The Middle English lexical field of INSANITY: Semantic change and conceptual metaphor

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2018

Mary BEGLEY

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures
CONTENTS

List of Tables .......................................................................................................................... 6
List of Figures ............................................................................................................................ 7
List of Appendices .................................................................................................................... 7
List of Abbreviations ............................................................................................................... 7
Abstract .................................................................................................................................. 8
Declaration and Copyright statements ................................................................................... 10
The Author ............................................................................................................................... 11
Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. 12
Chapter 1 Introduction to INSANITY language ...................................................................... 14
  1.1 Introduction to the thesis, and background ........................................................................... 14
  1.1.1 Impetus for the present study ............................................................................................ 16
  1.1.2 Research questions ........................................................................................................... 16
  1.1.3 Scope of the research ........................................................................................................ 17
  1.2 Present-day English experiencing and talking about insanity ............................................... 17
  1.2.1 Present-day registers of psychiatry and law ....................................................................... 18
  1.2.2 Ordinary language and popular culture ........................................................................... 20
  1.3 Experiencing insanity in the Middle Ages ............................................................................ 21
  1.3.1 Medieval accounts of insanity: Hoccleve and Kempe ....................................................... 22
  1.4 Medieval causes and cures for insanity ................................................................................ 24
  1.4.1 Humoral theory and astrology: explanations for insanity ................................................... 25
  1.4.2 Sin and possession ............................................................................................................ 26
  1.4.3 Medical recipes ................................................................................................................ 28
  1.5 Methodology and corpora .................................................................................................... 30
  1.5.1 Corpora and data collection: The need for an INSANITY database .................................. 30
  1.5.2 INSANITY database and source corpora ......................................................................... 32
  1.5.3 Corpora descriptions ........................................................................................................ 33
  1.5.4 INSANITY database compilation ..................................................................................... 35
  1.5.5 Research challenges and limitations ................................................................................ 37
  1.5.6 Middle English genre and text type in the present study ............................................... 41
  1.6 Discussion: methodology .................................................................................................. 43
  1.6.1 Structure of the thesis ...................................................................................................... 44
Chapter 2 Literature review ..................................................................................................... 46
  2.1 Change in lexical fields over time ....................................................................................... 46
  2.1.1 What is diachronic onomasiology? .................................................................................. 47
Chapter 3 The Middle English lexical field of INSANITY .......................................................... 77

3.1 Onomasiological variation in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY............... 78
3.2 Native and borrowed words and phrases in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY ..... 81

3.2.1 Native words in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY .......................... 81
3.2.2 Loans in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY ........................................ 88

3.3 Neighbouring lexical fields ......................................................................................... 96
3.3.1 FOOLISHNESS ......................................................................................................... 97
3.3.2 WICKEDNESS ......................................................................................................... 98
3.3.3 GRIEF ....................................................................................................................... 98
3.3.4 ANGER and INSANITY ......................................................................................... 99
3.3.5 God’s wodnes: Case study in the ANGER lexical field ............................................... 102

3.4 Genre as a variable in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY .......................... 105
3.5 The decline of wod ‘insane’ in Middle English......................................................... 111

3.5.1 Changes through translation: Caxton’s French translations .................................. 111
3.5.2 Discussion: The decline of wod in the lexical field of INSANITY ......................... 113

Chapter 4 Semantic structure and change in Middle English wod and mad .................................. 117

4.1 The semantic structure of Middle English wod .......................................................... 120

4.1.1 Etymology of wod ................................................................................................. 121
Chapter 5 Conceptual metaphor in Middle English INSANITY language

5.1 Identification of metaphor

5.1.1 Metaphorical Pattern Analysis

5.1.2 Metaphor Identification Procedure

5.1.3 My approach

5.2 PHYSICAL SICKNESS metaphors in present-day English and Middle English

5.2.1 PHYSICAL SICKNESS metaphors in present-day English

5.2.2 Middle English PHYSICAL SICKNESS metaphors

5.3 EMOTION metaphors in present-day English and Middle English

5.3.1 EMOTION metaphors in present-day English

5.3.2 Middle English EMOTION metaphors

5.4 INSANITY metaphors in present-day English

5.4.1 Expressions for insanity in present-day English

5.4.2 Metaphors for insanity in present-day English

5.5 INSANITY metaphors in Middle English

5.6 Discussion: Conceptual metaphor

Chapter 6 Conclusions and discussion of findings

6.1 The development of a new genre: psychiatric medical texts

6.2 The late-medieval ‘inward turn’
6.3 The relation to the ANGER lexical field ................................................................. 219
6.4 Prototype Theory analysis of semasiological change ............................................ 220
6.5 Semi-grammaticalisation of adjective and adverb mad ....................................... 221
6.6 Conceptual metaphors in Middle and present-day English ..................................... 222
6.7 Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research / practical applications ... 226
6.8 Final remarks ............................................................................................................. 227

REFERENCES .................................................................................................................. 229

Appendix A Present-day English words and phrases meaning ‘insane’ ......................... 245
Appendix B ‘For frenzy’: An excerpt from Rylands Eng. MS. 404..................................... 248
Appendix C ‘God’s anger’ lexemes, Early and Late versions Wycliffite Bibles ................. 249
Appendix D Early and Late Modern English words meaning ‘insane’ ............................. 253

Word count: 87, 682
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The four humours in medieval medicine</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Prototype effects in semantic change</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Insanity lexeme: earliest <em>OED</em> attestation</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Near-synonyms of <em>wod</em> and <em>mad</em> in database: native words</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Near-synonyms of <em>wod</em> and <em>mad</em> in database: loans</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Deuteronomy 29:23 in two Middle English and one Early Modern English versions</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Distribution of <em>wod</em> and <em>mad</em> and near-synonyms across genre categories</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Percentage of INSANITY lexical item according to genre</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td><em>wod</em>, <em>mad</em> and near-synonyms diachronically, in (medical) genre: percentages</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td><em>wod</em>, <em>mad</em> and near-synonyms diachronically, in (other) genre: percentages</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td><em>wod</em>, <em>mad</em> and near-synonyms diachronically, in (religious) genre: percentages</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td><em>wod</em>, <em>mad</em> and near-synonyms diachronically, in (romance) genre: percentages</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>Comparison of key INSANITY terms: main database and the Caxton sub-database</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Senses of <em>wod</em> from the <em>wod</em> database: percentages</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Semantic features of <em>wod</em> ‘insane’</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Senses of <em>mad</em> from the <em>mad</em> database: percentages</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Semantic features of <em>mad</em> ‘insane’</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Semantic features of <em>mad</em> ‘foolish’</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Overlapping semantic features of <em>mad</em> ‘afraid’, <em>mad</em> ‘distraught’, <em>mad</em> ‘confused’ and <em>mad</em> ‘angry’</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Overlapping semantic features of <em>mad</em> ‘excited’, <em>mad</em> ‘desirous’, and <em>mad</em> ‘unrestrained’</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Overlapping features leading to metonymic change in <em>wod</em> ‘insane’, <em>wod</em> ‘angry’ and <em>wod</em> ‘fierce’</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Overlapping semantic features of <em>wod</em> ‘wild’ <em>wod</em> ‘fierce’ <em>wod</em> ‘excited’ and <em>wod</em> ‘battle-ready’</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Key source domains for INSANITY metaphors, showing overlap in target domains of SICKNESS and GRIEF</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

3.1 The Middle English lexical field of INSANITY 95
4.1 Network model of the senses of wod 127
4.2 Network model of the senses of mad 147
4.3 Diachronic change in the sense wod ‘God’s wrath’ 163
4.4 Network model of mad: clustered sense development 165
4.5 Network model of the senses of wod: development of wod ‘fierce’ 166

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A(i) Twentieth century ‘insane’ adapted from OED 245
Appendix A(ii) Present-day English ‘insane’ expressions 247
Appendix B Rylands Eng. MS 404 f10r-11r recipe: frenzy 248
Appendix C ‘God’s anger’ lexemes, Wycliffite Bibles 249
Appendix D Modern English ‘insane’: adapted from OED 253

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNC: British National Corpus
HC: Hoccleve’s Complaint
HD: Hoccleve’s Dialogue
HT: Historical Thesaurus of English
ICAMET: Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose
LEON: Leuven English Old to New
MEC: Middle English Corpus
MED: Middle English Dictionary
MEMT: Middle English Medical Texts
MK: The Book of Margery Kempe
OEC: Old English Corpus
OED: Oxford English Dictionary
ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation of Middle English insanity language. It analyses change in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY, the semantic structure of lexemes wod and mad, and compares INSANITY conceptual metaphors in Middle English and present-day English. The INSANITY lexical field is an ideal one to study language change, due to socio-cultural changes since the Middle Ages such as advances in medical knowledge, the development of the field of psychiatry and legal changes protecting people with a mental illness from discrimination.

The general theoretical aims were to examine a) change in conceptual metaphor, and b) semantic and lexical change with a particular focus on the decline in use of adjective wod. The theoretical frameworks are cognitive linguistics, prototype theory, and conceptual metaphor theory, and the data is derived from Middle English corpora and other sources. The INSANITY database I created for this study consisted of 1307 instances of mad, wod and near-synonyms in context. The main results can be divided into three groups.

Firstly, the lexical field study demonstrates that various intra-linguistic and socio-cultural phenomena effect lexical change. Using case studies amongst others of the decline of wod in the Wycliffite Bible and of Caxton’s translations from French, and a systematic variation across genre, I argue that the important factors are i) the arrival of new medical loanwords such as frensy, lunatic and malencolie; ii) the early re-emergence of the vernacular in medical texts starting in the twelfth century, and the development of a new medical register; iii) the so-called medieval ‘inward turn’; iv) changes in the neighbouring lexical field of ANGER.

Secondly, the semasiological study of wod and mad shows that the meanings of these two lexemes are structured and change in line with the central tenets of prototype theory, i.e. as described for diachronic prototype semantics by Geeraerts (1997). The path of mad’s semantic development does not parallel that of wod after the thirteenth century. Mad’s senses do not have the emphasis on wildness and fury that the senses of wod do. A particularly interesting finding is the semantic change from a sub-sense of adverb mad and adjective mad, ‘unrestrained’, leading in present-day English to a new delexicalised and grammaticalised sense of mad, where its use as an intensifier enhances scalar quantity and quality.
Thirdly, the conceptual metaphor study demonstrates that predominantly the same conceptual metaphors are seen in both Middle English and present-day English, with some exceptions such as the concept of insanity being related to moral decline, as evidenced in the dearth of FALLING metaphors for insanity in present-day English. Conceptual metaphors such as INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE are evidenced in present-day English expressions such as out of her senses, or not in my right mind. In 1422, Thomas Hoccleve could write of a dysseveraunce between himself and his wit, or about his wylde infirmitie, which threw him owt of my selfe, illustrating the same underlying concepts. Other INSANITY conceptual metaphors which remain unchanged are GOING ASTRAY, LACK OF ORDER, LACK OF WHOLENESS, DARKNESS, FORCE, PRISON and BURDEN.

Because of its unique approach in combining onomasiological and semasiological approaches with a conceptual metaphor study, this study reveals not only specific patterns of change, but differences in the rate of change on the lexical and conceptual levels. Lexical change driven by the need to be expressive, and reflecting socio-cultural changes such as changes in medical knowledge, can be seen to happen rapidly over the Middle English period. However, underlying conceptual change is barely discernible even over a much longer period of time from Middle English to present-day English. This research is significant because it provides a basis for future analysis of insanity language in other periods and contexts. It also contributes to the study of semantic change in general, highlighting the insights that can be gained by combining different types of data-driven analyses.
DECLARATION AND COPYRIGHT STATEMENTS

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

1. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

2. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

3. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

4. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=24420), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/about/regulations/) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.
THE AUTHOR

I am a Registered General Nurse (1988) and a Registered Mental Nurse (1991). I have a BA Women’s Studies (1997) and an MA Women’s Studies (2002) from Manchester Metropolitan University, and a BA English Language (2010) and an MA English Language (2011) from the University of Manchester.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have thoroughly enjoyed my time as a researcher at the University of Manchester, and a huge debt of gratitude is owed to my supervisory team who made it all possible. Although I embarked on my career in English language already knowing that it was historical English I wanted to focus on, it is fair to say that I wouldn’t be where I am today without Professor David Denison. It was his encouragement to engage with the Middle English collection at the John Rylands library that sparked my interest in words meaning ‘insane’, and I am eternally grateful. But more than this, it was his knowledge of and enthusiasm for all aspects of historical English which inspired me and infected me beyond remedy. Thank you David for your dedication and generosity in remaining involved after your retirement. Dr Tine Breban joined my supervisory team a year into my seven years, and for her big-hearted willingness to help me, I owe profound thanks. She has gone beyond the call of duty to support and advise me, and has devoted much time to reading my work and encouraging me to develop ideas. Thank you Tine, for your kindness and energy. Professor David Matthews is also due thanks for guiding me skilfully through the murky waters of the Middle Ages, pointing me towards texts and books I never knew existed. All three of my supervisors have inspired awe in me for their immense subject knowledge, but the main part of my thanks is due for their kindness when I wavered and patience with my foibles.

Since the time when I abandoned mental health nursing because I had decided I could not possibly rest until I studied historical English, I have met with encouragement and support. From Paul Bennett, who accepted me as a mature student, to Richard Hogg, for the fascinating first-year historical English lectures, I am grateful to all the individual staff in LEL and SALC who have been so kind and helpful. Amanda Mathews and the postgrad office staff are due sincere thanks for being always friendly, helpful and professional. The University of Manchester has been a supportive environment over the past twelve years of my BA, MA and then PhD. I have been able to take adoption leave and study part time. I am immensely grateful for having had the opportunity to do something so utterly amazing as a PhD here. I am also obliged to the AHRC, without whose funding this research would not have been possible, and to the adoption support team at Manchester Children’s Services, who offered financial and practical support.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Heritage Imaging team at the John Rylands library, especially Anne Anderton, Suzanne Fagin, Ourania Karapasia, Carol Burrows and John Hodgson. From 2009 to 2017, I was a volunteer cataloguer, and then transcriber, of digitised Middle English manuscripts. I was made to feel welcome and part of the team, and I looked forward to my Fridays in this beautiful building, immersing myself in Middle English. Thanks are also due to Bernard McGrath of the Education and Learning team, with whom I facilitated English language change workshops for A-level students between 2014 and 2017.

I can’t thank enough the three very important colleagues who accompanied me on my journey from the very beginning, and who were always there for coffee, chats, advice and shared vegan lunches, Laura Arman, James Murphy and Danielle Turton. Throughout the years we were part of the undergrad and then postgrad community in LEL together. These amazing, intelligent people helped me so much. We had big laughs, we stuck together, we
supported one another. And then they all completed their PhDs and buggered off! Warm thanks for being there for me, it’s good to have such lovely, and can I say, groovy, friends. It would be impossible to thank individually all the other fellow PhD-ers who I have met over the seven years of this research, but some of them are Eman Alkroud, J.W.R. Brookes, Míša Hejná, Usma Malik, Fernanda McDougall, Farah Nazir, John Piprani and Fang Yang. I wish you all the best.

I met a wonderful and varied selection of humanity while I was nursing. I would like to thank all those people who shared with me their experiences of being other, of taking the road less travelled by, of their struggles, sadness, confusion, anger, fear, voices and beliefs. Not one of them described themselves as mad. A few might have said they hoped people didn’t think they were mad. I’d like to thank these people, but as I can’t, I’d like to recognise my own good fortune in having been able to be a small part in their lives. We can all learn a lot from each other.

Thanks to all my friends who offered kind words, dinner and childcare, those who asked how my PhD was going, and those who resolutely didn’t! Thank you to the marvellous Begley family, Mum and Dad, John, Pete, Eileen, Chris and Cath, and all your partners and children. You are my bedrock.

Last, but not least, I’d like to dedicate this thesis to my beautiful daughters, Doris, Meena and Ciara. Most thanks go to them, because they are my entire world. They not only taught me valuable lessons about my own sanity and what the edges of it look like, but it was from them I learned so much about love and being human.
[...] my servaunte, ys so troubelid with sekenes and crasid in his mynde that I may not kepe hym aboute me, wherfor I am right sory, and at this tyme send hym to you [...] to such tyme as God fortune hym to be bettyr assurid of hym selfe and his myndes more sadly disposid 1503, Earl of Oxford to John Paston (Gairdner 2010 [1895]).

[...] he fill sodenlich in-to a wood rese, Entryng wondir fast in-to a frensy, ffor pure verry angir, & for gelousy; ffor when he herd a man within, he was almost wood.

c1460_Beryn_MED.

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS, AND BACKGROUND

In Middle English texts, insanity is described as a lack of reason or sound mind, an illness, an inability to cope with adversity such as pain or hunger, or a reaction to excess of an emotion such as anger, fear, grief, love or jealousy. This much is familiar to us in our modern understanding of insanity. In the Middle Ages, insanity is also said to be caused by possession by the devil, an imbalance of humours, or to be a punishment from God for sin. That there is clearly a very different medieval understanding of the causes of insanity suggests the possibility there was a different concept of insanity itself in the Middle Ages. In this thesis, which is a comprehensive analysis of Middle English INSANITY language, I will compare Middle English INSANITY expressions with present-day English expressions, to highlight, by examining linguistic metaphor, whether there is any evidence for conceptual metaphor change, which might indicate that a diachronic change has taken place in the concept of insanity. In addition, I will look at sense change in the two prototypical Middle English words meaning ‘insane’, wod and mad, as well as analysing variation and change in

---

1 ‘stably’.

2 In this thesis, when referring to medieval mental illness, I will use the words insanity and insane, precisely because it was not used in Middle English, and so will provide a formal distinction with madness and mad. Although well-known to medieval physicians as Latin insanus, insane did not make its appearance in English until the late sixteenth century. I will use the phrase mental illness as a meta definition, and when discussing issues and language of the present day.

3 The present study employs widely-used typographical conventions: SMALL CAPS for semantic fields, categories and concepts; italics for citing linguistic forms and examples, metalinguistic examples and book titles; and ‘inverted commas’ to indicate word meanings, direct quotations, translations, and idioms.
the wider Middle English INSANITY lexical field. An overarching theme in this thesis will be socio-cultural change, and its role as an external factor for language change.

Vocabulary to describe insanity in the Middle Ages centred around one word, *wod*. Once ubiquitous, now *wod* is ostensibly obsolete, and one of the issues this thesis is concerned with is *wod*’s decline in Middle English. Its most recently attested usages are in a Scots historical novel from 1895: *The lassie’s gane wud! There’s nae reason in her*,⁴ and in an English historical novel from 1843: *Am I dement? Stark wode*?⁵ A compounded word, *red-wud* ‘stark mad, raving’ is found in Scots as late as 1973 in the Oxford English Dictionary (henceforth *OED*). This usage can also possibly be categorised as antiquated, or harking back to a previous stage of the language. Its author Edwin Morgan was not only a scholar of Old English, but his position as first modern Scots makar may reflect earlier makars’ concern with preservation of Scots tradition and identity, Scots vernacular being a central focus of this interest. A large proportion of *OED* entries for *red-wood* and *wod* from the sixteenth to the twentieth century are Scots or Northern English, suggesting that by this time, their use is confined to dialect, and the words are not in general use. Appendix D is a list of first attestations of INSANITY lexemes from *OED*, and it can be seen that, after *red-wood* in 1507, no further *wod*-derived lexemes are coined. This is in contrast to *mad*-derived lexemes, which are coined as late as the late nineteenth century. As stated above, a central issue in this thesis is the exploration of the decline of Middle English *wod*, and its replacement in the INSANITY lexical field with, as we will see, *mad* and other near-synonyms. To this end, a case study of the lexical loss of one of the senses of *wod*, is provided, by means of an analysis of *wodnes* ‘God’s anger’ and near-synonyms in the Early and Late versions of the Wycliffite Bible, which illustrates changes which were happening in the lexical fields both of ANGER and INSANITY in the Middle English period.

The incentive for the present study was my M.A. thesis transcription of a medical recipes text, Rylands MS English 404. Some of the descriptions of how insanity was to be treated contained language such as *lese his witt; frensy; frantik; lakkynge of resoun*. In this particular manuscript, the forms *mad/madnes* do not figure at all, and *wod/wodnes* are used rarely, usually in reference to rabid dogs. Given that Middle English *wod* ‘insane’ was frequently used in other genres, a research question emerged regarding the effect of genre on the distribution of *wod* in Middle English. In the remainder of this section, I will present the

---

⁴ 1895_Crockett.Men of Moss-hags_OED.
⁵ 1843_Bulwer-Lytton.Last of Barons_OED.
impetus for the thesis, my research questions, and the scope of this research within the fields of historical lexicology and semantics.

1.1.1 IMPETUS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The notion of mental health and illness is itself a fluid one, and the fuzziness of the boundaries of INSANITY language categories is likewise a notion which is subject to complex structures and much variation. Words describing mental illness and mentally ill people are subject to diachronic fluctuation, a point made by Goodey, listing phrases to describe intellectual disabilities, such as *fatuity, idiotism, moronism* and *mental disability*: ‘[the] instability of names surely points to a deeper conceptual problem’ (2016: 4). This thesis is a full analysis of Middle English INSANITY language in order to gain a fuller understanding of people’s language behaviour in the past, which serves as a foundation for a fuller understanding of people’s language behaviour in the present. Fundamentally, it is this notion of language as an aspect of human behaviour, and reflective of human cognition, which provides the impetus for the present study. Understanding the role metaphor plays in human cognition in our past and present is fundamental to a better, more rounded overview of the interaction between language and mind. Looking at Middle English for evidence of how insanity was conceptualised in the medieval period, and whether and how this differs to present day conceptualisations, will contribute to our knowledge of how concepts change over time. Understanding how language surrounding mental illness is structured and how it changes contributes to our knowledge of concepts of mental health, both in the Middle Ages and in the present day.

1.1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research questions posed for this thesis focus on variation and change in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY. I ask:

1. How do extra-linguistic factors, such as genre or cultural changes, impact on the INSANITY lexical field, especially on the demise of *wod*?

2. How do these extra-linguistic factors interact with intra-linguistic factors such as diachronically shifting prototypical centres in this and neighbouring lexical fields such as ANGER, and with the influx of French loans?
3. Does a large-scale data-driven semasiological study of *wod* and *mad* demonstrate semantic categories with blurred boundaries and sense change from radial sets, as suggested by prototype theory?

4. Do recent uses of adjective and adverb *mad*, seen in *we smoked mad blunts* and *that kid’s mad cool* demonstrate a semi-grammaticalised, intensifier function?

5. What Middle English *INSANITY* conceptual metaphors can be found, are there parallels in present-day English, and what mappings does *INSANITY* share with other concepts?

### 1.1.3 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The focus in this thesis is on Middle English insanity language. The study of the same in Old English would provide a wider scope, and useful context. Researching Early and Late Modern English insanity language would involve different challenges – the advances made in psychiatry in the eighteenth century and nineteenth century would bring different considerations when it came to surrounding social and cultural context. However, time and space constraints dictate that the scope of this research remain focused on Middle English, with forays into Old English and present-day English to provide contrast. Pursuing other periods stretches the thesis beyond its practical limits and beyond my disciplinary competence, but I suggest possible directions for future research in §6.7.

### 1.2 PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH EXPERIENCING AND TALKING ABOUT INSANITY

In this section I will present a brief overview of colloquial *INSANITY* expressions in present-day English, to form a basis for the conceptual metaphor discussion in §5.4. As stated earlier, mental illness is an integral part of human behaviour and experience. In the twenty-first century its existence is above the level of consciousness, and well commented on. A brief trawl through Amazon or bookshop shelves reveals self-help volumes on mindfulness, and many books on how to cope with depression, or how to deal with mental health problems in children. There are mental health colouring books, books about nutrition for good mental health, as well as books aimed at a more popular audience which veer towards a more technical register, explaining current thinking and treatment of schizophrenia or bipolar disorder. Modern registers in *INSANITY* language demonstrate that there are strictly demarcated boundaries regarding terminology used in different situations. This section sets
out an introduction to present-day English language surrounding mental health both in higher registers and in colloquial language.

It is commonly used present-day English expressions such as *she was on the edge of losing it; he fell into a deep depression; I had a serious breakdown; and it’s all too much* – examples of language used to represent states of mind going beyond fear, anger, bewilderment, rage, and self-loathing – which give a good insight into the lexical field of INSANITY, because this is language as used every day, by real people. Present-day language and attitudes are discussed to provide a foundation for subsequent discussion, especially the discussion of present-day English INSANITY metaphor in §5.4, and the discussion of present-day English *mad* in §4.4.

1.2.1 PRESENT-DAY REGISTERS OF PSYCHIATRY AND LAW

The language of the law dealing with mental illness reflects changing societal attitudes. Even looking only at the name of the law which allows mentally ill people to be detained and treated against their will, it can be seen that there is a move towards what might be construed as more neutral language. In the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, this law was called The Madhouses Act, being replaced in 1845 by the Lunacy Act, which in turn was replaced by the Mental Health Act 1959 (and 1983). The term *mental disorder* was used in the Mental Health Act 1983.

The word *madness* was frowned upon and not used in the formal language of the twentieth century medical and nursing establishment. The word *insanity* was encountered only in the context of older, pre-1960s text books and legal documents. The language of modern psychiatry is derived in large part from the American Psychiatric Association’s *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) which is in its fifth incarnation since 1952. It categorises psychiatric conditions and symptoms, and is an aid to diagnosis. Categories such as ‘Neurodevelopmental Disorders’ encompass diagnoses such as *Autism Spectrum Disorder, Tourette’s Disorder and Intellectual Disability*. In the category ‘Schizophrenia Spectrum and Other Psychotic Disorders’, eight types of illness are differentiated, and similarly, under categories encompassing, separately, bipolar, anxiety and

---

6 Appendix A contains a list of colloquial present-day English INSANITY phrases, and a list of words adapted from OED.

7 Nurses training in the late 1980s /early 1990s were not expected to discuss or write any labels or diagnoses for patients (‘clients’). They used careful, respectful language to refer to the *problems* the person was having, rather than treating them impersonally as a ‘case’ of, say, schizophrenia.
depressive illnesses, there are many branching hyponyms of illnesses. Other categories of disorders including ‘Personality Disorders’ are listed. Language changes from edition to edition reflect cultural understandings of psychiatric illness, such as the subsuming of Asperger’s disorder into Autism Spectrum Disorder for DSM-5. Linguistic and naming changes such as these reflect shifting concepts regarding what does, or does not, constitute a mental illness, or what to call established mental illnesses.

It appears that language surrounding mental health can be, as suggested above, unstable, prone to change, constantly being scrutinised and contested, even over relatively short periods of time. We have Bills of Human Rights, and laws aimed at preventing discrimination in the workplace. We have bodies of literature written by and about people with mental health problems, strands of philosophy devoted to the study of the mind. In addition, we have vocal groups and communities of people with mental health issues striving to secure greater acceptance by society, because taboo and stigma remain. Some attitudes have certainly changed, bringing wider social change, such as the existence of the international mad pride movement. The mad pride movement has disparate aims, one of which is to educate people against disrespectful use of careless terminology, whilst simultaneously seeking to reclaim the word mad in the same way that queer has been reappropriated as a positive label in the gay community. People often do not want to be associated with the labels psychiatrists give them, and for mental illness to be accepted as part of a spectrum of health. And yet, as the discussion in §5.6 demonstrates, as far as conceptual metaphor is concerned, our language does not reflect a great change. As I will discuss, both in Middle English and in present-day English, insanity is still conceptualised in the same way. Insanity, then and now, is conceptualised as:

---

8 It is suggested that changes such as these have varying impact on those in receipt of a new autism diagnosis (Giles 2014: 193).
9 https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/a-to-z/s/stigma-and-discrimination[2016-7].
10 Jo Brand *Glad to be mad* 
   https://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/may/08/health.healthandwellbeing[2016-7].
1. A place far away
2. Going astray
3. Falling
4. A force
5. Lack of wholeness
6. Lack of order
7. Darkness
8. A prison
9. A burden

As we progress through the analysis of INSANITY language in this thesis, we will see these conceptual metaphors in evidence as linguistic metaphors in Middle English and present-day English words and phrases. The overwhelming negativity of this conceptualisation is reflected in the enduring stigma attached to mental illness.

### 1.2.2 ORDINARY LANGUAGE AND POPULAR CULTURE

The following two examples show insanity language as used in the popular media of tabloid newspapers and children’s films.

He's ruined our lives all these years and he’ll still ruin it even though he’s gone [...].
He was a murderous psychopath. There are no other words to describe what he was. A complete lunatic. Good riddance.\(^{11}\)

In the mind of the brother of a victim of serial killer Ian Brady, badness and madness are equated. This example is an extreme one, but the portrayal of mentally ill people as dangerous is still current, despite an increasing awareness of the general inaccuracy of these stereotypes, and an increasing agreement to challenge them.

In twentieth century-twenty-first century popular culture, films from *Gaslight* in 1944, through *Psycho* in 1960, *The Silence of the Lambs* in 1991 to *Unsane* in 2018, picked from dozens produced every year with insanity as a primary topic, demonstrate that Western culture is fundamentally interested in issues regarding mental illness, especially when it is linked to an exciting or dramatic plot. On the other hand, whilst children’s films and books are not overtly concerned with insanity as a topic, they are not devoid of insanity language. In

the popular *Harry Potter* series of children’s books (1997-2007), a character whose unreal eye is different or weird is called *Mad-eye Moody*; Luna Lovegood is labelled *loony* because her opinions and behaviour run counter to that which is deemed normal; Ron Weasley’s verbal tic describes everything he doesn’t understand or approve of as mad. Language such as *lunatic*, *crazy* and *nuts* in children’s films describes characters who deviate from what is expected in society (Belle and Maurice in *Beauty and the Beast*, 1991; Mulan in *Mulan*, 1998) or who are anti-social (Lilo in *Lilo and Stitch*, 2002). There is a growing concern that from language used in this way, children may learn to stereotype people with mental health problems, to fear them or to laugh at them (Lawson & Fouts 2004: 313).

### 1.3 EXPERIENCING INSANITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In this section, I deal with portrayals of medieval insanity, the predominant beliefs surrounding it, and its treatment; for a full summary of studies of mental illness in the Middle Ages, see Craig (2014). The largely symbolic portrayal of insanity in romance texts does not give a full or accurate picture of how mentally ill people were dealt with in the Middle Ages. Medieval romance texts provide us with stories of knights who, love-lorn or in woe, become insane as a result. Launcelot has several bouts of insanity, one of which is caused by being rejected by Guinevere. Through the description of Launcelot’s illness, it is possible to see that wandering and distressed mentally ill people in medieval times were treated with compassion, and that a range of treatments was offered them, including treatments which addressed their fragile emotional state, such as rest and bathing (Wright 1939: 352). There was an understanding that as insanity was diverse, so were the means of curing it: *Suche men ben ofte disposed to deœp or to woodnes but þey be sone I-holpe and brouȝt on slepe bi craft opir by kynde* 1398_Trev.Barth_MED. Sometimes interventions (craft) were needed, but at other times, it would go away naturally (by kynde). There are detailed passages in Middle English medical texts, on how to recognise symptoms of frensy: *þese ben þe signes of frenesy: discoloured vrine duringe þe feuere, wip woodnes & contynuual wakinge, meuynge & castinge aboute þe iȝen, raginge ... now he singeþ, now he lauȝheth, now he wepiþ & bitiþ gladliche & rendiþ his wardayne & his leche* 1398_Trev.Barth_MED. There are similar descriptions of insanity and its signs in non-medical texts, such as this in Capgrave’s *Life of Saint Gilbert*: *as a wod creatur sche spak, gnacching with hir teth, and voydyng hir spatil in opir mennes faces* 1451_Capgr. St.Gilb_MED.

---

12 Running contrary to these stereotypes are realistic metaphors for depression (Dementors).
Although there is evidence that the insane were banned from some lazars in the fourteenth century, they were admitted to others. The establishment of places to treat the insane at Bethlem hospital in the fourteenth century suggests that there either existed genuine concerns regarding the welfare of those suffering with insanity alongside those with physical illness, or that there was a desire to protect society from the worst excesses of insane behaviour perpetrated by a few. Although medieval records of treatment of the insane at Bethlem are scant, it is suggested that there was a porter or janitor in attendance on a small number of paying patients, but that it was likely there was no organised medical treatment on site (Andrews et al. 1997: 133).

A picture emerges of a medieval society which was able to care, to a degree, for its mentally ill, albeit with the use sometimes of manacles and chains (Clarke 1975: 79), but sometimes through talking and encouragement, as in the example of Thomas Hoccleve being cared for by his friends. I will use Hoccleve’s experience, along with that of his contemporary Margery Kempe, in this thesis as a case study of medieval insanity. The language of Hoccleve and Kempe’s accounts will be discussed in §5.5. It will be seen to what extent their language contains conceptual metaphors which allow some access to their conceptualisations of insanity. I suggest that these Middle English conceptual metaphors do allow some understanding of medieval attitudes towards insanity. The following section introduces Hoccleve and Kempe, both as a prelude to the discussion in §5.5, but also as an example of writing about insanity in Middle English.

1.3.1 MEDIEVAL ACCOUNTS OF INSANITY: HOCCLEVE AND KEMPE

This section deals with two of the principal sources of knowledge about the experience of insanity in the medieval period, Thomas Hoccleve and Margery Kempe. Insanity is a subjective experience, but was mostly written about in Middle English from an objective point of view, which makes these two accounts unique. Thomas Hoccleve (c1368 – 1426) was a clerk of the Privy Seal and poet in the service of Henry V. His Complaint (1422), and also the related poem Dialogue, is a vivid account of a period of depression and eventual recovery. Because it is widely believed to be autobiographical, it gives a detailed account of Hoccleve’s own experience and understanding of the nature of insanity, in particular depression. Because the Complaint is also concerned with describing how other people

---

around Hoccleve perceive his mental state, it offers a dual perspective, from the stance of both the sufferer and the observers (although the voice of the observers comes through the author). This has enabled scholars to examine contemporary attitudes to insanity. As will be seen in §5.5, many of these attitudes and concepts are reflected in wider Middle English language.

Contrary to most medieval descriptions which portray insane people running wild in the fields or woods, Hoccleve’s insanity is internal, ‘situated’ in his own mind, as well as actually physically situated around London, and the court (Goldie 1999: 27). It is true that the common depiction in medieval texts is of visible, ‘outward’ insanity, of people behaving wildly. This somatic portrayal of physical symptoms perhaps served a didactic function (Harper 1997). Hoccleve calls his period of insanity my wildhede (HD; 52), and there are some references to him behaving in an animalistic fashion, but these are few. Hoccleve’s story shows that there was also a private and inner aspect to insanity, and one which is fundamentally concerned with how he, as someone who has experienced insanity, fits in to the social order. The well-known mirror scene shows Hoccleve gazing in private at his reflection to try to see if it gives away any sign of insanity. Hoccleve reflects on his subjective experience, and his own relationship with the social, exterior world. There is a preoccupation with how he will be judged by others, and he works hard to appear ‘normal’ in his appearance. There is shame attached to being mentally ill. Hoccleve’s friend in the Dialogue advises him not to allow others to be aware of his complaint: for thyn honours sake (HD; 28).

There is an acceptance by Hoccleve that God caused and cured his insanity, but he does not make reference to sin having brought it on.14 This is in sharp contrast to the writings of Margery Kempe, an English ascetic (c1373 – c1478). The Book of Margery Kempe is important to the study of insanity in the medieval era not only because the text purports to be a woman’s voice (although having been dictated to a scribe) but also because there are parts which offer a vivid description of what seems to be a puerperal psychosis, and episodes of self harm.15 Detailed pictures of this kind of florid mental illness are unprecedented in medieval texts. Despite the episodes, Kempe went on to have fourteen children before she received permission to be celibate.

14 Although in Male Regle, Hoccleve discusses his own sin of gluttony.
15 Harper suggests Kempe suffers from ‘alternating bouts of mania and melancolia [...] in terms of medieval medicine, then, Margery is insane’ (1997: 56).
Kempe committed herself to a life of penance, undertook pilgrimages, and was known for crying copious *teerys of hy devocyon*, which earned her a discreditable reputation. The language in the descriptions of Kempe’s insanity is sometimes difficult to separate from the language of medieval mysticism and spirituality.\(^{16}\) Medieval notions of penitential living in imitation of Christ’s suffering included ‘involuntary [forms of *imitatio Christi*] such as bodily effusions and elongations, stigmata, tears and seizures’ (Lochrie 1994: 15). Kempe presents herself as a ‘holy fool’, someone who, ‘roaring’ in religious ecstasy, had special access to God. She does however present symptoms of insanity (Harper 1997: 56).

The opening of her book describes her first bout of insanity, shortly after the birth of a child. Kempe has to be bound in order to prevent her from hurting herself; she hears the voice of the devil telling her she is worthless. Later in the book, Margery is able to help another woman who, with similar symptoms, has been bound for the safety of herself and others, marginalised, and taken out of town, so as not to be tedious to others with her roaring. Other involuntary symptoms might be less physically and more mentally manifested, such as hallucinations or delusional ideas. For example, Kempe frequently hears the voice of God: *Cryst seyd to hir mende, "Thow must fastyn the Fryday bothen fro mete and drynke...”* (MK; 475), which could be an auditory hallucination. She also suffers from instances of what might be delusional thoughts, believing herself to be chosen by God: *thei that despysen the thei despysen me, and I schal chastysen hem therfor* (MK; 513).

The local community does not hold Kempe in high esteem. Two failed ventures where Kempe tries her hand at brewing and milling are said to be described by townsfolk as either cursed or the vengeance of God. These ventures occur after a time where Kempe arrays herself with finery, as befitting a mayor’s daughter, attracting local scorn. These behaviours are not described by her as being the result of a hypomanic mental state, but the failure of the ventures is attributed to God’s will: *this creatur, seyng alle this adversytes comyng on every syde, thowt it weryn the skourges of owyr Lord that wold chastyste hir for hir synne* (MK; 236).\(^{17}\)

### 1.4 MEDIEVAL CAUSES AND CURES FOR INSANITY

There was no lack of a common-sense approach to curing insanity in the Middle Ages. Many people were contained within their own family unit or community, and were treated with

---

\(^{16}\) Windeatt (2004) is a modern edition of *The Booke of Margery Kempe*.

\(^{17}\) Kempe refers often to herself as *this creature*. 
good diet, with charms and herbs, and were prayed for (Clarke 1975: 83). The following subsection deals with beliefs about causes, and then approaches taken to cure insanity, as found in medical recipe texts.

1.4.1 HUMORAL THEORY AND ASTROLOGY: EXPLANATIONS FOR INSANITY

The Ancient Greek system of humours, commonly ascribed to Galen, was undisputed until after the medieval period. A healthy body was said to be a balance of the four humours. Diseases in medieval medical recipe texts are described as having qualities such as cold, hot, moist and dry, as described in table 1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMOUR</th>
<th>BODY SUBSTANCE</th>
<th>PRODUCED BY</th>
<th>ELEMENT</th>
<th>QUALITIES</th>
<th>BODY TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MELANCHOLIC</td>
<td>black bile</td>
<td>gall-bladder</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>cold &amp; dry</td>
<td>sallow, thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHLEGMATIC</td>
<td>phlegm</td>
<td>lungs</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>cold &amp; moist</td>
<td>corpulent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANGUINE</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>air</td>
<td>hot &amp; moist</td>
<td>red-cheeked, corpulent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHOLERIC</td>
<td>yellow bile</td>
<td>spleen</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>hot &amp; dry</td>
<td>red-haired, thin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1.1 The four humours in medieval medicine.*

The theory of the four humours co-existed with ventricular theory, or the theory of the three inner senses. This was the belief that animal spirit fills the ventricles in the brain, and from there, other organs and muscles are given the energy to function (Kemp & Fletcher 1993: 564). The belief that memory and cognition were centred in the brain, came about following the observation that head injury resulted in changes to cognitive function. According to this theory, mania and melancholy were caused by excess of the humour black bile. Excess of such noxious humours were thought to ascend to the head and trouble the brain, particularly
in one of the ventricles. Mania was said to be an illness affecting the front ventricle or cell: *but rather lyk Manye Engendred / of humour malencolik Biforn his owene Celle fantastik* 1405_Chaucer KT_MED. Melancholy affected the middle ventricle, and lethargy, the rear (Kemp & Fletcher 1993: 571). Epilepsy, equated in Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* (a Latin encyclopaedic work of the sixth century) with lunacy, was also said to arise from excess of the melancholy humour. The belief that an imbalance of one of the four humours caused illness existed simultaneously and unproblematically alongside the belief that the planets had an influence on health, including mental health. The belief is that those born under the planet of Saturn are prone to visitations from the devil, and to be tormented by melancholy, falling into despair and suicide.

### 1.4.2 SIN AND POSSESSION

Referring to the verse in Deuteronomy which mentions one of God’s punishments for those who do not heed his bidding, the popular encyclopaedic work *de Proprietatibus Rerum* reflects the medieval belief that insanity is a consequence of sin: *oure lord schal smyte þee wip woodnes & lost of witte & of mynde* 1398_Trev.Barth_MED. Matthew’s gospel tells of Jesus curing people who were possessed:

> and thei brouȝten to hym alle that weren at male ese, and that weren take with dyuere linguores and turmentis, and hem that hadden feendis, and lunatike men, and men in palesy, and he heilde hem *Matt 4:25_MEC.*

Even children who were insane were said to have sinned:

> [a father] that had a sone that was wode [...] the Fadir [...] had lever slee him softly [...] The sone that rent hym self is a doer of penaune [sic] the whiche tameth his flessh. 1400_gestarom_ICAMET.

King Herod is punished by madness for his sins in Middle English texts: *Reste hadde he non.. Troublid with furye..And eueri moneth onys lunatik* 1439_Lydg. FP_MED. Medieval audiences were also familiar with Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel, condemned to live as a mad man by God for his excessive pride, until he repented, and his wit was restored to him. Nebuchadnezzar is said to be one of the ‘prototypes’ of insanity in medieval texts: he is the *mad sinner* (Doob 1974: 55). Banishment into the wilderness to live as a wild beast, or to

---

18 *Smyte þe þe lord wip madnes & blynnes & wip woodnes of pouȝt* a1382_WB(EV)_Deut.28:28_MED.
wander on the outer fringes of society, is also seen in medieval romances such as Tristem and Ysolde, and Sir Orfeo, this latter being said by Doob to be a depiction of the *holy wild man*, a medieval reflection on Christ’s own banishment into the wilderness and his temptation by the devil. Yvain, who breaks the commandment of his wife to return after a year of adventure, becomes insane as a result of his falseness, and wanders naked in a wood like a wild beast until he is anointed by a bower-woman:

> In sum sorow was he stad,
> And tharfore es he waxen mad.
> Sorow wil meng a mans blode
> And make him forto wax wod *Yvain, 1737*.

Yvain is a prototype of the *unholy wild man*, with echoes of Nebuchadnezzar, who becomes mad as a result of sin (Doob 1974: 134). ‘Wicked’, linked strongly to sin, and ‘wrong’ are strong senses of both Middle English *wod* and *mad*. To an extent all illness is due to Original sin, because there was no illness before the Garden of Eden (Metzler 2006: 47). However, a more nuanced picture is necessary. Several authors have challenged the views of Doob (1974), who says that for medieval people, it is ‘the madness of sin that is most important, giving meaning and power to all cases of madness’ (Doob 1974: 53). This can be said to be a stereotype of insanity in the Middle Ages, with a variety of other causes identified, such as imbalance of humours, diet, alcohol, stress and grief (Kroll & Bachrach 1984). Although sin is a very important cause of medieval insanity, there are many other causes which are given prominence and importance in Middle English texts (Voigts 1975: 229).

In earlier, Anglo-Saxon stages of English, a belief in possession predominated. This is demonstrated in the c10 *Bald’s Leechbook*:

> Wir þon þe mon sié mónapþseóc; nim mere-swînes fel, wyrc tó swipan, swing mid þone man; sóna bið sél, ‘in case a man be lunatic, take the skin of a mere-swine, work it into a whip. Swinge the man therewith, soon he will be well’ *BT_Lch. ii. 334, i.*

Clarke (1975) suggests that the belief in elf-possession ‘coalesces’ with and prepares the way for Christian medieval beliefs in possession by devils. Medieval audiences also knew the story in Mark 5, of Jesus casting demons out into a herd of swine, and of Matthew 8: 28,

---

19 Translation: Clarke (1975: 45).
of two men in the graveyard that \textit{hadden deuelis, and camen out of graues, ful woode, so that noo man myȝte go bi that weie}. There is some evidence that epilepsy was equated with insanity and possession, more so in the early medieval period than the late (Kemp & Williams 1987: 28). In Old English epilepsy was termed \textit{healf-deadan adle}, and in Middle English \textit{fallyng euel}. The direct correlation is made in Isidore of Seville’s \textit{Etymologies}, but still in very common use in medieval times. We know that this work was widely disseminated and held in high esteem by scholars, and influenced later encyclopaedias and glossaries, including \textit{de Proprietatibus Rerum} (Barney et al. 2006: 25). \textit{Etymologies} contains sections on insanity and epilepsy. Epilepsy, Isidore says, ‘hangs over the mind and possesses the body’. With a reference to the popular belief of the time, he says ‘Common people call epileptics lunatics (\textit{lunaticus}), because they think that the insidious forces of demons follow them in accordance with the course of the moon (\textit{luna}). They are also called possessed by spirits’ (ibid 111).

1.4.3 MEDICAL RECIPES

In the medieval period, sick people were attended by a \textit{leech}, who, in the fifteenth century, would typically have owned a copy of a medical recipe text or leechbook such as the \textit{Liber de Diversis Medicinis},\textsuperscript{20} and who based his diagnosis not only on symptoms, but on an examination of a flask of the patient’s urine. Texts such as \textit{Liber} are typical of remedy texts written in Middle English, and almost identically-worded parallel remedies can be found in other texts such as Dawson and Rylands MS 404.\textsuperscript{21} These three texts all share material with the \textit{Compendium Medicinae} of \textit{Gilbertus Anglicus}, written in the early thirteenth century, itself a translation of a Latin medical recipes text. For a full discussion of transmission of medical texts, and on their composition, see Getz (1991), Alonso Almeida (2001) and Taavitsainen (2001a).

Medical recipe texts are written in a formulaic manner, and the complaint itself is only mentioned briefly, usually in the title of the recipe: \textit{For a man pat is wode}. Remedies include herbal concoctions to drink or otherwise administer: \textit{gencyane sede & rewe; be jeuse of boxe; pympernoll tempered with wyne}. Sometimes the head is shaved and anointed with substances such as \textit{pe jeuse of walworte, hony & salt & swyn grese}. Other cures seem not to

\textsuperscript{20} Ogden, M. S. ed (1938). The \textit{Liber} is in the Thornton manuscript, MS Lincoln Cathedral. A.5.2.

\textsuperscript{21} Dawson, W. R. ed (1934) is a fifteenth century remedy book, the text of MS. No. 136 of the medical society of London (Wellcome).
have their basis in herbal medicine, but to be a mixture of other folk beliefs whereby various actions are carried out, perhaps in an attempt to drive out malicious spirits:

    if he fall in þe fransie, [...] tak þe jus of oyneons & caste his nose thirlles full with a pipe of a gose fethir or fill a pipe full of þe jus & blawe it in his nose & do a man or a woman to kis ofte on his heuede & lay hym in þe lighte agayn þe son & lat ryng & blawe & mak mekill dyn about hym & lat prik hym with prikkes alwaye for slepynge c1425_Liber_ICAMET.

Very similar herbal remedies and rituals are found in Rylands MS 404, where in addition there is reference to bloodletting, both regular and via the application of water leeches, slitting an animal open and laying the warm insides on a sufferer’s head, suppositories, breast-milk, opium and the use of running water near the bedchamber.\(^{22}\)

The late fifteenth century translation from the Latin *de consideratione quintae essentiae*, considered to be the work of alchemist John of Rupescissa,\(^ {23}\) the short text referred to as *Quinte essence*, is an exposition of the virtues and benefits of said substance in the curing of various ills. *Quinte essence*, an elixir of strong alcohol, is distilled from wine and other materials, and made more effective by the addition of gold. Medieval explanations for illness – humoral theory, possession and astrology – are not seen as separate systems, but are combined in this work. *Quinte essence* was proposed as a cure for frenzy and melancholy, as well as several other conditions, including being a coward, pestilential fever, gout, lice and palsy. Because it is claimed that *quinte essence* is a cure-all, we can see what variety of mental illnesses it might help. The uses to which *quinte essence* might be put include the cure of frenesie, foly ymagynaciouns and noyous vexaciouns of deuelis. The effect that *quinte essence* has on the sufferer is to gladith and clense þe brayn [...] and brynge yn gladnes and merye þou ʒtis. *Quinte essence* allows a person to overcome the despair the devil brings, and bringip him ažen to reasonable witt. It also cures þe lunatik man and womman who suffers from alienacioun of witt, & schewynge of þingis of fantasy which comes with the ague fever. *Frenesye and woodnes* can also be cured or at þe leeste to swage it.

---

\(^{22}\) See appendix B for a full transcription of ff10r-11r, Rylands English MS 404.

\(^{23}\) Sloane MS 73, EETS, (ed) Furnivall.
1.5 METHODOLOGY AND CORPORAE

This section will describe the methods used to collect the data, which are then analysed and discussed in chapters 3-5. Firstly, I will discuss how a data-driven approach is essential for this study. Then I will look at the source corpora used to harvest examples of INSANITY language for my self-constructed INSANITY database. There are 1307 tokens of words which have the meaning ‘insane’ in the database, which used several corpora as its basis. I will then look at methods used to extract this data and the compilation of the INSANITY database. Next, I will address some of the challenges inherent in this endeavour. In particular, I will examine the notion of genre in Middle English texts, as a genre-based categorisation of the data was essential to answer the research question regarding extra-linguistic factors.

1.5.1 CORPORAE AND DATA COLLECTION: THE NEED FOR AN INSANITY DATABASE

As noted in the literature review, to date there has not been a thoroughgoing, data-driven study of the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY, although Bramwell’s (2016) study of INSANITY metaphor mappings, using the Historical Thesaurus (HT) as a database, addresses some of the issues. The present study aims to fill this gap in knowledge. This study will analyse diachronic change in INSANITY language, and to do this in the light of the variable genre a much larger database than the INSANITY categorisations in the HT is required, one which is constructed from a variety of Middle English corpora. This will ensure that diverse genres are included, and enable easier manipulation of the data. A database deriving from Middle English corpora will also allow the examination of context wider than merely one isolated sentence. Single sentence quotations in OED (Oxford English Dictionary) or HT can sometimes be of use if the sense of the word is unambiguous, although with single sentence extracts, the researcher is still obliged to rely on the judgement of the compiling lexicographer. At times, a more detailed approach is required:

[R]ecent developments in the diachronic study of English also suggest that specialized, well-focused, and carefully structured corpora, giving a balanced picture of various levels of language use, with emphasis on genre, sociolinguistic variation, or regional variety, are gaining in importance (Rissanen 2000: 14).

Historical semantics by its very nature relies on corpora, which are widely used in studies of diachronic semantic change, and the present study is a data-driven study of
language in use. The INSANITY database, consisting of 1307 tokens of INSANITY lexemes or phrases in context as described below, is a valuable resource. It cannot by any stretch be called a corpus, as although it is a collection of Middle English sentences, it is very selective, and is not balanced as to genre. Each excerpt is a clause or sentence containing a word or phrase from the INSANITY lexical field, and so the database has a very specific use. It is large enough to be representative of the INSANITY lexical field, and yet not so large that it is too unwieldy for the purposes and time-constraints of the present study. Compiling a large database of tokens of INSANITY language allows me to conduct a different study to one using a pre-designed Middle English corpus. It allows me to carry out the qualitative work mentioned above, i.e. reading the surrounding context of the INSANITY word and selecting examples for analysis of sense. It allows me to swiftly identify collocational patterns and other patterns appertaining to the metadata, such as the role of genre as a factor, in the choice of an INSANITY word. It enables me to identify attestations of INSANITY language which are earlier attestations than dictionary evidence, Lastly, an INSANITY database allows me to mark each token for metaphoricity.

This study combines both qualitative and quantitative analyses. A quantitative approach to the study of the structure of a word concerns what different weights the lexical items referring to a concept might have. Frequency in a corpus can demonstrate categorical centrality, but it is more likely to be a combination of frequency, representativeness and being the oldest sense which allows us to see the ‘strength’ of the ‘insanity’ sense, and to suggest that ‘insane’ is the prototypical sense of both wod and mad in any given time period. The qualitative study of semasiological structure looks at what meanings a word has, and how they are semantically related. This kind of study looks at polysemy, and how the mechanisms of metonymy and metaphor can explain the various readings of an item and are the mechanisms by which change in the senses occurs. Qualitative approaches will be predominant in this study, as seen in the case studies and close analysis of words in their wider context.
This section outlines the process of finding suitable corpora to form a basis for the INSANITY database, and then proceeds with descriptions of each corpus, with a discussion of its merits and challenges. I used general corpora to make an initial survey of INSANITY language, and performed more focused searches with specialised corpora and texts. The primary corpora I used were ICAMET and LEON, with Corpus of MED Quotations used as a supplement to searches. Specialist corpus MEMT (Middle English Medical Texts) provided balance due to the small number of scientific / medical genre contained in the larger corpora. Serendipitous discoveries of extracts (e.g. from some non-corpus sources such as the Rylands Middle English collection, and some printed editions from the Early English Text Society) with INSANITY language were made throughout the process, and these were added in to the database.24 This was in line with studies of the use of historical corpora, e.g. Rissanen et al. (2000: 10), that the results of any study based on a general corpus must be supplemented by other corpora and primary sources. Rissanen’s comments referred to the seminal Helsinki Corpus, a multi-purpose general corpus which can be thought of as a ‘long and thin’ corpus, due to its long diachronic reach. The Helsinki Corpus’s word count was low for Middle English however (only just over 600,000, out of over 1.5m words in total), and so for the purposes of this study, it was not made use of.

When the various searches were amalgamated into three Excel databases (wod, mad and near-synonym), it was possible to order the data and to weed out exact duplicates (with the proviso that duplicates of the same text but sourced from a different manuscript were left in place). The next phase was to go through each extract individually and ascertain the sense of wod and mad. This process is fraught with potential flaws. Initially, this was done completely bottom-up and there were an unwieldy number of senses, which were later amalgamated into a smaller set of core senses. I did not want to take for granted the sense categorisation offered by MED (Middle English Dictionary) and OED, wanting the data to speak for themselves. As noted in chapter 4, there did turn out to be some differences borne out by the corpus data, the subtleties of which the dictionary sense definitions do not encompass.

24 Early English Text Society publications.
The Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose, part of the Innsbruck Computer Archive of Machine-Readable Texts, was the primary corpus used in the present study. The prose sub-corpus (the other much smaller sub-corpora are letters and varia) consists of 7.8 million words and covers the period 1386 to 1688. 131 texts are represented, and it is a full-text database. Fair academic use of the full version was obtained from the University of Innsbruck, where full texts and a user manual are available. As the compilers note, some text types and time periods are not fully represented, so this skews the corpus in favour of Late Middle English, and the corpus is also scant on scientific and medical texts proper, although these text type are represented in surgical treatises (Fistula), herbals (Agnus Castus) and medical recipes (Liber).

The electronic Middle English Dictionary (henceforth MED) itself was very useful in providing a lexicographical framework of senses, especially of wod and mad, but also other INSANITY words. Along with the OED, it also provided a guide to the variety of Middle English spellings. The corpus, compiled by Peter Petré, K.U. Leuven, using the dictionary’s quotations, is a unique tool:

The corpus of MED quotations contains all quotations in the MED, all in all 12 million words. In case of quotations occurring more than once (in exactly the same form), only one occurrence has been retained. Even then, many [sic] redundancy remains. For this reason, and also because sentences are often not quoted in full, this corpus is not suitable to do quantitative research. What it can do is provide additional or earlier instances of rarer patterns.  

The MED is a part of the Middle English Compendium which also comprises the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. It is possible, in many cases (due to copyright, only 100 texts are provided in full) to look at the quotation in its wider textual context in the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse by using the find function on the browser, and searching for key words. It is then possible to ascertain the contents of the (frequent) ellipses in the MED quotations, and to read the text to the left and right of the INSANITY word in question. I therefore used the MED to find initial examples which would provide quick access

to a good many quotations containing in-context INSANITY language with which I could start to build the database. As well as the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, Project Gutenberg’s Middle English collection, or the University of Rochester’s digital Middle English Texts Series were also used in order to supplement the many quotations from the MED which contained ellipses. It was important not to use material containing ellipses, as vital contextual clues as to sense might be lost.

MEMT

Middle English Medical Texts corpus (Taavitsainen et al. 2005) covers the period 1375-1500 and encompasses remedy, surgical and specialised medical texts. MEMT is a small, second-generation corpus of less than half a million words, with only 36 texts sampled, and is based on modern editions. Despite the claim by Díaz Vera that it ‘has proven to be adequate for the study of historical English’ (2009: 75), MEMT is not adequate on its own for the study of historical INSANITY language, covering too narrow a diachronic period (only Late Middle English), being too small in size, and being mono-genred. MEMT was useful in this study, however, as an adjunct to ICAMET and LEON (see below), because neither of these corpora contained a large proportion of texts from the medical or scientific genre. Despite being added to provide balance and to address this lack however, it transpired that mad / madness is only used three times in the MEMT corpus, compared to 30 instances of wod / wodnes.

THE OED QUOTATIONS DATABASE

The OED is a collection of citations, and therefore not a ‘true’ corpus. Some authors are over-represented, and the compilers did not attempt balance as regards genre. Despite this, it still has some use as a corpus (see Hoffmann 2004). In the present study, I used the quotations database of the OED online to augment the collection of quotations derived from other corpora. There was of course cross-over with the MED, which used a large number of OED slips in its compilation. The OED itself was used to cross-check word forms and first attestations.

LEON 0.3

LEON 0.3 (Leuven English Old to New) is a 3.35 million word corpus, currently covering the period from early Old English up to 1640. LEON was a limited-access corpus at the time of the present study, due to copyright issues. Compiler Peter Petré was very helpful giving me access, but more detailed searches and continuous access to the corpus were not possible.
LEON was therefore used in a similar way to the MED corpus, and served to highlight examples which had not been covered by the much larger ICAMET corpus.

**BNC**

Examples of present-day English data in this study were retrieved using BNCweb (CQP-Edition). This is an interface to the British National Corpus (henceforth BNC), a 100m word tagged corpus of predominantly written and some (10%) spoken late twentieth century British English. It is a general language corpus, consisting of a wide variety of genres of texts. The design of the BNCweb interface, with its built-in interrogation software, is such that its grammatically-annotated contents can easily be analysed and manipulated, and collocations can easily be found using the KWIC (Key Word In Context) function. Due to its large size and representativeness, the BNC was used in chapter 5 when searching for examples of metaphor in present-day English. See §5.1 for further discussion regarding metaphor identification in corpora.

Other corpora and dictionaries whose quotation databases were used as a corpus included the Dictionary of the Scottish Tongue and the Dictionary of Old English corpus. I used these sources to supplement the INSANITY database, along with miscellaneous texts from the Rylands Middle English Texts collection.

### 1.5.4 INSANITY DATABASE COMPILATION

The aim of this section is to provide a clear audit trail of the steps taken to produce the INSANITY database, i.e. how the data was collected, to ensure that the reader has enough information to replicate the study. There will then follow a discussion of any problems arising. To achieve these aims, I will describe the process in several stages.

The MED and the OED, where different spelling forms of wod and mad are listed for the Middle English period, are a good place to start in order to build up a collection of search terms. Regular expression (regex) searches for each lemma wod and mad were then built up. In addition to the adjectives wod and mad and their related adverbs, different nominal derivational suffixes were taken into consideration, such as wodnes / wodhede / wodeship. Inflectional variants for the verbs madden and woden were also included in the search. The

---

26 BNCweb (CQP-edition) © 1996-2010. Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the web site at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/[2011-2017].

27 John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester.
empirical base for this study was a selection of off-the-shelf Middle English corpora (ICAMET,\textsuperscript{28} Corpus of MED quotations, MEMT, LEON and the \textit{OED} quotations database), of which I provide descriptions in §1.5.3. The majority of tokens in the database are from corpora excerpts, but in addition, wider readings of individual texts from EETS or TEAMS elicited further tokens which were then added to the database.\textsuperscript{29} The corpora were plain text, and the data were already in digital format, so \textit{MonoConc} concordance software was used for interrogation purposes. For \textit{mad}, this meant a query such as:

\begin{verbatim}
\Wmadd?\W\Wmadne?ss?e?\W\Wmadd?e?sc?hipe?\W\Wmadful\W\Wmadd?l?i?y?\W\Wamad\W\Wmadded\W\Wmadden\W\Wmadli\W\Wmadd?hea?de?\W\Wmadbrain\W\Wmadcap\W\Wmaddish\W\Wmadde\W
\end{verbatim}

yielded 1128 results from the ICAMET corpus alone, and after performing the search for each corpus, approximately 2,200 examples were contained in the database initially.

For \textit{wod}, after inputting the \textit{regex} query:

\begin{verbatim}
\Wwod\W\Wwoo?de?\W\Wwude?\W\Wwude\W\Wwoode?\W\Wwedan\W\Wwod\Wprâgl\W\Wwoo?u?dsc?hipe?\W\Wwoo?u?dsi?e?c?k?\W\Wweden?seoc\W\Wwodish\W\Wwoo?u?de?ness?e?\W\Wwodish\W
\end{verbatim}

this initial casting of the net yielded 911 results, and after performing the search for each corpus, approximately 2,900 examples containing \textit{wod}. It was then necessary to manually weed out unwanted tokens, as well as duplicates. In §1.5 I discuss further methodological challenges. The \textit{mad} database, as it inevitably contained examples of the past tense of the verb \textit{mad} ‘make’, was drastically reduced when these verbal tokens were removed. Although the \textit{wod} database contained examples of homonym \textit{wod} ‘trees’, these were fewer in number than \textit{mad}’s homonym. This process reduced the number of tokens of \textit{wod} to 1389, and \textit{mad} to 362.

\textit{HT} was then consulted to find \textit{INSANITY} near-synonyms within the Middle English period. This search was not restricted to the [\textit{mental illness} \textgreater{} \textit{affected with} \textgreater{} \textit{adjective}] section of \textit{HT}, as I wanted to gather nouns and verbs which might be used in a phrase; a list of near-synonyms can be found in table 3.1. I utilised the \textit{MED} and \textit{OED} for different

\textsuperscript{28} Copyright Manfred Markus 2010: Innsbruck Computer Archive of Machine-Readable English Texts, version 2.4.

\textsuperscript{29} Middle English Texts Series. Robbins Library Digital Project. University of Rochester.
spelling forms listed in the Middle English period, and built up individual regex searches for each lemma. In the same way as for *wod* and *mad* I then searched for each of these in each corpus, adding them to a separate ‘near-synonym’ database, which yielded 575 tokens. Finding INSANITY near-synonyms, such as *lunatic* and *frenzy*, was more straightforward, in that the data did not require filtering, due to the tendency of these words to be monosemous.

The next stage in the examination of the *wod*, *mad* and near-synonym data consisted of ascertaining the different senses in order to select the examples with the ‘insanity’ meaning. For *wod*, this meant sorting the excerpts into different categories according to whether the sense was ‘insane’, ‘foolish’, ‘angry’, ‘wrathful’, ‘wild’, ‘excited’, ‘rabid’, ‘fierce’, ‘battle-ready’, ‘cruel’, ‘wicked’, or ‘distraught’, see table 4.1; and similarly for the ten senses of *mad*, see table 4.3. This left each of the *wod* and *mad* databases with data split into different sense categories, only one of which was ‘insane’ (see §4.1.3 and §4.2.3 respectively for analysis of these ‘insane’ senses). The ‘insane’ senses could then be examined according to date and genre, with the ‘reordering data’ function of Excel facilitating this. Finally, the ‘insane’ senses of *wod* and *mad*, and also each INSANITY near-synonym, were coded for metaphoricity according to the approach described in §5.1.3.

1.5.5 RESEARCH CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

It is useful look at some of the methodology challenges the study presented. In this section, I look at issues of subject / objectivity in qualitative methodology, Middle English spelling variation, inclusion limitations, manuscript / composition dates, stylistic effects, metadata, and investigating the surrounding context.

SUBJECT / OBJECTIVITY IN QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY RESEARCHER BIAS

I approached this research as a native speaker of British English born in the 1960s who is brought up in and immersed in the explanations and attitudes to insanity prevalent in late twentieth century / early twenty-first century Western culture. The ensuing knowledge of modern senses of INSANITY language necessarily influences the way I as a researcher interpret the data, especially the metaphor data. The danger of ethnocentric bias is that researchers can impose subjective meaning on the data, simply by virtue of discussing it in present-day English language. It was important that the senses intended by the medieval author were ascertained to the most accurate degree possible, and the only way of achieving near-certainty in this was to read enough of the surrounding context for contextual clues that the sense interpretation was correct. This was a good reason not to rely on dictionary entries
as a database, as not enough surrounding context is available on the surface. However, it is also important to acknowledge that pure objectivity is impossible, and that some lack of clarity regarding senses is perhaps inevitable.

**SPELLING VARIABILITY**

The variability of spelling is always a challenge in any research involving Middle English. Software which normalises spelling variation, i.e. a variant detector (VARD),³⁰ is available (for a description of this in use in historical corpora after 1600, see Archer et al. 2015), but was not used for the present study, as this would have been a cumbersome process for such a relatively limited search, and at present, the software does not standardise Middle English spellings. To overcome the spelling variation problem, I listed all the known spelling variants for each word as found in the *OED* and *MED*, and searched for them all individually using *regex* searches. Initial searches of the various corpora inevitably included results which were unwanted. This included homonyms *wod* ‘cluster of trees’ and also *mad* ‘verb *made*’ amongst other lesser-found superfluitics such as Middle English spellings of such words as *wooed*, *would*, *wooden*, *wode* ‘plant’ and *madden* ‘plant’. This meant that the search results had to be manually sorted in order to improve their precision. Despite all care being taken in the search string, this homonym clash was not preventable.

**PLACING LIMITATIONS ON DATA**

Early on in the study, I had to take the decision to only include INSANITY language, and not to place equal focus on the SANITY lexical field. Each conceptual extension means extra data for analysis, and potentially more insights, It was important to place practical limitations on the size of the database, and by extension the study, in order to avoid being overwhelmed with material. Therefore, antonyms such as *in wit or witty* ‘sane’ were omitted from the database. Contextual antonyms, some of which belonged in the lexical field of SANITY, did however on occasion prove an invaluable aid to teasing out nuances in senses (see discussion in §4.1.3).

**MANUSCRIPT ISSUES**

I have used manuscript date rather than date of text composition. Concerning date of composition, there is by nature less certainty. The language of the manuscript is often the language of the individual scribe. If the scribe makes substitutions or errors, these stand as part of a later stage of the language and not that of the earlier date of composition. MS dates

³⁰ See http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/VariantSpelling/[2011-2017].
therefore are at least constant, yielding more accurate results. It became apparent as I performed initial searches that several manuscripts of the same text were contained in the ICAMET corpus. One example of this was five different manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse.* In the interests of representing individual instances of scribal voice, identical or very similar extracts were left in the database. This was because, as does happen in the *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts, individual scribes sometimes take the decision to replace a word or phrase by one which in their opinion fits better. These changes and substitutions can sometimes reflect a wider change in how a word is used.

**STYLISTIC EFFECTS – RHYMING AND DOUBLETS**

Two issues present minor problems which need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the fact that so much of the data is in verse and not prose has an effect on the *INSANITY* word chosen by the author. This is because of the effect of the pressures of rhyming, for example, on the choice of *wod,* where a rhyme is needed for *mod.* Not all the corpora used as original material had verse / prose as a metadata item, and so it was difficult to measure the effect of verse without extending the study significantly.

Secondly, there was the issue of medieval doublets, where two words with shared semantic features form a phrase, sometimes co-ordinated by *and,* which through frequent repetition becomes conventionalised in the language. An example outside of the *INSANITY* lexical field is is *oft and ylome* ‘frequently’. This stylistic device is often a locus of semantic levelling. The issue of lexeme pairs having a bleaching, or neutralising effect on each other is mentioned in Geeraerts et al. (2012: 115), in whose study all such doublets are excluded. My decision to include common semi-tautological medieval doublets such as *wod wroth* and *mad and mat* was based on their high frequency – I judged it important to allocate a sense to each occurrence of *wod,* whether or not it appeared in this conventionalised format. To have excluded them would have been to cause a sizeable dent in the data. I decided to include these items, and not to treat them as totally irregular, whilst at the same time commenting on the effect on sense in §4.2.4.

---

31 Corpus Christi, Gonville and Caius, Cotton Nero, Pepys and Cotton Titus.
Microsoft Excel was used for the purposes of storing and displaying and manipulating the data. Each corpus was different in the quantity of metadata attached to each file within it and therefore to each extracted excerpt. Some corpora had no metadata, such as the corpus of MED quotations, reflecting the fact that it was not originally intended to be used as a primary corpus in historical linguistics research. LEON corpus came with more than twenty pieces of information for each text, including name of manuscript, date of manuscript, genre, date of original composition. This information I kept in the database, because in the early stages of the research it was unclear to me whether information such as verse / prose, dialect, foreign / native etc. would be useful. As the research progressed the categories of metadata in the INSANITY databases were whittled down to date of manuscript and genre. It was therefore not possible to place any emphasis on Rissanen’s (2000) ‘sociolinguistic variation or regional variety’ because of the inconsistency of the data provided with each corpus. Due to the fact that metadata categories in other corpora did not align, it was not feasible to examine any more variables than this without stretching the boundaries of this study beyond the time limits. See §1.5.6 for a discussion of genre categorisation in this study.

METHODS OF IDENTIFYING SENSE

Sometimes, the process of ascertaining the sense of wod or mad was straightforward, and could be done on the excerpt alone. Often however, it meant returning to the original text in order to read further back than the corpus excerpt allowed. This had to be done with care, as the practicalities of finding the exact version of the text the corpus compilers used was difficult. The purpose of reading back being to gain a sense of the context in which the word was being used, it was not strictly necessary to have exactly the same version, but care was nonetheless taken to be as precise as possible.

OTHER RESEARCH CHALLENGES

Some entries in the database at first glance have MS dates which fall outside the Middle English period. An excerpt from the Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy contained in MS Hunterian 388, University of Glasgow, is a unique MS, and widely accepted to be an example of Middle English dated originally from 1400. In addition, MED has only incomplete access to certain texts, and when a search produced a MS dated 1600 of Piers Plowman, written in the late fourteenth century, a decision was made to keep this excerpt in the database.
Any time periods imposed by the researcher on the data for the purposes of analysis impose artificial constraints on the data. Time periods in the form of 50-year blocks were created for the analysis of the lexical field data. This had the effect of artificially inflating the numbers in certain time periods, where there were higher numbers of texts occurring in the database, and similarly, where there is a paucity of texts in the original corpora for the 12th and 13th centuries, there are scant data.

### 1.5.6 MIDDLE ENGLISH GENRE AND TEXT TYPE IN THE PRESENT STUDY

Genre tells us what to expect in terms of stylistic convention, and other parameters such as content and cultural norms, and so has an ‘external’ focus. Analysing texts according to genre is therefore of great importance in terms of considering extra-linguistic factors in semantic change. Although we might not have sociolinguistic information such as age or class of author, there are certain generalisations which can be made regarding the audience a text was intended for (Taavitsainen 2001b: 140). Caxton’s use of French loans in his translations of French romance texts is an example of language being tailored specifically to cater for a particular audience, see §3.5.1.

I aimed to ensure that all the major genres / text types of Middle English were represented in the present study. But therein lay a problem. The differentiation of the major genres of Middle English varies according, very often, to which tradition or discipline the researcher identifies with. Looking at the texts of Middle English as a body of literature, it is possible to split them up into several different genres, for example, romance, fabliau, lay, epic and dream visions. However, looking only at literary genres does not tell us how language was used in practical or everyday texts such as letters, or texts for specific purposes, such as wills, sermons, scientific texts and handbooks. A manual of the writings in Middle English classifies texts into romance, tales, chronicles, contemporary conditions, homilies and legends, religious information and instruction, proverbs and precepts, translations of the Bible, dialogues and debates, science, lyrics, and dramatic pieces. The author of this handbook also has separate classification for the works of Rolle, Chaucer, the Pearl poet, Gower, and Wycliffite writings.

---


Some linguists refer to text types rather than genres, as this allows a grouping to be made according to linguistic features. There is the need for a way to classify texts that operates on a different level to genre, the difference between which can be referred to as ‘internal and external criteria’ (Biber 1989: 6). The compilers of the corpora I used as a base for the INSANITY database did not, as part of the corpus metadata, discuss their genre classification criteria, nor did they categorise text types in the same way. MEMT contains exclusively medical texts, with different text types being identified as surgical texts, specialised texts, verse and remedies. Even within this categorisation, a proportion of verse texts are remedies, so definite text type boundaries cannot easily be drawn. There were not enough instances of INSANITY language in MEMT to use such a fine distinction in the present study.

The LEON corpus has no less than 54 separate text types listed for the Middle English section of the corpus. Some of the finer distinctions which are made are between 13 different types of lyric (e.g. biblical, fiction, history, law, prayer) and seven different types of handbooks (astronomy, law, painting, cooking, science, medicine, other), in contrast to the categorisation of handbooks in ICAMET, which splits Middle English up into 32 text types. It was impractical, not to say too unwieldy to divide the texts in the present study up into so many genre or text type categories, because this runs the risk of there being too many categories from which to draw meaningful conclusions. Of course, this finely-tuned text-type categorisation may be necessary for some purposes. It is for the individual researcher to decide how to proceed with the information at hand. For the purposes of the present study, I have to ask whether INSANITY language is better analysed using a much broader brush stroke than LEON, ICAMET or A manual of the writings in Middle English when it comes to genre or text type. I had therefore to make a decision about what meaningful genre categories could be put in place to allow the data to be discussed in terms of insanity. I must acknowledge that in so doing there is an inevitable degree of arbitrariness involved.

It was clear that the primary category which had to be distinct from others was medical / scientific. This was because from my own present-day English perspective, I was aware of the distinction between medical and non-medical / colloquial insanity language. As one of the aims of the present study was to examine the occurrence of wod in different Middle English genres, and as it had already been noted that wod and other near-synonyms occurred at different rates within the medical genre, it was important to distinguish this category.
A genre with categorisation challenges was religious texts. Much Middle English material has some religious content, even medical recipes and charms. Religious works are more numerous than any other genre in Middle English. Individual religious works are also found in the largest numbers of manuscripts – there are over 250 different manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible (Newhauser 2009: 37). The difference between a text that has much religious content and a religious text (homilies, sermons, Bible) is that texts with religious content were written to be read or read out in a context of the church, or for specific devotional use, or edification (not just general, but religious). Texts which have much religious content (e.g. stories of saints which happen to be found in the records of a church – see St Batholomeus church papers) are incidentally religious, and so have to be categorised as ‘other’. Case studies illustrating wod’s distribution over different genres and over time, such as in the Earlier and Later versions of the Wycliffite Bible, can be found in chapter 3.

A further categorisation I imposed on the texts was that of romance. Romance’s focus is on quests, chivalry and courtly love. The not-uncommon response of the protagonist whilst engrossed in wooing a lady, or when these aims are thwarted, is to become insane. A difficulty for categorisation was ascertaining the extent to which a text can be categorised as a romance text, when key features for defining romance are present, but to various different extents. Thus, I have categorised Caxton’s Reynard as romance, but in some definitions, it is categorised as an allegorical fable. Just as there is a difference between specifically religious texts and texts with much religious content (according to the pragmatic factor of how the text is to be used) there is a difference between the recording of what battles King Arthur fought (‘chronicle’), and the adventures of Arthur, Merlin and the knights (‘romance’).

1.6 DISCUSSION: METHODOLOGY

The previous section described the justification for and compilation of the INSANITY database, and problems encountered in the process. The resulting database, compiled from several established Middle English corpora, is a representative sample of contemporary language used to discuss medieval insanity. At 1307 tokens, it is large enough to refute any claims of missing counter-evidence. This is a robust methodology, which is comparable with other studies in the current field of historical lexical semantics. The present study has three perspectives – the semasiological study of wod and mad, the onomasiological study of the whole lexical field of INSANITY, and Middle English conceptual metaphors for insanity. The
three different aspects to the present study necessitate a variety of methods allowing me to categorise and search the data in the most appropriate way.

The decisions which underpinned my choice of how to analyse data, represent the findings and write the research were based on previous research in the field of diachronic semantics and lexical change such as Trim (2010) and Allan (2015), which use case studies based on evidence from dictionaries and thesauri, and Koivisto-Alanko (2002) which uses corpora. All are descriptive studies, which discuss mechanisms and processes using the theoretical approach of cognitive linguistics, see especially Kövecses (1986), Lakoff & Kövecses (1987) and (Geeraerts 1997). The research methods that are used in the present study have some, limited, quantitative analysis included where necessary and relevant, but for the most part are a qualitative analysis of texts, where a descriptive approach is taken to usage. My research partly adopts a case study approach, where more detailed discussion of a phenomenon (e.g. God’s anger) was required. I chose a ‘bottom-up’ approach as a way of making sense of the data, which allows interpretations to arise naturally from the data, rather than a top-down approach, i.e. one imposed by the researcher.

This study addresses a gap in the research around INSANITY language. There were some research challenges, mostly centring on the fact that there is lack of consistency in the way that metadata is recorded, and the fact that that it is not always possible to have digital access to full texts due to copyright issues. Another difficulty was the categorisation of texts into genres. Some texts span multiple genres, so a decision had to be made regarding their categorisation. This means future studies of INSANITY language might see texts categorised slightly differently.

1.6.1 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is a multiple-focus one, with three discrete but interlocking perspectives being taken to the examination of INSANITY language. These three perspectives are reflected in the analysis and discussion chapters 3, 4 and 5, where linguistic evidence will be presented and discussed in the light of the relevant research questions. Chapter 2 is a review of the literature relevant for the analyses given in chapters 3-5. Looking at the study of diachronic onomasiology within historical cognitive semantics, I provide an overview of relevant lexical field studies, and theoretical approaches in this thesis. I also look at studies dealing with lexical loss. Turning to semasiological change, I provide an overview of theories of semantic change, particularly cognitive and pragmatic approaches, looking at the role of metonymy as
a mechanism for semantic change. A further area for review is the theoretical framework and existing studies of conceptual metaphor.

Chapter 3 looks at how the INSANITY lexical field is structured, and examines key INSANITY words in detail. Genre as a variable will be seen to play a part in the picture of wod’s decline, and evidence for this decline will be seen in particular texts such as the Early and Late versions of the Wycliffite Bibles, and Caxton’s translations from French, where specific choices are made by authors to use words other than wod. The cultural change in the middle to the end of the medieval period, the ‘inward turn’, which sees an increase in devotional reading and examination of private feelings is posited as one factor in the strengthening of mad.

Chapter 4 is an examination of the synchronic polysemy of wod and mad using examples from the wod and mad databases. Semantic change in the two lexemes is analysed using prototype theory. Sense change in mad is found to follow a different pattern to sense change in wod. Finally I turn to present-day English adjective and adverb mad, as an example of ongoing semantic change from sub-sets, where some readings are of delexicalised intensifier, on a path to grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation is a type of language change (Traugott & Heine 1991: 4). Undergoing grammaticalisation means that mad is developing an additional function, in a lexical to grammatical shift.

Chapter 5 turns to the conceptual metaphors found in the INSANITY database, and categorises them, comparing them to present-day English INSANITY metaphors. Conceptual metaphors from the Middle English and present-day English lexical fields of SICKNESS and EMOTION, as conceptual fields with an expected high rate of metaphor, and overlapping the field of insanity, are examined and contrasted with that of INSANITY. The autobiographical works of Thomas Hoccleve and Margery Kempe are examined for evidence of INSANITY metaphor, to contextualise the categorisation. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis, provides further discussion of chapters 3-5, and suggests areas for further research.
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 CHANGE IN LEXICAL FIELDS OVER TIME

This thesis is concerned with issues around semantic change and lexical change. Why languages change is a vexing problem for structuralists, where a seemingly ordered system undergoes change which is likely to leave it unbalanced (see for example Blank 1999: 61). I look at a small area of the study of lexical meaning in detail in order to see how a part of this system changes and how this knowledge might inform bigger questions around language change. We start with one small word in Middle English: *wod*. The obsolescence of *wod* is intriguing. Lexical loss is intrinsically tied up with semantic change, because it is when there is a shift in the balance of a synchronic lexical field with some words being pushed towards the margins, i.e. chosen less often by speakers (and eventually not at all), that senses of words can become lost. It is clear from a brief examination of *MED* and *OED* that Middle English *wod* was the prototypical member of the INSANITY lexical field, so I ask what language-internal and language-external forces acted on *wod* to cause its decline. §2.1 will be concerned with the onomasiological frameworks and previous studies which will be needed to discuss the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY in chapter 3.

To discuss meaning change in the lexicon we must also take socio-cultural changes into consideration, as the two are often inextricably linked (McMahon 1994: 175; Meinschaefer 2003: 137; Geeraerts & Grondelaers 2006: 251; Geeraerts 2015: 24). This thesis will therefore take extra-linguistic factors into consideration, such as a) the late-medieval so-called ‘inward turn’ (see §3.5.2 and §6.2), which I propose had a part to play in the strengthening of emotion-centred senses of *mad*, and b) the dominance of French, even centuries post-conquest, leading to the preferring of loanwords in medical genres.

A bottom-up approach to data analysis will be taken, one which looks at language in context, relying on this data to provide research questions (Hilpert & Gries 2016: 11). In order to study lexical variation and change, it is necessary to combine a semasiological (what concepts are expressed by a word, i.e. different senses) and an onomasiological (what words are expressed by a concept, i.e. a lexical field) approach, similar to that discussed in Györi (2002) and Grondelaers & Geeraerts (2003). When a word develops a new sense, it takes its place in a lexical field alongside other words relating to that concept, hence we have overlapping lexical fields (such as ANGER and INSANITY).
§2.1 constitutes an examination of literature relating to onomasiological change and lexical field studies particularly relevant for the discussion of the lexical field of INSANITY. This lexical field is very broad, and the way our minds categorise all the senses we associate with the concept of INSANITY means that there is considerable overlap with other lexical fields, especially ANGER and FOOLISHNESS. The research questions (§1.1.2) relevant to the onomasiological section of the thesis focus on the effect of extra-linguistic factors such as genre or cultural changes on the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY, and how these extra-linguistic factors interact with intra-linguistic factors.

2.1.1 WHAT IS DIACHRONIC ONOMASIOLOGY?

In order to address the research questions it will be necessary to define what constitutes the lexical field of INSANITY. An onomasiological examination of a lexical field starts with the concept and looks at the range of words associated with that concept (i.e. it is concerned with naming). It is in this way the converse of a semasiological approach, which starts with the word and examines the different concepts the various senses of that word are associated with (i.e. it is concerned with meaning). Onomasiology is a study of human cognitive categorisation which is capable of giving us ‘deeper insight into the way our mind works’ (Blank 2003: 11). The two approaches, semasiology and onomasiology, complement each other, because as a new sense develops, it finds a place in a lexical field with other words designating that concept. Comprehensive summaries of onomasiology and of its development within the cognitive linguistic tradition are to be found in Grzega (2002), Geeraerts (2002), Blank (2003); and regarding the relationships between onomasiology and semasiology in Geeraerts (1997). Any study of meaning has to be supplemented by an examination of lexical selection:

[0]nomasiological structures in which a word participates have to be studied in order to get a good grasp of the particular value of the word in question (Geeraerts 1997: 27).

Cognitive linguistics rejects the idea that there is a separate ‘language faculty’ in the brain, and therefore is broadly at odds with nativist theories of language acquisition. Instead, cognitivist theories insist that language learning happens alongside other cognitive learning and is therefore subject to the same cognitive processes. Cognitive linguistics is not one, but a broad cluster of ‘compatible approaches’ (Geeraerts 1997: 9). Cognitive phenomena in language are primarily onomasiological rather than semasiological, because categorisation
takes the form of onomasiological choices. Prototype theory is a theory of categorisation which from the later part of the twentieth century (Rosch & Mervis 1975) has been broadly accepted within cognitive linguistics as being more advantageous than the classical viewpoint, (i.e. componential analysis) for the study of lexical semantics. We think and store much knowledge in the form of prototypes, and we select related individual lexical items which are also stored. At its core is the idea that categories have prototype effects (see §2.2.1). In semantics, the principal way this manifests itself is in the admission that meanings have ‘fuzzy’ boundaries. Below, I contrast prototype theory with another approach, componential analysis.

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

Componential analysis is a ‘check-list’ approach, which is used in classical, structural lexical semantics.\(^{34}\) Katz & Fodor’s (1963) analysis of bachelor is an example of the componential analysis approach whereby semantic markers ([+male], [+unmarried], etc.) are used as distinguishers within a lexical description. Componential analysis requires features to have clear-cut ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ labels attached to them for the purposes of categorisation. It involves lexical decomposition, breaking down the sense of a word into its minimal components, isolating those attributes which distinguish it from other words, otherwise known as ‘semantic primitives’ or ‘semantic universals’. It can therefore be a useful device for semantic classification. As a thesaurus organises according to concepts and conceptual fields, and each element helps limit and delineate its neighbour and is delineated by its neighbour in turn, in this approach the semantic space is divided up likewise. Studies which were done with a componential analysis approach in conjunction with the Historical Thesaurus of English project are Chase (1983) and Sylvester (1994), although Sylvester does acknowledge the existence of ‘fuzzy’ boundaries (1994: 25).

PROTOTYPE THEORY

It will be seen that the componential analysis approach is not suitable for this study, whose analysis is based on diverse examples from Middle English texts which often defy strict categorisation and boundaries, see §4.3 for discussion of wod and mad. As a result, I rely on notions introduced by prototype theory, which refers back to the work of Rosch & Mervis (1975). Prototypical categories:

a. have degrees of typicality – not every member is equally representative of its category

\(^{34}\) In turn, Katz & Fodor’s approach is borrowed from a Greek philosophical approach.
b. exhibit family resemblance structure

c. are blurred at the edges

d. cannot be defined by a set of necessary and sufficient criteria.

Geeraerts (1997) correlates Rosch & Mervis’s (1975) four features of prototypical categories with diachronic lexical semantics, developing four effects, or ‘characteristics’ of prototypicality, as in table 2:1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>EXTENSIONAL</strong></th>
<th><strong>INTENSIONAL</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(referential level: onomasiological)</td>
<td>(sense level: semasiological)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-equality</strong></td>
<td>(salient effects, internal structure with core and periphery)</td>
<td>(1) Differences of salience amongst members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-discreteness</strong></td>
<td>(demarcation problems, flexible applicability)</td>
<td>(3) Fluctuations at the edges of categories</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.1 Prototype effects in semantic change.*

Prototype theory can be incorporated as a structural explanation in either a semasiological or an onomasiological approach to lexical semantics, but is especially useful as a theory to explain semantic change (see §2.2). As can be seen in table 2:1, there are two different dimensions along which prototypical structures can be examined: non-equality (some members are ‘better’ than other members) vs non-discreteness (categories have fuzzy boundaries), and intensional (lexical items and their senses) vs. extensional (a range of concepts a lexical item can apply to) (Geeraerts 1997: 21). The first and third characteristics of prototypes deal with the ‘extensional structure’ of categories, i.e. these characteristics take an onomasiological perspective. The first characteristic, differences of salience, can be applied to the lexical field of INSANITY when looking at which words are more salient or more likely to be chosen over the others:

35 Table adapted from Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2007: 151).
The generalized concept of entrenchment, defined as onomasiological salience, may be operationally defined as the ratio between (a) the frequency with which the members of a lexical category are named with an item that is a unique name for that category, and (b) the total frequency with which the category occurs in a corpus (Geeraerts 2009: 202).

Geeraerts (1997) is a corpus-based study of the diachronic onomasiological salience of Dutch *legging* compared to other names for women’s trousers. The measurement of an entrenchment ratio is statistically how frequently a lexical item is chosen over other items, or ‘catches on’ i.e. how does its use compare to the use of other lexical items naming that referent. In this study, and taking a lead from Geeraerts (1997), the INSANITY database can be interrogated to explore the frequency of *wod* or *mad* at 25 or 50 year intervals across the timespan of the database and divide it by the cumulative token frequency of all the other lexemes in the lexical field. This will show how salient lexical items *wod* or *mad* are at any one time, i.e. how entrenched compared to the other words. The third characteristic, *fluctuations at the edges*, will show up when looking at where the boundaries of the category lie, and at whether, for example, a word belongs in the INSANITY lexical field, or the ANGER one.

In the field of historical lexical semantics, whether in onomasiology or semantic change, the search for regularity and patterns is not new (cf. Stern 1931). Lexical field studies such as Lehrer (1985) and Koivisto-Alanko (2000a: 36) suggest that semantically-related words demonstrate parallel semantic changes. Lehrer (1985: 289) suggests that the words *goose*, *cuckoo* and *pigeon* all acquired a metaphorical meaning ‘foolish’ at around the same time, a semantic field ‘pull-chain’ effect. Lexical change can also act as a trigger for semantic change. This was demonstrated when *viper* came into the language with literal and metaphorical meanings simultaneously, the word *snake*, which had been extant for centuries before, acquired the ‘treacherous’ meaning at the same time via semantic transfer (Lehrer 1985: 289). The notion that semantic relationships tend to remain constant, and if one word changes meaning, it ‘drag[s] along other words in the domain’ is Stern’s (1931). This seminal study demonstrated that before 1300, adverbs meaning ‘quickly’ all underwent a semantic change to ‘immediately’.
2.1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF PRAGMATICS

Historical pragmatics utilises ‘texts as communicative events [...] even historical written texts removed from spoken modes of communication by several moves’ (Fitzmaurice & Taavitsainen 2007: 13). The question for pragmatic onomasiology is what happens to influence the speaker’s choice of a word from a large field of choices expressing a concept. A corpus-based or data-driven methodology is important in order to get closer to the pragmatic choices of a language user, to try to identify factors that influence the choice of a category (word) for talking about a referent (concept) Geeraerts (2002). A word meaning ‘insane’ in a text written by university-educated scholars (e.g. Thesaurus Pauperum, a higher, more prestigious register) might differ from a word chosen by someone writing a letter (e.g. Paston Letters, a more ‘conversational’ style), or in a mystery play. Speakers are likely to use one word over another for reasons of register, genre or style. These considerations will be important when it comes to looking at the case studies of wod in the Later Version Wycliffite Old Testament, the translations of William Caxton, and word choice in medical recipe texts. Grondelaers & Geeraerts (2003) call this type of study sociolexicology due to its similarity with the methodology of sociolinguistics. If we look at which names what kinds of people choose to name a referent, it can tell us about extra-linguistic factors, and so has value as a socio-linguistic study.

Fitzmaurice & Taavitsainen caution that the uniformitarian principle, the assumption that rules of language structure which apply now also applied in the past, might not necessarily apply to language use (Fitzmaurice & Taavitsainen 2007: 16). This caution must especially apply when discussing INSANITY language, which in present-day English can be couched in euphemism, often in the form of humorous phrases, to soften the impact of the taboo. Issues around ethnocultural bias should be taken into consideration when interpreting texts. Some encyclopaedic knowledge of medieval attitudes to insanity is useful in the interpretation of meaning, so that conclusions are not drawn about readings based on present-day cultural attitudes and knowledge about insanity.

2.1.3 THE LEXICAL FIELD OF ANGER

The structure and behaviour of the lexical field of ANGER is pertinent in the study of the lexical field of INSANITY due to the conceptual proximity, and in fact, considerable overlap, of the two fields. A major sense of wod is ‘angry’, and as will be shown later, an examination of the wod database shows that there is overlap between the senses ‘insane’ and ‘angry’. Only
contextual clues allow us to understand which sense was intended. Looking at existing ANGER studies can provide a model for the examination of INSANITY. Gevaert (2002) is a study of ANGER in Old and Middle English. Gevaert’s study uses the OED and the Toronto Corpus to build a database, looks at the semantic field as a whole, with a focus on metaphor and metonymy, examining semantic change in terms of stylistic factors. Gevaert notes that in Middle English there appeared an influx of what she terms ‘learned’ French ANGER loans (choleric, malencolie, distemper) relating to humoral theory (2002: 294). Old English ANGER words were linked to ‘ordinary’ concepts like crabbed ‘crooked, perverse, malicious’. She also suggests Latinate HEAT concepts were all introduced into the domain within one century, meaning a strengthening of the metaphorical domain ANGER IS HEAT in the period 850-950 (Gevaert 2002: 285).

Another important study in the tradition of corpus-based ‘pragmatically oriented diachronic onomasiology’ is Geeraerts et al. (2012). This study tests, via bivariate and multivariate analyses, Diller’s (1994) hypothesis that Middle English anger expressed the emotions of the lower classes. The word anger replaced wroth and ire because social changes, for example the rising distinction between the social and the private, gave rise to the need for a new expression of anger (2012: 110). Wroth expressed an emotion felt by a person of high social stature, and was violent. Anger expressed the emotion felt by those with less social power, was less violent, and privately experienced; see discussion at §6.2 regarding the ‘inward turn’. Because of these changes, new ANGER words were introduced. Geeraerts et al. (2012) confirmed Diller’s (1994) hypothesis, and also found that what they call ‘lectal factors’, i.e. the text type, influenced the choice of either wroth or angry; anger is found in greater numbers in non-religious and non-romance texts. The effect of angry being associated with persons of low rank levels out by 1500, when angry takes over as the primary form for this concept. Geeraerts et al. (2012) and Diller (1994) are important when we consider that using genre as a variable, the INSANITY lexical field can be analysed in a similar way. It will be possible to look for evidence of changes whereby wod becomes marginalised, or only used in specific contexts.

Izdebska (2015) is a detailed study of the lexical field of ANGER in Old English. She suggests that not only was there a preference for certain ANGER lexemes in different text types, but also that certain lexemes were preferred by different authors at different dates in the period. Izdebska finds that of 8 key lexemes from the ANGER lexical field, only certain lexical items in Old English were used to refer to God, and that wod was not one of them.
The case study in chapter 3 will look at how changes in this particular area of the ANGER lexical field (‘God’s anger’) effected a shift in the INSANITY lexical field. The external variable which will be important in the INSANITY lexical field is genre. Chapter 3’s focus on the lexical loss of wod will necessitate a closer examination of several case-studies of INSANITY lexemes in a number of different genres.

2.1.4 THE LEXICAL FIELD OF FOOLISHNESS

Allan (2008) uses 2 sections of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* WISDOM and FOOLISHNESS to construct an ‘intelligence corpus’ with ‘core concept groups’ as the sources of metaphor. I discuss this work here under onomasiological approaches, although Allan’s work is primarily concerned with mappings which relate to senses. In order to do this she used HT, supplemented by the *Thesaurus of Old English*. These thesauri are onomasiologically organised in that they present the semasiological information in a dictionary from the opposite perspective, so that the concept is to the fore. Allan notes that there are significantly higher numbers of words expressing the concept STUPID than the concept CLEVER (2008: 24), possibly due to a ‘pessimistic streak’ of human nature; a similar observation can be made of the lexical field of INSANITY. The HT branch for ‘mental health or sanity’ contains positive words numbering 69, contrasting with its sub-branch ‘mental illness’, containing 1569 negative words.

Metzler notes that in the Semitic languages of the Old Testament as well as in medieval Romance and Germanic languages, it is difficult to tell whether a word relates to someone with an intellectual disability, or to someone who has made a wrong ‘foolish’ judgement (2015: 33); equally, whether words / phrases such as amentia or non compos mentis refer to a lack of understanding which is congenital and permanent (intellectual disability), or temporary and potentially treatable (insanity). Metzler notes the different terms for insanity and folly in French in the fourteenth century ‘un sot contrefaisant le dervé’ (2015: 42).

2.1.5 LEXICAL LOSS, COMPETITION AND OBSOLESCENCE

Language is a dynamic cycle, subject to change and lexical loss. A word ceases to be part of a speaker’s repertoire when an increasing number of speakers choose to express themselves using a different word, substituting one word for another. Sometimes the preferred word is more prestigious, perhaps because it is a loan word, belongs to a higher register, or is used by
a group of people who are held in high esteem. Sometimes a word expresses a concept which is no longer relevant, due to taboo or fashion, or the word refers to an object which is no longer in use or discussed. Studies of lexical loss in related lexical fields can shed some light on the lexical loss of *wod*. In studies of the SUFFERING lexical field (2003; 2005), Molina describes how a lexical field related to INSANITY becomes reorganised. Loan noun *pain* developed some of the semantic features of ‘suffering’ which were already present in Old English *pine* when *pain* entered the SUFFERING lexical field; *pain* gained ‘weight’ within the lexical field, i.e. gained frequency, resulting in the reorganisation of the lexical field, and the subsequent marginalisation of *pine* (2003: 89).

Molina (2005) discusses a different aspect of the SUFFERING lexical field, in which an eventual semantic merger happens between *sor* < Old English *sar* ‘sore, physical pain’ and *sorwe* < Old English *sorhe* ‘sorrow, emotional pain’ and then becomes halted, influencing loss:

> ...alliterative binomials in which the meaning of each of the near-synonym components of the dyad is mutually reinforced, which would strengthen the hypothesis of a merging scenario (Molina 2005: 5).

In the same period though, *sor* and *sorwe* are presented as contrasting in a *neither...nor* construction. It is not beyond the realms of possibility to suggest that both the semi-antonymic semantic relation and the ongoing merger were concurrent in Middle English, with different uses for different speakers. In the case of the INSANITY lexical field, alliterative forms *wod wroth, mad and mat* or *mad and mased* behave in a not dissimilar way to *sor* and *sorwe*, at times both forms expressing similar meanings, and at times contrasting meanings.

There is resistance to using the language-internal factor homonymy as a possible reason for lexical loss, sometimes being used when lack of cultural relevance and other external factors are not sufficient explanation (Grzega 2002). According to Dworkin (1994), not only does there have to be formal overlap, but there needs to be ‘semantic near-identity’ (cf. Gilliéron’s well-known study into the merging of the Gascon forms *gallus* ‘cock’ and *gattus* ‘cat’). The *wod* homonyms e.g. *wod* ‘trees’ do not share a grammatical category or semantic proximity.
2.2 SEMANTIC CHANGE AND SEMASIOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

Both a semasiological and an onomasiological approach are necessary to this study, hence the dual approach in chapters 3 and 4. A holistic view of change in a lexical field demands some knowledge of change in the senses of at least the central items in that field, in this case, *wod* and *mad*. This section looks at studies of semantic structure and change which are relevant to the study of Middle English *wod* and *mad*, where a robust explanation for semantic change is needed, as both these words have developed different senses diachronically. In order to review the literature on semantic structure and change which deals in particular with the sense structures of *wod* and *mad*, I will look at studies and approaches which have been used in comparable instances: prototype theory for its treatment of categories; Invited Inference Theory of Semantic Change; and Traugott’s (1989; 2010) description of subjectification for its focus on the role of subjectivity in semantic change. Underlying all of the above will be the mechanism of metonymy, which is of prime importance in semantic change, see §2.2.3 for discussion of metonymy.

There are three dimensions to semantic change according to Blank (1999): **sociolinguistic**, **cognitive** and **pragmatic**. The adoption of innovations has firstly a **sociolinguistic** aspect to it, as the motivation for adoption depends on social variables like the prestige of the speaker.\(^{36}\) Secondly, the adoption of an innovation could have a **cognitive** aspect, for example, a metaphor has to be convincing to the hearer. The change has to be a good choice, to express something in a better way. Speakers innovate in order to better express themselves and to achieve communicative efficiency: ‘the need to be understood’ (Aitchison 2001: 153). Thirdly, a **pragmatic** aspect of innovation is that we innovate when we need to achieve practical results to allow access to the concept we want to communicate more effectively (Blank 1999: 71). Throughout this thesis I will take sociolinguistic, cognitive and pragmatic aspects of language change into consideration. I will assume that they are not mutually exclusive, and that whilst one aspect might be foregrounded, others will be working less prominently in the background. This section examines in more detail a cognitive theory of semantic change, prototype theory, and a pragmatic theory of semantic change, Invited Inference Theory. Both will be seen to play a part in sense change of *wod* and *mad* in chapter 4.

\(^{36}\) Metadata in the corpora I used does not contain sufficient sociolinguistic information, therefore I was unable to analyse this aspect.
I will firstly turn to delineating the senses, or categories in the semantic structures of *wod* and *mad*. As with onomasiological change, I will use prototype theory as a framework for study of structure and change. Prototype theory is primarily concerned with the quantifiable relations that exist between elements in a semasiological structure (Geeraerts 1997: 32). I will closely examine the sense structure of *wod* and the sense structure of the other prototypical centre of the INSANITY lexical field, *mad* (§4.1 and §4.2).

The structure of the senses of *wod* and *mad* is markedly different. When *mad* appears in Middle English, it does not develop all the same senses as *wod*; in particular, *mad*’s ‘angry’ sense does not develop in the same way as that of *wod*. Most importantly, the discussion of the prototypical structure of *wod* and *mad* in §4.3 demonstrates that there is little evidence of ‘cognitive neat dovetailing of concepts’ as componential analysis suggests; instead, that the structure is organised according to prototype principles. Geeraerts’ (1997) four characteristics of prototype theory,37 (see table 2:1), can be adapted as a way of explaining semantic change, and are a useful way of describing the internal structure of lexical categories. Whereas in onomasiology the elements involved in prototypicality arrangements were names, for semasiology they are senses. In subsequent paragraphs, I will discuss the characteristics as they apply to the analysis of semasiological structure.

**CHARACTERISTIC 1. DEGREES OF TYPICALITY – ‘SEMANTIC CHANGE HAPPENS FROM THE BETTER MEMBERS’**

Characteristic 1 we can call *non-equality*, and along with characteristic 2, it is a ‘prototypical characteristic’ of prototypicality (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007: 150). It is important because it relies on the notion of core category members (senses), some of which are ‘better examples’, i.e. more representative within the whole semantic structure of a word, or the category. This representativeness relies on speakers’ judgements about the ‘goodness of membership’ of a category. In Rosch & Mervis’s (1975) study, retrievers or German shepherds are prototypical dogs.38 They are ‘core cases’ because they are central in any

37 Characteristic 3 is ‘semantic change as diachronic semantic polygenesis’ (Geeraerts 1997). This is when incidental, transient changes of word meaning may ‘show up’ independently on several occasions throughout the history of a word, ‘genetically’ unrelated to other meanings. I will not discuss this characteristic, as I found no instances of it in the INSANITY database.

38 With dogs, ‘dogginess’ takes the form of doing ‘doggy’ things like having four legs, barking, having fur. Outliers like Pekingese are dogs, but less typically so, and they represent the category of dogs to a lesser extent. The German Shepherd is a prototypical dog. As a result, it is named as being a ‘best example’ in experiments Rosch & Mervis (1975: 588).
conceptual map of all the existing dogs a person can imagine, some members of a category being better examples, or more salient than others. So not all members are equal, and some members are more important, taking greater prominence in the minds of speakers than others (Geeraerts 1997). Senses *wod* and *mad* ‘insane’ are the most central members in that they are closer to the core of the category than *wod* or *mad* ‘rabid’. Prototype theory predicts that when change takes place it does so as a ‘modulation on a core’. The core area of a category remains strong while the fringe variation grows broader, so if there is going to be variation, it will take its starting point in the centre, and travel increasingly far from the centre by modulating on it. We will see with *wod* and *mad* that the starting point for the diachronic change in both words is the core sense ‘insane’.

**CHARACTERISTIC 2. FAMILY RESEMBLANCE – ‘SEMANTIC CHANGE AS RADIAL SETS THROUGH TIME’**

*Family resemblance* is a useful way to describe synchronic polysemy as well as diachronic change. This characteristic of prototype theory firstly stresses the ‘intensional’ qualities or attributes of lexical semantic structure. It does this by describing radial sets and ‘schematic networks’. It predicts that there will be a clustered set structure with related sub-clusters; this is how we get closely-related *nuances*. Semasiological structure will be overlapping and there will be interlocking readings where there is no single prototypical centre. Accordingly, diachronic change happens via ‘radial sets through time’ (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007: 141). Semasiological change happens in a way where the senses grow in an ‘organic’ nature out of more than one centre. Despite having closely-related nuances, such senses need not have elements in common, because they evolved from different places.

The above analysis can be applied to both the *wod* and *mad* semantic structures, with radial-style diachronic semantic change traceable from Middle English to present-day English in *mad*’s case. Middle English *wod* has central senses ‘insane’, ‘angry’ and ‘foolish’, with sub-senses related to these three centres, and Middle English *mad* has central senses ‘insane’ and ‘foolish’, and likewise sub-senses. Middle English *mad* ‘unrestrained’ is one of these sub-senses which originates from a different prototypical core than *mad* ‘rabid’ and *mad* ‘angry’. In terms of diachronic change, change which happens in one cluster will not necessarily show up in the developments of another cluster, depending on how far away from the prototypical centre it is. Some sub-concepts have more conceptual offspring than others (i.e. they give rise to new developments). Present-day English intensifying adverb *mad* has semantic elements ‘much’ and ‘excess’. These semantic elements originate over time, via
radial sets, from the Middle English *mad* ‘unrestrained’ sense. This sense does not have contact with or originate from the same radial set as *mad* ‘insane’, it stems directly from *mad* ‘excited’. This an instance of semantic change from a subset, and will be discussed further in chapter 4.

CHARACTERISTIC 4. NECESSARY AND SUFFICIENT – ‘SEMANTIC CHANGE FROM SUBSETS’

*Family resemblance* and *necessary and sufficient* are related characteristics of prototypicality in that they are both ‘intensional’, having to do with lexical senses. In lexical semantic structure, whereas the focus in *family resemblance* is on the way in which the members cluster and overlap according to elements of meaning, the focus in *necessary and sufficient* is on the encyclopaedic nature of word meaning changes. Encyclopaedic information as well as semantic information may at any point be a starting point for a new meaning.\(^{39}\)

Metonymy plays a role here, which Geeraerts (1994) calls *inductive metonymy*, or *inductive generalisation* (see §2.2.3). One of the subsets, that is, one of the meanings within the lexical item, becomes extended via metonymy, for example, *glass* ‘object made out of glass’ includes as a subset ‘glass drinking vessel’. This subset spawns the meaning (again extended via metonymy) ‘contents of a vessel’, as in *I can see you’re eyeing up the freshly-squeezed juice! Would you like a glass?* The meaning of glass in the metonymically extended sense then, is still part of the category *GLASS*, but it is not necessary for it to have the semantic marker ‘made of silicon dioxide’. There is therefore no one set of criteria within the category *GLASS* which encompasses all its members. Diachronic metonymic extension will be seen to be important in both the *wod* and *mad* semantic structures. For a comprehensive summary of the importance of metonymy to semantic change, see Koch (2012).

2.2.2 PRAGMATIC MOTIVATORS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

According to Traugott & Dasher the main mechanism of semantic change is *pragmatic* (2002: 24), with less focus on the cognitive process.\(^{40}\) They suggest that in order to have

---

\(^{39}\) Narrowing is an example of semantic change from subsets, e.g. Middle English *meat* (Geeraerts 1994: 130).

\(^{40}\) Cognitive explanations for semantic change are primary in some explanations (Geeraerts 1997), in that cognitive abilities guide the formation of pragmatic (context-bound) changes of meaning. Györi says the speaker’s decision to modify an expression to serve a communicative purpose cannot be explained by pragmatics alone. The decision to do so comes from a mental choice involving selecting which processes to apply to express an idea (Györi 2002: 125). There needs to be a willingness in the mind of the speaker to attach this lexeme to this new referent, i.e. to put it into this particular category, so the case where cognitive processes are not involved are rare (2002: 127). There also needs to be receptiveness on behalf of the hearer to understand the intended change of meaning.
coded meaning (semantic) change, we first have utterance meaning change via inferencing, which they call *Generalised Invited Inferences*, but which Levinson calls *Generalised Conversational Implicatures*. Levinson (1995: 97) suggests a set of heuristics, or principles which are assumed by speaker and hearer to be in place in any conversation in order for the right interpretation to be made. The speaker can encode meaning and the hearer infer meaning with the minimum amount of effort. Diachronic change, suggests Levinson, is a ‘path from speaker-meanings to utterance-type-meanings to sentence-meanings’ (1995: 95). However, no lexeme will necessarily undergo these changes, but if change happens it is likely to follow one of these paths, to travel in this particular direction not the reverse. The *Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change* (Traugott & Dasher 2002) states that when a speaker ‘invites’ an inference, there is the possibility that the nuanced change in meaning will be taken up again by the hearer (or that the inferences will be ‘exploited’), thus resulting in polysemy. Polysemy arises when what was formerly only a speaker implicature becomes an invited inference. Because of speaker innovations, multiple layers of polysemy will exist, often for centuries (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 281).

2.2.3 METONYMY AS A MECHANISM OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

I turn to a brief outline of metonymy, as it is crucial in the understanding of sense change in *wod* and *mad*. For a full summary of past and current metonymy studies, see Riemer (2001). The traditional understanding of metonymy as merely a relation of contiguity confined to language gave way with the establishment of cognitive linguistics in the late twentieth century, and explanations of metonymy as relations *within a domain*, based on conceptual relations. Despite this, the notion of contiguity remains a useful one in the context of important aspects of metonymy such as relations, processes and configurations. Due to contiguity of source and target, metonymy often uses less cognitive effort than metaphor and so is less complex. It is sometimes referred to as a *figure-ground* relation, giving us access to one entity via another where both concepts are in a ‘frame’ or Idealised Cognitive Model (Lakoff 1987), but sometimes one is foregrounded (and therefore ‘stands for’ its neighbour), and sometimes the other. Metonymy is the primary mechanism of semantic change in *wod* and *mad*, see §4.3, and is said to underlie many common metaphorical mappings, or at least to occur simultaneously with the metaphorical mapping, in order for the required mapping to take place (Barcelona 2000: 31; Riemer 2001: 385). Metonymy is even more pervasive than metaphor, to the extent of being ‘omnipresent’, according to Koch (2012: 259).
Bridging can be thought of as a pragmatic path of communication where inferences are set in motion. Bridging contexts do not lead directly to new meanings, instead they are often confined to pragmatic or contextual meaning. Bridging is a stage where a certain meaning a) can be suggested in a certain context, but equally, meaning b) can work as well. These contexts produce inferences by way of metonymy, allowing a different sense to emerge if the communication is successful:

They trigger an inferential mechanism to the effect that, rather than the source meaning, there is another meaning, the target meaning, that offers a more plausible interpretation of the utterance concerned (Heine 2002: 84).

They are cancellable, but in the cases where they are not cancelled, a new, target meaning is possible. Heine proposes *switch contexts*, where an interpretation in terms of the older meaning is not possible (2002: 85). If switch contexts are used with enough frequency, their associated meanings become conventionalised. The notion of bridging and switch contexts will be a useful one in chapter 4 when looking at metonymic change in *wod* and *mad*.

### 2.2.4 SUBJECTIFICATION IN AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT: WIT

This section examines an important tendency of semantic change, subjectification. This is done to provide context for the discussion of *wod* ‘wicked’ in §4.1.5. I will first provide a brief outline of Koivisto-Alanko’s (2002) study of the subjectification of abstract noun *wit*. *Wit* has been used as an example of semantic change by scholars including Quirk (1953), Barber (1960) and Lewis (2002 [1960]). Since it is a frequently-occurring word, its diachronic semantic change has been commented on in numerous places. Görlach’s (1991) discussion of *wit* is centered around changes in Early Modern English, concerning new meanings which occurred when *wit* came to describe the person and their behaviour rather than earlier ‘mental faculties’ senses. This is the starting point for the thrust of Koivisto-Alanko (2002), which, in a study of *wit*, examines the subjectification tendencies proposed by Traugott (1989: 33; 1999; 2010).

Koivisto-Alanko (2002) examines the prototypical structure of the abstract noun *wit* according to Traugott’s model of directionality for semantic change. Early Modern English *wit* has three main centres – perception (concrete, concerning the five wits, i.e. bodily senses), cognition (abstract, concerning intelligence and understanding) and expression (subjective, concerning talent, genius or quick intellect). By the end of the Early Modern...
English period, the EXPRESSION centre of wit had taken over from the COGNITION centre in frequency, an example of subjectification (2002: 326). Koivisto-Alanko argues that the change from [COGNITION] to [EXPRESSION] is from reference to the intellect of the person in earlier stages of the language, to reference to the qualities of the person expressing that intellect, in later stages (Koivisto-Alanko 2002: 311).

This proposed path of semantic change is through subjectification, one of the regular ‘tendencies’ in semantic change. This is the notion that words will develop new meanings in which speaker meaning is added to the original meaning, or where ‘over time, speakers will develop polysemy that are grounded in the speaker’s world, whether reasoning, belief or metatextual attitude to the discourse’ (Traugott 1999: 179). Traugott calls subjectification ‘the most pervasive tendency in semantic change’ (1999: 188). Anything which is spoken or written expresses, to some degree, speaker or author stance, but some expressions are more subjective than others (1999: 179); for a summary, see Visconti (2013: 8). It is possible to examine adjective mad in the light of these tendencies of semantic change. The start of a similar process of subjectification, or increased subjectivity, can be seen in the sense development of wod ‘wicked’, see §4.1.5. Positive speaker stance will be seen to play a part in the sense development of adjective mad ‘unrestrained’ between Middle English and present-day English, see §4.4.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR STUDIES

This section is intended as a short outline of the topic, to furnish the reader with sufficient understanding of the terminology and concepts involved, so as to aid understanding of the discussion in chapter 5. The justification for the study of INSANITY metaphors stems from the need to study the whole lexical field of INSANITY, in which expressions based on metaphor e.g. out of wit, beside herself figure prominently. A lexical field would be severely depleted without metaphorical expressions, so for example, if there was no source concept of ASTRAY for the target concept of INSANITY, then the lexical items right-witted and in his right mynde would not figure in this field. The analysis of INSANITY conceptual structures within Middle English not only helps add to the knowledge of medieval attitudes towards and understandings of insanity, but allows us to better comprehend contemporary literary texts.

Even though INSANITY metaphors in Middle English do not share the same kinds of mappings as emotion metaphors, illness or general mind ones, there are areas of overlap. One
of the questions for chapter 5 is whether there is a mapping pattern to be found for Middle English \textsc{insanity} metaphors, i.e. target concepts which share their source concepts with \textsc{insanity}. In this section, I will review key studies of \textsc{emotion} metaphors, as well as of other abstract concepts such as \textsc{sickness}. I will review studies which deal with diachronic conceptual metaphor change as a basis for chapter 5’s comparison of Middle English conceptual metaphor with those we use in present-day English. The following section constitutes a basic introduction to conceptual metaphor theory, some of the key studies in the field, and some of the terminology needed to discuss and categorise metaphors and their mappings.

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION TO CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

The primary theoretical framework for this analysis is conceptual metaphor theory, the cognitive-linguistic approach of Lakoff & Johnson, in \textit{Metaphors we live by} (1980), and subsequently, Lakoff & Kövecses (1987), Kövecses (1986; 1999; 2002; 2016) and Lakoff & Johnson (1999). Conceptual metaphor theory posits that metaphor is not a phenomenon of language alone. It belongs on a more general cognitive level, structuring the way we form our concepts, pervasively ingrained in our thought processes and intrinsically connected to our culture. We can have some insight into how a concept is structured, and go some way to understanding cognitive processes, by looking at metaphorical language. The creative function of conceptual metaphor in the expression of abstract concepts places it firmly at the core of communication and language processing; ‘close to the nature of language itself’ (Charteris-Black 2004: 3). Being central to the way our cognitive systems process concepts, metaphor is therefore fundamentally important to abstract thought.

An evaluation of conceptual metaphor theory is provided by Gibbs (2011). The conceptual metaphor theory view of metaphor has been challenged, notably by McGlone (2007). Three of the primary points of challenge regarding emotion conceptual metaphors came from Ortony (1988), in his response to Kövecses (1986) \textit{Metaphors of anger, pride and love: a lexical approach to the structure of concepts}. To Kövecses’ assertion of \textit{conceptualisation} – in this case, regarding emotions – that metaphors structure our concepts of emotion, Ortony counters that if this were true, we would expect a child to only learn about the concept of anger when, for example, she has learnt about the source concepts \textsc{insanity} or \textsc{fluids in a container} (see §5.3.1). However, this is not the case. Regarding

\footnote{For a summary of the critiques of conceptual metaphor theory, see Kövecses (2016: 24).}
the appearance of target concept words for emotions in English, Ortony reminds us that it is not the case that they appeared at a later stage than words for source concepts. In addition, Ortony asserts that our concepts evolve, but that the language we use to talk of those concepts simply becomes frozen, and that we therefore cannot draw conclusions about current concepts from conventionalised expressions. Contra to the conceptualisation view, Ortony proposes instead a lexicalisation view, which is that we take words from a domain which is rich in lexical content to use in a more lexically-impoveryished domain, such as that of emotion (1988: 101).

This study will lean heavily towards a conceptualisation view. Whilst Ortony’s well-observed criticism is important, the major point regarding my approach is that, taking insanity language as an example of an abstract domain, so much of it is metaphorical. I would contend that these concrete-to-abstract mappings would not have existed historically in such large numbers, and so systematically, if it were not the case that certain target domains can only be understood in terms of something more concrete or experiential. What is more, as this study will suggest (see §5.6), we have structured insanity language using overwhelmingly the same source concepts since at least the beginning of the Middle English period. The target domain of insanity, along with that of emotion, is not a ‘lexically less rich domain’ (1988: 101). The language of internal, abstract concepts is wonderfully rich, but it is constructed in the main from building blocks purloined from other sites.

Much work has been done on creating systematic procedures for metaphor identification (Stefanowitsch 2006; Pragglejaz group 2007), for details of which see §5.1. Cognitive frameworks for understanding metaphor have formed the basis of more recent work such as the Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus project,42 and studies resulting from this, such as Bramwell (2016). Other research into diachronic metaphor paths includes Trim (2007; 2010; 2011) and research into metaphor includes Allan (2006; 2008; 2015) and Stefanowitsch (2006).

42 Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus (Glasgow University) was funded by the AHRC, 2012-2015, principal investigator, Wendy Anderson.
2.3.2 PATTERNS AND SYSTEMATICITY IN CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR MAPPINGS

When analysing INSANITY metaphors in §5.4 and §5.5, I will look for evidence of patterns, especially similarity with neighbouring conceptual domains of SICKNESS and EMOTION. This sub-section will therefore explore some of the fundamental notions involved. As a basis for understanding the more abstract target concepts which are complex and less easy to understand, more familiar concrete source concepts are utilised in metaphor systems known as mappings. This system of associations or correspondences, whereby a source domain is conventionally used to talk about a target domain, has concrete to abstract as its preferred direction of mapping. Metaphorical mappings are ‘systematic’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 7) in that the way we conceptualise is patterned, and as a result our language follows patterns too. Some metaphors have mappings which are conventionalised to the extent that the associations are an intrinsic part of the simultaneous development of our bodies, our cognitive function and our experience of the external environment. Many target domains are ‘almost exclusively talked about metaphorically’ (Kövecses 2006: 121).

Some target domains are structured via not one, but a range of source domains. The nature of metaphor to range widely and apply to many different target domains is referred to as the ‘the scope of metaphor’ by Kövecses (2002: 108). Thus, we can say that, for example, fall can be used as a source domain for positions in society: Why he fil fro heigh prosperitee c1405_CH_MT_OED; (cf. present-day English: how the mighty have fallen); governments: þinges þat þup imaad and passiþ and fallith be passinge of tyme a1398_TREV.BART.ANG_OED; (cf. present-day English: the fall of the Roman Empire); moral states: Seven sithes in þe day fallith þe rightwise man a1500_Gest.Rom_OED; (cf. present-day English: pride comes before a fall); and sin and error: Hou ofte he kep yuaale into zenne 1340_Ayenbite_OED; (cf. present-day English: I fell into a serious error) as well as with sickness or insanity. The question of the diachronic continuity of source domains is an interesting one, which falls outside the remit of this study.

The conventionality of some conceptual metaphors can be illustrated with two familiar mind metaphors: THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT: she suddenly snapped; he fell to pieces and THE MIND IS A MACHINE: she is churning out ideas; I’m feeling productive today; he’s easy to wind up. This means that we often talk about the mind in terms of these two source domains, and that some speakers do not notice that the language they easily use to talk

---

Allan (2008: 62) suggests that in certain cases, the direction is reversed.
about this abstract concept is metaphoric, such is the extent of the entrenchment. It follows then that some of the linguistic metaphors which indicate a faulty mind are also conventionalised,\textsuperscript{44} as in THE FAULTY MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT: she’s cracking up, or THE FAULTY MIND IS A BROKEN-DOWN MACHINE: he had a break-down; §5.4.2 will discuss further examples of these familiar mind metaphors, under the INSANITY metaphor INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS. In §5.6 I will discuss systematic patterns of insanity metaphor mappings found in the INSANITY database, and where these converge or contrast with emotion and sickness language.

2.3.3 PRIMARY CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR TYPES

Primary conceptual metaphor types, as detailed in Lakoff & Johnson (1980), and as discussed in cognitivist linguistics, are:

1. Structural metaphors, when we want to partially structure one concept in terms of another, such as TIME IS MONEY or ARGUMENT IS WAR;

2. Orientational (or spatialisation) metaphors, like HAPPY IS UP or HEALTH IS UP. Different ‘ups’ correspond to different concepts, or areas of physical human experience. The majority of our concepts are arranged in terms of our relationship with space and distance, such as in-out, off-on, front-back, up-down;

3. Ontological metaphors, e.g. MIND IS A MACHINE. We conceptualise ideas as objects, emotions and states as containers, and activities as substances. In this way, we can quantify and otherwise assign characteristics to abstract concepts, to enable us to develop language to describe them.

The above definitions will be used in the subsequent discussion, and in the analysis of INSANITY metaphor in chapter 5. There are also further categorisations which it is important to incorporate into the discussion, which are those proposed by Kövecses (2002), deriving from and building on Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Lakoff & Turner (1989) and Lakoff (1993). The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR and EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR form two metaphor systems, the former corresponding to things and how they relate to each other, the latter to actions, or ‘relations’. It is suggested that these two systems in some way reflect linguistic categorisations of noun, and verb / preposition / conjunction (Kövecses 2002: 124). The

\textsuperscript{44} Deignan classifies metaphors along a sliding scale: historical, dead, conventional and innovative (2005: 47).
GREAT CHAIN is a hierarchy, whereby something higher up in the chain is understood as something lower down, hence for example PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. From this we derive specific metaphors: OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OBJECTIONABLE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, with expressions such as you’re a real pig at the table; he’s a silly ass; also WOMEN AS SEXUAL BEINGS ARE ANIMALS, with expressions such as sex kitten, foxy and filly.

Other dominant metaphors within this system conceptualise abstract concepts as BUILDING, PLANT, HUMAN BODY and MACHINE, from which we derive the metaphor MIND IS A MACHINE. EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR encompasses a wide range of what might loosely be described as ‘relations’, such as states, causes, change, purposes, means, difficulties etc. A full description can be found in Lakoff (1993: 17), but here it will suffice to describe three of these event structure metaphors, as they relate to INSANITY metaphors described in chapter 5: STATES ARE LOCATIONS, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS and LONG-TERM ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS.

STATES ARE LOCATIONS / CONTAINERS

STATES ARE LOCATIONS and STATES ARE CONTAINERS can be discussed under the same heading, since they are interchangeable in that the container or location has a defined border, or edge. One goes to a location: he returned to normality; she went out of her mind; one can be in a state: He’s in considerable distress; I’m in the doldrums. If a state is conceptualised as contained, separate from all other states, then there is by necessity some form of transition required in order to enter insanity. This conceptual ‘transition’ gives rise to the supposition that a) insanity has a boundary or edges, something which differentiates it from other states, and b) insanity (or the insane Self) exists in a different location to the subject experiencing it (even if this different location is only on the other side of a conceptual boundary; see Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 283). This is further discussed in §5.4.2.

DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS

This metaphor conceptualises movement or making progress towards a goal or desired object being an ordinary state of affairs in life. Anything which prevents progress such as schoolwork: she’s bogged down by homework; careers: the glass ceiling; or clear thought: I’ve got a mental block: is an impediment, be it a force, a burden or a blockage.

LONG-TERM ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

This widespread JOURNEY conceptual metaphor conceptualises significant life events as journeys with defined stages. It can encompass LIFE: poor, wayfaring stranger; LOVE: I’m
2.3.4 EMOTION METAPHERS

Without metaphor, language dealing with emotions would be severely depleted, if not impossible. It is therefore no wonder that there have been extensive studies of emotion metaphors in a cognitive framework under the remit of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. For further details, see especially Kövecses (1986; 1991; 1995; 2003), Lakoff & Kövecses (1987), Geeraerts & Grondelaers (2006) and Tissari (2010), but also in the area of historical semantics and lexicology, Trim (2007; 2011), Stefanowitsch (2004; 2006) and Díaz Vera (2011). Within the cognitive linguistic approach, three main schemas or overarching primary event structure metaphors for experiences can be identified: STATES ARE CONTAINERS or LOCATIONS, EXPERIENCES ARE THINGS POSSESSED and EVENTS ARE MOVEMENTS, or less generally, PSYCHOLOGICAL STATES ARE ENDPOINTS OF TELIC MOVEMENTS (Fedriani 2011). An experience or state such as sorrow or insanity is both a container and a possession: in his madness; whereby an experience is an object, arising from primary ontological metaphor EXPERIENCES ARE THINGS POSSESSED. Container metaphors are instantiations of ontological metaphors, where states such as depression and insanity are containers which can be fallen into. The use of different verbs makes the schema productive: tumbling into a pit of despair (see §5.4).

In an application of event structure metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES by Kövecses (2003), Talmy’s (1988) Force Dynamics are evoked to provide structure for the fact that emotions are represented by an overlapping set of source concepts: FORCE, FIRE, BURDEN and INSANITY, with EMOTIONS ARE FORCES being a ‘master metaphor’. We can see this in instantiations of emotion linguistic metaphors EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT: I was overcome by love for her; he struggled with his anger; and EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE: the shock blew me away; I am repelled by him. The scope of metaphor, the tendency for source domains to cover a wide range of conceptual areas, can also be seen in emotion metaphors. Thus, we not only struggle with anger, we struggle with other difficult cognitive problems such as quantum physics.

Gevaert (2002) is a study of the lexical field of ANGER, and ANGER concepts from a diachronic perspective. She finds that of the expressions used to indicate anger, none is used exclusively in the domain of ANGER, and that there is considerable conceptual overlap with

sorry, but I need to move on; and SICKNESS: I’m on track for recovery and even DEATH: when I put out to sea.
the domains of INSANITY, PRIDE, UNKINDNESS, SADNESS and WRONG EMOTION (2002: 285). She further suggests Latinate HEAT concepts were all introduced into the domain within one century, in the period 850-950 (Gevaert 2002: 285). Further to Gevaert (2002), Geeraerts et al. (2012) looks at Diller’s (1994) hypothesis that anger expressed the emotions of the lower classes, reflected in a time of social change. The change circa 1400 in the ANGER lexical field when HEAT became part of the conceptualisation again may have been influenced by the prominent belief at this time in humoral theory, suggesting that cultural factors strongly influence the emergence of and the nature of conceptual metaphors:

Her [Gevaert’s] findings indicate that the conceptualization of anger in terms of heat is not a permanent feature of the concept of anger in English, but that it can, and does, fluctuate in the course of the development of English. This is an extremely important finding because it bears directly on the issue of universality of metaphorical conceptualization across time. If the conceptualization of anger in terms of heat is a mechanical or automatic consequence of our real physiology in anger, this fluctuation should not occur (Kövecses 2000).

The focus of these studies on the correspondence between type of loan and source concept, on overlapping domains, and the contextual analysis of cultural and social change is one which will figure in the present study.

Further on the topic of the diachronic path of conceptual metaphor, the notion of channelling your anger has its origins in a nineteenth century model of control of emotions, with appropriate outlets for this emotion (Kövecses 2000: 168). The point is that different cultures evolving and changing over time will conceptualise anger using different source concepts. This further suggests that encyclopaedic knowledge of medieval society and culture must be brought to bear on the analysis of the language used relating to insanity. Trim compares love metaphors in the works of Chaucer and in present-day English, finding six major conceptual metaphors: (LOVE IS) FIRE, UNITY, TREASURE, NUTRIENT, BLINDNESS, MADNESS. He finds examples of them all in both periods of English, suggesting long-term metaphor paths (2007: 180). Trim suggests that there are differences in the way emotions are conceptualised within cultures, across cultures and diachronically, and that when a ‘metaphor path’ does evolve, it does so within a logical framework, where the change makes sense conceptually (2010: 225). Some medieval love metaphors which are less salient in present-day English are LOVE IS A DEBT, LOVE IS PROPERTY and LOVE IS SUBSERVIENCE. Trim
claims that there are diachronic metaphor universals; some concepts do become less salient in
different cultures at different times, and others resurface as the need arises. Some metaphors
however are time- and culture-specific, and so there is some degree of metaphor obsolescence
(2007: 220). In chapter 5, I will consider the extent to which INSANITY metaphors have
changed diachronically.

A discussion of evolving conceptual metaphors is found in Díaz Vera (2011). This
study suggests that in late Middle English there develops a more specialised vocabulary for
talking about emotional distress (sprete, mind, conscience, inwit), varying from earlier Old
English vocabulary which relied heavily on the BODY IS A CONTAINER metaphor. He explores
the extent to which Middle English differentiated between psychological and physical
distress, and the extent to which the lexicon accommodates this. Looking at words
dymmyng, dallynge and dysmaynge, he concludes that the metaphorical language of
emotional distress is based on both physical and psychological origins, and that this dualism
demonstrates an understanding that mind and body are separate:

Middle English descriptions of emotional distress point towards the existence of a
microcosm that mediates between the corporeal self and the body social, representing
the kind of holistic vocabulary that is wanting in modern varieties of English (Díaz
Vera 2011: 69).

The source concepts of suffering, or emotional distress, according to Díaz Vera (2011) are
DARKNESS, FALLING DOWN, SLOWNESS, BITTERNESS and HEAVINESS OF THE HEART. It can
be seen therefore that some of the source concepts for this kind of emotional distress
(SORROW) are shared with the source concepts for INSANITY, or at least the concepts which
are associated with the aspect of insanity that overlaps the most with SORROW, i.e.
depression. Chapter 5 gives a brief overview of Middle English and present-day English
SORROW conceptual metaphors and examines where there is conceptual and lexical overlap.

2.3.5 THE EMBODIED NATURE OF MANY CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

Some metaphors are not a part of a ‘master metaphor’, but only apply to certain emotions,
such as SHAME IS BEING NAKED. This is a cause-effect type of metonymically-derived
metaphor, which is an instance of embodiment in metaphor (Kövecses 2003). Embodiment is
the notion that our understanding of many abstract domains makes use of the source domain

---

45 This complements Geeraerts’s (1997) notion of semantic polygenesis (Tissari 2010: 106).
of our own bodies. Our physical body is more important than other commonly-used source domains such as animals, buildings, the natural environment, and is central to our understanding of space and spatial notions like distance, height, inside, outside etc. As babies we developed ‘pre-conceptual image schemas,’ like CONTAINMENT, VERTICALITY, and BALANCE which our spatial conceptualisations are based on, and hence, via the use of inference and metaphorical and metonymic conceptualisations, we develop abstract thought (Dirven et al. 2007: 1209).

It is further suggested that these embodiment patterns are unidirectional and found cross-linguistically (Kövecses 2010: 218). Kövecses suggests this demonstrates that language is determined by culture and the body (1995: 186). Using ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER as an example, he argues there is both a historical and existential motivation for a set of expressions and an embodied explanation. He says that if the motivation is just historical then different cultures would have different conceptualisations of anger. But examples from different cultures and language families show there are mostly conceptualisations which are container or heat-based, although for ANGER, the conceptualisation is of fluid heating up in a container, so the primary conceptual metaphor is an embodied one. This is especially seen in emotion metaphors and metonymies – the embodied nature of some metaphors shows the metonymic origin of some of them. Blowing his top refers to a different domain in which a fluid heated in a container forces the lid off. In the Idealised Cognitive Model of ANGER, there are several elements such as heat, pressure and redness which are found in the human experience of anger, and metonymically stand for anger.

Taking the example of SHAME again, in the effect-cause metonymically-derived embodied metaphor SHAME IS BEING SMALLER, we can see that there is an extent to which cultural changes affect conceptual metaphor. In Old English, shame was external and based on honour, until the advent of the ideology of Christianity. This kind of shame was expressed by SHAME IS SCORN, or SHAME IS DISHONOUR. One set of cultural values gradually replaced another over the medieval period: older values where shame was a way of socially keeping people in order were replaced by inward feelings of guilt, unique and strictly personal. The concept underwent a process of subjectification, and an internalisation process in which different, embodied metaphors of SHAME developed (Díaz-Vera 2014). This similar process of language reflecting a cultural change is also seen in the sense development of mad, and to an extent, influences the decline of wod; see §3.5.2.
The INSANITY database is a large enough source of data on which to base a categorisation of INSANITY metaphors. However, in my discussion of INSANITY linguistic metaphors in chapter 5, I will use the term conceptual metaphor with caution. I am not making the assumption that some of the less common mappings are conventionalised to the extent that it is possible to call the metaphors conceptual metaphors. Clearly, it is difficult to say for certain what makes a metaphor conceptual. Frequency of a particular mapping has been suggested:

The relative frequency of source and target domain items in a given metaphorical pattern may be used to determine the degree to which the pattern in question is transparently motivated by a metaphorical mapping, and the relative frequency of source and target domain items in a coherent set of metaphorical patterns may be used to assess the degree to which the metaphorical mapping underlying them can be regarded as productive, i.e. as a candidate for a truly conceptual metaphor (Stefanowitsch 2006: 68).

Conceptual metaphor theory does not make the assumption that all linguistic metaphors belong to a structured conceptual metaphor (Kövecses 2002: 30) – some metaphors are ad hoc, and can be derived from the context, or imagination, as required (Kövecses 2016: 19).

### 2.3.6 MEDIEVAL LOCI OF THOUGHT AND EMOTION

We saw in §2.3.5 that there are some differences in the way emotions were conceptualised in the Middle Ages. For the discussion of INSANITY conceptual metaphors in §5.5, it is necessary to consider where in the body people in the Middle Ages considered firstly thoughts, and then feelings, came from. This enables us to consider the extent of the embodiment of INSANITY conceptual metaphors.

‘[A]ccepted authorities were divided between those that viewed the heart as the governing organ in the body, those that championed the brain as the seat of the intellect, and those that found a solution somewhere between the two’ (Webb 2010: 12).

Webb notes that in the late Middle Ages, there was a revival in the ‘heart as centre’ camp. One text which was influential in shaping opinion was the thirteenth century *De animalibus*, which states that the heart is the point of origin of the organs, and that the soul resides in the heart (Webb 2010: 20). Sometimes herte and soule are used interchangeably to refer to the same concept, although the usual pairing is body and soul.
Similarly to the HEAD IS A CONTAINER (of wit / reason etc.) conceptual metaphor which will be seen to be found in Middle English insanity metaphors, HEART IS A CONTAINER also operates for different emotions. People in the medieval period talked figuratively about spirit to represent an emotion, and about thoughts residing in the head:

and thus melancolye | And dred I have for to dye, | Defaute of slepe and hevynesse |
Hath slyrn my spirit of quiknesse, | That I have lost al lustihede | Suche fantasies ben
in myn hede 1369 Chaucer: The book of the Duchess.46

The medieval concept of the brain is that it can be a receptacle for thought and emotion. The heart is usually conceived of as separate from the ‘body’, and contains emotions such as desire / willingness: mid ealre heortan ‘with all my heart’; and happiness:

And yf it please yowe to here of my welefar, I am not in good heele of body, nor of herte, nor schall be tyll I her ffrom yowe 1420_paston 5_ICAMET.

Excess of negative emotion sorrow and ‘heavy’ thoughts in the heart were seen to cause insanity:

Him thoughte his sorwes were so smerte | And lay so colde upon his herte; | So, through his sorwe and hevy thoght, | Made him that he ne herde me noght; | For he had wel nigh lost his minde 1369 Chaucer: The book of the Duchess.47

It is important to remember that the medieval concept of the location of not only thinking and reasoning, but also remembering was different to that of the present day.48 The heart was usually linked with the emotions, and thoughts were usually but not always contained in the mind. Sometimes though, the heart was capable of thought:

Crist therfore, wyllyng al suche to be clene wythynne and wythout both in body and in soule sayth this "Al that seen a woman to the couetyse of theyr lust they doo lecherye wyth hyr in theyr herte". And thus by shrewd thoughtys man is ofte tyme departyd from God 1483_caxtquat_ICAMET.

This example suggests that the sin of lechery is committed both in the heart, and in thoughts. The heart was especially linked with memory, as the etymology of record demonstrates

48 Although see Niemeier (2008: 350) regarding complementary and contradictory cultural models of the head and heart: cf. cool-headed/cool-hearted and warm-hearted/hot-headed.
‘remembering, written on the heart’. The heart in medieval culture was seen as ‘the literal site of memory, understanding and imagination’ (Jager 1996: 2). The heart, containing the emotions, was also the very core of what it was to be human. In §4.1.1, we see that a compounded Old English word for ‘insanity’ was wodheortnes ‘insane-hearted’, which suggests a conceptualisation of the heart as at least one of the loci of thought, along with the brain, (cf. brægenseoc). However, this conceptualisation is not extant in Middle English, as wodheortnes is not attested. Aside from these head / heart embodiments, which have their origin in conceptual metonymy, chapter 5 will discuss other metaphors which show evidence of embodiment.

2.3.7 SICKNESS AND CANCER METAPHORS

A brief consideration of SICKNESS metaphors is included here, as lexemes such as braynesekе suggest that there is a close conceptual link in Middle English. This will provide context for the discussion of present-day English and Middle English SICKNESS metaphors in §5.2. There is extensive scholarship on disease metaphor, most of which centres on a) cancer and b) high-profile virus outbreaks where there is a concentration of media coverage. Analysis of such metaphors can be found in, for example, Semino et al. (2016) and Gibbs & Franks (2002). It has been suggested that cancer attracts the most metaphor. Hanne & Hawken (2007: 97) found that of a group of physical illnesses – avian flu, cancer, diabetes, heart disease and HIV / AIDS – heart disease references attracted the least metaphor (HEART DISEASE IS FAULTY PLUMBING). The two overarching metaphors for cancer are CANCER IS A BATTLE and CANCER IS A JOURNEY (Demjén & Semino 2016: 385), although they suggest that people use a wide variety of metaphors which are not necessarily underpinned by reference to a conceptual model. Goatly (2007) suggests a more general DISEASE IS INVASION metaphor, which falls under the more basic general metaphor SICKNESS IS A BATTLE. Cells are subject both to invasion and devouring by animal metaphors – CANCER IS AN ANIMAL, a rapacious beast which ‘devours’ cells (Weiss 1997: 461). The fact that people use often contradictory metaphors to describe their experiences with cancer suggests that there is not just one conceptual model on which conceptual metaphor for complex abstract concepts, including INSANITY, are based.

The evidence from studies of present-day English SICKNESS metaphors is that different types of sickness require different types of metaphor. In a similar way, INSANITY

---

49 Demjén & Semino (2016) present conceptual metaphors as a ‘concept-word’, such as engaginginbattle.
conceptual metaphors are grouped roughly by source metaphor. Only some source domains will encompass all ‘definitions’, or ‘types’ of insanity. As will be seen in §5.4 and §5.5, mappings for mania and schizophrenia type illnesses have source concepts such as INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE and depression will have INSANITY IS A BURDEN. INSANITY IS A FORCE is a source domain which describes both depression-type insanity, and schizophrenia-type insanity. FORCE metaphors are also widely used as source in a great many target concepts, such as emotions.

2.3.8 INSANITY AND PAIN METAPHOR STUDIES

An abstract concept which is analysed in a similar way to INSANITY is PAIN. The similarities between the two concepts are that like insanity, pain cannot be measured; it causes distress; it is subjective; and different experiencers react differently to it. Like insanity, pain stands in relation to physical sickness, but the exact nature of that relation is complex. In addition, pain is found in Middle English genres in similar contexts to insanity, often as a punishment for sinful behaviour. It is therefore interesting to examine diachronic change in the concepts of pain in Old English and Middle English, to see if any patterns emerge which might also be mirrored in INSANITY conceptual metaphors in §5.5.

Díaz Vera (2012) uses Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (Stefanowitsch 2006), in his study of PAIN nouns from HT. In older and religious texts, physical pain is conceptualised as a place – hell – where a person resides forever. This concept develops and changes, so that in Late Middle English, pain becomes a process with a beginning and an end. This corresponds with the point at which medicine starts to be able to cure pain. In a similar way to the present study, Díaz Vera (2012) demonstrates the effect of text type, as well as correlating the results with historio-cultural evidence. His aim is to demonstrate that medical writers made ‘lexical and conceptual choices’ (2012: 280). In the same way, in chapter 3 I will show that authors made motivated choices concerning INSANITY language.

Peters’ (2004) description of the lexical field of PAIN examines the metonymic and metaphoric processes by which we get diachronic changes of meaning, and looks at which conceptual metaphors are extant. Many of them are similar to INSANITY conceptual metaphors. THE BODY IS A CONTAINER, with pain contained in the body, similar to the way insanity is contained in the head: filled with pain, in pain; PAIN IS A HOSTILE AGENT (just as INSANITY IS A FORCE): pain-stricken, pain-killing; PAIN IS A BURDEN: pain-bearing; PAIN IS A WEAPON: sharp pain, stab of pain. Pain is also personified in a similar way to the way
insanity is, PAIN IS AN ANGRY PERSON: pain rages. Of course, sharing a source concept does not mean the target concepts are sure to be similar in any way. As insanity is sometimes described as psychic pain, it is predictable that they will have shared source concepts.

There is an absence of work on INSANITY conceptual metaphors until Korkeamäki (2013), Pavlović (2016), Bramwell (2016) and Charteris-Black (2012). The latter two will be dealt with separately below. Pavlović (2016) is a paper outlining conceptual metaphors using INSANITY as a source domain in present-day Serbian and English, and although INSANITY as a target domain is mentioned, it does not address issues within semantics as related to conceptual metaphor. Korkeamäki (2013) is a study of INSANITY idioms in English, some of which overlap with those in the present study, using data from dictionaries. Korkeamäki (2013) and Pavlović (2016) both predominantly focus on present-day language, and neither study addresses the need for a study of historical INSANITY language.

Bramwell’s (2016) study stems from the Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus project at the University of Glasgow. The tool creates visual mappings of metaphors of the third-level categories in the HT. Clicking on the category ‘mental health’ in the online tool shows where there is a metaphorical connection (ascertained by manual checking for metaphor where there was lexical overlap in two categories such as MENTAL HEALTH / ANIMALS, or MENTAL HEALTH / MOVEMENT). Bramwell suggests that INSANITY as a target domain has links with source domains of DISORDER, WILDERNESS, MISSHAPEN, MOVABLE OBJECT and DAMAGED OBJECT, as well as being a source domain itself with WEATHER as the target (2016: 156). Although these source domains do not match exactly the source domains of the present study, there are significant alignments, in that Bramwell’s DISORDER and WILDERNESS correspond with my FORCE and LACK OF ORDER; MISSHAPEN and DAMAGED OBJECT correspond with my ASTRAY and LACK OF WHOLENESS; and MOVABLE OBJECT corresponds with my ANOTHER PLACE. Bramwell encompasses FALLING metaphors under the over-arching metaphor MENTAL SPACES ARE PHYSICAL SPACES, with the mind itself being an object which is subject to various kinds of movement and damage, or which can exist at any given point within a conceived physical space. Bramwell herself admits that the study is limited due to the size of the data available (2016: 164), but that the Mapping Metaphor tool has the potential to alert the hunter of metaphors to diachronic similarities.

50 http://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk/ [accessed 2016-7].
The aim of Bramwell (2016) is to demonstrate how mappings from the *Mapping Metaphor* project can be used to uncover conceptual metaphor and hence gain a greater understanding of how sanity and insanity are conceptualised in the English-speaking world. The data for Bramwell’s source concepts is, by definition, derived from dictionary data in the *HT*. In contrast, my study shows the benefits of a corpus linguistic approach and the self-compiled database, with its prerequisite examining of the target concept lexeme in its original context in the text. The lack of this analysis is a limitation of Bramwell (2016). In using data which was harvested from a source where no pre-conceived structures or notions had been placed on its categorisation, the *INSANITY* database was a *tabula rasa* from which metaphors could be drawn. I was in this way able to demonstrate which source concepts were more prevalent, suggesting the possibility of the existence of primary conceptual metaphors.

Taking a critical discourse analysis approach, Charteris-Black (2012) identifies conceptual metaphors relating, not to *INSANITY per se*, but to depression. Using WordSmith Tools software, clusters of semantically-related expressions, metaphor key words and source concept lemmas such as *darkness, weight, descent* are identified. Charteris-Black finds CONTAINER metaphors very commonly used, many of them concerning the notion of being in captivity (2012: 208). Metaphors are most expressive, he suggests, when they are repeated and layered: he describes a discursive process of metaphor ‘priming’, where one metaphor triggers another in dialogue. He suggests that a therapeutic use of this finding might be for therapists to identify metaphors a client is using, and to engage in metaphor priming in the context of the therapy, in order to encourage expression of feelings.

Chapter 2 has looked at studies in lexical semantics which will have a bearing on the direction of the present study. There have been three discrete strands to the literature – studies dealing with onomasiology and lexical fields, studies dealing with semasiology and semantic structure and change, and those dealing with conceptual metaphor. The next three chapters will take each strand in turn. Chapter 3 will discuss the *INSANITY* lexical field, and the obsolescence of *wod*. Chapter 4 will focus on semantic structure and change in *wod* and *mad*, and chapter 5 outlines Middle English *INSANITY* conceptual metaphor, and compares it to *INSANITY* conceptual metaphor in present-day English.
CHAPTER 3 THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

This chapter is an analysis of the vocabulary of INSANITY in Middle English; an examination of structure and change in a complex and unique lexical field. Studying lexical variation requires a combination of semasiological and onomasiological approaches; chapter 3 will take the latter approach. An onomasiological examination of a lexical field starts with the concept and looks at semantically similar lexical items associated with that concept. As well as making use of HT, it will also have at its centre the INSANITY database described in chapter 1, focusing on the section consisting of near-synonyms of wod and mad, that is, the various lexical items which belong to the INSANITY field, for example frantik, lunatic, out of wit. Instead of a traditional, structural approach (looking systematically at semantic relations in a lexical field), this chapter will start with the data, looking at the words in the database to see how they were used, when, and in which genres. This approach has much in common with what has been called ‘pragmatic onomasiology’ (Grondelaers & Geeraerts 2003), an approach which looks at what word choices were made in different contexts. The ‘bottom-up’, data-driven approach makes this possible. It is important to take into account different contextual and cultural considerations when analysing why the lexical field of INSANITY looks one way at the beginning of the Middle English period, and very different by the end of it. More specifically, the early Middle English INSANITY lexical field until 1200 was dominated by wod, and to a lesser extent, witless, gidie and brayne-seke, whereas by the end of the fifteenth century, mad is established in the lexical field, along with many Anglo-Norman and Latin loans. This chapter will discuss the structure of, and changes in, this lexical field, and also some of the extra-linguistic, i.e. socio-cultural, pressures effecting change. By the end of the Middle English period, these different forces had started to slowly, but definitely, push wod nearer to the outer edges of this lexical field. I will discuss these forces in §3.4 and §3.5.

This usage-based approach to conceptual structure can further be likened to what Grondelaers & Geeraerts (2003: 79) call sociolexicology, due to its similarity with the methodology of sociolinguistics. In this study, it can be called historical sociolexicology, in which case studies analyse the actual choice of a word in a specific context. The methods of traditional sociolinguistics, where data is gathered from subjects communicating in their everyday vernacular, are not available. The INSANITY database provides us with our non-elicited data, but we cannot use, for example, the social class of the author as one of the independent variables, as this is not accurately recorded in most cases. Therefore, as
suggested in Grondelaers & Geeraerts (2003: 80), we rely on the intended audience of the text to give an indication of the variable ‘genre or register’, because the author would select a word with the express intention of being understood by his readers.

The chapter relates to two research questions. One asks how extra-linguistic factors, such as genre or cultural changes, impact on the Middle English INSANITY lexical field, especially on the demise of *wod*, and the second asks how these extra-linguistic factors interact with intra-linguistic factors such as diachronically shifting prototypical centres in this and neighbouring lexical fields such as ANGER, and the influx of French loans. Therefore, this chapter will firstly define ‘the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY’, i.e. the words and expressions chosen by speakers to designate ‘insane’ in Middle English. We will see how this changed over the period as a consequence of loanwords and other factors. I will examine the extent to which the variables a) genre and b) date affected choice of words. This chapter will also consider relevant neighbouring lexical fields in terms of intra-linguistic factors, and to describe how ‘powerful’ they are in terms of the effect they have on change in the lexical field of INSANITY, particularly the lexical field of ANGER. In the last section of this chapter I focus on the gradual, but increasingly tangible, loss of prominence of *wod* ‘insane’ in Middle English, leading to its replacement by *mad* and other near-synonyms over the centuries following the Middle English period. An approach of examining *wod* synchronically and diachronically alongside its near synonyms, particularly *mad*, allows a picture of *wod*’s decline to emerge. Using small case studies, we will find that the interplay of several ongoing changes led to the obsolescence of *wod*.

### 3.1 ONOMASIOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

What constitutes the lexical field of INSANITY? The *HT*, along with the *OED* and *MED* has been an indispensable tool in this research. As it presents chronologically words which represent a particular concept, it is possible to gain an overview of the words used about the concept INSANITY from a historical perspective. *HT* presents sense information based on entries in the *OED* in a taxonomic classification. In this way it is possible to use *HT* in an onomasiological study to explore concepts diachronically. It starts with three basic groupings or general categories of concepts, ‘the world’, ‘the mind’ and ‘society’, and then branches off into progressively more specific categories. Following the ‘insane’ link to *HT* from *OED* for example, takes one to a list of synonym adjectives in ‘the world’ general category (the
world>>health and disease>>mental health>>mental illness>>insanity or madness>>affected with), following a ‘disease’ categorisation. A different route can be taken to very close synonyms, however, in that groups of words expressing lack of intellect, reasoning and understanding all come under the general category ‘the mind’. These different groupings were all used to form rough lists of near-synonyms, and then precise senses were cross-referenced in OED to provide a list of ‘insanity’ near-synonyms. There was found to be some wastage, as HT categories were at times too wide and vague. The list of nouns, adjectives and verbs in table 3.1 therefore borrows from, but does not replicate exactly, the terms found in HT. This is because some terms which are found in the INSANITY database, marred, mased, frenesie, mat, forcened, and myndles, are not found in the HT’s list of adjectives. Of the terms not found in the HT, it seems to be the case that the ‘minor’ status of their ‘insanity’ sense (in a similar way to the category status of present-day English depressed, used of serious mental illness and trivial situations alike) did not accord them a place in the HT’s list of INSANE near-synonyms, e.g. marred and mat. Frenesie is used adjectivally only once in the database. Myndles ‘insane’ is a minor sense even in Middle English, its prototypical sense being in the FOOLISHNESS lexical field. Of the near-synonyms in the INSANITY database, approximately 17.7% are not presented by HT as ‘insane’ near-synonyms, i.e. they can be found in the OED, but not in this category of the thesaurus. Some terms such as dement, only appears once in the database, the source being the OED. Other terms in the HT list of adjectives I judged to be of borderline ‘insane’ sense such as unwhole or unrocked, I subjectively judged from the context to lie nearer to an ‘angry’ sense than an ‘insane’ one. Table 3.1 lists in chronological order the more widely-used of the above terms. It contains Middle English adjectives, nouns and verbs found in both HT and the ‘near-synonym’ database.

Listing the INSANITY terms in chronological order allows us to see at a glance the date of the earliest loans into the lexical field (adoten, 1225; lunatic, 1290). We can also see that even after the advent of loans, there were many additions to the field from native word stock, for example woodhead (1303), using the -head suffix first attested in late Old English. It seems then, that wod was still sufficiently useful a word in the middle of the Middle English period as to warrant this new compound. Other wod compounds are first attested in the fourteenth century, such as brayne-wod, perhaps by analogy with Old English brægenseoc.

51 HT class: external word / living world / health / mental health or sanity / mental illness / affected with.
52 Unwhole is said by OED to be rare in the mental illness sense; unrocked is perhaps a metaphoric creation of the Scots poet Henryson.
Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that in the very same century there is evidence of the decline of *wod*, see §3.3.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSANITY TERM</th>
<th>EARLIEST DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wod</em></td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>awede</em></td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>woodsek</em></td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dwele</em></td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wede</em></td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>brayne-seke</em></td>
<td>Old English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wodness</em></td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wodship</em></td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gidie</em></td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>witless</em></td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>amad</em></td>
<td>1220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>out of his wit</em></td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>adoten</em></td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>madship</em></td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>stare</em></td>
<td>1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>drof</em></td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dizzy</em></td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lunatic</em></td>
<td>1290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>woodhead</em></td>
<td>1303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rave</em></td>
<td>1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mased</em></td>
<td>1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rage</em></td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rese</em></td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mad</em></td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mat</em></td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sick</em></td>
<td>1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>brainwood</em></td>
<td>1375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mania</em></td>
<td>1385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>out of one’s mind</em></td>
<td>1387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>malencolie</em></td>
<td>1393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mazednesse</em></td>
<td>1395</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSANITY TERM</th>
<th>EARLIEST DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sessed</em></td>
<td>1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>raving</em></td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>madness</em></td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>frenetic</em></td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wede (out / of) wit</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fool</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>frenzy</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>madhead</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>madding</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>formad</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>unwise</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>brain</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>unwhole</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>foned</em></td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>crased</em></td>
<td>1420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alienation</em></td>
<td>1425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>brainless</em></td>
<td>1434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>assoten</em></td>
<td>1450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(go / fall / run) mad</em></td>
<td>1450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>furios/ity</em></td>
<td>1475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>madful</em></td>
<td>1475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>derverye</em></td>
<td>1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>forcenery</em></td>
<td>1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>distract</em></td>
<td>1481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fro oneself</em></td>
<td>1483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>forcene</em></td>
<td>1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beside oneself</em></td>
<td>1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beside one’s patience</em></td>
<td>1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dement</em></td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>unrocked</em></td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSANITY TERM</th>
<th>EARLIEST DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>out of one’s mind</em></td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>malencolie</em></td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.1 INSANITY lexemes: earliest OED attestation.*

Phrases meaning ‘insane’ are also an important part of the vocabulary of **INSANITY**. They are usually metaphorical and are built by combining a) a spatial preposition such as *out*, or b) an adjective or participle such as *trubbed*, with a noun denoting ‘one’s sane self’ such as *mynde* or *wyt*. These expressions are rich in metaphor.
i. Oure lady..lay still doted and dased, As a womman mapped and mased *Fro riztfull resoun robbed and rased* a1450_Leg.Holy Rood_OED.

ii. As men made and out of mynde felen not when thei be wounded, for *thei faylen here wyttes* 1450_specchri_ICAMET.

iii. *she loued hym sore / that wel nyghe she was* *oute of her mynde* 1485_malory1_ICAMET.

iv. *thus they fought to gyders fyue houres as men raged* *oute of reason* 1485_malory1_ICAMET.

v. *haue ye* *lost your wytte that so enbrace this moure* 1485_caxtpar_ICAMET.

vi. *sir Matto le breune / that felle oute of his wytte by cause he lost his lady* 1485_malory1_ICAMET.

vii. *as a man madde and all to gyder from his wyttes* 1489_caxtblan_ICAMET.

viii. *mad and beside herself* 1490_caxteney_ICAMET.

### 3.2 NATIVE AND BORROWED WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

The following sections, §3.2.1 and §3.2.2 describe native and loan words in the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY. I have selected the terms most frequently found in the INSANITY database, from which examples for each term are taken; some less frequently-found items are not discussed. I will note date of first attestation, etymology and cognate forms, and whether there exist any special syntactic combinations or lexical collocations. This allows us to understand the extent to which this lexical field was dynamic and subject to change, and the extent of the overlap with neighbouring lexical fields. All information regarding first attestation, etymology and cognate forms is taken from *OED* unless otherwise noted.

#### 3.2.1 NATIVE WORDS IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

The INSANITY database contains 575 examples of words and phrases with the meaning ‘insane’ other than *wod* and *mad*. Of these 344 are of native word-stock. Table 3.2 presents percentages of each INSANITY term in the ‘near-synonym’ database for native words. In this section, I will individually examine each of the terms *gidie, dizzy, brayne-wod* (etc), *(out of)*
wit, witles, mased, marred, (out of) mynde, fond, beside onesself, sotted. I have omitted items which occurred only once in the database, such as monaðseoccan, for space reasons. For the purposes of categorisation, I am defining native as ‘not a loan into Middle English’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>near-synonym</th>
<th>percentage in database</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gidie</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dizzy</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brayne-wod (etc.)</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(out of) wyt</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mased</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marred</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(out of) mynde / myndles</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fond</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(beside) self</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sotted</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others, inc drof, menged, monaðseoccan, unhole</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total native</td>
<td>100% (n=344)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.2 Near-synonyms of wod and mad in ‘near-synonym’ database: native words.*

**GIDIE**

In common use in Old English, gydīg’s primary meaning in Old Germanic was ‘possessed by a God’, and in this way is in some sense comparable to Old English ylīg. It is glossed by Latin *Limphaticum* ‘madman’: *Limphaticum, þæne gidijan* c1000_Old English Gloss_OED. Middle English gidie has both a ‘foolish’ and an ‘insane’ meaning, and some examples are ambiguous: *Youre brayn ys comen of gedy kynde* 1450_Dice(1)_MED. An unambiguous example of gidie ‘insane’ is that of Nero: *He [Nero] bicom sone þer after pur gidy & wod* 1297_R. Gloucester’s Chron_OED. Gidie also is found with a ‘vertiginous’ meaning, which

---

53 Chaucer (as Harry Bailey) describes himself as *elvish* in The tale of Sir Thopas. Alaric Hall suggests Chaucer may have had the meaning ‘abstracted’ or possibly ‘delusory’ in mind. Hall looks at Old English ylīg ‘possessed by elves’. He notes that the Harley glossator, despite having many other Old English INSANITY words at his disposal, glosses *fanaticus: futura praecinens as ylīg* ‘one speaking prophetically through divine / demonic possession’ (Hall 2006: 241). North (1997) suggests *ylīg* means ‘demon’, rather than ‘elf’. An c11 gloss of *committales* ‘epileptics’ in two hands, both using Latin and Old English, has *garritores ‘babblers’* and *ylīg* ‘demonically possessed’; and also *lunaticos* and *wanseoce ‘devil-sick’.*
in the compound *turngiddy* was attested in Middle English before *giddy* ‘vertiginous’ became the primary sense in Early Modern English. Of the 21 examples in the *INSANITY* database, most are from the fourteenth century (many from the South English Legendary), but *gidie* is still used in the fifteenth century to mean ‘insane’. *OED* has dialect examples from the nineteenth century with *giddy* meaning ‘mad with anger’.

*Gidie* is found in examples where illnesses are cited: *Ore louerd him ȝaf so fair grace, þat with one worde he migte helen Meoseles and guidie men* c1300_SLeg._MED, having parallels in the *wod* database, where *wodnes* collocates with blindness and lameness: *þou seist þat ich gidi am Seyn Cecili sede. Ac þou art gidi & eke blynde* c1350_SLeg.Cec_MED. *Gidie* is used of rabid animals (where a cow is possessed by a devil): *A kov also þat was gidi a-boute orn in þe londe, þat fale men slov [...] þe deuel wende awei anon* 1300_SLeg_MED. It is also found in contexts where there is reference to possession: *A guydi man þare cam al-so, þat þe deuel hadde i-beo longue In him and bi-nomen him is wit* c1300_SLeg_MED.

*Gidie* is used in contexts where people’s behaviour is denounced as ‘wicked’. In the Corpus Christi MS of the South English Legendary, we find: *þou gidi hound, quaþ sein Quiriak wel aȝtestou do by me* 1325_SLeg_MED. This is in comparison to the Harley MS, which has *wode hound*, and the Laud MS, which has *luþere hound*. The Corpus Christi MS (1320) ‘closely parallels’ the Harley MS (Boyd 1958: 188), so this substitution suggests *gidie* and *wod* are near-synonymous at this point.

**DIZZY**

*Dysig*’s earliest attestation is from Old English, but its primary meaning is ‘foolish’: *Swe folc dysig c825_Vesp.Hymns_OED*. It has cognates in Old Frisian, Middle Dutch and other Germanic languages, all of which are in the *FOOLISHNESS* lexical field. It is a word which is situated on the borders of the *FOOLISHNESS* and *INSANITY* lexical fields, and it is sometimes difficult to categorically place it on one side or the other. It is found infrequently in the first half of the Middle English period with either the sense ‘foolish’ or ‘insane’. On this occasion, *dizzy* is perhaps more likely to mean ‘insane’: *Wurþu neuere so wod, ne so desí of þi mod* 1275_Prov._Ælfred_OED. It collocates with words such as *wod* and *devil*, reinforcing its ‘insane’ sense. It is situated on the borders of the *INSANITY* and *UNSTEADINESS* lexical fields.
**BRAYNE-WOD, BRAYNE-SEKE, BRAIN**

*Brægenseoc* is attested from Old English with an ‘insane’ meaning; *brægenseoc*, along with *awoffod* ‘to rave, be delirious’ both gloss Latin *freneticus*: *Freneticus: awoffod, brægenseoc* Aldhelm Glosses_OED. It continues in use through Middle English and into present-day English. The compound *brayne-wode* is first attested in 1375: *þan brayde he brayn-wod [...] his herde [...] he to-twizt a*1375_Will.Palerne_OED, and similarly to *wod*, is not attested after the nineteenth century. *Brayne* is sometimes found elliptically. The meaning of these *brayn*-phrases can either be interpreted as ‘insane’, or the meaning can shade between ‘insane’, ‘battle-ready’ and ‘angry’. *Brayne-wode* is found in the combination *brayne-wode for x*: *For hungre þai sal be als brayne-wode* 1425_PConsc_MED, again, as an extension of what is found in *wod*.

**OUT OF WYT / WITLES**

*Wit* ‘the faculty of mind; one of its functions’ is attested in Old English, and has cognates in other Germanic languages. There are many senses, most of which are first attested in Middle English. *OED* lists *wit* sense I.4 as corresponding with (in)sanity: ‘the understanding or mental faculties in respect of their condition; chiefly ‘right mind / reason / sanity’.

Approximately 40% of the near-synonym part of the INSANITY database consists of words and phrases containing *wyt*, the majority of which are found in the common phrase *in / out of [his] wyt*, a variant of which (containing the same conceptual metaphor, see §5.5) is attested from Old English: *Wode he gehælde and on witte gebrohte* ‘he healed the insane, and brought them to their wit [to their senses]’ c1000_Ælfric Lives Saints_OED; through to Early Modern English. The earliest attestation in the INSANITY database of *out of his wit* is from 1225: 

*Elewsius warð wod ut of his witte hwet seggen & het swiðe don hire ut of his eh sihðe* c1225_St.Juliana_MED. In Middle English there are also several senses which relate to intellectual capacity, illustrating *wyt’s* position in the FOOLISHNESS lexical field also: *þou dotez daffe [...]Dulle are þi wittes* 1362_Langlan.

*Wytles* is also frequently found in the INSANITY database: *He eode op and doun ase witles* c1290_Beket.S.Eng.Leg._MED; and can be traced back to Old English: *byfigende & drædende Cristes tocyme to demene cwican & deaden, swa þæt se were ne gret his wif, [...] ac byð swa swa wittlease & unspecende* a1150_Vsp.D.Hom._MED. A smaller number of *wyt*-affixed words are found with the meaning ‘sane / insane’, such as *wyttie / unwyttie*. Dating from Old English, *un*-prefixed *unwytty* ’lacking intelligence, unwise’ becomes obsolete during the course of the Middle English period, but not before a rarer sense ‘insane’
is extant for a short time: *Wel Mown they for folis Itold be, and vnwitty & Madde*
a1450_Lovel. *Grail_MED*. Many verbs and adjectives can be prefixed to *wyt*-rooted lexemes to create expressive phrases. Those in the vicinity of the lexical field of *INSANITY*, *hard-wytyd* ‘slow, stupid’ and especially *wane-wyt* ‘foolish’ can sometimes be vague and veer towards an ‘insane’ meaning: *the gret god knawis al manis curage and sum fore the visdome, he cheß til hym selfe, and vthir sum he dispiß and rafuß for thar wan-wyt and folois 1450_Solomon_ICAMET*.\(^5^4\) This vagueness in the senses of *out of wit / wities* reflects the fuzziness of real-world conceptual boundaries, both in Middle English and present-day English, as seen in expressions such as *the lights are on, but nobody’s home*, which can have either an ‘insane’ or ‘foolish’ (intellectual disability) reading.

**MASED**

*Mased / amased* is said by *OED* to ‘probably’ be from Old English, although no attested examples are extant. It is first attested in 1225: *Nis he witerliche amased. & ut of his witte? c1225_Ancr.Riwle_OED*. There are debated cognates in other Germanic languages. Earlier senses of the noun are ‘a state of mental confusion, delirium’: *ζe [...] hit is be mase, and also hit wole gon c1300_Judas Iscariot (Harl.)_OED*, and in the fifteenth century, a slightly weakened sense, that of ‘bewilderment’: *To gape & to loke, as it wer on a mase 1425_Lydg.Troyyes Bk._OED*. The verb has a sense ‘delirious, incoherent’: *A fers feintise folwes me & takes me so tenefully,.hat i mase al marred a1375_Will.Palerne_OED*; and a slightly later sense to ‘be befuddled or stupefied’, as it were drunk: *And wakened es lauerd als sleand, Als mased [L. crapulatus] of wine mightand a1400_Psalter_MED*.

**MARRED**

*Mar* is attested from 1325 with a meaning which is situated on the borders of the *INSANITY* lexical field. It has cognates in Old Frisian and Old Saxon and other Germanic languages, with meanings such as ‘stumble’, ‘hinder’ and ‘err’, and one sense in Old English is ‘hinder, damage’; another Old English sense is ‘err, confuse’. *OED* comments that Anglo-Norman *marrir* < Latin *marrire* had some influence over this latter sense, which, in Middle English means ‘very confused or bewildered’ and ‘very distressed or troubled’. It collocates very frequently with *mad*, arguably to take advantage of the alliteration: *It marrede, it mournede, it moyssede for made c1440_Awntyrs.Arthure_OED*. A good test of the ‘insane’ meaning is its modification by *nez*: *He ferd as a mased man an marred neiz honde 1375_William of*

\(^5^4\) Lit. ‘lack-wit’ cf. Middle Dutch *wanwittich* ‘insane’, Old Danish, Danish *vanvittig* ‘insane’. 

Palerne\_MED. It is difficult to conceptualise a person being *nearly* distressed, or *nearly* bewildered, as these states are more absolute than insanity.

**OUT OF MYNDE**

Senses where *mynde* (which also has earlier related senses pertaining to ‘memory’ from Old English) means ‘mental balance, sanity’ date from 1350 in the INSANITY database: *and þe child arros þere fram deth to lyf as many a man it sawe and also muche peple were out of his mynde and god hap sente ham here mynde aȝen* 1350\_Brut\_98v.RylandsEngMS103. *Mynde* participates in the *out of his x* structure (as do *wit* and *reson*), such as *lese hys mynde*, and *come to his mind again*. One comes to one’s mind when one has been temporarily insane: *the true cronykle testyfyeth that neuer no man suffred so grete dolour, wit hout of his lyf expired.*

*but whan he was a lytel come to hys mynde, & sawe Melusyne tofore hym, he kneeleed doun on hys knees* 1500\_melusine\_ICAMET. *Mynde* can also take the *-less* suffix as *wit* does: *Oure mode kyng was so maied, myndles him semed* 1450\_ Wars Alexander\_MED.

Conversely, when meaning ‘sane’, *mynde* collocates with *clerenes*, *hole* or *gode*; it is often found in the wording of a will: *I, Richard Archer, of good mynde* 1450\_Lincdoc\_ICAMET.

**FOND**

The etymology of *fond* is uncertain; there is no attestation prior to 1340 with its central meaning, ‘foolish’. Its older meaning in Middle English was of salt which had ‘lost its flavour or become insipid’. There are some examples in the INSANITY database that could be interpreted as having either a ‘foolish’ or an ‘insane’ meaning: *þou wretchid flesshe, madde & blynde, fonned & wode* a1400\_DCChrist\_MED. There are other examples where an ‘insane’ meaning is apt, such as where there is reference to a recently damaged brain: *And þer fell a swyngylllyng in his hedhe þat he wex fonde with, & mad as a guse; & so he contynued vnto he deyid* 1450\_alpha1\_ICAMET, and some where the meaning is ambiguous: *He sett hym yn a chayre of gold [...] and commawndyt þat all men schuld call hym God of Heuon [...] and þus sate he per as a fonnet man* 1500\_Mirk Fest\_MED.

A Latin gloss for *fond* in Catholicum Anglicum (1483) gives *arepticius, astrosus*, which implies a raving, delirious insanity rather than ‘foolish’. *Fond*’s later meaning of ‘eager, desirous’ is said by *OED* not to arise until the sixteenth century, but there is a usage which I would argue is closer to an ‘insane’ meaning than a ‘foolish’ meaning, which has some parallels in a minor sense of *wod*, that of the ‘battle-ready’ (or ‘eager’) sense: *The pepull of Poyem..were fond to the fight* 1540\_Destr.Troy\_MED. It should be noted that
Fond’s ‘infatuated’ meaning is also very often found. But there are examples where this meaning and the ‘insane’ meaning are difficult to differentiate:

he wexid so fond on hur at he wiste neuer what he might doo, & oft wolde hafe had at do with hur; and evur sho putt hym bye. So on a nyght, as sho was on slepe in hur bed & þis yong bab by hur, he come privalie with a knyfe & cutt þe barn throte in sonder, & put nemelie þe knyfe in hur hand and sho of slepe 1400_alpha2_ICAMET.

Here, because a man is so infatuated with a woman (wexid so fond on hur) he murders her baby, in an apparent case of too much of an emotion, such as anger or lust, leading to insanity.

**BESIDE ONESELF**

The earliest attestation in the **INSANITY** database is *mad and beside herself* 1490_caxteney_ICAMET, and there is one other example from 1500. It is possible that this loan translation from French originates with Caxton (see §3.5.1); *OED* suggests the comparison with French *hors de soi*.

**SOTTED**

Although included here categorised with native forms, Middle English *sotted* is a form which derives from a loan into Old English. *OED* notes that *sot* (n) ‘stupid or foolish person’ derives from Old French < Latin *sottus* and is attested from 1000: *Ne bið se na wita þe unwislice leofað, ac bið open sott* 1000_Aelfric. Lives Saints_OED. The verb *assot* is attested from 1175 with the meaning ‘become or act like a fool’ or ‘infatuated’. *OED* suggests a comparison with Middle Dutch *sotten* ‘to be foolish’. First attested in 1395 in the participle form, some uses in Middle English seem to imply a ‘drunken’ meaning: *Ye resemble by your mood And by your port as ye wer wood, And for ouht that I kan se, Ye be sottyd* a1475_Lydg. Pilgr_MED. Later, seventeenth century senses of the verb attest to this meaning.
3.2.2 LOANS IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

The INSANITY database contains 575 examples of words and phrases with the meaning ‘insane’ other than wod and mad. Of these, 231 are loans. Table 3.3 presents percentages of INSANITY terms in the ‘near-synonym’ database for loanwords. In this section, I will individually examine each of the words and phrases dote, lunatic, furiose, rave/-ing, frensy / frantik, mat, malencolie, mania, crasid, (out of) reson, distract and forcene / forcenerye. I have omitted items which occurred only once or twice in the database, such as alienacioun and derverye, for space reasons, but included crasid due to the interest-value attached to this item in relation to present-day English crazy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>near-synonym</th>
<th>etymology and date of first attestation</th>
<th>percentage in database</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dote</td>
<td>French, 1225</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunatic</td>
<td>Latin, 1290</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rave</td>
<td>French, 1325</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>French, 1330</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frensy</td>
<td>French, 1330</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frantik</td>
<td>French, 1375</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mania</td>
<td>Latin, 1387</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malencolia</td>
<td>Anglo-Norman, 1393</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reson</td>
<td>Anglo-Norman, 1390</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distract</td>
<td>Latin, 1470</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furiose</td>
<td>French, 1475</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forcene</td>
<td>French, 1480</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crasid</td>
<td>French, 1503</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total loans</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (n=231)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Near-synonyms of wod and mad in ‘near-synonym’ database: loans.

**DOTE**

There are no examples of dote to be found before 1225. OED considers that the likely source is Old French redoter. There are also cognates in Middle Dutch with the meaning ‘crazy, silly’, and Icelandic dotta ‘nod from sleep’. Like wod and mad, dote can be used to question a person’s mental health or behaviour: *Hu nu, dame, dotestu? Cwen, acangestu nu mid alle*

---

55 Under dote, I have included forms such as adotie, adotep. Different spelling forms such as lunatix, lunatijk, lunatykes are also taken into account.
bes oðre 1225_ St.Kath_MED, and there is much shared semantic content with the lexical field of FOOLISHNESS. The data contain many examples of dote (noun and verb adotien) with the meaning ‘grown insane / foolish with age’, that is, become demented, having lost or being in the process of losing one’s mind, usually by virtue of being old: *Men with white herys dote and wote neuer what they mene* 1450_Parton._MED.

In many examples, dote collocates with fonnaed, mased, daf, dased, fool and dull and is usually used either to describe an aged person or occasionally in contexts where a person is being reprimanded for ‘wrong’ behaviour, such as drunkenness or being wrongly infatuated. Much less frequently, an example can be found where the meaning lies between these ‘demented / foolish with age’ meanings and ‘insane / go out of mind’, without the explicit suggestion of old age: *What deuyll! Whedir dote we or dremys?* 1450_York Myst._MED.

**LUNATIC**

*Lunatic* is attested from 1290, also an early loan in the INSANITY lexical field: *He hadde ane douhter hat was lunatyke hat þe deuel hadde muche with to done And made hire witles euerech mondhp* 1290_SLeg_MED. It is a late Latin loan < *lunaticus*, < Latin (*luna* ‘moon’ suggesting insanity at certain times of the moon). Although the first attestation is 1290, it is likely to have been in use earlier, as Hall notes that Old English had *monalpeœc*,56 which he says is probably a calque formation (2006: 241).57 Some earlier usages, up until late sixteenth century, had an ‘influenced by the moon’ (without necessarily being insane) meaning.

Most usages are adjectival, of the type *a daughter that was lunatik*, or modifying a noun: *it curiþ also wode men & lunatike men. and it restorreþ ayen witt and discrecioun* 1450_ bookque_ICAMET. Noun usages are attested later in the fourteenth century from 1377, and, like frensy, nominal and adjectival uses are sometimes difficult to distinguish: *Men þat weren in palesye, lunatik oiþer in frenesie, Bote hadden þere* 1400_St.Alex._MED. Although apparently a Latin loan, its simultaneous use in French meant that it is found in postnominal position when modifying some (French or Latin) nouns, notably *passioun lunatic*. *Lunatic* often closely collocates with *foolish* and *witles*. Its ‘insane’ meaning is clear in the following: *Herodes [...] fil into woodnesse, as a man þat was ofte lunaticus þat is, mad in certayne tymes of þe mone* 1425_Trev. Higd_MED.

---

56 *Monalpeœc* is Old English, but found in a Middle English manuscript, with a Latin gloss *lunatico*.

57 Additionally, *BT* has the compound Old English *wöld-prág* ‘mad-time’, denoting a time-limited fit of insanity.
RAVE / RAVING

Verb *rave* is first attested in 1325: *be cardinals were þere aȝen and sede he gan reue, Wiþ fole wenclen forto go, and is dignete to bileue* a1325_SLeg._MED. Its etymology is Old French < Anglo-Norman *raever*, related to *reverie* ‘madness, wildness, delirium’. The senses of wandering around, both physically and in one’s mind, were found in thirteenth century Anglo-Norman. Verbal *rave* occurs in Middle English, as does gerund *raving* (adjectival forms from sixteenth century onwards). Like *mad* (see §4.2.2) *rave* only starts being used metaphorically of the weather after Middle English.

MAT

*Mat* is in the overlap between the *INSANITY* and *DISTRESSED* lexical fields. It enters English in the first wave of French loans < Lat. *mattus*, according to the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, initially with the sense ‘defeated, vanquished, sad’. It also has an ‘exhausted’ meaning. The earliest attestation of *mat* with a ‘sorrowful, distraught’ meaning is 1330, with which nuanced meaning it is situated on the boundary of the *INSANITY* lexical field: *He ferd as he were mat, Adoun he fel aswoune wiþ þat* 1330_Guy of Warwick_MED. *Mat* combines with *mad, wod* and *wit* in phrases, most notably, twice in *Romaunt of the Rose*: *Til that me saugh so mad and mat The lady of the highe ward and Which makith [thee] so mat and wood That thou desirest noon other good* a1425_RRose_MED. A test for its ‘insane’ meaning is the phrase *as he were x*, where *x* can be *wod*, *mad* or *out of his wit*. Another test for its ‘insane’ sense is the fact that it is pre-modified by *niȝ*, as *mad, wod* and *out of his wit* are: *Sore a-stonyed and is for woo niȝ mate* 1450_Lydg.LOL_MED. All senses of *mat* are unattested after the sixteenth century.

FRENSY / FRANTIK

Both *frensy* and *frantik* are direct borrowings from Old French *frenesie* / *frenetique* < Latin *phrenetico*, (from Greek) ‘(affected with) delirium’, and the meaning remains unaltered into Middle English. Descriptions of both words follow:

The first attestation of *frensy* is 1330 in a medical handbook: *Item for a man þat has þe frenesi and may nowit sclepun* 1330_MS Corpus 388_LEON. *Frensy* is more often used as a noun, although there are instances of its adjectival use: *His sike heed is ful of vanytee; I holde hym in a manere frenesye* 1395_Chaucer CT.Sum_MED. It collocates frequently not

---

58 A digital project from *Analyse et Traitement Informatique de la Langue Française*: [http://www.atilf.fr/dmf][2015-6].
59 This is an antedating of the first attested entry in *OED*, which is 1340, Richard Rolle’s *Prose Treatise*. 90
only with wytles, wod and lunatyke but also with head and brayn, with context which suggests that it was seen as a disease of this area. It is found in a gloss in *Mayer Nominale* as *Lymphaticus: hafande the fransey*.\(^{60}\) However, frenzy is not restricted to medical genres and is found in religious writings very soon after 1330. *Frensy*, like *wod* and *mad*, can be metaphorically fallen into, and one can be in the throes or passions of it, and it can be caused by love: *Allas, that man shuld fallen in ffreneseye For love of woman 1460_Lydg. 2 Merch._MED*. However, there are differences in its range of application, and it does not seem to be possible to *fall into a frenzy* for hunger or woe, as with *wod* and *mad*.

First attested in 1375 as a noun, *frantik* is sometimes used with or without an article to refer to the person suffering from the disease: *þer is a sikenesse þat is clepid latargus, þe whiche, as leches seyn, is contrarie to þe frenesie. þe letarge is ay slepyng in his sikenesse, but þe frentyk may nat slepe 1375_macerdeviribusherb_MEMT*. In the *INSANITY* database, *frantik* is primarily used an adjective: *Lepres men wereon clansud.. frantyke men hadden þere hurre wytte a1450_St.Editha_MED*. Despite their shared etymology, *frantik* and *fransie* pattern differently syntactically. One can be *nigh* or *half frantik*, just as one can be *nigh* or *half wod*: *he is half frentyk and so take in the towe; notwithstanding he is an attorny 1467_Paston4.269_MED*. Additionally, one can *wax frantik* in the same way as one can *wax wod*. This suggests that *frantik* and *wod* are close together conceptually; in this way, *frantik* patterns with *wod / mad / out of his wit* in ways that other adjectival forms such as *fransie* and *lunatic* do not.

There is no evidence in the *INSANITY* database of *frensy* as a noun participating in the *fallen into* pattern as in *fell into wodenesse*, although one can be *in a frenzy*: *þat es no thynge ells bot a fantasie caused of trubblyng of þe brayne; as a man þat es in a frensy hym thynkes þat he herys or sese þat na noþer man duse c1440_Hilton.Angels_MED*.  

---

**MALENCOLIA / MANIA**

*Malencolia* and *mania* are often found in collocation. Although *malencolia* is a notion from humoral theory, and *mania* is not, they are used (as *mania* is to an extent in present-day English) to describe opposite ends of a spectrum of mental health: *þese passiouns behiþ diuers*  

---

\(^{60}\) A medieval vocabulary of nouns or names. Stein (1985: 57) says ‘it is referred to as the *Mayer Nominale* because it belonged to the manuscript collection of Joseph Mayer. The manuscript is now in the possession of the British Museum Library, and it is catalogueed as *ADD MS 34, 276*’.  

---

91
madness pat hatte mania & madness pat hatte malencolia 1398_Trev. Barth_MED.\textsuperscript{61}

Descriptions of both words follow:

First attested in Middle English in 1393, *malencolia* is a borrowing from Anglo-Norman *malencolie* < post-classical Latin *melancholia*. There is an ‘insanity’ sense of *malencolie* which is distinct from the other senses, the primary one being ‘one of the four humours’ (i.e. black bile): *Bot þe splene hap no vertu of gendryng anyyng, sipe it is nobing bot a receptakele of malencolie, which is ane odious humour to nature and to al membris of þe body* 1425_fisula_ICAMET; or a temperament dominated by this humour: *Malencolik men ben of short stature and of pale colour and swart as askyn* 1450_thes.paup_MEMT.

All these senses can be found frequently in medieval medical texts, with the ‘insanity’ sense being found less frequently than the humoral/temperament senses, and senses being difficult to distinguish from each other in some contexts. In the following recipe text example, *malencolie* is listed along with *catarrh* (humoral), *dread* (emotion) and *frensy* (mental disorder): *he þat drynkys it, with þe sauour þeroff he shall fele hele, and he shal be sauf of catarre, of Malencoly, of curiousite, of drede, of ffrenesye, and of many oper syknes 1500_govern_ICAMET*, making it difficult to be sure which sense is intended. An example where it is clear that it is not an example of the ‘humoral’ sense is: *and naturaly it plesiþ hem [devils] to dwelle in derk, & in blak, orrible, stynkyng placis, in heuynesse, wreche, & malencoly, & in þo þingis þat pre tende þe condicioun of helle* 1460_bookque_ICAMET. This does refer to a mental state (whether metaphorical or concrete), however it is debatable whether this ‘mental state’ sense is ‘sadness/grief’ or ‘insanity’. A clearer, less ambiguous ‘insanity’ sense is one of the earliest attested: *Anon into Malencolie As thogh it were a frenesie, He fell* 1393_Gower CA_MED. *Malencolie* is conceptually something that can be fallen into (precluding the humoral senses).

The first attestation of *mania*, a direct loan from Latin *mania*, is c1387: *For al the world he ferde, Nat oonly lyk the loueris maladye Of Hereos, but rather lyk manye Engendred of humour malencolyk 1387_ChaucerCT.Kn_.MED*. *Mania* is contrasted with *malencolie* very often, but unlike *malencolie*, it has no meaning other than ‘insane’ in Middle English (the ‘obsession’ meaning developing in the seventeenth century). Like *frensy* and *malencolie*, it is frequently, but by no means exclusively, found in medical texts. It collocates

\textsuperscript{61} In the same way, Cibber’s seventeenth century statues ‘Raving and Melancoly Madness’ at Bethlem hospital illustrated binary opposites of mental states.
frequently with such words as *passioun*, *furious* and *frenesie*, and like *malencolie*, is described as one type of insanity: *Wiþinne iij daies Mania come to hir, and was oute of hir witt, & so þe frenesie fil on hir* 1400_Lanfranc_MED. The adjectival form *manyake* ‘maniacaI’ is not attested until the sixteenth century. There is an etymologically related form, *maenad* ‘a frenzied woman’ (c1487), probably only in use in higher or classical registers.

(OUT OF) RESON

The (probably calqued) phrase *out of reson* was first attested in English in 1390, an Anglo-Norman loan, < Lat. *ration* ‘that which is due a person’. *Raisun* had a complex sense structure in Old French, and already had the sense ‘good sense, soundness of mind’ when it was borrowed into English. Like *wit*, the different senses have areas of overlap. The sense of ‘sane / insane mind’ is categorised by *OED* as ‘the thinking faculty [...] unaffected by mental disturbance or illness’, where the earliest attestation is: *Sire what eyleth yow Haue pacience and reson in your mynde* c1405_Chaucer Merchant’s Tale_OED. Other examples in the phrasal form *out of (all) reson* are earlier attestations: *þenne was þis Emperor[f]f[eloun fful wroþ and al out of Resoun* c1390_MS Vern.Hom_MED.

*Reson* is a semantically complex noun in Middle English. Like *wit*, *reson* expresses insanity in a phrase expressing lack of it, or when it is some distance away from the self: *His reson was passede; He fell in a fransye for fersenesse of herte* 1440_Morte Arthure_MED. Its ‘insanity’ sense is mostly found in the phrases *loss or out of reson: Than this gode man ferde as a man out of reson for hevinesse and sorowe that he hadde loste so his sone* 1450_Merlin1_ICAMET. It is analogous with the phrasal templates *out of wit* (1225), and later *out of mind* (1350). However, the same phrase can also mean ‘unreasonable’, milder than ‘insane’, but with some of the same semantic features: *þenne was þis Emperor[f]f[eloun fful wroþ and al out of resoun* 1390_MS VernonHomilies_OED.

DISTRACT

Attested from 1470, < Latin *distractus* ‘pulled apart’, *distract*’s metaphor is inherited with the loan. The ‘insane’ meaning of *distract* is reinforced by the *out of his witte* phrase: *He shold be distracte out of his witte* 1470_Malory Morte d’Arthur_OED, but *distract* is also found standing alone: *For seke & distracte people* 1481_Will.William Taylour_OED. There is an earlier sense which has a ‘confused’ meaning, which may act as a bridging context for the later ‘insane’ meaning: *I am noght distracte in many thoghtes* 1340_Rolle. Ps._OED. *Distract*
is not very frequently found in the database, however, it features frequently in Early Modern English texts.

**FURIOSE**

An Old French loan *furieux* < Latin *furiosus*, the ‘mad with anger’ sense of *furiose* is attested in 1374: *Now wol I speke of Mars, furious and wood* c1374._Chaucer Compl.Mars_OED. The noun, ‘tumult of mind approaching madness’ is attested from the same date. The ‘insane’ sense is attested from 1475: *The Inquest fyndis pat he was ouder fule or furiouss* 1475._Sc. Acts.Jas.III_OED, and is last attested with this sense in the eighteenth century.

**FORCENE / FORCENERYE**

First attested in 1480: *Yf it be of rage or forcenerye* 1480 _Caxton.Ovid.Met_OED. Its etymology is French < *forcener*, incorporating an Old French prefix *fors*-'outside of’ and *sen* ‘sense’, suggesting that the conceptual metaphor INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE was active in Old French as it was in Middle English. The abstract noun was borrowed into Middle English first, followed by attestations of a verb in 1489 with an English past tense verbal inflection affixed onto the stem: *he was a long while as a man al forcened* 1489_caxtaym1_ICAMET. Of the twelve examples in the database, eleven are Caxton’s translations from French. An example of *fourcenyd*, found in *Melusine*, dated 1500, is the latest attestation, which makes *forcene* and *forcenerye* very short-lived in Middle English, in that they only seem to have been in use in the last few decades of the fifteenth century.62 See §3.5.1 for further discussion of Caxton’s translations from French.

**CRASID**

*Crasid* is first attested with an ‘insane’ meaning around 1503. Its earlier, concrete, sense ‘crazed / cracked’ (first attestation 1400) is said by *OED* to be borrowed from < Old French *acraser*, which is of Norse origin (aphetic if directly from French; not aphetic if directly from Norse). In both earlier uses cited here, it is a past participle used adjectivally. It is attested as ‘infirm’ (not mentally ill) in the late fifteenth century: *I ame some-whatt crased, what wyth the see and what wythe thy dyet heere* 1476._Paston.V._OED, and occurs first with a mental health meaning in a later Paston letter, written by the Earl of Oxford. This example is probably ‘after 1503’ (Gairdner 2010 [1895]: 167), and can be seen as a bridging context for the later ‘insane’ meaning. Here, one meaning could be ‘infirm, ill’: *my servaunte, ys so

---

62 Although a much later, eighteenth century, usage is extant in the specialised register of heraldry -cheval forcené ‘rearing horse’ – but this is likely to be a re-borrowing from French.
troubelid with sekenes and crasid in his mynde that I may not kepe hym aboute me; deriving its ‘mentally unwell’ meaning by being modified by in his mynde. OED has 1599 as the first date for (adj.) crazed ‘insane’; crazy with an ‘insane’ meaning is not attested before the seventeenth century.

If we can say that wod and mad inhabit the central position in the INSANITY lexical field (see §4.3), that they are the prototype of the concept INSANE by virtue of frequency of use, a visualisation of how other members of the lexical field are situated in relation to one another, and in relation to the prototypical members, wod and mad, is useful. Figure 3.1 illustrates this. Looking at the numbers in the INSANITY database across the whole of the Middle English period (see tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.5), we see that of all the words categorised as meaning ‘insane’ (n=1307), wod occurs 541 times. The individual lexemes and phrases occurring in the next largest numbers, and therefore at the centre of the lexical field of INSANITY, were, in almost equal numbers, out of wit / witles (n=183) and mad (n=191). Depending on frequency in the INSANITY database, other lexemes and phrases are further away from the centre of the field according to frequency of that lexeme. There are ‘concentric rings’ around this centre which contain other near-synonymous lexemes and phrases, with those inhabiting the rings closer to the centre more likely overall to be used instead of wod or mad.

Figure 3.1 The Middle English lexical field of INSANITY.
The INSANITY lexical field is very large, having many constituent members, or categories. Categorisation takes the form of onomasiological choices. Lexical loss is intrinsically tied up with semantic change, because it is when there is a shift in the balance of a synchronic lexical field, with some words getting pushed to the margins, (because they are chosen less often and eventually not at all by speakers) that senses of words primarily associated with those words can become lost. Semasiological semantic changes then play off against the onomasiological changes in this lexical field. As one word, mad, strengthens its prototypical meaning ‘insane’ in the fifteenth century (see §4.2.3), its position in the wider lexical field of INSANITY grows more central. As will be seen, mad establishes its salience, requiring other words to move towards the edges. As the lexical field reorganises itself, the network of INSANITY words starts to look different to its appearance at the beginning of the Middle English period.

3.3 NEIGHBOURING LEXICAL FIELDS

This illustration of the Middle English INSANITY lexical field shows that certain lexical items remained in use from Old English, e.g. gidie, and others were loans in the Middle English period, e.g. lunatic. Some native words became obsolete in the sense ‘insane’ during the Middle English period, e.g. gidie, as did some loanwords, e.g. forcenerye. Some items are situated in the centre of the lexical field, very close to where prototypes wod and mad were situated, e.g. (out of) wit, but other items straddled two lexical fields, and were less used to mean ‘insane’ as they were to mean ‘foolish’, e.g. dizzy, or ‘confused’, e.g. marred. This section addresses the placement of the whole lexical field of INSANITY alongside its close neighbouring lexical fields in order to highlight further areas of lexical overlap. It suggests how we can visualise what the field looks like, up to its ‘fuzzy edges’, that is, where it overlaps with neighbouring fields. Some lexical items can belong to either domain. The way our minds categorise all the senses we associate with the concept INSANITY means that there is considerable shared space with other lexical fields, because as wod has twelve different senses, some semantic features of these senses ‘leak’ over into and affect the ‘insane’ sense.

The different senses of wod and mad are therefore a good indication of what the neighbouring lexical fields are to that of INSANITY. These senses broadly fall into two types, ‘behaviour’ and ‘emotion’. ‘Behaviour’ senses are ‘foolish’, ‘wicked’, ‘fierce’, ‘wild’ and ‘excited’, and the ‘emotion’ senses are ‘anger’, and the other emotions which lead to ‘distress’, i.e. fear and grief. Below, the lexical fields of FOOLISHNESS, WICKEDNESS, GRIEF and ANGER will be examined in relation to neighbouring lexemes in the INSANITY lexical
field. Another (non-emotion) neighbouring lexical field can of course be said to be (physical) SICKNESS, but as INSANITY is a sub-set of SICKNESS, and as I examine concepts of SICKNESS in §5.2, I will not discuss it here.

### 3.3.1 FOOLISHNESS

A full treatment of this lexical field is made in Allan (2008) and discussed in §2.1.4. Words from this Middle English lexical field still in use in present-day English include unwise (Old English), and foolish, which was first attested in 1382 (and fool (adj.) in 1225). As well as unwise, other words from Old English which were in use in Middle English included dizzy, redeless, unwitty and sot. Words only found in Middle English include cang, adoted (but compare later dote and dotard), egede, snepe, aervitte, mis-feeling, unsly, insapient and unwitter; and words first attested in Middle English and still in use after Middle English include unwily, nice, kimet, goosish, unskilful, and lewd.

Words which could be found on the boundary of the lexical fields of INSANITY and FOOLISHNESS include witless, attested in Old English, and up to present-day English in both senses. Unwise is found with a ‘foolish’ sense from Old English to present-day English, but in Middle English it acquires an ‘insane’ sense, which is fleeting, becoming obsolete during the course of Middle English. Another important word straddling both lexical fields was dizzy; ‘foolish’ was the predominant sense: Gelic bið were dysge se ðe getimberde hus his ofer sonde c950_Lindisf. Gosp.Matt.vii.26_OED. Although rare, there is evidence of dizzy being used with senses other than ‘foolish’; here, the sense is somewhere between ‘insane’ and ‘evil’: Alle þeo þe myd dusye wise deouele her iquemeþ a1300_PMor.(Jes-O 29)_MED. Dizzy’s ‘vertigo’ sense was first attested in Middle English, and, perhaps as a result of the success of this new meaning, or from pressures from words, chosen more often by speakers, elsewhere in the INSANITY lexical field, towards the end of the Middle English period there is no further evidence of dizzy being in the lexical field of INSANITY, but associated with the lexical field of UNSTEADINESS.

There were many other words in this period which could designate either ‘insane’ or ‘foolish’. Folted (from folt ‘act like a fool’) < Old French folet ‘mad, foolish’. Daft moved into the lexical field of FOOLISHNESS during Middle English, its primary sense in Old English being ‘meek’, and it is attested with ‘insane’ meanings shortly after the end of Middle English. Adoted is found several times in the INSANITY database with the meaning ‘insane’, usually in the context of old people and dementia. Daife / daffish are slightly more vague
when they are collocated with words such as dote, which has a stronger ‘insanity’ meaning: *þou dotest, daffe [...] Dulle are þi wittes* c1390_PPl._MED. Some words around the edges of the lexical field have an ‘insanity’ sense, but are rarer, and maybe nonce uses; *conion* is one of these, more commonly used to mean ‘dwarf’ or ‘changeling’. *Dotty*, rare in Middle English, meant ‘unsteady’, and metaphorically ‘feeble in mind’, cf. related *doti-pol < doten*. *Wod* and *mad* are also found on the boundary between the two lexical fields. In the following two examples, *wod* and *mad* have ‘foolish’ meanings: *My mad erroure [...] ben causers of this confusion and unhappy mischeefes* c1475_Ch.Quad_MED; and *with wordis be ware but þou be wode* A schort worde is comynly sothe þat fyrst slydes fro monnes tothe a1475_Bk.Court_MED.

---

### 3.3.2 WICKEDNESS

Words from this Middle English lexical field still in use in present-day English are *wicked*, *evil*, *unrighteous*, *wrong*. The sense of ‘going astray, erring morally, sinning’ features in many words in this lexical field, and there is a closely overlapping boundary with the lexical field of *FOOLISHNESS* e.g. *lewd*, *wrong*, which contains words also encompassing these semantic features. Words which were attested in Old English but are no longer in use after Middle English include *dwale* and *sinny*, and words from Old English which continue to be attested beyond the Middle English period are *luther*, *unlede*, *miss*, *unhal*, *murk*, *unsely*, *felonous*, *unperfect*. Words first attested with this sense in Middle English include *bad*, *wrakeful*, *unquert*.

Words on the boundary between the lexical fields of *INSANITY* and *WICKEDNESS* include *lither* ‘wicked’. One example of its ‘evil, cruel’ sense demonstrates how *wod* ‘cruel’ is a near-synonym, and links *lither*, via shared semantic features, with *wod* ‘insane’ and the *INSANITY* lexical field: *A luper emperour biuore þat het maximian* 1297_R.Glou.Chron_OED. *Wodnes* and *wickednes* are in close collocation elsewhere in the *INSANITY* database: *Quat he was wicked and wode Again þat folk sua mild of mode!* a1400_Curs.Mun_OED and *The lyfe of gud men may be clensede and puryfyede by feernes and cruelnes or wodnes of wyckede men* c1450_Spec.Chr_MED.

---

### 3.3.3 GRIEF

*Sad* was first attested with an ‘unhappy’ meaning in 1300. Other words which still mean ‘sad / sorrow’ in present-day English include *sorrowful*, *sorry*, *woeful*, *droopy*, and *grief*. This
Middle English lexical field encompasses words from Old English which became obsolete during the course of the Middle English period: *yomer, sorely, grame*. It is worth noting of *grame* that it had two concurrent meanings in Old English and Middle English ‘anger / ire’ and ‘grief / sorrow’. It was also used to describe God’s anger. The lexical field also encompasses words from Old English which continued to be used during Middle English: *unglad, unblip, unmerry careful*,63 *chary*,64 *weri, dreori, sore, hevy*, and words which are only attested in Middle English: *low, dull, siteful, elengely, thoughtful, bale, ruthly and tene / teenful*.

Some words occupy a position on the boundary between the GRIEF lexical field and the INSANITY one. *Mat* ‘insane’ can be seen in this example participating in the same expression *as he were*, suggesting that the distress being felt is extreme: *He ferd as he were mat, Adoun he fel aswoune wip pat* c1330_Guy of Warwick_OED. As a word residing on the border, *mat* is found with an ‘insane’ sense in the INSANITY database. It has few attestations after Middle English and is now obsolete. *Werī*’s etymology suggests it had older meanings of ‘bewildered’ or ‘stupefied’, and had an Old / Middle English sense ‘depressed’: *Mate and weri war ðai þan* a1400_Cursor Mundi_OED, a far stronger sense than the ‘tired’ sense of present-day English, suggesting that *weri*’s post-Middle English senses have enabled it to shift out of the lexical field of GRIEF and INSANITY and into that of TIREDNESS. *Wod* also belongs in the boundary area between GRIEF and INSANITY; only 14 tokens of *wod* have this meaning. The sense of *wod* here is between ‘grief’ or ‘despair / distress’: *Sche rof hire cloþes al to sunder In a gret wodnesse* a1350_St.Alex_MED.

### 3.3.4 ANGER AND INSANITY

This section aims to provide a brief overview of how these two lexical fields overlap, and not to attempt an all-encompassing overview of the Middle English lexical field of ANGER, as this field has been comprehensively dealt with. Studies which focus on ANGER for Old English are Izdebska (2015) and Gevaert (2002). Geeraerts et al. (2012) and Diller (1994) have written extensively about the conceptualisation of ANGER and diachronic change within the Middle English lexical field (see §2.1.3). Diller (1994: 227) suggests that the choice of either *angry* or *wroth* might have been influenced by the fact that *angry*’s semantic features

---

63 After Middle English *careful* moved away from the lexical field of GRIEF and remained in the lexical field of CARE/ATTENTION, where it had co-existed.

64 Chary also moved away from the lexical field of GRIEF in Middle English and towards the lexical field of CARE/ATTENTION, perhaps ‘pulled’ there by *careful.*
are different, and express a new socio-cultural emotion. It is also worth noting that not only does the Middle English lexical field of ANGER overlap with that of INSANITY, but it also overlaps with that of GRIEF and FEAR, as different senses of anger and tene attest (Diller 2012: 120).

Words from the ANGER lexical field still in use in present-day English are angry, furious, ire and wrathful (in some genres and registers). Words which were attested in Old English but are no longer in use after Middle English include bolghen, irre ( irre has semantic features of going astray, wandering) grame (as stated above, grame meant both ‘anger’ and ‘sorrow’), and wemod. Words from Old English having ‘angry’ senses which continue to be attested beyond the Middle English period are tene / teenful, wod, wod wroth, wrothful, hot, modi, wrav and agramed. Words first attested with an ‘angry’ sense in Middle English include angred / angry, upreared, crouse, tangyl, and French or Latin loans hastif, irous / anired / ireful, felon (which overlaps with the WICKEDNESS lexical field), furious, passionate, fumous, egre, gelows and arraged (this latter a translation from French by Caxton). Words in use in Middle English only include brath and grindel.

It is possible to estimate fairly accurately the prototypical centre of the Middle English ANGER lexical field by counting the corpus frequency of lexical items. In the ICAMET corpus, WROTH lexemes (with spelling variants) n=495, only slightly higher than ANGRY lexemes (with spelling variants), n=454. IROUS lexemes numbered 303, with TENE lexemes numbering 165. WOD lexemes numbered 133. Other lexemes with an ‘angry’ meaning either had a negligible word count, or did not appear in the ICAMET corpus. This includes the ‘learned’ Latinate loans mentioned by Gevaert (2002) such as malencolie, distemper and choleric. This suggests that angry, wroth and irous are at the centre of the Middle English lexical field of ANGER. The striking point here is the speed at which angry lexemes become established in Middle English (see discussion of mad ‘angry’ later in this section).

In the boundary area between the ANGER and the INSANITY lexical fields, the collocation wod wroth deserves some consideration: And whan guyon perceyued this myschief he was wode wroth & full of yre 1500 melusine ICAMET. Either as a separate ‘angry’ noun modified and intensified by wod ‘insane’, or as a phrase where the meaning of

---

65 Geeraerts et al. (2012: 114) and Izdebska (2015: 29) mention the possibility of irre being related to Latin ira. However, there is no evidence or comment in OED to suggest this.
"wroth" has, by virtue of repeated close conjunction with "wod," absorbed some of the semantic features of 'insane', the fact of "wod wroth"'s ubiquity illustrates the close association between the two lexical fields. However, as a phrase, "wod wroth" itself is not attested until 1297. "Wod"'s ‘angry’ meaning in OED dates from 1200, the date of the composition of Laȝamon's Brut (MS c1275), but in practice it is sometimes difficult in Middle English and Old English to separate the ‘insane’ and ‘angry’ senses with any proper degree of certainty, and the evidence from etymology and cognate Old Germanic languages suggests the two senses were one, or that the ‘angry’ sense was primary (see discussion at §4.1.1).

Wod has an ‘angry’ sense. See for example a direct translation from Latin furor:

Which woodnesse of enemys [Lat. furor hosticus] wolde first moeven armes, whan thei seyen cruele wondes ne none medes be of blood ischad? ?a1425_ChaucerBo_MED. There are other areas of overlap with the INSANITY lexical field. In this example, furious has an ‘insane’ sense, as the context of being restrained suggests: Ther fond he þe woman bownden and holden as a furiose person is wone to be seruyd 1451_Capgr. St.Gilb_MED. Middle English gelows < Old French gelos < Latin zelus has the sense ‘Having a love which will tolerate no unfaithfulness or defection’: Vnder stond ancre [...] hwas spuse pu art. & hu he is gelus. of alle pine lates c1225_Ancrene Riwle_OED. Although this is not an exact synonym for "wod ‘God’s anger’, it is a close one. In the same way, noun indignacioun has the sense ‘wrath of a superior’: Lo, the dai of the Lord schal come, cruel, and ful of indignacioun, and of wraththe, and of woodnesse (Isaiah 13:9_LV). As described below, this particular sense of "wod has all but disappeared from the ANGER lexical field by the end of the Middle English period.

Mad also has an ‘angry’ sense: Whan þis lettre was open & rad, þe Bretons & all men were mad And wolde þe messager scle c1425_Arthur_MED. Mad’s ‘angry’ sense develops later than all its other senses, attested from c1340 (see §4.2.4 for a discussion of the dating of the senses of mad). Although it is possible that the late dating of this sense is an anomaly, and evidence of earlier use is simply missing, there is another, equally plausible explanation.

Angry, a Norse loan, was first attested in Middle English with an ‘angry’ sense in 1386, having had an earlier sense ‘trouble’ (in OED, 1325). Anger’s ‘angry’ sense is first attested in 1393. Its rapid rise in Middle English was startling, to the extent that it almost takes over

---

66 Izdebska (2015: 241) notes that Old English adverb wodlice modifies a number of ANGER lexemes including yrre, geysrød, gebölgan, astyrod, geancsumod.
from wroth. Although mad ‘angry’ is attested chronologically earlier than angry, the rise of angry initially slowed down the rise of the ‘angry’ sense of mad. To look at it another way, mad ‘angry’ is delayed or held up by angry, even before the new sense angry’s first attestation. So we can say that there are internal factors preventing mad ‘angry’ initially establishing itself in the lexical field of ANGER, although we know of course that mad ‘angry’ eventually gains great currency throughout Modern English, becoming a more dominant sense even than mad ‘insane’ in present-day American English.

This is evidence of radical change in the ANGER lexical field, which may be one crucial reason why, correspondingly, wod became weaker in the INSANITY lexical field. The ANGER lexical field becomes restructured during the course of Middle English. Some Anglo-Saxon words, including wod (wroth, bolghen, ire, grame, tene, wraw) are chosen less frequently, in favour of the Norse loan angry, possibly because of societal change, see Diller (1994), and §2.1.3. Simultaneously, the position of wod was being challenged in the INSANITY lexical field by mad, and loans such as lunatic and frantik.

### 3.3.5 GOD’S WODNES: CASE STUDY IN THE ANGER LEXICAL FIELD

In this section, I examine in more detail the occurrence of lexemes from the ANGER lexical field, and in particular, wodnes ‘God’s anger’ in the place where the ANGER lexical field and INSANITY lexical field overlap. Using examples from the Earlier Version (EV, c1382) and Later Version (LV, c1395) of the Middle English Wycliffite Bible texts and the King James Version (KJV) for comparison, I will examine the replacement of wodnes by near-synonyms, particularly veniaunce, indignacioun, ire and wroth. To do this, I look at the particular sense of wodnes which is almost solely allocated to God (and less frequently, to very powerful rulers). More specifically, this is the phenomenon which is described in the Bible which is invoked when God’s subjects have displeased him by either blaspheming, losing faith or otherwise defying him by behaving in a manner contrary to his laws. God wreaks his vengeance by inflicting on his beloved people fire, floods, plague, brimstone and other atrocities.

God’s wodnes is unique. Humans attribute emotions to God, but as a deity, his ‘anger-of-the-powerful’ can be said to be something other than an emotion. Neither is God’s wodnes simply ‘insanity’, as God does not participate in this purely human affliction. An illustrative example is Deuteronomy 29:23, see table 3.4.
In a simple collocational search of the INSANITY database where God is mentioned, God experiences \textit{wodnes}, not \textit{madness}.

\textit{Wodnes} ‘God’s anger’ is located in a boundary area of the \textit{ANGER} lexical field with overlap with semantic features of \textit{wod} ‘insane’. God’s fury at his misbehaving subjects knows no bounds, and the punishments he inflicts upon them are interpreted as being ‘beyond reason’. Despite the overlap, it is evident from the metaphors used that God’s \textit{wodnes} belongs in the \textit{ANGER} lexical field. Not a metaphor INSANITY ever participates in, \textit{wrath} is ‘dropped’ on people: \textit{my woodnesse schal droppen up on this place} (EV) \textit{my strong veniaunce schal droppe on} (LV) (2 Para, 34:25), as if it were a weapon like a heavy weight designed to crush people (not a weight to be borne, as in the \textit{BURDEN} of insanity). \textit{WRATH} is also is depicted as fire (as, elsewhere, are other types of anger: see \textit{ANGER IS HEAT} conceptual metaphor), but INSANITY is not: \textit{myn indignacioun shal stye up in my wodenesse and in my wrath in the fijre of my wrath I spac} (EV); \textit{myn indignacioun shal stie in my strong veniaunce and in my feruour Y spak in the fier of my wraththe} (LV) (Ezek, 38:19).

The hypothesis is that where \textit{wodnes} is used in EV, there is a preference for words other than \textit{wodnes} in the LV, demonstrating that by the end of the fourteenth century, one of the senses of \textit{wod} (‘God’s anger’) is on its way to becoming obsolete, and later Bible translators find other, more semantically suitable words to describe the concept, e.g. \textit{wroth} / \textit{wrath}. In order to examine the shift away from \textit{wodnes} in the EV towards other strong ‘anger’ near-synonyms in the LV, and then to predominantly \textit{wroth} / \textit{wrath} in the KJV, I took examples from these three versions of the Bible.\footnote{See appendix C for table comparing instances of \textit{wodnes}, \textit{wroth}, \textit{indignacioun}, \textit{ire} and \textit{veniaunce} in the earlier and later versions of the Wycliffite Bible.} As an indication of which passages of the Bible to compare, entries for \textit{day of wroth}, \textit{God’s wroth}, \textit{his wroth} (God’s), \textit{my wroth} (God’s)
and thy wroth (God’s) from Cruden’s Concordance (Cruden 1949 [1737]) were used. Cruden’s Complete Concordance is a concordance of the 1611 Authorised Version of the King James Bible. I did not exhaustively examine all instances of wroth in the KJV, as other instances were attributed to humans, not to God, and as stated above, this sense of wodnes does not describe human subjects (with the exception of a small number of rulers). In addition to wroth, instances of veniaunce, indignacion, ire and zeal were selected from Cruden’s Complete Concordance, and the corresponding book, chapter and verse was located in EV and LV. For this purpose, Forshall & Madden’s (1850) edition was used, as the earlier and later texts are placed in columns side by side on the same page. Only examples which illustrated God’s anger were kept, leaving 146 examples. Many examples contained more than one of the lexemes, not only in doublets, where a word is ‘balanced’ with a near-synonym, but also in phrases such as indignacioun of his wodnesse or the woodnesse of hym wraththid. Examples of wodness ‘God’s anger’ from the wod database were also examined. Any examples of wod / wodnes which had the meaning ‘insanity’ were discarded for the purposes of this case study.

Of these 146 examples, it was found that wroth was more likely to remain unchanged in LV (n=27), but in some cases, changed in LV to ire (n=10). Where veniaunce (n=22) and indignacioun (n=10) were found in EV, they were unchanged in LV. The significant finding for the purposes of this study was that where veniaunce was found in LV, EV had wodnes (n=63). Veniaunce in these cases was very often pre-modified by strong or great, e.g. of the woodnesse of the Lord Y am ful (EV); Y am ful of the strong veniaunce of the Lord (LV) (Jer, 6:11). In a smaller number of cases, wodenes was found unchanged in LV (n=17).

There is a marked preference for Anglo-Norman and Latin loans in LV. Latin loan indignacioun is first attested in Middle English in 1374 with a slightly different (‘treating with disdain’) sense, but the ‘wrath’ sense is first used in EV (1382). The Anglo-Norman loan veniaunce is first attested in 1300, as is Old French loan ire. All three of these loanwords are also found in EV, but less frequently. In the sample examined, zeal appears in neither EV nor LV as a near-synonym for ‘God’s anger’.

There are no instances of wod or wodnes in the KJV; in the KJV’s Revised versions anger, veniaunce, indignacion and fury are preferred. The translators of the KJV said of themselves that they might justly feare hard censure, if generally wee should make verball and unnecessary changings, but that equally, why should they be in bondage to [words] if we
may be free, use one precisely when wee may use another no lesse fit, as commodiously? This is an indication of the care and precision taken in this translation process. Their decision to say, as it were, unto certaine words, Stand up higher, have a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for ever is apt in the case of wodnes. Eventually, even veniaunce and indignacioun lose ground to wrath in the KJV. Wrath itself, a choice for ‘God’s fury with his subjects’ since Old English, is antiquated in present-day English, often replaced in modern Biblical translations by anger.

It can be seen from this small sample of lexemes in the EV and LV of Wycliffe Bible that there is a diachronic onomasiological change, a change of lexical selection for this concept. This perhaps reflects pressure in the area of the ANGER lexical field where ‘God’s anger’ near-synonyms are situated, from incoming loanwords indignacioun and veniaunce; it would seem that wodnes was becoming a dispreferred choice. It is also possible that the choice of using these loanwords is the personal preference of John Purvey, whose translation was designed ‘to render [LV] more correct, intelligible and popular’. As suggested above, wodnes is a potentially problematic word for an action of God because in Middle English, wodnes is still the prototypical word choice to express the concept of INSANITY. It could be that there is a growing, strong reluctance to associate an action of God with the human condition of insanity.

3.4 GENRE AS A VARIABLE IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

In the thesis introduction, I said that the absence of wod or wodnes in a particular medical recipes text had formed the initial impetus for this study. Using genre as a variable, it is possible to look for evidence of changes in which wod or another lexeme becomes marginalised, or only used in specific contexts, or conversely, where a particular lexeme gains strength in certain contexts. The division of the INSANITY database into four discrete genre groups gives the opportunity to look at whether any patterns emerge which might give rise to the interpretation that genre plays a part in the changes in the INSANITY lexical field over the Middle English period. The first approach to the results starts with each of the four genre categories. The distribution of wod, mad and near-synonyms throughout the four genre

---

68 From *The Translators to the reader*, preface to the 1611 King James Bible.
69 Forshall & Madden 1850: xxvii.
categories shows the strength of other lexical items from the lexical field of INSANITY other than *wod* and *mad*, especially in the medical and scientific genre. Table 3.5 illustrates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>medical</th>
<th>romance</th>
<th>religious</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wod %</em></td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>45.0&lt;sup&gt;70&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mad %</em></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near-synonym %</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100% (n=147)</td>
<td>100% (n=408)</td>
<td>100% (n=402)</td>
<td>100% (n=350)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.5 Distribution of wod and mad and near-synonyms across genre categories: percentages.*

An alternative way of looking at the results starts with either *wod*, *mad* or the near-synonyms, and asks what percentage of each item belongs to the medical, and to each genre. This is illustrated in table 3.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>genre</th>
<th><em>wod</em> according to genre</th>
<th><em>mad</em> according to genre</th>
<th>near-synonyms according to genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>medical</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romance</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100% (n=541)</td>
<td>100% (n=191)</td>
<td>100% (n=575)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.6 INSANITY lexical item according to genre: percentages.*

Across the Middle English period, we see that there is scant evidence of INSANITY language in medical texts until the latter quarter of the fourteenth century. This accords with the general paucity of texts in the twelfth to the fourteenth century, but medical texts are particularly under-represented in the database in this period. This changes slightly due to the prevalence of excerpts from Trevisa’s translation of *Bartholomaeus Anglicus* in 1398, and

<sup>70</sup> Rounding may make apparent totals not precisely 100%.
then again in the first half of the fifteenth century due to the generalisation of MS dates in the MEMT corpus. Although the medical genre is a small genre compared to the others, it is necessary to categorise it separately so it can be analysed for distinct patterns. When separated from the other meaning of wod in medical texts, ‘rabid’, as in *be venim of be bitynge of a wode hounde* ?a1425_MS Htrn.95_MED, wod ‘insane’ occurs in the largest numbers for any individual lexeme, although as a group, near-synonyms dominate in this genre. There are almost twice as many near-synonyms (65.3%) as instances of wod (32.6%), with instances of mad (2%) noticeably fewer. It must also be noted that of the category ‘near-synonym’, the words found in medical texts are predominantly Latin or Anglo-Norman loans *frantik, lunatic, frenzy* and *malencolie* (and not native phrase *out of wit*). The next stage of analysing the data is to see how each of the separate areas of the lexical field patterns diachronically across each separate genre. The following tables 3.7 – 3.10 relate percentages of wod, mad and near-synonyms to each individual genre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% medical wod</th>
<th>% medical mad</th>
<th>% medical syn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1250</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1251-1300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301-1350</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351-1400</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>18.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1450</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>27.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1451-1500</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>8.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501-1550</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total (n=147)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.7 Wod, mad and near-synonyms diachronically, in (medical) genre: percentages.*

Some methodological problems with this are in regard to the nature of the texts in the database. For example, in the medical / scientific texts in the INSANITY database, there is a spike in the numbers of near-synonyms and phrases in the 1375 quarter is due to the
prevalence of excerpts from Trevisa’s translation of *Bartholomeaus Anglicus* in 1398, and the spike in the numbers of near-synonyms and phrases in the 1425 and 1450 quarter is due to the nature of the metadata available in the MEMT corpus, i.e. the generalisation of MS dates to either the first or the second quarter of the fifteenth century:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% other <em>wod</em></th>
<th>% other <em>mad</em></th>
<th>% other <em>syn</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1200</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1250</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1251-1300</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301-1350</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351-1400</td>
<td>8.85</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1450</td>
<td>10.85</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td>14.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1451-1500</td>
<td>12.28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501-1550</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total (<em>n</em> = 350)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.8* *Wod, mad and near-synonyms diachronically, in (other) genre: percentages.*

*Wod* can also be used in Middle English medical texts as a general diagnosis and does not require pairing with a near-synonym, e.g. *for a man *pat es wod and it is medicinal to hem *pat ben wode*. In medical texts, *wod* stands as the prototypical centre of the *INSANITY* lexical field. Near-synonyms such as *frantik* and *lunatic* are also used like this: *Do þe man is frentyk etyn of an owle þat howtet* c1450 Stock.Recipes_MED; and *The medicyn for to cure þe feuere agu, and þe lunatik man and womman* 1450_bookque_ICAMET but not to the extent that *wod* is. Conversely, abstract states *loss of wit, wodnes or madness* are described in medical texts as being due to a particular cause, such as excess wine, bad humours, a particular herb. In cases such as these, *wodnes* is a symptom, where certain herbs and cures are used to alleviate it: *Agnus castus [...] helyth and.vnbyndyth an ewyl þat men clepyn þe lytarge, þat is clepyd a wodhed a1450_Agnus_ICAMET*; and *humurs þt steppiþ þe poors of*
Regarding *mad* in medical texts, it is difficult to distinguish any patterns from only 14 examples of *mad / madness*, many of which are qualified by a near-synonym, e.g. *ȝyf þei were mad or wood or in þe fallynge euele* 1400_agnus.castus_MEMT; and *By swete voys & song [...] sike men & mad & frenetik comeþ ofte of hire witt a-ȝee* 1398_Trev. Barth_MED.

The relatively small proportion of *mad* examples in medical texts stands out in contrast to the other genres, where although *mad* examples are in the low percentages, they are not as low as the 2% in medical texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% rel <em>wod</em></th>
<th>% rel <em>mad</em></th>
<th>% rel syn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1200</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1250</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1251-1300</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301-1350</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351-1400</td>
<td>10.44</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>7.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1450</td>
<td>13.93</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>16.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1451-1500</td>
<td>7.46</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>5.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501-1550</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total (<em>n</em>=402)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.9 Wod, mad and near-synonyms diachronically, in (religious) genre: percentages.*

Without a thoroughgoing investigation of Early and Late Modern English medical texts, it is difficult to predict the way in which *wod* declines in the medical genre in relation to other genres. The remaining three genres, ‘other’, ‘religious’ and ‘romance’ do not stand out as having a particularly noteworthy pattern of distribution of INSANITY lexemes. There is variation across the genres and across the time periods in terms of different INSANITY lexemes being used. The increased numbers of texts in ‘other’ genre in the early fifteenth century, for example, reflect the general increased availability of texts from that period.
occurring in the database, see table 3.8. The increased numbers for religious genre in the early thirteenth century reflect the high numbers of examples from *Ancrene Wisse*, *Julia* and *Katherine* texts in the database, see table 3.9.

Romance texts do not feature in the database until the beginning of the fourteenth century. At the end of the fourteenth century, there is a spike in numbers of examples with *wod* in this genre due to *William of Palerne*, *Firumbras* and *The Canterbury Tales*. The spike in near-synonym numbers in the post-1475 quarter in Romance texts is due largely to Caxton’s translations such as *Eneydos*, *Sons of Aymoun*, etc. and the surge in *mad* in the same period is due to (Caxton’s) Malory’s *Morte D’arthur*, see table 3.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% rom wod</th>
<th>% rom mad</th>
<th>% rom syn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1250</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1251-1300</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301-1350</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351-1400</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>6.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1450</td>
<td>16.17</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>9.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1451-1500</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>9.80</td>
<td>22.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501-1550</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total (n=408)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.10 Wod, mad and near-synonyms diachronically, in (romance) genre: percentages.*

It can be seen that the search for a pattern in the distribution of insanity lexemes across genres has resulted in a markedly different distribution in medical texts. It seems that one of the major diachronic changes in the INSANITY lexical field is subject to forces related to the medical genre. In chapter 6, I discuss possible reasons for this change.
Wod was a term for an important and frequently referred-to concept. It was widespread across genres and registers, and was found in many phrases and compounds. We have seen from the Wycliffite Bible case study in §3.3.5 and the discussion of genre in §3.4 that the decline of wod can be traced to the middle of the Middle English period, in the medical genre and in the Bible. The rise in frequency of use of mad occurs in the middle of the Middle English period onwards, and it is during this period that mad becomes established in every genre except medical. We can see from the results in table 3.5 that in addition, near-synonyms start to be used in greater frequencies than wod, especially in medical and romance genres.

Wod’s declining occurrence in Early and Late Modern English is not addressed in this thesis, but the end result is, as discussed in §1.1, that it is extant in the late twentieth century only in archaic and Scots dialect forms, e.g. adjective red-wud. A 1598 printing by Adam Islip of the Complete works of Chaucer includes as a service to the reader an appendix entitled The old and obscure words of Chaucer explain’d, wherein wod is glossed as mad, neatly demonstrating that it was not expected that wod would be a part of the vocabulary of a person born 200 years after Chaucer’s death. Further evidence of wod being replaced, although slightly after the Middle English period, can be found in the use of the term madhardy, in: madhardy men of our cyte of Rome 1534_Whittington tr.Cicero.Thre Bks.Tullyes Offyces_OED. Middle English hardy refers to being ‘courageous or bold in battle’. It is unsurprising that this compound comes into use at the time when all senses of wod are starting to be disfavoured by speakers. Mad-hardy, then, replaces wod ‘battle-ready’; see §4.1.4 for a discussion of this sense. Continuing the discussion of wod’s decline in the Wycliffite Bible, and its low frequency in medical texts, in the sections below, I look at other contexts where wod is disfavoured, used less or passed over for a near-synonym.

3.5.1 CHANGES THROUGH TRANSLATION: CAXTON’S FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

In §3.2.2, I commented that forcene / forcenerye were overwhelmingly found in the French translations of Caxton. In the INSANITY database, I found that an observably higher proportion of mad examples originated in Caxton’s French translations, especially mad ‘angry’ in Four Sons of Aymon. This relationship between Caxton and the lexeme mad was worthy of closer inspection. In this section therefore, I examine 10 texts translated from French by Caxton, and the nature of the INSANITY language contained in them. The texts are:
The aim is to compare this sub-section of the INSANITY database to the whole, in terms of changes which play a part in the decline of *wod*, and overall change in the INSANITY lexical field, see table 3.11. Caxton’s texts are dated between 1483 and 1498, so this sub-database is at the latter end of the date span of the INSANITY database. The striking point of this sub-database analysis is that *wod* is used comparatively little. As a translator, Caxton chooses to use *mad/madness* or *lost/out of wyt* instead. He uses other INSANITY language in his translations, including phrases such as *beside him/herself and out of his mynde*, and, infrequently, terms such as *frantik* and *frensy*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wod / wodnes</th>
<th>mad / madness</th>
<th>lost / out of wyt</th>
<th>total (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caxton sub-</td>
<td>8.73</td>
<td>46.60</td>
<td>44.66</td>
<td>(n=103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>database</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSANITY</td>
<td>59.12</td>
<td>20.87</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(n=915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>database</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.11 A comparison of key INSANITY terms in the main database and the Caxton sub-database: Percentages.**

The other issue of note with Caxton’s translations is that he finds it acceptable to leave in French words such as *forcenerie, dyspourueyd (of wytte)* and *bestourne (our wytte)*: *Toke reason fro vs, and bestourned our wytte 1484 _Caxt. KnTour-L_MED.*[^71] Of all the instances of *forcenerye* in the INSANITY database, all but one are Caxton’s. If he considered that these words expressed the concept well enough, and that his audience would understand it, this suggests that the metaphors are not just ‘one-shot’ ones.[^72] In other translations (not included in this sub-database), he uses other loans *distracte [out of his witte], and [out of al maner] reson*. Caxton had connections with Burgundy nobility. He ‘enjoyed the patronage of Margaret of Burgundy’ (Blake 1965: 293). Burgundy was a model for many aspects of English culture in the fifteenth century and Caxton translated books for members of the court. As a canny bookseller, and one who famously deliberated over what kind of English to use in

[^71]: `< Old French bestourne-r. < bes- pejorative + tourner ‘to turn upside down, overthrow’.
[^72]: ‘One-shot’ metaphors are not conceptual in nature and can usually only be understood within a particular context; see Steen (1999: 59) and Gibbs (1996: 310).
his translations to increase sales,\textsuperscript{73} he is aware of the effect his choice of words will have. Just as he is able to include French terms and know his audience will understand and appreciate them, he is also making a choice to prioritise *mad* (and *out of wyt*) over *wod*. It is not inconceivable that, just as his choice of French vocabulary illustrates his concern with what is fashionable and what will sell well, he also senses that the semantics of *wod* no longer express what he wants to convey, that it does not express the concept as well as *mad*, or other near-synonyms. In these few texts, we see illustrated the continuance of a process of attrition which ends with *wod*’s eventual obsolescence.

3.5.2 DISCUSSION: THE DECLINE OF WOD IN THE LEXICAL FIELD OF INSANITY

The onomasiological approach to the study of meaning takes as its starting point the concept – here, INSANITY – and looks at all the ways a language has of expressing that concept. In the present study, this means not only looking at *wod* and *mad*, but also their near-synonyms, such as *lunatic* and *frantik* and other words and phrases expressing the same concept. This chapter has examined the structure and change of the INSANITY lexical field, and competing pressures within that field, which eventually result in the decline of its primary member, *wod*. We have seen that the INSANITY lexical field grew during the Middle English period, that it lost some lexemes, but gained others as loans, primarily from French. *Wod* is the earliest attested word in English to mean ‘insane’. Other words from Old English are still attested in Middle English, such as *witless*, and some words like *gidie*, *dizzy*, and *dote* move further away from the centre of the INSANITY lexical field as the Middle English period progresses, becoming more firmly established in neighbouring lexical fields such as UNSTEADINESS and FOOLISHNESS. During Middle English, *wod* ‘insane’ was in frequent use. Although it is rarely possible to say for certain why a particular word becomes obsolete, in tracing the diachronic development of the INSANITY lexical field, I have identified several factors which play a role in the decline of *wod* and the prominence of *mad*. I suggest that the decline after Middle English and eventual obsolescence of *wod* is in part due to pressure within the lexical field of INSANITY from loanwords, and in part due to changes in the neighbouring ANGER lexical field.

One benefit of the self-compiled INSANITY database is that it has allowed me to examine insanity language in the medical genre in relation to the other three genres of this

\textsuperscript{73} In his preface to *Eneydos*. 

113
The role of genre in the way the lexical field changes during the Middle English period is crucial. I have been able to identify a different pattern in the occurrence of *wod* and *mad* in the medical genre, compared to romance, religious and other. Occurrences of *mad* are almost non-existent in medical texts, and as a group, near-synonym loans, e.g. *frensy*, *lunatic* and *malencolie* predominate in this genre. I would suggest that the shift which happens in the *INSANITY* lexical field during Middle English, and the decline of *wod*, is in evidence in medical texts in the latter half of the Middle English period. There is an influx of loanwords in medical genres during the fourteenth century such as *frantik*, *lunatic*, *frensy* and *malencolie*. At the start of the Middle English period, most medical texts were written in Anglo-Norman or Latin (following a tradition of medical writing in Old English, viz Bald’s *Leechbook*). Medical texts were in the vanguard of vernacularisation, and by the mid-fourteenth century, English resurfaced in medical and scientific texts (Taa vitsainen & Pahta 2004: 9), with medical loanwords *in situ*. In the translation of these medical texts into Middle English, the above loans, which were extant in the Anglo-Norman medical texts, were deemed by authors or scribes to be a better fit to describe mental conditions and illnesses. The functional value of such loans, within the communities of people amongst whom these medical texts circulated, seems to have been a dependent factor for language change. I suggest that there was, in Middle English, a proto-medical register emerging. This register was of course subject to diachronic change, but nonetheless, insanity language in medical texts was developing differently to that of other genres; this paralleled other register differences such as structure, and patterns of linguistic features (see Taavitsainen 2001a: 89). In medical texts, loans were being chosen from the *INSANITY* lexical field over native words. In terms of medical texts, if a word retains value as a means of explaining a particular concept, such as loans *frantik*, *lunatic*, *frensy* and *malencolie*, then its salience increases in relation to *wod*. *Wod* had, in the thousand years predating the writing of medical texts in Middle English, developed so many different senses, including metaphorical ones describing the state of the sea and weather, that its central, prototypical sense had weakened or been somewhat diluted. Pressure from loans in the medical genre further weakened *wod*: its use in medical texts was becoming more limited.

The locus of the second main factor in *wod*’s decline is again the fourteenth century, this time, changes happening in the boundary area between the *INSANITY* and the *ANGER* lexical fields. As expounded by Diller (1994) and Geeraerts et al. (2012), societal change precipitated a change in the *ANGER* lexical field. In their study of *anger*’s rise in the late
Middle English period, Geeraerts et al. (2012) comment on their finding, which supplements Diller’s (1994) conclusion that anger rose in response to societal changes, necessitating a term to express a private emotion of growing lower-ranking classes. Geeraerts et al. suggest that there was an additional, lectal, factor in the rise of anger, and that it is possible to see a pattern in the genre of texts this lexeme occurs in in greater numbers. They found that anger occurred predominantly in non-religious, non-romance texts. Linking this finding with that of Diller’s, they comment that this illustrates ‘a cultural change towards a modern, individualist sensitivity’ [...] and that ‘religious texts are more likely to express the traditional worldview, and less likely to incorporate the emerging individual, pre-renaissance sensitivity of the common man’ (2012: 128). The rising new merchant class required a different word for the emotion that they felt, as they were now distinct in their emerging identity – not top of the pile, but not bottom of it either. Wrath, only describing the anger of those of higher status, became gradually distinct from angry (Diller 1994), but as it became distinct, it became unstable, allowing the rapid rise of angry. Initially delayed, but then perhaps ‘helped’ on its way by the rise of angry, the ‘angry’ sense of mad became more prominent.

It is in this climate, then, of rapid lexical and semantic change, we see that wodnes ‘God’s anger’ became unstable (see §3.3.5). It has been a further benefit of the data-driven, case-study approach of this study that I have been able to highlight the fact that wod ‘God’s anger’ is chosen less often in the LV of the Wycliffite Bible. Wod was pushed out of the newly-restructured ANGER lexical field, because a) there were newer, more prestigious and ‘better’ (loan-) words for ‘God’s anger’: strong veniaunce, indignacioun with which the field becomes repopulated, and b), equally importantly, wodnes was too strongly associated with the concept of insanity to be a suitable word for God.

These cultural changes that Diller terms an ‘individualist sensitivity’ have a wide-ranging effect on the INSANITY lexical field. It has already been suggested in §3.3.4 that the rise of the term angry delayed the rise of the ‘angry’ sense of mad. But does the development of other senses of mad also depend upon these cultural factors? I suggest that it does, and that speakers in the late Middle Ages are increasingly likely to associate insanity with a wider range of emotions than merely anger, as will be seen in earliest attestation dates in §4.2.2. The development of mad’s senses takes a strikingly different direction to that of wod’s, whose senses had been focused on the predominantly violent, fierce and cruel side of insanity. In the development of mad’s senses, the focus changes. Senses developed
throughout the thirteenth century and fourteenth century which reflected a more cognitive-based, more subjective, more emotional side of insanity, which included the quieter and less violent emotions: afraid, distraught, confused, excited, desirous. These changes which reflect an ‘individualist sensitivity’ in society, confluent with the notion of the late-medieval ‘inward turn’ (see also §6.2), contribute to this ‘newer’ word, *mad*, becoming more ‘fashionable’, i.e. chosen more often by speakers, during the later Middle Ages. The specific senses of the central items of the INSANITY lexical field, *wod* and *mad*, are the subject of the next chapter.

Another benefit of the data-driven approach facilitated by the self-compiled INSANITY database is that it has allowed me to trace patterns in the language of Caxton’s translations from French. The small Caxton case study in §3.5.1 demonstrates that the locus of this language change is a socio-cultural one, which may well have been below the level of consciousness. Caxton does not want to be associated with *wod* either because its semantics do not express precisely what he wants to communicate, or simply because it is unfashionable. Caxton’s preference for *mad* over *wod* is perhaps a bell-wether, illustrating that change is on its way, and that *mad* is the fashionable choice. I maintain that case studies such as this, even with small samples, are important to historical cognitive linguistics, because they give deeper insight into the how and the why of lexical loss and obsolescence. Analysing lexical loss in historical context, against the backdrop of socio-cultural change allows us to see language as an aspect of human behaviour, and it allows us to see that the effects and changes seen in language overlap with other happenings and changes in society. The significance of this finding is that it posits an explanation for lexical loss which is within the cognitive linguistics programme, whilst firmly placing language as a human behaviour within a socio-cultural context.
CHAPTER 4 SEMANTIC STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN MIDDLE ENGLISH WOD AND MAD

This chapter is a study of semasiological structure, in a complementary approach to the onomasiological one taken in the previous chapter. It deals with the following research questions:

Does a large-scale data-driven semasiological study of *wod* and *mad* demonstrate categories with blurred boundaries and sense change from radial sets, as suggested by prototype theory?

Do recent uses of adjective and adverb *mad*, seen in *we smoked mad blunts* and *that kid’s mad cool* demonstrate a semi-grammaticalised, intensifier function?

This chapter outlines the semantic structure of Middle English *wod* and *mad*, and how prototype theory is compatible with a description of metonymy as a mechanism of semantic change in *wod* and *mad*. In §4.1 and §4.2, I present an outline of the senses of the lexemes *wod* and *mad* respectively, from their origins in Indo-European and Old English, to Middle English, based on the data contained in the *wod* and *mad* databases. An analysis of semantic change in *wod* and *mad* using prototype theory as a framework is presented in §4.3. The analysis shows that the synchronic structure and diachronic changes in the semantic structure of *wod* and *mad* concur with the central tenets of prototype theory. It also demonstrates that changes affecting *mad* which originated in Middle English can be shown to still be a site of change in present-day English. *Mad*’s function as an intensifier and its participation in a process of ongoing grammaticalisation are discussed in §4.4.

It is profitable at this point to explain my method of assigning a particular sense to *wod* or *mad*. Often, context makes the sense clear. However, there were cases where *wod* or *mad* appeared in a construction with another near-synonym, and vagueness was an issue. In these cases, I found that adverbs such as *nigh* ‘nearly’, and function words such as coordinating conjunctions *and* or *or* were useful in eliminating vagueness, and acted as a ‘test’ for a particular sense. The labels for the senses of *wod* and *mad* were arrived at following a thorough reconciliation of the database evidence and the sense information in *OED* and *MED*; finding the sense labels in the dictionaries inadequate for the purposes of this study, I assigned labels which described in a general way each sense category detailed in the sections below.
A large number of *and* and *or*-co-ordinated partial near-synonyms were found in the data. The extent to which this juxtaposition assists with clarifying the intended sense of *wod* and *mad* depends on the context. An example of *mad* ‘insane’ where *mad* is co-ordinated with a near-synonymous phrase which emphasises and reinforces the sense of ‘insane’ is: *as a man madde and all to gyder from his wyttes* 1489_caxtlan_ICAMET. *Or* is sometimes used to co-ordinate between alternatives, but it does not always have a contrasting, or ‘mutual exclusion’ meaning. At first reading: *art thou madde or out of thi mynde?* 1490_caxteney_ICAMET could be taken to mean that *madde* was not synonymous with *out of thi mynde*. However, later in the same text, the same phrase is used again, but this time co-ordinated with *and*: *as a persone that ys madde & out of her mynde / toke herselfe for to renne as faste as she myghte* 1490_caxteney_ICAMET. Sometimes disjunction *or* can co-ordinate lexical items or phrases which offer additional information. At times, it does the opposite, and contrasts items: *If any in hys madnes or drunknes, horrybly blaspheme god* 1500_syon_ICAMET. Here, real-world knowledge suggests that madness and drunkenness are different concepts, but are linked by their common features ‘wrong behaviour’, ‘lack of reason’, and the effect of alcohol on perception.

Where the co-ordinator is *either ...or...*, absolute certainty of contrast is provided, as *mad* is contrasted with something that is ‘not-mad’, and this contrast can have a role to play in deciding which sense of *mad* is intended. In: *For owþer am I mad or drunken, Or els þe heuen es sumdel sonken* a1425_7Sages(2)_MED, *mad* and *drunken* are set apart as having different meanings by *either...or...*, as well as by real-world knowledge. Similarly to *either ... or...*, adverbial *with it* ‘in addition’ allows the reader the certainty to interpret *wod* and *mad* as non-synonymous: *And when Oger the dane sawe thus his folke deye, he was woode and mad wyth hit* 1489_caxtaym1_ICAMET. Here *mad* is contrasted with *wod*, because Oger was extremely angry, but at the same time (*wyth hit*) he was distraught with grief.

A further certain indicator of the sense *mad* ‘insane’ is when *mad* is pre-modified by *half, nigh* and *almost*. There are examples in the *mad* database of this modification occurring in the fourteenth century, with the first example of *almost mad* from 1390 and *neigh mad* from 1375. Often, this comes as a part of a phrase where a person’s insanity is caused by fear, anger or hunger: *haye cast hym from one to another that it was grete pety to beholde it. Therefore his felowys were nye madde for fere of that syght* 1438_giltele_ICAMET. As with *wod*, the sense of *mad* here is ‘insane’, not ‘afraid’, ‘angry’ etc. The presence of these adverbs is a good test for this sense, because according to real-world knowledge, one feels
one cannot be not half, or nearly, angry. Despite this, there appears to be an exception, where the sense is clearly mad ‘angry’: Thenne whan the geant vnderstode geffray, he was nygh aragid & mad that of one knight alone was so bold to make hym warre

1500_melusine_ICAMET (cf. wax almost mad al quyk §4.2.3). I suggest that the scribe intended to write aragid & nygh mad. In Middle English, he was nigh wod expresses a very intense emotion, usually anger. Nigh is attested from Old English in the sense where nigh denotes approximation of degree or amount. OED has it modifying predominantly negative adjectives: neg dead for frigt; nyeȝ begyled; nyh overthrowe; nyghe oute of her wytte; ny dreynt in a water.

As in Chapter 5 I will be examining concepts of insanity as suggested by linguistic metaphors, it is useful at this stage to look at nearly, its near-synonyms and other lexemes from the same conceptual field such as edge, to see whether they too collocate predominantly with negative words in present-day English. In terms of mental health, nearly and almost are used in scalar definitions of how close a person is to insanity. OED lists nearly as first attested in 1540. Likewise, almost is attested from Old English, with a sense from Middle English onwards ‘with negative words’. Almost means ‘nearly complete’, very close to a boundary. I used a search in the BNC, nearly +_{ADJ}. Discounting hits which were nearly collocating with numbers, many concepts nearly collocated with describe an absolute, or black-and-white state of affairs, and are close in concept to numbers, e.g. complete, full, straight, foolproof, immune, empty, perfect, unanimous, constant, fully-grown, equivalent, identical, finalised, certain. There were also many collocating words which had negative suffixes: uncontrollable, intolerable, unrecognisable, invisible, impossible, unconscious, unbearable, sightless, speechless, and words which were negative in connotation, including mad, insane, frantic, hysterical, sick, late, worst, desperate, bereft. There were some neutral words: dark, intelligible, true, ready, purple, black, explicit, blank, convinced, boiling, opposite, and a few words which might be construed as positive: trouble-free, acceptable, although even these, in context, mean that the situation being referred to is negative. I did not find nearly collocating with words such as sane, hungry, warm. One can construe contexts where one could say nearly happy or charming, but the speaker might be doing this for pragmatic purposes, such as facetiousness.

Edge, originally the ‘cutting blade of a sword or knife’, developed a ‘border’ sense in Middle English. OED has over the edge ‘insane’ dating from 1929, and through the twentieth century, has always had a figurative meaning ‘extreme’. I searched for the phrase on the edge
of in the BNC. Of the hits which referred to figurative or abstract concepts (the literal referents were objects like seat, bed, lake), many were negative: despair, collapse, extinction, tragedy, starvation, defeat, hysterical laughter, weeping, recession, violence, distortion, disaster, panic, sin, confessing everything, suicide, relegation. This negative collocation also applies to edge synonyms, such as verge, border and brink: on the brink of destruction. Some collocations referred to the abyss itself, but in a figurative way: abyss, crevasse, chasm, volcano, and some referred specifically to mental health phenomenon: nervous breakdown, madness, dim-wittedness, darkness, their nerves. There were some positive collocations too; one can also be on the brink of achieving something.

It is a benefit of the data-driven approach made possible by the self-compiled database that these indicators of sense suggested themselves in terms of being visibly frequent collocates of the keywords wod and mad in the database. The presence of these frequent collocates has allowed me to re-examine the data in the light of the semantics of these collocates, and has allowed a more clear-cut categorisation of the senses of wod and mad, than if they had not been taken into consideation.

4.1 THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF MIDDLE ENGLISH WOD

This section constitutes a discussion of the polysemous structure of wod based on the wod database. I will be addressing issues of the internal ‘intensional’ structure of the lexical item wod, i.e. that which is concerned with the structure of the word on the level of the senses (Geeraerts 1997: 47). I will describe the at once discrete and overlapping senses of wod which are grouped together in semantic clusters, their usual applications (e.g. to humans, animals and abstract concepts), and their frequency. These senses will be analysed diachronically in §4.3. The aim of this section is to examine the synchronic polysemy of wod, not to provide an alternative dictionary entry. The MED and the OED’s excellent arrangements of senses do differ from the categories I postulate, which is to be expected, because a) the wod and mad databases are larger than the original pre-corpora resources available to lexicographers, and b) lexicographic aims when presenting sense information are divergent from those of a study of historical semantics. §4.1 starts with a summary of wod’s use prior to Middle English, in Indo-European and Old English. There follows an overview of the senses of wod as they appear in OED and MED, and then the senses of wod are discussed in detail, based on analysis of the wod database.
4.1.1 ETYMOLOGY OF WOD

The OED allows a diachronic perspective from wod’s use in Old English (in the Corpus Glossary of c725) and also provides authoritative information about etymology prior to Old English. Although it is outside the scope of the present study to investigate the sense connections between the Indo-European reconstructed forms and Old English wod, it seems that referents of an earlier sense of wod were once conceptualised as ‘excited’ or ‘inspired’.

OLD ENGLISH AND COGNATE LANGUAGES

The Indo-European root *wāt- ‘to be excited or inspired’ produced Germanic wōð, from which are derived the cognate forms Old High German ferwuot ‘raging, frantic’; Old Norse óðr ‘poetry’; Gothic wōð- ‘possessed’; and also Old English wōp ‘song’. The same root also gives us Woden, the Old English name for the Norse God; Odin ‘the angry one’ in Old Norse. Indo-European wāt- also produced in other language families Latin vātēs ‘seer’, from which vaticanus mons ‘hill of prophecy’ (i.e. the Vatican); Welsh gwawd ‘song of praise’ and Old Irish fáith ‘poet’. It is not possible to postulate semantic features in the earlier cognate forms, but what evidence there is suggests that words derived from *wāt- had ‘creativity’ (gwawd, fáith) and ‘expression of angry emotion’ (ferwuot, Odin) in common, but not senses with any semantic features of ‘foolishness’. The evidence from cognate forms suggests the sense wod ‘insane’ was the prototypical sense in Old English. However, it is important to be careful that we do not simply impose our modern cultural understanding of the meaning ‘insane’.

Izdebska, cautioning against ethnocentric bias in her treatment of Old English ANGER, suggests that a better understanding of Old English wod might be one of ‘mental animation’, ‘possession’ or ‘warrior strength’ (2015: 22). It is also worth bearing in mind Györi’s caution that etymologies can only suggest what much older conceptualisations were (2010: 102).

OLD ENGLISH FORMS

OED contains a cross-referenced network of wod-related compounds in Old English: widdendream ‘mental disturbance’, and Wodnesdæg ‘Wednesday’, i.e. Woden’s day. There are several other compounds which can be found in Bosworth-Toller and the Old English Corpus in which wod participates: ellenwōðnes ‘zeal’; wēdehund ‘mad dog’; wōdfrec ‘madly

74 Isidore of Seville in his Etymologies says: “seers” (vates) are so called from the force (vis) of the mind, or from plaiting (viere) songs, that is, from ‘turning’ or modulating them; accordingly the poets in Latin were once called vates, and their writings called ‘prophetic’ (vaticinius), because they were inspired to write by a certain force (vis), a madness (vesania), as it were” (trans. Barney et al. 2006: 180).

greedy’; wōdprag ‘time of madness’ and wēdensēoc ‘insane-sick’.\textsuperscript{76} Wēdenhēort(nes) and wōdhēortnes simply express insanity in a similar way that brayne-seke does in Middle English,\textsuperscript{77} by compounding a word for ‘sick’ or ‘insane’ with the part of the body from which the illness was thought to originate (see §2.3.6). Also extant are adverb wōdlīc, adjective wede, verb (ā)wēdan, and nouns gewēd and wōda. Compound wedenonfa ‘puerperal ague’ is not attested until 1500, but weden and onfall are both separately attested in Old English. There is some spelling variation.

\textbf{SENSES OF WOD IN OLD ENGLISH}

In this section, I will briefly summarise how Bosworth-Toller and OED present the different senses of wod. By doing this, I hope to provide an idea of the extent of sense change as we enter the Middle English period. OED lists wod’s Old English senses as ‘insane’; ‘rabid’; ‘raging’ (of the weather); and ‘going beyond reasonable bounds’, this latter sense referring to the ‘foolish / blasphemous’ example discussed above. Examples from other time periods under each sense clearly illustrate that the senses are separate from one another and maintain their separate sense identity across the time periods. OED does not list a separate sense for wod ‘angry’. Bosworth-Toller categorises senses of wodnes as ‘madness, fury, frenzy, rage, rabies’. It does not provide a finely-sorted presentation of the senses but lists them together, glossing senses in present-day English or Latin. Wodnyssa and réðnyssa Hymn.Surt.132, 18_BT is glossed furias atque ferocia to make it clear that this is the ‘fury’ sense of wodnes. Bosworth-Toller lists the senses of wod as: Mad- Wód rabidus vel insanus. These senses are then further differentiated, with separate sub-headings for each sense: ‘rabid (animals)’; ‘insane’ (people); ‘raging’ (elements) and ‘mad with anger’ (people).

\textbf{Bosworth-Toller} does not list ‘foolishness’ as a sense for wodnes, instead listing ‘blasphemy’ Dá sæt hē tālende ðone Hēlend [...] His wōdnys weard gewrecen ðurh God ‘then he sat slandering the Lord [...] his blasphemy was avenged by God’ Homl. Ass. 60, 212_BT.\textsuperscript{78} To an Anglo-Saxon Christian, the very fact of questioning the existence of God meant that a person was foolish to the point of insanity: Hwá is swá wód, ðæt God ne sé Æce ‘who is so insane, that he dares say that God does not exist’ Shrn.

\textsuperscript{76} Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary project, based on a digital edition of An Anglo-Saxon dictionary, based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth (the so called Main Volume, first edition 1898) and its Supplement (first edition 1921), edited by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, today the largest complete dictionary of Old English. Available at: http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/about.

\textsuperscript{77} See also braegenes adl, unȝemynd e and ungewitfaestnes (Clarke 1975: 47).

\textsuperscript{78} Old English glosses mine, unless indicated.
176, 32_BT. There are examples of senses where there is some vagueness: Sió wóde þrág ðære wrǽnnesse Bo. B9.3.2_OEC; this could either be a ‘time of mad- / wickedness’, where the sin of lasciviousness is judged very harshly, or a ‘foolish period’ of lust or wantonness, if judged less harshly from a present-day English perspective. The sense of ‘blasphemy’ is linked to wod ‘foolish’, as it very specifically refers to the behaviour of ‘wrong speech’ in a particular faith context: Múð wódne sódfsěstmysse andsware genyþerian os Scint._9.II_BT ‘truth humbles the wicked mouth’. Verb awedan ‘become mad, to rage’, but also ‘be an apostate’ has the same Old English sense of blaspheming, which has broadened or generalised in Middle English into the sense of wod ‘wicked; sinful’. The Middle English sense is not restricted to speech behaviour, instead referring to any wicked or sinful behaviour.

Wod ‘insane’ is linked to similar concepts in Old English as it is in Middle English. It can be used to describe general, unspecified insanity: and wodum mannum gewitt forgeaf, and blindum gesihde 1000.1.489_AElfric; Hom ‘and he restored to the insane men their mind, and to the blind their sight’; as well as more specific mental illness such as frenzy, or mania: Wódlícé ástyrode wið ðone hálgan Homl._Ass.79, 162 ‘frantically stirred / moved by that saint’; and also dementia: effera, .i. demens wod (gloss, Old English Corpus). Woda is glossed as ‘a madman’, ‘one possessed’, or ‘epilepticus’. There is much evidence that insanity was perceived to be caused by possession by devils: & we adraefdon deoflu of wodum mannum ‘and we drove devils out of insane men’ AECHom I, 21_B1.1.23_OEC. Bosworth-Toller gives the noun woda the glosses ‘demonionem; a possessed man’; see also ylfig and gydig, §3.2.1. Insanity in animals is described as wod ‘rabid’, and their behaviour as wodnes: of gebeorce hunda & mid stafe hyrdes wulfa wodness to afligenne ys ‘the madness of the wolf is deterred by the shepherd’s staff and the barking of dogs’ LibSc.C15_OEC. Old English wod ‘rabid’ could also be used as an insult to people or to decry the devil, and the adjective wodfreca could collocate with werewulf to give the meaning ‘devil’: Ðæt se wódfreca werewolf tó swýde ne slíte, ‘[...] that the raging werewolf may not become strong, nor bite’ L.C.E.26_BT.

Of the emotion senses, wod ‘angry’ is available, but ‘distraught’ and ‘excited’ do not develop until Middle English. Wod ‘angry’ in Old English has literal senses as well as

---

79 From our present-day English perspective, this ‘foolishness’ encompasses the features of ‘faulty judgement’ and ‘lack of reason’: Middle English wod ‘foolish’ could describe a person whose judgement did not extend to believing in God, but it also had a much wider range of concepts.
metaphoric senses referring to natural events and weather: *Heom on becom swiðe hreóh weder, and seó wóde sǽ and se stranga wind hi on ðæt land ñeawær* ‘there came such harsh weather, and the sea rages, and the strong wind blew on that land’ Chr. 1075; Erl. 212, 23_BT. Izdebska (2015: 229) is a comprehensive account of Old English *wod*, focusing on *wod* ‘angry’, which she suggests was not a primary sense for *wod* in Old English. Certainly, ‘rage’ and ‘fury’ were senses of Old English *wod*, as the use of the *wod against* combination demonstrates (see discussion at §4.1.5): *hí ne gefrédde heora swingla náteshwón, and hí þæs þe wóddran wǽron him tógeánes* ‘he did not feel their blows at all, and they that were furious against him’ Hml. S. 31, 978_BT. Although Izdebska states categorically (2015: 236) that Old English *wod* is not used of God’s anger,⁸⁰ there is evidence that *ellenwod* (‘zeal, fervour’ in most glosses) has or develops a sense which describes the anger of a superior against an inferior: *Da wæs ellenwod, yrre ond reþe, frecne ond ferðgrim, fæder wið dehter* ‘then the father was mad with rage, furious and incensed, menacing and savage-minded towards his daughter’ Jul A3.3_OEC.⁸¹ Here, *ellenwod* closely collocates with words which have senses of anger and violence, and furthermore, the father experiences these *wið* ‘against’ the daughter. It is a short step from Old English *ellenwod* to Middle English *wod* ‘God’s anger’.

It can be seen that Old English *wod* had the senses ‘insane’; ‘rabid’; ‘angry’, ‘raging’ (weather) and ‘foolish / blasphemous’, and that Old English does not have as wide a range of senses as Middle English. It is difficult at times to avoid present-day English ethnocentric bias, that is, assuming an interpretation that is influenced by a sense we are already familiar with (in this case *wod* in Middle English). The evidence from etymology, that older senses centred around ‘mental animation’, ‘possession’ or ‘warrior strength’, suggests that the ‘angry’ sense of *wod* starts to develop via metonymic transfer during the Old English period, and that Middle English is its heyday, after which it loses ground (see §3.5).

**DICTIONARY SENSES OF MIDDLE ENGLISH WOD: MED AND OED**

The sense entries in *MED* are very differently arranged to either *Bosworth-Toller* or *OED* and give a far more detailed synchronic picture of adjective *wod*, with many more quotations used. There are seven main sense groupings, with sub-senses. The senses are: sense 1, ‘insane’, encompassing adverbial phrases of comparison and adverbial qualifiers; sense 2, ‘rabid’; sense 3, senses describing agitated or distressed states, including ‘angry’ (and ‘God’s

---

⁸⁰ God’s anger was expressed in Old English by the lexemes *yrre, gram, belgan, wrað* (Izdebska, 2015: 156).

anger’); sense 4, ‘untame’; sense 5, further encompassing ‘angry’, ‘enraged’, and other strong emotion senses such as ‘reckless’ and ‘wild’ and also ‘foolish’; sense 6, ‘eager’; sense 7, a separate entry for the minor phrase waxen wood fro God; and sense 8, metaphorical senses. There are separate entries for the nouns wode, wodship, wodhed and wodnes; adjective wodish; adverb wodli; and verb woden.

To an extent, senses of wod in the OED follow this template, taking into consideration the constraints of long diachrony. Its first sense, ‘insane’, encompasses the adverbial comparison and qualifying phrases, but ‘rabid’ is included as a sub-sense. Sense 2 is ‘going beyond all reasonable bounds’, and for Middle English includes emotion senses such as ‘eager’ and ‘foolish’. Sense 3 is ‘fierce’ and ‘angry’, including metaphorical senses. These categorisation of wod’s senses provided ground for the compilation of the wod database.

### 4.1.2 THE WOD DATABASE

In order to construct an INSANITY database, I first compiled three proto-databases, one of which was the wod database. Some of the challenges and limitations of the process are described in §1.6.5. Table 4.1 sets out percentages of each sense of wod in the wod database. Middle English wod is polysemous, with central senses found in the wod database being categorised into four groups: a) The INSANE group, consisting of wod ‘insane’ with the sub-senses wod ‘distraught’ and wod ‘rabid’; b) the WILD group, consisting of wod ‘wild’, wod ‘fierce’, wod ‘excited’, and wod ‘battle-ready’; c) the STRONG EMOTION group, consisting of wod ‘angry’, with the sub-senses wod ‘God’s anger’, wod ‘cruel’; and d) the WRONG group, consisting of wod ‘foolish’ with the sub-senses wod ‘wicked’. These senses will be examined individually below. In §4.3, I will analyse the structure of the senses and metonymic meaning extensions in the light of prototype theory as applied to lexical semantics (Geeraerts 1997). Figure 4.1 is a not-to-scale network model of the polysemous structure of Middle English wod. It is a schematic representation of four sense groups, as discussed above, differentiated by colour: ‘insane’ (red), ‘wild’ (brown), ‘strong emotion’ (orange) and ‘wrong’ (yellow). The sense wod ‘insane’ as the prototype is represented as largest, and other senses are represented as larger or smaller sizes according to their relative frequency in the INSANITY database, see table 4.1. Subsequent network model diagrams are constructed in the same way.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sense of <em>wod</em></th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>earliest attestation in Middle English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘insane’</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘anger’</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wild’</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wrath’(God)</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cruel’</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fierce’</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wicked’</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘distraught’</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rabid’</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘battle-ready’</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘excited’</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100% (n=1389)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Senses of wod from the wod database: percentages and earliest date of attestation.\(^{82}\)

---

\(^{82}\) The majority of examples in the database are of adjective *wod*, although there are a number of abstract nouns *wodness*, verbs *woden* and adverbs *wod* and *wodly*. There are metaphorical uses of *wod* in metaphoric reference to weather or disease (*wod* ‘angry’), hunger (*wod* ‘cruel’), or fire (*wod* ‘fierce’).
4.1.3 THE INSANE GROUP: ‘INSANE’, ‘RABID’ AND ‘DISTRAUGHT’

It can be seen that \textit{wod} ‘insane’ is in itself a complex sense, and that there can be considerable variation depending on context and syntactic constraints. As the central, or prototypical sense of \textit{wod}, \textit{wod} ‘insane’ necessarily encompasses semantic features that are carried over into other senses in this group. Table 4.8 provides an illustration of metonymic semantic change originating from the prototype \textit{wod} ‘insane’, see §4.3.2.

\textbf{WOD ‘INSANE’}

\textit{Wod} ‘insane’ lexemes are well-represented in Middle English, with the earliest example from the data being from 1150: \textit{swa þe reue gromede þt he gristbetede wod he walde iwurðen} 1150_juliabod_ICAMET. This is the largest of all the sense categories of \textit{wod}, numbering 541 examples in the \textit{wod} database, spanning diverse genres. The concepts \textit{wod} ‘insane’ represents are discussed in §5.5. Examples from the database were categorised as \textit{wod} ‘insane’ with the following list of semantic features based on commentary in the surrounding context, antonyms and near-synonyms:
Middle English glosses of Latin INSANITY words, *vesania; insania* ‘not-sane’; *demencia* ‘away from the mind’ and *amencia* ‘without a mind’ are all glossed as *wodnes*. In medical texts, *wodnes* is found in collocation with ailments such as *pe fallynge euele* ‘epilepsy’, *mania* or *frensy*, but also with other conditions deemed negative and undesirable, such as *halt, crokid* and *blynde*. In this example, *wod* is either contrasted with *malancoleous* ‘melancholy’, or intended to be read as a near-synonym: *þat bitynge is outwardly his deep and moost if þat he be biten of a malancoleous man or ellis of a wood man*

c1475_Wel.564_MED. 83 This ‘pairing’ with a synonym or near-synonym, using the conjunction *and* or disjunction *or* can, in some contexts, help clarify which sense of *wod* is intended. However, at other times it is far from clear whether the second or subsequent item in a pair or list is intended as a near-synonym: *Who hath eyen like a cat oper a ratte, it is a signe of wodenesse and braynlesse* a1500_Ashmol._SSecr._MED; or is intended as an alternative term for a different concept.

In another example, *wodnes* is a presented as a hyponym of *malancolious yuelis*: *For to preseruen þe pacient fro woodnesse & opere diuers malancolious yuelis* (c1475_*Mondeville_MED); (see §3.2.2 for a discussion of the senses of *malencolie*).
As well as literal insanity, there are metaphorical examples of wod ‘insane’ in the data: *his horse & he plunged ouer there hedys in depe myres for he knewe nat þe way but toke þe gayneste way in þat woodennesse / That many tymes he was lyke to peryshe* 1470_Malory_MED. *MED* gives the sense in the example above as ‘confusion’. The context makes clear that the abstract quality is not the knight’s experience but metaphorically an ‘insane’ quality belonging to the hostile environment, which is not what is usually expected. The word *wod* might have been deliberately chosen to express both a sense of bewilderment and its cause. Medicines are described as insanity-inducing, in a RESULT-FOR-CAUSE metonymic process. *Realgar* (arsenic disulphide) causes insanity: *It bihoueþ þat þai realgar and arsenic be repressed, for þai ar wode medicynesz* 1425_Chauliac_MED. In this case *wod* modifies *medicynez* to describe the effects via a process of metonymic transfer.

In romance texts, *wod* ‘insane’ is often said to be caused by pain, distress, woe, sorrow, jealousy or love, and therefore it is in some cases difficult to differentiate between *wod* ‘insane’ and a separate sense of *wod* (e.g. *wod* ‘distraught’). For example, in *Loue, bring me of þis wodenisse c1330_Guy(1).*Auch_MED, being in love causes the sufferer to reach a state where their mind cannot properly function. The sufferer is metaphorically *wod* ‘insane’, demonstrating the metaphor LOVE IS INSANITY (see discussion of emotion metaphors at §2.3.4). In some religious texts, desire to please or love God, Jesus or the Virgin Mary is described as a type of insanity, a special case of love-frenzy, a quasi-sexual desire to be one with Jesus: *I lepe eft þer i was / and auntre me þore, i cluppe and I cusse / as I wood wore: I walewe and i souke / i not whuche while, and whon I haue al don / ȝit me luste more* 1450_rollho2a_ICAMET.

*Wod* ‘insane’ is very often found in the INSANITY database qualified by *nigh* or *almost*, both of which can be used as a good test for the ‘insane’ sense: *Þe king was welyn wood Whanne he sawe þe werke not stood* a1500_Sidrak & B_MED. There is a metaphorical process whereby a cause, the emotion they are experiencing – usually anger, grief or fear – ‘drives’ a person ‘near’ to a place where insanity lies. They may not quite reach the ‘place’ of insanity, but the meaning of *wod* in context is still ‘insane’ (see §5.5 regarding the INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE metaphor).

Adverbial phrases of comparison such as *as a wod man* ‘like an insane man’, or ‘in an insane manner’ are attested from the thirteenth century. These common *as*- phrases compare the person or situation to some aspect of insanity. In some, but not all, usages, these phrases
are examples of the adverbial phrase undergoing a degree of grammaticalisation. *Wod* itself in this adverbial phrase has undergone a degree of lexical bleaching, having had its meaning slightly neutralised, possibly due to repetitious use. In the following example, *wod* does not have the sense ‘insane’, the phrase as a whole functions to intensify a verb phrase: *And euer it lyghtned and thondred as it had ben woode* 1450_malory1_ICAMET. If the weather had been described simply as *wod*, it would be possible to say that the sense of *wod* was metaphorically ‘angry’ or ‘fierce’. However, in the phrase *as it had been wod*, the meaning is ‘to a great extent’, or ‘very much’. Similarly in the data there are 4 examples of adverb *wodlich*, which *MED* categorises as ‘passionately’ or ‘grievously’. An alternative solution is to understand *wodlich* ‘fiercely’ as being a proto-intensifying adverb with the meaning ‘much’ or ‘to a great extent’. In each of these instances, the sense is context-sensitive and unique, and the reading ‘fiercely’ is not necessarily a positive one: *þe Seoueðe confort is þet alle þe hali halhen weren wodeliche itempet* 1230_Ancr_MED. ‘Strongly’ is a good interpretation here, but the main point is the increase in the degree of temptation. In many ways, adverb *wod* defies easy categorisation (for further discussion of intensifier use, see §4.4).

There is some evidence in the data that *wodnes* is still linked to demonic possession in Middle English as it is in Old English: *woda* ‘possessed man’. A few striking examples do exist:

In haly eland was a childe Trauaylde with a deuel wilde. vexed he had na witt, bot cryed and raued Na thing to rent and ryue he spared. þare was a preste in be abbay, Was wont to dryue deuels away Be be vertu of exorcisme [...] þe wode childe ay cryed and gnayste. his handes, his hare, his flesch wrayste ; It was horrybill him to be halde ?c1450_St.Cuth_MED.

In the following passage from John’s gospel, *wod* and *mad* are both used in the context of possession: *forsoþ many of hem seyden / he hap a deuyl & maddith or waxith wood / what heren ȝee hym* c1390_WB(EV)_John.10:20_64r.RylandsEngMS81.

There are sense components or semantic features of ‘wildness’ in *wod* ‘insane’, and running into wide, open spaces is a key feature: *Or wode ogain to the wod ga.*\(^84\) Sufferers described as *wod* run, leap, bite or otherwise behave in an animalistic fashion: *þis inobedient

---

\(^{84}\) Yvain, TEAMS 1.2378.
monke onone turnyd into a wudenes, and ran wude into þe felde. And þer he fande a dead dogg & all þe flessh on hym stynkid, and he fell to and ete of hym gr
delie 1400_alpha2_ICAMET. I propose that in this latter example, there are two distinct senses of wod involved. Wudenes expresses general insanity or a faulty mind, and so contains wod ‘insane’, and the subsequent wude describes the monk’s behaviour, and so is wod ‘wild’ (see separate description, below). People described as wod ‘insane’ flout conventional human behaviour. They not only gnash their teeth: As a wod creatur sche spak, gnacching with hir teth, and voydyng hir spatil in opir mennes faces 1451_Capgr. St.Gilb_MED; they also spit, stare, grin and rend their clothes: As a wood womman she ferd, Renttynge hir clothis euene by & by 1447_Bokenham Sts._MED. They move unpredictably, placing them outside of or ‘other’ in terms of societal norms: Wiztly as a wod man, þe windowe he opened. a1375_WPal._MED. Table 4.8 illustrates shared semantic features leading to metonymic change in wod ‘insane’, wod ‘angry’ and wod ‘fierce’, see §4.3.2.

**WOD ‘RABID’**

The 1225 date of appearance of this sense in the wod database is an anomaly, as wod ‘rabid’ was extant in Old English. In the wod database there are 99 examples of wod ‘rabid’. Many of the examples come from recipes or other medical texts describing, and advising how to deal with the bite from, a rabid dog: þou schalt knowe bi þes tokens þe bitingis of a wode hounde [...] his eyȝen wexen rede and his spatel driueleþ oute at his mouþ & filþe stilles oute at his nose ?a1425_MS Htrn.95_MED. Wod ‘rabid’ in an as-phrase is used to highlight animalistic qualities in a person. There is some overlap with the wod ‘wild’ category, which is used for animals that are not rabid, but the biggest overlap is with wod ‘insane’, which is not used to describe animals at all, but which has semantic features of animalistic, out-of-the-ordinary behaviour, noisiness and violence.

**ANIMALS AS ‘OTHER’**

This ‘non-human’ element which is a significant semantic feature of wod ‘insane’ is a main feature of wod ‘rabid’. This fundamental, over-arching semantic feature is one which, along with ‘lack of control’, lack of reason’ and ‘wrongness’ colours all the main senses, wod ‘insane’, and especially wod ‘wild’ (see §4.1.4); but also wod ‘foolish’ and wod ‘angry’. This ‘non-human’ colouring can also be seen in mad, where people described in this way display animalistic traits (see discussion at §4.2.3). In the wod data, animals, especially dogs, wolves and lions, feature prominently. Some of the examples refer straightforwardly to animals themselves, but other uses refer to humans, either directly, or in a phrase.
Most examples of ‘animals as other’ fall into the *wod* ‘wild’ or *wod* ‘rabid’ categories, with one exception. *Wod* in the phrase *wod as a hare* does not share either of these senses and has more in common with *wod* ‘foolish’ or even *wod* ‘wicked’. The erratic movements and outside-of-the-ordinary springtime behaviour of hares puts them into a ‘wild, unpredictable’ sub-category of *wod* ‘insane’ which is not described by rabidity: *Yet in this mone is forto sowe tares And not in Marche, lest they enoye thi bestis; Thi oxon myght be wood therof as haris* ?1440_Palladius_MED. However, there is something more to be said about hares than mere unpredictability. Hares in the Middle Ages were looked upon with suspicion and associated with negative qualities. At rest, hares appear as though their eyes are open, which caused people to be suspicious of them and to attribute other-worldly qualities to them.

According to the poem *The names of the hare* 1272_NameHare.Dgb_MED the hare can be called such non-neutral names as *the choumbe*,85 *sreuart*,86 *the couart*,87 *the der that alle men scornes*. Knightly qualities therefore would stand in contrast with those of hares, which, if not wicked, are certainly less than good, as in: *He is so gode a knyght that alle other be but as hares as in comparison to hym* a1500_Merlin.Cmb_MED.

This suggests the phrase *wod as a hare* could convey either of two meanings, one which expresses the wild unpredictability of the hare, and the other which expresses the suspicion people had of them. It is difficult from a modern perspective to know the precise meaning of the phrase in the Friar’s Tale: *For thogh this somonour wood were as an hare | To telle his harlotrye I wol nat spare* c1395_Ch.CT.Fri_MED, but it would be a mistake to simply equate it with our present-day English phrase *mad as a March hare* ‘insane’, or with simple animal foolishness. The Friar hates all summoners, but he is not accusing this one of insanity, nor of wild unpredictability. The Friar is portraying him as unchivalrous, not to be trusted, or possibly stupid, as supported by close contextual clues *harlotrye, slyer, false theef, baude*. *Wod as a hare* in this context therefore is an insult intended to place the summoner ‘outside’ of the range of ordinary human qualities. The data contain many examples of people being called *wod* ‘foolish’ who do not believe in or who spurn God, but *wod as a hare* is an insult which goes beyond *wod* ‘foolish’, perhaps verging on connotations of wickedness.

---

85 ‘chump’.
86 ‘scoundrel’.
87 ‘coward’.
As a minor sense with 14 examples in the wod database, wod ‘distraught’ does not belong in the STRONG EMOTIONS group, as there are more shared semantic features with wod ‘insane’ than with wod ‘angry’. The distinction between this sense and wod ‘insane’ hinges on the fact that there is often a direct cause of wod ‘distraught’, which can be seen to be responsible for the temporary emotional distress: But the knyght anon in his woodnesse trowing the wordes of his wyf, drowe oute his swerde, and smote of his grehoundis hede.

1400_gestarom_ICAMET. Here, the thought of his dead son drives the lord to distraction, or to go out of his mind with grief. As addressed in §4.1.1, it is possible modern ethnocentric sensibilities are at play in this interpretation, in that where we would be distraught at the loss of a child, it is possible that the sense intended is ‘anger’ at the loss of an heir or property (see also discussion of different senses of anger at §3.3.4). The examples of wod ‘distraught’ in the wod database have semantic features of the sufferer being in a state very close to insanity, but which is more temporary, often brought about by fear or grief, and characterised by agitation: Encresynge her woodnes y-streyneyd she was yn streyghte bondys. these bondys with her woodnys myght lightly y-broke, othir were addid therto 1425_Found.St.Barth_MED.


The analysis of this group of senses of wod continues a discussion from the previous section, starting with a discussion of wod ‘wild’ as applied to non-rabid animals. Table 4.9 is an illustration of overlapping semantic features of wod ‘wild’, wod ‘fierce’, wod ‘excited’ and wod ‘battle-ready’, leading to metonymic change, see §4.3.2.

WOD ‘WILD’

Wod ‘wild’ was extant in Old English and is therefore one of the earlier senses in Middle English. It is found in 76 examples, with the first attestation in the wod database being 1150. This sense usually applies to non-rabid animals which are in their natural state, so potentially a threat, but as there is not necessarily violence or fierceness, wod ‘wild’ is often neutral in its stance. In its rare applications to humans or devils, in phrases such as as wod creatures, its sense has negative connotations, and conveys being ‘other’, the semantic feature shared with wod ‘insane’, which is animalistic and less than human.

When it comes to wolves and dogs, the sense of wod applied to them is often ‘rabid’, but there are exceptions. Some animals are not rabid, foaming or slavering. These wolves are grinning, or showing their teeth in a display of their animal nature, and there are no
contextual clues that suggest they are rabid: *hai grenned for gladschipe euchan toward oðer, as wode wulues þat fainen of hare praie* 1250_WooingLord_MED. Here, the predominant feature of *wod* ‘wild’ is that of ‘animal in its natural state’. Sometimes the sense *wod* ‘wild’ extends further than this and is used literally to denote a non-rabid (usually domesticated) animal that is, on this occasion, not tame: *Sche knewe wele þat wode oxen were wylde and vntame þat they myȝt noȝt be set in a wayn* a1500_Spec.Sacer_MED. There are examples of vagueness, where *wod* could be either *wod* ‘rabid’ or *wod* ‘wild’. This example demonstrates that although the contrast tends to give the reading ‘untame’, a *wod* ‘rabid’ reading is still possible: *A wounde þat is biten wiþ a wood hound muste oþirwise ben y-heelid þan it þat is biten wiþ a tame hound* c1475_MS Wel.564_MED.

In a case of *wod* ‘wild’ seeming to have been influenced by its homonym *wod* ‘trees’, the existence of noun *wodwose* ‘satyr’ is tantalising. Although it seems certain that it derives from Old English *wudu* ‘trees’ as suggested by *OED, MED* suggests assimilation with *wod* ‘insane’. Although often glossing Latin *silvanus* ‘man of the wood’, it is also found glossing *incubi* ‘salacious demon’, both of which provide environments where transfer and mixing of concepts could occur. In *Gawain and the Green Knight*, the hero wanders alone in the wilderness, where the sense of wildness is emphasised by the listing of wild beasts: *Sumwhyle wyth wormeȝ he werreȝ […] Sumwhyle wyth wodwos þat woned in þe knarreȝ* c1400_GGK_OED. Some level of consciousness of the closeness of the concepts, and of the potential for punning, is not lost on medieval writers: *Ho is wodore þen þat mon þat […] goþ […] wod wosande?* c1390_NHom.Narrat_MED.

**WOD ‘EXCITED’**

Middle English *wod* ‘excited’ is a later sense, appearing for the first time in the data in 1398. It is rarely found in the database, but where it is, there is evidence to suggest that this sense is separate. *Wod* ‘excited’ occurs in only 7 examples, but each is distinct from *wod* ‘wild’ with which it is linked. It develops from the *wod* ‘wild’ sense, where the feature of animalistic behaviour is transferred, a sense of being less humanly ‘cultured’, and more governed by passions and emotions. It is more focused and in control than *wod* ‘wild’, being concentrated on only one action. In the case of Oolla, the fervency of *wod* ‘excited’ is lust: *Oolla dide fornycacioun vpon me, and wexe woode in to her loueres, in to Assiriens neiȝynge, clothid with iacynt, princis, and magistratis* a1425_WB(EV)_MED. Desire, but also keenness and fervency to do a particular act, are key features, and extend the range of *wod* away from the out-of-control violence that is *wod* ‘wild’ and *wod* ‘battle-ready’, towards a sense of *wod*
which is not necessarily destructive: *Some wern so feruent and so wood Vpon the water that [...] Out of mesure the watere so þei drynke That they fille ded* a1450_Lydg. ST_MED. Wod ‘excited’ is the last sense to develop (discounting metaphorical senses of wod ‘cruel’ and wod ‘fierce’), and of the emotion senses of wod, is the only one to express neutral or potentially positive emotion.

**WOD ‘FIERCE’**

75 examples of wod ‘fierce’ are found in the data. Wod ‘fierce’ has semantic elements of ‘intensity’, and sometimes ‘violence’, and when applied to humans, the context is usually a battle, but not always: *Whan he wȝtli awok, wodli he forde, al totare his atir þat he totere miȝt a1375_WPal._ MED.* The strength and intensity of the people and actions described by wod ‘fierce’ are outside of the usual range of human strength and intensity. It is sometimes neutral, but usually negative in its stance. Some examples are metaphorical, referring to the intensity of fires, the sea, or thirst: *Tantalus, that was destroyed by the woodnesse of long thirst, despyseth the floodes to drynken* 1425_Chaucer Bo_MED, which same phenomena can sometimes be interpreted as wod ‘angry’.

The adverbial form wodli / wodeliche commonly yields the wod ‘fierce’ sense. However, wod ‘fierce’ most commonly refers to warriors, and there is significant overlap with wod ‘wild’, with which wod ‘fierce’ shares some of its ‘disordered’ semantic features: *By that tyme was sir Gawayne ware by the woodys syde men commynge woodyly with all maner of wepon a1470_Malory Wks_MED.* Woodyly in this example means that the men arrived in a manner which suggested they were about to attack, which might mean displaying intense strength, suddenly, violently and noisily.

Although wod in *as a wod lyon* has the meaning ‘fierce’, this sense does not rely on the semantic feature ‘animalistic’ as the sense wod ‘wild’ does. As with antonyms, a list of animal oxymorons serves to provide a good indication of the separateness of the sense. In the medieval period as now, doves were associated with gentleness, so wod in this context by contrast takes the sense of ‘fierce / belligerent’: *A nyghtyngele mor rorynge þen a cowe, A scheep cled in foxis skyn, a dowe wodar þen any wode best* 1435_MisynFL_MED.

---

88 Also see discussion at §4.1.6 re further metaphorical senses of wod.
WOD LIONS

Wod ‘fierce’ very often collocates with lion, especially in the phrase as a wod lyoun / as a lyon wod, or close variant: Thou myghtest wene that this Palamoun In his fightyng were a wood leoun c1385_Chaucer CT.Kn._MED. 37 out of 75 examples contain either this set phrase, or have a lion as a direct referent: Lik a Lyon, so wood & wrope was he c1425_Lydg. TB_MED. Warriors are often metaphorically described as wod lions ‘battle-eager, fierce in battle’,89 and there is sense overlap with wod ‘battle-ready’ (see below). As a wod lyon / wood as a lyon is a set phrase, and it is to some extent used as an adverbial intensifier, with the meaning ‘fierce’ or ‘undaunted’: But whan syr Arthur sawe the batail wold not be endyd by no maner | he ferd wood as a lyon | & stered his hors here & there on the right hand & on the lyft hand 1485_Malory1_ICAMET (see §4.4 for further discussion of adverbial intensifiers).

The qualities which a lion might have when mercilessly killing are also metaphorically used to describe despotic rulers. Wod’s sense here overlaps with ‘wrathful’ and cruel’: To Denmark pryncis, pompous & elat, Lyk woode lyouns, void of all pite, Did no favour to louh nor hih estaat c1475_Lydg. Guy_MED. Cruelty, which can be sustained and describe a reign, is more likely here than fierceness, which is more immediate: Whan tirauntis been sette on hih stages Off dignites, regnyng lik wood leouns, Ful harde it is to wresten ther corages, Outher to tempre ther disposiciouns ?a1439_Lydg. FP_MED. The conventionalised phrase as a wod lyon means ‘cruel’ when the behaviour it describes is inhuman or animalistic. Tereus is described as a Lyon wod when he grabs Philomene’s hair. Having raped her, he is about to cut out her tongue. Wod, although simultaneously referencing the wildness and strength of the lion, allows a metaphorical reading of cruelty in this context, when applied to this inhuman action: He than as a Lyon wod With his unhappi handes stronge Hire cauhte be the tresses longe a1393_GowerCA_MED.

WOD ‘BATTLE-READY’

Wod ‘battle-ready’ is a sense which is found exclusively in fight contexts as early as 1275: Cnihtes he hæfde gode; stronge & wode. heo wilneden after worre 1275_layamon_LEON. It has the semantic feature ‘warrior-like’ in common with Old English senses of wod. This sense of wod has significant overlap with wod ‘fierce’, but I would suggest that this is in fact

89 Although many examples of as a wod lyoun are literal battle scenes, in the Wife of Bath’s metaphorical battle with one of her husbands, a picture is painted of a man who wants to have dominion, but ultimately is defeated: For thogh he looked as a wood leoun, Yet sholde he faille of his conclusioun c1395_Chaucer CT.WB_MED.
a separate sense, despite the small numbers found. Despite the overlap, there are 13 distinct examples in the wod database where a warrior is described as wod, but the senses ‘wild’, ‘fierce’ or ‘excited’ alone are insufficiently nuanced. Only ‘battle-ready’ will do: cnihtes swiðe kene wode to uihte 1275_layamon_LEON; in the sense that the warrior is fierce, keen and raring to do battle: Ector for þat od dynt ournyt in hert, wode for the wap as a wild lyon 1540_Destr.Troy_MED. Although Hector becomes ournt ‘enraged’, the sense of wod is not ‘angry’ here. Wap ‘blow’ is metonymically a fight, and he is ready. As noted above, the reference to the lion is conventionalised, as warriors are often compared to lions to describe their animalistic readiness to fight without fear of the consequences.

4.1.5 THE WRONG GROUP: ‘FOOLISH’ AND ‘WICKED’

**WOD ‘FOOLISH’**

Wod ‘foolish’ was extant in Old English, and is one of the earlier senses of wod. The wod database contains 156 instances of wod ‘foolish’. It expresses a spectrum of concepts from ‘lack of wits’ or ‘not having sufficient mental capacity or intellect to fully function’, which is often a permanent state akin to intellectual disability, to ‘wrong’, or ‘ill-advised, choosing not to make a morally correct decision’, which could be temporary in nature. There is overlap with wod ‘wicked’, especially where the ‘wrong’ decisions a person makes involve blasphemy, or otherwise doubting God.

When wod is one of a list of words in a text which are near-synonyms, there is often a question as to whether the speaker intends exact synonymy or some shading of difference (see discussion at §4.1.3): Braynles, maad, and wood Is he that neuer wyll forsake his synne c1475_Lydg.OFools_MED. As there is a decision inherent in forsaking sin, then the sense is ‘foolish’, possibly ‘wicked’, but not ‘insane’. Antonyms provide a much surer indication of meaning, with the following quotations indicating that wod ‘foolish’ i.e. ‘not being clever or having sufficient mental capacity to fully function’ contrasts with wisdom: A woode wisdom, and a wise woodenesse Is this fortune, or is it infortune? c1475_Lydg.Tied_MED. Another pairing contrasts wod with proud: Lefe, bredryr, þis proude wodnes & wode pryde 1435_misfire_ICAMET. As pride was a sin, it is likely again that the sense intended involves a choice.

Not having access to one’s wit / wits, which enable ‘correct’ decision-making, is important in the sense wod ‘foolish’: Loc nu ziff þatt tu narrt riht wod & all witess bidaeledd, þatt willt forrlesen þin Drihhtin & all þe blisse off heoffne c1200_Orm_MED.
Witess bidæledd ‘lacking in intellect’ literally means ‘separate from wits’. In this context, the reader is being advised not to be so foolish as to renounce God. Wod ‘foolish’ implies that the advisee still might have a choice in the matter, but chooses the ‘wrong’ action. This is illustrated in the following example in lexical differences among manuscripts of the same text. Both anewil ‘stubborn’ and wod ‘foolish’ share the semantics of ‘making the wrong choice’, and in the later (Titus) manuscript of Ancrene Wisse, wod is found instead of anewil, which is found in the earlier (Corpus) manuscript: ȝif þu art se wiðe wod & swa ut of þi witte. þt tu þurh nawt to leosen forsakest swuch bijeate c1225_ anctit_ICAMET.

The sense wod ‘foolish’ often expresses the subjective attitude of the speaker to the person or situation being described. In the proverbs of Alfred, the opinion is expressed that it is wod ‘foolish’ to (over-)communicate with one’s wife. Wurþu neuere swo wod ne so drunken þat euere sai þu þi wif al þat þi wille be a1275_ Prov.Alf._MED; here, the sense of judgement implied in wod ‘foolish’ is that to do so would be a mistake. In another, later, text on the management of women there is a further example of wod ‘foolish’ which is also situated on the ‘wrong’ end of the wod ‘foolish’ spectrum: Loke þat þou be not so woode To charge hir to grevously […] For overdoon þing unskilfully Makþ Gryf to growe, whanne it is no nede c1450_How GMan(2)_MED. This coding of subjective attitude towards the actions of the person being described is seen in the sense development of wod ‘wicked’, which I will describe in the next section.

WOD ‘WICKED’

The wod ‘wicked’ sense is a sense development from wod ‘foolish’, first attributed in 1225 but with a precursor in Old English; see also discussion of mad ‘foolish’ in §4.2.3. ‘Wicked, wrong’ is not listed as a sense in Bosworth Toller, however ‘blasphemy’ is, see §4.1.1. The semantic features of wod ‘wicked’ are centred on being faulty, damaged, other, sinful and wrong. This, then, is a similar sense, contextually labelled ‘blasphemous’ when the particular use was one of sinning against God by slanderous speech. Sin, which makes a person unclean and ‘unwhole’ in the eyes of God, is linked to insanity, as reflected in the phrase sinne wod ‘insane from sin’: Dat folc vn-seli, sinne wod Do sori wrecches of yuel blod Walde him dor gret strengþe don a1325_Gen.& Ex._MED. This suggests a causal link; either that sin causes insanity, or that insanity is a punishment for sin. Wod ‘wicked’ encompasses descriptions of sinful behaviour deemed by the writer to be beyond the pale: Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame The wylde woodnesse of this mescreance a1422_Hoccl.Hen.V.& KG _MED. Here mescreance ‘paganism, heresy’ is evidently judged more harshly than merely ‘foolish’; this is
wickedness or sinfulness bordering on evil. Gluttony, a deadly sin, is paired with the near-synonym ‘false’ delight, which suggests wod ‘wicked’ with the semantics of ‘wrongness’ in this context: *Glotonye Hath in hym sylff A dowble maner off woodnesse: Woodnesse off Tast & fals delyt* a1475_Lydg. Pilgr._MED. *Lecchery* is also described as *wodness*, as are the other deadly sins.

Devils are often described as *wod* ‘wicked’: *what sorugh & drede sighing & gn(as)tinge þe wode fendes of helle had þat tyme* 1400_Rollplus_ICAMET, as are the Jewish people, who are frequently described as *wod* ‘wicked’ and as ‘devils’ for their supposed role in the crucifixion of Jesus: *He weryn verse þan wod To slon Ihesu so good* a1475_Inplace_MED. Given the attitude to Jews in the Middle Ages, whether the sense of *wod* here is ‘worse than wicked’, or ‘worse than insane’, the overall intended meaning is arguably subjectively ‘wicked’. If an action is negatively judged, it is on a sliding scale from ‘inadvisable, foolish’ to ‘wrong, possibly sinful’. *Wod* ‘wicked’ is an example of a sense in which the speaker invests an increased amount of involvement and subjective attitude (see discussion of subjectification at §2.2.4). This diachronic tendency of meanings towards subjectivity is described by Traugott as the ‘subjective belief state or attitude toward what is being said and how it is being said’ (2003: 125); see also Visconti (2013: 8). The ‘wicked’ sense of *wod*, more than any other of *wod’s* senses, is grounded in the speaker’s belief in the wrongness of the action, and opinion that the perpetrator has faulty judgement or has made wrong choices (which is a subjective opinion), rather than merely having a disease of the mind, being *wod* ‘insane’, or having an intellectual disability, being *wod* ‘foolish’ (both objective when used with these senses). The difference between *wod* ‘cruel’ and *wod* ‘wicked’ is that the former is a more objective description of actions.

The phrase *as he were wod* does not usually give the reading ‘wicked’. It usually intensifies its accompanying verb phrase, as discussed in §4.1.3. One exception to this in the *wod* database is from a sermon. The story tells of a woman who *required the housbond to zelde fleschely dewte to hure* [during a period of abstinence], and he refuses, saying he will *fulfille hure askynge when he schuld come fro churche. And the woman as sche hadde ben wode bode at home and zede to a zonge man, broper of hure housbond* 1425_speculum_ICAMET. It is unlikely that, taking the didactic nature of the text type into consideration, any reading other than ‘wicked’ can be construed in this instance.
Senses in this group participate in the *wod against* (towards, upon) combination, which does not occur with *wod* ‘insane’ or any of the other senses. This construction, suggesting a strong emotion being directed towards another, is unique to the ‘strong emotion’ group.

**WOD ‘ANGRY’**

_Wod* ‘angry’ was extant in Old English (see §4.1.1). This sense flourishes in Middle English, with 266 examples in the *wod* database, expressing an emotion which ranges from fury, where the tyrant Olibrius is incensed that Margaret will not yield him her virginity: _þa ward he swiðe wod & bed o wredðe bringen forð a uetles ful of weattre, […] þet ha dead drohe & druncnede þerinme 1150_margabod_ICAMET_; to the kind of emotion which wants revenge: _Ich was so wroȝ and so wod, & ȝit ich wiȝdrouȝ mi mod c1330_Floris_MED_. Contextual words such as *noyet* and *ire* reinforce the sense of *wod* ‘angry’: *Nestor anone noyet þere with, And walt at his wordes into wode yre c1540_Destr.Troy_MED*. As with other senses, contextual antonyms demonstrate clearly which sense of *wod* is intended. In this example, *merciable* and *despitous* are contrasted in the first clause, with the pattern repeated in the second; then three adjectives on a scale from positive *weelwillid* ‘kindly’ through to *furious*, where it appears that the intervening *wood* is less intense than *furious*: *This hour I can shewe me merciable And sodenli I can be despitous; Now weelwillid, now wo a1439_Lydg.FP_MED.*

Although *wod wroth* as a phrase is first attested in Middle English, it has precursors in Old English in the adverb *wodli* performing an intensifying function: _wende him swa awæg wodlice geyrsod_ ‘so he turned away, madly angered’ _ÆLS_Maccab_OEC_. Throughout Middle English, *wod wroth* is frequently found, along with collocations *wod rese* ‘frenzy, fit’ and *wod rage*. As discussed in §3.3.4, when modifying *wroth*, adverb *wod* ‘insane’ intensifies the semantic feature of ‘anger’ inherent in *wrath*: _wod wrothþ was Dacian þo; he dude […] smiten of heore heuedes a-non c1300_S.LegFaith_MED_. The lexical meaning of *wod* is slightly bleached. It loses the full potency of its ‘insane’ meaning, and the semantic feature ‘intensity / excess’ is highlighted. The whole phrase _wod wroth* can be read as ‘very angry to the point of being insane’. I suggest that in the _wod wroth* collocation, it is only *wod* which
suffers this lack of potency. The context of *wod wroth* is always the expression of intense rage, often of lords towards enemies or those who defy them, but also of ordinary people.

Metaphorical senses of *wod* ‘angry’ describe via a metaphoric process the natural elements such as fire and the sea, encounters with which are unpredictable and often harsh, hence there is overlap with *wod* ‘cruel’ and *wod* ‘fierce’: *þe see was wonderlichche wod, and þe see wraphede* c1300_Lay.Brut_MED. *Wod* ‘angry’ is a sense transferrable via a metonymic process when it describes physical states people experience, such as hunger, diseases and fevers. Here, the *mater* (‘discharge’) is described as having two qualities, sharpness and anger, abstracted from the concrete domains of pain and heat: *þat þe pacient may noght sclep [...] is because of [...] scharphede & wodhede of þe mater, whylk mater is resolvyde into a fume [...] styand up into þe hede* a1425_Treat.Uros_MED.

**WODNES ‘GOD’S ANGER’**

*Wodnes* ‘God’s anger’ is discussed in detail in §3.3.5, comparing word choice for ‘God’s anger’ in the Early and Late versions of the *Wycliffite Bible*. The concept of God’s *wodnes* is anger combined with righteous destruction: God wreaks havoc, chaos and revenge against those who anger him, which is perceived as both devastatingly cruel, but entirely within his rights. His anger is punishment for those who sin against his laws: *The Lord is not turned aweye fro the wrath of his grete woodnes in the whiche his wodnes is wrothe aȝeynus Juda* a1382_WB(EV)_4Kings.23:26_MED.

The idea of God’s anger being a different concept to the anger of humans was a fact which was above the level of consciousness for medieval writers. This sense of divine anger was contemporaneously considered separate enough from the other *wodnes* ‘anger’ and ‘insanity’ senses for the fourteenth century mystic Richard Rolle to comment on it twice: *God is nother wrath ne wod, bot his ire is rightwis pyne that he does on synfulmen [...] His vengaunce is cald woednes, for he sparis namare than a woed man dos, that dos all the ill that he may* a1500_Rolle_Psalter_MED. Middle English commentaries state that God is never described as adjective *wod*, as experienced by common humans, it is only ever his *wodnes*, his stern zeal or righteous indignation, that is referred to. This next excerpt from Rolle is

---

90 Vandewinkel & Davidse suggest collocating near-synonymous adjectives such as *pure and simple* is a ‘weak form of emphasis’ (2008: 269).
91 Cf. *Lord, i biseche pee þat in þe dreadful day of doom, wheere þow schalt haue þe to synners as a man þat weere wood spaaryng no þing* c1410 Rolle_3_Arrows_Doomsday.
worth citing at length, as it illustrates the above-the-level-of-consciousness difference between firstly *wroth* and *wod*, and secondly, *wod* ‘God’s anger’ and *wod* ‘insane’:

Nomane thynke that wodenes or wratthe or any suche trooblede passyons of mannys kynde be in gode; but they be sette in scripture for the werkes of gode in punyshyng and vengyng synne in hem that be worthy to take suche passyons off punyshyng as beeene wrothe and wodnes in alle synners, that ys, eyther they muste be chastysede by paynes that shalle haue ane ende as purgatory, that ys clepyde in scripture the wratthe of gode, or ellys they shalle be punysshede in the Payne off helle that neuer shalle haue ende, that ys callyde the wodnes of gode 1450_Rollho2b_ICAMET.

*Wroth* and *wodnes* are not exact synonyms. *The wodnes of the Lord* has the additional element of powerful cruelty or violence, and is not necessarily always found in close collocation with *wroth*, but as a concept in its own right. It is this conceptual step away from what is within the realm of ordinary anger, and even ‘ordinary’ wrath, but towards something ‘other’, with the added dimension of the subject being a deity which separates *wod* ‘angry’ from *wod* ‘wrathful, or the way-God-is-angry’. More rarely, *wodnes* describes the righteous indignation of the equivalent of a deity; very powerful kings and lords sometimes wreak their *wodnes* on others: *Iuno, ialous and eek wood That hath destroyed wel ny al the blood Of Thebes* c1385_Chaucer CT.Kn._MED.

**WOD ‘CRUEL’**

The semantics of *wod* ‘cruel’ overlap with that of *wod* ‘God’s anger’ (see *wod lions*, §4.1.4). It is the feature of mental or physical violence which differentiates them. Some contexts clearly yield *wod* ‘cruel’, such as the passage in Judges where a concubine is raped to death: 

*Men of that citee [...] bitraueliden my wijf with vnbleueful woodnesse of letcherie* c1450_WB(LV)_Judg.20:5_MED. Other instances are metaphorical, such as where the *wood water*, rather than relying on the semantic features of ‘roughness’ and ‘fast motion’ that would yield the metaphor ‘angry’ or ‘furious’, has the sense *wod* ‘cruel’ by analogy with the domain of torture: *A shyp ffor to makyn and swymmen on þe se water both wood and coolde And viij sowles þer savyd xulde be* 1463_Ludus Coventriæ.
This section constitutes a discussion of the polysemous structure of *mad* based on the *mad* database as described in chapter 1. In this section, I will be addressing issues of the internal ‘intensional’ structure of the lexical item *mad*, i.e. that which is concerned with the structure of the word on the level of the senses (Geeraerts 1997: 47). I will describe the different senses of *mad* grouped together in semantic clusters, their usual applications and their frequency. These senses will be later interpreted diachronically in §4.3. The section starts with a summary of *mad*’s use prior to Middle English, in Indo-European and Old English. There is then an overview of the senses of *mad* as they appear in *OED* and *MED*, and finally the senses of *mad* are discussed in detail, based on analysis of the *mad* database.

### 4.2.1 MAD’S ORIGINS IN INDO-EUROPEAN AND COGNATE LANGUAGES

As with *wod* in §4.1, the primary sources used for etymology were *OED*, *MED*, and *BT*. For the first attested occurrence of *mad* ‘insane’ in Middle English, we have to look at the form *amad*: Ha is hardre iheorted þen adamantines stan, & mare amad zif ha mei beo, þen is madschipe self 1200._halitit_ICAMET. *OED* states the aphetic form *amad* derives from the past participle *gemæd* in Old English. A compound *madmod* ‘folly, senseless arrogance’ is also extant. *Mad*’s Indo-European base is seen in Latin *mutare* ‘change’ and is postulated as Indo-European root *mei-* ‘change, go, move’.\(^{92}\) *Amad*’s Germanic base can be seen in Gothic *maidjan* ‘adulterate’ and Old Norse *meïða* ‘cripple’. It has cognates in other Germanic languages, according to the AMAD (adj) entry in *OED*: corresponding to Old Saxon *gimēd* ‘foolish’, Old High German *gimeit*, kimeit, *foolish, vain, boastful* (Middle High German *gimeit* ‘merry, stately, handsome’), Gothic *gamaḯps* ‘crippled’.\(^{93}\) *OED* also says that ‘Evidence suggesting limited continuation of the related Old English *gemāð or mād* (the latter attested only in *mādmōd*) is doubtful’.

### OLD ENGLISH AND FIRST ATTESTATIONS IN MED AND OED

*Bosworth Toller* lists the verb *gemǣdan* which it gives two senses, 1. ‘to make insane’ and 2. ‘to make foolish’. Under 1, it lists the adjective *gemǣd*, which it glosses with Latin *amens* ‘out of one’s mind’. Under 2, it lists past participle *gemǣdid* which it glosses with Latin *ineptus* ‘foolish’; *Gemaeded* is glossed as Latin *vanas* ‘empty, false’. *Bosworth Toller* offers

---

\(^{92}\) https://www.etymonline.com/word/*mei-/?ref=etymonline_crossreference [2015-6].

\(^{93}\) All direct quotations from *OED* are from OED online, available at www.oed.com [2011-2018].
the comparison of *gemǣdan* with *ámíedian* ‘to make foolish’, whose entry has adjective *amidod* glossed as Latin *fatua* ‘foolish’.

The Old English riddle which appears to be the oldest attested example of *gemædde* either ‘insane’ or ‘foolish’ which is not in a glossary (so it can be examined in its context), provides quasi-synonymous and contextual phrases *mode bestolene* ‘wits stolen away’ (suggesting lack of reason or temporarily insanity caused by alcohol) and *dæde gedwolene* ‘deeds gone astray’ (suggesting ‘wickedness’):

*Ic þæs nowiht wat þæt heo swa gemædde mode bestolene dæde gedwolene deoraþ mine wōn wisan gehwam* ‘of this I know nothing that they, so maddened, their wits stolen away and their deeds gone astray, they praise my wicked ways to everyone’

*Riddle 18, tenth century Exeter Book.*

In Early Middle English, *Layamon’s Brut* has: *of witten heo weoren amadde*, which is found as *awed* in the later MS, although this maybe because the language of *Layamon’s Brut* is ‘archaic’ (Le Saux 1989: 6). Certainly, in another Early Middle English poem, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, there are no instances of *amad* or *gemadde* (or *mad*) used, but several of *wod*. The *amad* form, with the vestigial prefix, is found in eleven examples in the *MED*, the latest dated 1425, but with most around 1300.

Glosses from *Promptorium Parvulorum*, a fifteenth century Latin-English dictionary, provide evidence of the prototypical sense of *mad* ‘insane’: *Maddenesse: Amencia, demencia*. The Latin affixes suggest that conceptually there was perhaps a scale of madness involved, with *amencia* ‘lacking a (sound) mind’ contrasting with *demencia* ‘from one’s (sound) mind’. The former suggests a condition such as brain damage where reasoning powers are absent, and the latter dementia, where a formerly reasoned person is in the process of losing their powers. *Promptorium Parvulorum* also provides an interesting view on the contrast between two senses of *mad*: *Maddyn or dotyn: Desipio*; and also *Maddyn, or waxen woode: Insanio, furio*. It first offers the near-synonym *dotyn* ‘silly, weak-minded, foolish’ glossed by Latin *desipio* ‘lack rational thought’. *Promptorium Parvulorum* then lists *maddyn* with the near-synonym *woode*, alongside the Latin glosses *insanio, furio*. This suggests that despite there only being 29 examples of *mad* ‘angry’ in the *mad* database, this sense was deemed conceptually close enough in the mid-fifteenth century to ‘insane’ to gloss them together.
DICTIONARY SENSES OF MIDDLE ENGLISH MAD: MED AND OED

The sense entries for adjective mad in MED are 1. ‘out of one’s wits’ incorporating phrase as he were mad; 2. ‘overcome by emotion’ encompassing ‘distraught’ and ‘stupefied’, as well as phrase mad and mat, this sense containing sub-senses ‘enraged, angry’ and ‘infatuated’; 3. ‘extremely foolish’; 4. ‘rabid’. There are separate entries for adverb mad / madli; verb madden; and nouns madness, madship and madhede. Madship is confined to early Middle English, mainly in the texts Ancrene Wisse, Hali Meidenhad and St. Katherine. As with wod, MED gives a far more detailed synchronic picture with many more quotations offered. OED senses of mad were updated in 2000 (this is in contrast to the definition of WOOD (adj) in OED, which was updated in 1928). Sense 1. is ‘rabid’; 2. ‘uncontrolled by reason, foolish’; 3. ‘carried away, wildly excited’; 4. ‘insane’; 5. ‘stupefied with astonishment’; 6. ‘angry’; 7. lacking in restraint’. There are separate entries containing Middle English verb mad; adverb mad and madly; noun madding. Following the Middle English period, in sixteenth century, there is a proliferation of derivations and compounds, such as mad-brain, madcap and madman, adjectives mad-like, madding and maddish; and verb maddle. The MED categorisations of mad’s senses were not the same sense categories as those which I proposed for the mad database.

4.2.2 THE MAD DATABASE

As detailed above, to construct an INSANITY database, I initially compiled three proto-databases, one of which was the mad database. Table 4.3 sets out percentages of the numbers of each sense of mad in the mad database.

10 SENSES OF MAD

In the following sections, I will examine the (synchronic) polysemy of Middle English mad, looking at the relationship of ten distinct senses of the word mad, showing the centrality of the mad ‘insane’ sense to all the other senses; to propose fewer categories than this would be to lose important distinctions. Examples from the mad database will be used to illustrate each sense. The examination of the senses will be treated in three sections, for the purposes of the present study only. The first three senses are what we might term prototypical: mad ‘insane’ mad ‘foolish’ and mad ‘rabid’. Next, the ‘strong negative emotion’ senses mad ‘distraught’, mad ‘confused’, mad ‘afraid’ and mad ‘angry’, and finally, the ‘strong positive emotion’ mad ‘excited’, mad ‘unrestrained’ and mad ‘desirous’ senses.
During the period of the present study, there is no metaphorical use of *mad*, whether in reference to natural elements, or illness, as there is with *wod*. *Mad* does go on in the sixteenth century to develop a metaphoric sense ‘of the weather’, and a metonymic sense ‘causing madness’, but this does not occur in Middle English. Figure 4.2 is a network model of *mad*, a visualisation of the ten senses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sense of mad</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>earliest attestation in Middle English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘insane’</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rabid’</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘excited’</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘afraid’</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘desirous’</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘distraught’</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘confused’</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘angry’</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘unrestrained’</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100% (n=372)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.3 Senses of mad from the mad database: percentages and earliest date of attestation.*

---

94 See §4.2.4 for a discussion of a borderline example.
4.2.3 THE PROTOTYPICAL SENSES: ‘INSANE’, ‘FOOLISH’ AND ‘RABID’

Mad ‘rabid’ is treated here only by virtue of its having been a long-standing sense of mad, and because it does not belong in an ‘emotion’ group.

**MAD ‘INSANE’**

Mad ‘insane’ is the largest of all the sense categories of mad, numbering 191 examples in the database, or roughly 50% of all examples of tokens collected. The earliest example of Middle English mad ‘insane’ in the database is from 1200. In the following sub-section, I will examine how it is possible to differentiate this sense from other senses of mad firstly by looking at the significant number of examples where mad is co-ordinated with a near-synonym and secondly by looking at the contextual clues which reveal the semantic features of mad ‘insane’.

Semantic features which indicate a reading of mad ‘insane’ are based on contextual clues. The primary indicator for mad ‘insane’ is that a person lacks powers of reasoning, or knowledge about how to behave and observe social norms: *madness is infeccioun of þe myddel celle of þe heed wiþ priuacioun of resoun […] þese passiouns beþ diuers, madness þat hadde mania & madness þat hadde malencolia* a1398_Trev. Barth_MED. There is acknowledgement...
that there are ‘types’ of madness, as the Latin glosses in §4.2.1 suggest, with amencia suggesting madness is perceived as a person having a lack of [sound] mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mad ‘insane’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unwise, witless, lacks knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lacks reasoning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrong / sinful / posessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lacking in self-restraint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melancholy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘unwhole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unusual behaviour / animalistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mind agitated – thoughts disturbed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4 Semantic features of mad ‘insane’.

Linked to lack of wits or reasoning is the notion that a person is, or their actions are, deemed faulty by others or God: Hwet medschipe makeð þe þu bittre balefule beast to weorrin him þet wrahte þe & alle worldliche þing? c1225_St.Kath(1)_MED. This is illustrative of the feature ‘wrong judgement’ in mad ‘insane’, which is also part of the semantics of mad ‘foolish’. Medschipe is glossed here as ‘insania’, although had ‘insania’ not been available as a gloss, the ‘wrong judgement’ semantic feature would have led to an interpretation of either mad ‘foolish’ or mad ‘insane’.

Another major feature of mad ‘insane’, as with wod ‘insane’, is the comparison with or reference to, animals, so making the person ‘less than human’. People described as mad display animalistic traits: he was sorry for it, that he wexed almoste madde all quycke for angre, and helde a demye launce in hys hande, the whiche beganne to gnawe wyth his teeth, so angry he was 1498_caxtaym2_ICAMET.
The fact that the sense mad ‘rabid’ is attested earlier than mad ‘insane’ is said by OED to be ‘accidental’; when amad is brought into the picture, it can be seen that evidence for mad ‘insane’ does pre-date that for mad ‘rabid’. Bosworth Toller does not suggest a mad ‘rabid’ sense for Old English.

Mad as applied to animals has the meaning ‘rabid’ as in: And as a mad dogge also pe deuel appered a1450_Add.Mir.Virg_MED. However, this is in fact a rare sense of mad in Middle English, there being only 3 examples of mad ‘rabid’ in the database, less than 1% of the total, as compared with the wod database, where wod ‘rabid’ constitutes 7.2% of the total. It appears that, by convention, rabid animals are described as wod; likewise, there is no attested use of *mad lion in the Middle English INSANITY database. It appears to be the case that, with mad, there has been a simple transfer of senses from wod, so that the ‘rabid’ meaning is available. Its availability does not however mean that it was rapidly taken up. Although we have seen that it is possible for dogs to be described as mad, mad ‘rabid’ gets what we might call a shaky start in Middle English. It is only after the Middle English period, when the wod hund collocation becomes unstable, that mad ‘rabid’ rises in prominence.

Despite collocating with the noun beast, in the phrase O, mad beest! the exclamation does not have the mad ‘rabid’ sense, as this only applies to animals: whan oger had said this, he cried & sayd to reynauw O, mad beest, ye blame me wrongfully & wythout a cause, for ye & your brederen shold have be hanged by this wythout ony pardone 1450_caxtaym1_ICAMET. Reynaude and Oger are both threatening to kill each other, so ‘foolish’ is far too mild a sense for such a context. Oger is calling Reynaud insane, and he is calling him an animal, but not a rabid one. A judgement of error or wrongness is being expressed, so mad ‘insane’ is the only relevant sense.

There are 77 examples of mad ‘foolish’ in the data. There is overlap with features ‘lack of reason’ and ‘witless’ of mad ‘insane’, and in some examples, the exact sense of mad lies between the two, e.g. For sope, Ich am a mad man now wel ich may knowe, forte wene in bis wise bis wrong metyng sope a1375_WPal_MED. The word in the context which most bears on the meaning of mad is wene ‘believe’. If the author is decrying his own faulty judgement, for daring to believe that a dream was true, then ‘foolish’ is a good interpretation. If, though,
the phrase *mad man* is taken as a whole, then ‘insane’ is a better fit, as an insane person might have delusional thoughts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mad ‘foolish’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lacks wit / rational thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>believes improbable things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>errs, wicked, misguided, thoughtless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lacking in self-restraint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unfortunate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.5 Semantic features of mad ‘foolish’.*

As with *mad* ‘insane’, the characteristics of animals which define their non-humanness, i.e. their lack of reason, thought and language, can be employed in *mad*-phrases expressing foolishness using birds as metaphoric vehicles: & *with-in a shorte while he wex passand wayke. And þer fell a swyngyllyng in his hede þat he wex fonde with, & mad as a guse; & so he contynued vnto he deyid 1450_alpha1_ICAMET. Mad as a goose ‘foolish, irrational’ is listed as a phrase in *MED*, however, there was only one example in the *mad* database 1450_alpha1_ICAMET. When *wod* modifies an animal noun, the animal is usually wild or rabid, with the emphasis being on the features which are negative or fearsome. This is in contrast to *mad*, where the animals or the people ascribed these qualities are lacking wit or reason. In the *mad* data, there are instances of *mad* ‘foolish’ modifying geese and birds. Lapwings in popular culture are known for various oddities, including their seemingly faltering and fluttering flight, and remarkable mating displays, so the allusion is to the oddity or lack of normality of these birds: *A lappewincke mad he was, And thus he hoppeth on the gras a1393_Gower CA_MED.*

THE JUDGEMENT OF ERROR AND SIN

*Mad* ‘foolish’ is an early sense of *mad*, its first attestation being 1225. This is the same time that the sense *wod* ‘wicked’ is first attested, see §4.1.5. The beginning of the thirteenth century is an opportune time for these senses to emerge, because as I discuss in §3.5.2, medieval society in England is not stable, calm or peaceful. Perhaps as a result of this, many people invest heavily in their own spiritual lives, and hopes of salvation, developing strong
attitudes and beliefs about the ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ way to live, and to worship God. Devotional texts such as Ancrene Wisse taught readers about attitudes to faith (and sin / guilt): Nai seis sum mad þing jif i hafde Gult þer to inalde neauer meanen. There is, in the semantic features of both mad ‘foolish’ and wod ‘wicked’ a coding of the speaker’s attitude, which suggests that subjectification comes into play in the extension of both these words. As we will see below, the senses mad ‘insane’ and mad ‘foolish’ are both coded for ‘error’ and ‘wickedness’, and the relationship between the senses is complex. The parallel use of multitude in: Yrael, wite thou thee a fool, a wood prophete [...] for the multitude of thi wickidnesse, and multitude of madness c1384_WB(EV)_Hos.9:7_MED not only suggests that the concepts WICKEDNESS and MADNESS are intended to be linked together as near-synonyms, but also provides a parallel of the two concepts in the prior pairing of fool and wood. With mad, as with wod, an opinion or a judgement is involved: perfore þat y be not iugid þerinne to be mad or proud 1453_pecdon2_ICAMET. Part of the semantics of both mad ‘insane’ and mad ‘foolish’ is a belief or an action that is deemed out of the ordinary, or not conforming to what society expects.

This judgement of being ‘other’ is very evident when the content of the text is religious, and the writer is describing a person who in some way deviates from God’s will. To do so was such anathema, that it was deemed that the person was faulty in some way (that their misbelief can be explained by their madness), or that non-belief in God is like madness: for they that ar in mysbyleue deserue not to see thy syght. Of the iiij, rychtwysnes is that, as madde man, he be closed and putt in derke plase 1475_birgitta_ICAMET. Although often the sense of mad is vague, here the context clarifies that the sense is mad ‘insane’, as the misbeliever deserves to be locked up in a dark place, the same fate apparently as insane people. Many examples have madness caused by wickedness: cursidyst wykkydnes, & bittynes of falshede is wyen of synmars, for þai it drynkand ar so maddyd þat þa see nott to þam qwhat is to cum 1435_misfire_ICAMET. It is a short leap from this misbelief to attribute madness to possession by a devil (see §4.1.3), although compared to the wod database, there are relatively few examples of madness being attributed to possession.

WRONGNESS

Sin aside, very often something is pronounced insane if the speaker deems that a moral error of judgement is involved. That reason is the possession of good judgement and knowledge, and that lack of good judgement and knowledge is mad ‘foolish’ is reflected in many
examples in the *mad* database. King Solomon’s building of temples to foreign deities to demonstrate his love of his wives is said to be mad, for which he is punished by God: *In þat hille Salamon, whan he wax mad and al by schrewed for loue of wommen, he bulde temples in hige places for mametrie* a1387_Trev. Higd_MED. The collocation with *by schrewed* ‘wicked, depraved’ demonstrates the element of ‘error’ in the *mad* ‘foolish’ sense. Uniquely amongst the senses of *mad*, this sense is found, rather than pre-modifying a noun denoting an animate being, modifying an abstract noun, such as *purpose, laws, love* or human foibles: *My mad erroure and the parties that I haue holden ben causers of this confusion and vnhappy mischeefes* c1475_Chartier Quad_MED. Insanity is often a matter of one human judging another human’s behaviour as ‘ill-advised’ or ‘imprudent’. There is a sense in the following that the speaker, writer or narrator is passing judgement on the behaviour of the person being described as mad: *ȝyf þou be se moche mad To auaunte þe of þat þou neuer had, þys ys pryde and arrogaunce* a1400_Mannyng.HS_MED.

The *OED* comments that later, post-Middle English, uses of *mad* ‘foolish’ become indistinguishable from *mad* ‘insane’, but it is also possible to say the same thing of the Middle English senses. The semantic feature ‘lack of reason’ refers to a temporary or long-term deficit in the cognitive powers of a person. Whether this is due to insanity or to some other deficit provides the two different senses *mad* ‘foolish’ and *mad* ‘insane’. In this example, the story concerns Jesus demonstrating his superior learning and knowledge over that of his teachers, and as the teachers *heold him-sulf amad* ‘consider themselves foolish’ the interpretation is that of *mad* ‘foolish’:

Here was Ihesus i-lad to scole and ouercam alle þe maistres with puynr clergie. so-þat euerech heold him-sulf amad for he schewede heom wel þat huy weren out-of righte Muinde A Gret Maister Zacharie þat muche couþe of þat clergie To Iosepe hadde gret enuie And him seide þou dest folie þat þou nelt lere þine sone in londe And lettre don him vnder-sonde 1300_Infancy of Christcmd108_LEON.

| --- |

The ‘emotion’ groups are labelled ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ for convenience only. This group of ‘negative emotions’ consists of *mad* ‘distraught’, *mad* ‘afraid’, *mad* ‘confused’ and *mad* ‘angry’. The first three ‘negative emotion’ senses emerge around the same time at the beginning of the fourteenth century. *Mad* ‘angry’ is the sense which develops latest, at the
end of the fourteenth century. The three minor senses, *mad* ‘afraid’, *mad* ‘confused’ and *mad* ‘distraught’ are distinct senses but have overlapping features, as can be seen in table 4.6. *Mad* ‘angry’ is inserted for comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>mad</em> ‘afraid’ semantic features</th>
<th><em>mad</em> ‘distraught’ semantic features</th>
<th><em>mad</em> ‘confused’ semantic features</th>
<th><em>mad</em> ‘angry’ semantic features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agitated physically</td>
<td>mind agitated; thoughts disturbed</td>
<td>frenetic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excessively unhappy</td>
<td>excessively unhappy</td>
<td>excess negative emotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moans, sighs</td>
<td></td>
<td>rages, fury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limited coping mechanisms</td>
<td>limited coping mechanisms</td>
<td>limited coping mechanisms</td>
<td>lacks control mechanisms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>flashes, happens quickly; overflowing; involves strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not using reason</td>
<td>not using reason</td>
<td>not using reason</td>
<td>not using reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unusual behaviour</td>
<td></td>
<td>unusual behaviour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.6 Overlapping semantic features of mad ‘afraid’, mad ‘distraught’, mad ‘confused’ and mad ‘angry’.*

**MAD ‘AFRAID’**

There are 10 examples of this sense in the *mad* database, and like *mad* ‘confused’, the sense is not found after the sixteenth century. The earliest non-vague attestation is dated 1300 in the MS, with the date of composition thought to be 1250: *Of none duntes beon ofdrad, Ne on bataille beon amad Ef þu loke þeran And þenke vpon þi lemmann* 1300_cmhorn.txt_LEON. Here, the presence of near-synonym *ofdrad* ‘afraid’ gives a very strong contextual clue as to the sense, as does the following example, with near-synonym *radd*: *Maria, quarfor es þou madd? Es þe na nede to be radd* a1400_Cursor_MED. It is also worth considering that as
both radd and ofdrad provide good rhymes for mad, they provide an environment where mad is ‘invited’ to appear in the context as a near collocate. If a bridging context (see §2.2.3) between mad ‘insane’ and mad ‘afraid’ occurs, the rhymes are good encouragement for the inference to be made in a certain way. Of the examples in the database, five are from Cursor Mundi, said to be composed 1300 (although the examples here are dated 1400); four of these are rhymes with radd. The other impetus for a sense change is the existence of the phrases mad for fear and as mad ‘x to the extent of insanity’: Before þe Iuge [...] Pers stode fule sore a-drad, And was abashed as mad a1400_MannyngHS_MED, where the sense is mad ‘insane’ but the context is ‘afraid’. This helps to reinforce a separate sense of mad ‘afraid’.

In the following example, St Owain is suffering a painful, ice-cold drowning: & cold it was as ani ise: þe pain may no man devise, þat him was wrouȝt in hast. Seyn Owain in þe water was dreynt, & wex þerin so mad & feynt, þat neiȝe he was forlore 1330_St Patrick’s Purgatory. The key, however, is in so [...] þat neiȝe he was forlore. Owain is so afraid that he is nearly forlore ‘lost’. For ‘lost’, we can read ‘stopped believing in God’, which is tantamount to insanity, with all the ‘wrongness’ connotations inherent in this. However, he is not lost, he does not doubt God or renounce his faith; his virtue is such that despite his fear of the harshest of deaths, he trusts in God, and so is exalted as a saint. Although there is some blurring between the boundaries of the senses mad ‘distraught’ and mad ‘afraid’, mad ‘distraught’ is less likely in this context, because mad ‘distraught’ has much more of the semantic features of frenzy and agitation, of moaning and crying, which is not the impression the author is painting of this brave saint, therefore mad ‘afraid’ is to be a better fit.

**MAD ‘DISTRAUGHT’**

There are 21 examples of mad ‘distraught’ in the database, with first attestation 1330. Mad ‘distraught’ contains the semantic features of moaning and crying: On a dai, ase He was mad & feint, To Iesu Crist he made is pleint And to his moder, seinte Marie, Reuliche he gan to hem crie c1330_Bevis_MED; and also of unhappiness: þu art nov pensiwe & mad & wont wes to be blith & glad c1480_ St. Theodora_OED. At times, the level of emotion or distress could almost be said to be anger:

And there his sorwes that he spared hadde He yaf an issue large, and ‘Deeth!’ he cryde; And in his throwes frenetyk and madde He cursed Iove, Appollo, and eek Cupyde, He cursed Ceres, Bacus, and Cipryde, His burthe, him-self, his fate, and eek
nature, And, save his lady, every creature. To bedde he goth, and weyleth there and torneth In furie a1425_Chaucer TC_MED.

except that in the wider context of Troilus’s lament for Criseyde, it is clear that he is deeply distressed and sad.

**MAD ‘CONFUSED’**

There are 17 examples of *mad* ‘confused’ in the data. There is considerable blurring of sense boundaries between this sense and the senses of *mad* ‘afraid’ and ‘distraught’. A gloss for the Latin *consternor* ‘alarmed’ states: *Consternor: to be mad or masyd* a1425_Medulla_MED, suggesting that the sense boundaries between *mad* ‘afraid’ and *mad* ‘confused’ blur. The pertinent features are thoughts or situations being disturbed, sometimes by supposed witchcraft: *He wes mat & mad & disconfyt vtrely Be George & his sorcery 1380_Leg.S._DOST*. Another semantic feature is that of being struck dumb: *þai com þam-self in-to þe kyrk Al madd sir zachari þai fand, To þam he moght tell na thipand a1400_Cursor_MED.*

Although there are no examples in the *mad* database of *mad* being used metaphorically to describe the actions of the natural elements, there is one borderline example of verb *madden* being used with *eyes* as the object, which can be taken as metaphorical use. Literally, this would give the reading of eyes becoming *mad* ‘confused’, but when understood as an example of metonymy, where the part, eyes, stands for the whole, brain, this excerpt gives the reading of the natural element, mist, making the person confused: *Wyntris weder[...]/With many derke mystis þat maddid he r eyne c1475_Mum & S_MED.*

Half of the examples of *mad* ‘confused’ in the *mad* database occur in the phrases *mad and mat* (first attestation 1380) and *mased and mad* (first attestation 1400). Middle English writers made frequent use of such doublets, where over time two near-synonyms became conventionalised as a phrase. In such seemingly tautologous pairs, each of the two lexical items has its own individual semantics, but when combined as a phrase, the context dictates that the distinctions become less important. Conventionalised alliterative phrases such as *mad and mat* ‘distraught’ (*mat* in isolation has the sense ‘sorrowful, distraught’) and *mased and mad* ‘bewildered, confused’ (*mased* in isolation has the sense ‘bewildered, stupified’) at first glance seem to have their sense distinctions blurred. Sense differences between the two elements are overshadowed by the conventional meaning of the phrase itself. The effect of the repetition, far from being meaningless, performs important functions of emphasis, of
enrichment and of highlighting the shared semantics of the two lexical items. Waldron (2001: 272) rejects the suggestion that doublets aided understanding of a loanword, and it seems unlikely that this is the case with *mad and mat*, as *mat* ‘sorrowful, distraught’ is used in isolation decades before the phrase is attested.

Repeated use of the two words *mad* and *mat* together seem to make the precise sense of *mad* in isolation almost irrelevant in these cases, as the whole phrase becomes idiomatic. The separate element *mad* is not easily examined on its own, as like *wod* in *wod wroth*, there seems to be an element of semantic ‘bleaching’ in one direction, and ‘colouring’ in the other: *Til that me saugh so mad and mat* *The lady of the highe ward* a1425_RRose_MED. However, for the purposes of this study, doublets could not be treated in a separate category, and so *mad*’s semantics have to be considered as having been to an extent ‘coloured’ by those of *mat* or *mased*, without having been ‘subsumed’ by them. Benczes, suggesting that as exact synonymy is rare this sharing of textual space and blurring of semantic features does not make them tautological, says ‘synonymous compounds are coined for a particular communicative purpose, and as such, both components play a role in the overall meaning (hence there are no semantically empty, ‘meaningless’ constituents’) (2014: 440).

**MAD ‘ANGRY’**

Most of the 27 examples of the *mad* ‘angry’ sense in the *mad* database are from the fifteenth century, except for the *Cursor Mundi* examples, which are from MSS dated 1400: One early attestation is: *In þi deiing all thynges dred, þe sternes in þair mihtes medd* a1400_Cursor_MED.95 The stars are God-like, in that they are perceived to control or influence less powerful humans. The personification of these non-human entities enables us to read the force they exert metaphorically as anger. There are no other references to the wrath of deities described as *mad*. This example demonstrates that the *mad* ‘angry’ sense was certainly extant in 1400, and although this cannot be proven, the word *mad* with this sense was in all probability used in the original composition.96 If this is so, the date of this sense can be brought a lot closer to dates of other senses.

A further instance of early use of *mad* ‘angry’ is also found in *Cursor Mundi*: *For-þi þaa iius war full medd þair sandes come again vnspedd* a1400_Cursor Mundi_OED. There

95 NB this is verb *madden* ‘the stars rage’.

96 Cotton Vespasian Aiii. BL catalogue says composition was ‘mid fourteenth century to second half fourteenth century’, and estimates place it at c1340. No original composition of Cursor Mundi is extant. Cotton Vespasian is thought to be closest to this Northern original.
is some vagueness surrounding the sense. Jesus has just risen, and his body cannot be found by the Jews. Either ‘confused’ or ‘angry’ can be inferred in the context. *OED* lists this sense as ‘angry’. *Medd* is found in both the Cotton Vesp. and Göttingen MSS. *MED*, however, lists this example under a different sense of *mad*, ‘dumbfounded, bemused’, which, given that there were subsequent scribal substitutions, aligns itself with this. Later, Southern versions, found in the Fairfax and Trinity MSS, have *mysled* ‘baffled’ in place of *medd*, which suggests that this fitted the rhyme better than *medd*.

As with other senses, Latin glosses can be a useful guide to sense: *Growe wood or madde, or oother: Furesco 1440_PParv_MED*. Near-synonyms and antonyms in close collocation give a clue to the sense of *mad*, sometimes the contextual clue has to be sought further back, such as: *Whan thadmyrall barbas saw that his folke were discomfytet, he was angry for it [...] And whan thadmyrall sawe this he wende to have wexen mad all quycke, and fared as he had be oute of his wytte* 1489_caxtaym2_ICAME

Adverbs and adverbial phrases such as *full medd, for wrath and al quycke* which modify the adjective give an indication as to the *mad* ‘angry’ sense: *lys lady Venus was al glad; be opere were for wrayth al mad a1450_Mannyng Chron.Pt.1_MED* and *it lacketh but lityll that I wexe madde all quycke 1489_caxtaym1_ICAMET*. In *full medd*, for example, reinforcement is given to *medd* by *full*, in the opposite phenomenon to *nigh*, which almost always indicates the ‘insane’ sense.

It should be noted that of the few *mad* ‘angry’ examples in the data, the phrase *wax mad al quycke* is found in significantly high numbers (8 out of 27 examples in total), but there is no such collocation with *wod*. As *mad* ‘angry’ is one of the slightly later senses of *mad*, it might have required reinforcement by *al quycke*, but *wod*, having ‘angry’ as one of its core senses, did not need such modification; it is in the interface between the ‘angry’ and ‘insane’ senses of *wod* where changes occur, in part due to *wod*’s strong association with the ANGER lexical field, see §3.3.4. As the majority of the *mad* ‘angry’ senses are from the end of the fifteenth century, it is relevant to note that 50% (14/27) of all the *mad* ‘angry’ examples are from one text in particular, Caxton’s 1489 translation of *Four sons of Aymon*.97 Other instances of *mad* from the same text are of *mad* ‘insane’, but of the type *waxed almost mad for anger*, or other phrase which makes it clear that a person is angry. If a person is *mad for anger*, then they are *mad* ‘insane’ as a *result* of being so angry, likewise in the phrases as a

---

97 This text, and Caxton’s other translations (*Eneydos; Blanchardyn & Eglantine*), account for 46 of the total 363 examples in the *mad* database.
mad man, or as a man mad; it is the extent of their anger which is driving them to insanity: *He wende for to have goon oute of his mynde And sware by grete wraethe as a man mad that Reynawde sholde never have peas with hym 1498_caxtaym2_ICAMET.*

*Mad ‘insane’ frequently collocates with lexemes which belong in the ANGER lexical field such as *chaffed, yre, fyersly.* As with *wod* (see §4.1.3), *mad ‘insane’* can be modified by *nigh, almost or half:* *Rose anone vpon his feet / all chaffed and full of yre, as half madde for the contrarye of his wylle that he founde in the same mayde, moche fyersly behelde blanchardyn 1489_caxtblan_ICAMET.* The phrase *wax almost mad al quyk* is only found once in the data and poses some difficulty. This is an unusual combination of modifiers, because *wax almost mad* usually invites the reading *mad ‘insane’. Mad all quycke* invites an ‘angry’ meaning, and this is further reinforced by *for angre:*

*Whan Charlemagn sawe that his barons went awaye as it is sayd  he was sory for it, that he wexed almoste madde all quycke for angre, and helde a demye launce in hys hande, the whiche beganne to gnawe wyth his teeth, so angry he was 1498_caxtaym2_ICAMET.*

On balance, the phrase in its whole context suggests anger, and the intentions of the scribe in this case are moot, but the sense of the individual lexeme *mad* is still ‘insane’.

Adjective *mad ‘angry’* gained strength as a sense following the Middle English period, although I suggested in §3.5.2 that the advent of the ‘angry’ sense of the lexeme *angry* does delay slightly the development of this sense. Adverb *mad ‘madly, furiously’* was used where *wod wroth* was dispreferred, and collocates with *drunk, angry* and other negative adjectives such as *scared.* Beyond the twentieth century, as we will see in §4.4, *mad* functions as a quantifier and an intensifier.

4.2.5 THE ‘STRONG POSITIVE EMOTION’ GROUP: ‘EXCITED’, ‘DESIROUS’ AND ‘UNRESTRAINED’

The ‘strong positive emotion’ group consists of the senses *mad ‘excited’, mad ‘desirous’ and mad ‘unrestrained’. The pertinent semantic features are outlined in table 4.7.

**MAD ‘EXCITED’**

There are 4 tokens of *mad ‘excited’* in the data. The main semantic features are of being ‘carried away’, and it is in this sense of being keen, being firmly focused on an event that
there is overlap between the senses mad ‘excited’ and mad ‘desirous’. In this example, meadluker is the idea that the emotion of desire is outside of the person’s control: Hwuch se eauer þe lust beo, se hit meadluker is, wrinnið aȝein festluker c1230_Ancr._MED: ‘however mad [wild / strong / out of control] the desire is, fight against it steadfastly’. It is unlikely the speaker is judging the person and saying their desire is foolish, because of the words Hwuch se eauer qualify meadluker, measuring the extent to which the person will have to resist the desire. The lust referred to here is likely to be a fleshly lust (not necessarily sexual in nature), and so mad ‘desirous’ is not intended as it so clearly is in the mad ‘desirous’ examples below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>mad ‘excited’</strong></th>
<th><strong>mad ‘desirous’</strong></th>
<th><strong>mad ‘unrestrained’</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keen, focused, determined</td>
<td>keen, focused on a person</td>
<td>out of control, no boundaries, wild, beyond the limit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>becoming carried away, much emotion</td>
<td>approaching excess emotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not fully reasonable</td>
<td>not reasonable, infatuated</td>
<td>not reasonable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increased activity levels</td>
<td></td>
<td>excess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7 Overlapping semantic features of mad ‘excited’, mad ‘desirous’, and mad ‘unrestrained’.

The semantic feature of becoming carried away, allowing oneself to go beyond what society says is acceptable, is where the overlap with mad ‘foolish’ occurs. MED interprets mad as ‘foolish’ here: In a wanhope [...] þat a floode xuld cum a geyne [...] þey [...] made a towre [...] It rechyd þe skyys ny hand certen; to make þe towre þey were ful mad & god þer-of had gret dysdeyne a1500_Methodius(3)_MED. However, an alternative reading is mad ‘excited’, wherein the people were ‘very keen / carried away’ by the need to build the tower before the floods arrived. This is reinforced by a different text about the same event, where I interpret made þai mad hede as ‘they went to very great pains’: þis tour [Babel] was ferly made vp-riȝt [...] so made þai mad hede for-to do a1400_Cursor_MED.

**MAD ‘DESIROUS’**

There are 12 tokens of mad ‘desirous’, and they are all found in contexts of physical and emotional longing, burning love, worship, and being sick or drunk because of lack of the desired other person. Actions described as mad ‘desirous’ are sometimes found in contexts of
drunkenness. The context in this example is clearly lust or infatuation, despite the example being unusual in that it applies to a woman:

þan he com to þe lady of þe province Coroȝonia, þe lady heet Cadygan, and somdel wiþ spices þat he brouȝte, wiþ wicchecraft, and wiþ faire wordes, he made þe lady so mad and so nyce þat sche worschippe 1387_cmpolych_LEON.

In some romance and religious texts, this desire is entirely virtuous, for the Virgin Mary, rather than for a mortal being: I cusse and I cluppe and stunte oþerwhile as mon þat is loue mad and seek of loue sore c1390_TalkingLGod_MED, cf. wod ‘insane’ §4.1.3. There is overlap with mad ‘foolish’, and collocates such as asoted and nyce reinforce this. A verse of the delightful, humourous poem O Mosy Quince has the author listing the shortcomings of his mistress: Seyen women most make men madde Youre vgly chere deynous & froward 1400_Chaucer / Lydgate.98 This woman’s qualities decidedly do not invoke the feelings normally described by mad ‘desirous’.

**MAD ‘UNRESTRAINED’**

This sense is the latest chronologically of all the mad senses, with the first example of just five in the data dated 1470. It is tempting to subsume these examples into either mad ‘foolish’ or mad ‘excited’ as there are semantic features of both overlapping with this sense. However, this is the nearest mad comes to the sense of wildness which is found in wod ‘battle-ready’ – indeed, one of the examples is of mad’s use in a battle-scene: With a dart vndull þat the duke bare, Segh his men to be mart with a mad childe c1540_Destr.Troy_MED. ‘Foolish’ or ‘excited’ do not fit in this context. However, there is no suggestion that mad ‘unrestrained’ is a parallel sense to wod ‘wild’, as the former does not have the semantic feature of ‘animalistic’ that the latter does.

Other elements of mad ‘insane’ which are carried over into mad ‘unrestrained’ is the notion of being out of control, and ‘beyond the limit’; outside of a normal range of emotions and behaviours. One example of the two superlative adjectives maddyst found in the data has

98 Wyne, women, worship, unweldy age | Make men to fonne for lak in theyr resons | Elde causeth dulnesse and dotage | And worship, chaunge of condicions | Excesse of wyne blyndeth theyre dyscrecions | And all bookes that poetes made and radde | Seyen women most make men madde!
the *mad* ‘unrestrained’ sense. The superlative reinforces a feature of *mad* which is common to all senses, but which is strongly represented in this ‘strong positive emotion’ group of senses, which is that what is being experienced is at a far extremity of experience: *Ye shall hyre the myrryeste knyght that ever ye spake wythall, and the maddyst talker* a1470_MaloryMorteDarthur_MED. Two other examples are of singing, which suggest an unrestrainedness in social situations: *All thair dansis and play Thay movit in thair mad muting; And all thay falit in futing For m’rit wes thair menstrualis Thair instrumentis in tonis felis* a1500_Colk. Sow_DOST.

### 4.3 A PROTOTYPE APPROACH TO POLYSEMY AND DIACHRONIC SENSE DEVELOPMENT IN *WOD AND MAD*

Having established the individual senses of *wod* and *mad*, I will now take a broad overview of diachronic semantic change, through the lens of prototype theory. Prototype theory is a useful theoretical framework for this analysis, as it illustrates how categories are structured, and the ways in which those structures change over time. It can be incorporated as both an explanation of the synchronic lexical structure of a word and of diachronic semantic change in the same word, see discussion at §2.2.1. The characteristics of prototypicality do not happen in isolation from each other; there is much overlap, with some changes typically displaying not only two but three of the characteristics. Also in line with prototype effects, a new sense can develop out of two or more features of an older sense; there is no linear development, where features ‘transfer’ from one sense to the next in rigid progression. The process appears messy, but if the end result is a sense which language users start using productively, then the sense becomes conventionalised. In this section I will look at the semantic structure of *wod* and *mad* from a semasiological perspective. I will take these two words as a starting point, and investigate the different senses attached to them, looking at both polysemy and semantic change. Semantic polygenesis, i.e. changes of word meaning which ‘show up’ independently more than once in the history of a word, is difficult to detect. There are no senses of *mad* which can be seen to re-occur throughout its history, and the same is true of *wod*, and so I will not discuss this characteristic.

#### 4.3.1 CHARACTERISTIC 1: SOME SENSES ARE MORE TYPICAL THAN OTHERS

Characteristic 1 is the most prototypical of the four characteristics, and describes a) the relative frequency and b) the salience of a member of a category, or a sense. The subsequent,
less prototypical characteristics of semantic change all describe behaviour which requires an initial central sense, which forms a basis for subsequent semantic change. In terms of lexemes in a database of historical language, the sense which has the highest relative frequency is the item with the highest token count. In studies of present-day English, we might ask speakers ‘what is the most typical meaning of mad?’ or ‘what does mad mean?’ and elicit responses this way. In lieu of this, frequency count is one established method in historical corpus linguistics of interrogating data. Prototypes also inhabit conceptual space which includes the most representative, or salient, member. In terms of semantics, examining salience looks at the semasiological structure of a word from a qualitative point of view, to ascertain the relative structural weight of senses. The most salient sense will have a greater number of semantic features common to the whole (word) category, that is, it will be the sense which possesses a wide range of semantic features, some of which are shared with other senses. This makes the most salient sense the best ‘exemplar’ of the word-category, and the one with the most structural weight. In addition, in the absence of anything else having changed in the development of the word, this prototype is often the oldest sense, the variant which is the most stable sense diachronically (Geeraerts 2010: 342).

**CHARACTERISTIC 1: MAD**

_Mad_ ‘insane’ is the most frequent token in the _mad_ database, one indicator of its prototypicality. _Mad_ ‘foolish’ comes second; the numbers of tokens for _mad_ ‘foolish’ are less than half of those for _mad_ ‘insane’. Interrogating historical data for ‘representativeness’, or salience, is a more subjective process. Making what are essentially subjective judgements about whether or not an example falls into one sense category or another depends on a thorough reading of the context. Senses of _mad_ with higher prototypicality by this measure are those whose semantic features overlap most closely with _mad_ ‘insane’. _Mad_ ‘foolish’ is the sense with the most overlap of features with _mad_ ‘insane’, and so it has higher prototypicality than the later senses which are only extant for the latter half of the Middle English period.

**CHARACTERISTIC 1: WOD**

_Wod_ ‘insane’ is the prototype by virtue of being the oldest sense, and the most frequently found sense in the data, despite the fact that total numbers of peripheral senses outnumber _wod_ ‘insane’. In terms of frequency, _wod_ ‘angry’ is next to the prototype, and has the most overlapping semantic features with _wod_ ‘insane’. _Wod_ ‘insane’ and _wod_ ‘angry’ also stand out from the other senses because they can be determined by examining the constructions
they participate in. Both have ‘tests’ which can be applied to them to help differentiate the
senses – with wod ‘insane’ it is the phrases as a wod man, wod for and wod out of wit, and
also when wod is pre-modified by nigh or almost (see §4.1.3). With wod ‘angry’ it is the wod
against combination. Both ‘insane’ and ‘angry’ have clusters of sub-senses, in that more than
one sub-sense evolves from them.

Wod ‘insane’ is the most salient member in a group constituting the various senses of
wod. Near-obsolescence of wod ‘God’s anger’ over the Middle English period demonstrates
that speakers increasingly did not choose wod to convey this concept.

Figure 4.3 The relationship of the sense wod ‘God’s anger’ (represented by the smaller
circle) to the remainder of the senses of wod: diachronic change.

Figure 4.3 provides a representation of the stages of this change. In the first stage (early
Middle English), wod ‘God’s anger’ is one of the senses of wod. In the second stage (late
Middle English), wod ‘God’s anger’ has fewer referents, and starts to move away from the
centre of wod. Lastly (after the Middle English period), ‘God’s anger’ is no longer described
by wod.

4.3.2 CHARACTERISTIC 2: CLUSTERED SENSE STRUCTURES

Characteristic 2 revolves around the notion of family resemblance, which stresses the internal
qualities or attributes of lexical semantic structure. This characteristic predicts that there will
be a clustered set structure in polysemous lexical items. Within the cluster with the central
meaning there are related sub-clusters, senses which resemble each other and which ‘cluster’
together. This means that they share features, and that closely-related nuances develop. These
nuances do not necessarily persist in time, but can reappear and disappear, and often occur
around the edge of the category. However, the further away from the core, or the prototype, the development is, the fewer features the sense shares with the core. This can be demonstrated graphically by the depiction of overlapping spheres.

In terms of characteristic 2 and semantic change, developments tend to originate from the central, core prototype and radiate ‘outward’. ‘Clusters’ of senses which share features can then develop, but can take different ‘paths’, as will be seen below. When metonymic change happens, it will happen in a radial fashion, i.e. there will be extensions of features located within the earlier sense which, on developing into a new, separate sense, can be called metonymic change. This structure of semasiological change where there is overlapping and interlocking readings with no single prototypical centre has referents ‘growing out of’ different centres, so they do not necessarily have elements in common. Some sub-concepts have more conceptual offspring than others, in that they give rise to other new developments. Characteristic 2 overlaps with characteristic 4, semantic change from subsets.

**CHARACTERISTIC 2: MAD**

It can be seen that there are two main clusters of sense connections, or family resemblance, in mad. The larger centre, *mad* ‘insane’ gives rise to the ‘negative emotion’ senses, and the smaller centre, *mad* ‘foolish’, gives rise to the ‘positive emotion’ senses. The notion of nuances in the sense differences is especially noticeable within these two sense clusters. This ‘branching’ of the ‘family tree’ of the word *mad* is illustrated schematically in figure 4.4.

‘Family resemblances’ remain, but the senses remain firmly in separate clusters. Subtle interpretations of senses can only be realised by close examination of context, for example, the overlap with *mad* ‘foolish’ and *mad* ‘excited’ described in §4.2.5.

In terms of semantic change and characteristic 2, the two centres of *mad* (‘insane’ and ‘foolish’) are both attested in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Out of the centre *mad* ‘insane’, the very similar sense *mad* ‘rabid’ is attested around the same date, which is a minor sense in terms of low frequency in the database. Around a century later, at around the same time in the beginning of the fourteenth century, three ‘negative emotion’ senses emerge from *mad* ‘insane’: *mad* ‘afraid’, *mad* ‘distraught’ and *mad* ‘confused’, see table 4.6. In the description of *mad* ‘afraid’ in §4.2.4, we saw that the close collocation of *mad* ‘insane’ with a word such as *fear* in *mad for fear*, might provide an environment where new sense *mad* ‘afraid’ appears, first attested in 1300. *Mad* ‘angry’ is first attested at the end of the fourteenth century, and, in line with characteristic 2, also grows out of the prototype, *mad*
‘insane’, sharing the semantic features ‘raves / rages’; ‘lacking in self-restraint / control mechanisms’; and ‘lacking reasoning’.

![Network Model of mad showing 2 clusters of senses developing in different directions](image)

Figure 4.4 Network Model of mad showing 2 clusters of senses developing in different directions.

Looking at mad ‘foolish’, which is first attested at around the same date as mad ‘insane’ in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and mad ‘excited’ is also attested from this earlier date. Around a century later, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mad ‘desirous’ is attested, see table 4.7. Mad ‘unrestrained’, neutral in that it is neither an emotion, nor positive / negative, does not appear until late in the fifteenth century.

**CHARACTERISTIC 2: WOD**

In 1200 wod ‘fierce’ emerged as a new sense out of wod ‘angry’ and wod ‘insane’. Wod ‘fierce’, as described in §4.1.4, is neutral or negative in its stance, often an adverb describing intensity of actions, usually in a battle context. Table 4.8 illustrates overlapping semantic features of wod ‘insane’, wod ‘angry’ and wod ‘fierce’.

The wod database contains examples of wod ‘fierce’ which fall into three categories a) person described as a wod lyon; b) person in a battle context; and c) an action or entity metaphorically described as intense. Metonymic change can be seen by examining some tokens of wod in context. The wod database dates the earliest non-vague attestation of this
sense as 1200: \& te deofles ferd is woddre up on us pen up on eani opre
1200_ancconor_ICAME.T. The development of a new meaning wod ‘fierce’ out of older meanings wod ‘angry’ and / or wod ‘insane’ happens because meaning boundaries are not distinct (Geeraerts 1997: 60). New meanings arise in a context where there are no completely sharp sense distinctions, and the boundaries between senses are blurred. Then, in this context, it is possible to differentiate two different readings. This is a bridging context, where it is possible that wod could have either of two senses in the given context. If enough of these contexts arise, a new sense can emerge, where it can then be said that there is little or no vagueness.

Figure 4.5 Network model of all wod’s senses showing prototypes ‘insane’ and ‘angry’ with development of sense ‘fierce’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>wod</strong> ‘insane’</th>
<th><strong>wod</strong> ‘angry’</th>
<th><strong>wod</strong> ‘fierce’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unpredictable or outside of ordinary movements</td>
<td>rolls eyes, pulls own hair</td>
<td>bares teeth, menaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out of wits, lack of reason</td>
<td>not restrained by reason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violent</td>
<td>seeks vengeance on another</td>
<td>violent, destructive, strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncontrolled noise, raving</td>
<td>uncontrolled raging</td>
<td>roars, rages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faulty, erring behaviour</td>
<td></td>
<td>cruel, severe, terrifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intense</td>
<td>intense</td>
<td>intense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frenzied</td>
<td>can be frenzied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unkempt appearance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>warrior-like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 Overlapping features leading to metonymic change in **wod** ‘insane’, **wod** ‘angry’ and **wod** ‘fierce’.

Bridging contexts are not always possible to find. It is possible to find early contexts of phrase *as he were wod* where there is no vagueness: þah þu wið þi wicchecreft habbe imaket se monie to eornen towart hare deað as ha weren wode ȝet, ȝef þu wiðdreiest te ... þu maht in alle murðe longe lîbben wið me c1225_St.Kath_MED. The reading ‘insane’ is arrived at because of the contextual inference of semantic features ‘lack of reason’ and ‘erring behaviour’. This phrase was in early use. It is then possible to compare it to albeit slightly later contexts where the phrase has become conventionalised, and the context gives the reading ‘fierce’. It is still possible, even in these contexts, to argue that the warriors in the following excerpts ‘fought like insane people’: *As he were wood, he gan to fyȝt* c1330_Bevis_MED; and *þei foughte as þey were wode Abated þem boldely, & styfly stode* a1450_Mann. Chr_MED; but at this stage, the ‘insane’ reading is less likely, because although in both phrases, *wod per se* is ‘insane’, the fighting context enables a reading of ‘fierce’ for the phrase, with predominant semantic features ‘strength’, ‘violence’ and ‘warrior-like’. The context can therefore support a different meaning. This can be seen as ‘an inference-driven contextual enrichment of A to B’ (Evans & Wilkins 2000). These contexts
are important because it is here that we find instances of semantic change driven by context and external factors. Eventually, the ‘supporting’ context can be withdrawn, leaving a meaning which stands on its own as a new sense, demonstrating the connection between bridging contexts and metonymic change (Evans & Wilkins 2000: 550).

In terms of characteristic 2, where more than one prototypical centre have senses ‘growing out of’ them in clusters, a phenomenon arises whereby there are different paths taken by senses with different semantic features, so senses of the same word do not necessarily have semantic features in common. It can be seen from figure 4.4 illustrating all wod’s senses, and the location of the clusters of overlapping spheres, that wod ‘battle-ready’ and wod ‘excited’ are not touching, or even in the vicinity of, wod ‘foolish’. They do not have any ‘family resemblance’ with wod ‘foolish’. They did not develop directly out of it, and so do not resemble it in terms of shared features. Wod ‘battle-ready’ shares the feature of ‘energy’ in wod ‘excited’ and the feature of ‘out of control’ of wod ‘wild’; however, in wod ‘battle-ready’, the feature is more nuanced, so that there is focus only on one aspect, the battle. Wod ‘excited’ by contrast ‘specialises’ in passion for a person. This is in line with the predictions of prototype theory that nuances will appear around the edges of categories. Wod ‘battle-ready’ and wod ‘excited’ are peripheral nuances, see table 4.9.

The above examples of metonymic semantic change demonstrate that a shift happens when certain semantic features of meaning A are highlighted, and reinterpreted by readers / hearers as meaning B. The ‘shared features’ or ‘family resemblance’ of prototype characteristic 2 can only be observed after the event of sense change, i.e. when we have a cluster of similar senses, we can see that metonymic sense extensions have taken place. The importance of conceptual metonymy in semantic change and the sense structure of wod and mad is that it creates the network of closely-related senses which can be seen to mirror to an extent the concepts (ANGER, GRIEF, WRONGNESS) which surround the INSANITY conceptual field. This allows us to see that, like its cousin conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy is a universal conceptual phenomenon, a general cognitive process which ‘shows up’ in language structure and change.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>wod ‘wild’</strong></th>
<th><strong>wod ‘fierce’</strong></th>
<th><strong>wod ‘battle-ready’</strong></th>
<th><strong>wod ‘excited’</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unpredictable / animalistic behaviour</td>
<td>bares teeth, menaces</td>
<td></td>
<td>unpredictable / extraordinary behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incapable of reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion over reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>untame, destructive</td>
<td>violent, destructive, strong, cruel, severe, terrifying</td>
<td>violent, deadly, severe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roars</td>
<td>roars, rages</td>
<td>roars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out of control</td>
<td>intense</td>
<td>focused on battle only</td>
<td>focus on person, thing, project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fierce, strong, brave</td>
<td>passionate, zealous, infatuated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>warrior-like</td>
<td>keen for battle</td>
<td>fervent, eager, keen, energetic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.9 Overlapping semantic features of wod ‘wild’ wod ‘fierce’ wod ‘excited’ and wod ‘battle-ready’, demonstrating areas where metonymic change takes place.*

### 4.3.3 CHARACTERISTIC 4: SENSE CHANGE FROM SUBSETS

This characteristic of prototype theory in diachronic semantic change suggests that when a change takes place, it is not the whole meaning of a word which is transferred, but just a part of it. There is some overlap between this fourth characteristic and the other ‘intensional’ characteristic, *family resemblance*. In this characteristic, there is no one necessary or sufficient feature of the prototype which ultimately features in the extended meaning.

**CHARACTERISTIC 4: WOD**

This characteristic can be illustrated by tracing overlapping features leading to metonymic change in *wod ‘insane’, ‘foolish’ and ‘wicked’. There is a semantic feature in *wod ‘insane* which is ‘out-of-normal behaviour or beliefs’, where a person might have delusional
thoughts. This feature is shared by *wod* ‘foolish’, (see §4.1.5), where a person might make ill-advised decisions. It is only this feature which is transferred over to *wod* ‘wicked’, where a person defies God’s laws, has wrong beliefs and is sinful. Unlike the examples under characteristic 2, where there is an extension of the whole category, the features involved in the semantic changes from *wod* ‘insane’ through *wod* ‘foolish’ to *wod* ‘wicked’ are much narrower and much more focused, specifically related to wrongness and erring behaviour. It is not necessary for *wod* ‘wicked’ to have ‘delusional beliefs’ as a feature; in the extended meaning, the beliefs are ‘wrong’. This is the difference between the ‘straightforward extension of the category as a whole’ (Geeraerts 1997: 69) and an extension of a ‘prominent subset of that category’. The change from *wod* ‘insane’ to *wod* ‘foolish’ involves what Geeraerts (1997: 69) calls ‘statistically prominent’ features.

**CHARACTERISTIC 4: MAD**

The development of intensifying modifiers from adverb *mad* and adjective *mad* ‘unrestrained’, starting in and after the Middle English period, has its origin in the semantic features ‘excess’ and ‘increased activity levels’. A full discussion of this characteristic of semantic change follows.

### 4.4 MAD AND WOD AS INTENSIFYING ADVERB / ADVERBIAL PHRASE IN MIDDLE ENGLISH AND BEYOND

Intensifiers are typically adverbs which modify verbs and adjectives, but also nouns and prepositional phrases, modifying the degree of the action or quality involved; ‘any device that scales a quality’ (Bolinger 1972: 17). Intensifiers often display a degree of grammaticalisation, whereby some lexical content is lost. For a full overview of the phenomenon of grammaticalisation, the move from a meaning which is purely lexical, to one which has a (more) grammatical function, see especially Fischer (2000); Hopper & Traugott (2003) and Traugott (1995; 2010). I suggest that Middle English adverb *mad* traces a path towards a present-day English intensifier function, and that a similar path is taken by Middle English adjective *mad* ‘unrestrained’, to arrive at a similar intensifier function. The following is an overview of the two-pronged route *mad*’s senses have taken to arrive at this point.

**ADVERB MAD**

The first strand of the path taken by *mad* towards its function as an intensifier is as an adverb. Adverb *mad* has been extant since Middle English, with commonly modified adjectives being
drunk, angry, scared and lonely, which give readings of ‘x to the point of being insane’, hence: *Dronkenes..maketh men to be somme mery dronken and somme mad dronken* c1487._J. Skelton tr. Diodorus Siculus_OED. Similarly, adverbial phrase for mad or like mad: *Alisaundrine..mourned neigh for mad for meliors hire ladi a1375_William of Palerne_OED* can be read more straightforwardly as ‘as if insane’. After Middle English, adverbial phrase like mad gives readings of ‘frenetic activity or movement’ highlighting semantic features which stem from mad ‘excited’ in addition to mad ‘insane’: *An unlucky Crack the other day crying Coals through the streets at 10d. the Bushell, the poor People flocking about him like mad* 1653_Mercurius Democritus_OED. After Middle English, adverb mad (as in mad angry) starts to gain ground. With the decline of wod at the end of the Middle English period and in the centuries which followed, adverb mad, with its semantic feature ‘excess’, starts to take on some of the role adverb wod ‘furiously’ occupied, as in wod wroth. Present-day English like mad can be applied to activities which can more typically be done ‘furiously’ or ‘to the extent of insanity’ such as *sweat like mad or love like mad*; but also to activities which are less typically done ‘furiously’, such as *plan, save or matter*. This is an example of desemanticisation, where semantic content is bleached, giving a reading of ‘more than usual’ or ‘to a great degree’. In Hopper & Traugott’s (1993), description of ‘clines’ of grammaticalisation, we have stages of the grammaticalisation process, starting with items with lexical content at one end, going through the syntactic stage of ‘grammatical item’, and ultimately a morphological stage of clitic and then inflectional affix (1993: 7). This notion of diachronic clines lends itself to the idea that in the slipping out of one stage and into another there must exist stages where the boundaries of an item are less than distinct. This allows us to talk about mad being on a ‘path’ to grammaticalisation: a spectrum exists whereby a lexical item can have more lexical content at one end of the path, and more of a grammatical function at the other end.

In other, later, collocations such as mad busy, adverb mad again does not have the semantic features of mad ‘insane’ in a predominant position, instead highlighting semantic features which stem from the sub-sense mad ‘excited’. Busy shares some of the semantic content of mad ‘excited’ in the features ‘increased activity levels’. *OED* notes that recent usages of adverb mad see it with a ‘weakened sense, as an intensifier’: ‘*Her neck’s mad swollen Doc,* ’Gar says, holding back tears 1996_Big Issue26 Feb_OED; with a reading of ‘very’, but alternatively, a metaphorical reading of ‘angrily’; ‘red in colour’. In a recent extension of its adverbial function, mad qualifies a positive adjective which does not
have any semantic features in common with insanity or excitement; rather, the semantic feature ‘increased’ or ‘excess’ predominates, with no reference to activity levels: *that kid’s mad cool.* Here, *mad* is roughly synonymous with *very,* enhancing the scalar quality of ‘coolness’. In short, the position of adverb *mad* in present-day English is one where *mad* does not have to modify an adjective with which it shares semantic features, e.g. *drunk,* and does not even have to modify and adjective where ‘activity levels’ are referenced, e.g. *busy.* *Mad cool* demonstrates a new function of *mad,* where the adverb is delexicalised.

**ADJECTIVE MAD ‘UNRESTRAINED’**

The second strand of the path taken by *mad* towards its function as an intensifier is that taken by adjective *mad* ‘unrestrained’. In Middle English, this sense was the last to emerge, developing out of the semantic features of *mad* ‘excited’, and to an extent, at this point, there is a vague quality to the sense *mad* ‘unrestrained’, where in some contexts it might be read as *mad* ‘excited’. However, the sense has semantic features of both ‘keenness’ and ‘beyond the limit’ which indicate excess: *Pardoun the fulich face of this mad metir a1500_Colkelbie Sow_OED.* It is this sense which *OED* traces as that which, as it develops diachronically, when describing people or actions, also denotes an excessive level of frenzy or chaos: *The mad sallies of Intemperance and Debauchery 1732_Berkeley.Alciphron_OED*; and likewise in the nineteenth century when it begins to describe states: *A little dog, in mad terror, was rushing past 1834_Carlyle.Sartor Resartus_OED.*

In twentieth century senses of *mad* ‘unrestrained’: *don’t go mad!* ‘don’t spend too much money when you go shopping / don’t eat too much cake!*’, we can see that excess is referenced. *OED* traces their ‘lacking in restraint’ sense from Middle English all the way through to present-day English. In twentieth century examples in *OED,* we see that the stance of the speaker is one of approval or admiration: *The best of all is the big, mad, red-hot, out-of-this-world date 1941_H. A.Smith Low Man on Totem Pole_OED.* This sense, of ‘excess combined with approval’ is still current in twenty-first century: *dude, you got mad skills* ‘I admire your very cool skills’. This reading is also reflected in the Manchester 1980s / 90s cultural movement based around drugs and local music known as *Madchester;* the *mad-* element emphasising and approving of the ‘coolness’ of this culture. Likewise, in a further recent extension of its adjectival function, in some idiolects, *mad* functions as an intensifying pre-modifier, with the semantic feature of ‘excess’ highlighted to the extent that *mad* is

---

100 Urban dictionary; also see *mad times,* as in: *Yo, that new Lil Wayne jawn is mad times, yo.*
neutralised, or weakened of, any other semantic feature associated with either *mad* ‘unrestrained’ or *mad* ‘insane’. Here, *mad* is roughly synonymous with many, enhancing the scalar quantity of *blunts* ‘marijuana cigars’: *We smoked mad blunts* ‘lots of them’.\(^{101}\)

It can be seen, then, that two separate ‘strands’ of Middle English *mad*, adverb and adjective, have both separately arrived at one point, where *mad* can function as a delexicalised intensifier in present-day English. The semantic feature common to both adverb and adjective is ‘excess’ or ‘increase’, so that the reading is one of enhancement of a scale to a high degree or measure. Other semantic features are ‘bleached’, or made less prominent, this desemanticisation being a stage of grammaticalisation. Hopper & Traugott emphasise that this loss of meaning is a ‘redistribution’ at the early stages of the process (1993: 88). In the case of *mad*, we might observe that semantic features ‘unwise’, ‘lacks reasoning’ or ‘melancholy’ are less prominent when we consider adjective *mad* ‘unrestrained’ and intensifying adverb *mad*.

**ADVERB WOD**

*Mad* can be compared to other adjectives and adverbs denoting extremity or absoluteness which perform an intensifying function, such as *utter/ly*, *pure/ly*, *terrible/ly*: *utter nonsense*; *pure stupidity*; *terribly good*, and also which are now able to collocate with words which have positive connotations. *Mad* has, in present-day English, partly grammaticalised to the degree that some readings of the adjective and adverb are that of delexicalised intensifier, but it remains to be seen whether intensifier *mad* will bleach in meaning to the extent that *very* has, and become as versatile an intensifier. It has been suggested (Bolinger 1972; Ito & Tagliamonte 2003) that intensifiers are in a constant state of flux in a language, that use depends upon age and social group, that older intensifiers tend to remain in use but to become specialised, and that speakers tend to try to recycle and vary intensifiers for maximum communicative effect. *Mad*’s development of an intensifier function, especially in the twentieth century, has a precursor in older intensifier Middle English adverb *wodlich*. As discussed at §4.1.4, adverb *wodlich* overwhelmingly has the meaning ‘fiercely’ in the *wod* database. An example is: *The fyr of ialousie [...] hente hym by the herte So woodly that he lyk was to biholde The box tree or the asshen dede and colde* c1385_Chaucer CT.Kn._MED.

However, there are examples where applying the reading ‘fiercely’ to adverb *wodlich* is not the best fit; a better interpretation is ‘very much’, expressing degree, rather than having

---

101 Urban dictionary; NB *mad* here expresses quantity, not the cognitive effect of the drug.
a simple descriptive or referential function: *pe Seoureðe confort is þet alle þe hali halhen weren wodeliche itempet* 1230_Ancr_MED. Similarly to *wodlich*, adverbial phrase *out of wit* also has an intensifier function in Middle English. Here, the interpretation could either be ‘as someone insane’ or the intensifier ‘very much’: *Ich haue þe brouȝt here a stede, In þis world is better non þerfore Y loue it out of witt* 1330_Guy(1)_MED; see also discussion of *wod wroth* at §4.1.6. A later example demonstrates *out of wit* modifying a verb *brenne*, which, if allowed the metaphorical reading of ‘furiously’, suggests that contextually, the interpretation could be one verging on intensification: *Hit gan to brenne owt of wit þat no man myȝhte staunchen hit* 1425_Arth.& M_MED.

The phrases *as a wod lyon* and *as he were wod* are, at times, used in a conventionalised manner, where the meaning of adjective *wod* ‘furious’ is neutralised, so that the phrase as a whole performs an intensifier function. In: *So aferd schul þei be þat are now so kene as wood lyouns þat noon wol knowe* 1400_PNoster_MED, the meaning of *wod* is neither ‘insane’, nor ‘furious’, nor are we meant to understand that the lion is rabid. The intended meaning is one of the extent of the force of keenness, so ‘very much’ or ‘strongly’.

### 4.5 DISCUSSION: SEMANTIC STRUCTURE AND CHANGE

An aim for this chapter was to produce an in-depth qualitative study of the semasiological structure of central lexical items of the INSANITY lexical field *wod* and *mad* through the lens of prototype theory. The investigation into the polysemy of Middle English *wod* and *mad* showed their sense structure and change accorded with the principles of prototype theory, which also accounts for structure and change in *wod* and *mad* in three out of four characteristics as defined by Geeraerts (1997). At the beginning of the thirteenth century, when *mad* is first attested in Middle English, *wod* and *mad* have core senses ‘insane’ and ‘foolish’ in common, but after the thirteenth century, *mad* develops divergent senses to *wod*. Middle English *wod* has twelve senses, some of which are first attested in Middle English. The prototypical sense of *wod*, ‘insane’, contains semantic features of ‘otherness’, ‘lack of reason’, ‘wrongness’ and ‘wildness’. Other senses overlap or are extensions of the ‘insane’ sense, and are predominantly neutral or negative. Similarly to *wod*, Middle English *mad* ‘insane’ contains semantic features of ‘otherness’ and ‘wrongness’. Middle English *mad* has ten senses. It does not describe God’s anger, and its senses do not have the emphasis on wildness, rabidity or fury that *wod*’s do. Middle English *mad* is perceived by medieval speakers as a more modern sense, one more focused on emotions (see §3.5.2).
This chapter demonstrates the value of the INSANITY database to a semasiological study. Because the boundaries between senses of both *wod* and *mad* are very blurred, sometimes we can only achieve elucidation of the synchronic sense via a very close reading of the whole extended textual context, especially focusing on, for example, collocating adverbs *nigh*, and co-ordinating conjunctions *and/or*. From a diachronic perspective, having a substantial repository of examples of closely-related senses of *wod* and *mad* provides many good illustrations of the way sense change takes place via a series of analogous shifts. The blurredness of a stage one sense is used as a bridge to segue into a stage two sense. Subjecting the senses of lexemes *wod* and *mad* to this level of scrutiny highlights the cognitive nature of conceptual metonymy, as being the classical *gestalt* ‘figure-ground’ phenomenon: in the blink of an eye, we see things a different way, and understand a new sense of a lexeme. In this way, a satisfying link is made between the prototypical nature of cognitive conceptualisation, and the cognitive processes of analogy and metonymy as both general cognitive mechanisms and as mechanisms of semantic change.

In the next chapter, I will address specific Middle English INSANITY conceptual metaphors which are in evidence in the database. First, it is worth pointing out that the study of the senses of *wod* and *mad* is not unrelated to the study of INSANITY conceptual metaphors, for it is in the different senses of *wod* and *mad* that we can see conceptual detail around the prototype ‘insane’. If we look at the semantic features of *wod* or *mad*, we can see a conceptual picture emerging which closely mirrors the INSANITY conceptual metaphors. For example, one of the semantic features of *wod* ‘insane’ is ‘animalistic’. This metonymically develops into ‘wildness’ as a sense of *wod*. We can see then, that conceptual metaphors of INSANITY show up in the closely-nuanced senses of *wod* and *mad*, as ‘wildness’ correlates with the concept of ‘otherness’ which is found in the ASTRAY conceptual metaphor. Another semantic feature of *wod* ‘insane’ is ‘frenzied’ or ‘uncontrolled noise’. This metonymically develops into the sense *wod* ‘excited’, which shows up in the INSANITY conceptual metaphor LACK OF ORDER.

It is in this lexicalisation, the formation of another sense from the metonymic extension of a semantic feature of *wod*/*mad* ‘insane’, where we see *wod* or *mad* then simultaneously situated in a different lexical field, for example WRONGNESS. A concept is always surrounded by neighbouring concepts, as we cannot understand an abstract concept in isolation. This is why in a comprehensive analysis of INSANITY language, we have to examine all aspects of the study of meaning, from the different ‘names’ or words used to
attach to different ‘aspects’ of insanity (chapter 3’s onomasiological study), to the concepts illustrated in the senses. It is clear that we cannot fully understand an onomasiological analysis of the lexical field of INSANITY without complementing it with a semasiological analysis of its two main members, wod and mad. As an example, without an understanding of the sense wodnes ‘God’s anger’, it is not possible to isolate this sense in the lexical field and then examine change in particular contexts, as we saw in §3.3.5. Additionally, without the understanding that the development of mad’s ‘angry’ sense very much depended on the establishment of the word angry itself in the ANGER lexical field, we would not be able to home in on one of the loci of change, the overlapping boundary between the INSANITY and the ANGER lexical field. In this study, the three main areas of analysis, a) the INSANITY lexical field, b) the two primary members of this field, wod and mad, and c) INSANITY conceptual metaphors must be given equal prominence, because each area is a part of the jigsaw of our comprehension of INSANITY language. The base layer of our comprehension is conceptual metaphors for INSANITY, which we might call the ‘conceptual layer’. The other layer is the ‘lexical layer’, and each mutually affects the other. The conceptual field is related to the lexical field, because the former affects what can be in the latter.
I felt a funeral in my brain,
    And mourners, to and fro,
Kept treading, treading, till it seemed
    That sense was breaking through.

And when they all were seated,
    A service like a drum
Kept beating, beating, till I thought
    My mind was going numb.

And then I heard them lift a box,
    And creak across my soul
With those same boots of lead,
    Then space began to toll

As all the heavens were a bell,
    And Being but an ear,
And I and silence some strange race,
    Wrecked, solitary, here.

And then a plank in reason, broke,
    And I dropped down and down--
And hit a world at every plunge,
    And finished knowing--then--

Emily Dickinson’s I felt a funeral, in my brain (c1861) explores the poet’s experience of insanity, employing metaphors of loss, heaviness, distance, chaos and falling. As will be seen, these same Late Modern English metaphors for insanity were active in Middle English, as they are now in present-day English. The research questions addressed in this chapter are: what Middle English INSANITY conceptual metaphors can be found, are there parallels in present-day English, and what mappings does INSANITY share with other concepts? This chapter will examine, via linguistic and conceptual metaphor, the conceptual field of
INSANITY in Middle English and compare Middle English insanity metaphors with those of present-day English. I will do this using conceptual metaphor theory as described in §2.3. I will also explore to what extent mappings for insanity metaphors are unique to insanity and whether they are shared with the key neighbouring conceptual fields of SICKNESS and EMOTION. To this end, I will also explore sickness metaphors and emotion metaphors in present-day English and in Middle English to examine overlapping source mappings.

Previous scholarship, with the exception of Trim (2007; 2010; 2011) and Bramwell (2016), does not address conceptual metaphors in terms of diachronic change. This chapter’s examination of the differences between the insanity metaphors of present-day English and those of Middle English will go some way to addressing this gap. It will be seen that most of the metaphors we use in this lexical field in Present-Day English were used in Middle English, and that many have their origins in much older languages and cultures. The presence of a metaphor for insanity at both stages of the language will offer insights into how pervasive that metaphor is, and will offer insights into the diachronic evolution of metaphor.

5.1 IDENTIFICATION OF METAPHOR

Identification of metaphor in a corpus can be difficult, because the phenomenon of metaphor is not linked to any particular linguistic configuration (Stefanowitsch 2006: 2). Here, I review methods of metaphor identification, to provide background information underlying the choice taken for the method used in this study. Research based on metaphor identification procedures is developing and ongoing. This section presents a brief summary of the methods laid out in Stefanowitsch & Gries (2006: Metaphorical Pattern Analysis) and Pragglejaz Group (2007: Metaphor Identification Procedure). I then describe the processes used to identify, and then to categorise metaphor in the INSANITY database.

There do exist automated metaphor identification techniques which rely on highly-structured and tagged databases, and rely on prior programming of patterns of source and target domains. Such processes rely on small seed-sets of manually-annotated data, and extrapolate out into the wider data in order to harvest metaphoricity by means of the pattern of verb-noun clustering, unlike concrete concepts, which cluster due to meaning similarity (Shutova et al. 2010). Their use on traditional corpora is, to date, minimal, and there are no

---

102 For example, given *stir excitement*, the software finds *arouse fervour* and *stimulate agitation*. However, it only finds near-synonyms, and does not extrapolate over to other emotion target domains Shutova et al. (2010: 1006).
studies of metaphor using historical data which make use of automated search techniques, due to the lack of fully-annotated corpora. The techniques developed for metaphor identification described below have been based on present-day English corpora. Both techniques described propose a range of different strategies. Approaches used by corpus linguists to harvest metaphor include a) manual searching of the database, which is labour-intensive; starting with searches for source domain words, where already known words gives a list of target domain words – homonyms and literal uses of words have to be manually weeded out; b) searching for sentences containing both source and target – here the mapping must be known in advance; c) searching for ‘markers of metaphor’ such as *so to speak* – this is more difficult for Middle English; d) starting with target domain words – because the word is actually present and therefore searchable in the corpus, paradigmatic relations can be detected.

### 5.1.1 METAPHORICAL PATTERN ANALYSIS

Metaphorical Pattern Analysis searches for lexical items associated with the target concepts to detect metaphorical patterns (Stefanowitsch 2006). It is a tool for investigating the systematizability, productivity and universality of metaphorical mappings, rather than specific linguistic items (Stefanowitsch 2006: 103). A metaphorical pattern is the group of words containing the words from both the source and target domains. However, some examples of metaphor do not contain the target domain word, so the method only works to harvest some, but not all metaphors in a corpus. Stefanowitsch (2006: 66) points out that this in fact may lead to greater precision, because the scope of some source words ranges over a number of different target domains (e.g. *fall* ranges over institutional power and morality as well as sickness and insanity). Metaphorical Pattern Analysis would capture expressions such as *out of wit* and *fallen into woodnesse*, both metaphorical patterns, but it would have difficulty with expressions like *menged mode*. *Mod* would have to be identified from the start as having potential to yield *INSANITY* expressions, but because of the wide polysemy of Middle English *mod*, and a degree of vagueness in *menged mode* itself, with other senses such as ‘upset’ and ‘confused’, the degree of manual searching to exclude null hits would be great.

### 5.1.2 METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURE

The methodology of Metaphor Identification Procedure developed by the Pragglejaz group (2007) analyses all metaphorical language in a given text, via a systematically developed
methodology which can be applied to, and tested on, different types of texts (Steen 2007; Steen et al. 2010: 33). The procedure consists of identifying the contextual meaning of the lexical unit by reading the wider context within the surrounding text. Then a check is made as to whether there is a more basic (more concrete, more precise, more related to bodily action or historically older) use of the lexical unit, and whether this use is sufficiently distinct (contrast with) from the contextual meaning. The basic meaning can be related to the contextual meaning directly, indirectly or implicitly and is marked as a metaphor-related word (Steen et al. 2010: 6). For examples of the Metaphor Identification Procedure in use, see Dorst (2011); Krennmayr (2011) and Kaal (2012).

5.1.3 MY APPROACH

Metaphorical Pattern Analysis is difficult to apply to databases of Middle English words with their diverse spellings. The fact that metaphor patterns cannot be searched for in a straightforward way means that there is no one way of extracting digitally all the instances of metaphor in a given text. For the purposes of identifying metaphor in an untagged Middle English database therefore, an eclectic mixture of techniques was employed, which had more in common with Metaphor Identification Procedure than Metaphorical Pattern Analysis. I applied a light version of Metaphor Identification Procedure, namely a combination of strategies for identifying source and target domain words, as described in Stefanowitsch & Gries (2007: 2) and Deignan (2005: 83).

The metaphor identification method in the current study started with the INSANITY database, which, by its nature is a target word-centred database. I looked initially at target domain words such as wod and mad, and derived forms, and INSANITY near-synonyms such as frantik and lunatic. I examined the context for potentially metaphorical patterns and other metaphorical language. Starting with this ‘bottom-up’ technique removed potential preconceptions of conceptual metaphors. Using at first a broad-brush approach, each word of the 1307 excerpts from the INSANITY database, including the sentence to the immediate left and right of the target concept word, was systematically examined, looking at whether the INSANITY word itself, or a closely-collocating word, was a source domain which maps onto the target domain INSANITY. When patterns of conceptual metaphors had been identified, it was easier to switch to a deductive approach, and search for instances of source domain vocabulary, e.g. fallen, which potentially indicated the existence of a cross-domain mapping from its more basic meaning. If so, then fallen was potentially metaphorical, and the wider
context was examined to aid metaphor identification (see Kaal 2012: 67). Other vocabulary which often collocated with INSANITY lexemes were adverbs such as nigh, almoste, half and prepositions such as out of. In another example such as: thou hast all peruered my wyttes, & reduced in-to madnesse & forsenerie 1490_caxteney_ICAMET; the source domain words peruered and reduced are flagged up as being metaphorical.

A similar key target domain term search approach was taken when searching for Middle English SICKNESS and SORROW metaphors in ICAMET, for the exploration of primary mappings in these conceptual fields, in §5.2.2 and §5.3.2 respectively. For the Middle English SICKNESS metaphor, using MonoConc concordance software, a number of searches of key SICKNESS target domain words, such as seke(nes), hole, disece, cancre, ache, aposteme and fistule (with spelling variants) were performed. I then manually sifted the results for non-literal source domain words. Similarly, for the Middle English SORROW metaphor, a number of searches of key SORROW target domain words such as sorwe / sorow were performed.

I used a combined approach to finding present-day English SICKNESS metaphors (see §5.2.1) and insanity expressions (see §5.4.1) which contained metaphor. For SICKNESS metaphors, I examined posts in chat rooms and forums of websites devoted to supporting, and providing information for, people with cancer and their carers, to obtain an idea of the primary metaphors being used. I then performed searches in the British National Corpus for keywords sickness, illness and cancer to confirm the existence of these metaphors in a wider corpus, and to obtain further examples. For present-day English INSANITY expressions, I read posts on chat rooms and forums on the websites of mental health charities and support networks in order to gain an impression of the ways people talked about their experiences with mental illness. A number of expressions was harvested this way, but in the main, I elicited examples from everyday language on the radio, in books and in life. I also performed searches in the British National Corpus for keywords madness and insanity to confirm the existence of some of these metaphors in a wider corpus, and to obtain further examples.

For the process of Middle English metaphor interpretation, it is necessary to consider different senses in order to be confident that the correct concept is being identified. For

---

103 Searching for this kind of frequently occurring collocating vocabulary means that there will be a large number of false hits which necessitate manual sorting.
peruerted, the sense here is related to MED’s ‘to be led astray’, rather than ‘destroy, overturn’. To consider this further, we turn to the immediate textual context, where we find phrases broughte me from solysitude [...] dyuerted my honour, which both involve a sense being misguided or of turning away from a desirable attribute or state of affairs. Thus, we can note that peruerted my wyttes is a metaphor, and arrive at the correct interpretation of the concept. In §5.4 and §5.5, all instances of metaphor are categorised according to dominant source-target mappings, so that peruerted my wyttes can be seen as an instance of INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY metaphor. For reduced, the MED sense which fits is ‘to change, transform’. Thus, reduced in-to madnesse can be categorised as the INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE metaphor, because part of the conceptualisation of ANOTHER PLACE is that it involves change and transitions.

Identifying metaphors in text can be beset with difficulty. My own approach to metaphor identification is a layered one, focusing on target-domain items, followed by identified source-domain items, and a thorough reading of the context to ensure the metaphorical reading of the source domain word is in place. Geeraerts’ (2015) guidelines for diachronic metaphor research were taken into consideration. One tenet is that the history of a word must be examined, in order to look for senses which may be chronologically prior. An example of this in the present study is alyend, initially in 1350 in its first attestation in Middle English ‘to estrange, put at a remove’ but in 1384 in collocation with wytt or mynde has the sense ‘deranged, irrational’.

5.2 PHYSICAL SICKNESS METAPHORS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

5.2.1 PHYSICAL SICKNESS METAPHORS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

Metaphors SICKNESS IS A BATTLE, SICKNESS IS AN INVADER, SICKNESS IS A FORCE, SICKNESS IS A JOURNEY, SICKNESS IS ANIMATE, SICKNESS IS A MALFUNCTIONING MACHINE and SICKNESS IS FALLING were found (see discussion at §2.3.7). Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) proposed ontological schema would suggest the following mapping of metaphors IDEAS ARE OBJECTS >> DIFFICULTIES ARE FORCES >> SICKNESS IS A FORCE. Notions such as sickness or illness preventing someone from doing something, or being fought against, demonstrate the presence of this metaphor, which manifests itself as DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS >>
SICKNESS IS A BATTLE and SICKNESS IS AN INVADER. In areas other than sickness and insanity, the same mapping is seen in many abstract difficulties, like struggling with maths, bad news, losing weight or maintaining a relationship. Invader or battle metaphors pervade medical language, however: heart attack; body’s defences; fighting the flu; facing illness. The ubiquity of the SICKNESS IS A BATTLE metaphor is illustrated in the language of chatrooms and forums for people living with cancer, where they go to find support, and information about tests and diagnoses. Some medicalised language is expected and appropriate, as the context is that of a supportive community for people who might be having frightening medical tests, but equally, colloquial expressions are found: they’ve loads of meds in their arsenal. The CANCER IS A BATTLE metaphor was very much in evidence. SICKNESS IS AN INVADER can be seen in accounts such as Bowker’s (1996), who talks about cancer as an invader gathering power, collecting itself for another visitation. The SICKNESS IS A FORCE metaphor is evident in verbs like decimate, overtake, prevent. Although sickness is a force with which one fights, there are separate forces which are not immediately recognisable as involving opponents, as in, for instance: Macmillan Cancer Support – helping you take control. BURDEN metaphors are less often seen in physical sickness, but they are found, e.g. the burden of chronic ill-health, under the weight of illness.

The SICKNESS IS A JOURNEY metaphor is very prevalent in cancer: I am on a journey [...] a road with lots of twists and turns. More recent NHS policy documents on cancer refer to the cancer journey, rather than the cancer battle (Semino et al. 2016: 2). Language used in the context of other physical illnesses can involve JOURNEY as source: back to myself again; the path to wellness, but its use with regard to cancer is very entrenched.

Verbs consistent with a SICKNESS IS ANIMATE metaphor include lurk, stalk, gnaw, creep and nuzzle; a further example is fallen prey to illness. Conceptualising an abstract idea as an object allows a speaker to be able to refer to that abstract idea, and in this case, the object conceptualised is a type of animal. Its animate nature means that it is possible to talk about sickness in the same way as of a troublesome animal: sickness gnawed at her insides. There is some overlap between SICKNESS IS ANIMATE and SICKNESS IS A FORCE.

The SICKNESS IS FALLING metaphor does occur, but it is not very productive. There are other verbs which express the same concept with the schema CONTRACTING A DISEASE IS

106 Semino et al. (2016: 10) suggest that DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS is a ubiquitous mapping, but in sickness and insanity metaphors, not all forces are opponents.
FALLING i.e. collapse into, but on the whole, it is to be found in fossilised expressions such as if he falls sick. SICKNESS IS FALLING can also be perceived as partly conceptually overlapping with orientational metaphor BAD IS DOWN, as discussed in §5.4.2. As with INSANITY IS FALLING, when SICKNESS IS FALLING occurs, it is the downward motion which is often being referenced, not necessarily the endpoint. The FALLING itself is different to the state of being in the CONTAINER: in sickness and in health.

The SICKNESS IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor is very ingrained in our language and culture, to the extent that some speakers consider it less metaphorical than literal. The notion of ‘wholeness’ is integral, as suggested in the etymology of our word health < Old English hǽlþ ‘soundness of body’, from the same West Germanic root as whole and hale (OED). When a family member is ill, we ask what’s wrong with you?, and when we are well, we have recovered, or regained, our health, or wholeness. SICKNESS IS A MALFUNCTIONING MACHINE can be seen as a sub-type of SICKNESS IS LACK OF WHOLENESS.

The language used to discuss health and illness is not neutral. It shapes our thoughts and informs our attitude towards our illness. The way medical staff discuss illness with patients has an effect on the experience people have of diseases, particularly cancer (Harrington 2012: 408; Semino et al. 2016: 2; Hauser & Schwarz 2015), and to this extent, it shapes cultural expectations and norms. Illness metaphor can provide a useful structure for the whole experience, both for the individual, and for the society charged with designing plans for coping with disease on a large scale. The SICKNESS IS A BATTLE conceptual metaphor is frequently used when talking about diseases from colds to cancer,107 and also at a societal level, when talking about epidemics, but the frequency and types of metaphor used vary according to the particular disease, and who is speaking.

5.2.2 MIDDLE ENGLISH PHYSICAL SICKNESS METAPHORS

In this section I illustrate what conceptual metaphors illustrating the notion of sickness can be found in Middle English. Examples used are from the ICAMET corpus. Metaphors SICKNESS IS A FORCE, SICKNESS IS AN INVADER, SICKNESS IS ANIMATE, SICKNESS IS LACK OF WHOLENESS and SICKNESS IS FALLING were found. I did not find JOURNEY metaphors, although iourney and pab were used metaphorically in Middle English to indicate ‘path through life’.

---

107 Susan Sontag’s 1978 polemic Illness as Metaphor focuses on an anti-metaphor argument.
In concrete terms we experience forces on our bodies constantly, and it is no wonder that certain abstract notions are conceptualised as forces – any power which acts independently of ourselves. As will be seen below, emotions are conceived of as forces, as are notions which have the capacity to move or change people or society, such as poverty and capitalism. Sickness is a force. It is not an intrinsic part of the body; the amount of control we have over it varies, and is limited, perhaps even more so in the Middle Ages than now. In Middle English, sickness gets destroyed or chased, done or driven away suggesting it is a force which needs to be removed by force: and who yt tuches any sor with hym he sal chace away sekenes & blod c1450_lapidari_ICAMET. The SICKNESS IS A FORCE metaphor is to some degree similar to the conceptual metaphors used to discuss insanity: one is visited / vexed / trubbled / streken with grete sekenesse, and one suffers with or labours in sickness, indicating that there is a force to sickness that can be greater, temporarily, than the force available in the body or person: and sodanlie he was streken with a grete sekenes 1450_alpha1_ICAMET. Language such as asuage, abate, esyng and stanche is used, especially in medical recipe texts, to illustrate the notion of lessening the pain, diminishing the force of the illness: þe rote of a malwe stok put to þe toþe þat akiþ abateþ his ache as it is seide 1450_herbarum_ICAMET.

A particular type of force, namely that of INVADER, is commonly found in Middle English and merits separate discussion. Perhaps due to the use of siege in medieval warfare, the SICKNESS IS AN INVADER metaphor is seen specifically in the BODY IS A CASTLE metaphor, which recent scholarship suggests is well used in Middle English (Díaz Vera 2009: 81). In the MEMT corpus, BODY IS A CASTLE is found exclusively in recipe (not in university / academic) medical texts, of which the verse Sidrak and Bokkus is an example. It is a popular question-and-answer instructive poem which, in the questions dealing with medicine, relies heavily on metaphor to construct images of abstract notions of illness. Sidrak and Bokkus contains an elaborated example of the BODY IS A CASTLE metaphor, to the effect that the heart is lord of the body, and each member (ears, eyes, tongue etc.) plays its part as messenger: þe hondis beeþ hise knightes two; þe hertes castel is heed þerto 1475_Sidrak&B_MEMT. The heart’s castle is the head, which decides on courses of action, such as whether to engage in destructive emotion; the body is a garrison or fort to be defended against illness.

SICKNESS IS ANIMATE is an ontological personification. Cancer’s metaphorical etymology (Lat. cancer ‘crab’) means that creeping metaphors are likely to be found
illustrating the insidiousness of onset and progression of the disease: *The word of hem crepith as a kankir* 1384_WB(EV)_OED. Eating and biting metaphors can also be seen as either animate or animalistic: *And generaly it availep in al fretyng sekenez, as in cancre, lupe, fistule, and noli-me-tangere* c1425_fistula_ICAMET. Verbs such as *fretyng*, along with *sle, bredyng* and *will be dede*, which usually take animate subjects and objects, are also in common collocation.

The SICKNESS IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor is found frequently. A medieval body is *heled / clensyd / amendid* of sickness, and very many medical recipes conclude with a statement, or efficacy tag & *he shalbe hole* 1450_29v.RylandsEngMS404. The notion that a person is not perfect if an illness is present is very common: *And he seip to the seke man, jif þou wilt be made hole þise and þise shal thou tak* c1425_fistula_ICAMET.

Also prevalent is the SICKNESS IS FALLING metaphor. *Fallen seke* is common in Middle English: *thow a man falle in-to sekenes that day, he schuld sone recouer* 1450_metmoon_ICAMET. This sense of *fallen* ‘pass into a certain negative condition’, although a metaphoric change from earlier senses of ‘drop from height’, is used in the context of many negative events such as poverty, despair etc. Although SICKNESS IS FALLING is possible in present-day English, it is not as prevalent as it is in Middle English. We will see that these same source domains play a part in the conceptualisation of insanity, see INSANITY IS FALLING, §5.5). LACK OF WHOLENESS, FORCE, INVADER and BATTLE metaphors are also in evidence across the two periods. In the following section, I will summarise some of the predominant mappings for emotions, which I will illustrate with a focus on GRIEF metaphors. As with physical sickness metaphors, this provides context for the subsequent discussion of insanity metaphors. As with the concept of SICKNESS, the concept of EMOTION overlaps considerably with that of INSANITY. I will show that EMOTION, as with the other conceptual areas, has its own unique set of mappings.

### 5.3 EMOTION METAPHORS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH AND ME

#### 5.3.1 EMOTION METAPHORS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

Certain mappings are commonly found only with certain emotions. HEAT source concepts for example apply to ANGER and LOVE, e.g. *don’t get het up about it* and *Claire was so hot for Susan*; UP and LIGHT source concepts apply to JOY, e.g. *she was on cloud nine* and *his smile*...
lit up his face; whereas DOWN and DARK apply to GRIEF, e.g. his death has brought her low and he is permanently gloomy. Some source concepts are specifically used in only one emotion, such as LOVE IS A NUTRIENT, e.g. they hungered for each other. This latter metaphor, like LOVE IS MAGIC, e.g. I’m entranced by her, both express different aspects of the concept of love (Kövecses 1991: 80). The event structure metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS >> EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER is another extremely prevalent metaphor, which yields expressions such as: I am full of love for her; out poured all his fears; and full of sadness; sorrowful heart (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 31). Another well-worn mapping is that of EXCESS EMOTION IS INSANITY. Where there is excess of emotion, the loss of control feels like insanity. GRIEF IS INSANITY: mad with grief, see discussion at §4.3.2.

Mappings in emotion metaphors are not unique to emotions. We have seen that predominant FORCE metaphors are also used in SICKNESS, and I will show that they are also found with INSANITY metaphors. That having been said, there is some variation in how FORCE metaphors are used according to which emotion is involved. Predominant FORCE metaphors for love include: WAR: she conquered her; SUPERIOR: he was ruled by him; and MAGIC: she enchanted him (Kövecses 1998: 133). Moreover, force-related source domains such as FIRE and HUNGER are also used in LOVE metaphors. However, when FORCE is used as a source domain for sorrow, it is a different kind of struggle, a different kind of force, for instance: sorrow engulfed me. In such cases, the force can be viewed as all-consuming. Although used as a source concept, FORCE itself is abstract. Consequently, when it is used in EMOTION, SICKNESS and INSANITY metaphors, there is often another layer of metaphor involved, whereby the force is personified, as seen for instance in taking control [of cancer], where, in an ontological metaphorisation, grief is seen as an opponent, e.g. she was floored by her grief. This is a strong, sometimes aggressive force. It maps onto different areas of human bodily experience. The immense force of emotion in sorrow can feel like pain, and different schemas enable this to be expressed in different expressions: GRIEF IS PAIN: heart-rending sorrow. It can also feel like heaviness: GRIEF IS A BURDEN heavy-hearted; lack of vision: GRIEF IS DARKNESS I can’t see a way out; and BITTERNESS: bitter sorrow.

As in orientational metaphors, such as SAD IS DOWN, there is an element of embodiment in FORCE metaphors. If we conceptualise an abstract concept as an entity, this provides a delineation, a boundary for the abstract concept. We experience different forces on

---

108 There is an overlap here with the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.
our bodies, the ‘uprightness’ of them being an example, so although the concept of force itself is abstract, the effect of it is concrete, and embodied. This means that force metaphors are of the utmost importance when it comes to conceptualising emotions, sickness, and, as we will see, insanity.

5.3.2 MIDDLE ENGLISH EMOTION METAPHORS

In this section, I examine how the emotion grief or sorrow is expressed in metaphor in Middle English. All examples are from ICAMET, OED and MED corpora. Lexeme grief with the sense ‘mental pain, distress’ is found from the latter quarter of the fourteenth century; sorrow is attested from Old English and through the Middle English period. The following seven metaphors are still found in present-day English:

1) GRIEF IS A BURDEN: Swiche sorwe sank to his hert þat miȝt he nouȝt suffre þer to be a1375_WPal._OED;
2) GRIEF IS DARKNESS: the cloudes of sorwe dissolved and don a-wey 1425_Boeske_ICAMET;
3) GRIEF IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER: Min herte is ful of serve & wo c1390_Swete Ihesu now_OED;
4) GRIEF IS INSANITY: Wood out of his wit he gooth for wo 1385_ChaucerCT.Kn_ICAMET;
5) GRIEF IS A FORCE: War mi sorow slaked, sune wald I sing a1425_Minot Poems_OED;
6) GRIEF IS PAIN: What for sorwe & eke for paine, Sche les winde c1330_Arthour & Merlin_OED;
7) GRIEF IS BITTERNESS: no doute bot he suffrep so bitter sorowes & peynes 1400_mirbles_ICAMET.

GRIEF IS BITTERNESS is an ontological metaphor which is linked to GRIEF IS A FORCE. Bitterness can be said to be embodied as it is a concrete experience only a body can encounter, and it is a ‘biting’ force. A metaphor which is not productive in present-day English is GRIEF IS FALLING: þen shal he falle into a greet sorow for his synne a1400_lollard_ICAMET. FALLING is an orientational metaphor which follows the schema

---

109 Where sorrow is followed by in or of, herte is the main collocate (discounting quantifiers such as grete and miche; also leaving aside peyne and drede, which occur as the other word found in doublets with sorrow).
BAD IS DOWN. This Middle English conceptualisation accorded with the belief that sorrow was a result of sin, a punishment for immorality, and so as well as FALLING we find PRODUCT OF SIN.\textsuperscript{110}

Emotion in present-day English and Middle English is conceptually structured via a set of primary, overarching schemas, STATES ARE CONTAINERS >> EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER, EMOTIONS ARE FORCES and EXCESS EMOTION IS INSANITY, which are found in many emotion metaphors. Focusing on grief or sorrow, we find that GRIEF IS FORCE and that this force is embodied. We feel it and conceptualise it both in present-day English and Middle English as PAIN, BITTERNESS, a BURDEN, and also as DARKNESS. LACK OF WHOLENESS is not a mapping which is found in emotion metaphors, despite being a prominent one in SICKNESS, and as will be seen in §5.4, INSANITY metaphors. It is expected however, as we move on to look at Middle English insanity metaphors, that there will be other Middle English conceptualisations of insanity which have elements in common with conceptualisations of both physical sickness and emotion.

### 5.4 INSANITY METAPHORS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

Having looked at the metaphors invoked in the neighbouring semantic fields of EMOTION and SICKNESS, I will now move on to consider the metaphors employed in the field of INSANITY. Given its closeness to the other two fields, we would anticipate finding some overlap in the metaphors and / or schemas employed. Following the established pattern, I will look in this section at the field in present-day English and in the next section at conceptualisations common in Middle English. We can first note that the way sufferers themselves describe their experiences of mental health problems in present-day English often takes the form of euphemism. This is a way of safely or obliquely naming an abstract experience of pain, dread, revulsion, teeming thoughts and aloneness. This kind of language is often rich in metaphor. The following section explores colloquial INSANITY expressions, and then examines each INSANITY metaphor in turn.

\textsuperscript{110} pride is þe ferst seed of sorwe and the seed of sorwe þat is synne 1450_treatise_ICAMET, whereby sorrow is what grows when sin is planted, illustrates the complex nature of medieval sorrow. This is not a ‘one-shot’ metaphor (see §3.5.1). Linked with the cardinal sin of accidie ‘sloth’, some forms of sorrow were perceived as immoral: ‘for a religious in the earlier medieval period, a state of sadness might be conceived of as a sin in either of two different forms – as tristitia or, if there were significant areas of neglect or physical inaction, as acedia’ (Jackson 1981: 181). Sorrow can also be the result of sin, in the form of a punishment.
In this sub-section, I consider present-day English colloquial and informal phrases and expressions relating to insanity in general, and in §5.4.2, I discuss in turn several conceptual metaphors underlying them in detail. These were collected from films, radio, elicitation from friends and family and mental health forums on the internet. This last is a rich source of language drawn from discussion sites where those experiencing mental health problems can discuss a variety of topics, including their experiences of their illness.

A change in attitude towards those experiencing mental health problems has tempered our language in twenty-first century present-day English and made us less likely to use pejorative expressions. We can talk of illness, problems, issues and disorder, of course, and sufferers, as in physical illnesses. Regarding mental health, we can say that someone is not themselves. In less formal contexts, people will say that a person is not quite with it, not been right recently. When not using euphemism, medicalised language may be employed: I’ve been depressed, I’m on anti-depressants or even I have bipolar disorder. Lay people do talk about insanity using psychiatric terminology, but this does not readily give access to conceptual metaphors. Terms such as schizo-affective disorder and dissociative disorder are diagnoses only, any metaphor in the Greek / Latin loans long fossilised, and non-productive. Nonetheless, language used to talk about general psychological states abounds with metaphor. We talk about obsession, shallow affect, paranoia, derailment, flight of ideas (Rosenman 2008: 393) often without realising that these terms are metaphoric. They are an indispensable part of the language of modern psychiatry and clinical psychology.

Terms like depression express the converse of the more general orientational metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP. Depression is a metaphor from Latin deprimere ‘to press down’. In its literal sense in Early Modern English, it meant ‘the action of lowering / process of sinking’. Depressed’s ‘mental illness’ sense is attested from 1621 (OED); see appendix D for a full list of first attestations of ‘mental illness’ lexemes from Early Modern to Late Modern English. Four predominant metaphors for depression have been suggested (Charteris-Black 2012): DESCENT, DARKNESS, WEIGHT and CAPTOR. However, this conceptualising of depression using a limited stock of metaphors of inactive, dark and heavy has been criticised as being ‘stultifying’:

Depression is not just passivity, depletion and incapacity. It has various active processes of teeming thoughts, pain, horror, dread, revulsion, mutation. For other
patients, it is estrangement, alienation and overwhelming aloneness. They are not captured by the present diagnoses nor by metaphors of darkness, depletion, enervation and slowing (Rosenman 2008: 396).

As noted in §1.2, when people use language like nutter, crazy, barmy and screw loose, they are usually pointing to an aspect of behaviour that is odd or abhorrent to the speaker. This kind of language is found in certain genres on social media, or informally, face-to-face. Many of the phrases listed below are in common use, to be found in different written and spoken genres, but I would suggest that the general view is that these expressions are not respectful, and that ideally, different language should be used to describe people with mental health problems, perhaps more formal and medicalised language. Moreover, I would venture that language users are reluctant to admit to using these common expressions to talk about those they think of as being mentally ill. Indeed, such expressions are more often used in the senses which express situations and behaviours which people deem artistically creative, weird, wrong, odd or unique, consider by way of example:

Some people think I’m bonkers, But I just think I’m free. Man, I’m just livin’ my life, There’s nothin’ crazy about me.111

Present-day English expressions and phrases for insanity often utilise more than one metaphor schema: barmpot, bananas, loopy. There is also considerable overlap in mappings between insanity expressions and those illustrating drunk, drugged and angry states. High for example is a way people with hypomania describe their experiences, as do those using drugs.

5.4.2 METAPHORS FOR INSANITY IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

This section lists nine commonly-found metaphors for INSANITY in present-day English, which I will examine in turn, see §1.2.1. They hold general currency and some overlap with the mappings found in EMOTION and SICKNESS fields.

INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE

This metaphor can be seen partly as belonging to Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) ontological schema STATES ARE CONTAINERS and partly as belonging to the event structure metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS, see §2.3.3. Lakoff & Johnson assert that, amongst other things, CONTAINER can be used of human bodies, as we are entities with physical boundaries (1980:

111 Bonkers by Dizzee Rascal, hip-hop artist, 2009.
29). Any entity with a surface, which is separate from another entity and which has an ‘in’ and an ‘out’, is a container. As well as our bodies, humans experience the mind as a container. Metaphors in colloquialisms express insanity as not being ‘in’ the mind-container, as being ‘away’ from the normal or sane self, in a place where the usual norms of social mores or behaviour do not apply. A part of the self has gone to a distant place, a different location where insanity can be found. Commonly-found expressions include: *Living in cloud cuckoo land; not in her right mind; Out to lunch; out of your mind; at my wit’s end; away with the fairies; have you taken leave of your senses?* This conceptualisation in these expressions suggests that people experience their selves as bifurcated, expressed classically in what Lakoff and Johnson describe as the Essential Self metaphor: *I’m not myself* (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 283). This is the notion of the Subject, the rational and conscious, not being located in the same place as the Self, one’s bodily and cultural experiences. This **INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE** is a different location, or a different container to the ‘usual’ mind container. As discussed in §2.3.3, this ‘not being in the usual place’ by necessity involves a transition to the new LOCATION. The emphasis is often on the **going**, the **travelling**, with the verb **go** often featuring in expressions, or here, **step**:

```
Madness is the emergency exit. You can just step outside, and close the door on all those dreadful things that happened. You can lock them away... for ever.  
```

**INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE** is also seen in psychiatric registers. The expression *flight of ideas* is used to describe the wild trajectory of a person’s thoughts when in a psychotic state. Likewise, *dissociative disorder* can describe detachment from reality, though as noted previously this is a relatively fossilized expression which may well not be viewed metaphorically. One person experiencing schizophrenia said: *tactile hallucinations I feel are separate from other things I experience*; another said: *I feel detached from my emotions*.

---

**INSANITY IS FALLING**

Insanity is a state, so **falling into madness** expresses the transition into that state: **period of decline**. The verb phrase **falling into** can be replaced by **plummeting into; tumbling into; diving into**; verbs which have ‘downward motion’ as an essential semantic feature. It is this

---

112 Lakoff & Johnson’s **SELF CONTROL IS BEING IN ONE’S NORMAL LOCATION** metaphor: this ‘means that his Subject – his locus of consciousness, reason and judgement – is not functioning in a way that allows the normal exercise of control over the Self’ (1999: 275).

downward element of the motion which is of importance; one does not, in this metaphor, *walk into madness* (although motion verbs are used in other metaphors). Therefore in the FALLING metaphor we have a mix of schemas under the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor: the ontological STATES ARE CONTAINERS,\textsuperscript{114} and the orientational BAD IS DOWN.\textsuperscript{115}

The concept of an edge to this container is a productive one in present-day English, more so in INSANITY than PHYSICAL SICKNESS. We can say: *it pushed him over the edge* when talking about a mental state, but less so a physical one, even though STATES ARE CONTAINERS in both cases. The emphasis in some of these expressions is on the ‘nearly being there’, the experience of being in a liminal place between two different states, sanity and insanity. This edge is conceptualised to be the edge of an abyss or precipice into insanity in the STATES ARE CONTAINERS schema. Something in the experience of the transition to an adverse mental state reminds experiencers of the unpleasant sensation of potentially falling, as when one peers over the edge of a deep drop: *tumbling into a pit of despair*, of not knowing what will come next or be at the end of the fall. The word *falling* itself is rarely used in this context in present-day English, but it is striking how frequently it is the concept of *edge, border, verge or brink* which is predominant in the present-day English metaphors: *on the verge of a nervous breakdown*. Being on the edge does not necessarily entail falling or even potential falling – a door can be seen as an edge, and it is a liminal space. There may be no fall involved, simply a transition from one state into another, see for instance: *chemistry bored him to the point of insanity*. There are further limits on the use of terms like *edge, border, verge or brink*; they predominantly collocate with words denoting negative concepts which are non-permanent in nature, or states which in real-world terms have a beginning, such that one cannot say *he fell into learning disability*. Moreover, whilst one can be on the *border of tears* or on the *brink of bankruptcy*, it is at least questionable to say that one is on the *verge of happiness* or the *edge of contentment*. Another way of thinking about edges, verges and borders is in terms of transformation. If one is nearly ‘there’, one is changing from one state to another, even if the change is just from the ‘state of not being there’ to ‘the state of being there’. For some experiencers of psychotic illness, insanity itself is a liminal realm between reality and the contents of their mind. The role of these ‘boundary’ words in conceptual metaphor, investigating notions of liminality, transitions and borders, their

---

\textsuperscript{114} CONTRACTING A DISEASE IS FALLING can be seen as part of the primary event structure metaphor EVENTS ARE MOVEMENTS, and is attested in Greek, French and Italian (Fedriani 2011: 319).

\textsuperscript{115} Lakoff & Johnson (1980) have VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN.
relationship to negativity, and how Englishes past and present express this is a topic for future research, cf. Middle English nigh, and the BNC survey of nearly and edge words, chapter 4.

INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY

INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY is rooted in physical experience, because of our understanding that paths are generally safe, but travelling without a path can be haphazard or dangerous. This metaphor is both a part of the STATES ARE LOCATIONS spatialisation schema, and in addition, there is overlap with another mapping, LIFE IS A JOURNEY.\(^{116}\) A great number of general LIFE metaphors are derived from the latter, including he’s had a hard paper round, our ways have parted, the road less travelled, etc. Unlike SICKNESS IS A JOURNEY, where the end-state is foregrounded, the focus of LIFE IS A JOURNEY is the mode of travelling. The conceptualisation involves amongst other things, the idea that we live our lives, and think our thoughts, in terms of a linear route in physical space. Our journey in this conceptualisation can encompass internal choices we make (paths), and external social and cultural eventualities (obstacles). Good mental health is seen as travelling along a designated path and making certain ascribed decisions in order to stay sane. Illness or bad choices are conceptualised as obstacles, or deviating from the route. Going astray can mean loss of control, or insanity: off his rocker, off his trolley, off the rails; round the twist/bend. The lexical fields of INSANITY and that of WRONGNESS intersect in words such as mad, crazy and lunatic when a speaker wants to express that someone else’s behaviour does not accord with what they expect. An example of this was seen in U.K. politics in 2013 when certain factions were labelled by certain other factions as mad, swivel-eyed loons.

INSANITY IS DARKNESS

Most phrases which express this metaphor are specifically related to depression, and also to the emotion sorrow or sadness: a dark cloud; living in a fog; but in other mental illnesses, especially those involving psychosis, when referring to lack of insight into reality, we refer to a lack of lucidity. This metaphor is ontological and relies on our embodied experience of darkness – not being able to see to travel the ‘right’ path: walking through a dark tunnel; I can’t see my way clear; in expressions such as these, there is overlap with LIFE IS A JOURNEY, but the focus is not on the path, but on the person’s ability to see the way. Just being in darkness, path or no path can be disempowering and frightening: I’m in a dark world and nobody understands me. INSANITY IS DARKNESS expressions describe bleakness, with lack of

\(^{116}\) LIFE IS A JOURNEY derives from the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image-schema as described by Lakoff & Turner (1989).
growth and stimulation: *dark thoughts; monochrome existence.* As part of this schema, expressions emerge which conceptualise the depression, like darkness itself, as being unknowable, threatening and constantly present, such as *black dog,* as popularised by both Samuel Johnson and Winston Churchill (Quaile 2013: 49).

**INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS**

One of the functions of an ontological metaphor is enabling an abstract concept to be conceptualised as an entity, where, for the purposes of communication, it can be referred to, quantified, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 26). The mind is an ontological entity, as is sanity, a ‘whole’ mind. Although all the INSANITY metaphors map distressing states or events that could happen to a person onto the target domain of INSANITY, LACK OF WHOLENESS is the epitome of insanity metaphors: *insanity ‘not-whole-mind’;* being less than a whole person. This schema can be further drawn out in order to express different qualities of an abstract object, which, in the sheer quantity of present-day English colloquialisms, reflects a preoccupation with this conceptual metaphor. Hence THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT: *he cracked up; she went to pieces.* In this schema, WHOLE IS GOOD, in the same way that, UP, BRIGHT and WARM are good.

The MIND IS A MACHINE metaphor can be seen as a part of this schema, in that machines have parts, and when parts are missing, the machine is broken, i.e. INSANITY IS A BROKEN-DOWN MACHINE: *she had a breakdown; not firing on all cylinders; a screw loose; unhinged; unbalanced.* Equally, though, MIND IS A MACHINE can be seen as a more modern instantiation of a much older, ontological process of personification. The mind can be seen as animate, perhaps as an animal or homunculus, which, when it is unwell, is ‘unwhole’.

The INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor is seen in phrases which express the state of being broken, empty, lacking or having lost something: *not all there; numbness; lost his marbles; knitting with only one needle; losing it (the plot); not holding it together; not quite the full shilling.* With this last phrase, it can be seen there is some overlap with expressions which denote dull-wittedness. In psychiatric terminology, *impoverishment of thought* is a negative symptom of schizophrenia, as is *avolition,* both of which express lack. Sufferers of depression talk about *disintegration,* and the *pure emptiness* they experience.

The INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor is very productive and found in a plethora of insanity expressions which originate mainly from two templates. One of these describes the concept of the body being a house or some kind of uninhabited building, of
which the head is the top floor: *The lights are on but there’s no one home; There are no phones on planet Pluto; The lift doesn’t go all the way to the top.* This type of expression focuses on the lack being located specifically in the head, or a lack of communication to or from the head (lifts, phones). The second expression template for INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS is that which produces variants on *a sandwich short of a picnic, a few bricks short of a load,* etc. Like the first template, these colloquialisms include regional and imaginative variants, and can be enumerated in their dozens in present-day English. These constructions have become fossilized to the extent that anything that fills the variable slots (X,Y) in: *a (few) X short of a Y* conveys the sense ‘insane’. Unlike the first template, the lack referred to is not located specifically in the head, but is more generally alluded to.

### HEAD CONCEPTUAL METONYM

The INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor is motivated by a HEAD conceptual metonym. There are so many metaphorical phrases which express loss or lack of reason by means of reference to an empty head, that it is possible to say that this metonym is cognitively entrenched, and has become conventionalised. This is a conceptual metonym of the CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS type, whereby the head or brain container stands for the reason and sense which, in sanity, are stored within: *OED* has ‘centre of mental activity’. Conversely, in insanity, the head is empty, or sometimes filled with ludicrous objects. The head as empty vessel is reflected in many metaphorical and metonymical phrases: *basket case; nuts; pot (potty/pots for rags); wacko/bonkers* (the noise of one banging one’s head). Head metaphors have some cross-over with drug-addled states: *off one’s gourd.* It is difficult to know the origin of many of the head phrases, some of which might have originated as non-verbal indications as the head as source-of-problem. In this sense, the HEAD conceptual metonym is experientially motivated, because it makes manifest a ‘stands-for relationship’ (Barcelona 2003: 226). Because the loss or lack in the INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor refers to reason contained in the head, this results in phrases and expressions which merge both the HEAD conceptual metonym and the INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor: *tapped* indicates that the head has had metaphorical holes bored in it and has been

---

117 Appendix A contains a list of colloquial present-day English INSANITY phrases, and a list of words adapted from OED.

118 And in some cases, WHOLE FOR PART type, where the head stands for a small part of what it constitutes. In fact, *OED* points to several different HEAD conceptual metaphors, including what looks like different types of CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS: an ‘aptitude’, which is more to do with having, and using, sense or reason; also ‘a person’s ability to tolerate something’ e.g. alcohol or heights, which is closely related to the head conceptual metaphor used in INSANITY expressions, differing in that it refers to the ability of the person to be in control, rather than to lack.
emptied of sense. The allusion in **barmy / barmpot** is either to the airy / yeasty (empty) froth on beer, or when spelled **balmy**, to the softness of a weak mind (lacking in substance).

**INSANITY** language is abundant in metonymic processes, and it seems that in our desire to understand a difficult concept, the head becomes the focus of creative metonymic mappings.

---

**INSANITY IS A FORCE**

As with **SICKNESS IS A FORCE** and **EMOTIONS ARE FORCES**, **INSANITY IS A FORCE** is an ontological metaphor, where the force which is used as the source domain is personified as an opponent with which one struggles: *I’m being knocked down by my depression; I need to overcome it.* Common words used are **overwhelmed, defeated, battle and fight**: they are **slowly taking control**. Sometimes the force is a force of nature: *the tsunami underneath; I’m drowning here;* or some other adverse condition: *I’m wading through treacle; I’m coated in thick tar*.

As with physical sickness and many emotions, insanity is conceptualised as a force which acts negatively on the person, rendering them enfeebled. **FORCE** metaphors in **INSANITY** are often seen when people express a lack of control regarding what is happening to them. There is some overlap with **INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER** metaphors (below). We also see **FORCE** metaphors when we see emotions and bodily phenomenon linked to **INSANITY** to show the extent or depth of strength. This is metaphorical use at one remove from the actual concept of **INSANITY**, but the underlying metaphors remain. *He’s mad in love or I’m mad thirsty* express the strong degree to which something is the case: ‘I’m so thirsty, it’s like I’m going mad’.

---

**INSANITY IS A PRISON**

**INSANITY IS A PRISON** can be seen as another instantiation of the **INSANITY IS A FORCE** metaphor. Being imprisoned is a force which sufferers consistently experience and describe, especially in depression. There is a feeling of inaction, of not being able to function, of being helpless and captive: *I’m shackled by this; I feel trapped*. This metaphor can also be said to derive from **GENERIC IS SPECIFIC**, part of the great chain metaphor, where something psychological can be represented by something physical (Lakoff 1993: 33).

---

**INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER**

**INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER** expresses a spectrum of confusion, chaos or disorder resulting from not being in control of mental capacities. Being out of control of one’s usual stable mind is a commonly-expressed symptom of serious mental illness, in extreme cases with
some patients reporting delusional beliefs that persons unknown are controlling their thoughts on their behalf. Other behaviours where a person might feel they have lost control might include hallucinations, mood swings, impulsivity or agitation, derailment of speech and derealization.

The INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER metaphor is often expressed as an animal on the loose or causing havoc, hence INSANITY IS ANIMATE: it’s like an animal that wants to break out. The origin of many animal expressions is uncertain. Cuckoo either refers to the haunting, up-down (one extreme to another) quality of its call, or to its outlandish nesting habits. Squirrelly is an allusion to the unpredictable movement of that animal, and barking is a reference to rabid dogs, wildness again referring to INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER. The ontological personification in insanity expressions often involves animals: INSANITY IS EXHIBITING ANIMALISTIC BEHAVIOUR expressing the behaviour itself, wildness, unpredictability, etc. This is often expressed in simile.

There are further phrasal templates which generate several of the primary idiomatic expressions for INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER. Cloning the she’s got a / there’s a [animal] in the [allusion to head] template is a very common one: Bats in the belfry; A kangaroo loose in the top paddock. This pattern occurs so frequently in present-day English that, as with previously-mentioned head expressions, it seems it is limited only by imagination. Other expressions containing simile have conceptual metaphor as their basis, for example variants on the mad as [x] template: mad as a box of frogs; and similarly, but referring to a person’s thoughts, or a thing or situation which is disordered: it’s a mad woman’s breakfast in there.

Other expressions pertaining to chaotic thoughts include loopy, which could be a non-verbal allusion to the swirling motion of thoughts in disarray,\(^\text{119}\) hence also fruit loops; all over the place; not on the ball and hasn’t got both hands on the steering wheel. Korkeamäki (2013: 38) offers the suggestion that a fruitcake, being the repository of all sorts of unwanted fruit, is a metaphor for a jumbled or disordered mind. Whether or not fruit-related metaphors started being used independently, or following centuries of nut phrases, is a moot point. Bananas is either merely a fruit reference – Korkeamäki lists some of the possibly fanciful origins, including the danger of slipping on the skin (2013: 48) – or perhaps a convoluted

\(^{119}\) Indeed, the logo for Mind, the mental health charity, is a scribble. This represents confusion and lack of orderly thoughts.
allusion to human-like apes which lack the reasoning capacities of a human. Also cf. going apeshit, which is more often used to denote anger.

**INSANITY IS A BURDEN**

Like the DARKNESS metaphor, INSANITY IS A BURDEN is most often associated with depression, but also with schizophrenia. It derives from the DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS schema. The term burden of mental illness when used by health professionals refers to the personal and social difficulties someone with a long-term condition experiences. It seems that since Middle English, the ‘burden’ has shifted from being something that someone like Hoccleve carried alone, to one that society has a joint responsibility for, in terms of the economic costs of putting health plans in place (Kazdin et al. 2011).

There is overlap with mappings with the emotions guilt and sorrow as target domains, and also other abstract concepts such as debt and responsibility. The heaviness of insanity is sometimes expressed as lethargy, or feelings and thoughts weighing too heavily to bear; a ball of lead in your gut. There is some evidence to suggest that this metaphor can be to some extent embodied, at least in depression, where in severe cases of stress, grief or depression, stress-induced cardiomyopathy, or broken-heart syndrome can produce symptoms of heaviness in the chest (Marshall 2016) and a heavy feeling in the gut, as depression slows down the metabolism.

**5.5 INSANITY METAPHORS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH**

In this section I will look at the predominant metaphors for insanity in Middle English using examples from the INSANITY database. Further to the discussion of attitudes to insanity in §1.3, I will also look at the INSANITY phrases and expressions used by Hoccleve and Kempe, which express INSANITY conceptual metaphors of Middle English. I pay particular attention to Hoccleve’s use of ontological wit, making reference to insanity without recourse to phrases out of wit or wistles.

**INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE**

As in present-day English, STATES ARE LOCATIONS is a predominant metaphor. The verbs come and go are therefore often used, in a type of spatial deixis, with go generally pointing to negative states and come to positive ones: cf. to have gone out of his wits 1481_histreyn_ICAME T; come agayn vnto his right mynde 1450_alpha1_ICAME T. Margery Kempe uses the INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE metaphor: ower Lord be grace restoryd her
ageyn (MK; 23); whan this creatur was thus graciously comen ageyn to hir mende (MK; 189); and this creatur went owt of hir mende (MK 149).

STATES ARE CONTAINERS is also seen, thus we have phrases containing metaphorical uses of prepositions such as into: Herodes [...] fil into woodnesse as a man þat was ofte lunaticus, þat is mad in certayne tymes of þe mone a1387_Trev. Higd._MED; out of: as she were half out of hir mynde 1390_Chaucer.CT.Pri_OED; from: all to gyder from his wyttes 1389_caxtblan_ICAMET; and metaphorical use of such verbs as restored: he restored was to mynde ageyn 1425_Lydg.Troy_MED.

A person can be almost insane almost þei wer wode, as if approaching a state of insanity, a place which may never be reached. There are numerous conceptual metaphors which suggest being on the border, edge or threshold of the state of insanity: þe king was welny wood Whanne he sawe þe werke not stood a1500_Sidrak & B_MED and Nighe of witte she wold wede ?a1400_Morte.Arth._MED. Like metaphorical fallen, the majority of Middle English and Modern English examples in OED have nigh pre-modifying adjectives and participles which express negative situations: (nigh) dead for frigt, dreynt in a water, overthrowe.

In Hoccleve’s experience of sanity, there is a place where wit abides separately from the self, or the person. Hoccleve’s wit is compartmentalised from his experience of himself, personified, referred to as if it were an entity which can survive in its own right once separated from the self. The INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE metaphor involves the concept of a place of insanity the person is always potentially travelling towards, or goes to for a time: the substaunce / of my memory / wente to pley / as for a certayne space (HC; 50-51). He refers to his wit being gone, as if his self remains intact, but that wit makes a journey to that other place where insanity resides: the wyld infirmitie [...] whiche me owt of my selfe / cast and threw (HC; 40-42). This kind of imagery is said by some (Scott 2006: 93) to be indicative of an awareness in medieval times of what is now called the divided self. Hoccleve uses imagery of his wit being completely removed from his self: a dysseveraunce [...] betwyxt me and it (HC; 249). He talks about being vpon that othar syde (HD; 60), meaning that he was once in one place (insanity), and now he is in another (sanity). When Hoccleve talks about his wit being restored, it is again personified. Like when it goes out to play, his wit has autonomy as a separate entity: þouȝ þat my witte were a pilgrim, And wente fer from home, he cam again (HC; 232).
The FALLING conceptual metaphor is blend of the orientational image schema SAD / BAD IS DOWN and general event structure metaphor CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS and hence, CONTRACTING A DISEASE IS FALLING. In some phrases, there is overlap with event structure metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS, or specifically, INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE. In Middle English, this schema is very productive for fallen. The ‘event’ of the verb fallen is the ‘movement’ required to conceptually enter the state of insanity, which it is possible to go into or out of: A noble man [...] fel in to suche a madnes of melancolye þat he in alle wise trowed þat he himsilf was a catte a1398_Trev. Barth_MED. In the INSANITY database, fallen is found in frequent collocation with frenzy: if he fall in þe fransie, late schafe his hede 1440_liber_MEMT; with wit: man in wiit or man mai falle was vte of itt a1300_Cursor_MED; and wodeness: þai þat wer abowte was ferd at he had bene fallen in-to a wudenes c1450_Alph.Tales_MED.

Other negative states collocate with metaphorical fallen. Examples used are from the ICAMET corpus: negative emotions: despair, wanhope, grete ire or wrath; psychological distress / insanity: deppere confusion, fransye, maniam, evyn wude; physical sickness: sickness; negative states: poverty. Metaphorical fallen associated with moral failings is very frequently found: mischief, decay, deadly sinne, foule synne of heresy, gret peril, torment, lust, the myre of synne, the depthe of helle, corruptcion, more merknes, ypocrisie, a wikkid bihest, veyneglorie, errour. Medieval insanity is sometimes seen as a punishment for the sin of moral degradation, and so this fall into a negative state and the ‘erring from the right path’ expressed in INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY have much in common. Following her initial recovery and her decision to try to be chaste, Margery Kempe is tempted to have sexual relations with a man who is not her husband. Her use of a FALLING metaphor here does not describe a moral failing, but nonetheless, her psychological distress is of her perceived sin: Than fel sche half in dyspeyr (MK; 350). The use of half indicates that conceptually, like insanity, despair is a state which can be almost or partially experienced, which it is possible to be half in and half out of.

Hoccleve’s INSANITY IS FALLING metaphor is overtly apparent. A general allusion is made in To drede a fall comynge (HC; 115), but fallen in relation to his specific illness is

---

A number of searches of FALL as a source domain (with spelling variants) were performed. I manually sifted the results for non-literal target domain words.
used in *in swich plyn* y-fall (HD; 393); *to have fall* / in-to that wildenesse (HC; 1107) and *se how this man* / is fallen in agayne (HC; 182); *swich a fal* | As thy seeknesse was (HD; 375).

**INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY**

As an extension of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the source domain expressed in the INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY metaphor is one of there being a straight path along which one travels throughout one’s psychological life, and that wandering, straying away from the direction one is meant to, or that which society expects one to, take leads to insanity. There is a link here with Christian and moral beliefs: *Y am weie, treuthe, and lijf; no man cometh to the fadir, but bi me* (John_14:6_MEC). This same concept of morally straying from the path has been extant since Old English, where we find *misfare, misfere, miswend, wander, and dwele*.

In Middle English, several terms and phrases express the conceptualisation of not travelling the true path, such as *err* and *misnim*: *He also errip greetli þat bi vnmesurable and vndiscreet seyinge or synginge of salmes or ympnys falliþ in-to fransye or in-to woodnes a1450_Hilton CPerf. _MED._ French loan *bestourn* reflects a similar concept: *toke reson fro vs, and bestourned our wytte 1483_caxtkni_ICAMET.* *Right* expresses this metaphor also: *thou hast trespassed a-gein rightwisnesse 1450_Merlin3_ICAMET.* In terms of phrases using this metaphor to express (in)sanity, we find *right-witted* ‘correct, true < straight, not crooked’; *ȝeueþ þe wode her right witte ; he come agayn vnto his right mynde 1450_alpha1_ICAMET*; and also *distract* in terms of being ‘pulled away’ from the course: *He shold be distracte oute of his witte 1470–85_Malory.Morte_OED.* Now obsolete in this sense, *braid* ‘to start or jerk, to turn mad’ has a common Germanic root ‘to pull hither and thither’: *For verray wo out of his wit he breyde c1405_Chaucer.FT_OED.* In his *Complaint*, Hoccleve says he is lost: *to a loste vessell / lickened myght I be* (HC; 82). The fact of his being lost means that he cannot join in the social activities he used to with his friends, because they are ignoring him: *they that me sye / fidden a-vey fro me* (HC; 79). He is not on the same path as they are.

---

121 The concept of ASTRAY is alluded to in an Old English riddle referring to the insanity-inducing effect of wine, here *gedwolene* probably refers to immoral actions (having strayed from the righteous path): *þæt heo swa gemædde, mode bestolene, dæde gedwolene c950_c10anon.riddles l. 167_HC.*

122 This could be a reference to hypomania.
Hoccleve’s use of terms *clowdy; sonne abatid; derke showre* (HC; 23-25) demonstrate the INSANITY IS DARKNESS metaphor. Hoccleve uses imagery of natural life-cycles, such as trees and flowers, to illustrate that his depression makes him feel as if he is at the end of his life (HD; 268-273 and HC; 3-7), or at least not fully alive. Death is a time of permanent darkness. For Hoccleve, the start of the dark days of autumn and winter, in the prologue to the *Complaint*, are analogous to the start of the dark times of his depression. As both an extension of the INSANITY IS DARKNESS metaphor (things in nature need light to live) and the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, Hoccleve uses imagery of natural lifecycles and imminent death: *trees robbe of ther leves* (HC; 3) as source domains for his mental state.

**INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS**

As in present-day English, this metaphor is ontological, where the mind is an entity. This enables actions to be done to the mind, whether it be the taking of wit: *A guydi man þare cam al-so, þat þe deuel hadde i-beo longue In him and bi-nomen him is wit* c1300_SLeg._MED, or the losing of it: *vtturlly she lost her hole mynde* 1400_barthol_ICAMET. Kempe uses the INSANITY IS LACK OF WHOLENESS metaphor as a general description of her insanity: *sche lost reson and her wyttes a long tym* (MK; 22).

Wit and mynde are usually used in phrases denoting ‘unwholeness’: *hem wantep here witt* 1400_P.PL_OED; *Or heo for hunger hadr forgone hi wit & ek hur mende* 1380_Firumb_OED. There are several expressions of lack and loss relating to the mind, with *wane-wyt* ‘lack-wit’ being in fairly common use: *Wytles and wod, won in þair wytt* a1500_St.Robt.Knares_OED. This loss or lack is sometimes expressed as a changing or an altering: *Wodenes þe wrixlet,*124 & *pi wit failet* c1540_Destr.Troy_MED.

As the faculties of the mind are progressively lessened, LACK OF WHOLENESS results. This metaphor includes expressions which address loss and lack: *ffor in olde Age is lessid the mynde* 1481_caxtulle_ICAMET. This example refers to the process of dementia. A whole mind was necessary to write a will: *I, Rychard Gray, not hole of body but hole in mynd* 1432_Wills_ICAMET.

---

123 *Non est compos mentis, sed gaudet lucidis intervallis* is common in English legal documents from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century, but *lucid* does not enter English until the seventeenth century.

124 ‘alter, confuse’ *MED.*
LACK OF WHOLENESS is also expressed in moral failing: *per wodnes to correct in waste & softnes of clepyng* 1435_Misyn FL._MED. Sin makes people ‘unwhole’, and God makes them whole again. Here insanity is mentioned as the reason for not being whole, but often, as well as physical and mental illnesses, the notion of being whole is used to conceptualise spiritual health: *Another mane ther was that had a ffende within him and was out of his witt, and come and met with us, as we bare the body of holy Euseby: and anone he was deliuerid and made hole* 1500_hieron_ICAMET.

In a personification of *wit*, and his loss of it, Hoccleve, deems his wit to have its own health; it can be ‘feeble’, ‘sick’ or ‘sound’: *What nedith it my feble wit appeire* (HC; 277); *Whethir hise wittis seek beme or sounde* (HC; 213). Although protesting that he is now well (*sad* ‘firm, constant’), Hoccleve admits that his wit is potentially weak: *my sclendre wit feel I as sad & stable as evere it was* (HC; 365). The use of *sclendre* could imply weakness, frailty, lack of strength, or less strength than usual, as does his use of *alteracioun* of his wit. This is a way of referring to a change in his level of sanity, as if the change was imposed upon him from the outside. If the belief is that all such changes are effected by God, then this explains his lack of ownership of the change: *He ʒaf me wit and he tooke it away Whanne that he sy that I it mis dispente* (HC; 400). To Hoccleve, there is an extent to which he is powerless in his lack. He uses the passive voice to refer to his loss of wits: *refte hym froo*, avoiding saying ‘I lost my wits’, or ‘I was out of my wits’. It also matters greatly to Hoccleve what the attitudes of other people are. He goes on to describe his struggle to be accepted again after he has recovered, and not to be judged: *right so they / that demen my witt is gone | and yet this day / there demythe many a one* (HC; 207). His discourse on the nature of wit leads him to describe how a drunken man can lose his wits temporarily, but then fully recover: *his wittes / welny ben refte hym froo | and buryed in the Cuppe / he afterward | Comythe to hym selfe agayne* (HC; 229), and presumably not be judged too harshly.

INSANITY IS A FORCE

The concepts linked to in this ontological metaphor are those of an external power exerting strength or pressure on a person, where it is hard to resist. It is no coincidence that one of the neighbouring conceptual and lexical fields to INSANITY is that of UNSTEADINESS, to where, during the Middle English period, lexemes *dizzy* and *gidie* both migrated, see §3.2.1, §3.3.1. and cf. *sclendre*, above. Insanity is sometimes conceptualised as a fire: *Fuyr is vndertent kyndlid in my woodnes* a1382_WB(EV)_Deut.32:22_MED. Possession can also be seen as a malign force which takes control of the person. When a person starts behaving in a way
which is out of character or contrary to predominant beliefs and culture, it is easy to see how
this could be explained as not being the person acting but another force, here, the devil: he
wanderid rennynge / vnknowynge what he did / hastyly he went whedyr the ympetuousnes of
the malicious woodenes ympellid hym 1400_barthol_ICAMET. Margery Kempe’s use of
words such as vexid and labowryd indicate an INSANITY IS A FORCE metaphor: sche was
labowrd wyth temptacyons of dyspeyr (MK; 360) and was wondyrlye vexid and labowryd
wyth spyritys (MK; 149-154). Kempe has frequent visions of devils.

Hoccleve frequently uses either the INSANITY IS A FORCE metaphor, or, arising from
this, INSANITY IS A BATTLE. In personifying his wit, Hoccleve separates it from his own
person, conceptualising it as an opponent when he talks of debating or arguing with it. When
Reason tells him he has to wrastle against his illness (HC; 342) he is directly employing fight
or struggle imagery; and that, perversely, life itself is his opponent: my lyfe is / to me a very
foo (HC; 333). For life, we read ‘life with depression’. His wits are weak, and he feels he
does not have the strength to fight this force: Bifore þat my wittis weren vnsad
(HC; 255). Hoccleve says that a grevous venyme [...] enfected / and wildyd my brayne
(HC; 234-5). The use of venyme is an example of the INSANITY IS A FORCE metaphor, whereby the self is
invaded by, or somehow has to resist, a hostile agent.

When his friends think that his depression will return, they use the INSANITY IS A
BATTLE metaphor assaile hym wole agayne that maladie (HC; 93) and Thy wit is nat so
mighty to susteene | That labour (HD; 475). FORCE or BATTLE metaphors are seen when he
describes being scoured (HC; 23) sore sett on fire (HC; 62) lyved in great torment / and
martire (HC; 63). He also frequently uses words such as wo and care (HC; 339) suffring and
duresses (HC; 343). He talks of adversyte – an opponent – and of his wit being feble (HC;
276), i.e. not able to resist the force of the insanity. When he talks of trying to control his
facial expression in order that others should not deem him insane, he says My spirites /
laboryd euere bysyly | to peinte countinaunce / chere and loke (HC; 148).

INSANITY IS A PRISON

A minor metaphor, which can be seen as deriving from INSANITY IS A FORCE, is INSANITY IS
A PRISON. Perhaps the greatest use of prison as a source domain in Middle English is when
referring to hell: hou he miȝt best don to deluyeren mannus soule out of þat sory prisoun
1450_rollhor1_ICAMET. Related to this is another use, that of the temptations of sin – bodily
lusts are the manifestations of the temptations – the body is a living hell, the prison which
prevents spiritual purity: *who shal delivere me fro the prisoun of my caytif body?*

1405_perske_ICAMET. As part of the ontological mapping of difficulties onto forces, it is easy to see how this preoccupation of the medieval writer, the difficulty of the salvation of their eternal soul, should be conceptualised as a force which constrained them. ICAMET corpus does not contain any mappings of PRISON onto INSANITY, but there is an example in Hoccleve’s Complaint, where he seeks to: *vnpike [...] the lok* (HC; 387) of his depression. It seems that this mapping emerged in Middle English, and was in use in Early Modern English:125 *Haue we eaten on the insane Root, That takes the Reason Prisoner?* (a1616_Shakespeare.Macbeth_OED), and, as seen in §5.4, is in full use in present-day English.

**INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER**

The conceptualisation of reason and clear thinking as stable and based on firm foundations, or as moving in a regular, unimpeded fashion, is expressed in terms and phrases involving the LACK OF ORDER metaphor. Instability is undesirable, for instance in *vnstabilnesse of pought* 1450_9r.RylandsEngMS404. The delusional thoughts referred to in the following excerpt are caused by a *trubblyng*, a reference to mental agitation or disturbance: *pat es no thynge ells bot a fantasie caused of trubblyng of þe brayne; as a man þat es in a frensye, hym thinkes þat he herys or sese þat na noþer man duse* c1440_Hilton Angels’ Song_MED. *Trubblyng* was borrowed, metaphor intact, from Old French < Lat. *turbidus* ‘stirred up, muddied (waters)’, and the metaphor remains active in Middle English: *Signes forsoþ when it comeþ for þe brayne infecte & turbide ar febrez frenetic* a1425_Chauliac(1)_MED. The concepts drawn on in these metaphors are those of unharmonious movement: *he was not a litle mevid, amarryd in mynde* 1440_ _gestarom_ICAMET. Other images evoked are those of unstill waters, possibly boiling (*welland*), swirling or mixing: *he wax swa menged in his mode; drof he was in mode* 1200_ _Laȝamon_OED. Another image is simply chaos: *mi wit faileth and al mi brain is overtorned* a1393_Gower CA_OED. Margery Kempe uses the metaphor INSANITY IS LACK OF ORDER when she invokes the instability of her mind: *anoon the creature was stablyd in hir wyttys and in hir reson as wel as evyr sche was befor* (MK; 176).

Medieval insanity is thought to be caused by a combination of unhealthy vapours rising to the brain and ‘turning’ it, or by swelling caused by an excess of one of the humours. The term *distemper* means ‘make sick by disturbing the due proportion of humours’:

125 *She song ere long like a bird of Bedlam* (1593 Passionate Morrice, *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* (1876) 79).
Summon to lustfully eetis or drinkes, and þat distemperes a mon in body and in soule
c1380_Wyclif. Sel.Wks._OED. Different types of insanity are said to be caused by swellings
in different areas of the brain. The concept of movement causing the insanity is expressed
here by the words turnynge and fleþe:

And sum sekenessys comyþ of fumes & smokys þt fleþe a boute a manys brayn as
turnynge of þe brayn and sotomye oþer sekenesses ben of humurs þt ben turnyd in to
perostomys in som party of þe brayn as frensye þt ys a postom of colere in þe firþe of
þe brayn And woodnesse and lesynge of mannys witt 1450_8v.RylandsEngMS404.

Wit and memory, along with reason and understanding, are often mentioned together
in Hoccleve’s Complaint and Dialogue. His memory was lacking while he was severely ill,
and when it was restored, he regained sanity, his wit feels more stable, expressed by the word
acord: And euere sithin [...] My wit and I haue bene of suche acord As we were or the
alteracioun Of it was (HC; 59). Here, Hoccleve uses a personification of wit as being another
being, with whom he might agree or disagree. To be out of acord ‘harmony’, then, would be
to be in a state of psychological dissonance (i.e. distress). Hoccleve’s brain is not settled or
calm during his insanity: Til þat right wel stablisshid be thy brayn (HD; 307). He talks about
his spirite being resteles, finding trouble instead of rest (HC; 194-196). This is reflected in
the use of the phrase Debaat is nowe noon, emphasising the acord he referred to earlier:
Debaat is nowe noon bitwixe me and my wit, Alþouȝ þat ther were a, As for a time, bitwixe
me and it (HC; 247). The disseueraunce of wit belongs to the INSANITY IS ANOTHER PLACE
conceptual metaphor.

As a way of distancing his insane self from normality, Hoccleve makes use of an
INSANITY IS ANIMALISTIC metaphor, which can be seen to arise from the LACK OF ORDER
metaphor, or to be closely related to it. He says his illness wildyd his brayn (HC; 235), and he
refers to his insanity as his wildhede (HD; 52). Hoccleve uses imagery of different animals to
describe himself, as in the eyes of onlookers, as a wilde steer; bukkyshe; forthe stirte I as a
Roo (HC; 120-133). These animals (cattle, deer) are chosen to represent his sometimes
startled demeanour, and are not the animals more commonly found in Middle English
insanity phrases, e.g. hounds, wolves (see §4.1.4). This perhaps reinforces an image of
someone who is depressed and anxious, rather than someone in the throes of a raving
psychosis.
The INSANITY IS A BURDEN metaphor is apparent throughout Hoccleve’s *Complaint* and *Dialogue*. In the context of Hoccleve’s first use of *wit*, he uses the conceptual metaphor INSANITY IS A BURDEN: my wite to lyve no lust hadd, ne no delyte (HC; 27), where he describes his mood and spirits sinking as autumn turns to winter, and being ‘cast out of himself’ in what, again, might be called a depressive illness. A burden causes a person to feel heavy and low, and so much of the metaphor is linked to the way negative mental states are associated with the bodily sensations of drooping shoulders, bowed head, etc.: *full enconberows* (HC; 318); *drowpyng and hevye* (HC; 146). In addition to depressed states, metaphorical medieval heaviness was often also anger, sin and sadness: *grefe abowte | my harte so sore swal | and bolned* (HC; 29); *More am i heuy now vp-on a day* (HD; 253); and burdens were often errors, sin, guilt, life.

Although Hoccleve does not explicitly use the stock phrases of Middle English *out of wit(s)* or *witles*, nor other overt INSANITY language such as *wod* or *mad*, his frequent use of personified wit and rich use of metaphorical expressions is consistent with the INSANITY conceptual metaphors which were common in the medieval period. ANOTHER PLACE, LACK OF WHOLENESS and FORCE metaphors are evident in his *Complaint* and *Dialogue*. Although the passage where Kempe describes her episode of insanity is short compared with the rest of the Book, and although this text is much less rich in metaphorical language than Hoccleve’s *Complaint*, there are many references to mental states which are useful in providing evidence for medieval attitudes towards insanity.

5.6 DISCUSSION: CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

Nine predominant INSANITY conceptual metaphors remain consistent from Middle English to the present day, and they are: ANOTHER PLACE, FALLING, FORCE, LACK OF WHOLENESS, LACK OF ORDER, GOING ASTRAY, DARKNESS, BURDEN and PRISON. Despite significant advances in psychiatry and psychology, and despite attitudinal changes regarding the causes of and treatment of mental illness, and efforts at reducing stigma attached to it, the linguistic evidence in this study suggests that our conceptualisations are harder to change. Although terms like *out of your mind*, etc. are not used in formal and medical present-day English, they are still used in other registers, and they retain a general currency in English diachronically. Insanity language in the present day is veiled in euphemism or is very formal so as not to offend, but it is these commonly-used expressions which yield a rich seam of metaphor.
Table 5.1 shows that key metaphors EXPERIENCES ARE THINGS POSSESSED and STATES ARE CONTAINERS are used when discussing all three of the target domains of INSANITY, SICKNESS and GRIEF, which we would expect, as all three domains are states of being and experiences. Source domains FORCE and BURDEN are also employed in all three target concepts, with FALLING being possible in the present-day English domains of GRIEF and SICKNESS, but more likely in Middle English. Other than DARKNESS, which INSANITY shares with GRIEF, the domains of SICKNESS and INSANITY have more source domains in common, both sharing LACK OF WHOLENESS and LACK OF ORDER.

The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is instantiated in the INSANITY IS GOING ASTRAY metaphor, with the specific notion of the journey of sanity being a path from which one must not stray. Although the LIFE IS A JOURNEY schema, which gives rise to the SICKNESS IS A JOURNEY metaphor, is not noted in Middle English sickness metaphor, it is extremely prevalent in present-day English, and is actively used in twenty-first century medicine. The metaphor framework employed when institutions use discourse around disease is not without its implications, both for individuals and for policy (Wallis & Nerlich 2005: 2630). The widespread SICKNESS IS A BATTLE metaphor is not always welcomed or found helpful by the sufferer, and there is now growing rejection of the BATTLE metaphor for cancer amongst health professionals and some sufferers, in favour of the JOURNEY metaphor. This demonstrates that if a conceptual metaphor mapping starts to impinge on public consciousness, then efforts can be made to suppress this area of language on the lexical level if it is deemed necessary, albeit the success of such suppression may be limited in ordinary language, or take a long time to manifest itself (see also discussion at §6.6). It is interesting that we can observe this heavily-documented above-the-level-of-consciousness attitude change being played out in real time. Of course, this does not mean that cancer, or sickness more generally has ceased being conceptualised as a battle. But the discussion surrounding this conceptualisation, and attendant metaphor, has only been in evidence for the latter half of the twentieth century (Sontag 1978), and opposition to the conceptualisation has been gaining momentum to the extent that cancer charities and medical professionals avoid introducing the battle metaphor (Demjén & Semino 2016: 396).

Some INSANITY metaphors, although not completely obsolete in present-day English, seem to have been suppressed due to cultural change. Middle English FALLING and LACK OF WHOLENESS are the metaphors which, although detectable in present-day English colloquial expressions, are diachronically differently weighted in terms of negativity. FALLING as a
source domain is more likely to be found in Middle English sickness and insanity metaphor than likewise in present-day English. *Fall* now, as in Middle English, is associated with moral decline, and there is now a reluctance to let lack of morality be associated with illness, physical or mental. Apart from the fossilised expression *fall ill*, present-day English speakers use FALLING metaphors rarely. Any tumbling or declining is generally limited to light-hearted expressions which, being euphemistic, mask strong negative or taboo meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE DOMAIN</th>
<th>target INSANITY</th>
<th>target GRIEF</th>
<th>target SICKNESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FORCE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURDEN</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPERIENCES ARE THINGS POSSESSED</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATES ARE CONTAINERS</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FALLING</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (ME)</td>
<td>✓ (ME)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DARKNESS</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LACK OF WHOLENESS</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓ (ME)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LACK OF ORDER</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANOTHER PLACE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASTRAY</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRISON</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIFE IS A JOURNEY</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓ (PDE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5.1* Key source domains and overarching primary metaphors for INSANITY, showing overlap in target domains of SICKNESS and GRIEF. Key: ME = Middle English only; PDE = present-day English only.

Likewise, LACK OF WHOLENESS ontological metaphors are widespread in Middle English sickness language, but they are not predominant when discussing sickness in present-
day English. The etymology of the word *health* ‘wholeness’ is perhaps not known by the average speaker, but the language of sickness: *something’s amiss; I need a tune-up* demonstrates that we do perceive the body as a whole, and strive for wholeness and not brokenness, cf. the legal expression *in sound mind*. Twentieth and twenty-first century *wholeness* references *per se* are now more likely to be confined to specific registers, e.g. *holistic*, or ‘complementary’ therapies. Despite these few LACK OF WHOLENESS colloquialisms relating to physical sickness, it is in the target domain of INSANITY that we see a plethora of LACK OF WHOLENESS expressions (see §5.4.1). LACK OF WHOLENESS is a source concept in both insanity and sickness across both periods, but with the proviso that in the present day, wholeness as a concept for both physical and mental health is couched in euphemism, because it is becoming increasingly taboo to conceive of any body or mind as ‘unwhole’. The rise of equality movements and legislation through the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has changed Western attitudes to health, and there are taboo areas of INSANITY language. This increasing reluctance to use certain conceptual metaphors to structure language around insanity might indicate an embryonic change in our conceptualisation of insanity itself.

However, the change in attitudes towards insanity between the medieval period and the present day is not overtly reflected in the lexicon. The insight that this chapter offers regarding diachronic mappings is that this change in attitudes is found in the style and register of the language. We no longer find it acceptable to refer to people as *crazy*, but ideas can be. People with mental illness are not *mad* but are categorised with Greek or Latin diagnoses such as *schizophrenia*, where all metaphor is hidden on a surface level, or a label carefully chosen to respectfully distance the individual from the symptoms they are experiencing, such as *bipolar disorder*. Despite changes in attitudes towards insanity since the Middle Ages, sources for metaphors remain relatively stable. It seems possible that FALLING as a conceptual metaphor for INSANITY is gradually being lost as a result of its no longer being associated with ‘moral failing’. This chapter has demonstrated that, despite the rapid change in the lexicon during, and since, the Middle English period, our underlying conceptualisations of INSANITY are changing at a different rate to lexical changes.

Although emotion metaphors have been studied from the beginning of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980 is seminal in this respect), the modest contribution of this thesis has been to demonstrate that there is a benefit to contrasting different but overlapping conceptual domains, as I have done with EMOTION and INSANITY. It can be seen
that there is a basic set of primary conceptual metaphors which aid our expression and understanding of sickness, emotion and insanity (see table 5.1). The concept of INSANITY has more in common with that of SICKNESS than it does with EMOTION, even closely-related emotions such as GRIEF. The fact that the nine conceptual metaphors for insanity both in medieval times and in the present day have remained constant is evidence of long-term metaphor paths (Trim 2007). Source domains which ‘fluctuate’ diachronically demonstrate the presence of a reactive ‘lexical level’ which interacts with the conceptual level, and effects language change. The question of whether these two ‘levels’ of language change can be observed in other abstract concepts is a topic for future research. I will discuss different speeds of language change in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This thesis represents the first large-scale study of the language of insanity from a historical perspective. The conceptual metaphor section of this thesis not only offers crucial insights into metaphor mappings, but also hitherto unstudied comparisons between medieval and present-day INSANITY conceptual metaphor. It adds to existing studies in the field of historical metaphor studies, such as Trim (2007), and is in the style of the contributors to the volume edited by Anderson (2016), and also those focusing on historical topics in Stefanowitsch & Gries (2006). The analysis is based on results obtained from the self-constructed INSANITY database, which gives more than a representative sample of metaphors for analysis. The size and nature of the INSANITY database enables my study to complement and go beyond the analysis in the only significant study of historical INSANITY conceptual metaphor to date, Bramwell (2016). Bramwell’s study uses HT to chart ‘cross-domain mappings’, showing how the target domain INSANITY maps onto various source domains, which are in turn used to conceptualise other target concepts (Bramwell 2016: 154). In this way, strong mapping patterns can be identified. A drawback of Bramwell’s study is that by the nature of its HT basis, it relies on OED words and quotations as its database. OED lexemes were pre-selected by scholars years ago to represent senses that they postulated, (based on extensive reading, but with no evidence of methods). This means that the metaphor mappings Bramwell finds can only be based on a pre-selected database of sentences (some of which contain ellipses), running the risk of missing some mappings. My method used a usage-based approach, allowing the lexical evidence to speak for itself. This is borne out by the fact that I find mappings which Bramwell does not, although there is significant overlap, (reinforcing my findings). The first six metaphor mappings are shared to some extent, but Bramwell’s analysis does not find DARKNESS, PRISON and BURDEN. My study uses a large database based on several large corpora, and identifies further metaphor mappings, so it adds different insights into the important work done in Bramwell (2016).

The study has demonstrated that the Middle English INSANITY lexical field is an area worth studying in its own right, standing alongside, complementing and augmenting research done in the field of emotion language studies such as Kövecses (1986; 1991; 1995; 1998); Diller (1994; 2012); Gevaert (2002); Geeraerts et al. (2012) and Izdebska (2015). The research also adds to the knowledge of metaphor mappings in conceptual fields related to MIND and EMOTION. Although there have been studies in medicine addressing illness metaphors (Bowker 1996; Weiss 1997; Harrington 2012), and although historians of
medicine and the medieval period have written about contemporary attitudes to madness and the treatment of the insane (Porter 1997; 2002; Scull 2015), there is to date no systematic and thoroughgoing study of the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY or of the conceptual metaphors underlying the metaphorical lexical expressions used to talk about insanity.

My thesis addresses this gap. It has provided a comprehensive account of the Middle English lexical field of INSANITY, looking at diachronic change in both the sense structure of the lexemes wod and mad, but also the whole lexical field of INSANITY. This has been possible thanks to the availability of digital corpora, enabling the large-scale study of a great number of texts. The study has used corpus-derived material to examine Middle English conceptual metaphors for INSANITY, and to compare them with present-day English metaphors. It examined two different periods of English, and combined methods from corpus linguistics with a cognitive linguistic approach, diachronic with synchronic study, and older approaches to semantics (philological approaches) with newer ones (prototype theory). It also combined case studies and textual studies with a socio-cultural analytic approach, and a semasiological with an onomasiological approach. Because I take a usage-based, data-driven approach using corpus methods but with a cognitive analysis, I find that the senses and metaphors found do not neatly fit into pre-drawn categories. Far from being a drawback, however, I maintain that in doing this, this study is able to offer insights into language change which would have been difficult to obtain using just one of these approaches. This study therefore provides a thorough and important diachronic perspective to the ongoing discussion about the linguistic conceptualisation of thought and emotion. Previous studies in historical semantics and cognitive linguistics have addressed the language of emotion, and metaphors used to discuss emotion and sickness, but to date, insanity has not received the attention due to it from these disciplines. My modest contribution draws together different approaches broadly within historical cognitive linguistics to analyse some of the socio-cultural factors exerting pressure on this lexical field. Diachronic change in conceptual metaphors is shown to be more elusive than change on a lexical level, but the present study points the way towards future studies in the evolution of conceptual metaphor.

The aim of this concluding chapter is to draw together and to develop its findings. To do so, it will aim to answer the research questions, introduced in the first chapter, which are:

1. How do extra-linguistic factors, such as genre or cultural changes, impact on the lexical field, especially on the demise of wod?
2. How do these extra-linguistic factors interact with intra-linguistic factors such as diachronically shifting prototypical centres in this and neighbouring lexical fields such as ANGER, and the influx of French loans?

3. Does a large-scale data-driven semasiological study of wod and mad demonstrate semantic categories with blurred boundaries and sense change from radial sets, as suggested by prototype theory?

4. Do recent uses of adjective and adverb mad, seen in we smoked mad blunts and that kid’s mad cool demonstrate a semi-grammaticalised, intensifier function?

5. What Middle English INSANITY conceptual metaphors can be found, are there parallels in present-day English, and what mappings does INSANITY share with other concepts?

6.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW GENRE: PSYCHIATRIC MEDICAL TEXTS

This thesis responds to Geeraerts’ contention that now is the time for a ‘socially enriched pragmatic onomasiology’ (2010: 350) with a usage-based study of change. Geeraerts also calls for more research to be done around ‘social mechanisms of language change’, because it is the conflation of many, many smaller acts (with language, a new coinage or new sense repeated and transmitted by several people in a society), which eventually lead to the larger phenomenon of change. Chapter 3 addressed my first two research questions, and as such, the main foci were a description of the INSANITY lexical field, and an investigation into intra and extra-linguistic factors affecting change in that field. The boundaries of the INSANITY lexical field were found to be fuzzy, both from a diachronic and structural perspective. Language change can be seen to take place in the Middle English medical genre, and in other texts where wod is replaced, this is in response to complex socio-cultural forces.

I argued in §3.5 that perhaps the most important finding of this study is that socio-cultural forces – one, radical changes in approaches to medicine and two, a new, ‘individualist’ society – have had a major effect on insanity language. Extra-linguistic forces acting upon language to effect semantic change are not always detectable, even with the benefit of hindsight, but in the case of the lexical field of INSANITY, close inspection of individual texts (e.g. Wycliffite Bibles), and analysis of groups of texts (e.g. medical texts, or Caxton’s translations) made possible by the compilation of the INSANITY database lends itself
to an interpretation of change. Although the individual decisions of printers and authors such as Caxton cannot in themselves be termed a force, their individual decisions are subject to socio-cultural forces, which affect their choice of the word fitting their communicative need.

The language used to describe insanity in medical texts is strikingly different to that used in other genre categories in this study. It takes more than two and a half centuries following the Norman Conquest to see evidence of Anglo-Norman INSANITY loanwords in medical texts but when we do, this mixture of languages is due to ‘new therapeutic practices flooding into England’ and ‘political changes’ bringing in a ‘new medicine’ in the twelfth century (Green 2009: 231). By the end of the fourteenth century and all through the fifteenth century, as the growth of medical texts in the vernacular continued (Taalvitsainen & Pahta 1998: 157), words such as frensy and lunatic were established in this genre. Vernacularisation was a ‘process’ reaching a peak during the late Middle English period (Voigts 1996: 814). In this period of vernacularisation, which Voigts calls a ‘bilingual culture’ (1996: 823), a significant proportion of medical texts were in Latin and Anglo-Norman, sometimes a mixture of all three languages (1996: 815).

On the one hand, the appearance in medical texts of words such as frensy, mania and melencolie is a product of code-mixing. Voigts invokes Romaine’s (1995) terminology of high or low forms of language, ‘domains within diglossias’, or as Voigts suggests, ‘digraphias’ or ‘code-mixing’; when a scribe was unsure of the terminology in English, he would simply switch to, or remain in, Latin (1996: 818). On the other hand, it is further evidence of evolving medical attitudes and practices at the end of the Middle Ages, see Taavitsainen (1994: 329). The loans were medical terminology, and were chosen to signal a radically changing medical culture (for a summary of changes, see French 2003). The influx of new terms in the fourteenth century and fifteenth century are reflective of the growing importance of the concept of INSANITY, hence the need for a growth of a vocabulary which expresses it (see Geeraerts 2015: 24) within an evolving medical register.

The significant point about this very striking pattern of insanity language variation across genres is that it is not just about language change being found where there is social and cultural change and innovation, although the growth of science and medicine is clearly a factor: we would expect a lexical field to expand in response to such development. The INSANITY database provides early evidence of what looks like the beginning of the development of a ‘formal written register’ (Biber 1995: 312) in the area of medicine which would become psychiatry. This register will be added to as the Modern English period
unfolds, e.g. *insane* was added shortly after the Middle English period, in the early sixteenth century. These synonym loans stand apart stylistically from *wod* and *mad*, being more semantically focused, i.e. their semantics zooms in on an area of behaviour, such as excitement, speed of thought and increased activity for *mania* and *frensy*, and despondency and introspection for *malencolie*. This enables medieval medical practitioners to clearly focus on and to describe a particular area of insanity, based on observable symptoms. As *wod* and *mad* are both very polysemous, the synonym loans are useful, as they enable practitioners to be ‘more scientific’, and steer clear of generalities. There is what looks like a deliberate exclusion of lexemes *wod* and *mad*. In the case of *wod*, during the fourteenth century there is a dynamic interplay taking place between on the one hand, the continuing use of *wod* as the prototype of the INSANITY lexical field, and even the construction of new lexemes using word-building suffixes, and the careful non-use of *wod* in this genre by Caxton, and in one of its senses (‘God’s anger’) in the Wycliffite Bible. In the case of *mad*, different forces are at play. The appearance of medical texts in English in the mid-fourteenth century means that if scribes were going to choose *mad* in their translation of Norman French medical texts into the vernacular, they would by this time have had a range of metonymically-derived senses other than ‘insane’ (see §3.2.2) which presented themselves cognitively as ‘alternative’ senses. Particularly at the fore of the scribe’s subconscious knowledge about this word would have been *mad*’s new ‘emotion’ senses, all first attested in the early fourteenth century: *mad* ‘desirous’, *mad* ‘distraught’, *mad* ‘confused’ and *mad* ‘afraid’. I suggest that the existence of these new senses had some part to play in the non-use of *mad* in the medical genre. Although as I have suggested elsewhere (§3.5.2), *mad* had a part to play in *wod*’s decline precisely because of the existence of these ‘emotion’ senses, this was not the case in medical genres. The semantics of fourteenth century Middle English *mad* was not a good fit with the requirements of the development of the early psychiatric register, and so the French loanwords were recruited instead.

The case of INSANITY lexis in Middle English medical texts provides us with new information about the relationship between language change and variation in registers. The significance of this particular case is that it demonstrates what a delicate balance of forces comes to bear in diachronic lexical change when examined from the perspective of one genre – the unsuitability of lexemes *wod* and *mad*, despite being the prototypes in the lexical field, and the exertion of pressure in the form of the need for a new register, which expresses a burgeoning socio-cultural change: the growth of medicine. More work needs to be done on
the diachronic development of this specific psychiatric register, a specialist register within the more general medical register. Lexis is only one linguistic characteristic, albeit a major one, but a profitable area of further study would be the question of whether there are dimensions (Biber 1995) other than lexis along which the evolving psychiatric register varies from the evolving medical register. In addition to the changes taking place in the INSANITY lexical field revolving around the medical genre, a different socio-cultural factor for change is one which has its origins in drastic upheaval and restructuring of medieval society, resulting in a period of greater interest in subjective and spiritual matters. Next, I outline how a society-wide concern with the internal self, the mind, thoughts, and soul had an effect on the lexical field of INSANITY.

6.2 THE LATE-MEDIEVAL ‘INWARD TURN’

Societal changes in the late Middle Ages led to an awareness of internality, or what Diller calls an ‘individualist sensitivity’ (2012: 128). Despite there being a dearth of writing that illustrates interior life such as diaries and letters, which might otherwise suggest a lack of interest or awareness in self-reflection, the existence of devotional texts and materials was in fact a sign that the late medieval period was a time of significant ‘inwardness’. This change towards self-reflection or ‘individualist sensitivity’ is known as the ‘inward turn’ (Bryan 2008: 2). Between about 1350 and 1550 (up to the Reformation) medieval people read a large number of devotional and lay instruction texts which encouraged them to reflect on themselves in order to live better lives, or to truly ‘see’ their inner self (Hoccleve’s mirror scene is an example, when he practises what his face should look like to appear ‘well’, see §1.3.1.) The late Middle Ages was a period of increased piety; following the plague years, a new society was on the horizon. People had witnessed pain and death, and many sought answers in prayer, contemplation and a different way of living, despite the fact that ‘turning inward’ also had the effect that people turned against certain groups, like Jews and the poor (Cohn 2007). There was a growth of literature which encouraged the individual to feel compassion for the dying Christ (McNamer 2010), and a concern with manners and self-improvement. The other factor which encouraged self-reflection was the advent of mandatory auricular confession. This inward turn, where feelings of guilt were assuaged by state-approved confession, is manifest in the changing concept of the emotion SHAME see §2.3.5.

A ‘language of subjectivity’ grew from this devotional text reading; there was a rise in vernacular literacy and in the availability of books, and people were more likely to practise
silent, private reading (Bryan 2008: 5). It was at this time that people in larger numbers started to write about their own private, personal and emotional experiences. As we have seen, it has been noted (Diller 1994; 2012) that the term anger found currency in this restructured medieval society, with its political and economic change, and the rise of guilds and craftsmen – in effect, the growth of a new middle class. Wroth expressed an older form of anger, one experienced by the powerful against their inferiors. Now, large groups of less powerful people needed a term for a similar emotion, but one which reflected their class, an emotion which could be inwardly directed, but which still gave power to the individual.

I suggest that we might attribute some of the changes happening at this time in the INSANITY lexical field outside the medical genre to people's increasing awareness of their own inner selves and their emotions. How can we explain the finding that there was fairly rapid sense change in mad, and rapid rejection of wod, over the Middle English period? As new senses of mad develop over the thirteenth century and fourteenth century, they do not unfold with the same emphasis on 'anger', 'wildness' and 'battle-readiness' that wod expressed, but cover a wide spectrum of emotions. I suggest that a contributing factor in this divergent sense development was perhaps due to the new proto-stirrings of 'individualism' that were emerging during the late Middle Ages. Increased consciousness of the inner self and the culture of devotional text reading helped to create a culture in which mad’s ‘angry’ sense is only one of a number of different, more nuanced emotion-based senses, expressing emotions such as ‘confused’, ‘afraid’, ‘distraught’ and ‘desirous’, more suited to an increasingly less feudal-based society (see §3.5.2). The new senses draw attention to the personal, internal experience associated with insanity rather than its outward signs and actions.

6.3 THE RELATION TO THE ANGER LEXICAL FIELD

An important finding of this analysis of change in the lexical field of INSANITY is that it highlights the extent to which external factors for language change, such as dynamic forces exerted by a changing society, interact and overlap with internal factors. I have pointed out that language-internal factors are responsible for the late establishment of mad ‘angry’, but it is important to put these factors into socio-cultural context. Geeraerts et al. (2012) and Diller (1994) have posited that the rapid rise of the ‘angry’ sense of angry, caused by social change

126 With the exception of wod ‘excited’, which was the last of wod’s senses to develop, which had neutral or positive features (see §4.2.5).
in the late Middle Ages, in turn causes change in the lexical field of ANGER. *Wroth* starts to be used for a smaller group of referents, and *wod* ‘God’s anger’ becomes unstable.

Thus we have a complex series of back-and-forth internal and external factors affecting the lexical field of ANGER. Meanwhile, in the lexical field of INSANITY, the beginning of the fourteenth century has already seen the first attestations of the ‘emotion’ senses of *mad*, and around 1340, *mad* ‘angry’ starts to be used, but slowly at first. Speakers in the fourteenth century were expressing uncertainty about the words they used to convey the concept of ANGER. This finding is significant, because it provides an angle on the actuation of semantic change by highlighting the interactivity between language-internal factors for change (instability in the ANGER lexical field causes change in the INSANITY lexical field) and external factors (speakers’ desire for expressivity). The findings in this study suggest that complex social forces, working through speakers, are a strong motivating factor in lexical and semantic change. The analysis of these interconnected lexical fields was made possible by the methodology of the present study, i.e. a data-driven approach centred around the self-constructed INSANITY database. What is missing is an in-depth diachronic account of the overlapping changes in both Middle English ANGER and INSANITY lexical fields; this necessitates the construction of a Middle English ANGER database, and is an area for future research.

I have suggested that many of the changes which happened can be interpreted in the light of socio-cultural changes, and it is in this context that speakers accept or reject lexical choices, according to their ‘expressiveness’. I have used the word *fashion* connected with the non-choice of *wod* by Caxton, but fashion is a preference, and preferences are dictated by sometimes subconscious cognitive processes. It is noticeable that there is rapid change on this expression-led, lexical level, tangibly detectable as happening within the Middle English period, but that conversely, our set of INSANITY conceptual metaphors remains stable since Middle English.

### 6.4 Prototype Theory Analysis of Semasiological Change

My third research question was addressed by the study of the sense structure of *wod* and *mad* in chapter 4, and asked whether prototype theory provides an adequate explanation for the structure and changes that are apparent. The study showed that *wod* and *mad* have prototypical senses, that diachronic change happens in a radial fashion and also from subsets.
The analysis of the lesser-found, more nuanced senses of *wod* and *mad* allowed for an in-depth study of all the different meanings of the two lexemes. These peripheral meanings are not only important because they expand traditional dictionary definitions, but also because they contribute to the knowledge of the deeper structure of the concept of INSANITY. My findings are therefore broadly compatible with the explanation offered by prototype theory. The analysis in §4.3 is important because it demonstrates that the process of metonymy is responsible for this semantic extension, via the extension of semantic features which represent closely-related concepts to INSANITY, such as WILDNESS and FIERCENESS. The analysis shows that conceptual metonymy is at play, that this phenomenon is a part of general cognitive processes, and that cognitive semantics offers a useful framework for analysing diachronic change. In addition, my study represents something of a departure from other methods of investigating diachronic prototype semantics, which traditionally have been quantitative in nature (Geeraerts 1997). My study demonstrates that it is possible to perform a semasiological and an onomasiological analysis using qualitative methods. It also demonstrates that a focus on conceptual metonymy and metaphor augments understanding of both lexical field structure and semantic change.

### 6.5 SEMI-GRAMMATICALISATION OF ADJECTIVE AND ADVERB MAD

Chapter 4 also addressed change happening from a subset of one of the senses of Middle English adjective *mad*, and also adverb *mad*, up to present-day English. We saw that a degree of desemanticisation is occurring, and that both adverb and adjective are fulfilling an intensifier function, perhaps on a path towards grammaticalisation. *Mad* has lost some of its lexical content, this makes it possible for it to collocate with words such as *cool*, which makes it a fairly typical intensifier. Recent, late-twentieth century uses of *mad* see it assume a scalar quantifier function, with semantics of ‘lots’ or ‘many’. The research question of whether recent uses of adjective and adverb *mad*, seen in *we smoked mad blunts* and *that kid’s mad cool* demonstrate a semi-grammaticalised, intensifier function is an important one. The answer is that yes, *mad* is being used as an intensifier. It functions as a delexicalised intensifier in present-day English (see discussion in Méndez-Naya (2003) regarding the degree to which intensifiers are grammatical or lexical). It has a grammatical function in addition to its lexical senses, making its categorisation challenging.

The semantics of *mad* which developed in the Middle English period under study in this thesis make it a typical suitable candidate for intensification in that its semantics express
a degree of extremity (cf. Méndez-Naya 2003: 378). Méndez-Naya states in her study of *swipe*:

As an adjunct, *[swipe]* was associated with verbs which harmonized semantically with its lexical meaning ‘strongly, powerfully, violently’. As is sometimes the case with adverbs denoting extreme notions, it then acquired a degree reading, and its use spread from verbs which were harmonic with its original lexical meaning, to non-harmonic verbs, thus becoming a verb degree modifier (Méndez-Naya 2003: 387).

Present-day English *mad*, therefore, with its semantics of ‘excess’ dating to Middle English, was well-placed to become an intensifier. However, intensifiers are prone to renewal, with each new generation of speakers seemingly needing to express themselves with a fresh set (see Hopper & Traugott 1993: 121 and Lorenz 2002: 143), so the likelihood is that *mad* will not become a general, fully delexicalised intensifier like *very* or *really*. This thesis has contributed to studies of intensifiers, and identified *mad* as an addition to the list of English intensifiers, which as far as I am aware has not been discussed in the extensive literature on intensifiers. The diachronic nature of the study has shown *mad* to be, not some fly-by-night, but to be a candidate whose semantics of ‘excess’ are first seen in Middle English, and whose potential for *intensifierhood* has therefore been simmering for centuries.

### 6.6 CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN MIDDLE AND PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

This study is a corpus-based study whose analysis uses a cognitive linguistic framework, and so has similarities to Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari (2006) and its analysis of metaphors for rational thought and emotion from Early Modern English to present-day English, specifically the overlap between emotion and rational thought. There were seen to be shared central metaphors and domain-specific ones, with a link to semantic change in the change seen in domain-specific metaphors of wit. Like Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari (2006), my study makes a contribution to the ongoing discussion about the linguistic conceptualisation of the mind. Geeraerts (2010: 345) notes that taking a historical perspective in metaphor studies is still a minority interest. Eight years later, this is still the case. Further studies need to be done cross-linguistically, looking at whether there are patterns to be detected in the source domains for *INSANITY* metaphors. This study represents a solid baseline for future research, and will contribute to an understanding of metaphor evolution and historical conceptual continuity in *INSANITY* language.
The last research question asked what parallels and divergences are found in Middle English and present-day English INSANITY conceptual metaphors. Across target domains, there was some sharing of source domains with EMOTION, but more so with PHYSICAL SICKNESS. In general, the analysis indicated that despite some small differences, the majority of INSANITY mappings remain consistent diachronically. The significance of this finding in the wider context of this thesis is important, because it allows us to ask why change in conceptual metaphor is so slow, whereas change on a lexical level is seen to happen speedily over the course of the Middle English period, as this thesis demonstrates.

One way of looking at the disparity between rapid lexical change, and apparent sloth in conceptual change is that there appear to be two different, but connected, levels on which our cognitive faculties negotiate the interaction between our concepts of insanity, our knowledge and attitudes towards insanity, and the way we speak about it. The first is a surface, lexical level, which is adaptable, subject to more rapid change. This level can respond quickly to socio-cultural attitude shifts, and changes in our knowledge about what mental illness is. It is on this level that, in present-day English, speakers are driven to feel distaste for a word such as lunatic to describe someone with mental illness. Because societal attitudes have changed, one prominent connotation of lunatic (‘wrong’) means that it is no longer acceptable to use this word to express mental illness in formal and medical registers; instead, alternative expressions (experiencing mental health problems) and words with a high level of specificity are used (schizoaffective disorder). It is this adaptable level, based on our knowledge of the world and our attitudes where we see socio-cultural change influencing sense change and promoting lexicalisation, where new meanings become part of the semantics of a word, and the addition of new words to a lexical field. The second level is a deeper, underlying conceptual level. It is slow to change, although there is evidence it provides the basis for lexical metaphors and metonymies, ‘feeding into’ the lexical level. The conceptual level is where our comprehension of concepts takes place, and to an extent, the conceptual metaphors we have here are a type of shorthand, using other, more generic cognitive processes to understand. We can see the existence of constraints in present-day English INSANITY language. These constraints are highlighted in the difference between formal and informal language, standard and non-standard language, and in different registers. The same conceptual metaphors for INSANITY that we saw in Middle English can still be expressed on a lexical level, but the language that does so is marked. Older INSANITY conceptual metaphors live on in certain contexts. This is euphemistic language only used in
certain circumstances. It is safe ‘shorthand’ in certain situations, such as describing to a friend a person on the street responding to auditory hallucinations as *away with the fairies*. Language such as this also protects the speaker from engaging with challenging and upsetting thought processes about the nature of mental illness. Another way of ‘distancing’ ourselves from the reality of mental illness is the use of aggressive or ‘hate’ speech, where the boundaries between concepts such as *wrongness* and *insanity* are blurred. These contexts might include slurs: *you’re a fucking psycho, mate* or berating: *don’t drive like a maniac*. In the same way, *lunatic* cannot be used in legal or medical language, because there is, in present-day English, a register constraint, which started to affect the lexical level in the twentieth century, as illustrated by the *Lunacy Act* being replaced by the *Mental Health Act* in 1959 (see §1.2.1). Medical understanding of mental illness has changed, which is reflected in loss of *lunatic* from this register, but this is slow to permeate through to the range of conceptual metaphors expressed in other situations and the concept of mental illness in the ‘average’ language user’s mind. Our evolving attitude to mental illness is such that we now perceive the semantics of *lunatic* to be out of step with our concept of mental illness.

This research has demonstrated that there are two levels, with different rates of change, and leads us to larger questions concerning linguistic relativity, questions about whether this lexical level, which can be seen as largely symbolic and conventionalised,\(^\text{127}\) influences the way we think and understand on the conceptual level (Györi 2000: 85). On the one hand, some suggest, as Ortony (1988) does, that older cognitions become fossilised in metaphors on the lexical level – our cognition changes and adapts, and therefore language does not reflect significantly our current concepts. One example of this is that present-day English speakers are still willing to use *insanity is lack of wholeness* metaphors, as the plethora of expressions using the *x short of a y* construction attests (see §5.4.2), and the productivity of this particular template continues unabated. The conceptual metaphor *insanity is lack of wholeness* is not expressive of what we know, rationally, about insanity. It does not express our present-day attitudes towards those experiencing mental health problems. We do not consider such people to be ‘unwhole’. These expressions are to an extent only shorthand, symbolic code laid down fifteen hundred or more years ago, and simply convenient for some communicative purposes. But on the other hand, as we saw with *lunatic*, we are not willing to continue using this ‘symbolic’ code in all situations.

\(^{127}\) We can ask whether the fact that many people do not directly experience insanity mean that the language of insanity is ‘more symbolic’ than other abstract concepts. Cf. ‘certain types of human knowledge rely on language’ (Györi 2000: 74).
It seems then, that the conceptual level represents a somewhat conservative force, and that to an extent, arguments about linguistic metaphor being fossilised, as suggested by Ortony (1988), can be said to have at least some credence. However, this research demonstrates that, as argued above, there is interaction between the two levels, and so the clear-cut ‘fossilisation’ of the lexical level, and the clear-cut ‘conservativism’ of the conceptual level is not the whole story. There are some discernible changes in the concept of INSANITY which further suggest that the cognitive (conceptual) level and the lexical level do interact, despite the ‘conservatism’ of the conceptual level being a force which resists change somewhat. FALLING, although still a productive metaphor in present-day English, is no longer associated with ‘moral failing’, and more likely to be associated with ‘unpleasant feeling of being out of control’. FALLING, and other ‘edgy’ synonyms, still collocates predominantly with words denoting negative states, see §5.4.2. The present-day English lack of association of INSANITY with ‘moral failing’ is due to a complex socio-cultural shift in society’s changing relationship with the Church, and a shift in societal attitudes towards the relationship between insanity and sin.

It is also possible to say MIND IS MACHINE is new, although, as discussed in §5.4, this ontological metaphor could be a modern extension of a type of personification. This does illustrate that, despite the slow rate of change, the conceptual level is plastic, admitting at least some change. Heli Tissari, talking about her research on the language of love and linguistic determinism, talks of a paradox: ‘language can be claimed to construct emotional reality, and emotional reality can be claimed to construct language’ (2003: 437). Rather than a paradox, we might think of change as happening at different rates, and in different directions (one level exerts a pressure on the other level), according to complex forces, some of which are yet unknown, but some of which are almost certainly socio-cultural forces. As an example, we can look at what Susanne Niemeier finds regarding the conceptualisation of the heart as the centre of emotions. She finds that there are differences in evolution of concepts – the heart, being fundamentally entwined with symbolism, still represents love. The head, however, has none of the same symbolism (Niemeier 2008: 366). Heli Tissari finds that love is ‘[...] too fundamental to our Western human conceptualisation to change in 500 years’ (Tissari 2003: 443). Insanity shares this same fundamentality of human experience, (although in contrast to love, insanity as a concept is subject to predominantly negative attitudes). I suggest that insanity was and is such an intrinsic part of human experience, despite not being experienced by everybody, that – like death and illness – it is difficult, but
not impossible, to change our conceptualisations around it. Our conceptual metaphors of
insanity are a framework which we need to construct our understanding of such a frightening
and unknowable abstract idea.

Insanity language, with its responsiveness on a lexical level to beliefs, attitudes and
stigma, and the concomitant euphemistic and metaphoric expressions, is a good place to
study this disparity of levels of change. The findings of the conceptual metaphor part of the
present study are important because they allow us, in a way which mixes linguistic with
philosophical inquiry, to reflect upon what factors might be potentially involved in the
change of a concept, and what implications this has for linguistic relativity and the way we
speak about thought and the mind.

6.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR
FUTURE RESEARCH / PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Excepting genre, it was not possible to use external, especially sociolinguistic variables to
draw conclusions. This limitation had practicality constraints on it, and it was unfeasible to
attempt to include this as a variable. Some corpora are designed with information about
sociolinguistic variables already included, (such as author gender, socio-economic status,
relationship to addressee if appropriate), but this is especially uncommon in Middle English
corpora.

This thesis had Middle English as its focus, as this is the area where we first see
radical change happening. A profitable area of research would be a similar study of Early and
Late Modern English. This would fill in gaps in our knowledge about the lexical field and
conceptual metaphor, as well as providing further evidence regarding the locus of the decline
of *wod* in particular genres. If we were to extend the analysis of the INSANITY lexical field to
present-day English, we would see that the term *mental illness* has taken a more central place.
This might reflect that we do not want the negativity associated with the INSANITY lexical
field in Middle English and Early Modern English, with the overlap between the ‘angry’,
‘cruel’, ‘foolish’ senses. *Mentally ill* is much more neutral, it brings the realm of the mind
cognitively nearer to the concept of PHYSICAL SICKNESS, thus eliminating some of the blame
and negativity associated with *lunatic, mad*, and certainly *wod*, and introducing an aspect of
amelioration, or at least potential for healing. Further, some mental health charities
recommend shifting the focus away from the notion of illness (and presumably the negative
concept of LACK OF WHOLENESS), and instead using the expression *those experiencing*
mental health problems, which places the focus on the person. Future large-scale corpus studies will clarify the extent to which socio-cultural factors are involved in change in the Modern English lexical field, but this research has shown it is of vital importance to take genre and register distinctions into account for both Middle English and present-day English.

Another potential line of investigation is future metaphor research for other abstract concepts. A combination of the methods of the Mapping Metaphor Project, and corpus methods, could uncover mappings and wider patterns inherent in other abstract concepts, which go beyond the areas of sickness and emotion, which have now been extensively studied. Some studies such as that of DEATH (Ralston 2016) have already been embarked upon. Groupings of concepts could profitably be studied to examine cross-domain mappings, such as ‘virtues’: studying concepts such as BRAVERY, PATIENCE, TRUST, KINDNESS, or other abstracts such as FREEDOM or KNOWLEDGE, would broaden our knowledge of how we construct mappings cognitively. Similarly, a study of more general MIND conceptual metaphors would provide context for the present study. The present study and studies done as part of the Mapping Metaphor Project are a springboard for future studies which ask, do other abstract concepts change diachronically slowly, as do EMOTION and INSANITY, and what are the dependent factors?

6.8 FINAL REMARKS

This thesis has provided the first comprehensive examination of Middle English insanity language. It is a study of insanity language whose other layer of interest is that of language as a human behaviour, especially looking at the interface between attitudes and language. My work takes an eclectic approach to the study of insanity language, and has not been limited by one theoretical perspective. Doing this has meant that the study has been led by the primary data, enabling a truer account of the evidence to be put forward owing to the wide overview of the topic the integration of approaches has allowed. It is a combination of complementary studies and approaches – an onomasiological, a semasiological and a conceptual metaphor approach, combining historical cognitive linguistics with historical corpus linguistics. Different types of corpus analysis employed were frequency counts, detailed semantic disambiguation in context for large data sets, complemented by smaller, focused case studies.

with comparative and discourse analysis approaches. Each aspect of the study was concerned with the language of insanity, with a focus on Middle English and diachronic change.
REFERENCES


Benczes, Réka. 2014. Repetitions which are not repetitions: the non-redundant nature of tautological compounds. English Language & Linguistics. 18(3). 431-447.


Amsterdam.

Kroll, Jerome and Bernard Bachrach. 1984. Sin and mental illness in the Middle Ages.


Lorenz, Gunter. 2002. Really worthwhile or not really significant? A corpus-based approach to the delexicalization and grammaticalization of intensifiers in Modern English. In:
Wischer, Ilse and Diewald, Gabriele. (eds). *New reflections on grammaticalization*. 143-159.


*MonoConc Pro Version 2.2*. Michael Barlow. 2004. Houston, USA.


### APPENDIX A PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES MEANING ‘INSANE’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date first attestation</th>
<th>OED word / phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>twisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>paranoid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>ophelian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>batty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>dippy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>up the pole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>schizophrenic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>border-line case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>screwed-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>catatonic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>scatty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>certifiable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>cuckoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>bats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>potty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>nutsy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>poggled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>blah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>détraqué</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>doolally tap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>loopy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>off one’s block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>off one’s rocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>poggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>mental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>crackers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>squirrelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>over the edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>round the bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>catathymic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Lakes of Killarney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>nutty as a fruitcake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>wacky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>screwball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>parlatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>troppo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>psycho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>bonkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>up the wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Word/Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>psychological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>apeshit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>out to lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>off (one’s) squiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>round the twist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>up the creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>starkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>out of one’s skull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>decerebrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>whacked out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>out of (one’s) gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>wacko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix A(i) Twentieth century ‘insane’ words and phrases adapted from OED.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LACK</th>
<th>NOT THERE</th>
<th>(lack of) CONTROL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Losing your marbles / the plot</td>
<td>Living in cloud cuckoo land / cloud nine</td>
<td>Hasn’t got both hands on the steering wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not quite the full shilling / quid / ticket</td>
<td>Wired up to the moon</td>
<td>Hasn’t got both oars in the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A sandwich short of a picnic / A sausage short of a barbecue / An olive short of a pizza</td>
<td>Out to lunch</td>
<td>MACHINE/BROKEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few clowns short of a circus</td>
<td>The lights are on (the door is open) but there’s no one at home</td>
<td>Got a screw loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few bricks short of a load</td>
<td>Away with the fairies</td>
<td>Not firing on all cylinders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One scout short of a posse</td>
<td>(empty) HEAD</td>
<td>Chink in his armour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One card short of a full deck</td>
<td>Potty (pots for rags)</td>
<td>MISC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten pence short of a pound / Four quarters short of a dollar</td>
<td>The wheel is spinning, but the hamster’s dead</td>
<td>Doolally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five cans / a tinny short of a six-pack</td>
<td>Basket case</td>
<td>SIMILES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few slates missing from the roof</td>
<td>Nutty as a fruit cake (nutty slack)</td>
<td>Mad as a hatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The lift doesn’t go all the way to the top</td>
<td>Not on the ball</td>
<td>Mad as a monkey on a trike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are no phones on planet Pluto</td>
<td>Head-the-ball</td>
<td>Mad as a mad woman’s breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving on only three wheels / Knitting with only one needle</td>
<td>Odd-ball</td>
<td>Mad as a box of frogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LACK (overlap with foolishness)</td>
<td>Loopy (fruit loops)</td>
<td>ANIMALS (in the head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you gave a penny for her thoughts you’d get change back</td>
<td>Bats in the belfry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not the brightest bulb on the tree</td>
<td>A kangaroo loose in the top paddock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not the sharpest tool in the box (shed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bright as a burnt out lightbulb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix A(ii) present-day English colloquial expressions meaning ‘insane’.*
APPENDIX B ‘FOR FRENSY’: AN EXCERPT FROM RYLANDS ENG. MS. 404

[...] (f10r) ffeansye is a brynnyng postum in þe ferthe partye of a manys brayn or in the skynnys of þe brayn and sume apostome is of blode corupe and sume of Corupte humures as coloure and sume of both mente to geder and comyn þingis folowith þis sekenesse beþe meche wakkyngne and lakkyngne of good will And of resoune wrathe and woodnesse and sodeyne rysyne vp And sodeyn ffallinges a doune / But if it is of coloure þis ben þe tokyns grete will to fghte and smyte & drey nesse of þe mouþe blackenesse of þe tougne meche sharpe and bittir achne and meche feryngne of herte and his coloure is a swarte rede And his eyen ben swellyn / But þe tokyns of blood ben a clene coloure of þe vysege and þey ben aboute to pull out trees and stikkys out of wellis and þey lackyn (f10v) here will and þret men and mysseyen and misseyn hym but if it be nat a verre ffransye and come nat but of som odir postom of þe stomake or of þe woman þe postom of þe skynne þt a j childe is conceyved jinne And þe cause þe of is ffor þe colerik mater þt shulde make þe vryne reed and shulde come doun wt þe uryne it passith into þe heede and maketh a man ffrantik and this sekenesse odir whiles is a sekenesse be hym self . and oþer whilis it folowith anoþer sekenesse . If it is sekenesse of hym self hit may þus be holpyn first late rubbe well and softly the soles of his ffete wt vynegre and if he may nat well take a purgacioun of his heede make hym a glistere in þis wise Take þe heede and þe holy heede and þe holy hokke flax sene fenel and salt and mercurye and seþe hem in watir Anon and aftir clense hit & cast þer to hony and oyle and let hym receyvyn hit by his foundement aftirwarde shave his heede and ley þer to a warme plastre of colde herbes to dryve jinne ayen þe smoke þt comyþe to þe brayn and afterwarde if it nedith take a yonge welþe and slitt hym atwoo and cast a wey þe quicis And ley it all hoot to his hide And when he is colde ley þer to a noþer for moo þt þu hast þe hooþ hit is And if þu hast but one whan he is colde caste hoot watir in to hym and ley hym to eft sones And aftirwarde take an unce of popyloun and.jj. unce of henbane & an unce of opium and .iij. unce of blacke pope And poudir þis and medil ht wt popyloun And wt womannys mylke þt fedith a maydyn childe And wt the jus of syngrene and make þer of a plastre and (f11r) ley hit warme upon his heede nye his fore heede And if his slep aswage his foly is a tokyn his evill passith þen wasshe his hede wt þe jus [*] of merche . And wt vynegre cyþer wt oyle of rosis and let hym be kept in meche sylence And let þe hooþ blood in þe vayne þt is in þe medyll of þe forehede And leti hym streyne his nekke þt tyme wt a towewe or a sanape and if he blede nat jnowe take a wat and kit his tayl and doo hym in þe myddyl of his forehede & let hym streyne his hecke þt tyme wt a towell or a sanape and let hym sitt a bove þe nose or in þe temples besyde þe eyen and lete hym souke out blode til þei han soukyd as meche as blood letynge is And if he be nat holpyn by all þis doyngeþ Take þe jus of letuse or of portulate & medil wt þe oyle of roses or ellis of violet and wt a drame and an half of opium And a noynt þer wt his templis & his forehede [...]
## APPENDIX C ‘GOD’S ANGER’ LEXEMES, EARLY AND LATE VERSIONS
### WYCLIFFITE BIBLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book, chapter, verse</th>
<th>‘God’s anger’ Early version</th>
<th>‘God’s anger’ Late version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isa 16:6</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 10:10</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam 3:1</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 60:10</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 13:15</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 18:20</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 24:8</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 26:20</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 30:30</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 10:10</td>
<td>indignacioun</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr 11:4</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 32:35</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 32:41</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 32:43</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judg 11:36</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 149:7</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 34:8</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 61:2</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 51:6</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 35:4</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 47:3</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 51:36</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 63:4</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 11:20</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 20:12</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 46:10</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 50:15</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 50:28</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 51:11</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts 28:4</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Thes 1:8</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 59:17</td>
<td>veniaunce</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezra 8:22</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 2:5</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 7:29</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam 2:2</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex 22:24</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 10:6</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 21:31</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

249
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 22:21</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 38:19</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 13:11</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex 32:11</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 14:13</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 89:8</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 29:20</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecc/us 39:34</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 9:12</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 10:5</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 10:25</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 13:5</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 13:14</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 30:27</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 42:25</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 48:9</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 66:15</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr 6:34</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 25:14</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 25:17</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nah 1:2</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 30:27</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 34:2</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 66:15</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam 2:6</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 21:31</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 22:24</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nah 1:2</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nah 1:6</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab 3:12</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab 3:8</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 9:12</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 5:13</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Par 34:25</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kin 23:26</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Par 28:11</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam 2:1</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 20:23</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 20:28</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 32:14</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Par 28:13</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 29:20</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 6:11</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Par 36:16</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Part of Speech</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 21:20</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 20:23</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 5:25</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 6:15</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 14:13</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 20:21</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 13:13</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 5:15</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 32:31</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 33:5</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>strong veniaunce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 29:23</td>
<td>wod wrath</td>
<td>strong veniaunce ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 20:23</td>
<td>wod wrath</td>
<td>strong veniaunce ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 19:15</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 16:9</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 1:11</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex 32:10</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 40:11</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecc/us 39:17</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 13:9</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 14:6</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 44:25</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi 5:14</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 51:13</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kin 11:6</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 11:33</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 37:28</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 25:4</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex 32:10</td>
<td>wod</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecc/us 27:33</td>
<td>wrath wrath</td>
<td>no change ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezra 10:14</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr 24:18</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 25:11</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex 32:12</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wis 16:6</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecc/us 31:38</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 10:17</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeph 1:18</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom 2:5</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 6:17</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 3:36</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom 1:18</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 14:10</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 14:19</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 15:1</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 15:7</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 16:1</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esth 7:7</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr 14:35</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom 9:22</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 7:14</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 22:31</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 5:10</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heb 3:11</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heb 4:3</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 79:6</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is 64:5</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 78:49</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 102:9</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 50:25</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam 5:22</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi 7:9</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 1:12</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal 1:4</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix C 'God’s anger' lexemes in early and late versions of the Wycliffite Bibles.*
## APPENDIX D EARLY AND LATE MODERN ENGLISH WORDS MEANING ‘INSANE’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date first attestation</th>
<th>OED word / phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1507</td>
<td>red-wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>misminded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1519</td>
<td>peevish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1525</td>
<td>bedlam-mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1526</td>
<td>maniac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1529</td>
<td>straught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533</td>
<td>bedlam-ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533</td>
<td>fanatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1535</td>
<td>bedlam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1535</td>
<td>besides his common senses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540</td>
<td>daft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541</td>
<td>raving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1547</td>
<td>unsound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1548</td>
<td>stark raving (or staring) mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>maddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>extraught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>worried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1572</td>
<td>distraughted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1573</td>
<td>maddish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>dement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>insane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1576</td>
<td>past oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1577</td>
<td>acrazed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>frenzy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>mind-sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>poll-mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>madding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>skyred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1586</td>
<td>madded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1586</td>
<td>mind-stricken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>frenetical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1589</td>
<td>madcap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>distempered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>distraught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>ravening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>barmy froth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>crazed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>delirious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>diswitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>earwig-brain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
idle-headed
lymphatical
non sane memory
ravenous
touched
extract
madling
cracked
distracted
far gone
informal
crazy
depressed
March mad
non compos mentis
brain-crazed
crack-brained
dementate
arreptitious
demented
brain-cracked
crazied
insaniated
exsensed
hare-brainedness
lymphatic
bedlam-witted
mad-like
to have a gad-bee in one's brain
dementative
soft-brained
out out of one’s (seven) senses
beside one’s gravity
hyte
to go off at the nail
lymphated
unhinged
maddened
dementated
wrong
brainsickly
fatuous
deranged
delirious
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>alienated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>shake-brained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>crack-headed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>frenzied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837-40</td>
<td>as mad as a hatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>flighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>wowf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>berserk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>out of one’s head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>phrenesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>bedlamite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>mad-brained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>fey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>bedlamitish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>skire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>beside one’s wits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>three-quarter cleft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>quarter cleft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>insane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>off one’s head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>pixilated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>bemadded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>loco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>off one’s nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>neurotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>insane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>loony&lt;sup&gt;129&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>lypemania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>locoed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>off his chump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>bee-headed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>off one’s onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>off one’s base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>dottrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>meshug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>psycholeptic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>screwy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>off one’s rocker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>off(to go) off one’s dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>phrenalgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>balmy / barmy in the crumpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>mattoide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>nutty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>border-land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>129</sup> Cf. (1) *crazy as a loon*, present-day Canadian English, with reference to the bird of that name. Also *loonie*, dollar coin bearing image of same bird. Cf. (2) *loon* (n1; OED) 'worthless person'.

255
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>off one’s pannikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>bughouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>ratty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>off one’s trolley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>psychotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>batchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>dementia praecox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>vesanic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix D Early and Late Modern English words meaning ‘insane’: adapted from OED.*