases is to be found either in Old and Middle English or Old Norse.

⁷ Cf. the remark on p. 315: "No specifically 'Orm' phrases survive (sc. in the rhyming romances), which is not surprising." Another interesting parallel with *Havelok*—**wrezhenn* & *wrabbenn*—appeared on one of the now missing leaves of the Ormulum MS.; see N. R. Ker, *Times Lit. Suppl.*, Nov. 14, 1936, p. 928.

Wars of Alexander 488 as *rowste & verid* (to be added on p. 299),⁸ and *fihtenn zæn þe flæsh* found in *Handlyng Synne* 8434 and 8495 (to be added on p. 366).

In the second place Oakden has not noticed in *The Ormulum* many of the phrases he includes in his lists from other Middle English texts. The total of such omissions is at least seventy, of which typical examples are *fell & flæsh*, *serrzhe & sit*, and *witt & wissdom*.

In the third place certain phrases are omitted both from the *Ormulum* list and from the lists of other Middle English texts and groups of texts. Examples of phrases thus completely omitted are *godd & gode menn* which occurs also in *Pers Plowman* and *Minot*⁹ and should have been included in the lists on pp. 284 and 346; *haldenn harrde* which is found also in *The Lament of the Monk* 7 (to be added on p. 346); *lætenn lihhtliȝ* which occurs for example in *The Wars of Alexander* 2557 (to be added on p. 288); and *standenn stallwurrþliȝ* "to resist" which occurs in *Handlyng Synne* 7181 and 7511 (to be added on p. 367).

In addition to the above evidence for the large number of Orm's phrases which do occur in later Middle English, it should be noted that many others are to be found in texts not examined by Oakden. It is impossible to deal with this point in small space but as examples may be cited the following:—from Oakden's *Ormulum* list, *bitterr & bezzsc*, *deop & dærne*, *wraþþe & wræche*; from additions to this, *dærne dedess*, *kiþenn Cristess come*, *sawle sallfe*, *slan sawle*, *biswikenn sawle*, *þiss & tatt*, *war & wirrsenn*, *wislike & wel*; for all of these further examples are to hand in the *New English Dictionary*.

Finally it must be pointed out that in detail the treatment of *The Ormulum* is inaccurate. The following are examples from one section of the book. In his list of alliterative phrases in Chaucer (pp. 372-8) Oakden marks twenty-two of these phrases

⁸ Reference to the N.E.D. (of which inadequate use has been made throughout the book) would have given both these examples.

⁹ See C. T. Onions, *Times Lit. Suppl.* Aug. 13, 1931, p. 621.

as occurring in *The Ormulum* (and consequently puts this number in his table on p. 378). The first phrase so marked is *buddes and blomes*, an obvious error (the word *bud* is of late appearance in Middle English) due to mis-reading a slip with Orm's *brodd & blome* on it. I do not think the combination *horsemen, haukes, houndes* can be paralleled in *The Ormulum* or that Chaucer's *swor and sayde* can be found there; Oakden indeed gives as a phrase in *The Ormulum* (p. 260) *sware & se3zdenn* with the line reference 15585, but this passage runs *Sume off þa Judisskenn menn . . . Himm 3æfenn sware & se3zdenn!* Consequently his own number for the phrases common to the two authors should be 19, though actually many others in his Chaucer list do occur in *The Ormulum*, for example *bidde bedes, gaderud togider, gilt forgive, yaf up gost, harde and hevy*, etc. Oakden has moreover not heeded Orm's admonition (Dedication 103 ff.):

& tatt he loke wel þatt he
 An bocstaff write twi3zess,
 E33whær þær itt uppo þiss boc
 Iss writenn o þatt wise.

In his list of Orm's phrases there are over twenty examples of these and other misspellings. Over a dozen line references also are misprinted.

I give below a list of the alliterative phrases in *The Ormulum*,¹⁰ including, for convenience of reference, the phrases already listed by Oakden, which are placed between square brackets. When one of the additional phrases is included in Oakden's lists from other texts, I give (in round brackets) a page reference to his book,¹² as evidence for the criticism of his statistics of comparison that I have made above. No attempt has been made to indicate whether the phrases occur elsewhere in Old

¹⁰ References are to the Holt-White edition of *The Ormulum*; for the two phrases (starred in my list) from the erased text see S. Holm, *Corrections and Additions in the Ormulum Manuscript*, p. 28.

¹¹ I have given some additional line references. I have omitted "millce 3ife maht (sic), 14464" as the passage is: *þatt he þe33m . . . þurh hiss millce 3ife mahht To betenn þe33re sinne*; for "sware & se3zdenn," see the footnote to S.

¹² I give only one Old English and one Middle English reference.

and Middle English; I hope later to compare in detail Orm's phrases with those of certain other texts. Uncertain examples of phrases are given in footnotes at the end of each letter.¹³

a butenn ende, 21, 8764, etc. (ME. p. 236). a wiþputenn ende, 4208. æfre a butenn ende, 2090, 4827.

ædmodnesse & are, 19272. off are, off æddmodle33c, 19297. all & æfre, 16941.

all till ende, 16089. Cf. 1892.¹⁴

bafftenn þin bacc, 14688.

bede biddenn, Ded. 330, 1149, etc. (ME. p. 236).

[unnbedenn & unnbonedd, 17081.]

biddenn & bedenn, 18337. (OE. p. 213).

[biddenn beness, 11157, 11166.] Cf. wiþþ þa boness bidde we . . . , 5356.

bindenn wiþþ bandess, 3680-1. Cf. 2971. (ME. p. 269).

bite brædess, 8640.

[bitterr & be33sc, 6698.]

[blunnt & blind, 16954.]

tobollenn & toblawenn, 8080.

brad & brihht, 3431, 7272.

[bracc & braþþe, 1233.]

breme & bollzhen, 7197.

utbresstenn off þe deofless band, 61. (Cf. OE. p. 213, ME. p. 237).

bridlenn bodi3, 11664.

[brodd & blome, 10773. broddenn & blomenn, 10769.]

brohht & birrledd, 15225.

[brukenn . . . blisse, Ded. 320, 644, etc.]

buzhenn till þiss bridgumess bodeword, 18465-6. (ME. *bowe(d)* to his bode, p. 270).

¹³ I have omitted phrases containing cognate objects from my own collection, unless these occur elsewhere in Oakden's lists, although several such additions could be made, as *childenn child* 2865, *fall fallenn* 11862, *ladenn ladd*, 19313. I have also omitted such compounds as *domessda*33 and *kaserrking*. Like Oakden, I have included all types of s and s-group phrases, such as *stalles* & *sætess*, *sen* & *shawenn*.

¹⁴ þurh Cristess are & þurh ærist, 15034, 15050. atell adle, 4803.

[forrbundenn & forrblendedd, 13775.] Cf. forrbindeþþ . . . & blendeþþ, 4524-5.¹⁵

[cherl & child, 14788.]¹⁶

dærne dedess, 396, 9714. Cf. dærnelike don, 7370.

dærne dizhellnesse, 12945. (OE. *dyrne ond degol*, p. 204; cf. ME. p. 238).

dæþess drinnch, 15224, 15388. drinnkenn d.d., 1374, 14380.

[dale & dun, 13264, 14568.]

o . . . daless dæledd, 8266, 8326, etc. (OE. p. 203, ME. p. 252).

deþenn ifel dæþ, 15436. (ME. *deþ dey*, p. 278).

demmd to dæþe, 872. (OE. p. 203, ME. p. 238).

[deop & dærne, 11970, 13721, etc.]

[deope dizhellnesse, 5501, 14857, 15347.]

[þurrrh dom demmd, 17703, 18968.] demenn att te Dom, 10556.

o Domess daþþ to demenn, 19890.

domess dizhellnesse, 18429.

[don dede, Ded. 112, Pref. 15, etc.]

do þe nu þurrrh þe sellfenn dun, 11357, 11899.

draþhenn dun, 19879. (ME. p. 279). draþheþþ aþþ dunnwarrrd inntill þe dæþ off helle, 19053-4.

[dredenn Godess dom, 18174.]

drefedd & forrdredd, 147.

[drerizmod & dreofedd, 6541.]

[drinnkenn drinnch, 165, 807.]

[dumb & dæf, 9887, 15500.]

dwellenn ne draþhenn fra daþþ to daþþ, 9938-9.¹⁷

ekedd to þin ahhte, 6123.

eorþlic ahhte, 4673, 5667, etc.

wiþþ erþlic eþhe, 19241, 19387, etc.

¹⁵ berenn bliþeliþ, 3616. betenn bliþeliþ, 6252. bliþe . . . blisse, 6428-9; (ME. p. 236). boc uss biþdeþþ, 13064. (wambe wass) till þatt bridgume bure, 14169. bulltedd bræd, 992.

¹⁶ chewweþþ . . . hiss cude, 1236-7.

¹⁷ driþþe & all wiþþutenn dæw, 9883. Drihtin draþenn, 5600, 6179.

Faderr & Frofre Gast, 10554.

[falls & flærd, 7334, 10027, etc.]

farenn forþ, 3456, 3460, 6406. (OE. p. 205, ME. p. 252).

fasst & findiz, 1602.

[fedenn & fosstrenn, 1558, 6853, 8890.] Rev. 2080.

[fedenn . . . frofrenn, 11559.]

fell & flæsh, 8591. (OE. p. 229, ME. p. 240).

ferrseenn þe ne fleen, 19663-4.

[ferrseenn & flittenn, 14207, 15653.] Rev. 18038-9.

[fihhtenn 3æn þe flæsh, 11477.]

fihhtenn forr hiss hallghe folc, 18130.

fillenn fetless, 14037, 15171. (OE. p. 220).

fillenn & follghenn, 4549, 4583, 10252. Rev. Ded. 21, 2691, etc.

[fillenn & forþenn, 4137, 18403.]

filledd & frofredd, 13247.

fillstnenn wiþþ fe, 6170.

findiz & unnfakenn, 4149, 13327, etc.

[fisskenn affterr fisskess, 13297.]

fletenn forþ, 18093.

flittenn & farenn, Pref. 40.

þurh fode filledd, 5691-2.

follghenn flæsh, 17258, 17777.

onnfon fulluhht, 10918-9. unnderrfon fulluhht, 15993, 18138-9.
(OE. p. 220).

forþerrlike ne fullike, 19739-40. (Cf. OE. *so ful and so forth*,
p. 230).

forþenn fasste, 11333, 12427, etc.

freondess fode, 3191, 9132.

frummþe off frummþe 18567.

fullfremeddlike fillenn, 5135, 10751.

[fullhtnedd i flumm, 5940, 10802, etc.]

fullhtnenn (folc) inn haliz funnt, 19575, 19723. (ME. p. 240).¹⁸

gaddrenn togeddre, 13407. (ME. p. 283).

¹⁸ fillenn ferrs, Ded. 64. flæshess fule . . . , 6031, 6033, etc. flocc . . . folc, 10077
10544. himm & hiss folc to frofrenn, 1029.

gate gannenn, 8216. whillc gate itt zede, 14577. (ME. p. 284).
gate gre33þenn, 11088.

[gilltenn gillt, 6018, 17543.]

gilltenn Godd onnzæness, 5149. Cf. 2619-20, 3126-7. Godd
ne gillteþþ næfre, 11638, etc.

gilltenn grimmeli3, 4494.

[glowennde gledess, 1067, 1741.]

Godd & gode menn, 5268, 8975. Cf. the collocation of *god* and
Godd, 13647, 19368.

Godd & Godess a3henn Gast, 19463.

Godess Gast, 259, 1933, etc.

Godess genge, 8032.

Godess griþþ, 3960.

Godess zife, 247, 3029, etc. (OE. p. 214). zife off Godd, 13764,
13788, etc.

[gramm & grill, 7145, 7159, etc. Rev. 7196-7.]

*gredi3 & ziferr, 10217-8 (erased text). (OE. p. 205).

[gre33þenn & zarrkenn, 9521, greþþedd & zarrkedd, 1579.]
Rev. 98, 9158.

[grimme & grill, 9881.]¹⁹

[zemenn & gætenn, 3765, 3797, etc.]

zaff hiss fule gast, 8111. (OE. p. 214, ME. p. 240).

zife zifenn, 5488. (OE. p. 220; cf. ME. p. 284).

forrzifenn gilltess, 1143. Cf. 5452-3. (OE. p. 214, ME. p. 284).

zittsunng & gredi3nesse, 4697, 3. & gredi3le33c, 4560—see next.

*zittsunng & ziferrle33c, 4560 (erased text). (OE. p. 214, ME.
p. 253).

[hæfedd & heorrte, 6469.]

hæfedd & hirde off Cristess hird, 13324.

hælennde & hellpe & god upphald, 9217.

hal off unnhæle, 15519. halsumm zæn unnhæle, 10040.

haldenn harrde, 14783.

haldenn & hidd, 7380. Rev. 14067. (Cf. OE. *gehyt and*
oðhielt, p. 221 among examples of *hydan and helan*).

¹⁹ gladenn Godd, 1128. þatt illke gode gast, 179, 12614.

- haldenn forr hindderrlinng, 4860, 4888.
 hald upp þin hand, 14684. (ME. p. 287).
 haliz hus, 13368, 16306.
 halls & hæfedd, 4777. (ME. p. 286).
 halsumm & haliz, 13445.
 [hannd & herrte, 4445, 13443.]
 harrd & haliz, 1612, 1630, 3230.
 harrd & hefi3, 1442. (ME. p. 374).
 þiss hat tatt wass bihatenn, 13822-3. (OE. p. 221).
 hatenn wiþþ herrte, 5041, 5051, 6279.
 hefenn upp wiþþ hannd, 14676. (OE. p. 221; cf. ME. p. 241).
 he3he & hall3he, 12653. (OE. p. 205, ME. p. 241).
 he3hesst inn heoffne, 1055, 2146. he3he towarrd heoffne,
 6057. (ME. p. 327).
 he3hedd & hofenn upp, 2648-9. upphofenn he3he, 12148. (OE.
 p. 221, ME. p. 241).
 hellpe & hald, 5026, 6590, etc. Rev. 6891, 19336.
 hellpe & hirde, 3193, 9134.
 off heoffne unntill helle, 1399. (OE. p. 206, ME. p. 287).
 heoffness here, 3946.
 heorrte iss harrd, 1596, 9878-9; cf. 1574-5. (OE. p. 221, ME.
 p. 285).
 herrte iss hofenn upp, 2749.
 herrtess hus, 7374.
 hi3 & hope, 2777.
 hihht & hope, 3816.
 hird & hus, 563.
 hofenn upp & hadedd, 10881.
 [hope & hellpe, 6889.]
 [hus & ham, 1608.]
 hus . . . hewenn, 593-4, 607-8. (ME. *hus ant hinen*, p. 242).²⁰
- icchenn uppwardd, 11833. Cf. 8123.
 ifell ende, 5053.

²⁰ hat herrtess (lufe &) lust, 14206, 15646, etc. hefi3 hunngerr, 8624. he3he uppo þe rhof, 11351, (11739); (OE. p. 206). herrcnenn Godess word & haldenn itt, 11723-4.

[wīppinnenn & wīpputenn, 1603, 12156.]

[kafe & kene, 19962.]

king & kemmpe, 3587.

[king off alle kingess, 344, 6671, etc.]

kiþenn Cristess come, 19372, 19384.

unnclene & unncweme, 7327, 9724.

[cnawenn & cunnenn, 15631, 16541. Rev. 12629, 18849.]

cnawenn & cwemenn, 9888.

[cwennkenn & cwellenn, 6751.] Cf. 4446-7.²¹

[læredd & læwedd, 967, 1680, 19930. Rev. 846, 1021.]

lætenn lihhtli3, 16517.

lætenn litell, 15474. lætenn lasse, 4896.

la3he leod, 9319, 10231.

la3hess & lakess, 7213, 7219.

la3he & lif, 19785. Cf. lif & la3hess lade, 9365-6.

la3heboc & lare, 9627. lare . . . la3he, 19796-7. (OE. p. 215, ME. p. 288).

la3heboc þatt he wass læredd onne, 17332-3. (Cf. ME. *lawe to lere*, p. 289).

la3helize ledenn, 4615, 6173, 6223. unnlazhelize ledenn, 15867.

lahhzhenn lhude, 8142. (OE. p. 206, ME. p. 242).

[lakenn & lutenn, 6417, 6633. Rev. 6139, 6657, etc.]

lanngel libbenn, 7602. (OE. p. 230, ME. p. 243).

lare . . . læfe, 15372-3, 17221-2. (ME. p. 242).

off lare unnlæredd, 17329. (OE. p. 222, ME. p. 242).

lare & lif, 17900. Rev. 16861, 16867, 18066-7. (OE. p. 222).

lasse . . . lah3hre, 3745-6.

laþe lasst, 4558, 5068, etc.

[ledenn lif, 125, 435, etc.]

lefenn upponn himm & lufenn himm, 19131-2, 19229-30, etc.

(OE. p. 215, ME. p. 242).

²¹ kinde cnawenn, 13055, 18740, etc. kinn . . . childre, 9837-8; cf. 3878. corn & chaff, 10542. Cristess come, 56, 178, etc. Crist & hiss come, 7249, 13767, 16891. Crist & cristenndom, Pref. 43; cf. 5306. Crist to cweme, 4571, 7784; cwemenn Crist, 1631, 2695, etc.

lefenn onn himm & lutenn himm, 7310.

[lefftenn & lutenn, 2488, 2755. Rev. 2658, 2662, etc.]

[lende & lesske, 4776.]

lendenn to lande, 2141-2. (ME. p. 355).

leornenn lare, 9309, 13159, etc. (OE. p. 215, ME. p. 242).

[lif & læfe, 164, 11708.]

lif . . . forrlætenn, 3768-9. (OE. p. 201, ME. p. 243).

lif lasstenn, 3247, 5307, etc. (OE. p. 230, ME. p. 243).

[lif & lust, 1628, 3228.]

[lifenn & lasstenn, 18800, 18821, etc.] Rev. 18817.

[liff & land, 3684, 17533, 17567.]

[lihht & leome, 1906, 3341, etc.] Rev. 19091.

lisstenn till lare, 8574, 11027, 18491. (ME. p. 243).

lofenn & lutenn, 1269. Cf. 207-8.

bilokenn & bilappedd, 14267, 14271.

[lufe (& hope) & læfe, 2704, 8318.]

lufe off eorþliz loff, 10009, 10742, 15878.

[lufe & lust, Ded. 295, 2759, etc.]

lufenn & lofenn, 3880-1, 5002-3. (ME. *lufe and louyng*, p. 362).

luffsumm onn to lokenn, 3583, 3585. (ME. *louelye to looke vpon*, p. 292).

lutenn þine lah3hre, 4951. lutenn & lefftenn hire lahre, 2743-4, 2769-70; cf. 2755-6. (Cf. ME. *loute lowe*, p. 292).²²

macchess mæne, 1948, 2448, etc.

mahhtiz & mære, 806. (OE. p. 215).

an ma33denn himm to moderr, 3511. (Cf. OE. p. 215, ME. p. 331).

ma33stre off all mannkinn, 12982.

mann mennissh, 18941.

[meoc & milde, 667-8, 1313, etc. Rev. 1252, 1258, etc.]
Cf. 9880.

efennmete & efennmahhtiz, 18570-1. Cf. efennmete i mahhte,
15721.

²² bilæf o life, 7666. læn forrlesenn, 2278. læredd led, 7446, 7458. læwedd leode, 1155. lef laferd, 8652, 9312. leom þatt ledeþþ, 11096-7; lihht & lem þatt ledeþþ, 17839-40, 18949-50. lihht off rihhte læfe, 18944; lihhtenn . . . læfe, 19004, 19028, etc. heffness lihht & hefennlike lare, 17827-8.

[mett & mæp, 2573, 4584, etc.]

millice & mildhertle33c, 1476. (OE. *miltse and mildheortnesse*, p. 215).²³

[bi name nemmedd, Ded. 324, 479, etc.]

nittenn att nede, 6159, 12245. Cf. notenn . . . nede, 12228-9.

oppnedd & awwnedd, 7650.

[ord & ende, 6775, 17736, etc.]

[ræd & run, 6892, 6894, 18719.]

raþenn himm þe bettste raþ, 2948. (Cf. OE. *rædan ræd*, p. 224, ME. p. 245).

raþenn rihht, 5514. (Cf. ME. *rede ryzt*, p. 298).

[reccnenn & rimenn, 11217, 11291-2.]

[resste & ro, 4190, 4972, etc.]

[rippenn & ræfenn, 9320, 10204, 10212.]

[rowwst & reord, 9569.]²⁴

[sahhtlenn & sammnenn, 19286.]

sahhtnesse settenn, 3941. (ME. p. 255).

[sake & sinne, 1127, 1335, etc.]

sammtale & sahhte, 1535, 5731.

sawle sallfe, 13489. sawless ezhesallfe, 1852.

sawle(ss) sellþe, Pref. 102, 9886.

sed þatt deofless æfre sawenn, 5070-1. (ME. p. 246).

se33d(e) & sett(e), 11931, 19331, etc.

seggenn soþ, 12256, 19945, etc. (OE. p. 201, ME. p. 246).

seggenn sikerr soþ, 18591, 18635, etc.

se33d o Latin spæche, 1045. wiþþ openn spæche seggenn, 10294,

10975, etc. (OE. *sæde þas spræce*, p. 224).

sekenn sakess, 10211.

[sellþe & sel, 14304, 17896.]

²³ att te33re ma33stress muþ, 19539. mahhte iss mikell . . . & mast off alle mahhtess, 10120-2. meocle33c onn3æness modi3nesse, 6276-7. mett & soþ meocnesse, 2702, 8316.

²⁴ re33senn rihhtwisnesse, 5685; soþ & rihht to re33senn, 16141. rihht rewwsunne, 9882; rihht reowwsunnd, 8799. rixlenn i (Rome) riche, 8304-5. rume riche, 3689.

- sen & shæwenn, 7032. (OE. p. 224).
 sen þurrh . . . sihhþe, 5799, 12112-3. (OE. p. 216, ME. p. 301).
 sen & underrstandenn, Ded. 48, 318, etc.
 [sennde an sanderrmann, 18883.]
 serrzhe & sit, 4852, 7967. (ME. p. 302).
 [serrhfull . . . & sari3, 8945.]
 sett wiþþ deore staness, 8176.
 sett att te ster to sterenn, 15258-9.
 [shæd & skill, 5534, 5558, etc. Rev. 1210, 1226, etc.]
 [shædenn fra sinne, 7567.]
 shaffte sterenn, 3679. Cf. shop . . . stereþþ, 12558-9.
 [shame & shande, 11956.]
 [shamenn & shendenn, 1999, 4965, etc.] Rev. 1985-6.
 shapp ummbesherenn, 4084, 4132, etc.
 shene & smikerr, 13679.
 [shippennd off alle/allre shaffte, 346, 11596.] shop shaffte,
 18789, 19106.
 [shridd wiþþ hali3 shrud, 137.]
 shriffte off sinness, 6613, 9270, etc. (ME. *schryuen of hys synne*,
 p. 335).
 sihhþe shæwenn, 228.
 sikenn sare, 7924. (ME. p. 262).
 sikenn sare & suhhzhenn, 7924.
 singenn sang, 3374, 3922-3. (OE. p. 216, ME. p. 246).
 sinness fule stinnch, 1208.
 sittenn onn sæte, 5807. (ME. p. 302).
 skapenn & shamenn & shendenn, 4964-5. (Cf. ME. *schame and
 skathe*, p. 335).
 scrennkenn sawless, 1405, 2618.
 slætenn affterr sawless, 13485.
 slan sawle, 2092, 4439.
 sleckenn sinness, 10124.
 smeredd & sallfedd, 13243.
 [smeþe & soffte, 9666.]
 [soffte & stille, 1307, 1312, etc.]
 spacc . . . & se33de, 9288, 11139, etc. (ME. p. 246).

- spekenn . . . spæche, 19751-2. (ME. p. 303).
 [spekenn & spellenn, 15987.]
 sprungenn & streded, 560. Cf. 511.
 stalless & sætess, 11854.
 wiþþstandenn & wiþþseggen, 7646, 11480, 17826.
 standenn . . . i stall, 2145, 18432-3. (ME. p. 304).
 standenn stallwurrþli3, 11947.
 [standenn stille, 2137, 3643, etc.]
 [standenn stille & stinntenn, 12844.]
 standenn o strande, 19450.
 starrc allse stan, 9879.
 starrc & stedefasst, 1596-7.
 [stizhenn uppo strande, 10673, 11155.]
 [strang & stedefasst, 4148, 13326, etc.]
 streded i sinne, 12443, 19530.
 [streonenn streon, 323, 327, etc.]
 [stunnt & stidi3, 9885.]
 sune streonenn, 704, 18568, etc. Cf. Godess azhenn stren &
 Godess sune, 19197-8.
 [sutell & sene, 18862.]
 swete slæpess, 7043. (ME. *swote þu slepest*, p. 247).
 [swete stinnkenn, 8194.] swete stinnchess, 7860.
 [swinnc & swat, 1616.]
 swollzhenn menness sawless, 10224.²⁵
- tæchenn & turrenn, 7442.
 tæmenn tæm, 2415. (OE. p. 216).
 takenn ne trowwenn, 16689. Cf. toc wiþþ trowwþe, 2824.
 tellenn bi tale, 4550-1. (ME. p. 247).
 [tiddrenn & tæmenn, 18307, 18892.]
 tihhtenn & turrenn, 7048.

²⁵ sawle shapenn, 11505, 17583. seggen shorrtli3, 13012-3, 13020-1. bisett wiþþ (seffne) innse33less, Ded. 260. shæwenn shorrtli3, 13026-7. shridd wiþþ scone shafftess, 17602. soþ sahhtnesse, Pref. 68, 3941, 5737. soþ sihhþe off soþfasstnesse, 17105. spedenn wiþþ spell, 1522. spellenn ne shæwenn, 10887-8. wiþþ stafess spelldredd, 16347. i faderr stoke streonedd, 9778. [3ifenn sware & seggen, 9290, 15585, etc.]; cf. anndswerenn & seggen, 2036. biswikenn . . . sawle, 5190-1.

[trigg & trowwe, Pref. 69, 6177, 12181.]

[turrnenn & tawwenn, 15903, 15908.]

þiss & tatt, 19430.

pohht & þæw, 7328. Cf. 1593-4.

þolenn ne þafenn, 5456-7. (OE. p. 208, ME. p. 248).

þolenn wiþþ fullfremedd þild, 1576. Cf. 2603-4. (Cf. ME.

þuldeliche heo hit þolede, p. 248).

[unnitt & idell, Ded. 82, 4921, 15127.]

wæpnedd wel, 4768, 4787, etc.

wac & wicke, 6185.

[wanndrap & wa, 4846.]

war & wirrsenn, 4782.

[warre & wise, 18313.]

wasshenn . . . warrmenn, 2711.

weddedd were & wif, 4614. Cf. 4604.

[weddenn wifmann, 10407-8.]

we3ze & werrc, 18068.

wel & wurrþlike, 1033, 1691. Rev. 17599.

unnwemmedd wambe, 1934, 1938, 2816.

wendenn awe33, 11396, 12528, etc. (ME. p. 309).

wendenn ut off weorelld, 7620. (ME. p. 309).

wenenn wel, 1993, 8140, etc.

[wepenn & wanenn, 5653, 8128.]

wiþþ weppmann weddedd, 2050.

[weppmann & wifmann, 3058, 3060, etc.]

[were & wif, 320, 4614, etc.]

werelld weldenn, 16549. (ME. p. 309).

[weorelld wrohhte, 3319, 4883, etc.]

werenn wiþþ wiþerrþeod, 10227.

werrc & will, 8065.

wesste & forrworppenn, 9580. Cf. 11429-30.

whiderrwarrd he wendeþþ, 16669, 17295.

wilde wesste, 894, 1337, etc. Cf. 11415. (Cf. ME. *a wilsom*

wast and wild, p. 308).

- wille wirrkenn, 9342. (OE. p. 202, ME. p. 250).
 [wille & witt, 17577. Rev. Ded. 296, Ded. 316, etc.]
 winnenn þurh . . . wæpenn, 801-2, 12310-1, etc. (OE. p. 216).
 winntredd wif, 453, 2309.
 [wirrkenn werrc, Ded. 24, 6244, etc.]
 wirrkenn win off waterr, 11080-1, 14300, etc.
 wislike & wel, 4810.
 wiss wiþputenn wen, 4326. (Cf. ME. *y wis and nouzt at wene*,
 p. 342).
 witezhunng(ss) writt, 15298, 15346. Cf. 15149-50.
 [witenn wel, Ded. 110, 317, etc.]
 witenn fuliwiss, w. full wiss, 2529, 6382, 7214. (ME. *wite þu*
to wisse, p. 249).
 [witenn witerrli3, 3446, 5168, etc.]
 witt & wissdom, 15986. (ME. p. 249).
 [witt & word, 18501, 18503, etc.] Rev. 83, 3040, etc.
 wittlæs & wac (& wicke), 6185.
 wittlæs & wicke, 6197.
 [wop & wa, 5676.]
 [word & weorrc, 2703, 4182, etc.]
 word & wille, 7497-8. (ME. p. 312).
 wrat & wrohhte, Ded. 332. wrohht & writenn, Ded. 161.
 [wrappe & wræche, 909, 929, etc.]
 wrapþenn ne weordenn, 6105-6.
 wrecche & wædle, 5638.
 wrezhenn all here a3henn woh, 17843.
 [writt wrat, Ded. 331-2.]
 [writess & werrkess, 14439, 14517, etc.]
 writenn witerrli3, 9443, 9477.
 wundenn þurh . . . wæpenn, 11779-80, 12308-9, etc. (ME. p.
 256).
 unnwundedd & unnwemmedd, 14735. (Cf. OE. p. 210, ME. p.
 309).
 wurrþenn warr, 1963, 2477.
 wurrþenn wis, 11599, 11611.
 wurrþminnt & loff & wullderr, 3379. (OE. *wuldor and wurð-*
mynt, p. 217).

wurrþshipe & wikenn, 18363.

[wurrshipe winnenn, 12373.]

[wurrþshipe & wulderr, 3936, 7630, 19232.]²⁶

In addition to these phrases, *The Ormulum* has several examples of adverbial and adjectival phrases consisting of the doubling of a word to intensify its meaning,²⁷ as *æfre & æfre* "for ever and ever" and *þuss & tuss* "thus in detail." In four cases Orm affords a considerably earlier example than those given in the *New English Dictionary*. The Norse borrowing *a33 occ a33* belongs to the same category; this is included in Oakden's list, though the others are not.

æfre & æfre, 206, 2617, etc.

[a33 occ a33, 2263, 3212, etc.]

bett & bett, 10870, 11835, 12678.

efft & efft (& offte & lome), 12924-5.

mare & mare, 676, 8679, etc.

swillc & swillc, 1006, 1512, etc.

þuss & tuss, 15520.

werrse & werrse, 15397.

wiþþ & wiþþ, 5628.

I have also noted the following rhyming collocations in *The Ormulum*:—

æte & wæte, 7852.

wiþþ bedess & wiþþ dedess, 698.

forrsen & flen, 815, 19653, 19656. all he fleþ & all forrseþ, 14128.

griþþ & friþþ, Pref. 69, Pref. 87, 3380, 3520, 3926, 3940.

hutenn & þutenn, 2034, 4875, 4893.

²⁶ wædle wif, 7889, 7933. wæling word, 2192. wambe toc to waxenn, 2471-2; wasstme . . . wambe, 1937-8. wannsenn . . . waxenn, 1901-2. wantsumm & wiþþ wantdrap biþrungenn, 14824-5. wenenn wrang, 18312. winnenn weoreldþing, 4670. winnenn . . . wurrþminnt, 12368-9. wod & all wittess biðæledd, 4676-7.

²⁷ Cf. Orm's *þohh swa þehh* (passim), also used to emphasize the first element of a *þohh* . . . *þohh* correlation in 18879 and 19069.

bikahht & lahht, 11621.

clake & sake, 9317, 10201.

lang & strang, 15210.

to tellenn & to spellenn zuw, 9127. Cf. *tellenn spell*, 11969, etc.

inn illc unnwitt, inn illc unnitt, 8045.

wid(e) & sid(e), 5900, 9174, 10258, 14566.

wraþpe & lappe, 5451, 6271.

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