

Old English *æ* and *lagu* in the Four Gospels

Noriko Unebe

1. Introduction

The English language has adopted foreign elements from the early stage of its history and has expanded its vocabulary. Although the Old English vocabulary is, as Kastovsky (1992) states, “etymologically speaking, extremely homogeneous, especially if compared with present-day English,”¹ the foreign influence modified the Old English vocabulary.² The largest group of loans during the Old English period is, needless to say, Latin, and the second largest comes from Scandinavian. Serjeanston (1935) considers that about thirty Scandinavian loans “may be ascribed to the period before 1016,”³ and “[t]he earliest loans ... are of a more or less technical character, having to do chiefly with the sea and with legal customs.”⁴

Lagu ‘law’ is one of such Scandinavian loans and it ousted the native *æ* in the end. Godden (1980) observes that “by the end of the tenth century the word *lagu* had become established in English as a term for the specific laws or customs of a particular region or people, as opposed to the laws or constitutions governing other peoples in the same kingdom.”⁵ He points out that Wulfstan regularly uses *lagu*, in the first two decades of the eleventh century, “both for secular and ecclesiastical laws in general and for the law of God,” but he also concludes, by studying Ælfric’s works (the *Catholic Homilies*, the *Grammar*, and the *Lives of Saints*), that “Ælfric does not use *lagu* at all in the *Catholic Homilies*, although the native word *æ* occurs some 144 times,” and “Ælfric seems to have avoided using *lagu* for religious law or Old Testament law or the law of God.”

This paper is intended as a semasiological approach to grasp the process of replacement of native words and foreign borrowings, with special reference to Old English *æ* and *lagu*. The texts examined here are the Anglo-Saxon Gospels because Latin can be used as a semantic criterion, and we can compare the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts for the same passage.

2. Old English Synonyms for ‘Law’

First of all, we have to inquire into the words that signify ‘law’ in Old English. A *Thesaurus of Old English* [TOE] shows a lot of synonyms for ‘law,’ and the following are the typical examples.⁶

14 Law, custom, covenant: *æ*, *lagu*

.Code of law or faith: *æriht*

.King’s peace: *griþ*, *mund*, *sib*

..Absence of peace: unriþ

14.01 Law, body of rules: lagu

.A nation's law: folcræden

.Right of the people, law of the land: folclagu, folcrist, landriht, leodriht

.Civil law: burglagu, wourdlagu, worud(ge)riht

.Customary law: worulgewuna

..Statement of customary law: wordriht

.A collection of regulations, code of laws: gerædnes, þeodscipe

.A branch of law: lagu

.Right/just law, equity: rihtlagu

14.01.02 A law, statute: æbebod, asetnesw, æbod, hat, inseten, insetnis, lagu, (ge)setnes

.A (spoken) law: wordriht

.A legal text: lahwrit

.A book of decrees/the law: æboc, domboc

.A rule, order, law: gemet

.An ordinance, law: (ge)set(ed)nes

.Knowledge of the law or ordinances: æcræft

..A man learned in law: æcræftiga

.Relating to law: ælic, rædendlic

.Judicial: domlic

.Legal, legitimate: ælic, æwe, æwfæstlic, lahwic, riht

.Legal, according to common law: folcrist

.Legally sound: clæne

.Skilled in the law: æcræftig, ægleaw

.(Of laws) mild, gentle: liþe

.Lawfully: ælice, lahwice

16.02.01.09 The law: æ, lagu

.God's law: godes lagu

..(Of God's law) perfect: unforgripendlic, ungrispendlic

..Christ's law: cristene lagu, cristes lagu

..A true ruling, statute of God's law: soþcwide

As our present concern is to consider how and why a loanword supersedes a native word, the discussion is to be limited to *æ* and *lagu* here.

3. Etymology and Definitions

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* [OED], “[L]aw is the usual English rendering of Latin *lex*, and to some extent of Latin *jus*.”⁷ The main definitions of *lex* and *ius* (*jus*) in *Oxford Latin Dictionary* [OLD] are as follows:⁸

lex *légis, f.*

- 1 The legal machinery of a state, the law (regarded as an active force).
- 2 An enactment of a sovereign power, law, statute.
- 3 (pl.) The laws regarded as a body, the constitution.
- 4 Legal right or title; *lege*, by legal right, by law.
- 5 A rule made by any authority, ordinance, regulation.
- 6 A rule or principle of any art or craft; esp. the rules of scansion or versification.
- 7 **a** A law or rule established by divine authority or universally accepted by mankind. **b** a rule or decree (of fate, destiny, etc.).
- 8 A principle inherent in the nature of a thing, a condition of existence.
- 9 What is allowable or right, the due measure, propriety.
- 10 (pl.) Rule, control, dominion.
- 11 A compact or agreement stipulating the terms for the performance of work, etc., contract.
- 12 (pl.) Necessary conditions for the fulfillment of a promise, contract, etc., terms. **b** (sg.) a particular condition, term.
- 13 (pl.) Terms of peace or friendship.

iūs² *iúris, n.*

- 1 That which is sanctioned or ordained, law.
- 2 A legal system or code (with all its technicalities).
- 3 A particular provision of the legal code, a law, rule, or ordinance.
- 4 The binding decision(s) of a magistrate, judicial pronouncement(s).
- 5 *ius iurandum* (usu. treated as one word), A binding formula to be sworn to, an oath (whether or not in legal contexts); hence, by analogy. **b** *ius peierre*, to break one's oath.
- 6 The place or milieu in which justice is administered, court (mostly in such phrs. as *in ius ire*, *uocare*, and sim.)
- 7 (in wider sense) That which is good and just, the principles of law, equity, the right. **b** (abl.) rightly, justifiably. **c** justice (of an action or plea).
- 8 (of various unwritten laws): **a** *ius gentium*, A universally recognized code or rule of behaviour between nations or individuals. **b** *ius belli (bellicum)*, the conventions (or one of them) regulating the conduct of war, esp. the treatment of the vanquished. **c** *ius naturae, ius naturale*, the ideal law implanted in man by Nature (usu., but not always, coinciding with *ius gentium*).
- 9 (esp. w. gen.) The obligations bonds, or claims (or one of them) arising out of a given (social, etc.) relationship.
- 10 (esp. w. poss. adj. or pron.) What one is entitled to (esp. by law), one's right, due, prerogative, etc. **b** ground of right, title. **c** (*pro suo iure*, without exceeding one's rights, legitimately or sim. (esp. transf.); also to the full extent of one's rights, freely, at will; in one's own right. **d** *quo (nullo) iure*, by what (no) authority or right.
- 11 (w. obj. gen., esp. of gd. or gdve.) The right (to do or have something); (also w. inf. or *ut*).
- 12 Position or standing in respect of the law (esp. as regards the enjoyment or exercise of rights).
- 13 Rights over others, authority, jurisdiction (conferred by law).

A *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* [Buck] gives us distinction of *jus* and *lex*.⁹

21.11 LAW (General = Lat. *iūs*)

The 'law' in its general sense, the institution or body of laws (Lat. *iūs*), is in part expressed by the same words as those denoting a specific law (Lat. *lēs*), or by the plural or derivs. of the latter. More commonly, however the two notions are expressed by different terms, though even then the distinction is not always rigidly maintained. Especially the plural of words for 'lēs' may be used collectively = 'iūs'

The words for 'iūs' are mostly based on the notion of 'what is right', connected with adjectives for 'right' (these in part from 'straight, upright', 'true', or 'fitting'), or on 'usage, custom'. One is from 'memory' through 'tradition'. The Lat. *iūs* was in origin a term of religious cult, as indicated by its cognates, and the Indo-Iranian words covered primarily religious law.

Germanic cognates are; Goth. *witóþ*, ON *réttr*, Dan. *ret*, Sw. *rätt*, OE *riht*, *lagu*, ME *right*, *lawe*, NE *law*, Du. *recht*, OHG *reht*, MHG *reht*, NHG *recht*.

21.12 LAW (Special = Lat. *lēs*)

Words for a 'law' (Lat. *lēs*), so far as they are not the same as those discussed in 21.11, are most commonly derived from verbs for 'put, place, set, lay' (12.12), hence orig. what is 'laid down, established'. Other semantic sources are 'knowledge', 'collection'(?), and 'beginning, foundation'.... ON *log*, pl. of *lag* 'laying, good order', etc. (with many special senses, but not 'law' in sg.): *leggja* 'lay, put, place'. Here also Dan. *lov*, Sw. *lag*. ON **lagu* pl. (ancestor of *log*) > late OE *lagu* fem. sg., in earliest use coll. 'iūs' (and so in Aelfric's Gram.), then (at first only in pl.) 'lēs', ME *lawe*, NE *law*.... OE *æ*, *æw*, OHG *éwa*, MHG *éwe*, *é*, OS *éo*, OFris. *éwa* (all also 'marriage', as NHG *ehe*), prob.: Skt. *eva-* 'course, way, manner, custom', fr. IE **ei-* 'go', with semantic development 'custom' > 'law'.... OE *dóm*, ME *dome* 'judgement' (21.17), also freq. 'law'.

Germanic cognates are: Goth. *witóþ*, ON *log* (pl.), Dan. *lov*, Sw. *lag*, OE *æ(w)*, *lagu*, *dóm*, ME *lawe*, *dome*, NE *law*, Du. *wet*, OHG *éwa*, *wizzód*, *gisatzida*, MHG *éwe*, *gesetze(de)*, *wizzót*, NHG *gesetz*.

To sum up what *OLD* and *Buck* define, *lex* denotes 'specific rules or regulations made by religious and secular authority,' and *jus* means 'an aggregate of laws, conceptual ground of right.'

*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*¹⁰ [BT] defines *æ* as 'law, statute, custom, rite, marriage.' *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Supplement* [BTSuppl] adds 'law, matrimony.'

BT defines *lagu* as 'law, statute, decree, regulation, rule, fixed custom.' BTSuppl. adds as follows:

I. *the body of rules binding on the members of a state or community:*

Ia. *where the state is named:*

- Ib. where the name of the ruler with whom a code of laws is connected is given:
- Ic. *the regulations that concern a particular class:*
- Id. *what is fixed by law in a particular case:*
- II. *one of the individual rules which constitute the law (v. I):*
- III. *a particular branch of law:*
- IV. *the action of the courts of law, law (in to go to law):*
- V. of divine law.
 - (1) (God's) law or laws:
 - (2) the law of Moses:
 - (3) the Mosaic dispensation:
- VI. *customary rule or usage:*
- VII. *what is considered right and proper:*
- VIII. *a rule of action or procedure:*
 - VIIIa. *a rule laid down by one in authority for the treatment of a subject:*

As for *æ*, Holthausen gives us such definitions as 'Gesetz, Satzung, Religion, heil. Schrift, bibl. Buch, Ritus, Sitte, Ehe, -frau.'¹¹ He defines *lagu* as 'Gesetz, Bestimmung; Regel; Recht, Vorrecht; Rechtsgebiet.'

TOE demonstrates the meanings of *æ* and *lagu* from another point of view. *TOE* classifies their meanings as follows:

æ

- 12.09 Marriage, state of marriage
- 14 Law, custom, covenant
- 16.02.01.09 The law
- 16.02.04.03.01 A rite, ceremony

lagu

- 06.01.06.02.02 That which is taught, doctrine or teaching
- 09.03.07.01.01 A runic letter
- 11.05 Natural/proper way/manner/mode of action
- 14 Law, custom, covenant
- 14.01 Law, body of rules
- 14.01.01 Law(s) of particular scope
- 14.01.02 A law, statute
- 14.01.06 A rule, order, percept, tenet, principle
- 14.03.03 Law, action of the courts
- 16.02.01.08.01 The Old Testament
- 16.02.01.09 The law

Thus far, from the definitions in *BT*, *BTSupple*, and the classification in *TOE*, we see *æ* means basically 'what is divinely ordained,' and *lagu* 'the rules and regulations which are

fixed in the secular course of life.’ In other words the semantic range of *æ* is limited and that of *lagu* is rather comprehensive, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the semantic inflexibility of *æ* accelerated its replacement by *lagu* eventually.

4. Descriptions of the Manuscripts¹²

The Gospels examined here are the *West Saxon Gospels* (the Corpus MS, the Hatton MS), the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and the *Rushworth Gospels*. The *DOE Corpus*¹³, the Skeat’s editions¹⁴, and *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*¹⁵ are employed as sources of this study.

(1) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140 (*WSCp*)

The Corpus manuscript was written between the first half of the eleventh century and the twelfth century. This is the earliest of the six manuscripts containing the *West-Saxon Gospels*, namely ‘Corpus, Cambridge (Cambridge University Library Ii. 2. 11; s. XI 3rd quarter-XII¹), Bodley (Bodleian, Bodley 441; s. XI¹), Otho C. i (British Museum, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 1; s. XI¹-XI med.), Hatton, and Royal (British Museum Royal I. A. xiv; s. XII²) MSS.’

(2) Bodleian, Hatton 38 (*Hatton*)

The Hatton manuscript was written between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the latest copy of the *West-Saxon Gospels*. This MS was probably copied from Royal I A. xiv, a Christ Church Canterbury, book, and therefore the linguistic forms are regarded as Kentish.

(3) British Museum, Cotton Nero D. iv (*Li*)

This is so-called ‘the *Lindisfarne Gospels*’, which contains a continuous interlinear gloss in Northumbrian dialect. The Latin text was written by Eadfrið, bishop of Lindisfarne (698-721) at Lindisfarne about A.D. 700. The OE gloss was added by Aldred presumably about the second half of the tenth century.

(4) Bodleian, Auct. D. 2. 19 (*Ru*)

The Latin text of the *Rushworth Gospels* was written about A.D. 800. According to Morrell, “[t]he text of Rushworth is not so close to the Vulgate as that of Lindisfarne.”¹⁶ The OE gloss was added by two scribes, Farman and Owun during the tenth century. Farman glossed all of *Matthew*, *Mark* 1-2:15, and *John* 18:1-3, and Owun, the remainder. Farman’s part is called *Ru 1* and his dialect is regarded as Mercian. As Owun glossed to *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* by copying from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, his dialect is considered as Northumbrian, and Owun’s glosses are called *Ru 2*. In this research, examples from *Ru 1* are examined.

5. Collation of Data and Interpretation

In this observation, we basically compare the occurrences of *æ* and *lagu* in each Gospel together with the Latin originals. The Latin text used for the *West-Saxon Gospels* is the Vulgate for convenience’s sake.¹⁷

Table 1 summarizes the occurrences of words. In the Gospels, *lex* is a term to express ‘the Law’ and it is translated into *æ* in *WSCp* (33 times), *Li* (34 times), *Ru 1* (8 times,

Table 1

	Vulgate	WSCp	Hatton	Lat Li	LiGl	Lat Ru 1	Ru 1Gl
Mt 5:17	legem	æ	læge	legem	ae	legem	ae þ lare
Mt 5:18	lege	æ	lage	lege	ae	lege	ae
Mt 7:12	lex	æ	lage	lex	æ	lex	ae
Mt 11:13	lex	æ	lage	lex	æ	lex	ae
Mt 12:5	lege	æ	lage	lege	æ	lege	ae
Mt 15:2	traditionem	lage	læge	traditionem	selenise þ setnesa	traditionem	gesettnisse
Mt 15:3	traditionem	lage	lage	traditionem	selenise þ setnise	traditionem	gesettnisse
Mt 15:6	traditionem	lage	lage	traditionem	selenise	traditionem	settnisse
Mt 22:35	legis	æys	lage	legis	æs	legis	æ-laruw
Mt 22:36	lege	æ	lage	lege	æ	lege	ae
Mt 22:40	lex	æ	lage	lex	ae	lex	ae
Mt 23:23	legis	æ	lage	legis	æs	legis	æ
Mt 26:28	testamenti	æ	læge	testamenti	gewitnessæ	testamenti	gewitnisse
Mk 7:8	traditionem	laga	lage	traditionem	setnesse	-	-
Mk 7:9	traditionem	laga	lage	traditionem	selenise	-	-
Mk 7:13	traditionem	lage	lage	traditionem	setnesa	-	-
Lk 2:22	legem	æ	lage	legem	ae	-	-
Lk 2:23	lege	æ	lage	lege	ae	-	-
Lk 2:24	lege	æ	læge	lege	æ	-	-
Lk 2:27	legis	æ	læge	legis	acs	-	-
Lk 2:39	legem	æ	lage	legem	ae	-	-
Lk 7:30	legis	æ-gleawan	lage-gleawen	legis	æs	-	-
Lk 10:26	legis	æ	lage	legis	æ	-	-
Lk 16:16	lex	æ	(No Text)	lex	æ	-	-
Lk 16:17	lege	æ	(No Text)	lege	æ	-	-
Lk 24:44	lege	æ	lage	lege	æ	-	-
Jn 1:17	lex	æ	lage	lex	æ	-	-
Jn 1:45	lege	æ	ea	lege	ae	-	-
Jn 7:19(1)	legem	æ	eæ	legem	æ	-	-
Jn 7:19(2)	legem	æ	eæ	legem	ae	-	-
Jn 7:23	lex	æ	eæ	lex	ae	-	-
Jn 7:49	legem	æ	eæ	legem	ae	-	-
Jn 7:51	lex	æ	eæ	lex	æ	-	-
Jn 8:5	lege	æ	eæ	lege	æ	-	-
Jn 8:17	lege	æ	lage	lege	æ	-	-
Jn 10:34	lege	æ	lege	lege	æ	-	-
Jn 12:34	lege	æ	lage	lege	æ	-	-
Jn 15:25	lege	æ	lage	lege	æ	-	-
Jn 18:31	legem	æ	lage	legem	æ	-	-
Jn 19:7(1)	legem	æ	lage	legem	ae	-	-
Jn 19:7(2)	legem	æ	lage	legem	ae	-	-

including one double-gloss; see below), and *lagu* in *Hatton* for 24 times. In *Li* and *Ru 1*, *lagu* does not occur as an equivalent to *lex*.¹⁸ *Jus* does not appear to describe ‘the Law,’ but the derivatives *jusjurandum* ‘a binding formula to be sworn to, an oath’ and *juramentum* ‘an oath’ appear. The former occurs once in *Mk* 6:26, and the Old English counterpart is *ád* in *WSCp* and *Hatton*, *ád geswæren* in *Li*. The latter occurs in *Mt* 5:33, 14:7, 9, 26:72, and the word is translated into *ád* in *WSCp*, *Hatton*, *Li*, and *Ru 1*. *Legis periti* is rendered into *æ-gleawan* ‘learned in the law’ in *WSCp* and *lage-gleawen* in *Hatton* (*Lk* 7:30), and it is translated into *æs wuto* in *Li*. *Legis doctor* is translated into *æ-larum* ‘teacher of the law’ in *Ru 1*. As mentioned above, in *Ru 1*, *legem* is glossed double in *Mt* 5:17 as *ae l lare*. This suggests that *æ* is synonymous with *lar* ‘lore, learning, preaching, doctrine, precept.’

In *Hatton*, *lex* is mostly rendered into *lagu*, but *æ* for 7 times. *Lagu* is also an equivalent to *traditio* ‘the transmission of knowledge, teaching, the handing down of knowledge, an item of traditional knowledge, belief, etc.’ for 6 times. *Traditio* does not mean ‘God’s Law, or decrees’ here, but ‘the rules, which were decided by human beings.’

<i>Mt</i> 15:2	Vulgate	Quare discipuli tui transgrediuntur traditionem seniorum
	<i>WSCp</i>	Hwi forgymað þine leorningnihtas ure yldrena lage ;
	<i>Hatton</i>	Hwi forgymeð þine leorningnihtas ure caldran læge
	<i>Li</i>	forhuom ðegnas ðinne hia ofergaes l oferhogas selenise l setnesa ðara aeldra
	<i>Ru 1</i>	forhwon leorneras þine ofergæp gesettnisse para ældra ne thuað honda heora þonne hiæ half etað

(Why do your disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?)¹⁹

<i>Mt</i> 15:3	Vulgate	Ipse autem respondens ait illis: Quare et vos transgredimini mandatum Dei propter traditionem vestram
	<i>WSCp</i>	Ða andsworode he him, 7 hwi forgyme ge Godes bebod for eowre lage
	<i>Hatton</i>	Þa answerede se hælend heom 7 hwi for-geme ge godes bebod for eowre lage
	<i>Li</i>	ðe l he wutetlice ondworde cueð him forhuon 7 gie ofergaað l forhogas bebod godes fore selenise l setnise hire
	<i>Ru 1</i>	he þa ondswarade cwæp to heom forhwon 7 ge ek ofergæp bebod godes for gesettnisse eowre

(He answered them, “And why do you transgress the commandment of God for the sake of you tradition?”)

<i>Mt</i> 15:6	Vulgate	non honorificabit patrem suum”; et irritum fecistis verbum Dei propter traditionem vestram
	<i>WSCp</i>	7 ne wurðiaþ fæder 7 modor 7 ge for naht dydon Godes bebod for eowre lage
	<i>Hatton</i>	7 ne wurðiað fader 7 moder 7 ge for naht dydon godes be-bod eower lage
	<i>Li</i>	7 ne worðiges fader his l moder 7 bismar l telend ge dydon bebod godes fore selenise iure

Ru 1 7 ne ariað fæder his 7 moder his 7 ge ungænge gedydon bebod godes for
settnisse eowrum

(he does not honour his father [and mother]. So, for the sake of your tradition, you have made void the word of God.)

Mk 7:8 *Vulgate* Relinquentes mandatum Dei tenetis **traditionem** hominum
WSCp Soþlice ge forlætað godes bebod, 7 healdað manna **laga**
Hatton Soðlice ge for-læteð godes bebod 7 healded manna **lage**
Li eft forleortono forðon beboda godes gie haldas setnesse monna
 (You leave the commandment of God, and hold fast the tradition of men.)

Mk 7:9 *Vulgate* Et dicebat illis: Bene irritum facitis praeceptum Dei, ut **traditionem** vestram
 servetis.
WSCp Ða sæde he him, wel ge on idel dydon godes bebod þæt ge eower **laga**
 healdon
Hatton Ða sæde he heom wel ge on ydel dyden godes be-bod þæt ge eower **lage**
Li 7 cuoeð to him woel bismærlice gie doeð bebod godes þæt **selenise** iuer
 gie haldas

(And he said to them, “You have a fine way of rejecting the commandment of God, in order to keep your tradition.”)

Mk 7:13 *Vulgate* rescindentes verbum Dei per **traditionem** vestram, quam tradidistis;
WSCp Toslitende godes bebod for eower stuant **lage** þe ge gesetton;
Hatton to-slitende godes be-bod for eower stunten **lage** þe ge ge-sættan
Li eft gie toslitas word godes ðerh **setnesa** iuera ðone gie sasldon
 (thus making void the word of God through your tradition which you hand on.)

Ttraditio is translated into *lagu* in *WSCp*, but in *Li* and *Ru 1*, we find other renderings, *selenise* ‘tradition,’ (*ge*)*setnise* ‘institution, law, ordinance, decree.’ This implies that *lagu*, which means ‘law’ irrespective either of religious or secular, already overwhelmed the native *æ* when the Hatton MS was written.

Testamentum ‘a will, testament’ occurs once, which is correspondent to *æ* in *WSCp*, *læge* in *Hatton*, *gewitnesa* ‘knowledge, witness, testimony’ in *Li*, and *gewitnisse* in *Ru 1*. The reason *æ* is an equivalent to *testamentum* in *WSCp* is that New Testament is denoted here.

Mt 26:28 *Vulgate* hic est enim sanguis meus novi **testamenti** qui pro multis effunditur in
 remissionem peccatorum
WSCp Þis is witodlice mines blodes calic niwre **æ** þæt byð for manegum agoten
 on synna forgygenysse
Hatton þis is witodlice mines blodes calic niwre **læge**
Li ðis is forðon blod min ðære niua **gewitnesa** seðe 1 þæt fore monigum

Ru 1 þæt is forþon blod min para neowe **gewitnisse** þæt for mongum bið
agoten in forletnisse synne

(for this is My blood of the new covenant poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.)

6. Conclusion

Having observed how *æ* and *lagu* are used as equivalents to Latin originals in the Gospels, what evidence suggests are that both had the same meaning as *lex*, but the predominance of native *æ* declined during the eleventh century. As mentioned above, *æ* tends to be specialized in the religious decrees, which makes the word rather difficult to mean laws in general. In the Corpus MS, *lagu* occurs as an equivalent to *traditio* and the fact leads us to believe that *lagu* was not used to mean the religious laws at that time. It may safely be assumed that the use of *lagu* outside of religion facilitated its victory over the native *æ*.

¹ Dieter Kastovsky, "Semantics and Vocabulary," in Richard M. Hogg ed., *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Vol. I, The Beginnings to 1066* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 299.

² Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language, Tenth Edition*, (Blackwell, 1982), p. 55.

³ Mary S. Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English* (London, 1935), p. 64.

⁴ Serjeantson (1935), p.63.

⁵ Malcolm R. Godden, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary," *ES* 61 (1980), pp. 206-23.

⁶ Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy, *A Thesaurus of Old English in Two Volumes* (King's College London, 1995).

⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., on Compact Disc for Apple Macintosh* (OUP, 1993), *law*, n¹.

⁸ P. G. W. Glare ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1982).

⁹ Carl D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (The University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 1417-22 (Chapter 21).

¹⁰ Joseph Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, edited and enlarged by T. N. Toller, (1898; OUP, 1980). *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of Jpseph Bosworth Supplement*, by T. N. Toller with Revised and Enlarged Addenda by Alistair Campbell, (1921; OUP, 1980). I have also consulted *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, edited by J. R. Clark Hall with a Supplement by Herbert D. Meritt, (University of Toronto Press, 1984).

¹¹ F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1974).

¹² As for the descriptions of manuscripts, I have referred to *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, edited by N. R. Ker, (1957; Osford, 1990), M. C. Morrell, *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials* (University of Tennessee Press, 1965), pp. 154-94, and the Preface to St. Mark's Gospel in *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and according to Saint Mark*, edited by W. W. Skeat, (1871-87; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), p. v. ff.

¹³ Antonette diPaolo Healey ed., *Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form, 1998 Release* (The Dictionary of Old English Project, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto).

¹⁴ W. W. Skeat ed., *The Gospel accordint to Saint Matthew and according to Saint Mark, The Gospel according to Saint Luke and according to Saint John* (1871-87; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970).

¹⁵ Antonette diPaolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky eds., *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (The Dictionary of Old English Project, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 1980).

¹⁶ Morrell (1965), p. 175n.

¹⁷ According to Morrell (1965), “[I]t has been obvious from the beginning of the study of the West Saxon Gospels that the Latin text on which they were based was not the Vulgate (p. 186).” There may be room for argument on this point but I leave the matter untouched here. I have used the Vulgate as the Latin text of the *West-Saxon Gospels* and the edition is *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, edited by E. Nestle *et al* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft Stuttgart, 1984).

¹⁸ I have consulted *A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels Latin-West Saxon and West-Saxon-Latin* by M. A. Harris, issued as no. 6 of Yale Studies in English in 1899, rpt. in *Word-Indices to Old English Non-Poetic Texts* (Archon Books, 1974). *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* by A. S. Cook, (1894; Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), and *Glossar zu Farmans Anteil an der Rushworth-Glosse* by E. Schulte (Bonn: Georgi, 1904).

¹⁹ Modern English translation of the Gospels is based on *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, Revised Standard Version* (The Bible Societies).