ME -LICH(E)/-LY

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to look at the development of the ME -lich(e) > -ly. Although the /tf/-deletion in this adjectival/adverbial suffix has been noted by scholars for a long time, as it was functioning for several centuries, its geographical and chronological spread have not been given proper attention. Only a few attempts have been made to account for the evolution of the suffix. The mechanism that prompted /tf-deletion was according to most scholars (Jespersen 1954: 406; Marchand 1962: 329; Onions 1976: 542 and *OED Online*; see also below) due to the Scandinavian influence (OSc -lig - > ME -ly).

We hope that we have demonstrated that the above sources seem not to be right. Quite contrary to their claims the evidence shows that the aforementioned change must have originated in the West Midlands. Moreover, it is argued that the factors prompting the <ch> deletion in -lich(e) are both the simplification taking place in allegro speech and the phonotactic constraints.

The ME -lich was an adjectival suffix going back to the OE -līc, which was used to form adjectives from nouns or other adjectives, e.g., cynelīc 'royal', dēofollīc 'diabolic', etc. (Quirk and Wrenn 1956: 111). The ME period witnessed further expansion of -līc. The phonological aspect of the affricate deletion in the ME suffix -lich(e) has not been widely discussed. Only some authors in their Middle English grammars mention the phenomenon. Fisiak (1965) and Marchand (1969) who are morphologically oriented discuss briefly the emergence of -ly. As for dictionaries, both the OED Online and ODEE (Onions 1976) list the -ly suffix and give short comments on the rise of the affricate-less forms pointing to

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Jacek Fisiak for all his valuable suggestions and to Professors Matti Kilpiö, Matti Rissanen and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka for introducing me to the Helsinki Corpus and offering excellect conditions for research during my stay at the University of Helsinki.

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the Scandinavian influence. A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME) includes -ly among other linguistic items presented therein and provides a map with the localization of particular tokens of the suffix (see Vol. I: 455-457). Laing (1989) includes some essays which although devoted to problems connected with ME dialects, refer to -ly. More recently, dual-form adverbs (adj./adv. -ly) became of particular interest to several scholars. Donner (1991) investigates their development in the Middle English period. Nevalainen (1994 and 1997) examines Late Middle and Early Modern English. Opdahl (2000) discusses dual-form adverbs in present-day English. Yet, none of these works gives a deeper insight into the phonological development of the -lich(e) suffix in Middle English.

The ME -lich, -liche was also an adverbial suffix, going back to the OE -līce. According to The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (ODEE) "[its] general sense is 'in a manner characteristic to one who or a thing that is so-and-so called' (as defined by the simplex), hence, 'in so-and-so fashion', 'to so-and-so degree'" (Onions 1976: 541). Primarily, it was only -e which served as an adverb formative. An example such as the OE deope 'deeply' illustrates its use, where dēop was an OE adjective. By the same virtue, at the beginning it was a whole adjective ending in -līc, such as cildelīc, which was treated as a derivative base for the adverb cildelīce. It must have been at the time when adding -līc was regarded as compounding not suffixation. Only later did a reanalysis take place by means of which the base for adverbial derivation was the same as for the adjectival one and a new adverbial suffix -līce arose. Later it was appended also to adjectives which did not end in -līc, i.e. blindlīce, blodlīce (Kastovsky 1992: 396). The scheme underneath presents the pattern of adverb formation. "Base" stands in for an adjective.

Scheme 1. The pattern of adverb formation in OE

- a) Base $+ -e > Adverb PARALLELISM \rightarrow$
- b) Base + $-l\bar{i}c$ > Base + -e > Adverb REANALYSIS \rightarrow
- c) Base $-l\bar{\iota}c >$ Base $+ -l\bar{\iota}ce >$ Adverb.

Table 1 below gives a summary of the frequency, and hence productivity of $-L\bar{l}C$ and $-L\bar{l}CE$ types in OE.

Table 1. -LĪC and -LĪCE in OE²

	ABSOL	UTE FREQU	JENCIES	PER 100,000 WORDS		
	ALL WORDS	-LĪC	-LĪC + -LĪCE	-LĪC	-LĪC + -LĪCE	
OE1	3,067	1	3	33	98	
OE2	111,365	90	500	81	449	
OE3	313,488	429	1,889	137	603	
OE4	76,816	53	408	69	531	

The ME -ly was both an adjectival and adverbial suffix, which came into existence by means of the final affricate deletion in -lich(e) as early as c. 1200. This change was parallel to the conversion of the OE ich into I, which took place at more or less the same time. Since EME -ly has enjoyed growing productivity and is one of the most prolific formatives.

The basic assumption of this paper is that the prototypes of the ME -LICH(E)/-LY suffixes will exhibit a variety of token forms which will be dialectally conditioned. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the deletion of /tʃ/will progress from the North to the South at a faster pace in Late Middle English. Moreover, due to the involvement of possible other text internal features, it is assumed that specific texts will reveal different tendencies towards /tʃ/-deletion in -lich(e).

Some statistics pertaining to the occurrence of the suffix in question will be presented on the basis of the data extracted from the diachronic part of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (henceforth the *Helsinki Corpus* or the *HC*; for its structure see Kytö (1996) and Nevanlinna *et al.* (1993)). This data will provide the set of existing tokens of the *-LICH(E)* prototype. Several tables will also highlight the geographical distribution of both the prototype and the specific tokens.

The Middle English period in *HC* ranges from 1150 to 1500 and is further subdivided into four subperiods, i.e., 1150-1250 (henceforth ME1), 1250-1350 (ME2), 1350-1420 (ME3) and 1420-1500 (ME4). Such a division is not random but historically motivated (Nevanlinna *et al.* 1993: 34-41). The subperiods differ in respect to the number of words they contain: ME1 and ME2 are about twice as short as the Late Middle English subperiods. Both verse and prose are represented and samples from different genres are included. However, it has to be remembered that a corpus, although extremely useful, is not a perfect source of material. As Miller (1997: 252) quite accurately noticed, text samples in corpora

² The statistics concerning the occurrence of OE $-l\bar{\iota}c(e)$, as well as the division into four subperiods, OE1 (-850), OE2 (850-950), OE3 (950-1050), OE4 (1050-1150), is based on the *HC*.

are not always representative enough to give a broad and objective insight into the analysed issue. Therefore, it is necessary to use complete and extensive texts as a supplement for a corpus. The texts which I have examined apart from HC are Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343 (S), Seinte Katerine, Seinte Marherete, Sawles warde, Ancrene wisse, Lazamon's Brut and Pe wohunge of ure Lauerd (WM), Ormulum (NEM) and The Peterborough Chronicle 1017-1154 and Vices and virtues (EM) for Early Middle English (ME1 and ME2), and Chaucer's translation of Boethius's De consolatione philosophiæ (EM) and The Brut (WM) for the time when the suffixes achieve the highest rate of their phonological change (ME3). Finally, the completion of the process of the affricate <ch> deletion is illustrated on the basis of The cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac (EM).

The data from the Middle English part of the Helsinki Corpus will now be introduced to make the discussed issue clear and provide a solid background for the study. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, the suffixes -lich, -liche and -ly will be discussed and referred to in terms of prototypes. These will be indicated by the use of upper case and italics: -LICH, -LICHE and -LY. These forms will be realized in different regional and scribal spelling variants which will be rendered here by the use of lower case and italics. A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (henceforth LALME) has also been used as a source of reference. After rejecting all variants which do not appear in the analyzed corpus, the representative list of suffixes, subject to further examination, is the following:

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-LICH: -lic, -lich, -lix, -liz, -lych.
-LICHE: -leche, -lice, -liche, -lyche, -lyke.
-LY: -ley, -li, -ly.
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Among the variants mentioned above only -lich, -liche and -li will be present in all four subperiods. However, each of the tokens, with the exception of -ley, has been recorded in at least two investigated ME subsections. Different spelling variants related to particular dialect areas will also be analysed in more detail below.

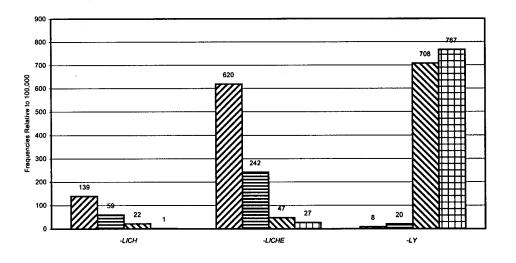
Table 2 presents the results of the total absolute and relative frequencies of the suffixes in question throughout the whole ME period (1150-1500) in the Helsinki Corpus.

	ALL WORDS ³	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY
ME1	118,278	165	733	10
ME2	99,719	59	242	20
ME3	190,045	40	86	1346
ME4	223,215	3	62	1712

Table 2. -LICH, -LICHE and -LY in Middle English. Total absolute frequencies

It is clear that the number of words in particular subsections differs considerably. Both ME1 and ME2 are approximately half as abundant in words than ME3 and ME4. Thus, to make the data representative and comparable in the analysis, they have to be relativized to a reference number of 100,000. The statistics from Table 2 processed in this fashion are presented in Figure 1. The subsequent four columns in each set stand for the number of occurrences obtained for ME1, ME2, ME3 and ME4 respectively.

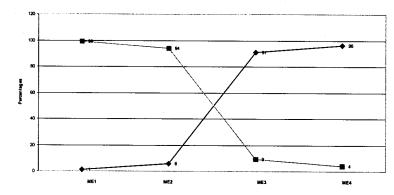
Figure 1. -LICH, -LICHE and -LY in Middle English. Total relative frequencies



³ The number of all words in particular subperiods cited here and used for reference in further study is taken from the labels of ME subperiods (HM1, HM2, HM3 and HM4) in the electronic version of the Helsinki Corpus. The statistics, however, differs considerably from this given by Nevanlinna et al. (1993).

A glance at the numbers as well as the columns in the chart allows us to conclude that the *-LICH* and *-LICHE* forms demonstrate a tendency of steady decrease, while the *-LY* suffix grows abruptly in number. As the principal aim of this study is to analyze suffixes with a final affricate versus -less forms, it would be crucial to ignore the final <e> for the time being and combine the *-LICH* and *-LICHE* forms. If presented as in Figure 2, the data seem to be even more striking and convincing. figure 2 highlights the changes concerning the analysed adjectival and adverbial Middle English suffixes.

Figure 2. -LICH(E) and -LY in Middle English. Percentages



The forms with an affricate overwhelmingly prevail in ME1 (1150-1250), whereas the competing -LY forms are almost nonexistent. However, the situation is quite the reverse at the end of the ME period, with the most revolutionary change taking place at the turn of ME3 (1350-1420). Hence, the -LY suffix enters the Early Modern English period as an unquestionable victor.

Once the general tendency of the change in the frequency of the competing suffixes has been presented it is necessary to see what the situation looks like in specific dialect areas. Before any data are taken into consideration it appears logical to postulate that the text samples in the HC reveal some characteristic but common regional differences. Thus, the texts will be grouped and analysed according to the area they originate in.

It is expected that the data examination will answer very simple questions like: Which direction did the affricate deletion in *-LICH(E)* come from? How did it spread? Which regions were most prone to change and hence most revolutionary? What was the state of the spread of *-LY* in ME4 (1420-1500) texts, etc.? Table 3 below enables us to analyze the statistics from the point of view of those questions; it brings forth the frequencies of distribution of *-LICH*, *-LICHE* and *-LY* in the Middle English dialect areas.

Table 3 a.4 -LICH, -LICHE and -LY in the Middle English dialect areas. Absolute figures

	N _.		WM			EM			
	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	, -LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY
ME1	_	_	_	98	453	10	37	98	-
ME2		_	_	-	4	5	41	67	11
ME3	5	4	141	2	10	25	28	21	1011
ME4	-	-	443	-	1	98	3	60	997+30*

Table 3 b.

		S		К			
	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	
ME1	24	147	-	6	35	•	
ME2	8	61	4	10	110	-	
ME3	5	51	169		_	_	
ME4	-	1	144		- .	_	

Tables 3a and 3b give evidence of "real" examples as occurring in the HC and only while quoting specific fragments from the corpus will absolute figures be taken from it. Otherwise, relative numbers will be discussed. Hence, before drawing any general conclusions about the behaviour of -LICH, -LICHE and -LY suffixes, these particular data will have to be relativized (to a number of 100,000). The reason for such a need is that the authors of the corpus itself did not attempt to keep a balance between the length of text samples from particular dialect areas. On the contrary, the authors' primary concern was to choose those pieces of writing which would be most representative of a certain ME subperiod. For example, the influence of the Old English West-Saxon Standard still detectable in early Middle English can be seen in the bulk of texts presented in the ME1 and ME2 corpus subsections originating in the West Midlands. On the other hand, the position of London growing into the most important city in England resulted in almost all ME4 and even earlier ME3 texts representing the East Midland dialect. In particular, the last ME subsection is striking; the proportion of EM texts to those from all other dialect areas is 2:1. Thus, it has to be stressed that the number of texts from specific regions is by no means even,

⁴ A dash (-) in specific table cells indicates the lack of texts in particular dialect areas. A hyphen (-) marks the presence of texts with no examples. A star (*) denotes instances from the text samples of not well-defined origin. The same specification is used throughout the whole study.

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which may have an influence on generalizations about geographical variation when data are presented in absolute numbers.

Tables 4a and 4b below present the frequencies of -LICH, -LICHE and -LY suffixes in Middle English dialects. The figures are relativized to 100,000 words. Tables 5a and 5b provide the same data in terms of percentages.

Table 4 a. -LICH, -LICHE and -LY suffixes in Middle English dialect areas. Figures relative to 100,000

		N			WM			EM		
	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	
ME1	_	_	_	83	383	8	31	83	-	
ME2	_		_	-	4	5	41	67	11	
ME3	3	2	74	1	5	14	15	11	532	
ME4	-	-	198	-	-	44	1	27	447+13*	

Table 4 b.

	S			K		
	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY
ME1	20	124	- '	5	30	_
ME2	8	61	4 ,	10	110	-
ME3	3	27	89	_	_	_
ME4	_	_	65	_	_	

Table 5 a. -LICH, -LICHE and -LY suffixes in Middle English dialect areas. Percentages

	N		1	WM			EM		
	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY
MEI	_	. –	_	18	80	2	27	73	
ME2	_	_	_	_	44	56	34	57	9
ME3	4	3	93	5	27	68	3	2	95
ME4	-	_	100	-	_	100	_	5	92+3*

Table 5 b.

	S			K		
	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY	-LICH	-LICHE	-LY
MEI	14	86	-	14	86	
ME2	11	84	5	8	92	_
ME3	3	23	74	_		
ME4	_	_	100	_	_	_

It should be pointed out that Kentish and northern dialects are not represented by texts in ME3 and ME4 (Kentish), and ME1 and ME2 (northern), respectively. Furthermore, it seems that within these dialect areas the suffixes retain the same tendencies of behaviour which they exhibited in Table 2, i.e., the suffixes with an affricate are clearly on the decline. Its rate, however, depends on localization (Tables 4 and 5). The -LY count increases fast. Yet, it is still necessary to determine the directions of change in particular dialect areas. The West Midlands, as the carrier of the features associated with the West-Saxon standard, experienced the introduction of the -LY form on a large scale. This dialect seems to be most innovative. Next, the affricate deletion spreads in the neighbouring regions - the East Midlands and the South. Unquestionably, at the turn of ME2 the WM is in the lead of the change rate. The analysis of figures in ME2 and ME3 leads to the conclusion that the process has more or less the same force in the EM and S. In the East Midlands -LY reaches 95% of occurrences as early as in ME3. It could be assumed that the form was established in the writings of Chaucer, thus, contributing the form to the Chancery Standard (Fisiak 2000: 81-87). Later, in ME4 the -LY form spreads to all dialects reaching a figure of 92% in EM and a 100% in WM, S and N.

ME1 in the Helsinki Corpus

The Helsinki Corpus provides a rich variety of tokens. Table 6 illustrates the use of all tokens belonging to -LICH, -LICHE and -LY prototypes in the ME1 part of the HC.

Table 6a. Tokens within -LICH and -LICHE in ME1. Absolute figures⁵

			-L	<i>ICH</i>		
	-lic	-lich	-lik	-liʒ	-lych	-lyk
N	_	_		_	_	
WM	6	92	-	-	-	-
EM	-	10	-	(27)	-	-
S	24	-	-	-	-	-
K	6	-	. <u>-</u>	-	-	-
TOTAL	36	102	-	27	-	-

⁵ For the purpose of the investigation, some additional specifications should be made. Those refer to -li3 and -like in ME1 here in parentheses and labelled as originating in the EM texts. The fact is, however, that all those instances come from the Ormulum, which is more specifically a NEM text and might show some features characteristic of the Northern dialect.

Table 6b.

			-LIC	HE			-LY
	-leche	-lice	-liche	-like	-lyche	-lyke	-li
N	_		_	_		_	_
WM	-	-	453	_	-	-	10
EM	1	7	78	(12)	-	-	_
S	-	147	-	-	-	-	-
K	-	35	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1	189	531	12	_	-	10

As far as the analysis of the diversity and geographical distribution of tokens is concerned, some kind of regularity can be observed. In ME1 almost exclusively the tokens are -lich(e) and -lic(e). The -lic(e) suffix is prevailingly restricted to the South and Kentish dialects (171 and 41 examples respectively), and only few instances appear in other dialect areas (WM 6 -lic and EM 7 -lice tokens). The HC material comes from Peri Didaxeon, Bodley Homilies and Vespasian Homilies, the first two representing the South and the last one the Kentish dialect. Here are some samples.

- (1a) wyrma þanne þa fet. & þa handa. wyrce þanne clyþan of þisse wyrta. & bynd swyþe to þan handan. & to þan fotum & myd swyþe drigeon handum straca **zeornlice** þane innoþ. (*Peri Didaxeon*: 134)
- (1b) On þam leafe is þæt he ilefe on God Fæder Ælmihtizne, & on his Sune, & on þene Halzan Gaste, & on ða **untodæledlice** Þrynnesse, & on þa þurhwunizendæn Annesse. Þonne is þe hiht þt he **wislice** hihte ða ecen mede; þone is Þeo soðe lufe, þt he beo ifylled mid þare godcunden lufe onzean his nyxtæn þt is æle cristene mon. (Bodley Homilies: 40)
- (1c) þt nan **eorðlic** mann ne 3eseh swa heh, ne seggen ne cann hwilces cynnes heo synden. (*Vespasian Homilies*: 146)

The texts from both the West and East Midlands are characterized by the chronologically advanced -lich(e) form. Here the HC gives a definitely clear-cut picture; WM and EM have the majority of these forms. It might indicate that in spelling the replacement of OE <c> in -lic(e) with <ch> may have originated in the Midlands, especially the West Midlands, which seems to be confirmed by the very high number of 645 occurences of the -lich(e) suffix. Here are a few:

- (2a) þt beoð to vnderstonden þe fowr heaued-þeawes. þe earste is warschipe icleopet. ant te oþer is ihaten **gastelich** strengðe. (Sawles warde: 168)
- (2b) al com nawt for þi þt te wummen lokeden **cangliche** o wepmen; ah traisun inwið þe gale heorte. nawt ane euch **fleschlich** hondlunge; ah zetten euch gal word; is **ladlich** vilainie. (Ancrene wisse: 33)
- (2c) de swide gastlich lif lædet after dare woreld de nu is.

(Vices and virtues: 74)

Northern texts are not represented in ME1 but *Ormulum*, NEM, here under the EM label (see Note 5) provides a high number of 27 -li3 examples. It seems to be a very specific form which can be found in no other text either in ME1 or in any other ME subperiod. Here are some instances of the -li3 suffix:

- (3a) All forr be lufe off Godd, & nohht
 Forr erbliz loff to winnenn. (Ormulum, Dedication: 11. 229-232)
- (3b) Piss iss to seggenn **opennli3**Pe Laferrd Cristess karrte. (Ormulum, Preface: 1. 55, 56)
- (3c) Patt +guw birrþ berenn **bliþeli3**Peowwdom off 3ure laferrd... (*Ormulum I*: ll. 3616-3617)

The same could be said about the *-like* suffix; it appears only in the *Ormulum* sample in 12 examples. However, the *-lik* form does not occur at all. The following examples illustrate the use of *-like* in ME1:

- (4a) He 3ifebb himm innsihht & witt
 Off heofennlike bingess... (Ormulum I, Homilies: 11. 8787-88)
- (4b) & all se iss her bitwenenn þe & tin eorþlike laferrd... (Ormulum, Introduction: ll. 41-42)

It should be pointed out that this is the time when final <e> deletion in -LICHE has not started yet. Thus, all -LICH forms are almost exclusively adjectives, whereas the -LICHE suffix characterises both inflected adjectives ending in -LICH and adverbs.

A preliminary assumption based on the HC statistics is that -lic(e) is most characteristic of the Southern dialect, whereas -li3 and -like occur prevailingly in NEM. As for the -lich(e) token, it is expected to have the highest frequency in the West Midlands.

ME1_texts

In order to avoid limitations of corpora (Miller 1997) I shall also investigate the occurrence of -lich(e)/-ly in complete texts to verify the results obtained in the analysis of the HC.

Bodley Homilies

The Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343, here referred to as Bodley Homilies, is a collection of OE homilies rewritten in the South at the end of the 12th century. What is significant is the fact that that region was not subject to strong French influences after the Norman Conquest. There were no important centres of power or education here. Consequently, the South did not experience the linguistic impact brought about by the French invasion and settlement. Moreover, this area was out of reach of the Scandinavian invasions and thus Scandinavians had no influence on the shape of the Southern dialect. Such a situation resulted in the scribes using very conservative language that shows numerable West-Saxon features. This resistance to change due to the lack of any strong source of linguistic influence was manifested also the in the case of the analysed suffixes. A thorough text examination indicates that the scribe is very consistent in the use of different forms, which particularly applies also to adjectival/adverbial forms of -LICH(E). The exclusive tokens throughout the whole text are -lic and -lice. These are unmodified OE forms with the same spelling and pronunciation. Here are some examples:

- (5a) hit is **heofonlic** weorc, & heofene rices duræ, & hiwung þare towearden weorulde.

 (Bodley Homilies V: 44)
- (5b) Hit þuncht monize monnum wunderlice to herenne, & eac uneaðelic to lyfene, hu deofel æfre þa durstinesse hæfde þt he Cristes lichame ætrinæn durste, oðer forðen þt he him on neawste cumen moste.

(Bodley Homilies X: 100)

The frequency of occurrence of both the *-lic* and *-lice* adjectival and adverbial forms is very high. There are even a few passages in the text where the scribe gives descriptions with the exclusive employment of *-lic(e)* suffixes. The following extract is a good illustration of this:

(6) For pam nis pissere weorle wlite noht, ne pisses middaneardes fezernes, ac he is hwilwendlic, & feallendlic, & brosondlic & drosendlic, & brocenlic, & yfellic, & forwordenlic. (Bodley Homilies XII: 130)

The scribe seems to be faithful to the late West-Saxon standard.

Seinte Katerine

The West Midlands, the area where Seinte Katerine originated, show detectable French influences in the area of both culture and language. Numerous spellings based on the French model were also introduced in the MS written in the West Midlands, as e.g., <ch> to represent /tf/.

A thorough investigation of Seinte Katerine leads to the conclusion that, indeed, what we see here is the exclusive use of the -lich(e) suffix.

(7a) Þeos meiden þet ich munie stot þurh þeos steauene **stercliche** istrenget, ant abad **baldeliche** aðet me com ant fatte hire to fliten wið þe fifti.

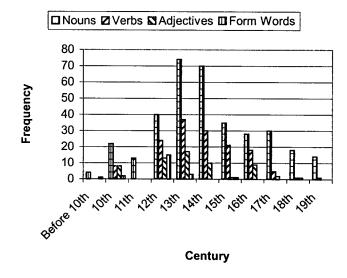
(St. Katerine: 11. 266-68)

(7b) He haueð iweddet him to mi meiðhad wið þe ring of rihte bileaue, ant ich habbe to him **treowliche** itake me. (St. Katerine: 11. 552-54)

Ormulum

Ormulum is a verse homily, a new early Middle English genre, which emerged under the French influence (Nevanlinna et al. 1993: 36). The manuscript, however, clearly displays strong Scandinavian influences. It can be attributed to Lincolnshire. According to Samuels (1989: 106) Lincolnshire belongs to the so-called Great Scandinavian Belt, the area in Northern England which is significant for exhibiting a strong form of Scandinavian influence. Hug (1987) has demonstrated that the adoption of the Scandinavian lexical elements was gradual, with the peak starting in the 12th and ending in the 14th century (Figure 3). Ormulum was written at the beginning of that period.

Figure 3. Scandinavian loanwords in English (after Hug 1987: 7-8, combined Tables 1-4).



As for the analysed suffix, some spelling modifications of the OE -lic(e) are expected, based on the pattern of "the substitution of Scandinavian /k/ for Eng-

lish/tʃ/ (as in Lancaster compared with Lanchester)" (Samuels 1989: 109). Similarly, the OE circe is consistently represented as kirk in the North East Midlands (see Fisiak 1995). Thus, it is assumed that Ormulum should show the occurrence of -lik(e).

Indeed, our analysis reveals many *-like* examples. The following quotations illustrate their use:

(8a) Forr itt ma33 hellpenn alle þa Þatt **bliþelike** itt herenn...

(Ormulum, Dedication: II. 91-94)

(8b) But iff itt be wipp witt & skill & luffsummlike forbedd.

(Ormulum I: 11. 1662-03)

Moreover, we come across yet another token, namely -*li*3. This form can be attributed to the late Northumbrian influences and is half as numerous than the -*like* token. Examples:

(9a) Þe33 shulenn lætenn **hæþeli3**Off unnkerr swinnc, lef broþerr... (Ormulum, Dedication: 11. 79-82)

(9b) & te birrþ witenn **sikerrli3**, Forr Goddspellboc itt kiþeþþ...

(*Ormulum I*: 11. 5322-03)

There are also some *-lic* instances but they are few and far between and can be ignored for the purpose of this analysis.

As for the -li3 form, the OED Online postulates that it appears before a consonant, which means verse internally. However, the investigation of the HC does not seem to support this. Twelve out of twenty seven examples behave according to the OED's expectations. Nonetheless, the remaining fifteen instances occur at the end of the verse. The analysis of larger fragments from Ormulum shows that -li3 is more or less evenly distributed in those two environments. Out of 330 attested items ending in -li3, 146 appear verse finally. The remaining 184 examples occur before a consonant.

Moreover, the *OED* claims that "-lic [here disregarded] (rarely -like) is used before a vowel and at the end of the line." The text examination, however, gives twelve examples, all used verse internally, seven of which occur before a consonant (HC). Furthermore, the analysis of *Ormulum* (vol. II)⁶ reveals that among 329 attested -like-suffixed words, 256 are used before a word beginning with a consonant. The remaining 71 items are found in a position either preceding words starting with a vowel (54) or before & (17) or verse finally (2). Thus, again, the outcome of the text analysis is contrary to the *OED*'s predictions.

The results of the text analysis are complementary with the preliminary assumptions. The actual graphic representation of the *-LICH(E)* suffix is dialectally differentiated. The *-like* suffix in the North East Midlands shows Scandinavian influence. Southern conservatism stands behind the consistent use of the palatalised OE *-lic* form.

ME1 is the period when -LICH and -LICHE suffixes are prevailing patterns. Relying on the HC data, it is clearly visible that their frequency is highest in comparison to both the number of those forms in subsequent periods of Middle English and to the mere presence of -LY forms in ME1 (see Table 7).

Table 7a. -LICH, -LICHE and -LY types in ME. Percentages

		<u></u>	-LICH		
	N	WM	EM	S	K
ME1	-	18	27	14	14
ME2	_	-	34	11	8
ME3	4	5	3	3	_
ME4	-	_		_	

Table 7b.

			-LICHE		
	N	WM	EM	S	K
ME1	_	80	73	86	86
ME2	-	44	57	84	92
ME3	3	27	2	23	_
ME4	-	-	5	_	_

Table 7c.

	-LY				
	N	WM	EM	S	K
ME1	_	2	-	_	-
ME2	_	56	9	5	_
ME3	93	68	95	74	
ME4	100	100	92+3*	100	_

⁶ The electronic text is available at: http://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/corpus/index.htm

Controversial, however, seems to be the case of the -LY forms, such as here the -li tokens (see Table 6), which, scarce as they are, appear in the first subperiod of ME. Two different sources, i.e., the OED Online and Marchand (1969: 329) suggest that initially these forms could be seen in Northern texts and those written in the Midlands, "chiefly due to the influence of the Scandinavian -lig-" (Marchand 1969: 329). The author of the ODEE shares the same opinion stating that "the Eng. forms in -li, -ly are due to ON" (Onions 1976: 542). This would obviously happen in an area of strong Scandinavian presence, i.e., the North and North-East Midlands. Nevertheless, the point is that, as the data obtained from the HC clearly indicate, the earliest -LY instances appear in the West Midland texts in Early Middle English. Hence, in order to check the reliability of the sources I decided to thoroughly analyse several complete texts. First of all, as there are no Northern texts preserved from ME1 and ME2 (1150-1350) the fact that they contain any -li or -ly tokens cannot be proved. Thus, the selection was restricted to the texts from both the WM and NEM or EM, which are either completely omitted from the HC or presented in the form of samples. These texts were: Seinte Katerine, Seinte Marherete, Sawles warde, Ancrene wisse, Lazamon's Brut and Pe wohunge of ure Lauerd for WM, Ormulum for NEM and The Peterborough Chronicle 1017-1154 and Vices and virtues for EM. The investigation not only confirmed but also reinforced the statistics from the HC. Apart from 10 -li instances found in the corpus I came across four more examples in Ancene wisse, some four instances in Lazamon's Brut, which showed no occurrences in the HC and five examples on just the two final pages of Sawles warde which for some reasons unknown were excluded from the HC. De wohunge of ure Lauerd, not included in the corpus, turned out to be particularly valuable as it included twelve -li instances in just about 650 verses. Thus, what we observe is a visible increase in the use of CH-less forms. Although it is prevailingly the predeterminer bulli in De Wohunge we find only regular adjectives and adverbs such as clenli 'entirely', luueeli 'lovely', menskli 'generously', and sweteli 'sweetly'. In contrast, none of the NEM or EM texts showed the occurrence of -li forms. Moreover, the examination of Havelok the Dane, which according to Nevanlinna et al. (1993: 38) originated in the NEM in ME2, does not yield any -li examples either. Hence, the analysis proves that the positing of the change as due to the Scandinavian influence is based on no evidence.

ME2 and ME3 in the HC

As has already been mentioned above, the process of the deletion in the suffix -LICH(E) reached its highest rate at the turn of the third subperiod of Middle English in the HC (1350-1420). Both ME2 and ME3 will now be subject to a detailed analysis with the assumption that some important circumstances contributing to the discussed issue can be observed at that time. The statistics come from Tables 3 and 5.

If we take a look at the tables, there are some divergences in the pattern clearly visible. First of all, the Kentish dialect is not represented by any texts in ME3 and ME 4, neither is the North in ME1 and ME2. It is interesting to notice, however, that Kent is very conservative in both ME1 and ME2 and invariably shows an exclusive use of the -LICH(E) suffix, and the North is prone to linguistic innovations, with more than ninety percent of the -LY forms already in ME3. Moreover, what is significant is that the Kentish dialect demonstrates a preference for the -LICH(E) suffix, particularly if we consider the fact that there are 120 examples in merely two samples in ME2. At the same time the East Midlands give a similar number of occurrences in three times as many texts.

As for the general situation in the WM, EM and S, all those dialect areas exhibit a strong tendency towards deletion at the turn of ME3. Possibly, the change is not that much abrupt in the case of WM. This might be due to an insufficient amount of analysed material, i.e., only one sample in the subperiod ranging from 1350-1420. Also the number of both -LICH(E) and -LY suffixes in ME3 in East Midland texts is disproportionately high owing to the fact that almost a half from about forty samples originates in the EM.

In order to verify the analysis based on the HC from ME2 and ME3 two specific texts have been selected for closer investigation. Those are The history of Brut, the only text from ME3 originating in the West Midlands and Chaucer's Boece representative of the East Midlands (ME3). The attention attracted by the two specific dialect areas can be explained by the fact that firstly, the West Midlands is the region remarkable for the onset of the discussed process (see above). As for the EM, it gained an authoritative linguistic and political position during the period ranging from 1350 till 1420.

The history of Brut

The text gives full support to the assumption that -LICH(E) suffix was still in use in the West Midlands. There is only a slight tendency towards the deletion.

However, the bulk of the attested examples are adverbs. In the text they take either the -lich(e) or the -ly suffix. Sometimes two different suffixes are attached to one word in a variable context. The following quotations illustrate the phenomenon:

(10a) And when he come to be citee bat she was in, priueliche he sent his Squyer vnto be quene, to tel her bat heir fader was comen to her for grete nede.

(Brut: 19)

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(10b) wherfore be Kyng was toward him ful wrob, and lete **priuely** enquere in be contreabout, how hit was. (*Brut*: 226)

The existence of such instances makes it an issue of particular interest to see what stands behind the use of a specific morpheme. The analysis demonstrates that when we focus our attention on the position of the adverbs in a sentence we have a key to the problem. All attested tokens ending in -lich(e) are placed in a sentence stressed position (10a), whereas, with the exception of but a few examples, the attested -ly forms do not assume a sentence stress (10b). More passages are quoted below to illustrate this. The stressed adverbs are underlined.

- (11a) pis Belyn duellede po in pees, and worshepliche him helde amonges his barons... (Brut: 26)
- (11b) for hunger in goyng and in comyng, and <u>nameliche</u> be bat hade bene azeyns Thomas of Lancastre, and hade robbet his men oppon his landes.

(Brut: 225)

- (11c) And after bis Conenedag, regnede Rynallo his sone, an Wise kny3t, and an hardy and curteise, bat wel and **nobly** gouernedebte lande, and wonder wel made him bilouede of al maner folc.

 (Brut: 21)
- (11d) and pat alle may take ensample by pe, her lord aftirward **trewely** forto serue. (Brut: 227)

Instances 11a and 11b demonstrate that a word which is stressed and thus carefully pronounced is fully rendered in a written form. Hence, relying on the attested -lich(e) and -ly occurrences, it can be hypothesized that the pattern of the affricate <ch> deletion has its source in allegro speech, which is subsequently mirrored in writing.7 An additional factor facilitating the deletion must have been /ə/ reduction in adverbs. In this case we can observe a very interesting situation. On the one hand, we have fully derived adverbs in -liche, and on the other, most instances take the reduced form ending in -ly. Since The history of Brut was written at a time when the final <e> deletion was approaching its peak frequency, we would expect the following situation: all adverbs end either in -lich or -ly. The fact that -liche is the second most commonly used pattern illustrates the phenomenon that sentence stress has a twofold influence on the phonological shape of the discussed suffix. When the adverb is placed in an unstressed sentence position it loses both the "schwa" and the affricate. On the other hand, the assignment of a sentence stress to an adverb does not only mean that the affricate is retained, but also that the expected final <e> deletion does

not occur. It happens due to the fact that the word following the adverb usually begins with a consonant which if in contact with /tʃ/ can very often be against phonotactic constraints. Thus it is plausible that the sentence stress works in compliance with both suprasegmental phonology and phonotactics.

Boece

The proportions of the -lich(e) and -ly forms in Boece indicate that the process of the deletion is much more advanced in Boece than in The history of Brut. A couple of -lich occurrences lose their significance when compared to the more than seventy attested -ly instances. Those, as in contrast to the situation observed in The history of Brut, are used regardless of the sentence stress. Thus almost one third of the attested adverbs/adjectives with the -ly suffix appear in a sentence stressed position. Moreover, these are almost exclusively adverbs. The representative fragments below are selected to illustrate their use:

- (12a) "Thow hast seyd **ryghtfully**", quod I... (Boece: 432)
- (12b) And this ordre constreyneth by his propre stablete the moevable thingis, or elles thei scholden fleten **folyly**. (*Boece*: 451-452)
- (12c) "I assente me", quod I, "for alle thise thinges ben **strongly** bounden with ryght ferme resouns." (*Boece*: 434)
- (12d) For they have hir eien so wont to the derknesse of **erthly** thinges that they ne may nat lyften hem up to the light of cler sothfastnesse...

(Boece: 448)

As this *Helsinki Corpus* sample provides almost no adjectives ending in *-lich* or *-ly*, the next step will be to establish the primary morphological form of adjectives. The method used here will be to subtract the *-ly* suffix from the attested adverbs and check their frequency in *Boece*. The results show that more than two thirds of the analysed adverbs have a corresponding adjective without a suffix. Their number of occurrences ranges from just one instance to nine for particular words. A couple of them, quite surprisingly, take the *-e* suffix. The following quotations exemplify the phenomenon:

- (13a) "This is **opene** and cler", quod sche, "that alle othere thinges ben referrid and brought to good." (*Boece*: 433)
- (13b) Forwhy, for as moche as by the getynge of blisfulnesse men ben makid blisful, and blisfulnesse is dyvinite, than is it manifest and **open** that by the getynge of dyvinite men ben makid blisful. (*Boece*: 433)
- (13c) "Certes me semeth", quod I, "that Y see hem ryght as thoughe it were thurw a litil clyfte, but me were levere knowen hem more **opynly** of the."

 (Boece: 429)

⁷ A marginal hypothesis can be that the text was dictated to a scribe and the spelling does not reflect his own pronunciation, but what he actually heard during dictation.

Having established the form of the adjectives, it will now be vital to see how it originated. This time we will check if the attested adjectives from Boece (sometimes with modified spelling) occur in ME2. An issue of special interest, apart from the frequency, is their morphological structure. Our investigation reveals that if there is an Early Middle English counterpart of a Chaucerian adjective, it usually takes a plain form, rarely with an -e or -lich(e) suffix. Thus the preliminary assumption is that the form of adjectives in the Late Middle English period is a natural continuation of the already existing patterns. Moreover, the attested -ly adverbs in ME3 do not seem to stem from the -lich(e) adverbs in the preceding subperiod, where their number is very insignificant. Hence we can hypothesize that in the times of Chaucer -ly starts to be recognized as an adverbial suffix. Consequently, it results not only from deletion in -LICH but the whole -LY suffix is deliberately added to adjectives.

ME4 in the HC analysis

The fourth subperiod in the *Helsinki Corpus* presents a very clear picture. Except for the Kentish dialect, for which we have no data, all dialects with the exception of EM show the loss of *-lich(e)*. The East Midlands, which provide an especially rich evidence, show the unexpected occurrence of five per cent of the *-LICHE* suffix. On a closer examination, however, we discover that that frequency is enhanced mostly by one text, namely *The book of vices and virtues*. That Late Middle English text, even though placed in the ME4 subperiod, holds a "ME3/ME4" label and reveals numerous features of the former subperiod. Such a state of affairs accounts for a high figure of forty-six *-liche* adjectives/adverbs, which when subtracted from the overall number of the *-liche* examples in the EM in ME4 (60, Table 3a) diminishes the respective five per cent (Table 5a) to zero.

Since the data from the *Helsinki Corpus* are uniform for particular dialect areas, we could claim that the process of the deletion in *-LICH(E)* was completed in the 15th century. However, the actual presence of a couple of *-LICHE* instances encourages us to look more closely at another specific text. The one selected for a more detailed analysis is *The cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, written in the East Midlands.

The cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac

The sample in the corpus includes five adverbs ending in *-liche* and twenty-nine in *-ly*. Thus the approximate proportion of 1:6 is definitely not up to our expectations. When we take a closer look at the attested examples, however, we can see that the scribe does not have any special motivation for *-liche* suffixation. The following instances illustrate that there are no definite contextual circumstances that would speak for the application of that pattern.

- (14a) The reynes may suffre many sekenessis, <u>nameliche</u> opilaciouns (i. stoppynges) and stones. (*The cyrurgie*: 64)
- (14b) It is **comuneliche** cleped rodol and is ful of fatnesse and of glandulouse flesche, be whiche schal see departed fro be intestines.

(The cyrurgie: 60)

(14c) Of pe whiche pe forsaide periles ben schewed when it goop oute in woundes of pe wombe, for it is ligtliche altrede for pe fatnesse.

(The cyrurgie: 58)

On the other hand, the same can be said about the -ly suffix. Quite numerous as the examples are, they do not reveal any significant characteristics. On the contrary, the suffix seems to be attached at random within the set of adverbs, as all attested occurrences are adverbs. If we concentrate on representative quotations, we have to claim that the -ly words appear in contexts favourable both for their absence and presence during the transition period (ME2/ME3). Hence, they are located in sentence stressed (15a) and sentence unstressed (15b) positions, as well as both before a word beginning with a consonant (15c) and with a vowel (15d).

(15a) The slene (i. mylte) is he resceyuour of he melancolique superfluyte, igendred in he lyuer, in he lefte side bowynge ouerhwartly.

(The cyrurgie: 64)

- (15b) Myrac is made **substancially** of 4 partes, bat is to say, of a skynne, of fatnesse, of a fleschy pannycle, and of muscles of the which comen cordes.

 (The cyrurgie: 57)
- (15c) Schette he holes and schake ham **strongely** til hat he oyle and he water be wel medlede. (*The cyrurgie*: 578)
- (15d) The causes of why pat oynementes ben made is pat pat pay may abyde softely in be ouer egge and pat pai flowe noght ne pat pai go not ouer depe.

 (The cyrurgie: 581)

The overall analysis of the text corroborates the claim made above. The -ly suffix is attached to adverbs in various contexts. In the text there are only a few adverbs that still take the -liche suffix, which can be attributed to either sheer coincidence or a stigmatisation of particular lexical items such as nameliche or folowyngliche. However, even those soon lose the affricate and along with all other adverbs consistently end in -ly.

A high frequency of the -LY suffix in the analysed text, as well as in the whole ME4 part of the Helsinki Corpus allows us to postulate that in the first half of the 15th century the process of the deletion in -LICH(E) is completed. Unquestionably, the -LY suffix is a rightful adverbial suffix no longer competing

with *-LICH(E)* for its own domain. Moreover, it continues the pattern observed in the times of Chaucer. The suffix does not only result from the phonological modification of *-LICH(E)*, but *-LY* is consciously attached to adjectives of different morphological structure to form adverbs.⁸

The focus of this study was the Middle English adjectival/adverbial suffix -LICH(E) and the affricate deletion it underwent, resulting in the -LY form. We have attempted to establish where and how that process originated and how the pattern spread. Thus we observed not only by what means the -LY suffix was more and more successfully incorporated into the written language, but also what tendencies prevailed as regards the geographical directions of the spread of the novel form. The method we selected was to investigate the phonological change in particular dialect areas during four Middle English subperiods established in the Helsinki Corpus. At the start we presented the data obtained from the corpus. We both examined the statistics and looked into specific texts representative of the regions in which they were written. The predominant problems we encountered were connected with incomplete or vestigial data, especially for the Kentish and Northern dialects.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, a thorough examination revealed that a corpus as a tool of study, even though useful for morphological or syntactic analysis, may pose some difficulties for an investigation concerned with word-formation. Such a state of affairs stems mostly from the fact that some prefixes or suffixes are too unique to be found in comparable numbers in 2000-word-long samples (as in the case of the HC). Thus the statistics obtained from the corpus have to be supplemented with a study of full texts.

The deletion in *-LICH(E)*, started as early as 1200. The data from the *HC* indicate that the process originated in the WM, which it seems would exclude the Scandinavian influence postulated by the *OED*, *ODEE* and Marchand. Moreover, the analysis of eleven carefully selected EME texts (either present in the *HC* in the form of samples or completely omitted from the corpus) gives the same qualitative results. As for specific figures, the WM texts produce 35 *-li* instances, whereas the NEM and EM texts yield no such examples. Thus, the investigation points to the West Midlands as the innovative area and hence the Scandinavian contribution to the discussed phonological deletion is doubtful.

The first word to undergo the aforementioned change was a predeterminer *pulli*. The two plausible factors prompting the process, the use of phonotactic constraints and sentence stress rules, were a reflection of allegro speech in writing. Namely, *pulli* as a predeterminer is a sentence unstressed element, which

makes it prone to become a subject of phonological reduction. Soon, the pattern turned out to be very favourable and started to spread to other forms with enormous speed. The rate of change is especially visible at the turn of ME3 (see Figure 1) when the use of the -LY suffix increased from several to more than ninety percent. The text internal reasons for the deletion were basically the same – adjectives/adverbs placed in a sentence unstressed position are subject to this change. Also, the phonotactic constraints favoured it. If the following word began with a consonant, the reduction was prompted. Moreover, the -LICH(E) suffixed adjectives/adverbs which did not meet the above requirements started to take the -LY suffix. In the 15^{th} century -LY started to be commonly accepted as an adverbial suffix attached to adjectives. In fact, the suffix gained such a strong position that it was not only characteristic of adverbs once holding the -LICH(E) suffix but also it was attached to all other adjectives to form adverbs.

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⁸ For dual-form adverbs see Donner (1991) (Middle English), Nevalainen (1994) (Early Modern English), Nevalainen (1997) (Late Middle and Early Modern English) and Opdahl (2000) (Present-day English).

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