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On the Semantic Development of Old English *turnian/tyrnan*

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It is well known that the paradigm of *go-went-gone* was made up as a result of suppletion, that is, the past tense form of Old English *wendan* 'to turn' came to be used as the past tense of *go*. This explanation, however, leads us to the question of what became of the original sense of *wendan* 'turning.' In Old English vocabulary, verbs denoting 'turning,' namely *turnian* and *tyrnan*, also existed. Although the frequency of such verbs is less than that of *wendan* in the Old English period, later development of *turnian* and *tyrnan* offers the key to understanding why *wendan* > *wend* lost its original position to mean 'to turn.'

Key words : Old English, semantic development, turning

1．Introduction

The paradigm of Modern English *go* is sometimes taken up as one example of suppletion, the explanation of which can be traced back to Germanic. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* [*OED*], the past tense form of OE *gán* was lost, and its missing form was supplied in Old English by *éode* (*-dest, -de, -don*) from a lost form equivalent to Gothic *iddja*, the past tense of gaggan 'to go.'[1] However, *iddja* and *éode* do not seem to have a close relation with each other. *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörtebuch* describes *éode* as "unbek. Herk.,"[2] and Cowgill (1960) also says that "*iddja* … and *éode* have to be separated from each other and explained as two originally quite unrelated formations which happened to enter into a suppletive relation with *ganga/i* - 'to go' in two different Germanic dialects."[3] The past tense of OE *gán* was supplemented by a form of an unrelated verb, probably before the Old English period, and it was also replaced by another thereafter. The *OED* explains that *éode* disappeared in the 15th century, and it was superseded by the past tense form of *wend* (< OE *wendan* 'to turn'). In the end, "*went* finally replaced the older preterits belonging to *go*, and from *c*1500 is most naturally regarded as the pa. tense of that verb, while *wend* was provided with the new form *wended*."[4]

As for the reason of the replacement of *eode* for *wend*, Wełna (2001) observes that the semantic field of *wendan* included the sense of 'to go' from the very beginning, and "occasional past tense form *wende* is frequently difficult to interpret as it may retain either the original sense 'turned' or the new sense 'went.'"[5] This explanation drives us to the next question whether there is a possibility that another word may have taken over the meaning 'to turn.' In Modern English, a typical verb meaning

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'to turn' is *turn*, which goes back to Old English *turnian* (v. *tyrnan*) 'to revolve round an axis or centre.'

The purpose of this paper is to show how Old English *turnian* and *tyrnan* developed their meanings, which resulted in the Modern English *turn*, by analyzing the quotations from dictionaries, thesauri and Layamon's *Brut* written in early Middle English. This may explain why *wend*, the original meaning of which was 'to turn,' became infrequent after the Old English period and, on the other hand, the past tense form of *wend*, that is *went*, survived and was incorporated in the paradigm of *go* in the end.

2．The etymologies of *wend* and *turn*

According to the *OED*, the etymologies of *wend* and *turn* are as follows:[6]

wend, v[1].

Pa. tense and *pa. pple*. **wended** ('wɛndɪd). Forms: *inf*. α. 1 **wendan** (North. **wœnda**), 2 **wænden** (**wanden**), 3–4 **wenden** (3 *Orm*. **wendenn**), 5 **wendyn**, *Sc*. **wendin**; 3–6 **wende** (4 **whende**), 4–5 *north*. and *Sc*. **vend**, 4– **wend**; 3 *sing. pres*. 1–4 **went** (2 **want**); β. 3 **wiende**, 4–5 **weende**, *north*. and *Sc*. 4–5 **weind, weynd**, 5 **weynde**; γ. 4 **winde, wind**, 5 **wynde, wynd**; δ. 4–6 **went**. *pa. tense* 1–4 **wende** (3 *Orm*. **wennde**); 2 **wænte** (**wante**), 4–5 **wente**, 4– **went** (5 **whent**); *north*. 4 **weint**, 4–5 **wynt**; 6– **wended** (5 *north*. **weyndut**). *pa. pple*. 1 **ȝewend**, 3–4 **iwend**, 4 **ywend, -e** (**wende**), 3–5 **wend** (3 *Orm*. **wennd**); 2 **i-want**, 3–5 **i-, iwent, went, wente**, 4 **y-, ywent**, 5 **i-wente**; *Sc*. 6 **wynt**; 1, 4, 6– **wended**.

Common Teutonic: OE. *wendan*, = OFris. *wenda* (WFris. *weine, wine*, NFris. *wên, wän*), MDu. (and Du.) *wenden*, OS. *wendian* (MLG. and LG. *wenden*, LG. *wennen*), OHG. *wentan* (MHG. and G. *wenden*), ON. and Icel. *venda* (Norw. *venda*; Sw. *vadotabnda*, Da. *vende*), Goth. *wandjan*; f. *wand-, the preterite stem of *windan* WIND v.1, of which *wendan* is the causative. The original forms of the pa. tense and pple. are respectively *wende* and *wended, wend*, but the forms *wente, went* appear beside these from *c* 1200, and latterly become the more usual; in the refl. and intr. senses *went* finally replaced the older preterites belonging to *go*, and from *c* 1500 is most naturally regarded as the pa. tense of that verb, while *wend* was provided with the new form *wended*.

turn, v.

α. 1 **tyrnan**, 3 **tuyrne**; 3 **teorne**, 3–5 **terne**, 5 **tern**. β. 1 **turnian**, 3 (*Orm*.) **turrnenn**, (3–4 **teurne**), 3–7 **turne**, 4–6 *Sc*. **twrn**(e, 4– **turn**; 3–6 **torne**, 4–6 **tourne**, 4–7 **torn**.

OE. *tyrnan* and *turnian*, both ad. L. *tornāre* to turn in a lathe, round off, f. *torn-us* a lathe, a turner's wheel = Gr. τόρνος a carpenter's tool to draw circles with, compasses, whence τορνεύειν to turn, work with a lathe; perhaps reinforced in ME. by OF. *torner, turner, tourner*, F. *tourner*, Pic. *torner*, Prov., Sp. *tornar*, It. *tornare*, all:—L. *tornāre*; cf. OHG. *turnen*, Icel. *turna* to turn (*turnera* to tilt, joust, Norw. dial. *tunna* to swing, whirl), ad. F. *tourner*.

To sum up, *wend* is a Germanic native, and *turn* is originally borrowed from Latin and reinforced by Old French during the Middle English period.

3．Semantic categories in *A Thesaurus of Old English*

According to A *Thesaurus of Old English* [*TOE*], the meanings of Old English *(ge)wendan, turnian*, and *tyrnan* are classified as below:[7]

(ge)wendan
05.03.02.01.01 An event, occurrence
  05.03.02.01.01|05   To come to pass, happen
05.12.01 To go, progress, travel (usually on land)
05.12.02 To move, set in motion
  05.12.02|01 To cause to move, alter direction/position
  05.12.02.08 To give a different direction to, turn
    05.12.02.08|01 To move (something) in a circle
05.12.05 To move and change direction, turn
  05.12.05.03 To travel away (from)
    05.12.05.03.03 To depart, leave, set out
05.13 Changeableness, change
  05.13|06 To change, vary, alter
09.04.03 Exposition, making clear by explanation
  09.04.03.01 A translation
    09.04.03.01|02 To translate

On the other hand, the semantic categories of *turnian* and *tyrnan* are rather limited.

turnian
02.08.07 Specific diseases
  02.08.07.01 Pain in head/neck
    02.08.07.01 Dizziness
      02.08.07.01.01 To reel, be dizzy
  05.12.05 To move and change direction, turn
    05.12.05.04 To rotate, turn round, revolve

tyrnan
05.12.02 To move, set in motion
  05.12.02.08 To give a different direction to, turn
    05.12.02.08|01 To move (something) in a circle
05.12.05 To move and change direction, turn
  05.12.05.04 To rotate, turn round revolve

We find from the classifications of *TOE* that the common semantic category of *wendan*, *turnian*, and *tyrnan* is [05.12.05 To move and change direction, turn]. What interests us is that *wendan* and *tyrnan* have shared some semantic categories, such as [05.12.02 To move, set in motion], [05.12.02.08 To give a different direction to, turn], [05.12.02.08|01 To move (something) in a circle], and

[05.12.05]. However, *turnian* does not have the senses [05.12.02 To move, set in motion], [05.12.02.08 To give a different direction to, turn], and [05.12.02.08 | 01 To move (something) in a circle]. From this, it may safely be assumed that *tyrnan*, rather than *turnian*, could be used instead of *wendan*. As for *wendan* itself, it means [05.12.05.03 To travel away (from)] and [05.12.05.03.03 To depart, leave, set out], which implies that *wendan* could be used like a typical verb of motion denoting 'going' such as *gán, faran*, and *feran*. In other words, it may be no exaggeration to say that Old English *wendan* was eligible from the beginning to merge into the paradigm of *go*.

4．The definitions of Old English *wendan*, *turnian, and tyrnan*

The definitions of *wendan, turnian* and *tyrnan* in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* [*ASD*] are listed below.[8] The texts cited in *ASD* are given in the parentheses.

wendan; *p*. de. *To turn*

I. *trans.*

1. *To cause to move, alter the direction or position* of something (lit. or fig.)

(Elen. Kmbl. 696; El. 348./ Bt. 35, 6; Fox 170.20./ Ps. Th. 100, 4./ Lk. Skt. 6, 29./ Blickl. Homl. 191, 2./ Ps. Th. 111, 8./ Salm. Kmbl. 871; Sal. 435.)

2. *to turn round or over*

(Dóm. L. 244./ Exon. Th. 440, 19; Rä. 60, 5./ Lchdm. iii. 16, 24./ Wrt. Voc. ii. 21, 27./ Exon. Th. 441, 16; Rä. 60, 19.)

3. *to turn* from one condition to another, *to change, alter, convert*

(Ps. Th. 113, 8./ Exon. Th. 333, 24; Gn. Ex. 9./ Ps. Th. 106, 33./ 104, 25./ L.I.P. 11; Th. ii. 318, 23./ Homl. Th. i. 168, 22./ Exon. Yh. 211, 2; Ph. 191./ 147, 21; Gú. 730./ 276, 23; Jul. 570: Elen. Kmbl. 1955; El. 979./ Ors. 2, 1; Swt. 64, 2./ Ps. Th. 101, 23./ Bt. Proem.; Fox viii, 2/ Cd. Th. 262, 21; Dan. 747.)

II. reflexive,

1. *to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend* (lit. or fig.)

(Salm. Kmbl. 37; Sal. 19./ 207; Sal. 103./ Lchdm. ii. 258, 11./ Gen. 42, 24./ Chr. 894; Eri. 92, 5./ Cd. Th. 31, 31; Gen. 493: 34, 33; Gen. 547./ Elen. Kmbl. 877; El. 440./ Cd. Th. 56, 28; Gen. 919.)

2. *to turn, direct the attention*

(Bt. 40, 1; Fox 236, 11.)

III. *intrans.*

1. *To wend, go, proceed* (lit. and fig.)

(Lk. Skt. 17, 31./ Bt. 4; Fox 8, 17: Met. 13, 55./ Beo. Th. 3482; B. 1739./ Bt. 39, 2; Fox 212, 26./ Lk. Skt. 8, 37./ Chr. 895; Erl. 93, 25./ Exon. Th. 41, 3; Cri. 650./ Hierusalem, Mk. Skt. 3, 22./ Lk. Skt. 24, 33./ Homl. Skt. ii. 25, 425, 435./ Jud. Thw. 162, 9./ Byrht. Th. 137, 52; By. 205./ Blickl. Homl. 195, 27./ Byrht. Th. 139, 10; By. 252./ Met. 18, 11./ Met. 4, 40./ Exon. Th. 105, 24; Gú. 28./ Chr. 1046; Erl. 174, 13. (1a) with reflexive dative:--/ 1048; Erl. 177, 40.)

2. *to turn round*

(Scint. 97, 4.)

3. *to turn* from one condition to another, *to change, alter*

(Ps. Th. 77, 57: Exon. Th. 73, 7; Cri. 1186./ Andr. Kmbl. 1174; An. 587./ Lchdm. ii. 248, 7.)

4. *to change, shift, vary, be variable*
   (Bt. 42; Fox 258, 20./ Exon. Th. 379, 13; Deór. 379.)

turnian; *p*. ode.
I. *to turn* (intrans.), *revolve* round an axis or centre
   (Homl. Th. i. 514, 23.; Lchdm. iii. 254, 16.; Lchdm iii. 12, 108-110.; Hpt. Gl. 422, 66.)
II. of giddiness, *to turn*
   (Lcdm. iii. 90, 8)

tyrnan; *p*. de.
I. *to turn* (intrans.), *revolve* on an axis, round a centre
   (Lchdm. iii. 232, 18: 254, 11: Boutr. Scrd. 18, 28: Homl. Th. ii. 214, 29.; Lchdm. iii. 270, 22.; Homl. Th. i. 514, 20.; Hexam. 7; Norm. 12, 32.; Homl. Th. ii. 508, 19.; Techm. ii. 119, 11: 126, 1.; Germ. 403, 8.)
II. *to turn* (trans.), *to cause to revolve* (Homl. Skt. i. 14, 93.)

The definitions in *ASD* indicate that the semantic realm of Old English *wendan* seems to be much wider than that of Old English *turnian* and *tyrnan*. In other words, *wendan* was originally causative, but it gradually lost the original meanings 'to cause to move, to alter the direction or position of something,' then it came to mean 'to go, to proceed' instead. As Weman says,"[t]he sense 'turn, back, etc.' still exists, but is not conceived as something primary or specific."[9] In this manner, *wendan* comes to cover the meanings of the Modern English *go*.

On the contrary, Old English *turnian* and *tyrnan* exclusively express 'to rotate, to revolve on an axis,' the meaning of which succeeds the sense of Latin *tornāre* 'to turn in a lathe' as the *OED* describes.

5．The definitions of Latin *tornāre*

As is mentioned above, *turnian* and *tyrnan* were adodpted from Latin *tornāre*. Now let us look up the Latin definitions of *tornāre*.

(1) *A Latin Dictionary* by Lewis and Short[10]
torno, āvi, ātum, 1, *v. a.* 'to turn in a lathe, to round off.'

(2) *Oxford Latin Dictionary* by Glare[11]
tornō, ~āre ~āuī ~ātum, *tr.* [TORNVS + -o³] To make round by turning on a lathe. **b**. (transf.) ~*atus*, rounded (as though by turning).

(3) *DMLBS*[12]
tornare [CL]
1 (trans.) to rotate and shape on lathe, wheel, or sim. rotating device, turn; **b** (fig.).
2 to rotate, turn (thing). **b** (refl.) to turn.
3 to make to face (in particular direction), direct, turn.

4 to turn (one thing into another), convert. **b** to cause to deteriorate, change for the worse, turn bad (in quot. pass.).

5 ? to get ready, equip (? *cf. attornare* 4.).

6 (intr.) to rotate, swivel, turn. **b** (pr. ppl. as adj., *pons ~ans*) drawbridge.

What has to be noticed is that the semantic development of *tornāre* happens in Medieval Latin. In Classical Latin, the main meaning of *tornāre* is 'to round off by a concentric circle movement,' but it shows the semantic development later. The definition **3** in *DMLBS* "to make to face (in particular direction), direct, turn' takes an illustration in **1155** 'de unaquaque domo .. cujus gabulum est ~atum adversus viam[13] (*Scarborough*) *BBC* 47.' In short, Latin *tornāre* began to denote the shift of direction rather than rotation around the 12th century.

6．Old English texts which include *wendan, turnian*, and *tyrnan*

Having observed the semantic differences of *wendan*, *turnian*, and *tyrnan*, we have to go on to consider when and how these verbs are used. Table 1 summarizes the chronological list of the Anglo-Saxon MSS in which *wendan*, *turnian*, and *tyrnan* occurred.[14] Methods of Description such as serial numbers and dates follow Ker's catalogue. The abbreviations of texts in Table 1 are as follows:

wendan

Elen./El. = Elene| Bt. = King Alfred' Boethius| Ps. = Psalter| Lk. = St. Luke| Blickl.Homl. = Blickling Homilies| Salm. = Anglo-Saxon Dialogues of Salomon and Saturn| Dóm.L = Be Dómes Dæge (Bede, De die judicii)| Exon, = Codex Exoniensis; Rä. = Riddles; Gn.Ex. = Gnomic Verses; Ph. =Phœnix; Gú. = Legend of St. Guthlac; Jul. = The Liflade of St. Juliana; Deór = Deor| Ors. = Orosius| Cd. = Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrases; Dan. = Daniel| Lchdm. = Leechdoms| Chr. = The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles| L.I.P. = Institutes of Polity (in Ancient Laws and Institutes of England)| Homl.Th. = Homilies of Ælfric| Beo. = Beowulf| Mk. = St. Mark| Homl.Skt. = Ælfric's Lives of Saints| Jud. = Judith| Byrht. = The Battle of Maldon| Scint. = Defensoris Liber Scintillarum| Andr./An. = Andreas.

turnian

Homl.Th. = Homilies of Ælfric| Lchdm. = Leechdoms| Hpt.Gl. = Die Angelsächsischen Glossen in dem Brüsseler Codex von Aldelms Schrift De Virginitate (Aldhelm's De laude virginitatis).

tyrnan

Lchdm. = Leechdoms| Homl.Th. = Homilies of Ælfric| Hexam. = Hexameron of St. Basil| Germ. = Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 189| Homl.Skt. = Ælfric's Lives of Saints.

Table 1 Chronological List of MSS

Dates	Ker	MSS	Texts	Verb	Meaning
s IX/X-X^2	39	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, ff. 1-56	Chr.	wendan	· (refl.) to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend (lit. or fig.) · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.)
n.d. (s. X?)	172	British Museum, Cotton Otho a. xii (lost)	Byrht.	wendan	· (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.)
s. X^1	133	British Museum, Additional 47967	Ors.	wendan	· (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert
s. X med.	167	British Museum, Cotton Otho A. vi, ff. 1-129	Bt.	wendan	· (trans.) to cause to move, alter the direction or position of something (lit. or fig.) · (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert · (refl.) to turn, direct the attention · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.) · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.) · (intrans.) to change, shift, vary, be variable
s. X med.	264	British Museum, Royal 12 D. xvii	Lchdm. ii, iii	wendan	· (trans.) to turn round or over · (refl.) to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend (lit. or fig.) · (intrans,) to turn round
				turnian	· to turn (intrans.), revolve round an axis or centre · of giddiness, to turn
				tyrnan	· to turn (intrans.), revolve on an axis, round a centre
s. X med.	70	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422	Salm.	wendan	· (trans.) to cause to move, alter the direction or position of something (lit. or fig.) · (refl.) to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend (lit. or fig.)
s. X^2	116	Exeter, Cathedral 3501, ff. 8-130 (Codex Exoniensis or the Exeter Book)	Rä., Gn.Ex., Ph., Gú., Jul., Cynewulfs Christ, Deór	wendan	· (trans.) to turn round or over · (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.) · (intrans,) to turn round · (intrans.) to change, shift, vary, be variable
s. X^2	394	Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII (The Vercelli Book)	Elen., Andr.	wendan	· (trans.) to cause to move, alter the direction or position of something (lit. or fig.) · (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert · (refl.) to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend (lit. or fig.) · (intrans,) to turn round
s. X/XI	216	British Museum, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, ff. 94-209	Beo., Judith	wendan	· (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.) · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.)

Table 1 Chronological List of MSS (contd.)

Dates	Ker	MSS	Texts	Verb	Meaning
s. X/XI	382	Collection of William H. Scheide, Titusville	Blickl.Homl.	wendan	· (trans.) to cause to move, alter the direction or position of something (lit. or fig.) · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.)
s. X/XI	15	Cambridge, University Library Gg.3.28	Homl.Th.	wendan	· (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert
				turnian	· to turn (intrans.), revolve round an axis or centre
				tyrnan	· to turn (intrans.), revolve on an axis, round a centre
s. X/XI, XI^1	334	Bodleian, Junius 11 (5123)	Cd. (Genesis, Daniel)	wendan	· (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert · (refl.) to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend (lit. or fig.)
s. XI^1	8	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (1520)	Hpt.Gl.	turnian	· to turn (intrans.), revolve round an axis or centre
s. XI in.	162	British Museum, Cotton Julius E. vii	Homl.Skt.	wendan	· (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.)
				tyrnan	· to turn (trans.), to cause to revolve
s. XI in., XI^1	7	Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 189	Prudentius	tyrnan	· to turn (intrans.), revolve on an axis, round a centre
s. XI med.	49	Cambridge, Corous Christi College 201, pp. 1-178	Dóm.L.	wendan	(trans.) to turn round or over
s. XI med.	367	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8824	Ps.	wendan	· (trans.) to cause to move, alter the direction or position of something (lit. or fig.) · (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert · (intrans,) to turn round
s. XI^2	344	Bodleian, Laud Misc. 509+British Museum, Cotton Vwspasian D. xxi, ff. 18-40	Pentateuch (Genesis)	wendan	· (refl.) to move one's self, take one's way, go, proceed, wend (lit. or fig.)
s. XI (3rd quarter)	338	Oxford, Bodleian, Junius 121 (5232)	L.I.P.	wendan	· (trans.) to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert
s. XI^1-XII	35	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140	Gospels (St. Mark, St. Luke)	wendan	· (trans.) to cause to move, alter the direction or position of something (lit. or fig.) · (intrans.) to wend, go, proceed (lit. and fig.)
s. XI med.; s. XII/XIII	256	British Museum, Royal 7C. iv	Scint.	wendan	· (intrans,) to turn round
s. XII^2	238	British Museum, Harley 3013	Hexam.	tyrnan	· to turn (intrans.), revolve on an axis, round a centre

We can observe that the employment of *turnian* and *tyrnan* 'to revolve on an axis' occurs around the first half of the 10th century in *Leechdoms*.[15] The quotations from *Leechdoms* are as follows (underlines mine):

Seo firmamentum <u>tyrnð</u> symle onbutan us under þyssere wirðan 7 bufan (*Leechdoms*, Bk III, 254.9-11)

"The firmament always turns around us under this earth and above."

7 ealle ða steorran þe hyre on fæste synd <u>turniað</u> onbutan (*Leechdoms*, Bk III, 254.14-15)

"And all the stars which are fast fixed on it (i.e. the firmament) turn around."

Hi synd gehatene axis þ is ex for þam ðe se firmamentum <u>went</u> on ðam twam steorran swa swa hweogel <u>tyrnð</u> on eaxe (*Leechdoms*, Bk III, 270. 20-23)

"They are called axis that is axle, because the firmament turns on those two stars, just as the wheel turns on an axle."

In the third quotation, both *went* and *tyrnð* are used, and the meanings are distinguished. *Tyrnan* here is used to mean the actual concentric circle motion on an axis in order to explain the firmamental movement which is expressed by *went*. From this example, we can say that *wendan* and *tyrnan* were used separately in accordance to the semantic goal.

7. Historical semantic development of *turn*

The Historical Thesaurus of English [*HTE*] gives us an outline of semantic development of *turn*.[16] The older meanings of *turn*, which go back to Old English, are as follows:

01.03.01.04.15 vi.

Be in ill-health ∷ Have vertigo **turn < turnian** (OE + 1605 + 1892)

01.12.06|04 vi.

Point/lie in a direction ∷ change direction **turn < turnian/tyrnan** (OE–)

01.12.06|07.06 vi.

Point/lie in a direction ∷ turn round/to face a direction ∷ turn (as) on a pivot/swing round

turn<turnian/tyrnan (OE–)

01.14.01|03 vi.

Move the body/a member ∷ shift one's place/position **turn < tyrnan** (OE–)

01.14.02.05 vi.

Move in specific manner ∷ Revolve/rotate **turn < tyrnan/turnian** (OE + *c*1330–)

01.14.02.05 vt.

Move in specific manner ∷ Revolve/rotate **turn < tyrnan/turnian** (OE + *a*1300–)

01.14.02.05|03 vi.

Move in specific manner ∷ Revolve/rotate ∷ whirl **turn < tyrnan/turnian** (OE–1892 fig.)

01.14.02.05|03 vt.

Move in specific manner ∷ Revolve/rotate ∷ as (on) a wheel **turn < tyrnan/turnian** (OE–)

01.14.05.02 vi.

Move in a certain direction ∷ Change direction of movement **turn < tyrnan/turnian** (OE–*a*1400)

We have here the same results as the above discussion, but the meanings of *turn* as a verb suddenly developed after the Old English period. The fact that *turn* established its position as a verb of motion meaning 'turning' may accelerate the development of *wend* to mean 'going' more and more.

After Old English, the semantic categories of *turn* (verb) expanded as are shown below. According to *HTE*, the meanings of *turn*, from around 1100 to approximately 1300, are classified as below.

01.12.05.22 | 04 vt.

Cause to have specific position/arrangement ∷ Invert ∷ turn the reverse/wrong way **turn** (*c*1200–)

01.12.06 | 07.03 vi.

Point/lie in a direction ∷ turn round/to face a direction ∷ turn to opposite direction **turn** (*c*1275–1890)

01.12.06 | 09 vt.

Direct ∷ turn (something) to a (different) direction **turn** (*a*1300–)

01.13.11 vi.

Change **turn** (*c*1175–now rare)

01.13.11 vt.

Change **turn** (*c*1230–1892)

01.13.11 | 04 vi.

Change ∷ pass into state become **turn** (1303–)

01.13.11.02.02 | 01 vi.

Change ∷ Revert ∷ to former state/condition **turn** (1303–1697)

01.14.05.02 | 02 vt.

Cause to move in a direction ∷ Change direction of movement of ∷ cause to deviate from course **turn** (*c*1205–)

01.14.05.05 | 12 vi.

Move in a certain direction ∷ Move backwards ∷ turn back/reverse course **turn** (*c*1205–)

02.01.10.02.03.03.04 vt.

Translate **turn** (*c*1200–)

02.02.01 vi.

Be attentive, pay attention to **turn** (*c*1200–)

02.02.01 v. refl.

Direct one's attention **turn** (*c*1200–)

02.02.01 | 02 vt.

Take notice of ∷ direct attention, thought etc. **turn** (*c*1200–)

02.02.02.02.02 | 01 vt.

Distract ∷ from a purpose, etc. **turn** (*c*1200–)

02.05.04. v. refl.

Intend **turn** (*c*1200–1832)

02.05.04 | 04 vt.

Intend ∷ direct actions/speech, etc. towards **turn** (*c*1200–)

02.05.05.05.02 | 02 vi.

Direct ∷ Reverse/abandon one's purpose ∷ desert one's party/principles **turn (to)** (1297–1593+*a*1900

Scots)

02.06.11 | 14. vt.

　Relinquish/give up ∷ hand over to another **turn** (*c*1200–1535)

03.08.04.11.04 vi.

　Worship ∷ Convert **turn** (*a*1225–)

03.08.04.11.04 vt.

　Worship ∷ Convert **turn** (*c*1200–1692)

03.09.09 vt.

　Read **turn** (*c*1275–1688)

03.10.01.04 vi.

　Direct one's course **turn** (*c*1200–)

03.10.01.04 v. refl.

　Direct one's course **turn** (*a*1240–1867)

03.10.01.04 vi.

　Direct (one's course/steps, etc.) **turn** (*a*1300–)

03.10.01.04 v. refl.

　Direct one's course ∷ change one's course **turn** (*c*1200)

03.10.01.08 vt.

　Return **turn** (*a*1300–1594)

03.11.06.13 | 03 vt.

　Develop (a region) industrially ∷ Work with tools/equipment ∷ shaping tool **turn** (*c*1305–)

It is possible that the use of *turn* increased around 1200, and as a result, we can advance a hypothesis that *turn* developed into the current usage and meaning during the transition period. Let us now attempt to extend the observation into the text written around 1200 to verify the hypothesis.

8. The definitions of Middle English *wenden* and *turnen*

It is desirable to describe the definitions of Middle English *wenden* and *turnen* before moving on to a closer examination of the text written in early Middle English. *Middle English Dictionary*[17] [*MED*] shows the forms and definitions of *wenden* and *turnen* as follows:

wenden (v.)

Forms: also **wend(e, went, wind(e(n, wiend(e, vend(e,** (chiefly N or NWM) **weind(e(n,** (N) **whend(e, veind & wēnd(e &** (early) **wendan, uend(e, vent,** (SEM) **wænd(en, wand(e(n,** (SWM) **hwenden &** (early infl.) **wendende &** (?errors) **wen, wenid;** sg.3 **wendeth,** etc. & (WM) **wendus,** (chiefly early) **went,** (early SEM) **want &** (error) **wenðet;** pl. **wenden,** etc. & (early) **wendet, wendæþ,** (SEM) **want;** impv. **wend(e,** etc. & **wendit,** (early SEM) **want;** p. **wended,** (NWM) **weindut & went(e, wende, wante, vent(e,** (N) **whent,** (early) **weint, wænde,** (early SEM) **wænte &** (error) **wet;** pl. **went(e(n, wenton(e, vent,** (N) **wentain, weint &** (chiefly early) **wende(n,** (early) **wendan, wændon, wanten,** (SWM) **wunden;** ppl. **went(e, wend,** (WM) **weint, want,** (early) **vend.** Contractions: **wentestou** (= wentest thou), **wendte** (= wend the), **wentem** (= went hem), **wenhim** (= wend him).

Definitions: To go on foot, walk; to make one's way, travel, proceed, move; to go one's way, leave,

depart; to sail; to move across the heavens; to descend, come down; to go to hell after death; to pass (into or out of a state); to behave (in a certain way); to set out with the intention of doing something; to depart this life through death, die, to perish; (of time) to elapse; to move on an axis, rotate, spin; to change position, move, shift; to go in a certain direction; to return to a place, make one's way back to a certain location; to change in state or condition; change from one state, condition.

turnen (v.)

Forms: also **turn(e, turnne, turnon(e, tourne(n, torn(e(n, torni, torune, tern(e**, (SW or early SWM) **teurne(n**, (chiefly early SWM) **teorne** & (early) **turnien, turnʒe**, (SW) **tuirne** & (in surname) **tur-** & (?error) **tur**, (errors) **turm, tore, tuynde, twyne**; sg.2 **turnest**, etc. & **turnst**, (?error) **turnut**; sg.3 **turneth**, etc. & **turnus, tornth**, (early) **tirnð** & (?errors) **turnet, turnit**; p.sg.1 or 3 **turned**, etc. & **turnet, turnd(e, tournde, ternde** & (errors) **turde, torn(e, toned**; sg.2 **turned(est** & (?error) **turnedis**, (error) **turdest**; pl. **turneden**, etc. & **turnode, turnde(n, turndun, tornde(n**, (16th cent.) **tirnit** & (errors) **turd(e(n**; ppl. **turned**, etc. & **turnedde, turnet, turnd(e, tornnid, torn(o)d** & (?error) **turaned**, (errors) **turne, turnend, torn(e, toned**. Contraction: **torndem** (torned hem).

Definitions: To move about an axis, a center, or a fixed position, pivot; to shape (an object) while rotating it on a lathe or potter's wheel; to move along an arc, esp. on a hinge; to shift position by twisting about; to bend or twist (sth.); insert (sth. into a place) by turning, screw; to change position or orientation so as to face or point in a different direction; to go or travel in a certain direction, follow a certain route; to go (to or away from sb. or sth.); to shift the location of (sth.), transfer to another place; to change course so as to go in a different direction; to change spiritual or mental direction; to make one's way back to a place, go back; return (to a person, place, or condition); to reverse course; to resume a certain manner of life; to come to pass, occur, happen.

The definitions in *MED* show that *wenden* comes to have the general sense of 'going,' and *turnen* comes to be specialized in the sense of 'turning' during the Middle English period. This result may support the hypothesis proposed in this paper.

9. The occurrences of *wenden* and *turnen* in Layamon's *Brut*

From the above-mentioned illustrations, it seems reasonable to suppose that the semantic development of *turn* has affected the meaning of *wend*. In this section we would like to look at the occurrences of *wenden* and *turnen* in the early Middle English text. The text examined here is Layamon's *Brut*, lines 1-8020.[18] Layamon's *Brut* is extant in two manuscripts, and the present inquiry is based on MS Cotton Caligula A. IX. This manuscript was probably written in early Middle English around 1200 in or near West Midland, but the language is rather conservative and retains some Old English characteristics.[19] Therefore, this text is appropriate for confirming the actual appearance of *wenden* and *turnen* during the transition period from Old English to Middle English.

In Layamon's *Brut*, there are 157 *wenden* (78 *wende*, 76 *wenden*, 1 *wendest*, and 2 *went*); 28 *iwenden* (9 *iwende*, 19 *iwenden*); 9 *turnen* (6 *turnde*, 2 *trunden*, and 1 *turne*). The extracted exemplars (numbers indicate lines and underlines are mine) are as follows:[20]

wende

721 Corineus i·werð him wroð. 7 <u>wende</u> him to·ʒeines 7 saide þas ilke word mid michelere wre[ð]ðe.

"Corineus got aggrieved at this, and going over to him uttered the following words with rage and with fury."

1753 Leir king <u>wende</u> on anne feld 7 reste hine on folden.

"King Leir went into a field and rested on the fallows."

2978 Wælle muchel wes þa wop þæ Belin þeonne <u>wende</u>.

"Very great was the weeping when Belin went from there."

3415 7 þa he sculde of liue <u>wende</u> he hæfde feiren ende.

"And when he had to depart this life he had a lovely death."

4855 in he <u>wende</u> at Wit·sond 7 æt Doure he þohte nimen lond.

"He embarked at Wissant and at Dover planned to land."

5809 7 Conaan eorl mid wraðden <u>wende</u> to Scotten.

"But Earl Conan in anger went off to the Scotsmen."

6501 He <u>wende</u> to Winchæstre þer he Costanz funde.

"He went off to Winchester where he would find Constance."

7986 ah al oðer hit <u>wende</u> ær comen þes daies ende.

"But things went quite otherwise before the day's end came."

wenden

1296 þa hunter <u>wenden</u> æfter mid muchelen heora lude.

"The hunters all pursued it with their horns and loud clamour."

2827 7 swa þene dæi longe heo <u>wenden</u> seo[ð]ðen þa muntes.

"And then all the day long they went over the mountains."

3722 Forð·ward heo <u>wenden</u> 7 his folke fused.

"Forward they marched and his forces moved fast."

4863 Heo nomen heore wepnen 7 forð gunnen <u>wenden</u>.

"They took their missiles and arms and ahead began marching."

5859 heo <u>wenden</u> to þere heʒe burh þe Nantes is ihaten.

"They went to the great town which is known as Nantes."

6972 Forð <u>wenden</u> dringches to Vortigerne þan kenge.

"Off went the soldiers to Vortigern the king."

7738-7739 þas weorlde·wise men þer a twa <u>wenden</u> summe heo <u>wenden</u> to þan wude sumne to weien·læten.

"These worldly-wise men divided in two groups: some of them went to the woodland, some of them to the cross-ways."

wendest

2522 7 ær[t] <u>wendesrt</u> ouer sæ 7 nu þu ært sel icumen.

"And went abroad again, and come back now with advantage."

went

7345 heo floȝen forð in-to Kent 7 Vortimer heom ater <u>went</u>.

  "They fled onwards into Kent, and after them went Vortimer."

7661 he ȝæf æne eorl al Kent ase hit bi Lundene <u>went</u>.

  "He gave to an earl all Kent where near London it extends."

turned

2042 Suðð en he <u>turnde</u> his fare 7 ferd feorh-riht to Wales.

  "Then he changed direction and drove directly into Wales."

3763 Nennius wende i þane felde and he <u>turnde</u> his sceld.

  "Nennius moved into the field and he turned round his shield."

4812 he uerde ȝeond al þat lond 7 <u>turnde</u> hit to Godes hond.

  "He travelled ritht across that land and turned it all to God's own hand."

6498 7 <u>turnde</u> riht þene wiþe in-to Winchæstre lai.

  "And then turned, right on to the way that down to Winchester lay."

turnden

3689-3690 heo ferden from stronde touward þisse londe. heo <u>turnden</u> to hauene inne þare Temese.

  "They set off from the sea-strand towards this our land. They turned in to seek haven in the river Thames."

5202 þa while þe we him walden heren ær we <u>turnden</u> to Fulgene.

  "While we were willing to adhere to him, before we turned to Fulgenes."

turne

6354-6355 7 ȝet heo þencheð ufele don to fallen þæne Cristindom 7 <u>turne</u> to heðenesse þa hæȝe 7 þa læsse.

  "And yet more evil they think to do: to bring down Christianity, and convert all to heathendom, both the high and low."

  From the exemplars above, it is clear that *wenden* means the self-originated progression whose semantic range overlaps with that of Modern English *go*. Meanwhile, *turnen* is used to express either 'changing directions' or 'turning/rotating something.' Especially in lines 2042, 3763, 4812, and 3689-3690, *turnen* cooccurs with other verbs of motion, such as *ferd* (v. of *ferde* < *feran*), *wende*, *uerde* (v. of *ferde*) and *ferden* (< *feran*) which express the forward movement, and the semantic contrast between *turnen* and other verbs of motion is obvious.

10. Conclusion

  This paper has attempted to show how the Old English *turnian* and *tyrnan* developed their meanings in order to verify a hypothesis that the establishment of *turn* promotes the restriction of *wend* to the meaning of 'going.' By recapturing the above discussion, the point to be made here is that the dominance of *wendan* 'to turn' was apparent during the Old English period, but in the Middle English period *turnen* < *turnian/tyrnan* came to be in the ascendant, and *turnen* took over

the meaning of 'turning' from *wenden* < *wendan*. It is not too far from the truth to say that the rise of both *turnian/tyrnan* stimulated to generalize the implications of *wendan* in the last stage of Old English. In other words, *wend* < *wendan* was not necessarily used to express 'turning' after the Old English period because of *turnen*. The fact that *wend* came to mean a general sense of 'going' may be one of the reasons to produce the suppletive paradigm of *go-went-gone*.

However, the proof of the suppletion has not yet been obtained. In my previous studies, the possibility of Scandinavian influences to establish *go-went-gone* paradigm has been pointed out. In short, the language contact may explain one of the reasons of the suppletion. The next step we have to take is to investigate the distribution and usage of verbs of motion which mean 'going' and 'turning' in early Middle English texts written in the areas where the Scandinavian influences remained.

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[1] The *Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed.*, on CD-ROM, Version 4.0 (2009), *go. v.*, Oxford University Press.

[2] F. Holthausen (1974) *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, p. 91.

[3] Warren Cowgill (1960) "Gothic *iddja* and Old English *ēode*". *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society* of America, p. 485.

[4] *OED, go. v.*

[5] Jerzy Wełna (2001) "Suppletion for Suppletion, or the Replacement of *ēode* by *went* in English". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 36, pp. 97-98.

[6] *OED, wend. v¹.*

[7] Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy (1995) *A Thesaurus of Old English in Two volumes*, King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies.

[8] Joseph Bosworth and T. N. Toller (1898; repr. 1980) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, edited and enlarged by T. N. Toller. Oxford University Press. T. N. Toller with Revised and Enlarged Addenda by A. Campbell (1921; OUP, 1980) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collection of Joseph Bosworth, Supplement*. Oxford University Press.

[9] Bertil Weman (1933; Kraus, 1967) *Old English Semantic Analysis and Theory with Special Reference to Verbs Denoting Locomotion*, Lund; reprinted in Kraus Reprint Limited, p. 146.

[10] C. T. Lewis and C. Short (1980) *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, **torno**, āvi, ātum.

[11] P. G. W. Glare (1982) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, **tornō**, ~āre ~āuī ~ātum, *tr.*

[12] R. K. Ashdowne *et.al.* (2013) *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule XVII, Syr-Z. The British Academy, OUP, **tornare**.

[13] My translation is "the gable-wall of each house .. which is turned to the street."

[14] Text citations are taken from *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. I've also referred to N. R. Ker (1957; Re-issued 1990) *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press.

[15] O. Cockayne (1866; Thoemmes Press, 2001) *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, vols. I – III, London Longmans; reprinted in Thoemmes Press.

[16] Christian Kay, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels, Irené Wotherspoon (2009) *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, 2vols., University of Glasgow.

[17] Robert E. Lewis *et al.* (1997) *Middle English Dictionary*, Part T. 10 and Part W. 3. The University of Michigan Press.

[18] Brook and Leslie eds. (1963) *Laȝamon: Brut*, vol. I, EETS 250, Oxford University Press. I have also consulted Bruce Vincent Roach (1972) *A Concordance to Layamon's Brut Lines 1-8020 with Introductory Essay Descriptive and Illustrative of the Structure and Uses of the Concordance for Literary Scholars*, Washington University, Ph.D. Dissertation.

[19] Haruo Iwasaki (1993) *The Language of Laȝamon's Brut*, Kenkyusha, p. 1. J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (1968) *Early Middle English Verse and Prose, 2nd. edition*, pp. 341-344.

[20] Translations are taken from Rosamund Allen (1992) *Lawman Brut*, Everyman's Library, Dent.