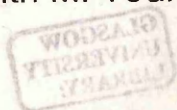Judith Margaret Youngson

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D., September, 2001.

University of Glasgow, Department of English Language.

Studies in the Late Medieval Dialect Materials of Essex.

ProQuest Number: 13818525

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Abstract

This thesis is an investigation into the medieval dialect materials of Essex. The main sources are the group of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts localised linguistically to Essex by the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (McIntosh et al, 1986). The methodology used is that developed by the editors of the Linguistic Atlas, however, this thesis goes beyond the Atlas in its analysis of the texts and in its use of the evidence for a descriptive and interpretative study. The aims are to provide a contextualisation of the evidence and to describe the characteristics of the Essex dialect.

The material is related to the available Old and Early Middle English material, and the external history of Essex in the medieval period is outlined. A linguistic analysis of each text is conducted and, from this, criteria for the localisation of texts to the Essex area are described. Problematic localisations of certain texts are reviewed. The evidence provided in certain texts of particular patterns of scribal behaviour will be considered.

A number of special studies concentrating on particular features of interest in the Essex dialect will be carried out: investigations into the development of West Saxon æ, the development of the late medieval pronominal system in Essex, and the relationship of the Essex dialect to London English.

The thesis is accompanied by five appendices, which provide a copy of the questionnaire used for this study, the linguistic data, organised into linguistic profiles, and databases describing the source material.

This study is one of a number of regional studies intended as a contribution to a larger project currently underway at the University of Glasgow. It is hoped that it will provide a comprehensive body of information, and a description of the important characteristics of the Essex dialect. It is hoped that this thesis provides a worthwhile contribution to the subject and that it may suggest some useful directions upon which others may build.

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Preface

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis embodies the results of my own original research, that it has been composed by myself and that it does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree in this or another university.

List of Abbreviations

General

BL	British Library	ME	Middle English
EME	Early Middle English	MEOSL	Middle English
EMod E	Early Modern English		Open Syllable
fol(s).	folio(s)		Lengthening
Gmc.	Germanic	OE	Old English
LAEME	Linguistic Atlas of Early	ON	Old Norse
	Middle English	PDE	Present Day
LALME	Linguistic Atlas of Late		English
	Mediaeval English	r	recto, e.g. fol. 12r
LP	Linguistic Profile	v	verso, e.g. fol. 12v
		WS	West Saxon

Grammatical

acc.	accusative	pl.	plural
adj.	adjective	p.p.	past participle
conj.	conjunction	pres. part.	present participle
dat.	dative	sg.	singular
fem.	feminine	V	vowel
inf.	infinitive	vb.	verb
nom.	nominative		

Chapter 1
Introduction & Contextualisation

1. General Introduction
1.1 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to conduct an in-depth investigation into the late medieval dialect materials of Essex, based and building upon the work of <u>The Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</u> (LALME) (McIntosh et al, 1986). Contextualisation and evaluation of the texts localised to Essex by LALME will be carried out in order to use the evidence for an interpretative study of the dialect.

In this chapter (chapter 1) an overview of the basic principles of LALME, and of related concepts, will be provided. This study draws upon the methods of LALME, but whereas LALME is primarily concerned with the localisation of texts, this thesis, concentrating on one particular area of England, aims to analyse and interpret the evidence.

Linguistic studies must attempt to contextualise the variety of language under investigation from a historical, geographical and social viewpoint as well as from a linguistic perspective. A contextualisation of the Essex sources will therefore be provided in this introductory chapter.

In chapter 2 the majority of the texts which have been localised to Essex by LALME and which have been analysed in depth for this study, will be used to describe the characteristic features of the late medieval Essex dialect and to provide criteria for localisation to the area. This analysis, which will be more detailed than was possible in LALME, will lead to a revision of the current localisations of some of the texts.

Furthermore, from the analyses it will be possible to observe changes or variation within a text, or between texts copied by one scribe. The evidence for particular forms of scribal behaviour will be dealt with in chapter 3.

Chapter 4 contains studies into special topics. The development of West Saxon (WS) æ in the Essex area will be investigated, as will the pronominal system of late medieval Essex. The relation of the dialect of Essex to that of

London English will be explored, with special reference to the problem of so-called 'Type II language'.

Chapter 5 summarises the findings of the investigation and makes suggestions for the future development of the subject.

1.2 Basic Principles

Following the Norman Conquest of 1066 English ceased to be the language of government or learning. This lack of a 'national function' meant that written English began to display dialectal features, as it became 'parochially-focused'. Texts in English written during this period seem to have been intended for local use, and modification of the written mode to reflect local spoken usages became the norm. Consequently, written Middle English (ME) displays a large amount of variation. Only as English began to displace Latin and Anglo-Norman in national functions did the variety of written English become communicatively inconvenient, and standardised written norms develop.

In a series of articles Angus McIntosh, Michael Samuels, and later Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, outlined some concepts and methodologies for the investigation of ME dialects; these studies culminated in the publication of LALME (1986). LALME's methodology and results are the foundation of this whole investigation.

LALME ordered its materials into two main sections: Northern and Southern. Each section worked to a slightly different timescale, for reasons to do with the different impact of written standardisation in these two parts of the country. In the south, LALME covers the years c.1325 to 1425, whereas in the north the period covered was c.1350 to1450. This difference of approach should not be considered detrimental to LALME's value as evidence. Rather LALME should be viewed as 'showing.. what the written language of late medieval English was like in the three generations or so before the general adoption of a national written standard' (LALME, I:3). A timespan of around 100 years was chosen so as to prevent diachronic variations from obscuring diatopic differences.

1.2.1 The Shortcomings of Earlier Medieval Dialect Studies

All medieval dialect studies prior to LALME had been restricted in their

treatment of dialect criteria and their choice of textual sources. The 1935 publication of Moore, Meech and Whitehall may be taken to illustrate the shortcomings of such studies. Only eleven items were investigated. From the criteria selected, conclusions were often reached about dialectal variation from the evidence of items which were 'not in fact homogeneous with regard to the feature under scrutiny' (McIntosh, 1989b:23). Thus, Moore, Meech and Whitehall made misleading generalisations by bundling evidence together when items should have been investigated separately. They also often failed to take into account 'a whole further mass of often dialectally significant information'. For instance, by creating the dichotomy of 'h-' or 'not h-' for the third person plural pronouns, they omitted regionally distributed sub-sets of these two types from their investigation (McIntosh, 1989b:24). The study also failed to record the written form irrespective of its phonemic 'value'.

Moore, Meech and Whitehall's choice of textual sources also showed failings. Despite realising the need to make greater use of localised documents than earlier studies, they still overlooked a large number. Only literary material that showed external evidence of provenance was utilised. Texts from the twelfth through to the fifteenth century were examined, which confused diatopic and diachronic factors (McIntosh, 1989b:25).

Isoglosses can create a false impression of dialect divisions. The concept of a dialect continuum 'in which the forms of language made up, map by map, a complex of overlapping distributions' should be considered a more realistic reflection of the linguistic situation (LALME, I:4).

The LALME project took a different approach, drawing upon the insights developed in the study of modern dialects. McIntosh himself had already initiated such a survey, the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, and had tested there some of the procedures to be adopted for the study of ME (see McIntosh, 1961).

1.2.2 LALME: Questionnaire & Material

The number of items to be investigated for LALME was, as a matter of policy, limited only by the number that would show regional variation and that were likely to occur frequently enough to provide useful results. In addition, it was not considered sufficient to combine as one item words that were derived from

the same Old English (OE) class, e.g. OE 'y-words', since each item within the class could, potentially, have developed separately (LALME, I:7-8); this insight was derived from the modern dialectological principle, 'chaque mot a son propre histoire'. From these assumptions a questionnaire of around 270 items was devised, most lexical but some morphological or phonological.

Questions of evidence were also addressed. Local documents which contained evidence of their provenance could be used as 'anchor texts', as by Moore, Meech and Whitehall, but by their nature these texts contain rather few items. McIntosh and Samuels believed that literary texts that could not be localised from external evidence must be included because of their sheer number and large lexical range.

The localisation of previously unlocalised literary texts was believed to be possible through the 'concept of reconcilability or fit'; this principle had already been tested on the Scottish material. If an unlocalised text is reconcilable with a localised one through its dialectal characteristics, it can be plotted on a map, increasing the available information for a particular area and allowing the potential mapping of further texts. The new information can then lead to a refinement of earlier localisations, leading one nearer and nearer to an 'absolutely correct position' (McIntosh, 1989b:27). The method of localisation is known as the 'fit'-technique and is based on the notion that 'from one item to the next, the patterns of distribution are not the same' and consequently that 'particular combinations - co-occurrences - specify particular areas, sectors in a continuum of regional dialect' (Benskin, 1991b:11-13). Thus by examining the various forms found for different items in a linguistic profile (LP) it is possible to narrow down the potential area of origin of a scribal text by 'assessing items in combination' (LALME, I:10).

1.2.3 Scribal Practices

1.2.3.1 Types of Copying Practice

In addition to incorporating previously unlocalised literary texts into the survey, LALME also admitted 'translated' texts as reliable dialectal evidence. Hitherto, the study of medieval English had focused on authorial holographs, such as Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, The Ormulum etc. Such holographs are rare in ME; most literary texts are scribal copies.

The processes underlying scribal copying have become much better understood as a result of the LALME survey. When copying from an exemplar scribes have three options: they may leave its language unchanged (Type A); translate the exemplar's language into their own dialect, modifying orthography, morphology and vocabulary (Type B); or do something in between A and B, i.e. produce a Mischsprache (Type C).

Types B and C are both found commonly. 'Type-C texts' present difficulties because of their internal inconsistency, but types A and B are of great use to the medieval dialectologist. 'Type-A texts' provide information about the language of the scribe who was responsible for the exemplar (who can, but need not be, the author), whereas 'type-B texts' provide information about the language of the scribe who copied the manuscript, and consequently further information about the dialectal characteristics of the area in question (McIntosh,1989d:92). It should not be assumed however that these three different methods of copying are absolutely distinct from one another, since '[types] A and B.. admit degrees of consistency, and both shade into type C'. It is not unusual for 'translational drift' to occur, where a scribe shifts from one type to another, although 'at any given point of text his treatment is describable as one and only one of these three types' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:56).

1.2.3.2 Mischsprachen

Within a dialect, forms co-occur 'nearly all of which occur separately outside the dialect in question. Each form has its own distribution, and each.. overlaps differentially with others' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:77). 'Type-C texts', however, contain a mixture of forms that is inexplicable through either geographical distribution or derivation (i.e. through 'the interchange of orthographically equivalent segments') (Benskin & Laing, 1981:77). Such mixtures are known as Mischsprachen. Scribes who produce Mischsprachen select randomly from their own forms and those of their exemplars, and therefore the extent of a Mischsprache depends on how dissimilar the dialects of the elements within it are.

It is unlikely that a 'complex' Mischsprache will occur. Around 60 per cent of manuscripts whose scribes are not of type A are translations, and 40 per cent are Mischsprachen. For a Mischsprache to become increasingly complex, it must continually be copied by type-C scribes. The chances of this happening

time and time again are low, and it takes only one type-B scribe to make the language of the text homogeneous once more.

Although the analysis of a Mischsprache is complex, mapping can help to separate its constituent dialects. A locality is found which can accommodate as many of the text's forms as possible, and then the same technique is applied to the remainder. One can then postulate the number of contributions to the Mischsprache. This process is based on the assumption that the number of subsets is more likely to be small than large ('the principle of minimising layers'). Mapping for this purpose is not so much to assign a subset to a specific locality, but to determine that dialects do exist that cohere with the postulated subset, and to be able to say that 'a given combination is likely or not likely to have existed as the internally-consistent usage of any place'. Mapping thus 'excludes the definition of improbable subsets' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:84).

1.2.3.3 Pseudo-Mischsprachen

The appearance of geographically-diverse forms in a text does not by itself indicate a Mischsprache. Several types of what may be termed 'Pseudo-Mischsprachen' exist: composite texts, progressively- or regressively-translated texts, and texts constrained by the exigencies of rhyme, alliteration and/or metre.

A composite text occurs when a scribe has made a type-A copy from an exemplar written by two scribes in two distinct language varieties. An analysis which did not take into account the distribution of forms would conclude that it was a Mischsprache. However an ordered LP (i.e. with full page or folio references), or a sequential LP (i.e. changing ink colour at regular intervals) would reveal the 'textually abrupt' nature of the replacement of different forms for certain items, especially in a case where few forms are shared (Benskin & Laing, 1981:64). An unordered profile from sections at the beginning, middle and end will still reveal different forms and further analysis can 'zero-in' on where and how the language changes.

A more common type of Pseudo-Mischsprache is the progressively-translated text. This occurs when a scribe begins by copying his exemplar but as his 'mind's ear' works in he begins to translate (Benskin & Laing, 1981:64).

Consequently, there is a stretch of homogeneous language at the beginning and a different homogeneous language further into the text, but in between is a Mischsprache. Manuscripts are also commonly found which have a stretch of Mischsprache initially and which then become homogeneous. Again, an analysis which ignored the distribution of forms would dismiss the whole text as a Mischsprache. It is also possible to find stretches of 'working-in' recurring within texts, implying either that a scribe has come across new forms owing to a change of exemplar or to a change within his exemplar, or that he has had to readjust to the language of his exemplar after a break from copying (Black, 1997:38).

A third type of Pseudo-Mischsprache is found in verse texts where the scribe is constrained by rhyme and alliteration. In such texts scribal and authorial forms alternate according to these constraints, although some scribes will translate where their own forms will still maintain rhyme and/or alliteration.

1.2.3.4 Active & Passive Repertoires

A scribe's active repertoire includes the range of forms that he produces in his 'spontaneous usage'. His passive repertoire is made up of usages which he would not normally use, but which are familiar to him and which he could therefore reproduce in his copy, i.e. they are not 'exotics'. It can be difficult to determine whether a form is part of a scribe's passive repertoire or a relict[1], but an examination of other texts which have been localised to close by can reveal which is the more likely (Benskin & Laing, 1981:59; LALME, I:14).

1.2.3.5 Constrained Selection

In most 'dialectal continua', dialects differ from one another by a combination of absolute differences and 'the relative frequencies of functional equivalents' (LALME, I:18). Where the dialects of an exemplar and scribe overlap in some of the forms that they use a copying practice termed 'constrained selection' can be found. Scribes copy their exemplar, changing those forms that differ absolutely from their own, but admitting forms which may only be minor variants in their own languages and suppressing 'altogether some of [their] habitual forms' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:72). Thus such scribes cannot be said to be translating freely; rather the languages of their exemplars are influencing their linguistic choices. Consequently, a 'text that contains constrained usages

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[1] A relict is a form that does not feature in a scribe's repertoire, but is a 'show-through' form reproduced from the language of the exemplar (Benskin & Laing, 1981:58; LALME, I:13).

cannot be taken as definitive evidence for the usage of a single location or scribe, but only as indicative of the forms acceptable to a scribe' (Black, 1997:37). The more similar scribes' languages are to their exemplars', the more likely that they will be constrained by their language.

1.2.3.6 Purging of Usages

A type of dialectal mixture that is not text-determined is seen where scribes attempt to incorporate standard forms or forms from an area to which they may have moved into their writings which also contain their own dialectal variants. These changes are not random like a Mischsprache. Scribes will select 'regionally neutral forms from [their] native repertoire.. [or] 'common' core variants' and will exclude those forms that are 'markedly dialectal' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:86; LALME, I:22).

1.2.4 The Spoken & Written Modes

Careful differentiation between the spoken and written modes of the language is central to LALME's approach. It is obvious that any evidence pertaining to spoken ME is gleaned indirectly, either from contemporary written texts or modern dialects. Any claims made about dialect differences in spoken ME are based on assumptions about the correlation between the spoken language and its written equivalent (McIntosh, 1989a:1). Although scribes provide only indirect reflections of their spoken varieties, they furnish the dialectologist with direct evidence of their written usages (LALME, I:5); thus all salient features, including those not likely to be phonically significant, should be studied.

Some written variants of ME can be assumed to represent different pronunciations. However, 'graphic units are not designed to carry some bits of phonic information at all' (LALME, I:5). The reflection of allophonic distinctions in a written system is unnecessary since there is no change of meaning as a result of different allophonic realisations. As a result no distinction is needed in the written mode. Thus <swilk>, <swich> and <soche>[2] represent three different forms of the item SUCH, but it is impossible to determine whether <swilk> is intended to represent [swilk],

[swɪlk], [swɪɫk] or something different again. The only definite conclusion that it is possible to reach is that, for a scribe and contemporary reader, a form

[2] Throughout this thesis graphemes will be placed in angle-brackets. Capitalised words, e.g. SUCH, represent the item (usually the Present-Day English (PDE) equivalent) for which, e.g. <swilk> and <soche> are possible forms or variants.

would hold 'unequivocal phonetic implications' which they would interpret with reference to their own pronunciation (McIntosh, 1989a:3). Any attempt to conclude anything further about the pronunciation of a form becomes conjecture.

Thus a medieval dialectologist can at best only approximate the pronunciation of a ME form from the written mode. However, written ME does diverge in order to indicate variants of a word, and although a variant is 'multivalent' in its range of possible pronunciations, there are limitations to the 'legitimate phonetic range of spoken equivalents' (McIntosh, 1989a:3). Thus one can assume that the initial sound in <soche> was some allophone of an alveolar fricative and not of a bilabial nasal or velar plosive.

There is therefore a 'systemic correlation' between the spoken and written modes of a language through which a written form implies the 'sound-structure' of its various spoken equivalents, even though phonetic phenomena, which are 'phonemically irrelevant' cannot be extrapolated (McIntosh, 1989a:4). This correlation between the spoken and written modes exists when 'there is underlying identity of the linguistic schema, the realisation.. of which differs only in a manner dictated.. by the conditions which the diverse nature of the two mediums imposes' (McIntosh, 1989a:10).

However, just as a spoken unit can be realised in more than one way so it is possible for written texts to show distinctions which in no way correlate with the spoken equivalent, without causing a breakdown in the systemic correlation. Differences in orthography, for example, may not indicate a variation in the spoken language, but will still affect the systemic correlation. Forms for the item MIGHT such as <miȝt> and <might> have different graphemic realisations even though they do not reflect any phonetic difference (LALME, I:6). Orthographic variations which have no phonetic implications such as <gh> and <ȝ> should be treated like variants which do, and, when plotted on maps, many show regional variation. These differences should be treated as significant, even though they are independent of the spoken mode.

Writing is as much a physiological and psychological process as speech, and thus there is the same potential for idiosyncrasies. Non-correlating features should therefore be ascribed as much value as correlating ones.

Consequently, if one is not able to determine whether two forms indicate two different phonetic realisations, e.g. <xal> and <shal>, this should not prevent or invalidate an investigation into their distributions, since one has direct evidence of a 'written opposition' with 'the same status in terms of the written language' as two phonologically different spoken forms (LALME, I:6). It is necessary to perceive a written text as a 'manifestation of a system operating in its own right', and an analysis must therefore take into account the characteristics of the medium (McIntosh, 1989a:11). By no longer regarding a written text as inferior to and dependent on its spoken equivalent, one can exploit a feature even though it 'does not correlate with anything in the spoken manifestation' (McIntosh, 1989a:12).

1.2.5 The Standard Middle English Grammars

LALME offers a huge amount of information, but like all dialect atlases it does not offer an ordered grammatical survey (thus, for instance, Joseph Wright's English Dialect Dictionary of 1898 had to be followed by his English Dialect Grammar of 1905). During the course of this study it became necessary to consult standard textbooks on ME grammar, in particular Jordan's Handbook of Middle English Grammar, which was first published in 1925.

Unfortunately there has been no work on the scale of Jordan's published recently, although a number of smaller works, such as those by Fisiak and Brunner, were published in the 1960s. Jordan's work, although revised in the 1970s by Crook, is essentially a work of the 1920s and consequently the underlying principles are neogrammarian. When consulting Jordan it is necessary to bear this in mind and to use his study with some reservations in the light of the development of linguistic science since that date.

Jordan's notion of linguistic history is concerned primarily with broader categories and consequently individual linguistic items are, in his survey, overshadowed by the larger picture. As already noted, one of the underlying principles of LALME is that 'chaque mot a son histoire'; problems arise when items are grouped together simply because they share, for instance, the same OE root-vowel. In addition, Jordan makes no reference to sociolinguistics in his work, whereas the contextualisation of linguistics from social, historical and geographical perspectives is nowadays considered essential for a full understanding of linguistic change and development.

Above all, Jordan's work suffers from the blurring of the distinction between the spoken and written modes. Until the work of McIntosh, what could be determined about the spoken mode from the written evidence was considered of prime importance when examining sources for linguistic evidence. However, as discussed above (section 1.2.4), the direct evidence of the written mode should not be considered secondary to what can be surmised from it about speech, and, in fact, purely graphetic differences can exhibit regional variations useful for the localisation of texts. The fine phonetic distinctions that underlie linguistic change are not reflected in writing and this theory is missing from Jordan's approach.

LALME's achievement allows a reworking of the standard textbooks. When referring to a work such as Jordan's, this study attempts to 'unpack' his statements in an effort to determine what is meant in terms of the written as opposed to the spoken mode.

1.3 Methodology

In order to test LALME's localisations, and to enable further work on the texts to be pursued, it was necessary to conduct analyses of the Essex material. A questionnaire of around 100 items was devised, along the lines of that used in LALME (see section 1.3.1) which was then applied to the majority of sources which have been localised by LALME to Essex. A description of the sources can be found in Appendix Vc. Only a very few of the texts have not been consulted, and in each case this was owing to the manuscripts in question being inaccessible. Most of the analyses have been conducted through consultation of the manuscripts on microfilm, although in several instances it has been possible to examine the original manuscript. One analysis has been carried out using a facsimile edition.

These analyses are not a repetition of those conducted for LALME and certain problems with the presentation of material for southern England in LALME justify reanalysis. The analysis of the southern material was completed before the northern, and many sources were analysed by scanning the texts. The southern material was not originally set out in LPs; rather 'for each item [Samuels] compiled a separate list showing the forms collected for that item, analysis by analysis'. Any missing entries do not, however, affect the localisation, since Samuels 'worked exclusively from his original analyses'

(Benskin, 1991a:213). The diagnostic value of certain forms was observed and these became 'progressively incorporated' into the analyses. Samuels 'sought.. not so much items as particular forms', so, for example, <was> as a form of WAS is frequently omitted from LPs since Samuels initially only noted more unusual forms such as <wes> and <wos> (Benskin, 1991a:216-9).

Where a source is relatively long, it has often been possible to apply the questionnaire to a much greater portion of the text than was analysed for LALME, and, in some instances, this study has been able to use a microfilm or even the original manuscript where LALME had to settle for an analysis from a printed edition. This investigation will therefore build upon and enhance LALME's results.

The questionnaires have been completed following the methods of LALME. A separate profile has been made for each 'scribal text'[3]. This is defined in LALME as being 'any consecutive written output that is a single text in the literary sense, or a part of such a text, and written by a single scribe' (LALME, I:8). Thus a source such as British Library (BL), Egerton 2726, although containing one text, is written by two scribes, and therefore is considered as two scribal texts for the purposes of this study. Conversely, Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2498 is written by a single scribe, but contains nine individual texts, and thus contains nine scribal texts each of which was analysed separately in this investigation.

Where a text is very large it was often decided not to analyse the whole source. Unlike LALME however, where this was the case, the analysis has not been taken from the beginning, middle and end of the text, but at regular intervals throughout, for instance, every evenly-numbered recto side. This procedure provides a thorough analysis of the whole text, enabling any changes in language to be noted and 'zeroed in' on more easily.

From the completed questionnaires an LP has been compiled for each text, enabling a comparison with LALME's results. Each profile has then been assessed as to its value as evidence for the Essex dialect. Each LP has also

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[3] This practice is not consistently followed in LALME. When different scribal texts were so similar that they would have ended up being localised in one place, to keep the maps as coherent as possible, the editors amalgamated them into one profile. However, for a more in-depth, descriptive investigation into the language of the manuscripts localised in Essex, it is much more useful to separate the scribal texts and to analyse them in different profiles.

been examined for patterns, unusual distributions and problematical areas. These results and maps derived from them have then been used to describe the late medieval Essex dialect to a much higher degree of detail than was possible in a work on the scale of LALME.

1.3.1 The Questionnaire

A copy of the questionnaire used to analyse the Essex sources can be found in Appendix I.

At the start of each analysis the manuscript's name and the text (or portion of text) analysed was recorded. Each time an item was encountered in the text, the particular variant to be found was noted, along with subsequent occurrences. In the LPs to be found in Appendix IV, as in LALME, forms in single brackets occur between one and two-thirds as often as the main form, while double-bracketed variants are found less than two-thirds as often as the main variant. Within the LPs, forms which have only been noted in rhyming position (rh.) are flagged (see section 1.2.3.2). Abbreviations are expanded and the expanded part is underlined.

1.4 Sources

The sources analysed for this study consist of 37 of the 40 'mapped sources' listed under Essex in LALME. A detailed description of these can be found in Appendix Vc. There each manuscript is listed, with all texts in the manuscript that provide evidence of the medieval Essex dialect along with the folios on which they can be found. If more than one text from a manuscript has been analysed then each is given a separate entry. Following this a note is made of the folios examined during the analysis, since in longer texts, it is not necessary to examine the full text or manuscript. The number of scribes present in a manuscript is listed, and those that are localised in LALME to an area other than Essex are noted. A statement is made on the media from which the analysis has been conducted, in most instances, microfilm. Finally, the relevant LP number from LALME is given to aid cross-referencing. The sources are arranged in numerical order following the LALME numbering. Below each of these texts is listed, and the sigla used throughout this study are provided. A map is provided on page 25 plotting the LALME localisations of each source (excluding SI 442 and Add.E.6 for which see chapter 2, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

1.4.1 Essex Manuscripts & their Sigla

London, Public Record Office, SC 1/51/60-62 - PRO SC1/51/60-62

London, Public Record Office, Prob 11/2B, fols. 358 $^{r-v}$ - PRO Prob11/2B

London, British Library, Sloane 442 - Sl 442

London, British Library, Harley 3943 - Har 3943

London, Public Record Office, Prob 11/3 fols. 45^{r-v} - PRO Prob11/3

Oxford, Bodleian, e Musaeo 76 - e Mus 76

Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 840 - Bod 840

London, British Library, Sloane 73 - Sl 73

Oxford, Corpus Christi College 201 - OCCC 201

Oxford, Bodleian, Add.A.369 - Add.A.369

London, British Library, Harley 2338 - Har 2338

London, British Library, Egerton 2726 - Eg 2726

London, British Library, Add. 37677 - Add 37677

London, British Library, Harley 2409 - Har 2409

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 434 - CCCC 434

Washington, Library of Congress, 4, Hand B - LoC 4 (B)

Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 126 - Douce 126

Washington, Library of Congress, 4, Hand A - LoC 4 (A)

Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 322 - Douce 322

Beeleigh Abbey, Maldon, Foyle MS - Foyle

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2498 - Pepys 2498 } the manuscripts

London, British Library, Harley 874 - Har 874 } of the PHL

Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc 622 - Laud 622 } scribe

London, British Library, Lansdowne 763 - Lans 763

London, British Library, Add. 17376 - Add 17376

Oxford, Bodleian, Add.C.280 - Add.C.280

Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.32 - Trin R.14.32

Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6 - Add.E.6

Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 157 - Douce 157

Cambridge, St. John's College 256 - SJC 256

National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 19.2.1, Hand E - Auch E

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 80 - CCCC 80

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 387 - CCCC 387

Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 74, Hand B - Hunt 74 (B)

Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 74, Hand A - Hunt 74 (A)

London, British Library, Arundel 119 - Arun 119

Localisation of Essex Sources Adapted from LALME

Har 2409

Add 37677

CUL Hh.I.11

Arun 119

Hunt 74 (A)

CCCC 434

Eg 2726

LoC 4 (B)

Add.A.369

Har 2338

LoC 4 (A)

Douce 322

Foyle

Douce 126

OCCC 201

Sl 73

Trin R.14.32

e Mus 76

PRO Prob 11/3

Lans 763

Add.C.280

Hunt 74 (B)

Har 3943

PRO Prob 11/2B

PRO SC1/51/60-2

PHL scribe

Douce 157

Auch E

Add 17376

CCCC 387

SJC 256

CCCC 80

2. Historical, Geographical & Social Context

2.1 A History of the East Saxons

The area that was in time to become the kingdom of the East Saxons - with its heartland in present-day Essex - was one of the first to be settled by invaders from the continent. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Saxon population that was to settle in Britain came primarily from the Elbe valley (Myres, 1989:62). Some of the Germanic settlers of southern and eastern England were pirates and raiders, but others were warriors originally serving in auxiliary units of the Roman army, while others may have been refugees (Yorke,1990a:5-6). Archaeological evidence indicates that 'folk of Saxon antecedents [were] settled over much of the Litus Saxonicum[4] ' before the end of Roman rule in Britain (Myres, 1989:87).

The distribution patterns of Germanic settlements and cemeteries and of Roman settlements and roads are very similar; 'the distribution of.. early Saxon archaeological material.. appears to bear a distinct relationship to the principal centres of Roman authority.. and to sites.. on or close to main roads' (Myres,1989:87). Romano-Saxon pottery is found in Essex relatively frequently compared with purely Saxon pottery, and points to the interaction of early settlers and Romans in this area. The assimilation of the two cultures seems to have been most complete in Essex, Kent and Surrey. These were the first areas to be settled by peoples from the continent and were strategically important as communication links with the continent (Myres, 1989:113; Yorke, 1990a:15).

The continuity between Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlements, particularly in southern and eastern areas, suggests that the 'basic infrastructure of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was inherited from late Roman or sub-Roman Britain' (Yorke, 1990a:8). The origins of the East Saxon kingdom may possibly be traced back to administrative units of the Litus Saxonicum (Myres, 1989:140).

Few written sources containing information on the East Saxon kingdom survive, but there are enough to show that the East Saxons ruled an important though small area. The available sources include Bede's <u>Historia Ecclesiastica</u>, the <u>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</u>, some genealogies, and a number of charters (Yorke, 1985:2-12). The East Saxon kingdom is included in the

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[4] i.e. the Saxon Shore; the range of coastal defences between the Wash and Southampton

Tribal Hidage, believed to date from the late seventh century. The East Saxons are assessed at 7,000 hides, along with Lindsey, the Hwicce and the South Saxons, compared to the East Angles and Mercians assessed at 30,000 hides each and Kent assessed at 15,000 hides (Yorke, 1990a:9-13).

The East Saxons traced their descent from Seaxnet, the tribal god of the Old Saxons. The West Saxons and Anglians believed that they were descended from Woden. This difference could reflect the different affiliations of the East and West Saxons and the areas from which the settlers of these areas originally came (Yorke, 1985:14). By claiming descent from a god early kings raised themselves above their subjects and ensured that successors would come from among their family (Yorke, 1990a:15-16).

All of the surviving genealogies of the East Saxon royal house agree that Sledd was the founding king, although he was not king until 150 years after the first settlers arrived. The Kentish royal family seems to have had a hand in the emergence of Sledd and his line as the East Saxon royal house. King Æthelberht of Kent also played a part in the conversion of Saberht, Sledd's son, in 604 (Yorke, 1990b:47-8). However, the East Saxon dependence on Æthelberht appears to have been a 'personal link' to that particular king (Dumville, 1989:135) and Bede notes that Æthelberht's son was unable to continue Kentish dominance of the East Saxon kingdom.

Genealogy of East Saxon Kings (original in colour)

Sledd=Ricula of Kent 1

Saberht ob.616? 2   Seaxbald (Seaxa?)   Seaxa

Sæward 3   Seaxred 3   S 3   Swithhelm 6   Swithfrith 6   Sigeferth
             ob. by 664

Sigeberht 4/5   Sæbbi 7   Seleferth
('Parvus or   663/4-693/4
'Sanctus')   Sigebald

Sigehere 7   Swæfheard   Sigeheard 8   Swæfred 8   Sigeberht
663/4-c.688   king of Kent   acc.693/4   acc.693/4
             c.688-94   Selered 9
Offa ab. 709   Sigemund   ob.746
             Swæfberht 9
             Swithred 10   ob.738   Sigeric 11
             acc. 746?   dep.Rome 798

             Sigered 12
             expelled 825

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The above genealogy (adapted from Yorke, 1985:17) shows known East Saxon kings (noted in blue) and the suspected order of their reigns. Only two known members of the royal family, Offa and Æthelred, had names which did not alliterate with that of the founding king; perhaps because they were related to the royal house through the female line, or were in some other way ineligible for the throne (Yorke, 1985:27; 1990b:56).

A striking feature of East Saxon kingship is the number of apparently joint reigns which occurred. These include Saberht's three sons, Swithhelm and Swithfrith, Sæbbi and Sigehere, and Sæbbi's sons, Sigeheard and Swæfred with their brother Swæfheard ruling Kent (Yorke, 1985:18-19; 25; 1990b: 48-9). Sæbbi and Sigehere 'seem to have followed different policies in separate areas of the kingdom' (Yorke, 1990b:49). Sigehere returned to paganism and was allied with the West Saxons, while Sæbbi continued as a Christian and sided with Mercia. Mercian support eventually allowed Sæbbi's family to become dominant.

Joint reigns may have helped to prevent the 'polarisation of the kingship within a rather narrow group of royal kin' (Yorke, 1985:26-7) and may also have proved to be an efficient and sensible way of dealing with the governing of different areas that had once been independent of the East Saxon kingdom. Although at times these kings acted in unison, territorial divisions allowed for different rival kings to rule without fragmentation of the kingdom (Yorke, 1985:30).

The amount of territory incorporated into the East Saxon kingdom varied at different points in its history. The boundaries of the diocese of London provide evidence of its extent at the time of the conversion and indicate that it included Essex, Middlesex and part of Hertfordshire. Middlesex seems to have been regarded as a separate province within the kingdom suggesting that it had once been independent. Surrey may also intermittently have been part of the kingdom (Yorke, 1985:27-8). Charter evidence suggests that the East Saxon kings were not as secure in Middlesex or Hertfordshire as in Essex. Overlords are regularly mentioned where East Saxon kings grant land in Middlesex or Hertfordshire, while in grants pertaining to land in Essex no references to overlords are made. During the eighth century, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and London became part of Mercia, but Essex remained independent (Yorke,

1990b:46-7).

The East Saxons seem to have controlled the London area from around the reign of Saberht. Continuing paganism meant that London did not have any central role in the church until the time of Eorcenwald (Bishop of London from c.675, and possibly a member of the East Saxon royal household) (Yorke, 1990b:55-6). The East Saxon and Kentish kings dominated London during the seventh century (Bailey, 1989:112-14). The city was very important to the East Saxon kings who oversaw much of its early development. Sæbbi died in London and was buried at St. Paul's; 'a reminder that in the seventh century London was in the first instance an East Saxon city, even if it.. attracted the attention of foreign overlords' (Yorke, 1990b:57).

During the reign of Sæbbi and Sigehere, the East Saxons became overlords of Kent. Sigehere seems to have shared power with the brother of the West Saxon king Cædwalla, but by 689 Swæfheard was ruling alongside the Mercian Oswine and acknowledging Mercian overlordship. Swæfheard's rule seems to have ended in 694 along with East Saxon influence in Kent (Yorke, 1985:29-30; 1990b:49).

For much of its existence the East Saxon kingdom was under the overlordship of one of the major kingdoms. The initial rise of Sledd appears to have occurred with the help of the Kentish king Æthelberht. Sigeberht 'Sanctus' was persuaded to become a Christian by Oswiu, a Northumbrian overlord, and the first bishop of the East Saxons, Cedd, was a Northumbrian. After Sigeberht Sanctus's murder, Wulfhere of Mercia established himself as overlord of the area. After his death Kentish kings attempted to regain control of London. The West Saxon Cædwalla was overlord of the whole of southern England from 685 to 688, but after his death Mercian influence became dominant once more during the reigns of Æthelred, Coenred, Æthelbald and Offa (Yorke, 1990b:48-9).

This history of overlordship does not necessarily imply that the East Saxons were continually subjected to oppression. There are examples of the failure of overlords to rule the East Saxons completely, especially in their Essex heartland. Several failed attempts to convert the area to Christianity are an indication of the limits to an overlord's power (Yorke, 1985:31). Charter

evidence shows quite clearly that East Saxon kings held firmly onto power in Essex. There is no surviving evidence of any overlord granting land within Essex itself (Yorke, 1990b:50). The East Saxons were also 'capable of independent political action', being involved in struggles against Cædwalla and Ine of Wessex whilst under Mercian overlordship (Dumville, 1989:139). Individuals such as Sæbbi and Eorcenwald used the 'complex political situation to their advantage' (Yorke, 1990b:57).

Ultimately the East Saxon kingdom was brought to an end by the West Saxons in 825 when the East Saxons, South Saxons, Kent and Surrey surrendered to Egbert of Wessex and became a sub-kingdom ruled by Æthelwulf (Yorke, 1990b:51). Perhaps the system of multiple kingship left the East Saxon kingdom unable to withstand external aggression, but this method of ruling could also have contributed to the kingdom's endurance by preventing destructive feuds for power. It does seem remarkable that the East Saxon kingdom retained its independence for as long as it did. Its royal family was still in existence in the early ninth century; one of only five which it is certain still remained at that time.

2.2 Post-conquest Essex

The Domesday Book entry for Essex shows the county as being average for the period in terms of density of population and agriculture (Rackham, 1980:106). The Little Domesday Book of 1086 shows that seven per cent of the population were free men and almost half were 'subservient smallholders' (Hinde, 1985:97). Around half the county was arable (Rackham, 1980:106).

Agriculture was affected by a number of factors including population density, market demands (including the occupational diversity of an area), manorial organisation and, of course, the physical environment (Poos, 1991:43).

In Essex the climate was particularly suited to arable farming and raising livestock, although much of the county in the east and south (the London Clay Lowlands) was difficult to cultivate and remained as woodland or rough grazing. The chalky boulder clay of the north and north-west was the best in the county for grain, especially wheat and barley (Allen & Sturdy, 1980:6; Poos, 1991:44). The river terraces around the coastline were easily cultivated and drained, but crops were often lost owing to the shallow soil. The exception was the river terrace around Southend, which was very deep and fertile (Allen & Sturdy, 1980:6). The coastal marshes had heavy soil and were at risk from flooding by the sea. They were therefore unsuitable for root crops, but provided pasture for sheep and cattle (Rackham, 1980:103-06).

Woodlands formed a distinctive part of the landscape. Wood pastures allowed livestock among the trees and the trees were pollarded or compartmented by fences to protect shoots. There were six Royal Forests in late medieval Essex but also wooded commons with grassland and pollarded trees. Heathland was commonland that was used for pasture and fuel. Around three per cent of the county was parkland; parks had the same uses as forests but were fenced to keep deer in.

Rural communities were collectively organised into 'vills', through which taxes were gathered and land use was regulated. Leading local inhabitants acted on behalf of landlords who relied on their co-operation. The 'administration of manors lacked ruthless efficiency, but by enlisting the support of villagers, the lord was more likely to gain the compliance of his tenants' (Dyer, 1982:22; 33).

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Around three per cent of the population were landlords. One third of Essex manors were held by the church, about a quarter by members of the nobility, and the rest by the king, lesser lay landowners, knights and the gentry. These final three groups were important for society, as they tended to live in Essex and were influential in local government (Dyer, 1982:22).

The predominance of smallholders seen in the Domesday Book entry was maintained into the late medieval period; 'the long-term persistence of a smallholding or near-landless stratum in rural society would appear to be an integral feature.. of Essex' (Poos, 1991:20). Evidence in administrative records shows that the majority held land of five acres or less (Dyer, 1982:23).

Smallholders had to supplement what they could produce for themselves. They had the use of commonland, and it was also possible to work in rural industries or retail trades. The majority, however, supplemented their income by working for larger landowners (Poos, 1991:11). Poll-tax returns provide information about occupations, and show that one quarter of the population of Essex were agriculturalists, another quarter, craftsmen and half, wage labourers.

In late medieval Essex twenty-four settlements could be classed as urban insofar as they possessed a market, had populations owning little land in relation to their wealth, had diversified economic bases and were judicial and administrative centres (Petchey, 1980:113; Eddy, 1983:2). The urban centres in late medieval Essex are shown on the accompanying map (Towns in Medieval Essex). Towns developed along roads leading from London, 'especially at junction points with the predominantly north-west south-east river valleys'. There was a relative lack of development in the infertile London Clay country (Petchey, 1980:116).

This scattering of small urban centres is an important feature of Essex in the period. No-one in Essex was far from a market town, and urban influences can be seen in the amount of industry and trade that featured in the rural economy. The proximity to larger settlements meant that most Essex inhabitants could stay in touch with news from other areas (Dyer, 1982:24).

Many towns, such as Chelmsford, Braintree, Brentwood, Billericay, Epping and

TOWNS IN MEDIEVAL ESSEX
(adapted from Eddy & Petchey (1983) p.9)

Waltham Abbey, were 'urban plantations', founded by a powerful local figure on an important road to generate revenue from sales of land and from trade (Eddy, 1983:4). Harwich, Manningtree and Burnham-on-Crouch were established on the coastline to take advantage of continental trade. Other centres, such as Saffron Walden, Pleshey, Castle Hedingham, Rayleigh and Chipping Ongar grew up as adjuncts to castles (Eddy, 1983:4-7).

Documentary sources and archaeological excavations indicate the development of specialist industries, such as metal working at Pleshey, cutlery manufacture at Thaxted and dyeing at Saffron Walden. More generally, industries such as leather working, malting, smithing and weaving are in evidence (Eddy, 1983:12).

Contact with the market was an important feature of rural life in Essex. The density of market-towns in Essex is one indication of the county's economic complexity. The market provided a 'framework of exchange' and 'a degree of commercialisation in buying and selling [of goods]'. There was also 'penetration of commercial and artisanal activity into rural communities' (Poos, 1991:34-40).

Medieval Essex also contained a number of religious houses. Some of these were adjacent to one of the towns listed above, such as the Benedictine abbeys at Colchester and Walden, the Cistercian abbey at Coggeshall, the Augustinian priories at Colchester and Little Dunmow and the abbey at Waltham, the Dominican house at Chelmsford, the Franciscan house at Colchester, the Carmelite house at Maldon, and the Benedictine nunnery at Castle Hedingham. There are also records of a secular college at Pleshey. Important foundations were also found elsewhere in the county. There were Benedictine priories at Earl's Colne and Hatfield Broad Oak, a Cluniac priory at Prittlewell, Cistercian abbeys at Stratford and Tilty, an Augustinian abbey at St. Osyth and a number of priories throughout Essex including at Berden, Bicknacre and Leighs, the Premonstratensian abbey at Beeleigh, the Benedictine nunnery at Barking and the priory at Wix. (For further details, see Knowles & Hadcock, 1953:58-338).

Evidence concerning the population of late medieval Essex is found in poll-tax

returns and tithing records[5]. 51,000 people paid the 1377 poll-tax, suggesting that the population of Essex was approximately 100,000 at this time (Dyer, 1982:21). Poll-tax returns also provide evidence of population distribution. Density was low in the marshy south-east and wooded and clayey south, while there was a band of heavily-populated areas in the centre and north of the county (Dyer, 1982:21; Poos, 1991:33). Severe famines and the Black Death in the fourteenth century cut the population by at least 40 per cent (Poos, 1991:89).

Manorial court records indicate that few people in late medieval Essex spent all of their lives in one community. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries East Anglia, Essex and Hertfordshire provided many migrants into London (Samuels, 1989:71-4).

In the years following the Black Death, landlords felt increasingly insecure owing to a shortage of labour. The Statute of Labourers, which restricted wage increases and the mobility of labourers, was introduced. Landlords increased pressure on local officials to enforce the new rules, and increasingly greater financial penalties were demanded from those who tried to break free from the restrictions. Tenants were reluctant to become officials and to enforce such severe penalties upon their neighbours (Poos, 1991:232-3; Dyer, 1982:31-4).

Political uncertainties existed on a national level, caused primarily by Richard II being crowned king in 1377 when a minor. A demand for more revenue to continue the unpopular war with France resulted in the introduction of the poll-tax in 1377. This taxation method caused resentment because it was seen to be funding a futile war and corrupt officials, and also because thousands of people from the lower orders were expected to pay tax for the first time (Dyer, 1982:36; Poos, 1991:233, 241).

Essex became an epicentre for unrest in the period. The 1381 revolt was sparked off when officials, sent to Brentwood to investigate non-payment of taxes, were attacked. Unrest spread quickly; documents at more than 80 manors were burnt and prominent local people were attacked. Some rebels marched to London where the Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor and

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[5] i.e records of the enrolment of adolescent and adult males into the tithing groups required by frankpledge

Treasurer were executed, and John of Gaunt's palace was burnt (Dyer, 1982:21,27; Poos, 1991,233-5). The court rolls show that many rebels were middle-aged landowners, and that some were landlords' officials. The pressure on these important villagers caused by the Statute of Labourers and the landlords' insecurities, led them to 'abandon their ambiguous position and [lead] their neighbours in rebellion.. attempting to set limits on the demands that could be made of them' (Dyer, 1982:29-34).

After the revolt there were smaller uprisings in 1400, 1413 and 1450. Underlying the different causes of these revolts was a degree of continuity. Many people in Essex could be incited to participate in disturbances by appeals to local grievances, and they could settle personal scores under the banner of a larger uprising (Poos, 1991:252,261).

Essex society was theoretically 'harmonious and closely-knit'; joined by the church which preached that 'social divisions were divinely ordained, that each had responsibilities to the mutual benefit of all social groups' (Dyer, 1982:25-6). It would be wrong to suppose that the church did not succeed in meeting the spiritual needs of most Essex people at the time, but, along with social unrest, there was also a tendency in the county for questions to be asked about the religious administration (Poos, 1991:279).

The reception of Lollardy in the area suggests that Essex people were not entirely content with the religious administration. Although there were only a few 'fully fledged Lollard communities' in medieval Essex (Poos, 1991:279), it seems that Essex people were tolerant of Lollard ideas. This was probably due in part to the egalitarian ideas of Lollardy being in tune with the anti-authoritarian attitudes prevalent in Essex because of social and economic circumstances. Both sets of ideas refused to 'revere an established authority simply because it was there' (Poos, 1991:272).

3. Conclusion

Although a relatively small Anglo-Saxon territory, the East Saxon kingdom proved surprisingly durable. Evidence, such as the worshipping of Seaxnet rather than Woden, suggests that the East Saxons may have originated in a different continental area from the West Saxons and, therefore, that linguistic

differences found between the East and West Saxon areas in England may reflect dialectal differences which arose on the continent. The relatively long time that the East Saxon kingdom endured may also have encouraged the maintenance of these linguistic distinctions.

In the medieval period Essex had a relatively large number of market towns. This large number of urban centres led to the county containing a relatively large proportion of artisans and craftsmen. This perhaps suggests that there was a number of people throughout the area who could have had the necessary skills to assist in manuscript production. Several towns had adjacent religious houses that would have required parchment for the copying of religious texts. This network of towns throughout the county perhaps helped with the supply and dissemination of exemplars.

There was also a number of important religious foundations in the county. The borrowing of exemplars between religious foundations was an important means of disseminating texts around the country, and contact between different areas of England can be seen particularly in a religious environment (see further chapter 3 and the links that can be seen in CUL Hh.I.11 between Essex and Norfolk (section 3.5), in Douce 322 between Kent (Dartford) and Essex (Barking) (section 4.5), and in LoC 4 between Essex (Hatfield Broad Oak and Castle Hedingham) and Yorkshire (section 5.2)).

The proximity of Essex to London is an important feature, and trade further encouraged contact with the capital. Procurement of exemplars from the capital would have been easier, and perhaps this proximity also allowed for popular or newer texts to be more readily available. Many goods produced in Essex supplied the capital, and contact with London, and the news and rumours there, must have influenced how Essex people viewed life. Importantly, this view of life would have quickly and easily permeated through the county, because of the many market towns (Dyer, 1982:24; Poos, 1991:261). The geographical location of Essex, coupled with the number of market towns, as well as encouraging manuscript production within the area could have made it less conservative in its attitudes.

Migration also increased contact with London. Within the manuscripts localised linguistically to Essex such as hand A of Har 3943 and the

manuscripts of the PHL scribe, there is evidence of scribes of Essex origin moving to London and working in the booktrade there (see further chapter 3, section 5.3 and chapter 4, section 3).

As well as evidence of contact with London or between religious centres, some of the manuscripts indicate movement within other areas of the country, either of manuscript exemplars or of scribes. For example, Hunt 74 contains contributions from scribes from two different areas of Essex and from Suffolk and perhaps had a Kentish exemplar (see further chapter 3, sections 3.6 & 5.5). The linguistic evidence of e Mus 76 indicates a south-west Midlands layer, whilst one of the manuscripts related to it, although in a Shropshire dialect shows evidence of Hertfordshire ownership (see further chapter 3, section 2).

It is essential for any linguistic study to take account of the historical, social and geographical context in which a language existed or exists, in order that it can fully explore the circumstances that may have brought about linguistic changes. The preceding account of Essex during the OE and medieval periods highlights some important factors that should be considered when examining the late medieval linguistic situation in the county.

3. The Essex Dialect in the Old and Early Middle English Periods

3.1 Old English Evidence

In order fully to contextualise the late medieval dialect materials of Essex, it is necessary to examine the linguistic situation in the area during the OE and Early Middle English (EME) periods. Unfortunately for this study, there is very little, if any, linguistic evidence of an East Saxon dialect in the OE period. The dominance of the Kentish, Northumbrian, Mercian and Wessex kingdoms during the period has resulted in the dialects of the minor Anglo-Saxon kingdoms being obscured in the written record (Hogg, 1988:184-5). The more prosperous and dominant of the kingdoms 'prompted writings in [their] own dialect in the scriptoria of the land' (Crowley, 1986:98). The ultimate linguistic result of one kingdom's dominance over others can be seen in the emergence of the standardised late WS written language.

The traditional classification of the OE dialects into Kentish, West Saxon and Anglian, although valid at an abstract level, can be misleading at the level of the individual text which may combine features of some or all of the dialects. A difficulty with this type of classification is that it is based upon political divisions which were far from stable in the OE period. Anglo-Saxon kingdoms often had overlordship of or were subject to overlordship from other kingdoms at various points in their history. Instead of finding stable kingdoms with 'definable boundaries' one is faced with 'a set of hegemonies which have only a poorly-defined centre, which fluctuate in strength incessantly and which overlap and intermingle with one another' (Hogg, 1988:188). In addition, although this classification is based upon political kingdoms, most of the writing is 'more directly associated with ecclesiastical structures' (Hogg, 1992:4).

With the lack of OE evidence available it is not possible to describe the East Saxon dialect in any detail. Place-name evidence can be found in the Essex volume of the English Place Name Survey (Volume XII). However, 'given differences between names and common words... and the related differences in purpose between recording a name and a common noun,.. evidence offered by name-data is mainly supportive, to be interpreted in the light of other evidence for reconstruction' (Coleman, 1995:124). Considering the different manner in which proper nouns function phonologically as compared to other types of linguistic material, and considering the possiblitiy of 'alternative interpretations of the name data.. according to varying theoretical formulations

of putative phonological processes' (Coleman, 1995:133), it is wiser to leave onomastic material to a separate study.

Several charters referring to people and places in Essex in the OE period survive. However, the study of such documents is fraught with problems. Of the 1500 charters listed by Sawyer (Sawyer, 1968, an updated version of which can be found at http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww), only some 300 can be said to be useful for dialectological purposes. These are charters that exist on single sheets rather than in later manuscripts and that are written before 1100. They can therefore be said to be 'original', although they may also be contemporary copies of an original document. It is necessary to be aware that, even though a charter may survive in a particular archive, this does not mean that the document was produced at that centre, or that a scribe working at a particular foundation had also been trained there (Lowe, forthcoming:9-16). For example, charters from smaller parishes may have been taken to a large centre for safekeeping.

Few extant charters are entirely in English, and those that do survive come mainly from the ecclesiastical centres of Canterbury, Old and New Minster, Bury St. Edmunds and Worcester. Where evidence exists from only a few such scattered centres it is difficult to establish 'whether the written language of such a center was used throughout the kingdom in which [it] was located' (Crowley, 1986:99). There was no large foundation comparable to Canterbury or Bury St. Edmunds in Essex in the OE period. The biggest foundation was Barking, and a number of early charters survive from there. None is written in English, although one, S 1171, has a later OE endorsement: 'þis is seo boc to beorcingon' (Hart, 1971:9). The charter dates from 685x693. The earliest copy dates from the second half of the seventh century and breaks off mid-clause. The bounds, blessing and witness-list have been added in the eighth century (http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww). Of the other charters which survive at Barking six survive in copies that date from the sixteenth century (S 65a, S 65b, S 517a, S 517b, S 522a, S 1246) and one is an eleventh-century copy of a seventh-century charter with bounds added in English (S 1248).

There are a number of charters relating to Essex which may be of use to this linguistic study. These are: S 719, S 939, S 1047, S 1117, S 1118, S 1128, S 1486, S 1487, S 1501, S 1519, S 1521, S 1530 and S 1531. Most of these,

however, are later copies, i.e. S 1501, an eleventh-century copy of a tenth-century will and S 1521, S 1519 and S 1531 which exist in cartulary copies dating from the second half of the thirteenth century[6]. Of the remainder, S 1486 should be treated with caution, since, although dating from 1000x1002 and surviving in an eleventh-century manuscript, it follows another charter (S 1494) which has been copied by the same scribe. These are apparently 'later copies of originally separate documents' copied for Bury St. Edmunds (http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk /chartwww). S 719 is dated to 963 and exists in a later tenth-century manuscript; however, the scribe who copied it is also responsible for four other charters that are found at Christ Church, and it can therefore be supposed that S 719 is a copy of an original made in Kent.

Three writs of King Edward the Confessor refer solely to land in Essex (S 1117, S 1118 and S 1128), at Wennington, Kelvedon Hatch and Moulsham respectively. All appear in their earliest extant forms in BL, Cotton Faustus A.iii, a cartulary containing documents relating to Westminster dated to the late thirteenth century. The texts found in this manuscript are therefore later copies of originally independent charters, and as evidence of the variety of OE to be found in Essex, they are consequently inadmissible.

S 1047 is a charter of Edward the Confessor to Christ Church dated 1042x1066, and refers to lands in Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Essex, Suffolk, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. It is therefore highly unlikely that any linguistic forms could be considered here as evidence of Essex usages.

Only three charters with a connection to Essex survive as single sheets, S 1487, S 939 and S 1530.

S 1487 is the the lower portion of a chirograph of the will of Ælfhelm that is dated 975x1016 and comes from Westminster[7]. Ælfhelm left lands in Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire as well as in Essex. He was 'a prominent figure among the nobility of eastern

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[6] Cartularies are large volumes into which were copied documents relating to a particular foundation. They do not therefore contain original charters, and were always compiled at a much later date.

[7] A chirograph is a charter which has originally been copied more than once onto a single sheet. The word CHIROGRAPHVM, or equivalent, was written between each of the copies, which were then separated by cutting a jagged line through this word. Interested parties could each keep a copy and the authenticity of the charter could later be verified by matching up the separate parts.

England in the latter part of the tenth century' (Keynes, 1994:169-70). The land that he left to Westminster was at Brickendon in Hertfordshire. The original charter granting Brickendon to Ælfhelm, which is now lost, as well as this portion of his will, 'were evidently transferred to Westminster in connection with his bequest' (Keynes, 1994:171). Since such a large number of eastern counties are mentioned in the will, it perhaps provides evidence of linguistic usages of an area of eastern England, but whether this area was Essex is impossible to determine and seems unlikely.

S 939 is the central portion of a tripartite chirograph containing King Æthelred's confirmation of Æthelric's will dating from 995x999 which included a bequest of land at Bocking in Essex to Christ Church. The confirmation was necessary because of suspicions that Æthelric may have been involved in a conspiracy to 'receive Swein Forkbeard' and his fleet into Essex (Whitelock, 1979:579). One portion of the chirograph was kept at Christ Church, one in the king's haligdom and one was held by Æthelric's widow. This portion survives in Canterbury, D & C Chartae Antiquae C.70 (the Red Book of Canterbury). Although in Æthelric's will the lands mentioned are in Essex it seems improbable that this confirmation was drawn up there. In the document it is stated that 'þeos swutelung wæs þærrihte gewriten 7 beforan þam cincge and þam witon geræd'. The witness list includes 'ealle ða ðegnas ðe þær widan gegæderode wæron ægðer ge of west sexan ge of Myrcean ge of Denon ge of Englon' (Whitelock, 1930:44) and implies that it was written at the king's court.

S 1530 is a bequest by Thurstan to Christ Church dating from 1042x1043 concerning land at Wimbish in Essex. The bequest survives in the vernacular in two contemporary copies[8], in Canterbury, D & C Chartae Antiquae C.70 and in BL, Cotton Augustus ii.34 (Whitelock, 1930:189). It also exists in four related Latin copies, the earliest dating from the twelfth century. The land at Wimbish passed from Thurstan's wife to 'her Norman successor', and perhaps a Latin version was made 'to state [Christ Church's] right to the estate more clearly' (Lowe, 1999:15). Both English copies are upper portions of separate tripartite chirographs. It seems that the Chartae Antiquae copy is a revised version of Augustus ii.34. In the Christ Church manuscript there is 'a fuller account of the transaction', whilst the Cotton manuscript has two witnesses missing from the

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[8] as well as in a seventeenth-century copy

other (Whitelock, 1930:189; Lowe, 1999:16). Portions of the chirographs were kept by Christ Church, St Augustine's, and Thurstan himself. The witness list includes 'ealle þa þegenas on Eastsaxan' (Whitelock, 1930:78). Perhaps this suggests that the document was originally drawn up in Essex with the surviving portion then being taken to Christ Church. All that can be stated with certainty is that S 1530 is a single-sheet charter preserved at Christ Church. If it was not drawn up at Christ Church, perhaps it is most likely that it was written in Essex, since the land referred to is there.

One other document possibly provides more definite evidence of Essex forms. This is a charter referring to the lands of Gilbert at Stifford in Essex. It is dated c.1090 and is copied in 'a near-contemporary hand on the end flyleaf of a tenth-century volume of Gospels in Latin which once belonged to Barking Abbey' (Hart, 1971:44). Gilbert, although not mentioned as the tenant of Stifford in the Domesday Book, 'had held of the bishop [of Bayeux] a 1 1/2 hide estate at Stifford.. and [is] very probably the Gilbert who rented part of the adjacent manor of Orsett from the bishop of London' (Hart, 1971:45). Here, then, is a document referring to land in Essex, which is included in a manuscript originally owned by an important Essex foundation. Although not the original charter, the extant copy appears to be contemporary. This could therefore be an important document for the purposes of identifying features of the earlier Essex dialect.

Unfortunately, the number of items attested in S 1530 and the charter relating to Gilbert's lands is limited. In S 1530 are found <æfter> (AFTER), <syndon>, <syndan> (ARE), <cyrcean> (CHURCH dat.sg.), <ælcon> (EACH), <is> (IS), <land> (LAND), <mann> (MAN), <sylfan> (SELF pl.), <heora> (THEIR), <heom> (THEM), <þis> (THESE), <he>, <hi> (THEY), <twa> (TWO) and <wille> (WILL pl.). There are even fewer forms in the statement of Gilbert's lands with only <ælce> (EACH), <is> (IS), <landes> (LANDS) and <mycel> (MUCH) attested. Neither has reflexes of <a> for WS æ̅. In S 1530 <menn> (MEN), and in Gilbert's statement <penege> (PENNIES) are found. These forms show <e> as reflexes of i-mutated <a> before a nasal. This originally gave <æ> which then developed into <e>. In an area of south-east England, including Essex, <æ> remained, and consequently in the ME period became <a> in forms such as <man> (MEN) and <panne> (PENNY) (Campbell, 1959:§193; Hogg, 1992:§5.78). In these documents the retention of <æ>, or

its subsequent development into <a> is not found.

The majority of forms show typical WS reflexes with, for example, <æ> found in <dæg> (DAY), <æceres> (ACRES), <hwæðer> (WHETHER) and <hlæfdige> (LADY), <a> in <stane> (STONE) and <sawle> (SOUL) and <ea> in <healf> (HALF), <geare> (YEAR) and <ealle> (ALL). In Gilbert's statement <eo> has become <o> in the form <fowor> (FOUR).

The extensive problems surrounding the study of OE charters are clear. In order to determine a document's usefulness for this study it has been necessary to make a clear distinction between contemporary and later copies, and, of course, those charters that refer to land in Essex as opposed to those that are possibly from Essex. It seems that there are only two documents that perhaps provide evidence of an earlier Essex dialect. It is by no means certain that S 1530 was written in Essex and, even though the statement of Gilbert's lands is more likely to be a product from Essex, that it was copied at Barking by a scribe with an Essex dialect cannot be proved from the limited evidence. With so much uncertainty and with such a small amount of evidence, the linguistic forms found in these documents can, at best, be used to back up the evidence of later sources.

3.2 Early Middle English Evidence

The evidence from the OE period is therefore limited, but that of the EME period is more useful for describing the Essex dialect at that time. The evidence for this period is made up of the following texts: Cambridge, Trinity College 335 containing the Poema Morale and a sequence of thirty-four homilies dating from the second half of the twelfth century; BL, Stowe 34 containing the text of Vices and Virtues dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century; a copy of The Creed on folio 35^r of Blickling Hall, Norfolk 6864 also dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century; and folio 106^v of Cambridge, St John's College 111 dating from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, which contains an incomplete version of Stabat iuxta Christi crucem in which English is written in parallel with the Latin text .

This material all dates from after the Norman Conquest and therefore from after the period when the late WS written standard obscured other written

dialects. During the period in which late WS was dominant the inhabitants of the area that comprised the East Saxon kingdom remained East Saxons and during the EME period, when written English began to re-emerge, this East Saxon dialect is at last reflected in the written mode (Kristensson, 1995:31).

In the following examination of the available evidence, the four EME sources listed above will all be analysed, and interesting forms and reflexes will be discussed. Reference will also be made to Kristensson's important (and ongoing) survey of EME, based upon the analysis of onomastic material in the Lay Subsidy Rolls (see Kristensson, 1967 for an introduction to the survey, and Kristensson, 1995 for a specific survey of the Essex material. Also relevant is a related survey by Ek, 1972).

3.2.1 Cambridge, Trinity College, 335

This manuscript is written in three hands. Hand A copies the Poema Morale and shares the copying of the majority of the homilies with hand B, while hand C copies only the last homily. The Trinity copy of the Poema Morale is important as, out of the seven surviving copies of the text, it is the earliest and also one of the fullest. The language of the Poema Morale in Trinity 335 was considered by Hill and Samuels to be of a London provenance (Hill, 1977:107). The question of the language of the whole manuscript was taken up by Laing and McIntosh in their 1995 article. Although the varieties of language found in Trinity 335 are similar, they are not identical, and are not completely homogeneous within themselves.

Laing and McIntosh's linguistic analysis led to the conclusion that hand A was a literatim copyist and that the differences between the language of the Poema Morale and of hand A's portions of the Trinity Homilies can be explained by scribe A having had two exemplars from which he copied faithfully. By contrast hand B seems to have been a translator, although not wholly uninfluenced by the forms in his exemplar[9]. This is the only reasonable explanation for the fact that the language of the Trinity Homilies changes with the alternations between hands A and B, sometimes in the middle of a homily (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:23-4). Being a translator, the differences seen in

[9] A change in language in the exemplar at homily XXIV explains the introduction of <ȝ>, where previously <g> had been noted, and some unusual variants such as <chireche> (CHURCH) and <muchel(e)> (MUCH). These forms must be relicts from the exemplar and show that scribe B 'has not yet worked into translating mode' after being affected by the change of language in his exemplar (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:27-8).

hand B's portions tend to be 'changes in the proportions of the various spellings.. [indicating] the effects of constrained selection rather than a complete change in copying practice', while hand A's copying shows much clearer differences reflecting 'the differences in the underlying text' (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:27-8).

The evidence of word-geography suggests that hand B's own language originated from the area where <heðen>, <ðeðen> and <weðen> (HENCE, THENCE, WHENCE), borrowed from Old Norse (ON), were found, while the languages of the Poema Morale and Trinity Homilies exemplars as preserved in hand A's contributions should be localised outside this area, where only native forms, with medial <n>, are found. The southern border of the <ð> form area was 'no further south than a line running.. from the coast somewhere near the Suffolk-Essex border to south Shropshire or north Herefordshire' (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:31-2). The evidence indicates that hand B's language should be placed further north than the languages of hand A, and that the languages seen in scribe A's contributions do not have a Suffolk origin.

The Poema Morale's language is 'firmly within the area where ME a-spellings for OE æ are characteristic' (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:31) leading to the suggestion that its exemplar could originate in western Essex with that of the Trinity Homilies coming from slightly further north 'near where the borders of Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire meet'[10] (Laing and McIntosh, 1995:33). The <ð> forms for HENCE etc. would indicate that hand B's language is from further north again, possibly south Suffolk or south Cambridgeshire, with the few <a> for OE æ forms being relicts from the exemplar (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:33). The language of hand C is thought to originate from west Berkshire.

3.2.2 British Library. Stowe 34

Two hands contribute to the copying of the text of the Vices and Virtues to be found in Stowe 34, the only extant copy of this text. The first scribe (A) copies

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[10] The presence of the word <sel> (TIME), which was rare in the south-east except in Suffolk, Norfolk and south-east Lincolnshire, combined with occurrences of words such as <eggen> (INCITE), <ast> (VICE), <mannishe>, <mennishe> (PEOPLE), <sam...sam> (WHETHER) and <þwert-ut> (COMPLETLEY) 'support.. the hypothesis that the text [i.e.of the Trinity Homilies] emanates from no further south than somewhere in or adjoining Suffolk' (Laing & McIntosh, 1995:30-1).

folios 2^r to 38^v, line 17 and folios 38^v, line 22 to 39^r, line 3, while the second hand (B) provides folio 38^v, lines 17 to 22 and folios 39^r, line 3 to 49^r. The languages of the two scribes are very similar and both have been placed in western Essex (Laing 1993:106).

3.2.3 Blickling Hall, Norfolk 6864

The portion of this manuscript that is written in English consists of ten lines copied at the end of the last quire. The remainder of Norfolk 6864 contains a copy of Gregory's Dialogues. The evidence provided by this text is therefore not as substantial as that found in either Trinity 335 or in Stowe 34. However, due to a general lack of evidence for the EME period it would be wrong to ignore any material, however brief, for clues to the main features of the Essex dialect of the period.

Ker comments on 'the prominence of Osyth, Erkenwald and Mellitus in the litanies' which suggests to him a provenance in south-eastern England. In addition "loke de sancto paulo' in the margin of [folio] 26^v.. suggests an interest in St. Paul. The Augustinian priory at Chich [now St. Osyth], Essex, was dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul and Osyth' (quoted in Laing, 1993:151). This extralinguistic evidence, coupled with features of the language found in the text has led to Norfolk 6864 being placed at St. Osyth, in the north-east of Essex close to Clacton-on-Sea (Laing 1993:151).

3.2.4 Cambridge, St. John's College 111

The small portion of English text to be found on folio 106^v of St. John's 111 is nine lines of verse and, although the language is that of the south-east Midlands, its placing in Essex is provisional owing to 'some interesting correspondences with the texts that are more certainly from Essex' (Laing, 2000:pers. comm.). With such a short text, coupled with the possibility of 'some degree of mixture' particularly in the rhymes, and with no extralinguistic information to encourage a more precise placing, this small piece of text will be considered here as providing supplementary evidence to those other sources listed above.

3.2.5 Linguistic Evidence for the Early Middle English Essex Dialect

The accompanying table (Early Middle English Forms) presents features

recorded in the EME texts that provide evidence of the Essex dialect during this period[11]. The problem of the traditional classification of OE dialects has been discussed above (section 3.1), but the traditional method of classifying ME forms, i.e. by their relationship to WS, also has difficulties.

WS was dominant in OE writing; ME spelling systems, on the other hand, are much more various in character. During the EME period, scribes seem to have experimented, developing local graphologies which correlated much more closely than before - and since - to the local phonological systems. Thus the apparently eccentric spellings of, for instance, Orm are simply the most florid examples of a widespread habit of innovation. In addition, EME scribes transferred Latin and French graphological and graphetic practices into English.

Thus the spellings of ME dialects are not necessarily divergences from a WS 'norm', and it is therefore important to treat WS as a reference-point, but not as an ancestor. When reference is made to WS or OE forms in this study, therefore, the above points should be considered; it should not be assumed either that the WS form is considered to be a norm from which the ME variants deviate or that these variants necessarily derive from the WS.

3.2.5.1 Phonology

Essex texts from the EME period show large-scale retention of <a> as a reflex of WS ǎ, even in those environments (e.g. before a presumed nasal) where <o> can often appear in ME dialects. None of the sources retains a differentiation between <æ> and <a>, with all showing <a>, although the text of the Poema Morale contains a proportion of <e> spellings in forms such as <hweðer> (WHETHER).

Most texts show <e> spellings as the reflex of WS ȳ, typical of Suffolk, south-eastern Cambridgeshire and Essex in this period (Kristensson, 1995:71-5; 162). <i>, <u> and <y> spellings are also noted. In the Poema Morale <e> spellings are noted in the forms for EVIL, but <u> is found in DID, FIRE, FIRST

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[11] The typing conventions in all sections of this table, barring phonology, follow those adopted for the making of the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME). Upper case is used, except for the special characters <þ>, <ȝ> and <ð> which are represented by lower case <y>, <z> and <d> respectively. LPs of hand A's contributions to Trinity 335 and Stowe 34 can be found in Appendix II.

Table 1 - Early Middle English Forms

Phonology / Vowels

	PM	THA	VVA	VVB	NORF	S.J.C.
a	a	a ((æ))	a	a		e, o
æ	a ((e))	a ((e))	a	a	a	a
y	e, u, i ((y))	i, u ((e, y))	e, i ((ie))	e, i ((ie))	e	e
long a	a ((e, o))	a, o	a ((o))	a ((o))	a	
long ash	a	a ((e))	a, æ (e)	a ((æ))	a	
eo	e, ie ((o))	e ((ie, eo, o))	e, ie (eo)	ie, e ((eo, o, i))	eo, i, e	e
long eo	e, ie	eo, i, e, o	i, e, o	ie (i)		e
ea	ea ((ie, o))	ea (ie) ((o, a))	ea, e, ie ((a))	ea (a)	ea, e, a	a
long ea	ea	ea	ea	ea	ea	e

Verb forms

	PM	THA	VVA	VVB	NORF	S.J.C.
inf.	-EN ((-E, -N))	-EN, -E, -DE	-EN, -IN	-EN, -IN	-EN	-E
pr.sg.3	-Ed (-d) ((-Ad, -T, -Id))	-Ed, -d, -T, -Ad	-Ed, -d, -T	-Ed, -d, -T		-E
pr.pl. 1/3	-Ed ((-d))	-Ed, -d	-Ed	-Ed		
p.pl.1/3	-EN	-EN	-EN ((-DE, -E))	-EN		
pr.p.	-ENDE	-ENDE ((-ENGE, -INGE, -INDE))	-ENDE (-INDE)	-INDE (-ENDE)		

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Table 1 (cntd)

		PM	THA	VVA	VVB	NORF	S.J.C.
	p.p.	I- ((I+EN, I+ED, I+NE, I+D))	I+ED, -EN	I-, I+ED (-EN) ((I+EN))	I+EN, I+ED, -ED, -EN (-NE) ((I+D))	-ED, GE+EN, GE+ED, GE+EDE	
Pronouns	3 sg.fem.		HIE ((HE))	HIE	HIE		
	3 sg.poss.	HIRE	HIRE	HIRE ((HERE))	HIRE		
	3 pl. sb.	HIE ((HE, HI))	HIE	HIE ((HE, HI))	HIE		yEI
	3 pl. poss.	HERE ((HER))	HERE ((HEORE))	HERE ((HER))	HERE ((HEARE, HER))		
Vocabulary	ANY	ANI	ANI ((ONI, ANIE))	ANI ((ÆNI, ANIzI))	ANI		
	EACH	ELCHE(E) ((ECHE(E), ELCHES, ACHE))	ELCH(E) ((ILCH(E), ILCHES, ÆLCH, ECHE))	ALCHE, ÆL(L)CHE, ALCHNE, ELCH(RE)	ALCHERE, ELCH, ALCHE		
	MUCH	MUCHEL(E) ((MUKEL, MUCHE))	MUCHEL(E) ((MUCHELES))	MICHEL(E) (MUCHEL(E)) ((MUCHELES))	MICHEL(E) ((MUCHEL(E)))		
	SUCH	SWILCH	SWILCH(E)	SWILCH(E) ((SWULCH))	SWILCH(E)		
	THE SAME	ILICHE ((ILKE))	ILICH(E), yT ILKE	yIES ILKE (dE/ dAN/dA ILCHE) ((SE ILKE))	dAT/dIES ILKE ((dO ILKE))		
	ALTHOUGH	yEIH	yEIH	dEIH ((yEIH))	yEIH		
	THROUGH	yURH ((yURCH, THURH))	yURH ((yUREGH, yUREH))	dURH ((yURH))	dURH (yURH) ((yURzH))	yURH	

and HILL and <i> in LITTLE. In hand A's portion of the <u>Trinity Homilies</u> on the other hand <i> and <u> are much more common than <e> and <y>. <i> spellings are found in the main form of EVIL, spellings of FIRST that are reflexes of WS <fyrst>, LITTLE and SIN, whilst <u> is noted in DID, FIRE, SIN and minor forms of EVIL. <e> spellings are only found in SIN and a minor variant of EVIL, and <y> in another form of SIN. The two hands of Stowe 34 are very similar in their reflexes of WS y with <e> being recorded in DID, EVIL and SIN and <i> in LITTLE. The variant of FIRE in both hands is <fiere>. In Norfolk 6864 <sennen> appears as the plural of SIN. Finally, in St. John's 111 <werse> WORSE is recorded.

In most of the texts <a> as a reflex of WS ā is the most frequently-attested form, although <o> is not uncommon. For example, in both hands of Stowe 34 <nan> and <non> are found for NONE. Although <hali> (HOLY) and <gast> (GHOST) are more regularly found, <holi> and <gost> do appear. The split between <a> and <o> spellings is most even in the <u>Trinity Homilies</u>. In Norfolk 6864, only <a> spellings are found, in <halegan> (HOLY), <gast> (GHOST), <anliche> (ONLY) and <lhaferd> (LORD).

Spellings for WS ǣ are predominantly <a> in the texts, although in hand A of Stowe 34 <æ> spellings persist. <e> is found as a minor variant in the <u>Trinity Homilies</u> and in hand A of Stowe 34, for example in <dede> (DEED), <del> (WS dǣl) and <sede> (SAID). The development of WS ǣ will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, section 1.

In the texts <e> and <ie> spellings predominate as spellings for WS eo and ēo. Ek compared 'i-spellings', i.e. <ie>, <ye>, <i> and <y> forms, as opposed to 'e-spellings' for OE ĕo, and found that Kent, Middlesex, London, Essex, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire show a higher proportion of <i>-spellings than other south-eastern counties. In Essex almost 16 per cent of spellings for WS ĕo are <i> (Ek, 1972:95-6). That such spellings are found in the EME sources examined here is therefore to be expected. In the <u>Poema Morale</u>, forms such as <friende> (FRIEND) and <hierte> (HEART) are found alongside <frend> and <herte>. In the <u>Trinity Homilies</u>, such <ie> spellings are recorded much less regularly, although they appear in, for example, <ʒiernliche> (EARNESTLY). More commonly <eo> and <e> are found, for instance, in

<frend> (FRIEND), <heorte> and <herte> (HEART) and <trewðe> (TRUTH). In both hands of Stowe 34 <ie> and <e> spellings are common. For instance both <hierte> and <herte> (HEART), <ierðe> and <eorða> (EARTH) and <ʒierne> and <ʒerne> (EAGER) are noted. In Norfolk 6864 <eo> is retained in <eorþe> (EARTH) and <heovene> (HEAVEN), whilst <i> is noted in <lichte> (LIGHT), as a result of OE smoothed i (Kristensson, 1995:95) and <e> in <heuene> (HEAVEN). In St. John's 111 <e> is recorded in <suerd> (SWORD), <herte> (HEART) and <brest> (BREAST).

Although <a> and <e> are also found, <ea> spellings are frequently attested in the EME sources as reflexes of WS ea and ēa. For example, forms for DEATH often appear as <deaðe>, and <ea> appears in spellings of FEW in the Poema Morale, Trinity Homilies and Stowe 34 (cf. WS <feawe>). In Stowe 34 OLD appears most commonly as <eald> although <elde> is also attested. Reflexes of WS ea before ld as <e> are recorded by Kristensson in Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Essex (Kristensson, 1995:162). <eald> and <wealde> (WIELD) are also found in the Poema Morale, and <healden> (HOLD inf.) is seen in all four main sources. Items which reflect WS ea before l and a consonant other than d include HALF and FALL which are found in Stowe 34 as <half> and <falleð>. Similarly before r and a consonant <a> is found as the reflex of WS ea in <hard> (HARD) in both Stowe 34 and St. John's 111, and <barne> (WS <bearn>) in St. John's 111. In Norfolk 6864 <gescheften> (WS <sceaft>) is noted. TEARS (noun) is spelled <teres> in St. John's 111, but in Stowe 34 <teares> is found.

3.2.5.2 Verb Forms

The infinitive form in most texts ends <-en>. Later this became <-e>, but in the EME texts this development is not regularly found. The <-en> and <-n> forms are typical Midlands and southern forms. <-in> spellings could be reflexes of the alternative OE form <-ian>, or a reflection of a weakened form.

The third person singular indicative present forms are generally <-eð> or <-ð>, although <-t> forms are also noted. Forms ending with <-eð> are again typical of the south and Midlands areas, while in the north <-es> or <-s> would be expected.

The most common present participle endings are <-ende> and <-inde>. <-inde> is a typical southern form, while <-ende> is more commonly found in the Midlands. That texts from the south-east Midlands show a combination of these two forms is therefore not surprising. Typically the past participle forms show initial <i-> from the OE marker <ge-> with a <-ed> or <-en> suffix. Only Norfolk 6864 preserves the original <ge-> prefix in the forms <geboren> (BORN), <gepined> (WS <pinian>) and <gebered> (BURIED). The <i-> prefix is again a southern feature. <-en> endings tend to occur on historically strong verbs, whilst <-ed> appears at the end of historically weak verbs.

3.2.5.3 Pronominal Forms

The third person feminine singular and third person plural pronominal forms attested in the EME sources illustrate the inadequate distinctions that existed in the system of pronouns during the period following the breakdown of the systems of formal case and grammatical gender. In particular the main forms for both SHE and THEY in all four of the longer Essex texts is <hie> bringing the potential for confusion that this blurring of differentiation causes.

There is recorded however a consistent distinction between the forms for HER(S) and THEIR, with all four sources having <hire> as the main variant of HER(S) but <here> as that of THEIR. The only source to introduce the ON-influenced plural form with initial <þ-> is St. John's 111. The St. John's manuscript is considered to be the latest of the early texts examined here and its use in this source suggests that the new forms had begun to appear in the south-east Midlands by the late thirteenth century, although the lack of certainty surrounding its provenance means that it is not possible to be sure that this feature was being found in Essex.

The development of pronominal forms is discussed much more extensively in chapter 4, section 2 below.

3.2.5.4 Vocabulary

Some items vary in form depending on distinct etymology; thus (in PDE) SHIRT and SKIRT are cognate words, from English and Norse respectively, which originally meant the same piece of clothing (the differentiation of meaning came later). In EME, such cognates also appear, e.g. <much> etc. (from OE) and <mikel> etc. (from ON). By-forms can also arise within

languages, e.g. <hwanne>, <hwænne> WHEN in OE.

The items featured in the accompanying table show a great deal of correspondence between the main EME Essex sources. All contain <ani> as the main variant of ANY showing a regular development from OE <ǣnig>. Hand A of Stowe 34 contains the minor forms <æni> and <aniʒi> perhaps reflecting earlier forms derived from OE.

The variety in the forms for EACH reflect the large number of forms that existed in the OE period. Both the Poema Morale and Trinity Homilies texts contain <elch(e)> as their main forms but a number of minor variants including <eche>, <ache>, <ilche(s)> and <ælch> were recorded. In hand A of Stowe 34 <alch(n)e> and <ælche> are most commonly found, although <elch(re)> appears also. In hand B's portion of Stowe 34 <alche(re)> and <elch> are recorded. The presence of such forms as <ache> and <alch> could, in Essex, be considered as evidence of <a> for WS <ǣ>, although they may be a shortened vowel. <æ> forms are preserved in the Trinity Homilies and hand A's portion of Stowe 34. The later form <ech(e)> is derived from <ǣlc>, and <elch(e)> etc. can be considered reflections of an intermediate stage. Forms such as <alchne> and <alchere> can be taken to show remnants of the case system.

The main form of MUCH in the Poema Morale and Trinity Homilies is <muchel(e)> whilst in both hands of Stowe 34 <michel(e)> is more common, although <muchel(e)> is attested. Close reflexes of the OE form <micel> are therefore retained in Stowe 34; however, before an implied /tʃ/ <i> often became <u> (Jordan, 1974:§36, 43), and this development is attested in these texts. Similarly, the forms of SUCH recorded in all four texts are <swilch>, very similar to OE <swylc> and showing no sign of a simplification of the consonant cluster <sw> or assimilation of the consonants <l> and <ch>.

<þat i(l)che> as a form of THE SAME is considered to be strong evidence of 'that early Essex-type of London dialect that is seen in the English Proclamation of Henry III' (Samuels, 1989:70). Related forms are found in the Poema Morale, Trinity Homilies and hand A of Stowe 34 alongside variants such as <þ^t ilke>; however in hand B of Stowe 34 only the <ilke>-type forms

are recorded.   Both of these forms are derived from OE <se ilca> but the
<ilche>-type variants are comparatively rare and their appearance in these
sources suggests an Essex localisation.

The homonymic clash between forms of ALTHOUGH derived from OE <þeh>
and third person plural pronominal forms with initial <þ-> is not an issue in
Essex in the EME period when the pronouns are still regularly spelt with initial
<h-> and the final fricative in ALTHOUGH is still implied by the spellings
<þeih> found in all the main sources (Samuels, 1972:71).

The main forms of THROUGH recorded in the sources are all of the <þurh>-
type. None of the minor variants recorded show evidence of the development
of a diphthong or new unstressed vowels between <r> and the implied
fricative. The early Essex sources do not show the wide variation in spelling
of THROUGH found in the later medieval period, although, of course, here only
four sources are being examined.

4 Local Documents & Anchor Texts

4.1 Introduction

The notion of 'anchor' texts, and their relationship to localisable literary texts, was already discussed in 1.2.2 above.

Generally the 'anchor' texts used by the editors of LALME are local documents whose 'origins are.. either explicit or readily deducible' (LALME, I:9). Since documents in the late medieval period were regularly written by local men and since they usually contain some evidence as to where and when they were written, the linguistic forms found in such documents 'are likely to reflect local or near local usage' (Laing, 1991:28). Although 'anchor' texts do not have a wide lexical range and are not found evenly across the whole country, the linguistic evidence they provide allows the 'fit'-technique to be applied to previously unlocalised literary texts.

In LALME, the 'sources mapped' (County List, Volume I) are documents and manuscripts whose LPs are included in the Atlas and whose 'linguistic origin is least in doubt' (LALME, I:52-3). Under 'local documents' are listed 'legal instruments, administrative writings and personal letters'; sources 'likely to be of known date and local origins' (LALME I:39). The documents date from around 1350 to 1460/1, i.e. the end of Henry VI's reign. Analyses for the majority of documents are not included in LALME since 'distinctive forms were noted but not the commonplace and the records so made are therefore links between forms and localities, not representations of the texts'; in other words documentary analyses provide 'supporting evidence' (Benskin, 1991a:220).

The evidence provided by the local documents must be treated with caution, and a document's linguistic usages must be examined thoroughly before it can be concluded that they cohere to a particular locality mentioned within it. Its language may have been influenced by the administrative language of London, and, even if the language is dialectal, one cannot assume automatically that its linguistic forms reflect the usages of the place noted within it.

If the language of a document 'conforms to general expectations' of the area named within it, it can be provisionally considered that the language of a document corresponds to that place. However, the document must be

compared to others which also claim to have been made in the same area and with the 'surrounding dialectal configuration' to check for 'badness of 'fit'' (LALME, I:45). If the area mentioned in the document and its linguistic usages do not correspond, caution is needed. The writer may not have been from the area, and if, for instance, a document refers to property at a particular place, one cannot assume that the interested parties necessarily belonged there as well. In other words, 'the place to which the extralinguistic evidence points must be taken as a linguistic focus, not as a guaranteed linguistic origin' (LALME, I:46).

The spread of a written standardised form was more widespread and more rapid in documentary texts than in literary works particularly in the 'non-peripheral southern and Midland counties', since not only are these areas closer to London but the form of English selected for the written standard was 'much less of a foreign language' in those areas than in more peripheral regions. Documents from these areas coloured with some standardised forms are therefore fairly uninformative since 'the linguistic overlap between the two contributory sources leaves a relatively large component of indeterminate origin' (LALME, I:40-1).

Some documents listed within the County List are described as containing varying degrees of admixture with standardised forms. Some local forms may still surface in these texts, and if these cohere with what is to be expected in the area in question then it can be supposed that 'the provincial spellings do indeed derive from that neighbourhood' (LALME, I:48). Such documents, written in standard English or incorporating standardised forms, are therefore listed under particular counties in the Index of Sources 'on the basis of their diplomatic credentials, not their language' (LALME, I:52).

4.2 Local Documents of Essex

Three documents are mapped in Essex by LALME. PRO SC1/51/60-62 comprises letters from Richard Garford of Prittlewell in south-east Essex to the prior of Berden written between 1436 and 1449. PRO Prob 11/2B, folio 358 is a register copy of the will of Stephen Thomas of Leigh-on-Sea, also in the south-east, dated 1417/18. The register copy of the will of William Hanyngfeld, dated 1426, appears in PRO Prob 11/3 folio 45 and is localised to Bicknacre in eastern-central Essex.

4.2.1 Early Chancery Proceedings

Fourteen further documents, listed under the local documents of Essex in LALME and held in the PRO have been analysed for this study[12]. The majority of these (all but two) are Early Chancery Proceedings (PRO classification beginning C 1) which tend to be petitions to the king's chancellor. They are formulaic and often not dated. No official records of the examinations or their results were kept and the records seem primarily to have been written by petitioners' lawyers. Legal training was undertaken within Westminster, and so, even if a lawyer practised outside the capital, to some extent his written language would have been influenced by that of London. If the language of a petition is not standardised it should not be inferred that its linguistic forms represent those of the petitioner's locality since it is the lawyer's language that is found in the document. The number of lexical items found in such petitions is limited, and the evidence may be insufficient to determine with any real accuracy where many should be localised. The non-standard written language of a local lawyer would share similarities with most of the places to which his clients belonged (LALME, I:49-51).

The petitions found in the Early Chancery Proceedings must therefore be assessed individually concerning their usefulness as evidence of a local dialect. Each must be compared to other sources localised to the area, and may 'enable the localisation of richer material in an area'. These documents can provide supporting evidence but must be treated with caution (LALME, I:52).

4.2.2 Comparison of Documents & Literary Sources

The accompanying map (Documentary Sources Analysed at the PRO) plots the documents analysed at the PRO[13] including the three mapped in LALME that, it may be supposed, were used as 'anchor' texts in the Essex area[14].

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[12] There are 30 PRO documents listed under the local documents for Essex in LALME. Of these six are described as being 'of no dialectal interest', 'dilute' or 'standard language', and were therefore not analysed. The remaining ten could not be consulted for this study either because they were unavailable, or due to time constraints.

[13] Descriptions of these documents and the forms found within them can be found in Appendices III and Vb.

[14] It could be considered a failing of LALME's that it was not explicitly noted which sources had been used as 'anchor' texts (see Burton, 1991:169-71). Laing does note in a later paper that PRO SC1/51/60-62 and PRO Prob 11/2B were 'anchor' texts 'for which LALME provides local linguistic sources' and that the list she provides represents 'only a small selection of the localized material available for the later ME period and for which data are presented in LALME' (Laing, 1991:28-33).

Kirby
C1/15/37

Colchester
C1/16/209&292
C1/17/296-9
C1/18/2 C&D

Harkesley
SC1/51/35

Finchingfield
C1/15/269

C1/9/373-4

Bicknacre
Prob11/3

Stow
C1/19/131

Boreham
Prob11/3

Thaxted
C1/9/169

Leigh-on-Sea
Prob11/2B

Prittlewell
SC1/51/60
-2

Chelmsford
C1/19/110

East Tilbury
C1/16/443

These have been compared to the literary texts[15] localised close by. At all times the difficulties associated with documents, as outlined in the discussion above, were considered.

PRO SC1/51/60-2 were compared to Har 3943; the nine documents from Colchester and Horkesley were compared to Add.A.369 and Har 2338; C1/15/269 was compared with CUL Hh.I.11 and CCCC 434; and C1/9/169 was compared with Hunt 74 (A) and LoC 4 (B). In all of these comparisons the level of correspondence between the documents and the literary sources was high.

PRO SC1/51/60-2 were also compared to Hunt 74 (B). The greater differences between these sources as compared to Har 3943 are not altogether unexpected since Hunt 74 (B) is localised in LALME slightly more to the north and west than Har 3943. It is considered in chapter 2, section 2.3, in the light of this and other evidence, whether Hunt 74 (B) should perhaps be plotted slightly further west.

The documents C1/9/373 and 374 are said in LALME to contain central Essex language and were compared to the three scribal texts found in Douce 126. The variation found between them may be explained by diatopic differences owing to the imprecise localisation of the documents.

C1/19/110 and PRO Prob 11/3, folios 275^V to 276^V (the will of Richard Alred) were compared to Foyle and Trin R.14.32. The will contains <much> (MUCH). Variants of this type are not particularly common as a main form in Essex, although there is a cluster in the north-west of the county (chapter 2, section 1, map 3). A consideration must be that the writer of this document had been trained in London and influenced by the forms to be found there. The form <muche> was commonly found in the standardised variety. The will is dated 1446 and it is therefore entirely possible that so-called 'Chancery' forms had entered into the writer's repertoire to some extent.

C1/19/131 was compared to PRO Prob 11/3. The similarities are high, although the number of items found in each and the amount of overlap between the two is limited. However, where more than one document

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[15] Excluding C1/15/37 and C1/16/443 placed at Kirby and East Tilbury respectively. No literary sources have been localised close enough to these places to make a telling comparison.

survives from roughly the same area, a comparison of them can help to confirm that they are local when no irreconcilable differences are found.

The most notable linguistic difference to be found between the documents and the literary sources is in the pronominal systems. Of the eleven documents in which THEM was noted, four have forms with initial <þ> or <th> as their main variant, and a further two have them as minor usages. Five of the nine documents that contain THEIR have <th>-forms as the main variant. As noted above, forms from the standardised variety were introduced into documents more quickly than they were in literary texts. In Essex this variety would not have been 'exotic' and would therefore have been more readily accepted. That most of the documents examined here are from the Early Chancery Proceedings increases the likelihood of the writers being Westminster-trained lawyers whose time in the administrative centre would have exposed them to the written Chancery form.

4.3 Conclusion

The comparison of documents that are presumed to show the language of a particular place mentioned within them and literary manuscripts localised in Essex may at first seem to be a circular and therefore a pointless undertaking. However, it must be recalled that only three of these documents have had their analyses printed in LALME, and since the language of the others is not described in LALME as being dilute or standard, for a comprehensive study of the dialect of Essex the evidence which they provide should be examined. LALME did not conceive that documents should be used as primary sources, but they can provide supporting evidence for the localisation of literary texts to a particular area, and are therefore valuable. Provided the caveats concerning the origins of a scribe or document mentioned above are given due consideration, and provided it is borne in mind that documents are more likely to contain standardised forms than literary texts, they are useful secondary sources that can reinforce the placings of a literary text in a particular location.

Chapter 2
Criteria for Localisation to Essex

1. Characteristic Features of the Late Medieval Essex Dialect

Maps 1 to 25 illustrate the distribution of forms noted within individual sources[1]. The localisations used are those found in LALME; the only profiles omitted are those for SI 442 and Add.E.6 since there are some doubts about their localisation in Essex (see section 2 below).

Additional maps (2a, 5a etc.) allow a comparison of Essex with the rest of southern England in order to place the information derived from the Essex analyses within a wider diatopic context. These secondary maps use the information provided in the dot maps of LALME, Volume I. Rather than plotting dots, however, isoglosses have been drawn to show the areas where a particular form was recorded as the main variant. Of course, these lines provide general schematisations in order to give an overview of a particular form's provenance within the south of England. It should be noted that where isoglosses are drawn, there is very often an overlap of forms which may not be obvious from some maps.

The primary function of this section is interpretative, i.e. forms derived from the analysis of texts are interpreted in terms of their etymology and their relationship with presumed developments in the spoken mode. As was discussed in chapter 1, the spoken and written modes are distinct manifestations of language, but they are obviously both modes of transmission of the same underlying grammar and vocabulary. Thus it is perverse not to draw attention to connections between them.

Since there has been no more recent comprehensive replacement for his work, Jordan's textbook is cited throughout this section as a handy reference-point for the reader. However, the reservations regarding Jordan's work which are outlined in chapter 1, section 1.2.5, in particular his failure to distinguish clearly between the written and spoken modes, should be recalled when his

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[1] Double-bracketed forms have not been included where a number of items are plotted on the same map in order to provide a clearer picture of the linguistic situation. Too many minor forms would make these maps too 'busy'. However, even where minor variants are not plotted, they are still listed in the key to signal their limited presence within Essex. In addition, those forms found only as rhymes within a source have been omitted from the maps. Where a map refers to only a single item then all forms are plotted. More detailed information about the various forms can be found in the LPs in Appendix IV.

work is cited.

Map 1: DAYS, EYES, HIGH, OWN

Map 1 plots those items that historically contained a vowel followed by a fricative, implied by spellings such as <ȝ>, <gh> etc. In a word such as DAYS (OE <dagas>), <a> (and <æ> which became <a>) plus an implied palatal fricative developed into spellings such as <ai> or <ay>. Similarly 'OE ē' followed by <ȝ> or <gh> became <ei>, for instance in EYES (Jordan, 1974:§87, 93, 97). In the word HIGH, <ei> became monophthongised to <i> in the later fourteenth century, possibly because of environmental conditioning from the following <h>; spellings with final <ȝ>, suggesting a final fricative was preserved, occur well into the fifteenth century. However, analogy from the inflected forms (e.g. OE fem. nom. sg. and all genders nom./acc. pl. <hēa> (Campbell, 1959: §643)) seems to have caused an earlier loss of the final fricative in HIGH than in other words with the same final consonant (Jordan, 1974: §97, 198, 295; Samuels, 1972:159).

In the texts analysed only two contain the item DAYS with a spelling suggesting a fricative. Both are localised in northern central Essex (LoC 4 (B) and Douce 126). Two other texts in the extreme south-west of the county contain forms with medial <w> (SJC 256 and Auch E). Some ME diphthongs arose through a combination of a vowel + /w/ (Samuels, 1972:159) and these <dawes> forms may have developed through analogy with words such as <drawen> (cf. WS <dragan>).

For the item EYES, spellings implying a fricative, e.g. <eȝen>, are much more common, although in part of southern and central Essex forms with no indication of a fricative are dominant (e.g. <een>). Many forms, especially in central northern areas of the county have initial <y-> rather than <e-> both with and without <ȝ>, <gh> etc.; this form seems to derive from a process of monophthongisation and raising (see Jordan, 1974: §97). When following a long vowel the fricative tended to be preserved for longer than after a short vowel and this could explain the retention of spellings suggesting a fricative, seen in EYES to a much greater extent than in DAYS (Jordan, 1974:§190).

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 1

DAYS implied fricative ● no implied fricative ✕
medial <w> ✕

EYES implied fricative, initial <y> ●
no implied fricative, initial <y> ✕
implied fricative, initial <e> ◁
no implied fricative, initial <e> ◀

HIGH implied fricative, medial <i/y> ●
no implied fricative, medial <i/y> ✕
implied fricative, medial <e> ◁
no implied fricative, medial <e> ◀

OWN initial <o> ✕
initial <a> ●
initial <h> ◁

MIGHT implied fricative ●
no implied fricative ✕

(original in colour)

Spellings suggesting fricatives and those with no implied fricative are widespread throughout the whole county for the item HIGH, and tend to be found alongside one another in the sources. Similarly forms with medial <i>, <y> and <e> are recorded throughout Essex; often all three forms co-occur within single texts. This mixture of forms in the area is explained by the ongoing processes of change discussed above.

In contrast, OWN shows very little in the way of variation. No forms such as <oʒen> are found in the Essex material, although three texts contain forms with initial <a> rather than <o> (e Mus 76, Har 2409 and Hunt 74 (B)). At least in e Mus 76 this form could be explained as a show-through from an earlier exemplar of the originally northern Prick of Conscience (see further chapter 3, section 2).

The item MIGHT shows very little variation. In all but two texts a spelling indicating the presence of a fricative was recorded. In Hunt 74 (B) the form <myth> was noted only once, as a minor variant, whilst in Add.C.280 it was recorded twice as the only form of the item MIGHT. Simplificatory loss of /x/ before /t/ was one of the last changes that led to the total loss of /x/ in ME (Samuels, 1972:159). That this was the case explains the continued occurrence of spellings indicating a fricative in this phonetic environment within the sources.

Map 2: THEY, THEIR, THEM
The third person plural pronouns are plotted in map 2. The history of these forms is discussed further in chapter 4, section 2.1, but some interesting correspondences may be noted at this stage. Forms for THEY with initial <h> were noted far more commonly, although not exclusively, in the extreme south-west of the county than elsewhere. The southern half of Essex appears to have been the most innovatory in terms of the adoption of initial <th> or <þ> for the forms THEIR and THEM although these generally appear only as minor variants beside initial <h>.

Many of the sources show a great deal of internal consistency in their choice of third person pronouns, especially when the forms chosen for THEIR and THEM are compared. Particularly good examples are Har 2409, LoC 4 (B) and Hunt 74 (A). In the first, forms with initial <h> and medial <e> (such as

MAP 2

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

THEY   initial <th/þ>   ●
        initial <h>   ✗

THEIR   initial <th/þ>   ●

        initial <h>, medial <e>   ✗
        initial <h>, medial <i/y>   ◁
        initial <h>, medial <o>   ◀
        initial <h>, medial <a>   O

THEM   initial <th/þ>   ●

        initial <h>, medial <e>   ✗
        initial <h>, medial <i/y>   ◁
        initial <h>, medial <o>   ◀
        initial <h>, medial <a>   O

(original in colour)

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<hem>) are most regularly selected, but occasionally a minor variant with initial <th> and medial <a> is recorded. Similarly in the text of Hunt 74 (A) forms such as <her> and <hem> are the major variants with minor forms <þer> or <þem> also noted. In LoC 4 (B) again <her> and <hem> are the main forms but <hor> and <hom> are recorded as minor variants (see further chapter 3, section 3.4). Sources such as Pepys 2498, Har 874 and Laud 622 (all copied by the same scribe, and collectively known here as the manuscripts of the PHL scribe) show remarkable consistency when the number of texts copied is considered (see further chapter 4, section 3.5).

An examination of the linguistic situation regarding <h> forms of THEY in the rest of southern England (map 2a) reveals three areas where inital <h> is commonly the major variant, i.e. the south-west Midlands, East Anglia and the north-east Midlands, and an area around London including south-west Essex. In addition, <h>-forms are found scattered across the south of the country. This pattern of occurrences reflects the spread of ON-influenced <th> forms from the north in a process of systemic regulation that was motivated by the lack of distinctiveness within the pronominal system.

Map 3: EACH, MUCH, SUCH, THE SAME

Shown on map 3 are the ME (Essex) reflexes of WS <ælc>, <micel>, <swylc> and <se ilca>. WS <ælc> is reflected in <ech(e)> in the south, whilst in the north <ylc> appears as <vch(e)> (Samuels, 1972:99). Within the sources only one <u-> form was noted (in the manuscripts of the PHL scribe), tying in with this north/south distinction. <e> forms are widespread throughout the county, but in the south-west an enclave exists where <i-/y-> forms are to be found. The more northerly <ilke> form is found in only one text (e Mus 76) and, as with the <a> form of OWN seen in map 1, may be a relict from the exemplar. From the twelfth century, <l> began to disappear before spellings reflecting /tʃ/, affecting reflexes of EACH and SUCH (Jordan, 1974:§167). <ilch> forms are found as minor variants in only two profiles (the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and Auch E), in the south-west of the county. The dot maps in LALME show that forms with initial <e> are widespread throughout the south of England (dot map 86), whilst forms with initial <i/y>, although rare south of a line running roughly from the Severn across to northern Essex (except for a

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MAP 2a

THEY: <h-> type, all variants
(main form)

MAP 3

Cambs.

Herts.

London

Kent

MAP 3

EACH	initial <e>	●
	initial <i/y>	○
	initial <u/v>	△
	<ilke>-type	✕
	<ilch>-type	✳
	initial <h>	◀
MUCH	medial <o>	●
	medial <u>	○
	medial <i/y>	△
	medial <e>	▲
	<mekel/mikel etc.>-type	✕
	final <l>	✳
SUCH	medial <o>	●
	medial <u>	○
	<swiche>-type	△
	<sweche>-type	▲
	<swylk>-type	✕
	<siche>-type	▱
	<seche>-type	◼
THE SAME	<the same>	✕
	<this ilke/thilke>-type	○
	<this ilche/iche>-type	●
	<thelk>-type	△
	<thike/theke>-type	✳

(original in colour)

cluster around London), are common in the west and central Midlands and in East Anglia (dot map 87).

The mapping of forms for the item MUCH shows that forms with medial <o> are found throughout Essex as a major variant. In many varieties of ME, OE <i> and <y> had undergone merger. In the south, <i> and <y> had a tendency to become neutralised to <e> in certain phonetic environments, including in spellings suggesting a following /tʃ/. Where <i> or <y> remained, before implied /tʃ/, they often became <u> (Jordan, 1974:§36, 43). Medial <u> is recorded as a minor variant throughout the county, but in the north-west tends to be found as the main form. Similarly, medial <i> or <y> are noted in the whole of Essex, but in the south-west these forms are more likely to be the main variants. Forms with medial <e> are more likely to be recorded in the south of the county. In spellings indicating a preceding /tʃ/, final <l> began to disappear, especially when unstressed (Jordan, 1974:§167). Forms with final <l> are noted throughout Essex, but as a major form tend to be concentrated in the south-west. Northern forms with medial <k> are recorded only ever as a minor form. Although noted in the north and the south of the county, the majority of sources in which medial <k> is found are localised in central Essex.

The wider picture in southern England shows forms with medial <e> clustered in East Anglia and the west Midlands (dot map 101). Forms with both medial <i> and medial <o> are common across the whole of the southern area, although in the Gloucestershire and Wiltshire areas <o> forms are not found, and, when compared to forms with medial <o>, <i> forms are not particularly common in the far south (dot maps 102 & 103). <much>-type forms are most common in the south-west Midlands although there is a small cluster around London. In the east and central Midlands <u> forms are recorded as the main variant in only a few Essex and Suffolk sources (dot map 104). Forms with final <l> are scattered across the south of the country and clusters are found in the south-west Midlands, East Anglia and around London (dot map 109).

The occurrences of SUCH within Essex show that forms with medial <o>, such as <soch>, are much less common than forms of MUCH with medial <o> and are found as a major variant in only one source (Eg 2726) and as a minor variant only sporadically. Forms with medial <u> are much more widespread and often the major variant throughout Essex. In the south-east Midlands, OE

<y> is frequently found as <e>, but in spellings indicating a following /tʃ/ often became <u> when <i> or <y> remained. Only one source (Douce 157) has a form with medial <e>, whilst three texts contain forms with medial <i/y> (CCCC 434, Douce 157 and CUL Hh.I.11). <w> became much more limited during the ME period and in medial position was lost before <u> from the twelfth century as the consonant cluster simplified (Jordan, 1974:§40, 43, 162; Samuels, 1972:13). Variants of the type <swiche> or <swyche> are found throughout the county, whereas those of the type <sweche> are recorded mainly in central and southern Essex. The form <swylk> was noted as a minor variant in only one text (Douce 322).

The dot maps show that forms with initial <sw> are most commonly found as a major variant in the south-east of the country with a small cluster in the south-west Midlands (dot map 74). In the south, <such> forms are recorded most regularly in the south and west. In the central Midlands, medial <i> is the major variant, whilst forms with medial <o> are found in the Somerset area, and with medial <e> in the west Midlands.

The most widespread reflexes of OE <se ilca> noted for the item THE SAME are those with medial <k>, either of the type <that ilke> or the contracted <thilke>. Only in the south-west is the form <that i(l)che> the major variant (see chapter 4, section 3.4 for the connection of this form to Type II). However, the form <the same> is found throughout Essex (derived from ON <samr>) and is much more common than the forms derived from OE <se ilca> (Brunner, 1970:64).

Map 4: ANY. MANY. MAN. LAND
The items shown in map 4 are those which historically contained a vowel followed by a nasal. Forms for the item MAN are very consistent, with <a> being retained in every source as the major variant, and only in one (Add.A.369) is <mon>, traditionally seen as a western form, found as a minor variant. Similarly, OE <manig> (MANY) is realised with a great deal of consistency with <a>, and only one source (Trin.R.14.32) contains a 'western' form with <o>. However, in an area of Essex, running from the south-east into the centre of the county, some texts contain forms of the type <meny>.

Forms for ANY (OE <ænig>) show more variation with usages containing initial

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

London

Kent

MAP 4

ANY	initial <o>	○
	initial <a>	●
	initial <e>	✕
	initial <h>	✳
MANY	<mony>-type	○
	<many>-type	●
	<meny>-type	✕
	final <-ȝe>	✳
	<fele>	△
MAN	<mon>-type	●
	<man>-type	●
LAND	<lond>-type	○
	<land>-type	●
	<lawnde/launde>-type	✕

(original in colour)

<a>, <e> and <o> occurring across the county. Jordan explains the development of forms with initial <e> as arising from a more stressed form. Forms such as <ony>, he argues, probably developed through analogy with the item ONE and the western form of MANY, <mony> (Jordan, 1974:§30, 48). Forms of the type <meny> noted in Essex could have been derived from the widespread form <eny> in a similar analogical process.

In southern England the <many>-type for the item MANY is widespread throughout the area except in the north-west Midlands where <mony> is the major variant (dot maps 90 & 91). Similarly medial <o> in MAN is found mainly in the west Midlands (dot map 94). <meny> is the main form in the south-west and around the Severn. There are also scattered instances in Suffolk, Sussex and the central Midlands, with a few found around London (dot map 92).

Forms for ANY show a different distribution pattern. Variants of the <any>-type are found throughout the southern area although they are less common in the south-west, south-west Midlands and eastern-central Midlands (dot map 97). Forms with initial <e> are most common in the south and south-western areas, whilst forms of the <ony>-type are frequently found in East Anglia and the east Midlands, with scattered instances found throughout the south (dot maps 98 & 99).

The development of variants for the item LAND are complicated by the presence of the lengthening consonant group <nd>. Throughout the county <a> and <o> forms are widespread, although variants containing <o> are the most common. In the OE period vowels were lengthened before <ld>, <rd>, <rl>, <rn>, <mb>, <nd> and <ng> ('homorganic lengthening'; cf. Campbell, 1959:§283). The lengthened <a> in LAND was then subjected to 'a raising to [ɔː]' in the South with resultant <o> spellings (Jordan, 1974: §30, 44). The <a> that was retained in the north began to spread through the Midlands and <land> is the form that was accepted into London English and eventually into standardised written usage (Jordan, 1974:§31). Medial <aw> or <au> is found as a minor variant in five sources. In one (Douce 157) the occurrences are in rhyming position. In the other four (OCCC 201, Eg 2726, Auch E and CCCC 80) these forms may be considered an attempt to represent [ɔː] in the spellings.

Items which historically contained the reflex of WS <y> are plotted in map 5. In ME, OE <y> developed in three different directions. Primarily in Kent, but also in Surrey, Sussex and areas of the south-east Midlands, OE <y> is reflected as <e>, a characteristic already evidenced in Old Kentish texts (map 5b); in the north-east Midlands and north it is reflected as <i>, while in the west the rounded quality of its spoken equivalent was retained, and spelt <u> (map 5a) (Jordan, 1974:§39; Brunner, 1967:14-15). Ek's survey of the development of OE <ȳ> in the south-east of England showed that 59 per cent of 'OE <y>-words' found in Essex were spelt with <e> (Ek, 1972: 57).

An examination of the major variants found for the items BRIDGE, DID, FIRE, FIRST, HILL and LITTLE (map 5c) shows that <i/y> was by far the most common reflex of WS <y> in the Essex sources. <e> forms were recorded as a main variant in just under half of the sources, whilst <u> forms were noted in eight sources. Although <i/y> is clearly the dominant variant within Essex, there are areas where either <e> or <u> tends to be found alongside the major form <i/y>. Focal areas for the occurrence of both <e> and <u> as major forms have been indicated on the map.

Some explanation of the discrepancy between the results of this study and the work of Ek is required. Ek examines place- and personal name material from manuscripts dating from 1100 to 1400 to establish geographical boundaries for the development of OE <y>. The problems inherent in the use of onomastic material have been outlined in chapter 1, section 3.1. Ambiguity may arise from 'uncertainty.. as to the etymology of the element containing the vowel in question' (Coleman, 1995:129). In addition, the wide timespan from which Ek's evidence is taken may result in some diachronic variation. The literary sources contain a wide range of vocabulary, and each item exhibits its own development. Some variation in spellings of OE <y> is therefore to be expected.

Other items which reflect OE <y> have not been plotted on these maps, and some explanation of the difficulties involved in using them as evidence for reflexes of OE <y> is necessary. The item EVIL, for example, was subject to Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (MEOSL), i.e. whereby 'originally short vowels were lengthened in the stressed open syllables of disyllabic

MAP 5

BRIDGE <i/y>			
FIRE <i/y>			
<e>			
<u>			
FIRST <i/y>			
<e>			
<u>			
HILL <i/y>			
<e>			
<u>			
LITTLE <i/y>			
<u>			
DID sg. <i/y>			
<e>			
<u>			

(original in colour)

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

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MAP 5a

FIRE: <u> (main form)

MAP 5b

FIRE: <e> (main form)

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 5c

OE y – major forms only
BRIDGE, FIRE, FIRST, HILL, LITTLE

<i/y> (30) ○
<e> (14) ●
<u> (8) ✗

— <e> focal area
— <u> focal area

(original in colour)

words' (Smith, 1996:96). /y/ unrounded to /ɪ/ rather than /i/, and when lengthening occurred this /ɪ/ became /e:/. Thus, evidence of the reflexes of OE <y> in an open syllable presents difficulties in determining whether a particular reflex derives directly from OE <y> or through MEOSL. Consequently, EVIL should be mapped separately from other OE <y> words (map 5d). Map 5d shows that initial <e> is by far the most common form for this item. Initial <i/y> appears as the major variant in only eight sources and there are three main focal areas for the occurrence of <i/y> which are indicated on the map. The pattern of the reflexes of EVIL is therefore opposite to that of the other OE <y> words, and by including EVIL on a map alongside these other items the distribution of the reflexes of OE <y> could have been obscured.

The dot maps of LALME show that forms of YET with <e> as a medial vowel are found as a major form throughout eastern and western parts of southern England (map 5e). In the south-west, forms with a medial <u> are the main variants. Forms with medial <i/y> are most commonly found in the northern-central Midlands and, alongside <e>, in the east. Although not in question here since the dialect of Essex is not descended from WS, it should be noted that the WS form <giet> (YET) appeared as the result of so-called 'palatal diphthongisation', i.e. the diphthongisation 'of front vowels after palatal consonants' (Campbell, 1959:§185). Thus 'OE ē' became 'ie'. However, by the late WS period 'ie' was monophthongised to 'ȳ' (Campbell, 1959:§300-01). This 'unstable y' cannot be assumed to develop in a similar way to 'stable y'.

In Essex, forms with medial <i/y> for YET are by far the most common, while forms with medial <e> occur only as minor variants except in the south of the county (map 5f). Medial <u> is found as the main form in only one source (the manuscripts of the PHL scribe).

It is thus clear that including YET-forms within the group of 'OE <y>-words' skews the result. The item should therefore be plotted separately.

The distributions of initial <y> and <ʒ> in the form YET also require examination in 'purely' graphological terms. In Essex, initial <y> was recorded in six sources, three in the north-east of the county (Add.A.369, Har 2338 and Eg 2726) and three in a band stretching from the west to the south-east (Har

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MAP 5d

EVIL

<i/y> ○

<e> ●

<i/y> focal area

MAP 5e

YET: <yet>-type

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 5f

YET

✳	\<ʒit\>-type
✕	\<yit\>-type
○	\<ʒet\>-type
●	\<yet\>-type
△	\<ʒut\>-type

―――― \<ʒet/yet\>-type focal area

3943, Douce 322 and Trin.R.14.32). The dot maps of LALME show that although initial <ȝ> is widespread throughout the country, initial <y> is much less common, with only a few scatterings particularly in the central Midlands and around London and Surrey (dot map 245). The spelling of <y> rather than <ȝ> in initial position is first found around 1300 (Jordan, 1974:§189).

<u>Maps 6 & 7: COULD, SHALL, SHOULD, WILL, WOULD</u>

In maps 6 and 7 are to be found the singular and plural forms of what have become in PDE the modal verbs. The forms for COULD, both singular and plural, show a clear area in the centre and south-west of the county where forms containing <th/þ> are found. Elsewhere <d> predominates. The LALME dot maps show that forms of COULD with <th/þ> are found mainly in the west Midlands, although they are scattered throughout the south and there is a cluster around London. These forms are not found in East Anglia and only a very few are recorded in the central Midlands (dot map 391). Forms with <d> on the other hand are found as a main form in East Anglia, the east and central Midlands and around London (dot map 389).

The predominant singular form of SHALL contains medial <a>. Medial <u> is found as a minor variant in western-central Essex. The most common plural form of SHALL contains medial <u>, with medial <a> about half as common as a main form. Medial <o> is the major variant in two sources in the south of the county (Auch E and CCCC 80). Medial <e> is the main usage of both singular and plural forms in one source (PRO Prob11/2B). Usages of SHOULD with medial <o> and medial <u> as the main form are spread throughout the county, although plural <o> forms are more common as the main variant in the east.

In western-central Essex singular forms such as <sal> and <scal> (SHALL) are recorded. Forms of SHOULD such as <suld> are far less common and are noted as minor singular variants in two sources in the north-west of the county (Har 2409 and CUL Hh.I.11). In the plural, such variants are even less common with only three texts containing <sal> forms (Add 37677, LoC 4 (A) and Douce 157) and only one having a <suld> form (CUL Hh.I.11) as minor usages. The dot maps show that forms such as <sal> and <suld> tend to be found only in the north of England. Instances in the south are very rare (dot map 148).

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

(original in colour)

MAP 6

COULD sg.	medial <d>	○ ●
	medial <th/þ>	
SHALL sg.	medial <a>	● ●
	medial <e>	
	medial <u>	×
	<sal/scal>-type	✳
SHOULD sg.	medial <o>	○ ×
	medial <u>	✳
	<suld>-type	
WILL sg.	medial <o>	○ ●
	medial <e>	
	medial <u>	×
	medial <i/y>	✳
	final <þ>	△
WOULD sg.	medial <o>	○ ●
	medial <a>	
	medial <u>	×

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

(original in colour)

MAP 7

COULD pl.
medial <d> ○
medial <th/þ> ●
final <n> ◁

SHALL pl.
medial <o> ○
medial <a> ●
medial <u> ✕
medial <e> ⬡
<scal/sal, scul/sul>-type forms ✱
final <n> ◁
final <þ> ▲

SHOULD pl.
medial <o> ○
medial <u> ✕
<sculd/suld>-type forms ✱
final <n> ◁

WILL pl.
medial <o> ○
medial <e> ▢
medial <u> ✕
medial <i/y> ✱
final <n> ◁
final <þ> ◀

WOULD pl.
medial <o> ○
medial <a> ●
final <n> ◁

Main forms of WILL, both singular and plural, tend to contain either medial <i/y> or medial <o>, although <o> forms are less common as a major variant in the south than in the north of the county. Medial <e> appears as the main form in two focal areas, one in the south-west (Douce 157, the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and CCCC 387) and one in the northern central area (CCCC 434 (singular only) and Douce 126). In closed syllables, the 'neutralising' of <i> to <e> was quite common in the south (Jordan, 1974:§36, 271). Medial <u> is seen as a main form in only one source (Har 2338) and as a minor variant in one other (e Mus 76). In every source medial <o> is the main singular and plural variant of WOULD. Medial <u> is recorded as a minor singular usage in one source (Har 2338). Medial <a> is found as a main plural form in one text (PRO Prob11/2B) and in two as a minor form (e Mus 76 (singular and plural) and Douce 157 (singular only)).

In the plural forms of all of the above items, an area which covers western Essex contains as a main usage, alongside those discussed above, forms ending in <-n>. An examination of the wider currency of such forms in the whole of southern England as recorded in the dot maps of LALME (dot map 151) shows that in a region stretching across the country from Herefordshire to Essex and up into Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, <-n> forms are found as a main variant (map 7a). This area of Essex therefore marks the eastern boundary of these forms.

Map 8: IF

The variants <if> and <ʒif> for the item IF (OE <gif>), are recorded in roughly equal proportions as the major forms in Essex. However, <if> is much more common as the main usage in the east of the county whilst <ʒif> is predominant in the west. The form <ʒef> is found in five sources as a minor variant, with <yef> being recorded in one text as the main form (Douce 322). Forms with medial <e> are most common in the south-west of England with scatterings across the south and in the south-central Midlands and a few instances in East Anglia (dot map 209). Forms of the <if>-type are found throughout the south of the country (dot map 211), whilst forms implying initial [j] are most widespread in the west Midlands and East Anglia down through the east Midlands into the south-east (dot map 212). Map 8a shows this region but also indicates those areas where spellings implying initial [j] are more common than the <if>-type as a major form.

MAP 7a

SHALL pl. forms ending in <-n(e)>

MAP 8

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 8

✕	<if>-type
○	<ȝif>-type
●	<ȝef>-type
✳	<yef>-type

IF

MAP 8a

<u>MAP 8a</u>

IF: spellings implying initial [j]
(more common than <i>-type in areas
coloured blue)

(original in colour)

89

By far the most common form of IS in Essex is of the <is> type. In three sources localised in the south of the county <es> forms occur as a main variant (PRO Prob11/2B, Har 3943 and Hunt 74 (B)). IS with initial <e> is a predominantly northern form. Aside from the three sources in Essex and another few in Norfolk all other instances of this type as a main form are recorded in the north of the country (dot map 134). Forms with unetymological initial <h> are noted as a minor variant in four Essex sources (LoC 4 (B), Douce 126, Add 17376 and Hunt 74 (B)). Several instances of this type are recorded in LALME (dot map 134) scattered throughout the south of the country although there are no areas where a concentration of this usage is to be found.

Map 10: IT

In a word with presumed weak stress in its spoken equivalent, such as OE <hit>, <h> before a vowel began to be lost in ME (Brunner, 1970:42; Jordan, 1974:§189). In Essex, in by far the majority of sources, forms of the '<h>-less' <it>-type occur as the main form. In six texts the <hit>-type is the major variant. In a further three sources both <it> and <hit> occur in equal proportions as the main form. Of these nine texts in which <hit> appears as a major form, seven are localised in south-east and central southern Essex. Map 10a shows the occurrence of <hit> as a main form in southern England as recorded in LALME (dot map 24). However, forms without initial <h> are widespread even in this area. Consideration of the contexts in which <hit> and <it> are found in the Essex sources where they appear in similar proportions is discussed in chapter 4, section 2.3.

Map 11: OE <hw->

Some phonemic changes involve 'the simplification of a complex articulation' (Samuels, 1972:20). One such change that can be observed in the ME period is that of OE <hw> becoming <w>, which seems to reflect a phonemic change of /hw/ to /w/. In some simplificatory circumstances it can be seen that 'the feature was lost first in some contexts only, and its loss was then gradually generalised' (Samuels, 1972:20). In the Essex sources analysed, initial <w> in OE <hw-> words is noted as a major form in only three texts (PRO Prob11/2B, CUL Hh.I.11 and Add.C.280), whilst in a further twenty sources <w> was recorded as a minor variant. During analysis a note was made of the

MAP 9

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 9

IS   <is>-type   ✕
      <es>-type   ○
      <his>-type   ●

MAP 10

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

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MAP 10a

Norfolk

Suffolk

Cambs.

Essex

Hunts.

Herts.

Beds

Rut.

N'hants

Bucks

M'sex

Lon

Kent

Surrey

Sussex

Leics

Hamps.

W'wicks

Oxon.

Brks

Staffs.

Worcs.

Gloucs.

Wilts.

Shrops

Hrfs.

Mon.

S'set

Dorset

Devon

MAP 10a

IT: <h-> type (main form)

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MAP 11

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 11

OE hw- <wh->   ✗
         <w->   ○
        <qwh-> ●
        <qw->   ✳
        <qu->   △

word in which <w> occurred. A further examination of these notes shows that <w> was recorded 164 times in fifteen sources. Of these occurrences, 123 instances of <w> noted in twelve sources were in the item WHICH. 27 occurrences found in seven sources were in the item WHEN; five in five sources in the item WHAT; three in three sources in the item WHERE; two in two sources in the item WHOSE; and one of each in the items WHEREFORE, WHETHER, WHILE and WHY. It therefore seems that <w> initially appeared primarily in the item WHICH in the Essex area and from this began to spread to other lexical items, in a pattern of 'lexical diffusion'. Map 11a shows the area of southern England in which <w> most frequently occurs, although never more commonly than <wh>, as a reflex of OE <hw-> (dot map 274).

The dot maps for spellings with initial <w> in the items WHICH (dot map 76), WHILE (dot map 253), WHEN (dot map 339) and WHETHER (dot map 563) were consulted. Forms of WHICH with initial <w> are very common throughout the southern area, whereas the other items show only a scattering of usages with initial <w> in the southern part of England. The evidence of this study corresponds with that of LALME insofar as WHICH seems to be the first item in which initial <w> developed widely.

<qwh>, <qw> and <qu> appear in a very few sources as minor variants (<qwh> in OCCC 201 and Trin.R.14.32; <qw> in LoC 4 (B)[2] and Trin.R.14.32; and <qu> in CCCC 80). These usages are most regularly found in East Anglia although <qu> and <qw> are also noted in the far north Midlands (dot maps 270 and 273).

Map 12: Present participle endings

The main variant of the present participle ending in Essex is generally that of the <-ing>-type. However, in six sources clustered in the south-west and centre of the county (the manuscripts of the PHL scribe, Add 17376, SJC 256, Auch E, LoC 4 (B) and Douce 126) <-and(e)>-type forms are the major variants (see further chapter 4, section 3.4). In CCCC 80 <-enge> is a major variant and this is found as a minor form in a further three sources (LoC 4 (A), the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and Douce 157). The usage <-end(e)> is noted as a minor form in seven sources while <-inde> is recorded in only one (Laud 622), most regularly in rhyming position.

---

[2] see further chapter 3, section 3.4

MAP 11a

OE hw-: <w>+V

MAP 12

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 12

Present participle
ending

✕	<-ing(e)>-type
○	<-and(e)>-type
●	<-end(e)>-type
△	<-eng(e)>-type
▲	<-ind(e)>-type

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In the rest of southern England the <-ing>-type is also the most widespread (dot map 345). The <-and>-type is a more northerly form, although it is fairly common in Norfolk and there is a small cluster around London (dot map 346). <-enge> is recorded in a few instances across the south of the country but there are no substantial clusters of the form (dot map 347). The <-ende>-type is mostly found in East Anglia, whilst <-inde> tends to be found in the south-west Midlands, although there are a few instances in the south-east (dot maps 348 and 349).

Map 13: THINK

Main forms for the item THINK with medial <y> or <i> tend to occur in the north and east of Essex. Elsewhere variants with medial <e> predominate. Forms with final <ch> are found in the south-west. A usage containing medial <o> is found as a minor variant in two sources (Douce 126 and Laud 622). In southern England as a whole, forms with medial <y/i> are fairly widespread particularly in the east (dot map 297) whilst the <thenk>-type, although common in the south, is less prevalent in East Anglia than <think> forms. This accords well with the wider distribution of medial <i/y> in the north of Essex (dot map 299). Forms containing final <ch> are much rarer with only a scattering in the south-east and around London and in the south-west and a small cluster in the south-west Midlands (dot map 302).

Map 14: TOGETHER

Forms of TOGETHER containing medial <e> (such as <togeder>) are the most common variant found throughout Essex. Usages with <i/y> (e.g. <togidre>) are found as a main form primarily in the north and east although three instances are recorded in the extreme south-west (Add 17376, SJC 256 and CCCC 387). <a>-type forms are found as a main form in only one source (e Mus 76) (but see further chapter 3, section 2). Final <s> (e.g. in <togedres>) is fairly common as a minor variant but as a main form is recorded in only three sources (PRO SC1/51/60-62, CCCC 80 and Hunt 74 (A)). Forms of the <together>-type, with medial <th> rather than <d>, are found in only two texts (Add.A.369 and Trin R.14.32) but never as a main form.

In southern England in general forms of the <togedre>-type, i.e. with <e>, are widespread although they are least common in the east Midlands. Conversely, forms with <i/y> such as <togidre>, although scattered across the

MAP 13

MAP 13

THINK \<think/thynk\>-type	✳
\<thenk\>-type	✗
\<thonk\>-type	○
final \<ch\>	△

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 14

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

TOGETHER

MAP 14

medial <i/y>
medial <e>
medial <a>
final <s>
<together>-type

country, are most common in the east (dot maps 541 and 542). Forms with final <s> are restricted to the south-west and south-west Midlands and around London, though spreading into the south-east and East Anglia (dot map 546). Jordan explains the appearance of <i> as environmentally-conditioned, thus: 'OE e' in closed syllables tended to become 'i under influence of apical sounds.. [including] before dentals, especially when *r* and *g* precede the vowel' (Jordan, 1974:§34). Forms with <a>, of the type <togadre>, are found almost exclusively in the south-west Midlands and south-west of the country, although there are isolated instances in the south central Midlands and the south-east (dot map 540).

Variants with <th> as opposed to <d> are rare, and those few instances that occur are isolated and distributed across the country (dot map 545). The sporadic occurences of <together>-type forms suggest that the change from <d> to <th> 'before syllabic /r/ or /ǝr/' was in its earliest stages at this period (Jordan, 1974:§298); the sound-change is therefore being reflected in the written system. This change allows 'the articulation of a segment [to be] brought nearer to that of those adjoining it.. [with] the loss of plosion [allowing] the flow of breath' to continue uninterrupted (Samuels, 1972:12). This development is one of 'conditioned phonetic change'. That the distribution of these forms is scattered across the country in isolated instances would suggest that such a simplificatory change appeared independently as a development motivated by ease of articulation (Samuels, 1972:10-12).

Map 15: WORLD

The most common variant of the item WORLD, recorded throughout Essex, is of the <world>-type, which corresponds with the wider distribution of the form through the whole of the south of England, barring Norfolk, the Somerset area, and, to a lesser extent, the far south (dot map 290). In the far south of the country, metathesised forms of the <wordle>- and <werdle>-type are found (see the discussion accompanying map 20). Forms of the <word>-type (i.e. with no <l>) are found as a main form in two Essex sources (Douce 126 and Add.C.280). These types of forms are most regularly recorded in East Anglia and the east Midlands, with scatterings in the central and west Midlands (dot map 294). Usages of the <werld>-type are found in the far south-west of Essex, although as a minor variant they are recorded in three other sources (Eg 2726, Douce 126 and Trin R.14.32). Again, these forms are most

MAP 15

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 15

MAP 15

WORLD

○	<world(e)>-type
✕	<wordl(e)>-type
△	<word>-type
▱	<wolrd>-type
●	<werld(e)>-type
✳	<werdl(e)>-type
◀	<werd>-type

commonly found in East Anglia and the east Midlands (dot map 296). Forms of the <werd>-type are recorded as a minor variant in only two sources (SJC 256 and CCCC 387), and in southern England as a whole tend only to be found in East Anglia and the north-east Midlands. Even by the end of the OE period <weor-> had become <wor-> or <wur->. These spellings appear to reflect another example of conditioned phonetic change where the consonant /w/ affects the vowels and causes assimilation. The appearance of forms with <e>, e.g. <werld>, seem to have been influenced by the ON form <ver-old> (Brunner, 1970:10; Samuels, 1972:12).

Map 16: SELF

In the majority of Essex sources the main form of SELF to be found is that of the <self>-type. In only four sources, and in three of those as a minor variant, are forms of the <silf>-type recorded (Douce 322, Foyle, Hunt 74 (A) and Arun 119 (main form)). In southern England, variants of this type are found in the south-west, the south-west Midlands and the central Midlands with a scattering in the east Midlands (dot map 520). Forms ending in <n> are found as the major variant in only two sources (the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and Add 17376) but as the minor form are recorded in two clusters, in the far south-west and in the north-east of the county. Generally this type of form is found in the south-west Midlands although there are scattered instances in East Anglia and the east Midlands, especially around London (dot map 524).

In the OE period forms of the item SELF were <seolf> (through breaking before the consonant group <lf>) in Anglian, and <self> in WS and Kentish. However in late WS and Kentish, <sel-> developed to <syl-> or <sil->. Where <seolf> remained, the diphthong was monophthongised and then unrounded in the EME period, spelt <e> (Campbell,1959:§146, 325; Brunner, 1970:10-12; Jordan, 1974:§34).

Map 17: (AL)THOUGH

The development of the forms of (AL)THOUGH provide an excellent example of systemic regulation. OE <þēah>, through monophthongisation and shortening, became late Saxon and Kentish <þeh> which became <þeiȝ> through the development of a glide before the fricative. Forms such as this, however, were gradually losing their final fricative, and spellings implying this such as <þei> are seen (Jordan, 1974:§63, 294). At the same time, and

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MAP 16

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 16

SELF   <self>-type ⚬
        <sylf> -type ●
        <seluen>-type ✕
        <salf>-type ▲

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MAP 17

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 17

(AL)THOUGH <þou>-type   ✳
<þouȝ>-type   ○
<þei>-type   ✕
<þeiȝ>-type   ●
<(al) if/yef>-type   △

through a separate development motivated by systemic regulation, the third person plural pronominal forms with initial <h> were being displaced by those with initial <þ>. Thus the potential for a clash of forms, and the possibility of awkward sequences such as <þei þei> (THOUGH THEY) was developing. However, the ON form *<þōh> was available for selection in the Danelaw area of the country (i.e. the area of primary Norse settlement) and ME forms such as <þouȝ> become noted through shortening and the development of a glide (Brunner, 1970:22). Consequently the potential clash of <þei> (THEY) and <þei> (ALTHOUGH) could be avoided by the adoption of <þou> forms of ALTHOUGH. Hence, 'the system spreading south from the Danelaw combines *they* and *though*, while the southern system that is yielding to it combines *hy*, *he*, etc., 'they' and *þei(ȝ)*, *þey(h)*, etc., 'though'" (Samuels, 1972:71).

In Essex, forms developed from ON, of the type <þouȝ> are the most common as the main variant of ALTHOUGH. Seven sources have <þou>, i.e. without an implied final fricative, as their major form - three in central Essex and four in the south-west of the county. Variants derived from OE <þeh> are rare in the county. As a main form <þeiȝ>-type forms are recorded in only two sources (the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and Auch E), but in Auch E <þeiȝ> is the main form alongside <þouȝ>. A variant without the implied final fricative, such as <þei>, is found as a main form in only one source (OCCC 201), but a form of the type <þeiȝ> is also found regularly in this text. Usages derived from the OE form also occur rarely as minor forms. In Douce 126 and SJC 256 a small proportion of <þei>-type variants is found, while in CUL Hh.I.11 variants of the types <þeiȝ> and <þei> are recorded.

Map 17a shows the area of southern England in which <they>-type forms of ALTHOUGH are recorded as the main variant (dot map 201). When compared with map 2a which identifies the parts of the country where <h>-type forms of THEY are found as a major form, the correlation is apparent. In map 17b THEY and ALTHOUGH are plotted side-by-side to allow a comparison of the distributions of the two items. The majority of Essex sources contain forms of THEY with initial <þ>, and as a consequence the potential for a clash with forms of ALTHOUGH of the type <þei> exists. However, as was noted above,

MAP 17a

(AL)THOUGH: <they>-type

MAP 17b

THEY/THOUGH

THEY 〈h〉-forms   ✕
      〈th/þ〉-forms   ⊙

THOUGH 〈þou〉-type   ✳
        〈þouȝ〉-type   ○
        〈þei〉-type   ✕
        〈þeiȝ〉-type   ●

(original in colour)

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

London

Kent

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variants derived from the ON form are recorded in the majority of sources in Essex.

On the whole, therefore, systemic regulation has occurred in Essex and most sources show <þ> forms of THEY but <þou> or <þouȝ> forms of ALTHOUGH. However, three sources require additional comment. In OCCC 201, <þ> forms of THEY are exclusively found and the main variant of ALTHOUGH is of the <þei>-type. Thus the potentially confusing combination <þei þei> is a theoretical possibility in this text. However, the less common variants <þey(h)ȝ>, <þeyh>, <þowh(ȝ)> and <þo> are also recorded in this source and are available for selection in the scribe's repertoire, preventing the occurrence of this sequence. In the manuscripts of the PHL scribe the main form of ALTHOUGH is of the <þeiȝ>-type but third person plural pronominal forms with both initial <h> and <þ> are found as major variants of THEY again preventing homonymic clash between the <þei>-types of THEY and ALTHOUGH. A similar situation is found in Auch E where both <þouȝ> and <þeiȝ> (ALTHOUGH) and forms with initial <þ> and <h> (THEY) are available to the scribe as main usages (see further chapter 4, section 2.1).

Map 18: THROUGH

The immense range of variants of the item THROUGH to be found in the ME period is well-known, with almost five hundred different forms being recorded in LALME's County Dictionary. In Essex the most common form is of the <thorȝ>-type (i.e. with <o> and an implied final fricative, with or without a parasitic vowel), with sixteen sources having this as their main form or one of their main forms. Forms of the type <thor-> (i.e. with no implied final fricative), <thourȝ> and <thurȝ> appear in similar proportions with each being recorded as a major usage in six sources. Variants of the <thur->-type are less common with only three sources containing this form, in Douce 126 as a major usage and in Add 17376 and CCCC 387 as a minor form; while the <thour->-type is never noted as a main variant, and is only found as a minor form in one source (SJC 256). Metathesised forms occur as main forms in four sources and will be discussed under map 20.

MAP 18

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 18

THROUGH

<th(o)urʒ>-type ✳
<thorʒ>-type ○
<throʒ>-type ●
<th(o)ur>-type (no implied fricative) △
<thor>-type (no implied fricative) ◀
<thro>-type (no implied fricative) ✗

As has been seen already in the discussions of several items (e.g. ALTHOUGH, THE SAME, WORLD, not to mention the third person pronominal system), ON had a profound effect on English during the medieval period, and there are numerous borrowings evident in ME. In map 19 more items are plotted in which the impact of Norse on English can be traced.

The OE forms of ARE were <sind(on)> and <beoþ>. The ON forms were <erum> (first person plural), <eruð> (second person plural) and <eru> (third person plural) (Gordon, 1956:308) and it was from these forms that PDE <are> developed. OE <bēon> and <bēoþ> tended to have become <ben> and <beþ> by the ME period. In the Essex sources, forms of the type <ben> are the most common, although <beþ> and its variants are also widely distributed throughout the county. In the south of England, these two types tend to be the most common. <ben> forms are widespread throughout the Midlands and East Anglia, and are also common in the south-east, although there are very few in the south-west (dot map 124). Variants of the <beþ>-type are most common in the south-west, the south-west and south-central Midlands and the south-east of the country, although the distribution of these forms also stretches up around London and into Essex (dot map 128). Map 19a shows the distribution of the <ben>- and <beþ>-type forms of ARE and the area of overlap between them.

In Essex, only two sources contain an <are> form as a major variant (Add.A.369 and Har 2338). Both are localised to the far north-east of the county. A further eleven sources have <are> recorded as a minor variant, although in one of these (Auch E) this is only in rhyming position. <arn> occurs as a main form in only one source (Add.C.280), and in six others as a minor usage. The <are>-type is mostly northern, with some occurrences in the north Midlands and East Anglia. A few instances are recorded in the south-west and south-east Midlands and around London, but occurrences in the far south are very rare (dot map 118). Forms of the <arn>-type are mostly found in East Anglia, although there is a scattering of occurrences in the south-west Midlands, and a few instances around London and in the south-east (dot map 120). Three Essex texts contain <ere> forms as minor variants (e Mus 76, Douce 157 and CUL Hh.I.11). The dot maps show that this is a predominantly

MAP 19

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 19

ARE	<bVp>-type forms	○
	<bVn>-type forms	●
	<be>-type forms	◁
	<are>-type forms	✗
	<am>-type forms	❧
	<ere>-type forms	▱
FROM	<from>	✗
	<fro>	✳
	<fram>	○
	<froo>	◁
-LY	<-ly/li>-type forms	✗
	<-lich(e)/lych(e)>-type forms	✳
	<-lyk/lik>-type forms	○
	<-lech>-type forms	●
UNTIL	<til> form (including <tul/tel>)	✗
	<vntil> forms (including <ontil/yntil>)	✳
	<to/vnto> forms (including <onto/into>)	○
	<forto/forte> forms	●

(original in colour)

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MAP 19a

ARE: <ben>
<beth>
overlap between <ben> &
<beth> as the main form

(original in colour)

northern form, with only a few occurrences in the north-west Midlands (dot map 121). It is therefore of significance that two of the three sources in which <ere> is recorded are copies of the <u>Prick of Conscience</u>, and it seems likely that these forms are instances of 'show-throughs' from the exemplars of this originally northern text.

The most common main form of FROM in Essex is <fro>, although <from> is also spread widely throughout the county. Three sources have <fram> as the major variant (OCCC 201, CCCC 434 and SJC 256) and a further five have this usage as a minor form. The <froo>-type is recorded in seven sources as a minor variant, although in three of these it appears only in rhyming postion. The <fro>-type is widespread throughout the south of England, whilst <from> is most common in the Midlands and East Anglia. <fram> is found particularly in the south-west and the south-west Midlands, with a cluster around London and a scattering across the remainder of the south of the country (dot maps 174-6). Forms without final <m> are most probably derived from ON <fra>. The vowel of OE <fram> became rounded in the south and the spelling <from> implies this. Borrowed Norse <fra> took part in this development and the form <fro> is found as a consequence (Jordan, 1974:§44; Brunner, 1970:24-5).

In the vocalism of adverbial endings <i> and <y> appear. In the Essex sources, the northern form <-lik> (derived from Norse <-lik->, cf. Old Icelandic <-ligɼ>) is recorded in three sources (Douce 126, Laud 622 and CCCC 80) but only as a minor variant and predominantly in rhyming position. The majority of Essex texts have <-ly> as the main form of their adverbial endings, although ten have <-liche>-type forms as their main variant. These appear in two main clusters, one in the south-west and one in the north-west and central western area of the county. The form <-lech> is found as a minor form in Auch E. The dot maps show that <-ly> forms are to be found throughout the southern part of the country (dot map 608). Forms ending in <-ch(e)>, such as <-liche>, are widespread south of a line stretching from northern Herefordshire to northern Essex, although excluding Bedfordshire and north Hertfordshire and including East Anglia (dot map 609). Forms of the <-leche>-type are not particularly common although a few can be found in East Anglia (dot map 604).

The most common form of UNTIL found in Essex is the <til>-type. Only three sources have <vntil> as a main form, although another six contain the variant

as a minor form. Nine texts have the <to/unto>-type as their main usage and this form is regularly found as a minor variant in other sources. <forto>-type forms are recorded only twice as minor usages (SI 73 and CCCC 434). That this form is rare in Essex accords with the evidence of the dot maps which show that <forto> is a western and south-western form (dot map 1078). <til> forms on the other hand are found throughout the south of England (dot map 1079). Forms of the <until>-type are rare with a few in East Anglia and the west Midlands and a small cluster around London (dot map 1083). Forms such as <to> and <unto> are found scattered across the south from the south-west to the east Midlands, although nowhere is there a concentration of such variants (dot maps 1082 and 1084).

The OE forms of UNTIL, <oð þe> and <oð þæt> appeared as 'reduced forms' in EME and were consequently ambiguous. In different areas of the country various 'slot-fillers' emerged in an attempt to remedy the situation. In the south Midlands <(un)to (þat)> emerged, and further north <(un)tyl (þat)>. These two forms, although derived from OE <til> and <to>, were 'strongly supported' by ON *<und> and <til>. Eventually <(un)tyl> was adopted throughout the country as the 'one unambiguous form' (Samuels, 1972:103). The distributions of forms indicated by the dot maps and by the more detailed map of Essex show this emergence of <til>-type forms in areas which earlier in the period favoured alternative forms of UNTIL.

Map 20: Metathesised Forms

Map 20 plots instances of metathesised forms in the items ASK, FIRST, THROUGH and WORLD. The most commonly metathesised item is ASK, with six sources containing <ax-> forms as their only main variant and a further three recorded as having the metathesised form as a main usage alongside unmetathesised <ask->-types. Another two texts contain <ax-> as a minor usage. In southern England <ax-> forms are fairly common, especially through the Midlands, around London and into the south-east (dot map 356). This type of metathesis, i.e. the reversal of the order of two consonants is another example of conditioned phonetic change which arose at this time because '/sk/ was losing in distinction to /ʃ/' (Samuels, 1972:16).

The metathesised forms of FIRST and THROUGH plotted here show the reversal of the order of <r> and a vowel which appears to reflect the 'insertion

MAP 20

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 20

ASK	<ax-> as main form	✖
	<ax-> as main form alongside <ask->	✖
FIRST	<fr-> as main form	✖
	<fr-> as main form alongside <fVr->	▣
THROUGH	<thr-> as main form	✖
	<thr-> as main form alongside	✖
	<thVr>	⊙
WORLD	<wordle>etc. as main form	✖
	<wordle> etc. as main form	
	alongside <world> etc.	○

(original in colour)

of a glide-vowel and misinterpretation of stress' in the spoken mode (Samuels, 1972:16). In only one source (Add.A.369) is a metathesised variant of FIRST, i.e. <frist>, recorded. Forms of the <fr->-type are most common in East Anglia, although there are a few instances in the south-west and in the Surrey area (dot map 418). Metathesised forms of THROUGH are found in two sources (Add.C.280 and Trin R.14.32) as the main variant, whilst in another two (Add.A.369 and LoC 4 (B)), metathesised forms are recorded as main variants alongside unmetathesised forms (i.e. those spelt <thVr>).

Forms such as <wordle> and <werdle> for the item WORLD are recorded in two sources as the main variant (e Mus 76 (but see further chapter 3, section 2) and Trin R.14.32) and in two others as a minor usage (Add 37677 and SJC 256). Map 20a shows the distribution of the <wordle>-type in southern England (dot map 292). Unlike THROUGH and FIRST, metathesis of forms of WORLD appears to have arisen in order to separate the liquids /r/ and /l/ in the spoken mode (Jordan, 1974:§168), reflected in spellings such as <wordle>.

Map 21: TWO

Forms of the item TWO are plotted in map 21. Variants of the <two>-type are by far the most common, and appear as a main variant in almost every source. In two sources (the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and SJC 256) both <two>- and <twey>-type forms appear together as main usages. In only four (Sl 73, Har 2409, Lans 763 and Auch E) is <two> not recorded as a main variant. In Sl 73, Har 2409 and Auch E <twey>-type forms are the main variants, whilst in Lans 763, <tweyn> occurs as the major usage. Both <twey> and <tweyn>-types occur regularly as minor variants throughout Essex. The variant <twie> is found as a minor form in one source (Add.A.369). An examination of the dot maps shows that this form is found mainly in the south-west, and even there rarely, and in only one eastern text as the main usage (dot map 556). Forms of the <two>-type are widespread throughout southern England (dot map 550). Map 21a records the distributions of <twey> and <tweyn>-type forms. It can be seen that <twey>-type forms are most common in all parts of the Midlands, except for the northern-central area (dot map 553). Both <twey> and <tweyn> forms are found in a band stretching from the south-west Midlands to East Anglia, although in a small area around the counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, <tweyn> but not <twey> forms are recorded (dot map 555). Forms such as <twey> and <tweyn> derive from the masculine

WORLD: <wordle>-type

MAP 20a

MAP 21

MAP 21

TWO   <two>-type forms   ✗

  <twey>-type forms   o

  <tweyn>-type forms   ●

  <twie>

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

OE form <twegan>, whilst <two> is a reflex of the feminine and neuter form <twa>. According to the standard texts, OE ā became /ɔ:/, but after /w/ this was raised again to /o:/ (Jordan, 1974:§45; Brunner, 1970:14).

Map 22: AGAIN(ST), GIVE

On maps 22i and 22ii the distributions of the forms of the items AGAIN(ST) and GIVE are shown, illustrating clear correspondences between the two items concerning the selection of <ȝ>, <y> or <g>. In both items, <ȝ>, in forms such as <aȝen> and <ȝeue>, is by far the most common variant. It is found as the major usage in all parts of Essex except for areas in the north-east and south-west. There are two regions in which <g> variants, e.g. <agen> and <geue>, are predominant, one in the south-west, in the middle of the <ȝ> area, and another in the north-east, again overlapping to some extent with the region where <ȝ> can be found. In both areas, however, there are more sources in which <g> is recorded in AGAIN(ST) than in GIVE. The correspondences between the selection of forms of AGAIN(ST) and GIVE can also be seen in forms in which <y> occurs, such as <ayen> and <yeue>. Three areas of Essex show these forms as the main variants, one in the north-east, one in the south-east and one in the far west.

Map 22a shows the distribution of forms of AGAIN(ST) and GIVE in the southern area as a whole. For both items forms containing <ȝ> are common throughout the south (dot maps 222 and 427). Those areas coloured red in map 22a indicate areas where <ȝ> is found most regularly as the only main variant. The area containing green crosses shows where <g> appears as the only main variant, i.e. the north (dot maps 220 and 424). The blue shading indicates an area of overlap in which <ȝ> and <g> forms are found as main variants in equal measure. <y> and <ȝ> forms are recorded throughout the south-west and Midlands, i.e. in the region containing red crosses. In those areas coloured green, (i.e. the north-west and central Midlands, around London and in the Somerset area) all three forms appear in similar proportions.

<ȝ> and <y> spellings both imply [j] which was retained in ME from OE <ongean> and <giefan>. The replacement of <ȝ> with <y> can be seen from

MAP 22i

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 22i

AGAIN(ST)

⊙ <ayen>-type
● <aʒen>-type
✕ <agen>-type
▲ <oʒain> etc.

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MAP 22ii

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 22ii

GIVE   initial <y>   ◦
        initial <ʒ>   ●
        initial <g>   ✕

MAP 22a

AGAIN(ST) & GIVE:

⟨g⟩ & ⟨ȝ⟩

⟨g⟩ & ⟨ȝ⟩
⟨ȝ⟩
⟨y⟩ & ⟨ȝ⟩   ×
⟨g⟩, ⟨y⟩ & ⟨ȝ⟩

(original in colour)

around 1300 (Jordan, 1974:§189). As illustrated above, this purely orthographic distinction shows a regional distribution and is consequently useful as a dialectal criterion. Spellings with <g> instead of spellings suggesting [j] are 'found initially only in Norse loanwords or in words affected by analogy with them' (Brunner, 1970:44). In the case of forms of AGAIN(ST) and GIVE there is influence on the native forms from ON <(í) gegn> and <gefa> particularly, as would be expected, in the north. However, <g> forms began to be selected more regularly in the south and eventually prevailed in the standard language.

Map 23: THESE

In Essex, forms of the item THESE with medial <e> predominate and the occurrence of any other variant is uncommon. Usages with medial <i> or <y> are recorded as the main form in six sources localised in three areas of the county - the far north, the centre and the south-west. Surrounding these three regions are sources in which <i> or <y> forms are recorded as minor variants. This is particularly the case in the north of Essex as map 23 illustrates. In two sources medial <ie> or <ye> are found as a minor form (Douce 322 and Arun 119).

Although found across the south - apart from in the central Midlands - <þise>-type forms are less widespread than usages such as <þese> (dot maps 1 and 2). Variants containing <ie> or <ye> are most common in the north of the country, although even here there are only a few instances. A couple of occurrences are recorded in the north central Midlands and East Anglia (dot map 5).

Map 24: CAME

The singular and plural forms of CAME are plotted on map 24. In the singular, forms with medial <a> and medial <o> predominate. In the north-east and central areas of Essex, and in a small area of the south-west, <cam>-type forms are most commonly found, whilst <o> forms are regularly found as a main form in all areas except the north-east. Forms of the plural with medial <a> are much rarer and are found as a main variant in only four sources (Douce 126, LoC 4 (A), CCCC 387 and Arun 119). The most common plural forms of CAME are those with either medial <o> or with medial <o> and final <n>. In one source (OCCC 201) the main plural form contains medial <e>; in

MAP 23

MAP 23

THESE medial <e(e)> ○
medial <i/y> ○
medial <i/y> ●
medial <ie/ye> ✗

<i/y> as main form ——————
<i/y> occurs — — — —

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 24

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 24

	<cam>-type	●
	<com>-type	◉
	<cam>-type	●
	<com>-type	○
	<kem>-type	✕
	final <n>	✳

CAME sg.

CAME pl.

(original in colour)

the singular forms recorded for this LP, no <e> variants were noted. In southern England <com>-type forms are common although in East Anglia and the east Midlands, they are less prevalent than <cam>-type usages which are most regularly found as a main variant in the Midlands, East Anglia and the south-west (dot maps 381 and 382).

Map 25: EITHER. NEITHER

The most regularly recorded variants of the items EITHER and NEITHER in Essex are of the <(n)eiþer>-type (i.e. containing <ei> or <ey>). These forms are a main usage in eighteen sources distributed throughout the county. On a larger scale, they are found most commonly across the Midlands and East Anglia (dot map 473). The occurrence of a form like <(n)oþer> as a main variant tends to be in two areas of the county - in the northern-central and central areas, and across the south. Forms such as <(n)eþer> appear as a main usage in five sources, three of which (Har 2409, LoC 4 (B) and CUL Hh.I.11) are localised in the north-west of the county. This type of form is relatively uncommon in the south of England, with most appearances being situated in the Midlands and East Anglia (dot map 474). Variants such as <(n)ouþer> are found as main forms in only three sources (CCCC 434, Douce 157 and CCCC 80), i.e. in the central- northern and south-western areas of Essex. This type of form is found in the Midlands with a few occurrences in East Anglia, but instances are not widespread (dot maps 404 and 478). Usages such as <(n)aiþer> are recorded as a main form in only two sources (SJC 256 and Auch E) and as minor variants in only a further three (e Mus 76, Laud 622 and Douce 157). Those variants containing <oy> or <oi> are found in four sources as the main usage (Add 37677, the manuscripts of the PHL scribe, Add 17376 and Arun 119), in the north and south-west of Essex. The dot maps show that this type of variant is found mostly in the Lincolnshire area although there are a few instances around London and in the Herefordshire area (dot map 476).

ME <aiþer>, <eiþer> and <eþer> developed from OE <ǣgwæþer> and <ǣgþer>, and <nauþer> and <nouþer> developed from OE <nōhwæþer> and <nāhwæþer>. Through 'reciprocal levelling' <ouþer>, <neiþer> and <neþer> were produced (Brunner, 1970:69-70). A form such as <(n)oiþer> provides a fine illustration of 'the gradual nature of variations in the dialect continuum'

MAP 25

Suffolk

Cambs.

Herts.

Kent

London

MAP 25

(N)EITHER

✗	<(n)eþer>-type
✳	<(n)oþer>-type
●	<(n)eiþer/(n)eyþer>-type
◑	<(n)ouþer>-type
△	<(n)aiþer>-type
▲	<(n)oyþer>-type

(Samuels, 1972:98) since it is an adaptation found in the area of the isogloss between <(n)oþer> and <(n)eiþer>.

Conclusions

The above discussion provides an outline and contextualisation of the criteria which allow a source to be localised within Essex. As is to be expected a great deal of variation is recorded both within individual texts and between different sources. This is the nature of ME however, and an examination of the wider picture within southern England reveals correspondences and distributions that allow for the localisation of these sources within Essex.

It has been observed that in several of the maps the south-west of the county is regularly different when compared to the rest of Essex. This can be explained by the area's proximity to London and the concentration of Type II texts localised in the region. Some forms which are found clustered in this part of the county include forms of THEY with initial <h> and forms of THEM and THEIR with initial <th/þ>, usages of MUCH with final <l>, and <werld>-type forms of WORLD. On a larger scale, similarities to other peripheral areas of the country can be observed in a number of the items plotted. Innovation can be seen to be taking place in the central areas of the country and radiating outwards. However, the fact that Essex is adjacent to the capital prevents its linguistic usages from being as conservative as those of other areas.

Similarities to East Anglia can be seen in some sources. For example, in Add.A.369, forms such as <frist> (FIRST), <vntil> (UNTIL) and <are> (ARE) appear as main variants and in Add.C.280 the main usages of <word> (WORLD) and <arn> (ARE) show spellings regularly found in Norfolk and Suffolk. Many of the minor usages noted in the discussion can be explained as 'show-throughs' or relicts carried over by the copyist from his exemplar. Forms such as <sal> and <suld> (SHALL and SHOULD) and <qwh->, <qw-> and <qu-> (OE <hw->) are predominantly northern and East Anglian forms respectively.

2. Problematic Localisations in LALME

The following inquiries will concern themselves with localisations contained in LALME that are considered problematic following the current analyses. It is possible that two of the manuscripts (Sl 442 and Add.E.6) should not be considered as examples of the late medieval Essex dialect at all. The evidence of another source (Hunt 74 (B)) suggests that, although an Essex source, it could be localised in a different area of the county.

2.1 London, British Library, Sloane 442

Sl 442 is a manuscript of culinary and medical tracts. It is a composite manuscript 'compiled from many booklets' (Jones, 2000:145) and is used by Jones as evidence of vernacular literacy in East Anglia[3]. Sl 442 is 'more of a general practical handbook than a purely medical work' (Jones, 2000:316). LALME localises the manuscript to the far south-east corner of Essex. The languages of the three scribes that copy most of the first 66 folios of the manuscript make up the LP in LALME. The language of these three hands is described as 'similar' (LALME I:194) and all are consequently included in one profile. However, following the methodology outlined in the introduction to this study (section 1.3), here separate analyses of the three hands have been conducted. The language of folios 28^V to 31^V is localised in LALME to north-east Suffolk or south-east Norfolk, although no LP is provided (LALME, I:115).

Hand A copies folios 1, 3^V, 4^V to 5^V, 25^V, line14 to 28^r, 32^V, line 5 to 34^V and 37^V; hand B contributes folios 4^r, 6^r to 23^r, line 7 and 35^r to 66; and hand C is found in folios 23^r, line 8 to 25^V, line 13. A comparison of the LPs of these three hands suggests that there are not enough similarities between them to group them together into one profile, and that to do so obscures the evidence.

Although in many instances the same form for an item is shared by all three scribal texts, very often the proportion in which that form is found varies and additional forms occur in only one of the contributions, for instance, in the

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[3] Jones's selection criteria are that a manuscript must either be written in an East Anglian (i.e. a Norfolk or Suffolk) dialect or by a scribe known to have been an East Anglian, or that its provenance should associate it with people from the area. In the case of Sl 442 it is assumed that the language of the scribe who wrote folios 28^V to 31^V localised in LALME to East Anglia admitted the manuscript to Jones's study. What follows in this discussion, in particular with reference to hands A and B, seems to provide further evidence that this manuscript should be treated as an East Anglian source.

forms noted for FROM, IT and -LY. In a number of cases hand A differs from the other two in the variant found for a particular item. This can be seen in the forms of AGAIN(ST), BURN, EACH, GIVE, IF, LITTLE, MUCH and THEM. However, in other items, hands B and C also do not consistently agree, and in the item THROUGH, all hands contain different variants. Most striking of all perhaps is the number of variants recorded within the contribution of hand B for a number of items, most notably BEFORE, FIRE, NOT, THEN and THROUGH.

A further comparison of hands A and B with the LPs of scribal texts made for this study suggests that their scribal contributions do not fit easily within the matrix of texts localisable to the Essex area and additional analysis and discussion of problematic forms recorded within them is necessary.

2.1.1 Hand C
A localisation of hand C within Essex is not out of the question, however. The County Dictionary of LALME, Volume IV was consulted. This section of LALME provides a list of every variant recorded for each item county by county and therefore allows the occurrences of specific forms to be noted. The dot maps of Volume I provide a useful schematisation of the occurrences of certain types of forms; however, for a more in-depth and detailed investigation of particular forms, the County Dictionary is invaluable.

Although the form <syfle> (SELF) only appears as a minor variant in two other Essex sources (Douce 322 and Hunt 74 (A)), the County Dictionary shows that, although not a common variant, it is found in other Midland and southern texts, in Cambridgeshire, Surrey, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. The forms <þerew> and <þeru> (THROUGH) are not found in any other scribal text examined for LALME, and no other variants with initial <þer-> are recorded in Essex. However, all the other forms noted within the analysis cohere with an Essex localisation.

2.1.2 Hand A
The linguistic evidence provided by hand A, on the other hand, suggests the presence of a language more northern than that of Essex. Main variants like <agan> (AGAIN(ST)), <are> (ARE), <gyff> (GIVE sg.) and <þem> (THEM) immediately suggest a more northern localisation. Minor forms such as <-lyk>

(-LY) and <qwh->, <qh-> and <qhw-> (OE hw- words) also imply a northerly or East Anglian element of language.

That a localisation of hand A could more fruitfully be sought in Norfolk is suggested by the evidence to be found in the accompanying map (Sloane 442 Hand A). Some of the main forms that were noted in this scribal text which are not typically Essex variants have been plotted and it is striking how many of these - all but one - are listed in the County Dictionary as appearing in Norfolk texts. A combination of the forms <letyll> (LITTLE), <thyes> (THESE), <ych(e) (a)> (EACH), <yff> (IF) and <wᵗowt> (WITHOUT) seems to fit with the distribution of variants to be found in this area. The minor forms of -LY and OE <hw-> words also reconcile themselves to a localisation in Norfolk. The form for THROUGH recorded for this hand, <throwyht>, is not noted in the County Dictionary, but a form <throwght> is found in Lincolnshire, and <throwth> is listed under Norfolk and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

2.1.3 Hand B

It seems that Sl 442 is made up of a number of booklets which 'can indicate that a manuscript has been compiled over time from a variety of sources... [T]he composite manuscripts.. reflect the occupations, interests, education and therefore literacy practices of their readers' (Jones, 2000:330-3). The appearance of hand B in 'various places in the manuscript' has led Jones to suggest that this scribe may have been the compiler of the manuscript, 'as other hands tend to be confined to specific booklets or marginal notes' (Jones, 2000:338).

The large number of variants to be found in the analysis of the language of hand B immediately suggests that there may be more than one linguistic layer present in this scribal contribution. Most noticeable of all are the 27 forms of the item THROUGH recorded. Of these, 14 either do not appear in the County Dictionary at all or are only recorded under the LP of Sl 442. The distributions of the remaining thirteen are plotted on the accompanying map (Sloane 442 Hand Bi). Six of these, <þorwȝ>, <þorw>, <throw>, <thorow>, <þorow> and <þrow>, are found across the whole of the south of England and consequently do not provide enough discriminatory evidence to help in narrowing down any potential areas of origin of the language of hand B. The others are recorded in

SLOANE 442 HAND A

A- <letyll> (LITTLE)
B- <thyes> (THESE)
C- <ych(e) (a)> (EACH)
D- <yff> (IF)
E- <wtowyt> (WITHOUT)
F- <wtowt> (WITHOUT)

SLOANE 442 HAND Bi

(Forms not in County Dictionary or only recorded under Sl 442:

Porwg, Porwȝg, drowgȝ, throwȝt, Porwȝgh, dorwȝt, dorwgh, trowȝt, thorwg, durwe, durghe, thorwȝg, drowȝg, trowȝ)

A- Porwȝ H- dorwe
B- Borw J- thorwȝ
C- throw K- Borwgh
D- throwȝ L- thorwgh
E- Prowȝ M- Borow
F- thorow N- Prow
G- thorwe

Norfolk ABCFGMN

Suffolk BCDFMN

Essex ABFLMN

Kent ABGJ

Cambs.

Hunts. MN

Herts. C

Beds FM

M'sex FM

Lon BM

Surrey BF

Sussex ABHM

Rut.

N'hants FM

Bucks FM

Leics. CFMN

W'wicks ABEF MN

Oxon. ABM

Brks. FM

Hamps. ABFJM

Staffs. ACDF MN

Worcs. ABCF LMN

Gloucs. BCFMN

Wilts. BFKM

Shrops.

Hrfs. ABEMN

Mon. B

S'set CFGM

Dorset AC

Devon BFMN

only a few counties, but these are scattered across the country. <throwȝ> is attested in Staffordshire and Suffolk, <þrowȝ> in Warwickshire and Herefordshire, <thorwe> in Norfolk, Kent and Somerset, <dorwe> in Sussex, <thorwȝ> in Kent and Hampshire, <þorwgh> in Wiltshire and <thorwgh> in Worcestershire and Essex (CCCC 80). On the evidence of these forms therefore, there seem to be possible areas of origin for the language of hand B in East Anglia, the south-east, the south-west and the west Midlands.

Another item for which a variety of forms appears is FIRE. In hand B's contribution 12 different forms were recorded. Three of these do not appear in the County Dictionary but the occurrences of the others are noted in map Sloane 442 Hand Bii. Of these nine forms for FIRE all but two are found in Norfolk sources, six are recorded in Suffolk and five in Sussex. The two forms that are not listed in any of these counties are <fuyre> and <fyyr> which are recorded in Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and Bedfordshire and Somerset respectively. Forms of <fuyre> (i.e. without an abbreviated final <-e>) are more widespread but also tend to be concentrated in the west of the country. From the evidence of the forms of THROUGH and FIRE alone, it therefore seems that two or possibly three layers of language may be in existence in this scribal text, one from East Anglia, one from the west, and one from the south-east. A closer examination of other unusual forms is consequently necessary.

Recorded in map Sloane 442 Hand Biii are a number of other variants (mostly minor) that were noted in the analysis of hand B of Sl 442. The form <eyyn> (EYES), although uncommon is found in both Norfolk and Suffolk, providing more evidence of a possible East Anglian layer of language in this text. Variants that tend to be found in the south-east, in particular Sussex are once more noted. Particularly striking are the forms <dey> (THEY) and <dere> (THERE) (see further below). In the west Midlands, a region comprising Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire contains the variant <þauȝ> (ALTHOUGH) and in the whole area the form <þulke> (THE SAME) is found. This form is also found in Kent and Sussex. The form <wordyll> (WORLD) is only to be found in Wiltshire and <eyche> (EACH) in Shropshire and Hampshire. Of the two unusual variants of NOT, <nowȝth> is recorded in Sussex and <nogh> in Herefordshire. <togeþer> is listed in

SLOANE 442 HAND Bii

Main forms:
A- fyere
B- fyer
C- fuyre

Minor forms:
D- feyr
E- fyre
F- feer
G- fyyr
H- feere
J- fere

(Forms not in County
Dictionary: fyyre,
ffyer, fyyre).

Norfolk ABDEFHJ
Suffolk BDEFHJ
Cambs. BF
Essex BFJ
Hunts. B
Herts. F
Beds G
M'sex
Rut. B
N'hants B
Bucks B
Surrey EFJ
Leics. B
Oxon. B
Brks.
Sussex BDEFJ
Hamps. CJ
W'wicks BCF
Gloucs. C
Wilts. CE
Staffs. E
Worcs. E
Shrops. B
Hrfs.
Mon. F
S'set BEG
Dorset DF
Devon ADE
Lon
Kent

SLOANE 442 HAND Biii

A- \<wordyll\> (WORLD)
B- \<dey\> (THEY)
C- \<þaw3\> (ALTHOUGH)
D- \<þeem\> (THEM)
E- \<eyche\> (EACH)
F- \<Pulke\> (THE SAME)
G- \<eyyn\> (EYES)

H- \<now3th\> (NOT)
J- \<nogh\> (NOT)
K- \<der(e)\> (THERE)
L- \<togeþer\> (TOGETHER)

Norfolk G

Suffolk G

Cambs.

Essex

Hunts.

Herts.

Lon C

M'sex

Kent F

Beds

Rut.

N'hants

Bucks

Surrey K

Sussex B F H K L

Leics. D

Oxon. F

Brks. F

Hamps. E F

W'wicks C F

Staffs. C

Worcs. C F L

Gloucs. F

Wilts. A F

Dorset F

Shrops. E

Hrfs. C F J

Mon. F

S'set G

Devon

Sussex and Worcestershire.   <þeem> (THEM) is noted in the County Dictionary only once, as a minor variant in a Leicestershire text. Map Sloane 442 Hand Biv shows the minor forms of OE <hw-> words recorded in hand B's contribution to the manuscript and these can be seen to be particularly East Anglian variants.

Although 'the sheer number of functionally equivalent variants does not.. guarantee the existence of a Mischsprache', the 'persistent co-occurrence of dialectal forms whose regional distributions are such that their geographical overlap cannot reasonably be supposed' does suggest that scribe B of Sl 442 may have produced a Mischsprache (Benskin & Laing, 1981:76-7). In order to be able to assume that the scribal dialect is homogeneous, one must be satisfied that 'the degree of free variation assumed is not greater than is likely even in a dialect that has a higher proportion of 'border' or 'transitional' features than average' and that 'the number of forms which.. conflict with the localisation is not so great as to render it pointless' (Samuels, 1969:329-30). What is seen in the language of hand B is a high number of variants whose distributions tend to occur in East Anglia, the south-east or the west Midlands. There is no 'border' area between these three regions that could satisfactorily explain the co-occurrence of such forms in one text. It is noticeable that the County Dictionary rarely lists these forms as appearing in the central Midlands unless they are variants that are widely distributed across the whole of the south of England. A localisation of hand B in Essex is 'rendered pointless' by the number of variants noted that 'conflict' with such a localisation.

A further interesting linguistic feature of hand B's language is the frequent use of <d> for historical <th>, <th> for historical <d>, <th> for historical <t> and <t> for historical <th>. In addition to the forms such as <oyder> (EITHER), <der> (THERE), <deese> (THESE), <dey> and <day> (THEY) and <drowgʒ>, <dorwgh>, <durghe> etc. (THROUGH) recorded for the questionnaire, the variants <de> (THEE), <dyn> (THINE) and <dree> (THREE) were also observed.   Conversely, the forms <bleþe> (BLEED), <þo> (DO), <þryng> (DRINK), <honþe> (HAND), <heþe> (HEAD), <holþe> (HOLD), <maþe> (MADE) and <stanþe> (STAND) were found where <þ> occurs rather than the expected <d>.

SLOANE 442 HAND Biv

A- <qw->
B- <qwh->
C- <qh->

Forms with <t> instead of historical <th> were recorded in <biet> (ARE), <fort> (FORTH), <wit> (WITH) and third person present singular and plural forms ending <-it> and <-yt>. The opposite phenomenon, <th> for historical <t>, is found in variants such as <bothe> (BUT), <fyrsth> and <fursthe> (FIRST), <gethe> (GET p.p.), <thake> (TAKE) and <owthe> and <w^touth> ((WITH)OUT).

In LALME, <d> for historical <th> appears as a main form primarily in the south-east of England, in Kent, Sussex and Surrey, although medially such forms are found only in East Anglia and Essex (e Mus 76 and Douce 157). <th> for historical <d> is more widespread, though as a main form it is mainly found in Kent, Sussex and Surrey. <th> for final <t> is exclusively an East Anglian phenomenon (dot map 1176). All the above instances of <th> for historical <t>, apart from <thake> (TAKE), occur in final position. Initially and medially this feature is fairly widespread in a number of Midland, southern and East Anglian sources. Once again these linguistic features point to a mixture of south-eastern and East Anglian usages.

An explanation for occurrences of <t> for historical <th>, which is noted in final position in all instances, could be hypercorrection, specifically qualitative hypercorrection. Qualitative hypercorrection occurs when a member of a social group wishes to exclude an element which they would normally use from a particular environment, and to substitute a 'non-native speech-element' which they believe is used by members of the social group that they are attempting to imitate. Consequently, they often 'produce an utterance not possible for speakers who use that other element natively', by not using 'the substituting element in the relevant environment' (Janda & Auger, 1992:201).

Of course for linguists investigating hypercorrection today, the phenomenon relates to speech, but where there is no written standard, it is possible to find a similar situation in writing. Investigators find that the more formal a situation, the more likely a speaker is to hypercorrect, for instance, when reading a wordlist, and this could be regarded as having a correlation with the written mode, which requires care and formality.

Although it could be argued that there was little prestige attached to one provincial written dialect over another during the late medieval period, there is another possible explanation for the possible hypercorrection found in hand

B's work. Janda and Auger suggest that 'the potential for hypercorrection [is]..
heightened in direct proportion to the divergence which exists between a
learner's native dialect and the written standard' (Janda & Auger, 1992:198).
In a medieval context one could argue that the potential for hypercorrection is
increased in direct proportion to the divergence which exists between a
scribe's native dialect and the dialect which he is attempting to reproduce. For
instance, if scribe B was, for argument's sake, a native of the south-east of
England, who had moved to and was working in an area of East Anglia, he
would certainly encounter dialectalisms unfamiliar to him. One of these
features could have been third person present verbal forms ending <-it> or <-
yt>. He may have sporadically adopted this feature into his writing but
extended its use into other environments so that unusual forms such as <biet>
(ARE) and <wit> (WITH) are found in his work. Similarly, the form <thake>
(TAKE) sees the usual <th> for final <t> extended to an initial position. It is
perhaps worth noting here that <ie> for historical <eo>, as found in <biet>
(ARE), tends to be a Kentish form, and <bieþ> is recorded there in the County
Dictionary.

Of course, this is a purely speculative suggestion, but it may help to explain
some of the unusual occurrences recorded in hand B of Sl 442. Any further
investigation into the usages in the manuscript will not be undertaken here
since its localisation to Essex is in some doubt. Future work into the
manuscript and in particular the language of hand B may wish to examine any
conditioning factors, stylistic or linguistic, that could influence the use of
possible hypercorrected forms.

2.1.4 Conclusion

LALME states that on folio 26^r of Sl 442 'is the draft of a letter referring to 'þ^e
persone of Stanbryghe' (two Stambridges in Essex)' (LALME, I:194), and the
manuscript has been localised in LALME to the area of Great Stambridge.
The letter referred to in LALME has been copied lengthways down the margin
of folio 26^r and mentions someone who has been ordered to London to 'se
yower seruand dyschargyd of þ^e bond' claiming that the bill has been
'examynyd and certyfyed by þ^e persone of stanbryghe Robartt Browke John
Samyng Robertt Ambroce w^t mo'. It seems therefore that Sl 442 has been

localised in LALME primarily on extralinguistic evidence. However, the linguistic evidence suggests that, firstly, an LP that combines all three hands obscures the heterogeneous nature of their languages and, secondly, for hands A and B of this manuscript at least, a localisation within Essex could be misleading.

2.2 Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6

Add.E.6 is an unusual manuscript. It is a roll composed of four membranes measuring 1.8 metres by 8.5 centimetres. The manuscript is written in three hands and contains three texts. The first scribe (A) writes the first item, The Sayings of St. Bernard. The second hand (B) copies the XV Tokens of Domesday and the first 82 lines of the third text, an exposition on the Lord's Prayer. The third scribe (C) completes the copying of this text. In LALME, hands A and B are described as having similar language and they are conflated to form one LP which is localised in the south-west of Essex.

Margaret Laing has recently analysed the manuscript further and, in her opinion, 'the dialects of hands A and B are not particularly similar'. She believes that hand B has elements of Gloucestershire usages and suggests that if scribe B were a local Essex scribe, he may have used a south-west Midlands exemplar, and that the language produced is consequently mixed. As a result of this re-analysis of Add.E.6, Laing feels that a separation of the hands and a reassessment of their localisation are necessary. She proposes placing hand A at Great Saling in the north of Essex, close to Braintree, while hand C is 'provisionally' localised in east Essex (Laing, pers. comm.:1999).

The manuscript of Add.E.6 has strong associations with Great Saling. At the bottom of the recto of the roll, 'upside down, beside and sometimes overlapping lines 76-84' of the XV Signs text, a hand dating from the first half of the fourteenth century has written 'amen dico vobis/ super omnia b/ super Sciant presentes/ & futuri quod Ego/ thomas/ Choket/ de Salyngge/ dominus Robertus/ park de Salyngge'. Next to lines 124 to 128 of the Sayings of St. Bernard a hand datable to c.1300 has written 'I Iohannes wymer Iohannis wymer Iohans'. The names Park and Wymer are both local to Great Saling (Laing, pers. comm.:1999).

The analysis of the manuscript conducted for this study was carried out using a

microfilm copy. Hand C's extremely faded portion of text is barely legible and it has been necessary to rely on Laing's analysis for this scribe, which was carried out by reading the original manuscript under an ultraviolet lamp. She feels that this hand, like hand B, may also contain a mixture of Essex and south-west Midlands features, although 'the usage seems closer to A's language than to B's' (Laing, pers. comm.:1999). Since Dr. Laing will be publishing this material in the future, a full analysis of this text is not offered here. Two separate profiles were made of hand B, one for each text or portion of text copied by the scribe. The linguistic differences and similarities to be found in the two texts to which this scribe contributed can therefore be examined.

2.2.1 Hand B

A closer analysis of the texts copied by hand B involving a distinction between those forms found in both texts and those found in only one was made. The short length of the two texts (212 and 128 lines long) means that many items were either not attested at all or were only recorded in one text. Where two different forms for an item are found in each text some degree of constraint must be considered.

After consultation with the County Dictionary and mapping of some of the more unusual forms found in hand B's work a number of observations may be made (see map Add.E.6 Hand Bi). Firstly, only two of these variants do not appear in either East Anglia or the Gloucestershire/Worcestershire areas. Also, almost an equal proportion are to be found in East Anglia, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire or in both regions. Finally, the text of the Lord's Prayer has an even split of usages from the two areas while in the XV Signs text East Anglian forms seem more predominant. Laing's suggestion that scribe B was using a south-west Midlands exemplar is therefore highly plausible since a clear mixture of forms can be observed.

However, a problem with identifying the scribe as being from Essex arises when it is considered how many of these forms are recorded in East Anglia rather than in Essex.

Consideration of diachronic changes may provide a solution. Add.E.6 has been dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and, it may be recalled,

ADD.E.6 HAND Bi

Both texts: ●
N- <naut> (NOT)
P- <þour> (THROUGH)
R- <ssal> (SHALL sg.)
S- <ssel> (SHALL sg)
T- <ssolle> (SHALL pl.)

Lord's Prayer: ●
H- <aȝans> (AGAIN(ST))
J- <betȝ> (ARE)
K- <bet> (ARE)
L- <naȝt> (NOT)
M- <witoutin> (WITHOUT)

XV Signs: ●
A- <oni> (ANY)
B- <witȝoute> (WITHOUT)
C- <ache> (EACH)
D- <gatȝ> (GO)
E- <ssulle> (SHALL pl.)
F- <he> (THEY)
G- <suech(e> (SUCH)

(original in colour)

Norfolk: ADDFG MPR
Suffolk: FG HJM P
Cambs.: AFG P
Herts.: F
Beds: A
Hunts.
Rut.
N'hants
Leics.
W'wicks
Oxon.: K
Bucks: P
M'sex
Essex
Lon: P
Kent: FKLST
Surrey: GHP
Sussex: CK
Hamps.: KN
Brks.: FS
Wilts.: FLR
Gloucs.: AEFLPRST
Worcs.: AFKL MP
Staffs.: M
Shrops.
Hrts.: F
Mon.
S'set: MPR
Dorset
Devon: F

the southern texts localised in LALME generally date from between 1325 and 1425. It must therefore be considered whether the comparison of the texts of Add.E.6 with ones written perhaps up to 150 years later may skew some of the evidence[4]. Perhaps some of these unusual forms were current in parts of the east Midlands as well as in East Anglia in the EME period but their area of currency receded during the later period to the more peripheral East Anglian counties. A comparison with the usages attested in earlier sources may therefore prove fruitful.

2.2.2 Hand A

As noted above Laing has postulated a localisation for scribe A of Add.E.6 to the Great Saling area. The text of the Sayings of St Bernard copied by scribe A is only 180 lines long and the number of items found within the text is consequently relatively small. The accompanying map (Add.E.6 Hand A) shows two areas of Essex to which hand A might be localised - one in the northern-central region not far from Great Saling, and another in the south-west. The map uses those forms which do not have a wide distribution in Essex and therefore provide discriminatory evidence. The second region corresponds to that area where sources representative of the Type II incipient standard are localised.

One type of form - variants of GIVE with initial <g> - is not found in the south-western area, pointing therefore to the area in the north as more likely. Scribe A also does not use many of the prototypical Type II forms (see chapter 4, section 3.4.1). Again this may indicate the localisation close to Great Saling, which was favoured by Laing as a localisation on extra- as well as intralinguistic grounds.

The original localisation in LALME places Add.E.6 close to the Type II sources. Some of the usages in hand B such as <he> (THEY) and <þilke> (THE SAME), combined with those in hand A, may have encouraged this placing.

A comparison of the language of the earlier Essex sources (see chapter 1, section 3.2) with the usages in hand A of Add.E.6 shows that the language of hand A of the Trinity Homilies shows most similarities to hand A of Add.E.6. Both contain <g> not <ȝ> in AGAIN(ST) and GIVE, <fram> for (FROM) and a

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[4] Indeed Add.E.6 is being considered as a source for LAEME.

ADD.E.6 HAND A

Cambs.

Suffolk

Herts.

Kent

London

ADD.E.6 HAND A

<agayn>-type (AGAIN(ST))
metathesised <ax-> (ASK)
<e> for OE <y> (FIRE, FIRST)
<fram> (FROM)
<gif> (GIVE)
<heȝe> (HIGH)
final <i> in MUCH
<þoru>-type of THROUGH

(original in colour)

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final <l> in their forms of MUCH as well as sharing more general correspondences. Hand A of the <u>Homilies</u> manuscript has been placed in north-west Essex, and is therefore closer to Great Saling than the other sources. Those differences that do surface between the two hands may again be diachronic rather than diatopic, since Trinity 335 dates from the second half of the twelfth century whilst Add.E.6 is from some one hundred years later. Add.E.6 dates from a point midway between the EME sources localised to this area of Essex and the majority found in LALME.

2.2.3 <u>Comparison with the Early Middle English material</u>

Once the early material (dating from c.1150 to 1300) is included in the assessment of the hands of Add.E.6, it is possible to account for many of the unusual forms listed above as either Essex or south-west Midlands without having to bring East Anglia into the reckoning[5]. The variants found in the early material are plotted in map Add.E.6 Bii. This material derives from ongoing research by Dr. Laing, and it would be inappropriate and unethical to give full details here in advance of the publication of her results. For that reason, a highly selective account of the data has been adopted here, and any comments made are tentative and preliminary; this account is offered simply as contextualisation for the rest of the study, and as an explanation of the scribal behaviour evidenced in Add E.6.

Several of the variants in Add E.6 which seem unusual for Essex texts plotted in LALME can be found in the EME material localised to Essex. In the <u>Poema Morale</u> text of Trinity 335 <ache> (EACH) is found. In the language of hand A of the <u>Trinity Homilies</u> <oni> (ANY) is attested. Both hands of Stowe 34 contain variants of WITHOUT of the <witoutin>-type and <alche>-type forms of EACH. Although the form <þour> (THROUGH) is not found in the earlier material, a number of sources, including hand B of Stowe 34, contain related variants such as <þur>.

Forms found in sources provisionally placed by Dr. Laing in the south-west Midlands include variants of AGAIN(ST) of the form <-ȝan>, <oni> (ANY), the form <bet> (ARE) and similar variants such as <beot> and <beiþ>, the form for EACH, <ache>, variants of WITHOUT of the type <witoutin>, and forms of

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[5] Data from the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English Database of tagged texts is used with the permission of Dr Margaret Laing, Institute for Historical Dialectology, for the University of Edinburgh.

ADD.E.6 HAND B (ii)
Forms found in the early material

Norfolk
ABCENPR

Suffolk
BDEH

Cambs.
DELNPR

DL
Hunts.

Essex
ABDELNR

Herts.

Beds

Lon A

M'sex

Kent

Surrey

Sussex

Rut.

N'hants
N

Bucks

Leics.

Oxon.

Brks.
N

Hamps.

W'wicks

Staffs.
HR

Worcs.
ABDEH
JLMN
PR

Gloucs.
BCDEG
KLPR

Wilts.
KNPR

Dorset

Shrops.
DELM

Hrfs.
ADEJLM
NPR

Mon.

S'set
BCDJP

Devon
P

ADD.E.6 HAND Bii

A- <oni> (ANY)
B- <ache> (EACH)
C- <ss-> (SHALL)
D- <he> (THEY)
E- <hit/it> (THEY)
F- <ȝe> (THEY)
G- <suech(e)> (SUCH)
H- <aȝans> (AGAIN(ST))
J- <bet> (ARE)
K- <naȝt> (NOT)
L- <witoutin> (WITHOUT)
M- <naut> (NOT)
N- <þour> (THROUGH)
P- <w/Þ> for implied /f/ or /v/
R- items with no fricative implied where it might be expected

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SHALL with initial <ss->.

In the earlier Essex sources the most common form of SUCH is <swilch(e)>. The form <suech> and related variants, including those of the type <sweche> etc., bearing in mind the amount of overlap between <w> and <u>, are exclusively found in apparently south-west Midland texts. Although forms ending with <-ʒ>, as attested in some forms of ARE, GO etc. in hand B's usages, are primarily from Norfolk in the later material, in EME their appearance is more widespread, and they occur in sources from other areas including the south-west Midlands.

The forms <naut> and <naʒt> (NOT) are also primarily found in EME sources believed by Dr. Laing to come from the south-west Midlands. Another form, <naƿt>, is also commonly found in the area, but the phonemic quality that is being implied by the letter form <ƿ> is very difficult to establish, especially in a context such as this, since at this time, <u>, <y> and even <ʒ> could be written as equivalents of <ƿ> (Laing, 1999:256-7).

In the LALME evidence, Add.E.6 and a few south-western sources are the only ones to show spellings that do not imply a medial fricative in items such as MIGHT and FIGHT[6]. In the earlier material the indication is that this type of spelling was found most commonly in the south-west. In a number of sources forms such as <aite> (WS aeht), <fette> (FIGHT) and <sclaitre> (SLAUGHTER) are seen. However, this reflection of the loss of the fricative in the orthography also seems to have occurred in the east. The form <hleitres> (LAUGHTER) is found in hand A of Stowe 34, and two other sources, one from north-west Norfolk and another possibly from Cambridgeshire, also exhibit this feature. This type of spelling, which recognises the loss of the fricative in the spoken mode, could have arisen independently in different areas and therefore may not be particularly discriminatory (Laing, 2001:pers. comm.).

As is to be expected in the earlier period before the third person plural forms with initial <þ-> became widely adopted, the form <he> for (THEY) is very common in EME sources. Forms <hit> and related <it> for THEY are also

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[6] In the Southern Appendix of Volume IV forms containing '-eyʒt, -eght, -eth etc. for usual southern -iʒt' are listed. The south-western sources comprise, two from Devon, a variant <fethen> (FIGHT) and <neite> (NIGHT) and one from Herefordshire <feytting> (FIGHTING)

regularly found. These two pronominal forms need not therefore be forms carried over from the scribal exemplar but may be variants present in hand B's repertoire. The form <ȝe> (THEY) which is recorded in hand B of Add.E.6 is not found in the earlier material, although a variant <ye> is attested in a south Lincolnshire source.

Scribes A and B in Add E.6 both have a tendency to write <w> for implied /f/ or /v/ in forms such as <ewyl> (EVIL), <ȝewe> (GIVE), <hawyn> etc. (HAVE) and <selwe> (SELF), recorded in hand A's stint, and <wend> (FIEND) and <wadme> (FATHOM), found in hand B's portion. A large number of EME sources contain <w> or <ƿ> for implied /f/ or /v/. Many scribes copying EME used <w>, <v>, <u> and <ƿ> interchangably for /w/, /v/ and /u/. Anglo-Latin writing practices used <u>, <uu>, <v>, <vv> and <w> as equivalent to <ƿ>. 'That <w> and <ƿ> may in their turn be used in [u] and [v] contexts is a logical extension of the practice in such writing systems' (Laing, 1998:n279). At a time when scribes were beginning to copy texts in English for the first time since the OE period, and when they were being faced with a language that had altered significantly since that period, it was necessary for them to devise 'different encoding solutions' to allow them to 'decode the language of their exemplars and re-encode into their own system' (Laing, 1999:251). Thus in the EME period whilst one letter shape may represent three separate realisations, with, for instance, <þ>, <ƿ> and <y> falling together, conversely different letters were being used to represent the same sound. Hence <f>, <u>, <w>, <ƿ> and <v> could all be used to represent the reflexes of OE /f/ including intervocalic [v] (Laing, 1999:255-8).

The majority of EME sources in which <w> or <ƿ> for implied /v/ are found are from the south-west Midlands and the practice seems to have been widespread here and recognised by scribes even when it was not a feature of their own active repertoire (Laing, 1998:280). Apart from in south-western sources this feature is recorded in only four texts other than hands A and B of Add.E.6, two from Lincolnshire, one from west Norfolk and one that may be from Cambridgeshire. Although the evidence indicates sporadic usage of this feature in the east, the fact that by far the majority of sources that show this practice are from the south-west, and the possibility of a south-western exemplar for Add.E.6, suggests that exemplar constraint may be the best explanation for the appearance of this feature in the work of two scribes in the

same eastern manuscript.

2.2.4 Conclusions

The EME situation is a complex one. The lack of evidence as compared to the later material and the individual approaches taken by scribes in an attempt to reflect the spoken language for which the late WS variety was not suitable contribute to this complexity. Add.E.6 belongs to this earlier period, and its presence in LALME could be considered inappropriate. Comparison with the LALME material suggests linguistic strands belonging to East Anglia and the south-west Midlands, whilst the earlier material points more to layers from Essex and the south-west Midlands. The evidence examined here confirms Laing's suggestion that hand B's contribution is a mixture of usages from these two areas. The extralinguistic evidence in the manuscript implies that it was produced in Essex and the south-west Midland features could therefore best be explained as forms carried through from the exemplar by a scribe who only partially translated his copy-text.

Laing has found that hand C also shows some south-west Midland features, and this is not surprising considering that this scribe completes one of scribe B's texts for which a south-western exemplar is postulated. The <u>Sayings of St Bernard</u> are copied only by scribe A, whose language seems to be fairly consistently that of Essex. This may suggest that the exemplar that was being used for the copying of this text was produced more locally or that scribe A was a more consistent translator. The appearance of <w> for /f/ and /v/ discussed above and also recorded in hand B's texts might point to a south-western exemplar for scribe A's text also and suggest that scribe A's copying practice was to translate his exemplar as thoroughly as possible into his own usage.

2.3. Glasgow, Hunterian 74, Hand B

The localisation of Hunt 74 (B) to the southern area of Essex is compatible with the evidence provided by the other sources placed in this area. However, it will be suggested here that a localisation slightly further west may cohere better with the combination of forms to be found in this scribe's language[7].

Other sources localised to the south-eastern area close to Hunt 74 (B) are PRO SC/1/51/60-62, PRO Prob 11/2B and Har 3943. In addition a local

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[7] Here, the language of folios 11 to 35 only will be discussed. The linguistic behaviour of the scribe in the later section of his text (to folio 92) is discussed in section 3.6 of chapter 3.

document is also listed in LALME as coming from East Tilbury (PRO C 1/16/443). It may be recalled that PRO SC/1/51/60-62 and PRO Prob 11/2B are both documents used as 'anchor' texts in LALME and the resemblance in their usages to those of Har 3943 has been referred to in chapter 1, section 4.2.2. That the forms found in these sources show more differences to Hunt 74 (B) was also mentioned there. The forms which show differences to those in these 'anchor' texts along with others that do not appear to cohere particularly well with the current placing of Hunt 74 (B) were compared with the usages in the other Essex sources[8].

In Hunt 74 (B) forms for AGAIN(ST) without exception contain <ʒ> rather than <y> or <g>. In the Essex sources, as a main form, <aʒens>-type forms are primarily found in the west, although SI 73 localised in the east contains this type as its main variant. Har 3943 also has forms with <ʒ> as single-bracketed variants. <land> is commonly found as a variant of LAND but is rare as the main form of the item, being recorded as the major variant in only four sources. One of these, Add.A.369, is localised in the far north-east at Colchester but the other three are western, Hunt 74 (A), Douce 322 and Douce 157. Only Douce 157 is a south-western source, but the document PRO C 1/16/443 also contains <landes> as its usage. Similarly, although <-lich> is regularly recorded in Essex sources, it is not often found as the main form of -LY. Manuscripts with <-lich> as their main form are found exclusively in western sources with Nor 55 being the most easterly source to contain this type of usage. Again this suggests that Hunt 74 (B) may belong further west.

The forms <moch> and <moche> are found for MUCH in Hunt 74 (B). This type of variant is found throughout Essex, although in three distinct areas, the far north, western-central Essex and the south-west. In no eastern source south of Colchester is such a usage recorded as the main form. In Hunt 74 (B) the main variant of SUCH is <swech>. As a main form in Essex <swech> is rare, being found in only five sources. Three of these (CCCC 434, Douce 126 and SI 73) are localised to an area in the centre of the county, and the other two (Douce 157 and Lans 763) are western texts.

The variants of THROUGH recorded as main forms in Hunt 74 (B) are <þoruh>

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[8] The evidence from LALME for Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland's MSS 55 (Nor 55) which could not be consulted in either microfilm or original form for this study was also included here, since its localisation to south-central Essex and the forms attested in it are relevant.

and <þourgh>. In the Essex sources Hunt 74 (B) is the only text to have <þoruh> or a related variant as its main form of THROUGH[9]. Apart from two isolated northern sources (Add.A.369 and Add 37677) <þorugh> or related forms are found only in the south-west in Add 17376, Douce 157 and Auch E. Finally, the main form of TOGETHER recorded in Hunt 74 (B) is <togyder>, and all attested forms have medial <i> or <y>. Again, as a main form in Essex this is not particularly common. It can be seen in four northern texts and two in the centre of the county, and once again in three south-western sources (Nor 55, CCCC 387 and SJC 256).

An analysis of those forms which do not seem to sit particularly comfortably with Hunt 74 (B)'s current localisation shows that an area further to the west may be more appropriate a localisation for its language. It is noticeable from the accompanying map (Hunterian 74 Hand B) how none of these variants is attested as a main usage in the south-east and how, conversely, all can be found in the south-west and south-central areas of Essex. A dearth of substantial sources in the south-east and a cluster of texts in the south-west may be skewing this picture somewhat, but a placing of Hunt 74 (B) to an area between Nor 55, Auch E and CCCC 80, perhaps around Hornden-on-the-Hill, is suggested here in the light of this comparison. The only form discussed here that is not attested as a main form in this area is <swech> (SUCH) and this is found as a minor form in CCCC 80.

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[9] On the possibility of this form being that of the scribal exemplar see section 3.6 of chapter 3.

HUNTERIAN 74 HAND B
Suggested new localisation

HUNTERIAN 74 HAND B: suggested new localise

Main forms:
<aȝens>-type (AGAIN(ST))
<land> (LAND)
<-lich> (-LY)
<moch>-type (MUCH)
<swech>-type (SUCH)
<bourgh>-type (THROUGH)
<togyder>-type (TOGETHER)

(original in colour)

Har 2338

Add.A.369

Eg 2726

OCCC 201

Arun 119

COCC 434

Douce 126

Sl 73

e Mus 76

PRO Prob 11/3

Har 3943

Hunt 74 (B)

PRO Prob 11/2B

PRO SC1/51/60-2

CUL Hh.1.11

Add 37677

Hunt 74 (A)

LoC 4 (B)

Trin R.14.32

Nor 55

LoC 4 (A)

Foyle

Add.C.280

New placing for Hunt 74 (B)

Auch E

C1/16/443

Har 2409

Douce 322

Douce 157

CCCC 387

CCCC 80

PHL scribe

Add 17376

CCCC 256

Lans 763

SJC 256

Chapter 3
Scribal Practices in the Manuscripts of Essex

1. Introduction

'[A] close examination of scribal behaviour.. provides insight into the way literary texts were received, understood and disseminated' in the medieval period (Laing, 1989b:150). Further discussion of some of the individual sources localised to Essex in LALME is therefore necessary in the light of the evidence of different scribal practices which they provide. Some of these practices are described in chapter 1, section 1.2.3. There, three main types of copying technique were highlighted. A Type-A scribe is a 'literatim' copyist, a Type-B copyist is a 'translator', whilst the Type-C scribe will create a Mischsprache.

Types A and B are most usefully seen as poles, between which intermediate types of copying - not just Mischsprachen - can be found. It is too simplistic to say that a scribe either retains or replaces the forms encountered within an exemplar. A scribe who translates may not do so altogether freely. His passive and active repertoires and the language of his exemplar can influence the linguistic choices that are made during the copying of a text. Such linguistic constraint placed upon a scribe by the language of the exemplar does not create a Mischsprache, since forms which are 'exotic' to the scribal dialect will not be admitted. However, where the forms in the exemplar are acceptable to the scribe, in that they are familiar to him, they will be retained.

It must be recognised that during copying changes in technique may occur. Scribal copying habits may vary within a text, though not to the point where a Mischsprache can be said to exist. A scribe may modify his copying technique as he writes, and not just once. Scribal texts may also contain different layers of language without being accorded the title of Mischsprachen. Indeed, 'it is the distribution of forms through a text that is crucial to the interpretation of its linguistic structure' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:63). Such slight variations are made more obvious when an analysis is made at regular intervals throughout a text rather than at the beginning, middle and end.

Such scribal practices that allow for the modification of the language of a text during copying stem from the fact that written English during the period was

'parochially- rather than regionally- or nationally-focussed' (Smith, 2001:pers.comm.) and, since a text was being written for use in a particular area, the development of usages to reflect local speech was common sense. Coupled with this, copying practices appear to have been influenced by the development of more cursive scripts and the emergence from the mid-fourteenth century of scribes more accustomed to writing in the vernacular than in Latin. When copying Latin any variation from the exemplar can result in a nonsensical reading and scribes were therefore trained as literatim copyists. However, there was no such pressure to copy English so precisely, and indeed, scribes must have been aware of the number of dialects in which English could be written. As cursive scripts developed and 'the unit of copying.. [became] larger than a single letter', a scribe would have become even more likely 'to work to his own.. dictation' making translation between dialects increasingly probable (Benskin & Laing, 1981:89-90).

Additional comment is required on the language of some of the manuscripts analysed for this study. Several Essex sources reveal a shift in language within a scribal text or appear to contain more than one layer of language. In particular subsequent discussion is required concerning e Mus 76, CCCC 434, LoC 4 (B), Douce 157, CUL Hh.I.11 and Hunt 74 (B).

A number of sources contain more than one scribal text (see chapter 1, section 1.3). Some of the Essex manuscripts consist of more than one literary text and display some variation between these texts, i.e. Douce 126, LoC 4 (A), Douce 322 and Add.C.280. On the other hand, Har 3943, Bod 840, Eg 2726, LoC 4 and Hunt 74 contain more than one scribal text in the sense that they show contributions from more than one scribe[1].

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[1] Manuscripts that are classed as containing Type II language will not be discussed in this section even if some exhibit the characteristics outlined above. These manuscripts are examined in chapter 4, section 3.

2. Oxford, Bodleian, e Musaeo 76

e Mus 76 contains a copy of the Prick of Conscience, a text widely read in the medieval period that survives in over one hundred manuscripts. The Prick of Conscience is believed to have been written originally in a northern dialect, probably that of Yorkshire; however, its wide distribution in the ME period has meant that the text has survived in a range of dialects and 'nearly four-fifths of the counties in England can claim at least one copy' (Lewis & McIntosh, 1982:1-5). e Mus 76 is localised in LALME to the Maldon area of Essex. However, there are a number of forms present in the manuscript which, when compared to the evidence for Essex, require further investigation since they are unusual for the area.

That the Prick of Conscience was originally northern is sufficient explanation for a number of the more unusual forms found as minor variants within this copy. As might be expected some particularly northern-type usages are found in rhyming position. Maintaining a rhyme scheme places constraint on the possible usages of a copyist. Often, where it was possible to preserve a rhyme by selecting a usage from his own repertoire, a scribe would do so. However, in many manuscripts, particular authorial or exotic forms can be found in rhyming position and never elsewhere. Examples in e Mus 76 include <ere>, <are> and <erre> (ARE) and <-onde> and <-aund> (present participle endings). Other obviously northern forms include the instances of <ilke a> (EACH), <ayther> (EITHER), <awen> (OWN), <tua> (TWO) and <walde> (WOULD sg. & pl.). These can be assumed to be further examples of 'showthroughs' from the original text. Of the few other Essex texts in which some of these forms are recorded, one is another copy of the Prick of Conscience (Douce 157) in which <ayther> and <wald> are also found, strengthening the suspicion that these forms may derive from the authorial original. However, the origin of other forms is not so immediately obvious, and further investigation is necessary.

Some forms which are found as variants of certain items, are not strongly northern and require further analysis. These are <hure> (HER(S)), <che> (SHE), <siche> (SUCH), <þorouȝ> (THROUGH), <togadre> (TOGETHER), <tuo> (TWO) and <wordle> (WORLD) recorded as main forms, and <aftur> (AFTER), <yfle> (EVIL), <tuey> (TWO) and <wul> (WILL sg. & pl.) noted as minor usages.

Rather than being revealed as more northern showthroughs or confirming the Essex localisation of the manuscript some of these variants seem in fact to be south-western. The principle underlying the 'fit'-technique (see chapter 1, section 1.2.2) asserts that by examining the different forms recorded in a text in combination, it is possible to establish the most probable place of origin for that text ('the principle of minimising layers'). An assessment of e Mus 76 suggests the above 'rogue' forms do not fit in with the conclusion that this manuscript should be localised in Essex. It is striking, if one discounts those northern forms that can be explained as relicts from the authorial original, that all of these 'problem' usages fit into an area of the south-west Midlands. The accompanying map (Bodleian, e Musaeo 76) clearly illustrates that the further west one looks the more likely it is that an area will be found into which all of these forms will fit. Of the eleven forms examined as being unusual for the Essex area, nine are listed in the County Dictionary in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire and eight in Hampshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Somerset. If the counties of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire are taken together, all the forms are attested.

It appears that there is a layer of language within this scribal text that belongs in the region of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. That seven of the eleven forms discussed above are the major usages selected by the scribe of e Mus 76 is of some significance. It remains necessary to explore some possible explanations for the appearance of this layer of language in the manuscript. Two propositions that can be discounted straightaway are that the manuscript is either a composite or a progressively-translated text, since there are no abrupt changes between one type of form and another, and these forms are found throughout the manuscript.

The usages either derive from the scribe's exemplar or they are forms permissible within his own active repertoire with which he has replaced his exemplar's forms as he translated the text. In the light of these unusual forms the other forms recorded in the analysis of e Mus 76 must therefore be considered. An examination of the usages noted for all items in the questionnaire reveals that there are no forms (other than those explicable as northern relicts of the original text) that are incompatible with a south-west Midlands localisation. However, the majority of forms are what could be termed 'regionally neutral' in that they are found so extensively across the

BODLEIAN, E MUSAEO 76

Main forms:
A- <togadre> (TOGETHER)
B- <wordle> (WORLD)
C- <tuo> (TWO)
D- <che> (SHE)
E- <hure> (HER(S))
F- <siche> (SUCH)
G- <porouȝ> (THROUGH)

Minor forms:
H- <tuey> (TWO)
J- <yfel> (EVIL)
K- <wul> (WILL)
L- <aftur> (AFTER)

Norfolk
C DKL

Suffolk
C EFKL

Cambs.
FG

Hunts.
FG

Rut.
AKK

Leics.
CEFL

Staffs.
DEFL

Shrops.
BEFL

Hrfs.
ABCEFG
JKL

Mon.
BEFH

Worcs.
ABCD
EHKL

W'wicks
ABCEF
GKL

N'hants
FGL

Beds
FG

Herts.
FG

Essex
EGK

Lon BL

M'sex
ACG

Kent
BCF

Surrey
EF

Sussex
BEFKL

Bucks
CDFG
KL

Oxon.
ACEF
GKL

Brks.
CEFL

Hamps.
ABEFGHKL

Gloucs.
ABCDE
GHKL

Wilts.
ABEKL

S'set
ABCEFHKL

Dorset
E

Devon
ACEFK

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south of England that a combination of such forms alone would be insufficient to localise a text any more narrowly than in southern England. Those regionally distinct forms noted above, on the other hand, provide evidence of a south-west Midlands provenance. This does not discount the possibility that the scribe of e Mus 76 was a local Essex scribe copying from a south-west Midlands exemplar, in which case it provides an example of sporadic scribal copying technique. Those forms that are minor variants are occasional showthroughs from the exemplar whereas the main forms provide evidence of constraint. The forms are known in other Essex texts but are regular in this one and it is this that points to the unusual nature of e Mus 76.

Linguistic evidence may provide an index of textual history and to complete a discussion of e Mus 76, the textual history of the Prick of Conscience should be considered. e Mus 76 is a copy of the Main Version of the text. Lewis and McIntosh place it into their Group II as 'a member of the so-called Lollard sub-group', which also includes London, Society of Antiquaries, 687, Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 90, and Oxford, Bodleian, Ashmole 60. These three manuscripts have been localised to north Norfolk or east Lincolnshire, south-east Shropshire and the Isle of Ely respectively (Lewis & McIntosh, 1982:84-5, 89-90, 94-5, 106-07). The four manuscripts contain interpolations and 'a rearrangement that produces a Book VIII' with Rylands, English 90 representing 'the fullest state of the sub-group' (Lewis & McIntosh, 1982:90). The first interpolation is a 440-line 'attack on the clergy' in English and in Latin inserted into the Prologue. In e Mus 76, this interpolation is 'represented only by one line of Latin.. and et. cet.'. The same line begins the interpolation in Ashmole 60 (Lewis & McIntosh, 1982:107). In Book VI, between the descriptions of the seventh and eighth pains of hell, some more material speaking out against the clergy is inserted. The rearrangement to create an eighth book describing the world after Judgement Day involves moving pieces of text from Book V to the end of Book VII and adding a link (Lewis & McIntosh, 1982:6-7).

Three of these manuscripts are localised linguistically to the east of the country and the other, and the fullest witness, to the far west. However, Rylands, English 90 has a connection to Hertfordshire; on folio 1 there is a note concerning St. Albans. The Rylands manuscript, although written in a west Midlands dialect, therefore moved at some point across the country, or

alternatively the scribe who copied it did not do so in his native Shropshire but in the east Midlands. That the most complete manuscript of this sub-group is written in a west Midlands dialect but that there is evidence of an owner from Hertfordshire shows how manuscripts and scribes travelled. These circumstances may provide some clue to the presence of such forms as were noted in the manuscript of e Mus 76. It is not being suggested that Rylands, English 90 is the exemplar of e Mus 76, merely that with the existence of witnesses of this sub-group from both the east and west Midlands, coupled with the Rylands manuscript's associations with the east Midlands, the appearance of a west Midlands layer of language in e Mus 76 may begin to be explained by the textual history of this sub-group[2].

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[2] Hudson is doubtful that this version of the Prick of Conscience is indeed a Lollard sub-group. The elements of anti-clerical sentiment would have been frowned upon by the authorities, but she believes that the added text 'is no more hostile than Chaucer's observations in the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales' (Hudson, 1988:485). However, whether these manuscripts are really a Lollard version or not, they still share the interpolations and rearrangement and therefore some degree of textual history.

3. Shifts in Language within a Single Scribal Text

Unlike e Mus 76 which exhibits at least two layers of language throughout the whole scribal text, several manuscripts localisable to Essex show a gradual shift in language and it is necessary to describe the nature and possible reasons for such shifts. The scribal texts to be discussed in detail here are those found in CCCC 434, LoC 4 (B), Douce 157, CUL Hh.I.11 and Hunt 74 (B). Firstly, however, some manuscripts that show some slight variation in linguistic usages will be discussed.

3.1 Instances of 'Settling Down' within a Scribal Text

In some scribal texts scribes show evidence of a degree of 'settling down' but the linguistic choices do not change suddenly and do not suggest anything other than an Essex dialect. Such slight changes of language were noted during the analysis of certain manuscripts and provide evidence of how exemplars could affect scribal selection of particular forms until copyists became consistent in their translation.

The copy of the Prick of Conscience to be found in Douce 126 shows just such a 'settling down'. For instance, initally, the main variant of AFTER is <aftyr> and of SUCH is <sweche>, <is> and <ys> (IS) are found in roughly equal proportions, as are the three main forms of THROUGH, <þurȝ>, <þurw> and <þurgh>. However, after several folios abbreviated forms of AFTER become dominant, <swich(e)> is the most regular variant of SUCH, only <is> is found as the form of IS, and <þurgh> is no longer found for THROUGH.

A similar type of situation is found in CCCC 80, a copy of Henry Lovelich's Merlin. Early on in the text <aftir> (AFTER), <ben> (ARE) and <litel> (LITTLE) are the main forms, while later <aftyr> (AFTER), <ben> and <been> (ARE) and <lytel> become dominant. The main form of BOTH is <bothe> but the usage <boþe> begins to be found regularly in the later section of text analysed. Similarly forms of DID beginning <ded->, the variant <ech> as opposed to <eche> (EACH) and all noted occurrences of <hit> (IT) were noted only in the later stages of the scribal text.

A final example is CCCC 387, a commentary on the Psalms. Instances of minor variants that appear only a few times in the early part of the scribal text

are the forms of CAME (pl.) with initial <k->, <i> (I), and the variant <manye> (MANY). Some items show a change in the major forms found. In the first section analysed, <euel>, <iuel> and <yuel> occur in roughly equal proportions. Subsequently, <euel> becomes the major variant, although the other forms continued to be noted. In the first part of the manuscript forms of the type <hi-> (HIGH), <moche> (MUCH), <not> and <noght> (NOT), <schuln> (SHALL pl.) and <world> (WORLD) are predominant. However, later in the manuscript <hei->- and <hey->-types of HIGH, both <moche> and <meche> (MUCH), <not> only (NOT), <schal> (SHALL pl.) and <werld> (WORLD) become the most common forms.

The above examples show that during the process of becoming accustomed to their exemplars and settling into their copying techniques, scribes may use some minor variants which they later reject, alter the proportions of variants for a particular item, or introduce an alternative major usage as they progress. None of these manuscripts could be described as a Mischsprache or as containing a stretch of Mischsprache, since at no time do the linguistic usages not cohere with an Essex localisation. Rather, such subtle changes within the language of these scribal texts may suggest that the usages to be found in the scribes' exemplars were not remarkably different from their own, since 'the larger the common core of shared forms and usages, the more likely it is that the textual language of a copyist will be constrained by that of his exemplar' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:74). The scribes' usages were initially constrained by those of their copy texts, but became less so as they grew increasingly accustomed to the languages of their exemplars and began to copy 'via the mind's eye'.

An investigation that did not take into account differences in spellings that are purely graphemic would have missed some of these changes such as <aftir> giving way to <aftyr> in CCCC 80, and the changing proportions of <is> and <ys> in Douce 126. Yet a scribe who selects one such form over another in the course of translating his exemplar must have regarded one of these entirely orthographic forms as preferable to the other and consequently they should be considered as valid as two contrasting forms that do reflect phonemic differences.

3.2 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 434

CCCC 434 is a copy of a religious commonplace book. It has a number of textual layers: the 'Fall of Man' narrative, incorporating Genesis 3 and a legend of the Fall of the Angels, a dialogue between a monk and a nun and their superior, translations of the Epistles and the Acts, and an incomplete translation of Matthew (Wethington, 2001:pers. comm.).

The translations of the Epistles, and those of 2-3 John, Jude and the Acts as found in CCCC 434 derive from different sources. That of Acts 'is the oldest extant translation of any intact book of the Christian scriptures into Middle English', first found in CUL Dd.xii.39, a mid-fourteenth century manuscript (Wethington, 1998) localised in LALME to Nottinghamshire (LP 2). The version of the Epistles found in Bodleian, Douce 250 is similar to 2-3 John and Jude in CCCC 434 (Paues, 1904:xiii). Douce 250 is placed in Wiltshire by LALME (LP 5460). Both Paues and Wethington believe that CCCC 434 is a copy - although almost certainly not a direct copy - of Cambridge, Selwyn College, L.108.1, dated to the early fifteenth century and localised in LALME to north-east Herefordshire (LP 7460). Both manuscripts are similar in layout; Selwyn appears to have been a hurried production, and CCCC 434 maintains its 'erratic quality' despite being a better production (Wethington, 2001: pers. comm.). The two manuscripts are identical in content, both have ornate letters at the start of every layer and each section ends with 'some written indication that a new layer is being created' (Wethington, 1997). It seems that the Prologue, James, Peter, 1 John and the Pauline Epistles 'formed.. the nucleus of the original composition', since the name of Jude is not included in the introduction, the words addressed to the nun at the end of the Epistles appear to signal a conclusion, and 2-3 John, Jude, the Acts and Matthew 'contain a different rendering' with readings from sources other than the Latin Vulgate (Paues, 1904:xvii).

Some items in the manuscript show a 'settling down' of forms during its first part. For example, the minor forms <ȝef> and <ȝyf> (IF), <nauȝt>, <ne+not> and <ne+nauȝt> (NOT) and <þo> (THEN) were only noted in the early part of the text. However, of particular interest in the case of this manuscript is the change in the major variants of several items in the latter portion of the text. The changes occur around folios 98 and 99. A closer analysis of this portion of text was required, and a sequential profile was conducted from folios 95 to

From folio 98 onwards, <but> rather than <bote>, <fro> rather than <fram> and <hyre> or <hire> rather than <here> become the main variants of BUT, FROM and HER(S). In these cases the change between forms is quite abrupt. Although there are a few occurrences of <-ly> (-LY) recorded earlier in the manuscript, and also a number of cases of <-lyche> subsequent to folio 98, there is a marked shift from <-lyche> being the major form to <-ly> from folio 98 onwards.

<y> and <ich> had, prior to this point in the text, occurred in equal proportions as variants of I, but, from around folio 98, there are no further appearances of <ich>, and <y> becomes the only main form. The plural forms of SHALL also show a change, with <schulleþ> being the major variant in the earlier part of the text and <schal> being predominant in the later section. However, in this case, a transitional-type form appears, with <schul> occuring alongside <schal> for a short time around folio 100.

The change between the major variants of THEIR and THROUGH follows a slightly different pattern to that of the items discussed above. The shift from one usage to another is not as abrupt and <here> (THEIR) is noted alongside <her> for a time, and continues to be recorded, albeit as a minor form, until the end of the text. Similarly, <þorw> (THROUGH) interchanges with <þorow> for several folios before <þorow> becomes the predominant form. That the forms of THEIR and THROUGH that become the major usage are etymologically similar to those they replace may help to explain why the shift between them is more gradual than that between the other items that demonstrate a change.

CCCC 434 has been localised by LALME to the north-central area of Essex, north of Braintree, and the forms of those items that show a shift in their major usage are all found in the Essex area, although <hyre> is found only as a minor variant, and <þorw> and <þorow> are not particularly common in Essex sources. The linguistic variation in the second part of the manuscript therefore does not cast doubt on the Essex localisation of CCCC 434.

The point at which the shift in these forms occurs coincides with the beginning

of the text of Acts on folio 98^r. As noted above, the translations of the Epistles and of the Acts come from different traditions. If it is assumed that the scribe of CCCC 434, when copying the text, was translating his exemplar into his own dialect, the selection of different variants could have been constrained by his copy text. When the language of his exemplar changed at the start of Acts, although he continued to translate, some of the forms that he admitted into his copy were influenced by the new forms he came across in his exemplar. Since none of these variants is alien to the Essex area they were not problematic to him, but his admission of these forms means that the language of the last third of CCCC 434 is subtly different from the earlier portion for some items.

Since the source of 2-3 John and Jude has also been recognised as being different from the majority of the text, a sequential analysis of the forms to be found within this portion of the manuscript, from the bottom of folio 33^r until the middle of folio 36^r, was conducted. The change in the pattern of occurrences of the items noted above is less pronounced in this section than that observed in the language of the Acts. The scribe does begin to alter the variants he uses but the language of his exemplar reverts back to what it had been after five pages.

A comparison of the language of CCCC 434 with the LPs of Selwyn, L.108.1 and CUL Dd.xii.39 revealed some interesting parallels. The analysis in LALME of the Selwyn manuscript is from the Prologue and Epistles in Paues's edition. The forms recorded for HER(S), THEIR and THROUGH are typical south-west Midland forms and, even if they appeared in his exemplar, they would not therefore be expected to have been admitted by a scribe translating into an Essex dialect. However, other variants, that have a wide distribution across southern England correspond with those found in the Epistles of CCCC 434, i.e. Selwyn has the usages <from> and <fro> (FROM), <ich>, <y> and <ych> (I), <-liche> and <-lych(e)> (-LY) and <schu(l)leþ> and <schulen> (SHALL pl.).

The forms found in the text of the Acts of CUL Dd.xii.39 also show similarities to those in the corresponding portion of CCCC 434. <bot(e)> (BUT), <fro> and <from> (FROM), <hir(e)> (HER(S)), <-ly> (-LY) and <schal> and <schul>

(SHALL pl.) are all listed in its LP. Particularly noticeable are the forms of SHALL which help to explain the appearance of <schul> alongside <schal> for a short time at the beginning of the Acts in CCCC 434. A north-central Midlands element can be seen entering into the language of the Acts of the text. The forms all have a widespread distribution and were therefore admitted by the editor who incorporated the translation of the Acts into the extant sequence. However, <þer> (THEIR) and <þurghe> (THROUGH) (found in Dd.xii.39) were rejected by him and translated since they formed no part of either his active or passive repertoire[3].

The linguistic evidence presented here supports the proposed textual history of the translations of certain Biblical books into ME as found in CCCC 434. The slight variations between the forms discussed above show how elements of the language of an original can filter down through various copies and provide evidence of the history of particular texts.

3.3 Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 157

Douce 157 contains a copy of the Prick of Conscience and shows a marked shift in language between the first twenty or so folios, and those which follow. LALME describes language A in the 'Associated Literary Manuscripts' section of the sources for Essex as being 'S. Lincs. with a slight Essex overlay' (LALME I:196). It is noted as occurring up until folio 23^V with language B being found in the remainder of the manuscript. The second language is localised in the south-east of Essex, around the Romford area.

In order to ensure that the variants being taken as evidence for each language were representative - since at this stage it was unclear whether the shift between language A and B was abrupt or progressive - the evidence for language A is here taken to be from folios 1 to 16, and for language B from folios 34 onwards. The following summary of major variants recorded for each language serves to demonstrate the difference between the two. In language A the forms <are> (ARE), <ilk a> (EACH), <hye> (HIGH), <myght> (MIGHT sg.), <mekell> (MUCH), <nought> (NOT), <owne> and <awne> (OWN), <syn> (SINCE), <swylk> (SUCH), <þaire>, <þere>, <þeire> and <þare> (THEIR), <þem> and <þam> (THEM), <thou> (ALTHOUGH), <þorgh> (THROUGH),

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[3] <þer> (THEIR) is noted once in the text of Jude and this occurrence would appear to be a relict form supporting this hypothesis.

<werld> and <warld(e)> (WORLD), <ʒet> (YET) and <-ande> (present participle ending) are found. Compare the forms noted in language B: <bene> (ARE), <eche> (EACH), <heyʒe> (HIGH), <myʒt> (MIGHT sg.), <moche> (MUCH), <nouʒt> (NOT), <owne> (OWN), <syþe> and <seþen> (SINCE), <sweche> (SUCH), <here>, <hare> and <heire> (THEIR), <hem> (THEM), <þough>, <þow> and <þouʒ> (ALTHOUGH), <þourgh> and <þorugh> (THROUGH), <werld> (WORLD), <ʒet> and <ʒit> (YET) and <-ynge> (present participle ending).

A sequential analysis of folios 18ʳ to 28ʳ was necessary in order to determine where and how the forms to be found in language B begin to enter the scribal text. LALME states that language B begins on folio 24ʳ, but a sequential profile was conducted in order to determine whether the shift in language is sudden or gradual.

Of the items listed above forms for OWN, SINCE and ALTHOUGH were not recorded in this tranche, and forms of ARE, HIGH and the present participle ending occurred too rarely to be of any real diagnostic value. All of the other items were of use and their appearances in folios 18ʳ to 28ʳ were examined more closely to see what further information each could provide. In addition AGAIN(ST) was included, since minor variants with medial <ʒ> were only noted in language B.

On folio 22ʳ the last noted instances of <warld(e)> (WORLD) were recorded, and on folio 23ᵛ the last occurrence of <þorgh> (THROUGH) was found. The first appearances of <ʒ> forms of NOT and <h-> forms of THEM occurred on folio 24ʳ. On folio 25ᵛ <moche> for MUCH and <here> for THEIR were recorded. <ʒ> forms of AGAIN(ST), <eche a> (EACH) and a form of SUCH ending in <-che> were noted on folio 26ᵛ, and on folio 27ʳ a <ʒ> form of MIGHT and <ʒit> (YET) were found.

From this evidence, LALME's cut-off point for language A of folio 24ʳ is a sensible one. A transcription of folios 23 and 24 was made and it is clear that

folio 24^r is the point where language B begins. A noticeable change is that between forms of NOT with <gh> and those with <ʒ>. In line 32 of folio 23^v the text reads, 'Dede of hell is nought ell to say' whereas in line 11 of folio 24^r, the line 'On is for peyne þ^t þey schalle nauʒt for goo' is found. In the next line, to confirm that by this point language B is in use, the text reads 'Whanne deth hem assayleth to sloo', with an instance of an <h-> form of THEM. When the distribution of those items discussed above is examined, the typical language A forms are all noted before folio 24^r and the variants noted after this point are those associated with language B.

The behaviour of the scribe of Douce 157 is an illustration of a progressively-translated text of the type 'that proceeds from an initial Mischsprache.. without a preceding stretch of more or less homogeneous usage' (Benskin & Laing, 1981:68-9). In Douce 157, one finds an initial stretch of Mischsprache which becomes homogeneous after folio 24. This manuscript provides an example of a progressively-translated text in which the 'relict forms.. [are] dominant in the early part of the text before being displaced absolutely by what is evidently the scribe's own usage' (Laing, 1989b:153). The scribe begins by following the language of his exemplar introducing only a few of his own usages but then gradually filters out those variants 'in favour of equivalent forms'. This practice may reflect 'a shift from copying by eye to copying via the mind's eye, once the scribe has got into his stride.... [O]nce used to the language of his exemplar he copied in units conceptual rather than orthographic' (Laing, 1989b:153-5).

This manuscript illustrates why an ordered LP is so important when analysing scribal texts. By taking the distribution of variants into account the nature of the replacement of different forms for others can be determined, and it can therefore be concluded that Douce 157 is not a Mischsprache throughout the entire manuscript. The recognition of a particular type of scribal behaviour allows the consistent language of Douce 157 to be utilised rather than it being discarded as internally inconsistent and of no dialectal value.

In addition, the distribution of different orthographic realisations of items such as MIGHT and NOT gives a fine illustration of a scribal system in which certain written variants, although not reflecting phonemic differences, are being

selected by a copyist. An analysis that disregarded orthographic variations of the type <gh> and <ȝ> would have missed the implications of the changes in spelling that were noted above. The use of <gh> in items such as these appear to be usages found in the scribal exemplar. Having 'worked in' and begun to translate his copy text thoroughly the scribe begins to use <ȝ> in such contexts suggesting that this was his spontaneous usage.

3.4 Washington. Library of Congress 4. Hand B

LoC 4 contains three hands, two of which are localised to Essex, with the other being placed in the north-west of England (LP 458). Hand B is localised in LALME to west Essex, around Dunmow, with hand A being localised to an area slightly to the south and west of this, in the region of Hatfield Broad Oak. Scribe B completes the text of the Gospel of Nicodemus, begun by scribe A, on folios 41 to 63^V. The part of the manuscript copied by hands A and B 'was probably produced at the Benedictine Priory at Hatfield Broad Oak (Hatfield Regis) and intended for the nunnery of Castle Hedingham in north-east Essex' (Marx, 1997:252). The linguistic behaviour of scribe A when moving between the three texts which he copies, and a comparison of the usages of scribes A and B in the Gospel of Nicodemus are considered in sections 4.2 and 5.2. Here a shift in the language of scribe B during his copying of the text will be discussed.

From the initial analysis of scribe B's contribution to the manuscript it was seen that the language of the text changes slightly from around folio 51 onwards. A sequential profile of folios 46 to 55 was conducted in order to investigate this shift more closely. The appearance of certain variants is seen from this point in the manuscript, although in only one case, the variants of I, do the main forms of an item change. Instead, the usages that begin to appear are alongside and less common than the main forms that were recorded prior to folio 51. These include <any> (ANY), <but> (BUT), <ich(e)> (I), <hit> (IT), <muche> (MUCH), <sho> (SHE), forms of SHOULD with initial <sh-> or <ssh->, <hore> and <ore> (THEIR), <hom> (THEM), <þrow> (THROUGH), <vntil> (UNTIL), <qw-> (OE <hw->), <ȝet> (YET) and <-and(e)> and <-ende> (present participle ending). What is more striking is where in the manuscript these usages begin to be first noted, i.e. between folios 51^V and 52^V for the majority, rather than the number of occurrences of each which tends to be relatively

low.

Perhaps the textual history of the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> may provide some clue to the reasons for the introduction of these variants at this point in the manuscript. The version of the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> to be found in LoC 4 is a translation from a French text (Hill, 1989:35). Several western European vernacular traditions developed from the Latin translation of the original Greek text (Izydorczyk, 1997:1-3). The version in this manuscript 'generally follows.. 'Tradition A' which concludes with only a reference to Pilate's letter to Claudius; then follows [an additional] narrative which includes the healing of Tiberius, the condemnation of Pilate, the Veronica Legend, and the story of Simon Magus during the reign of Nero' (Marx, 1997:253).

This additional narrative is also found in BL, Egerton 2710, an Anglo-Norman manuscript dating from the thirteenth century containing theological pieces in verse and prose (http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/). A trilingual manuscript, BL, Harley 2253, localised to Herefordshire, also contains the additional material found in Egerton 2710 (Marx, 1997:218). The ME material 'beginning with the Gospel [found in LoC 4] can be regarded as a translation of the kind of Anglo-Norman sequence found in this manuscript', and it is 'a close and accurate translation of the text as it is found in the French manuscript' (Marx, 1997:253). Another English manuscript, BL, Harley 149, also contains the continuation and 'is derived from a manuscript related to Egerton 2710' (Marx, 1997:254).

The point in LoC 4 where the letter from Pilate ends and the additional material beginning with the story of the healing of Tiberius starts is on folio 56^V. This point therefore does not correspond with the place where the new variants begin to be introduced.

The introduction of these forms may be an indication of the language of the exemplar of the original translation. Mapping of the distributions of some of these forms using the information in the County Dictionary may therefore be useful. The occurrences of the variants <iche> (I), <sho> (SHE), <hom> (THEM), <hore> (THEIR), <þrow> (THROUGH), <qw-> (OE <hw->) and <-and> (present participle ending) were plotted on the accompanying map (Library of Congress 4 Hand B). A combination of six of these forms can be found in each of the counties of Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire,

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS 4 HAND B

A- <iche> (I)
B- <hom> (THEM)
C- <hore> (THEIR)
D- <or> (THEIR)
E- <þrow> (THROUGH)
F- <sho> (SHE)
G- <qw-> (OE hw-)
H- <-ande> (pres. participle ending)
J- <-ende> (pres. participle ending)

Norfolk E G H J
Suffolk E G H J
Cambs. H J
Hunts. E
Herts. H
Beds G H
Rut.
Essex E
Lon A H
M'sex A F H J
Surrey A B F H J
Kent J
Sussex B H J
N'hants
Bucks
Leics. E F H
W'wicks A E F H J
Oxon. A F H J
Brks. A B C G H
Hamps.
Staffs. B C E F G H
Worcs. A C E H
Gloucs. A B C D E J
Wilts. A B C F H J
Shrops. B C G H J
Hrfs. A B C E H J
Mon.
S'set B C G H J
Dorset F
Devon B E H

but perhaps the appearance of forms such as <sho> and <qw->, more commonly found in the north-west Midlands and the north, suggests that the relicts found here are more likely to be from the north-west Midlands.

It appears that some west Midland relicts surface in the language of the Gospel of Nicodemus text found in LoC 4 after folio 51^V. Apart from <iche> and <ich>, these are always minor forms. Perhaps there was a shift in the language of the exemplar at this point in the text. A form such as <ich> could have occurred in the Essex scribe's spontaneous usage, and his treatment of such a usage would therefore be different from forms like <hom>, <hore> and <sho> that were alien to him. The appearance of <ich> and <iche> as main forms alongside <y> and <I> from this point in the text onwards may therefore be an example of constrained selection while the occurrence of the other forms may be examples of relicts. Even a fairly consistent translator can reproduce 'exotics' from their exemplar (Benskin & Laing, 1981:58).

If the exemplar's language changed suddenly at this point, the scribe would have needed to 'work himself in' again and become accustomed to the altered language of his exemplar. This could explain the concentration of relicts at this point in the manuscript. Once the scribe got used to the change in his exemplar's language he translated consistently once again.

Egerton 2710 belonged to the nuns of the Derby Priory in the fifteenth century (http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/), and Harley 2253 is thought to be from Herefordshire. If Anglo-Norman manuscripts containing this version of the Gospel of Nicodemus followed by the additional narrative were circulating in these areas of England, that a translation into ME displays some linguisitc characteristics from the region, even following subsequent translation into another ME dialect, may provide further information about the textual tradition of this version of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

3.5 Cambridge University Library Hh.I.11

Hand A of this manuscript has been localised to northern Essex, west of Castle Hedingham. The manuscript contains a large number of scribal hands, the exact number of which is uncertain since many items are written in similar Textura scripts. O'Mara suggests that there are eight main hands and perhaps around nine minor hands (O'Mara, 1994:142).

Hand A copies folios 1 to 8 and 13 to 44. The first portion of text, copied on one whole quire, consists of chapters 3, 6 and 7 of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, describing the Incarnation, the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Circumcision of Christ. The second section of hand A's work is copied on the third to the sixth quires and is made up of chapters 39 to 50 and 62 and 63 of Love's Mirror, covering the Last Supper, the Passion and Resurrection and the Ascension and Pentecost. The rest of folio 44^v contains three Latin 'elevation' prayers. In between the two sections of text copied by hand A is a quire containing Missa de Nomine Iesu, followed by a list of indulgences referring to Pope Boniface IV and four fifteenth-century bishops, and the Nicene Creed (McNamer, 1996:22-3; O'Mara, 1992:147-9). The remainder of the manuscript, which contains 136 leaves, contains 'devotional texts and extracts' in English and Latin with 'the whole [being] heavily Marian in emphasis' (McNamer, 1996:21-2).

The six main scribes who have copied items in English are all localised in LALME. All, apart from hand A, have been placed in Norfolk[4]. The manuscript's contents are 'eminently suitable for nuns', and the Assumption sermon, copied on folios 128 to 133, addresses itself to nuns and deals with their conduct (O'Mara, 1994:162-3). The dialectal evidence suggests a foundation in east Norfolk and the description of the nun's habit allegorised in the Assumption sermon appears to be describing that of the Benedictines. O'Mara suggests that Norwich (Carrow) is 'the most likely candidate' for the place of compilation (O'Mara, 1994:165-71). Since Carrow was a very wealthy nunnery with its own library, and was situated close to Norwich with its large cathedral library, it 'was ideally suited to the production of a wide-ranging volume' (O'Mara, 1994:171).

The separation of the two sections written by hand A suggests to O'Mara a lack of care during binding, especially since the items of the intervening quire are 'unconnected with either' (O'Mara, 1994:163). This may be the case, but interesting linguistic changes occur between the two sections of Love's Mirror copied by hand A and separated by the second quire. Certain forms were only recorded in folios 1 to 8 (section 1) and others only in the second portion from folio 13 onward (section 2). Sequential profiles of folios 1 to 8 and of folios 13

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[4] LPs 666 (hand B), 4620 (hand C) and 659 (hand F), with hands D and E, although not mapped, being described as 'probably East Norfolk'. McNamer, however, suggests that hand E originates from south-west Norfolk (McNamer, 1996:32).

to 20 were carried out to allow a more thorough description of the changes.

Many of the forms that were noted in only one of the sections of text were recorded only once and therefore very little can be taken from their occurrence, for example, the minor variants of MUCH <miche> and <myche> noted once each in section 1 and <mykel> in section 2, the forms <she> and <schee> (SHE), <soche> (SUCH) and <weþouten> (WITHOUT) recorded in section 1, and <hit> (IT), <selue> (SELF) and <siche> (SUCH) found in section 2. However, the distribution of other forms shows a tendency for them to appear in either one section or the other or for the proportions to vary between the two sections. For instance, in section 1 <after> is the major variant, although some instances of <aftir> were noted. In section 2 <aftir> is the main form, although <after> was still recorded as a minor form. <any> is the only usage of ANY noted in section 1 and, although noted in section 2, <ony> also occurs regularly. Similarly, <ȝif> is found exclusively for IF in section 1, whereas in section 2 <if> is the main variant with <ȝif> recorded only as a minor form. In section 1, <-li> and <-ly> (-LY) were noted in roughly equal proportions; however in section 2 <-li> is by far the most common variant.

Other forms appear early in section 2 but are then replaced and the main variants from section 1 become dominant in section 2. Most noticeably, <th> is found instead of <þ> in a number of items for the first few folios of section 2 before <þ> forms reappear and eventually become the major variants, although <th> usages are still noted. This occurs in forms of the items BOTH, THAN, THEN, THERE, THESE, THEY, ALTHOUGH, THROUGH and WITHOUT. Forms of WITHOUT of the type <withowte(n)> are also only noted in the first folios of section 2, before <withoute(n)> becomes dominant once again.

It is now necessary to look for possible reasons and explanations for the subtle differences between sections 1 and 2, since the variation may provide evidence of constraint. Perhaps different exemplars were used for sections 1 and 2.

A number of the features of CUL Hh.I.11 suggest that it may be composed from booklets. All the main sections of text were copied by different scribes and

there is no quire in which there is a contribution from more than one of the major hands. The final pages of a quire are either left blank or cut away, or minor hands have added small texts to the ends of quires. Folios 100 to 127 are made of paper whereas the rest of the manuscript is of parchment, although of varying quality. In fact, the parchment of folios 1 to 44 is thicker than that of the rest of the manuscript. Catchwords are found only within booklets and 'independent sets of quire signatures' appear in the manuscript. One set is found in quires 3 to 6, i.e. section 2 of hand A's work. Another feature of booklet production is 'variation in the sources used [for the same text] for different parts of the manuscript', since booklet production is typified by 'a lack of overall planning' which led to scribes copying texts from exemplars 'as and when they came to him' (O'Mara, 1994:158-60).

The linguistic evidence perhaps suggests that the two sections of Love's <u>Mirror</u> were not copied from the same exemplar. Not only is there a period of 'settling down' at the beginning of section 2, but some of the main usages for certain items change. If the scribe was constrained by the forms found in his exemplar, the variants noted in sections 1 and 2 for AFTER, ANY, IF and -LY imply that he worked from two different exemplars written in different dialects. However, the different forms found for these items were admitted by the scribe since he recognised them. The fact that there are no quire signatures in section 1, but that there are in section 2, may also point to copying being carried out at different times (O'Mara, 1994:161).

It is extremely difficult to say whether CUL Hh.I.11 is made up of booklets or whether it is a composite manuscript produced by different scribes working simultaneously. O'Mara suggests that the work of hand A, written in a language not localised to Norfolk, was conducted at the 'Benedictine foundation at Castle Hedingham' and that it was 'eventually bound up with similar items in another nunnery of the same order' (O'Mara, 1994:171). However, scribes travelled, and rather than envisaging a piece of work copied by an Essex scribe working in Essex being taken to Norfolk, it is entirely possible that an Essex scribe moved to Norfolk and copied the text there.

Another issue relevant here is the possibility that hand F 'is a less formal version' of hand A. O'Mara quotes Parkes as 'inclined to [this] view', although she herself is unsure. An unusual feature used by both is 'the use of the

positura to indicate the end of sentences and paragraphs' (O'Mara, 1994:145). If these are indeed the same hand, then what can be seen here is a literatim copyist, since the language of hand F is localised to Norfolk. If so the language as evidenced in folios 1 to 44 is that of the scribal exemplar. The evidence as it stands is no less valuable to this study whatever the case. The language of hand A either provides dialectal evidence of the scribal exemplar or of the scribe.

3.6 Glasgow, Hunterian 74, Hand B

The second scribe of Hunt 74 (described in detail in section 5.5) is localised to south-central Essex in LALME. The LP for this hand contained in LALME uses the linguistic evidence of folios 11^V to 35^r, described as the 'earlier portion', but no explanation is given as to why the remainder of hand B's contribution is not included. Matheson notes that the language of hand B changes as his copying proceeds and suggests that some of the forms which appear in the later section provide evidence of a 'south-eastern, possibly Kentish or East Sussex exemplar'. Some of these usages include <aʒans> (AGAIN(ST)), <ougne> (OWN), <sethnys> (SINCE) and <þeke> (THE SAME) (Matheson, 1977, I:234). Matheson sees these forms as 'possibly representing forms that the scribe did not originally wish to use although they occurred in his dialect' (Matheson, 1977, I:233).

Matheson illustrates this hypothesis with the example of the variants found for THROUGH. At first scribe B's main form is <þourgh>. According to Matheson, the scribe is using forms which are familiar to him but is possibly 'slightly preferring the one that is nearer to Kentish <þorʒ>'. Between folios 54^V and 58^V the scribe 'prefers.. his own forms not found in Kent and therefore not in his exemplar', i.e. <þoruʒ> and <þourʒ>. Then from folios 58^V until the end of his stint 'he returns to a form nearer the Kentish', i.e. <þourgh>, but from folio 75 onwards he admits more of his own forms in particular <þoruʒ> (Matheson, 1977, I:238). This situation is extremely complex and the switching back and forth between forms caused by varying degrees of agreement with the copytext seems untypical of the scribal practices observed in this study. A closer analysis of this scribe's usages in the later portion of his stint was conducted in an attempt to determine further why and how his forms change.

The analysis established an ordered profile, with pencil colour being changed every five folios. From folios 35 to 92 the recto sides of each folio were analysed. There is indeed some change in scribal usages in the later portion of hand B's text, but additional comment on Matheson's observations is required.

Of the four forms mentioned by Matheson as evidence of a south-eastern exemplar, <þeke> was not noted in this analysis, and <aʒans> and <sethnys> were recorded only once each. <sethnys> does not appear in the County Dictionary, and <aʒans> is not recorded as a south-eastern form; rather it is found in Norfolk, Nottinghamshire and in an Essex source (Add.C.280). <þeke> is found in Sussex, but it also appears in CCCC 80 among the Essex sources. Since none of these forms are found regularly in Hunt 74 (B), and since they certainly do not become the main variant used, they are of interest as possible relicts showing through from the underlying exemplar, but that this was south-eastern cannot be established from this small number of forms.

The appearance of <ougne> as a form for OWN is different from those variants mentioned above. In this case the scribe does change his main form from <owne> to <ougne> from folio 65 onwards. This exact form is not recorded in the County Dictionary, but the forms <oughne>, <owghne> and <oghne> are found in Sussex sources, and <oghene>, <oʒen> and <oʒene> in Kent. Here then is a form that points to some kind of south-eastern connection, and in a usage which becomes the scribe's main form, suggesting a degree of recognition and acceptance on the part of scribe B. In no Essex source examined for this study was a similar form for OWN recorded.

Forms for THROUGH are discussed by Matheson and his suggestions are outlined above. The usages for this item found in the work of hand B do show some degree of fluctuation, and in essence the distributions recorded for this study agree with Matheson's. However, a different explanation for the fluctuation between forms will now be suggested.

At the very beginning of his copying, forms of the <þoru(h)>-type are most commonly written by scribe B and it is only after a number of folios that <þourgh> appears, but, when it does, it is the form most commonly copied.

This could suggest that <þoru(h)> was the exemplar form and was admitted by the scribe since, being a common Midlands usage, he would have recognised it. However, as his copying progressed he began to use his preferred form <þourgh>. A shift back to <þoru(h)> was noted between folios 45 to 49 and a relatively large number of forms was recorded between folios 50 to 54.

A shift in the language of the exemplar may have occurred at this point since, after this, <þourȝ> is noted with increasing regularity. Matheson suggests that this is scribe B's own form and that <þourgh> is his attempt to produce a form closer to that in the Kentish exemplar. <þourȝ> is found in five Essex sources. Two are localised to the far north (Add 37677 and CUL Hh.I.11) and three to the south-west (Add 17376, SJC 256 and Auch E). It is suspected that scribe B's language is from slightly further west than its LALME localisation (see chapter 2, section 2.3), and the form <þourȝ> could have existed in his passive repertoire and been tolerated and reproduced alongside his own preferred form, <þourgh>, after a further period of 'settling down' when the language of his exemplar changed. <þourȝ> only represents the copying of <ȝ> rather than <gh> and the acceptance of this alternative by the scribe is not unlikely. At a similar point in the manuscript (between folios 55 and 59) forms of MIGHT with medial <ȝ> rather than <gh> also appear, and <myȝte> is found as a minor variant alongside the more usual <myght(e)> until the end of scribe B's stint.

Other items also show a change in form around this point in the manuscript: <fram> as a variant of FROM is introduced alongside <fro> and <from(e)>; the main forms of EVIL change from <evel> and <eville> to <euel>; and those of THEM from <hem(e)> to <ham(e)>

A shift in the form for SHE occurs slightly later in the text, with <scho> and <scheo> appearing from folio 75 and replacing the variant <sche>. This later change could be explained by the number of occurrences of the item between folios 55 and 74 where SHE is found only five times, in each instance as <sche>. Between folios 75 and 79 SHE is found five times; once as <sche>, once as <scheo>, and three times as <scho>. Between folios 80 and 84 <scheo>, <scho> and <sho> were noted twice each. Therefore once the item was being found in more than just isolated instances and the scribe was being

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exposed to it more regularly, the new variants <scho> etc. were admitted.

What is being suggested here is that rather than admitting forms at the expense of his own as his copying proceeds, hand B's language is being influenced by a change in that of his exemplar, or indeed by a change in exemplar. Of the forms noted above <fram> and <euel> are common Essex usages and, even if not in his own usage, would very likely have existed in scribe B's passive repertoire. <ham> appears in several Essex sources, the majority of which are localised close to where Hunt 74 (B) has been placed. Again this suggests that, even if not in his active repertoire, if this form appeared in his exemplar he would most probably recognise and tolerate it.

Does a combination of these forms therefore suggest a south-eastern exemplar? Certainly <ougne> as a variant of OWN implies some kind of south-eastern element. The form <ham> is attested as a main usage of THEM in six Kentish and four Sussex sources and is therefore not inconsistent with this theory. Similarly, the form <þourȝ> (THROUGH) is attested in one Kentish and two Sussex sources. Although in the County Dictionary <scho> is found primarily as a northern and western form and <scheo> is listed exclusively in west Midland and south-western counties, Smith has noted <scheo> in the Fairfax Gower (Smith, 1985:83), again suggesting the possibility of a south-eastern component. <scho> is also attested in one Essex source, PRO Prob11/2B. This text's localisation is not far from that of Hunt 74 (B), and this form, although apparently rare, is therefore not unknown in the area.

The introduction of the majority of these forms can therefore be understood since most were current in Essex and the scribe could be expected to have recognised them and admittted them into his copy rather than translating them into his normal usage. The appearance of <ougne> may seem surprising since the form is not attested in Essex. However, the language of Hunt 74 (B) is localised to the south of Essex, and Kent is not very far from there. Of course the Thames lies between the two areas, but rather than seeing the river as a barrier one could also look upon it as a route between the two counties. There must have been a degree of cross-over between the two areas in terms of trade. The form <ougne> for OWN may therefore have been known to a scribe from this region of Essex and, although he would not use it himself, if it began to appear in an exemplar from which he was copying, he may have accepted it

into his own text.

Matheson's suggestion of a south-eastern exemplar seems acceptable. However, the idea that the scribe began to admit more south-eastern variants into his text as his copying proceeded at the expense of his native forms seems less likely. It is being suggested here that the scribe's copytext (or texts) were not written in the same type of language throughout. This explains the introduction of new variants for certain items at the same point in scribe B's text. He continued to translate the majority of items into his own dialect, but forms that were not completely exotic to him were admitted and appear in his copy. This idea coheres better with what is considered to be the more usual type of scribal practice.

4. Shifts in Language between more than one Literary Text written by one Scribal Hand

A number of the Essex sources found in LALME are manuscripts or portions of manuscripts containing more than one literary text copied by the same scribe. Any variation found between the forms for particular items across these texts should be investigated for any evidence of particular scribal practices that they may reveal. Here, five scribal hands will be analysed. Four of these are examples that consist of only two or three literary texts copied by one scribe. These are Douce 126, LoC 4 (A), Add.C.280 and Auch E. Slightly different is Douce 322 insofar as this manuscript consists of seventeen separate items and, indeed, there is some debate as to whether the work of one or two scribes is present.

Within the LPs of LALME none of the individual literary texts found in these manuscripts is printed separately. During analysis for LALME scribal hands were split into the different texts that they produced, since 'each separate profile represents the language of a single scribal text' (LALME, I:8). However, for the purposes of mapping, different profiles for texts copied by the same scribe were combined to prevent the maps from becoming too crowded; 'regardless of the number of LPs, there can be registered one dot.. at any given point.. [T]he criterion is whereabouts the relevant forms are to be found, not the number of sources used to establish their presence in any particular place' (Benskin, 1991a:225). In LALME the practice of conflating LPs made sense; however, the remit of this study demands that the profiles for each scribal text are kept separate. For none of the manuscripts to be discussed does the variation found between different texts suggest a localisation to more than one area of Essex; rather, the differences provide clues to scribal approaches to exemplars.

4.1 Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 126

Douce 126 is localised to central Essex, south of Braintree. It contains a copy of the Prick of Conscience on folios 1 to 68, an incomplete copy of the Siege of Jerusalem from folios 69 to 84[r] and the Debate of Mary and Bernard from folios 84[v] to 91. The Latin verse Ave Regina and a Hymn to a Virgin on folios 91[v] to 93 are in a different hand which was not analysed for this study. A comparison of the forms recorded for each of the three texts reveals that the

scribe attempted to translate his exemplar or exemplars accurately into his own dialect. As with the other manuscripts to be discussed in this section this is to be expected, since LALME did not find enough deviation between the three texts to warrant localisations in different places. It is primarily in minor forms and in the proportions of variants that differences are noted. There are a large number of double-bracketed forms in the Prick of Conscience text although many of these are rhymes, for instance, <ere> (ARE) and <þore> (THERE).

Where there is consistent agreement between the three texts it can be supposed that the forms found represent the scribe's own usages. For instance, no other forms are found apart from <here> (HER(S)), <ȝif> (IF), <ȝhe> (SHE), <here> (THEIR), <hem> (THEM) and <þese> (THESE) in any of the texts. Even in items where there is some variation between the three different texts, the scribe's own forms may still be detectable. Comparison of the main forms and the appearance of the same variant in all three texts suggest that <eny> (ANY), <-ly> (-LY), <swich> and <sweche> (SUCH), <self> (SELF) and <two> (TWO) are the scribe's preferred usages.

There are a few items for which the forms recorded in the Prick of Conscience differ notably from those in the other two texts. These are AGAIN(ST), ERE and the present participle ending. Perhaps some of the poem's original northern forms continue to show through in this copy. In the Prick of Conscience the main form of AGAIN(ST) is <ageyn>, of ERE is <or>, and of the present participle ending is <-ande>. In the Siege of Jerusalem only forms with <ȝ> are recorded for AGAIN(ST), <er> and <ar> are the main forms of ERE, and <-yng> is the major variant of the present participle ending. AGAIN(ST) is not attested in Mary and Bernard, but <er> is the main variant of ERE and <-ynge> the major form of the present participle ending.

Forms of AGAIN(ST) with <g> and of <-ande> for the present participle ending, although found in Essex sources, are typically more northern. It might be supposed that such variants were permitted by the scribe of Douce 126 even though the forms in his active repertoire were of the <ȝ>-type and <-yng(e)>. If <g> forms of AGAIN(ST) and <-ande> forms of the present participle appeared in his copytext of the Prick of Conscience they may have constrained his

usages. Similarly <or> is by no means uncommon in Essex, and the scribe could have admitted this form even if, say, <er> was his spontaneous usage.

All three texts contain different main forms of ALTHOUGH. In the Prick of Conscience <þow> and <al þow> are the main variants, in the Siege of Jerusalem <þouȝ> was noted, and in Mary and Bernard <þhou> is the major form. In the Prick of Conscience, seven variants of ALTHOUGH were noted, five of which begin with <al> - a usage quite widely attested in Essex. <þouȝ> is widespread throughout the Midlands and is commonly recorded in Essex sources. <þhou> is not listed in the County Dictionary and neither is the minor variant <þhow> found in both Mary and Bernard and the Prick of Conscience. <þey>, the other minor usage noted in Mary and Bernard, is a common Midlands variant.

The mixture of forms of ALTHOUGH recorded provides little evidence of the scribe's own usages for this item. Forms beginning with <al> are noted exclusively in the Prick of Conscience, so perhaps these are forms again carried over from the exemplar. Even if forms beginning with <al> or <þouȝ> were not the scribe's normal usage, they were common enough in the Essex area for him to have recognised and reproduced them. The only form that appears in more than one text is <þhow>, and the similar form <þow> is a main form in the Prick of Conscience.

4.2 Washington, Library of Congress 4, Hand A

The first scribe of LoC 4 copies a translation from French of the Rule of St. Benedict adapted for nuns on folios 1 to 36[r], Injunctions for Nuns on folios 36[v] to 37[v], and the first few folios of the Gospel of Nicodemus on folios 37[v] to 40[v] (see section 3.4). This scribe's language is localised to western-central Essex but, as with Douce 126, some forms differ slightly between the texts. No form appears only in the short texts of the Injunctions for Nuns, and the length of these and of the portion of the Gospel of Nicodemus copied by this scribe means that an analysis is unlikely to show up variants for all items.

Minor forms again seem to reveal the appearance of relicts from the exemplar.

For instance, in the <u>Benedictine Rule</u> <assk-> (ASK), <his> (IS), <many> (MANY), <scal> (SHALL sg.), <scholle> (SHALL pl.), <such> (SUCH), and <þurgh> (THROUGH) appear rarely alongside the main variants <ask->, <is>, <meny>, <schal> (sg.), <schulle(n)> (pl.), <swich> and <þorgh>. As with Douce 126, these minor forms, even if those found in the scribe's exemplar, would not have been alien to an Essex scribe; however they are generally translated into his own variety. Perhaps some of these minor variants also formed part of this scribe's repertoire. The main forms listed above are also the major usages found in the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> and may therefore be supposed to be scribal.

Two items in which the <u>Benedictine Rule</u> and the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> disagree however are CAME (sg.) and HIGH, for which the <u>Rule</u> has <cam> and <kam>, and <hiȝ(e)> and <hygh> and the <u>Gospel</u> has <com> and <heygh>. All of these forms are found in Essex sources and, although it is not possible to tell which is the scribal form, variants of CAME (sg.) with <o> and of HIGH with <i> or <y> are more current in the area of Essex to which LoC 4 (A) is localised (see chapter 2, section 1, maps 1 & 24). The section of the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> copied by scribe B contains <com> as the main variant of CAME (sg.), with <cam> in single brackets, and <hy> and <high(e)> for HIGH with <heiȝe> in single brackets. These two scribes are localised near to one another, and it is assumed that they shared the exemplar of the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u>. A degree of overlap in the forms produced is therefore to be expected[5]. It is difficult to determine from this evidence which forms of CAME (sg.) and HIGH represent hand A's own usages.

4.3 <u>Oxford, Bodleian, Add.C.280</u>

The language of the scribal hand found in folios 124 to 127 in Add.C.280 is localised to south-east Essex. The scribe copied two literary texts, the <u>Charter of Christ</u> on folios 124 to 125, column b, line 13, and the <u>Life of Christ</u> following on from this point to folio 127^V. Both texts are very short, and, where an item appears in only one, there is clearly no way of determining if the form is evidence of scribal or exemplar usage. However, there are some noteworthy differences between the two texts. Where the same form is found in both texts but in one there is an additional minor variant, a showthrough from the

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[5] A full comparison of the linguistic usages of hands A and B can be found in section 5.2.

exemplar might be supposed. This is possible for the forms <ferst> (FIRST), <fram> (FROM), <hauyt> (HAVE sg.) and <-lych(e)> (-LY) in the text of the Life of Christ and for <-lech> (-LY) and <þanne> (THEN) in the Charter.

Each text contains different forms for some items. The Charter contains the variants <beth>, <be> and <ben> (ARE), <togedir> (TOGETHER), <wil(l)> (WILL sg.) and <withvtyn> (WITHOUT), while the Life of Christ has <aryn> (ARE), <togedyr> (TOGETHER), <wyl(l)> (WILL sg.) and <wythvtyn> (WITHOUT). In other items such as HER(S), SHALL (pl.) and SHE the differences between the two texts are minor and, although perhaps these different variants represent the exemplars' forms, they may well also have all been current in the scribe's repertoire. Thus, the Charter has <here> (HER(S)), <schull> (SHALL pl.) and <sche> (SHE), while the Life of Christ has <her>, <schul> and <she>.

The form <aryn> is not found in any other Essex source, and is attested slightly north of the Essex area, in Cambridgeshire, Ely, Norfolk and Suffolk. This variant may signal the area from which the exemplar of the Life of Christ originated. <aryn> was admitted by the scribe, but, although it is the only form of the item ARE recorded in the text, it was only noted once and may therefore represent a showthrough. In the forms found for TOGETHER, WILL (sg.) and WITHOUT, the difference is graphic: <i> is found in these items in the Charter whereas <y> is recorded in the Life of Christ. Exemplar constraint must be assumed to be a factor in these instances.

4.4 Auchinleck, Hand E

The language of the scribe who contributed the texts of Reinbrun (folios 167 to 175) and Sir Beues of Hamtoun (folios 176 to 201[r]) to the famous Auchinleck manuscript (see chapter 4, section 3.5.1) is localised to the south-west of Essex. The copy of Reinbrun found in Auchinleck is a unique copy of a French source telling the story of Guy of Warwick's son. The version of Sir Beues of Hamtoun survives in four other manuscripts. The language of the two texts is very similar and indicates that the scribe was a careful and consistent translator.

As with the other scribes discussed in this section, the proportions of the forms

found for some items (e.g. I, -LY, SELF and TWO) vary between the two texts implying some constraint due to variants found in the different exemplars. In <u>Reinbrun</u> the main form of I is <y> with <ich> being found as a minor variant. In <u>Sir Beues</u> <ich> is the major usage and <y> and <i> are double-bracketed variants. Similarly, with the item -LY, <u>Reinbrun</u> has <-liche> and <-ly> as the main forms with <-li>, <-lich> and <-lech> recorded only rarely. <u>Sir Beues</u> contains <-liche> as its main variant and <-li> appears as a single-bracketed usage. <-lich> is a very minor form, and <-ly> and <-lie> were only noted in rhyming positions. The only recorded form of SELF in <u>Reinbrun</u> is <selue>, but in <u>Sir Beues.</u> <self> is the main form and <selue> is found as a double-bracketed variant. <u>Reinbrun</u> has <to> as the main usage of TWO, although this was only ever recorded as a rhyme, with <twei> and <twie> as minor variants. In <u>Sir Beues.</u> the main form of TWO is <twei>, with <to> a minor form. <tweie> and <twayne> were noted in rhyming position.

As with all the scribal hands examined in this section, it is difficult to determine which of these forms represent the scribe's own usages. Perhaps <twei> might be assumed to be the scribe's preferred form since it is the only form of TWO to appear in both texts not as a rhyme. Similarly, <-liche> might have been the form of -LY found in his active repertoire.

In the text of <u>Reinbrun,</u> the main variant of HIGH is <heʒ>, and <hiʒ> occurs as a double-bracketed form. <hye> and <hiʒe> are found only in rhyming position. In <u>Sir Beues,</u> the main forms recorded are <hiʒ> and <hiʒe> with <hei> as a minor usage. <hiʒ> is found in both texts, and so may be the scribal form; however, variants with <e>, such as <heʒ>, are widespread in Essex and could also have appeared in the scribe's repertoire (see chapter 2, section 1, map 1).

The only form of THESE found in <u>Reinbrun</u> is <þis>, whilst in <u>Sir Beues</u> <þes> is exclusively recorded. In <u>Reinbrun</u> <þei> (ALTHOUGH) is noted but in <u>Sir Beues</u> <þeʒ> and <þouʒ> are found for this item. The difference between the forms for these two items is quite marked. They are etymologically different, and there is no overlap of forms between the texts. Although there is a small cluster of forms of THESE with <i> or <y> in the south-west of Essex - mainly in

Type II texts - <e>-type forms are the most common in the county as a whole (see chapter 2, section 1, map 23). A scribe familiar with Type II usages, might admit either form into his copy if it appeared in his exemplar; however on the basis of the rest of the evidence for the Essex sources it might be supposed more likely that his own form was of the <þes>-type. Only the manuscripts of the PHL scribe contain a <þeiȝ>-type form of ALTHOUGH as a main usage (see chapter 2, section 1, map 17a). <þei>-type variants are also uncommon in Essex, appearing as a main form only in OCCC 201. <þei>- and <þeiȝ>-type variants are, however, typical of the Type II incipient standard. A similar explanation to that offered for THESE may therefore be considered here. <þouȝ> and <þou> are by far the most common variants of ALTHOUGH in Essex and it might therefore be assumed that the <þouȝ> found in Sir Beues was the scribe's own form. However, a scribe who has moved to London and is in contact with and recognises Type II forms may admit into his own work any that he comes across in an exemplar.

Reinbrun only survives in Auchinleck, and appears to have been 're-assembled.. as a new romance' from Guy of Warwick, specifically for the manuscript (Loomis, 1942:609-13). That, in the forms of THESE and ALTHOUGH, the more 'prototypical' Type II variants are found in this text and not in Sir Beues, may provide evidence of the dialect of the adaptor of Reinbrun.

4.5 Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 322

Douce 322 is a devotional miscellany; a type of manuscript increasingly found in the fifteenth century. It is a deluxe manuscript, localised to the far west of Essex close to Harlow. A difference in size and style between the first and second half of the manuscript has led to its being described in the Bodleian Summary Catalogue as being the work of two scribes. Doyle however feels that the first section illustrates 'merely a difference of manner perfectly compatible with the rest of the volume' (Doyle, 1958:223n). Gillespie, on the other hand, agrees that there are two scribal hands present in the manuscript. In his opinion, the hand of the first quire is also that of the fourth.

Douce 322 and BL, Harley 1706 appear originally to have been duplicates of one another although the Harley manuscript has had material added to it while

Douce 322 has lost some leaves. The contents of the relevant sections of both are 'parallel' and the similarities noted in a comparison of readings of the manuscripts suggests that one was copied from the other or that both had a common exemplar (Doyle, 1958:222-3). Although the appearance and ordinatio of both manuscripts are very similar, Douce 322 is 'in detail and almost always verbally superior', and therefore Doyle concludes that Douce 322 is the earlier copy and probably Harley 1706's exemplar (Doyle, 1958:223). The Harley manuscript does not contain the illuminations, armorial escutcheons and illustrations found in Douce 322, indicating that it was 'intended rather as a utilitarian replica, not a rival of Douce's special character' (Doyle, 1958:224).

Doyle believes that Harley 1706 was copied from Douce 322 at Dartford. Harley may have been produced for a reader or readers 'somehow in touch with the context of Douce' (Doyle, 1958: 229-30). Douce 322 is linked with Dartford while Harley 1706 has connections with Barking Abbey. A 'complex network of associations' linked the two institutions that 'typically involves the movement of books and texts through family, and often lay, intermediaries' (Gillespie, 1989:330).

The contents lists in both manuscripts are virtually identical. However, in Douce 322 they appear before the texts while in Harley 1706 they come at the end of the portion copied from Douce. These lists show to an extent 'the scope and affiliations of this unusually inclusive gathering of Middle English devotional literature' (Doyle, 1958:224). The positioning of the contents list of Harley 1706 at the end of the section copied from Douce 322 suggests to Gillespie that the list in Douce was not the original beginning of the manuscript (Gillespie, 1989:330). The apparatus and prologue of Douce 322 indicates that the material contained in it has been arranged with some care; '[t]he apparatus is an integral part of the work and the compiler was envisaging users who would wish to refer to sections of the compilation' (Gillespie, 1989:331).

The deluxe nature of Douce 322 is explained by the contemporary inscription at the front of the manuscript indicating that it was a gift from William Baron, an officer of the Royal Exchequer between 1430 and 1470, to the Dominican priory at Dartford in Kent for his 'nece' Petronilla Wrattisley, a nun there. It was

therefore compiled 'from various other volumes for such a purpose as that declared in the front.. at the direction and expense of someone of substance and influence in metropolitan milieux' (Doyle, 1958:228).

Baron lived in the area of St. Bartholomew's Close and Douce 322 may have been produced near there. The source of some of its material could have come from the Charterhouse (Doyle, 1958:228-9). This manuscript therefore provides evidence of Essex language in a metropolitan production.

The LP of Douce 322 combines the results of separate profiles attained for all seventeen texts. The language of all the texts is very similar indeed; however, in some instances, one form was recorded in a particular text that was not noted in any other. Some of these variants are not only unique to one of the texts in the manuscript but also are etymologically different to all other variants noted. These forms are likely therefore to be 'show-throughs' from the scribe's exemplars, especially when it is considered that none of them appears more than once in a text. For example, in the seventh text the forms <hask-> (ASK), <chyrche> (CHURCH), <heme> (THEM) and <tweyn> (TWO) are found alongside the more usual <ask->, <churche>, <hem> or <theym> and <two>. Again, in the twelfth text <aftyr> (AFTER), <soche> (SUCH), <all yef> (ALTHOUGH) and <togedur> (TOGETHER) are noted once each beside the more common forms of <after>, <such>, <though> and <togeder>.

It is only in the second text that <þ> was recorded in forms such as <boþe> (BOTH), <þan> (THEN), <þey> (THEY) and <þorough> (THROUGH). Here is an example of a scribe presumably being constrained by the letter forms that he found in the exemplar of this particular text and reproducing them

The appearance of such unique forms provides evidence that the manuscript, as likely with a miscellany of this type, was compiled from a variety of sources. The similarity of language throughout the manuscript may also suggest that what may seem to be different scribal hands is, as Doyle suggests, a difference in 'style' only. Especially if the manuscript was produced in London, the appearance of two scribal hands writing in such a similar Essex-type language might be considered less likely than one scribe producing the manuscript. When it is considered that such a miscellany was probably compiled over some period of time, as suitable texts were acquired, the fact

that the hand shows some variation is not surprising.

4.6 Summary

The manuscripts discussed above provide evidence of the approaches taken by scribes as they translated different exemplars containing different texts into a single manuscript. These scribes all seem to have been thorough and consistent translators of their copy-texts; however evidence of some of the usages found in their exemplars is revealed in relicts and show-throughs, especially where a form is recorded which is not recognisable as a variant current in Essex. The difficulties involved in determining whether a form is scribal or derives from the exemplar is apparent in this discussion. Especially where a usage is known in Essex, it can be impossible to determine whether it is scribal or not. The issue of constraint also presents problems. Where it has been suggested that a form reflects a scribe's own usages this has been based on a combination of factors including the consistency with which a copyist uses a particular form, overlaps between the texts which are copied and the evidence of the other Essex sources. Even where all these factors are taken into account, it is of course never possible to confirm conclusively that it is the scribe's 'own' form.

5. The Language of Different Scribes Involved in Copying the Same Text

In five of the Essex sources examined for this study more than one scribe worked on the same text within a manuscript. In three cases, those of Hunt 74, Har 3943 and LoC 4, the differences between the languages of the scribes are sufficiently marked to warrant different localisations for each scribe. In another manuscript, Eg 2726, the linguistic usages of only one of the scribal hands was analysed in LALME; however the languages of the two scribes are so similar that a localisation to one place is acceptable. In Bod 840 the presence of a second scribe is not noted in LALME and it has therefore been necessary to examine this copyist's language from scratch.

The differences that will be observed in the scribes' approaches to the manuscripts must be seen in context and in relation to different production methods. One manuscript provides evidence of professional scribes at work in London, another appears to be a copy of a text made in a monastic environment, while the presence of two scribes in another is caused by the continuation of a chronicle. The point at which one scribe takes over from another and the type of text being copied may therefore prove to be very important when attempting to explain the presence of more than one scribal hand in a manuscript and the possible interaction between scribes.

5.1 London, British Library, Egerton 2726

Eg 2726 contains a copy of the Canterbury Tales. The languages and hands of the two scribes are very similar. The first scribe (A) copies folios 1 to 49[r], from the General Prologue to the end of the Miller's Tale. The second scribe (B) copies from folio 49[r] at the beginning of the Reeve's Prologue to the end of the text on folio 271. However, folio 111[r], the first page of quire 14, is written by scribe A apart from the first two lines. Some of the corrections that appear in scribe A's section of text are by scribe B, suggesting that this scribe may have had a 'role of proof-reader' (Mosser, 1997:48).

The linguistic analysis of Eg 2726 conducted for LALME used the Chaucer Society Specimens of extracts from the Pardoner's Tale. This analysis is unsatisfactory for a thorough study of the manuscript, since it uses only a fraction of the text from a printed edition. The profile also only examines the language of scribe B, with no mention being made of scribe A. LPs of both

scribes' linguistic usages made for this study show the extent to which the scribes' dialects resemble each other.

The scribes of Eg 2726 are discussed by Mosser. He describes the manuscript in detail as well as the two scribes' hands and their language. From the evidence, Mosser believes that the scribes originally divided up their exemplar to allow simultaneous copying of the manuscript. The 'anomalous gathering' of quire 7 contains six rather than the usual eight folios (folios 49 to 54) and suggests that the 'first 'chunk'' originally ended with the Reeve's Tale. Mosser envisages the first scribe completing his copying of the Miller's Tale and passing the incomplete quire on to scribe B. If the copying was simultaneous, scribe B would already have begun his section of the text starting with the Clerk's Prologue on folio 55. Their calculations were 'close enough that they were left with only one extra bifolium in Quire 7' (Mosser, 1997:42). The second scribe may have copied the first two lines of folio 111[r] as a 'place-marker' to indicate to scribe A where his next stint of copying was to begin. The reason why scribe A completes only that one page and then disappears from the manuscript is not clear (Mosser, 1997:42-3).

The results of the linguistic analysis carried out by Mosser on the scribes of Eg 2726 (http://ebbs.english.vt.edu/exper/mosser/catalogue/en1lps.html) agree in by far the majority of instances with the results of this study. Despite the disadvantages of the source used for LALME's results, these more comprehensive investigations into the language of Eg 2726 confirm LALME's localisation of Eg 2726 in the north-west of Essex. The similarities in the linguistic usages of the two scribes mean that, although LALME considers only the work of scribe B, a separate localisation for scribe A is unnecessary. Although the majority of the forms found in Eg 2726 have a wide currency in the whole of the Midlands area, it is only in this area of Essex that the distributions of most of these common forms and the combination of rarer forms such as <ecch> (EACH), <seth> and <sen> (SINCE), <soch> (SUCH), <werld> (WORLD) and <yit> and <yitte> (YET) tend to overlap (Mosser, 1997:46-7).

A possible instance of scribal constraint is seen in scribe B's usages of AGAIN(ST). Before folio 172 <ageyn> is the most common variant found, whereas after this point <ayein> and <ayeinst> are predominant. In the

County Dictionary <ayeinst> is attested in Hertfordshire and Rutland as well as in Eg 2726, and <ayein> is found in Add.A.369 as well as in Eg 2726. These variants could therefore represent forms found in scribe B's active repertoire. <ageyn> is not uncommon in the Essex area, however, and the scribe could have admitted this form from his exemplar quite freely until, as he became more used to his copy-text, he translated increasingly consistently (see also Mosser, 1997:47). Alternatively, 'the set of exemplars used to produce [Eg 2726] derived from different sources reflecting different spelling systems' (Mosser, 1997:47). The texts of the B^2 Fragment[6] and the Parson's Tale found in Eg 2726 and in Lincoln Cathedral Library 110 share affiliations. If booklets or gatherings from different sources were combined to produce an exemplar and then later dispersed, 'and if those exemplars shared with [Lincoln Cathedral 110] contained the 'ayein(st)' spellings then the shift in preferences by Scribe [B] might be more readily explained' (Mosser, 1997:47). This theory is attractive since no other items show a shift like that noted in AGAIN(ST). The scribe is a very consistent translator; that only this item changes may imply that forms like <ageyn> and <ayein(st)> were both current in his own usage. This would also explain why the <ayein(st)> forms of AGAIN(ST) only begin to appear after the scribe had copied over 120 folios. He would have 'worked in' to his exemplar before this point, as he did with all other items.

Eg 2726 provides some interesting evidence of scribal practices and interaction. The initial plan for the copying of the text seems to have fallen apart with the disappearance of the first scribe from the production. The second scribe acted as a proof-reader, correcting the work of scribe A. This may imply that scribe B 'was the senior member of the team'. Perhaps, having corrected scribe A's work, scribe B was displeased with its quality, and dismissed the first scribe (Mosser, 1997:49). Whatever the reasons, Eg 2726 was originally conceived as a collaborative effort between two scribes, probably copying simultaneously, but ultimately became the work of a single scribe. The similarities in the language of both scribes is striking and may lead to speculation that they were trained in the same place.

5.2 Washington, Library of Congress, 4

Another manuscript in which the copying of a single literary text is shared by two scribes is LoC 4. The work of each individual scribe is discussed in

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[6] i.e. the Shipman's Tale, the Prioress's Tale, the Tale of Thopas, the Tale of Melibeus, the Monk's Tale and the Nun's Priest's Tale

sections 3.4 and 4.2. Here, the text of the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> is examined since both scribes contribute to its copying. Scribe A copies only a small part of the text from folios 37^v to 40^v. Scribe B then takes over and completes the copying.

Unlike Eg 2726, the linguistic usages of these two scribes show sufficient differences for them to be localised separately in LALME; scribe A's language being placed near to Hatfield Broad Oak, and scribe B's to around Dunmow.

Hill suggests that the manuscript was prepared at the Benedictine priory at Hatfield Broad Oak and was intended for 'the sister-house at Castle Hedingham', both foundations being patronised by the de Vere family (Hill, 1989:40-1). However, what survives may not have been 'the whole of their commission' and it is questionable whether it reached or remained long in Castle Hedingham since 'not long after these scribes wrote, their unbound quires.. migrated north' (Hill, 1989:41). The commentary on the Creed, copied by a third scribe, is in a north-western dialect, and notes on folio 1 state that the manuscript belonged to a Benedictine foundation in Yorkshire. Hill proposes that the quires containing the <u>Benedictine Rule</u> and the Injunctions were acquired by a 'north-western male House' as an exemplar but were never returned and were eventually bound up with the <u>Creed</u>. The other two extant copies of the <u>Benedictine Rule</u> intended for nuns are localised to west Yorkshire (Hill, 1989:41).

A comparison of the forms to be found in both scribes' contributions to the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> was conducted to allow comparison of the two scribes' usages[7]. Scribe A's usages in his copy of the <u>Benedictine Rule</u> were examined again to provide more evidence of his preferred forms. As expected with two scribal hands localised only a short distance apart, in the majority of instances the forms recorded were the same or very similar. Examples of forms that showed only minor differences include MANY where scribe A has <meny> and B has <many> and <meny>, and NOT where <nouȝt> and <ne+nouȝt> are scribe A's main forms whilst scribe B has <noȝt>, <ne+noȝt> and <ne>.

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[7] Those forms which appear for a time in scribe B's work and were discussed in section 3.4 are not considered again here.

It is apparent that both of these scribes translated the exemplar of the Gospel of Nicodemus into their own variety of English. However, for a number of items in which scribes A and B show a more marked difference, scribe B's usages seem less 'prototypical' of Essex than those of scribe A. For instance, scribe B of LoC 4 is the only Essex source that admits a form of DAYS with <ȝ> as a main usage. This scribe's language also contains <ȝyue> as the main form of GIVE (inf.), only found as a major variant in two other Essex source (Foyle and CUL Hh.I.11). Scribe B has <oune> as the main form of OWN. No other Essex text has this usage as a main form, and it is attested as a single-bracketed variant in only one other (Douce 322). Similarly, scribe B is the only Essex source to contain <þen> as its main variant of THEN, although seven others have this as a minor form. It was seen in section 3.4 that scribe B was influenced at one point by his exemplar and admitted some minor variants that seem to come from the west Midlands area. Some of the more unusual forms noted here may be further examples of constraint, this time in major variants with more widespread currency across the south of England.

Where both scribes translate consistently into their own dialect, evidence about the usages present in the scribal exemplar is difficult to determine. The length of scribe A's contribution also presents difficulties, since many items are not attested in his short stint. However, the evidence of scribe B's usages noted both here and in section 3.4 may suggest that the exemplar used for the copying of the Gospel of Nicodemus originated at some distance from Essex. An exemplar that originated from outside the area is entirely possible particularly in a religious environment where texts are known to have been borrowed from sister foundations, as seems to have happened with scribes A and Bs' contributions to LoC 4. Social rather than geographical proximity is an issue that must be considered when examining how far from a locality an exemplar may have been derived. This of course applies to all manuscripts, but has been mentioned here since the evidence for this manuscript's movement, perhaps for use as an exemplar itself, is apparent.

5.3 London. British Library. Harley 3943

Har 3943 contains a copy of Troilus and Criseyde copied by four hands. Hand A has been localised to south-east Essex and is also responsible for

San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM114[8] and London, Lambeth Palace 491. The interaction of the four scribes of Har 3943 and what this suggests about the collaboration of scribes involved in the booktrade of fifteenth-century London requires discussion.

Copies of <u>Troilus</u> are classified as being of Type A or B. Type-A texts omit, and Type-B texts include, Troilus's song in Book III, his predestination soliloquy in Book IV, and his ascent to the spheres in Book V (Windeatt, 1984:38). Hand A's stint of copying is a version of the A-text of <u>Troilus.</u> as is his copy of the text found in HM114. The two versions of <u>Troilus</u> found in these manuscripts are so alike that Hanna finds it 'hard to conclude anything except that they were copied from the same archetype' (Hanna, 1989:122). HM114 is the only complete extant version of the A text. Along with Har 3943, portions are also found in CUL Gg.IV.27, BL, Harley 4912 and Cambridge, St John's College L.I. Since CUL Gg.IV.27 is earlier than either HM114 or Har 3943, hand A was not himself responsible for the A text (Hanna, 1989:126). It appears that HM114 was not copied from Har 3943 nor vice versa, since 'each has unique, although usually very minor, readings not in the other' (Hanna, 1989:126).

The other three scribes of Har 3943 copy a Type-B version of the text. However, hand C copies the outer bifolium of the first quire, the rest of which is copied by hand A. These folios contain Type-A readings compatible with hand A's stint and suggest that scribe C recopied these leaves from hand A's damaged originals (Hanna, 1996:126).

The interaction of the scribes in Har 3943 has been variously described. Root suggested that scribe C discovered a defective manuscript copied by hands A and B which he took over and which was then finished by scribe D (Windeatt, 1984:71). Hanna feels that hand A's fragment of the text, copied in the late 1420s or early 1430s, remained unbound for some time, and that the damage that it suffered while in this state required repair before it was completed in the mid to late fifteenth century (Hanna, 1989:122; 1996:126). Seymour believes that all four hands are contemporary, and speculates that hand C was 'the stationer in control of production' (Seymour, 1995:72).

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[8] It was not possible to examine HM 114 for the purposes of this study. A microfilm copy of the manuscript is unavailable and Mary Robinson, Curator of Manuscripts at Huntington Library, states that, since the binding is broken in two places, the manuscript is too fragile to photograph.

It seems that Har 3943 was copied in London as part of the capital's growing book-trade. The contents and appearance of HM114 and Lambeth 491 indicate that hand A - although originally from Essex - worked as a professional scribe in London[9]. There is also a possibility that hand D may be the 'hooked g' scribe. This scribe was, arguably, a Kentish immigrant responsible for surviving copies of the Canterbury Tales. the Fall of Princes, the Confessio Amantis, the Troy Book and the Polychronicon. The variant <ougne> (OWN), found in hand D, is a typical Kentish form used by the 'hooked g' scribe in manuscripts before he replaced his 'grosser regional forms' with those of 'Chancery Standard' (Horobin, 1998:413). Other variants such as <thouȝ> (ALTHOUGH) and <moch> (MUCH), also typical of the 'hooked g' scribe, were recorded in the linguistic analysis of hand D's stint. The issue of this scribe's identity involves conflicting evidence and theories and will be dealt with in Horobin, forthcoming.

C. Paul Christianson's research identifies around 250 people who worked in the book-trade in London between 1300 and 1520, mainly located around St. Paul's, especially in Paternoster Row. This concentration of members of the trade would have led to the development of 'professional and personal associations within the group' (Christianson, 1989:90). Christianson's examination of accounts of rental records shows that there were 30 shops on Paternoster Row in 1404, each occupyng a space of approximately 3.5 by 7.5 metres. These dimensions suggest that members of the book-trade worked independently, with books 'presumably created on many different sites, none of them, however, any great distance apart' (Christianson, 1989:94-6).

Any impression of centralised activity that might be gained from collaborative efforts in a manuscript and by uniformity of script and format should therefore be treated with care. More than just isolated instances of collaboration are required as proof and standardisation of formats may have been primarily for economic reasons, allowing 'realistic calculations of materials and time required'. The fifteenth-century book-trade is more likely to have been 'bespoke and ad hoc', where a stationer received an order and organised a manuscript's production, separately hiring the artisans required. Although the

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[9] Both HM114 and Lambeth 491 are composed of cheap-looking booklets which vary in size. Single vellum sheets protect the paper on which they were written, suggesting that the booklets were expected to remain unbound and 'form a small in-house bookseller's stock' (Hanna, 1989:123).

scribes, binders, illustrators etc. may have worked in 'loose collaboration', their premises were independent (Edwards & Pearsall, 1989:260).

The book-trade of fifteenth-century London was therefore characterised by 'physical proximity and the consequent possibility of actual collaboration or influence' (Christianson, 1989:99). In such a collaborative effort it was possible, as Doyle and Parkes have shown, to divide up an exemplar and have it copied simultaneously by 'an ad hoc team'; different scribes in different locations (Doyle & Parkes, 1978:167, 185). As with Doyle and Parkes's scribes B and D, scribe A of Har 3943 is also found in other manuscripts, neither of which is a collaborative effort, strengthening further the impression of the ad hoc nature of this manuscript's production. Should hand D indeed be the 'hooked g' scribe, the complex issue of whether there are other collaborative manuscripts written by this scribe is bound up with the question of how many 'hooked g' scribes there are (Horobin, 1998:411).

The view that the exemplar or exemplars of Har 3943 were divided up and distributed to the different scribes is further reinforced by the relation of the quire divisions to the beginnings and endings of scribal contributions. Hand A copies quires 1 (apart from the outer bifolium discussed above), 2 to 7 and the first five leaves of quire 9; hand B copies quire 8 and hand D, quires 10 to 14. Hand C provides the missing leaves of quires 1 and 9 which are not found in hand A's contribution and one line of folio 59 omitted by hand B[10].

A number of explanations are possible for the presence of the two versions of Troilus in Har 3943. If hand A's stint was copied some time before the other three scribes completed the Troilus text[11], one can imagine hand A's unfinished portion of the text sitting in a stationer's workshop, unbound, for several years. If the stationer was later commissioned to produce another copy of Troilus. it would make economic sense to have scribes complete the older, unfinished copy. If he had no concept or knowledge of different versions of Troilus the stationer would have been happy to provide the scribes with portions of any exemplar that took up the text where hand A's section ended.

It is however possible that the copying of the whole manuscript took place at

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[10]Compare to Doyle & Parkes, 1978:164
[11] Hanna's dating of hand A to the later 1420s or early 1430s is based on 'his script and the paper stocks on which he worked' (Hanna, 1989:121-2).

the same time. Hanna postulates the existence of a 'Troilus clearing-house' where sections of the poem were provided in 'roughly comparable units [of text], regardless of distinctions of format'[12]. It could be argued that, with no modern notion of different versions, a borrowing scribe or stationer would accept any section of text that followed on neatly from the previous one (Hanna, 1996:125-6). The passages that are used to distinguish the A text from the B text are philosophical and as such do not form an intrinsic part of the story of Troilus. Although context indicates that these passages should be included (Windeatt, 1984:38-41), their omission does not disrupt the course of events of the tale and consequently may not have been noticed by every scribe or stationer.

Hand A's contribution to Har 3943 and his text of Troilus in HM114 seem to have been copied from the same exemplar. Not only did this scribe have the same exemplar for his copying of the Harley and Huntington manuscripts, but he also had access to another copy (a B version) from which he added to HM114 the passages mentioned above. This situation provides more evidence that artisans in the capital had access to different exemplars, possibly due to their associations with others in and around Paternoster Row. Hanna dismisses the possibility that Har 3943 and HM114 were copied simultaneously or one immediately after the other because of the missing Type-B additions in the Harley manuscript. Hand A, however, failed to complete Har 3943 and it may be argued that it is therefore not possible to compare the two manuscripts in this way. If they were simultaneous copies but, for whatever reason, the scribe discontinued his copying of Har 3943, he would hardly be likely to add material to that incomplete portion when the manuscript with the Type-B readings came to hand. Hanna's other reason for placing Harley earlier than HM114 is that 'the correcting archetype' would have remained available to the scribe for use on Harley (Hanna, 1989:122). However, the booktrade was one which often must have relied on chance for the procurement of exemplars, and 'scribes themselves, given the nature of their part in the production of manuscript books, are most unlikely to have retained exemplars' (Edwards & Pearsall, 1989:263).

The presence of the two different traditions in Har 3943 does not necessarily

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[12] Edwards & Pearsall's suggestion that the close proximity of many book-trade members to one another would have facilitated 'a certain amount of borrowing on Paternoster Row' seems more feasible than the idea of such a 'clearing-house' (Edwards & Pearsall, 1989:263).

indicate a lack of supervision. Seymour suggests that scribe C is the 'stationer in control of the production'. He notes that 'the proem and Book I and Book IV' begin with large decorated initials by hand C and that the rubrication of folios 1 to 70 is probably by this scribe. That of folios 71 to 116 is most likely by hand D (Seymour, 1995:72). Hand D therefore appears to rubricate his own stint and only his stint, while hand C had access to the completed stints of hands A and B and was able to decorate and rubricate them.

Hand C's contributions comprise only the outer bifolium of quire 1, the last three leaves of quire 9, and one line of folio 59. If scribe C was the commissioning stationer, when the completed portions of Har 3943 were presented to him, examination of the quires would have revealed the damage and incomplete quire of hand A's portion of text and hand B's omission of one line from a stanza. With the rubrication of folios 1 to 70 to complete, rather than give the quires back to the scribes, he sorted these problems himself.

The idea of hand C as the controlling stationer and the suggestion that hand A's stint was completed earlier in the fifteenth century are, of course, not incompatible; in fact they do seem to mesh together quite happily[13]. Why hand A abandoned his copying of <u>Troilus</u> mid-quire is another mystery. As Edwards and Pearsall note, 'no doubt there were many slips between cup and lip in the complex process of commissioning and producing books' (Edwards & Pearsall, 1989:266). They cite many continental examples of a patron failing to pay or dying before a manuscript's completion resulting in its copying being abandoned. This could be one possible reason why hand A abandoned his copying of <u>Troilus</u> in Har 3943.

As with so many discussions of medieval manuscripts and their transmission, this investigation can reach no absolute conclusion. Hypotheses - though informed ones - concerning when the different sections of the manuscript were copied in relation to one another are, in the final analysis, speculative. 'The variability of.. resources [such as exemplars, scribes and illuminators] and the presence of so many variables in combination led not only to greater uniformity in the appearance of each copy but also to greater diversity

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[13] The fact that hand B provides a quire towards the end of hand A's stint may be another piece of evidence that strengthens Hanna's theory. If the stationer was aware of the missing or damaged quire before copying began that could explain hand B's interruption of hand A's portion. However, an examination of the quiring of Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.2 in Doyle & Parkes's article shows that it was possible for scribes to copy quires that were not contiguous.

between the texts of the different copies' (Doyle & Parkes, 1978:203). However, the evidence of the decoration and ordinatio suggests that the third scribe supervised the manuscript's production, while palaeographical and codicological evidence appears to show that the first scribe copied his portion of Har 3943 slightly earlier than the other three scribes. The palaeographical and linguistic evidence suggests that the manuscript may include a contribution by the 'hooked g' scribe working in collaboration with others. This collaboration would not have been particularly close and the various stints may have been brought together at the end of their copying under the direction of hand C. No other scribal hand appears in the stint of, or even in the same quire as, another which implies that copying took place independently and in different locations.

The linguistic usages of hand A provide evidence of an Essex scribe who maintained his dialectal forms whilst working in London. Thus, although this manuscript appears in this study owing to the information it provides regarding the Essex dialect, the evidence for scribal practices found within it relate to London and the book trade operating there.

5.4 Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 840

Bod 840 contains a text of the Prose Brut, a chronicle of the history of England. The ME translation from the Anglo-Norman original ended at 1333 but many copies contain continuations to 1377, 1419, 1422 and 1430. The English Brut survives in 181 manuscripts and in thirteen early printed editions (Matheson, 1998:1-6). During the analysis of Bod 840 it was observed that at folio 117^r there appears to be a change of script and that this latter part of the manuscript is linguistically different from that of the earlier portion.

The following forms illustrate some of the differences in the major variants recorded for languages A and B. Language A contains <aftir> (AFTER), <cherche> (CHURCH), <dede> (DID sg.), <ferst(e)> (FIRST), <fro> and <fram> (FROM), <hire> (HER(S)), <hull> (HILL), <ȝif> (IF), <myghte> and <mighte> (MIGHT sg.), <nought> (NOT), <heo> (SHE), <swych> and <swich> (SUCH) and <ȝet> (YET). For the same items language B has <after>, <chirch>, <did>, <fyrst> and <furst>, <from>, <her>, <hille>, <yf>, <myȝt>, <not>, <sche>, <such> and <ȝit>.

Lister Matheson classifies Bod 840 as a manuscript containing the Common Version of the <u>Prose Brut</u> to 1419. The text to 1333 ends on folio 117. Matheson remarks that:

'The text beyond 1333 continues in *the same hand* immediately after the narrative ending in that year. However the ink used for the continuation is blacker, suggesting, in conjunction with the internal textual features, that *a change of exemplar took place* at this point and that the first part of the text was copied from a CV-1333 [Common Version to 1333], to which the 1419.. continuation was added from another manuscript' (Matheson, 1998:118 [italics added]).

Whilst stylistic differences[14] seem to bear out Matheson's conclusion that there was a change of exemplar at folio 117, the change of script, not mentioned by Matheson, suggests that there was also a change of scribe. The linguistic differences between sections A and B could indicate a change in exemplar for a literatim copyist, but along with other evidence might equally reflect a change of scribe.

Matheson sates that the 'earliest stage in the development of the English Brut, containing the basic text to 1333 is represented by.. [among others] the first section of Bodley 840' (Matheson, 1998:79). The dialects of the earliest extant manuscripts and relict forms in others have led to the conclusion that the original translation from the Anglo-Norman was made into a Herefordshire dialect.

Bod 840 does not contain a sub-heading present in later manuscripts, following a description of the Scottish army, which developed from the layout of some Anglo-Norman manuscripts that 'distinctly differentiated [the army divisions] from the body of the text' (Matheson, 1998:86-7). This, coupled with the relicts of Herefordshire usage in language A, such as <heo> for SHE, <hure> for HEAR and <huld> for HELD, suggests that Bod 840 provides evidence of the earliest development of the English text. The number of surviving manuscripts of the <u>Prose Brut</u> and their widespread distribution

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[14] Stock phrases such as 'notwithstandynge', and 'in the same ȝere' which are not found in the earlier part of the text (A) are commonly found in the second part (B). Whilst in portion A a new character was introduced with the phrase 'þat me callede..', section B uses the phrase 'þat was callede..'. Chapter divisions are found more regularly in the earlier portion of the text. Direct speech is rarely used in section B (with the result that the linguistic analysis has no recorded instances of the items ARE, GO, I and WILL for this portion of the text).

indicate the popularity of the text in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Matheson, 1998:14).   Matheson's work has shown strong ties between London and its surrounding areas and the development of the <u>Prose Brut</u>. Bod 840, as a relatively early text, containing a mixture of Herefordshire and Essex usages in language A, illustrates this development well.

However, a further stage in the development of Bod 840 now requires some consideration.   If it is accepted that, as well as a new exemplar, a new scribal text is to be found from folio 117 onwards, then this manuscript appears to be a witness to a later continuation by a second scribe.

The likelihood of there being two scribal texts in Bod 840 seems high when one considers the graphetic features observed in the manuscript.   Sample alphabets from both sections are provided overleaf[15].

In section A <d> has a looped, although fairly upright, ascender, while in B <d> has a straight-backed, short ascender.   When word-final, <e> tends to end in a flourish in A, whereas in B this practice was not noted.   In A the loop of the descender of <h> is relatively long and curls quite far back underneath the letter.   In B the descender of <h> sometimes has a loop and at other times barely falls below the line.   The loop of <l> in A is not particularly exaggerated and comes about halfway down the letter whilst in B it tends to protrude much further.   A has examples of the 'two'-shaped <r> but none were noted in B. The descender of the long form of <s> in B is much shorter than that seen in A. While the compartments of A's short-<s> tend to be of equal size, those of B have a larger bottom lobe.   In A when short-<s> appears initially the upper lobe is open and the lower lobe loops up and closes at the top of the letter. There were no examples found of initial short-<s> in B.   <w> is more elaborate in A than in B and extends higher above minim height.   <y> is dotted in B but not in A.

The overall appearance of both hands is neat and well-spaced although the strokes in B are much thicker.   There is more variation between the forms of individual letters in B than in A.   The ascenders and descenders of A are much longer than in B although they are not exaggerated to the extent that they interfere with surrounding letters.   In both sections the minims are neat

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Section A: Lower-case letter forms

Section B: Lower-case letter forms

and individually formed and biting occurs, especially between <d> and <e>. The general appearance of both tends towards Anglicana Formata although the influence of Secretary is more noticeable in B especially with the straight-backed <d>, the less ornate - but still Anglicana - <w> and the less rounded formation of <a> and <g>.

McIntosh suggests dividing an LP into one containing spoken-language (S-) features, and one containing written-language (W-) features, i.e. those features with 'no contrasting phonic implications' (McIntosh, 1989d:46). By splitting an LP thus, it is possible to identify an individual scribe's work by means of a WLP and Graphetic Profile (GP) even if the scribal texts surviving are by a literatim copyist. A GP provides information about sub-systemic features, 'parallel to phonetic.. phenomena in spoken language' (McIntosh, 1989c:35).

W-features could also be important in identifying the same scribe writing in different scripts (or modes):

'For though I will not deny that a shift of mode could influence graphemic as well as graphetic behaviour, I believe that it can be shown that it does not do so to anything like the same extent... And since variation in W-features.. has nothing to do with spoken language, these may, but again need not, be modified because of dialectal differences in the texts underlying those we are considering. Hence there is hope of a certain stability in at least some of a scribe's graphemic habits' (McIntosh, 1989d:48).

An analysis of some of the forms of Bod 840 shows that there are differences of the type that McIntosh mentions. For instance, the initial consonant of the item THESE in part A is <th>, whilst in part B <þ> is found, with forms beginning in <th> appearing only as minor variants. In the item MIGHT <gh> is found in section A in both the singular and plural, with <ȝ> being found only twice, each time to allow the word to fit at the end of a line. Conversely in part B, forms with <ȝ> are invariably found.

There is the possibility that the <þ/th> and <ȝ/gh> distinctions noted here are an example of constraint. A translator who allows both <þ> and <th>, for instance, in his own repertoire, or one who is a literatim copyist, may restrict himself to writing only one form and, with a change of exemplar, may change

his behaviour. However, the linguistic and palaeographical evidence suggests the presence of two scribes and two exemplars, rather than one scribe and two exemplars and the evidence of the W-features adds further support to that conclusion.

Language A of Bod 840 is identified by Samuels in LALME as Essex with Herefordshire relicts and he consequently does not enter the manuscript on the maps. Language A has therefore been identified as a Mischsprache containing two layers, the main one being localisable to the Essex area and the second containing Herefordshire usages.

The presence of language B is not mentioned in LALME and none of its forms is included in the LP of the manuscript. Using the results from the linguistic analysis of Bod 840 an attempt was made to localise language B using the 'fit'- technique (see chapter 1, section 1.2.2).

Stage I of the technique uses the dot maps in Volume I of LALME and examines forms which are well-attested in both the LP to be localised and in the dot maps, and which also show 'cohesive and clear-cut' distributions (Benskin, 1991b:17). For language B the forms chosen at this stage were <aȝenst> (AGAIN(ST)), <they> (THEY), <hit> (IT), <miȝt> (MIGHT), <neither> (NEITHER), <chirch/chyrch> (CHURCH), <hem> (THEM), <her> (THEIR), <moch> (MUCH) and <ech> (EACH). This narrows down the area in which the dialect could be placed to the southern part of England from East Anglia across to Wales but excluding the West Country.

Stage II reduces this area further by an examination of the dot maps for the southern area. Unfortunately few of these items are well enough attested in the LP to be of a great deal of use. Those that do appear are <bren-> (BURN(T)), <vnto> and <tille> (UNTIL), <hill> (HILL) and <brigge> (BRIDGE). The area remaining after these results were taken into account still includes a large part of southern England.

Stage III uses the item maps in Volume II of LALME and thus allows the full range of variants to be considered. As this stage moves from examining the classes of variants found in the dot maps to the actual forms attested, 'new information may emerge from items already examined' (Benskin, 1991b:21).

Bearing this in mind a scan of the area remaining after Stages I and II shows that a search concentrating on area six of the item maps - the south-east of England - could be worthwhile.

The forms that allow further narrowing of the possible area of origin of language B are <hy3> (HIGH), <aȝenst> (AGAIN(ST)), <fyrst> and <furst> (FIRST), <neither> (NEITHER) and <chirch> and <chyrch> (CHURCH). The area remaining free of cross-hatching following completion of this stage includes southern-central Suffolk and the northern-central and central area of Essex.

Stage IV involves an examination and comparison of the LPs which lie within this area[16]. In the first instance all forms for all items in these LPs were examined. Each LP was compared to that of language B and notes were made on whether the major variants were exactly or etymologically similar, whether there was another, etymologically different, major variant occurring in either LP, whether the major variant of one LP was a minor variant in the other, whether the LPs only corresponded in minor variants, or whether there were no similarities between the LPs for a certain item.

From this comparison five of the LPs were seen to share the most correspondences with language B and required closer examination[17]. At this point those items for which all or most LPs agreed were discarded as providing no discriminatory evidence. The most interesting evidence was provided by the items AFTER, AGAIN(ST), ANY, BEFORE, CAME, DID, NEITHER, ERE, HER(S), HIGH, IF, IT, MUCH, NOT, SELF, SUCH, THEIR, THEM, THROUGH, TOGETHER, WITHOUT and the present participle ending. By looking at which LP or LPs most closely resembled language B, the area of possible origin for B was narrowed down still further.

The results (see the accompanying map, Bodley 840, Hand B) indicate that language B of Bod 840 should be localised around the central Essex-Suffolk border, probably tending towards Suffolk. Of the variants closely resembling language B that are clustered around PRO Prob 11/3 and Foyle, only the form

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[16] The LPs from LALME that were examined were PRO Prob11/3, OCCC 201,Eg 2726, CCCC434, Foyle, Durham University Library, Cosin V.III.24, BL, Sloane 3160, BL, Cotton Julius B.ii, and Arun 119.

[17] PRO Prob 11/3, Foyle, Durham University Library, Cosin V.III.24, Cotton Julius B.ii and Arun 119.

BODLEY 840, HAND B

Cosin V.iii 24
AFTER. AGAIN(ST).
CAME. IF. MUCH.
SUCH. TOGETHER

Cotton Julius B.ii
BEFORE. CAME. DID.
ERE. HER(S). HIGH.
IT. NEITHER. SUCH.
THEIR. THEM.
WITHOUT. Pres. Part.

Har 2409

Add 37677

Har 2338

Arun 119
DID. HER(S). NOT.
Pres. Part.

CUL Hh.l.11

Hunt 74 (A)

CCCC 434

Eg 2726
DID. ERE. HIGH.
NEITHER.SELF.
Pres. Part.

Add.A.369

LoC 4 (A)

LoC 4 (B)

Douce 126

OCCC 201

Douce 322

SI 73

e Mus 76

Foyle
HER(S). HIGH.
SELF. SUCH.
THROUGH

Trin R.14.32

Add.C.280

PRO Prob 11/3
ANY

Lans 763

PHL scribe

Hunt 74 (B)

Har 3943

PRO Prob
11/2B

PRO SC1/51/
60-2

Douce 157

Auch E

Add 17376

CCCC 387

SJC 256

CCCC 80

210

for THROUGH is not also attested in the more northerly LPs; <any> is attested in CUL, Hh.I.11.

Further in-depth investigations of sources found in LALME can therefore be seen to yield dialectal evidence that contributes to the overall matrix of localisable texts from the late ME period. The linguistic and palaeographical evidence points quite conclusively to the existence in Bod 840 of an additional scribal text not noted in LALME. That this scribal text is linguistically homogeneous has allowed it to be localised using the 'fit'-technique and has provided another witness to the language of late medieval England. Furthermore, the noting of two scribal texts within Bod 840 provides another strand to the textual history of the Prose Brut. Consideration of a combination of script, language and textual history has provided fruitful results.

5.5 Glasgow . Hunterian 74

Two of the hands of Hunt 74, another copy of the Prose Brut, have been localised to Essex. Hand A is placed in the north-west of the county close to Thaxted, while hand B is located in the south near Rayleigh[18]. A third scribe (C) does not appear in LALME but is localised by Matheson to south-east Suffolk in the Ipswich area (Matheson, 1998:129). The first scribe copies folios 1 to 11^V with scribe B completing this folio and then copying the text to folio 92^V. Scribe C copies from this point to folio 113^V. A fourth scribe appears on this folio, but this hand is not contemporary with the other three and has been dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Matheson, 1998:161).

Hunt 74 belonged to the Wauton family who had connections to Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire. Several Brut manuscripts show evidence of having been owned by gentry as well as having a religious and mercantile audience. Those owners who have been identified show how widely available the text was across the country. As with Bod 840, Hunt 74 provides evidence of the text's circulation in and around London in the later Middle Ages (Matheson, 1998:12-15).

Matheson classifies the text written by the first three scribes as belonging to the 'Common Version to 1419 (Leyle)' grouping along with Bodleian,

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[18] Whether the source may be better localised slightly further to the west is discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3. The later portion of scribe B's contribution is discussed in section 3.6 of this chapter.

Rawlinson B.196, Lambeth Palace Library, 259 and BL, Harley 4930. This sub-group is identified by 'verbal differences', particularly the replacement of words or phrases by synonyms and by simplification of the grammatical structure. In addition King Lear is called 'Leyle'. Hunt 74 seems to 'preserve the original ending of the group which appears to have developed from some form of the CV-1419 (men):B [group][19], although from a better text than that found in the extant manuscripts of the group' (Matheson, 1998:130-1).

In Bod 840, scribe B takes over from scribe A at a point that suggests a later continuation. This is also the case with scribe D in this manuscript who appends the 1461 continuation onto the work of the first three hands. His contribution breaks off after only one folio, however, and does not contain the whole of the continuation (Matheson, 1998:161). The interaction of the first three scribes of Hunt 74 is different from that observed in Bod 840. Hand A finishes his stint on folio 11^V with 'Of kynge Q^{u}ydere þat was kymbales sone... falsly slayne thorugh a Romayne _Capitulo_'. The scribe is therefore providing the heading of a new chapter before scribe B begins with 'And aftyr the deth of kyng kymbalyn..'. On folio 92^V this scribe finishes his tranche of text with 'þat he my3te the myghtylokerr fighte.. the kyng hastede him to the Sege warde'. This is the end of a chapter after which scribe C begins with 'How kyng Edwarde was crowned king of Scotlonde.. CC^{no}xxx'. This chapter heading is written in red by scribe C at the foot of folio 92^V. There is then a space at the bottom of the column and scribe C's first chapter begins at the top of folio 93^r. Folio 92^V, and therefore scribe B's copying stint, also ends a quire. Hand B on the other hand takes over from scribe A mid-quire, although at a natural break within the text. The third scribe ends with the words '& manfully counterd with our englisshe men'. This is the original ending of the manuscript (Matheson, 1977, I:220).

The first three hands are each copying the same version of the _Prose Brut_ rather than adding text as the tradition developed. Hands B and Cs' copying may have been simultaneous since their respective stints end and begin on

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[19] i.e. the Common Version ending in 1419 at the Siege of Rouen with the line '& manfully countered with our English men'. Group B omits the 'Cadwallader episode' but includes 'Queen Isabella's letter', two of Matheson's principal test factors for the classification of groups. Neither of these passages occurs in the Anglo-Norman Long Version or in the original ME translation (Matheson, 1998:51-2; 98; 105).

different folios and at the end and beginning of a quire, apart from hand C's chapter heading which may have been added later when the scribe noticed that it had not been copied by hand B at the foot of his final folio. None of the scribes breaks off suddenly; rather they end their copying stints after an introduction to a new chapter, at the end of a chapter and at the expected end of the text. The degree of collaboration between these scribes can only by guessed at, but the overall impression provided by the manuscript is of some amount of organisation.

Hunt 74 is thought originally to have been a commission from the Wauton family. This is suggested by 'the arms incorporated into the decoration of the first page' (Matheson, 1998:129). It is clearly difficult to establish from where it was commissioned but the linguistic evidence and the connections of the Wauton family to Huntingdonshire may imply somewhere in the east Midlands. The circumstances under which three scribes became involved in the manuscript's copying are also difficult to determine, but Matheson feels that they shared the same exemplar and it may therefore be postulated that they worked near to one another (Matheson, 1977, I:220). If scribes B and C were copying their portions of text simultaneously they need not of course have been working in the same place, and indeed the existence of bookshops has been questioned (Doyle & Parkes, 1977). Scribe A's portion of copying is relatively short compared to the other two scribes', and this copyist may have been unable to complete his section for some reason, explaining why hand B takes over mid-quire.

A comparison of the scribal usages of hands A and B, as expected from two hands localised to the same area, shows them to be very similar[20]. The main differences, other than the proportions of different variants found, are in the forms for FIRST, IS, MUCH, SHOULD (sg. and pl.), SUCH, THROUGH, TOGETHER and YET. For these items hand A has the main forms <first>, <is>, <muche>, <schuld>, <suche>, <þorgh>, <togeders> and <ʒit>, while hand B has <ferst>, <es>, <moch(e)>, <scholde>, <swech>, <þoruh> and <þourgh>, <togyder> and <ʒiet>[21].

The forms of FIRST, IS, SHOULD, SUCH and TOGETHER found in hand A are

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[20] In this section scribe B's usages from folios 11 to 35 only are considered. For hand B's forms in the remainder of his stint see section 3.6.

[21] For the localisation of hand B see chapter 2, section 2.3.

not particularly discriminatory since they are found throughout Essex, but the combination of others points to a certain area of the county. Medial <u> in variants of MUCH is found as a main form particularly in the north-west of Essex. <þorgh> as a main form of THROUGH is found in LoC 4 (B), LoC 4 (A) and Arun 119. LoC 4 (A) and (B) are localised to the north-west of Essex, whilst Arun 119 is also a northern source. Although <ʒit> is found in a number of Essex sources, many are northern and, particularly, north-western. The appearance of these three forms in combination in the language of Hunt 74 (A) suggests a localisation to this area of Essex.

6. Conclusion

The preceding chapter outlines some of the approaches taken by scribes when dealing with their exemplars and shows that issues of constraint appear time and time again in considerations of scribal language. That scribes were influenced by the language or languages contained in their exemplars is hardly surprising, particularly if that language was not altogether different from their own. Even where it is apparent that a scribe consistently translated his exemplar or exemplars, differences between texts copied by the same scribe and differences as a scribe progresses with his copy indicate that what he found in front of him, to a greater or lesser extent, coloured what he produced. An investigation into scribal practices does not only provide linguistic information; it also reveals something of the textual traditions of many of the works, hints at attitudes towards manuscript production and shows, in some cases, how this production could be an ongoing process.

Chapter 4

Studies in the dialect of late medieval Essex

1. The Development of Germanic *ā & i-mutated *ai

It is fairly well established in the scholarly literature that WS æ had distinctive reflexes in Essex. A useful summary of the continental background, with full references, is given by Nielsen (1981), and developments in ME are discussed by all the major phonologists (cf. Jordan, 1974:§48-50, and references there cited).

Among the Continental West Germanic (Gmc.) languages, *ā became ē in Old Frisian (OFris.), ā in ON, Old Low Franconian (OLF) and Old High German (OHG) and ā and occasionally ē in Old Saxon (OS) (Nielsen, 1981:126). It is thought that originally all North and West Gmc. languages had [ā] but that the vowel became fronted once more in OFris (and OE) before the Anglo-Saxons left the Continent. This is because Gmc. *-en, *-em 'could hardly have become OE/OFris -ōn, -ōm except by way of *-ān, *-ām' (Nielsen, 1981:126). The reflexes of West Gmc. *ā (from Proto-Gmc. æ) and Proto-Gmc. *ai+i-umlaut within the various Gmc. languages and dialects are of particular interest to this study.

It is usually held that i-umlaut took place in all Gmc. languages except Gothic. Stressed back vowels became fronted in the environment of i or j in the following syllable. *ai became ā in OE (but see below), both ē and ā in OFris. and ē in OS, OLF and Dutch (although there are a few instances of ā in OS). When i-umlaut occurred ā became æ in ON and OFris. In OS and OHG only a (which became e) is regularly affected (Nielsen, 1981:89, 130). The change *ai > OE ā must have occurred after that of *ā > æ as otherwise *ai would also have become æ (Hogg, 1992:79). I-umlauted forms appear in Gmc. languages relatively late and it is consequently believed that their spread cannot be attributable to contact. Instead it has been proposed that there was 'subphonemic variation in the accented vowels in umlaut conditions' before the loss of the i or j in the following syllable. Once lost or changed to e, phonemicisation took place (Nielsen, 1981:89, 93). Comparable sub-

phonemic variation can be detected in PDE varieties of English (see, for instance, Wells, 1982: 533-4).

Traditionally the OE dialects have been considered Saxon or non-Saxon depending on whether Gmc *ā became ǣ or ē. This WS ǣ is known outside the German scholarly tradition as ǣ[1]; German scholars have traditionally (and confusingly) called it ǣ[2]. In Anglian dialects *ā was reflected as ē (Lass, 1994:64). The i-umlauted ā (from Gmc. *ai) was reflected as ǣ in both WS and Anglian. This ǣ is known as ǣ[2] (but ǣ[1] in the German tradition). Kentish has traditionally been considered to have had the non-Saxon ē reflex of ǣ[1]. However, Hogg has argued that if diachronic aspects are taken into account Kentish may be closer to WS than previously thought. An examination of spellings shows that ǣ[1] and ǣ[2] (which had been merged) were gradually raised until by the mid-eighth century they had become ē. Therefore, 'until Kentish Raising, Kentish falls on the West Saxon side of the ǣ/ē isogloss' (Hogg, 1988:193-7).

The distinction between ǣ[1] and ǣ[2] in WS is important for the study of later states of the language. It is only in WS that the i-umlauted forms of ā<*ai and *ā fall together into ǣ, and WS ǣ[1] and ǣ[2] therefore develop differently in the ME dialects. In dialects of WS origin 'ǣ[1] and ǣ[2] would be expected to rhyme but not in Anglian ones' (Lass, 1994:65).

The border between the areas which had the reflex of ǣ for West Gmc. *ā and those which had ē can be found by examining placenames which show ǎ forms that 'are the result of early shortening of OE ǣ in compounds' (Kristensson, 1995:28). Any forms which remain long are of no diagnostic use (Jordan, 1975:78; Crowley, 1986:106). Brunner demonstrates this characteristic through the analysis of placenames with the element OE strǣt/strēt. Shortening 'produced ǎ in the area with ǣ, against ĕ in the area with ē, as in Stratford and Stretford'. Thus the border between the two areas 'runs from the Wash through Cambridgeshire towards Northamptonshire and Warwickshire and along the old northern limit of the diocese of Worcester to

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the Severn', with only Kent showing ĕ in the area south of this line (but see above) (Brunner, 1965:13). On the other hand æ which developed from Proto-Gmc. *ai+i-umlaut is found in the whole area except for Kent (Jordan, 1974:75).

1.1 Reflexes of WSǣ¹andǣ² in the Essex area

In Essex, however, a quite distinct development took place, whose origins remain unexplained. In texts from the ME period written in the historically East Saxon area of England, WS ǣ¹ and ǣ² often appear as <a> whereas, as has been discussed, in other ME dialects ǣ¹ and ǣ² are reflected as <e> (Brunner, 1965:13). Thus, spellings such as <lāden> (LEAD) and <hāþen> (HEATHEN) for ǣ¹, and <strāt> (STREET) and <sāli> (PDE SILLY) for ǣ² are attested (Jordan, 1974:81).

Ek examined placenames and personal names found in Subsidy and Assize Rolls from south-eastern England dating from 1100 to 1400 in order to determine an approximate boundary between the area with the reflex of ā for WS æ and that with ē. From his investigation he found that ā appeared for WS æ in Essex, Middlesex and London, Hertfordshire, south and east Bedfordshire, most of Huntingdonshire and south and west Cambridgeshire (Ek 1975:56).

From Ek's material it seems that Essex was at the centre of the ā-area. Of 334 forms for OE æ found in his Essex material, 233 were ā-forms. In a very narrow strip of the county bordering Suffolk only ē-forms were found, but in the rest of Essex ā-forms were predominant, although after 1350 ē-forms gradually became more common (Ek, 1975:32).

The material that Ek gathered for Middlesex and Hertfordshire shows the same trend as in Essex, with ā-forms being the most common in both counties until around 1350. Almost all the ē-forms found in Hertfordshire before 1350 occur close to the Buckinghamshire border in the west (Ek, 1975:34,45-6).

The evidence for Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire shows

that a part of each of these counties is in the ā-area and part in the ē-area. In Bedfordshire the boundary between the two areas runs 'along the Ouse and from the southernmost part of Barford Hundred in a southerly direction dividing Manshead Hundred' (Ek, 1975:48). Thus, the southern and eastern parts of the county are in the ā-area. Only a small area of Huntingdonshire is in the ē-area; 'the south-western part, west of the Haile River, the district bordering the Bedfordshire e-area and Normancross Hundred in the north' (Ek, 1975:51). In Cambridgeshire, 'south of a line going from the northern part of Papworth Hundred through Cambridge down to the westernmost part of Chilford Hundred' (Ek, 1975:54), Ek finds a preponderance of ā-forms, i.e. in the southern and western parts of the county. It is striking how closely the ā-area corresponds to those areas of the country which were originally East Saxon (see chapter 1, section 2.1), with Essex showing the most regular use of ā for WS æ and Middlesex and Hertfordshire also showing a strong tendency to use ā.

Although London, originally an East Saxon city, shows a majority of ā-forms, the capital begins to see the replacement of ā-forms with ē-forms much earlier in the fourteenth century than the counties mentioned above. Ek offers two explanations for this. One is that the majority of examples found in London documents occur in the item STREET. This would be an easily recognisable element in a placename and 'in names containing such recognizable elements.. the later forms were changed in accordance with the non-dialectal usage' (Ek, 1975:34). Where an element was less recognisable it could remain as an ā-form for longer. In addition, a London dialect would have been influenced by 'the official language of Westminster' much earlier than dialects in other areas of the south-east (Ek, 1975:42).

In Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Sussex and Kent ē-forms are found with almost no exception. The few ā-forms found in Buckinghamshire are very close to the border with Bedfordshire, and the two ā-forms noted in Surrey occur very close to London 'near London Bridge, which from a very early date connected the City with Surrey', leaving open the possibility that this area of Surrey was 'an outlying portion of the ā-area' (Ek, 1975:55). Surrey may have been, for a time

and intermittently, East Saxon until cut off from the main part of the kingdom and finally conquered by the West Saxons (Dumville, 1989:135-6; Yorke, 1990:46-7).

In his summary, Ek discusses whether the appearance of ā in this area was a sound change or only a 'letter' change. If the development does represent a sound change then why did ā from WS æ not fall in with 'old' ā (which became raised) and why is there no trace of the change in modern dialects? Ek suggests that ā from WS æ was 'pronounced more as a front vowel.. therefore there would be no reason for this front ā-vowel to follow the development of the back ā-vowel'. However, both vowels would be written using the same grapheme 'there being no other symbol for this south-eastern ā-sound' (Ek, 1975:56-7). Whether the appearance of ā for WS æ in this area represents a sound change or not, it is still an extremely interesting development. Even if it is only an orthographic convention it is still potentially of dialectal significance since it has the geographical boundaries outlined above. Orthographic variations which have no phonetic implications should be treated like variants which do, and, if plotted on maps, can show regional differences. These differences should be treated as significant, even though they are independent of the spoken mode.

Ek offers no explanation for the appearance of ā for WS æ in this area of the south-east Midlands. Kristensson, however, postulates that the ā-area is an indication of the extent of East Saxon settlement hidden, presumably, during the OE period by the dominance of standardised WS. The original extent of the East Saxon settlement could have encompassed the whole of the ā-area, with much of this being conquered by the West Saxons and later the East Angles. However, the inhabitants of the area 'were and remained East Saxons, and it is their dialect that surfaces' in the ā-area (Kristensson, 1995:31).

The findings of Ek and Kristensson can be further contextualised through the analysis of non-onomastic data. In the early charters, wills and writs pertaining to Essex, the majority of reflexes of WS æ[1] and æ[2] noted are <æ> and <e>. However, as has been seen in chapter 1, section 3.1, there are only two extant documents that perhaps provide evidence of the Essex dialect in the OE

period, and consequently the forms to be found in these sources should be treated with extreme caution. In the Proclamation of Henry III <æ> is noted in, for example, <dæl> (PDE PORTION) and <ænde> (END).

In Trinity 335, several items with reflexes of WS $\bar{æ}^1$ and $\bar{æ}^2$ were noted. In the forms for LEAD, the text of the <u>Poema Morale</u> (hand A) has <a> and hand A's stint of the homilies has <a> and <e>. The one instance of STREET recorded (in the <u>Poema Morale)</u> has <a>. SLEEP, recorded in hand A's portion of the homilies, has <a>. In forms for WERE, the <u>Poema Morale</u> has <a>, as does A's stint of the homilies. For ERE (conj.), the <u>Poema Morale</u> contains forms in <a> as does the portion of the homilies written by hand A, although <e> forms occur here as double-bracketed variants. For the item THERE, both the <u>Poema Morale</u> and A's stint of the homilies show <a>[1].

In Stowe 34, the reflexes of WS $\bar{æ}^1$ and $æ^2$ noted were as follows. Forms of LEAD recorded in hand A's portions of text show <a>, <æ> and <e> and for hand B <a>. In hand A's stints, SLEEP appears with <a> and <æ> while in B's with <a>. In forms for WERE, A has <a>, <æ> and <e> and B has only <a>. DEED appears in hand A with <æ> and <a> and in hand B with <a>. Forms for END were noted in A with <æ> and <a> and in B with <æ>. For the item ERE (conj.), hand A has primarily <æ> with a minority of <a> reflexes while B has <a>. In forms for THERE, A has <a> with <e> and <æ> as minor variants and B has only <a>. Hand B therefore shows <a> for WS $\bar{æ}^1$ and $æ^2$ almost invariably, and hand A shows fluctuation between <a>, <æ> and <e>.

In the later ME material forms of LEAD were recorded during analysis. Care must be taken over using these forms as evidence of <a> for WS $\bar{æ}^1$ and $æ^2$ however, since spellings with <a> in the preterite and past participle forms are very common during this period, through shortening in the late OE period (Hogg, 1992:211-12; Campbell, 1959:§285). Forms with <a> in the preterite and past participle forms are quite common and appear as minor variants alongside <e> forms in Har 3943, OCCC 201, Har 2338, Eg 2726, CCCC 434, LoC (A), Pepys 2498, Auch E, Arun 119 and CUL Hh.l.11. <a> variants are the main usages in the preterite and past participle forms in LoC (B) and in Hunt 74 (A) and (B).

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[1] For all the EME sources see further chapter 1, section 3.2.

Forms of LEAD in the present and present participle with <a>, on the other hand, do provide evidence of <a> for ǣ¹and æ². Such forms are, however, somewhat rarely attested, e.g. <ladeþ>, <ladand> and <lader> (LEADER) in Add 17376.

A comparison with Ek's results reveals that in literary manuscripts, as compared to onomastic material found in the Subsidy and Assize Rolls, the feature of <a> for ǣ¹ and æ² is far less widespread, and appears most commonly in Type II texts. Since Ek notes that after around 1350 <a> forms become much less common, and since the majority of the later sources date from 1325 to 1425 in this study, the fact that <a> for WS ǣ is rare is entirely to be expected.

1.2 Later Developments

The later developments of ME ā̄ can help to establish its quality in the ME period. Reflexes of ME ā̄ developed in the Early Modern English (EModE) period like those of ME /ɛː/ and /eː/, and not like /ɔː/ and /oː/ and it would therefore be safe to assume that ME ā̄ was a front vowel. The evidence of some of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepists is enlightening as to its development in the east, in particular in Essex.

Thomas Smith (1513-77) was born in Saffron Walden and his comments on pronunciation indicate that he realised ME ā̄ as [æː]. A further interesting piece of evidence is provided by Robert Laneham, writing in 1575, who, in his spelling system, represented ME /ɛː/ by <ea> and ME /eː/ by <ee>; thus, the spellings <threed> (THREAD) and <reed> (READ inf.) show an /eː/ pronunciation of WS ǣ¹. Laneham was a member of the merchant class of London and some of his transcriptions can therefore be taken to represent a more colloquial and less 'careful' style of pronunciation (Dobson, 1957: 93).

On the evidence of the spelling reformers, ME ā̄ was realised as [æː] in 'careful' speech prior to 1650; however more 'vulgar' pronunciations were observed and described. After 1650 these 'vulgar' pronunciations became more prestigious; there was a raising to [ɛː], and from the beginning of the

seventeenth century [e:] became increasingly the norm (Dobson, 1957:594).

In Essex, /a:/ was a phoneme reflecting WS ǣ. Elsewhere, WS ǣ would have been realised as /ɛ:/, falling in with ME ę̄, while [a:] from MEOSL was an allophone of /a/: this system would have been found in more 'careful' London speech. <a> for WS ǣ is found in London 'perhaps in the lower social class' and, although by the first half of the fourteenth century the change to <e> was 'relatively complete' in writing (Jordan, 1975:81), in more 'vulgar' forms of speech the Essex influence may have continued.

Laneham's reflexes of WS ǣ[1] seem to represent /e:/, a close form of the vowel, and his usage, that of an 'upwardly mobile' member of the merchant class, may reflect sociolinguistic interaction with Essex usage. It has been suggested that such raisings relate to 'social distancing'. Hyperadaptors, such as Laneham, may well (given his social background) have produced raised variants to differentiate their usage from Essex speech. (See further Smith, 1996:106 and references there cited.)

A parallel kind of behaviour is clearly attested in the orthoepistical evidence of the EModE period, to do with Alexander Gil's 'Mopsae', described by him in his <u>Logonomia Anglica</u> (1619, 1621). The Mopsæ were 'affected speakers of an advanced form of Standard English' (Dobson, 1957:88), whose pronunciations were condemned by Gil. It is considered likely that the Mopsæ were the descendants of immigrants to London from the east and central Midlands. These 'upwardly mobile' people belonging to the emerging middle classes were liable to 'hypercorrect' when trying to reproduce a pronunciation which they considered prestigious. Thus, when the Mopsæ heard the [æ:] for ME ā of London's educated classes, which was not in their vowel system, they realised it as /e:/. If there was already a tendency towards raising in the vowel systems of the ancestors of the Mopsæ, this realisation becomes even more likely. This realisation could have been one of the contributory factors in the raising of the front vowels in London English (Smith, 1996:107-8).

Another such factor could also have been the /a:/ phoneme of the Essex dialect which would have been found in the Old London variety. After the lengthening of vowels in open syllables it appears that this Essex variant was

becoming increasingly widespread in London English and those who did not wish to be associated with this 'vulgar' type of speech would have raised their realisation of [aː] to [æː] (Smith, 1996:105-6). This realisation would also have been a factor in the upward pressure exerted on the vowel system.

1.3 <u>Conclusion</u>

The Essex configuration for reflexes of WS ǣ is plainly a very difficult problem. The distribution of <a>-type reflexes in the cognate Gmc. languages suggest that the Essex usage relates to an early variant form in a variety of Saxon which existed before the Adventus Saxonum. It is important to remember that the 'nodes' of a traditional tree diagram model of the Gmc. dialects are conventionalisations; 'West Germanic' was plainly - like all natural languages - a congeries of varieties. Thus it is to be expected that such usages as those which underlie the ME dialect of Essex could easily have arisen. After all, there is evidence - albeit often in unstressed words and syllables - for ǣ ~ ā alternation in OE forms such as <swǣ>, <swā> (THUS/SO) (see Campbell, 1959: §335 for a history of the letter form).

The Essex ǣ was evidently a strong diagnostic feature in late ME times and must have been phonologically salient to contemporaries. It is possible, as we have seen, that the reflex of WS ǣ - and reactions to it - contributed to the evolution of the Great Vowel Shift and if, as would appear likely, this is the case, the history of the Essex realisation of WS ǣ is another example of the dialect's influence on, what was to become, the standard language.

2. The Pronominal System of Late Medieval Essex

The accompanying table (Pronominal System of Late Medieval Essex) shows the pronominal forms recorded for each of the manuscripts localised in Essex for LALME. Listed are the third person plural forms THEY, THEIR and THEM, the third person feminine singular form, SHE and the third person singular neuter form, IT[2].

For these items there is evidence of a change in the variants being used, and of intermediate systems showing older and more innovative forms together in the same manuscript. Some of the texts show little variation in forms whilst others have several variants for the same item. It will be necessary firstly to examine the general context that led to these changes in pronominal forms. Following on from this, some of those Essex texts which show the most variation in their pronominal systems will be examined more closely, including Type II texts. The grammatical context in which forms appear will be explored in order to determine what conditioning factors, if any, regulate the choice of pronoun in these systems.

The potential for linguistic change exists through the availability of variants which arise as the result of both intra- and extralinguistic factors. However, the regulatory and systematic nature of language means that when forms appear in variation, the selection of particular formal variants is conditioned rather than free, since their connotations will differ, and they will therefore have distinctions of function, meaning, stress, register, etc.   Through the establishment of patterns of selection according to context one may attempt to determine some possible reasons as to why one form may eventually spread at the expense of others. These reasons are very often functional in origin (Smith, 1996:126, 128-9; Samuels, 1972:116-17).

2.1 Third Person Plural Forms

The third person pronominal forms in late OE lacked the clear distinctions in initial consonants found in PDE. In the shift from a relatively synthetic to a more analytic language, which accelerated rapidly during the EME period, the case system increasingly began to fall out of use. As a consequence, pronouns became grammaticalised, rather than occurring as marked forms and emphatic devices (Samuels, 1972:81-4), and it was therefore necessary

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[2] The typing conventions used in this table are those described in chapter 1, section 3.2.5, footnote 11.

Table 2 - Pronominal System of Late Medieval Essex

Source	IT	SHE	THEY	THEIR	THEM
PRO SC1/51/60-2	HIT((YT))		THEY		HEM
PRO Prob 11/2B	IT ((YT))	SCHE ((SCHO))	yEY	HER	HEM
Har 3943	HIT, IT ((YT))		yEI, THEY	HER ((Her))	HEm, HEM
PRO Prob 11/3	HIT		yAY ((yEY))	yER	HAM, HEM
e Mus 76	HIT ((HITTE, Hit))		yEI ((yAY, *THEY, yAI,yEY, *THEI,THAY, THEI,yE))	HERE (HERe) ((HURE, HURe, HIRE, yAIR, HER))	HEM ((yEM))
Bod 840	HIT ((HYT))	HEO ((HE, zHE))	THEI, THEY ((yEY, yEi, THE))	HERE ((HIRE, HERe, yERE))	HEM, HAM ((HEm, HYM))
SL 73	IT ((HIT))		yEY ((yEi))	HER	HEm
				HERE, HERe ((HYRe, yEERE, yEYRe, HEERE))	HEM, HEm ((yEM, HYM))
OCCC 201	IT ((YT, HIT))	SHE ((SCHE))	yEY ((yEI, THEY))	HER, THAIRE (THAIR) ((HIR, THEIR, THEIRe, THAIRe, HERE))	HEM ((THAYME, HIM, THEM))
Add.A.369	IT ((HIT))	SHE	THAI (THAY) ((THEY, THEI))		HEM
Har 2338	YT ((HIT, IT))	SHE	yEI, yEY, THEY ((yAI, yAY))	HER	HEM ((HEm))
Eg 2726 (A)	YT, IT	SHE	THEY ((yEI))	HER	HEM ((HEm))
Eg 2726 (B)	IT ((YT))	SHE	yEY, THEY	HER ((HERe))	HEM

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Table 2 (cntd)	IT	SHE	THEY	THEIR	THEM
Add 37677	IT ((HIT, *HIT))	SHE	yEI, yEY	HERE (HER) ((HE))	HEM ((HEm))
Har 2409	IT	SCHE	yEI ((yEIE, yAI))	HER, HERE	HEM ((vAM,
CCCC434	IT	zHE ((HE, zE, HEO, SCHE))	yEI ((yEY, yE))	HERE ((HER, HERe, HURe))	HEM, HEm
LoC 4 (B)	IT ((HIT))	SHE ((SHO))	yEI ((yEY, yE))	HER ((HORE, HERE))	HEM ((HOM, HEm))
Douce 126 (Prick)	IT ((YT, ITTE))	zHE	yEI, yEY ((yAY.	HERe	HEm, HEM
Douce 126 (Siege)	IT	zHE	yEY ((yEI))	HERe	HEm, HEM
Douce 126 (Debate)	IT	zHE	yEY	HERe	HEm ((HEM))
LoC 4 (A)	IT	zE ((SHE))	yEI ((yE))	HERE	HEM
Douce 322	HIT ((HYT, HT))	SHE	THEY ((yEY))	HER, THEYRE (HYR, HERE) ((THEYRE, THEIRE, HYRE))	HEM (THEYM) ((THEM, HEM, THYEM, HEME,HYM))
Foyle	IT		yEI (yAI)	HER, HERE	HEM (HEm)
Pepys (Gospel)	IT	SCHE	HIJ (yAI) ((yEI, yAY, yEY))	HER ((HIR, HERE, HIRES, HIREN,	HEM, HEm ((yEM, HYM))
Pepys (Mirror)	IT	SCHE	HIJ, yAI ((vAY.	HER ((vAIRE.	HEM, HEm
Pepys (Sayings)	IT	SCHE	HIJ ((yAI))	HER	HEM
Pepys (Apocalypse)	IT	SCHE	yAI (HIJ)	HER	HEM (HEm)
Pepys (Psalter)	IT		yAI ((HIJ, yAY))	HER	HEM, HEm

Table 2 (cntd)	IT	SHE	THEY	THEIR	THEM
Pepys (Ancrene)	IT			HER ((HERE, yAIR))	HEM (HEm)
Pepys (Complaint)	IT	SCHE	HIJ	HER	HEM (HEm)
Pepys (Nicodemus)	IT	SCHE ((SHE))	HIJ ((yAI))	HER	HEM ((HEm))
Pepys (Prayers)	IT				HEM
Harley 874	IT		yAI (HIJ) ((yAY))	HER	HEm, HEM
Laud (Siege)	IT ((YT))	SHE	yAI ((HIJ, yAY.	HER ((yAIR.	HEM, HEm
Laud (Alexius)	IT	SHE	yAI ((HIJ))	HER ((HIRE))	HEM ((HEm))
Laud (Adam Davy)	IT		HIJ	HER	
Laud (Alisaunder)	IT	SHE	HIJ (yAI) ((yAY.	HER ((yAIR.	HEM (HEm)
Laud (Temporale)	IT	SCHE ((SHE))	yAI ((yEI, HIJ.	HER	HEm ((HEM.
Laud (XV Tokens)	IT		yAI (HIJ)		HEm
Laud (Birth)	IT		yAI ((HIJ))	HER	HEm ((HEM))
Lans 763	IT ((YT))		yEI (yEY) ((yEi))	yEIre, HERe, HER, THEIR	HEM ((THEM))
Add 17376	IT ((HIT, YT))	SHE	HIJ ((HIl. HE.	HER ((HERE, Her))	HEM ((HEm.
Add.C.280	IT ((YT, HYT))	SCHE ((SHE))	yEY (yAY, yAI)	HER ((HERe))	HEM ((THEYM))

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Table 2 (cntd)	IT	SHE	THEY	THEIR	THEM
Trin.R.14.32	IT ((YT, HIT, HYT))	SCHE	THEY ((yEY, yEI, THEI, THE, THAY))	HERe ((HER))	HEm, HEM ((THEM))
Douce 157	IT ((ITTE, ITT,	SHE ((SHEE))	yAY (yAI) ((yEY.	HERE, HARE,	HEM (HAM)
SJC 256	IT (HIT) ((YT))	zHE ((zE))	HIJ (yEI) ((yAY,	HERE ((HORE,	HEM ((HOM,
Auch E (Reinbrun)	HIT (IT)	zHE	HII, yAI ((yEI, yAY))	HERE (HER)	HEM (HEm)
Auch E (Beves)	HIT (IT)	zHE ((HE))	yAI (HII) ((yEI))	HERE ((HER, HIRE))	HEM ((HEm))
CCCC 80	IT, HIT ((*HYT))	SCHE ((zHE))	THEY ((yEI, THEI,	HERE ((HERe, HER))	HEM ((HEm,
CCCC 387	IT		yEI	HERe, HER (HERE) ((HEIR, Her, yER))	HEM (HEm)
Hunt 74 (B)	HIT ((IT))	SCHE	THEI, THEY, yEI ((yEY, HE, THEYE, yI, THEIy))	HER (HERE, HERe) ((HIR, HEREN, HIRE, HIRe))	HEME (HEM) ((HEm, HAM, yEM))
Hunt 74 (A)	IT, HIT ((HYT, HYTTE))	SCHE (SHE)	yEI ((THEY, THEI))	HER ((HERe, HERE, yEIRE))	HEM (HEm) ((yEM))
Arun 119	IT ((HIT))	SHE	THEY (yEI) ((THEI, THE))	HER ((THER, THEIR, THEYRE,	HEM ((HEm, HAM))
CUL Hh.I.11	IT ((HIT))	SCHE ((SHE, SCHEE))	yEI ((THEI, THEY, HE))	HER (HERE) ((HIRE, HIR))	HEm ((HEM))

for them to be more closely differentiated from one another. The native plural forms <hi>, <heo> and <he> and the feminine singular form <he>, thus became insufficiently distinct from one another. However, within the 'variational pool' in the Danelaw area existed third person plural forms most probably derived from ON <þeir>, <þeira> and <þeim>. Thus, as a consequence of contact between languages, different variants were available for selection. The loss of inflectional endings led to a need for distinct variants that were selected 'therapeutically' to deal with this 'disturbance' in the system (Smith, 1996:128-34).

Originating in the north, these <th> forms spread gradually to other areas. The form prototypically found in thematic position, i.e. THEY, adopted <th> forms much more quickly than the oblique forms for THEIR and THEM which retained their <h> forms much longer. The probable explanation for this is one of discourse function. '[S]ince the theme of a text.. is usually focused upon the subject of a sentence or clause', it was therefore important that this form carried no ambiguity (Smith, 1996:132). Samuels notes that the <th> form of THEY was at first adopted only in stressed positions and was still a minor variant beside <h> forms in the fourteenth century (Samuels, 1972:71).

2.1.1 THEY

In the scribal texts from Essex that were examined, most (32 of the 55) have only <th> forms for THEY. The exceptions to this are primarily Type II texts. Four of these contain only <h> forms, the Ancrene Riwle and Complaint of Our Lady in Pepys 2498, the Dreams of Adam Davy in Laud 622, and Add. 17376. One text, the Mirror in Pepys 2498, has <h> and <th> forms in equal proportions, whilst five have <h> forms as the major variant with a minority of <th> forms. These are the texts of the Gospel Harmony, the Sayings of Wise Men and Gospel of Nicodemus in Pepys 2498, Kyng Alisaunder in Laud 622 and the text in SJC 256. The remaining eight texts contain a majority of <th> forms with <h> forms as minor variants. These are the Apocalypse and Prose Psalter texts in Pepys 2498, the Apocalypse text in Har 874, and the Siege of Jerusalem, the Vision of St. Alexius, the Temporale, the XV Tokens of Domesday and the Lines on the Birth of Christ in Laud 622.

Of the non-Type II texts that contain <h> forms, three contain them only as isolated instances. In the Prick of Conscience text of Douce 126, <hey>

appears once, in Hunt 74 (B) <he> is recorded twice, and <he> is found once in CUL Hh.I.11. These occurrences may be exemplar relicts reproduced by the scribes whose own usages were almost certainly <þei>-type forms. The remaining two non-Type II texts that contain <h> forms are those found in Auch E. In <u>Reinbrun</u> <h> and <th> forms appear in equal proportions, whilst in <u>Sir Beues</u>, <h> forms are only slightly less common than <th> forms. Although not classed as providing evidence of the Type II incipient standard by Samuels, hand E does contain some prototypical Type II forms (see further chapter 3, section 4.4 and section 3.5 of this chapter). The third person plural pronominal system of hand E of the Auchinleck manuscript seems to provide evidence that this scribe had a tendency to produce some typical Type II usages.

It is important to examine some of those texts in which both <h> and <th> forms are found in more detail, and, in particular, to attempt some explanations for the shifting usages seen in the texts copied by the PHL scribe. The texts chosen for further analysis copied by this scribe were the <u>Gospel Harmony</u>, the <u>Mirror</u> and the <u>Apocalypse</u> from Pepys 2498, the <u>Apocalypse</u> text of Har 874 and <u>Kyng Alisaunder</u> from Laud 622. These texts are of sufficient length and either contain both <h> and <th> forms in equal proportions or show one form as a single-bracketed variant in proportion to the other. In addition SJC 256 and Auch E were examined again.

2.1.1.1 <u>THEY in the Manuscripts of the PHL Scribe</u>

As can be seen from the above description, in the manuscripts copied by the PHL scribe the proportions of <h> and <th> forms found for THEY vary to some extent from text to text. In seven of the sixteen texts copied in these manuscripts <þ> forms are most common, with four of these being found in Laud 622, two in Pepys 2498 and in the one text of Har 874. Conversely, five texts have <h> forms as the main variant, and, of these, four are found in Pepys 2498 and only one in Laud 622. This is the text of <u>Kyng Alisaunder</u>, and it was noted that, although <h> and <th> forms initially occur in fairly equal proportions, after around ten folios <þai> is increasingly rare. This suggests a period during which the scribe was reading himself in after which he settled with <hij>, perhaps his preferred form.

In two other texts a similar change whereby the scribe moves from using <h>

and <th> forms equally to a situation where he prefers one over the other is observed. In the Gospel Harmony of Pepys 2498, as with Kyng Alisaunder, <þai> is the form that becomes less common, whereas in the Mirror, directly following in this manuscript, <hij> is found initially (i.e. on pages 45 to 121), whereas after this point <þai> is introduced and gradually preferred.

That the majority of texts in which <h> forms are the main variants is contained in Pepys 2498 may suggest that this is the earliest of the three manuscripts and that the shift between forms, noted particularly in Har 874 and Laud 622 may be evidence of the scribe increasingly adopting the new pronominal system. Alternatively, or perhaps in addition to this, the scribe was clearly sensitive to what was contained in his exemplars, and the forms found in them may have affected his choice of variant. For example, in the Ancrene Riwle found in Pepys 2498 only <h> forms are found. This is a copy of an old text and exemplar constraint could easily have been a factor in the scribe's selection of <h> forms.

It is now necessary to attempt to establish the factors, if any, that conditioned this scribe's selection of either <h> or <th> forms in the sources listed above which show both forms in more or less equal proportions in at least a portion of the text. Occurrences of THEY were noted in tranches of each text and the contexts in which they appear were then recorded, noting the syntagmatic context of each occurrence.

The following table (Percentage of <h-> & <th-> Forms by Context) lists the total number of occurrences in a particular context and the percentages of <h> and <th> forms found. When the two forms seem to co-vary in roughly equal proportions, there appears to be no special rule as to their distribution. However, where the proportions are skewed in favour of one or another form some further discussion is necessary. Thus, if THEY is preceded by a conjunction, a displaced object or the preceding clause with no conjunction, or is followed by an auxiliary verb, ARE/WERE or an adverbial there does not appear to be any scribal preference as to whether <h> or <th> is selected. The implied phonetic environment also does not seem to be a factor where there is a preceding fricative, plosive or vowel. In addition, the initial letter of the word following the pronoun seems not to have affected the scribe's choice.

Table 3

% of <h-> & <th-> forms by context

	Total	H%	TH%
Preceded by			
conjunction	261	43.3	56.7
adverbial	79	36.7	63.3
line/sentence-initial	44	61.4	38.6
displaced object	30	46.7	53.3
PS order	32	84.4	15.6
clause (no cj.)	14	57.1	42.9
displaced complement	2		100
fricative (implied)	74	41.9	58.1
nasal (implied)	89	76.4	23.6
plosive (implied)	345	44.6	55.4
<r> or <l>	39	30.8	69.2
vowel (implied)	105	50.5	49.5
Followed by			
auxiliary	102	52	48
negative	34	32.4	67.6
ARE/WERE	47	59.6	40.4
adverbial	27	51.9	48.1
object	5	60	40
fricative (implied)	236	44.9	55.1
nasal (implied)	69	43.5	56.5
plosive (implied)	133	52.6	47.4
<r> or <l>	14	42.9	57.1
vowel (implied)	22	45.5	54.5

Where there is a preceding displaced complement only <th> forms are found but, since there are only two instances of this context in the portions of text analysed, any judgement concerning the evidence would be inadequately supported. Similarly, where there is a following object only five examples were recorded.

Where an adverbial, or <r> or <l> precedes THEY or where a negative follows the pronoun, however, the scribe seems to have a tendency to choose <th> forms over <h> forms.

Consideration must be taken, of course, of the different constructions found in different texts that could affect some of the results found here. For instance, it appears that <h> forms tend to be selected in line- or sentence-initial position. However, the majority of examples for this context are found in Kyng Alisaunder, the only poetic text analysed here, which tends to prefer <h> forms, even in the earlier portion of the text. It is therefore difficult to say whether this observation is due to a scribal preference for <h> in sentence- or line-initial position or whether it appears so since <h> forms are selected more regularly in this text.

The contexts in which the choice between <h> and <th> forms is most striking are where the pronoun is preceded by either a predicator or a nasal. In these contexts <h> is found 84 and 76 per cent of the time respectively. In only the tranches analysed in the Mirror and the Harley Apocalypse were <th> forms found at all in the context where a predicator preceded THEY. In the commentary sections of the two Apocalypse texts a common formulaic construction is 'By the.. are betokened those who..'. Even though it has been seen that <th> forms are by far the most common in both copies of this text, where this construction appears, almost without exception, <hij> is found. For example, on page 259, a, lines 39 and 45 in Pepys 2498, the lines 'By þe homycides ben hij bitokned' and 'By þe hunters ben hij bitokned' are found. The corresponding lines in Har 874 are the same. Indeed the scribe's choice of pronominal forms in both the Pepys and Harley copies of the Apocalypse is very similar, with <þai> being by far the most common form of THEY except where the construction 'ben hij bitokened' appears.

The high percentage of <h> forms that appear following a nasal could be

connected to the above context, since many plural verb forms and, of course, <ben> (ARE), end <-en>. Thus, it may not be that <h> was chosen primarily when a nasal preceded, but rather when a verb preceded the pronoun. A breakdown of the forms ending in a nasal that precede THEY was carried out and it was found that of the 68 nasals followed by an <h>- type pronoun, 62 per cent of these were verbs, as opposed to only 26 per cent followed by a <th> form. If the verbs are taken out of consideration, 46 per cent of <h> forms are preceded by either WHEN or THEN, and 42 per cent by a noun. Of the <th> forms preceded by a nasal, 65 per cent follow WHEN or THEN and nine per cent follow a noun. When the verbal forms are removed from the equation, the total number of <h> and <th> forms following a nasal are almost the same.

It therefore appears that the PHL scribe chose to produce <h> forms of THEY following a predicator rather than a nasal. This seems to be the only context in which the scribe consistently chooses <hij> rather than <þai>. In most other contexts examined the scribe selects either pronominal form freely. What can be seen in the Type II variety produced in these texts by this scribe is what seem to be the remnants of a vestigial system which appear sporadically. The scribe is constrained by his exemplars and in some texts produces only <h> or <th> forms. Where a mixture of the two forms appears there seems to be only one particular grammatical context in which the choice of pronoun is conditioned.

2.1.1.2 <u>St. John's 256</u>

Constraint can also be observed in the choice of pronouns in the Type II texts found in SJC 256 on pages 233 to 270. Three texts are found copied by the scribe. The first is the <u>Pater Noster</u> on pages 233 to 252, on pages 254 to 269 there is a poem, the counsels of Alquinus to Guido ('of Warewik'). Finally, on pages 269 to 270 there is an orison of the five joys of Mary. In the <u>Pater Noster</u> forms of THEY with initial <h> are predominant with only nine instances of a <th> form being recorded. However in the poem and orison no <h> forms at all were noted for THEY.

Further analysis of the context in which the <th> forms appear in the <u>Pater Noster</u> does not reveal any significant patterning in either grammatical or phonetic environment. However, the <th> forms do appear sporadically in clusters throughout the text. Three of the nine instances are found within three

lines of one another on page 237, the next two are in the same line on page 241 and the other four are all found on page 250 and in the first lines of page 251.

Which of the two forms is the preferred scribal variant is impossible to determine, but that the scribe was constrained in his selection by his exemplars is clear from the switch from predominantly <h> forms to only <th> forms with the beginning of a new text. The clustered occurrences of <th> forms in the <u>Pater Noster</u> may suggest that the scribe preferred these forms and slipped into copying them at points before reverting back to variants more like those in his exemplar. Alternatively, <h> forms may have been in his active repertoire and the sporadic appearances of the <th> forms may be show-throughs from his exemplar.

2.1.1.3 <u>Auchinleck, Hand E</u>

Some degree of constraint is also to be found in the texts copied by scribe E of the Auchinleck manuscript. As noted above, in the text of <u>Reinbrun</u> <h> and <th> forms are noted in more or less equal proportions, whilst in <u>Sir Beues</u>, <th> forms are approximately twice as common as <h> forms. In <u>Reinbrun</u>, <th> and <h> forms appear in fairly equal proportions in all grammatical contexts, although where preceded by a conjunction, <h> forms seem to be preferred. Interestingly, in <u>Sir Beues</u>, although far fewer <h> forms are found, over half of these occur after a conjunction, and more <h> forms were found in this context than <th> forms.

The differences in the proportions of <h> and <th> forms in the two texts and the more restricted appearance of <hii> in <u>Sir Beues</u> suggests that the scribe was influenced by his exemplars in the extent to which he used <h> forms. Perhaps in his own system, <h> forms were found most regularly following a conjunction - that this was a scribal feature may be suggested by its appearance in both texts - but when faced with an exemplar that employed <h> forms more widely, he did not balk at reproducing them in a variety of contexts. The suggestion made in chapter 3, section 4.4 that the more 'prototypical' Type II forms found in <u>Reinbrun</u> may provide evidence of the language of the adaptor of this text is further reinforced by the evidence of the pronominal system noted here.

2.1.2 THEIR

In the variants for THEIR, only four texts have <th> forms as the major form. These are PRO Prob. 11/3 which contains only the form <þer> for THEIR, Add.A.369 which has the forms <her> and <thaire> in equal proportions as the main forms, Douce 322 which also shows the main forms <her> and <theyre> and Lans 763 with the four forms <þeire>, <here>, <her> and <their>. An additional twelve sources contain minor variants with initial <th->[3]. In none of these were <th> variants recorded more than three times in the whole text apart from in Arun 119, where there were thirteen noted occurrences of THEIR with initial <th> in the later portion of the manuscript. Of the three sources that show <h> and <th-> forms for THEIR as their main variants, Lans 763 contains only five instances of the item; too few to allow any real assessment of the conditions under which a variant is selected. However, more detailed analyses of tranches of Add.A.369 and Douce 322 have been conducted and the contexts in which <h> and <th> forms occur noted.

The text contained in Add.A.369 is a verse translation of <u>Palladius on Husbandrie</u>. The scribe appears to prefer <h> forms of THEIR in line-initial position, but <th> where THEIR is modifying the subject of the clause and, especially, where it follows a preposition in an adverbial phrase. The phonetic environment does not appear to influence the scribe's selection of a variant of THEIR. Douce 322 is a religious miscellany and a selection of the texts copied were re-analysed here. <h> and <th> forms of THEIR appear to be in free variation from the point of view of grammatical and phonetic context in this manuscript. No patterns could be detected regarding the choice of variant of THEIR.

Despite being unable to establish any conditioning factors that determined the scribes' selection of one form of THEIR over another, these two manuscripts are interesting insofar as they provide rare examples among the Essex sources of the system of the possessive plural pronouns being in a state of flux with the scribes apparently aware of, and beginning to incorporate, the ON-influenced <th> forms into their repertoires. In the other sources, the sporadic <th> forms that appear for THEIR must be considered relicts and show-throughs from exemplars. Perhaps the scribe of Arun 119 could be

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[3] e Mus 76, Bod 840, OCCC 201, Har 2409, Pepys 2498 <u>Gospel Harmony</u> and <u>Ancrene Riwle</u>, Laud 622 <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> and <u>Kyng Alisaunder</u>, Douce 157, CCCC 387, Hunt 74 (A) and Arun 119.

considered an exception, since he begins to admit more <th> forms in the later stages of his copying. If <th> forms appeared in his exemplar and he became more accustomed to them as he progressed with his copying, he may have become more willing to allow forms from the new system into his own copy.

2.1.3 THEM

Only one source has initial <th> as a main variant of THEM. Once again this is Douce 322. However, fifteen other sources contain sporadic instances of <th-> forms[4]. Again the contexts in which <h> and <th> forms were found in Douce 322, this time in instances of THEM, have been analysed further. Once again there does not appear to be any conditioning factors that have influenced the scribe in his choice of <h> or <th> forms of THEM. For example, more or less equal proportions of <h> and <th> forms follow prepositions, appear as reflexive forms, follow verbs in the present tense etc. Similarly, the proportions of each form found in particular phonetic environments does not suggest that this was a factor.

In Douce 322 once more, therefore, it seems that <h> and <th> forms are in more or less free variation to one another, but that <th> forms appear in this manuscript in any numbers is interesting in itself and the pronominal system found in this manuscript could be considered one of the most innovative in the Essex sources, with <th> forms as main usages in THEY, THEIR and THEM. In the majority of Essex manuscripts what can be seen is an intermediate system with <th> forms in THEY but <h> forms in THEIR and THEM. Although <h> forms are recorded as main forms of these items in Douce 322, the system found in this source has incorporated <th> forms for THEIR and THEM to a much larger extent than in most other texts localised to this area.

2.2 Third Person Feminine Singular Forms

The origins of PDE SHE have caused much debate; the following account is that which is now most generally accepted.

OE <hēo> regularly became <hē> in EME and, consequently, it was potentially difficult to distinguish between the masculine and feminine singular pronouns and indeed the plural forms. This potential difficulty would have been made

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[4] e Mus 76, OCCC 201, Add.A.369, Har 2409 , Pepys 2498 Gospel Harmony, Har 874, Laud 622 Siege of Jerusalem, Kyng Alisaunder and XV Tokens, Lans 763, Add.C.280, Trin. R.14.32, CCCC 80, Hunt 74 (A) and (B) .

more salient as pronouns took on a greater grammatical role as a consequence of the breakdown of the OE inflectional system. /ʃ/ forms are first found in the north and, like the third person plural forms, gradually spread southwards to fulfil a functional need.

This diatopic pattern again suggests some kind of ON influence. The ON tendency to stress the second element of a diphthong could have resulted in a form <*hjō> from OE <hēo> where there was contact between Norse and English speakers. The combination /hj/ is not common in English, and other forms like <Shetland> (ON <Hjaltland>) indicate that /hj/ could develop into /ʃ/. If this development took place via [ç], this would explain forms with initial <ʒ> (Smith, 1996:132-3). The circumstances of the change via <ʒ> forms can be traced by their occurrence in different areas of the country at different times. The <ʒ> forms are never found in any area for any significant length of time before they give way to /ʃ/ forms. Also, the <ʒ> forms are found sandwiched between areas with initial /ʃ/ and areas with initial <h>, demonstrating its position as an intermediate form. Appearances of these forms gradually moved southwards as the innovative /ʃ/ form advanced (Samuels, 1972:114-6).

The great majority of Essex texts show /ʃ/ forms. Of those which do not, only one, hand A of Bod 840, has a form with initial <h> as its major variant. The evidence for <h> forms of SHE found in this manuscript should be treated with caution, however, since it is probable that the scribe was attempting to maintain some of the linguistic usages of the original Prose Brut which was probably written in a west Midlands dialect (LALME, I:194). Of the remaining scribal texts, eight have <ʒ> forms as their main variant. These are CCCC 434, the three texts of Douce 126, LoC 4 (A), SJC 256 and both texts found in Auch E. One other manuscript, CCCC 80, has <ʒhe> as a minor usage.

No texts listed above that contain <ʒ> forms as their main variant also contain /ʃ/ forms as a major usage. CCCC 434 shows the most variation, containing the double-bracketed forms <he>, <ʒe>, <heo> and <sche>. This manuscript therefore contains examples of all three 'stages' of the development of SHE,

although the main form is that of the intermediate <ȝ> stage.

On the other hand the three texts contained in Douce 126 show no variation, having only <ȝhe> recorded as the variant for SHE. LoC 4 (A) has <ȝe> as the main form, although <sche> is found as a minor variant. Only ten occurrences of this form were recorded, in the text of the <u>Rule of St. Benedict</u>, and of these, eight appeared in the first six folios. This may suggest an initial period of copying where the scribe was settling into the language of his exemplar, during which he produced a variant with initial /ʃ/ before consistently using the <ȝ> form. Whether the /ʃ/ form was scribal or reproduced from the exemplar, its sporadic appearance early on in the text suggests that at the very least it was recognised by the scribe.

The texts found on pages 233 to 270 of SJC 256 have <ȝhe> as the major usage for SHE, although <ȝe> appears once. The two texts found in Auch E both contain <ȝhe> as the form of SHE almost without exception. Only once was a different variant noted; in <u>Sir Beues</u> <he> was found. The one instance of a <ȝ> form found as a minor variant in an Essex source appears on folio 17^r of CCCC 80 in the lines 'And whanne þe qweene beheeld all this/ ȝe thowte in hire herte it were amys'.

It is interesting that no source shows both <ȝ> and /ʃ/ forms as major co-variants; moreover, it is very unusual for a <ȝ> form to appear as a minor variant in a source that has <sche> etc. as its major form, and vice versa. This situation differs from that of the third person plural forms, where it is not uncommon for <th> and <h> forms to appear as main forms in the one text.

The evidence indicates that during the late ME period <h> forms for SHE had all but disappeared from the Essex area (only two texts show <h> forms as minor variants). Furthermore, the attested forms appear to point to the fact that the intermediate stage, with forms showing initial <ȝ>, was recessive in this area and the /ʃ/ forms were moving towards a complete monopoly of the third person feminine singular pronominal form.

2.3 Third Person Neuter Singular Forms

OE <h> tended to disappear where the written system corresponded to unstressed syllables in the ME period (Jordan, 1974:178). The transition from the OE form <hit> to <it> can be traced, and an intermediate stage can often be found in ME texts where <hit> can still be found in initial and stressed positions. Since 'the exact functions of <hit> and <it> vary according to text' (Samuels, 1972:117), it is important to examine the contexts in which the forms are found in texts where they appear in equal proportions.

Texts in which <it> (and other '<h>-less' variants such as <yt>, <itte> and <itt>) are the only form recorded are by far the most common among the Essex sources with 28 texts falling into this category. A further thirteen texts have <it> as the major variant but <hit> (and its variants) as minor forms. Four texts have only <hit> as the form for IT. These are PRO Prob 11/3, e Mus 76, hand A of Bod 840 and Douce 322. Another three have <hit> as a major variant and <it> as only a minor form. These are PRO SC 1/51/60-62, Auch E, and Hunt 74 (B). Two texts have <it> and <hit> in equal proportions, Har 3943 and CCCC 80, while Hunt 74 (A) has <hit> approximately half as often as <it>.

In CCCC 80, the forms <hit> and <it> do not appear together throughout the manuscript as the main forms of IT. Rather, up until around folio 70 <it> is the most common variant, whereas from folio 70 onwards <hit> gradually becomes the preferred form and <it> is only rarely found in the remainder of the manuscript. In this text, therefore, the main form of the item changes as copying proceeds and the circumstances under which <hit> or <it> is selected are not grammatically constrained. Instead the scribe's choice of the main form of IT switches from one to the other. This pattern may be due to exemplar constraint, with the scribe either adapting his language to become more like that of his exemplar, or introducing his own preferred variant as he settled into his copying.

Analysis of tranches of text in Har 3943 shows that the contexts in which <hit> and <it> appear alongside one another are conditioned by certain grammatical factors. <it> is selected much more regularly than <hit> when preceded by a conjunction or an adverbial. This is also the case when the clause structure has the predicator preceding IT as the subject. When IT appears as an object <it> and <hit> are found in more or less equal numbers.

However, where IT is line-initial or preceded by a preposition, <hit> is by far the most common variant. Scribe A of Har 3943 therefore appears to have selected a variant of IT depending on its grammatical context.

Similarly, the conditions under which <hit> or <it> are found in Hunt 74 (A) clearly show that grammatical context determined the scribe's selection of forms for IT. Even though <it> was recorded almost twice as often as <hit>, where IT appears as an object <hit> is found more regularly than <it>. In fact, only one instance of <hit> is found where IT is the subject. Twenty-six occurrences of IT as the object were noted and of these fifteen were <hit> or its variants. Thus, although <it> is also found regularly in this context, <hit> is almost exclusively found as the object.

2.4 <u>Conclusion</u>

The variation found in the pronominal systems of the Essex sources shows developments in process - intermediate stages - where older forms continue to be retained but are gradually being ousted by the adoption of more innovative variants. The necessity for change has been seen to be due to functional pressures caused by the breakdown of the OE case-system. The existence of ON variants alongside native ones in certain areas of England provided the means for the third person plural and feminine singular pronominal systems to become unambiguous. During the intermediate stages which can be seen in many of the Essex sources, more than one variant was available for selection by scribes and, very often, issues of constraint and conditioning grammatical factors have been seen to contribute to the choice of one variable over another. These intermediate pronominal systems were of course transient and it is possible here to provide only tentative suggestions as to how scribes approached the shifting systems and how certain environments may have influenced their selection of one form over another.

In several instances, the recessive forms of THEY and SHE are found in the earlier Type II texts dating from the mid to late fourteenth century; this pattern implies that systems where the newer and older forms were found side by side in different contexts were also in the process of breaking down. In turn, this breakdown may also help to explain why the exact contexts for the choice of <h> rather than <th> forms of THEY have proved difficult to establish.

3. London English & the Rise of a Written Standard with special reference to Type II

3.1 Introduction

Intrasystemic change within a language variety needs to be explained with reference to both extrasystemic and extralinguistic factors. The diversity of linguistic systems is created by the unique set of idiolects within different systems. This diversity results in each system having a different 'common core' and allows the existence of different forms for individual items. The spread of forms between systems is due to contact between them. However, the choice of a particular feature within a particular system and the spread of some features and not others between systems can be determined by extralinguistic factors (Samuels, 1972:88-92).

It is necessary to distinguish between 'the spread of individual features and the spread en bloc of so many features as to constitute a virtual spread of system'. If an isogloss shifts, either the 'recessive form' may disappear or some new form may develop as a compromise. This may result in either "secondary' divergent systems' or in the systems becoming less divergent from one another than previously. Which, depends on whether contact is 'stable and continuous' or sudden, as a result of invasion or migration (Samuels, 1972:92). In contact of the first type, 'every form is, in a sense, a gradual compromise but this is a secondary aspect of its history' while in sudden contact, compromise is a 'primary aspect' of its history (Samuels, 1972:100).

In addition to the above types of adaptation, that occur where dialects come into contact, speakers of one dialect may abandon a feature of their own dialect in preference to the corresponding feature to be found in another system. This 'switching' may be caused by mechanical, functional or extralinguistic factors (Samuels, 1972:100-05).

Contact between systems does not 'conflict with the principles of intrasystemic development' although it may cause a change to be accelerated, by increasing the choices available, or retarded, through a change in progress losing prestige. Even though extralinguistic factors can cause 'the blurring of.. distributional boundar[ies]' of different forms, 'the origins [of the forms] are mechanical and functional [i.e. intrasystemic] and interference due to social

factors.. [is] incidental'. Contact resulting from migration is a special case which raises the 'level of redundancy.. [making] shift and merger more probable' (Samuels, 1972:130-2).

3.1.1 Standard Language

Especially when contact is sudden, 'standardisation is likely to depend as much on the overall functional utility of forms as on their prestige value'. Thus, those forms that are 'numerically superior' are likely to be selected regardless of where they originated, and a rarer form may become selected due to 'its suitability as a compromise between [more common variants]' (Samuels, 1972:108-09).

Once such forms have been selected the variety becomes codified. The most influential force in this codification is the written form. Here, sociolinguistic factors come into play and mutual intelligibility (i.e. functionality) is no longer the only issue. Once codification has 'fixed' a certain variety it becomes 'socially dysfunctional to use non-standard forms' (Smith, 1996:76). Following this codification the variety is elaborated (i.e. it starts to be used in every function) and finally accepted as the only legitimate written form. Thus it is necessary to be aware that the term 'standard language' is sociolinguistic and provides information not about the intrasystemic nature of a variety but rather about how it is perceived (Sandved,1981:31).

A standard written language is 'fixed' in that its lexis and grammar are set and any deviation from them is stigmatised. However, it is also possible to observe 'focused' or 'standardised' forms of language wherein some degree of variation is permissible but where a 'broadly regular set of variant forms' characterises them (Smith, 1999:1).

Samuels identified four 'types' of what he termed 'incipient standards' to be found in certain manuscripts and documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These manuscripts are written in dialects which 'contain a focused form of [one of these types] which is nevertheless not a fixity' with each one being more or less prototypical of its type (Smith, 1996:71). The term 'incipient' indicates that 'the type of language so designated is in the process of becoming recognised as a model language worthy of imitation' (Sandved, 1981:39).

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One of these incipient standards, Type II ('Early London') seems to have a close relationship to Essex usage, and it is appropriate therefore to give an account of this relationship here.

In what follows, Type II is described and contextualised, drawing on the work done by Samuels on this subject. The texts and manuscripts used as evidence of Type II are then listed along with 'prototypical' Type II linguistic usages. Certain Type II texts and the possible circumstances of their production are then discussed, specifically the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and the well-known Auchinleck manuscript.

3.2 Types I-IV

Type I is found in many manuscripts containing Wycliffite sermons and tracts and both versions of the Lollard Bible. However, it is also found in religious manuscripts which are not Lollard in sentiment, such as Rolle's Psalter and The Scale of Perfection, in devotional treatises, religious poems and also in manuscripts of some secular works. Type I is sometimes referred to as 'Central Midlands Standard' but this could be misleading in the light of the notions of fixity and focus mentioned above (Smith, 1996:70). However, it is a 'language based on the dialects of the Central Midlands counties especially Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire' (Samuels, 1989:67). Since Type I is not a variety found in London, its relevance to this study is limited.

Type II is found in hands A and C of the Auchinleck manuscript (National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.2.1), Add 17376, BL Harley 5085, Glasgow, Hunterian 250, the manuscripts of the PHL scribe and SJC 256. The manuscripts date from the early fourteenth century to as late as 1380. Although they show some variation that would suggest different parts of London and greater London as areas of provenance, they all contain features of the earlier variety of London English represented by the 1258 Proclamation of Henry III (Samuels, 1989:70; 1972:166; Smith, 1996:69).

Type III is seen in some documents of east London provenance such as the Petition of the Folk of Mercerye dated 1386, the Gilds of St Katherine's, Aldersgate, Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, Aldersgate and St. Pauls dated 1389. It is also found in the language of the 'best' Chaucerian manuscripts such as

Ellesmere and Hengwrt, the copy of <u>Piers Plowman</u> found in Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.17, and the language of the autograph manuscripts of Hoccleve. The language of Type III no longer shows the East Anglian element of Type II but rather contains features of the dialects of the Central Midlands (Samuels, 1989:70; 1988:24; Smith, 1996:69).

Type IV, so-called 'Chancery Standard', appears in many government documents dating from after 1430 and shows influence from both the central and north Midlands. It is Type IV that is 'the basis of modern written English' (Samuels, 1989:71).

From the above descriptions it is clear that the dialect of London underwent some major changes in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For reasons as to why these changes occurred Samuels considered extralinguistic factors. The Essex influence noted in the earlier, fourteenth century dialect, is borne out by the 'early diocesan boundaries'. Evidence from the Domesday Book indicates that East Anglia was the most populated area of the country and taxation lists show that it was from this part of the country, Essex and Hertfordshire that most migrants came in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Samuels therefore uses immigration to explain the Essex and East Anglian characteristics found in Type II texts. In the mid-fourteenth century immigration from Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire increased and eventually equalled that from East Anglia. This change correlates with the differences between Types II and III and, as this trend continued, the changes seen in the move from Type III to Type IV are again explained by Samuels through immigration. The north Midland forms found in Type IV 'appear first in London as isolated enclaves'; however, no northern form occurs that was not also found somewhere in the central Midlands from 1400 onwards (Samuels, 1989:71-4; 1972:169).

Samuels's source for these immigration patterns was Ekwall's <u>Studies on the Population of Medieval London</u> (1956), in which Ekwall examined the surnames of people living in London in an attempt to establish some demographic patterns and to explain the change of the London dialect from southern to Midland in nature (Wright, 1996:104). There were problems with the evidence since not all surnames are derived from placenames, and since one placename can be found in several areas of the country. In addition, the

person who originally came from the place indicated in the surname may have been an ancestor of the individual found in the records. No account was taken of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century and the effect that the plague would have had on the population of London. Ekwall was aware of these shortcomings and stressed that any conclusions were tentative (Wright, 1996:104-06).

Ekwall's results indicated that there were more immigrants from the southern counties than from the Midlands in the early fourteenth century 'and that the Midland character of the London language could hardly be due to immigration on a larger scale from the Midlands than from the South' (quoted in Wright, 1996:105). In addition, the number of immigrants from the Home Counties equalled those from the Midlands and north taken together. It would seem then that Ekwall's results have been misinterpreted.

However, Ekwall still attempted to explain the dialect change in London, and suggested that immigrants from the Home Counties arrived in London before those from the Midlands. He also maintained that although there were not large numbers of people coming in from the Midlands, those who did were important and influential, implying that native Londoners attempted to imitate these incomers (Wright, 1996:106). Stressing that his evidence did not cohere with this idea, Ekwall attempted another theory in which he suggested that 'the marked East Midland element in the London language may to some extent be bound up with the fact that this part of England was the old Danelaw' (quoted in Wright, 1996:106).

Samuels's study relies 'heavily on Ekwall', but instead of looking to the east Midlands 'as the home of the influential merchant emigres' he suggests that they came from the central Midlands. A shift in immigration from East Anglia to the central Midlands is used by Samuels to explain the differences between Types II and III, as noted above, despite Ekwall's findings being highly speculative and by no means comprehensive (Wright, 1996:107-08). There are therefore potential problems in using immigration to explain the differences between Types II, III and IV which it will be necessary to consider here.

3.2.1 Types I-IV: Currency, Success and Failure

Type I can claim legitimately to have been a regional literary standard of some importance. Not only does the quantity of surviving manuscripts written in Type I indicate the large number of scribes using it, the range of texts in which it is found show that it achieved some degree of elaboration. The extent of its codification can be seen in both the internal consistency of individual manuscripts and also by the fact that it was written with very little change for over half a century. Its use by the Lollards would have ensured that it became known in many parts of the country beyond its area of origin (Samuels, 1989:67-8; Sandved, 1981:40).

Type II appears not to have had any widespread influence and 'is simply a standardised form of the language found in the capital in the mid-fourteenth century' (Smith, 1996:69). Sandved suggests that Type II 'can only be said to be [an] incipient standard.. in the sense that [it is] in the process of becoming recognised as [a] regional standard.. of the London area' (Sandved, 1981:39).

Samuels suggests that the reason why Type II was supplanted by Type III was one of functional utility rather than prestige. Whilst the East Anglian dialects were peripheral and were therefore 'unsuited for a role of lingua franca', the language of the central Midlands would have been much more widely understood (Samuels, 1989:74; 1972:170).

Like Type II, there is no evidence that Type III achieved any degree of currency outside London, and even within the capital the texts that exemplify this type show a quite wide degree of variation. With Gower and Chaucer, the court poets, using quite different dialects, there cannot have been any one variety that was considered particularly prestigious. However, the Type III texts still represent a focused form of language that may be seen as 'representative of London English of 1400' (Samuels, 1989:71; Sandved, 1981:39).

That Chancery Standard was the basis for the PDE written standard has already been mentioned. As this type was adopted as the language of government documents and administration, it was probably inevitable that it would become the standard. Although Type IV contains characteristics from the central and north Midlands it differed from Type I. Type IV developed later and combined features of the spoken London and central Midland dialects

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(Samuels, 1989:74).

Some problems with Samuels's account of Type IV have been considered by Benskin. Although the amount of written English found in documents increased, 'it is emphatically not the case that the proportions of English and Latin were reversed', and 'a great deal [of PRO documents are] not the work of state officials at all but came into the state offices from outside' (Benskin, 1992:79). Indeed, Benskin considers the term 'Chancery Standard' to be a 'considerable misnomer', since the Chancery was not the only government department, and many of its documents were still written in Latin. Where English does appear in Chancery documents he argues that the 'clerks wrote English.. mainly as copyists'. Benskin questions how 'documents coming into state offices from outside and state documents produced only as internal records' could have had a direct influence on provincial writers. He suggests that the Signet and Privy Seal offices should be considered as a source of influence rather than the Chancery, as 'it has yet to be demonstrated that the Chancery had any distinctive standard of its own' (Benskin, 1992:79).

Benskin also considers 1417 - when, following Henry V's invasion of France, the language of royal missives changed to English - rather than 1430 as the most suitable date from which to take English as beginning 'to be used regularly as the language of government'. Instead of using the term 'Chancery Standard', Benskin considers it more useful to describe Type IV as 'King's English' dating from 1417 to 1500. However, even though 'Type IV enters the written record fairly abruptly.. it did not replace Type III overnight'. As may be expected some Type III forms proved more durable than others and therefore 'provincial writers looking to state documents as their exemplars, must often have found the Type III form instead of its Type IV equivalent' (Benskin, 1992:80-2).

In addition, it should be noted that the transition from regional usage to Type IV was not straightforward. Instead of a pattern of gradual replacement of dialectal by standard forms, manuscripts appear written 'in a 'colourless' dialectal mixture' utilising forms with a wide currency in ME dialects. From a functional point of view this approach would have been sufficient; however as people became more aware of the prestige attached to certain forms, social factors ensured that finally the Type IV variant became the accepted form

(Samuels, 1989:44; Smith, 1996:73-7).

3.3 The Proclamation of Henry III

As noted above, Type II contains features of the earlier variety of London English seen in the Proclamation of Henry III issued in 1258 (P.R.O. Patent Roll 73, m.15). This document confirms the Provisions of Oxford, 'a charter of rights extorted from the king by the barons' (Dickens & Wilson, 1951:7), and its existence in English as well as French and Latin is probably connected to the rise in nationalist sentiment in the period. A copy of the Proclamation was to be sent to every shire in England and Ireland.

The following forms for items on the dialect questionnaire were recorded: <aȝens>, <onȝenes> (AGAIN(ST)), <oni(e)> (ANY), <beoþ>, <beon> (ARE), <biforen>, <ætforen> (BEFORE), <æhc> (EACH), <ȝif> (IF), <is> (IS), <hit> (IT), <loande> (LAND), <-liche> (-LY), <seluen> (SELF), <shullen> (SHALL pl.), <heom> (THEM), <þurȝ> (THROUGH), <þan ilche>, <þo ilche> (THE SAME), <heo> (THEY), <two> (TWO), <wes> (WAS), <willen> (WILL pl.), <a buten> (WITHOUT).

As evidence of the Proclamation being in an Essex-type dialect Samuels mentions <ȝew> YOU, <þan/þo ilche> THE SAME, <ænde> END, <oa>-spellings as reflexes of OE ā, and the distinction between the reflexes of late WS ǣ (<ilærde>, <æhc>, <ræde->) and ēa (<healden>, <deadliche>, <ȝeare>). However, other forms such as <beoþ> (ARE) (not <bieþ>), <heo> (THEY) (not <hy>) and <kuneriche> (KINGDOM) indicate a Middlesex and Surrey connection, 'though whether through standardisation or merely as a concomitant of its geographical position is harder to determine' (Samuels, 1972:165-6).

3.4 Type II

Following the Proclamation of Henry III the next English documents that it is possible to localise in London are of Type III; however, Samuels has identified the Type II manuscripts as evidence of the London dialect in the intervening period. For the ME period this group of texts is relatively homogeneous, 'against the overall range of written dialects manifested in Middle English their language clusters significantly together' (Smith, 1999:3). The differences

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between the manuscripts indicate that they are not all of the same provenance, but the mixture of forms (e.g. Kentish, Essex, East Anglian) present in the texts cannot allow them to be localised anywhere but in the London area. The linguistic evidence, combined with the range of both religious and secular texts written in Type II, led Samuels to conclude that these manuscripts 'represent an incipient standard of the London region' (Samuels, 1972:167-8).

According to Samuels some features of Type II and its position in the history of London English can only reasonably be explained with reference to extralinguistic factors. The occurrence of some forms is 'unexpected when considered both geographically and in relation to what precedes and follows them' (Samuels, 1972:168), for instance, <oʒains>-type variants of AGAIN(ST), <iche> forms of EACH, <michel> for MUCH and the present participle ending <-and(e)> where the Proclamation has <-inde> and Type III, <-inge>. However the unusual form <þat ilche> (THE SAME) as a reflex of WS <se ilca> is related to <þan/þo ilche> found in the Proclamation. The nearest area 'where such a combination was regular was Norfolk'. Samuels explains such combinations of forms by considering the influx of people into London from East Anglia in this period. Similarly he explains the apparently sudden change from Type II to Type III, or from 'an originally East Saxon type' to 'a predominantly Anglian type' (Benskin, 1992:76), in the light of the change in immigration patterns that accompanied it.

3.4.1 'Prototypical' Type II Usages

An examination of the LPs of the manuscripts (see below section 3.4.2) identified as Type II which appear in LALME led to the identification of what could be termed 'prototypical Type II usages'. Of course, because of Type II's status as a focused language type, no one manuscript contains all of these prototypical forms, but they are a useful guide to what defines a text as belonging to Type II.

A similar analysis was made of the LPs of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales and two autograph manuscripts of Hoccleve in addition to the documents in Chambers and Daunt (1967) cited by Samuels as evidence of Type III and listed above. This allowed the 'prototypical Type III usages' to be distinguished, and the forms that are useful for discriminating between Types II and III to be highlighted. These can be

seen in the following table:

	TYPE II	**TYPE III**
AGAIN(ST)	oʒain(s), aʒain(s)	ageyn(s), aʒen(s)
	oʒein(s), aʒein(s)	
CAME	com(e)	cam
EACH	ich(e) a, ech(e) a	eche
FROM	fram, fro	fro(m)
MUCH	miche(l), myche(l)	moche
NOT	(ne+) nouʒt	nat, (ne+) nouʒt
SUCH	swich(e)	swich(e), such(e)
THE SAME	þat i(l)ch(e) ((þilke, þat ilke))	thilk(e)
THEY	þai, hij	þei, they, thei
ALTHOUGH	þei(ʒ)	tho(u)gh
WORLD	world, werld	world
pres. part.	and(e), -end(e)	ing(e), yng(e)

3.4.2 <u>The Type II Sources</u>

Hands A and C of the Auchinleck manuscript are considered by Samuels to provide evidence of the Type II incipient standard. Scribe A is localised on the London and Middlesex border, while scribe C's language is localised to London.

Add. 17376 contains a copy of the <u>Early English Prose Psalter</u>. The manuscript is 149 folios long and was copied by one scribe. It is localised to the extreme south-west of Essex. Harley 5085 is placed in Middlesex. It contains a copy of the <u>Mirror</u> written in one hand. Glasgow, Hunterian 250 also contains a copy of the <u>Mirror</u>. Again this manuscript is in one hand, although revisions have been made by a 'roughly contemporary' hand (Duncan, 1968:204). This manuscript does not appear in LALME. The scribe who copies pages 233 to 270 of SJC 256 is also considered to use a variety of Type II. This scribe appears in LALME localised in the far south-west of Essex.

The manuscripts of the PHL scribe provide substantial evidence for Type II.

These three sources are combined into one profile in LALME which is localised once more to the south-west of Essex. Har 874 contains a copy of the Apocalypse with commentary. Laud 622 contains copies of The Siege of Jerusalem, The Vision of St. Alexius, Adam Davy's Five Dreams about Edward II, Kyng Alisaunder, the Temporale, the XV Tokens of Domesday and Lines on the Birth of Christ. Pepys 2498 contains the Gospel Harmony, the Mirror, Sayings of Wise Men and the Ten Commandments, the Apocalypse with commentary, the Early English Prose Psalter, the Ancrene Riwle, the Complaint of Our Lady, the Gospel of Nicodemus and five prayers.

3.4.3 Caveats to the Traditional Description of Types II-IV

Certain problems with the source material of Ekwall have been outlined above (section 3.2) and Samuels's description of the three 'incipient standards' found in medieval London should be considered in the light of these.

Some may find the apparently sudden shift from the Type II to Type III varieties difficult to imagine and slightly oversimplistic. Perhaps it would be more useful to think of different dialect types existing together in London, appearing in certain groups of texts copied by literary communities that considered a particular variety prestigious and then being found less regularly as another variety of London English acquired prestige. Ekwall himself suggested that 'the early material points to a good deal of dialectal variation in the early London language.. [and provides] a glimpse of the flux in the language of early London' (quoted in Wright, 1996:111). This state of flux is highlighted by the way some forms appear in London then disappear only to reappear once again during the medieval period. For instance, the predominant forms for SUCH were initially <such> and <swich>, then later <swich> alone was the dominant form, and finally <such> re-emerged. Similarly, <-inge> as the present participle ending existed alongside <-inde>; however <-ande> became predominant for a time before <-inge> again became regular. Such forms must have remained in use in order for them to be available for re-selection.

The possibility of a 'city dialect' appearing in some fifteenth-century documents has been considered by Samuels. Of course, there must have existed spoken dialects which differed from Types II, III and IV and, for which, 'in the face of the growing written standard', evidence is sparse (Samuels, 1981:49). Certain

fifteenth-century documents show differences from Type IV, and 'it is.. tempting to suppose that [they].. must represent a distinct City dialect' (Samuels, 1981:50). However, the differences noted tend to be small and typical of one of the Home Counties. It is therefore impossible to say whether the differences do represent a city dialect or whether they simply reflect the origins of the scribe.

Samuels considers that the Essex and East Anglian basis of Type II 'historically might be nearer to what we would expect for a City dialect' (Samuels, 1981:49). Many of the Cely letters occur in a mixed dialect with 'some curious echoes of the old fourteenth-century Essex-type', such as <warled> (WORLD), <dede> (DID) and <myche> (MUCH), and 'imply that City English, however fluid as an entity, had some continuity' (Samuels, 1981:50-1). However, the evidence is not plentiful, varies between texts and sometimes suggests a Type III, not Type II, basis. Samuels concludes that the evidence cannot therefore be considered 'more than a slight indication.. of City dialect' (Samuels, 1981:51). Alternatively, this fluctuation could be considered to be evidence pointing to the existence of a range of varieties whose use in certain written sources may be an indication of the perseverance of varieties with similarities to earlier 'types' in certain contexts and among certain communities.

It may not be considered surprising that there is an Essex-type dialect found in certain London texts. Essex and London are so close geographically and London was originally an East Saxon city; the fact that certain linguistic features are found in common in both areas can hardly be unexpected. Is it necessary to postulate that Type II arose through the influence of East Anglian immigrants? The Essex-type forms found in the language of the Proclamation indicate similarities between the two dialects prior to such immigration. Essex had been part of the Danelaw, and consequently there may have been some Norse-influenced features in its dialect. Therefore, what appear as more northern or, particularly, East Anglian forms may not necessarily be unexpected in the Essex dialect. London 'citizens' were proud of their status and emphasised their differences to 'aliens'. Why then would they feel the need to imitate such 'aliens' when they migrated to London, even if they were

influential[5]?

One interesting example is the appearance of <-ande>-type forms of the present participle ending in the Type II texts. This feature has traditionally been considered northern; however in the Type II sources it is the preferred form. The origin of this variant is uncertain. Some consider that it shows that, at one time, the northern <-ande> extended far south, whilst others feel that it must have developed separately from the northern form (Macrae Gibson, 1971:14-16). A possible origin 'lies in a postulated East Saxon OE *-ænde [where] the phonology would be parallel to that which yields such.. Essex-London forms as the plural <man>' (Macrae Gibson, 1971:16), i.e. <æ> for the i-mutation of <a> before a nasal which, in an area of south-east England including Essex, remained as <æ> and subsequently became <a>; elsewhere it became <e>. Macrae Gibson rejects this potential origin since 'one cannot demonstrate our -and(e) or its antecedent as occurring together with the ex hypothesi equivalent stressed <an> or its antecedent anywhere at any time'. He specifically mentions the language of scribes A and E of Auchinleck where 'the -and(e) without the <an> occurs' (Macrae Gibson, 1971:16-17). Rather, Macrae Gibson suggests that <-ande> forms were introduced to the London area as a result of high levels of immigration from Norfolk that meant that 'a leapfrog advance from there is.. perfectly likely', although 'powerful intralinguistic features' ultimately resulted in <-inge> forms becoming predominant (Macrae Gibson, 1971:19).

However, an examination of the texts of scribes A and E of the Auchinleck manuscript has revealed that forms such as MEN spelled <man> do appear and the reason for Macrae Gibson's rejection of <-ande> as a form derived from the East Saxon is therefore invalidated. Indeed Dr. Simon Horobin has found such forms in a number of London and Essex sources alongside <-ande> in Laud 622, Auchinleck hands A and E, CCCC 80, Fitzwilliam McLean 123, Har 3943, Add.E.6, Hunt 74 (A) and Douce 157. <-ande> also occurs in Hunterian 250 as the main form of the present participle alongside <-ende> and <-yng>. One of the interesting features of this manuscript is the presence

[5] A 'citizen' of London 'had sworn loyalty to the city government and undertaken to bear their share of taxation and public duty' (Thrupp, 1948:2-3). If a man's father had been a citizen he was entitled to swear the oath, but if not he 'had to demonstrate his moral and economic qualifications' either through apprenticeship and subsequent membership of a formally organised trade or through 'redemption'. Those who gained citizenship through redemption tended to be 'well-established merchants from other locations' (Robertson, 1968:77). 'Foreigns' were Londoners who did not hold citizenship, whilst 'aliens' came from outside the city.

of a corrector who has altered inflections and certain words in an apparent attempt to make the language of the manuscript 'more southern in character' (Duncan, 1968:204). However, this correcting hand 'was apparently happy to leave the present participle <-ande> completely unaltered' (Duncan, 1968:208) implying that the reviser considered this form sufficiently 'southern' and current in London to make any alteration of it unnecessary. It is not only the Type II texts that show <-ande> as a main variant of the present participle ending among the Essex sources. This form is also found in LoC (B) and Douce 126.

Samuels states that 'the only conclusion to be drawn is that the London dialect changed suddenly and radically in the fourteenth century. The theory that two distinct dialects coexisted in fourteenth-century London, even if it were acceptable, is not really relevant here since all material of Type II is from before 1380 and all that of Type III from after that date' (Samuels, 1989:70-1). Whilst the evidence points to this sudden and radical change the possibility of different varieties existing in London during the same period must surely be considered. A mixture of class and regional differences would certainly produce a range of linguistic varieties. If, for example, the merchant classes used some form of a Midlands dialect and, if the lower classes used a more south-eastern dialect (the antecedent of Cockney), then in the melting-pot of London, certain varieties that co-existed would rise and fall in prestige. Changing demographics after the Black Death are well highlighted. The increase in the power and influence of different groups caused the social order to change, and this would have been the case particularly in an urban centre such as London. The shifting demographic situation could have resulted in the emergence of different pre-existing varieties as being considered more worthy of imitation and may have caused a change whereby Type III became the preferred written variety. This is not to suggest that immigration had no part to play in this situation, but merely that there must have been multiple factors at work, many of which may never be determined for certain.

Despite such reservations concerning the traditional description of Type II as set forth by Samuels, and despite the impossibility of determining for certain the origins of the various types, it still holds true that the Type II texts show an unusual degree of consistency, both internally and between different manuscripts, for the period and also that there are pronounced Essex features

to be found within this variety of language. The context in which some of these manuscripts were produced and their Essex connection requires further examination.

3.5 Examination of Certain Type II Texts

In the following section, two important sources of evidence for the Type II incipient standard will be examined in more detail, in terms of their linguistic forms and also with reference to the possible circumstances of their production. The first source is the Auchinleck manuscript, whose main scribe (A) uses language of the Type II variety. In addition, scribe C, and, it will be argued, elements of the language of scribe E, also provide evidence for Type II. The second source comprises the three manuscripts copied by the PHL scribe. The Auchinleck manuscript and these three manuscripts could have been produced up to sixty years apart. In this time there were changes in production methods and shifting social demographics, illustrated by, for example, the growth of a group of professional scribes, and by the expanding merchant class.

3.5.1 The Auchinleck Manuscript

The Auchinleck manuscript has been dated to the period of around 1330 to 1340. It is an extremely important manuscript owing to the variety of works contained within it, its early date, and the evidence that it provides of methods of book-production and of readers' tastes in the fourteenth century. The manuscript is a 'library' in itself. It has not survived complete, but even as it stands it contains 44 texts contained in 331 leaves. Ten folios have been found as fragments, often having been used in the bindings of other manuscripts or as covers.

Although the manuscript contains a wide variety of textual types including saints' lives, religious narratives, a chronicle and satirical poems, it is predominantly made up of 18 romances. Eight have survived only in the Auchinleck, and of the others only Floris and Blaunchefleur is extant in an earlier copy. Many of these romances are translations of French or Anglo-Norman texts. Some of the unique copies appear 'in a style so typical of the manuscript that it is quite possible that they are translations made or commissioned by the editor' (Turville-Petre, 1996:114). It has been suggested

that a number of the texts[6] were composed in London by the same person (Hanna, 2000:101). However, a number of texts[7] are 'relics, remains of a literary culture of the the late thirteenth century' deriving from the west Midlands, whilst others, 'may have been imported from provincial centres'[8] (Hanna, 2000:99-101). Thus, though so many of the contents of the Auchinleck show a sense of innovation, a number are retrospective.

Although traditionally it has been accepted that six different hands appear in the Auchinleck, it has recently been suggested that hands A and F are the same scribe (Hanna, 2000:92; 101). In LALME, hand A has been localised to the London and Middlesex border. This scribe contributes by far the most to the manuscript - around three-quarters of the surviving text. Hand B, who copies three items, is placed on the Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire border. Hand C copies six miscellaneous items and has been localised to London. Hand D copies one item, in Anglo-Norman. Hand E is an Essex scribe who copies two texts, while hand F writes one surviving text in a south-central Worcestershire dialect. Thus, from a linguistic point of view, hands A and F should be treated separately, since, if 'scribe F' is in fact scribe A in this particular text, rather than translating, scribe A has reproduced the language of his exemplar. The links with some western texts and the appearance of western dialects in two of the hands imply links between the capital and the west Midlands, whether in the supply of texts, or of texts and scribes. That the west Midlands was an important centre of vernacular text production in the EME period could help to explain such links.

Who these scribes were is controversial. The notion of a professional scribe during this period is fraught with difficulties (see further below). It has been suggested that these scribes may have been clerks, used to producing legal documents and books, who copied such texts part-time (Doyle, 1983:171; Hanna, 2000:95). The hand of scribe C shows evidence of 'chancery training' (Shonk, 1985:74). This debate is also linked to the circumstances under which the Auchinleck manuscript was produced.

The number of scribes involved in the manuscript's production led Loomis to suggest that the volume had been put together in 'a lay scriptorium, a

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[6] specifically King Alisaunder, Arthur and Merlin, the Seven Sages and Richard Coeur de Lion

[7] i.e. St. Margaret, the Harrowing of Hell, the Sayings of St. Bernard, the Thrush and the Nightingale, the Lady's Psalter and the original Short Metrical Chronicle

[8] for example, King Horn may have originated in York

bookshop' by professional scribes working alongside, and on the same premises, as illuminators, binders etc. (Loomis, 1942:597-9). Pearsall and Cunningham agree with this idea, arguing that the amount of organisation that has gone into its production implies that Auchinleck was 'the product of collaborative activity within a.. 'bookshop'', and that those who were translating texts from French could have worked 'on a similarly collaborative basis' (Pearsall & Cunningham, 1977:viii-ix). However, Pearsall and Cunningham argue for a 'fascicular' production, whereby a number of booklets were made up and subsequently fitted together to 'the taste of a particular customer' (Pearsall & Cunningham, 1977:ix). The format of the manuscript has also been used to point to the close collaboration of the scribes. In a number of instances gatherings are finished by different scribes from those who began them. Bliss points to the fact that, in a number of cases, a scribe ends one gathering with a catchword and a different hand begins the next gathering. He suggests that this implies that the scribes were working close beside one another and were available for consultation about the order of the manuscript. Additional evidence is found in the fillers that end gatherings which are 'not so easy to understand if the order had been planned in advance' (Bliss, 1951:657).

Doyle and Turville-Petre, on the other hand, point to the manuscript's 'bulk, considerable cost and the absence of anything contemporary of comparative characteristics' and suggest that it is 'more likely an exceptional effort than the sole survivor of routine commercial production' (Doyle, 1983:164). Shonk has adapted the work of Doyle and Parkes (1978) and suggests that, rather than working in the same place, the scribes 'were apparently doing their work independently.. under loose supervision' (Shonk, 1985:73). He points to the fact that, apart from scribes A and, to a lesser extent, B, the various hands appear only in one place in the manuscript and that copying is by text rather than by gathering meaning that they 'did not need to be in direct contact with the other scribes' (Shonk, 1985:73-5). Shonk argues against fascicular production, highlighting the instances where new poems begin new gatherings, which 'display the problems created by piecework composition by independent scribes'. He feels that the manuscript's organiser preferred to begin new gatherings with major texts, but that the order in which items were copied did not always permit this (Shonk, 1985:75-7).

Recently, Hanna, although agreeing that the manuscript must have been produced to order, has argued for Auchinleck to be viewed as 'the sequential efforts of an individual [i.e. scribe A].. with ad lib piecework' (Hanna, 2000:94). He envisions a situation whereby scribe A was given 'a succession of requested items' by his patron. In circumstances where he was expected to copy more than one text simultaneously, or where exemplars became suddenly available, he may have been required to enlist others to help him (Hanna, 2000:94).

The uniformity of the manuscript's format is striking, raising 'the possibility of a predetermined design' which the scribes followed even if working independently (Shonk, 1985:77). Each scribe writes in double columns, with approximately 44 lines to a column, and three scribes (A,C and E) off-set the initial letter of a line from the body of the text.

Scribe A copied the majority of the surviving manuscript and is the only scribe (other than B), whose work appears in more than one place. Cunningham and Pearsall accept that scribe A often wrote the catchwords and is 'closely connected with the others' but do not feel that he was the 'editor' (Pearsall & Cunningham, 1977:viii; xv). On the other hand, Shonk, Turville-Petre and Hanna believe that scribe A was the supervisor of the production. Not only did he write the catchwords, but he numbered the items and copied almost all of the surviving titles.

Despite the few west Midland texts described above, the Auchinleck manuscript is fundamentally a London production. Not only did three of its scribes use a Type II or near-Type II dialect but certain revisions to some texts give empahsis to London and the surrounding area (Loomis, 1942:627), and the additions found in the Short Metrical Chronicle would have been relevant to a London audience (Turville-Petre, 1996:109).

Some have pointed to the fact that the Auchinleck manuscript is almost completely in English and claimed that it cannot therefore have been composed for a monastic or noble household, but rather for 'literate 'civil servants'' (Loomis, 1942:600-01), or 'the aspirant middle-class citizen perhaps a wealthy merchant' (Pearsall & Cunningham, 1977: viii). Doyle suggests that the manuscript was perhaps 'intended for a wealthy bourgeois public' who

although not necessarily ignorant of French 'could have welcomed.. the Auchinleck enterprise'. He does however point out that this could also have been the case for 'some at court' (Doyle, 1983:165). Turville-Petre points to some texts that seem to have been included in order to provide 'material for women readers', such as the lives of female saints and texts concerning the Virgin Mary, whilst others give 'doctrinal instruction basic enough for [children]'. He therefore suggests that the manuscript was 'designed for the household' (Turville-Petre, 1996:135-6).

In his interesting study, Turville-Petre proposes that 'the use of English does not simply answer a social need, but is an expression of the very character of the manuscript, of its passion for England, and in its pride in being English' (Turville-Petre, 1996:138). Some of the revisions of texts, for instance those in Guy of Warwick and in Richard Coeur de Lion, are very nationalistic. This tone could have been a reaction to 'the catastrophes of Edward II's reign', the wars with Scotland and the threat from France (Turville-Petre, 1996:119, 124). From this viewpoint, the presence of English in the Auchinleck manuscript is a patriotic statement and may not therefore be used to dismiss a noble commissioner.

Another aspect of the manuscript which has led some to reject the idea that it was produced for nobility is its 'plain and relatively cheap format' (Loomis, 1942:600; Shonk, 1985:89). However, although not de luxe, the presence of miniatures 'is a sign of some ambition' and the size of the Auchinleck would have made it very expensive (Pearsall & Cunningham, 1977:viii; Turville-Petre, 1996:136). Whoever commissioned the manuscript must have been extremely wealthy. Although this does not rule out a merchant, Turville-Petre suggests that some of the themes running through the manuscript's contents such as the concepts of knighthood and interests in crusading imply a commission by a noble family. He also considers the list of English knights and their families that appears on folios 105 to 107 - the only piece copied by scribe D. He wonders whether its addition was a 'special request by the purchaser' and, if so, it would be 'more probable that the list was provided for a family named in it' than one that was not (Turville-Petre, 1996:136-7).

3.5.2 The PHL Scribe

The three manuscripts copied by the PHL scribe, like Auchinleck, are not de

luxe. However, the quality of the scribe's work and the amount of it which has survived, and, possibly, the evidence of the Type II dialect in which it is written (see further below), suggest that the PHL scribe was a professional of some kind. As noted above in the discussion of the Auchinleck manuscript the notion of a professional scribe, particularly before the mid-fifteenth century, is one that creates some difficulty.

These three manuscripts are dated to the late fourteenth century. This corresponds to the period in which Type II was current and also with the palaeographical evidence (Zettersten, 1976:xix). Har 874 contains 32 folios and is made of thin parchment measuring approximately 28 by 16.5 centimetres. The text is written in single columns with 40 lines to a page. It contains no illuminations although there are large red initials indicating the beginning of each new section of text. Laud 622 has 75 parchment folios measuring approximately 38 by 26.5 centimetres. It is written in double columns. Again, there are no illuminations but coloured blue initials indicate where a new text begins (Smithers, 1957:1-3). Pepys 2498 contains 232 leaves and is again written on parchment. It measures 34 by 24 centimetres. Like Laud 622 it is written in double columns of between 52 and 54 lines. Once more there are no illuminations but there are decorated initials beginning the first six texts (Zettersten, 1976:ix; xix-xxi).

The similarities between these three manuscripts are clear. The two larger manuscripts, Laud and Pepys, are of a similar size and the layout of their pages is strikingly similar. One would not expect the much shorter Harley manuscript to be of the same proportions. None of these manuscripts contains illuminations but all have a similar rubrication. Where holes are noted, they often seem to have been present in the parchment before writing began, since the scribe will split words around them. The overall impression of the three manuscripts is of plainness, although this is not to suggest that the work of the scribe was poor quality - his script is clear and neat. What should be considered in the light of the unadorned character of these manuscripts is the nature and the possible circumstances of their production.

Only about 30 manuscripts survive from the period between 1325 and 1400 compared with around 600 from the period 1400 to 1475 (Edwards & Pearsall, 1989:257). This statistic implies that before 1400 the production of

manuscripts did not involve any degree of routine organised commercial production, but that this was on the increase during the fifteenth century. However, that there was some presence of a booktrade prior to 1400 may be suggested by the evidence provided by surviving manuscripts such as Auchinleck and the work of the PHL scribe.

These manuscripts were produced at the beginning of a period characterised by the 'emergence of written vernacular literature' (Parkes, 1973:555). The context in which the PHL manuscripts were written sees the beginnings of the growth of a 'merchant class' and the increasing literacy of members of this class. The notion of a 'merchant class' requires some explanation. Merchants and craftsmen had a 'distinctive economic position' in medieval London, tending to 'control governmental structure' through their access to markets outside the city and the power of the guilds (Thrupp, 1948:xv, 14; Robertson, 1968:119). The middle section of lay society was considered to be made up of merchants, yeomen and 'the lesser types of gentry' who achieved their status through being in the military or providing professional services to a lord's household. Merchants and gentry could lead similar lives and have similar aspirations. There was intermarrying between merchants and gentry and wealthier merchants could own country estates. This 'middle class' of society was therefore made up of 'a number of different subgroups within one larger social grouping' with 'little cohesion among these assorted groups'. To think of 'a common theory of a middle-class' existing in medieval London is therefore to impose modern ideas of society onto a culture where such a notion did not exist (Thrupp, 1948:299; Meale,1995b:184).

Merchants had to have at least some degree of literacy in English and Latin in order to keep records of business transactions and to be aware of the legal and political circumstances relevant to their position. Merchants therefore had pragmatic literacy concerned with 'commercial interests'. However this literacy led to an interest in texts of other genres – religious works, historical chronicles, romances and political treatises. Although wills 'have little value as statistical evidence', since important bequests were often private, they do show that 'fishmongers and their fellows owned books, and sometimes valued them highly' (Robertson, 1968:112). Merchants were also in a position to explore 'foreign sources' for new texts, and, with access 'both to the supply of books and to the means of their production', to organise manuscript production

(Thrupp, 1948:161; Meale, 1995b:203). Merchants therefore made up a distinct and important section of London society, with a degree of influence on the production of manuscripts.

The increase in demand for books that resulted from rising levels of literacy led to a change in production methods. A more organised book trade than that which existed in the earlier fourteenth century, when Auchinleck was produced, developed and the making and selling of manuscripts became a commercial enterprise, with certain individuals - stationers - accepting commissions from customers who required books, and taking responsibility for the co-ordination of their production (Parkes, 1973:563-4). In the years 1380 to 1390 'the first sizeable group of book artisans' can be found in the records of London (Christianson, 1989:89). The growth of a class of professional scribe, distinct from those who 'drafted legal documents' is seen during this period, with the formation of the Gild of Scriveners in 1373 (Parkes, 1973:564). As is to be expected, it is from London that most evidence survives of this organised trade in books.

The type of material to be found in books copied for members of the rising middle classes is very often 'designed to improve the reader's soul'. Books were required for 'edification and profit and.. for edification and delight' (Parkes, 1973:562; 565). Compilations were regularly put together to provide reading material to suit the whole family. Such compilations provided customers with all of their reading requirements in one volume (Shonk, 1985:90). The texts in these volumes indicate that those commissioning volumes were by this period reading for recreation whilst also looking for materials to help them to rise up the social ladder by providing them with a means of becoming more cultivated (Parkes, 1977:562-3).

The three manuscripts that were copied by the PHL scribe are all written in a London-type dialect and there is evidence of an established trade in books in London by the late fourteenth century. That Har 874, Laud 622 and Pepys 2498 were produced as part of such a commercial activity is very possible. The material contained in these three manuscripts is primarily religious, although, to borrow Parkes's terms, it may be that Pepys 2498 was compiled more for 'profit' and Laud 622 more for 'delight'. The contents of Pepys are 'guides to godliness' and accounts from the Bible, whereas the texts within

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Laud are more eclectic. Works such as <u>Kyng Alisaunder</u> and <u>Adam Davy's Five Dreams about Edward II</u> are found alongside a saint's life and the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> as well as more religious texts. These two manuscripts are fairly large volumes containing a variety of commonly-copied and widely-circulated works. Har 874 of course contains only one text[9]. It appears that one particular text was required and commissioned in the case of this manuscript.

A large number of exemplars would have been required for the compilation of Laud 622 and Pepys 2498 and, although a private individual could have copied the texts into these volumes as and when they came to him for his own personal use, the survival of three separate manuscripts, written in a neat, clear script, two of which contain copies of the same text point to a scribe working to commission. The relative plainness of the manuscripts certainly needs not refute the idea that they were commercially produced. As seen above, increasing numbers of London citizens wished to obtain manuscripts and a customer with limited funds would be likely to prefer a larger plain volume to a smaller deluxe one. Nor should the plainness of the manuscripts necessarily imply a commission from a merchant rather than from a member of the gentry. Certainly there were merchants wealthy enough to afford de luxe productions, and conversely there were gentlemen with limited incomes (Thrupp, 1948:234-46; Meale, 1995b:200). If these manuscripts were commissioned by a reader, in the case of Pepys and Laud, to provide reading material for the whole family, it is probable that the contents of the volume would have been selected before production began to ensure that his requirements would be met.

3.5.3 Forms in Auchinleck

The language of hands A and C are prototypical of Type II. Of the distinctive Essex-type Type II forms listed in the above table (section 3.4.1), hand A shows <oȝain(es)> and <oȝains> (AGAIN(ST)), <ich (a)> (EACH), <miche(l)> (MUCH), <nouȝt> and <no> (NOT), <þat ich> (THE SAME), <þai> and <hye> (THEY), <þei> (ALTHOUGH), <warld>, <werld> and <world> (WORLD) and <-and>, <-ende> and <-inde> (present participle ending), while hand C contains the variants <aȝen> (AGAIN(ST)), <ech(e) (-a)> (EACH), <moche(l)> and <muche> (MUCH), <nowt> (NOT), <þat ilche> (THE SAME), <þai>, <hi> and

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[9] There is, however, an unfinished poem on the Universe following the <u>Apocalypse</u> on folio 31v.

<þei> (THEY), <þai> and <þei> (ALTHOUGH), <werld> (WORLD) and <-and>, <-ende> and <-ind> (present participle ending).

It is also interesting that the language of hand E of the manuscript, although not mentioned by Samuels as having Type II usages, contains some prototypical Type II variants. Most strikingly the forms <ech(e) (-a)> (EACH), <nouȝt> and <ne> (NOT), <þat ilche> (THE SAME), <hii> and <þai> (THEY), <þei> (ALTHOUGH), and <-ande> (present participle ending) appear in this scribe's language as main variants (see also chapter 3, section 4.4 and this chapter, section 2.1.1.3).

3.5.4 Forms in the PHL Scribe's Work

As noted above, the language of the PHL scribe has been localised in LALME to the south-west of Essex, but its usages are again typical of the Type II incipient standard found in the London area. Each of the texts found in the three manuscripts was analysed as a separate scribal text in this study.

The survival of three substantial manuscripts written by one scribe provides a wealth of linguistic evidence that it is necessary to examine in some detail. Examination of the practice of one scribe copying a number of texts yields information about translation and copying techniques and insights into how a particular scribe approached the texts that he was to copy. That there is a bulk of surviving material written by one scribe in a Type II dialect allows for a comparison of usages and an assessment of the consistency with which Type II was adopted by an individual scribe[10].

The third person plural pronominal systems found in the texts have been analysed and discussed in section 2.1.1.1 of this chapter, and the degree of variation to be observed between texts in these systems has provided some indication of the PHL scribe's approach to his exemplars. A selection of the prototypical Type II forms was re-examined and the degree of consistency between the texts for most of them is high[11]. Thus the main variants for AGAIN(ST) in all texts are <aȝein> or <aȝeins>; for COME, <com> is exclusively found; for NOT <ne+nouȝth>, <ne> and <nouȝth> or a combination

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[10] The same can be said of scribe A of Auchinleck.
[11] For this purpose double-bracketed forms were not considered, since many of these appear only once or twice in the texts as show-throughs from the scribal exemplars.

of these three variants are always found; <swich(e)> is the most common form of SUCH; and <þorouȝ> is the only main form of THROUGH noted in these texts.

However, some other forms show some degree of variation. In the case of EACH this variation is clearly textually constrained, since in all texts apart from one, <vche> is the main form. In the <u>Gospel Harmony</u> of Pepys, however, <ilch> is the main form and <vche> is a single-bracketed variant. A degree of variation is also found among the forms for FROM with <fram>, <fro> and <from> all being found regularly as the main variants spread throughout the three manuscripts. In general, <þeiȝ> as a main form of ALTHOUGH is found. In two of the texts (the <u>Apocalypse</u> and the <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u>) found in Pepys, however, <þouȝ> is the major variant, whilst in one other Pepys text (the <u>Prose Psalter</u>), in Har 874, and in two Laud texts (the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> and the <u>Vision of St Alexius</u>) both <þeiȝ> and <þouȝ> are found as main forms.

Other items where there are differences between the variants do, however, show change between the manuscripts. An interesting example concerns the forms of MUCH where <mychel> is regularly the main form. However, in Laud 622, where the item is capitalised, the variant <Michel> is also recorded. The main forms of THE SAME in Pepys 2498 are of the type <þat ilche> in six texts, and <þilk> or <þat ilk> in only two texts (the <u>Gospel Harmony</u> and the <u>Sayings of Wise Men</u>). In Har 874, <þat ilche> is exclusively found. However, in Laud 622 this trend is reversed with only one text (the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u>) having <þat ilche> as its main usage, and six having <þilk> or <þat ilk>.

A similar case is found in the forms of the present participle ending. In all of the texts in Pepys, and in Har 874 <-ande> is the main variant, but in three of the four texts of Laud 622 where this item is recorded (the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u>, the <u>Vision of St Alexius</u> and the <u>Temporale</u>), <-yng(e)> and <ande> are found together as the main form, and in the other (<u>Kyng Alisaunder</u>) only <-yng(e)> was noted. Macrae Gibson has noticed this change in the main forms of the present participle used by the PHL scribe and suggests that 'in verse the necessity to write <-ing(e)>.. to avoid destroying rhyme kept the existence of the form in mind' (Macrae Gibson, 1971:18).

However, the appearance of <þilke> and <þat ilke> for THE SAME, <-ynge>, albeit alongside <-ande>, for the present participle ending, and <þ> forms of THEY in greater proportions in Laud than in Pepys suggests a number of alternatives. Perhaps Pepys 2498 is slightly earlier than Laud 622 or used earlier exemplars which preserved older forms. For certain forms Pepys certainly seems more 'typically' Type II than Laud. This may imply that the PHL scribe was changing his usages, perhaps through the influence of innovative forms found in exemplars. Clearly what can be seen here is a degree of constraint similar to that found in the pronominal systems. However, the consistent translation into typical Type II usages of the majority of forms cannot be ignored. The PHL scribe continues to use such forms in Laud. It may be that the forms of THE SAME, THEY and the present participle ending are more 'overtly' Type II and may therefore be more likely to be the first to be changed if a new system (i.e. Type III) was emerging and influencing the language of the PHL scribe in the later stages of his career. Of course this suggestion is an extremely tentative one but it is necessary to attempt an explanation of what can be seen in the language of the three manuscripts copied by the PHL scribe.

3.5.5 The Significance of Type II

London's population increased primarily through immigration from other parts of England; London society must have been multi-dialectal, and thus Londoners would have heard many different accents and dialects on a daily basis. With the growth of literacy among the citizens of London and the resultant commercialisation of book production in the fourteenth century, this complex dialect-mix would also have been found - and salient - in the written mode. Thus an environment existed in which readers would have become increasingly aware of the dialectal differences that existed between regions.

For stationers accepting commissions for manuscripts and hiring professional scribes to copy them, using a range of exemplars for many of the large volumes, the heterogeneous dialectal nature of the exemplars available to them must have been striking, and the functional disadvantages for readers of marked dialectal differences equally salient. It could therefore be argued that conditions were receptive for the selection of a particular variety as a 'standardised' form of the language.

A striking feature of the surviving Type II manuscripts is the amount of overlap in the texts found in them. Three, Pepys 2498, Harley 5085 and Hunterian 250 contain copies of the Mirror[12]; two, Pepys 2498 and Add 17376 have copies of the Early English Prose Psalter; Laud 622 and the Auchinleck, originally, both contained copies of Kyng Alisaunder, and the PHL scribe has left two copies of the Apocalypse. Whether this suggests anything other than that these texts were popular in medieval London is impossible to say but an amount of sharing of exemplars between what was still a relatively small community of professional scriveners could well be expected. A question that requires further consideration is whether or not there is any link between the similarities in texts copied and the language in which they were written.

It is not being suggested that the production of the three manuscripts copied by the PHL scribe is directly linked in any way to that of Auchinleck - which was of course much earlier - but the environment in which they were produced and the circumstances and motivations that led to their productions could have been similar. What may require consideration is that Type II was selected as a suitable usage from a functional point of view by some scribes in London in the fourteenth century. Within a limited context it might therefore have acquired a degree of prestige which led to its being adopted as a standardised form of language for a short period of time. That it was supplanted by Type III, probably due to issues of functional utility, does not detract from the significance of Type II as an early 'incipient standard' appearing in London in the fourteenth century and corresponding to a period in which the number of books being commercially produced was increasing.

3.6 Conclusion

This overview of the development of London English during the ME period indicates the complex, multidimensional linguistic situation that existed in the capital at this time. In order to explain how and why London English developed as it did it has been necessary to examine both intra- and extrasystemic factors. Normal mechanical and functional forces were in operation and continued to influence the selection of particular variants, while the extralinguistic components increased the variants available for selection. Ultimately the social prestige of one variety determined that the 'King's English' was selected as the standard form.

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[12] Another copy of the Mirror contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 282 is localised in Middlesex and is written in a language closely related to Type II (Duncan, 1968:206).

For the purposes of this study Type II holds the most interest and the fact that it did not become selected as the standard written language should not diminish its importance. As a focused regional language variety existing in the London area it is worthy of in-depth investigation, both in itself and because of its relationship to the later 'types'. A great deal of further research is required in this field and it is hoped that the above discussion provides a contribution to the ongoing work in this area.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis, building on LALME, has been to describe and interpret in detail the late Middle English dialect materials of Essex, bringing together general description and the study of individual texts as evidence for scribal practice. It advances beyond LALME not only in terms of linguistic detail and structured analysis, but also in offering more comprehensive contextualisation. It has been taken as axiomatic that extra- and intralinguistic, diachronic and diatopic circumstances must be considered in any dialectological investigation.

The first step in this contextualisation was the analysis of materials which dated from before the chronological ambit of LALME., i.e. material from the Old and Early Middle English periods. The linguistic evidence provided by the limited number of charters surviving from the Old English period was assessed, and was found to be somewhat problematic. The Early Middle English material was more substantial and allowed a more thorough description of the earlier Essex dialect.

The texts contained in thirty-seven late medieval manuscripts localised to the Essex area in LALME were then - after appropriate assessment - used as the main sources of evidence, and were analysed in detail. The analyses provided substantial evidence for the later Middle English dialect of Essex and allowed a comparatively comprehensive description of the criteria for localisation to this area. Distinctive Essex usages were outlined, and linguistic subdivisions within the county were suggested.

The majority of texts presented in LALME cohered with a placing in Essex. However, the language of one source was found to be too heterogeneous to allow its LALME localisation to stand. It was suggested that another text was more usefully seen as evidence of the earlier medieval dialect of the area, while a third text could perhaps be given a revised localisation within Essex.

The analysed material provided evidence of various forms of scribal behaviour. Consideration of the linguistic and textual evidence produced some interesting findings. In one text there was evidence of a west Midlands

layer of language that must be considered when evaluating the Essex dialect features of this manuscript. On a number of occasions certain scribal texts exhibited shifts in language suggesting a degree of constraint imposed by the linguistic forms encountered within the exemplar or exemplars. Where a scribe copied a number of texts, constraint was often apparent from the different forms that appeared in the individual texts. Several texts in which different scribes were involved in the copying procedure were examined thoroughly. Issues concerning the interaction of scribes were addressed, and, in a number of instances, the different conditions of production were seen to influence scribal approaches to particular texts.

A number of special studies were conducted concentrating on particular areas of interest relating to the medieval Essex dialect.

The special development of West Saxon ǣ in the Essex area was investigated. The distinctive reflexes of West Saxon ǣ, and its developments in the early and late medieval and early modern periods were described. It was suggested that this feature dated from the pre-invasion period, and that the strongly diagnostic nature of the Essex reflex of West Saxon ǣ may have contributed to the development of the Great Vowel Shift.

A study of the pronominal system of the Essex area was also offered. The variation observed within the system is, it is suggested here, an excellent example of the systemic regulation of language. In many of the Essex texts, an intermediate stage was observed, with more than one variant available for selection by scribes. Issues of constraint and conditioning grammatical environments were investigated, and were shown on occasion to influence the selection of particular forms from the set of choices available.

The Type II 'incipient standard' and its connections to Essex were examined in detail and some of the 'prototypical' usages of the variety were identified. A selection of important Type II texts was examined, comprising the Auchinleck manuscript and the three manuscripts of the PHL scribe. The circumstances under which these manuscripts were produced were investigated. The significance of the appearance of Type II in the work of a number of professional scribes was also addressed.

Although necessarily selective in the issues raised and addressed, it is hoped that this thesis has illustrated some of the many ways in which medieval dialect studies can build upon the achievements of LALME.

<u>Appendix I</u>
<u>The Questionnaire</u>

AFTER
AGAIN(ST)
ANY
ARE
ASK
BEFORE
BEYOND
BOTH
BRIDGE
BURN(T)
BUT
CAME
CHURCH
COULD
DAYS
DID
EACH
(N)EITHER
ERE (conj.)
EVIL
EYES
FETCH
FILL
FIRE
FIRST
FROM
GET (p.p.)
GIVE(N), GAVE
GO (2/3 sg.)
HAVE
HER(S)
HIGH
HILL
I
IF
IS
IT
LAND
LITTLE
-LY
MAN
MANY
MIGHT (vb.)
MUCH
NE+
NOT
OWN (adj.)

SELF
SHALL
SHE
SHOULD
SINCE
SUCH
THAN
THEIR
THEM
THEN
THERE
THE SAME
THESE
THEY
THINK
(AL)THOUGH
THROUGH
TOGETHER
TWO
UNTIL
WAS
OE hw- words
WILL
WITHOUT
WORLD
WOULD
YET
pres. part. ending

MS: Cambridge, Trinity College 335
TEXT: Hand A, Poema Morale, fols. 1r-9v

AFTER	after (eft)
AGAIN(ST)	aȝien
ANY	ani
ARE	beð ((bieð , bien, ben))
ASK	
BEFORE	bifore, biforen
BOTH	boð e
BURN(T)	barn-
BUT	ac (bute) ((buten))
CAME	*sg.* cam
CHURCH	
COULD	*sg.* cuð e
DAYS	
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. deden, duden, dude
EACH	elch ((elche, eche, ech, elches, ache))
(N)EITHER	eiðer, oðer;
	noðer, naðer
ERE (conj.)	ar ((are))
EVIL	euel (euele) ((juel))
EYES	eien
FETCH	*inf.* feche
FILL	*inf.* fulle;
	pr. pl. fulleð
FIRE	fur ((fure))
FIRST	furst
FROM	fram, fram
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝieue ((ȝieuen, ȝeue));
	sg. ȝieueð , ȝiefð;
	pl. ȝieueð
GO	
HAVE	*inf.* habben ((haben, habbe));
	sg. habbe;
	pl. habbeð ((habeð, haben))
HER(S)	hire
HIGH	heie
HILL	hulle
I	ich ((ic))
IF	ȝief
IS	is ((beð))

IT	hit
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel ((litle))
-LY	-liche
MAN	man
MANY	fele ((mani))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* mihte ((miht));
	pl. mihten, mihte
MUCH	muchel (muchele) ((mukel, muche))
NE+BE	nis, nes, nare, naren
NE+HAVE	nabbeð, naueð
NE+WILL	nele, nelle, nelleð
NE+WOULD	nolde, nolden
NE+wisten	nesten, not
NOT	ne ((naht, ne+naht))
OWN (adj.)	oȝen ((owen))
SELF	self ((selfen, selfe, selue))
SHALL	*sg.* sal ((sulle));
	pl. sulle, sullen ((sulen))
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* solde;
	pl. solden ((solde))
SINCE	seðen
SUCH	swilch
THAN	þan
THEIR	here ((her))
THEM	hem
THEN	þanne
THERE	þar ((þare))
THE SAME	iliche ((ilke))
THESE	þes, þese, þos
THEY	hie ((he, hi))
THINK	þench- ((þunch-, þinch-))
ALTHOUGH	þeih
THROUGH	þurh ((þurch, thurh))
TOGETHER	
TWO	two ((twam))
UNTIL	
WAS	was
OE hw-	hw- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wile, wille ((wulle));
	pl. willeð
WITHOUT	abuten ((abute, wiht uten))
WORLD	wereld
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde, wolden
YET	ȝiet
pres. part.	-ende

AFTER	after (aft<u>er</u>) ((eft))
AGAIN(ST)	togenes
ANY	ani ((oni, anie))
ARE	ben (beð)
ASK	asc-
BEFORE	biforen ((bifore))
BOTH	boð e
BURN(T)	bern-
BUT	ac (bute) ((ach))
CAME	*sg.* cam ((come));
	pl. cumen
CHURCH	chireche
COULD	
DAYS	dages
DID	*sg.* dude ((dide));
EACH	elch ((ilch, ilches, elche, ilche, ælch, eche))
(N)EITHER	aiðer;
	noðer
ERE (conj.)	ar ((er, ere))
EVIL	iuele ((ufele, uuele, iuel, euel, euele))
EYES	eien
FETCH	*inf.* fechen;
	p.sg. fette;
	p.p. fet
FILL	*pr.sg.* filleð;
	pr. pl. fulleð;
	p.sg. fulde
FIRE	fur ((fir, fure))
FIRST	forme, erest ((fireste, firste, formest))
FROM	fram, fra<u>m</u>
GET (*p.p*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* geue ((gieuen, geuen, geuende));
	sg. gef, ʒieueð, giueð, gif, geue
GO	goð
HAVE	*inf.* habben ((haue, hauen, habbe));
	sg. haueð, habbe;
	pl. habbeð ((habben, haueð, hauen))
HER(S)	hire
HIGH	heige
HILL	
I	ich ((ic))
IF	gief, gef ((gif))
IS	is (beð) ((bieð))
IT	hit ((it, hine))

LAND	lond ((londe))
LITTLE	litel, litle
-LY	-liche ((-lich))
MAN	man ((mæn))
MANY	fele, manie
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* mihte
MUCH	muchel (muchele) ((mucheles))
NE+BE	nis, naren
NE+HAVE	naueð, nabbeð
NE+WILL	nele
NOT	ne, naht ((ne+naht, noht, nocht, ne+noht, no, nohte))
OWN (adj.)	ogen, owen, ogene
SELF	seluen ((selue, self, suluen))
SHALL	*sg.* shal (sal);
	pl. shule, sullen, shulle, shulen, sulle (shullen)
SHE	hie ((he))
SHOULD	*sg.* sholde ((solde));
	pl. sholden
SINCE	siðen, seðen (seððen)
SUCH	swilch, swilche
THAN	þane, þan (þanne)
THEIR	here ((heore))
THEM	hem, hem ((him, him))
THEN	þanne ((þo, þane))
THERE	þar, þare ((ðar, ðare))
THE SAME	iliche, ilich, þat ilke
THESE	þese (þos) ((þesse, þes, þis))
THEY	hie
THINK	þench- ((þinch-, þunch-))
ALTHOUGH	þeih
THROUGH	þurh ((þuregh, þureh))
TOGETHER	togedere, togadere
TWO	two, tweien
UNTIL	for to
WAS	was
OE hw-	hw- (w-) ((wh-))
WILL	*sg.* wile (wille, wule);
	pl. wile (wule, willeð)
WITHOUT	abuten ((wið ute, wið uten))
WORLD	woreld ((worelde))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden
YET	get (giet)
pres. part.	-ende ((-enge, -inge, -inde))

AFTER	after ((eft, aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝeanes (aȝean) ((aȝea<u>n</u>, aȝenes, onȝeanes, ongeanes))
ANY	ani ((æni, aniȝe))
ARE	bieð ((bie<u>n</u>, bie, beð, beoð))
ASK	
BEFORE	tefore<u>n</u> ((tofore<u>n</u>, before<u>n</u>, tefore, tofore))
BOTH	baðe ((boðe))
BURN(T)	barn-
BUT	ac, bute ((acc))
CAME	sg. cam ((come, ca<u>m</u>, co<u>m</u>));
	pl. come<u>n</u> ((comen))
CHURCH	cherche ((chereche))
COULD	
DAYS	daȝas, daiȝe<u>n</u>
DID	sg. dede;
	pl. deden, dede<u>n</u>
EACH	alche, ðe ælche, ællche, alchne, elch, ælche<u>n</u>, elchere
(N)EITHER	oðer;
	noðer, neiðer
ERE (conj.)	ær ((ær ða<u>n</u>ne, ar, ar ðanne, ær ðanne))
EVIL	euele (euel)
EYES	eiȝene, eieȝene, eiene
FETCH	
FILL	pr.sg. felð
FIRE	fiere ((fier))
FIRST	arst
FROM	fra<u>m</u> ((fram, fro, fro<u>m</u>))
GET (p.p.)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	inf. ȝiuen, ȝiue<u>n</u>, ȝiue, giue<u>n</u>;
	sg. ȝifð, ȝiue, ȝaue, ȝif, ȝaf;
	p.p. iȝiuen, iȝiue<u>n</u>
GO	
HAVE	inf. habbe<u>n</u> (haue<u>n</u>) ((habben, habbe, habbene));
	sg. habbe ((haue));
	pl. habbeð ((haue<u>n</u>, habben, hafð))
HER(S)	hire ((here))
HIGH	heiȝe, heih ((hei))
HILL	
I	ic (ich) ((i, ihc))
IF	ȝif
IS	is ((bið, bieð, bie, ys, his))
IT	hit ((it))

LAND	lande, lo<u>n</u>de, land, londe, la<u>n</u>de, lond
LITTLE	litel (litle)
-LY	-liche ((-lich))
MAN	ma<u>nn</u> (ma<u>n</u>ne) ((ma<u>n</u>, man))
MANY	maniȝe ((mani, fele, manie))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miht, mihte; *pl.* mihte<u>n</u>
MUCH	michel, michele (muchele) ((muchel, mucheles))
NE+BE	nis
NE+HAVE	nabbe, nadde
NE+WILL	nelleð
NE+WOULD	nolde, nolde<u>n</u>
NE+wisten	not
NOT	ne (ne+naht) ((ne+noht, naht, noht, ne+nauht))
OWN (adj.)	aȝene, aȝen (awene) ((awen, auȝene, auȝen, aȝe<u>n</u>, awe<u>n</u>, aȝenes))
SELF	selue<u>n</u> (self) ((seluen, selu))
SHALL	*sg.* scal ((scall, scule)); *pl.* sculen, scule<u>n</u> ((scule, scal))
SHE	hie ((heo))
SHOULD	*sg.* scolde, scold<u>e</u>; *pl.* scolden, scolden;
SINCE	seððen
SUCH	swilch, swilche ((swulch))
THAN	ða<u>n</u>ne ((ðanne, ðan, ðane))
THEIR	here ((her))
THEM	he<u>m</u> ((hem))
THEN	þa<u>n</u>ne, ða<u>n</u>ne, ðanne, ða ((ðe, ðane))
THERE	ðar ((ðer, ðær))
THE SAME	þies ilke, ðe ilche, ðan ilche ((ilche, ða ilche, tes ilke, se ilke, þies ilche, ðies ilche))
THESE	ðese ((þese, ðesen))
THEY	hie ((he, hi))
THINK	þe<u>n</u>ch-, ðench-, þinc- ((þench-, þenk-, þenc-, ðenc-, þe<u>n</u>c-))
ALTHOUGH	ðeih ((þeih))
THROUGH	ðurh ((þurh))
TOGETHER	togedere
TWO	twa ((tua))
UNTIL	al hwat, all hwat, to
WAS	was
OE hw-	hw- ((h-, wh-))
WILL	*sg.* wile ((wille, willeð)); *pl.* willeð ((willen, wille<u>n</u>))
WITHOUT	wið ute<u>n</u> ((wið uten, wid uten))
WORLD	woreld ((world, worelde, worlde))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde; *pl.* wolden

YET   ʒiet ((ʒet, ʒiete, ʒet))
pres. part.   -ende, -ende (-inde) ((-inde, -inde))

AFTER	after, eft
AGAIN(ST)	aʒean, aʒeanes ((onʒeanes))
ANY	ani
ARE	bieð ((bien, beð , ben))
ASK	
BEFORE	toforen ((beforen))
BOTH	baðe
BURN(T)	barn-
BUT	ac ((bute, buten))
CAME	*sg.* cam;
	pl. comen
CHURCH	chierche
COULD	
DAYS	daiʒes ((daʒes))
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. deden
EACH	alchere, elch, alche
(N)EITHER	naðer
ERE (conj.)	arðanne
EVIL	euele ((euel, eule))
EYES	eiʒene (eiʒen)
FETCH	
FILL	*inf.* fellen
FIRE	fiere
FIRST	arst
FROM	fram ((fra<u>m</u>))
GET (*p.p*)	
GIVE (N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒiuen, ʒiuene, ʒieuene;
	sg. ʒif, ʒaif, ʒifð, ʒiue;
	pl. ʒiueð
	p.p. iʒiuen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	ga, gað
HAVE	*inf.* habben;
	sg. habbe;
	pl. habbeð ((habbe, haueð))
HER(S)	hire
HIGH	heih
HILL	
I	ich ((ic))
IF	ʒif
IS	is ((his))
IT	hit ((it, hitt))
LAND:	
LITTLE	litel

-LY	-liche ((-lich))
MAN	mann, mann, manne ((man, manne, man))
MANY	fele, maniȝe (manie, manies)
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* mihte ((miht)); *pl.* mihten, mihtin
MUCH	michel, michele ((muchele, muchel))
NE+BE:	nis, nas, nare
NE+HAVE	nadde
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	ne (naht) ((ne+naht, noht, nauht, ne+nauht, nawht))
OWN (adj.)	aȝene, auȝen
SELF	seluen, self
SHALL	*sg.* scal ((scall)); *pl.* sculen
SHE	hie
SHOULD	*sg.* scolde; *pl.* scolden ((scolde))
SINCE	seððen
SUCH	swilch, swilche
THAN	ðanne, þanne ((þan))
THEIR	here ((heare, her))
THEM	hem ((heom))
THEN	ðanne, þanne ((ðane, ða))
THERE	ðar
THE SAME	ðat ilke, ðies ilke, ðe ilke ((ðo ilke))
THESE	þese (ðese) ((ðesen, ðase))
THEY	hie
THINK	þenk-, þench-, þinc-, þenc-, þeink- ((þenc-))
ALTHOUGH	þeih
THROUGH	ðurh (þurh) ((þurȝh))
TOGETHER	togedere
TWO	twa
UNTIL	
WAS	was
OE hw-	hw-, w- (h-)
WILL	*sg.* wile ((wille)); *pl.* willeð, willen
WITHOUT	wið uten
WORLD	world ((woreld))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((walde)); *pl.* wolden
YET	ȝiet ((ȝet))
pres. part.	-inde ((-ende))

Appendix III
Linguistic Profiles of Local Documents

Document: PRO C 1/9/169

AFTER	aftir
AGAIN(ST)	ayenst
ANY	any
BEFORE	before
HIGH	high
IS	is
IT	itt
LAND	londys
-LY	-ly
MUCH	moche
OWN (adj.)	ovne
THEIR	thair
THERE	there
THE SAME	þe same (the same)
THESE	these
THEY	thay
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*pl.* woll
WITHOUT	withouten

Document: PRO C 1/9/373

AGAIN(ST)	ayene, ayens
ANY	eny, any
ARE	been
BEFORE	byfore ((byforen))
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam, com; *pl.* come
ERE (conj.)	ere þan
FROM	from
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yeve
HAVE	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue
I	y
IF	yif
IS	is, ys
IT	hit, yt
LAND	londes
-LY	-ly
MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myght
MUCH	moche
NOT	naught ((nat))

OWN (adj.)	owen
SHALL	*sg.* shal
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld ((shulde))
SINCE	setthen
THAN	þan
THEIR	here
THEM	hem
THEN	than (þan)
THERE	there (þere)
THE SAME	þe same
THEY	þey (they)
(AL)THOUGH	though
THROUGH	thurgh
UNTIL	til
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wele;
	pl. wolle
WITHOUT	withoute
WOULD	*pl.* wolde

Document: PRO C 1/9/374

AFTER	after
BEFORE	afore
HAVE	*sg.* haue
HIGH	high
IS	is
IT	hit
-LY	-ly
MUCH	moche
OWN (adj.)	owyn
SHOULD	*sg.* shold
THEIR	here
THEM	hem
THERE	there
THE SAME	the same
THESE	thise
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* will

Document: PRO C 1/15/37

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	agaynys, agayne
BEFORE	byfore, before
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	bot
FIRE	fyer

FROM	fro
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* yaue
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	pl. hauyth
IF	yf
IS	ys
IT	hyt
-LY	-ly
MANY	meny
MUCH	moche (mekell)
NOT	noȝth
OWN (adj.)	owne
SHOULD	*sg.* schuld
SUCH	soche
THEIR	here
THERE	ther
THE SAME	that same
THEY	thaye
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WITHOUT	whytowten
pres. part.ending	-yg

Document: PRO C 1/15/269

BEFORE	tofore
HAVE	*pl.* have
IT	it
LAND	land
-LY	-li, -ly
SUCH	swych
THEM	hem, them
THERE	þer
THEY	þey
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WITHOUT	wᵗovte
WOULD	*sg.* wolde

Document: PRO C 1/16/209

BEFORE	afore
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* yaf
HER(S)	hire
IS	ys
-LY	-ly
NOT	nat
THEM	them
THERE	þere

THE SAME	þe same
THEY	þei
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wol

Document: PRO C 1/16/292

AGAIN(ST)	ageyn, agayn
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	afore
HIGH	hiegh
IT	it (yitte)
-LY	-ly
OE hw-words	wh-
WITHOUT	withoute

Document: PRO C 1/16/443

AFTER	after
ANY	any
BEFORE	befor
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	landes
-LY	-ly
MUCH	moche
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld
SUCH	suych
THE SAME	the same, þe same
THESE	þese
(AL)THOUGH	?hough
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WITHOUT	withoute
WOULD	*sg.* wold

Document: PRO C 1/17/296-299 (inclusive)

AFTER	aftir, aft_er_
AGAIN(ST)	aȝens
BEFORE	afore
FIRST	first
HAVE	*pl.* haue
HER(S)	here
IS	is (ys)
IT	it
LAND	lond
-LY	-ly
MUCH	moche, moch, mochyl, mochil

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NOT	nat
OWN (adj.)	owen, ovne, owne
SHOULD	*sg.* shold, shuld, sholde
SUCH	swich, soch, such
THEIR	ther
THEM	hem ((them))
THERE	ther, there, ther<u>e</u>
THE SAME	the same
THEY	þey, þei
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* will (wyll); *pl.* will
WITHOUT	w^tout
WOULD	*sg.* wold
pres. part. ending	-ing

Document: PRO C 1/18/2 C&D

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	ayens
ANY	ony
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	aforn
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam; *pl.* came
DID	*sg.* didd
HAVE	*inf.* haue; *pl.* haue
HER(S)	here
IF	if
IS	is
IT	it
-LY	-ly
NOT	not
SELF	self
SHALL	*pl.* shull
SHOULD	*pl.* shulde
SUCH	swiche
THEIR	ther, her<u>e</u> ((her))
THEM	hem ((them))
THERE	ther
THE SAME	the same
THEY	they
TWO	two
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* will
WOULD	*sg.* wolde

Document: PRO C 1/19/110

AGAIN(ST)	aȝenst
BEFORE	befor<u>e</u>
BUT	but
HAVE	*inf.* haue
IF	if
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it
LAND	londys, londes, lond
MUCH	meche
NOT	not
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld;
	pl. shuld
THE SAME	the same
THEY	they
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-

Document: PRO C 1/19/131

AFTER	after
ANY	any
ARE	ar<u>e</u>
BEFORE	afore
BUT	bot
DID	*sg.* dyd
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	hir, hyr<u>e</u>
IS	is
IT	hit, it
LAND	landes
-LY	-ly
MUCH	myche
NOT	not
SHOULD	*pl.* shulde
SUCH	syche
THAN	then, than
THEIR	there ((her<u>e</u>))
THEM	hem
THE SAME	the same
THEY	they
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-

Document: PRO Prob 11/3, fols. 275ᵛ-276ᵛ

AFTER	aft_er_
ANY	any
ARE	bene, ben
BEFORE	tofore ((byfore, before))
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue
HER(S)	hir ((hyr))
I	I
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it ((hit))
LAND	land ((lande))
LITTLE	lytell
-LY	-ly
MUCH	much
NOT	not
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* shall;
	pl. shull ((shall))
SHE	she
SUCH	suche ((sweche, such))
THEIR	their (theyre, theyr, theire)
THEM	them (theym)
THEN	thanne (than)
THE SAME	the same
THEY	they ((thei))
UNTIL	to, into (tyll)
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* woll;
	pl. woll
WITHOUT	withoute ((withoutyn, without))

Document: PRO SC 1/51/35

AFTER	aft_er_
AGAIN(ST)	ayenst
ANY	any
ARE	arne
ASK	ax-
BUT	but
COULD	*sg.* cowde
DID	*sg.* ded
ERE (conj.)	or
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	hur
I	I

IF	yif
IS	is
IT	it
-LY	-ly
MAN	man
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myght
MUCH	much
NOT	not
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde
THAN	þen
THEM	þem
THERE	þer<u>e</u>
UNTIL	tyll
WAS	was
OE hw- words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* woll
WOULD	*sg.* wolde (wold)
YET	yet

Appendix IV
Linguistic Profiles of Late Middle English Material

MS: London, Public Record Office, SC 1/51/60-62
TEXT: Letters by Richard Garford of Prittlewell to the prior of Berden, Essex, 1436-1449

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	ayens (ayen, ayan)
ANY	eny
ARE	
ASK	
BEFORE	before
BEYOND	
BOTH	bothe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	but
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	eche
(N)EITHER	other
ERE (conj.)	or
EVIL	evyll
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	
FROM	
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yeue; *p.p.* yeue, yovyn
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han)); *sg.* haue
HER(S)	
HIGH	
HILL	
I	I ((y))
IF	yf
IS	ys ((is))
IT	hit ((yt))
LAND	lond
LITTLE	
-LY	-ly

MAN	man
MANY	meny
MIGHT (vb.)	*pl.* myght
MUCH	
NE+	
NOT	not
OWN (adj.)	owne
SELF	
SHALL	*sg.* shall;
	pl. shall
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld (shoolde)
SINCE	
SUCH	suche
THAN	
THEIR	
THEM	hem
THEN	thenne
THERE	ther, there
THE SAME	the same
THESE	
THEY	they
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	
TOGETHER	togederes, togedere
TWO	
UNTIL	in to
WAS	was
OE hw- words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* woll
WITHOUT	with owte, w^t oute
WORLD	
WOULD	*sg.* wold
YET	
pres. part. ending	

MS: London Public Record Office Prob. 11/2B,

TEXT: Will of Stephen Thomas, 1417-18, fols.358[r]-[v]

AFTER	aft<u>er</u>
AGAIN(ST)	
ANY	eny ((any))
ARE	beth
ASK	
BEFORE	to for, a fore, to for<u>e</u>
BEYOND	
BOTH	both
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	bot
CAME	*sg.* come
CHURCH	cherche (chirche)
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	*sg.* dede
EACH	
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	er þane, or<u>e</u>
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	firste
FROM	from
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝef (ȝeve)
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*iinf.* haue;
	sg. haue
HER(S)	her
HIGH	
HILL	
I	I, y
IF	ȝyf ((ȝef))
IS	is, es (ys)
IT	it ((yt))
LAND	
LITTLE	lytill
-LY	
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	
MIGHT (vb.)	
MUCH	
NE+	

NOT	
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	
SHALL	*sg.* schel, schele;
	pl. schele (schol)
SHE	sche ((scho))
SHOULD	*sg.* schuld;
	pl. schulde
SINCE	
SUCH	
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	hem
THEN	þan
THERE	þer
THE SAME	
THESE	þes
THEY	þey
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	
TOGETHER	togedeyre
TWO	
UNTIL	
WAS	was
OE hw- words	w-, wh-
WILL	*sg.* wyl (will) ((wyll, wil, woll));
	pl. woll
WITHOUT	
WORLD	
WOULD	*pl.* wolde, wald
YET	
pres. part. ending	-ynge

	Hand 1	Hand 2	Hand 3
AFTER	after	after ((aftur, after))	after
AGAIN(ST)	agan	aȝen ((aȝens))	aȝen
ANY	any	eny ((any))	
ARE	are	ben (biet) ((are, aren))	ben
ASK			
BEFORE	befor	beforn, befor, beforyn (beforre, byfor, before, byfore, tofore, aforyn, aforn, tofor)	byfore, before, byfore
BEYOND			
BOTH		bothe ((both, boþe))	boþe
BRIDGE			
BURN(T)	byrn-	bren-	bren-
BUT	but	but ((butt, bothe))	
CAME			
CHURCH			
COULD		sg. cowd	
DAYS	days ((dais))	days	
DID			
EACH	ych a, yche a, yche	eche ((ech, eyche))	eche
(N)EITHER		oþer, oyder, eyþer; noþer, neþer	
ERE (conj.)		or þan, or þt	
EVIL	evyll	euyll ((euyl))	

EYES	eyen ((eyʒen, eyyn))		
FETCH			
FILL	sg. fylle, felle		
FIRE	fyere, fyer, fuyre ((fyyre, feyr, fyre, feer, ffyer, fyyre, fyyr, feere, fuYre, fere))	fyer	sg. fyl fyre
FIRST	fyrsth, fyrst (ferst, fursth)	fyrst	
FROM	fro ((from))	fro, frome	fro
GET (*p.p.*)	gethe		
GIVE(N)/GAVE	*inf.* ʒeue, ʒyff; *sg.* ʒeue ((ʒif))	*sg.* gyff	*sg.* ʒeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	go, goo		
HAVE	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue; *pl.* haue ((hauyn, han, hauyt, hauyn))	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue
HER(S)	here		
HIGH			
HILL			
I			
IF	ʒif (ʒiff, ʒyff) ((ʒyf, if, yff, yf))	yff (yf)	ʒyf ((yf))
IS	is, ys	ys ((is))	ys ((is))
IT	it, hit ((hyt, yt))	yt ((ytt))	yt, it
LAND			
LITTLE	lytyl, lytyll (lytil, lytill) ((lityl, litil, lityll, litel))	letyll	lytyl
-LY	-ly ((-lyche, -lich, -liche, -liche))	-ly ((-lyk))	-ly
MAN	man	man	
MANY	many	many	

MIGHT (vb.)		*sg.* myȝt (miyyt)	mykyl, moche
MUCH	myche ((mych))	moche ((muche))	
NE+			
NOT	noȝt	noȝt, not ((nowȝt, noȝwt, ne+nowȝt, noȝth, nowȝth, nogh, nowgȝ, ne))	not ((nouȝt))
OWN (adj.)		owyn	
SELF		selff, self	sylfe
SHALL	*sg.* schal	*sg.* schal ((schall)); *pl.* schul	*sg.* shal
SHE		sche	
SHOULD		*pl.* schuldyn	
SINCE			
SUCH		suche ((swyche))	
THAN		þan ((þen))	
THEIR		her, here	
THEM	þem ((þem, þem))	hem (hem) ((ham, þeem))	hem (hem)
THEN	þen (þan)	þan (than) ((then, þen, thanne, þo, thenne, þanne, tho, thane, thenne, þanne, þenne))	þan ((þen, þan))
THERE	þer	þer ((der))	þer ((þere))
THE SAME	þe same ((þe sam))	þe same ((þulke))	þe same
THESE	thyes	theese, þeese ((theyse, these, þese, deese))	
THEY:	þey	þey (dey) ((þay, day, they))	þey, þay
THINK	thynk-	þynk-	
(AL)THOUGH		þowȝ (þawȝ)	

THROUGH	throwyht	þorwȝ, þorw (throw) ((þorwg, throwȝ, þorwȝg, drowgȝ, þrowȝ, throwȝt, thorow, thorwe, þorwȝgh, dorwȝt, dorwgh, trowȝt, thorwg, dorwe, durwe, durghe, thorwȝg, thorwȝ, drowȝg, þorwgh, trowȝ, thorwgh, þorow, þrow))	þᵉrew, perew, þᵉru
TOGETHER	togeder	togeder ((togeþer, togeder))	togedyr ((togeþer))
TWO	too	too ((twey, to, twoo))	
UNTIL	to, tyl	tyl (tyll) ((till, til, tylle))	tyl
WAS	was	was	
OE HW-	wh- ((w-, qʷʰ-, qh-, qhw-))	wh- ((w-, qw-, qwh-))	w- ((wh-))
WILL	sg. wyll	sg. wil, will ((wyll, wol)); pl. wil, wylle	sg. wyl
WITHOUT	wᵗowyt, wᵗowt	witout, wᵗout, witowt ((witowth, wᵗouthe, witouwt, wᵗowt))	
WORLD		wordyll	
WOULD	sg. wold	pl. wold	
YET			
pres. part.	-yng	-yng ((-yng))	-yng

MS: London, British Library, Harley 3943
TEXT: Hand A, <u>Troilus & Criseyde</u>, fols. 2-7; 9-67

AFTER	aftir ((aft<u>er</u>, eft))
AGAIN(ST)	ayen, ayens (aȝen, aȝens)
ANY	eny
ARE	bene ((are, beþ))
ASK	ask- ((ax-))
BEFORE	byfor (byforne(rh.), toforn) ((byforn(rh.), tofore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe, bothe ((both))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but ((bote))
CAME	*sg.* come ((cam))
CHURCH	
COULD	*sg.* cowd, couþe, couth ((couþ, coud, couthe))
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dede, ded (dyd);
	pl. dede, dedyn(rh.)
EACH	eche
(N)EITHER	oþ<u>er</u>, either;
	neithir, nei<u>þer</u>
ERE (conj.)	or, or þat ((er than, ere))
EVIL	evil
EYES	eyen ((ey(rh.)))
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fere (fyre)
FIRST	ferst ((arste))
FROM	fro ((fro<u>m</u>, from, frome))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yeve;
	sg. yaf, yef, yave;
	pl. yaf;
	p.p. yeve, yeven
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth (goþ)
HAVE	*inf.* have ((han));
	sg. have;
	pl. have (han)
HER(S)	her ((h<u>er</u>, here))
HIGH	hy, hye(rh.) (hie)
HILL	hil, hill
I	y (I)
IF	if
IS	is ((ys))
IT	hit, it ((yt))
LAND	
LITTLE	litil ((lytil))

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-LY	-ly ((-lich))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	meny
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* might, myght;
	pl. myght (might)
MUCH	mych ((mychil, mich))
NE+ BE	nys, nis, nas
NE+WILL	nel
NE+WOULD	nold
NE+witen	nyst, note ((not))
NOT	not ((ne, noght, ne+not))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((own))
SELF	self ((selue(rh.), selve(rh.)))
SHALL	*sg.* shal;
	pl. shul
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shold ((sholde));
	pl. shold ((shuld, sholdyn))
SINCE	seth
SUCH	such
THAN	þan ((than, þa<u>n</u>, tha<u>n</u>))
THEIR	her ((h<u>er</u>))
THEM	he<u>m</u>, hem
THEN	þo, þan (tho, than) ((þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>er</u>, ther ((þ<u>ere</u>, þere, þer, there(rh.)))
THE SAME	thilk, the same
THESE	þes ((thes))
THEY	þei, they
THINK	thenk-, þenk- ((think-, þink-))
(AL)THOUGH	þogh (thogh) ((al þogh))
THROUGH	thurgh (þurgh)
TOGETHER	
TWO	twey(rh.), two ((too(rh.), tway(rh.)))
UNTIL	til, tul
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wole, wil ((wol));
	pl. wol
WITHOUT	wiþout ((w^tout, withoutyn, withoute, without, wiþoutyn))
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wold;
	pl. wold ((woldyn))
YET	yet, ȝet
pres. part. ending	-yng

MS: London, Public Record Office, Prob. 11/3
TEXT: Will of William Hanyngfeld, 1426. fol. 45^r-v

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	
ANY	any
ARE	ben
ASK	
BEFORE	beforn, afore
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	brigge
BURN(T)	
BUT	
CAME	
CHURCH	church
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	first
FROM	
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*iinf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	
HIGH	hie
HILL	
I	I
IF	if (ȝef)
IS	is
IT	hit
LAND	lond
LITTLE	
-LY	-ly ((-lich))
MAN	man
MANY	
MIGHT (vb.)	
MUCH	
NE+	

NOT	not
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	
SHALL	
SHE	
SHOULD	
SINCE	
SUCH	
THAN	
THEIR	þer
THEM	ham, hem
THEN	
THERE	ther ((ther<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	þe same
THESE	these
THEY	þay ((þey))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	
TOGETHER	
TWO	
UNTIL	
WAS	
OE hw- words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* woll; *pl.* woll
WITHOUT	withoute
WORLD	
WOULD	*pl.* wolde, wold
YET	
pres. part. ending	

AFTER	after, aft<u>er</u> ((aftur, aft))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝen, agayn (aȝens) ((agayne))
ANY	any ((eny))
ARE	beþ ((ere(rh.), are(rh.), beth, buþ, ben, bene, erre(rh.)))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	byfore ((tofore, afore, byfor<u>e</u>, byfor))
BEYOND	byȝende, byȝonde
BOTH	boþe, boþ ((bothe, both))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bryn-(rh.)))
BUT	bote
CAME	sg. come;
	pl. come
CHURCH	churche, chirche
COULD	sg. couþe ((kouþe));
	pl. couþe ((kouþe, kouþ, couþ))
DAYS	daies ((dais, dayes, days))
DID	sg. dede ((dude, dide(rh.), didde(rh.)));
	pl. dede ((dude, didde(rh.), deyde, dide(rh.)))
EACH	eche ((ilke a))
(N)EITHER	or, oþ<u>er</u> ((other, eiþer, eyther, ayther, aiþer, aiþ<u>er</u>, oþer, oyþer));
	noþ<u>er</u> ((neþ<u>er</u>, noþer, neiþer, neyþ<u>er</u>, naiþer, naþ<u>er</u>, neiþer))
ERE (conj.)	or (are, ere) ((ore, er))
EVIL	yuel ((yfle))
EYES	yȝen ((yȝens))
FETCH	pr.sg. feccheþ
FILL	pr.sg. fille;
	p.p. filled
FIRE	fire ((fyre, fuyr, fir, fere))
FIRST	first ((furst, ferst))
FROM	fro
GET (p.p.)	gete (geten, goten)
GIVE(N), GAVE	inf. ȝeue;
	sg. ȝeueþ (gaf, ȝeue) ((ȝaf, gaue, ȝeuene));
	pl. ȝeueþ, ȝeue, ȝaf ((gaue, ȝeuen))
GO (2/3 sg.)	goþ ((gost, go, gase(rh.)))
HAVE	inf. haue;
	sg, haue;
	pl. haue ((haueþ))
HER(S)	hure (hur<u>e</u>) ((here))
HIGH	hyȝe, hie (hiȝe, hye)
HILL	hille ((hulle))
I	i (y) ((I))

IF	if (ȝif) ((yf))
IS	is ((ys))
IT	hit ((hitte, h^t))
LAND	londe ((lond, lande(rh.), land(rh.)))
LITTLE	litel ((lite))
-LY	-ly ((-liche))
MAN	man
MANY	many ((meny))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝt ((miȝt, might));
	pl. myȝt ((miȝt))
MUCH	myche ((moche, mykel, muche, mychel, miche, meche, mache))
NE+ BE	nys, nasse, nere
NE+ HAVE	nadde
NE+WOULD	nold, nolde
NOT	not (nouȝt) ((nat, ne))
OWN (adj.)	owen ((owene, awen, owe(rh.)))
SELF	self ((selue))
SHALL	*sg.* shal, shalle ((shall, schal));
	pl. shul, shal ((shalle, shulle, shall, shull, shule))
SHE	che
SHOULD	*sg.* shold (sholde) ((scholde))
	pl. shold (sholde) ((shuld, shulde, schold))
SINCE	siþ (seþ) ((sith, seþen, seth))
SUCH	siche (suiche) ((swyche, swiche, syche))
THAN	þan (Than) ((Then, þen))
THEIR	here (her<u>e</u>) ((hure, hur<u>e</u>, hire, þair, her))
THEM	hem ((þem))
THEN	þan (þen) ((Than, Then, þanne, þenne, tho))
THERE	þ<u>er</u>, þer, þare(rh.) (þore(rh.), þere, ther) ((there, thare(rh.), þor(rh.)))
THE SAME	þe same ((the same, þat ilk))
THESE	þes ((thes, þees, thees))
THEY	þei ((þay, They, þai, þey, thei, thay, þe))
THINK	þenk- ((þink-(rh.), Thenk-, þench-(rh.), think-))
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ ((alle þouȝ, al þouȝ))
THROUGH	þorouȝ ((thorouȝ, þorough, þrouȝ, þorogh))
TOGETHER	to gadre ((to gad<u>re</u>, to gader, to gedre, to gadour))
TWO	tuo ((to, two, too, tua, tuey))
UNTIL	tille (til) ((vnto, vntil, into))
WAS	was ((wasse(rh.)))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wille (wole) ((wul, wolle, wil));
	pl. wille (wole) ((wil, wul))
WITHOUT	wiþout ((w^{t}out, without, withoute, w^{t}oute, wiþoute))
WORLD	wordle
WOULD	*sg.* wold (wolde) ((walde));

pl.	wold (wolde) ((wald))
YET	ȝit (ȝitte) ((ȝet, ȝete))
pres. part. ending	-yng (-and(rh.), -ande(rh.)) ((-ing, -onde(rh.), -annd(rh.), -aund(rh.)))

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 840

TEXT: <u>Prose Brut</u>. Hand A fols.1^r-116^r; Hand B fols.117^r-163^r

	Hand A	Hand B
AFTER	aftir ((aft_, aftyr, afftir, after))	after ((aftyr, aftir))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝen, aȝens ((agayn))	aȝenst (aȝeyne, aȝeyn, aȝenste) ((aȝein, aȝen, aȝens, aȝeine))
ANY	any, eny ((ony))	any ((eny))
ARE	ben (beth)	
ASK	ax-	ask- ((ax-))
BEFORE	before, bifore ((byfore, beforn, befor, biforne, afore))	before ((byfore, bifore, tofore, aforn))
BEYOND	byȝownde	byȝonde, beȝonde
BOTH	bothe ((boþe, boþ^e))	both ((bothe, boþe))
BRIDGE	brugge	brigge
BURN(T)	bren-	bren-
BUT	but	but
CAME	*sg.* come (com) ((cam, co<u>m</u>)); *pl.* come, comen ((comyn))	*sg.* come (com) ((came)); *pl.* come ((came))
CHURCH	cherche ((chirche))	chirch ((chyrch, chirche, chyrche))
COULD	*sg.* cowde, cowthe; *pl.* cowthe	
DAYS	dayes ((dayȝes, daies))	dayes
DID	*sg.* dede; *pl.* dede, dedyn	*sg.* did; *pl.* did
EACH	ech	eche
(N)EITHER	ore; nothir, neyþer, noþer	neither
ERE (conj.)	ore ((or, er, er that))	or
EVIL	euyl (euele) ((euil))	evel ((evell))
EYES	eyen, eyen	
FETCH		*pl.* fette
FILL		
FIRE	fire	fire
FIRST	ferste, ferst ((first, fyrst))	fyrst, furst
FROM	fro, fram	from (fro)
GET (*p.p.*)		goten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue ((ȝeuen)); *sg.* ȝaif ((ȝayf, ȝaf, ȝeue)); *pl.* ȝaif ((ȝeue, ȝauyn)); *p.p.* ȝeue, ȝeuyn, ȝouen	*inf.* ȝeve; *sg.* ȝave; *pl.* ȝafe, ȝave; *p.p.* ȝove
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth	
HAVE	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue ((haueth, hauyth)); *pl.* haue ((haueþ, haueth,	*inf.* haue, have; *sg.* haue

	hauen))	
HER(S)	hire ((here, hir<u>e</u>, her<u>e</u>, hure))	her ((here, hir))
HIGH	hyȝe, hiȝe ((hye, hie, hyȝ, high, hege))	hyȝ
HILL	hull, hul	hille, hill
I	y, I	
IF	ȝif	yf ((if, ȝyf))
IS	is ((ys))	is
IT	hit ((hyt))	hit, it ((hyt))
LAND	lande (londe, land) ((lond, la<u>n</u>d, la<u>n</u>de))	londe ((lond))
LITTLE	litel (litil) ((lytel, lite, lytil, lityl))	litel
-LY	-ly, -liche (-li) ((-leche, -lich, -lyche))	-ly
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many (meny, manye) ((menye))	many ((manye))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myghte, mighte ((myght, myȝte)); *pl.* myghte, mighte ((miȝte, myghten))	*sg.* myȝt ((myȝth)); *pl.* myȝt
MUCH	moche (muche) ((mochel, mochil, muchel, muchil))	moch (moche)
NE+ BE	nas	
NOT	nought ((ne, noght, nat, nouȝt, not, nowth, nowght, noutȝ, noughth, nough, noughte, noughut))	not (nat) ((nouȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((howne, oune, owene))	owne, own ((owen, ovne))
SELF	self	selfe
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((schulle, schul, schall, schule)); *pl.* schulle ((schulleþ, schullen, schul, sschulle, shal, schal))	*pl.* schal, schul
SHE	heo ((he, ȝhe))	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde ((scholde, sculde)); *pl.* schulde ((scholde, shulde))	*sg.* schulde ((schowlde, schuld)); *pl.* schuld, scholde, schulde
SINCE	sithe ((sythenes))	
SUCH	swych, swich ((suche, sueche, swyche, swiche))	such ((suche))
THAN	þan, thanne, than, þanne	þan ((than, þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	here ((hire, her<u>e</u>, þere))	her ((ther, þeire, hyr))
THEM	hem, ham ((he<u>m</u>, hym))	hem ((he<u>m</u>, them, theyme))
THEN	tho, þo ((thanne, þanne, þᵒ,	than, þan ((thanne, þo,

	thoo, thanne))	þanne, þan, þenne))
THERE	there ((ther_e_, þer_e_, þ_e_re, þere, þ^ere))	þer, ther (þere, there) ((þ_er_))
THE SAME	the same ((that same, þat same, þe same, þ^e same))	the same, þe same ((þe sam))
THESE	these	þese ((these, thise))
THEY	thei, they ((þey, þei, the))	þey (they) ((theye))
THINK		
(AL)THOUGH		thouȝ
THROUGH	thorugh, thorw (þorw) ((þorugh, þoruȝ, thorug, þrow, thoruȝ, thoru, thorough))	þorouȝ ((thorouȝ, þorowȝ, þorow))
TOGETHER	togedere (togedre) ((togederes, togeder_e_, togedres))	togedre ((togedir, togeder, togedres))
TWO	too (twey)	two
UNTIL	til ((vnto, tyl))	vnto, till, tille ((into, tyll))
WAS	was ((w_a_s))	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wele ((wille)); *pl.* wele ((wille))	
WITHOUT	wythoute, withoute (wythouten) ((wiþoute, wyþoute, withouten, wyþouten, wythout))	withoute, without
WORLD	world ((worlde))	worlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((wold)); *pl.* wolde	*sg.* wolde ((wold)); *pl.* wolde ((wold))
YET	ȝet	ȝit
pres. part. ending	-ynge ((-i_n_gg, -yng))	-ynge ((-inge, -i_n_ge))

AFTER	aft<u>er</u> ((aftir))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝeyn ((aȝen, aȝeynes, aȝeyne, aȝens))
ANY	eny ((ony))
ARE	be<u>n</u> ((beþ))
ASK	
BEFORE	bifore ((bifor, tofore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bre<u>n</u>-
BUT	but ((bote))
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	dayes ((daies))
DID	
EACH	eche ((ech))
(N)EITHER	eþ<u>er</u>;
	neþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er ((or, er þan, er þa<u>n</u>))
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	*sg.* fil, ful
FIRE	fier, fir<u>e</u> ((fire, fyer, fuyr<u>e</u>))
FIRST	firste, first
FROM	fro
GET (*p.p.*)	gete
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ȝeue;
	p.p. ȝeue<u>n</u>
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	go
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue ((han))
HER(S)	
HIGH	
HILL	
I	y
IF	if
IS	is
IT	it ((hit))
LAND	
LITTLE	litil (litel) ((lytil, litele, lytyl))
-LY	-ly
MAN	man, ma<u>n</u>
MANY	many

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MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝt
MUCH	myche
NE+	
NOT	not ((nouȝt, ne+not))
OWN (adj.)	owe_n_, owen
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schule_n_
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde, schulde
SINCE	
SUCH	sweche, swich
THAN	þan ((þa_n_))
THEIR	her
THEM	he_m_
THEN	þa_n_ne ((þane, þ^o))
THERE	þ_er_ ((þer))
THE SAME	þe same (þilke)
THESE	þese
THEY	þey ((þei))
THINK	þynk- (þenk-)
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	þorwh (þorowe, þorowȝ, þorow)
TOGETHER	togidre ((togedres, togederis, togedris, togeders, togidres, togederes, togidr_e_, togidrer_e_))
TWO	twey ((two, tweye, tweyne, tweye_n_))
UNTIL	to ((forto, til, vnto, i_n_to))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wole ((wol));
	pl. wole_n_
WITHOUT	wiþoute (wi^toute_n_, wiþoute_n_)
WORLD	
WOULD	*sg.* wolde
YET	
pres. part. ending	-i_ng_ (-ynge, -i_ng_e, -yng)

MS: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 201

TEXT: <u>Piers Plowman.</u> fols. 1-93[r]

AFTER	after (after) ((aftere, Affter, eft))
AGAIN(ST)	ageyn ((ageyn, aȝens))
ANY	ony ((onye))
ARE	ben, been ((are, are, arn))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	byfore, before (before) ((afore, tofor, befor, afore, tofore))
BEYOND	byȝonnde, beȝonnde
BOTH	boþe ((boþe, bothe))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bren-))
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam ((com, kam, come, com, cam));
	pl. kemen, kemen, keme (komen)
CHURCH	chirche ((kyrke, chyrche, kirke, cherche, chirch))
COULD	*sg.* cowhde (cowde) ((cowthe, coude));
	pl. cowde
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dyde (dide) ((dede));
	pl. dyden ((dyde))
EACH	ech ((ech a))
(N)EITHER	eyþir, eyþer ((eyther, eiþer, eythir));
	neyþer ((neythir, neyþir))
ERE (conj.)	er ((eere, er þ[t], er þat, or, ere))
EVIL	evele, evil (evyl, euele) ((euel))
EYES	eyȝen, eyȝes ((yȝen))
FETCH	*inf.* fecche ((fecchyn, fecchen));
	sg. fette;
	pl. fecchid
FILL	*inf.* fylle
FIRE	feer, feyȝr (feere, fyȝr, feyr)
FIRST	first (firste, fyrste, fyrst) ((erst))
FROM	fram ((f[a]m, fram, froo, fro, from))
GET (*p.p.*)	getyn
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* gyve, ȝeve ((ȝyve, gyvyn, gyven, ȝevyn));
	sg. gaf, ȝaf ((gyve, gyfþ, ȝeviþ, ȝeveþ, ȝeve));
	pl. ȝeviþ ((gyven, gyve, gyveþ, geve, ȝeviþ, ȝeve, ȝeveþ));
	p.p. ygyve, gyve, ȝove
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	gooþ (goo) ((goþ))
HAVE	*inf.* have ((haue, haven, an, habbyn));
	sg. have ((haue));
	pl. have ((haue, haven, han))
HER(S)	hire ((hire, here, hyre, here))
HIGH	hyȝe ((heyȝ, hyȝ, heyȝe, hey))

HILL	hillis (hellys)
I	y (I) ((i))
IF	if ((yf))
IS	ys (is)
IT	it ((yt, hit))
LAND	lond (londe) ((lawnde, lau<u>n</u>de))
LITTLE	lytyl, lytil ((lyte, lytel))
-LY	-ly ((-lyche, -lych))
MAN	man, ma<u>n</u>
MANY	manye (fele, many) ((manyȝe))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myghte ((myght, myȝhte));
	pl. myghte ((myghte<u>n</u>, myghten))
MUCH	myche, mychil ((mychel, meche, mych))
NE+ BE	nys, nere
NE+WILL	nylle
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	nyste, not
NOT	not, nowht ((ne, no^ut, no^t, ne+not, noht, nowt, nout))
OWN (adj.)	owene, owne, owe ((howne))
SELF	selue ((selve, seluen, self, seluy<u>n</u>))
SHALL	*sg.* shal ((schal));
	pl. shull ((shulle, shul, shal, schull))
SHE	she ((sche))
SHOULD	*sg.* sholde ((shold, shulde, shuld, scholde));
	pl. sholde ((sholden, shulden, scholde, scholden))
SINCE	sytthe ((sytthen, sitthe, sytthe þ^t))
SUCH	swiche, swich ((swyche, swych))
THAN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>, þanne, þa<u>n</u>ne))
THEIR	here, her<u>e</u> ((hyr<u>e</u>, þeere, þeyr<u>e</u>, heere))
THEM	hem, he<u>m</u> ((þem, hym))
THEN	þa<u>n</u>ne, þan, þo (þanne, þa<u>n</u>) ((Thanne, þenne, Than, Tha<u>n</u>ne, þane, þoo))
THERE	þer<u>e</u> (þere) ((þ<u>e</u>re, þer, þ<u>e</u>r, there, þeer<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	þ^e same ((þis ilke))
THESE	þese ((þis))
THEY	þey ((þei, they))
THINK	þy<u>n</u>k-, þynk-
(AL)THOUGH	þey (þeyhȝ) ((þowh, þeyȝ, þowhȝ, þeyh, they, þo, al þeyhȝ, al þowhȝ))
THROUGH	þorghȝ (þor^u) ((þorgh, þor^uh, þorhȝ, þor^uhȝ, þorwh, þoruhȝ, þoru))
TOGETHER	togydre, togydres (togydr<u>e</u>) ((togydr<u>e</u>s))
TWO	two ((tweye, tweyn, tweyne, to, tewy<u>n</u>))
UNTIL	tyl ((til, vntyl, to, into))
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-, qwh-))

WILL   *sg.* will (wil) ((wole, wyll, wille, wilne));

                    pl. will ((wil, wilneþ))

WITHOUT   wᵗoutyn̲ ((wᵗowtyn, wᵗowtyn̲, wᵗoute, wᵗoutyn, wᵗowte))

WORLD   world

WOULD   *sg.* wolde ((wold));

                    pl. wolde ((wolden, wold))

YET   ȝit ((ȝyt))

pres. part. ending   -ynge ((-yn̲ge, -ende))

AFTER	after, after ((efte, eft))
AGAIN(ST)	ayaine, ayein, agayn, ayeine, agayne, ayenne, ayenie
ANY	
ARE	beth, are ((bethe, been, ar))
ASK	ax-
BEFORE	beforne, before, aforne, afore (tofore, beforn, aforn, bifornys)
BEYOND	
BOTH	bothe, both
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	dayes, daies ((dayis))
DID	*sg.* dede
EACH	iche (ich, uch, uche, yche, eche, itche) ((iche))
(N)EITHER	either, either ((eyther, outher, or)); neither
ERE (conj.)	er (are, ere, ar) ((er-thenne, er-then))
EVIL	evel, yuel, euel
EYES	eyen, eghen, een
FETCH	
FILL	*sg.* fille, filleth; *pl.* filleth, fild, yfilde
FIRE	fire, fier, fyre (fir)
FIRST	first, frist (erst, firste) ((formest))
FROM	from (fro) ((froo))
GET (*p.p*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* yeve, yeue, yeueth ((gyf, geve))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goo, gothe, goeth (goth, gooth, goothe)
HAVE	*inf.* have, haue; *sg.* haue; *pl.* haue
HER	her (hir)
HIGH	high, hie
HILL	hille
I	I ((Y,y))
IF	yf (if)
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it ((hit))
LAND	lande (londe, land) ((lond))
LITTLE	litel ((lite, little))
-LY	-ly ((-liche))
MAN	man ((mon))
MANY	many

MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* might, myght
MUCH	moche (muche)
NE+BE	nys
NE+WILL	nyl
NE+HAVE	nath, naath
NOT	not (ne, nought)
OWN (adj.)	owen, owne
SELF	self (selve) ((selven, selue))
SHALL	*sg.* shall, shal;
	pl. shall, shal
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* sholde;
	pl. sholde
SINCE	
SUCH	suche (such)
THAN	then, thenne (than)
THEIR	her, thaire (thair) ((hir, their, theire, thair_e_, here))
THEM	hem ((thayme, him, them))
THEN	thenne (then) ((thenn))
THERE	there, ther_e_ ((ther))
THE SAME	yliche, iliche, illiche, the same
THESE	thees ((this, these))
THEY	thai (thay) ((they, thei))
THINK	think
(AL)THOUGH	though (although, alle though, all though, tho)
THROUGH	thorowe, thorough, through, thourgh (thorgh)
TOGETHER	togeder (togedre, together, togedir)
TWO	two (tweyne, twoo) ((twey, tway, twie))
UNTIL	til, until, vntil ((till, unto, vnto))
WAS	was
OE hw-	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wol ((will, woll));
	pl. wol
WITH(OUT)	withouten ((withoute))
WORLD	worlde, world
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde ((wold))
YET	yit ((yet, yette))
pres. part. ending	-ing, -yng (-ynge, -inge)

MS: London, British Library, Harley 2338

TEXT: <u>Meditations of the Supper</u>, Robert of Brunne fols.1-29 (23^r too damaged to read)

AFTER	aftir
AGAIN(ST)	ayens (ayeen) ((ayen))
ANY	ony
ARE	are
ASK	ax-, ask-
BEFORE	beforn, tofore, before (afore)
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþ^e ((boþe))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but ((b^t))
CAME	*sg.* cam ((com(rh.), come(rh.), coom(rh.), ca<u>m</u>));
	pl. com (ca<u>m</u>, cam, come, comyn)
CHURCH	church
COULD	*sg.* coude;
	pl. coude
DAYS	
DID	*sg.* dyd;
	pl. dyd
EACH	ecche, ecch
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	or ((or þat, or þan, er))
EVIL	yuill, yuil, yuyl
EYES	yen ((y(rh.)))
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	furst
FROM	from, fro ((fr<u>o</u>m))
GET (*p.p.*)	gate
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yeue;
	sg. yaf, yaue, yeuiþ
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth, go
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue ((hauiþ))
HER(S)	hir (hyr) ((her))
HIGH	hy3, hy(rh.)
HILL	
I	y,I
IF	yf ((iff, if, yff))
IS	ys ((is(rh.)))
IT	yt ((hit, it))
LAND	
LITTLE	litill

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-LY	-ly
MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myht ((miht));
	pl. myht
MUCH	moche
NE+WOULD	nold
NOT	not ((nouht, nouȝt, ne))
OWN (adj.)	oun
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* shall, shal;
	pl. shull, shul
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld;
	pl. shuld
SINCE	seþ
SUCH	swich
THAN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>, thanne, than))
THEIR	her
THEM	hem ((he<u>m</u>))
THEN	than (þan, þo, tho, thanne) ((þa<u>n</u>, þ^o))
THERE	þ<u>ere</u> ((þ<u>er</u>, ther<u>e</u>, þar(rh.), there))
THE SAME	þe same, the same, þ^e same
THESE	þese ((these))
THEY	þei, þey, they ((þai, þay, þ^ey))
THINK	þink-, think-
(AL)THOUGH	al þouȝ, þouȝ
THROUGH	þoruȝ ((thoruȝ))
TOGETHER	togidir(rh.), togidi<u>r</u>(rh.), togidyr(rh.)
TWO	to ((tway(rh.), twey, too))
UNTIL	tyll, til, till (tyl)
WAS	was ((w<u>a</u>s))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wull (wole) ((wil, will, wul));
	pl. wul ((wole, will, wull))
WITHOUT	w^tout, w^toutyn, wiþout (without)
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wold ((wuld, wolde));
	pl. wolde
YET	yit
pres. part. ending	-ing ((-yng))

MS: British Library, Egerton 2726
TEXT: The Canterbury Tales, Hand A, fols.1-48; Hand B, fols.50-120

	Hand A	Hand B
AFTER	after (aft<u>er</u>)	after ((aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	ageyn ((ageyns, ayein, agein))	agayn, ageyn, ayeinst (ayein)
ANY	ony ((any))	ony
ARE	ben ((been))	ben ((arn, are, ar))
ASK		ask-, ax-
BEFORE	byforn ((byfore, afore))	byfore ((byforn, beforn))
BEYOND		
BOTH	both	both
BRIDGE		brigge(rh.)
BURN(T)	bren-	bren-
BUT	but	but
CAME	*sg.* cam	*sg.* cam; *pl.* comen
CHURCH	chirche	chirche ((chirch))
COULD	*sg.* koude, coude ((kouth))	*sg.* coude ((cowde)); *pl.* coude, kouden
DAYS	dayes	dayes
DID	*sg.* did	*sg.* did ((dyd)); *pl.* deden, did
EACH	ecch, ech	ecch ((ecch a))
(N)EITHER		either, outher;
	neyther	neither, neyther
ERE (conj.)	er that ((er þat, ar, or, er))	or, or þat, or that ((or þ^t, ere))
EVIL		euyll, evill (evyll)
EYES	yen ((yeen))	yien
FETCH		*inf.* fecche
FILL		*inf.* fill; *p.p.* filled
FIRE	fire	fire
FIRST	first ((ferst, furst))	first ((erst, fyrst))
FROM	fro, from	from ((froo(rh.)))
GET (*p.p.*)	gate, gete	gete, gate
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yeve ((geve(rh.), yeue, geven)); *sg.* yaf ((gaf, yeveth)); *pl.* yaf; *p.p.* yeven(rh.)	*inf.* yeve; *sg.* yave (yaaf) ((yeve, yafe, yeveth)); *pl.* yeven, yave; *p.p.* yoven, yeven
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth ((go))	goth ((gost))
HAVE	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue; *pl.* han, haue	*inf.* haue (have) ((han)); *sg.* haue (have); *pl.* han ((haue, have))
HER(S)	hir	hir ((her))

HIGH	hiegh, hie, hye ((high(rh.)))	hie ((hye, high, hiegh))
HILL		
I	I	I
IF	yf	yf
IS	is, ys	is ((ys))
IT	yt, it	it ((yt))
LAND	londe(rh.) (launde)	lond ((londe(rh.)))
LITTLE	litell ((litle))	litle ((litell))
-LY	-ly ((-lyche, -lich, -lye, -lych))	-ly ((-lye))
MAN	man	man
MANY	many	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* might ((myght)); *pl.* myght, mighten	*sg.* myght; *pl.* myght
MUCH	moch (moche)	moch ((moche, mochell))
NE+BE	nam, nas	nam, nys, nas, nere
NE+WILL		nyll
NE+WOULD	nold, nolde	nold
NE+witen	note	note
NOT	nat, nought ((ne, not, noght, ne+nat))	nat (nought, ne, ne+nat)
OWN (adj.)	owen	owen
SELF	self ((selve(rh.), selue(rh.)))	self ((seluen, selue(rh.)))
SHALL	*sg.* shall; *pl.* shull	*sg.* shall; *pl.* shull ((shall, shollen))
SHE	she	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shold ((sholde)); *pl.* shold ((sholde, sholden))	*sg.* shold; *pl.* shold ((sholden))
SINCE	seth, sen þat	seth (sen) ((sen þat, setth, seth that))
SUCH	soch ((swich, swych))	soch
THAN	þan, than ((then))	þan, than
THEIR	her	her ((her_e_))
THEM:	hem ((he_m_))	hem
THEN	than ((þan, then, Tho))	than ((þan, tho, thoo(rh.)))
THERE	þere, there ((þ_ere_))	there ((þere, ther_e_, þer, þer_e_))
THE SAME	this ilk, thilke (þat ilk, that same, this ylk)	thilk, the same, þe same ((thylk, þylk, this ylk, þis same))
THESE	thise	thise ((þise))
THEY	they ((þei))	þey, they
THINK	think- ((thynk-(rh.)))	thynk- ((þynk-))
(AL)THOUGH	thogh, though ((þough, all þough, þogh, all thogh))	though, þough ((all þough, all though))
THROUGH	þurgh, thurgh	þurgh, thurgh
TOGETHER		
TWO	two (twey)	two ((twey(rh.), tweye(rh.), tweyn(rh.), twoo(rh.)))

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UNTIL	tyll ((till))	till (tyll) ((vnto, tyll þat))
WAS	was	was
OE hw- words	wh- ((w-))	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* woll (will) ((wyll))	*sg.* woll; *pl.* woll ((wollen))
WITHOUT	w^touten (w^tout) ((without, withouten))	w^tout (w^touten)
WORLD	world ((werld))	world ((werld))
WOULD	*sg.* wold ((wolde)); *pl.* wold ((wolde))	*sg.* wold; *pl.* wold
YET	yit ((yitt))	yitte ((yit))
pres. part. ending	-yng ((-ing))	-yng

AFTER	after (after)
AGAIN(ST)	aȝens ((aȝeyn, aȝen, aȝeyns))
ANY	ony ((eny))
ARE	ben (beþ) ((are, ben))
ASK	ax- (ask-)
BEFORE	before ((tofore, bifore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe ((boþe))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bren-))
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. com, comen
CHURCH	cherche ((chirche))
COULD	
DAYS	dayes (daies)
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. dedyn
EACH	eche
(N)EITHER	oiþer;
	noþer ((nouþer, neyþer))
ERE (conj.)	er, ere þ^t, ere
EVIL	euele ((yuel, euel, euil, euyl))
EYE(S)	eȝen (eyȝen) ((eiȝen))
FETCH	*inf.* fecche
FILL	
FIRE	feir, feer (feyr)
FIRST	ferst, ferste
FROM	fro ((from, from))
GET (*p.p.*)	gete
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue ((ȝyue));
	sg. ȝaf;
	pl. ȝaf, ȝeuyþ;
	p.p. ȝouyn ((ȝouen, ȝeuen, ȝouen, ȝeuyn))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue ((han, haueþ, hauyþ))
HER(S)	hire ((here, hire, hyre))
HIGH	heiȝ, heȝe (heyȝ)
HILL	hul
I	I
IF	ȝif, if
IS	is

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IT	it ((hit,))
LAND	lond
LITTLE	litel, lytel, lutil (litil, lutyl)
-LY	-li, -ly
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	manye, many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝte;
	pl. myȝte ((myȝte<u>n</u>))
MUCH	moche ((muche, mochel, myche))
NE+ BE	nys
NOT	not (nouȝt, noȝt) ((ne, nout))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((owen, owene, oune))
SELF	self ((selue))
SHALL	*sg.* shal;
	pl. shul, shullen ((shal, shulle, shule, shulleþ, shulen, sullen, shulle<u>n</u>, shule<u>n</u>))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* sholde ((shulde, shode));
	pl. sholde ((sholden, sholdyn, shulde))
SINCE	siþ ((syþ))
SUCH	suche ((such, shich, swhich, shuch, suhc))
THAN	þan ((þen, þe<u>n</u>, þe<u>n</u>ne))
THEIR	here (her) ((he))
THEM	hem ((he<u>m</u>))
THEN	þa<u>n</u>ne ((þen, þe<u>n</u>ne, þanne, þan))
THERE	þere, þer ((þere, þer<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	þe same ((þo same))
THESE	þese
THEY	þei, þey
THINK	þenk-
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ
THROUGH	þurȝ, þourȝ ((þorȝ))
TOGETHER	togedere
TWO	two ((to))
UNTIL	til (into) ((tyl))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wole ((wol));
	pl. wole ((wol))
WITHOUT	w^toute, w^toute<u>n</u> (w^toute<u>n</u>) ((w^towte, w^toutyn, wiþoute<u>n</u>, wiþouten))
WORLD	world ((worlde, wordl-, word))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde
YET	ȝit ((ȝet))
pres. part. ending	-ynge ((-yng, -y<u>n</u>ge, -ende, -inge))

MS: London, British Library, Harley 2409

TEXT: <u>To love and dread God</u>, fols. 1-51^v

AFTER	aftir ((aft<u>er</u>, eftir))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒens (aʒene) ((aʒen, aʒeine, aʒeen, aʒeins, aʒenes, eʒeine))
ANY	eny (any) ((ony, eni))
ARE	ben, bene
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	befor, before ((tofor, tofore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- (bre<u>n</u>-, bry<u>n</u>-)
BUT	but ((bot))
CAME	*sg.* cam;
	pl. come
CHURCH	chirche (chirch, cherche)
COULD	
DAYS	daies
DID	*pl.* dide, did, dede
EACH	ech
(N)EITHER	eiþir ((eiþer));
	neþir (neiþ<u>er</u>)
ERE (conj.)	or
EVIL	euil ((evile, evil))
EYES	iyen (euene, euen)
FETCH	
FILL	*p.p.* fullid
FIRE	fier
FIRST	ferst ((ferste, furst))
FROM	from (frome) ((fro, fro<u>m</u>))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒeue;
	sg. ʒeuiþ, ʒaf;
	pl. ʒeue;
	p.p. ʒoue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((hafe, haf));
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	hir ((hier, hyr))
HIGH	heiʒ, hy ((heiʒe, hey, hieʒ))
HILL	hil
I	I ((ich))
IF	ʒif ((if, ʒef))
IS	is
IT	it

LAND	
LITTLE	litil
-LY	-lich ((-liche, -ly, -li))
MAN	man ((ma̠n))
MANY	many (mani) ((manye))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miʒt
MUCH	muche (muchil) ((moche, much, moch, mochil, muchile))
NE+	
NOT	nat ((noʒt, naʒt))
OWN (adj.)	owne, awne
SELF	self ((selfe))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((sal));
	pl. schul ((schol))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* schold ((scholde, schuld, suld));
	pl. schold, schulde, scholde
SINCE	seþin
SUCH	suich ((suiche, such, swich))
THAN	þan ((þen))
THEIR	her, here ((þair))
THEM	hem ((þam, þai̠m, heme))
THEN	þan ((þen, þa̠nne))
THERE	þer, þere ((þe̠r, þeir))
THE SAME	þe same
THESE	þes (þese)
THEY	þei ((þeie, þai))
THINK	þink- ((þenk-))
(AL)THOUGH	þouʒ ((þow))
THROUGH	þoruʒ ((þoruʒe))
TOGETHER	togydere, togider, togedir
TWO	twei ((two))
UNTIL	til ((i̠nto))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wole (wil) ((wol, wiliþ, wile));
	pl. wole, wil
WITHOUT	wᵗout (wᵗoute) ((wiþoutin, wiþoute, wᵗoutyn, wᵗoutin))
WORLD	worlde (world)
WOULD	*sg.* wold ((wolde));
	pl. wold (wolde)
YET	ʒit
pres. part. ending	-ynge, -ing

AFTER	after, aft<u>er</u> ((aftir, affter))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒen ((aʒeyn, aʒens, aʒeyns))
ANY	eny ((any, eney))
ARE	beþ ((ben))
ASK	ax- ((ask-))
BEFORE	byfore ((tofore, toforen, byforn, byfor, byforen, byfore<u>n</u>, byfor<u>e</u>))
BEYOND	byʒonde
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bre<u>n</u>-))
BUT	bote, but
CAME	*sg.* come (com);
	pl. come ((comen))
CHURCH	cherche ((churche))
COULD	*sg.* coude
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dede, dyde;
	pl. dyde
EACH	eche ((eche a))
(N)EITHER	nouþ<u>er</u> ((neiþ<u>er</u>, noþ<u>er</u>, nowþ<u>er</u>))
ERE (conj.)	er þan ((eer))
EVIL	euyl, yuel ((euel, yuele))
EYES	eyʒen (yʒen)
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre, feer (fuyr, fere)
FIRST	ferste, ferst ((first))
FROM	fram, fro ((fra<u>m</u>, from, fro<u>m</u>))
GET (*p.p.*)	getyn
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒeue;
	sg. ʒaf (ʒeue, ʒeueþ) ((ʒef));
	pl. ʒaf, ʒeuen;
	p.p. yʒeuen ((yʒeue, ʒyuen, ʒeuy<u>n</u>))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han, haueþ, haue (habbeþ)
HER(S)	here, hyre (hyr<u>e</u>, hire) ((her<u>e</u>))
HIGH	heiʒ, hyʒ, hiʒe, hiʒ
HILL	hel ((hylle, hille, hulles))
I	y, ich ((I, Ich, i))
IF	ʒif ((ʒef, ʒyf))
IS	is

IT	it
LAND	lond ((londe))
LITTLE	lytel, lytil
-LY	-ly (-lyche) ((-liche, -li))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many ((manye, fele))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝte ((miȝthe, myȝte));
	pl. miȝte (miȝten)
MUCH	muche ((mochel, myche, muchel))
NE+ WILL	nele, neleþ
NOT	nat, ne+nat (ne) ((nauȝt, ne+not, ne+nauȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owne (owene)
SELF	selue, self ((seluen, selue<u>n</u>, selfe))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((sal));
	pl. schulleþ (schal) ((schullen, schuleþ, schul, schulle, schulle<u>n</u>))
SHE	ȝhe ((he, ȝe, heo, sche))
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde ((schulden));
	pl. schulde (schulden) ((schulde<u>n</u>))
SINCE	siþen (seþþe, siþþen, siþe<u>n</u>, syþe<u>n</u>, syþen, syþ)
SUCH	sweche (such, suche) ((swich, syche))
THAN	þanne, þa<u>n</u>ne, þo ((þan))
THEIR	here ((her, her<u>e</u>, hur<u>e</u>))
THEM	hem, he<u>m</u>
THEN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>ne))
THERE	þ<u>er</u> ((þ<u>er</u>e))
THE SAME	þilke ((þe same, þ^e same, þis same, þo ilke))
THESE	þese ((þes, þise, þis, þyse))
THEY	þei ((þey, þe))
THINK	þenk-
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ
THROUGH	þorw ((þorow))
TOGETHER	togydere, togedere ((togyd<u>er</u>e, togeder, togyder))
TWO	two (twey) ((tweyne, to))
UNTIL	tyl (til) ((tyl þat, into, forte, forto þat, vnto))
WAS	was ((whas))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wele ((wol, wyle));
	pl. weleþ (welleþ)
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u>, wiþouten ((wiþoute, wiþoutyn, w^touten))
WORLD	world, worlde ((word))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden, wolde (wolde<u>n</u>)
YET	ȝit ((ȝet))
pres. part. ending	-ynge ((-enge, y<u>n</u>ge, -inge))

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>, aftir, hafter))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝens, aȝen ((aȝenst))
ANY	eny ((any, ani))
ARE	beþ (be) ((ben, beþe, beeþ, been))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	aforn, afor ((before, befor, afore, beforn, bifor, aforne, aforen, byfor))
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	bote, bot ((but))
CAME	*sg.* com (cam) ((come));
	pl. comen, com ((come))
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	dayȝes, daies (dayes, dawys, daiȝes)
DID	*sg.* dide;
	pl. deden
EACH	heche
(N)EITHER	neþ<u>er</u>, neyþer, neiþer
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	euel
EYES	eȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fere, fyre
FIRST	ferst, ferste (furst, first)
FROM	fro ((from))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝyue ((ȝeue, ȝif, gyue));
	sg. ȝaf ((ȝaue));
	pl. ȝouen (ȝeuen, ȝauen);
	p.p. ȝiuen, ȝef
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþe, goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((a, hauen));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((hauen))
HER(S)	her ((here))
HIGH	hy, highe, high (heiȝe)
HILL	helle
I	y (I, iche) ((i, ich, Ich))
IF	ȝif ((ȝyf))
IS	is ((his, ys))
IT	it ((hit))

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LAND	londe (lo<u>n</u>de)
LITTLE	lityl
-LY	-liche ((-lich, -ly, -li))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>, manne, ma<u>n</u>ne))
MANY	many, meny ((manie))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miʒt ((myʒt, miʒte));
	pl. miʒt (miʒten) ((myʒt))
MUCH	muche, moche ((muchel))
NE+ BE	nys, nas
NE+HAVE	nadde (nad)
NE+WOULD	nolde, nolden
NOT	noʒt (ne+noʒt, ne) ((ne+naʒt))
OWN (adj.)	oune
SELF	self ((selfe, selfen))
SHALL	*sg.* schalle (schal) ((schall, sal, shal));
	pl. schulle (schullen) ((schoull, schull, schul, schoullen))
SHE	she ((sho))
SHOULD	*sg.* sshulde (shulde) ((sholde, schulde, shuld, scholde));
	pl. schulden, schulde (sshulden) (shulde, shulden, scholde, schuld, sshulde))
SINCE	siþen, siþ, seþ
SUCH	suche ((soche, swiche))
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((hore, here))
THEM	hem ((hom, he<u>m</u>))
THEN	þen (þan, þenne, þanne) ((þa<u>n</u>, þo))
THERE	þer ((þere))
THE SAME	þe same ((þilk, þelk, þilke, þat ilk, þat same, þat ilke))
THESE	þese, þes ((þis))
THEY	þei ((þey, þe))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	al þou
THROUGH	þorgh, þroth, þorwth, þrow, þorwe, þorowe
TOGETHER	togedder (togeder) ((togeders, togedyr))
TWO	two ((to))
UNTIL	til, into, vntil ((tyl, vnto, vntyl))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-, qw-))
WILL	*sg.* wol ((wolleþ, wolle, wole, wille));
	pl. wolle (wolleþ, wollen, wol)
WITHOUT	wiþouten ((wiþoute, wiþoutyn, wyþouten, w^toute))
WORLD	worlde ((world))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((wold));
	pl. wolden
YET	ʒyt, ʒet, ʒette
pres. part. ending	-inge, -ynge, -and (-yng, -ande, -ende)

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 126

TEXT: Prick of Conscience, fols.1ʳ-68ʳ

AFTER	after (aftyr) ((aftir))
AGAIN(ST)	ageyn ((aȝens, ageynys, agayn, aȝen, ageyne(rh.), ageyn, ageynye(rh.)))
ANY	eny ((any, ony))
ARE	ben (ben) ((beþ, ere(rh.)))
ASK	ax-, ask-
BEFORE	before (before) ((byfore, bifore, beforn, befor))
BEYOND	beȝownde
BOTH	boþe (boþe)
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bren-))
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* com (com) ((cam(rh.)))
CHURCH	cherche ((chirche, cherche, chyrche(rh.)))
COULD	*sg.* coude;
	pl. couden, coude
DAYS	dayis (dayȝes) ((daiȝes, dayes, daies))
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. dede ((dedyn, dedyn))
EACH	ech (ech a)
(N)EITHER	oþer ((eyþer, eiþer, or));
	neiþer (neyþer) ((noþer, noyþer))
ERE (conj.)	or ((er, ar))
EVIL	euyl ((euele, yuel, yuyl, euel, yuele))
EYES	eyȝen, eȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	feer, fer ((fyir(rh.)))
FIRST	ferst ((ferste, fyrst, firste, first, fyrste, furst, furste))
FROM	fro ((froo(rh.)))
GET (*p.p.*)	gete
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue ((ȝeuyn));
	sg. ȝeuyþ, ȝaf, ȝeue (ȝouen) ((ȝeuyth, ȝeuyn, ȝeuiþ, ȝaue(rh.)));
	pl. ȝeuyþ, ȝeuys(rh.), ȝeuen;
	p.p. ȝouen, ȝouyn ((ȝeuyn(rh.), ȝouen))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth, goþ (gaþ(rh.))
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han, haf(rh.)));
	sg. haue ((han));
	pl. han, haue ((han, hauen, hauyn))
HER(S)	here
HIGH	heyȝe ((hey, heiȝe))
HILL	hyl, hil

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I	I ((y))
IF	ȝif ((ȝyf))
IS	is ((ys, isse(rh.), ysse(rh.), es(rh.)))
IT	it ((yt(rh.), itte(rh.)))
LAND	lond (londe, lande(rh.))
LITTLE	litil, lityl ((lytil, lytyl))
-LY	-ly ((-li, -lych, -lich, -lye(rh.), -lyche, -like))
MAN	man ((man, manne(rh.)))
MANY	many (manye)
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝte ((myst, myȝt, miȝte;
	pl. myȝte ((myȝten))
MUCH	mochil ((moche, mochyl))
NE+ BE	nys, nere
NE + WILL	nel, nele, nelle
NE + WOULD	nolde ((noldyn))
NE + wisten	not, nowt, note
NOT	nat (ne, nouȝt) ((nowȝt, nauȝt, nowt(rh.), nout(rh.), ne+nat))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((oune, owyn(rh.), owyn(rh.)))
SELF	self ((selue))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((schulle, schalle));
	pl. schul, schulle ((schal, schullyn, scholyn, schuln,
	schullen, schollyn, schullen))
SHE	ȝhe
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde, schulde;
	pl. schulde, scholde ((scholdyn, scholdyn, schulden))
SINCE	seþyn, seþyn (seþin) ((seþþyn, seþe, seþ, seþþe))
SUCH	swich, sweche (swiche) ((sueche, suych, swichche,
	suyche))
THAN	þan ((þan, þen))
THEIR	here
THEM	hem, hem
THEN	þan (þanne) ((þanne, þen, þo, þan, þenne, þ°, þane, þo,
	þenne, þen))
THERE	þer, þere, þere ((þore(rh.), þore(rh.), þer, þare(rh.), þar(rh.), þere))
THE SAME	þe same, þe same ((þat same, þt same))
THESE	þese
THEY	þei, þey ((þay(rh.), hey))
THINK	þynk- ((þynk-, þenk-, þink-))
(AL)THOUGH	þow, al þow ((al þou, al þei, al þey, al þhou, þhow))
THROUGH	þurȝ, þurw ((þurgh))
TOGETHER	togedre (togedir) ((togedyr, togedere, togydyr, togidre,
	togidyr))
TWO	two (to)
UNTIL	til ((tyl, into, vnto))
WAS	was ((wase(rh.), wasse(rh.), wese(rh.)))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))

WILL	*sg.* wele (wil) ((wyl, welle, wille(rh.), wylle(rh.)));
	pl. wele ((wely<u>n</u>, wil, welyn, wele<u>n</u>, welen, wille(rh.), willyn))
WITHOUT	wiþoute (w^toute) ((wiþouty<u>n</u>, wiþouten, withoute, wiþoute<u>n</u>, wythoutyn, w^toutyn, withouty<u>n</u>, withoutyn, wyþoute, wiþoutyn, w^touten))
WORLD	world, word (werld)
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde ((woldy<u>n</u>, wolde<u>n</u>, wolden))
YET	ȝit ((ȝyt, ȝitte(rh.)))
pres. part. ending	-ande (-ende, -ynge) ((-y<u>ng</u>, -y<u>n</u>ge, -yng, -and))

AFTER	aftyr ((aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝens, aȝen
ANY	eny ((any(rh.)))
ARE	ben
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	beforn, befor<u>e</u> ((byfor<u>e</u>, byforn)
BEYOND	beȝownde
BOTH	boþe ((boþ^e))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but ((ac))
CAME	*sg.* com, cam(rh.) ((come, kem(rh.)));
	pl. comyn, come
CHURCH	cherche(rh.)
COULD	*sg.* coude;
	pl. coude
DAYS	
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. dedyn
EACH	ech
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	er, ar
EVIL	euyl, euele
EYES	
FETCH	*sg.* fette
FILL	*sg.* fylyd(rh.)
FIRE	
FIRST	ferst (ferste) ((arst, erst))
FROM	fro, fram
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ȝaf, ȝeue, ȝaue(rh.);
	p.p. ȝouyn, yȝouyn
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue, han ((hauyn));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han
HER(S)	her<u>e</u>
HIGH	heyȝe, hey(rh.)
HILL	
I	I
IF	ȝif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	lond (londe(rh.))
LITTLE	lytyl

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-LY	-ly ((-lyche(rh.), -lyk(rh.)))
MAN	man ((manne(rh.)))
MANY	many ((manye))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝte ((myȝt));
	pl. myȝte, myȝten, myȝtyn
MUCH	mochil, mochyl ((moche))
NE+ BE	nas
NE + WOULD	nolde
NOT	nat, ne ((nouȝt(rh.)))
OWN (adj.)	owne
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schul, schulle ((schullyn))
SHE	ȝhe
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde ((schulde));
	pl. scholdyn
SINCE	seþyn
SUCH	swich
THAN	þan
THEIR	here
THEM	hem, hem
THEN	þan (þanne, þo)
THERE	þer, þere ((þere))
THE SAME	þe same, þe same
THESE	þese
THEY	þey ((þei))
THINK	þynk- ((þonk-))
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ
THROUGH	þurȝ ((þurw))
TOGETHER	togedre
TWO	two ((tway(rh.)))
UNTIL	til
WAS	was ((wase(rh.)))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wil (wele);
	pl. willyn, welyn
WITHOUT	wiþoutyn, wiþoutyn
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde, woldyn
YET	ȝit
pres. part. ending	-yng

TEXT: <u>Debate of Mary & Bernard,</u> fols.84^v-91^r

AFTER	aftyr
AGAIN(ST)	
ANY	eny
ARE	ben ((arn))
ASK	ax- ((ask-))
BEFORE	befor<u>e</u>, before, aforn
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe ((boþ^e))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	but ((ac))
CAME	*sg.* com, cam(rh.);
	pl. cam(rh.)
CHURCH	chyrche
COULD	*sg.* coude
DAYS	
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. dedyn ((dedy<u>n</u>))
EACH	ech, ech a
(N)EITHER	eyþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er ((er þan))
EVIL	
EYES	eyȝen
FETCH	*inf.* fechchyn
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	ferst
FROM	fro ((fram, froo(rh.)))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ȝaf;
	pl. ȝeuyn
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	go(rh.)
HAVE	*inf.* haue, han;
	sg. haue ((han));
	pl. han
HER(S)	her<u>e</u>
HIGH	heyȝe
HILL	
I	I ((Ich))
IF	ȝif
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it
LAND	
LITTLE	
-LY	-ly, -lyche ((-lych))

MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝte ((myȝt));
	pl. myȝte
MUCH	mochil
NE+ BE	nys, nere
NE + WOULD	nolde
NE + wisten	not, nowt, note
NOT	nat, ne ((nouȝt(rh.), ne+nat))
OWN (adj.)	owne
SELF	self, seluyn
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schullyn, schal
SHE	ȝhe
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde ((schulde))
SINCE	seþyn
SUCH	swich, sweche
THAN	þan
THEIR	here
THEM	hem ((hem))
THEN	þan, þo ((þanne))
THERE	þere, þere (þer) ((þare(rh.)))
THE SAME	
THESE	þese
THEY	þey
THINK	þynk-
(AL)THOUGH	þhou ((þey, þhow))
THROUGH	þurȝ ((þurw))
TOGETHER	
TWO	two ((tweye))
UNTIL	til
WAS	was ((wase(rh.)))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wele, wil ((wille))
WITHOUT	wiþoutyn, wiþouten, wiþoute
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde (woldyn)
YET	ȝit
pres. part. ending	-ynge ((-ande))

MS: Washington, Library of Congress, 4

TEXT: Hand A, English Version of the <u>Benedictine Rule</u> fols.1ʳ-36ʳ; Injunctions for Nuns 1. fols.36ᵛ-37ʳ, l.17; 2. fols.37ʳ, l.17- 37ᵛ, l.1; <u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u> fols.37ᵛ-40ᵛ (original in colour)

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	aʒen, aʒens ((aʒenst))
ANY	eny
ARE	beþ (beeþ, ben) ((be, bien))
ASK	ask- ((assk-))
BEFORE	before (afore)
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	bote ((bot, boᵗ))
CAME	*sg.* cam, kam, com;
	pl. comen
CHURCH	cherche
COULD	
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. deden (dede)
EACH	ech ((ech a))
(N)EITHER	oþer, or;
	neiþer (neyþer) ((neþer, noþer))
ERE (conj.)	ar
EVIL	euel ((euele))
EYES	eyʒen ((eʒe<u>n</u>))
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fier, fyr
FIRST	first (ferste)
FROM	fro
GET (*p.p.*)	gete, geten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒeue;
	sg. ʒif, ʒeue;
	p.p. ʒeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	geþ (gooþ)
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((haue))
HER(S)	here
HIGH	hiʒ, hiʒe, hygh, heygh
HILL	
I	i (I) ((y))
IF	ʒif

IS	is ((his))
IT	it
LAND	lond
LITTLE	litel (lite) ((lytel))
-LY	-liche ((-ly, -lich))
MAN	man
MANY	meny ((many, menye))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝte
MUCH	moche
NE+ BE	nys, nis
NOT	ne+nouȝt, nouȝt, ne ((ne+nauȝt, nauȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen ((owene))
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((scal));
	pl. schulle, schullen ((sculle, scullen, scholle, schal))
SHE	ȝe (she)
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde;
	pl. scholde, schulden, scholden (schulde)
SINCE	seþþe
SUCH	swich ((swiche, swych, such))
THAN	þanne, þan
THEIR	here
THEM	hem ((hem))
THEN	þanne ((þan, þo))
THERE	þer ((þere, þer))
THE SAME	þilke, þe same ((þat same, þo same))
THESE	þese
THEY	þei ((þe))
THINK	þenk-
(AL)THOUGH	al þow ((þow, þou))
THROUGH	þorgh ((þurgh))
TOGETHER	togedere ((togiddere))
TWO	two (tweye)
UNTIL	til, tel ((to, tyl))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wol ((wolle, wil, wole));
	pl. wollen ((wolle))
WITHOUT	wiþoute
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde (wolden)
YET	ȝit
pres. part. ending	-ynge, -inge ((-yng, -enge))

Notes

Red print indicates that a form appears only in the Benedictine Rule, and blue only in the Gospel of Nicodemus.

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 322
TEXT: religious tracts: 17 texts as below, fols. 1-101 (original in colour)

Contents List of Douce 322

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>, aftyr(12)))
AGAIN(ST)	ayenst, ayene (ageyne) ((agayne, ageyns(2), agene(2), ayens, ayenste, ayen, agaynst(6), agayn(8), ageyn(12), ageynst(12), agenst(12)))
ANY	any ((eny, ony(13)))
ARE	ben, been (bene, ar, be) ((beth, ar<u>e</u>, are, arn))
ASK	ask- ((hask-(7)))
BEFORE	before ((tofore, afore, tofor<u>e</u>))
BEYOND	beyonde(4), byyond (7)
BOTH	bothe ((both, boþe(2)))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- (bryn-)
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* came ((cam(3), com (6))); *pl.* came (come(13))
CHURCH	churche ((chyrche(7), church(8)))
COULD	*sg.* coude, cowde, couthe ((couth));

	pl. couthe, cowde
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dyd ((dede, dyde(7)));
	pl. dyd (dyden)
EACH	yche ((eche(13)))
(N)EITHER	eyther ((other, owther(8)));
	neyther ((nether, nother(6), nowther(8)))
ERE (conj.)	or ((or than(9)))
EVIL	euyll ((euell, euel, yuell, euyl(8)))
EYES	eyen
FETCH	
FILL	*inf.* fyll;
	sg. fylleth;
	p.p. fylled, filled
FIRE	fyre ((fyre))
FIRST	furst ((fyrst))
FROM	fro (from) ((from, frome, froo(6)))
GET *(p.p.)*	gete(3), goten(6), geten(13)
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yeue ((gyfe, gyf(2), gyue(6), geue(12)));
	sg. yeueth, yeue, gafe, yaue ((geue(2), gyue(6), youen(6), yef(7), gaue(7), yeuyth(9), yafe(9), geueth(12), geve(12)));
	pl. yeuyn ((gaue(8), gafe(8), yaue(9), yafe(9), yeue(13)));
	p.p. yeuen, youyn (youyn, youen, youe, yeue) ((gyfen(12), yeuyn(13)))
GO *(2/3 sg.)*	goth, gothe
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((have(13)));
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue (han) ((hauen(7), haueth(8)))
HER(S)	her, hyr ((here, hyre))
HIGH	hygh ((hyȝ(13), hye(15)))
HILL	hyll ((hylle))
I	I
IF	yef ((yf))
IS	ys
IT	hit ((hyt, h^t(5)))
LAND	londe, lande
LITTLE	lytell, lytyll
-LY	-ly ((-lye(6rh)))
MAN	man ((manne(12)))
MANY	many ((meny))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myght;
	pl. myght ((myghtyn(8)))
MUCH	moche ((myche, mochell, mykel(2), mechyll(4), mekyll(4), mych(5)))
NE+BE	nere
NE+WILL	nyll
NE+witen	note
NOT	nat ((ne, not, nought, ne+nat, noght(7), ne+nought(7)))
OWN (adj.)	owne (oune) ((ouene(13)))
SELF	self ((selfe, sylf, sylfe))

SHALL	*sg.* shall ((shal));
	pl. shullen, shall ((shal, shull))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld, shulde;
	pl. shuld, shulde ((shulden))
SINCE	syth, sythen ((sythyn))
SUCH	suche ((swylke(3 rh), such(8), soche(12)))
THAN	than ((then))
THEIR	her, theyre (hyr, here) ((theyre, theire, hyre(7)))
THEM	hem (theym) ((them, hem, theym, heme(7), hym(8)))
THEN	than (then) ((þan(2), tho(3), Thanne(13)))
THERE	there, there (ther) ((thare(3 rh)))
THE SAME	the same ((that ylke))
THESE	these (thyse, thyese) ((thise(6), thyes(7)))
THEY	they ((þey(2)))
THINK	thynk- ((thenk-))
(AL)THOUGH	though ((thowgh, all though, al though(3), all thowgh(12), all yef(12)))
THROUGH	thorow, thorough ((thorowgh, þorough(2), thorou(7), thorow(7), through(8), throwgh(9)))
TOGETHER	togeder ((togeder(9), togedyrs(10), togedur(12)))
TWO	two ((tweyn (7)))
UNTIL	tyll ((vnto, to, tyl, vntyll(13), into(17)))
WAS	was
OE hw-	wh-
WILL	*sg.* woll (wyll) ((wol, wyl(2), wil(2)));
	pl. woll ((wyll, wollen))
WITH(OUT)	wᵗoute, wᵗouten (wᵗoutyn) ((wᵗout, wythouten(3), wᵗouten(6), wythoutyn(7), wythoute(9)))
WORLD	worlde (world)
WOULD	*sg.* wolde (wold);
	pl. wolde (wold) ((wolden(3), woldyn(7)))
YET	yet ((yete(13)))
pres. part. ending	-yng ((-yng, -ing))

Notes

Where one form was recorded in a particular text and in no other the number of the text in which it occurs has been noted in red after its entry in the above analysis.

MS: Maldon, Beeleigh Abbey, Foyle MS

TEXT: Hand C, <u>Mirror of the Life of Christ</u>, fols.134^v-149^v; 169^r-176^v

AFTER	aftir (after) ((efte, aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝeyn (aȝeyne) ((aȝeins, aȝeyns, aȝens, aȝein, aȝeyins, aȝenys, aȝey<u>n</u>))
ANY	eny (any, ony)
ARE	ben (bene) ((beþ, beeþ, are))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore ((tofore, biforne, before, afore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* come ((came));
	pl. comen (come) ((cam))
CHURCH	chirche ((chyrche))
COULD	*sg.* couþe;
	pl. couþe
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dide;
	pl. deden, dyden, diden, dide
EACH	eche, iche
(N)EITHER	eiþer;
	neiþer, neyþer, noiþer
ERE (conj.)	or ((er))
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eyȝen, yȝen
FETCH	
FILL	*p.pl.* fillide;
	p.p. fillede
FIRE	fyer
FIRST	first ((firste, ferste))
FROM	fro ((from))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝyue, ȝiue;
	sg. ȝyueþ ((ȝaf, ȝyue));
	p.p. ȝyuen, ȝeuen
GO (*2/3sg.*)	goiþ, gothe, goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((haueþ));
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	hir ((her, hyr, here))
HIGH	hyȝe (hye) ((hy))
HILL	
I	I

IF	if, ʒif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	
LITTLE	litil ((lityl, litel))
-LY	-ly, -lyche, -liche ((-lich, -li))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many ((manye, menye, meny))
MIGHT (vb.)	sg. myʒt ((myʒte));
	pl. myʒt ((myʒte))
MUCH	moche ((myche, mykel, miche, muche))
NE+BE	nys, nere
NE+WILL	nyl
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	not, noʒt, nouʒt ((noght, nauʒt))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((owen))
SELF	self ((selfe, silf, sylf))
SHALL	sg. schal;
	pl. schul ((schal))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	sg. schulde;
	pl. schulde
SINCE	syth, siþen, siþþe, siþ, siþ þat, siþe þat
SUCH	suche ((such))
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((here))
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>)
THEN	þan ((Than, þanne, þa<u>n</u>ne, þo))
THERE	þere ((þ<u>ere</u>, þ<u>er</u>, þer))
THE SAME	þe same, þilke
THESE	þise ((þese))
THEY	þei (þai)
THINK	þenk- ((þink-, þinck-))
(AL)THOUGH	þouʒ ((þogh, þow))
THROUGH	þurgh
TOGETHER	togyder ((togeder, togydir, togidere, togidir, togydre))
TWO	two (tweyne) ((twoo, twey))
UNTIL	vnto, til (into)
WAS	was
OE hw- words	wh-
WILL	sg. wil ((wilneþ, wilniþ));
	pl. wil
WITHOUT	wiþoute ((wiþouten))
WORLD	world (worlde)
WOULD	sg. wolde ((wold));
	pl. wolde

YET   ȝit (ȝitt)
pres. part. ending   -yng, -ynge ((-y<u>ng</u>, -inge))

AFTER	after ((Affter, aft<u>er</u>, efte))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝein (aȝeins) ((aȝayn, aȝeines, aȝei<u>n</u>))
ANY	any
ARE	ben (beþ) ((aren))
ASK	ask- ((ax-))
BEFORE	tofore, toforne ((tofor<u>e</u>, bifore, toforen, to forn))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	ac, bot
CAME	*sg.* com ((come, cam, co<u>m</u>));
	pl. comen ((com, come<u>n</u>))
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	*sg.* couþe;
	pl. couþe, couþen, couden
DAYS	dayes ((daies))
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden ((deden, dude, dyden))
EACH	ilch (vche) ((ilche, ilch a, ilche a, ylch a))
(N)EITHER	oiþ<u>er</u> ;
	noiþ<u>er</u> , noiþer
ERE (conj.)	er þat (er) ((er þ^t, ar))
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	*inf.* fecchen, fecche
FILL	*p.pl.* fulden, fylleden;
	p.p. filde
FIRE	fyre
FIRST	first ((fyrst, arst))
FROM	f^am ((from, fram, fro))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue (ȝiuen, ȝiuen) ((ȝeue, ȝif));
	sg. ȝaf ((ȝiue));
	pl. ȝouen, ȝeuen, ȝiue;
	p.p. ȝouen ((ȝoue<u>n</u>))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((habben, habbe, han));
	sg, haue ((habbe));
	pl. habbeþ, han, haue (habben, haueþ)
HER(S)	hire (hir) ((hir<u>e</u>, her, here, hure))
HIGH	heiȝ, heiȝe
HILL	

I	ich ((I))
IF	ȝif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel ((lytel))
-LY	-lich ((-ly))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝth, miȝth;
	pl. myȝtten, miȝtten ((miȝth, miȝthten, myȝth, myȝtte<u>n</u>))
MUCH	mychel ((mykel, muche))
NE+ BE	nas, nys, nere
NE+ HAVE	nadde
NE+ WILL	nyl
NE+WOULD	nolde ((nolden, nold))
NE+witen	nysten ((nyste, nyst))
NOT	ne+nouȝth, nouȝth, ne ((noȝth, ne+nouȝt, noȝt, nouȝt, ne+noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen (owene)
SELF	self ((selue<u>n</u>))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((shal));
	pl. schullen ((shullen, schollen))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde ((scholde, schuld));
	pl. schulden (schulde, schulde<u>n</u>, scholden) ((scholde, scholde<u>n</u>))
SINCE	siþen, siþþen þat (suþþen þat, suþþe, suþþe þat, suþþe<u>n</u> þat)
SUCH	swich (suich) ((suiche, schuich))
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((hir, here, hires, hiren, hire))
THEM	hem, he<u>m</u> ((þem, hym))
THEN	þo, þan ((þanne, þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>ere</u> ((þere, þ<u>er</u>, þer<u>e</u>, þar<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	þilk ((þat ilk))
THESE	þise ((þis))
THEY	hij (þai) ((þei, þay, þey))
THINK	þench-, þink-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ ((þeiȝ þat))
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedre ((togider, togidre, togedir, togyder, togydre))
TWO	tweie, two ((tueye, tweye, tuo))
UNTIL	til ((tyl, tyl þat, til þat, into))
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wil ((wyl));
	pl. wil

WITHOUT	wiþouten, wiþoute_n ((w^touten))
WORLD	werlde ((werld))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((wold));
	pl. wolden ((wolde_n, wolde))
YET	ʒutt, ʒut ((ʒett, ʒit))
pres. part. ending	-ande ((-ynge, -yng, -ende, -a_nde, -and))

AFTER	after ((after))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝein (aȝeins) ((aȝeins, aȝeines, aȝein))
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((ben, beþ, bene, bien))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore, tofore (aforne) ((byfore, toforn, to forne, aforn, biforn))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bren-))
BUT	ac, bot
CAME	*sg.* com ((com, come)); *pl.* comen ((comen, com))
CHURCH	chirche ((chirch))
COULD	*sg.* couþe; *pl.* couþe
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dude; *pl.* duden ((diden, deden))
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	oiþer ((oiþer)); noiþer ((noiþer, noyþer))
ERE (conj.)	er þat (er) ((ar))
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	
FILL	*pr. sg.* filleþ; *p.pl.* filden
FIRE	fyre
FIRST	first
FROM	fro (fᵃm) ((from, from, fram))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue (ȝiuen, ȝiuen) ((ȝeuen)); *sg.* ȝiueþ, ȝaf ((ȝiue)); *pl.* ȝiue, ȝiuen (ȝauen) ((ȝiueþ, ȝeuen, ȝaue, ȝeue, ȝiuen)); *p.p.* ȝouen, ȝiuen (ȝouen, ȝiuen)
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue (han) ((haueþ)); *sg,* haue; *pl.* han (haue) ((han))
HER(S)	hire, hir (her) ((hire, here))
HIGH	heiȝ (heiȝe) ((hiȝe))

HILL	hyll, hill
I	I, ich
IF	ȝif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel ((lytel))
-LY	-lich ((-ly, -lych))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth, myȝth ((miȝt));
	pl. miȝth ((miȝtten, miȝtte<u>n</u>))
MUCH	mychel ((michel))
NE+ BE	nam, nart, nys, nas, nere
NE+ WILL	nyl ((nyllen, nylleþ, nylle))
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	not
NOT	ne+nouȝth, nouȝth, ne ((ne+nouȝt, nouȝt, noȝth, ne+noȝt, noȝt, ne+noȝth))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	seluen (selue<u>n</u>) ((self, selue))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((scal));
	pl. schull, schullen (schulle<u>n</u>) ((schulle, schul, schal))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde ((schuld));
	pl. schulde, schulden ((schulde<u>n</u>))
SINCE	siþþen þat ((siþþen))
SUCH	swiche, swich ((suich))
THAN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	her ((þaire, þair, hire))
THEM	hem, he<u>m</u>
THEN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>, þanne, þo, þen))
THERE	þ<u>er</u>e ((þere))
THE SAME	þat ilche ((þ^t ilche, þis ilche, þat ilch))
THESE	þise ((þis))
THEY	hij, þai ((þay, þei, hii, hy))
THINK	þench- ((þenk-, þe<u>n</u>ch-, þinch-, þink-))
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ ((þeiȝ þat, þouȝ))
THROUGH	þorouȝ ((þoroȝ, þorou))
TOGETHER	togedre (togeder)
TWO	two ((tweie, twaie))
UNTIL	vntil, til þat ((vnto, tyl, tyl þat, til))
WAS	was ((w^as, whas))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil ((will));
	pl. wil (willeþ, willen) ((wille, wille<u>n</u>))

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WITHOUT	wiþouten, wiþoute<u>n</u> ((wiþoute, w^touten))
WORLD	werlde ((werld))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((wold));
	pl. wolden
YET	ȝutt (ȝut)
pres. part. ending	-ande ((-ynge, -yng))

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒeins ((aʒein, aʒeines))
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((be<u>n</u>))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-, bre<u>n</u>-
BUT	bot ((ac))
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. comen
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	
DAYS	dayes ((daies))
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiʒe<u>n</u>
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre ((fyr<u>e</u>))
FIRST	first ((firist))
FROM	from ((fro<u>m</u>, fro))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒiue<u>n</u>, ʒiuen;
	sg. ʒaf ;
	pl. ʒiuen;
	p.p. ʒouen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	gooþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((haue, habben))
HER(S)	hire, her
HIGH	
HILL	hylles
I	I, ich
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it

LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel, lytel
-LY	-lich ((-ly, -lych))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth, myȝth
MUCH	mychel
NE+ BE	nys
NE+ HAVE	naþ
NE+ WILL	nyl
NOT	ne+nouȝth, nouȝth, ne ((nouȝt, noȝth))
OWN (adj.)	owen (owne)
SELF	seluen (selue<u>n</u>) ((self))
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schullen (schulle<u>n</u>) ((schull, schal))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde ((scholde));
	pl. schulden (schulde<u>n</u>) ((schulde))
SINCE	siþen þat
SUCH	swiche ((swich))
THAN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	her
THEM	hem
THEN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>er</u>e
THE SAME	þat ilk ((þ^t ilk, þilk, þo ilk, þat ilche))
THESE	þise
THEY	hij ((þai))
THINK	þenk-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedre
TWO	tweie, two ((tueie))
UNTIL	tyl, til
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wil ((willeþ, wilneþ));
	pl. wil, willen (willeþ, wille<u>n</u>)
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u> (wiþouten) ((wiþoute))
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden
YET	ȝut
pres. part. ending	-ande

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>, Affter))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒeins, aʒein, aʒei<u>n</u>s, ageyn
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((be<u>n</u>))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bre<u>n</u>-))
BUT	bot, ac
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. comen
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	
DAYS	dayes ((daies))
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	noiþer
ERE (conj.)	er
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiʒen
FETCH	
FILL	*p.sg.* filde, filled
FIRE	fyre
FIRST	first
FROM	from, fro (fro<u>m</u>) ((fram, f^am))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒiue (ʒiuen) ((ʒeue));
	sg. ʒiueþ, ʒaf ((ʒiue));
	pl. ʒaf ((ʒiuen, ʒiue, ʒiue<u>n</u>));
	p.p. ʒouen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((haue, ha<u>n</u>, haueþ))
HER(S)	hire
HIGH	heiʒe
HILL	hylles
I	I ((ich))
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it

LAND	londes
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-lich ((-ly))
MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝth ((miȝth));
	pl. myȝtten, miȝtten
MUCH	mychel
NE+ BE	nam
NE+ WILL	nyllen
NE+WOULD	nolden
NOT	ne+nouȝth, nouȝth, ne ((ne+nouȝt, nouȝt, ne+noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	seluen ((self))
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schullen (schull<u>en</u>) ((schal))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde;
	pl. schulden ((schuld<u>en</u>, schulde))
SINCE	
SUCH	swiche
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>)
THEN	þan
THERE	þ<u>er</u>e ((þare))
THE SAME	þat ilch, þat ilche
THESE	þise
THEY	þai (hij)
THINK	þench-
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	
TWO	two ((tweie))
UNTIL	vnto, vntil
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. will<u>en</u> ((will, wille, willen))
WITHOUT	wiþouten ((wiþout<u>en</u>, wiþoute))
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde
YET	ȝut
pres. part. ending	-ande

AFTER	after ((after))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝein, aȝeins ((aȝeins, aȝein))
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((beþ, ben, beeþ))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore ((byfore, tofore, bifore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	ac (bot)
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. comen, comen
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden, deden, deden
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	oiþer, oiþer
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre ((fire))
FIRST	
FROM	fro (from) ((from, fram, fram))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue ((ȝiuen, giue));
	sg. ȝaf ((ȝiue, ȝiueþ));
	pl. ȝiueþ;
	p.p. ȝouen ((ȝauen))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg, haue;
	pl. han
HER(S)	
HIGH	heiȝe, heiȝ
HILL	hilles ((hyll))
I	I, ich
IF	ȝif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe

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LITTLE	litel, lytle, little
-LY	-lich
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*pl.* myȝtten, myȝth
MUCH	mychel ((michel))
NE+ BE	nam, nys, nas
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	ne+nouȝth (nouȝth) ((ne, ne+nouȝt, nouȝt, ne+noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	selue, seluen
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schullen, schulle<u>n</u> ((schal))
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde;
	pl. schulde<u>n</u>
SINCE	
SUCH	swiche
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	hem, he<u>m</u>
THEN	þan
THERE	þ<u>er</u>e (þere) ((þer<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	
THESE	þise
THEY	þai ((hij, þay))
THINK	þench- (þink-)
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ, þou
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedre ((togedres))
TWO	two
UNTIL	vnto, vntil, vntil þat
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. willen ((wille<u>n</u>))
WITHOUT	wiþouten ((wiþoute<u>n</u>, w^toute<u>n</u>, w^toute))
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde
YET	ȝutt, ȝut
pres. part. ending	-ande ((-and, -ynge))

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝein ((aȝeins, aȝei<u>n</u>, aȝei<u>n</u>s))
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((beþ, bien))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	toforne, bifore ((aforne))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe ((boþ))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bre<u>n</u>-))
BUT	bot, ac
CAME	*sg.* com ((come));
	pl. come<u>n</u>, comen
CHURCH	chirche ((chirch))
COULD	*sg.* couþe;
	pl. couþe
DAYS	daies, dayes
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden ((deden, dude<u>n</u>))
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	oiþ<u>er</u>;
	noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er ((er þat, ar, or þat, er þ^t))
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre ((fire))
FIRST	first
FROM	f^am ((fram, fro<u>m</u>, fra<u>m</u>, fro))
GET (*p.p.*)	geten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue ((ȝiuen));
	sg. ȝiueþ ((ȝaf, ȝiue));
	pl. ȝaf, ȝiue<u>n</u>;
	p.p. ȝoue<u>n</u>, ȝouen, ȝiue<u>n</u>, ȝiuen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ ((geþ))
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han (haue)
HER(S)	hir, hire (her) ((hir<u>e</u>))
HIGH	heiȝe ((heiȝ))
HILL	hilles, hull (hul, hyll)
I	I, ich

IF	ȝif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel ((lytel))
-LY	-lich ((-ly, -li))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many ((fele))
MIGHT (vb.)	sg. miȝth (myȝth) ((miȝt));
	pl. myȝth ((miȝtten))
MUCH	mychel ((michel))
NE+ BE	nys, nas, nere, ner<u>e</u>
NE+ HAVE	naþ
NE+ WILL	nyl, nylle, nyllen
NE+WOULD	nolde, nolden
NOT	ne+nouȝth, nouȝth (ne) ((ne+noȝth, nouȝt, ne+nouȝt, noȝth, ne+noȝt, nouht))
OWN (adj.)	owen ((owe<u>n</u>))
SELF	seluen (selue<u>n</u>, self) ((selue))
SHALL	sg. schal;
	pl. schull, schulle<u>n</u> (schullen) ((schul, schal, schulle))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	sg. schulde ((scholde));
	pl. schulden (schulde) ((schulde<u>n</u>, scholden))
SINCE	
SUCH	swich ((swiche, suich))
THAN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	her ((here, þair))
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>)
THEN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>e</u>re ((þere, þer))
THE SAME	þat ilch ((þat ilche, þo ilch, þilk))
THESE	þise ((þese))
THEY	hij
THINK	þench- ((þenk-))
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ ((þoroȝ))
TOGETHER	togedres, togeders, togedre, togeder (togider, togiders) ((togyder))
TWO	two ((tweie, tway))
UNTIL	tyl, til, vnto, til þat, til þ^t
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	sg. wil;
	pl. will (willen, willeþ) ((wille<u>n</u>))
WITHOUT	wiþouten, wiþoute<u>n</u> ((wiþoute))

WORLD   werlde ((werld))
WOULD   *sg.* wolde ((wold));
                 pl. wolden, wolde
YET   ʒutt (ʒut) ((ʒett))
pres. part. ending   -ande ((-ynge, -and))

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝein (aȝeins) ((aȝei<u>n</u>))
ANY	any
ARE	ben
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore ((biforne, aforne, toforne, toforn, byfore, bifor<u>e</u>, tofore, bifore<u>n</u>))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	bot, ac
CAME	*sg.* com; *pl.* comen (come<u>n</u>)
CHURCH	
COULD	*pl.* couþen
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dude ((dide, dud)); *pl.* duden ((dude<u>n</u>))
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	eiþer; noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre
FIRST	first
FROM	fªm, fro ((fro<u>m</u>, from))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue ((ȝiuen)); *sg.* ȝaf; *pl.* ȝeue<u>n</u>, ȝaue<u>n</u>;
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue; *sg.* haue; *pl.* han (haue)
HER(S)	hir ((hyre, hire, her))
HIGH	heiȝe, heiȝ
HILL	hyll
I	I, ich
IF	ȝif

IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-lich
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth ((myȝth, miȝt));
	pl. miȝtten
MUCH	mychel
NE+ BE	nam, nys, nas, nere, ner<u>e</u>
NE+ WILL	nyl, nylle
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	nysten, nysteþ
NOT	ne+nouȝth, nouȝth, ne ((ne+nouȝt, ne+noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	seluen ((self, selue<u>n</u>, selue))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((shal));
	pl. schull (schulle<u>n</u>) ((schullen))
SHE	sche ((she))
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde;
	pl. schulde (schulde<u>n</u>, schulden)
SINCE	
SUCH	swich
THAN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	her
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>)
THEN	þan ((þo, þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>e</u>re ((þere))
THE SAME	þat ilch, þat ilche ((þo ilche, þ^t ilch))
THESE	þise
THEY	hij
THINK	þench-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedre
TWO	two
UNTIL	til þ^t ((vntil, vnto))
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*pl.* wil
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u> (wiþouten)
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden
YET	ȝutt
pres. part. ending	-ande

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>, Affter))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒeins, aʒein
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((beþ, be, be<u>n</u>))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore, toforn ((toforne, tofore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	ac ((bot))
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. comen (come<u>n</u>)
CHURCH	chirch
COULD	
DAYS	daies
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden ((dude, dude<u>n</u>, deden))
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	oiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	yuel
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	
FROM	f^am ((fro, fro<u>m</u>, fram))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒiue;
	sg. ʒaf;
	pl. ʒiueþ, ʒauen, ʒeuen, ʒaf;
	p.p. ʒouen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue ((han, haueþ))
HER(S)	
HIGH	
HILL	
I	I ((ich))
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	

LITTLE	litel
-LY	-lich
MAN	man
MANY	many ((mani))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth;
	pl. miȝth
MUCH	mychel, michel
NE+ BE	nys, neren
NE+ WILL	nyl
NE+WOULD	nolden, nolde
NOT	ne+nouȝth (ne) ((nouȝth, ne+noȝth))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	seluen
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schull ((schulle, schullen))
SHE	
SHOULD	*pl.* schulden (schuld<u>e</u>n)
SINCE	siþþen þat
SUCH	
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	hem ((he<u>m</u>))
THEN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>ere</u> ((þere))
THE SAME	þat ilche, þat ilch, þ^t ilch (þis ilche)
THESE	þise
THEY	hij ((þai))
THINK	þench-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedres (toged<u>re</u>s)
TWO	two, tweie (tweye)
UNTIL	til (til þat, vnto þat)
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u>
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden
YET	
pres. part. ending	-ande

AFTER	
AGAIN(ST)	aʒeins (aʒein, aʒei<u>n</u>s)
ANY	
ARE	
ASK	
BEFORE	
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	er
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	
FROM	from
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*p.p.* ʒouen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue
HER(S)	her
HIGH	heiʒe
HILL	
I	I (ich)
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-lich
MAN	
MANY	
MIGHT (vb.)	
MUCH	

NE+ BE	nam
NOT	nouȝth
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	
SHALL	*sg.* schal
SHE	
SHOULD	
SINCE	
SUCH	
THAN	
THEIR	
THEM	hem
THEN	
THERE	
THE SAME	þat ilche
THESE	þise
THEY	
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	
TWO	
UNTIL	
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil
WITHOUT	wiþouten
WORLD	werlde (werld)
WOULD	
YET	
pres. part. ending	

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>, Affter))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝeins, aȝein ((aȝei<u>ns</u>, aȝey<u>n</u>))
ANY	any
ARE	ben ((be<u>n</u>))
ASK	
BEFORE	bifore ((tofore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-, bre<u>n</u>-
BUT	ac, bot
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. come<u>n</u> ((com))
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	
DAYS	dayes, daies
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden, deden
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	oiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre ((fir<u>e</u>))
FIRST	first
FROM	fro<u>m</u>, from ((fro))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue, ȝiue<u>n</u>;
	sg. ȝiueþ, ȝiue;
	pl. ȝiuen, ȝiueþ;
	p.p. ȝoue<u>n</u> ((ȝouen))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goo, gooþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((haue, haueþ))
HER(S)	hir
HIGH	heiȝe (heiȝ)
HILL	hyl, hyll
I	I ((ich))
IF	ȝif
IS	is
IT	it

LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-lich ((-ly, -lych))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth;
	pl. miȝtten
MUCH	mychel
NE+ BE	nys
NE+ WILL	nyl, nylleþ, nyllen
NOT	ne+nouȝth (nouȝth) ((ne, ne+noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	seluen, selue<u>n</u>, self
SHALL	*sg.* shal;
	pl. shulle<u>n</u> (shullen)
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* shulde;
	pl. shulde<u>n</u>, shulden ((shulde))
SINCE	
SUCH	swiche
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	he<u>m</u>, hem ((þem))
THEN	þan ((þa<u>nn</u>e, þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þ<u>er</u>e ((þere))
THE SAME	þ^t ilche, þat ilche
THESE	þise
THEY	þai (hij) ((þay))
THINK	þench-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ, þouȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedre, togedres
TWO	two
UNTIL	vntil, vnto
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. willen ((willeþ))
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u> ((wiþouten, wiþoute))
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde
YET	ȝut
pres. part. ending	-ande

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc 622

TEXT: <u>The Siege of Jerusalem</u>, fols.1ʳ-21ᵛ, col.a, l. 23; 71ᵛ, col.a, l.13-72ᵛ

AFTER	after (aft<u>er</u>) ((affter, eft, efte(rh.)))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝein, aȝeins (aȝeyn, aȝei<u>n</u>s) ((agai<u>n</u>, agai<u>n</u>s, agayn, aȝei<u>n</u>, aȝens, aȝayn(rh.), aȝayne(rh.), ageyn(rh.)))
ANY	any
ARE	ben (be<u>n</u>, aren, beþ)
ASK	ask- (ax-)
BEFORE	biforne (bifore) ((byfore, bifor<u>e</u>, byforne, before))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-, bre<u>n</u>-
BUT	bot ((ac))
CAME	*sg.* com ((cam(rh.), kem(rh.), co<u>m</u>, come, comen));
	pl. comen (come<u>n</u>) ((come(rh.), cam(rh.), com(rh.)))
CHURCH	chirche ((kyrke(rh.)))
COULD	*sg.* couþe;
	pl. couþe
DAYS	dayes ((daies, dawes(rh.), dawȝes(rh.)))
DID	*sg.* dude ((dede(rh.)));
	pl. duden ((dede<u>n</u>, dude, dude<u>n</u>, deden, dede(rh.)))
EACH	vche ((iche))
(N)EITHER	oiþ<u>er</u> ((oiþer));
	noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er ((ar, or))
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen, eiȝ<u>en</u>
FETCH	*inf.* fecchen, feccen;
	p.sg fette(rh.)
FILL	*p. sg* fyld, filden;
	p.pl. fylden
FIRE	fyre ((fer))
FIRST	first ((arst, fyrst))
FROM	fro (from) ((fro<u>m</u>, froo(rh.)))
GET (*p.p.*)	geten (gete)
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue (ȝiuen, ȝyue(rh.));
	sg. ȝiue, ȝaue, ȝaf ((ȝiueþ));
	pl. ȝauen (ȝauen, gauen, ȝaf);
	p.p. ȝiuen (ȝouen) ((ȝeue<u>n</u>, ȝiue, yȝiue))
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goo (gooþ) ((go, gas, gowe))
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han, hauen));
	sg. haue ((han));
	pl. han (haue) ((haueþ, hauen))
HER(S)	hir (her) ((hire, hir<u>e</u>))

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HIGH	heiȝe ((heiȝ, hiȝe, hyȝ))
HILL	hyll_e_
I	I ((ich))
IF	ȝif
IS	is ((ys(rh.)))
IT	it ((yt))
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-ly (-lich) ((-lyk(rh.)))
MAN	man (ma_n_)
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth (miȝt) ((myȝth));
	pl. miȝtten (miȝtte_n_) ((miȝt, miȝth))
MUCH	mychel (Michel) ((meche, myche, muche(rh.)))
NE+ BE	nys, ner_e_, ner
NE+ HAVE	nas, nast, nad, nadde_n_
NE+ WILL	nyl, nyllen, nylt
NE+WOULD	nolde ((nolden, nolde_n_))
NE+witen	nyst, nyste_n_
NOT	ne, nouȝth (nouȝt, noȝt, ne+nouȝth) ((noȝth, ne+noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owen ((owe_n_))
SELF	self (seluen) ((selue(rh.), selue_n_))
SHALL	*sg.* shal (schal);
	pl. shullen ((schulle, shulle_n_, schull_e_, schullen, shal,
	shulle, scholle_n_, schul, shall, shull, shul))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shulde (scholde) ((schulde, sholde, schold));
	pl. shulden (shulde) ((scholde_n_, sholde, schulde_n_,
	scholde, schold, schulde, shulde_n_))
SINCE	siþen ((siþe_n_, siþþe, siþ))
SUCH	swiche ((swich, suich))
THAN	þan ((þa_n_))
THEIR	her ((þair, þaire))
THEM	hem, he_m_ ((þem, hym))
THEN	þan, þoo (þo) ((þa_n_, þen))
THERE	þ_ere_ ((þ_er_, þore(rh.), þere, þer_e_, þar))
THE SAME	þat ilche ((þe same, þat ilk, þis ilche, þ_at_ ilche, þat same))
THESE	þise
THEY	þai ((hij, þay, þei, þa))
THINK	þenk- (þink-) ((þonk-))
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ (þouȝ) ((al þeiȝ))
THROUGH	þorouȝ ((þorou))
TOGETHER	togedres, togedre ((togidre, togid_er_))
TWO	two ((tweie, tueie, tuo, tweyne(rh.), twoo(rh.), tweye(rh.),
	tweyn(rh.), tway(rh.)))
UNTIL	til (tyl) ((vnto, vntil))

WAS	was (w^as)

WAS   was (w^{a}s)

OE hw-words   wh- ((w-))

WILL   *sg.* wil ((willen));
     pl. willen (wil) ((wille<u>n</u>, willeþ))

WITHOUT   wiþouten, wiþoute<u>n</u> ((wiþoute, w^{t}oute<u>n</u>, w^{t}oute))

WORLD   werlde ((werld))

WOULD   *sg.* wolde ((wold));
     pl. wolden, wolde ((wolde<u>n</u>))

YET   ȝut ((ȝit, ȝutt))

pres. part. ending   -yng, -ande ((-ing))

AFTER	after ((eft))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒeins, aʒein ((ageyn(rh.)))
ANY	any
ARE	ben, be<u>n</u>
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore (biforne) ((byfore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	bot ((ac, ak))
CAME	*sg.* com ((come, cam));
	pl. come(rh.), come<u>n</u>
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	*sg.* couþe
DAYS	dayes ((dawes(rh.), dawʒes(rh.)))
DID	*sg.* dude;
	pl. duden
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	ayþer, oiþ<u>er</u> ;
	noiþer, neiþ<u>er</u>, noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er, ar
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiʒen
FETCH	*inf.* fecche<u>n</u>, fecche;
	p. sg fette
FILL	
FIRE	fyre
FIRST	first
FROM	fro, from ((fro<u>m</u>))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒiue;
	sg. ʒiue, ʒeue, ʒaf;
	pl. ʒeue, ʒaf
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue ((han));
	pl. haue, habbeþ ((habben, han))
HER(S)	hir, her (hire)
HIGH	heiʒe
HILL	
I	I
IF	ʒif
IS	is

IT	it
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-ly, -lich
MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth;
	pl. miȝtten (miȝtten) ((miȝth(rh.)))
MUCH	mychel (Michel)
NE+ BE	nas
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	ne, nouȝth ((ne+nouȝth))
OWN (adj)	owen ((owe(rh.)))
SELF	self ((selue(rh.), seluen))
SHALL	*sg.* shal ((schal));
	pl. shullen ((shullen))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shulde ((schulde, shulden));
	pl. shulden
SINCE	siþþe (siþen)
SUCH	swiche
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((hire))
THEM	hem ((hem))
THEN	þan, þoo ((þo))
THERE	þere ((þere, þare))
THE SAME	þat ilk ((þis ilk, iliche))
THESE	þise
THEY	þai ((hij))
THINK	þink-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ, þouȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	togedre
TWO	two, tweie
UNTIL	til ((tyl, vntil, till))
WAS	was ((w^{a}s))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. willeþ (willen, willen)
WITHOUT	wiþouten, wiþouten ((wiþoute))
WORLD	werlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden, wolde ((wolden))
YET	ȝut
pres. part. ending	-yng, -ande (-ynge)

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	
ANY	
ARE	ben
ASK	
BEFORE	bifore ((bifor<u>e</u>))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	bot
CAME	*sg.* com;
	pl. comen
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	
(N)EITHER	eiþ<u>er,</u> eiþer
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	
FROM	fro
GET (*p.p.*)	geten (gete)
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ȝiue, ȝaf
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue
HER(S)	hire
HIGH	heiȝe
HILL	
I	ich ((I))
IF	
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	
LITTLE	
-LY	-lich
MAN	man
MANY	
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝth;

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	pl. miȝtte<u>n</u>
MUCH	mychel
NE+	
NOT	ne ((ne+nouȝth, nouȝth))
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* shal;
	pl. shullen
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* shulde ((shuld))
SINCE	
SUCH	
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	
THEN	
THERE	þ<u>er</u>e
THE SAME	þilk (þis ilk, þat ilk) ((þat ilche, þ<u>at</u> ilk, þis ilche))
THESE	
THEY	hij
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ
THROUGH	
TOGETHER	togedres
TWO	two (tweie, tweye)
UNTIL	
WAS	was ((w^as))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil ((willeþ))
WITHOUT	wiþouten, wiþoute<u>n</u>
WORLD	
WOULD	*sg.* wolde
YET	
pres. part. ending	

AFTER	after ((after, eft, efte))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝeins, aȝein ((aȝan(rh.), aȝeyn, aȝen, aȝeynes, aȝene(rh.)))
ANY	any
ARE	ben (beeþ) ((beþ, ben, are))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	tofore ((toforne, bifore, afore(rh.), to for, for))
BEYOND	biȝonden, biȝonde
BOTH	boþe ((boo(rh.)))
BRIDGE	brygge, brigges
BURN(T)	bren- ((bren-, barn-(rh.)))
BUT	ac, bot ((bote))
CAME	*sg.* com ((cam(rh.)));
	pl. comen (comen) ((com, come(rh.), comon))
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	*sg.* couþe;
	pl. couþen, couþen
DAYS	dayes ((dawes, dawen(rh.)))
DID	*sg.* dude ((duden, dede(rh.)));
	pl. duden, deden ((dede(rh.), duden))
EACH	vche ((eche(rh.)))
(N)EITHER	oiþer, aiþer ((oiþer, aiþer, ayþer));
	noiþer (neiþer) ((noiþere, noþer, noiþer, nower))
ERE (conj.)	ar (er) ((are, or))
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen ((eiȝene(rh.)))
FETCH	*inf.* fecche;
	pr.sg fecche
FILL	fulfild
FIRE	fyre ((fire))
FIRST	first ((arst))
FROM	from ((fro, from, fram(rh.)))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue (ȝiuen) ((ȝiuen));
	sg. ȝiue, ȝiueþ, ȝaf ((ȝiues));
	pl. ȝiueþ ((ȝauen, ȝauen, ȝeuen, ȝaue(rh.), ȝiuen));
	p.p. yȝouen, yȝeue, yȝiue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	gooþ (goo) ((gowe))
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((habbe, habben));
	sg. haue, habbe ((habbeþ));
	pl. habbeþ (han,haue) ((habben, haueþ, habbe, habben))
HER(S)	hire, her (hir) ((hire, here, here))
HIGH	heiȝe ((heiȝ))
HILL	hyll ((hille, hylle, hylle))

I	ich (i)
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe ((lande, land))
LITTLE	litel ((lyte(rh.), lite(rh.)))
-LY	-lich (-ly) ((-liche(rh.), -lyk(rh.), -li, -lych, -lik(rh.)))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>, manne(rh.)))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miʒth ((myʒth, miʒtth, miʒt));
	pl. miʒtten ((miʒth, miʒtte<u>n</u>, miʒtt))
MUCH	mychel (Michel) ((myche))
NE+ BE	nys, nis, nas neren, nere, nare
NE+ HAVE	nabbeþ, nadde<u>n</u>
NE+ WILL	nyl, nylle, nylleþ ((nille, nyll, nillen))
NE+WOULD	nolde ((nolden))
NE+witen	noot ((nyst, nyten, nyste, nisten))
NOT	ne, nouʒth (ne+nouʒth) ((nauʒth(rh.), not))
OWN (adj.)	owen ((owe(rh.)))
SELF	self (selue) ((seluen, selue<u>n</u>))
SHALL	*sg.* shal ((schal, shulle));
	pl. shullen (shulle<u>n</u>) ((shulle, shal, shull<u>e</u>))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shulde ((sholde));
	pl. shulden ((shulde, shulde<u>n</u>))
SINCE	siþen ((siþþen, siþþe))
SUCH	swiche ((swich, suiche))
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((þair, þaire, hir<u>e</u>, þeir, here, hir))
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>) ((þem))
THEN	þoo (þan) ((þo, þanne, þenne(rh.)))
THERE	þ<u>ere</u> ((þare, þer<u>e</u>, þere, þar(rh.), þer(rh.)))
THE SAME	þat ilk (þis ilk) ((þ<u>at</u> ilk, þilk, þis ilche))
THESE	þise ((þise))
THEY	hij (þai) ((þay, hi))
THINK	þink- ((þinch-, þenk-, þench-))
(AL)THOUGH	þeiʒ ((þouʒ))
THROUGH	þorouʒ
TOGETHER	togedre, togedres ((togidre, togedr<u>es</u>))
TWO	two ((twoo, tweye, to, tweie, tueye, tuo))
UNTIL	tyl (to) ((til))
WAS	was (w^{a}s)
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil ((wille, wile));
	pl. willen, willeþ ((wil))
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u>, wiþouten ((wiþoute, w^{t}oute<u>n</u>))

WORLD	werlde ((wordele))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolden (wolde)
YET	ʒut ((ʒet, ʒett))
pres. part. ending	-yng (-ynge) ((-ynde, -ande, -ende, -y<u>ng</u>, -ing, -eng, -eing, -inge))

AFTER	aft<u>er</u> (after) ((after, eft))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝei<u>ns</u>, aȝei<u>n</u> ((aȝen, aȝeins, aȝen(rh.)))
ANY	any
ARE	be<u>n</u>, beþ (ben)
ASK	ax-
BEFORE	bifore, tofore ((bifor<u>e</u>, afore, tofor))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bre<u>n</u>- ((bren-))
BUT	bot (ac)
CAME	*sg.* com (co<u>m</u>) ((cam(rh.), come(rh.)));
	pl. come<u>n</u> ((comen, come, cam(rh.)))
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	*sg.* couþe;
	pl. couþe
DAYS	daies, dayes
DID	*sg.* dude ((dede));
	pl. dude<u>n</u> ((dude<u>n</u>, duden, dude))
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	eiþer (oiþ<u>er</u>);
	noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er
EVIL	yuel
EYES	eiȝen
FETCH	*inf.* fecche
FILL	*inf.* fille;
	p.sg. filde
FIRE	fire ((fyre))
FIRST	first ((arst))
FROM	fro<u>m</u> ((fra<u>m</u>, fr<u>a</u>m, fro))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝiue, ȝiue<u>n</u>;
	sg. ȝiue, ȝaf;
	pl. ȝeue<u>n</u> ;
	p.p. yȝeuen, yȝeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ, goo ((go))
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((habbe, habbe<u>n</u>));
	sg. haue ((habbe));
	pl. habbeþ, han ((haue, haue<u>n</u>))
HER(S)	hir<u>e</u> (hir) ((her, hire))
HIGH	heiȝ (heiȝe)
HILL	hil ((hyll<u>e</u>, hyl))

I	I, ich
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe, londe
LITTLE	litel ((lite(rh.)))
-LY	-lich
MAN	man, man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miʒth ((miʒt));
	pl. miʒtten ((miʒth, miʒt, myʒth))
MUCH	mychel, michel ((mychel))
NE+ BE	nys, nis, nas, nere ((nere))
NE+ HAVE	nadd, nadde ((nabbe, nadden))
NE+ WILL	nylle (nylle) ((nylleþ, nyllen, nelleþ, nyll))
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	nyst, nysten
NOT	ne (nouʒth, ne+nouʒth) ((nouʒt, noʒt, no))
OWN (adj.)	owen, owen
SELF	self ((selue))
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. shullen ((schulle, scholle(rh.), schollen))
SHE	sche ((she))
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde (scholde) ((schuld));
	pl. schulden, schulde (scholde, schuld) ((scholden))
SINCE	siþen, siþþe
SUCH	swich (swiche) ((suiche, suich))
THAN	þan, þan
THEIR	her
THEM	hem ((hem, þem))
THEN	þo ((þan, þan, þen))
THERE	þere ((þer, þere))
THE SAME	þilk ((þat ilk))
THESE	þise
THEY	þai ((þei, hij, þa))
THINK	þink-, þink-
(AL)THOUGH	þeiʒ ((þei))
THROUGH	þorouʒ ((þoroʒ))
TOGETHER	togedre
TWO	two, tweie ((tueie, tweye))
UNTIL	til, tyl
WAS	was, was
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. willeþ ((wolle(rh.), wil, willen))
WITHOUT	wiþouten (wᵗouten, wᵗoute) ((wiþoute))

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WORLD	werlde ((werld))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((wold));
	pl. wolde<u>n</u>, wolde ((wold(rh.)))
YET	ӡut ((ӡit, ӡutt))
pres. part. ending	-y<u>n</u>ge, -ande, -ing, -ynde

AFTER	
AGAIN(ST)	aȝei<u>n</u>s
ANY	any
ARE	
ASK	
BEFORE	bifor<u>e</u>, aforn
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bre<u>n</u>-
BUT	
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fire, fir<u>e</u>
FIRST	first
FROM	f<u>ra</u>m
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*pl.* ȝiue<u>n</u>
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue, habbe
HER(S)	her
HIGH	
HILL	hil
I	Ich, I
IF	
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-ly, -lich
MAN	ma<u>n</u>
MANY	
MIGHT (vb.)	
MUCH	
NE+	

NOT	ne
OWN (adj.)	owe<u>n</u>
SELF	
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schull<u>e</u>, schulle<u>n</u> ((schul, scholle<u>n</u>))
SHE	
SHOULD	
SINCE	
SUCH	
THAN	þa<u>n</u>
THEIR	
THEM	he<u>m</u>
THEN	þa<u>n</u>
THERE	þ<u>ere</u>
THE SAME	þilk
THESE	þise
THEY	þai (hij)
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	þeiȝ
THROUGH	þorouȝ
TOGETHER	
TWO	
UNTIL	
WAS	w^as
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. wille<u>n</u>
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u>
WORLD	werlde, werld
WOULD	
YET	
pres. part. ending	

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc 622

TEXT: <u>Lines on the Birth of Christ</u>, fols.71^r, col.a, l.35 -71^v, col.a, l.12

AFTER	aft<u>er</u>
AGAIN(ST)	aʒei<u>ns</u>
ANY	
ARE	be<u>n</u>
ASK	
BEFORE	bifore ((tofore, toforne, bifor))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	ac (bot)
CAME	*sg.* com, co<u>m</u>, come;
	pl. come
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	vche
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	er
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	
FROM	
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ʒeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue (habbe)
HER(S)	
HIGH	heiʒe
HILL	
I	ich
IF	ʒif
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	
LITTLE	
-LY	
MAN	
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miʒth;
	pl. miʒtte<u>n</u> ((miʒth))

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MUCH	
NE+ BE	nys, nas, ner<u>e</u>
NE+WOULD	nolde<u>n</u>
NE+witen	nyste<u>n</u>
NOT	ne, nouʒth, ne+nouʒth ((nouʒt))
OWN (adj.)	owe<u>n</u>
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schulle<u>n</u>
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde
SINCE	siþþe<u>n</u>, siþþe, siþ
SUCH	suich
THAN	þan
THEIR	her
THEM	he<u>m</u> ((hem))
THEN	þan ((þo))
THERE	þ<u>e</u>re ((þere))
THE SAME	þilk
THESE	
THEY	þai ((hij))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	þouʒ
THROUGH	þorouʒ
TOGETHER	
TWO	
UNTIL	
WAS	was (w^as)
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	
WITHOUT	wiþoute
WORLD	
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde
YET	ʒit
pres. part. ending	

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MS: London, British Library, Lansdowne 763
TEXT: Treatise on Music, fols. 105^v-122^v

AFTER	aftir (after)
AGAIN(ST)	ayenst
ANY	ony
ARE	beþe, beene, been
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	afor (befor, before) ((afore, afore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe ((bothe))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	but
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	adayes
DID	
EACH	eche
(N)EITHER	eyþir ((eyþir));
	neyþer ((neyþir))
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	ferst ((firste))
FROM	fro
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* yefe, yeve;
	p.p. yeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþe, goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	
HIGH	hye
HILL	
I	I
IF	yf ((if, yyf))
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it ((yt))
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litil
-LY	-li ((-ly))
MAN	man
MANY	many

MIGHT (vb.)	
MUCH	moche
NE+	
NOT	not
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	selfe
SHALL	*sg.* shal
SHE	
SHOULD	
SINCE	
SUCH	sweche
THAN	þan
THEIR	þei<u>re</u>, her<u>e</u>, her, their
THEM	hem ((them))
THEN	þan ((Than))
THERE	þer, þ<u>er</u> ((ther, there))
THE SAME	þ^e same ((þe same))
THESE	these (þese) ((þes, thes, þ<u>es</u>, þees))
THEY	þei (þey) ((þe<u>i</u>))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	
TOGETHER	toged<u>ir</u>, togedir
TWO	tweyne, tweyn
UNTIL	
WAS	was ((whas))
OE hw-words	wh-
WILL	*sg.* wil;
	pl. wil
WITHOUT	
WORLD	
WOULD	
YET	
pres. part. ending	-i<u>ng</u>, -y<u>ng</u>

TEXT: <u>Early English Prose Psalter</u>, fols.1^r-149^v

AFTER	eft<u>er</u> (efter) ((after, aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	oʒai<u>ns</u> (oʒai<u>n</u>) ((oʒayn, oʒain, oʒains, oʒayns, oʒaines))
ANY	
ARE	ben ((be<u>n</u>))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	tofore ((toforn, bifore, tofor))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren- ((bryn-, bre<u>n</u>-))
BUT	bot (ac) ((but, bote))
CAME	*sg.* co<u>m</u> ((com, come));
	pl. com ((come, comen))
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	
DAYS	daies ((dayes))
DID	*sg.* did ((dede, dide));
	pl. deden, diden ((did))
EACH	ich
(N)EITHER	noiþ<u>er</u>
ERE (conj.)	er þat, ere, ar þat
EVIL	iuel (yuel) ((euel))
EYES	eʒen ((eʒe<u>n</u>, eʒenes))
FETCH	
FILL	*p.p.* fild
FIRE	fur
FIRST	first
FROM	from ((fro, fra<u>m</u>))
GET (*p.p.*)	gete, geten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒeue, ʒyf, ʒif ((ʒeuen, ʒeue<u>n</u>));
	sg. ʒaf (ʒyf, ʒeueþ) ((ʒif, ʒaue<u>n</u>));
	pl. ʒaf, ʒeueþ;
	p.p. ʒeuen, ʒeue<u>n</u>
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((haue))
HER(S)	hir
HIGH	heʒe
HILL	hille, hylle
I	ich, y ((i))
IF	ʒyf (ʒif) ((if))
IS	is (ys, his, hys)
IT	it ((hit, yt))

LAND	londe ((lond, lo_nde))
LITTLE	lytel, litel, littel
-LY	-liche, -lich
MAN	man ((ma_n))
MANY	many (mani)
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝt;
	pl. myȝt, miȝtten, miȝte_n
MUCH	michel ((mychel, muchel, mechel))
NE+ BE	na_m, nys, nas (nis)
NOT	ne+nouȝt, nouȝt ((ne+noȝt, ne, ne+nauȝt, nauȝt, noȝt, ne+nouȝ))
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	selue_n, seluen, self
SHALL	*sg.* shal ((schal, shalle));
	pl. shul ((shulle, shal))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld;
	pl. shulden
SINCE	
SUCH	swich ((swyche))
THAN	þan ((þa_n))
THEIR	her ((here, he_r))
THEM	hem ((he_m, ham))
THEN	þan ((þa_nne))
THERE	þer ((þe_r))
THE SAME	þat ich
THESE	þes
THEY	hij ((hii, he, hyy, hy))
THINK	þench- ((þinch-))
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	þourȝ, þurȝ ((þurwe, þurth))
TOGETHER	togidres ((togider, togadres))
TWO	
UNTIL	vnto ((into, to þat))
WAS	was ((whas))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wil ((wyl, wylle, wille))
WITHOUT	wyþouten ((wyþoute_n, witouten, wiþouten))
WORLD	world ((worled, werld, worlde, worldel))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde, wold
YET	ȝete ((ȝit))
pres. part. ending	-and ((-ande, i_ng))

AFTER	aftyr
AGAIN(ST)	aȝayn, aȝan, agayns, agayn, aȝans
ANY	any
ARE	beth, be, ben, aryn
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	befor, beforyn(rh.)
BEYOND	
BOTH	both, boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* ca<u>m</u>, come, cam
CHURCH	
COULD	*sg.* cowde
DAYS	dawys(rh.)
DID	*sg.* dede, dyde
EACH	
(N)EITHER	
ERE (conj.)	or þan, or
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	fyrst ((ferst))
FROM	fro<u>m</u>, fro (fra<u>m</u>)
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue, ȝeuyn (ȝeuy<u>n</u>);
	sg. ȝeue ((ȝeuyt));
	pl. ȝeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* haue, hauyn ((hauy<u>n</u>));
	sg. haue ((hauyt));
	pl. haue, hauyn (hauy<u>n</u>)
HER(S)	her<u>e</u>, her
HIGH	
HILL	
I	I ((y, i, ych))
IF	ȝyf
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it ((yt, hyt(rh.)))
LAND	
LITTLE	lytyl, litill
-LY	-ly ((-lyche, -lech, -lych))

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MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myth
MUCH	mochyl
NE+WILL	nyl
NOT	noght (nawht, ne, nawth, nawh, not)
OWN (adj.)	ouene
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* schall (sal) ((schul, shall));
	pl. schull, schul
SHE	sche ((she))
SHOULD	*sg.* schuld
SINCE	
SUCH	swyche
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((her<u>e</u>))
THEM	hem ((theym))
THEN	þan ((þa<u>n</u>, þanne, þen))
THERE	þ<u>er</u> ((þar, þer<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	þe same
THESE	þes
THEY	þey (þay, þai)
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	þrow ((thorgh))
TOGETHER	togedir, togedyr
TWO	two ((tweyn(rh.), twenne))
UNTIL	till ((til, tyll þ^t, tyll, yn tyll))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	w- (wh-)
WILL	*sg.* wyll, wyl (will, wil);
	pl. wyll
WITHOUT	wyth vtyn ((w^t vtyn, with vtyn, w^t vty<u>n</u>))
WORLD	word
WOULD	*sg.* wold
YET	
pres. part. ending	

Notes

Forms in black appear in both of the texts, whilst red print indicates that a form is found only in the text of the <u>Charter of Christ</u>, and blue only in the <u>Life of Christ</u>.

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MS: Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.32
TEXT: Medica: 22 texts as below, fols.1-149

Contents List of Trinity R.14.32

AFTER	aft_ ((after, aftyr, aftir(1a)))
AGAIN(ST)	agayne (agayn) ((ayen, ageyn, ayeyne, agaynes, ayeyn, ageyne(1a), ayenst(16a), ayens(21b)))
ANY	ony
ARE	be (ben) ((bethe, are, beth, ben, are, bene(1a), been(21a)))
ASK	
BEFORE	before ((tofore, beforn, aforn, before, afore, tofore, afor, befor))
BEYOND	
BOTH	bothe (both) ((boþe(2b), boþe(11)))
BRIDGE	

BURN(T)	bren- ((bren-))
BUT	but ((b^t))
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	dayes
DID	
EACH	eche (ɪche) ((yche, eyche(13b), iche))
(N)EITHER	eyther ((eyther, ether, eyþer, oþer));
	nether, nethir (nother)
ERE (conj.)	or ((or than, er th^t, ere, er, or that))
EVIL	euyll ((euyle, evyll, euylle, yvyll(2b), euell, evele, evill, euyl))
EYES	eyen (eyne) ((eyn, yen, yeen(1a), eyene(1a)))
FETCH	
FILL	inf. fill, fyll
FIRE	fyer, fyere ((fyre, fyre, feyre, feyer(18), fyr (18)))
FIRST	furste (furste, first, fyrst) ((fyrste, ferst(22)))
FROM	fro, from ((from, frome(13b)))
GET (p.p.)	goten
GIVE(N), GAVE	inf. yeue ((geue(13b), yif(16b), ye(18)));
	sg. yeueth, yeuethe;
	pl. yeue;
	p.p. youen, yeuen ((youe, youen, yove(2a), yoven(2a)))
GO (2/3 sg.)	gothe, goth ((goeth(5), goste(18), gooth(21a)))
HAVE	inf. haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue
HER(S)	hire ((hir, here(1a), hure(21a)))
HIGH	hey, hye ((hy, highe(8)))
HILL	hill-, hille-, hill
I	I, y
IF	ɪf (yf) ((if))
IS	is (ys)
IT	it ((yt, hit, hyt))
LAND	lond, londe
LITTLE	lytyll ((lytill, lityll, litill, lytell, lytylle, lytle))
-LY	-ly ((-lye, -lych))
MAN	man, man
MANY	many ((mony))
MIGHT (vb.)	sg. myght
MUCH	moche, moch (mech) ((meche, much, mekyll(21b), mekell(1a)))
NE+	
NOT	not ((note(11), notte(17), nought(20)))
OWN (adj.)	owen (owne)
SELF	self, selfe ((selff, selue, sselff, selve))
SHALL	sg. schall ((schalle, shall, schal));
	pl. schall (schull) ((schalle))

SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde (schulde) ((schuld)); *pl.* schulde (scholde)
SINCE	sith
SUCH	such (suche) ((swech[17]))
THAN	tha_n, than ((þanne[2b]))
THEIR	her_e ((her))
THEM	he_m, hem ((them[13b]))
THEN	tha_n (than) ((then, þanne[2b], þan[2b], þa_nne[2b], the_n, th^a n, thanne, thenne[20], thenn[20]))
THERE	th_er ((ther_e, ther, þ_er[2b], thore[rh.]))
THE SAME	the same ((th^t same, tho ilk[21a]))
THESE	these (thes) ((þese[2b], þ^ese[2b]))
THEY	they ((þey[2b], þei[2b], thei, the, thay[1a]))
THINK	thynk-
(AL)THOUGH	thowe, though ((þough[2b]))
THROUGH	throwe ((through, thorough, throw, thorowgh, þorowgh[2b], thorow[13b], throgh[15b], throwgh[16a], throue[16a], throwghe[16a], throuʒ[22]))
TOGETHER	toged_er ((togedd_er, togeder, togedre, togedder, togedyr, togeddre[1b], togydre[2b], togeder_e[12], together[13b], togethers[13b], togeddyr[19]))
TWO	too, two ((twoo[1a]))
UNTIL	till ((tyll, vnto, to, on till[14]))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((qwh-, w-[2b], qw-[2b]))
WILL	*sg.* will, wyll ((wylle, wille, wyl)); *pl.* wyll, will
WITHOUT	w^toute ((w^toutyn, w^tout_e, w^tout, wythout[1a], w^towte[2b], w^towtyn[2b], w^thowt[13b]))
WORLD	werdle ((wordle[14], werld[21a]))
WOULD	*pl.* wolde
YET	yit ((yitte, yett, yet, yette))
pres. part. ending	-ynge, -yng ((-y_ng, -end[4]))

Notes

Where one form was recorded in a particular text and in no other, the number of the text in which it occurs has been noted in blue after its entry in the above analysis.

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6
TEXT: Hand A, <u>Sayings of St Bernard</u>, 180 lines

AFTER	
AGAIN(ST)	ageyn ((ageynest))
ANY	
ARE	bet, ben
ASK	ax-
BEFORE	beforn
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	
BUT	bote
CAME	
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	
DID	
EACH	
(N)EITHER	neyþer
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	ewyl
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fer
FIRST	ferst
FROM	fram
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ʒaf, gif, ʒewe, ʒeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	
HAVE	*inf.* hawyn, hawen;
	sg,. habbe, haweste, hawest, hawyst, hawyn, hawe, hawyt, hawet;
	pl. hawyn
HER(S)	
HIGH	heʒe
HILL	
I	ich, I
IF	ʒyf
IS	is (ys) ((hys))
IT	hyt
LAND	londe
LITTLE	litel, lytel
-LY	-leche
MAN	man
MANY	many

MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myt
MUCH	mochel
NOT	noȝt (ne)
OWN (adj.)	owene, howene
SELF	self, selwe
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schollyn, schollen, schal
SHE	
SHOULD	
SINCE	
SUCH	
THAN	þanne
THEIR	her<u>e</u>
THEM	hem ((he<u>m</u>))
THEN	
THERE	þ<u>er</u>
THE SAME	
THESE	
THEY	þey
THINK	þynk- ((þonk-))
(AL)THOUGH	þey
THROUGH	þoru
TOGETHER	
TWO	tuo
UNTIL	
WAS	was
OE hw-words	w-
WILL	*sg.* wylle, wele, wyt ;
	pl. wyllen
WITHOUT	wyt outen ((wyd outen))
WORLD	world ((werld))
WOULD	*sg.* wold
YET	
pres. part. ending	-yng, -ynge (-enge, -yngge)

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6
TEXT: Hand B, <u>XV Tokens of Domesday</u>, 212 lines; <u>Pater Noster</u>, 128 lines
(original in colour)

AFTER	aftir (aft_)
AGAIN(ST)	aȝens, aȝans
ANY	oni, eny
ARE	beþ (betȝ, bet, ben)
ASK	axe
BEFORE	beforn, toforn
BEYOND	
BOTH	
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	ac
CAME	come
CHURCH	
COULD	
DAYS	dayis
DID	
EACH	ache
(N)EITHER	ayþir;
	nayþir
ERE (conj.)	
EVIL	
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	felle
FIRE	fer
FIRST	ferste, ferste
FROM	fram, fram (fro, fra, from)
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*sg.* ȝeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	gatȝ
HAVE	*inf.* habbe, habbin, hauin;
	sg, habbet, hat, haþ;
	pl. habbin, hauen, hauyn
HER(S)	here
HIGH	heȝe, heȝ
HILL	hille
I	y, iᶜ (ich)
IF	ȝif
IS	is ((esse))
IT	hit
LAND	lond
LITTLE	litil
-LY	-leche ((-liche, -li, -lich))
MAN	man (manne) ((man))

MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* meyte;
	pl. meytin
MUCH	mochele ((mochil))
NE+ BE	nis, nas
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	ne (naut, naʒt) ((nayt, nout))
OWN (adj.)	
SELF	
SHALL	*sg.* ssal ((schal, ssalt, ssel, ssole, ssollin, ssolle));
	pl. ssollin, ssolle ((sollin, ssulle))
SHE	
SHOULD	
SINCE	
SUCH	sueche, suech, sweche
THAN	þanne
THEIR	her̲e̲
THEM	hem ((hom))
THEN	þanne ((þo, þenne, þan))
THERE	þar, þer (þor)
THE SAME	þᵗ-ilke ((þat ilke, þilke))
THESE	þese
THEY	he ((hit, ʒe))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	
THROUGH	þour
TOGETHER	togedre, togedere, toged̲e̲re
TWO	
UNTIL	til
WAS	was
OE hw-words	w-
WILL	*sg.* welle, wille, wele;
	pl. willin
WITHOUT	witoutin, witʒoute, witʒoutin
WORLD	world ((wolrd))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde
YET	
pres. part. ending	-ing, -yng

Notes

Forms in black appear in both of the texts, whilst red print indicates that a form is found only in the text of the <u>XV Tokens of Domesday,</u> and blue only in the <u>Pater Noster</u>.

MS: Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 157

TEXT: Language B, <u>Prick of Conscience</u>, fols.34ʳ-113ᵛ

AFTER	after ((aft_, efte))
AGAIN(ST)	agayne ((aȝens, agayn, aȝeyns, aȝeyne, ageyne, agaynes, ageyns, agayns))
ANY	any ((eny))
ARE	bene ((ar, are, been, bee, ben, ere(rh.), beþ, er))
ASK	ask- ((ax-))
BEFORE	before, befor
BEYOND	be ȝonde
BOTH	boþe ((booþe, boþen, boþe, bothe))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	bot ((but))
CAME	*sg.* come;
	pl. come
CHURCH	cherche (chyrche) ((chyrch, cherch))
COULD	*sg.* couþe ((coude));
	pl. couþe ((coude))
DAYS	dayes ((days(rh.)))
DID	*sg.* dede (did) ((dyd(rh.), dydde(rh.)));
	pl. dede ((did, dydde(rh.)))
EACH	eche ((iche))
(N)EITHER	ouþer (oþer) ((ayther, other, ayþer));
	noþer ((nother, nouþer))
ERE (conj.)	or ((er, ere, ar))
EVIL	euele (euell) ((euel, luele, luell))
EYES	eyȝen
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fyre ((ffyre))
FIRST	firste, first, ferste, ferst ((fyrste, fyrst))
FROM	fro ((froo(rh.)))
GET *(p.p)*	gete
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue (geue);
	sg. gaue, ȝeueþ ((geue, gaf, gafe, gyue, geueþ));
	pl. ȝeueþ, geue, gaue;
	p.p. geuen (geue) ((gyuen, ȝeue, ȝeuen))
GO *(2/3 sg.)*	goo(rh.), go (gas(rh.), goþ)
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue ((han))
HER	here
HIGH	heyȝe (hyȝe, heye)
HILL	hylle, hyll
I	I

IF	ȝif, if
IS	is, es ((esse(rh.)))
IT	it ((itte(rh.), itt, hit(rh.)))
LAND	lande, land ((londe(rh.), launde(rh.)))
LITTLE	lytel ((lytell))
-LY	-ly ((-lye(rh.)))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝt ((miȝt, myȝte, myȝt<u>e</u>));
	pl. myȝt ((miȝt))
MUCH	moche ((meche))
NOT	nouȝt ((ne, nout, noȝt, nouȝ, not))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((owen, ownen))
SELF	self ((salf))
SHALL	*sg.* shal (shall, schal, schall) ((schul, shul, shull));
	pl. shal (shall, shul, shull) ((schal, schall, schul, schull, sal))
SHE	she ((shee))
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld ((shulde, schuld, schulde, shulld));
	pl. shuld (shulde) ((schuld, schulde))
SINCE	syþe, seþen ((siþen, sen, sethe))
SUCH	sweche ((swyche, suche, seche, syche, soche))
THAN	þan ((Than))
THEIR	here, hare, heire ((heyre, þeire, þere, þare, þer))
THEM	hem (ham) ((he<u>m</u>, hame))
THEN	þan ((Than, þanne, þo))
THERE	þere (þare) ((þore, þer, There))
THE SAME	þe same
THESE	þese ((These, þes))
THEY	þay (þai) ((þey, þei, Thay, They, thay))
THINK	þenk-, þynk- ((þench-(rh.)))
(AL)THOUGH	þough, þow, þouȝ (al þowȝ, þowȝ) ((al thouȝ, thow, al if))
THROUGH	þourgh, þorugh ((þurgh, þourg, thorugh, þurȝe))
TOGETHER	togedre ((togeder(rh.), togedere, togadre, togedir(rh.), togider))
TWO	two (twoo) ((tweyne))
UNTIL	to ((onto, vnto, tyl, into, tyll))
WAS	was ((whas))
OE hw-	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wele ((wyll, wylle, wole));
	pl. wele ((wole, wylle, wyll))
WITH(OUT)	w^toute, wiþoute (wythoute, wiþouten, wyþoute) ((w^touten, wyþouten, wythouten))
WORLD	werld ((world, werlde))
WOULD	*sg.* wold, wolde ((walde(rh.)));
	pl. wolde (wold) ((woold(rh.)))
YET	ȝet, ȝit (ȝett) ((ȝitt, ȝytte(rh.), ȝette, ȝytt(rh.)))

pres. part. ending   -ynge (-yng, -and) ((-ande, -enge))

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝeins (aȝain, aȝein) ((oȝein, aȝains, aȝayn, aȝeain, oȝain, oȝen, oȝains, ageins, agein))
ANY	any, eny (eni) ((anye))
ARE	ben ((bien, beth, be))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	tofore ((toforen, bifore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BU<u>R</u>N(T)	bren- ((bre<u>n</u>-))
BUT	bote ((ac))
CAME	*sg.* cam, com
CHURCH	chirche
COULD	*sg.* couþe
DAYS	dawes, dayes
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. deden
EACH	ech ((ech a, iche))
(N)EITHER	o<u>þer</u>, or;
	neyþ<u>er</u>, noþer, naþer
ERE (conj.)	er ((or þat, er þ^t))
EVIL	euel ((euele, yuel, iuele, iuel))
EYES	eyȝen, eiȝen, eyen ((eȝen, eieȝn))
FETCH	
FILL	*p. sg.* filde;
	p.p. fild
FIRE	fir ((fyr))
FIRST	furst, ferste
FROM	fram ((fro, fra<u>m</u>, from))
GET (*p.p.*)	gete, geten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue ((ȝef, ȝeif, ȝiue));
	sg. ȝaf (ȝeue) ((ȝeuet, ȝeueth, ȝeueþ, ȝaue, ȝif));
	pl. ȝeueþ;
	p.p. ȝouen, ȝeuen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((ha, habbe));
	sg. haue ((habbe));
	pl. han ((haue))
HER(S)	hure (here)
HIGH	heiȝe, heye (heiȝ, hey) ((heyȝe, heie))
HILL	hilles, hulles

I	ich, i, y ((iᶜ, I, Ich, ichc))
IF	ȝif ((if))
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it (hit) ((yt))
LAND	lond ((londe))
LITTLE	litel ((litele, lite))
-LY	-liche ((-lich, -li, -ly))
MAN	man ((man))
MANY	manie (many, mani)
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝte, myȝt ((miste, myȝth, miȝt));
	pl. myȝte
MUCH	miche (mochel) ((michel, muchele, muche, moche))
NE+ BE	nis
NE+HAVE	nath, naue
NE+WILL	nele
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	ne+nouȝt, nouȝt ((ne, noȝt, ne+nauȝt, ne+noȝt, ne+nouȝ,
	nauȝt, nouȝ))
OWN (adj.)	ouene, owene, oue
SELF	self (seluen, selue)
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((sal));
	pl. schullen, schulle ((schulen, schuln))
SHE	ȝhe ((ȝe))
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde;
	pl. scholde, schulde
SINCE	sythþen, siþe
SUCH	swich, swiche (swic) ((suich))
THAN	þan ((þane, þene, þanne))
THEIR	here ((hore, here, hor))
THEM	hem ((hom, hem))
THEN	þan, þanne ((þane))
THERE	þer (þer, þere, þar) ((þere))
THE SAME	þat iche
THESE	þes (þis)
THEY	hij (þei) ((þay, huy, þey, hy, þai, hui, hi))
THINK	þenk- ((þink-, þenk-, þench-))
(AL)THOUGH	þow ((þei, þou))
THROUGH	þorw ((þoruȝ, þourw, þourȝ))
TOGETHER	togydere
TWO	two, twey
UNTIL	to þᵗ (onto, to þat, til)
WAS	was
OE hw-words	w- ((wh-))
WILL	*sg.* wile, wil (wille, wol) ((wolle, wole));
	pl. wille
WITHOUT	withouten ((withoute, withouȝten, wiþouȝten, wythouten,
	witoute))

WORLD	world, werld ((werd, wordle))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde (wold); *pl.* wolden
YET	ȝit, ȝete
pres. part. ending	-ande ((-ende))

Notes

Those forms highlighted in red are those which were only recorded in the poem the <u>counsels of Alquinus to Guido ('of Warewik')</u> beginning on p.254.

AFTER	after
AGAIN(ST)	aȝen (aȝenes) ((aȝe<u>n</u>, agan))
ANY	eni
ARE	beþ ((ben, be<u>n</u>, are(rh.)))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	before
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bre<u>n</u>-
BUT	ac, boute
CAME	*sg.* com ((cam));
	pl. come
CHURCH	
COULD	*sg.* kouþe;
	pl. cowde
DAYS	dawes
DID	*sg.* dede
EACH	ech a, eche (ech)
(N)EITHER	aiþer (eiþer);
	naiþer ((neyþer))
ERE (conj.)	er ((er þan, are(rh.)))
EVIL	euel
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	fur
FIRST	erst ((ferst))
FROM	fro ((fram(rh.), fra<u>m</u>(rh.)))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue;
	sg. ȝaf ((ȝeue));
	pl. ȝeue;
	p.p. ȝeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((ha<u>n</u>, hauen))
HER(S)	hire ((hir))
HIGH	heȝ (hye(rh.)) ((hiȝ, hiȝe(rh.)))
HILL	hille
I	y (ich)
IF	ȝif
IS	is

IT	hit (it)
LAND	londe, lond ((land, launde, lo<u>n</u>de, lo<u>n</u>d))
LITTLE	lite
-LY	-liche, -ly ((-li, -lich, -lech))
MAN	man (ma<u>n</u>)
MANY	mani
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝte, miȝt;
	pl. miȝte
MUCH	meche
NE+ BE	nis, nas, ner
NE+WILL	nel, nelle, nele
NE+HAVE	naþ, nadde
NE+WOULD	nolde
NOT	nouȝt, ne ((nouȝt+ne))
OWN (adj.)	owene, owen
SELF	selue
SHALL	*sg.* schel;
	pl. scholle
SHE	ȝhe
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde
SINCE	siþe, siþþe
SUCH	swich, swiche
THAN	þan ((þanne))
THEIR	here (her)
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>)
THEN	þanne (þo, þan) ((þa<u>n</u>ne))
THERE	þer, þar, þere ((þare(rh.), þ<u>er</u>))
THE SAME	þat-ilche (þis-ilche)
THESE	þis
THEY	hii, þai ((þei, þay))
THINK	þenk-
(AL)THOUGH	þei
THROUGH	þourȝ
TOGETHER	togedre, togedres
TWO	to(rh.) ((twei, twie))
UNTIL	til ((into))
WAS	was ((wes))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wile
WITHOUT	wiþoute (wiþoute<u>n</u>, wiþouten)
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde
YET	ȝet
pres. part. ending	-ande ((-and, -i<u>ng</u>(rh.)))

AFTER	after ((after, eft))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝen (aȝenes) ((aȝen, aȝan(rh), again(rh.)))
ANY	eni
ARE	beþ (ben)
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	before ((beforen(rh.), beforn(rh.), tofore))
BEYOND	biȝendes
BOTH	boþe ((bo(rh.)))
BRIDGE	brige
BURN(T)	
BUT	ac, boute
CAME	*sg.* com ((cam));
	pl. come ((com))
CHURCH	cherche
COULD	*sg.* kouþe
DAYS	dawes, daies
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. deden
EACH	ech, ech a ((eche, ilche))
(N)EITHER	aiþer, eiþer, aþer;
	neiþer (noþer)
ERE (conj.)	er (er þan)
EVIL	euel
EYES	eiȝen, eien
FETCH	*inf.* feche (fette)
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	ferste ((ferst, erst))
FROM	fro ((fram, from))
GET (*p.p.*)	
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue;
	sg. ȝaf ((ȝef, ȝeue));
	pl. ȝeueþ, ȝaf;
	p.p. ȝeue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. han
HER(S)	hire ((hir, here, her))
HIGH	hiȝ, hiȝe ((hei))
HILL	
I	ich ((y, i))
IF	ȝif ((ȝef))
IS	is

IT	hit (it)
LAND	
LITTLE	lite ((litel))
-LY	-liche (-li) ((-lich, -ly(rh.), -lie(rh.)))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>, ma<u>nn</u>e(rh.)))
MANY	mani ((fele))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* miȝte ((miȝt));
	pl. miȝte
MUCH	meche ((miche, mechel))
NE+ BE	nam, nis, nas, ner
NE+WILL	nel ((nelle, nele))
NE+HAVE	nadde
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	neste
NOT	nouȝt, ne ((ne+nouȝt, nauȝt(rh.)))
OWN (adj.	owene ((owe<u>n</u>))
SELF	self ((selue))
SHALL	*sg.* schel;
	pl. scholle
SHE	ȝhe ((he))
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde;
	pl. scholde
SINCE	siþþe (seþþe, siþe)
SUCH	swiche ((swich))
THAN	þan (þanne) ((þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	here ((her, hire))
THEM	hem ((he<u>m</u>))
THEN	þo, þanne ((þan, þa<u>n</u>, þa<u>nn</u>e))
THERE	þar, þer, þ<u>er</u> ((þore(rh.), þere(rh.)))
THE SAME	þat-ilche ((þis-ilche))
THESE	þes
THEY	þai (hii) ((þei))
THINK	þenk-
(AL)THOUGH	þeȝ, þouȝ
THROUGH	þourȝ
TOGETHER	togadre(rh.), togedres (togedre)
TWO	twei ((tweie(rh.), to, twayne(rh.)))
UNTIL	til
WAS	was ((wes(rh.)))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wile ((wil(rh.)));
	pl. wile
WITHOUT	wiþoute<u>n</u>, wiþoute<u>n</u> (wiþoute)
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde
YET	ȝet (ȝit)

pres. part. ending   -ande (-ing)

MS: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 80
TEXT: Henry Lovelich's <u>Merlin</u>, fols.1-199

AFTER	aftyr, aftir ((after, aft_))
AGAIN(ST)	ageyn, aȝens, aȝen ((agein(rh.), aȝen̲s, ageyne(rh.),
	agayn(rh.), ageyns, aȝeyn(rh.), aȝein(rh.), aȝene(rh.), aȝeinst, ageyn̲(rh.)))
ANY	eny
ARE	ben (been) ((be, ben̲))
ASK	ax- ((ask-))
BEFORE	toforn (tofore) ((before(rh.), beforn, aforn, tofore̲n))
BEYOND	beȝonde
BOTH	bothe (boþe, bothen) ((bothen̲, boþen, boþen̲, boþen))
BRIDGE	brigge ((brygge))
BURN(T)	bren- ((bren̲-))
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam ((kam));
	pl. come̲n ((comen, come))
CHURCH	chirche ((cherche))
COULD	*sg.* cowde ((kowde));
	pl. cowden (cowde) ((cowde̲n))
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dide (dyde) ((dede, did));
	pl. deden, diden ((dide̲n, dyden, dedyn, dede))
EACH	eche (ech) ((iche, ech a))
(N)EITHER	owther (other, oþer);
	nethir, neþer (neyther) ((nethyr, nothir, noþer, neither))
ERE (conj.)	er (er that) ((ere, er þᵗ))
EVIL	evel (evele)
EYES	eyen ((eye̲n))
FETCH	
FILL	*inf.* fille(rh.)
FIRE	fyr, fir ((fere(rh.), feer, fyre, fire))
FIRST	ferst, ferste
FROM	from ((fro, fro̲m))
GET (*p.p.*)	Igete̲n
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeven, ȝeve̲n;
	sg. ȝaf;
	pl. ȝyven;
	p.p. ȝoven
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth(rh.)
HAVE	*inf.* han ((haue, haue̲n, have, haven, have̲n, hauen));
	sg. haue (have);
	pl. han ((haven, haue, haue̲n))
HER(S)	hir̲e (hire) ((here, hyre))
HIGH	hye(rh.), hy ((hyghe, hygh, high))
HILL	

I	I
IF	ȝif ((ȝyf))
IS	is ((isse(rh.)))
IT	it, hit ((Hyt))
LAND	lond ((londe(rh.), lawnde, launde))
LITTLE	lytel, litel ((lytyl))
-LY	-ly ((-liche, -lich, -lye, -lych, -lyche, -lie, -lyk, -li))
MAN	man ((man, manne(rh.), manne(rh.)))
MANY	many, manye ((mani, manie))
MIGHT (vb.)	sg. myhte ((mihte, myht, miht)); pl. myhten, myhten ((myhte, myht))
MUCH	mochel (moche)
NE+BE	nam, nys, nis, nas, neren
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	not, niste, nysten
NOT	not, ne+not, ne ((nowht(rh.), notte(rh.)))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((owe))
SELF	self ((selve(rh.)))
SHALL	sg. schal; pl. scholen ((scholen, schole, schol))
SHE	sche ((ȝhe))
SHOULD	sg. scholde (schold); pl. scholden ((scholden, scholde, schold))
SINCE	sethen ((sethen thanne, sethen))
SUCH	swich ((sweche, swiche, swech, swyche))
THAN	thanne, thanne ((than))
THEIR	here ((here, her))
THEM	hem ((hem, theym))
THEN	thanne, thanne, tho, than ((thane, than, þanne, þan, then(rh.)))
THERE	there (þere) ((there, thore(rh.), thar(rh.), ther, þere, þer, thare(rh.)))
THE SAME	thike, the same, thyke, that ilke (theke, that same, that ylke, this ilke) ((this same, þᵗ ilke, thike same, þᵉ same, this ylke, þyke))
THESE	these ((þese, þᵉse, thes))
THEY	they ((þei, thei, the))
THINK	thenk-, thynk- ((think-))
(AL)THOUGH	thowh (thowgh, thow) ((thouh, though))
THROUGH	thorwh, thorwgh ((thorw, thorgwh, thoruh))
TOGETHER	togederis ((togideris, togederys, togederes, togedere, togyderis))
TWO	two (tweyne) ((twey, tweye, tweyn))
UNTIL	tyl, tyl that ((til, til that, into, vntylle))
WAS	was ((wase(rh.)))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	sg. wil, wele ((wile, wyl, wel)); pl. welen

WITHOUT	w^towte<u>n</u>, withowten, withowte<u>n</u> ((w^towten, w^toute<u>n</u>, witowten, w^towte(rh.)))
WORLD	world ((wolrd))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde ((wold)); *pl.* wolden, wolde ((wold))
YET	ȝit ((ȝyt))
pres. part. ending	-enge, -ynge, -yng, -inge, -ande(rh.)

TEXT: <u>Commentary on the Psalms</u>, fols.1ʳ-115ᵛ

AFTER	after ((aft<u>er</u>, aftir, efte))
AGAIN(ST)	aʒens (aʒen) ((aʒenes, aʒe<u>n</u>s))
ANY	any (ony)
ARE	ben ((be, be<u>n</u>, arn, beth, bien))
ASK	ask- ((ax-))
BEFORE	before ((beforn, befor, afor, tofore, aforn, bifore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	bothe ((bothen))
BRIDGE	brigge
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam ((come));
	pl. comen, cam ((kemen, komen, come))
CHURCH	chirche ((cherche))
COULD	*sg.* coude
DAYS	dayes ((daies))
DID	*sg.* dede;
	pl. deden ((dede))
EACH	ech (eche) ((iche, ech a, ecche, ich))
(N)EITHER	either ((eyther));
	neyther ((neither))
ERE (conj.)	er ((or þᵗ, or þat))
EVIL	euel ((yuel, iuel, euele, yuele))
EYES	eihne, eihen (eyhen, ihen) ((eyne, iʒen, eien, yhne, yne, yhen))
FETCH	
FILL	*inf.* fille;
	pr.sg. filleth (fillith);
	pr.pl. fillen;
	p.sg. filde, filled;
	p.p. filled ((filde, fild))
FIRE	fier ((fyr, fire, fyre, fir))
FIRST	first ((firste))
FROM	fro ((from, fro<u>m</u>))
GET (*p.p.*)	geten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒiue ((ʒeue, ʒif, ʒef, ʒeue<u>n</u>, ʒeuen, ʒeef, ʒefen));
	sg. ʒaf, ʒeueth (ʒiueth) ((ʒeuith, ʒiue, ʒeuet, ʒeue, ʒyue));
	pl. ʒeuen, ʒiuen, ʒaf (ʒeue<u>n</u>) ((ʒyuen, ʒifen));
	p.p. ʒouen (ʒoue)
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((a, hauen));
	sg. haue;
	pl. han ((haue))
HER(S)	hir<u>e</u>, hire
HIGH	hih (hihe) ((heih, hy, heyh, heyhe, hey, heihe))

HILL	hill ((hil, hille))
I	I ((i))
IF	if
IS	is
IT	it
LAND	lond ((londe))
LITTLE	litel
-LY	-ly ((-li))
MAN	man ((ma<u>n</u>))
MANY	many ((manye, fele))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myghte ((myght));
	pl. myghte ((myghten, myght, might))
MUCH	moche ((meche, mechel, myche, mekel, mooche))
NE+	
NOT	not ((noght, nought, nogth, nogh, nogt, nohgt, ne))
OWN (adj.)	owne (owen)
SELF	self
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((schalle));
	pl. schal ((schuln, schul, schulen, shuln))
SHE	
SHOULD	*sg.* schulde;
	pl. schulden, schulde ((schulde<u>n</u>))
SINCE	sith ((sith þat, sitthe, sitthen))
SUCH	such (suche) ((swiche))
THAN	þan ((þanne, þa<u>n</u>))
THEIR	her<u>e</u>, her (here) ((heir, h<u>er</u>, þer))
THEM	hem (he<u>m</u>)
THEN	þanne ((þan, þa<u>n</u>ne, þa<u>n</u>))
THERE	þer (þer<u>e</u>) ((<u>þer</u>, þere))
THE SAME	þe same ((þat ilke, þat same))
THESE	þese ((these, þis, þise))
THEY	þei
THINK	thenk- ((thynk-))
(AL)THOUGH	thow ((al if))
THROUGH	thorw ((thurw, thurgh, thorgh, thurwe, thurghe, thurh))
TOGETHER	togidre ((togidere, togedir, togedere, togider))
TWO	two ((tweye))
UNTIL	til (to, into, til þat) ((til þ^t))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-, qu-))
WILL	*sg.* wele;
	pl. wele, welen ((wel, willen))
WITHOUT	w^touten (w^toute) ((w^toute<u>n</u>))
WORLD	werld (world) ((werlde, worlde, werd, word, w<u>er</u>lde))
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde, wolden
YET	ȝet ((ȝeet))
pres. part. ending	-yng ((-ynge))

AFTER — after ((aft<u>er</u>, aftir, aftyr, affter, aftir))

AGAIN(ST) — aȝen, aȝene, aȝens, aȝein ((aȝeins, aȝeine, aȝenste, aȝenst, aȝeyns, aȝeene, aȝenis))

ANY — any (eny) ((heny, ony, onye, hany))

ARE — ben (been) ((bee, bene, beth, beeþ))

ASK — ax-

BEFORE — befor, before ((byfore, beforee))

BEYOND —

BOTH — bothe, both ((boþ))

BRIDGE — bryge

BURN(T) — bren- ((bre<u>n</u>-))

BUT — but ((Butt))

CAME — *sg.* come ((came, com));
pl. come, comen ((cam))

CHURCH — *sg.* cowde, kowde, cowthe, couth, koude, kowþ;
pl. cowde, kouth, kowth

DAYS — daies

DID — *sg.* dede ((ded));
pl. dede ((deede))

EACH — eche

(N)EITHER — nothir, nother

ERE (conj.) — or, or that, ar

EVIL — evel, eville

EYES — eigen, eygen

FETCH — *p.p.* fett

FILL —

FIRE — fire

FIRST — ferst (firste) ((ferste, first))

FROM — fro (from) ((froo, frome))

GET (*p.p.*) — gette, gett

GIVE(N), GAVE — *inf.* ȝeue ((ȝefe, ȝeve));
sg. ȝaf, ȝafe ((ȝef, ȝeue, ȝaff));
pl. ȝaf, ȝafe

GO (*2/3 sg.*) —

HAVE — *iinf.* haue, have;
sg. haue, have;
pl. haue, have (haven)

HER(S) — here (her) ((her<u>e</u>, hire, herr<u>e</u>, hir, herre))

HIGH — hy, heyh, hey, hye, highe, heyghi<u>e</u>, heyghi

HILL — hill, hille

I — I, y

IF — if ((yf))

IS — es ((his))

IT — hit ((it))

LAND — land, lande (londe) ((lond))

LITTLE	litil ((litel, littel, lityl, littil, litile))
-LY	-lich, -ly ((-liche, -lych, -li, -lyche))
MAN	man ((man<u>n</u>e))
MANY	many ((manye, meny, mayny))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myghte (myght) ((myhte, myth));
	pl. myghte, myght ((might))
MUCH	moche, moch ((mochil, mochel, mich, mechil, mechel, miche, meche, mykel, mekel))
NE+ BE	nas
NE+WOULD	nolde
NE+witen	nyst
NOT	nouht, not ((nouhte, nowght, nowth, nought, nouh, ne))
OWN (adj.)	owne ((awne))
SELF	selfe ((self, selfee))
SHALL	*sg.* schal ((schalle, schall));
	pl. schulle ((schal, schullen, shullen, schull, scha))
SHE	sche
SHOULD	*sg.* scholde;
	pl. scholde ((scholden, schold))
SINCE	
SUCH	swech ((sweche))
THAN	þan ((thane, than))
THEIR	her (here, her<u>e</u>) ((hir, heren, hire, hir<u>e</u>))
THEM	heme (hem) ((he<u>m</u>, ham, þem))
THEN	þoo (thoo, than, thane, þo) ((þan, tho, þan<u>n</u>e, þane, þa<u>n</u>e))
THERE	there, ther, þere, þer ((þ<u>e</u>re, þerre, ther<u>e</u>))
THE SAME	the same ((that same, þe same))
THESE	these ((þes))
THEY	thei, they, þei ((þey, he, theye, þⁱ, theiþ))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	thouh
THROUGH	þoruh, þourgh (thourgh, þorgh) ((thorgh, þoru, þorugh, thoruh, þourh, þorw, þorguh, þougrh, þorh, þorouȝ))
TOGETHER	togyder (togideres, togyderes) ((togidere, togydere, togyderre, togyder<u>e</u>, togider))
TWO	two, twoo, too
UNTIL	til ((tyl, vnto, to þᵗ, tyl þat, til þat))
WAS	was ((vas))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wille ((wil, wylle))
WITHOUT	withowten (wᵗowten, wythowten) ((withowtene, withowte<u>n</u>, withowte))
WORLD	worlde
WOULD	*sg.* wolde;
	pl. wolde ((wold))
YET	ȝiet ((ȝit, ȝet))
pres. part. ending	-yng (-ynge)

AFTER	aft<u>er</u> (after) ((aftur))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝen (aȝeine) ((aȝenst, aȝens, aȝeinst, aȝenste, ayens, ayen, aȝeinste, aȝeyne, aȝeyns, aȝeyn))
ANY	any ((eny))
ARE	bien, beth, bene
ASK	ax-
BEFORE	byfore ((bifore))
BEYOND	byȝende
BOTH	both ((bothe))
BRIDGE	
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but ((butte))
CAME	*sg.* come ((came));
	pl. comen ((come, comyn, came))
CHURCH	
COULD	*sg.* coude, couthe
DAYS	dayes
DID	*sg.* dede ((dide));
	pl. deden (dede) ((dedyn))
EACH	eche
(N)EITHER	neiþer
ERE (conj.)	or, er þat
EVIL	euel, euele, euell, evell
EYES	
FETCH	
FILL	
FIRE	
FIRST	first ((firste))
FROM	fro (from)
GET (*p.p.*)	gate, gete (getyn) ((geten))
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝeue ((ȝefe, yeue));
	sg. ȝafe ((ȝaf, ȝif, yafe, ȝaue));
	p.p. ȝeuen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	gooth, goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue ((han));
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue (han) ((hauene))
HER(S)	her, her<u>e</u> ((here, hir, hire, hir<u>e</u>, hur<u>e</u>))
HIGH	hye
HILL	hilles
I	y ((I, i))
IF	if (yf) ((ȝif))
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it, hit ((hyt, hytte))
LAND	lande, londe (land) ((lond))

LITTLE	lytil, lytell, litill, litil, lytyl
-LY	-liche, -lich (-ly) ((-lych))
MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myght ((myghte, myȝt));
	pl. myght ((myghte, mytht))
MUCH	muche (muchel) ((moche, mochel, myche, muchell, much, michell, miche))
NE+	
NOT	not, nouȝt, nat (ne) ((nought, ne+nouȝt, noȝt))
OWN (adj.)	owne
SELF	selfe ((sylfe, sylf))
SHALL	*sg.* schalle (schal) ((schul));
	pl. schulle, schullene
SHE	sche (she)
SHOULD	*sg.* schuld (schulde) ((schuldyn));
	pl. schuld (schulde)
SINCE	sith
SUCH	suche
THAN	þan
THEIR	her ((here, here, þeire))
THEM	hem (hem) ((þem))
THEN	þo ((þan, Tho, Than))
THERE	þer, þer, þere ((þere, there, ther))
THE SAME	þe same ((þ^t same))
THESE	þes (þese) ((this, þees))
THEY	þei ((they, thei))
THINK	
(AL)THOUGH	þogh
THROUGH	þorgh ((þorogh, þorow))
TOGETHER	togeders ((togeder, togedere, togederes))
TWO	to, two ((tweyn, twey, too))
UNTIL	to þat, tyl, vn to ((to þ^t))
WAS	whas, was ((w^s))
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wil ((will));
	pl. wil
WITHOUT	wiþout
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wold, wolde ((woolde));
	pl. wold, wolde (wolden)
YET	ȝit
pres. part. ending	-yng ((-ing))

AFTER	after ((aftere))
AGAIN(ST)	ageyn ((agayn, ageynes, ageyne, aʒeynst))
ANY	eny
ARE	ben (ar) ((beth, er))
ASK	
BEFORE	toforn, aforn ((afor, afore, tofor, tofore))
BEYOND	
BOTH	both ((bothe(rh.), bothen))
BRIDGE	brigge
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but ((bot))
CAME	*sg.* cam ((kam));
	pl. cam ((kam))
CHURCH	
COULD	*sg.* coude (koude, cowde);
	pl. coude
DAYS	dayes, daies ((dawes(rh.)))
DID	*sg.* did ((dyd, dede));
	pl. did ((ded, dyden, dyd))
EACH	eche ((ech, ecch))
(N)EITHER	oyther (outher, owther, eyther, eiþer);
	neither ((nouther, nowther, neiþer, neyther))
ERE (conj.)	or (er) ((er that, or that))
EVIL	evyl (evel, euel)
EYES	eyen
FETCH	*inf.* fett, fette
FILL	*p.p.* filled
FIRE	fire(rh.) (fyre(rh.))
FIRST	first ((fyrst))
FROM	from, fro
GET (*p.p.*)	geten
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ʒif (ʒeve, gif);
	sg. gaf (ʒaf);
	pl. gaf;
	p.p. ʒoue
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goth ((goþ(rh.), gooth))
HAVE	*inf.* han ((ha, haue, have));
	sg. haue (ha);
	pl. han ((have, ha))
HER(S)	her ((hir, hire, hyr, hire, hur))
HIGH	hegh ((high, hygh))
HILL	hyl, hill (hille(rh.))
I	I
IF	ʒif ((if))
IS	is ((ys))
IT	it ((hit))

LAND	lond, londe ((land))
LITTLE	lityl, litil (lytyl) ((lytil))
-LY	-ly
MAN	man
MANY	many
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myght ((mygh));
	pl. myght ((myghte(rh.)))
MUCH	mych, moch
NE+ BE	nys, nas
NE+WOULD	nold
NE+witen	not
NOT	not (nat) ((ne, noght, nought, noʒt(rh.), ne+nouʒt, not ne))
OWN (adj.)	owne
SELF	silf ((self, seluen, silue))
SHALL	*sg.* shal ((shalle(rh.)));
	pl. shal ((shul))
SHE	she
SHOULD	*sg.* shuld;
	pl. shuld
SINCE	sith ((seth))
SUCH	such, swich ((swiche))
THAN	than
THEIR	her ((ther, their, theyre, theyr))
THEM	hem ((hem, ham))
THEN	than, tho
THERE	ther ((þer, þer))
THE SAME	the same, thilk ((þe same, thylk, thilk same, thik))
THESE	thise ((thies, thyes, this, thys, þies))
THEY	they (þei) ((thei, the))
THINK	thenk- (thynk-)
(AL)THOUGH	thogh ((though, thow, al thoh, thouh))
THROUGH	thorgh ((þorgh, thorg, thurgh, torgh,thorhe))
TOGETHER	togyder
TWO	two (tweyn(rh.), tweyne(rh.)) ((twoo(rh.)))
UNTIL	til ((to, tyl, vn to))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh- ((w-))
WILL	*sg.* wol, wil ((wille));
	pl. wol, wil
WITHOUT	withoute ((without))
WORLD	world
WOULD	*sg.* wold ((wolde));
	pl. wold
YET	ʒit
pres. part. ending	-yng ((-ynge, -ing))

AFTER	aftir (after) ((afftir, affter, aftyr))
AGAIN(ST)	aȝens, aȝen
ANY	any ((ony))
ARE	ben ((be, ben))
ASK	ask-
BEFORE	bifore ((tofore, biforn))
BEYOND	
BOTH	boþe ((bothe))
BRIDGE	abrigge
BURN(T)	bren-
BUT	but
CAME	*sg.* cam ((com, kam));
	pl. comen ((come))
CHURCH	chirche ((chirch))
COULD	*sg.* coude;
	pl. koud, koude
DAYS	daies
DID	*sg.* dide;
	pl. dide (diden, deden)
EACH	eche
(N)EITHER	noþer, neþir
ERE (conj.)	or
EVIL	yuel ((euel))
EYES	eiȝen, yȝen ((eien))
FETCH	
FILL	*p.pl.* filled;
	p.p. filled
FIRE	fire
FIRST	first (firste)
FROM	fro ((from))
GET (*p.p.*)	forȝete
GIVE(N), GAVE	*inf.* ȝyue, ȝeue;
	sg. ȝaf ((ȝyue, ȝyueth, ȝyueþ));
	p.p. ȝyuen, ȝouen, ȝeuen
GO (*2/3 sg.*)	goþ
HAVE	*inf.* haue;
	sg. haue;
	pl. haue ((hauen, hauen, han))
HER(S)	hire, hir ((here, her))
HIGH	hiȝe, hiȝ
HILL	hil
I	I ((i))
IF	ȝif, if
IS	is

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IT	it ((hit))
LAND	
LITTLE	ltel ((litil))
-LY	-li, -ly ((-liche))
MAN	man ((man))
MANY	many ((manye))
MIGHT (vb.)	*sg.* myȝte (myȝt) ((miȝte, miȝt));
	pl. myȝte (myȝt) ((miȝte, myȝt, myȝten))
MUCH	moche ((miche, myche, mykel))
NE+	
NOT	not ((note))
OWN (adj.)	owen
SELF	self ((selue))
SHALL	*sg.* schal;
	pl. schul ((schullen, schole, schulie, schal))
SHE	sche ((she, schee))
SHOULD	*sg.* schuld, schulde ((sculde));
	pl. schuld (schulde) ((suld, schulden))
SINCE	siþ, siþen
SUCH	suche ((soche, siche))
THAN	þan ((thanne, than, þen))
THEIR	her (here) ((hire, hir))
THEM	hem ((hem))
THEN	þan ((than, thanne, þanne, thanne, þen, þenne))
THERE	þere ((there, þere, ther, þer))
THE SAME	þ{e} same ((þis same, þ{t} same))
THESE	þise ((thise, þese, þis, these))
THEY	þei ((thei, they, he))
THINK	þenk- ((þink-, thenk-, think-))
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ ((thouȝ, ȝef þouȝ, þeiȝ, þei))
THROUGH	þoruȝ ((þrouȝ, Thorgh, throuȝ, throw, thoruȝ, þourȝ))
TOGETHER	togidre ((togedre, togider))
TWO	to (tweyne) ((tweie, two))
UNTIL	til, in to ((vnto))
WAS	was
OE hw-words	wh-, w-
WILL	*sg.* wil ((wille, wile, wol));
	pl. wil
WITHOUT	wiþoute, wiþouten ((withowte, withoute, w{t}outen, withowten, wiþowten, weþouten, withouten, wiþouten))
WORLD	world ((worlde))
WOULD	*sg.* wold, wolde;
	pl. wold
YET	ȝit ((ȝet))
pres. part. ending	-ynge ((inge))

Notes

Blue print indicates that a form appears only in fols. 1-8, whilst red indicates the forms noted only in the second portion of the text (i.e. from fol. 13^r onwards).

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Trinity College, 335**
Abbreviation	PM
Text	Poema Morale
Analysis from	EETS edition

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Trinity College, 335**
Abbreviation	THA
Text	Trinity Homilies, Hand A
Analysis from	EETS edition

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Stowe 34**
Abbreviation	VVA
Text	Vices & Virtues, Hand A
Analysis from	EETS edition

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Stowe 34**
Abbreviation	VVB
Text	Vices & Virtues, Hand B
Analysis from	EETS edition

Manuscript	**Blickling Hall, Norfolk 6864**
Abbreviation	Norf
Text	The Creed (fol. 35r)
Analysis from	LAEME tagged texts

Manuscript	**Cambridge, St. John's College, 111**
Abbreviation	SJC
Text	Stabat iuxta Christi crucem (fol. 106r)
Analysis from	LAEME tagged texts

Appendix Vb
List of Local Documents

Document	**PRO C1/9/169**
Petitioner	John Hardy the Younger of Thaxted
versus	Robert Pecock, John Poulter & John Caboche
Petition concerning	Lands enfeoffed by John Hardy the Elder
Area	Thaxted

Document	**PRO C1/9/373**
Petitioner	Lewis John esq.
versus	Thomas Hayne, Nicholas Pope & Robert Kent
Petition concerning	False declaration made under compulsion
Area	central Essex

Document	**PRO C1/9/374**
Petitioner	Lewis John esq.
versus	
Petition concerning	Relating to same dispute as C1/9/373
Area	central Essex

Document	**PRO C1/15/37**
Petitioner	Robert Chessers
versus	Thomas Tylley
Petition concerning	False actions of trespass
Area	Kirby

Document	**PRO C1/15/269**
Petitioner	John Eyre
versus	Richard Ficche & Geoffrey Taylour
Petition concerning	Land called 'Teyntour croft'
Area	Finchingfield

Document	**PRO C1/16/209**
Petitioner	John Buckynhull
versus	Sibyl Fraunceis alias Maulmere
Petition concerning	Dowry of Katherine, Sibyl's daughter
Area	Colchester

Document	**PRO C1/16/292**
Petitioner	William Strode
versus	John Rogge
Petition concerning	Messuage etc. in Colchester
Area	Colchester

Document	**PRO C1/16/443**
Petitioner	John Shopman
versus	Thomas Sudbery
Petition concerning	Lands etc. in East TIlbury
Area	East TIlbury

Document	**PRO C1/17/296-9**
Petitioner	William Strode
versus	John Rouge
Petition concerning	Messuage in Colchester
Area	Colchester

Document	**PRO C1/18/2 C&D**
Petitioner	Alice & John Andrewe & William Hervy
versus	John Thomas & John Page
Petition concerning	Detention of bonds
Area	Colchester

Document	**PRO C1/19/110**
Petitioner	Nicholas Wyfold
versus	Thomas Burgoyn
Petition concerning	Messuage etc. in Colchester
Area	Chelmsford

Document	**PRO C1/19/131**
Petitioner	Margaret & Joan Pugden
versus	John Hanham & John Butteler
Petition concerning	Messuage, 'saltcote' & land in Stow
Area	Stow

Document	**PRO Prob 11/3, fols.275v-276v**
Petitioner	Register copy of the will of Richard Alred
versus	
Petition concerning	
Area	Boreham

Document	**PRO SC 1/51/35**
Petitioner	Letter
versus	
Petition	
concerning	
Area	Horkesley

Manuscript	**London, PRO, SC 1/51/60-62**
Abbreviation	PRO SC 1/51/60-62
Text & folio numbers	Letters by Richard Garford
Folios analysed	All letters
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Original
LALME LP	6000
Manuscript	**London, PRO Prob 11/2B**
Abbreviation	PRO Prob 11/2B
Text & folio numbers	Will of Stephen Thomas, fols. 358r-v
Folios analysed	358r-v
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Original
LALME LP	6010
Manuscript	**London, British Library, Sloane 442**
Abbreviation	Sl 442
Text & folio numbers	Medica, fols. 1-66
Folios analysed	1-66 (except hand of fols. 28v-31v)
Scribes	4
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6021
Manuscript	**London, British Library, Harley 3943** (A)
Abbreviation	Har 3943
Text & folio numbers	Troilus & Criseyde, fols. 1-116
Folios analysed	1-116 (even recto sides)
Scribes	4
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6030

Manuscript	**London, PRO Prob 1/3**
Abbreviation	PRO Prob 11/3
Text & folio numbers	Will of William Hanyngfeld, fols. 45r-v
Folios analysed	45r-v
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Original
LALME LP	6070

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, e Musaeo 76**
Abbreviation	e Mus 76
Text & folio numbers	Prick of Conscience, fols. 1-127
Folios analysed	1-127
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6080

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 840**
Abbreviation	Bod 840
Text & folio numbers	Prose Brut, fols. 1-166
Folios analysed	1-166 (even recto sides)
Scribes	2
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6090

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Sloane 73**
Abbreviation	Sl 73
Text & folio numbers	recipes, fols. 196-202
Folios analysed	196-202
Scribes	various - English & Latin incl. LP 4708 (Beds.)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6100

Manuscript	**Oxford, Corpus Christi College 201**
Abbreviation	OCCC 201
Text & folio numbers	<u>Piers Plowman,</u> fols 1-93
Folios analysed	1-21; 22-93 (recto sides)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	CD-ROM
LALME LP	6110
Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Add.A.369**
Abbreviation	Add.A.369
Text & folio numbers	<u>Palladius on Husbandrie,</u> fols. 1-71
Folios analysed	7-71 (recto sides)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6120
Manuscript	**London, British Library, Harley 2338**
Abbreviation	Har 2338
Text & folio numbers	<u>Meditations of the Supper,</u> fols. 1-29
Folios analysed	1-29
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6130
Manuscript	**London, British Library, Egerton 2726**
Abbreviation	Eg 2726
Text & folio numbers	<u>Canterbury Tales,</u> fols. 1-120
Folios analysed	1-120 (even recto sides)
Scribes	2
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6150

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Add 37677**
Abbreviation	Add 37677
Text & folio numbers	Exegesis, fols. 84-105
Folios analysed	84-105
Scribes	4 - English & Latin incl. LP 4267 (Cams.)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6170

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Harley 2409**
Abbreviation	Har 2409
Text & folio numbers	To love & dread God, fols. 1-51 (language 1)
Folios analysed	1-51
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6190

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 434**
Abbreviation	CCCC 434
Text & folio numbers	English Biblical Version, fols. 1-159
Folios analysed	1-159 (odd recto sides)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6200

Manuscript	**Washington, Library of Congress 4** (B)
Abbreviation	LoC 4 (B)
Text & folio numbers	Gospel of Nicodemus, fols. 41-63
Folios analysed	41-63
Scribes	3 - incl. LPs 6230 (Essex) & 458 (Northern)
Analysis from	Microfilm printout
LALME LP	6210

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 126**
Abbreviation	Douce 126
Text & folio numbers	Prick of Conscience, fols. 1-68
Folios analysed	1-45; 46-68 (recto)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6220

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 126**
Abbreviation	Douce 126
Text & folio numbers	Siege of Jerusalem, fols. 69-84
Folios analysed	69-84
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6220

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 126**
Abbreviation	Douce 126
Text & folio numbers	Debate of Mary & Bernard, fols. 84v-91
Folios analysed	84v-91
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6220

Manuscript	**Washington, Library of Congress 4** (A)
Abbreviation	LoC 4 (A)
Text & folio numbers	Benedictine Rule/Injunctions, fols. 1-37
Folios analysed	1-10; 11-37 (recto)
Scribes	3 - incl. LPs 6210 (Essex) & 458 (Northern)
Analysis from	Microfilm printout
LALME LP	6230

Manuscript	**Washington, Library of Congress 4** (A)
Abbreviation	LoC 4 (A)
Text & folio numbers	Gospel of Nicodemus, fols. 37v-40v
Folios analysed	37v-40v
Scribes	3 - incl. LPs 6210 (Essex) & 458 (Northern)
Analysis from	Microfilm printout
LALME LP	6230
Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 322**
Abbreviation	Douce 322
Text & folio numbers	Religious tracts (17 texts), fols. 1-101
Folios analysed	1-101
Scribes	1?
Analysis from	Original & microfilm
LALME LP	6240
Manuscript	**Beeleigh Abbey, Foyle MS** (C)
Abbreviation	Foyle
Text & folio numbers	Nicholas Love's Mirror, fols. 134v-149v
Folios analysed	134v-149v (scan of remainder)
Scribes	4
Analysis from	Original
LALME LP	6250
Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	Gospel Harmony, pp. 1-43
Folios analysed	1-10; 11-43 (every second page)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Mirror</u>, pp. 45-212
Folios analysed	45-212 (every fourth page)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Sayings of Wise Men</u>, pp. 212-226
Folios analysed	212-226
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Apocalypse</u> with commentary, pp. 226-263
Folios analysed	226-263 (odd-numbered pages)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Early English Prose Psalter</u>, pp. 263-370
Folios analysed	263-370 (every fourth page)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Ancrene Riwle,</u> pp. 371-449
Folios analysed	371-449 (every fourth page)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Complaint of our Lady,</u> pp. 449-459
Folios analysed	449-459
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Magdalene, Pepys 2498**
Abbreviation	Pepys 2498
Text & folio numbers	<u>Gospel of Nicodemus,</u> pp. 459-63
Folios analysed	459-63
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Harley 874**
Abbreviation	Har 874
Text & folio numbers	<u>Apocalypse</u> with Commentary, fols. 1-32
Folios analysed	1-32
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>Siege of Jerusalem</u>, fols. 1-21; 71v-72
Folios analysed	1-21; 71v-72
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>Vision of St.Alexius</u>, fols. 21-26
Folios analysed	21-26
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>Five Dreams of Adam Davy</u>, fols. 26-27
Folios analysed	26-27
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>Kyng Alisaunder</u>, fols. 27-64r
Folios analysed	27-64r
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>Temporale,</u> fols. 65r-70
Folios analysed	65r-70
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>XV Tokens of Domesday,</u> fols. 70v-71r
Folios analysed	70v-71r
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622**
Abbreviation	Laud 622
Text & folio numbers	<u>Lines on the Birth of Christ,</u> fols. 71r-71v
Folios analysed	71r-71v
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6260

Manuscript	**London, BL, Lansdowne 763**
Abbreviation	Lans 763
Text & folio numbers	Musical Treatise, fols. 105v-122v
Folios analysed	105v-122v
Scribes	John Wylde of Waltham- rest of ms is in Latin
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6270

Manuscript	**London, British Library, Add 17376**
Abbreviation	Add 17376
Text & folio numbers	<u>Early English Prose Psalter</u> fols. 1-149
Folios analysed	1-10; 11-149 (recto)
Scribes	2 - English, other hand is LP 5960 (Kent)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6280

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Add.C.280**
Abbreviation	Add.C.280
Text & folio numbers	<u>Charter of Christ</u>, fols. 124-125r
Folios analysed	124-125r
Scribes	various- rest of ms is in French
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6290

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Add.C.280**
Abbreviation	Add.C.280
Text & folio numbers	<u>Life of Christ</u>, fols. 125r-127
Folios analysed	125r-127
Scribes	various - rest of ms is in French
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6290

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Trinity College R.14.32**
Abbreviation	Trin R.14.32
Text & folio numbers	Medica (22 texts), fols. 1-149
Folios analysed	1-149
Scribes	various
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6300

Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6** (A)
Abbreviation	Add.E.6
Text & folio numbers	<u>Sayings of St. Bernard</u>, 180 lines
Folios analysed	lines 1-180
Scribes	3
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6321
Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6** (B)
Abbreviation	Add.E.6
Text & folio numbers	<u>XV Tokens of Domesday</u>, 212 lines
Folios analysed	lines 1-212
Scribes	3
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6321
Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Add.E.6** (B)
Abbreviation	Add.E.6
Text & folio numbers	<u>Pater Noster</u>, 128 lines
Folios analysed	lines 1-128
Scribes	3
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6321
Manuscript	**Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 157**
Abbreviation	Douce 157
Text & folio numbers	<u>Prick of Conscience</u>, fols. 1-113
Folios analysed	1-113
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6330 (Language B)

Manuscript	**Cambridge, St. John's College 256**
Abbreviation	SJC 256
Text & folio numbers	<u>Pater Noster</u>, pp. 233-252
Folios analysed	233-252
Scribes	2 (first hand writes in French)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6340

Manuscript	**Cambridge, St. John's College 256**
Abbreviation	SJC 256
Text & folio numbers	<u>Counsels of Alquinus</u>, pp. 254-269
Folios analysed	254-269
Scribes	2 (first hand writes in French)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6340

Manuscript	**Cambridge, St. John's College 256**
Abbreviation	SJC 256
Text & folio numbers	<u>Orison of Mary</u>, pp. 269-270
Folios analysed	269-270
Scribes	2 (first hand writes in French)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6340

Manuscript	**Auchinleck** (E)
Abbreviation	Auch E
Text & folio numbers	<u>Reinbrun</u>, fols. 167-175
Folios analysed	167-175
Scribes	6 - incl. LPs 6500&6510 (Lon.), 6940 (Gloucs.)
Analysis from	Facsimile
LALME LP	6350

Manuscript	**Auchinleck** (E)
Abbreviation	Auch E
Text & folio numbers	<u>Sir Beues of Hamtoun</u>, fols. 176-201
Folios analysed	176-182; 183-201 (recto)
Scribes	6- incl. LPs 6500&6510 (Lon.), 6940 (Gloucs.)
Analysis from	Facsimile
LALME LP	6350

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 80**
Abbreviation	CCCC 80
Text & folio numbers	Henry Lovelich's <u>Merlin</u>, fols. 1-199
Folios analysed	1-199 (odd recto sides)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6360

Manuscript	**Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 387**
Abbreviation	CCCC 387
Text & folio numbers	<u>Commentary on the Psalms</u>, fols. 1-115
Folios analysed	1-115 (recto sides)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	6370

Manuscript	**Glasgow, Hunterian 74** (B)
Abbreviation	Hunt 74 (B)
Text & folio numbers	<u>Prose Brut</u>, fols. 11-35
Folios analysed	11-35
Scribes	4 - incl. LP 9360 (Essex)
Analysis from	Original
LALME LP	9250

Manuscript	**Glasgow, Hunterian 74** (A)
Abbreviation	Hunt 74 (A)
Text & folio numbers	<u>Prose Brut</u>, fols. 1-11
Folios analysed	1-11
Scribes	4 - incl. LP 9250 (Essex)
Analysis from	Original
LALME LP	9360
Manuscript	**London, British Library, Arundel 119**
Abbreviation	Arun 119
Text & folio numbers	<u>Siege of Thebes</u>, fols. 1-79
Folios analysed	1-9; 10-79 (recto)
Scribes	1
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	9450
Manuscript	**Cambridge University Library, Hh.I.11**
Abbreviation	CUL Hh.I.11
Text & folio numbers	Nicholas Love's <u>Mirror</u> (excerpts), fols. 1-44
Folios analysed	1-44
Scribes	8 (main scribes) incl. LPs 666, 4620, 659 (Nfk)
Analysis from	Microfilm
LALME LP	9460

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