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OLD ENGLISH SUFFIX -*CUND* AND ITS FATE[1]

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the use of the adjectival suffix -*cund* in Old English and its development in Middle English. Since -*cund* is not attested in Present-Day English the study of the two discussed periods will focus on all the valid aspects of the suffix and its derivatives potentially indicative of the further decline of -*cund*. They include the semantics, the type of derivational bases, the number of types and tokens, textual and temporal distribution as well as semantic competition. The analysis of the preserved Medieval English linguistic material relies on extensive electronic databases such as the *Dictionary of Old English* (A-F), the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, the *Middle English Dictionary online*, the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* and the *Innsbruck Middle English Prose Corpus*.

KEYWORDS: -*cund*, suffix, Middle English, derivation, semantics

INTRODUCTION

The present paper focuses on the Old English adjectival suffix -*cund* and its further development in the Middle English period considered in terms of a few aspects listed in this section below. Quirk and Wrenn (1955 [2001]: 115) place -*cund* in the group of common Old English affixes. Among the suffixes deriving adjectives listed there one can also find -*ish*. However, unlike the OE suffix -*ish*, which, despite its reduced productivity in Middle English (see Ciszek 2012), is preserved till today in numerous derivatives, the suffix -*cund* is unattested in Present-Day English.

Thus far the suffix -*cund* has been only briefly treated among other affixes in some Old and Middle English dictionaries, grammars, histories of English and handbooks on historical English morphology. Here, authors such as Bosworth and Toller (1898-1921), Wright (1914), Jespersen (1942), Kurath et al. (1952-2001), Quirk and Wrenn (1955 [2001]), Fisiak (1965, 1968 [2004]), Koziol (1972), Marchand (1969), Kastovsky (1992) and Cameron et al. (2003) should be mentioned.[2] They observe that -*cund* was an adjectival suffix and provide its meaning and a few occurrences each. None of the

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studies lists all the derivatives of the suffix together with their meaning, textual and temporal distribution and the number of recorded tokens. This leaves a scope for an investigation which will be taken up in the present study.

The analysis will be preceded by a description of the methodology which I have applied for the present study. All the valid aspects of the Old and Middle English suffix *-cund* subject to a further detailed analysis will involve the number of types and tokens of the *-cund* derivatives and the types of derivational bases of *-cund*, the semantics of the suffix and its derivatives, as well as the textual and temporal distribution of *-cund* derivatives. Semantic competition, which might have played a role in the suffix's decline, will be considered as the last issue. The results of the analytical part will be concluded in the final section.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The present study is an empirical corpus-based study of both a qualitative and quantitative nature. The research method applied here involves available all-embracing electronic databases and combines the use of dictionaries with the use of corpora covering different periods of English. The method of combining Old English corpora and especially the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*[3] with dictionaries such as the *Middle English Dictionary online* was originally applied by Ciszek (2008) for the study of type frequency and productivity of selected derivational suffixes in Medieval English. Ciszek (2002, 2008) also postulates the need to base historical word-formation studies on the whole preserved linguistic material.

Our databases include the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, the *Dictionary of Old English* (A-F) based on the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Bosworth and Toller (1898-1921) for the Old English period as well as the *Middle English Dictionary online*, the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, and the *Innsbruck Middle English Prose Corpus* for Middle English.[4] Periods further than Middle English are not analysed since my investigation of the 3rd edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary online* has revealed the absence of any *-cund* derivatives in them.

None of the corpora selected for the present study are linguistically annotated. It is possible to apply some basic search procedures, however, and to search them both for lexical items of one's interest or for parts of words. For the analysis below, the author was mostly using wild card searches looking for *cund*, *cun* and *cvn*. This type of procedure obviously brings the output much wider than

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[3] Ciszek (2008) refers to the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* as to the *Toronto Corpus (of Old English)*.

[4] The study has been supplemented with the complete text of *Herbarium Apuleii* (1150), not included in either of the latter two corpora but listed by the *Middle English Dictionary online* as including a *-cund* derivative.

expected for the analysis. It guarantees, however, that all the stems and all inflected forms are included. Next, the obtained results are analysed in context and manually sifted for those which are subject to the current investigation. The method might be time consuming but no relevant data are omitted.

NUMBER OF TYPES AND TOKENS OF *-CUND* DERIVATIVES AND TYPES OF DERIVATIONAL BASES OF *-CUND*

As regards the Old English period, in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*) I have found 38 *-cund* formations: 26 in which *-cund* is the final derivational suffix and 12 in which it is followed by one or two other derivational suffixes such as *-lic*, *-lice* and *-nesse*. The former derivatives are coined on derivational bases being three different parts of speech, i.e., nouns (16 types), prepositions (6 types) and adjectives (4 types). The latter coinages are based on *-cund* adjectives.

In terms of the function, *-cund* derives adjectives. Also, one of them, i.e., *ǣngancundes* functions as an adverb. In derivatives in which *-cund* is not the final derivational suffix, the whole *-cund* formations make derivational bases and the function of such lexemes is determined by the final derivational suffix. Hence, *-nesse* produces 4 nouns, *-lic* 5 adjectives and *-lic(e)* 3 adverbs.

Altogether, the *-cund* derivatives produce as many as 1325 recorded tokens: 937 in which *-cund* is the final derivational suffix, 387 in which *-cund* is followed by either *-lic*, *-lice* or *-nesse* and one in which *-cund* is followed by two more derivational suffixes. Noticeably, the number of instances of the word *godcund* amounts to 761, which constitutes about 58% of all Old English *-cund* occurrences. The second and the third in terms of the number of tokens are *godcundnesse* (289 tokens) and *godcundlic* (75 tokens). *Incund* (47 tokens), *heofoncund* (40 tokens), *weoruldcund* (21 tokens) and *gesīþcund* (12 tokens) also produce relatively higher number of instances. The other *-cund* derivatives are recorded only a few times or even once. Table 1 below includes all Old English *-cund* formations together with the type of their derivational bases and the number of tokens. The table is ordered in terms of the number of derivational endings and the type of the derivational base.

In Early Middle English the number of both types and tokens of *-cund* formations was drastically reduced and then in Late Middle English there are no attested *-cund* derivatives.

In the *Middle English Dictionary online*, the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* and the *Innsbruck Middle English Prose Corpus* there are 11 types of *-cund* formations: 5 in which *-cund* is the final derivational suffix and 6 in which *-cund* is followed by one of the four other derivational suffixes such as *-lic*, *-nesse*, *-leik* and *-hede*. The former coinages are based on nouns (2 types), prepositions (2 types) and an adjective (1 type). The latter are derived from *-cund* adjectives.

Table 1. Old English *-cund* derivatives – number of tokens and type of derivational bases.

derivative	derivational base	number of tokens
æþelcund	noun	2
dēofulcund	noun	1
engelcund	noun	1
eorlcund	noun	2
eorþcund	noun	6
esnecund	noun	1
gāstcund	noun	2
godcund	noun	761
hellcund	noun	1
heofoncund	noun	40
hīwcund	noun	1
metcund	noun	2
mētercund	noun	3
sāwelcund	noun	1
gesīþcund	noun	12
weoruldcund	noun	21
incund	preposition	47
innancund	preposition	3
innecund	preposition	2
ufancund	preposition	6
ūpcund	preposition	8
ūtacund	preposition	7
ǣngancundes (adv.)	adjective	1
feorrcund	adjective	1
feorrancund	adjective	1
yfelcund	adjective	4
eorþcundlic (adj.)	adjective	2
gesīþcundlic (adj.)	adjective	1
godcundlic (adj.)	adjective	75
godcundlice (adv.)	adjective	10
godcundlicnes (noun)	adjective	1
heofoncundlic (adj.)	adjective	2
incundlice (adv.)	adjective	1

continuation of the table 1

derivative	derivational base	number of tokens
metcundlic (adj.)	adjective	1
weoruldcundlice (adv.)	adjective	2
æþelcundnesse (noun)	adjective	1
godcundnesse (noun)	adjective	289
incundnesse (noun)	adjective	3

As regards the function, similarly to the Old English situation, the Early Middle English -*cund* derives adjectives. Moreover, two of them, i.e., *godcund* and *innancund* could function as nouns. The formations in which -*cund* is not the final derivational suffix, but is followed by one of the four derivational suffixes listed above, function as nouns (5 types) and as an adjective (1 type).

The Early Middle English -*cund* derivatives can be divided into those inherited from Old English and the ones which are recorded for the first time. The former group comprises 5 formations, which produce the highest number of tokens, i.e., *godcundnesse* (114), *godcund* (48), *godcundlic* (5), *incund* (3) and *innancund* (2). All 6 new EME coinages including -*cund* are hapax legomena.

Table 2 below includes all Early Middle English -*cund* formations with the type of their derivational bases and the number of tokens. Like Table 1, Table 2 is ordered according to the number of derivational endings and the type of the derivational base.

A significant decrease of the number of both types and tokens from Old to Early Middle English seems to be indicative of the suffix becoming more and more archaic. Likewise, a greatly reduced productivity of the suffix manifested by a small number of new Early Middle English coinages in -*cund* points to some markedness of the suffix.

Having demonstrated that, now I will turn to the examination and discussion of some qualitative aspects of the suffix and its derivatives.

Table 2. Early Middle English -*cund* derivatives
– number of tokens and type of derivational bases.

derivative	derivational base	number of tokens
godcund	noun	47
godcund (noun)	noun	1
namecund	noun	1
incund	preposition	3
innancund (noun)	preposition	2

continuation of the table 2

derivative	derivational base	number of tokens
gramcund	adjective	1
godcundlic	adjective	5
godcundnesse (noun)	adjective	114
godcundhede (noun)	adjective	1
godcundleik (noun)	adjective	1
gramcundnesse (noun)	adjective	1
grimmcunndleik (noun)	adjective	1

SEMANTICS OF THE SUFFIX *-CUND* AND ITS DERIVATIVES

This section starts from bringing together the meanings of all attested Medieval English derivatives in *-cund*. Then, the meaning of the suffix *-cund* found in the acknowledged Old and Middle English dictionaries is reviewed and corroborated against the results of my analysis. Finally, the sense(s) of the suffix will be deduced on the basis of the attested meanings.

MEANING OF *-CUND* DERIVATIVES

As regards the meaning of the Old English derivatives including the suffix *-cund*, I have decided to present it in a table together with the Early Middle English meaning of those formations which were preserved till that period. A abular representation (see Table 3) will facilitate the analysis of the changes of meaning over time.

Table 3. Old English and preserved Early Middle English *-cund* derivatives – meaning.

derivative	OE meaning	EME meaning
æþelcund	'of noble birth, noble'	
dēofulcund	'as substantive: the fiendish one'	
engelcund	'angelic'	
eorlcund	'of noble birth'	
eorþcund	'earthly, terrestrial, pertaining to the earth/ the world (in opposition to 'heavenly'); of things: worldly; of people: mortal, of the earth'	
esnecund	'of the servile class'	

continuation of the table 3

derivative	OE meaning	EME meaning
gāstcund	'spiritual'	
godcund	'of the nature of God, divine, religious, sacred; of or pertaining to God; given by or proceeding from God, having the sanction of or inspired by God; devoted to God; partaking of the nature of God, spirituals; celestial, heavenly; coming from heaven; belonging to heaven; that makes godlike'	'belonging to God, divine; concerned with God' 'divine nature' (noun)
hellcund	'infernal, devilish'	
heofoncund	'heavenly, celestial'	
hīwcund	'domestic'	
metcund	'metrical'	
mētercund	'relating to metre'	
sāwelcund	'spiritual'	
gesīþcund	'of the rank of a *gesīth*, of the *gesīþ* class; in a general sense, gentle by birth, gentle in contrast with simple'	
weoruldcund	'earthly, temporal'	
incund	'internal, inward, intimate'	'of the interior of the body, internal'
innancund	'inward, internal, not superficial, thorough, earnest, genuine, sincere'	'the inward parts of a man' (noun)
innecund	'internal, inward'	
ufancund	'heavenly, celestial'	
ūpcund	'supernal, celestial'	
ūtacund	'foreign, alien, strange'	
ǣngancundes (adv.)	'in a way that is unique'	
feorrcund	'come from afar, foreign'	
feorrancund	'come from afar, foreign'	
yfelcund	'of evil nature, malignant'	
eorþcundlic (adj.)	'earthly, of earth'	
gesīþcundlic (adj.)	'pertaining to a companion'	
godcundlic (adj.)	'divine; of God; proceeding from God, inspired by God; devoted to God, religious; partaking of the nature of God'	'divine'
godcundlice (adv.)	'divinely, from heaven, by inspiration; of action by the Deity, by God, from heaven; in respect to religion or to the church, ecclesiastically'	

continuation of the table 3

derivative	OE meaning	EME meaning
godcundlicnes (noun)	'divine nature or essence, divinity'	
heofoncundlic (adj.)	'heavenly, celestial'	
incundlice (adv.)	'from the heart, with deep feeling'	
metcundlic (adj.)	'metrical'	
weoruldcundlice (adv.)	'in a worldly manner'	
æþelcundnesse (noun)	'nobleness, nobility'	
godcundnesse (noun)	'Divine nature, Deity, Divinity, Godhead, divine service; the quality of being divine; a divine being; divine service; a pious offering; a quality that is consonant with Deity, a godlike quality'	'Divine nature, divinity; the Godhead; godliness'
incundnesse (noun)	'feeling that comes from the heart, heartiness, earnestness; an inner part'	

The table adequately illustrates a significant reduction of not only the number of derivatives in terms of types in Early Middle English but also of the meaning of those derivatives which were preserved. Of the latter, *godcund, godcundlic* and *godcundnesse* suffered the greatest loss of particular lexical meanings.

Table 4 below contains the meaning of new Early Middle English coinages in *-cund*.

Table 4. New Early Middle English *-cund* derivatives – meaning.

derivative	EME meaning
gramcund	'fierce, given to anger'
namecund	'famous, renowned'
godcundhede (noun)	'pious talk'
godcundleik (noun)	'divine nature'
gramcundnesse (noun)	'rage, anger'
grimmcunndleik (noun)	'harshness, cruelty'

MEANING OF THE SUFFIX *-CUND*

Now let us concentrate on the meaning of the suffix *-cund* in Medieval English. The starting point will be the dictionary definitions of the suffix. The *Dictionary of Old English* (A-F), henceforth the *DOE*, defines the Old English *-cund* as an "[a]djectival suffix [meaning] of the nature of, derived from". Bosworth and Toller (1898-1921)

provide the description of the discussed suffix as "an adjective termination, denoting KIND, sort, or origin, likeness". The *Oxford English Dictionary online*, henceforth the *OED*, does not include the suffix -*cund* as a separate entry. It only mentions the existence of "the adj. ending ... Old English -cund 'of the nature of'" in the etymology section of the noun *kind*. As regards Middle English, the *Middle English Dictionary online*, henceforth the *MED*, rather concentrates on four derivatives in which "[t]his suffix survives in *Orm*., supported by ON **-kund*". The meaning of the OE -*cund* listed in the etymology passage, i.e., 'born of, derived from' seems to be claimed valid for Middle English as well.

On the strength of my analysis based on the whole available linguistic Medieval English material and on the lexical meaning of all the OE and EME derivatives terminating in -*cund* the meaning 'of the nature of, derived from' can be assigned to the suffix throughout the whole Medieval English period, i.e., throughout the entire period of the use of -*cund*.

SENSE OF THE SUFFIX -*CUND*

It has been demonstrated that suffixes not only bear meaning but they also contribute various senses to the derivatives they form (Ciszek 2008). The meanings are more literal whereas the senses are more abstract and provide a common label for groups of meanings.

The suffix -*cund* in all the coinages assumes the sense 'a quality (related to)'. These senses, similarly to the meaning of -*cund* (see above), are the same in both Old and Early Middle English. Hence, on the level of senses the suffix is stable, i.e., no senses are lost and no new senses are developed.

The next step of my investigation will also concern some qualitative aspects of -*cund* and its formations. Thus, I will now see how particular derivatives are distributed in texts and in time.

TEXTUAL AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF -*CUND* DERIVATIVES

As regards the Old English types and tokens of -*cund*, it would take dozens of pages to present their textual and temporal distribution in a table. Hence, I am going to summarise my findings based on the *DOEC* in the form of a description. Only 38 of the 1325 recorded tokens can be found in 16 Old English, mostly religious, texts written in verse. Here belong, e.g., *Genesis, The Fates of the Apostles, Christ, The Paris Psalter, Solomon and Saturn* and *Instructions for Christians*. Non-religious texts to be listed here contain, e.g., *Beowulf*. The tokens belong to various types of derivatives. However, the majority of the OE -*cund* derivatives

is attested in numerous prose texts and glosses. Many of them constitute the Late Old English texts by Ælfric, various homilies, *Saint's Lives*, chronicles, laws and charters. Moreover, numerous tokens can be found already in such Early Old English texts as Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and Bede's *History of the English Church and Nation*.

The textual and temporal distribution of *-cund* derivatives in Early Middle English can be presented in a table, since there are not so many tokens in this period. Table 5 below provides the relevant information. The number of tokens representing particular meanings is also added.

The table demonstrates that the *-cund* derivatives are used in very early Middle English texts, especially in the homilies. The text which includes the greatest number of both types (7) and tokens (108) of *-cund* is *Ormulum* from 1200, which is also of a homiletic nature. It is worth noticing that five out of six *-cund* derivatives recorded for the first time in Early Middle English seem to have been coined and used, only once each, exclusively by Orm in his *Ormulum* (1200). The abundance of the suffix in this particular text might have been also increased by the strong Scandinavian influence in the area where it was written and especially by a related Old Norse suffix *-kund* (see *MED*). The other homilies employing *-cund* include *Vespasian Homilies* (1150), *Bodley Homilies* (1175), *Lambeth Homilies* (1225) and *Trinity Homilies* (1225). They contain 28, 23, 2 and 1 token respectively. Four other tokens can be found in *Herbarium Apuleii* (1150), three in *Vices and Virtues* (1225) and two each in *Layamon's Brut* (MS Calig. 1200), *Poema Morale* (1225) and *Bestiary* (1300). *St. Katherine of Alexandria* (1225) and "I-hereþ nv one..." *The Passion of Our Lord* (1300) contain one token each.

Interestingly, the use of three different types, i.e., *incund, godcundlic* and *godcundnesse* in *Vespasian Homilies* (1150) is not recorded by the *MED*. This fact is especially surprising once we observe that the lexemes are not single instances but altogether they are attested in 12 tokens. The two occurrences of *godcundnesse* in *Lambeth Homilies* (1225) are also absent from the *MED*.

Having investigated various aspects of the suffix and its derivatives, now I would like to put *-cund* in a broader perspective and to devote some space to my considerations of the interplay or rather competition between the *-cund* formations and some other lexemes. This will hopefully allow us to establish some probable circumstances of the loss of *-cund*.

Table 5. Early Middle English *-cund* derivatives – textual and temporal distribution

derivative	EME meaning	texts and dates	number of tokens
godcund ~ (noun)	'belonging to God, divine'	*Vespasian Homilies* (1150) *Bodley Homilies* (1175) *Ormulum* (1200)	16 2 22
	'concerned with God'	*Bodley Homilies* (1175) *Layamon's Brut* (MS Calig. 1200)	6 1
	'divine nature'	*Layamon's Brut* (MS Calig. 1200)	1
incund	'of the interior of the body, internal'	*Herbarium Apuleii* (1150) *Vespasian Homilies* (1150)	2 1
innancund (noun)	'the inward parts of a man'	*Herbarium Apuleii* (1150)	2
godcundlic (adj.)	'divine'	*Bodley Homilies* (1175) *Vespasian Homilies* (1225)	2 3
godcundnesse (noun)	'divine nature, divinity'	*Bodley Homilies* (1175) *Ormulum* (1200) *Poema Morale* (1225) *Vices and Virtues* (1225) *St. Katherine of Alexandria* (1225) "I-hereþ nv one..." *The Passion of Our Lord* (1300) *Vespasian Homilies* (1225) *Lambeth Homilies* (1225)	10 81 2 3 1 1 8 2
	'the Godhead'	*Bodley Homilies* (1175)	3
	'godliness'	*Trinity Homilies* (1225) *Bestiary* (1300)	1 1
gramcund	'fierce, given to anger'	*Ormulum* (1200)	1
namecund	'famous, renowned'	*Ormulum* (1200)	1
godcundhede (noun)	'pious talk'	*Bestiary* (1300)	1
godcundleik (noun)	'divine nature'	*Ormulum* (1200)	1
gramcundnesse (noun)	'rage, anger'	*Ormulum* (1200)	1
grimmcunndleik (noun)	'harshness, cruelty'	*Ormulum* (1200)	1

SEMANTIC COMPETITION OF *-CUND*

The analysis of the *MED online* reveals semantic competition between *-cund* and other suffixes and lexemes, which might have influenced the loss of the suffix *-cund* in Early Middle English. First of all, it seems that most *-cund* derivatives were replaced with *-li(c)* adjectives usually existing already in Old English and having a similar but much wider meaning and a considerably higher frequency of use. Secondly, the OE *-cund* words derived from adjectives were lost for the benefit of their derivational bases, well established already in Old English. Thirdly, some *-cund* coinages were replaced with synonyms of Old French origin. Fourthly, some *-cund* coinages were lost together with their derivational bases. Finally, for some reason the suffix *-cund* did not undergo any semantic reanalysis which might have prevented its decline. Below, all these issues will be discussed more broadly.

(1) The replacement of *-cund* derivatives with *-li(ch)* adjectives, usually existing already in Old English, could be claimed for many cases. This was possible due to similar semantic profiles of the two suffixes. *-li(ch)* had more meanings[5] but, most importantly, some of them overlapped with those of *-cund*. Both suffixes also shared the sense 'a quality (related to)'. Moreover, the suffix *-li(c)* was much better established, hence, much more frequent already in Old English. It is attested in almost 3800 types (Bosworth and Toller (1898-1921 [1964])) producing as many as almost 45800 tokens (*Dictionary of Old English Corpus)*.

A group of six *-cund* formations were replaced in Middle English by the parallel *-li* adjectives attested already in Old English. Here belong *eorþcund* > (the meaning of which is then conveyed by) *ērthlī* and *ērthī*, *gāstcund* > *gōstli*, *godcund* > *godlī*, *hellcund* > *hellī*, *heofoncund* > *hēvenlī* and *weoruldcund* > *worldli* (and rarer *worldī* and *worldīlī*). Of these, particularly, *ērthlī* (and *ērthī*), *gōstli*, *hēvenlī* and *worldli* had a much wider meaning than their *-cund* counterparts and were very frequently used throughout the whole ME period. *Godlī* and *hellī* had more or less the same meaning as respective *-cund* adjectives and were attested rather sporadically.

Moreover, *dēofulcund* and *engelcund* were substituted with new ME coinages in *-li* such as *develich* 'emanating from the devil; wicked, sinful; belonging to a devil' (1225) and *a(u)ngellīch*[6] 'resembling an angel, befitting an angel' (1225).

Slightly later, some OF synonyms of the *-cund* adjectives discussed above are also recorded. *Dīvīne* 'attributed or belonging to God; proceeding from God, spiritual; addressed or dedicated to God; partaking of the nature of a god, godlike' (1375) was semantically equivalent to the most frequent *-cund* derivative, i.e., *godcund*. *Terrestre* 'terrestrial, earthly; of the earth, earthy' (1340), *terrestrial* 'secular, mundane, worldly; also, earthly' (1475) and *terrestrish* 'earthy' (1425) as

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[5] For a broader discussion of *-li(ch)* see Ciszek (2002).

[6] *A(u)ngellīch* is labeled by the *MED* as derived from *a(u)ngel* (OF *a(u)ngel* & (early) OE *engel*, *englas*).

well as *terrēne* 'earthly, terrestrial' (1400) and *terrenal* 'terrestrial, earthly' (1449) were semantically parallel to *eorþcund, ērthlī* and *ērthī*. *Carnāl* '(a) bodily, physical, human, mortal, earthly; (b) worldly, temporal; also, sinful; (c) by blood relationship; (d) sensual, sexual' (1440) can also be treated as a potential competitor for *eorþcund*. *Spiritūāl* 'eternal; divine; originating with God; pertaining to the work of the Holy Ghost; conducive to moral or religious improvement, edifying; originating in or affecting the soul; also, of a person, thing, an action, etc.: in a spiritual sense, corresponding spiritually to some earthly person, thing, etc.; immaterial; consisting solely of intellect, purely intellectual' (1382) was synonymous to *gāstcund* and *gōstli*. *Celestial* 'belonging to the visible heavens; belonging to the Christian or pagan heaven; heavenly or divine in nature; unearthly, celestial' (1390) overlapped with the meaning of *heofoncund* and *hēvenlī*. *Celeste, celestien, celestīne, celestlī* and *celicāl*, all meaning 'celestial', were also sporadically found in ME texts. *Supernāl* 'celestial, heavenly' (1447) and *superne* 'celestial, divine' (1429), both borrowed from French, were also occasionally used. *Infernāl* 'of the Christian hell, from hell, infernal; devilish, hateful, diabolical, wicked' (1385) was parallel to *hellcund* and *hellī* and *temporāl* 'lasting a short time, fleeting; having a finite duration, transitory; worldly, material; also, on earth, earthly; of a person or group: belonging to or living in secular, as opposed to ecclesiastical, society' (1384) as well as *seculēre* 'of or belonging to the world; concerned with earthly life as opposed to spiritual or eternal life; of desire, behavior, etc.: worldly, unspiritual' (1340)[7] to *weoruldcund* and *worldlī*.

(2) As regards the three Old English *-cund* adjectives derived from other adjectives, it seems that they were all lost since their meaning could be perfectly conveyed by their derivational bases. Specifically, *feorrcund* and *feorrancund* both meaning 'come from afar, foreign'[8] seem to have been substituted with *fer* and *ferrene* respectively. In Middle English *fer* could assume numerous meanings including, for example, 'distant, far away, far; *fig.* far (from truth, idolatry, etc.), remote (from one's purpose); of kinsmen: distantly related; of kinship: distant; ~ *countre*, ~ *lond*, far country, distant land; foreign country; ~ *folk*, a distant or foreign people'. The word *ferrene* had two basic meanings, i.e., (a) 'of places: far off, distant, remote; ~ *heven*, the most distant of the spheres enveloping the earth, the Empyrean; ~ *lond* (*countre*), distant land; foreign country' and (b) 'of persons: foreign; also, from a distant region'. *Ferrene*, going back to OE *feorran*, was quite frequently attested in texts ranging from 1275 to 1450. However, the *MED* for some reason labels *ferrene* as derived from an adverb of the same form.

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[7] The word is first recorded in 1300 meaning 'of or belonging to the state as opposed to the church, civil; of a member of the clergy: living in the world as opposed to living under a religious rule; not cloistered', slightly different from the meaning of *worldlī* and then also other meanings are attested.

[8] In Old English the word *feorrancund* was also used substantively with the meaning 'one come from afar, foreigner' (see above).

Moreover, *yfelcund* 'of evil nature, malignant' was replaced by the OE *yfel* > ME *ivel* with an overlapping meaning and many more meanings referring to people, concrete objects and abstract phenomena.

A similar situation can be observed with reference to the new Early Middle English apparently[9] deadjectival coinages, i.e., *gramcund* and *grimmcunndleik*. The base adjectives *gram* and *grim*, which in Early Middle English won the competition with the *-cund* formations under discussion, had been well established already in Old English. They had had a much wider range of meaning and their numerous occurrences had been attested both in Old and Middle English.

The *-cund* coinages on prepositions are worth mentioning as well since they seem to follow a similar pattern. Some of them seem to have been replaced with their stem prepositions or by *-li(c)* adjectives derived from respective stems.

Innancund appears to have been absorbed by *inner(e)* 'inner, inside; inside the body, internal; inmost, interior; belonging to the mind, feelings, soul, etc.; interior; secret, intimate, hidden, profound' going back to Old English. *Innerlī* could also have similar meaning such as 'inward, internal; spiritual, interior; bitter, severe' (1425).

Ūtacund 'foreign, alien, strange' might have been substituted with *outre* (<OE) and *out(e)* (<OE) both with denotations overlapping with *ūtacund* and numerous other meanings.

Ufancund 'heavenly, celestial' and *ūpcund* 'supernal, celestial' had meanings overlapping with those of *ovemest* (< OE) and *over* (< OE) as well as with those of *upper(e)* (1398) and *uplīc*[10] (< OE) respectively. The meaning of *ufancund* and *ūpcund* could have also been both expressed by *hēvenlī* and *celestiāl* discussed above.

Incund, for the lack of *in* functioning as an adjective, seems to have been replaced by *inlī* 'heartfelt, intense; great, strong; inward, interior, spiritual' (1400).

(3) Furthermore, it appears that five *-cund* coinages were replaced with synonyms of Old French origin. This specifically refers to the *-cund* adjectives derived from nouns. *Æþelcund* and *eorlcund*, both meaning 'of noble birth, noble' are apparently substituted with the word *noble*, first recorded in 1230. One of numerous meanings of *noble* is 'of high rank or birth, highborn, noble'.

It is also worth mentioning that the derivational bases of *æþelcund* and *eorlcund* survived into Middle English. *Āðel(e)* can be found in such EME texts as the *Bodley Homilies* (1175), *Layamon's Brut* (MS Caligula 1200) and the *Harley Lyrics* (1325).[11] The word *ērl* is found in numerous texts throughout the whole Middle English period.

Furthermore, the word *hīwcund* appears to have been lost for the sake of some other native lexeme, i.e., *hōmli* first recorded in 1382. *Hōmli* could assume

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[9] For some reason, the *MED* claims that *grimmcunndleik* is derived from the noun *grimmeleik*. However, the suffix *-cund* is added directly to the adjectival base and not to the whole noun.

[10] *Uplīc* did not survive beyond Early Middle English, though.

[11] There also still exists an adjective *āðelich,* which in Old English meant 'noble, illustrious', but it is recorded only once in 1300 to refer to 'precious (stone)'.

meanings such as, for example, 'used at home; characteristic of a home; pertaining or belonging to a household, domestic; belonging to one household; close, intimate; of a friend: intimate; of an enemy: familiar, ever-present; of affection, friendship: close, deep, intimate; simple, common; unassuming'. Moreover, in 1400 a French loanword *domestic* was attested, originally meaning 'of a bodily organ or part of an organ: internal' but in 1425 also 'prepared or made in the home; household (remedy)'. OE *hīwan* (pl.) 'members of a household, of a religious house, a family' was preserved in Middle English as *heue* meaning 'a servant; in pl.: servants, household, family' and later on also 'a person of low degree; a rascal' (1393). The lexeme appears in quite a few Middle English texts.

Moreover, the OE *sāwelcund* 'spiritual' could have been replaced with the Old French loanword *spiritual* originally recorded in 1382 with the meaning 'eternal' and then soon with other denotations mentioned above. In 1500 one can find also a single occurrence of *soulī* 'of or pertaining to the soul (from *soule*)'. Also, a ME word conveying the meaning of the OE *mētercund* 'relating to metre' and *mētcund* 'metrical' was *merticāl* 'metrical, in meter; pertaining to meter' (1475) of probable Old French origin. Noticeably, the words *metre* and *soule* are frequently found in Middle English texts.

(4) Last but not least, a couple of *-cund* coinages were lost together with their derivational bases. Here belong the OE *esnecund* 'of the servile class' and *gesīþcund* 'of the rank of a *gesīth*, of the *gesīþ* class; in a general sense, gentle by birth, gentle in contrast with simple'. *Esnecund* and *gesīþcund*, similarly to the adjectives discussed above, seem to have been substituted with words of OF origin. *Servile* (1382) meaning, for instance, 'of the rank of servant or slave, subordinate, subject; also, appropriate to or characteristic of a servant or slave, lowly, mean' fits into the meaning of *esnecund* whereas *gentīl* (1250) meaning among others 'of noble rank or birth, belonging to the gentry, noble; often implying character or manners befitting one of gentle birth' encompasses *gesīþcund*. Also *esne* 'a man of the servile class, a servant, a retainer, youth, a young man, a man,' and *gesīþ* 'a companion, fellow, companion or follower of a chief or king' are lost due to some social changes.[12]

(5) Finally, as demonstrated by Ciszek (2012), the Old English adjectival suffix *-isc*, which had a semantic profile similar to that of *-cund*, underwent a similar drastic reduction of the number of both types and tokens in Middle English. Yet, *-ish* survived till Present-Day English. The reason might be that in the majority of the Middle English coinages the suffix *-ish* was subject to a semantic reanalysis. Like in Old English and like the suffix *-cund*, *-ish* had the sense 'a quality (related to)'. However, a new meaning of *-ish*, i.e., 'somewhat' was developed. This allowed

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[12] The *OED online* records two instances of *esne* in 1861 and 1875. These, however, appear in some publications concerning historical England and are explained as "The… esnés or day-labourers, were the lowest" and "The esne or slave who works for hire" respectively. *Gesīþ* is recorded by the *OED online* in a similar fashion.

-ish to be added to colour terms and to other adjectives. The reanalysis thus also enabled a major change of the derivational bases, from mostly nominal to adjectival. The suffix *-cund* might have been too minor in terms of the number of types and tokens for any semantic change to be triggered.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the present paper was to discuss the use of the adjectival suffix *-cund* and its derivatives in Old English and their development in terms of semantics, the number of types and tokens as well as the textual and temporal distribution in Middle English. Yet another aspect of the study was to reveal some plausible circumstances influencing the decline of the Old English suffix *-cund*. The method selected for the analysis was the one devised by Ciszek (2008) for the study of Medieval English word-derivation and the productivity of suffixes in Middle English. It involves the combination of available extensive electronic databases of various types. The databases employed for the present study include the *Dictionary of Old English* (A-F), the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Bosworth and Toller (1898-1921 [1964]) for Old English as well as the *Middle English Dictionary online* the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* and the *Innsbruck Middle English Prose Corpus* for Middle English.

In terms of the numer of types, I have found 38 recorded *-cund* formations in Old English. In 26 of them, *-cund* is the ultimate derivational suffix and in 12 it is followed by one or two more derivational suffixes such as *-lic, -lice* and *-nesse*. In Early Middle English there are 11 types of *-cund* formations: 5 ending in *-cund* and 6 in which *-cund* is followed by either *-lic, -nesse, -leik* or *-hede*. Of all the Early Middle English *-cund* derivatives 5 are inherited from Old English and 6 are recorded for the first time. There are no Late Middle English or later *-cund* derivatives. As for the number of tokens, 1325 are attested in Old English: 937 terminating in *-cund*, 388 in one or two extra suffixes. The respective numbers are significantly lower for Early Middle English, i.e., 178, 55 and 123. It is also worth emphasising that the majority of the Early Middle English tokens are produced by the coinages inherited from Old English. The types of the derivational bases stay unchanged. They are nominal, prepositional and adjectival.

Regarding semantics, the study has illustrated the meaning of all the derivatives including *-cund* as well as the changes of the lexical meaning over time. Moreover, my empirical examination of the Medieval English linguistic material has demonstrated that the suffix *-cund* assumes the meaning 'of the nature of, derived from'. I have also identified the sense of the suffix *-cund* as 'a quality'.

As for the textual distribution of the *-cund* derivatives, the analysis shows that both in Old and in Middle English they are recorded mostly in religious texts,

which is related to the use of words such as *godcund, godcundnesse* and *godcundlic* which produce the highest number of tokens. In Old English almost all occurrences of *-cund* can be found in prose, whereas in Middle English *Ormulum*, written in verse, is most abundant in *-cund*. The time span in which the suffix is recorded ranges from Early Old English till 1300 (*Bestiary*).

Moreover, the analysis of the semantic competition of *-cund* and other suffixes and lexemes has demonstrated tendencies which might have prompted the decline of the suffix *-cund* in Middle English*:* (1) Most *-cund* derivatives seem to have been replaced with *-li(c)* adjectives, usually existing already in Old English and having a similar yet considerably broader lexical meaning and higher frequency of use; (2) The OE *-cund* words derived from adjectives were lost for the benefit of their derivational bases well established already in Old English; (3) Many *-cund* coinages might have been perfectly replaced with synonymous Old French loanwords; (4) Some *-cund* coinages were lost together with their derivational bases. (5) Unlike the suffix *-ish,* which in Old English had a similar semantic profile to that of *-cund,* *-cund* did not undergo any semantic reanalysis in Middle English, which might have prevented it from a decline.

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