The life cycle of constraint rankings

Studies in early English morphophonology

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Note on sources

Throughout the book I refer to OE texts using the short titles and citation conventions laid out in Mitchell *et al.* (1975, 1979). The same reference system is used in *The Dictionary of Old English corpus in electronic form* (Healey *et al.* 1998), which I have used alongside the printed editions of the texts.

The list below provides details of the main OE texts from which I have drawn data. It does not include sources that are mentioned only occasionally in the ancillary matter or in connection with secondary points. For texts not included below, the reader should consult Mitchell *et al.* (1975, 1979).

ÆCHom

ÆCHom denotes Ælfric's two series of *Catholic homilies*. Citations, by homily and line, refer to Clemoes's (1997) edition of the first series (*ÆCHom I*) and to Godden's (1979) edition of the second series (*ÆCHom II*), both of which supersede Thorpe (1844-6). For the origin and transmission of Ælfric's homilies, see Godden (2000), as well as the the introduction of Pope (1967-8); see note on *ÆHom*. The composition of *ÆCHom I* is dated somewhere between 990 and 994; *ÆCHom II* was completed a year or two later (see Godden 2000: xxix-xxxvi).

ÆHom

ÆHom refers to the homilies of Ælfric printed in Pope's (1967-8) supplementary collection. Citations are identified by homily and line. For Ælfric's homilies in general, see the references in the note on *ÆCHom*.

BenR

BenR denotes Æthelwold's OE version of the *Regula S. Benedicti*. The translation of the Benedictine Rule into OE was probably carried out between the 940s and the 960s (Schröer 1964: 272-3, Gretsch 1999); for its attribution to Æthelwold (bishop of Winchester 963-984), see Schröer (1964: 269-72) and Gretsch (1999). *BenR* is preserved in several manuscripts, of which the oldest is *O*: Oxford, Corpus Christi College 197, Ker (1957: no. 353.1), second half of the 10th century. Schröer's (1885-8[1964]) edition, however, is based on *A*: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, Ker (1957: no. 41.B.1), first half of the 11th century. I cite Schröer's edition by chapter, page, and line. Additionally, the short title *BenRApp* designates Schröer's appendices I and II (pp. 134-141), containing chapters 1 and 62 of the Rule as preserved in manuscript *F*: London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A.x, Ker (1957: no. 154.B.1), second half of the 12th century.

CP

CP refers to King Alfred's OE version of Pope Gregory the Great's *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, commonly known as *Cura Pastoralis*. I use data from the two oldest manuscripts of *CP*, Hatton (*H*) and Cotton (*C*): Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20 (4113), Ker (1957: no. 324), AD 890-897; and London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.xi, Ker (1957: no. 195), AD 890-897. Only charred fragments remain of *C*, which was badly burnt in the fire that ravaged the Cottonian Library in 1731; it is now known through Junius' transcript

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 53 (5165), 17th century). When both *H* and *C* provide the same reading, I signal the fact with the abbreviation *CP(H,C)*; hence, a reference to *CP(H)* or *CP(C)* normally implies that the other manuscript has a different reading or is defective in the relevant passage. For the provenance of both manuscripts, see Sisam (1953). Citations, by page and line number, refer to Sweet's (1871-2[1958]) edition. For the purposes of collecting *a*-stem noun forms I have relied on the word-lists in Cosijn (1886: §§1-9) and Dahl (1938: 66-70), checked against Sweet's edition.

Or

Or denotes King Alfred's OE version of Paulus Orosius' *Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri VII*. The internal evidence suggests that the work was completed between 889 and 899, possibly as early as 890 or 891 (Bately 1980: lxxxvi-xciii). The best witness is the Lauderdale or Tollemache manuscript (*L*): London, British Library, Additional MS 47967, Ker (1957: no. 133), first half of the 10th century. Throughout the discussion, therefore, I consistently give priority to data from *L*. At points where *L* is defective, however, I also use evidence from the Cotton (*C*) manuscript: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.i, Ker (1957: no. 191), *Or* in four hands of the first half of the 11th century. When a passage is preserved in both manuscripts, I do not normally indicate whether *C* agrees with *L*. In consequence, a reference to *Or(L)* does not necessarily imply that *C* has a different reading, but mention of *Or(C)* normally indicates that, at the same point, *L* is defective or provides a different form; cf. the note on *CP*. For the provenance of the *Or* manuscripts, see Bately (1980: xxiii-cxvi). Citations refer to page and line number in Bately's (1980) edition, which supersedes Sweet (1883). For the purposes of collecting *a*-stem noun forms I have relied on the word-lists supplied by Cosijn (1886) and Dahl (1938), checked against Bately's edition; see note on *CP*.

Li

Li consists of the OE gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels: London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.iv, Ker (1957: no. 165). The Latin text was written by Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (698-721), probably between 710 and 721. The OE continuous interlinear gloss was added in the second half of the 10th century, probably between 950 and 970, by a priest named Aldred (afterwards provost of Chester-le-Street, County Durham). Following Lindelöf (1901), it is customary to describe Aldred's dialect as 'North Northumbrian' so as to mark the difference with Owun's much more conservative 'South Northumbrian'; see note on *Ru2*. Citations of *Li* refer to Skeat's (1871-87) edition and consist of a short title indicating the evangelist followed by chapter and verse: i.e. *MtGl(Li)* for Matthew, *MkGl(Li)* for Mark, *LkGl(Li)* for Luke, and *JnGl(Li)* for John.

Ps(A)

Ps(A) consists of the mid-9th century Mercian gloss to the 8th-century Latin text of the Roman Psalter and Hymns in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.i, Ker (1957: no. 203). Citations, by psalm and verse, refer to Kuhn's (1965) edition, which supersedes Sweet (1885); *Ca* denotes the Canticles. For the purposes of data collection I have relied on Grimm's (1906) glossary, checked against Kuhn's edition.

Ru1, Ru2

The short titles *Ru1* and *Ru2* designate two different sections of the OE continuous gloss to the Rushworth or Macregol Gospels: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 2. 19 (3946), Ker (1957: no. 292). *Ru1* consists of the gloss to Matthew, Mark 1.1-2.15, and John 18.1-18.3; *Ru2* includes the rest (i.e. Mark from 2.16 onwards, the whole of Luke, and John except 18.1-18.3). The gloss was written in the 10th century, probably at Chester-le-Street in County

Durham (Hogg 1992: §1.7 note 2). *Ru1* is the work of Farmon, a priest in the village of Harewood (Yorkshire). He was not, however, a native Northumbrian; his dialect has been characterized as 'North Mercian' (Hogg 1992: §1.8). In contrast, the author of *Ru2*, a scribe named Owun, *was* Northumbrian; Lindelöf (1901) describes his dialect as 'South Northumbrian' to distinguish it from the 'North Northumbrian' of *Li*. Citations of *Ru* refer to Skeat's (1871-87) edition and follow the same format as those of *Li*: i.e. *MtGl*(*Ru*), *MkGl*(*Ru*), *LkGl*(*Ru*), or *JnGl*(*Ru*), as appropriate, plus chapter and verse. My analysis of the morphophonology of *Ru2* is based on the data provided in Lindelöf's (1897) glossary, checked against Skeat's edition.