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Reading the Fair Maid of Astolat – Editorial Practice, Performative Emotionality and Communal Forms of Reading

At first glance, Sir Thomas Malory's Morte Darthur may not strike readers as the kind of text that generates philological surprises. And yet a single new reading in P. J. C. Field's 2013 edition of the text has sparked a revived interest in the Fair Maid of Astolat and her role as letter writer. Replacing a simple < y > familiar to modern readers – but apparently also to early modern printers – with a yogh generally deemed to be more archaic, Field has opened up a wide range of new possibilities for our understanding of the letter Elaine of Astolat dictates on her death bed. As a 'yet' is suddenly transformed into a 'that' syntactic relations radically begin to shift and, thus, such fundamental issues as who is addressing what to whom are thrown into doubt. This paper explores the new possibilities afforded by Field's re-interpretation of the letter's spelling – in both senses of the word 'letter' – and places these in the context of a premodern concept of reading as a type of communal, gendered and above all emotional performance – a type of performance rife with potential for manipulation and power struggles. As this paper argues, the very tensions inherent in Elaine's letter and in the way the letter is presented within the text have informed the editing of Malory's text from its earliest beginnings.

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The construction of the European intellectual: Petrarch, humanism, and Middle English literature

Petrarch's reflections on fame and the legacy of classical tradition prompted the inscription of poetry (his own, as well as his forebears' and contemporaries') within the wider structure of human history. While keeping faith to Augustine's view of time and history, he also strove to comprehend a development of culture that clamoured to be understood in its own terms, beyond the overarching reference to the divine plan. This sometimes painful search brought him to be hailed, in centuries to come, as a proto-humanist writer.

As late-medieval English literature struggled to find its identity, in linguistic and cultural terms, the legacy of Petrarch proved essential, durable, and complex. From one generation of poets to the next, from Chaucer to Lydgate to Wyatt and Surrey, the Petrarchan texts drawn upon and the reactions they generated changed, sometimes radically, providing a singular instance of *translatio studii*: translations, rewritings, and parodies from Petrarch chart the passage of English writing from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance. At the same time, Petrarch's enfranchisement from the oppressive classical inheritance offers Chaucer and the following generation of poets a model to build a national literary canon, accompanying the emergence of English as the language of the nation.

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What, if anything, are Middle English dialects? Some thoughts on a changing concept

Middle English is traditionally thought of as the "dialectal phase" of English (cf e.g. Strang 1970; Milroy 1992): the period when dialectal variation is at its height, and when it is reflected in the written record. There seems to be no serious doubt that variation in written Middle English is to a large extent geographically conditioned: however, what precisely it reflects and how it should be related to actual geography are perhaps surprisingly controversial questions, given their centrality for numerous aspects of Middle English studies. Approaches to geographical variation have changed dramatically over the last century, as have scholarly attitudes to and ideas of written language; however, the implications of such changes may take a long time to permeate scholarly traditions.

The aim of this presentation is to review some of the major changes in scholarly views on geographical variation and to discuss their implications for the study of Middle English variation. After an introductory consideration of the concept of "dialect", the discussion is divided into three main parts, dealing respectively with a) models of geographical variation, from dialect areas to complex systems, b) the sampling of medieval materials and c) the question of localization. It is suggested that changes in scholarly approaches to all these aspects have far-reaching implications which affect not only our methodologies but also the validity of concepts and models that we may have come to take for granted.

One of the major implications of changing approaches has to do with the actual relationship of linguistic form to geography: as the landscape itself does not speak, on what grounds do we relate linguistic data to geographical locations? The question is equally pertinent for the study of present-day materials; however, as the kinds of evidence available for the present-day and medieval periods are fundamentally different, the range of possible answers will also differ. It is argued here that there can be no single absolute relationship between linguistic form and geography: rather, there are innumerable ways of relating the two, and consequently innumerable different dialect maps, reflecting the ways in which we define the geographical connections, something that in turn reflects our research questions. Middle English dialects, accordingly, emerge from the data: whether as constellations shaped by the questions we ask (cf Mäkinen, forthcoming) or as observational artifacts based on our subjective experience (cf Kretzschmar, 2012; Stenroos, 2016).

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On the Multilingual Background to Standard English

Twenty years ago, handbooks discussing the origins of Standard English gave the impression that its development was well understood. Readers were informed that there had been a written variety called Late West Saxon Standard in the Old English period, replaced by a written variety called Chancery Standard in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century. Readers were told that Chancery Standard was based on Central Midlands writing (or East Midlands, if they were reading an older textbook), and it was suggested that the Midlands dialect was more easily understood than other dialects because it was spoken in the middle of the country. How Chancery Standard came to derive from the Midlands dialects was explained as being due to migration of Northerners into London (although some authors claimed a migration from the Central Midlands, others from the East Midlands). Handbooks which went into more detail explained that Chancery Standard evolved out of one of four prototypical Types into which Middle English writing had been classified, and stemmed from the King's Office of Chancery. And there was sometimes a nod to the language of the court, to the varieties of English used by scholars in Oxford and Cambridge, and to the invention of print. The actual mechanism of how Standard English supposedly focussed and diffused both geographically out from the Midlands, whether East or Central, and through different text-types was not detailed. That all that had been explicitly stipulated under the label 'Chancery Standard' were spellings for twenty-one common words, the third-person plural pronoun forms they/their, and the -inde/-ende/-ande morpheme, was not usually clarified. Syntax, morphology, sentence structure, social context and discourse norms, pragmatics, word-choice, register, text-types, reduction of variation, reduction of abbreviations and suspensions, the abandonment of letter-graphs thorn and yogh, and the multilingual backdrop — the convention of keeping accounts in mixed-language Anglo-Norman/Medieval Latin/Middle English, the continuing custom of alternating passages of monolingual Anglo-Norman and Medieval Latin in certain text-types, and the rise of international Neo-Latin as a scholarly medium of communication — these were barely mentioned.

In my talk I will detail how it is that this orthodoxy came to prevail to such an extent that Schaefer (2012) and Beal (2016) writing in student handbooks still feel the need to discuss Chancery Standard at some length (even though they discredit it). With reference to Kerswill (in press), I show how extremely unlikely it is that any midland dialect could have played any kind of major role. I suggest that the standardisation process cannot be explained a) without reference to the multilingual textual and spoken background (because I relate the initiation of standardisation to changes in trade, whereby instead of English merchants travelling to the markets in Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges as before, continental merchants now began to visit London), and b) without reference to the very long time-period over which it played out, as fifteenth century formal written English was still full of variation.

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General sessions

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Chaucer the International, or Chaucer's "life" in Russia

Being a popular medieval poet Geoffrey Chaucer is praised by his descendants as "the worshipful fader and first foundeur and enbelissher of ornate eloquence in our englissh" [1, p. 243] and the "dere fadir" of the English language and literature [2, p. 95; 3, p. 71]. In spite of his being an English-language speaker, he is well-known in other countries and may be viewed as an international writer.

His internationalism may be considered in several aspects: the influence of Italian and French authors on the plots of many of his works is hardly ever disputed; the characters of his poems live or travel almost worldwide – Troy, "Alisaundre, Lettow" [4]; and nowadays are also known in "Pruce", Italy and "Ruce" [4] as literary or movie characters - consider, for example, Pasolini's 1972 screen version of "The Canterbury Tales" [5] and the animated TV series made by British and Russian animators in 1998 – 2000 [6].

The objective of this paper is to describe "the life" of Geoffrey Chaucer in Russia. It is a fortune, that not only English-speaking spectators and readers are able to appreciate his works; his talent has its admirers the world over and made him popular among many Russian readers too.

Geoffrey Chaucer's "life" in Russia dates back to the second half of the XIX century, when several extracts of "The Canterbury Tales" were first translated by professor of English Language in St. Petersburg University Thomas Budd Shaw (known in Russia as **Фома Иванович Шау** – 'Foma Ivanovich Shau'). These very first fragments were published as early as 1859 [7]. Then there was rather a long period of certain oblivion. But in 1946 the long-awaited Russian translation of the "Tales" (except the "Parson's Tale") appeared [8] and won its popularity because the translators were able to convey all the enchanting beauty and sparkling ease of Chaucer's verse.

In 1997 "The Parson's Tale" was at last translated (later added to the next 2007 edition of "The Canterbury Tales") [9], followed by "Troilus and Criseyde" [10] as well as "The Book of the Duchess" and "The Parliament of Fowls" in 2004 [11].

These translations (and the originals – sic!) are studied in the courses of the English language and literature history in schools and universities of Russia which adds to Chaucer's popularity and proves his interest for translators. Still the number of people who try to give a new lease of Chaucer's life in Russia is, unfortunately, not very high.

More than fourteen years have passed since the last edition of "Russian Chaucer", so, it is necessary to translate him (at least poems) to let those enthusiasts who are unlucky not to know English enjoy and admire the magnificent lines of a great poet.

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Qualitative and quantitative data in historical dialectology: the analysis of dialect material from the medieval county of Lincolnshire

This presentation examines the relation between two different sources of data available for written late Middle English: a revised on-line edition of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson 2013–, henceforth *eLALME*) and the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (Stenroos, Mäkinen, Horobin & Smith 2011, henceforth *MEG-C*). While the source material for both projects remained the same, the two took different approaches to the study of language variation in late Middle English. The aim of *eLALME* was to map language variation over space as if the geographic distance was the sole contributor to the recorded variance. *MEG-C* built upon the assumption that other extralinguistic factors, e. g., 'textual parameters', (Herring, van Reenen & Schøsler 2000: 1) can be used to explain the recorded patterning of linguistic variance (cf. Bergstrøm 2017; Thengs, 2013) and, alongside *eLALME* localisations and dating, classified the material according to the genre and script type to broaden the range of criteria available for interpreting linguistic variability (cf. Stenroos & Thengs 2011: 3-6). Another key difference between *eLALME* and *MEG-C* lies in the number of linguistic items available for inspection: while the number of texts localised in *eLALME* goes in hundreds, the atlas contains data for a closed set of 280 items gathered using a predefined questionnaire; in the case of *MEG-C*, users are not limited by a constrained selection of linguistic elements.

The objective of the study was to investigate if the differences between *eLALME* and *MEG-C* have an impact on the recorded dialectal variation. To explore the matter, the following research questions were formulated:

1. Does the qualitative nature of data from *eLALME* allow for a comparison with quantitative data from *MEG-C*, and, if yes, how can it be achieved?
2. Does the inclusion of additional extralinguistic variables in *MEG-C* alter the diatopic variance recorded in *eLALME*?
3. Is it possible to combine the general perspective of *eLALME* with a more fine-grained corpus analysis?

The analysis was performed on the dialect material from Lincolnshire contained in each source and focused on three dialect features that are reflected in spelling and are known to vary between the North and the Midlands (based on Fernandez Cuesta & Rodriguez Ledesma 2004; Stenroos 2004):

1. <a> for OE /ɑ:/ in words such as *knaw* 'know' or *haly* 'holy'
2. <k> for /k/ instead of /tʃ/ in words such as *kirk* 'church' or *whilk* 'which'
3. the distinction between word-initial /θ, ð/ recorded in two different spellings, <th> for /θ/ in words like *thynk* 'think' or *thre* 'three' and <þ/y> for /ð/ in, e.g., *y^e* 'the' or *þei* 'they'

Preliminary results indicate that, on the surface, the corpus data reflects the diatopic distribution of features recorded in *eLALME*; however, upon further inspection, the results suggest that each feature, or even each word, has preference towards a particular extralinguistic factor.

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The Originality of the *Orrmulum*

The Augustinian canon Orrm wrote his English homilies for preaching to the laity about a century after the Norman Conquest, apparently drafting and revising the work over some years.[1] This was a period when writing in English was chiefly sustained by the laity's (and no doubt some of the clergy's) need for religious instruction in the majority vernacular.[2] Nevertheless, Orrm's project was hugely ambitious in scale, in contrast with the artlessness of the physical manuscript.[3] It is famous for its chaotic and impoverished appearance, and for scholarly comments on the obsessive mental state of the author. We presume that much has been lost; Orrm's full contents list (following the dedication) establishes that the near-20,000 lines remaining represent only 32 incomplete homilies from a projected programme of 243.[4] Notoriously he has developed his own spelling system, characterized by doubled consonants where the vowel is short (and, as Meg Worley has convincingly argued, in places where a native French speaker would be tempted to elide the consonant).[5]

The text stands in precocious isolation: both in terms of its date, since it was composed just ahead of an efflorescence of new and adapted religious works for the laity; and in terms of the approach taken to its audience, which is markedly idiosyncratic even when setting out conventional expositions. This paper will argue that the work's content, and its distinctive and important place in the narrative of medieval vernacular theology, deserves serious and thorough reconsideration.[6]

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[1] For a completion date before 1180, with composition possibly beginning as early as the 1160s, see: M. B. Parkes, 'On the Presumed Date and Possible Origin of the Manuscript of the *Orrmulum*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1', in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991) 187-200.

[2] See Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne, eds, *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Aidan Conti, 'The circulation of the Old English homily in the twelfth century: new evidence from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 365-402; Mary Swan, 'Preaching past the conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A.XXII', in *The Old English Homily*, 403-23; Mark Faulkner, 'Archaism, Belatedness and Modernisation: "Old" English in the Twelfth Century', *Review of English Studies* 63 (2011), 179-203.

[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1. '[T]he first new major programme of vernacular instruction to have been composed since the publication of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*': Stephen Morrison, 'Orm's English Sources', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 136 (1984), 54-64 (55).

[4] R. W. Burchfield, 'The Language and Orthography of the Ormulum MS', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1956), 56–87, suggests that the work was completed (58).

[5] Meg Worley, 'Using the *Ormulum* to Redefine Vernacularity', in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 19-30 (24).

[6] Studies of the *Orrmulum* as text, rather than as linguistic or orthographic phenomenon, have largely discussed its intervention in theories of writing and vernacularity: Meg Worley, 'Using the *Ormulum* to Redefine Vernacularity', in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 19-30; Christopher Cannon, 'Right Writing: The *Ormulum*', *The Grounds of English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 82-110; Katharine Breen, *Imagining an English reading public, 1150-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 109-21; A. Joseph McMullen, 'Forr þeȝȝre sawle need: The Ormulum, Vernacular Theology and a Tradition of Translation in Early England', *English Studies* 95 (2014), 256-77. Such studies often read against authorial intention and dwell on the poem's difficulty, even when that is interpreted positively: 'its form seems so repugnant … [because] the *Ormulum* exists to see clearly what we cannot see': Cannon, 110. Critics who consider the work's content more widely include James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 71-80; Guzman Mancho, 'Considering *Orrmulum*'s Exegetical Discourse: Canon Orrmin's Preaching and his Audience', *English Studies* 85 (2004), 508-19; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, who has kindly shared material from her forthcoming book with me prior to publication; and Stephen Morrison's tireless work on Orrm's sources.

In setting out the idiosyncrasies of Orrm's work, the paper will consider examples of his original (and occasionally startling) exegesis, alongside his engagement both with earlier English homilies and standard Latin authorities, and newer continental sources. Orrm wrote on the cusp of great changes in lay religious practice, as regular confession was becoming increasingly important, and the understanding of doctrines of penance and purgatorial cleansing were undergoing rapid development. These changes can be seen in the changing emphases found within his text, as he explicates the gospels for his lay audience with constant attention to the practical details of their lives.

I will argue that Orrm's approach to his audience is distinctively humane and empathetic, in contrast with contemporary trends which condemned lay lives and elevated the cloistered life above all. Ultimately, Orrm's view of society places the lay majority at its centre, and regards the clerical vocation as valuable only in as much as it is devoted to the apostolic mission and the care of souls. In this he stands as a lone surviving witness of what must surely have been a much broader twelfth-century cultural phenomenon.

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Reanalysis of *-n* as a marker for plural and prepositional phrases: two independent changes

Introduction: In Middle English *-s* is reanalysed as a plural marker in northern and eastern dialects, while in western and southern dialects *-n* spreads to nouns that were originally strong. This paper investigates how *-n* was reanalysed as a plural marker. It also shows that the reanalysis and spread of *-n* as a plural marker and as a prepositional phrase (PP) marker are two independent changes.

Method: Two manuscripts from the south-west Midlands (Worcestershire), but from two different periods of time, are investigated: *Lambeth Homilies* (around 1200) and *Laȝamon's Brut* (C13b1). Direct transcriptions of these manuscripts are available in LAEME. Due to some tagging issues in LAEME a new analysis of each noun is necessary in order to build the paradigms. In the following, -V designates a noun ending in a vowel, -C a noun ending in a consonant. 'Nominative' is used for subject position, 'accusative' for direct object.

Result 1: The use of *-n* in the <u>nominative/accusative plural</u> is summarised in the following. Neuters ending in a vowel are not considered because too little data is available.

Lambeth Homilies:

- Feminine: The weak and strong feminines show *-n* in the nom/acc.pl. (some variation with -ø). Thus, *-n* is reanalysed as a plural feminine marker, i.e. within a specific gender.
- Masculine/neuter: *-n* does not occur.

Layamon Brut:

- Feminine: -ø has almost disappeared, *-n* is the only plural feminine marker.
- Masculine -V: The weak and strong masculines -V have *-n* in the nom/acc.pl (no variation). This can be explained by their phonological shape: Almost all feminines end in a vowel and they show *-n* in the plural. *-N* is not restricted to the feminine anymore, but it is suffixed to all nouns ending in a vowel.
- Neuter -C: Subsequently, *-n* is reanalysed as a plural marker: It is the second most frequent marker in the neuter.
- Masculine -C: *-n* does not occur.

Result 2: The use of *-n* in <u>PPs in the plural</u> is presented here. Masculines and neuters ending in a vowel are excluded because too little data is available.

Lambeth Homilies:

- Feminine: *-n* is reanalysed as a plural feminine marker (see above) (some variation with -ø).
- Neuter/masculine -C: *-n* is the most frequent suffix in the neuter, and a moderately frequent suffix in the masculine, i.e. *-n* has spread to neuter -C, and then to masculine -C.

Layamon Brut:

- *-N* is the only suffix in the feminine and the most frequent suffix in the masculine and neuter -C.

Result 3: *-N* also occurs in the <u>singular PPs</u> in the Layamon Brut, but not in the Lambeth Homilies. Thus, *-n* is reanalysed as a PP marker.

In summary, *-n* is considerably wider spread in the plural PPs than in the nom/acc.pl. Additionally, *-n* can be analysed as a PP marker as it is also used in singular PPs. It can be concluded that the reanalysis of *-n* as a plural marker and as a PP marker are two different changes.

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Noun phrase modification in Middle English culinary and medical recipes

Noun phrase modification and its historical development in English writings have been investigated by a number of scholars. Some studies dealt with the position of adjective modifiers within nominal phrases. For instance, Raumolin-Brunberg (1994) and Fischer (2000, 2001, 2004, 2006) concentrated on the changing position of attributive adjectives in Old and Middle English texts, whereas Moskowich (2002, 2009), Moskowich and Crespo (2002), Tyrkkö (2014), or Sylwanowicz (2016) discussed the use of adjectives in noun phrases found in early English scientific writings. Other studies focused on the frequency of nominal pre- and postmodification, in particular on the evolution of the preferences concerning their structural variants, i.e. the use of adjectives or nouns as pre-modifiers, and clauses or prepositional phrases as postmodifiers (e.g. Norri 1989, Raumolin-Brunberg 1991, Biber and Clark 2002, Biber et al. 2011).

Although there have been several studies discussing noun phrase modification in early English medical recipes, there is no comparative study that would focus on complex noun phrases in the historical culinary and medical material. Therefore, the main aim of the proposed paper is to examine and compare the use and distribution of noun pre- and postmodifiers in Middle English culinary and medical recipe collections.

The examples gathered for the present study have been divided into three major groups: (i) noun phrases with pre-modifiers, (ii) noun phrases with post-modifiers, and (iii) noun phrases with pre- and post-modifiers. The analysis will start with a discussion concerning the general tendencies of the use of noun modification in culinary and medical recipes. Next, specific structural variants of each type of modification and their frequencies will be presented. Particular attention will be paid to whether the choice of a modification pattern was determined by the type of the recipe, i.e. culinary or medical. Our preliminary investigation has shown that some structural variants of noun modifiers prevail in one type of a recipe. For instance, clausal post-modifiers are preferred in medical recipes. Similarly, qualifying attributive adjectives that put emphasis on the quality of the noun referents (as in *precious oynment*, *nobil medicine*, *principal medicine*, *woschipfull serip*) are more frequent in the medical recipes.

The study will be synchronic, covering the Late Middle English period (i.e. the 14th and 15th centuries). The corpus has been selected in such a way as to consist of a similar number of culinary and medical recipes, altogether comprising almost three thousand instructions.

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A Reassessment of Poema Morale

In this study, I propose a reassessment of the Early Middle English Poema Morale by discussing its lasting influence on twelfth- and thirteenth-century English literature.

Poema Morale survives in nine manuscripts that preserve versions differing in readings and length (see Laing 1993: 162). The differences amongst these versions probably account for the substantial lack of scholarship on the poem. To my knowledge, the only comprehensive critical editions of Poema Morale are those by Lewin (1881) – whose edition is based on the six manuscripts known at the time – and by Marcus (1934). Hall (1920) prints the versions from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52 (335) (ed. Morris 1873) and London, Lambeth Palace, MS 487 (ed. Morris 1867-1998) (the manuscripts of the Trinity Homilies and the Lambeth Homilies, respectively).

Perhaps more surprising is the scarceness of secondary literature. Although a number of studies on Poema Morale, such as that by Hill (1977), have surfaced over the last decades, it is safe to affirm that much remains to be investigated.

A wise old man's reflection on the transiency of worldly things, Poema Morale displays a taste for proverbial sayings, a vivid description of hell, and a concluding exhortation on the joys of heaven, all elements that must surely have appealed to the Early Middle English readership. This appeal is attested to not only by the nine manuscripts where the poem is preserved, but also by several textual correspondences between Poema Morale and a number of thirteenth-century lyrics, which were noted by Brown (1932). I shall take into account these textual correspondences, propose new ones, and discuss whether they bear witness to a direct textual influence.

Moreover, a close analogue to Poema Morale has been found in the Anglo-Norman Le romaunz de temtacioun de secle of Guischart de Beauliu (ed. Gabrielson 1909), although the relationship between the two works remains a vexed issue (Hall 1920: II 329). Therefore, a question that I shall also address in the present study is whether the Anglo-Norman poem influenced Poema Morale or the latter served as a source for the former text, or if the two poems are related at all.

Furthermore, the metre of Poema Morale is perhaps as relevant as its content. The poem is the earliest known example of English septenary, a metre that was to become 'a staple of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century homiletic writing', as noted by Conlee (1991: 11). It is, then, worth investigating whether the popularity of Poema Morale could have played a role in the development of the septenary in the context of Middle English religious literature.

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Degree of grammaticalisation of *beyond* in Middle English

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the degree of grammaticalisation of ME *biyond(en)* < OE *begēond(an),* a compound adverb with the prefix *be-,* in Middle English.

The grammaticalisation framework applied in the study relies on Hopper and Traugott (2003: xv) viewing grammaticalisation as "the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions". Hence, the degree of grammaticalisation of ME *biyond(en)* will be tested on the basis of the ratio of its use with a respective function. The decrease in the adverbial use for the benefit of the prepositional use of the lexeme will be a sign of a higher degree of grammaticalisation.

The special context examined here is intended to be the most natural, or neutral, i.e., closest to spoken Middle English. Thus, the selection of special prose texts will guarantee the exclusion of occurrences potentially motivated by such poetic devices as rhyme, rhythm or alliteration. "Prose, on an average, employed a language less stylised than verse and was, thus, relatively close to the language really used by people." (Markus 2010b) The analysed material relies on Markus's (2010a) *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* (*IC*), an extensive collection of complete texts. Our intention is to analyse the behaviour of *biyond(en)* only in the texts with the most reliably identified localisation and dates. This will guarantee the highest reliability of the insight into the degree of grammaticalisation also viewed from the perspective of dialects and individual texts. The information concerning the provenance and dating of manuscripts has been derived from *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (*LAEME*) and *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*eLALME*). Thus, 56 out of 129 Middle English prose texts of about 2.5 million words have been selected. Other employed databases include the *Oxford English Dictionary online* (*OED*), the *Middle English Dictionary online* (*MED*), the *Dictionary of Old English* (A-H online) (*DOE*) and the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*).

The analysis shows that *biyond(en)* is almost exclusively used with a prepositional function and only marginally with an adverbial function in the examined Middle English prose texts. This clearly demonstrates that the degree of grammaticalisation of ME *biyond(en)* is very high.

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Sir Tristrem and the Critics

The Middle English *Sir Tristrem* (late 13th-c.) found in the Auchinleck MS, while fully edited three times in the nineteenth century, met with notoriously bad reviews in the twentieth. Even as it today undergoes critical rehabilitation, the poem is still not widely read, and lacks a modern critical edition. At this moment in the poem's fortunes, it may be worth our while to listen—at least once more--to those distinctly unamused twentieth-century voices who found *Sir Tristrem* to be such a rude and chaotic mess. What were they looking for that they did not find in the poem? What qualities do we—we who admire the poem—find in *Sir Tristrem* that those critics, and so recently, did not appreciate? My presentation will try to bring some of these to light before proceeding to the text of *Sir Tristrem*, and passages which manifest its fascinating and (not completely *un*-chaotic) approach to the story of Tristan and Iseult.

The most surprising—and to some critics the most inexplicable--feature of the English poet's rendition of the 'courtly' *Tristan*-matter is *Sir Tristrem*'s lack of the psychological dimension which Thomas of Britain (and his follower Gottfried von Strasbourg) modulated with such unhurried eloquence. By contrast, of course, the characters in the English poem seem to have no time for introspection, and the narrative is told from a more-or-less objective point of view. The result is an unsettling of the 'courtly' story's traditional refinements, and a tendency toward comic opacity which is more commonly associated with the 'common' versions of the story. (In fact, *Sir Tristrem* tends to throw these traditional categories into a certain doubt.) A related issue is the unique verse-form in which our poet works: an eleven-line stanza with a rhyme scheme borrowed from popular romance. The formal structure of the poem has raised difficult questions as to whether certain readings are to be understood at lexically precise or formulaic and merely expletive. Finally, the English poet's innovation creates its own editorial and semantic challenges: the poet's early Middle English lexicon—which has never been satisfactorily glossed—may lead the reader (or editor) into uncharted territory. It is in this territory, as I shall argue, that readers and critics (and, hopefully, editors) of *Sir Tristrem* may begin to understand this fascinating text on its own terms.

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On the Use of Mineral and Chemical Terms in Late Middle English Medical Manuscripts

Hunt (1990: 19) has claimed that in medical recipes "mineral and chemical elements are unusual". Even if the number of elements cannot be compared to the estimated 1800 plant names attested in Middle English (Sauer, 2011: 57), our research reveals that there is a good number of mineral and chemical words in Middle English medical manuscripts. Some of the terms are used in alchemical treatises, which is "an area where few people have ventured" (Grund, 2013: 428). The reason for this negligence is the nature of texts and manuscripts and the nature of Alchemy itself, according to Grund (2013: 442). Alchemical lexicon is also found in medical manuscripts, as Alchemy was not only concerned with the transmutation of base metals into gold. There is also a long tradition of Alchemy as a means to make Medicine. Alchemists were actively involved in the search of an elixir of immortality and the creation of panaceas able to cure any disease. This explains why the lexis related to *chemica* and *mineralia* is used in medical manuscripts.

A comprehensive linguistic analysis of the entire material containing chemical and mineral items in medieval medical manuscripts has yet to be carried out. In order to study the lexis of chemical and mineral ingredients, a corpus of about 215,000 words has been specially compiled from different libraries, chiefly British Library (Sloane 121), Glasgow University Library (Hunter 185, Hunter 307, Hunter 328, Hunter 497 and Ferguson 147) and Wellcome Library (Wellcome 537). We have tried to cover as many as possible of the different medical genres included within the classification by Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 15). Thus, the corpus contains: a) specialised treatises, such as a humoral tract in Sloane 121 and the Middle English translation of the *Compendium Medicinae* by Gibertus Anglicus in Wellcome 537; b) *materia medica* including herbaries (Hunter 185, Hunter 307 and Hunter 497), as well as recipe collections (Ferguson 147 and Hunter 328) and other related works, such as the *Antidotarium Nicholai* in Ferguson 147.

The aim is to carry out a linguistic analysis of the lexicon of *chemica* and *mineralia* in Middle English based on the data retrieved from representative authentic sources, most of which has never been published. We will examine the provenance of the nouns according to their etymology to check whether they are borrowings or native words in the case of *simplex* terms, as well as the structure and the constituents present in nominal compounds according to the usual taxonomies based on Bauer (1983 and 2017), Marchand (1969) and Sauer (1992), but specialised classifications on the topic are also used (Norri, 1991).

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The Soul a City: Margery Kempe meets Julian of Norwich

Taking the texts in *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Add. 61,823, EETS 212, Windeatt, 2000) where the theological conversation is given between herself and Julian of Norwich, this paper will discuss the following medieval women: Birgitta; Julian; the anonymous daughter-in-law from Gdansk; and Margery. In doing so it will touch on Birgitta's text written in both Swedish and Latin, and her difficulties with that language, needing to be taught by the mosaiced St Agnes in her church in Rome, how Birgitta of Sweden with her *Revelationes,* authorized by the Spanish Bishop Hermit Alfonso of Jaen and the East Anglian Cardinal Adam Easton writing on its spiritual discernment, caused the founding of Vadstena Abbey and its daughter houses, Marienbrunn Abbey, in Gdansk, and England's Syon Abbey, among others, both of these visited by Margery.

Then it will discuss Julian and her dialect, placed using LALME in Norwich from the evidence of the carefully copied but late Sloane 2499 manuscript in the British Library (Greeson, Reynolds, Holloway, 2001), while her Revelations is much shaped by Birgittta's Revelationes, filtered through Cardinal Adam Easton, the Norwich Benedictine (who possibly wrote the *Cloud of Unknowing* texts on spiritual discernment for her). Next we will discuss Margery's daughter-in-law from Gdansk, masquerading as her dying English husband (an aside on George Eliot, George Sand, Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell and J.K. Rowling), and the difficulties presented by her foreign handwriting and spelling for Margery's amanuenses. We note that Julian and Margery's East Anglian dialect concurs with the enchanting Latin Middle English dictionary written by a Lynn Dominican anchorite for schoolchildren (EETS, ES 102).

We shall then enact the dialogue between Julian and Margery, so centred on Brigittine spiritual discernment, filtered to us through Mount Grace Priory's Yorkshire dialect in the Add. 61,823 manuscript transcription in Middle English, then by its editors, reading it aloud in parts and also diplomatically presented from the manuscript compared with the modern edited texts in the handouts, proposing this as an interdisciplinary linguistic, philological and theological method for understanding this medieval discourse between women, aided and edited by women and men, enabling us to re-play their voices speaking Middle English albeit in a European context.

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Was there a schwa in Old Northumbrian? Evidence from the glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Collectar

Variation in the orthographic representation of the vowels of the verbal inflexions in late Old Northumbrian (10th century) has already been acknowledged in past scholarship (Hogg & Fulk, 2011; Ross, 1937, 1960). This variation may account for a process of morphological syncretism or phonological merger of unstressed vowels. Although 'one of the characteristic differences between OE and ME is the weakening of the OE vowels to *e* in unaccented syllables' (Wright & Wright, 1979: §134), the process of weakening of unstressed vowels had already started in late Old English, as supported by authors such as Ross (1937), Hogg (1992) and Campbell (1991), among others.

In previous studies I have carried out a quantitative analysis of the variation found in the unstressed vowels of the inflexions of the present indicative in the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. iv) and to the additions to the Durham Collectar (Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19). My findings support the hypothesis that the *e/a* alternation in the verbal inflexions is evidence of a phonological merger of unstressed vowels into a schwa-like phoneme already in Old English (Sierra-Rodríguez 2016, 2017). Moreover, there seems to be no preference of <e> over <a> and, thus, no clear progression in the direction of Middle English is observed.

In the case of the additions to the Durham Collectar, no statistically significant divergence with the Lindisfarne gloss was observed in the analysed corpus when it comes to the distributions of *e/a* spellings in the verbal inflexions. These results differ from previous studies showing that this gloss is more conservative than that of the Lindisfarne gloss (Fernández Cuesta & Langmuir, forth.; Ross, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1978), while showing no progression in the direction of Middle English.

This paper compares the *e/a* variation found in the inflexions of second and third person singular and plural present indicative forms in the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Collectar with the Northumbrian section of the Rushworth Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D. 2.19). Quantitative-statistical analysis can offer further support to an early dating of the appearance of schwa in Old Northumbrian, further insight of the similarities and differences already found between these glosses, and evidence of whether the consideration of Old Northumbrian as more advanced in the direction of Middle English applies in the case of the spelling of the verbal inflexional vowel.

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British Library, Sloane MS 6: the first vernacular translation of
De ingenio sanitatis

The first English translation of Galen appears in British Library, Sloane MS 6. It is a surgical compendium translated for the most part from Latin and it contains both surgical and philosophical information. On ff. 180 v -203 v we can find the first vernacular translation of Galen's *De methodo medendi*. The English text comes from *De ingenio sanitatis*, the twelfth-century translation by Gerard of Cremona of the Arabic version of De methodo medendi. Although Sloane 6 covers only the third, and three and a half chapters of the fourth book of De methodo medendi (originally of 14 books), the role of this translation, which is placed at the end of the manuscript, is very important: the Galenic treatise had, in fact, to supply the theoretical principles for learned surgery and wound treatments.

First of all I intend to present manuscript Sloane 6 and its contents, then I will focus in particular on the translation of *De methodo medendi*. The Latin exemplar for the English text is not known. Through this contribution it will emerge that Sloane 6 is a very important witness of the transmission and dissemination of medical knowledge and of Middle English translation techniques. It is witness of the two important processes of translation and compilation. In fact, the compiler of the manuscript took excerpts from different books coping or translating them, and after that he assembled the pieces according to his surgical needs.

For what specifically concerns the Middle English text of *De ingenio sanitatis*, Sloane 6 clearly shows that the Galenic medicine, and more precisely the Galenic surgical teachings were alive in fifteenth-century England and, through translation and compilation, they could be used also from an illiterate readership, whose language and knowledge was not that of university professors.

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Courting Love: Comedy and Genre in *Robene and Makyne*

Robert Henryson's Older Scots poem *Robene and Makyne*, composed some time in the latter of the fifteenth century, is layered by several inversions of courtly themes, genres, and *topoi*. Most broadly, the poem mixes three modes: the ballad, the *contrasto*, and the *pastourelle*. Henryson's mosaic of forms is resistant to firm definition: both the poetic diction and the characterization of the protagonists are anomalous 'examples' of the modes they seem to reflect. Petrina (1999) has previously examined the checkered critical history of the poem: she asserts that critics have often been impeded by the poem's dazzling enamel of comic vibrancy. Instead, she seeks to uncover more carefully the formal poetic foundations of the poem. By leaving to the side these studies, which only remark on the animated characters and dialogue, Petrina is able to define more objectively the poetic traditions that inform the poem, as well as the dexterity and dynamism of Henryson's treatment of these traditions.

The proposed paper seeks to reassess this 'distracting' shimmer of comic vibrancy in order to re-situate it within the framework of genre trouble in the poem. The conventions and modes of courtly love are clearly central to Henryson's project: formal analysis has shown the ways in which Henryson adapts and inverts these generic conventions, however the comic tensions have, for the most part, only served to thwart critical analysis. In fact, the comedy of the narrative, expressed most clearly through the dialogue of the two characters, serves to highlight and enhance the mosaic of form and structure in the poem. One way in which these comic tensions punctuate Henryson's critical use of courtly poetics is in Makyne's mimicking of the rhetoric of courtly love.

The breakdown of this rhetoric is, in turn, exposed by the persistent disconnect between the two speakers. Their disjunction creates the comic *frisson* which lays bare the sexual intent (shallowly) underlying the discussion. As a result, the framework of the poem, as attested by Petrina, is fleshed out by demonstrating the ways in which the comic energy and vibrancy sharpens her assertion that Henryson used the *pastourelle* as a tool to display his creativity and critical dexterity. By reasserting the influence of the comic tone and narrative fluidity, the dynamism of the poem achieves even greater nuance and texture.

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Reassembling Romance: Gender and Genre in the Middle English *Partonope of Blois*

The fifteenth-century Middle English romance *Partonope of Blois* currently exists in six manuscripts, though only one, London, British Library, MS Additional 35288, contains more that half of the poem's 12,000 lines. Ostensibly a translation of the twelfth-century French Le Roman de Parténopeus de Blois, the Middle English version features several idiosyncracies of its own, ranging from increased attention paid to the magical powers of Partonope's love-object, Melior, the Empress of Byzantium, which are praised, in contrast to those of Partonope's mother, which are critiqued; a condemnation of the Church expressed by Partonope and Melior to the Bishop of France when he attempts to stop the former from returning to his love; and the inclusion of various battles between the Danes and the Persians. As I will demonstrate, each of these changes reveals latent anxieties about the boundaries surrounding acceptable expressions of gender.

Whether due to a lack of a modern, up-to-date edition that collates all extant manuscripts, a disinterest in English romances dating from the fifteenth century, or other, more subtle motivations, the last century of scholarship in particular has mostly left untouched this text that was, earlier critics agree, one of the most popular romances of the Middle Ages. I aim to fill this research gap by examining the process of cultural and linguistic *translatio* that is exposed through a close-reading of the Middle English *Partonope's* emphasis on gendered power when compared to the Old French original, focusing particularly on the ways in which this text deploys and subverts the generic conventions of romance. In this way, I argue, the Middle English *Partonope of Blois* uses its genre as well as its deviations from the Old French original text to envision forms of masculinity and femininity that overlap and often contradict contemporary ideals of gender performance.

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The meaning(s) of *must* in Middle English

According to a widely accepted analysis, the PDE modal auxiliary *must* derives from an OE verb expressing possibility, as in (1). From late OE onwards, directive (deontic) necessity uses started to occur, as in the PDE example in (2). Later still, *must* also acquired epistemic uses, as in (3):

(1)   Ic hit þe þonne gehate, þæt þu on Heorote **most** sorhleas swefan

"I promise you that you will be able to sleep free from anxiety in Heorot"

Beowulf 1673–4; transl. Traugott & Dasher (2002: 122)

(2)   They **must** get married, I demand it.

(3)   They **must** be married, I am sure of it.

Traugott & Dasher (2002: 2)

The development of epistemic meaning has been variously interpreted as metaphorical in nature (Sweetser 1990; Bybee et al. 1994) or as an instance of a gradual process of subjectification (Traugott 1989; Traugott & Dasher 2002). On the whole, however, there is agreement on the broad strokes of the history of *must*, which remains a textbook example of the semantic pathway from deontic to epistemic modality (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2004; Tagliamonte 2006; Ziegeler 2016).

However, recent scholarly work has questioned various aspects of this story from different theoretical perspectives. On the one hand, Furmaniak (2011) argues against the 'metaphorical' hypothesis about the origin of epistemic meaning, instead proposing a step-by-step development from dynamic to epistemic modality in EModE. On the other hand, Yanovich (2016) suggests that *must* in OE did not express possibility in the usual sense, but a type of 'variable-force' modality which collapses the distinction between possibility and necessity.

This paper attempts to connect these strands of research by focusing on the semantic development of *must* in ME. Inspired by Nuyts & Byloo's (2015) investigation of Dutch and building on their classification of modality, we present a detailed semantic analysis of the uses of *must* in a large corpus of ME texts. The main conclusions are that there is little evidence of a gradual process of subjectification in the sense of Traugott & Dasher (2002), and that the development of necessity meaning happened in a stepwise fashion, first affecting dynamic uses, as in (4), before spreading to directive ones, as in (5):

(4)   *alswa þe gode ancre ne fleo ha neauer se hechȝe. ha* **mot** *lichten oðerhwiles dun to þeorðe of hire bodi*

"Even so, the good anchorite, no matter how high she may fly, she must sometimes come down to the earth on account of her body"

?c1225 *Ancr.* (Cleo C.6) [PPCME2]

(5)   *How may yt be excusyde befor þe Justyce of all / When for euery ydyll worde we* **must** *ȝelde a reson?*

c1475 *Mankind* (Folg V.a.354) [HC]

The early ME situation appears to have a close parallel in the development of the Middle Danish modal *må* 'may, must', the cognate of English *may* (Obe 2013: 111–113). By comparing these two developments, we aim to contribute to a better understanding of the modal system in ME and point out some future avenues for comparative Germanic research.

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The vestiges of final schwa in late Middle English: A quantitative reassessment

This paper examines the role of lexical and morphological conditioning in the loss of final weak open syllables in Middle English, a process commonly known as 'schwa loss'. The study is expressly empirical, making ample use of textual evidence from verse and prose corpora of Middle English, as well as up-to-date techniques of statistical data processing.

Traditionally, schwa loss in word-final position has been regarded as a rather 'pure' sound change, whose diachronic trajectory was shaped by various phonological factors. Final schwa apocope is already suggested by spellings and metrical scansion in the earliest Middle English texts, especially in prosodically weak function words (ex. 1), and in hiatus position, i.e. before vowels and [h] (ex. 2, a-b). Before consonants (ex. 3), on the other hand, final schwa persisted significantly longer into the Middle English period (Lass 1992; Minkova 1991).

(1) & helden *her_* castles agenes him   (*Peterborough Chronicle*, 12th c.)

(2) a. of *hárp(ę)* & pípe þán he nére   (*Owl and Nightingale*, 12th/13th c.)

   b. & *smoked_* heom mid ful smoke   (*Peterborough Chronicle*, 12th c.)

(3) he *thóughtę* thát his *hértę wóldę* bréke   (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 14th c.)

While the ultimate end point of the sound change has proved difficult to determine, the consensus view has been that "by Chaucer's time final /ə/ was an archaism, employable if necessary in verse, […] with retention available as a rhythmic option" (Lass 1992: 79-80). Judgments such as this are largely based on the perceived lack of predictability in the distribution of sounded and unsounded final <e> in metrical texts, in particular the Chaucerian corpus.

It will be argued here that the view of final schwa simply being an 'archaism' by late Middle English is not unequivocally supported by the surviving textual material. Rigorous quantitative analysis reveals that the retention of schwa is correlated with non-phonological factors, such as lexical class and morphological function. Conversely, the charge of metrical opportunism is only partly justified. These findings suggest that the existing phonological narrative needs to be complemented by additional explanatory strands along the lines of lexical diffusion (Wang 1969), possibly interacting with mechanisms of analogical levelling (Kiparsky 2003).

The textual evidence for this study is supplied by the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CME) and *WordHoard*, supplemented with data from the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME).The data extracted from these sources are subjected to sophisticated statistical methods, including logistic regression modelling and conditional inference trees (Levshina 2015). In addition to lexical and morphological variables, other factors that have not previously been linked to final schwa loss will also be taken into account. These include potential phonological conditioning through stem-final segments (Minkova 2009), as well as lexeme frequency (Philipps 2006) as reflected in the extant corpus of Middle English.

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The distribution of superscript abbreviations in etymologically Romance and Germanic vocabulary in early Middle English (1150-1350).

Abbreviations were a ubiquitous feature of medieval writing systems. They have usually been explored only qualitatively and considered a palaeographical rather than linguistic feature, even though they were definitely legitimate spellings of their own (cf. Lass 2004, Driscoll 2009, Rogos 2012, and Honkapohja 2013). Consequently, there is much that we don't know about them and their distribution. Abbreviations are especially interesting in periods that saw major developments such as the centuries following the Norman Conquest. The writing system of English underwent much innovation and experimentation, as some monastic centres continued Anglo-Saxon writing practices that extended to the script as well as spellings, whereas others moved to Norman handwriting (see e.g. Ker 1960).

In this paper I focus on the various superscript abbreviations in the early Middle English period: 1150-1350. Superscript abbreviations which were initially used for Romance loan words such as gᵃce 'grace' or pᵘde 'pride', but also "commonly adopted in the writing of the vernacular" (LAEME: 3.4.7). The objective is to chart, how this change proceeded with respect to word etymology, genre, geography, script and manuscript context. The data comes from the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME), a corpus of ca. 650,000 words divided into scribal samples of localised Middle English. LAEME is well-suited for the present research questions, as each text in LAEME is based on a diplomatic transcription from manuscript facsimiles, not editions, and using a mark-up system that encodes abbreviations rather than their expansions (LAEME 3.3.1).

The methodology is based on corpus linguistics, statistical analysis and historical dialectology. I will use corpus enquiries to compile a dataset of the findings, then subject the dataset to statistical analysis using R, in order to discover regional or genre variation. The features included in the present study are the localisation, date, script, the language of other texts in the manuscripts, and etymological origin of the word – whether it is Romance or Germanic. In addition, I will use the mapping function in LAEME to examine the regional distribution of the different types of abbreviation.

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Of *travels* and *travails*: The role of lexical typology and language contact in semantic change

In this paper, I investigate the semantic development of reflexes of the medieval French verb *travailler* 'work, work hard, toil, suffer' (cf. Present-Day French *travailler* 'work'). The verb appears as an early loanword in Middle English (ME *travailen*, attested from *c.*1275), though not only in the meaning 'work, work hard, toil, suffer' but also in the metonymically related meaning 'travel' (cf. 1), i.e., as a motion verb (differentiated since Late Modern English as *travail* and *travel*). Both meanings – 'work' and 'travel' – are also widely attested for *travailler* in Anglo-Norman (cf. 2), the variety of French from which the verb has been borrowed into Middle English.

> (1)　　[…] fram þe este to þe weste Þat **trauaillieth** [Hrl: Wendeþ] and […] neuere ne habbeth reste (c1300 *SLeg.Kath.*(LdMisc 108)24, MED s.v. *travailen*)

> (2)　　mieux vaudreit qe justices **travaillassent** de hundred en hundred (*Mir Just* 178, late 13th c., AND s.v. *travailler*) 'it would be better if the judges travelled from hundred to hundred'

This semantic development therefore constitutes a "trajectoire spécifiquement insulaire" (Short 2009: 488): In continental varieties of medieval French *travailler* lacks the 'travel' meaning (Rothwell 1993: 34, Huber 2017: 158—160). The present paper tries to explain this "insular" semantic change.

In Dekeyser (1995: 132), the metonymical development of *travailen/travailler* to a motion verb 'travel' is explained as follows "In the setting of medieval England there must have been a natural association between 'journey' and the 'toiling' that goes with it." Yet it will be safe to assume that in medieval France, this conceptual association held just as well. Indeed, attestations of *travailler* from dictionaries of medieval French show that in continental varieties, *travailler* 'toil' and the corresponding noun *travail* occur in contexts of strenuous travelling, too; without, however, acquiring the meaning 'travel' themselves.

I argue that the semantic change from 'toil' to 'travel' is blocked in French but enabled in English by two factors. (a) Structurally by the respective lack or availability of unambiguously directional complements (e.g. F *à Rome* 'in Rome (loc.)'/'to Rome (dir.)' vs. E *to Rome* (dir.)). (b) By speakers' expressional habits, i.e. by lexical typology (cf. Talmy 1985): While in Middle English motion expressions, verbs often conflate manner or co-event information (and several OE and ME 'labour' verbs such as OE *higian* or ME *swinken* are attested in motion uses), in (continental) Old French they more often conflate path (Huber 2017).

The Anglo-Norman 'travel' sense of *travailler* must therefore have arisen due to the influence of English, with bilingual speakers transferring their expressional habits from Middle English to Anglo-Norman, similar to the transfer of phonological characteristics (cf. Ingham 2015). This testifies to the reciprocal nature of the contact between the two languages and is an example of the effects of the contact situation on Anglo-Norman, which

have as yet (with the exception of work by Ingham) not been investigated to the same extent as the effects on Middle English.

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Metaphor as Motion: Spontaneous Gesture in the *Pearl* Poems

The recent "affective turn" in medieval studies has brought renewed interest to literary representations of nonverbal communication. Despite this interest, the scholarship on medieval affects and "kinesic intelligence" has been largely limited to the gestural regimes of religious devotion.[7] Addressing this lacuna, Holly Crocker has called for a new methodology of affect, one that considers how medieval thinkers both made "the body a site of imaginative transformation" and treated "the soul as something more than an outmoded apparatus of cultural discipline."[8] With this injunction in mind, I propose a paper that examines an understudied form of nonverbal communication within the critical literary discourse, the spontaneous gesture. Using the Middle English works of the *Pearl* poet as a case study, I will explore how these gestures coarticulate conceptual metaphors that center around identity categories. I suggest that the spontaneous gestures within this corpus amplify the reception of linguistic metaphors by exposing a process of metaphoricity that is somatically registered by both the gesturing character and the reader. Ultimately, this kinesthetic empathy establishes an ethics of motion that is closely linked to imagination.

My proposed paper focuses on the Cotton Nero A.x. codex, in part, as a way to revisit J.A. Burrows' now seminal work on medieval gestures. While I will touch upon *Cleanness* and *Patience,* the bulk of my study centers around *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* Deeply interested in the relationship between depictions of nonverbal signs and allegorical investments, I will closely consider two gestures that Burrows only briefly addresses: The *Pearl*-Maiden's removal of her bridal crown at the approach of the Dreamer, and Gawain's flinching during his final confrontation with the Green Knight. I posit that both movements are spontaneous; and, that both movements are interpolated as embodiments of metaphoricity. In other words, unlike Burrows' emphasis on emblems, I read these gestures as *processes* of utterance.

According to Alan Cienki and Cornelia Müller, spontaneous gestures "do not have pre-determined meanings, and so they can provide important insight into the process of formulating thoughts while producing language which are normally beyond conscious awareness."[9] I hope to demonstrate how the spontaneous gestures of the *Pearl* poet use this formulating process to evoke the reader's participation in a model of identity that brings together affect, motion, and imagination. By pairing contemporary scholarship on embodied cognition and the philosophy of mind with medieval theories of ethics, devotion, and the soul, I practice an interdisciplinary and historically sensitive methodology of affect.[10] My paper will begin with a brief treatment of these two frames (contemporary and medieval); taken together, I will argue that new models of metaphor and cognition help describe how discrete nodes of medieval subjectivity (body, mind, soul) were imagined to intersect. I will then

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[7] Here I borrow a term from Guillemette Bolens' *The Style of Gestures: Embodiment and Cognition in Literary Narrative.*

[8] Holly Crocker, "Medieval Affects Now," *Exemplaria* 29.1 (2017), 94.

[9] Alan Cienki and Cornelia Müller, "Introduction" in *Metaphor and Gesture* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008), 7.

[10] My medieval archive includes a number of texts foundational to medieval theories of the mind, body, and soul. Principal among this group: Aristotle, Augustine, Avicenna, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and William of Ockham. For recent work on embodied cognition see Sadoski & Paivio 2001, 2013.

focus on an extended close reading of the poetry. As a literary critic, herein lie the stakes of my claims. Representations of spontaneous gestures appear as a consistent pattern throughout the *Pearl* poems and through this paper I aim to contextualize why.

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Adjectival complementation patterns in Middle English: native vs. non-native

Modern English adjectival complementation patterns resemble very closely the verbal ones. As noted by de Smet (2013: 147), the system saw vital changes in Middle English, with new types of complements arising (gerund) and others dying out or being gradually supplanted (bare infinitive). But in contrast to the well-researched system of verbal complementation (Woods 1956, Bolinger 1986, Wierzbicka 1988, Duffley 2000, Conti 2011, Kaleta 2012 etc.), the adjectival one has received much less attention, e.g. Jespersen ignores adjectival complementation altogether (cf. Rincon 1987).

The present paper focuses on the complementation patterns of selected Middle English adjectives, both of native and French origin. The main aim of the research is to determine whether their origin exerts any kind of impact on their flexibility, i.e. what types of complements they permit.

Secondly, the study specifies whether verbal and adjectival complementation systems developed unidirectionally and simultaneously, or the verbal one set a course for the adjectival system, as is usually assumed (Van Linden 2010).

Preliminary results suggest that adjectives originating from French show a lesser scope of syntactic functions, i.e. they follow mainly copula verbs or serve as modifiers, with the usual complement being a prepositional phrase. On the opposite end of the spectrum, native adjectives demonstrate a wider variety licencing also infinitival clauses and *that*-clauses.

The research is corpus-based using the data from *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose*.

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French Loan-Words and English Gender in Early Middle English

In the Middle English period, the system of grammatical gender English had inherited from Germanic was first severely perturbed and later lost entirely. Moreover, in this period a considerable number of French loan-words entered English, to a large part as a consequence of the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the immigration of French speakers into England which followed it. This paper will analyse how French loan vocabulary was incorporated into the decaying gender system of early Middle English. To this end, the manuscripts Cotton Nero A. xiv, Corpus Christi MS 402 (versions of the *Ancrene Riwle*, a rule for religious recluses) and the later additions to the Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 636 (the *Peterborough Chronicle*) will be investigated. These manuscripts, dating from the 12th and early 13th century, contain a form of Early Middle English which still makes use of grammatical gender. From these manuscripts, the noun phrases will be retrieved and their grammatical gender assignment analysed. The noun phrases which show grammatical gender assignment other than the one etymologically expected, will be marked. Noun phrases which have already given up grammatical gender will be marked as well. Subsequently, the instances of lost gender, of unexpected gender and of etymologically expected gender will be counted and separated by language of origin. The goal of this will be to determine if there are any differences between French loan-words and native vocabulary. Some interesting cases of both Old French and Old English origin will be presented. Preliminary results suggest that, indeed, French loans are either used according to the grammatical gender assigned to them in Old French, that is gender appears to be taken over from French, or are incorporated into the new system of semantic gender. The talk will present overall results as well as a more detailed discussion of especially interesting cases. In a small preliminary study, it has been observed that unexpected gender is significantly higher in native words and old loans. The preliminary results are not expected to change with a larger data set.

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Earl Rivers, William Caxton and the policy of literary dissemination in late medieval England: the case of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*

This paper will focus on the literary activity of Antony Woodville, Earl Rivers and on the circulation of his works in the cultural context of late fifteenth-century England.

Taking his *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* as case study, Rivers's translation of typically medieval works and his intense patronage of William Caxton will be put in relationship with the promotion of Humanism carried out by English universities and a number of intellectuals of that time. Despite the scholars' general neglect, it will be shown that Rivers's activity is as culturally relevant as that of contemporary humanists such as William Worcester (Wakelin 2007 and Khalaf forthcoming) or William Waynflete (Davis 1993). What distinguishes the earl from the other intellectuals is the audience.

As the circulation of the witnesses of the *Dicts* as well as of all the other productions of Rivers printed by Caxton (the *Moral Proverbs* and the *Cordyal*) demonstrate, the 'commonwele' (Wakelin 2007) to which the moral teachings contained in Rivers's work addressed was not made of university students, but, mostly, of members of the gentry – a category that was acquiring more power in Edward IV's administration and in increasing demand for courtly literature (Radulescu and Truelove 2005).

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Comparative analysis of polysemantic Middle English and Modern English kinship terms

Kinship terms define relationships between individuals in a family. In every culture kinship terms refer to the core of the lexicon since the establishment of kinship relations took place in a parallel with development of the society. Kinship terms were a focus of many anthropological studies. However, linguists have paid less attention to this important part of the lexicon. Moreover, in linguistics, from the diachronic perspective kinship terms are disregarded. Little is known about polysemantic Middle English kinship terms and how they changed semantically. To compare Modern English kinship terms with Middle English, description of comparison of meanings provided by two monolingual dictionaries: Oxford Dictionary and electronic Middle English Dictionary was implied as a method of analysis. The current research paper reached a conclusion that most of the kinship terms underwent a semantic change of narrowing, dismissing connotational component of referring to any kinsman. Another significant semantic change that took place is amelioration in kinship terms *father, son, and daughter*. The terms abolished its connotation to patricide, mortality and reference to Antichrist. All kinship terms narrowed their connotations in the semantic field of science and astronomy, except for the kinship term *daughter* which is used to denote the remaining nuclide of radioactive decay. Therefore, investigating polysemy of Middle English kinship terms revealed that Middle English kinship term *daughter* had a connotation referring to a pagan god, although the process of Christianization took place in 7th century. Connotation of reference to *father* and *mother* as respectful terms of address in Middle English demonstrates a significant profundity in social status among individuals. In Modern English, *father* and *mother* as terms of address can be applied in religious context only. It was measured that male Middle English kinship terms *father* and *son* demonstrated a greater number of meanings and were referred to the third degree of polysemy. Polysemantic index of consanguine kinship terms decreased from 5.7 in Middle English to 3.9 in Modern English. Therefore, it can be concluded that Middle English kinship terms demonstrated a greater extent of polysemy.

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Text standardisation in a multilingual setting: What did medieval legal Scots take from Latin?

Typically conceived as a suppression of spelling variation in historical texts, linguistic standardisation happens on all structural levels of language. This presentation explores *discourse* standardisation in legal register in Scotland, where the Scots language, a Germanic vernacular closely related to the continuum of English dialects south of the border, had been used as a vehicle for written law-making since the fourteenth century (Walker 1990, Dolezalek 2010, Kopaczyk 2013). Unlike in England, however, the only language Scots could draw on for the linguistic expression of legal thought, and, ultimately, compete with, was Latin.

This study focuses on urban laws, known in Scotland as burgh laws. A written compilation of these, capturing and developing earlier legal traditions in Lowland Scotland, came down to us as the *Leges Quatuor Burgorum*, with the earliest extant version in Latin in the Berne MS, dating back to 1270s and ending abruptly after fifty chapters (MacQueen and Windram 1988: 209, images available at http://stairsociety.org/resources/manuscript/the_berne_manuscript). Eleven other Latin versions survive (Dolezalek 2010), while around the mid-fifteenth century we get the first extant Scots versions. By looking at all five surviving manuscripts of the Scottish burgh laws from the fifteenth century in comparison with the preceding Latin version (based on Innes ed. 1844 and 1868), this study sheds light on how the vernacular language of the laws – an innovative register at the time – was being shaped through contact with the default language of the law – Latin. It is to be expected that the tenor of the laws, in principle, remains stable during transmission but the linguistic patterns evolve towards a fixed standardised version. A fascinating insight into the multilingual urban legal culture is afforded by various types and degrees of code-switching, borrowing and calquing between the two languages, in both directions, as revealed by earlier research (Kopaczyk 2011).

This study ascertains which of the standardising vernacular patterns are directly calqued from the earlier Latin version of the *Leges*, and which are a Scots innovation. The next step is to assess the degree of uniformity across the Scots manuscripts in terms of: 1) Latin patterns rendering the same readings in all Scots witnesses, 2) Latin patterns rendering different readings, and 3) vernacular patterns shared across the manuscripts and arising independently of Latin. In this way, I hope to contribute to reconstructing the process of discourse standardisation in a multilingual legal context in medieval Scotland, with broader implications for professional discourse standardisation in medieval vernaculars. The sociolinguistic framework adopted here is that of historical communities of practice (Jucker and Kopaczyk 2013), where the scribes and clerks learn 'ways of doing things' through apprenticeship and, as multilingual Latin-*cum*-Scots writers, choose and develop their textual practice to suit the needs of their present and forthcoming readership.

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Not in the right mood: the subjunctive in the Old Northumbrian Gloss to the Durham "Collectar"

Our previous research on the verbal morphology of the Durham Ritual/Collectar (Fernández Cuesta and Langmuir forthcoming) has shown that -ð prevails over what would be the most salient inflection of northern Middle English (-s) in the present indicative and imperative paradigms. We have also found that The Northern Subject Rule, another of the most characteristic features of northern Middle English, which has been shown to be operative in the language of the Lindisfarne Gospel gloss (Cole 2014), is not found in the language of the Collectar. What is more, other grammatical features, such as the lesser degree of accusative/dative syncretism (Fernández Cuesta 2018 and Fernández Cuesta and Rodríguez Ledesma 2016) and Scandinavian-influenced present participle -ande (rather than -ende), contrast with the grammatical profile of the Lindisfarne gloss, supposedly composed by the same scribe some twenty years before (c. 950). Similarly, in the Lindisfarne gloss, Cole reports the "extensive use of explicitly indicative forms in traditionally subjunctive environments" and Bolze (2016) observes how the indicative co-occurs with the subjunctive in double glosses, implying if not an incipient breakdown of the formal distinction, at least an encroachment on the former on the latter and a weakening of the category. In contrast, one of the features of the language of the Collectar is the robustness of the subjunctive as a distinct category.

For this paper we have analysed all tokens of subjunctive forms in the Durham Collectar and identified the mismatches, which have been attributed inter alia to the glossator's poor command of Latin. Taking text-type into account, we demonstrate that there is an underlying pattern that involves an implicit correction/adaptation of the Latin original.

This paper also shows that, although Old Northumbrian is more advanced in the direction of Middle English, it does not present a linear progression and, in fact, the Durham Collectar seems to be a step backwards. A subsidiary aim is to shed light on possible reasons for the conservatism of Aldred's later gloss, principally by positing West-Saxonization (Ross 1970, 1971, 1978) and possible changes across the life-span.

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The many languages of glosses in Medieval England

Medieval England saw the production of a large number of glosses and glossaries. The genres inherited from the Anglo-Saxon period continue and new typologies such as the metrical vocabularies are introduced, and the semantic domains of topical glossaries introduce new lexical fields (and items) reflecting sociological changes. Most remarkable is the employment of different languages: Latin, English, Anglo-French and French. The choice of the language of interpretation (F or E), the pairing of F and E, and the gradual replacement of F by E yield a number of cues on the changing role of French, also in relation to teaching practices and the target language.

Only a few new glossaries were composed before 1200. The same Latin texts continued to be glossed well into the 13th c. and Anglo-Saxon glossaries copied and updated, such as the Worcester version of Ælfric's *Glossary* (c. 1225), witnessing a continued use of English in given fields. The version in Faustina A.x was corrected at the end of the 11th-early 12th c.; later on, towards the end of the 12th c. it was annotated in Latin, French and English.

Medical-botanical glossaries represent a rich sub-group of thematic compilations. Plant names are listed in alphabetical order as in the late Latin-OE Durham, Hunter 100. The botanical glossaries compiled in the 12th and 13th c., such as that in Harley 978 provide interpretations in F and/or E. As these glossaries were used by 'leeches' and practitioners; the F interpretations show a consistent use of F in the field of medicine.

Three large and interrelated *Nominalia* (Hunter 292, Douce 88 and Oxford, St John's 178) have the lemma in L and the interpretation in F. Because the use of these glossaries would theoretically require a good working knowledge of L, they were probably intended for the class of clerk and employed to teach the basic vocabulary of a second (foreign) language. Compilations of juridical terms (sometimes with longish interpretations) pairs E and F, and show how F had soon become the literary language of the law.

Compilations for learning F (for practical purposes) dominate the 13th c. and take different forms. A most successful treatise composed by Walter of Bibbesworth was intended to teach F. The *Tretiz* (1240-1250) is written in F and supplied with abundant glosses in E. It was intended for Anglophone readers with some understanding of French, and covered all of the areas of vocabulary necessary to an English nobleman to administer his lands. A number of *Nominalia* and other texts were composed in the trail of the *Tretiz*.

The latter part of the ME period presents an entirely different picture. All the 15th c. topical glossaries (including the so-called *pictorial glossary*), as well as the large alphabetical glossaries have L lemmata followed by interpretations in E. Moreover, before there is a stream of compilations (such as Harley 1002)-with renderings in E, and metrical vocabularies such as the *Distigium* or *Os facies mentus* were always glossed in E.

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"Assay, and he shal fynde it that so dooth": Imperatives in Middle English Verbal Interaction

Mood – in particular development of modal auxiliaries – has been one of the most buzzing research areas in historical linguistics in the last decades. Yet, although traditionally categorized as a mood form (indicative – subjunctive – imperative), the English inflectional imperative and its functions have barely been studied apart from featuring as side issues of grammaticalization processes, such as of *do* in negative imperatives or in the development of hortative forms such as OE *uton* 'let us' (van Bergen 2013) or PDE *let's* (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 10–13).

English linguistics is not alone in this disregard of the imperative, perhaps because owing to its being termed *imperative* (cf. Latin *imperare* 'to command') "one might think that there is an obvious answer of what imperatives mean" (Fintel & Iatridou 2017: 288). Simplistically, and often without clear enough differentiation of form and function, the imperative is understood as the 'command form'), serving an individual's desire to control others and imposing obligations on an addressee.

Recent cross-linguistic accounts have, however, revitalized more complex understandings of imperatives by placing, e. g., emphasis on conditional uses, such as *assay … and* in the title of this talk (*Wife of Bath's Tale*, 948). When studied in "their natural habitat" of face-to-face interaction (Arreguí et al. 2017), we also see that imperatives are – in spite of the rise of modals – still very common and that their core meaning is not that of 'command'. Thus Auer (2017) characterizes the imperative as "prototypically used for prompting (or stopping […]) an immediate action in a tight and well-defined temporal framework, which at the same time is not only to the benefit of the speaker (alone), but either to that of the recipient or to both participants" (414).

In this talk, I will examine whether these two aspects – imperatives as a) part of the language of immediate action and b) in the prototypical case beneficial to the addressee – are similarly found in Middle English.

The data consists of (of course, fictional) Middle English face-to-face interaction. A pilot study on *Canterbury Tales* attests high frequencies of temporal adverbs *now* or *anon* in the co-text of an imperative (in more than 30 per cent of instances in the prologues; cf. *Cook's Prologue*, 12: **Now telle** on, Roger), reflecting Auer's "immediacy component", while their "beneficial character" is often accentuated by the polite plural forms when addressing a single individual (**Cheseth** yourself, which may be moost pleasance, And moost honour to yow and me also; *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 1238) or by mitigating devices such as *preye yow*-formulae or honorifics.

These results suggest that also in Middle English imperatives are very rarely – and only in cases where a speaker decides to be explicitly rude (**Stynt** thy clappe; *Miller's Prologue*, 36) – used in a function of 'commanding'. These first findings will be checked in readings of face-to-face interaction in Chaucer's fiction as well as diverse Middle English romances and plays, comparing imperatives with other structures (particularly modal auxiliaries) used in the negotiation of meanings between speaker and addressee in face-to-face interaction.

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A Reconsideration of Dental Fricatives in Northern Middle English

Dental fricatives are characterised for not being common in the world's languages. In fact, as documented in the World Atlas of Languages Structures, they only occur in 43 of the 566 languages analysed, which amounts to 7.6% of the total number (Maddieson

2013). Together with Icelandic, English is the last Germanic language that still preserves dental fricatives (Hickey 2017:207), although in some varieties of English the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ tend to undergo certain sound changes. For instance, as can be seen in some studies regarding Liverpool English (Honeybone 2007) and Irish English (Hickey 2014), TH/DH stopping can be observed in words such as think and then, in which [t] and [d] can be found besides [θ] and [ð] respectively; or, as attested in Glasgow English, among other dialects, TH fronting, in which [θ] can be represented as [f] (Stuart-Smith & Timmins 2006).

From a historical perspective, Laker (2017) has studied the loss of dental fricatives in some contexts in the history of English and Frisian, comparing the results obtained in both languages. Nevertheless, his study is not exhaustive and the motives that are adduced for the loss are questionable.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the status of dental fricatives in northern varieties of Middle English. For this purpose, I have analysed both the distribution of the spellings <th>, <ð>, <y>, <þ>, traditionally considered to represent /ð/ and /θ/ (in initial, medial and final position) and of those suggesting that some of the processes that are common in contemporary varieties of English, such as the aforementioned TH/DH stopping, may have already been present in Northern Middle English. Data have been extracted from the following corpora: the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME), the Survey of Middle English Dialects (SMED) and the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (LALME).

The results obtained will be analysed in order to assess whether spellings traditionally considered to represent dental fricatives may indicate real phonological change, or whether they are more likely to be merely orthographic variants.

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The uses of Norse loanwords in Middle English poems: From historical fact to historical fiction

The few Norse loanwords occurring in late Old English poetry can be shown to have added factual plausibility to poems in praise of prominent contempories. Why did such loans in poetry remain part of the vocabulary of poems after the Norman Conquest? And how did Norse loans attested in late Old English prose become part of the Middle English poetic vocabulary?

This paper intends to demonstrate for post-Conquest poems which were mainly but not exclusively based on Arthurian subject matter (Lagamon's Brut, Haveloc, Sir Gawain, Morte Arture), that the Norse loans erl, dreng, swain, and gersum used in such poems had partly lost their connection with the real world and turned into means of poetic colouring applied to a pre-historic and largely fictional subject matter. They will be shown to have been used by poets because they addressed audiences in regions that had come under strong Danelaw influence before the Norman Conquest.

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On grammaticalisation of infrequent subordinators introducing purpose clauses in Middle English

Apart from (*so*) *that* and *to*, which have been used to introduce (finite and non-finite respectively) clauses of purpose since the earliest times of the history of the English language, a number of expressions emerged to express the same function, e.g. *in order that, in order to, to the end that, to the intent that*, etc. This paper deals with the development of some subordinators expressing purpose whose characteristic feature is their relatively short-lived popularity. They include *if*, as in *Alisaunder and his folk alle Fast assaileden her walle, Wiþ berefrei and wiþ alle gynne, ȝif hij miȝtten it ywynne*. c1400(?a1300) KAlex.(LdMisc 622) 2774, to that that, e.g. *It is necessarie, when it is grete & is not cured with medicynez, þat it be inscised or kutte,* **to þat þat** *sodane suffocacioun be eschewed*. ?a1425 *Chauliac(1) (NY 12) 140b/b, wið þon þet, e.g. *Alle leawede men þe understonden ne mahen latines ledene … lusteð þe liflade of a meiden þet is of latin iturnd to englische leode* **wið þon þet** *teos hali leafdi in heouene luuie us þe mare*. 'All uneducated men who cannot understand Latin want the life story of a maiden to be translated from Latin into English so that the Virgin Mary in heaven should love us more.' c1225(?c1200) St.Juliana (Bod 34) 3/7, in case to, as in *Hit sittes, me semeth, to a sure knyghte Þat ayres into vnkoth lond auntres to seche, To be counseld* **in case to** *comfford hym-seluyn*. c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388) 532 and unto, as in *Þare come downe a aungell bryght … **Vnto** comforthe ihesu well still*. a1425 NPass.(Cmb Gg.5.31) 47/461.

The grammaticalisation of the constructions above is investigated with reference to the mechanisms of grammaticalisation delineated by Hopper (1991) and Heine (2003) [2005] on the basis of the language material gathered mainly from the electronic corpora of the English language such as the CMEPV, PPCME2 and ICAME corpora. The main aim of this study, however, is to address the issue of the role of frequency in grammaticalisation, especially with respect to Bybee's (2007: 336) claim that "one striking feature of this process [i.e. grammaticalisation] is a dramatic frequency increase."

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The phonetics of ME <au> before nasals: nasalized monophthong, diphthong or both?

The topic of this talk is the phonetic realization of ME <au> spellings before nasals, for instance in daunce, chaunge and Caunterbury. Traditionally, it is assumed that this grapheme combination represents the diphthong [aʊ], as elsewhere in Middle English (Mossé 1952: 31, Minkova 2014: 191). However, it is not clear what the origin of this diphthong would be, even if the spelling could be explained as Anglo-Norman (Minkova 2014: 241) or as educated (Mossé 1952: 31). The respective sources of French loanwords show nasalized monophthongs, [a] in Norman and [æ] in Central French (Sampson 1999: 66), and in the native English words with <au> spellings a diphthong is unmotivated. This paper proposes that the unmotivated <au> spellings represent two distinct sound values that co-existed, namely a nasalized vowel [ã] (which later denasalized) or the diphthong [aʊ]. The nasal variant can be straightforwardly explained, if it is assumed that <au> spelling represents a nasalized vowel, as this is standard in Norman writing tradition at the time (Pope 1934: 442, Burgess 1995: 340, 342). The Norman spelling practice was then applied to French loanwords as well as some native words. We propose that the diphthongal variant is the result of a misperception of the nasalized vowel by native speakers of English. To substantiate this proposal, we conducted a perception experiment in which native English speakers had to decide whether an auditorily presented stimulus of oral, nasal, and nasalized vowel variants belonged to a word with a diphthong or monophthong. Preliminary pilot results indicate that it is indeed likely that at least some speakers perceived nasalized vowels as diphthongs.

Our results support the hypothesis that nasalized vowels in French loan words could have been perceived as diphthongs and consequently written with <au>. Consequently, it seems plausible that <au> before nasal did have two realizations, [ã] and [aʊ]. One effect of this variation is that it gives a simple explanation for the heterogeneous development of <au> before nasal towards Modern English: The monophthongal variants are the source of cases like dance, blank and change, while the diphthongal variants are the source of cases like haunt and gaunt (see overview in Minkova 2014: 241).

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Persuasion and metadiscourse in medieval medicine: the case of Henry Daniel's preface to *Liber Uricrisiarum*

Prefaces usually have two main communicative purposes: to embed the following text into its proper context, and to justify the realisation of the text (Virtanen and Halmari 2004). Henry Daniel's preface to his translation of *Liber Uricrisiarum* (the consulted version BL Royal MS 17.D.1) is no exception to this rule. The preface provides a persuasive, even a touching prologue to the reasons of translating the following treatise on urines from Latin into English (Hanna 1991, 1994). As was usual, the use of the vernacular in a scientific text had to be justified: that was the norm in the Middle Ages (Getz 1990, Taavitsainen and Pahta 1997, Pahta 1998).

Medieval medicine was text-centred: ancient authorities – Galen, Aristotle, Ibn Sina, Haly Abbas etc. – were the canon of the science, and new texts were either translations, copies, or compilations of the Greek and Latin originals (Talbot 1967: 36, 44; Siraisi 1990). Due to the revered status of any Classical learning, vernacular translations often met opposition, and therefore they also needed a justification; this was usually given in a preface to the text. In the case of *Liber uricrisiarum*, the choice of the original language of the preface, Latin, gives away the intended audience of the text: the purpose of Daniel's preface was to persuade the learned colleagues about the necessity of the vernacular translation (Jasin 1993). Also charity has often been mentioned as the main motive for translating medical texts; also in the case of *Liber Uricrisiarum* the careful translation of terms may show Daniel's genuine attempt to communicate the text to an audience not knowledgeable in Latin (Jasin 1983: 14).

This paper (a follow-up study to Mäkinen 2015) focuses on the language of Daniel's preface and examines his persuasive features through an inventory of metadiscourse items (Hyland 1998, 2009). This inventory provides a fine-grained apparatus to investigate argumentation and persuasion (cf. Quintana-Toledo 2009), the outcome of which can be remapped on a more traditional, Aristotelian approach to persuasion (Mäkinen 2014). The study draws on manuscript studies, history of medicine, studies on rhetorics and argumentation, and historical pragmatics (cf. Jucker 1997, Taavitsainen 2000, Virtanen and Halmari 2004, Boggel 2007, Chaemsaithong 2011).

The current paper will provide the types and frequencies of metadiscourse elements in Henry Daniel's English prologue to *Liber Uricrisiarum*, discuss the reconcilability of Aristotelian rhetorics and the concept of metadiscourse, and provide a methodological suggestion for triangulating data on persuasive features. This paper will also attempt to answer to Östman's (2004) call for combining Classical rhetorics and the linguistic study of persuasion and consider Daniel's reasons for his linguistic choices in his prologue. The results will contribute towards a fuller picture of Daniel's motives in his translation work, as seen through his own text.

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"Bot deide only for drede of schame". Intertextuality and innovation in Middle English versions of Lucretia

The story of Lucretia has inspired writers and artists from many European cultures for centuries, starting with the Latin accounts, moving on to the shortly later Christian reinventions, and following with the several medieval accounts that tried to negotiate between the ideological stance of the Latin version and that of post-Augustine accounts. The paper will recap the intricate network of cultural strands that generated the best-known Middle English versions (notably those by Chaucer and Gower), showing that the concepts developed, and the language employed, reflect ideologies and values that were common of the time of text-production.

The story of the suicidal victim rape Lucretia (which would inspire literary, dramatic and artistic works for centuries beyond those considered here and down to the present day) was of special interest to those medieval writers interested not just in the moral, but especially in the political dimension of the tale and in the discussion of whether Lucretia was to be considered "guilty" or "innocent" not only from a religious point of view, but also from a socio-political and institutional point of view. The undeniable erotic undercurrent, however, is also present in many descriptions, although not as highlighted as in subsequent (especially Renaissance) versions.

The narrative was often conveyed employing rhetorical schemes typical of other genres that became very popular in the Middle Ages, such as the *exemplum*; it is relatively easy to see the connection between this genre and *The Legend of Good Women*. At the same time, the story of Lucretia's ordeal and death offers the opportunity to develop discourse about values that were commonly highlighted in more secular genres such as romance. The paper will focus on some such elements, particularly the juxtaposition between *honour* and *shame* (in the wake of previous research dealing with these concepts in some Middle English romances), as well as on the category of pride and on the importance of public "face", a notion that the late Middle Ages shares (although with the due differences) with the times of the first attested versions of the narrative.

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Retracing the course of consonant degemination

Old English, like its West Germanic relatives, is reconstructed as having consonantal length: *bite* 'bit, morsel' - *bitte* 'bucket', *hopian* 'to hope' - *hoppian* 'to hop'. Geminates never occurred in word-initial position, and their loss in word-final position is typologically likely: cross-linguistic surveys of geminate consonants show that geminates are most commonly found in intervocalic position. The maintenance of singleton-geminate contrast in -VC_1V- vs. -VC_1C_1V- is indeed the basis for associating degemination with Middle English. Representative opinions on the chronology of degemination are:

- Double consonants *generally remained in OE*, though the graph is often simplified (Campbell 1959: 183).
- In stressed positions… *all geminates were shortened finally*… geminate spellings were most probably due to orthographic influence from inflected forms; … geminate spellings may be taken to indicate etymological or morphological origin (Hogg 1992: 294-5).
- At word-end, or before any consonant, *geminate consonants are reduced phonologically to nongeminates* (Fulk 2014: 42).

The project aims to record and compare the attestations of word-final geminates (e.g. OE *bedd* 'bed', *cinn* 'chin') and syllable final geminates (e.g. *allre* 'all', gen., dat. sg. fem., *fullne* 'full', acc. sg. masc.) in the *DOEC* and *LAEME*. The data-base will provide evidence related to some philological and some more general theoretical questions: what is the regional distribution of the surviving contrasts, did all types of consonants degeminate at the same rate (revisiting Britton 2012), was word-final degemination more advanced than syllable-final degemination, and is there a link between lexical frequency and the rate of change. This will give us a better window onto the early Middle English phonetic and phonological realities: unlike French, where final consonants are fully released, word-final stops in English are often unreleased. The lack of an audible release stage is particularly noticeable in homorganic sequences: *lump, kiln, stamp,* the history of word-final *–mb, -ng* in English. Geminates are by definition homorganic; this provides a plausible phonetic grounding for the early dating of degemination at a right prosodic boundary. Matching this expectation to the phonological behavior of orthographic geminates in the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* also promises new insights into the interplay of factors defining the course this change.

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The rise of the verb *happen* in Middle English

Early Middle English inherited several Anglo-Saxon verbs that expressed happening of events. The most popular Old English verb *gelimpan* had become obsolete by the end of the 14th century. Verbs of motion such as *comen* and *fallen* also served this function, both on their own and in combination with prefixes and/or phrasal particles and this continued throughout Middle English, e.g. *comen about/up/forth, befallen*.

In the 14th century a new verb *happen* appeared as a loanword from Old Norse, based on the root *hap* expressing 'chance, luck'. Curiously enough, its infinitival ending *–en* was reinterpreted as an obligatory part of the root, so in late Middle English one can see the competition between *it happed* and *it happened*. The verb also underwent interesting syntactic developments, including subject raising (cf. Denison 1993).

As often happens in such situations, the lexical replacement process was gradual in line with the idea of lexical layering (cf. Hopper 1991, Vanhowe 2008 and also Allan 2016 on the co-occurrence of synonyms), but finally the obsolescence of the 'older' words led to their replacement with *happen*. This will be seen in the context of typology of lexical change (e.g. Fischer 2003, Gévaudan 2007). The illustrative language material comes from the lexical databases (*DOE*, *MED* and *OED*) and the *Corpus of Middle English Poetry and Prose*.

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Role and function of the verbal prefix *ge-* in Middle English

The aim of this paper is to investigate the role and the function of the verbal prefix *-ge/-y/-i* in Middle English. The prefix *ge-* was the most frequent morpheme during the Old English period. In Present-day English it is no longer in use as its functions have been taken over by particles such as *up*, *over*, *out* during the Modern English period. Its origin is undoubtedly Germanic, as it is found in cognate language Gothic *ga-* and also in Modern German and Dutch. However, its etymology is still unclear (Lindemann 1970; Streitberg 1891; Dorfeld 1885), as well as the original meaning: it has been proposed that *ge-* could express an intensification of the action of the verb, that could be a perfective marker, that indicated completion, and even that it had no meaning at all. A recent study, however, shows that *ge-* was productive as a marker of perfective aspect, but was also frequently used as an empty prefix, in the sense that its presence adds no lexical or grammatical meaning (Broz 2014).

Its lost during the Early Modern English period is considered to be the end of the grammaticalization process which *ge-* has undergone, where a full lexical item gradually loses its properties becoming first a grammatical word and then, eventually, disappearing as all the semantic properties are bleached out. In Middle English the prefix underwent a phonological reduction from *ge-* to *i-* or *y-* until it completely grammaticalized and fell out of use in Early Modern English. Middle English, then, is crucial in this process, as in this period the transition from lexical prefix to empty item comes about.

In this paper I will examine Middle English diachronic data provided by the *PPCME2* and the *DOEC*.

Preliminary results reveal that although *ge-* was no longer so productive as it was in Old English, the prefix was still employed in perfective contexts during the Early Middle English period, while it lost ground in later texts. Data also show an interesting relationship between the use of the prefix and some dialects, as it remained still in use in Kentish until the 15th century while disappeared rapidly in the north. Differences in the use of *ge-* are also observed in different genres, as Chaucer employs the prefix in poetry but he doesn't in prose, revealing stylistic features that have affected its use in Middle English. The gradual decrease in frequency over time and its optional use in Late Middle English texts are anyway an indication of a high degree of grammaticalization.

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Middle English and Anglo-Norman in the 12th century: Annotations to Ælfric's *Glossary* in British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x

The manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x (Part A) is an eleventh-century copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*, which was extensively annotated by various hands in Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English in the twelfth century (cf. "Cotton MS Faustina A X", Da Rold & Swan 2010). The present paper explores the vernacular annotations to Ælfric's *Glossary* in the Faustina manuscript and assesses their implications for the language contact situation in twelfth-century England. Many of the glosses provide the earlier attestations for vocabulary otherwise known only from later sources and provide antedatings for the respective entries in the Middle English Dictionary and the Anglo-Norman Dictionary. In other cases, the glosses demonstrate vocabulary that is otherwise unknown in Anglo-Norman and Middle English, underlining the important role these texts play in our understanding of the medieval lexicon. The annotations display idiosyncrasies in terms of their orthography, phonology and morphology that will be analysed in detail. Preliminary research suggests a possible connection of the annotations to Worcester and the West Midlands dialect.

The authors will argue that the scribes were bilinguals of Anglo-Norman and Middle English trained to write in England, and that some of the idiosyncrasies reflect early difficulties in adapting English orthography to write in French. On a theoretical level, the paper also addresses the difficult question of language identification (cf. Sauer 1996), which is obscured by different processes of borrowing. As a result of early borrowing from Latin into Old English and from Germanic languages into early Romance as well as the extensive exchange of vocabulary between Anglo-Norman and Middle English the boundaries between the two vernacular languages spoken in England after the Norman Conquest are blurred, and linguistic identification of the glosses is less than straightforward. The authors will demonstrate the linguistic overlap between the glosses and the lack of clear signalling between the two vernaculars.

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Patterns of borrowing, obsolescence and semantic shift in the technical vocabulary of Middle English

This paper reports on the Leverhulme-funded project, *Technical Language and Semantic Shift in Middle English*, based at the University of Westminster. The project aims to address the reasons for meaning change and its general patterns, questions which remain unanswered in historical semantics (Smith 1996; Durkin 2009; Kay and Allan 2015), through examination of semantic shift at different levels of the semantic hierarchy.

One factor likely to trigger semantic shift is lexical borrowing and thus the project focuses on the later medieval period when Anglo-French, Latin and English were all in overlapping use and English was in the process of achieving the status of an autonomous standard variety. We have classified Middle English vocabulary from a range of domains into semantic hierarchies and are analysing the evidence of the effects of linguistic origin and domain on the semantic development of the lexemes, examining earlier meanings in Old English (where appropriate) and sense development up to the Early Modern period. The initial focus of the project is on the technical terminology where polysemy is less likely, but where competition from French loanword may have been to have been particularly acute (see Prins 1941; Serjeantson 1935). The project takes vocabulary relating to the semantic domains of BUILDING, DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES, FARMING, FOOD PREPARATION, MANUFACTURE, TRADE, AND TRAVEL BY WATER collected for the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England as a starting point. Later, the lexis of hunting and medicine will be added so that the social strata of aristocracy and emerging professional classes will be included. We make use of the structures and data of the *Historical Thesaurus of English* for the diachronic viewpoint and for comparison of the technical register with the more general vocabulary of Middle English.

Given that 'ambiguity resulting from the coexistence of several senses is a factor in obsolescence' (Menner 1945: 75), we would expect rates of obsolescence of technical terms in Middle English to be related to polysemy and shift. Preliminary analysis suggests that polysemy is not evenly distributed across different semantic domains. This paper presents an analysis of the relationship between obsolescence and polysemy, taking into account a variety of semantic-hierarchical factors, showing how borrowing, sense divisions and technicality have contributed to distinct patterns of meaning change in certain semantic domains.

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Towards Vernacular Graphic Literacy: Metadiscursive Reader Instruction in Middle English Tables and Diagrams

This paper explores how Middle English (ME) readers were instructed in the use of tables, diagrams and other graphic devices that were increasingly transmitted into the vernacular in texts of various genres and domains from the fourteenth century onwards. The increased presence of such devices in ME manuscripts suggests that the strategies and conventions of 'graphic literacy' associated with them were being actively adapted for and adopted by new vernacular expert and inexpert audiences (see e.g. Falk 2016). Research on medieval literacies has largely focused on the mode(s) of reading verbal texts or images and the interplay between text and image (e.g. Camille 1985, Parkes 1991, Hageman & Mostert 2005, Clanchy 2012). Relatively little, however, has been written specifically about the reading of graphic devices situated in the grey area between text and image (cf. Murdoch 1984, Voigts 1989), and the patterns of metadiscursive instruction associated with them in ME remain largely uncharted.

To explore the metadiscourse by which text producers (authors, translators, compilers, scribes etc.) helped their readers operate graphic devices, this paper explores ME rubrics, rules and canons that accompany tables, diagrams, calendars and other graphic visualizations of information on the manuscript page. Attention will be paid to both *textual* and *interpersonal* aspects of metadiscourse, i.e. how the graphic devices themselves and their intended use is verbalised in rubrics, rules and canons, and how the reader or user of the devices and the act of instruction is (or is not) linguistically manifest (for metadiscourse in ME and discussion of the concept, see e.g. Taavitsainen 2006, Boggel 2009; see also Busse & Hübler eds 2012).

The primary materials for the study comprise digitised manuscript images (and editions) of ME texts that contain graphic devices and associated metadiscourse. They include especially works of science and information of various kind, from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century (cf. Keiser 1998); religious and devotional material from the same period will also be utilised. The index volume for the *Index of Middle English Prose* (Rand 2014) will be used as an aid to locate relevant material. For some texts, it will be possible to include data from more than one manuscript copy, which allows the researcher to observe how textual transmission and copy-specific adaptation is manifest in the graphic devices and their accompanying metadiscourse. The material is mostly obtained from public repositories of digitised manuscripts, for example those maintained by Trinity College Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Cambridge (Parker Web), British Library, and John Rylands University Library.

Exploring metadiscourse associated with the visual devices will yield new information about the transmission and transformation of conventions of graphic literacy into English and for various vernacular audiences. Patterns that emerge in this preliminary survey will be further developed and scrutinised by the *GraLi* research team at the University of Turku (Graphic Literacies: Tables and Diagrams as Tools for Constructing Knowledge in Early English Books).

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'Auctour', 'Actor', 'Chaucer': Scribal Approaches to Authority and Authorship in *Troilus and Criseyde*

The relationship between the concepts of author, compiler, and translator is one of the most relevant aspects to understand late medieval literature in general, and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* in particular. In this poem, Chaucer stands as an ambiguous figure between *auctor* and *actor*: he claimed to be translating from *auctores* that did not exist while actually translating a source that he never credited, and he borrowed and reworked elements from other unidentified works that only few scribes and readers could recognize. Furthermore, the narrator in *Troilus and Criseyde* emerges as a figure of his own, standing between the author and Chaucer's own persona.

The *Troilus* scribes were not indifferent to the idea of authority and to the figures of author and narrator in the poem that they copied: some of the copyists introduced marginal annotations that called attention to the narratorial interludes within the poem, and also to Chaucer himself and his *auctores*. In these glosses, the duality *auctour/actor* comes to light and becomes entangled with the concept of narrator, and also with Chaucer's ever growing figure. The dynamics arising from these glosses and the scribal role in them have rarely been explored (Spearing 2015), especially in comparison with the more numerous studies regarding the notions of authorship and narrator in the text of the *Troilus* itself (Donaldson 1954; Jordan 1958; Waswo 1983; Lawton 1985; Spearing 2005; D'Agatta D'Ottavia, 2011).

In this paper, I aim to examine the marginal annotations that point directly to the ideas of authorship and authority in the manuscripts of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, and how the use of different Middle English and Latin terms to refer to those concepts suggests that the scribes had different views on the poem's intertextuality and on Chaucer's role in it. I will focus on the marginal annotations in four *Troilus* manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Rawlinson Poet. 163 and Arch. Selden B.24, and London, British Library MSS 2392 and 1239), studying them from codicological, linguistic, and textual points of view in order to compare their usage of terms such as 'auctor', 'actor', and 'Chaucer'. I intend to analyze at what points in the narrative they are introduced, what images of author, translator, and narrator they invoke, and the consequences that these labels have for our understanding of the scribes' notions of authority and authorship.

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Code-Switching in Middle English literature: The Case of Middle Dutch

There has been much interest in code-switching in medieval English, from both literary critics and historical linguists (e.g. Davidson 2010; Pahta 2012; Schendl and Wright 2011; Schendl 2015), and various multilingual documents from the period have come under closer scrutiny. For good reasons Latin and French are the usual suspects when code-switching in Middle English texts is examined. There is, however, a small but nevertheless significant number of literary texts in Middle English (Geoffrey Chaucer, John Skelton, *London Lickpenny*, chronicles, pro- and anti-Flemish political poems) that switch into Dutch, and that attest to the presence and influence of Flemish and to the importance of trade and of migration to and from the Low Countries in the social life of later medieval England.

This paper brings together and analyses the evidence of code-switching into Dutch in medieval English literature, and discusses the wider significance of the phenomenon. It will also compare cases of self-conscious Dutch code-switching in English texts written by authors (and intended for readers) for whom English was clearly the dominant language with texts by authors such as William Caxton, who seem to have been functionally bilingual in Dutch and English, and who show signs of linguistic interference at all levels: lexical, grammatical and phonemic (assuming spellings are of diagnostic value here). By doing so, this paper hopes to focus attention on the presence of speakers of other languages besides the more obvious ones English, French and Latin (and Celtic languages) in later medieval England, and so to elucidate and emphasize and the *multi-* in medieval multilingualism.

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The extension of genitive singular –*es* in the Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels

Some of the features traditionally associated with Middle English can already be observed in late Northumbrian, both in the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Nero D.iv) and in the gloss to the Durham Collectar (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.iv.19), dating from the 10th century. One of these features is the extension of genitive singular –*es* from the *a*-stems to other noun classes, such as kinship *r*-stems (*fæder*), short and long *ō*-stems (*rōd*), *jō*-stems (*sibb*), feminine *i*-stems (*tid*), masculine *n*-stems (*lichoma*) and feminine *n*-stems (*eorđe*).

Ross (1937: 99) observed that –*es* was extended to practically all classes in the Lindisfarne Gospels (*lufes, saules, sibbes, brydes, oxes, widues*), and that this must be considered as the normal form of the genitive singular in this gloss, although older forms are often preserved as well. Analogical extension is also widespread in the gloss to the Durham Collectar, composed about two decades later by Aldred the Provost, whom scholarly consensus identifies with the glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels. However, Ross (1971: 56) points out a difference between the two glosses regarding nouns ending in –*ness*: in Durham, contrary to his practice in Lindisfarne, "Aldred has no feeling against –*es*", and forms in –*es* coexists with those in –*e* for the genitive of these nouns.

The aim of this paper is to establish the actual scale on which the extension of genitive singular –*es* from the *a*-stems to other noun classes is found in the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels. A preliminary study (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016) showed extension of –*es* to kinship *r*-stems and to proper names, which tend to add the native inflection regardless of the ending of the Latin original. In this paper a quantitative analysis of seventy nouns has been carried out in contexts where they gloss a Latin genitive form. The nouns have been selected on the basis that their etymological inflection for the genitive singular is other than –*es*, and they consist of feminine nouns (nouns ending in –*ung*, nouns ending in –*ness*, *ō*-stems, *i*-stems), and *n*-stems.

The data have been retrieved using the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*), which is based on Skeat's edition of the Lindisfarne Gospels (1871–1887). Given the inaccuracies detected in the *DOEC*, all tokens have been checked against the facsimile edition of the manuscript (Kendrick et al. 1956) in order to detect possible errors. Special attention has been paid to the grammatical context and to the Latin form, since they may have conditioned the choice of a particular inflection for the genitive singular in some cases.

The results of the study of the extension of –*es* in the Lindisfarne Gospels have been compared with those found in the Durham Collectar (Rodríguez Ledesma forthcoming) with two main purposes: first, to determine the degree of similarity/divergence between the two glosses and second, to establish whether Lindisfarne is more advanced with regard to this feature (i.e., in the direction of Middle English).

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Laȝamon's digital glossary

Following the great scribal tradition in the literary centres of the monastic scriptoria in Anglo-Saxon England, Laȝamon's *Brut* represents the two primary Middle English manuscripts since the Norman invasion. It is a captivating pseudo-history of England, beginning with the myth of Noah's Flood, explores the Migration Period, and the legendary story of King Arthur. The first manuscript, MS Cotton Caligula A IX is written in a very antiquarian register. The second, MS Cotton Otho C XIII displays much more Anglo-Norman influence. Fascinating scholars for centuries, there have been palaeographical, historical, philological, and linguistic studies on this monumental manuscript. Accordingly, there are two editions that have been digitized and there has been fundamental lexicographical work by the editors Madden (1847) and Brook (1963). Besides there is the very comprehensive, but unfortunately not very intuitive online version of the MED. Together with the OED, these works are indispensable for a digital glossary of an early Middle English text.

The goal of the dissertational project is to make the Laȝamon manuscripts and their editions more accessible and intelligible to both scholars and students. So, we are creating a digital glossary with the experience and the support of the 'Dictionnaire étymologique de l'Ancien Français' (DEAF) and the Department of Computational Linguistics in Heidelberg.

In this presentation, I will provide a short introduction to the manuscripts in the first place. Secondly, there will be a discussion of the methods and tools, including results from the IPD cooperation (Institut für Programmstrukturen und Datenorganisation), combining a MySQL data base, a WicketFrameWork surface, Hibernate, Databinder, and the integration of XML structures for means of information management, process management, and various context-bound functions. In this work, the greatest computational challenges of automatized processes like cataloguing, quantification, lemmatisation, and contextualization have proved successful in the long lasting and extensive work of the DEAF and are now transferred in the context of Laȝamon's *Brut*. Thirdly, I will analyse examples of orthographical and dialectal variety and divergence in the writers' diction and conclude with a consideration of the challenges that were met as a lexicographer working with digital methods.

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Thinking Medievally: Memory as Reversion of History

Philip Perry, D.D., was the first non-Jesuit rector of St. Alban's College —the so-called "English College"—founded in Valladolid, Spain, by Robert Persons in 1589. Although he was a scholar and a prolific writer of medieval and post-medieval history and biography, only one of his works has been published, leaving Perry a figure little known today. Nevertheless, his unedited manuscripts—split between the holdings of the College of St. Alban's and the Scottish Catholic Archives now at the University of Aberdeen—provide one of the clearest and most significant examples of how certain Enlightenment Catholic intellectuals chose to "remember" medieval British history, entirely through a Pre-Reformation lens.

In our paper by way of demonstration we shall consider variously three of Perry's works: *A Sketch of the Ancient British History chiefly with regard to Church Affairs from the First Conversion of ye Britons to Christianity, down to ye Conversion of the Saxons* (ed. 2009); the incomplete *Schools of British Authors*, on which Perry was working before leaving for Spain (Sáez-Hidalgo & Yeager 2014); and a *Life and Death of John Fisher*, a nearly completed manuscript which Perry continued in Valladolid. We will offer detailed discussions of Perry's rearward-looking treatments of medieval English writers, including John Wyclif, John Gower, Julian of Norwich, and Margery Kempe, among others.

Perry's writings, though composed in the mid-eighteenth century, show this recusant author thinking medievally: they are both controversialist in the familiar manner of a century earlier, and historically reversional into the Middle Ages in purpose: that being the restoration of a universal Catholic worldview with which Bede would have been familiar, by means of direct intervention in, and retrofitting of, the narrative of British "memory culture," even from his vantage-point in Spain.

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Where Caxton translates freely: binomials in his *Ovid*

It has often been remarked that Caxton translates his (mostly French) sources fairly literally.

There is, however, one exception, namely his use of binomials (word-pairs of the type *lord and master, to have and to hold, good and bad*). When his (French) source has a binomial, then Caxton often adopts or translates it, but frequently he adds a binomial where his (French) source does not have one, e.g. by expanding a single word of his source into a binomial.

In my paper I shall look at the structure of Caxton's binomials (e.g. their word-classes, their connection), at their etymology (how far does Caxton combine native words, how far does he combine loan-words, and how far does he use binomials in order to introduce new loanwords), and at the sequence of the constituents and possible reasons for that sequence. I shall also discuss the question of formulaicity, i.e. how far Caxton's binomials can be regarded as fixed and formulaic and pre-existing (e.g. how far they were used by Chaucer and other writers before Caxton), and how far they are Caxton's own creations. The binomials in Caxton's *Ovid* have so far only been analysed on a small scale, using a very limited corpus; the present paper will be based on more extensive material.

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'A *Kuß* is not quite just a *Kuss*': Graphic Choices in Middle English and their Meanings

The proposed paper will make a bold new claim about graph selection and deployment by Middle English scribes and the meanings of their graphic practice for some communities. According to Mark Sebba, 'in written German, a *Kuß* is not quite just a *Kuss*' (2007: 7). This paper will advance evidence that in Middle English kissing with the *muþ* was not always quite the same as kissing with the *muth*.

The graphic choices available to Middle English scribes and their communities have largely been discussed under the rubrics of orthography and palaeography. Choice of graphs has been explained in terms of systematic, phonological, and aesthetic frameworks (e.g. Benskin (1982), Laing (1999), Stenroos (2004; 2006), Jensen (2012), and Bergs (2013)). Orthographic work has focused on the relations of spelling systems to the sounds of the spoken language, often in the pursuit of questions about dialect and standardisation (e.g. McIntosh 1989; *LALME*; *LAEME*). In palaeography, analysis has focused on the form and ductus of letters in relation to the history and categories of script or on scribal attribution (e.g. Roberts 2005; Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs 2011).

The proposed paper will suggest that the sociolinguistics of modern languages offers approaches to graphic choices in medieval writing that complement and complicate those of historical linguistics and palaeography and open up access to modes of meaning in Middle English graphic culture that are currently invisible to us. Studies of contemporary societies demonstrate that graphic features of language such as letters, scripts, and orthographic practices are not just conventions through which written communication occurs phonographically but can carry symbolic, social and cultural meanings. Many aspects of graphic practice may be salient and carry meanings through the visual channel. Choice of letters, scripts, spellings, and even diacritics can carry symbolic meaning and express identity and social relations. Sebba points out that '[s]cript may even be the main or only characteristic which differentiates two "languages"' (2009: 39), while Harris sees writing as a 'fundamental instrument' for drawing symbolic boundaries (Harris 2000: 130) between languages.

To date, sociolinguistic approaches to orthography have mainly focused on contemporary examples, or examples from the recent past. It is assumed that meaningful graphic variation is dependent on standardisation and codification. This paper will review this assumption and suggest that modified sociolinguistic frameworks might shed light on the highly variant Middle English corpus. It will consider the choices of graphs and orthographies available to scribes and their communities, the cultural work performed by their selections, for example, when writers chose thorn over *th*, or when they preferred *y* or *gh* to yogh, and the symbolic boundaries drawn by the choices that scribes made and they way their outputs looked. Materials discussed will include alphabets, texts about 'English' letters, and scribal profiles.

The proposed paper will present work being carried out by the presenter for her project 'Crafting English Letters: A Theory of Medieval Scribal Practice', funded by the Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowships scheme.

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William Worcestre's *Itinerarium*: language choice and code-switching

William Worcestre (c. 1415-1482) is known as the earliest English topographer and father of English local history. Most of his Latin writings are forgotten today, while his itineraries with their detailed descriptions of counties and settlements, including that of medieval Bristol, were circulated among English historians and topographers long before they were finally edited in the 20th century.

For much of his professional life Worcestre worked as secretary to Sir John Falstof for whom he carried out numerous business transactions. After retiring to Bristol, he began to travel the country, taking extensive notes on features of landscape, settlements and buildings as well as numerous details of interest from about 1477 onwards.

The present paper will concentrate on language choice and code-switching in Worcestre's *Itinerarium* (including his description of Bristol). They consist of notes written into a pocket-book while travelling and later supplemented by a diary with information on the journeys. The notes have been called "scrappy and unorganized" (Hoskins 1984: 18), and were most likely spontaneous, informal products of "a man in a hurry" (Harvey 1969: xvi), with little or no monitoring. The dominant language of the notes is "the heavily anglicized Latin of fifteenth-century business" (Harvey 1969: xvi). However, Worcestre frequently switched into English for single nouns, phrases and longer stretches of text. Part of his code-switching resembles conventions found in medieval business accounts, with which Worcestre was familiar from his work for Falstof, such as the use the French article before English nouns (e.g. *versus* **le South**).

Worcestre's notes are of interest for the study of medieval code-switching for several reasons: (i) they occur in an emerging text-type (topography) which has so far not been analysed from the point of view of language-mixing; (ii) the biography of their author makes it likely that he partly transferred his type of code-switching from the well-attested bilingual business accounts; (iii) the notes are spontaneous products written in the act of travelling and surveying landscapes and buildings; and finally, (iv) the second well-known topographer of England, John Leland equally used code-switching in his own *Itineraries* about sixty years after Worcestre's text; but his notes are in English with switches into Latin.

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Sin, Confession and Grace in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight:
Le livre des seintz medecines as a source and subtext

The goal of this paper is to highlight the influence of Henry of Lancaster's *Livre de seintz medecines* (LSM) on the composition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (SGGK), as well as to demonstrate how it provides several keys to interpreting the work – and especially scenes pertaining to Gawain's temptations, attempts at penance or confession, before his final – though somewhat ambiguous – rehabilitation. After a brief presentation of LSM and its author, I will scrutinize the complex web of correspondences it gives rise to in SGGK. The *Gawain* poet's references to LSM are anything but slavish: he incorporates them to suit his own literary purposes, thereby paying some tribute to Lancaster and (presumably) his descendants.

Thiébaux (1971, 1974) was the first to draw attention to LSM in relation to SGGK, focusing on an elaborate analogy developed by Lancaster between fox hunting and cleansing oneself of sin – in particular with the help of a confessor. The parallels are so striking with Gawain's situation (and Bertilak's last hunt) that they cannot be due to chance alone. I will explore parallels on a systematic basis and, in so doing, shed light on the loaded debate on the success of Gawain's confession(s) (see, e.g., Barrow 1980). Another critically important passage, which has been overlooked in the literature, is Lancaster's admission of sinning while kissing in three distinct ways (being lecherously, ill-meaning, or betraying the Lord), which is echoed very suggestively in Gawain's kisses. The number three is built into the structure of LSM (evoking the Trinity), just as its use is a recurrent numerical device in SGGK – along with five.

Thematically, the main sins (likened to foxes) or temptations to which Gawain is exposed are discussed in LSM: overweening pride (in his own feats or rings…), sloth (as he stays in bed), lechery (Bertilak's wife titillates him), envy and greed (for her green belt), gluttony (as he is served splendid food), excessive drinking (at Bertilak's), anger (at his partial failure). In addition to the seven deadly sins, Gawain finds himself confronted with minor sins and related emotional responses (fear, shame…) explicitly mentioned in LSM. Ingledew (2006) also noted correlations to be found with Gawain's pentangle, the theme of youthfulness, and the insistence on the virtues of courtesy, pity and cleanness.

An essential aspect of LSM is the author's devotion to the Virgin, which finds an echo in Gawain being Mary's knight, bearing a shield on which she is painted on the obverse, protecting him from death through lechery. A narrative of grace – a gift courteously bestowed by Mary in particular – prevails in both works. In spite of Gawain's failings, which can be attributed to his Old Testament ethics and a misguided belief in the possibility of human perfection, he is ultimately saved by his devotion to Mary, while his redemption is mirrored by the adoption of the green girdle by the knights of the Round Table, an obvious allusion to the Order of the Garter and Lancaster (Cook & Boulton 1999).

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A London religious miscellany of the late fourteenth century: the language and functions of Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498

Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498 is part of the collection bequeathed to the college by the seventeenth-century diarist Samuel Pepys. The manuscript seems to have been put together in London in the second half of the fourteenth century, drawing in many instances from earlier materials that originated in the West Midlands. The Pepys scribe is known to have copied at least two other manuscripts: London, British Library, MS Harley 874, and Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. MS 622. In linguistic accidentals, the spelling and morphology of the Pepys text represent mid-to-late fourteenth-century London practice of the kind first identified by Michael Samuels in 1963 (for which see Samuels 1963 [1989]): unsurprisingly so, since Samuels used the three manuscripts copied by the Pepys scribe, alongside the usage of the well-known Auchinleck manuscript (now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19.2.1), as representatives of the usage, which he referred to as 'Type II'.

The Pepys manuscript is an impressive book: 'So imposing a volume seems explicable only as a lectionary or as a stationary reference volume, for group use in a household or chapel' (Hanna 2005: 153). Of the nine medieval items it contains, several are translated from Anglo-Norman: a translation from the *Miroir* of Robert de Greetham, an exposition on the ten commandments preceded by an account of the pains of hell and the joys of heaven, an annotated Apocalypse, a prose *Complaint of Our Lady*, and a translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. A Latin Psalter with an interlinear Middle English gloss also appears. Other texts are English in origin: a Gospel Harmony, unique to the manuscript, which seems to have been used to introduce the translation of the *Miroir*, a clutch of short prayers at the end of the volume, and, placed between the glossed Psalter and the *Complaint*, the *Ancrene Riwle* in a modified form, including an assigned title: *Þis good book Recluse*.

In this paper, although referring to other works and other manuscripts, I focus in particular on the Pepysian text of the *Ancrene Riwle*. This text was originally composed in the thirteenth century, and survives in several early copies, offering a basis for comparison between early and later versions. Within the theoretical framework of historical pragmatics, I will analyse key formal changes – in spelling, in punctuation, and in *mise-en-page* -- made between these early copies and the Pepysian text. I will show how study of these changes offers insights into shifts in practices of late medieval literacy.

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Some thoughts on some functions of *som(e)* in Middle English

Driven by a lack of quantitative research on the topic, this paper investigates the frequency distribution, diachronic development and functions of the determinative *som(e)* in Middle English.

In PDE, determinative *some* fulfils various functions. It may serve as a quantifier with a partitive/selective reading (1), or expresses non-specificity/vagueness/speaker-attitude with singular nouns (2) (Payne & Huddleston 2002; Israel 1999). Additionally, *some* can also assume a function similar to the indefinite article (non-partitive/existential reading), selecting plural and non-count heads (3) (Sahlin 1979; Chesterman 1993; Jacobsson 2002):

(1) <u>*Some people* </u>*like pineapple on their pizza*.

(2) <u>*Some idiot* </u>*must have left the fridge open!*

(3) a. *I need to buy <u>some apples</u>*.

b. *I need <u>some milk</u>*.

However, the functional inventory has not remained constant throughout the history of English. Various OE uses (Mustanoja 1960; Mitchell 1985) have become rare or obsolete, while new ones have emerged over time. Our contribution will focus on the demise of the so-called 'presentative' usage with singular nouns (4) and trace the incipient stage of *som(e)* as an indefiniteness marker with plural and mass nouns (5).

(4) <u>*Sum wif* </u>hatte Uenus, seo wæs Ioues dohtor […]. (*Wulfstan Homilies*, 11th c.)

(5) […] þat he schuld sende <u>*summe prestes*</u> to þis lond […]. (*Capgrave's Chronicle*, 15th c.)

We argue that *som(e)*'s grammaticalization into an indefinite article, a process that is still ongoing in PDE, started in ME. Originally lacking an indefinite article category, English developed one as a result of the complete systemic reorganization of (in)definiteness marking in late OE and ME (Christophersen 1939; Rissanen 1967; Traugott 1992; Sommerer 2018). We propose that overt (in)definiteness marking became obligatory for referential NPs during late OE, which corresponds to the emergence of an abstract NP-construction with an obligatory determination slot. The OE numeral *ān̄e* ('one') was recruited as a default marker for singular nouns, grammaticalizing to *a(n)*. With some delay, *som(e)* also started to grammaticalize as a counterpart to *a(n)* before plural and mass nouns, while at the same time relinquishing its OE presentative function before singular count nouns.

This paper subscribes to a usage-based, cognitive construction grammar model (Goldberg 2006; Hilpert 2013; Traugott & Trousdale 2013; Barthdal et al. 2015), where 'grammaticalization' is reconceptualized as 'constructionalization' (Trousdale 2014). Cognitive factors (frequency, processing efficiency, entrenchment, analogy …) and the influence of related constructions are responsible for the grammaticalization of *som(e)* into an indefinite 'near-article'.

Empirically, the paper relies on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of texts from PPCME2 and LAEME. This includes tests of statistical significance, as well as techniques such as variability-based neighbor clustering (Hilpert 2013) and measures of dispersion and association (Gries & Ellis 2015). Preliminary results show that *som(e)* before plural and mass nouns increased markedly in the later ME period, supporting the view that *som(e)* began its grammaticalization path around that time.

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"Forsothe I had levar se yow be slayn": Margery Kempe as/vs. the Biblical Susanna

Whereas Margery Kempe's emulation of New Testament holy women such as Mary Magdalene has been the subject of extensive research (Craymer, Eberly, Vuille, Walton, Yoshikawa), less attention has been paid to the role of Old Testament heroines in her *Book*, perhaps because it does not mention any of them by name. My paper has as its point of departure several hitherto unnoted allusions to the story of Susanna and the Elders (Daniel 13) scattered throughout the *Book*, with a relatively large concentration in ch. 1.11, in which Kempe famously refuses to have intercourse with her husband even if by doing so she could save his life. Whereas elsewhere in the *Book* she is implicitly likened to Susanna, here she is contrasted with her.

Could Kempe have thought of Susanna when retelling this episode of her life to her scribe, or is this association the product of his interpolation? To answer this question, I draw on analogous uses of Daniel 13 in several clerical and vernacular texts. Based on this comparative evidence, it seems that Kempe herself did not choose to evoke Susanna. Rather, her scribe relied on a specifically literate convention in order to cast her in an ironic light. This case in point both furthers our understanding of the fraught relationship between Kempe and her scribes and encourages a rereading of other passages where she explicitly invokes female role models from the New Testament. Could these parts of her *Book* have likewise been tampered with so as to raise doubt about the sincerity of her devotional practices?

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Is Ugliness Only Skin Deep?
Middle English Romances of Gawain and the Wife of Bath's Tale

For some time now, Middle English tales of Gawain have been viewed almost exclusively as critiques of the aristocratic class and values. Colleen Donnelly, for example, characterizes such tales as "pointed critiques of certain aspects of noble behavior and breeding as well as of specific aristocratic codes and modes of expression" (322). At the same time, the Wife of Bath's Tale, an analogue of these Gawain romances, has been viewed almost exclusively in terms of gender – with little attention to the issue of class, a topic that the Wife's heroine herself explicitly addresses at length on her wedding night. Our readings both of the Gawain romances and of the Wife of Bath's Tale are, as a result, incomplete and impoverished. Monstrous, ugly figures in the Gawain romances, such as the Carl of Carlisle or Dame Ragnelle (but, interestingly, not the Green Knight), are representations of medieval England's *nouveaux riches*, and while the Gawain romances certainly criticize aristocratic pretensions and hypocrisy, they hardly portray the *nouveaux riches* as faultless or ideal. Indeed, I propose that these romances focus less on condemning the aristocratic class than on allaying class anxieties – both aristocratic and bourgeois – about the place of the *nouveaux riches* in medieval English society. The tales attempt to dispel these anxieties through the conclusion of a happy reconciliation between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie (and, analogously, between men and women) at the tale's end. In Chaucer, the ugly antagonist of the Gawain romances bifurcates into the crude, social-climbing Wife on the one hand and the genteel loathly lady of her tale on the other. Chaucer's choice to invite this character type on the Canterbury pilgrimage raises associated themes of class and draws attention to both the ugliness and the potential beauty of the *parvenus* among the Canterbury pilgrims. The Wife, the Prioress, the Friar, the Merchant, the Man of Law, and the Franklin, in one way or another, are like the monstrous carls and loathly ladies who disrupt the serenity of courtly life for Arthur and his knights in the Gawain romances. Chaucer seems to imply their potential, like the Arthurian carls and hags, to be magically transformed into beauty queens, but at the same time, he contrasts the easy reconciliation at the end of the Wife of Bath's Tale (and of the Gawain romances more generally) with the enduring tensions and persistent ugliness among the Canterbury pilgrims. The Gawain romances seem to indicate that ugliness (particularly of the *nouveaux riches*) is only skin deep; Chaucer seems (with a twist on Dante's stilnovistic theories of gentility) to suggest that ugliness perhaps runs a bit deeper.

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The evidentiary status of back spellings and Middle English phonology

So-called 'back' (or 'inverse' or 'analogical') spellings have plagued historical phonology throughout its existence. Given the lack of recorded speech, historical phonology must rely on spellings, but early orthography is not phonetic/phonemic transcript, and the 'underlying' phonological system can at best be (partially) inferred and reconstructed from the scribes' orthographic systems, and from the history of the sounds. Sound-changes sometimes destroy a formerly transparent orthographic system, and orthography may itself change for reasons other than sound-change, such as language contact and differing spelling conventions (Stenroos 2002).

Traditional accounts of back spellings state that they are based on phonemic merger, and the inverse spellings themselves are dismissed as evidence of sound-change (other than of the merger which triggered them; Wrenn 1943; McIntosh 1956; Penzl 1957). For example, the pronunciation of OE *hēah* (and *nēah*) changed in ME, so that the vowel was either [iː] or [ei], and was variably spelt as either <ei/ey> or later <i/y> (eLALME). Thus, when <ei/ey>-type spellings later appear in words with *etymological* OE *ī*, they are not taken as early evidence of the great vowel shift, but are dismissed as being back spellings. The logic is that if HIGH is pronounced with /iː/, and the vowel may be spelt <i/y> or <ei/ey>, then other words with /iː/ may also be variously spelt with <i/y> or <ei/ey> by analogy, e.g. <weyte> WHITE. That is, <i/y> and <ei/ey> may reflect the same phonetic reality, i.e. /iː/, in these types of words. The spellings are thus mere co-variants and <ei/ey> cannot be granted status as vowel-shift spellings at all in the conventional account.

However, this strict view of back spellings seems somewhat misguided, given the limitations of the Roman alphabet with respect to representing Germanic sounds, and because there are instances of back spellings whose rationale is not phonemic (Stenbrenden 2016). For instance, ME 'litteral substitution sets' arise from a combination of factors which may be purely orthographic (Benskin 1982; Laing 1999; Stenroos 2018). In other cases, the supposed back spellings go only one way, whereas true analogical spellings go both ways (cp. ME <i/y> and <ei/ey> for both the lexical sets HIGH and WHITE). Clearly, back spellings are indicative of 'sameness' at some level, but that level need not be phonemic, but may be phonetic, or orthographic, or a combination of the three (Laing and Lass 2003).

In this paper, I assess a range of back spellings in terms of their internal logic and the orthographic systems in which they appear (using e.g. LAEME, Laing 2008), and taking into account the restrictions imposed by the Roman alphabet. I conclude that some spellings dismissed as analogical may in fact be used as evidence of sound-change, whereas others should indeed be treated with caution. Most importantly, the rationale behind back spellings varies considerably and this should be properly recognised – calling a spelling 'analogical' does not automatically entail the rejection of said spelling as evidence of sound-change.

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In firth, forest and fell: alliterative phrases in Golagros and Gawain

The use of set phrases in Middle English alliterative verse has been widely discussed in various studies (Oakden 1968, Mackay 1975, Turville-Petre 1977 etc.). Called 'a striking feature of the alliterative style' (Turville-Petre 1977: 83) by most researchers, alliterative phrases, however, are defined and explained in several different ways. M.A. Mackay exploits the definition of the formula by M. Parry: 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical condition to express a given idea' (Mackay 1975: 140). However, the term formula cannot be applied here, as formulas are a specific feature of oral epic poetry (Smirnitskaya 1994: 425-426). L.D. Benson describes a set phrase as 'a fixed phrase occurring with the same words (or nearly the same) in similar contexts and in the same metrical position in a number of other poems' (Benson: 121), but this statement, according to Th. Turville-Petre, is 'too vague to be helpful' (1977:90).

Thus, neither a clear definition of a Middle English alliterative phrase nor any criteria to single out a phrase of that kind have been suggested yet. M.A. Mackay (1975: 142) proposed a classification of alliterative phrases in Middle Scots poems based on their syntax; still, the syntactic criterion is not enough to single out and classify alliterative phrases. Other criteria must be considered, lexical and semantic in particular.

The absence of the clear criteria causes other problematic questions, e.g. how to distinguish one alliterative phrase from another. Specifically, should expressions like semely be sight / semely on syll / semely in saill or richest of rent / richest of ryne etc. be considered as different phrases or as variants of the same phrase?

Based on the material of the poem Golagros and Gawain the paper will suggest certain criteria that could be used to define and classify alliterative phrases. The paper will also compare alliterative phrases in Golagros and Gawain with those in other Middle English poems, primarily the northern alliterative works in rhymed stanzas, and discuss the issue of variation within the phrases. The creativity of the unknown author in combining two known collocations in one new phrase (e.g. in firth, forest and fell on the basis of firth and forest and firth and fell fixed in other poems) or using unique phrases that occur only in Golagros and Gawain (e.g. richest of ryne, birny and breistplate) will be also shown.

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Words of power? The pragmatics of the SATOR acrostic in a selection of Middle English manuscripts

The proposed paper is rooted within the field of historical pragmatics. It investigates the pragmatic function of medieval charms, and in particular the mysterious *SATOR acrostic*, or *SATOR square*, a four-way palindrome which consists of five words: sator - arepo - tenet - opera - rotas. The origin of the square is disputed, as is its meaning. The first attested occurrence of the SATOR square is found in Pompeii, and early attestations have also been found in various other European countries, including England, where it is found on a piece of Roman wall plaster at Cirencester dated to the 4th century. It has been taken to mean anything from a representation of the five nails in the cross or the five wounds in the body of Christ, to a Latin anagram used for exorcism and different spells used in black magic. The one thing that seems to be agreed upon, is that the words in the square are believed to possess some kind of power.

The SATOR acrostic appears in several Middle English medical recipe collections, often in connection with another charm: the *Maria peperit* incantation, intended to ease child-birth. The instructions on how to use the charms vary; in most cases the words of the SATOR acrostic are supposed to be written down on an object, which is to be either placed on the woman's belly, or to be eaten by her, while the *Maria peperit* charm is to be read out loud. These are two highly different functions, which assume different properties of the words within the charms. The spelling of the words that are supposed to be read out is thus probably less important than the spelling of the words that should be written down. However, the spelling of the palindrome varies, which questions the pragmatic use and supposed effect of the words. One manuscript in particular, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 78, exhibits deviant spellings in three of the five words, which are not found elsewhere.

The data for the paper are collected mainly from the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (MEG-C - Stenroos *et al.* 2011) and the *Middle English Medical Texts corpus* (MEMT - Taavitsainen *et al.* 2005), as well as from two printed sources, Hunt (1990), and Ogden (1938), and consists of 15 recipes that contain either the SATOR acrostic and the Maria peperit incantation together, or the SATOR acrostic on its own. The paper contextualises the charms in terms of writers and users of the Middle English recipe collections in which they appear. At the same time, it investigates how a scribe's idiosyncratic Middle English usage might influence the spelling of the charms, especially in terms of contractions and abbreviations, and thus in turn might change the pragmatic function of the charms.

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Authorial self-presentation in the *Ormulum*

The author's self-presentation in relation to his audience and the reasons that made him produce his work are those matters which often came to the forefront for the preacher who wrote down the late twelfth-century English exegetical text known as the *Ormulum*. The *Ormulum* is well-known to linguists and literary historians alike as well as to practically every student of the history of the English language. Yet, despite the considerable amount of research conducted on Orm's language, orthography, and sources, certain crucial issues remain unresolved. Namely, one aspect that still generates controversy is Orm's questionable reliance on Old English homiletic tradition; whereas some critics believe that the *Ormulum* demonstrates the continuity of English writing (Bennett 1986: 30), others focus on its pioneering and original qualities, which deviate from pre-Conquest practices: "although Orm is certainly conversant with aspects of Old English homiletic diction, he does not seem to have made any extensive use of the earlier texts with which he was evidently familiar" (Morrison 2003: 259-260).

This paper will discuss Orm's relation to the native tradition of vernacular preaching in terms of the formal aspect of textual organization and the attitude towards authority. It will focus on the matter of the intended audience of Orm's homilies and examine his "positional rhetoric" (the term was first introduced by Mary Swan (2007, 2009) in her analysis of Ælfric's homiletic works), that is, how the preacher constructs his textual identity as the speaker and how he positions the audience of his homily through the use of such linguistic markers as pronouns and verbs. In order to explore the matter of continuity or disruption of the pre-Conquest tradition more fully with the benefit of a contrasting setting, the paper will make occasional typological comparisons between Orm's and Ælfric's writings (in particular, their homilies on John 2:1-11), the *rationale* for which has been laid out by several scholars (Morrison 1984: 54-55; Morrison 2003: 261-262; Johannesson 2007: 109-121): both homilists set out to compile a comprehensive programme of Christian instruction, adopt verse-by-verse exegetical method, and compile thorough prefaces, conferring authority and providing commentary on the rest of their work.

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The demise of ambiguous adverb/conjunctions and manuscript variation: A case study of *tho, then,* and *when* in the *'Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester'*

One interesting case of the general trend in the development of English adverbial connectives towards less polyfunctionality is the replacement of the Old English ambiguous adverb/conjunctions *þa* and *þonne* by the adverb *then* and the conjunction *when* during the Middle English period. Though the rise of *when* as a subordinator has been studied quite a lot (Kivimaa 1966, Mitchell 1965, Wårvik 1995, Yamakawa 1969), the details of the changes that led to the redistribution of the discourse-pragmatic and syntactic functions of the Old English items are still unclear.

In Old English, *hwonne*, the etymological ancestor of *when,* was an interrogative introducing direct and indirect questions, while the most common temporal connectives corresponding to PDE *when* were *þa* and *þonne*. These two items were not distinguished by their syntactic function, corresponding to both PDE *when* and *then*, but they had different discourse-pragmatic functions: *þa* occurred in narrative texts marking the foregrounded main line and *þonne* occurred in all kinds of texts referring to hypothetical and habitual situations, as well as backgrounded material in narratives (Mitchell 1985:§2562; Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *þanne*; Ogura 1984; Wårvik 2011).

The aim of this study is to investigate what different versions of the same text can reveal about the uses of changing items in the same textual context. The paper reports a case study on manuscript variation in the uses of *tho, then*, and *when* in the text known as the *Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*. The text is a long verse narrative in the West-Midland dialect, the area where the temporal conjunction use of *when* emerged early and the short form of the adverb and conjunction, *tho,* survived longest. The manuscripts in Wright's edition (1887) are from the early 14th to mid-15th century, the period when the latest instances of *tho* can be found in the *Helsinki Corpus* data.

What is particularly interesting in these changes is that they coincide with a number of developments that suggest typological shifts in the syntax and discourse pragmatics of English. Such changes include the increasing frequencies of temporal subordinate clauses, decreasing frequencies of temporal adverbials showing the progress of the narrative story-line, the emergence of the *be+* V-*ing* (*beon/wesan*+ V-*ende*) and its development to the progressive aspect, and the word order changes from V2 (or a version of it) to SVO (e.g. Brinton 1993, 1996, van Kemenade & Los 2006, Los 2009, Petré 2015, Wårvik 1995). Though these changes may appear unrelated, they can be seen as parts of larger developments. Los (2012) relates some of them to a typological shift of English from a bounded to an unbounded construal in narrative structuring. Along related lines, Wårvik (1990) characterized the changes in signalling of narrative structure during the Middle English period as a typological, rather than a stylistic shift from a foreground-marking language to a background-marking or fuzzy-grounding language.

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The Importance of the Middle English Breton Lays' Relationship to the Tale of Magic

The link between the Breton lays and the folktale seems to determine their individuality in relation to typical chivalric romances. Thus, Thomas C. Rumble states that the Breton Lays, in comparison with the romances, are „shorter, simpler, less diffuse in their effects, more reliant upon pure folk-lore motifs and faery lore…" (T.C.Rumble, The Breton Lays in Middle English, xxx), while Claire Vial emphasizes their „simple characterization that regularly relies on known types and motives from folk tales…" (C.Vial, There and Back Again, The Middle English Breton Lays, A Journey through Uncertainties, 31). The exact nature and extent of this „reliance" has not been apparently recognized yet. It may naturally be argued that such a task cannot be properly carried out because we no information about any authentically medieval folk tales, as they started to be collected and recorded, in Europe, only in the 17th century.

There are, however, reasons to believe that were already fully developed in the Middle Ages. According to Stith Thompson „near to the Märchen in general structure is the novella. Literary examples of this form may be seen in the Arabian Nights or Boccaccio, but such stories are also widely told by the unlettered, especially by the people of the Near East." (S.Thompson, The Folktale, 8). Boccaccio was, as everybody knows, a 14th c. writer and it so happens that the oldest manuscript of the Arabian Nights comes also from the 14th century. The English Breton lays, though sometimes based on the 12th c. French texts by Marie de France, also belong to the late 13th and 14th cc. The task proposed here need not be then so controversial as it appears.

The author of the present paper expects to be able to find out what kind of folk tales can be thought of as lying behind the Middle English Breton lays, and what transformations they must have undergone to become suitable to the style, mentality and ideological orientation that can be discerned in the lays. Some theoretical works concerning the folk tale and fantastic literature in general are going to be used.

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Unorthodox sources of Early Middle English

Compared to the evidence on Old English that we have, there is precious little available on Early Middle English, which means that we only have a vague idea of what English looked like at the time of the tremendous changes which took place in its morphophonological system. One reason for this is that in historical linguistics there is a strong preference for studying materials as close to the original as possible.

The paper is based on the data collection methodological approach to historical linguistic analysis which deems unorthodox materials (such as corrections, marginalia, comments, copies) as equally worthy of examination as original works. This approach has been explored extensively within the project *The production and use of English manuscripts 1060-1220* (Swan, Treharne, Da Rold, Story, Kato 2010),[11] whose aim was to catalogue all the evidence of English writing in the period indicated in the project's title. The authors show that first of all, there are many more texts written in that period than it was believed before, and secondly, that these texts illustrate the dynamics and linguistic continuity of English.

The study presents and discusses two examples of unorthodox sources which can shed light on the state of the 12th-century English. The first one are corrections introduced to the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*, a mid-twelfth century manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury. The heavy corrections found in the first half of the gloss seem to reflect a more conservative attitude of the corrector, which in turn indicates a rather innovative approach of the original scribe(s). Through an analysis of the scope and character of those corrections, as well as through a comparative analysis of other known Old English psalter glosses, it was possible to extract examples of what may be Early Middle English lexicon. The second source of data are post-Conquest forged charters, i.e. documents which were produced as a result of the shift from orality to the written record. Consequently, in order to secure the rights to one's land, one had to produce a document which would need to make an impression of being a genuine Old English grant, privilege, or charter. One of the means of authentication was to style the language – however, as the forgers were speakers of contemporary English, they made mistakes. Those erroneous forms, evaluated against the known forms of Old English, seem to provide evidence of changes that had taken place by the time that the forgeries were produced.

The paper presents and discusses in detail how those unorthodox materials can be approached and analysed in order to unlock the features of twelfth-century English that can be found in them. Ultimately, the project makes a strong claim that studying unorthodox materials, such as corrections and forgeries, offers valuable insight into the language and the scribal practices of the post-Conquest England, as well as provides a wider range of texts that contain material for studying Early Middle English.

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[11] http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/

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The Decline of Negative Concord and the Decline of *ne* in Middle English: Related or Independent?

Richard **Zimmermann**

Middle English is a Negative Concord (NC) language - it typically exhibits multiple markings of negation in a clause, namely on the sentential negator as well as on non-assertive indefinites, negative temporal adverbs, and disjunctions to express a single logical negation (e.g. Jack 1978), (1). NC structures disappear during the course of the Middle English period.

> (1) hie   **næure**   mo godd   **ne**   sculen isien   **ne**   **n**an   of his halʒen
>   they **NEG**-ever more God **NEG** shall   see **NEG**-or **NEG**-one of his saints
>   'They shall not see evermore God or any of his saints' (*Vices and Virtues* c. 1200)

Furthermore, Jespersen's cycle (Jespersen 1917) is executed during Middle English - the preverbal negative clitic *ne* is replaced by the postverbal negative adverb *not* with an intermediate stage in which both options can co-occur, (2). The conservative variant *ne* becomes largely defunct by 1400.

> (2) a he **ne** sculde beon ded. 'He should not be dead' (*Layamon's Brut*, line 11406, c. 1200)
>
>   b. He **ne** shal **nouʒt** sechen. 'He shall not seek' (*Earlierst Prose Psalter*, Psalm 9, c. 1350)
>
>   c. They shall **not** mysse, 'They shall not miss' (*A right merrie Comedie*, Act 1:2, c. 1570)

Some researchers have hypothesized a link between the decline in NC and the loss of the conservative negator *ne* (e.g. Fischer et al. 2000: 87) whereas others claim that the two changes proceed independently of one another (e.g. Iyeiri 2001: 144). This paper makes a contribution towards resolving this issue.

Specifically, if the loss of *ne* precipitates the decline in NC, one would predict for every unit decline in *ne* a corresponding reduction in the probability of encountering a NC structure, resulting in a Constant Rate Effect (Kroch 1989) between the two developments (left panel in (3)). In contrast, if there is no causal association between the two changes, their rates of change should be significantly different (right panel in (3)).

(3)
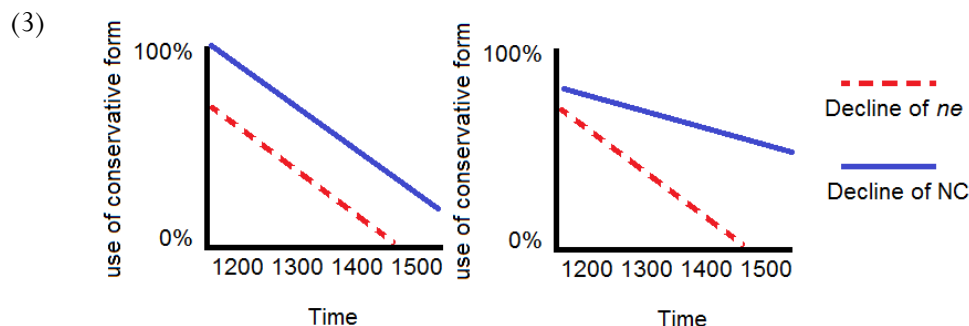
These hypotheses will be tested by measuring and comparing the two changes in available parsed corpora of Middle English, the PPCME2 (Talyor & Kroch 2000), PCMEP (Zimmermann 2015) and P-LAEME (Truswell et al. 2016). The decline in *ne* will be measured following a standard protocol (e.g. Frisch 1997, Wallage 2008). However, the loss of NC will be traced using a novel kind of technique. Rather than comparing NC to negative polarity item constructions (e.g. Ingham 2006, Kallel 2007), it is preferable to compare NC directly to non-NC clauses, in which a negatively marked item occurs without sentential negation, (4).

(4) a. Thow sall **noghte** do **na** thyfte. (*Richard Rolle Treatise*, c. 1345)

  b. For y may   Ø   do **na** mare! (*Amis and Amiloun*, Stanza 186, c. 1315)

Apart from time, the examples are also coded for dialect (northern-influenced vs. other) and the grammatical function in which the negative item occurs (object vs. adjunct vs. conjunction). The rates of change will be compared using mixed-effects logistic regression models. Initial results suggest that the two changes proceed at different rates suggesting that they are causally unrelated.

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