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**Studies in the Plural Demonstratives
in Middle English Texts from the West Riding of Yorkshire**

by

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to the University of Glasgow

Department of English Language

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Abstract

The diachronic emergence of the demonstratives *these* and *those* resulted from numerous systemic adjustments at various levels of the English language (grammar, semantics etc.). Middle English texts written in the West Riding of Yorkshire demonstrate the complexity and variety of these adjustments, deriving from the area's unique topographical features and historical background. An examination of language systems in the West Riding and surrounding areas reveals the functional processes and pressures which produced and constrained this variation. Through this research, the author aims to explain the processes of language development over time from a variationist perspective, both in particular (as these processes affected the evolution of English demonstrative systems) and in general.

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Abbreviations

Adj	adjective	N	neuter / noun
adv	adverb	O	object
Alt	alternative words	OE	Old English
C	complement	PDE	present day English
Det	determiner	pl	plural
EModE	early Modern English	PP	prepositional phrase
F	female	Pron	pronoun
LModE	late Modern English	S	subject of a sentence
M	male	sg.	singular
ME	Middle English	that C	that clause
ModE	Modern English	V	verb
MV	Main Version	w	with
LP	Linguistic Profile		

Abbreviation of dictionaries and dialect source

EDD	<i>the English Dialect Dictionary</i>
LALME	<i>the Linguistic Atlas of late Mediaeval English</i>
MED	<i>the Middle English Dictionary</i>
OED	<i>the Oxford English Dictionary</i>
SED	Survey of English Dialects

Abbreviations of counties

Bck	Buckinghamshire	Cu	Cumberland
Bed	Bedfordshire	Dor	Dorset
Dby	Derbyshire	Dvn	Devon
Brk	Berkshire	Dur	Durham
Cam	Cambridgeshire	Ely	Isle of Ely
Chs	Cheshire	ERY	East Riding of Yorkshire

Ex	Essex	Nt	Nottinghamshire
Gl	Gloucestershire	Ox	Oxfordshire
Ha	Hampshire	Pet	Peterborough
Hrf	Herefordshire	Ru	Rutland
Hrt	Hertfordshire	Sal	Shropshire
Hu	Huntington	Sfk	Suffolk
Kt	Kent	Som	Somerset
L	London	Stf	Staffordshire
La	Lancashire	Sur	Surrey
Lei	Leicestershire	Sx	Sussex
Li	Lincolnshire	Wlt	Wiltshire
Mx	Middlesex	Wmld	Westmorland
Nbld	Northumberland	Wor	Worcestershire
Nfk	Norfolk	Wrk	Warwickshire
Nht	Northamptonshire	WRY	West Riding of Yorkshire
NRV	North Riding of Yorkshire		

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To my husband

,

Chapter 1 Introduction

1. 1 Aims of the thesis

0. The principal aims of this thesis are to examine the equivalent forms of the Present-Day English demonstratives *these* and *those* in late Middle English texts located in the West Riding of Yorkshire (WRY) in order to discover how and why these forms evolved as they did.

1. An axiom in language science is that all languages, standard or non-standard, written or spoken, are systemic. This means that all language performances are rule-governed and not random. Discussion of various rules in various localized texts within the WRY is the primary theme of this thesis.

2. For this purpose the Middle English poem *The Prick of Conscience* is used as a primary source-text, for two linked reasons: (1) it survives in many copies, over a wide area, and (2) it thus allows the investigator to use each text as a control for another. Thus, after copies of that text located outside the WRY are examined, then we move our focus onto texts located within the WRY. From these examinations we seek to construct a hypothesis as to the evolution of demonstrative systems in five WRY texts of *Prick of Conscience*.

3. The observed systemic rules of the demonstratives may be related to sociolinguistic and dialectological models of language change and from these models we hypothesize as to various conditions in which particular variants appear. In short, from the rule (that is sociolinguistic and dialectological models) and the result (the observed fact) given, we

infer the case (the condition)¹.

4. Some comments are required on why the demonstratives in texts from WRY are chosen. *These* and *those* in the late Middle English period, as listed in the Linguistic Profile (LP) in volume three of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME), show a great number of variant forms. Several maps² created from the LP data provide us with snapshot pictures of the diatopic distribution of these variants. They also show the complex areas, notably border areas, with overlapping distribution of systems. One of the areas which particularly exhibit a wealth of complexities and variances is the WRY. The area's geographical location and its history have contributed to the creation of intricate border areas within it.

5. Obviously, the limitations of the evidence raise problems concerning the accuracy of our findings. Nonetheless, the area-focus approach elicits various geographically conditioned tendencies of the demonstrative systems, tendencies which otherwise cannot be found in a single text. Furthermore, there are theoretical implications arising from the study of such systems, enriching our understanding of linguistic evolution.

¹ This is called hypothetical inference, or abduction. The details are found in Anttila 1989a: 196-198.

² That is, Item Map 2 and Dot Maps 1-9 for THESE and Dot Maps 615-617 & 1145 for THOSE.

1. 2 The systemic character of language

6. All languages are systems in which everything is connected to everything else, i.e. *tout se tient* in the words of de Saussure and his followers (see Grammont 1933). This axiom refers to language internal relations (vocabulary, grammar, sound-system) in a narrow sense, but it also has to include language external relations such as social context and situation in a broad sense when languages are considered as communicative tools (Smith forthcoming a: 15). Thus, languages are not only constrained by semantic, morphological, syntactic and phonological structures but also by the realization of the structures as speech or writing in a particular setting in a particular society.

7. The mutual dependence of language internal and external relations is found in the ambiguity of sentences appearing without context.

Flying planes can be dangerous.

The above sentence is famously quoted by Chomsky in his argument of the transformational process from deep structure to surface structure. The suffix *-ing* in the noun phrase *Flying planes* has two functions either as adjective or as noun. In the former function the phrase means ‘planes which are flying’ in the latter function it means ‘to fly planes’. Nonetheless, languages premise communication, and, hence, it is hardly proper that the sentence would be uttered vacantly without referring to any retrievable contexts. Similar points can be also made in the following sentence.

*I suggest we attack the red*³.

This sentence is ambiguous in a number of respects. Firstly, *red* could refer to anything such as a red soldier in a game or a red sweet in a box of sweets. Also, the meaning of the verb *suggest* can be an order or command, a plea or a simple suggestion between equals depending on the relationship between the speaker and the listener. The pronoun *we* can be 'inclusive we', that is the pronoun *I* is included to *we*, or 'non-inclusive we' (as used by superiors) in which case *we* becomes very close to 'you'. Nonetheless, given some contextual information, for instance the response made by the addressee 'Yea, I bought some French reds', the meaning is more clearly understood. Thus, *red* would be red wine, *suggest* would be a simple suggestion and *we* would 'inclusive we'. The above sentence would be interpreted as 'let's both of us start drinking the red wines'.

8. Non-standard languages are also systemic even if these different systems may be culturally stigmatised. One of the most interesting examples, relating to the theme of this thesis, is the pronominal system and also the preservation of gender system in south-western areas. In these areas pronouns are determined not by subject or object function but by weak and strong stress position (Hughes & Trudgill 1987: 18). In the strong stressed position the pronouns appear in the regular standard forms: *you*, *he*, *she*, *we* and *they*. In the weak position those become various reduced forms: *ee* for 'you', *er* (subject position) for 'he' and *'n* (object position) for 'him', *er* for 'she/her', *us* for 'we/us' and *'m* for 'they/them'. Also, interestingly, a gender system is preserved with reference to singular countable nouns such as a hammer and a tree, which are referred to as *he/'n/er* whereas the mass nouns are referred to as *it*, (Hugh & Trudgill 1987: 18-19). Following

³ The sentence and the following discussions are quoted from Eggins 1996: 8-9.

are illustrations of these pronominal and gender systems:

You wouldn't do that would *ee*? / No, give'*n* to you.

He wouldn't do that, would *er*? / No, give'*n* to *he*.

She wouldn't do that, would *er*? / No, give'*n* to *she*.

We wouldn't do that, would *us*? / No, give'*n* to *we*.

They wouldn't do that, would '*m*? / No, give'*n* to *they*.

9. The very nature of pronouns, of course, requires reference in context, but they can only function as reference to something in a particular environment. The particular environment means not only a certain geographically conditioned social context but also a certain language internal relationship. The above sentences are transcribed or translated into standard spellings in order for us to examine the different form and function of pronouns more adequately. Nonetheless, south-western languages, as a total system of semantic, morphological, syntactic and phonological structures, are very different and the pronominal and gender systems are recognised as such in that system, as demonstrated in the following sentence.

In Dem, ees a er an' ers a ee, all' cept th' aud Tom cat an' even ees a er!

[In Devon, he is a her and she is a he, all except the old Tom cat and even he is a her!] (Marten 1973: 9)

10. Therefore, the unique pronominal systems in south-western areas do not simply lie in formal or functional differences but ultimately in a difference in the system as a whole.

1.3 Sociolinguistic and dialectological models of language change

1.3.1 Why do languages change?

11. Why do languages change? The casual answer to this question is that everything in human affairs perpetually changes and languages are no exception. More interesting and more puzzling questions, however, concern themselves with why particular changes take place at particular points in time and not others and how those changes spread in space and time.

12. Before tackling these questions we have to bear in mind that in reality it is not so much that language itself changes, but that speakers change the way they use language. Speakers often innovate through imitating other speakers. When the innovations are adopted by others and spread through their local communities and beyond to other communities, we can say linguistic change happens. It is, hence, more accurate to describe language change in terms of how and why speakers innovate. In this sense mechanisms of language change, then, may be considered to be an essentially social phenomenon.

13. Nonetheless, society itself cannot be solely responsible for the change because 'Change in language is change in linguistic system not change in speakers [themselves]'(Milroy 2003: 150). Once social phenomena implement particular intra-linguistic factors, these factors interact with each other and have to be readjusted within linguistic systems. Consequently, in order to understand why languages change as they do we have to consider both extra-linguistic and intra-linguistic factors. A more

appropriate question we should ask, then, would be ‘how do activities of speakers in social contexts feed into linguistic systems as established changes in the basic structural parts of language’ (Milroy 1993).

1. 3. 2 On the role of speakers in language change

14. The importance of spoken forms of language or dialects is touched upon as early as 1900 by Henry Sweet, who writes (1900: 79):

It is now an axiom of scientific philology that the real life of language is in many respects more clearly seen and better studied in dialects and colloquial forms of speech than in highly developed literary language.

Along similar lines Henry C Wyld states (1927: 21):

The drama of linguistic change is enacted not in manuscripts or in inscriptions, but in the mouths and minds of men.

15. Despite these earlier insights into the importance of spoken forms of language, it is only in the 1960s that research into colloquial forms of language started to receive sufficient scholarly attention within the sociolinguistic framework. As a result of the work of linguists such as Labov, Milroy and Trudgill it has become clear that we can directly detect language change in progress by studying variations and that clues to understanding language change lie in those variations.

1.3.2.1 Variation and constraints

16. Variation exists among speakers of the same language according to time, space and social characteristics (that is, age, gender, class and ethnicity). Variation also exists in the speech of a single person due to his ability to use very different forms of the same language according to register (that is, context, situation and formality). In addition to these rather obvious cases, less obvious is the tremendous amount of variation observed in what we perceive as the ‘same’ sound when spoken not only by different speakers but also in different words, at different speeds and different loudnesses (Aitchison 2001: 159).

17. Variation does not appear in a chaotic way in a given language’s performance, but occurs in a pattern of ‘orderly heterogeneity’ (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968: 100). That is, variation is not random but strictly controlled and manipulated, often by extra-linguistic factors, to serve communication functions. The controlling and manipulating elements are regarded as constraints and exercised by an act of selection of a particular variant to fit a given system. Thus, when used in the appropriate register it can function without a breakdown of communication. Frequently some unchanged relic forms remain and although they appear as irregularities or ‘exceptions’ from a synchronic point of view they fulfil their communication purposes in a particular social context. Languages are systemic and they allow variation. These two linguistic facts can be considered as connected in a symbiotic way in that systems arise through variation and variants survive because they exist within a system.

18. This variation is hardly stable but is always exposed to change in any time and place

through contact. Incessant population movements lead to language contact between speakers of different varieties of a given language as well as those of wholly different languages. Moreover, the fact that no single person speaks exactly the same way as others presupposes that we continually face language contact situations in everyday life. Through social contact, any linguistic elements speakers choose can be transferred for any number of reasons.

1. 3. 2. 2 Act of choice

19. In understanding language change, the role of speakers as social creatures is crucial. For language change is only activated by speakers' choices of particular variants from a pool of variants which is constantly being created in the continual flux of living language. Speakers often choose a given variant based on their notion of social significance (such as social position, power, and etiquette) attached to that variant. They also choose a variant in a similar way as those of a certain group or certain groups in order to be identified as one of them or in a dissimilar way to be distinguished from them (so called identification theory by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181). These choices are made by imitating other speakers, more often subconsciously than consciously. Nonetheless, they do not necessarily result in a success. They, in fact, sometimes result in missing the target (hyperadaptation). In this case, the speaker would end up producing a new system, which is not found in his original accent nor that which he is imitating. If those adoptions are coming from outside, there may be an adoption coming from inside when speakers accommodate their speech to other speakers (so called accommodation theory by Giles & Smith 1979 cited from Trudgill 1989). In short, a person's speech does not strive to imitate but rather converges towards the speech of the person they are talking to. Often

we see close friends or couples who appear to speak very similarly due to this phenomenon of speech accommodation.

20. When linguistic elements are consistently chosen and integrated into the linguistic system of adopters in a community, language change can take off. Smith (forthcoming b: 8) writes 'it is precisely this moment of adoption', be the speech community as small as a married couple, 'which marks a linguistic change, for adoption presupposes understanding, and understanding in turn presupposes a grasp of the linguistic system through which meaning of various kinds can be communicated.' The smallest speech community, therefore, requires only two persons: a speaker and a listener (Smith forthcoming b: 8), and when a wife's innovation is adopted by a husband, a linguistic change can be considered to have occurred and such innovations can spread outside the community.

21. A typical diffusion pattern is represented by an S-curve diagram. The innovation initially begins to spread very slowly to a certain number of people, the change then appears to take off and spread rapidly over a relatively short time-span, and finally, it is likely to slow down as its extension is completed.

1. 3. 3 Spread of innovation and the notion of weak/strong ties to communities

1. 3. 3. 1 Stages of language change

22. Variation and choice are the components essential to language change. Smith (1996:

7) has put together these two elements as *potential for change* and regarded them as the very first operating stage of language change. Following this are the two subsequent stages of *implementation* (including triggering and actuation) and *diffusion*. According to him 'implementation takes place when that choice becomes selected as a part of linguistic system and diffusion takes place when the change is imitated beyond its site of origin, whether in terms of geographical or of social distribution' (1996: 7). These two stages, however, are not separate phenomena.

1. 3. 3. 2 Interconnected nature of the implementation and diffusion

23. Sociolinguistic models for language change seem to suggest that implementation and diffusion may be more adequately understood if we consider them as one and the same thing in terms of language phenomena, but also as categorically different language-internal phenomena. We may therefore be able to treat them as if they were two sides of one coin (the face of the coin signifying diffusion and the back implementation): it has two different sides that function as one. This assumption is based on the fact that the evidence of implementation can only be adequately observed in the momentum of diffusion. Labov (1972: 277) argues that it is not meaningful for us to distinguish implementation (actuation in Labov's term) from diffusion (Labov's transmission). An idiosyncratic speech habit or a slip of the tongue certainly introduces variation, but change is only initiated when the new variants adopted by a group of speakers become systemic and acquire some social significance. As Labov (1972: 277) puts it, we may 'assume that a certain word or pronunciation is indeed introduced by one individual. It becomes a part of the language only when it is adopted by others, i.e. when it is propagated. Therefore the origin of a change is its 'propagation' or acceptance by others.'

1.3.3.3 Speech communities: Notion of weak and strong ties

24. To see how the innovation spreads outside of its original place of origin, a very useful notion to have is speech communities. Speech communities are considered to be composed of individuals all speaking the same tongue, but not identical in linguistic usage. It is this notion of the speech communities and its relation to people outside those communities that are best demonstrated in Milroy (1992a). He argues that the connection of individuals to speech communities is categorised in terms of either strong or weak ties. Strong ties might be defined roughly as those between friends or family members, while weak ties are those between acquaintances. This working definition is in relative terms and the measurements depend on the amount of time they share, the emotional intimacy and intensity, and the reciprocal services (Milroy 1992a: 178).

25. Strongly tied communities function as a conservative force and retard or resist linguistic pressures from outside; conversely weakly tied communities are those which are most exposed to external pressure for change (Milroy & Milroy 1985). It is clear that variation is more likely to be larger in the latter than former and that innovations, when they appear, are also more likely to be quickly adopted by the latter than former. We therefore expect change would take place more rapidly and more forcefully in weakly tied communities. From this pattern we can see the general picture that 'innovation seems to be faster or more extreme in rapidly growing towns and cities, or in areas where settlement has been recent; innovation seems to be slower in rural areas where communities need strong social ties for mutual support, or in traditional urban communities' (Smith forthcoming b: 10). The weakly tied individuals, the carriers of the innovation, 'are therefore highly likely to be socially mobile individuals who are not

central enough in any group to be constrained by its norm-enforcing mechanisms, but who have weak links with enough groups to pass the variant on to their members. They are consequently liable to be members of the more mobile upper working or lower middle class, as Labov hypothesised' (McMahon 1999: 250).

26. The transmission of the innovation has to be successfully passed from the weakly tied individuals to the central members of the strongly tied communities in order to enact change. Once it reaches the central groups, it will start to spread gradually to the outer members of the communities. During this process of diffusion, social factors which cause the central members to accept the innovation might be different from those of peripheral members of the communities. The influential early adopters in the centre of the community might accept the innovation for a variety of reasons whereas the peripheral members tend to regard the central members as role-models and simply follow suit due to its (covert or overt) prestige. In this sense, we might need to theoretically differentiate, if possible, the motivation of early adopters from later adopters.

1.3.3.4 Labov's direction of spread of innovation

27. Milroy's approach using social network-theory shows how individual ties to the speech communities hold the key to the spread of an innovation. When we see a society as a whole and divide it into social characteristics based on social class and gender, we can see different aspects of initiators of language change⁴. According to Labov (1972: 243), the upper working and lower middle classes are most active in initiating change as their linguistic insecurity causes them to imitate upper-class speakers. As to gender, two

⁴ Holmes (1992: 231-4) discusses some cases where the generalization does not hold true.

opposite directions of diffusion are observed. Changes moving in the direction of established norms are consciously brought about mainly by women, because for them the overt prestige of linguistic standards is, for cultural reasons, more important. Changes leading away from standard linguistic norms are predominantly carried by men, for whom the covert prestige of non-standard varieties associated with working-class values of toughness, crude language, and group solidarity, are more important.

1. 3. 4 Failure of spread of innovation

28. Not all innovation spreads outside the community in which it originates. Even if it does, it may only have a limited life span. When we define the smallest unit of speech community as two individuals (a speaker and a listener), it is reasonable to assume that ‘many linguistic changes fail to diffuse beyond a very limited speech community, and that only the most egregious examples are accessible to scholarly attention’ (Smith forthcoming b: 9). The bottom of the S-curve, that is, the point at which the change is about to take off, therefore, teems with variations, many of which do not take off. Some of those that fail to take off would stay as irregular forms even after a certain variation wins out at the end at the expense of another variation and ultimate regularity is produced.

29. Whether the innovation successfully spreads or not depends on whether the systems are ready for it. Even though it is adopted successfully, it does not necessarily mean to stay intact or unaffected from further pressures of reorganisation within the system in which it is adopted. An interesting example of this kind is found in the history of periphrastic *do*. It is considered that it entered the grammatical system through weak

affirmative positions and then spread to questions and negatives (Ellegård 1953 and Traugott 1972). However, around the time it became obligatory in negatives, it disappeared from weak affirmatives (Ihalainen 1985, also see Smith 1998: 159-161 for detail).

1.3.5 Actuation problems

30. We have discussed the three stages for language change: potential for change, implementation and diffusion. In the discussion above we state that the two categorically different phenomena of implementation and diffusion can be treated as the same phenomenon, for practical purposes. This assumption, however, should not overlook the most important issue in considering language change: the actuation problem. Simply put, the actuation problem deals with *why* language changes occur in the first place. In other words, *why* an innovation can become embedded in language as a change. This is the most central as well as challenging question and to some extent presupposes answers to other related problems raised by Wenreich, Labov and Herzog (1968: 102) ‘Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at another time?’

1.3.5.1 Pessimism about explaining language change

31. Until some time in the middle of the twentieth century, the accepted linguistic wisdom held that language change could never be directly observed apart from the obvious adoption of new lexical words. ‘The causes of sound change are unknown’, said

Bloomfield (1933: 385). ‘Many linguists, probably an easy majority, have long since given up enquiring into the why of phonological change’, said Robert King (1969: 189, cited from Aitchison 2001: 134). ‘The explanation of the cause of language change is far beyond the reach of any theory ever advanced’, said Harris (1969: 550, cited from Aitchison 2001: 134). This pessimism is still followed by Lass (1980), according to whom the reason why language change is not explained is that ‘deductive explanations are not available in the domain of linguistic history’. Just as cultural history is not rule-governed, so is language history not governed by rules. He argues that what cannot be predicted cannot be explained and that, as language change cannot be predicted, it cannot be validly explained.

1. 3. 5. 2 Directionality of change

32. One of Lass’s key arguments against the possibility of explaining language change is to do with functional explanation. The idea that ‘function’ as a significant factor in language change is largely associated with the pioneering work of the Prague school, from which the most elaborate theories came from Martinet. Martinet states that changes disturb systemic ‘equilibrium’, and systems ‘strive to re-establish’ the equilibrium lost through change (1952, 1955). This concept leads to the idea that the change is essentially ‘therapeutic’.

33. This functional principle itself inevitably introduces a teleological factor, by which it is meant that language is goal-oriented. However, in contrast, in functional explanations (such as the law of the economy of energy, avoidance of homophony etc) ‘there is no evidence for the goalhood of any particular goal other than the fact that a sequence of

actions seems to move toward it' (Lass 1980: 80).

34. It may be at this point in the argument of directionality that we might as well distinguish between the concept of 'goal' and '*de facto* terminus' (Woodfield 1976: 85 cited from Lass 1980: 80-81). Since it is evidenced that there is no ultimate goal toward which every language innovation is moving to, we can say that language is not goal-oriented. Nonetheless, as far as the purpose of language is concerned, the moment the communicative function is fulfilled, we might be able to state that the obvious final destination has been achieved. It follows that the purpose itself can be a goal no matter how time limited, and in order to keep functioning through time and place, variation is required in any new environment. It is, therefore, necessary to consider both functional and formal factors in discussing linguistic change.

1.3.5.3 Abduction

35. Histories of languages generally deal with language internal and language external relations. The former supplies the descriptive patterns, or rules, mapping linguistic change. The latter is related to the adaptation of language for communication.

36. Hence, those who adhere to language-internal discipline and therein seek the cause of language change are unable to do so. This is because language itself has no motivation to initiate change, but only supplies the patterns. Intra-linguistic factors start to interact with each other and move toward change only after being stimulated by extra-linguistic factors. Language change is, therefore, caused by a complex, practically unpredictable combination of intra- and extra-linguistic factors. Consequently, because of these

combined factors, it is impossible to demonstrate intra- or extra-linguistic factors empirically and individually.

37. As Lass has noted deductive explanation is inadequate in linguistic historiography. All we can do is to observe end products, that is, linguistic facts and hypothesise as to how they have come about. This is called abduction, a reasoned guess (Antilla 1989: 197). By the reasoned guess, we can extrapolate the case that something may have happened or even detect cases where something may happen.

1. 3. 5. 4 Detecting language change in progress

38. There is a potential to detect change in progress in synchronic states by comparing outputs or products of variation in present-day states of languages (Milroy 2003: 149). This could be achieved by study of innovation and diffusion in speaker/listener interaction. Such examination may enable us to identify social conditions which are favourable for change. It follows that we may subsequently be able to predict that something is more likely to happen at one certain time than at another time.

39. The social conditions favouring a change can be varied; however, general tendencies can be detected. Examination of how social networks function in terms of weak/strong ties in speech communities reveals that it is only when the core members of a strongly tied community begin to adopt a particular innovation that it will spread to members of other communities. It follows that adoption by the core members of the community is crucial for change. We can therefore create a reasonable tool for discerning why a particular change should appear in a particular time but not another time: the potential for change

does not cause change unless the core members of a strongly tied community start to adopt it.

40. The difficulty of this approach might be that weakly tied individuals are by their very nature hard to investigate, particularly in urban areas. McMahon (1999: 251) describes this as a situation where 'we now know where to look, but can't see anything.' The social component of big cities, significantly more complex than those of smaller urban centres, enables individuals to expand their social network quite easily. This leads to the proliferation of weak ties creating a social background against which it is extremely difficult to detect where actuation originates.

1. 4 Structure of this thesis

41. In Chapter 2 contexts -- linguistic, historical and geographical -- are set out for the features discussed in the body of the thesis. The linguistic features discussed there include an outline of the history of the demonstratives *these* and *those* from the Germanic period to PDE, their various forms and distribution patterns in the ME period, and the forms and functions of present day standard and non standard demonstratives. Also third person plural pronouns are included due to their close linguistic connection to *those*. We also discuss language contact issues between English and Norse, and this discussion is linked to a description of the medieval landscape and the socio-historical changes in WRY. This chapter ends with a transitional section to the next chapter in which we describe the selected WRY texts and various *Prick of Conscience* texts for analysis as well as a discussion of the methodology of data-collection.

42. Chapter 3 comprises three sections. In the first section, the demonstratives *these* and *those* in various copies of *Prick of Conscience* located in various parts of the country outside the WRY are examined. This exercise provides a diatopic snapshot of the dialectal characteristics of these demonstratives as well as their degree of transmission, very different from place to place. In the second section, the demonstratives in various localized texts within the WRY are examined in order to elicit systemic rules for the selection of variants. In the third section, five *Prick of Conscience* texts located in the WRY are examined in detail. By integrating some of linguistic facts observed in the first and second sections, not only demonstrative systems in those texts but also the process how those systems have emerged as they did are uncovered.

43. In Chapter 4, we refer to theoretical issues discussed in Chapter 1 in two ways. First, we determine whether demonstratives appear in a systemic manner or not in three selected ME texts written in the geographically non-connected areas of London, Devon and Scotland (Aberdeen), of which texts are respectively *Auchinleck*, *Sir Ferumbras* and *Barbour's Bruce*. Analysis of the demonstratives in each of these texts also includes the synchronic linguistic comparison with those in the texts of *Prick of Conscience* written close to those areas and diachronic development extrapolated from their present day dialectical usage in those areas. Then, we offer a history of the evolution of the demonstratives through the ME to PDE in the WRY based on sociolinguistic and dialectological models of language change. These two examinations are coupled with various analyses of general historical development of the demonstrative in Chapter 2. We will conclude with a reasonable, abductive hypothesis for the evolution of English demonstratives.

44. In Chapter 5 wider theoretical implications regarding the status of explanation and predictability in linguistic enquiry are discussed, and some suggestions for future research are made.

Chapter 2 Linguistic, historical and geographical contexts

2. 1 Demonstratives *these* and *those*

2. 1. 1 Function of demonstratives in standard PDE

2. 1. 1. 1 General form and function

45. Demonstratives have spatio-temporal (‘proximal’ and ‘distal’) and numerical contrast characteristics. This means that their definite meaning is embodied by the reference of relative distance of a speaker to some existence in context and simultaneously the referred-to existence is signified by a singular or plural distinction. The reference to what is near to the speaker physically or psychologically is expressed by *this* and that of what is far off by *that*. Plurality of *this* and *that* is respectively expressed by *these* and *those*.

	Singular	Plural
‘near’ reference	<i>this</i> /ðɪs/	<i>these</i> /ðiːz/
‘distant’ reference	<i>that</i> /ðæt/	<i>those</i> /ðoʊz/

46. The referential function of demonstratives is often divided into three categories: deictic or situational pointing reference (reference to extralinguistic situations), anaphoric reference (reference to something that has been mentioned earlier) and cataphoric reference (reference to something that is to be mentioned later), and each usage is illustrated as follows:

Situational reference

- 1, We shall compare *this* (picture) here with *that* (picture) over there.⁵
- 2, We shall compare *these* (pictures) here with *those* (pictures) over there.⁶

Anaphoric reference

- 3, I hear you disliked his latest novel. I read his first novel, and *that* was boring, too.⁷
- 4, He asked for his brown raincoat, insisting that *this* was his usual coat during the winter months.⁸

Cataphoric reference

- 5, He told the story like *this*: ‘Once upon a time’⁹...
- 6, There were *these* three men¹⁰...

47. The deictic reference is the more common usage of demonstratives and from this usage the anaphoric and cataphoric references have developed. This explains why there is no cataphoric usage of *that/those* (except when defined by postmodifiers such as clauses). The proximal demonstratives are typically associated with ‘what is before us’. In contrast the distal demonstratives imply ‘what is behind us’. *This morning* therefore means ‘morning of today’ whereas *that morning* usually means ‘the morning of a day some time ago’.

2. 1. 1. 2 Ambiguity between proximal and distal demonstratives

48. When anaphoric reference is made in speech in an abstract sense, it is sometimes not clear to what demonstratives are referring. This happens in more familiar usage when the

⁵ Greenbaum & Quirk 1990: 6.19.

⁶ Greenbaum & Quirk 1990: 6.19.

⁷ Quirk et al 1985: 6.44.

⁸ Quirk et al 1985: 6.44.

⁹ Quirk et al 1985: 6.44.

¹⁰ Quirk et al 1985: 6.43 note[a].

speaker's psychological distance to the topic or some shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer can be expressed in a vague way as following:

- 7, Have you seen *this* report about smoking?¹¹
(‘the one I know about and I have recently been thinking about’)
- 8, Have you seen *that* report about smoking?
(‘the one I was looking at some time ago’)
- 9, It gives you *this* great feeling of clear air and open spaces.
(‘the feeling we share now’)
- 10, It gives you *that* great feeling of clear air and open spaces.
(‘the feeling we all know about’)

49. Beside this abstract reference, there is another instance in which the semantic contrast between proximal and distal demonstratives is much less clear, and both of them can be used with no difference of meaning in this usage:

- 11, I then tried to force the door open, but *this/that* was a mistake.¹²

50. Despite the last example, the grammatical notion attached to demonstratives described in authoritative grammars assumes that there is something static about the nature of the demonstratives in terms of proximal and distal contrast. There is no doubt that this contrast lies at the heart of the PDE proximal/distal distinction. The two-way semantic and number opposition attached to the forms *this/these* and *that/those*, however, is not universally demonstrated in all spoken dialects of PDE. In the northern areas there are three-way systems, in which reference is expressed not only by the concept of nearness or farness from speakers but also by the concept of remoteness from both

¹¹ Leech & Svartvik 1975 §90. With a little modification of sentences in bracket by the writer.

¹² Leech & Svartvik 1975 §88.

speakers and hearers: near – far - remote. These three concepts are denoted by three formally different words: *this/these* - *that/them* - *yon/yon*¹³ (or *thon*¹⁴). The extreme opposite is found in the southwest where a single word *thick* can be used as reference to all three irrespective of number (see 94 and 95). This evidence of non-standard usage shows various demonstrative systems exist in various places and presumably through various times. Various non-standard PDE forms are examined in a later chapter, but in order to understand more fully the complexity of the demonstratives in question, it is useful to examine them in terms of number contrast.

2. 1. 1. 3 Ambiguity in number distinction

51. Despite the number contrast *this/that* for singular and *these/those* for plural, there is a case in which this number distinction of the demonstratives is somewhat obscure. This is more clearly revealed in the contrast of *that* and *those*. As mentioned previously, *that/those* do not commonly have cataphoric usage, but they are considered to have this usage when a postmodifier defines them. In this usage *that* and *those* have different characteristics in that *that* allows only for inanimate reference while *those* is used to refer to both the animate and inanimate as shown in the following sentences:

12, The butter we import is less expensive than *that* (which) we produce ourselves.¹⁵

13, These flowers are better than *those* (which) we planted last year.¹⁶

14, *Those* who work hard deserve some reward.¹⁷

¹³ Hughes & Trudgill 1987: 20.

¹⁴ *Thon* is a comparatively recent assimilation of *yon* to *this* and *that* (OED); its earliest attestation dates from 1804.

¹⁵ Leech and Svartvik 1975: §549.

¹⁶ Leech and Svartvik 1975: §549.

¹⁷ Quirk et al 1985: 6.20.

15, **That* who works hard deserves some reward.¹⁸

52. The combination of **that who* never appears. This is not merely because *that* cannot refer to people in this construction but because third person singular *he/she* (or more often NP such as *the person, the man, or the woman* etc.) are preferred, though literary and rather somewhat archaic in style. The examples of these sentences are:

16, *He* who hesitates is lost.¹⁹

17, *She* who must be obeyed.²⁰

53. The *those who* type (which more frequently appears in ME as the *those that* type) construction has a long history dating back to OE. As we see later in Chapter 3. 1. 2, it seems to be particularly prevalent in the north during the ME period. At the same time, there are plenty of ME examples of *they/them* also being used as an antecedent of the following clause as in the sequence of *they/them who (that)*. For the singular usage we have ME evidence of *he/she* being used as antecedents in this format (Mustanoja 1960: 134). The early usage of *those* as an antecedent and its long persistence despite the competition with *they/them* for the same function in the ME period (and later) suggests that there is something fundamentally more to *those* than their simply being defined as the plural form of *that*.

2. 1. 1. 4 Similarity to definite article

54. The article *the* has to be used in an NP and it marks the NP as definitely referring to

¹⁸ Quirk et al 1985: 6.20.

¹⁹ Quirk et al 1985: 6.20.

²⁰ Quirk et al 1985: 6.20.

something which can be identified. In this respect it behaves syntactically like the demonstrative adjectives, but it is neutral with respect to distance and number. Hence, *that* book/*those* books can be expressed by *the* book/*the* books. A close relationship between *that* and *the* is further revealed in that both are used before uncountable nouns, while *those* is not used as following:

that music/**those* music
the music

55. Like demonstratives, the definite article has deictic, anaphoric, and cataphoric reference. This referential similarity sometimes makes their distinction ambiguous. The only clear difference between *that/those* and *the* is that *that/those* are used as ‘strengthened’ equivalents of *the*. For instance ‘How did you get *the* mud on your coat?’ may be mentioned by the speaker with the assumption that the listener knows there is mud on the coat (Greenbaum & Quirk 1990: 5.14). When the speaker says ‘How did you get *that* mud on your coat?’, he emphasises the fact with possible sentence stress falling on the demonstrative.

56. Likewise, there is little difference between *the* and *those* used in cataphoric reference in the following sentences except that *those* is more emphatic:

18, Cellular physiology is regrettably among *the/those* topics which lie outside the compass of this book.²¹

19, [*The/*]*Those* memories which we acquire in early childhood rarely lose their vividness.²²

²¹ Quirk et al 1985: 12.19 note [a].

²² Quirk et al 1985: 6.42 note [b].

2. 1. 1. 5 Similarity to personal pronouns

57. The deictic, anaphoric and cataphoric references of personal pronouns are divided by person. While the first and second person pronouns, referring to those who are directly involved in discourse situations as a speaker(s)/a writer(s) and a listener(s)/a reader(s), the third person pronouns refer to 'third parties' not directly involved in the organization or reception of the utterance in which they occur. In this sense the first and second persons naturally retain deictic sense; their meaning is defined in the act of speaking. The third person pronouns are, on the contrary, generally used anaphorically²³ and their cataphoric reference is limited in that it is conditional upon grammatical subordination²⁴. Among third person pronouns, the most relevant here is the plural.

58. As mentioned, the general function of the third person pronoun is anaphoric. This is crucially different from demonstratives, which are generally used deictically. To put it more precisely, personal pronouns do not encode the relation between the referent and features of the situation of utterance whereas demonstratives do. These two, nonetheless, overlap in their function in that both can denote anything plural without distinction of gender or of animacy/inanimacy. Hence, *they* can mean 'the ones' while *those* can mean 'the ones there' (notice there is an adverb attached to express the distance from a speaker). Because of this semantic overlap, the distinction would often become less clear in casual and dialectal speech.

²³ When a sentence 'Are they asleep?' spoken to a wife by her husband with his head nodding toward the children's bedroom, *they* are situationally recognized as their children. Hence *they* is deictic. (Quirk et al 1985: 6. 15).

²⁴ Cataphoric reference is expressed by such sentence 'Before *he* joined the Navy, Gerald made peace with his family'. However, anaphoric reference is also possible: Before Gerald joined the Navy, *he* made peace with his family (Quirk et al 1985: 6. 19).

2. 1. 2 Demonstratives in Germanic languages

2. 1. 2. 1 Demonstratives in Gothic, Old English and Norse

59. In Indo-European languages, what are now distinguished terminologically as the definite article, demonstrative and third person pronouns are all diachronically related. Simply put, the demonstrative is the source of both the definite article and the third person pronouns in the Germanic and Romance languages (Christophersen 1939: 83). Because of the historical relationship of these three now separate lexemes, they all share general morphological, semantic and syntactic connections.

60. In this section we examine demonstrative paradigms in Gothic, Old English and Norse²⁵ which respectively represent each of three major groups of East, West and North Germanic.

(1) Demonstrative ‘that/the’

Table 1: Demonstrative ‘that/the’ in Gothic

		M	F	N	
sg.	nom	sa	so	þata	
	acc	þe	þo	þata	
	gen	þis	þizōs	þis	
	dat	þamma	þaim	þamma	
pl.	nom	þai	þos	þo	
	acc	þans	þos	þo	
	gen	þizē	þizō	þizē	
	dat	þaim			

3rd per.pl.

M	F	N
eis	ijōs	ija
ins	ijōs	ija
ize		
im		

²⁵‘Norse’ is used throughout as a cover term for different North Germanic dialects spoken in three developing periods: Primitive Norse period (100 - 700), Viking Norse (700 - 1100) and Literary Old Norse (1100 - 1500). During there period, dialect variation was were slight (Gordon 1957: 265) and from Norse later developed were West Scandinavian (Old Norweglan and Old Icelandic) and East Scandinavian (Old Danish and Old Swedish).

(Lass 1993: 143)

(Szemerényi 1996: 206-207)

Table 2: Demonstrative 'that/the' in OE

		M	F	N
sg.	nom	se	sēo	þæt
	acc	þone	þā	þæt
	gen	þæs	þære	þæs
	dat	þæm/þām	þære	þæm/ þām
pl.	nom	þā		
	acc	þā		
	gen	þāra		
	dat	þæm/þām		

3rd per. pl.

hīe

hīe

hiera

him/heom

(Lass 1993: 142-143)

Table 3: Demonstrative 'that/the' in Norse

		M	F	N
sg.	nom	sa	sú	þat
	acc	þann	þá	þat
	gen	þess	þeirrar	þess
	dat	þeim	þeirri	þeim
pl.	nom	þeir	þær	þau
	acc	þá	þær	þau
	gen	þeirra		
	dat	þeim		

these forms are
also 3rd per. pl.

(Lass 1993: 142-143)

61. The demonstrative forms in the Germanic languages reflect the Indo-European demonstrative system: */s-/ for masculine and feminine nominative singular and */t-/ (Germanic */θ-/) for all the rest. Most of the inflectional endings are quite similar: -s for masculine and neuter singular, -m for masculine and neuter singular and plural and so forth.

62. Despite the similarity in the stem formation and inflectional endings, the three languages show very different characteristics in their relation to third person plural pronouns. In Gothic the third person plural pronouns, similar to the demonstrative, show gender distinction in nominative and accusative. In OE they do not have gender distinction, similar to its demonstrative plural forms. In Norse, on the contrary, plural forms for both personal and demonstratives are identical²⁶.

(2) Demonstrative ‘this’

Table 4: Demonstrative ‘this’ in OE

		M	F	N
sg.	nom	þēs	þēos	þis
	acc	þisne	þisse	þis
	gen	þis(s)es	þisse	þis(s)es
	ins			þȳs, þis
	dat	þi(s)sum	þisse	þis
pl.	nom	þas		
	acc		þās	
	gen		þissa	
	dat		þissum	

(Lass 1993: 145)

Table 5: Demonstrative ‘this ‘ in Norse

		M	F	N
sg.	nom	sjá, þessi	sjá	þetta
	acc	þenna	þessa	þetta
	gen	þessa	þessar	þessa
	dat	þessum	þesse	þetta
pl.	nom	þessir	þessar	þessi
	acc	þessa	þessar	þessi
	gen	þessa		
	dat		þessum	

²⁶ There is also a definite article postposed to the noun, for instance *úlfr-inn* (nominative singular ‘the wolf’), which is expressed as *se wulf* in OE (Lass 1993:142). This postposed definite article is not included here.

63. In Gothic this type of demonstrative is not known although some evidence shows that the enclitic *-uþ* was employed to give proximal sense (Wright 1954: § 266). Nor did it occur in Scandinavian runic inscriptions until the Viking Age and instead demonstrative 'that' was used in the meaning of 'this' (Heltveit 1953: 65). This lack of proximal demonstrative in the early age could have reflected the linguistic situation in West Germanic (Heltveit 1953: 65).

64. Hence, in West and North Germanic, the proximal demonstrative is considered to be a recent creation, probably around the fifth century (Heltveit 1953: 65). It is created by the combination of the distal demonstrative with a deictic particle *-s*, which is etymologically related to the Indo-European demonstrative stem **so*, presumably to express strong deictic force. Because of this combined origins, demonstrative *this* is often called 'compound or emphatic' demonstrative while demonstrative *that* is referred to as a 'simple' demonstrative.

65. The paradigms of these three Germanic languages, however, only reflect 'dialect-specific selections out of a mass of inherited forms and systems' (Lass 1993: 139), and, therefore, necessarily ignore various other minor recorded forms. The OE paradigm given above is based on the standard written forms of West Saxon, which represent systematically conservative forms. In the northern area, from which the old system of the inflectional endings and agreement in terms of gender and case started to collapse, some sign of systemic adjustment has already emerged. In the pre-Viking Old Northumbrian texts the demonstrative *þā*, plural of *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* ('the/that'), often replaced OE *hie*

'they' (OED). Very similar usage of the identical forms for demonstrative plural and third person plural pronoun is seen in the paradigm of Norse as noted above in Table 3.

2. 1. 2. 2 From OE to ME

66. The OE demonstratives were fully inflected adjectives and pronouns, quite elaborately marked for case, number and gender. The semantics of OE *that* and *this* demonstratives are not entirely clear as *se* 'that/the' could often translate as 'this' and *þes* as 'the' (Lass 1992: 113). For instance *anne æþeling se wæs Cyneheard haten - 7 se Cyneheard wæs þæs Sigebryhtes broþur* 'a princeling who was called C[yneheard] and *this* C[yneheard] was the brother of the S[igebryht] already mentioned' (Mitchell & Robinson 1992: 106). This evidence would suggest that they did not have grammaticalised proximal and distal meanings as expressed by present-day *this* and *that* (Lass 1992: 113).

67. It is only after the loss of gender in the twelfth century that the OE neuter nominative/accusative singular *þat* started to emerge with a distal sense in contrast to *þis* (Lass 1992: 114), which was also generalized from OE neuter nominative/assuasive singular. From about the early thirteenth century they appeared more and more frequently as demonstrative characters (Mustanoja 1960: 170-171).

68. The emergence of the plural forms is much more complicated. Considering the sheer number of variations which occurred in the ME period, it is certain the various places had various processes of reorganisation to cope with in terms of the requirements of their inherent systems. From the interaction of these various reorganisations the standard PDE

forms *these* and *those* emerge.

2. 1. 3 Various forms in ME and the emergence of PDE *these* and *those*

2. 1. 3. 1 Distribution of variants in ME

69. A very simplified distribution of variants for THESE and THOSE in the late ME period is seen in Maps 1 and 2 in Appendix 1. In those maps the most frequent variants attested in variously localized copies of *Prick of Conscience* are plotted²⁷ (details of all the variants in each text are listed in Chapter 3. 1. 1 and 2). Other minor variants, including important ones such as *þuse* and *þas*, are excluded from the maps but they are dealt with in Chapter 3.

70. According to Map 1, *these/þese* appears in midland areas and also in Ex. In the remaining southern areas *þes* spreads except for the far southwest of Dvn, where *thys* occurs. Three northern locations have three different variants respectively: *yes* in La, *yise* in WRY and *yir* in NRY. According to Map 2, *those* appears only in Nt and quite a large area below the county has unanimously *þo(o)/yo/tho*, whereas in the north of the county various forms again appear: *yos* in La, *yo* in WRY and *ya* in NRY.

71. These maps crudely demonstrate that a proto-PDE form *these/þese* had relatively wide distribution in the midland and East Anglian areas in the late ME period whereas a

²⁷ LALME Dot Maps unfortunately do not include THOSE in the south. Nor do they distinguish *thes* from *these* type forms or *this* from *thise* type forms in their display.

proto-PDE form *those* had extremely limited distribution. They also show that the demonstrative system in the midland and East Anglian areas (with the exception of Nt) is *þese/ýese* - *þo(o)/yo* and that of the southern area is *þes/thys* - *þo*. In three northern counties of La, WRY and NRY the system cannot be generalized. Among the variants in those areas, a particularly interesting one is *yir*, or more generally *þir*, as it was not derived from the OE source, or at least OE as we know it.

2. 1. 3. 2 About *þir*

72. The etymology of *þir* type forms (including *þire*, *þeir(e)*, *þer(e)*, *þair*, *þar(e)* etc.) is not clear. King (1997: 169) considers that they were derived from Norse *þeir*, *þeir(r)a*, English equivalents *they*, *their* and *those*, and the very same Norse form (*þeir*) have presumably produced PDE *they*. Wright & Wright (1928: 171) are sceptical of its Norse derivation and Brunner (1963: 64) is very much more so. The usual criticism of this derivation may come from the assumption that Norse *þeir* could not reasonably have been the source for two semantically different words. One alternative assumption would be that they were created by combination of two words, *þe here* 'the/that here' or *þe þer* 'the/that there' (Heltveit 1953: 92 & Brunner 1963: 64. Also see Heltveit 1953: 92-96 for further argument). This "combined origin" theory is again controversial, as no trace of similar forms has been found in early northern texts.

73. *þir* type forms in the late ME period are considered to have proximal meaning 'these' and they are used with this sense in NRY texts of *Prick of Conscience*. In the present-day dialectal usage in the northern counties as well as in Scots, *thir* still keeps this meaning (OED). There are, nonetheless, rare cases in which similar types of forms with back

vowel *thor* and *thur* appear with the opposite meaning of ‘those’ in present-day Yorkshire (SED), the semantics of which forms might favour Norse origin.

74. If, however, there were some Scandinavian connections to the *þir* type forms, their restricted distribution to the north of Humber in the late ME period (see Dot Map 3 and 4) does not seem to be compatible with the wide Scandinavian settlement sites in the south of Humber, that is the northern midlands and East Anglia.²⁸ It is true the lack of *þir* type forms in the areas might have been a result of various socio-historical and political changes which had affected the linguistic system in those areas. However, in order to understand its appearance in the north, it might be better to keep in mind that in present-day Yorkshire demonstratives are normally accompanied by ‘ere ‘here’ (*h-* is always dropped) or *theeare* ‘there’, e.g. *this* ‘ere *dooar/these* ‘ere *pigs* and *that theeare tree/them theeare* ‘osses (Kellett 1992: 58). From these examples, we might be able to conjecture that *this* ‘ere, can be considered as one of the factors, among others, which contributed to the production of *þir* type forms. (Also, there is another possible origin of those types of variants in Scotland. See 346.)

75. Much more important than simple etymology is that the emergence of *þir* type variants must have had some connection to the shift of meaning of OE *þās* ‘these’ to ‘those’, making it synonymous with OE *þā* ‘those’. One of the causes that triggered this shift might have some connection to the phonaesthetic association: front vowel for nearness and back vowel for distance (see further Prokosch 1939: 122, Pinker 1994: 167

²⁸ See Map 7 in Appendix 1 and also a map of the Danish settlements in Scandinavian Place-names in England (From A. H. Smith, *English Place-name Elements* (English Place-name Society, vols. Xxv-vi, 1956), map.) in *The Age of Viking* by P. H. Sawyer (1971) p. 161 and a map of Scandinavian place names of eastern England in *an Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* by David Hill (1981) p. 45.

and Smith forthcoming b). This vowel distinction is seen not only with standard forms *these* - *those* but also in various other non-standard forms such as *thick* - *thuck* in southwestern areas and *thir* - *thor/thur* in the WRY.

2. 1. 3. 3 Emergence of the PDE forms

76. The general outline of the emergence of PDE *these* is as follows: the OE demonstrative plural *þās* was replaced by its weakened form *þes* or its singular form *þis* and disappeared during the thirteenth century from almost all the dialects except in Kent, where it survived until the fourteenth century (Mustanoja 1960: 173). The twelfth century midland dialects tended to differentiate plural from singular by adding *-e* after the analogy based on the adjectival plural ending *-e* (*alle* for *all*, *sume* for *sum*, *hise* for *his* etc.), which produced the forms *these* and *thise*. This suffix *-e* was simply a written marker of plurality since it was probably not pronounced (Smith 1999: 114). From the midlands, *these/thise* spread to the north and south, and they became predominant in the south of Humber in the middle of the fifteenth century. In early ModE *thees* and *theese* also appear, but *these* eventually survived to the standard written form.

77. The general outline of the emergence of PDE *those* is as follows: the OE demonstrative plural *þā* remained in ME as *þa* in the north but became *þo* to the south of the Humber through regular phonetic development. The northern *þa* began to be replaced by *þas* during the thirteenth century. Theories on the origin of this *þas* vary. It could have been newly created by analogy with the addition of the plural noun marker *-s* to *þa* (Mustanoja 1960: 169-179 and Lass 1992: 114) or developed from the OE *þās* ‘these’ (OED). In the latter case, a semantic shift from ‘these’ to ‘those’ had to have taken place

and this shift seems to have some connection to the appearance of a new plural *þir* ‘these’. Midland has the first attested *thos(e)*²⁹, and from there it slowly spread to the north and to the south. Since the similar form *þas* had existed in the north, the spread of the new form would not have been difficult, despite the fact that *þa* yet lingered on. On the contrary, in the south where *þo* was predominant, the encroachment of the new form was hindered. Chaucer exhibits only *þo*. In the south a rather stable demonstrative system *þis/þese* and *þat/þo* seems to have persisted for 150 to 250 years (Grzega 2000: 117). A new form *þos*, to which *–e* was later added by analogy after *these*, only started to appear in the last third of the fifteenth century and became widely distributed through the medium of the Caxton’s printed texts (Poussa 1992: 408). For a long time *tho* and *those* continued to be used until *tho* gradually became rarer. Though the *þā* original plural of ‘that’ is not found in Standard English, it has remained as *thae* /ðē/ in dialects in Scotland and in some of the northern counties.

2. 1. 3. 4 About southern adoption of *those*

78. The discussion of the wide distribution and longer persistence of *þo* in the south must necessarily include the significant difference of frequency in the appearance of THOSE between the north and the south. A parallel comparison of the same lines in variously located copies of *Prick of Conscience* has revealed that it generally becomes substantially reduced in number toward the south (see Chapter 3. 1. 2). This significant diminution may suggest that southern *þo* was not actively used in writing, and still less in speech. Therefore, when *those* established itself as a standard form, it spread in a relatively short

²⁹ There is a possibility that *those* in the midlands first appeared as a pronoun in order to be functionally differentiated from determiner *þo* and definite article *þo*, see 267, 271 and 303.

time span as a written standard, presumably leaving a huge gap between spoken and written usage (see non-standard forms in Chapter 2. 1. 4).

79. No matter how rarely *þo* appears in the southern texts of *Prick of Conscience* it generally keeps both determiner and pronoun functions. In the latter function it appears particularly frequently as antecedent of the subsequent that-clause as in the sequence ... *þo þat*.... Its frequent occurrence as antecedent is also confirmed by the investigation of the forty-six localized southern texts available in thirty-nine printed materials (see Appendix 2 for the source, data and distribution maps).

80. Among those texts examined, the most remarkable appearance of pronominal *þo* is seen in a Middlesex text *Deonise Hid Diuinite* (LP 6460). In this text we find twelve incidences of the demonstrative used as antecedent out of a total of fourteen:

- 1, to help alle *tho* that by thes iv staves of this ladder (p.101, line 11)
- 2, helpith litel or nouzte withoute *tho* that be folwyng as prayer & contemplacion.
(p.102, line10)
- 3, Vttirly so he doth with alle *tho* that he makith his dwellyng with, (p.104, line 20)
- 4, ‘Nylle 3te love *tho* thynges that be in þe worlde’ (p.105, line 1)
- 5, whan he *tho* that be hard as stonys in wykidnes movith & steryth to love God.
(p.106, line 27)
- 6, Blissyd be *thoo* alle þat levyn vanitees & spende ther tyme & occupacion in thes councellys, (p.107, line 12)
- 7, and *tho* that alle sellyn, (p.107, line14)
- 8, *Thoo* that noon evylle doo with her handys, (p.108, line 11)
- 9, that fayrest is befor alle *tho* þat euere were (p.108, line 30)
- 10, he hath holdyn to hymself to 3eve to *thoo* that he wille, (p.110, line 22)
- 11, Blissid are *tho* that thus wepen, for Cryste sayth by them that they shall law3e.
(p.112, line1)
- 12, but alle *tho* that desyre fully to haue it, (p.114, line 11)

13, before alle *tho* that euere were borne of modyr. (p.115, line 37)

14, It is not semely that *tho* eerys that riztt nowe herde thes wordys (p.117, line 21)

81. One of the functional explanations of the final spread of *those* in the south is that *þo* clashed with conjunction *though* as the final *-gh* /x/ ceased to be pronounced (Grzega 2000: 117, Millar 2000: 228). The above examples show this potential clash when the demonstrative pronoun *þo* is used in this specific structure since conjunctions in ME often accompany a particle *that* e.g. *though that*, *if that* and *when that*. The situation might have encouraged the intake of the alternative form *þos*.

82. The antecedent position is not, of course, exclusively occupied by THOSE in the history of the English language. As in the sentence in 11 above in which *tho* appears in the first clause but *them* is used in the second, the coexistence of THOSE and THEY/THEM as antecedent, even in the same texts, seems to survive until early ModE. Since both are allowed as antecedents, competition for that slot occurs, an observation demonstrated by the fact that while the demonstrative is used in the examined various southern versions of texts, in the same lines of different copies of some of the same texts, nominative third person plural pronouns are used in that position. In Harley MS 1701 of *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, the line *For þo þat to dremys ouer moche trastys*, (line 415), appears in Dulwich MS 24 as *þei þat to dremys meche trust*. Also, Rawlison MS B 171 of *The Brut* has *but þo þat were strongest sette litel by ham þat were of lasse estate*, (p.23, line 7), and this *þo* is substituted by *þai* in MS Trinity College Dublin 490. This replacement suggests that there might have existed regional differences in terms of which word should be used for the structure. It is interesting that, despite their long coexistence, THOSE finally made its way to present day written standard English. This triumph might have been brought

about because THOSE, no longer distinguished according to case, became more convenient since it was able to function as both subject and object of the following clause. Nonetheless, the long coexistence of *þo* and *they/them* in the same function slot further invites speculation regarding the origin of *th*-type third person plural pronouns.

2. 1. 4 Non-standard PDE variants

2. 1. 4. 1 General view

83. *These* seems to appear widely in dialect speech and it is used in the same manner as in written English (Wright 1905: 278). Almost all of the dialect variants for this item look as though they were derived from either *these* or *this* e.g. *these here*, *theas-um*, *these-un* and *this-m*. *Those* on the contrary is never heard in dialect speech (Wright 1905: 279). The main dialect variants used in place of *those* are third person plural pronouns *them* and *they*, which spread over the country (Wright 1905: 279), and from them various deviant forms seem to have been created e.g. *themmin*, *themmy*, *them there*, and *they there*. The attachment of adverbs *here* and *there* to the demonstrative elements is paralleled in various other languages, for instance *ce-ci*, *ce-la* in French and *den här* in Swedish.

2. 1. 4. 2 *Them* and *they* for ‘those’

84. Considering the referential closeness of third person plural pronouns and the demonstrative *those* (see 58) and the general historical connection in their formation (see 61 and 62), it would not seem unusual that *them* and *they* appear in dialect speech where

we would expect *those*, as shown below.

Sentences in which *them* occurs in place of *those*

- 1, Did you ever see anything finer than *them*?³⁰
- 2, These pictures are more beautiful than *them there*.³¹
- 3, Look at *them* animals!³²
- 4, In *them* days³³
- 5, *Them* are the girls I meant.³⁴
- 6, *Them's* the very ones I wants.³⁵
- 7, *Them* cats wor given me.
- 8, /*Demz* vari guid, bəd ðiəz ez or ə betə(r)/

Sentences in which *they* occurs in place of *those*

- 9, *They* things be dearer'n *they there*.
- 10, Did you ever see anything finer than *they*?³⁶
- 11, Under *they* she bid herself.
- 12, *They* boys!
- 13, Call *they* dog in.
- 14, Drive *they* cows out of that field.
- 15, Look at *they* animals!³⁷

85. These examples amply demonstrate that *them* and *they* are used with deictic force, possibly accompanied by a pointing gesture or sentence stress. However, *them* and *they* in dialect speech are not limited to deictic usage. They are also used in cataphoric reference as an antecedent of the subsequent clause:

- 16, The devil damn *they* that keeps me here.

³⁰ Curme 1935: 51.

³¹ Curme 1931: 22.

³² Hugh & Trudgill 1987: 20.

³³ Edwards et al., 1984: 4.10.

³⁴ Curme 1931: 22.

³⁵ Sentences or phrases in 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17 are from EDD.

³⁶ Curme 1935: 51.

³⁷ Hugh & Trudgill 1987: 20.

17, *Thaim* at ('that') dyd it.

86. The appearance of *them* or *they* seems to be geographically conditioned. According to Hugh & Trudgill (1987: 20) *them* appears in most British dialects whereas *they* only appears in southern England, southwestern Wales and Scotland. A slightly limited appearance of *they* in England is observed in *Linguistic Atlas of England*³⁸ in which it is distributed more strongly in southwestern areas than any other southern areas. Interestingly, those are areas where standard *them* as a personal pronoun is not used in dialectal speech. Instead, *em* is used for both the subject and object of a sentence³⁹. When emphasis is needed for this *em*, *they* appears exclusively for that purpose (see 8). However, *they* in Scotland does not need to be used with emphatic force. Derek Britton explains 'the Scots determiner *they* is distal, being descendant of OE *þā* rather than ON *þeir*, a phonetic development only possible for northerly dialects' (cited in Denison 1994: 297 footnote 10).

87. Though the appearance of *they* seems to be confined to those areas today, various evidence suggests that *they* was used much more widely as demonstrative than in those areas throughout the history of the English language. This, then, infers that the once widely used demonstrative *they* gradually lost its ground against *them*.

2. 1. 4. 3 Other variants

88. Even though *these* is widely seen in dialect speech and *them* and *they* are the favourite

³⁸ See M83 THOSE.

³⁹ EDD index of *EM*.

substitutions for ‘those’, there are many other forms in non-standard usage. The SED questionnaire items IX. 10. 4 and 5 list various answers to a question which was designed to trace the general difference in meaning and in usage for the plural concept of ‘nearness’ and ‘farness’. The aim of the questionnaire, however, also includes tracing the third expression of ‘remoteness’, which would have inevitably affected the performance of informers. Following are the questionnaires for *these* and *those*, the answers and the summaries of the answers.

THESE

Questionnaire: [In asking the next question, you must stand at the informant’s side. Put two coins at each place (i.e. two close to the informant, two a little further away, two further away still).]

IX. 10. 4: Now you can choose (point to the closest pair [asking for alternative word for ‘these’]).

Answer for ‘these’: that lot, that two, theasum, theseum, the first two, them, them ones, them others, the near one, these here, these lot, these ones, these two, these twos, theseun, they, they back there, they over there, they two, thick, thick lot, thick ones, thick two, thickly lot, thir, thir here, thir two, this lot, this two, tho, those, tother lot, tothers.

(Upton et al 1994: Index of THESE)

Summary of the answers: that lot/two
the first two/near one
theasum, theseu-m/n
them (ones/others)
these here/lot/ones/two/twos
they (back there/over there/two)
thick (lot/ones/two)
thickly lot
thir (here/two)
this lot/two
tho, those

tother lot, tothers

89. The above summary demonstrates that aside from the geographically conditioned variants *theasum*, *thick*, *thir*, *tother* types, singular *that* and *this* appear in combination with other word as in *that lot/two* and *this lot/two*. Also, quite interestingly, *them*, *they* and even *those*, which apparently embrace the opposite meaning, occur.

THOSE

Questionnaire: [In asking the next question, you must stand at the informant's side. Put two coins at each place (i.e. two close to the informant, two a little further away, two further away still).]

IX. 10. 5: Now you can choose (point to the middle pair [asking for alternative word for 'those']).

Answer for 'those': both them, that, that lot, that two, them, them here, the middle one, them ones, them there, them two, the others, these, these here, the second lot, they, they over there, they two, thick, thick lot, thick over there, thick two, thickly lot, thickly lot there, this two, tho, those ones, those two, thoseun, tho two, thuck lot, tother lot, tothers, totherum, yon (Upton et al 1994: Index of THOSE)

Summary of the answers:

(both) them(here/ones/there/two)
that (lot/two)
these (here)
the middle one, the others, the second lot
they (over there/two)
thick(ly) (lot/lot there/over there/two)
this two
thuck lot
tother lot, tothers/sum
tho (two)
those ones/two, thoseum
yon

90. Similarly to the variation of *these*, the geographically conditioned variants *thick*, *thuck*, *tother*, *toseun* types, and *yon*, used in early ModE but now regarded as dialectal, also appear, and so do singular *that* and proximal demonstrative *these*.

91. Phrasal expressions without any demonstrative elements would attract some attention e.g. *the first two*, *the near one* for THESE and *the middle one*, *the others*, *the second lot* for THOSE. These expressions would be interpreted not as lack of referent words to two coins placed near and middle position but as rather a reflection of spontaneous response, which first came to the minds of the respondents, being affected by three positions in which the coins are systematically placed.

92. Much more interesting is that there are several sets of words which occur commonly as responses to both of the questionnaires e.g. *that lot/two*, *them*, *these*, *they (over there)*, *they two*, *thick (lot/two)*, *thickly lot/two*, *tho*, *tother lot* and *tothers*.

93. The responses reveal two things in particular. First is that the semantic opposition of ‘nearness’ and ‘farness’ and their number distinction expressed by PDE standard forms *this/these* and *that/those* seem to be very ambiguous. Second is that ‘these’ and ‘those’ can be commonly expressed by a single word or single sets of words.

2. 1. 4. 4 Complexity of demonstrative system

94. According to Glauser (1989: 255-6), the variation of singular and plural expressions for ‘nearness’, ‘farness’ and ‘remoteness’ listed in SED produces as many as three

hundred and ninety-three different combinations⁴⁰, among which three hundred and forty-four combinations appear only once. A glance at the possible combinations of demonstrative systems in Wootton Courtenay (its locality is represented in So 5), located in the central east of Somerset close to the boundary to Wiltshire, illustrated in rectangles in Figure 1 suffice to demonstrate their complexity. The rectangles are divided into six fields. The upper row represents the SINGULAR and the lower row the PLURAL. The columns indicate the features NEAR, FAR and REMOTE from left to right.

	NEAR	FAR	REMOTE
SINGULAR			
PLURAL			

⁴⁰ The responses contain *over* as in *them over there* are not treated separately but the same as *them there*, and also *one* or *ones* as in *this one* or *them ones* are only included when they are important indicators of singularity or plurality (Glauser 1989: 255).

Figure 1: Possible combination of demonstratives at So 5 in SED with {*thick/this here*} {*that/thick*} {*thick there*} {*they/thick two*} {*they two/thick two*} {*thick there*} (Glauser 1989: 257)

95. The overwhelming occurrence of *thick* (ME *þilke* < *þe ilke* ‘the same, that same’⁴¹) is significant. It is used to refer to remoteness but it penetrates into other semantic fields in various ways. The most extreme case is where *thick* alone is used in place of all the demonstratives *this/that*, *these/those* and *yon*. With the exception of that particular case, how it appears depends on how other demonstratives appear. As far as the plural concept is concerned, it is interesting that there is no demonstrative equivalent to standard PDE *these*. The lack of *these* seems to be often supplemented by the extensive use of *they* and *thick*. When *they* are used to express the meaning of both ‘those’ and ‘these’, *thick* is confined to express remoteness only. However, it seems that when *they* loses either function, *thick* takes over. This means when *they* appears only as ‘those’, *thick* takes on the meaning ‘these’, and when *they* appears only as ‘these’, *thick* seems to have assumed the meaning ‘those’.

2. 1. 5 The origin of *th*- type third person plural pronouns and its relation to the demonstratives *them* and *they* in dialect speech

2. 1. 5. 1 Scandinavian theory

96. The present-day third person plural pronouns, *they*, *them* and *their* are generally considered to be derived from Norse (masc nom *þeir*, dat *þeim*, gen *þeir(r)a*). The

⁴¹ OED Index of THILK.

historical fact of Scandinavian settlements in the north and spread of *th*- type paradigms from those areas replacing the native Old English *h*- paradigms would speak strongly in favour of this assumption. The Scandinavian theory may also be supported by the fact that their ME forms *thei/thai*, *theim/thaim* and *their/thair* show the vocalism of corresponding Norse forms. Furthermore, borrowing these sets of closed class words from the foreign stock is one of the usual criteria for intensive language contact between the English and Scandinavian peoples in the north as closed class words are generally less borrowed than open class words.

97. Great as the Norse impact was upon the English language, the intake of *th*-type variants from Norse cannot solely be attributed to contact. In OE, the third person nominative singular masculine and feminine and nominative plural are very similar in form (*hē*, *hēo/hīo*, and *hī(e)/hēo*), and possibly each of their unstressed forms could have been very ambiguous. Non-distinctiveness, however, was not necessarily problematic as long as inflectional endings demonstrate number. Latin, a highly inflectional language, does not require personal pronouns except for emphatic purposes. In Old French the earliest occurrence of personal pronouns is mainly rhythmical in origin, and therefore, there is no connection between their rise and the weakening of inflectional endings (Samuels 1972: 83 footnote). Real grammatical dysfunction arrived with the breakdown of the OE system, and systemic change from grammatical to natural gender.

98. The ultimate intake of *th*- types took place to cope with the gradual decay of the old system of inflectional endings and agreement in terms of gender and case. The old system started to break down in the late OE period, and even earlier in the north as it is first attested in Northumbrian OE texts. The reconstructed present tense inflectional endings

of the early Northern texts are: singular first *-o/-e*, second *-as*, third *-as/-es*, plural *-as/-es* (King 1997: 175). When the inflection did not supply information on person and number, pressure increased on personal pronouns to take more distinctive forms as grammatical tacking devices. Consequently, this language-internal dysfunction encouraged northern English users to remedy the problem by introducing the distinctive *th-* type forms for the plural. In the south, however, where the inflectional ending remained more conservative, hence, with no need for the distinctive form, native *h-* forms of pronominal systems persisted. This north vs south difference in systems strongly implies that *they* spread gradually from the north to the south by internal borrowing.

2. 1. 5. 2 Sequence of change in *they*, *their* and *them*

99. The general distribution pattern of *they*, *their* and *them* during the late ME period is seen in Dot Maps 29, 51 and 39 respectively in LALME volume one. According to those maps, *they* occurs much more widely in the south well outside of the Danelaw areas than *their* and *them*. This depth of penetration suggests that it appeared in the south much earlier than the period covered by LALME. *Their* and *them* are fairly evenly distributed in the Danelaw with the exception of East Anglia, where only north Norfolk shows strong acceptance. Unlike *they*, *their* and *them* do not appear very often in the south, but they show sudden appearances in London, south Middlesex and east Surrey with no visible southward dialect continuum from midlands. This isolated enclave resulted from a demographic movement from the original Danelaw area (Samuels 1963: 73).

100. Consequently, the prototypical northern paradigm during the late ME period would be *th-* (nom), *th-* (gen), *th-* (obli), whereas that of the southern is, as represented in

Chaucer's work, *th-* (nom), *h-* (gen), *h-* (obli). Since the native genitive and oblique forms *her/heor* and *hem/heom* did not clash with any other forms, there was no urgent need for the distinctive forms to enter plural genitive and oblique slots. This had been probably true much earlier in the north as well, but the longer usage of *they* in that area would have caused much earlier levelling of *them* by analogy with *they*.

101. Despite the long persistence of the native *h-* type forms in the south, it is genitive that earlier adopted *th-* type forms. This earlier adoption may be explained in terms of function. Unlike nominative and oblique, it functions as a determiner, being placed before the noun it modifies. Thus, it is never the core element of a sentence. This subordinate character might have made genitive more vulnerable to the pressures of levelling forces according to *they*.

102. A native form *hem* and its reduced form *'em* still appear in the sixteenth century and are recorded, though rarely, as late as in the seventeenth century (Barber 1976: 151). With the advent of standard written English, those forms became gradually disappeared, and final adoption of *them* is regarded as an analogical extension of *they* and *their*. Nonetheless, the native *h-* type has survived in its pronunciation /əm/ or /m/ not only in informal or familiar spoken standard English (Quirk et al 1985: 346, Wales 1996: 14) but also in various southern and in northern dialects, though they are now wrongly considered as the reduced pronunciation of *them* (Wyld 1936: 328). Quite peculiarly, these are the areas, with the exception of southwest, where *them* is often used in the meaning of 'those' (see 83, 84, 85 and 86). This dialectal distinction of /əm, m/ for 'them' and /ðəm, ðəm/ for 'those' invite the possibility that our personal pronoun *them* could have originated from OE demonstrative dative *þāem/þām*.

103. As we know, the development of pronouns has been influenced a good deal by variation of stress. Strongly stressed and lightly stressed forms coexist and only one form would eventually become generally accepted by the majority of people. This general acceptance, however, does not lead to permanent fixation. Minor forms can at anytime gain popularity, a process that is repeated in history. For instance, the regular ME development of OE *ic* was *ich*. Along with this strongly stressed *ich* all dialects of ME have the lightly stressed *i* /i/ (later written *I*). When *ich* disappeared, *i* started to be used in all positions, developing a strong-stressed pronunciation /i:/ for the stressed positions. From this lengthened /i:/, through the Great Vowel Shift, the present-day pronunciation /ai/ was created (Brook 1965: 104).

104. The general development of *they*, *them* and *their* cannot be described in as straightforward a manner as this. Nonetheless, the forms and pronunciations of the forms for these items are similarly presumed to have experienced various changes based on stress variation, and we have to take both the personal pronoun and demonstrative THOSE into consideration in order to understand their development. More detail about how these two interacted to produce the standard PDE forms of the personal pronoun follows, but it is worthwhile to preface that discussion with a consideration of the process whereby *th*- type forms are integrated into the system.

2. 1. 5. 3 Systemic adjustment

105. The process of accommodation of *th*- forms was not a simple one. It involved various systematic adjustments which would have varied both diatopically and

diachronically. Several historical linguists have suggested some constraints regarding the selection for either *th*- or *h*- type forms. As to the choice of either type of oblique form in *Ormulum*, Burchfield (1956: 70) puts forth sentence phonetics as a constraint. In this north midland text, *them* type forms are used after vowels to prevent elision and *hem* type forms are preferred after a consonant. In genitive, however, the selection of either type does not seem to be governed by obvious rules.

106. In virtually all of the northern texts, including *Ormulum*, *they* type nominative forms are already generally in use, hence making it impossible to detect the linguistic environment in which *they* was chosen. In order to examine a linguistic environment, by which choice was made, the southern texts might be more informative and useful. In the consultation of Hand 1's usage in the *Auchinleck Manuscript* (written in London), Smith (2001) proposes that the choice of either *they* or *hi* type forms is related to discourse grammar. He argues that *they* type forms are used in thematic positions, that is as starter of a message directed to a listener and hence containing 'given information', whereas *hi* type forms are used in non-thematic positions which contain 'new information' directed to a listener. Caxton's various texts have been examined in great detail by Lass and Samuels. Lass (1997: 67) suggests grammatical environments as constraints of the choice. According to him ⁴², *them* appears eighty-one percent of the time as direct object but only nineteen percent as prepositional object. This difference, however, is not found in the usage of *hem* as it appears forty-three percent of the time both as direct object and prepositional object. This leads him to conclude that the encroachment of *them* as direct objects started earlier than its usage as prepositional objects. Samuels (1972: 118) offers

⁴² He examined the texts from Crotch (1929), which includes *The recuyell of the histories of Troye* (1475), *The game and playe of the chesse* (1475), *The dictes of sayings of the philosophers* (1477), *The consolacion of philosophie* (1478) and *Eneydos* (1490).

the stress pattern of a sentence as argument. He notes that *them* is expected in stressed positions and *hem* in unstressed positions as far as Caxton's more dialectal earlier print is concerned.

2. 1. 5. 4 Importance of OE demonstratives

107. Due to functional similarities, historical connections and evidence of non-standard usage, we have to include OE plural demonstratives when considering the appearance of *th-* type personal pronouns as they are an integral part of the story. Sweet (1891: 336) argues that the OE plural demonstrative *þā*, 'those', started to take on the meaning of personal pronoun 'they' due to the ambiguity of the native *h-* type forms of the personal pronoun, and it is this *þā* in the sense of 'they', which later developed into the *þei* due to the impact of Norse *þeir* 'they/those'. Sweet's hypothesis can apply to some parts in the north which experienced strong Scandinavian settlement.

108. When comparing a paradigm for OE plural demonstratives, nom/acc *þā*; gen *þāra/þāra*; dat *þām/þām*, and its equivalence in Norse, nom *þeir*; acc *þá*; gen *þeir(r)a*; dat *þeim*, we see that each bears considerable resemblance to the other. The accusative forms look quite similar, and the nominative and genitive forms, except for Norse nominative *-r*, share the same configuration of consonant: nominative *þ-*, genitive *þ-r* and dative *þ-m*. The only differences are vowels, *ei* for Norse and *ā* or *æ* for OE.

109. Functionally Norse has identical forms for demonstratives and third person plural pronouns. As Gordon (1957: §109, 111) says, 'the plu[rals] [of the third person personal pronouns in Old Norse were] originally [and continued in use as] demonstrative

pronouns'. Norse third person plural forms meaning 'they' 'them' and 'their', therefore, also means the plural demonstrative 'those'. It is, hence, possible as Sweet mentions that OE *þā*, which is used in the sense of 'they', later transformed into *þei* particularly in the areas of intensive Scandinavian settlement. Because of this, it is not surprising the first recorded appearance of nominative *þeȝȝ* is from the north (in 1200) (as listed in OED). However, this hypothesis still leaves room for further explanation of the wider and faster southward penetration of *they*.

2. 1. 5. 5 Alternative hypothesis

110. Southern areas of ME, which are more linguistically conservative than their northern counterparts, have nominative demonstrative *þæge* in the late OE period (Brunner 1963: 60 & Ogura 2001), possibly as a minor variant used for emphatic form of nominative/accusative *þā*. This *þæge*, attested in the West Saxon texts, might also have existed in the north, though the lack of northern written materials in the transitional period from late OE to early ME prevents us from proving its existence there. It is this minor variant that would have become *they* in the ME period, which consequently would explain what we perceive as wider and faster penetration of *they*. In the north, the collapse of the old systems and contact with Norse no doubt accelerated its intake. In the south linguistic system did not urgent require them, but it existed in the OE period as a minor variant.

111. In the south-western areas *they* still keeps its original demonstrative function as we see in the present-day dialects from those areas (see 8 and 86) and also attested in the *Prick of Conscience* from Devon (see 195 and also 336 for pronominal system in *Sir*

Ferumbras). In the rest of the areas, however, it gradually lost its deictic function and became unmarked when it took personal pronoun function.

112. When the originally marked demonstrative *they* became unmarked during the process of reorganization into personal pronoun, a system needed to fill the vacant slot by introducing another demonstrative *them* (<OE *þæm/þām*) for deictic function. This suppletion was only possible because regular pronunciation of oblique form is /əm/ or /m/ (<OE *hem/heom*) in the south and the north.

113. In the late ME period, demonstrative *þo* ‘those’ (<OE *þā*) was presumably not much used or limited in its use in the south. (In the north, more complicated linguistic situation makes it difficult to generalise, but one interesting evidence observed in northern WRY is a possible merger of *þa* ‘those’ (<OE *þā*) to *þei* ‘they’. See 256.) This implies that a more colloquial word to express the strong deictic function would have existed, and *them*, which is used in the stressed position (Samuels 1972: 71, 118), would have fulfilled this function. Therefore, it might not be wrong to assume that *them* is actually demonstrative and only accepted into system after emphatic demonstrative *they* (<OE *þæge*) lost its original function and, hence, became unmarked. Testing this hypothesis is close to impossible since we are dealing with colloquial forms, which often cannot be traced in conservative written materials. Nonetheless, we can extrapolate from given evidence to support that this might have been one evolutionary scenario.

114. Consequently, non-standard PDE usage of *them* in the north and the south still keeps its original demonstrative function derived from OE and it is this demonstrative *them* which is interpreted as personal pronoun due to analogical extension of nominative and

genitive forms with *th-* in initial position. Therefore, the present-day forms *they/them/their* do not necessarily look to Norse for an answer to the origin of *th-* type forms, although without doubt, it stimulated the faster intake of *th-* type forms in the northern areas.

2. 2 Norse and English systems: issues of language contact

2. 2. 1 Language contact

2. 2. 1. 1 Runic inscriptions

115. No preserved texts exist to show direct evidence of the state of the English language in the north and eastern parts of the country during the time of the Danelaw. A small inkling of the linguistic landscape might be extrapolated from two early twelfth-century inscriptions from Yorkshire, each of which contains Norse words. The first inscription we find in one of the three texts on sundials from Kirkdale reads: ÐIS [:] IS [:] DÆGES : SOLMERCA ÆT ILCVM [:] TIDE (‘This is the day’s sunmarker at every hour’) (Townend 2002: 191 quoted from Okasha 1971, 88 (No. 64)). Here, the content word *solmerca* (‘sundial’) is of Norse origin. The other inscription, from Aldbrough, reads as follows: VLF [HE]T ARÆRAN CYRICE FOR H[A]NUM 7 FOR GVN[ÐARA] SAVLA (‘Úlfr ordered the church to be erected for himself and for Gunnwaru’s soul’) (Townend 2002: 190-191 quoted from Okasha 1971, 47 (No. 1)). In this text the Norse names *Ulfr* and *Gunnwaru* appear. Also, the Norse dative singular masculine pronoun *hanum*, equivalent to OE *him*, is used, in which context, however, we would expect to find Norse reflexive pronoun *sér* (Page 1971:178-179). The significance of the appearance of Norse words in these two texts is difficult to interpret, but it is certain that these texts are ‘written in perfectly acceptable late Old English, rather than in any sort of Anglo-Norse *Mischsprache* or ‘mixed language’ (Townend 2002: 190).

116. The lack of adequate records for definitive analysis is somewhat ameliorated by the

availability of later records of a great number of Norse or Norse-influenced lexicon, particularly basic everyday words and function words and Scandinavian place-names. Their abundance is obviously evident in the areas of heaviest settlement. This later evidence, found in ME onwards, is often considered to form a body of adequate criteria for demonstrating intensive contact between English and Scandinavians. These borrowings, however, do not necessarily result exclusively from close language contact as they could also be attributed to the typological closeness of OE and Norse before the Scandinavians even arrived on English soil.

2. 2. 1. 2 Linguistic closeness between OE and Norse

117. OE, Norse and Gothic are cognates, OE belonging to West Germanic, Norse to North Germanic and Gothic to East Germanic. All three derive from the same parent language, Proto-Germanic. According to older Scandinavian runic inscriptions, before the tripartite spilt from the parent language, there appears to have been a spilt between ancestral languages to East Germanic and North-western Germanic (Haugen 1976: 92). The latter ‘gradually splits up into North and West Germanic around the time of the Anglo-Saxon migration to England (c.450)’ (Haugen 1976: 92). There is also the possibility that yet another language group called ‘North Sea Germanic’ existed around the North Sea coasts, and from its various dialects OE, Norse and Old Frisian later developed (Bibire 2001: 91). This would explain why OE is by far the most similar to Norse among the West Germanic languages (Bibire 2001: 91). The existence of North Sea Germanic would also explain the pre-Viking relationships between northern Englishmen and Scandinavians evidenced in certain parallels in their material cultures (Hines 1984).

118. Close linguistic affinities between OE and Norse are found in old Northumbrian texts from the early to mid eighth century⁴³ and in three large glosses, the Rushworth Gospels, Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual, from the second half of the tenth century. These include the form of the prepositions *mið* 'together with' and *til* 'to', which are *mid* and *to* in the standard southern OE but *með* and *til* in Norse. These forms in the eighth-century Northumbrian texts are too early to be Norse loan words. There is also phonological closeness such as the loss of unaccented word final *-n*, which appears from time to time in the early texts and very often in the Lindisfarne Gospels and Durham Ritual, and which took place in all positions in Norse (Bibire 2001: 94). A morphological parallel is found in present indicative verb-endings where *-s* appears in both second and third person singular as well as in plural in the glosses, and this seems to parallel developments in Norse, first attested on the seventh century Björketorp stone (Bibire 2001: 95). These close prepositional, phonological and morphological similarities between Northumbrian OE and Norse strongly imply that communication between northern English and Scandinavians might not have been so difficult, though it does not mean easy.

2. 2. 1. 3 Long-term contact

119. Based on the linguistic affinity between Northumbrian OE and Norse we can suppose that some mutual intelligibility would have existed between English and Scandinavians. The degree to which Scandinavians were actually able to communicate with English on first contact, however, is more difficult to ascertain. Existence of people like Ohthere, a Norwegian sea captain and fur trader travelling along the coastlines of

⁴³ These are available in H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* (London, 1885 and later reprints).

various lands during the time of Alfred, allows us to assume that their contact with the English people in coastal areas occurred much earlier and more constantly than in inland areas. Differing degrees of mutual intelligibility conditioned by geography are evident even in present day Scandinavian languages (Danish, Swedish and Norwegian). Spoken Danish is the most difficult for all non-Danes to understand, except in southern Swedish areas, which are the old Danish provinces, and in southern coastal regions of Norway (Haugen 1976: 61).

120. True large-scale contact between the two peoples within England commenced once Scandinavian raiders gave up fighting and settled among the English people. The total number of the original army of *se micel here* could have been some hundreds (Sawyer 1971: 124-125) or some thousands (Stenton 1971: 241). That the immigrant Scandinavian population was likely reinforced by following migrations from Scandinavian countries up until the time of the Norman Conquest is attested by place-name evidence and loan words⁴⁴.

121. It is unlikely that the English, who had come from the continent in the fifth century, were able to converse easily or fluently with the new Scandinavian settlers who also came from the same areas in the continent four centuries later. At the very first encounter the degree of their mutual intelligibility could have been very small indeed. Both sides intentionally had to use a simplified lexicon, either using a simplified grammar or no structural grammar at all, together with the help of gestures, facial expressions, or situational references in order to make each understood by the other. After that initial

⁴⁴ The place-name evidence and loan words which show various sound changes characteristic of later periods than the original settlement (Burnley 1992: 416-417).

“jargon” phase, something akin to pidginisation may have taken place, especially in areas of frequent contact (Fisiak 1977, Poussa 1982, Görlach 1986 & Hines 1991). Since the various Scandinavian languages eventually gave way to English it is obvious that this pidgin did not either last long or develop into a creole. This strong English structural character might be the linguistic situation represented in the texts on the two Yorkshire inscriptions from Kirkdale and Aldbrough (see 115).

122. Since their contact is not a once-and-for-all phenomenon but a two-century process, new linguistic impulses poured constantly into various speeches within various parts of the Danelaw. Dialects of the Danelaw can be subdivided by areas in which they were spoken: Northumbrian, North Mercian, East Mercian, West Mercian and East Anglian (Thomason & Kaufman 1991: 272). Within these areas existed a number of Scandinavian communities with populations of diverse origins, composition and levels of amalgamation with the native population. This diversity was further complicated by ever changing socio-political factors such as further attacks by Dublin-based Norwegian Vikings, their seizure of York, reconquest by English kings of the Danelaw areas, the massacre on Saint Brice’s Day, Cnut’s rule of England, etc. These social changes led to various scales of population movements, promoting inter-regional contact and inter-dialectal exchange.

123. Aside from the linguistic similarities between OE and Norse, similar social status and non-hostile attitudes between English and Scandinavians apparently hastened their linguistic convergence. The majority of people, regardless of their nationality, relied on a simple agrarian economy and had no need to master the other people’s language properly for simple, practical everyday communication (Burnley 1992: 420). Hence, ‘no stigma is

felt in using syntactical structures from one language and word forms from another' (Burnley 1992: 420). As time passed this agricultural society likely experienced a gradual transformation prompted by the urbanization of York and Four Boroughs (Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford) and boosted by the Scandinavian presence. These urban centres might have worked as dynamic forces of commerce and population movement, serving as local foci which spread linguistic influence to the smaller communities around them within the Danelaw. Also, there would have existed a social framework described by weak-tie and strong-tie relationships. Cities, characterized by the development of a number of weakly-tied people, promote language contact situations which eventually lead to linguistic change.

2. 2. 2 The implication of the ME creole hypothesis on historical linguistics

124. A number of linguists (Dominique 1977, Bailey & Maroldt 1977, Milroy 1984 and Hansen 1984; also Hines 1991 with different perspectives) have discussed linguistic development from OE to ME, during which time the English language experienced the loss of inflectional endings and grammatical gender and lexical borrowings from Norse and French, in terms of pidgin and creole. Some argue that English used during the ME period can be regarded as a creole, which evolved from social interaction of the speakers of English with those of Norse and French. The ME creolization perspective was rather 'successfully' demonstrated by Poussa (1982). A word 'successfully' is based on the affirmative remark by Bruce Mitchell (1990: 28-9) made on his review of the article. He says 'I am happy to find myself in agreement with the fundamental conclusions (though not with all the terminology or all the details) of Poussa's important article on 'The

evolution of early Standard English’.’ Four years later, however, he has withdrawn the comment in fear that it could imply his acceptance of the concept of creolization (Mitchell 1994: 167-168).

125. In her argument Poussa emphasizes the clear division between the written language (prestigious and conservative) and the spoken language (unstable and rather informal) during the period from OE to early Modern English. She has summarized her argument as follows:

It is argued that the fundamental changes which took place between standard literary OE and Chancery Standard English: loss of grammatical gender, extreme simplification of inflexions and borrowing of form-words and common lexical words, may be ascribed to a creolization with Old Scandinavian during the OE period. The Midland creole dialect could have stabilized as a spoken lingua franca in the reign of Knut. Its non-appearance in literature was due initially to the prestige of the OE literary standard. The influence of French to be seen in ME texts is less fundamental: mainly loanwords. Most of the French influence on syntax and word-formation probably came in during the standardization of the English written language, through the habits of scribes who were accustomed to writing standard Latin and French (1982: 84).

She sees the linguistic situation of the eastern Midland areas, following the reopening of a strictly controlled border of the Danelaw in 918, as similar to that of a post-creole continuum with ‘the educational system attempting to reimpose a “pure” norm’ (1982: 74).

126. A creole is a kind of crosslanguage compromise where vocabulary is typically drawn from one of the languages but the grammar does not come from any one language (Thomason 2001: 160). ME in the Danelaw, despite its Norse component and its greater phonological and morphological simplicity, is, nonetheless, unquestionably English. As we have noted above, the introduction of Norse did not initiate the loss of inflection as this loss had already demonstrably started in Northumbrian dialects in the pre-Viking period. What it did was merely accelerate this process. In addition to the contact with genetically close languages, absence of social norm is also a contributing factor for the faster loss of inflection.

127. Parallel cases are found in medieval Danish and in eighteenth century Afrikaans. Danish lost most of its inflections in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, during which period the Danes were more or less bilingual speakers of Danish and Low German - languages that were largely identical in lexis, but widely divergent in inflections (Görlach 1986: 340 quoted from Haugen 1981: 104). Similar loss of inflections in Afrikaans from 1700 to 1750 would have been the result of contact of speakers with various local dialects from Netherlands and from Germany, all forms of their makeshift communication depending on common core lexis and 'analytical' syntax (Görlach 1986: 340 quoted from Comrinck 1978: 69-95).

128. Mutual communication between English and Scandinavian became relatively easier after regular encounters, and this ease of communication would have promoted further borrowings. For these reasons, there is no need to raise the assumption that creolization occurred in the OE-Norse contact.

129. Though neither do we consider the linguistic development from OE to ME as similar to those of creole languages, nor do we any longer regard ME as a creole, the creole hypothesis can provide us with a better understanding of historical processes in language change. It 'may point to a theoretical synthesis beyond the antagonisms of proposals focusing exclusively on either language-internal or sociohistorical, and thus language-external factors' (Wallmannsberger 1988: 32). Aside from given linguistic evidence, any useful discussion of a creole must include sociolinguistic and sociohistorical references. However, the ME creole hypothesis has made scholars reaffirm the importance of considering inter- and extra- linguistic factors when seeking an explanation for language change.

2. 3 Topographical and historical contexts

2. 3. 1 Topography

130. The West Riding of Yorkshire⁴⁵ (WRY), one of the three Ridings into which the whole of Yorkshire is divided, covers the largest area in the country with over one and three-quarter million acres. It is surrounded counterclockwise by Westmoreland in the northwest, Lancashire in the west, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire in the south, Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire (ERY) in the east and the North Riding of Yorkshire (NRY) in the north (see Map 3 in Appendix 1).

131. A striking contrast that the topography of WRY provides is between the agricultural lowlands in the east and the moorland and fell in the west. With this basic foundation the Riding shows a greater variation of topographical features than do most other counties in England (see Map 4 in Appendix 1).

132. WRY 'ranges from the marshlands of the south-east through the great industrial and urban area of the coal field in the southern half of the Riding, itself a hilly and well-wooded landscape, to the Pennines in the west, to the deep valleys and high moorlands of Millstone Grit in the southern part of the range of hills and the great fells and dales of the limestone district of the north. The region is for the most part in the Humber watershed; the chief rivers (the Don, the Calder and the Aire, the Warfe, the

⁴⁵ The WRY was regarded as a county with a complete administrative unit controlled by a county council until the government's re-organization of England county boundaries in 1974. In this year the term 'ridings' was abolished and new administrative local government areas named 'counties' were set up, that is North Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire. These new administrative areas include areas, which historically do not belong to Yorkshire proper, and exclude the areas which were in Yorkshire, hence 'violating Yorkshire identity'.

Nidda and the Ure) all flow in an easterly direction into the Ouse, their valleys spreading out fan-wise from the head of the Humber estuary toward the western hills. But there are ...areas on [the western side of the Pennines] which send their waters westward to the Irish Sea. These ...areas ...belong topographically to Lancashire and Westmoreland, and in earlier times a measure of uncertainty existed about their administrative ties' (Smith 1962: 20-21).

133. 'Much of the land in the west and north lies above the 800ft. contour and in historical times this has been an important factor in the settlement of the Riding, the lower levels offering more acceptable sites' (Smith 1962: 21). The various rivers running inland also, no doubt, played an important part in the occupation and the settlement by various invaders, among which the most linguistically important is that they were also made full use of for transport and communication, which use lasted until quite recently. To this is added an elaborate network of road systems based on Roman foundations as well as the newly established routes in the later period

2. 3. 2 Population

134. The size of population in WRY during the ME period cannot be definitively determined. It is, however, certain that the population had been increasing, though not steadily due to Black Death in 1348-9, since the time the first Domesday Book was made in 1066. A survey obtained by the Poll Tax Returns of 1377 (see Map 5 in Appendix 1) gives us a general picture of population distribution for that year where northern areas were generally much less populated than Midland areas. York is the largest town in the

north, probably second only to London in terms of population density, and we can see that north and west of a line drawn roughly from York to Plymouth that there are a few if any towns of numerical significance. The line separated a sparsely populated north and west from a more densely populated area to the south and east.

2. 3. 3 Historical features

135. The dialect of WRY has its earliest roots in the language of the Angles. This Germanic tribe came from the area now known as Schleswig-Holstein in the northern part of Germany. They eventually occupied the whole of Northumbria, the area north of the Humber, extending from that river up to the Firth of Forth in what is now Scotland. They also spread southwards through East Anglia and the Midlands as far as the Thames, this southern part of their territory becoming known as Mercia.

136. Well before the invasion by Angles, various types of people are considered to have migrated from the continent and settled on British soil. Among those who left linguistic evidence, particularly in topographical names in WRY, are the Celts. The remnants of their language are found in various river names: Ouse, Don, Calder, Aire, Warfe, Nidd and Ure and in heights: Chevin and Dacre. Many Celtic place-names survive as well. The preservation of their names more in WRY than ERY and NRY has connections to the physically challenging topography of the west.

137. The land of the West Riding was more difficult to seize by intruders than the rather flat countryside of the eastern part of Yorkshire. 'The West Riding is hilly and several

centuries ago was passable only by moorland hilltop tracks which would be snow-blocked in the winter. The valley floors in the west were vast marches, the hillsides covered with dense impenetrable forest and scrub' (Waddington-Feather 1977: 8).

138. 'It was easier for an invader to conquer and settle in the east also enjoying a better climate. The earliest Anglian invaders probably sailed up the Humber estuary and fanned out to make their conquests, either by wiping out the former settlers of Celts or subduing them' (Waddington-Feather 1977: 8). It is only a century later that another Anglian invasion of the thinly inhabited and underdeveloped west took place. This time, however, the Christianised Angles were more peaceful and colonized new areas away from native Celtic settlement (Waddington-Feather 1977: 8). This explains why WRY has a greater number of Celtic place-names but fewer Scandinavian place-names than the other two Ridings. The general indication of the lesser occurrence of Scandinavian place names in WRY in Domesday Book (drawn up about 1085) can be gauged by the figures which indicate Scandinavian place-name as about 13% in WRY but 28% in NRY and 40% in ERY.

139. The difference in the nature of settlement engendered three political divisions: Anglian kingdoms in Deira and Bernicia and a Celtic kingdom in Elmete under the overlordship of the greater kingdom of Northumbria in 600 AD. Deira roughly covered the area of present ERY and much of NRY and Bernicia stretched northwards to the Scottish border and westwards to Cumberland. Elmete was located in the areas which cover the present WRY.

140. After political turmoil including a series of battles, a pagan king of Mercia, allied

with the then king of Wales, finally defeated the king of Northumbria who at that time forcefully occupied Elmete in 632 A D and governed the land for more than 20 years. It is probably from this time that Mercian influence started to penetrate into the WRY. Also, the native Celtic people there would have felt more sympathy toward people brought from the Mercian king, who was allied with the Welsh king (Waddington-Feather 1977: 12).

141. The basic division of WRY and ERY/NRY is further intensified by another series of invasions and colonisations starting in the ninth century. These invaders were from Scandinavia, better known as the Vikings first from Denmark and later from Norway.

142. A Danish army invaded Northumbria in 867 AD, and using Yorkshire as a supply base, they went on long campaigns throughout England. When they settled themselves, they generally preferred the rich arable land in ERY and left the harsh land of the WRY Pennines and the NR Moors to the Anglians (Waddington-Feather 1977: 15).

143. Norwegians also left their mark on the northwestern areas of Yorkshire. They came from Dublin, where they had already established their colony, and started raiding the western English coastlines in the tenth century. Later they settled in those areas now in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the Lake District and also penetrated into inland areas of northwestern Yorkshire (see Map 6 and Map 7 in Appendix 1).

2. 3. 4 Place-names and dialects

145. Three groups of invaders, Angles, Danes and Norwegians, contributed to the development of Yorkshire. We can distinguish their contribution by a study of place-names and dialects.

146. In WRY the activity of the Angles in clearing woodland is evidenced by place-names ending in *-ley* (<OE *lēah*) ‘a wood’ or ‘glade of a wood’ and names ending in *-field* (<OE *feld*) ‘open country’. Place-names with *-ton* and *-ing* also indicate OE origin.

147. Danes scattered themselves among the Angles and made new villages. Danish place names are characterized with place-name elements such as *-by*, *-thorpe* and *-toft*. Their place-names cover villages throughout the lowland and the valleys with a marked concentration around York and Doncaster. Their distribution among the Anglian place names suggests no significant difference in the way of life between these two peoples. It is more likely that the two co-operated in agricultural pursuits with presumably very limited equipment. Their integration is further supported by the formation of villages: Anlgo-Danish areas are quite similar, that is, they are generally nucleated villages - all farms are congregated in small villages, meadows, arable pastures and moors (Paistrick 1970: 37).

148. In contrast the scattered non-nucleated communities - farms being spread along the hillsides and on the fringes of the moors, in a wide scatter with no focal point - are characteristic of the predominantly Norwegian settlement (Paistrick 1970: 32-33, 37). The major areas of their presence are indicated by place-name elements such as *-scale*,

-gill, -fell, -slack and *-thwaite*. This settlement was less widespread, more localized than that of the Anglo-Danish. There were large groups around Doncaster and York, but the strongest was in the west of Pennines, particularly in areas above 800 feet.

149. The Scandinavian invasion affected various levels of the life of those people already there, not to mention enriching tremendously the vocabularies of Yorkshire, particularly in the north and eastern parts, and to a lesser though significant extent, those of standard English. A glimpse of the general areas with strong Scandinavian linguistic impact persistent in the present dialects is seen in the schematised maps of Samuels (1985), who refers those areas as The Great Scandinavian Belt (see Map 8 in Appendix 1). NRY, ERY and the northern area of WRY are included in the belt as its focal areas whereas the southern area of WRY is located outside of the area.

150. The WRY, particularly in the southern areas, has strong historical connections to the counties in the south. Hence, it had a divergent linguistic situation from the rest of Yorkshire from the earlier period on. This situation was further affected in modern times by the Industrial Revolution, which attracted many rural workers from all over the country as well as from Ireland. Midland farmers in particular came in vast numbers to seek work in the towns around WRY (Waddington-Feather 1977: 8). These historical and social developments helped the Midland dialects spread up and down the dales, ultimately making WRY speech distinct from ERY and NRY. Nonetheless, the dialects of WRY are far from uniform. Allowing for geographical barriers, such as the high Pennine moors between dale and dale, it shows great variation (Waddington-Feather 1977: 23). In fact, there is much greater variation in dialects over a few miles in WRY than there is over the same distance in ERY and NRY (Waddington-Feather 1977: 23).

151. To give us an idea of a general dialectal boundary in the present day, a quotation from Waddington-Feather (1977: 22) would suffice (and also see Map 9 in Appendix 1):

In the mid - 19th century the river Aire was probably the northern boundary of the North Midland dialects. A century later it had encroached as far as somewhere between the [rivers] Wharfe and Nidd, quite an extensive region, and there are indications that this typically West Riding type of speech is still moving northwards - a reversal in speech-patterns, it seems, of the population drift south.

2. 4 Choice of texts for analysis

2. 4. 1 Introductory remarks

152. All the texts examined are those for which provenance is established in LALME. All have been examined in two distinct groups. In the first group, fifteen copies of *Prick of Conscience* from various locations in England are examined (Chapter 3. 1). In the second, all obtainable WRY texts, which encompass various genres and lengths, are examined (Chapter 3. 2). Different methodologies are used for data collection from these two groups of texts, the details for which are described below. The demonstrative systems derived from these separate examinations are synthesised to construct a hypothesis as to the organisation of demonstrative systems in the five surviving WRY texts of *Prick of Conscience* (Chapter 3. 3). All data for Chapter 3 are available in Appendix 3, 4 and 5.

2. 4. 2 *Prick of Conscience* texts

2. 4. 2. 1 Method

153. There is one printed text of *The Prick of Conscience* available, edited by Richard Morris (1863) from two MSS that belong to a northern group of texts closest to the presumed original. Morris' edition is derived mainly from British Library Cotton Galba E. IX and supplementarily from British Library Harley 4196 (lines 1538-1729 and line 6923-9210). This version is used as a convenient base text and, first of all, all the lines up to line 5000 which contain THESE and THOSE are collected from it. Then, the available

corresponding lines were gleaned from fifteen other texts (as for its WRY texts, different lines are examined due to the limited availability of folios, of which detail is mentioned in Chapter 3. 3) regardless whether those lines include the demonstratives or not. By this exercise, we are able to trace the process of scribal translation of the demonstratives in relation to the transmission of the text. This method inevitably excludes the demonstratives apparent outside those corresponding lines, but this in itself, given the frequency of the form, has not proved to be a large drawback. Our examination of roughly one thousand sequential lines in the overlapping areas of each text, unless they are written by different hands or physically damaged, has revealed that the demonstratives do not usually seem to occur other than in those lines. This general absence of THESE and THOSE in other lines indicates that sufficient data are collected from those corresponding lines.

2. 4. 2. 2 *The Prick of Conscience*

154. A brief introduction to *the Prick of Conscience* summarized from *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience* by Lewis and McIntosh (1982: 1-25) would be useful for context. *The Prick of Conscience* is a lengthy religious verse text (the printed text contains 9624 lines) in rhyming couplets composed by an unknown author in the north of England, probably in Yorkshire, around the middle of the fourteenth century. It contains ‘a prologue; seven books which describe, in turn, the wretchedness of man’s nature, the world and the various conditions thereof, death and the fear of death, purgatory, the day of judgement, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven; and a short epilogue’ (1982: 3). Judging from the number of extant manuscripts (as many as one hundred and sixteen) and from its extraordinarily wide circulation (at least one copy found in nearly

three quarters of England) we can say that it was arguably the most “popular” poem in the Middle Ages amongst those interested in reading English texts. The nature and purpose of the poem strongly suggest that copies were produced by local scribes (e.g., parish priests) in order for them to read aloud to people in their own districts. The copiers, therefore, presumably chose linguistic features that reflected quite closely the speech of the place in which copies were made.

155. Among numerous extant texts the most important ones are those which belong to Main Version (MV)⁴⁶, as per the classification of the *Guide*, as they are derived ultimately from the original despite a number of sub-groups based on dialect, changes of rhymes, length of text, rearrangement of material, etc (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 5). All the texts we examined belong to this group and their complicated inter-textual relation, compiled based on the description in the *Guide*, are demonstrated in Figure 2 below.

2. 4. 2. 3 Manuscripts of *The Prick of Conscience*

156. The names of manuscripts are followed by their location and LP numbers. MV numbers from the *Guide* are also referred to in parentheses. For general comparative purposes with other localities, one WRY text is included here but it is also dealt with when we examine the demonstrative systems in *the Prick of Conscience* texts in the WRY in Chapter 3. 3.

Northern texts:

⁴⁶ Other minor groups are Southern Recension, Extract, *Speculum Huius Vite* and the Latin Translation. The group division is made according to the compositions and the variety of ways in which the poem circulated and was read (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 5).

1, NRY: LP174 (MV83), Oxford Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet. 175. ff. 1r-136v⁴⁷.

2, WRY: LP405 (MV62), Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 99. ff. 1-120v.

3, La: LP365 (MV 43), London, British Library, Additional 32578. ff. 1r-103v.

East Midland and East Anglian texts:

4, Li: LP69 (MV25), Leeds University, Brotherton Library, 501. ff.1r-122⁴⁸.

5, Nt: LP580 (MV12), Cambridge University Library L1. II. 17. ff. 2r-145v.

6, Nfk: LP4290 (MV65a), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 99. Language1: ff. 8v-17v, 27v-78v, 117r-125r.

7, Sfk: LP9320 (MV30), London, British Library, Egerton 3245. ff. 2r-156v.

West Midland and South Western texts:

8, Sal: LP4239 (MV88), Oxford, Trinity College 16 A. Main hand ff. 1r-116v (except f. 2v lines 18-24).

9, Stf: LP238 (MV36), London, British Library, Lansdowne 348. ff. 2r-127v.

10, Wrk: LP534 (MV16), Charlottesville, University of Virginia, Hench 10. ff. 3r-136v.

11, Gl: LP7040 (MV72), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous 486. ff. 1-122.

12, Dvn: LP5120 (MV63), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14. ff. 2r-158v.

⁴⁷ MV 83 covers ff. 1a-55b.

⁴⁸ MV 25 covers ff. 1-58v.

Southern texts:

13, Brk: LP6790 (MV9), Cambridge, St Johns' College 137 (E.34). ff.1-113v.

14, Sx: LP5680 (MV90), Oxford, University College 142. ff. 1-130⁴⁹.

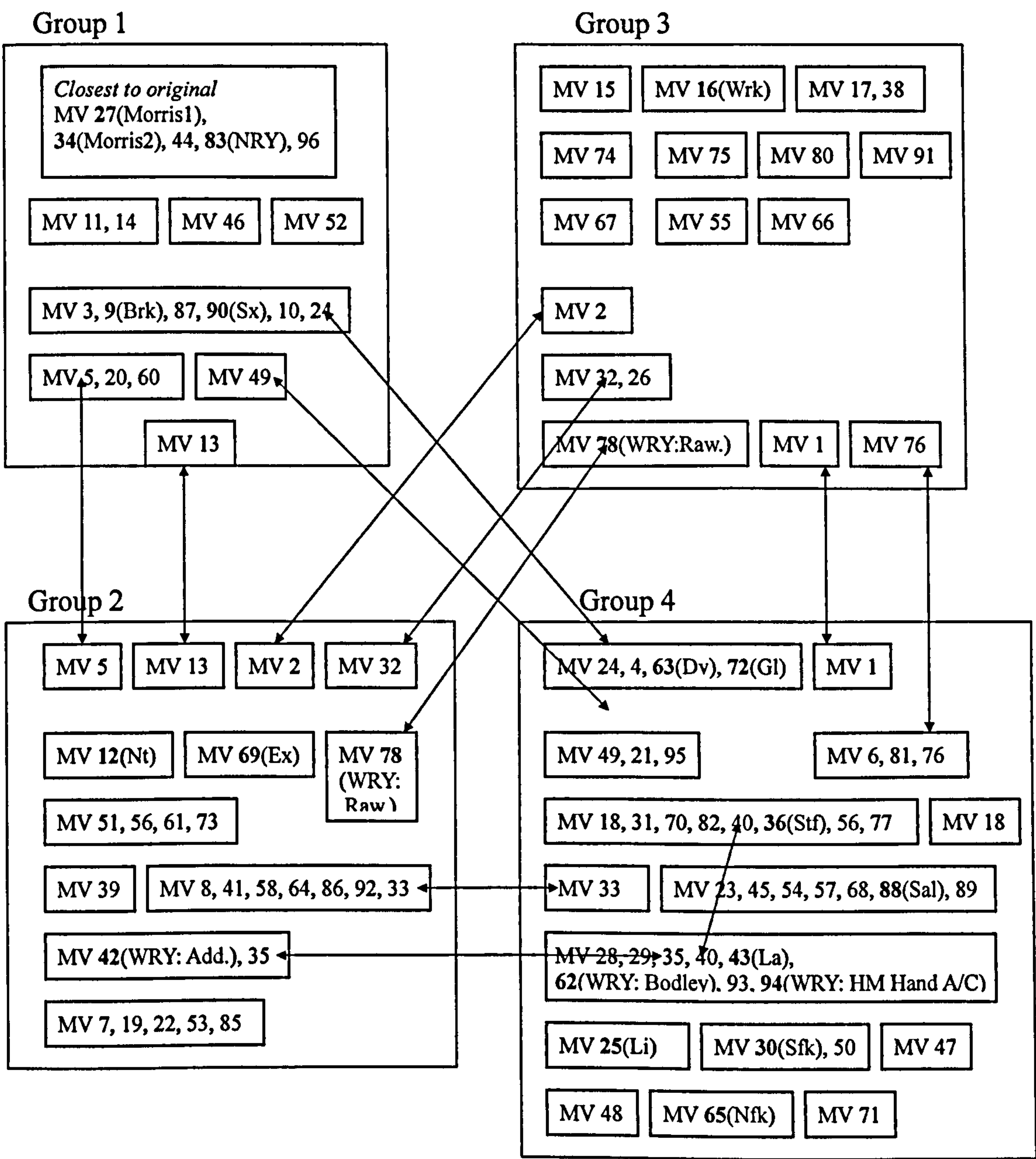
15, Ex: LP6330 (MV69b), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 157. Language 2 ff. 24-113v.

157. Each text has a reasonably large number of folios available. However, we often come across the situation in which corresponding lines in question are missing or collated with lines located previously or subsequently to the lines. Also, some folios have been physically damaged. These factors make the quantity of data vary and they are specified in the analysis of the individual texts in the following chapter and highlighted in a parallel presentation of corresponding lines in the in Appendix 3. The geographical location of each of the texts is shown in Map 10 in Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ MV 90 covers ff. 4-125v.

Figure 2: Inter-textual relations of the fifteen texts

(The texts which belong to the Main Version are divided into four groups, and these groups are further sub-divided into smaller groups. Group 1 includes, among others, the manuscripts closest to the presumable original. Groups 2, 3 and 4 are all ultimately derived from Group 1. Two-way arrows are used to signify texts composed of textual characteristics belonging to two different groups. The MV numbers of all the *Prick of Conscience* texts examined are expressed in bold.)



2. 4. 3 The WRY texts

2. 4. 3. 1 Method

158. The texts located in the WRY vary in genre and length. A large number of texts are relatively long and hence a reasonably sufficient amount of data was collectable. There are, however, several short texts in one or two folios, usually registry records, therefore with extremely low or no hit rates. In addition, there are a couple of texts⁵⁰ dated in the late fifteenth century onward, a period slightly later than LALME usually covers. With the various nature of texts in mind, lines, phrases or sentences in which variants appear are collected from either printed versions and/or originals, using the LP as a guide. Locations of all the analysed texts including those of five *Prick of Conscience* texts are shown in Map 11 and Map 12 in Appendix 1.

2. 4. 3. 2 A list of the WRY texts

159. The names of the manuscripts are followed by LP numbers. They are allocated under four geographically sub-divided headings: North eastern, North western, Central and Southern texts.

North western texts

1, LP4, London, British Library, Harley 1022. Hand B. ff. 16r-73v.

Analysed from C. Horstmann ed., *Yorkshire Writers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895) volume i, p 3-49, 158-1, 186-91.

⁵⁰ That is LP53 and LP204.

- 2, LP5, London, British Library, Egerton 927. Main hand.
Analysed fully from C. Horstmann ed., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, EETS (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.) os 98 (1892, repr. 1973), pp. 407-42.

- 3, LP18, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A iii. Hand A. (main hand). ff. 2r-91v, 93vA line 9 to 95vB line 19, 99r-112v, 119rB top to end. The equivalence in R. Morris ed., *Cursor Mundi* i, ii, iii and iv EETS (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner) os 57, 62, 66 (1874, repr. 1961; 1876, repr. 1966; 1877, repr. 1966) are lines 1-16748, 16849-17288, 17317-852, 18029-64, 21173-24968. Hence, analysed from line 4919 -14000 and lines 21173-24968.

- 4, LP32, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 12. Hand A. Beginning to f.208rA line 27. Analysed from Hope Emily Allen ed., *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, (Oxford: OUP, 1931), p. 4seq. and supplemented by original: ff. 4r-60v (except those lines of which transcription is available from the printed source) and ff. 150r-195v.

- 5, LP171 (MV78), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 891. Hand C. ff. 35r-111v (middle): *Prick of Conscience*. Fully analysed. (This text is treated as A text in Chapter 3. 3.)

- 6, LP191, London, British Library, Harley 1770. ff. 158r-241r. Analysed from 158r-210v and 230r-241r.

- 7, LP364, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D vii. ff. 104. Analysed from C. Horstmann ed., *Yorkshire Writers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1896) volume ii, p130-273.

- 8, LP406, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 148. Hand B. ff. 23r-203v: *Commentary on the Psalter*. Analysed from ff. 23r-50r, 80r-115v, 130r-150v and 185r-203v.

- 9, LP454, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 148. Hand A. ff. 1r-22v. Analysed from 1r-20r.

- 10, LP592, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 12. Hand B. f. 208rA line 28 to f. 212rB

line 2. Fully analysed.

- 11, LP598, Princeton University Library (Princeton, N. J.): Robert H. Taylor Collection, MS of *Speculum Vitae*: beginning to f. 95v. Analysed from ff.2vA-24rB, 40r-60v and 83r-89v.
- 12, LP601, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 425. *Surtees Psalter* and two hymns. ff. 1r-113v. Analysed from 1r-50v, 71r-80v, 93r line 6-93v, and 106v line 4-107r line 11.
- 13, LP603, London, British Library, Egerton 614. ff. 99. Analysed from C. Horstmann ed., *Yorkshire Writers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1896) volume ii, p130-143 (I-IX), which covers ff.2r to 7v. Hence from ff.7r-70v are additionally analysed from the original.

North eastern texts

- 14, LP53, London, British Library, Egerton 3143. Analysed from Joyce Bazire ed., *The Metrical Life of St Robert of Knaresborough*, EETS (London: Oxford University Press) os 228 (1953, for 1947) from the beginning to up till line 1247.
- 15, LP358, Oxford, University College 28. Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and other tracts, ff. 1r-118r. Analysed from 1r-40va, 50r-65va and 85r-95v.
- 16, LP398, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1438, part I. Hand G. p. 107 (lower half) to p. 129: recipes. Fully analysed.
- 17, LP410, London, British Library, Add. 37049. Hand D. ff. 46v-66v: *Desert of Religion*. Fully analysed.
- 18, LP526, London, British Library, Stowe 951. ff. 32r-312r: *Speculum Vitae*. Analysed from f.32r-50r, 100r-120v, 200r-225v and 300r-312r.
- 19, LP1349, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: Bradfer-Lawrence 7. ff. 1v-116v: *Mandevilles's Travels*. Analysed from 1v-70r.

Central texts

- 20, LP29, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates'19. 3. 1. Main hand. Analysed from *The Hunting of the Hare* ff.1r-7v, *Sir Gowther* ff. 11r-27v, *The Marriage of St Catherine* ff. 30r-47v, *Sir Isumbras* ff. 48r-56v, *Sir Amadas* ff. 68r-84r, *Tundale* ff. 98r-173r.
- 21, LP30, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supta 52. Hand A. ff. 2r-168r, 172r-239v. Analysed from ff. 2r-50v and ff.100r-110v.
- 22, LP115, London, British Library, Harley 1022. Hand A. ff. 1v, 74r-81v. Analysed from C. Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895) volume i, p 162-172.
- 23, LP168, London, British Library, Harley 2380. Hand A. ff. 1r-70r (excluding 43r-v, 65r, 69v, parts of 69v and 70r in other hand). Fully analysed.
- 24, LP204, Durham University Library, Cosin V. IV. 8. Main hand ff. 1r-30r line 9: medica. Fully analysed.
- 25, LP211, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 1. *Towneley Plays*. Analysed from G. England and A. W. Pollard, ed., *The Towneley Plays*, EETS (London : K. Paul, Trench, Trübner) es 71 (1897, repr. 1973), pp. 100-140, 166-181, 228-242, 244-253.
- 26, LP 348, London, British Library, Add. Charter 16916.
- 27, LP 360, Leeds Central Library, Archives Department: TN/HX/A13.
- 28, LP 377, Two Huddersfield documents (1) Huddersfield Central Library: WBD/VIII/10, (2) Huddersfield Central Library: WBM/2.
- 29, LP 378 Huddersfield Central Library: WBD/IX/7.
- 30, LP415, Hull University Library: DDLO 21/27, 28, 30, 32, 35, 40 (Selby Court Rolls). Analysed from J. Raine, ed., *English Miscellanies*, (Durham: the Surtees Sociey 85, 1890), pp. 22-8.

- 31, LP473, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 131. ff. 1r-147v. Analysed from 2v-50v, 70r-90v and 120r-140v.
- 32, LP474, London, British Library, Harley 2391. Hand B. ff. 156v-230v: *Mirk's Festial*. Fully analysed.
- 33, LP477, London, British Library, Sloane 983. Hand A. ff. 1r-29r, 37v-39v and 81r-103. Fully analysed.
- 34, LP488, London, British Library, Stowe 39. ff. 1r-33r: religious poems, including *The Desert of Religion* and *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*. Analysed from f.4r-33r.
- 35, LP494 (MV42), London, British Library, Additional 25013. ff. 1r-136v: *Prick of Conscience*. Analysed from 5r-85v and 110r-130v. (This text is treated as B text in Chapter 3. 3.)
- 36, LP496, London, British Library, Harley 4172. Part I, f. 1r line 11 to f. 15v; part II, ff. 50v-63v. Analysed from f.1r-15v and 50v-63v.
- 37, LP500, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 160/81. ff. 1r-415v: William of Nassyngton, *Speculum Vitae*. Analysed from ff. 1r-41, 100-130, 200-230 and 300-330.

Southern texts

- 38, LP100, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A iii Hand B. ff. 92rA, line 8; 96r to 98v foot. Analysed from R. Morris, ed., *Cursor Mundi* iii, EETS (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner) os 62 (1876, repr. 1966), lines 16749-62 + 149 extra lines, 16803-814 + 72 extra lines, 17289 - 316 + 466 extra lines after 17288.
- 39, LP165, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Greaves 43. Whole MS: imperfect text of William of Nassyngton's *Speculum Vitae*. Analysed from 9v-47r (end).
- 40, LP175, Cambridge, Trinity College 223 (B. 10. 12). ff. 69. Fully analysed and also

examined F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner) os 15 (1866, repr. 1962) pp. 133-140.

41, LP200, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 751. ff. 74v, 83r-85v, 142r-v. Fully analysed.

42, LP234, London, British Library, Egerton 842. Hand D. ff. 245r-254v. Fully analysed.

43, LP240, Cambridge University Library Add. 3039. Hand B. ff. 18v-23v, 122v-154v. *South English Legendary*. Fully analysed.

44, LP 363, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds: DD 53/III/262.

45, LP 373, Sheffield City Libraries: Bagshaw Collection 970.

46, LP405 (MV62), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 99. ff. 1r-120v: *Prick of Conscience*. Analysed from ff. 6r-90v and 110r-120v. (This text is treated as C text in Chapter 3. 3.)

47, LP479 (MV94₁), Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 139. Hand A. ff. 144r-149v: *Prick of Conscience*. Fully analysed. (This text is treated as D text in Chapter 3. 3.)

48, LP 497, Cambridge University Library Add. 3039. Hand D. ff. 121v-122r: *South English Legendary*. Analysis from ff.121v-121r.

49, LP591 (MV94₂), Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 139. Hand C. ff. 156r-187r: *Prick of Conscience*. Analysed from 156r-174r and 183r-187r. (This text is treated as E text in Chapter 3. 3.)

Chapter 3 Data and Interpretation

3. 1 The demonstratives in various *Prick of Conscience* texts outside the WRY

3. 1. 1 THESE

(1) Northern texts

(1a) Morris text

Table 6: Forms

	Morris	
variants	þir	28
	þer	20
	þis	7
	þere	2
	þes	2
	þier	1
THESE		60
ALL		60

160. Main variants are *þir* and *þer* and minor ones are *þis*, *þere*, *þes* and *þier* (Table 6). A great majority of the variants favoured in this text are therefore *þ-r* type forms, followed by *þ-s* type forms.

Table 7: Function

	Morris		
Det	þir		21
	þer		16
	þis (w pl N)		7
	þere		2
	þes		2
	þier		1
THESE			49
ALL			49
Pron	þir	S of beV	3
		In PP	2
		S of doV	1
		C of beV	1
	þer	S of beV	3
		In PP	1
THESE			11
ALL			11

Variants for the item THESE appear much more frequently as determiners than pronouns (Table 7). While the more commonly occurring forms are used with both of these functions, the minor variants are limited to the determiner-function. When the more common variants appear as pronouns, they often appear as subjects.

The main forms, particularly *þir*, often appear line-initially while the minor forms do not usually

appear at this position.

(1b) The NRY text (Oxford Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet)

Table 8: Forms

	NRY	
variants	yir	47
	yes	5
	yis	4
	yere	2
	yer	1
Alt ⁵¹	yis	1
THESE		59
ALL		60

Table 9: Function

	NRY		
Det	yir		39
	yis (w pl N)		4
	yes		5
	yis (w sg N)		1
THESE			48
ALL			49
Pron	yir	S of be V	3
		In PP	3
		S of doV	1
		+ that C	1
	yere	S of be V	2
	yer	S of be V	1
THESE			11
ALL			11

161. The main variant is *yir* and the minor ones are *yes*, *yis*, *yere* and *yer* (Table 8). The *y-r* variants generally appear in the same places as do *b-r* forms in the Morris text; likewise, the *y-s* variants appear where *b-s* appear in that text. The syntactic environments in which the demonstrative appears, therefore, are almost the same as those of the Morris text. This correlation arises from the fact that these two texts together belong to one of the groups of text closest to the presumed original.

⁵¹ “Alternatives (or alternative words)” means words other than the item THESE or THOSE appearing in the corresponding lines to Morris text in which the demonstraives occur. In this and following tables “variants” is used to express variant forms of those items.

(1c) The WRY text (Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 99)

Table 10: Forms

	WRY	
Variants	yise	43
	ysis	3
	thise	1
Alt	ysis	4
	yai	1
	many	1
THESE		47
ALL		53

Table 11: Function

	WRY		
Det	yise		34
	ysis (w pl N)		3
	thise		1
	many		1
	ysis (w sg N)		1
THESE			38
ALL			40
Pron	yise	S of beV	5
		In PP	2
		C of beV	1
		+ that C	1
	ysis	S of sg.be V	1
		S of sg.do V	1
		In PP	1
	yai	S of be V	1
THESE			9
ALL			13

162. The main variant is *yise* and the minor ones are *ysis* and *thise* (Table 10). Variants with a plural marker *-e*, as in *yise/thise*, are only regularly used in this text among the Northern texts. In addition, the *th-* type spelling is also only seen in this text among the Northern texts.

Thise appears in line-initial positions, while *yise* appears in line-initial as well as in in-line positions.

Though forms of the item THESE are generally transmitted, the total number of its tokens is slightly decreased not so much with replacement by its alternatives but with simple omission of the corresponding lines.

(1d) The La text (London, British Library, Additional 32578)

Table12: Forms

	La	
Variants	yes	45
	yis	3
Alt	yat	2
	ye	1
	yos	1
	yis	1
THESE		48
ALL		53

Table13: Function

	La		
Det	yes		34
	yis (w pl N)		3
	yat (w pl N)		2
	yos		1
	ye		1
THESE			37
ALL			41
Pron	yes	S of beV	7
		In PP	2
		S of doV	1
		+ that C	1
	yis	S of sg be V	1
THESE			11
ALL			12

163. The main variant is *yes* and the minor one is *yis* (Table 12). Several alternative words appear. Among them it is interesting to see that *yat* appears as a determiner modifying plural nouns: *And yat clerkes here lefte hand calles* (line 1271) and *Ffor als yat clerkys in bokes redes* (line 1682).

As with the WRY text a slight decrease in the number of tokens for the item THESE owes more to the omission of the corresponding lines than to replacement by other functional equivalents.

(1e) Summary of Northern texts

164. The variants of the item THESE in the Morris text generally appear as various forms of that item in the three Northern texts from NRY, WRY and La, despite the slight reduction of the number of its tokens in the WRY and the La texts caused by omission of corresponding lines and, to a lesser degree, by replacement with other words.

The main form in the Morris and NRY texts is similarly of the *p-r/y-r* type, while that in the WRY is *yise* and that in the La is *yes*. Despite the difference in the main forms, every text has *bis/yis/this* as minor forms.

A majority of variants of THESE is used as determiner, and its pronominal usage, though found, seems to be most frequent as subjects of the verb “to be” and as prepositional objects.

(2) East Midland and East Anglian texts

(2a) The Li text (Leeds University, Brotherton Library, 501)

Table 14: Forms

	Li	
Variants	thes	24
	thys	4
	þes	3
Alt	thys	4
	they	1
	thus (adv?)	1
THESE		31
ALL		37

Table 15: Function

	Li		
Det	thes		18
	thys (w pl N)		4
	þes		2
	thys (w sg N)		2
	thus (adv?)		1
THESE			24
ALL			27
Pron	thes	S of be V	4
		In PP	2
	thys	S of sg be V	1
		In PP	1
	þe	S of be V	1
	they	S of be V	1
THESE			6
ALL			10

165. The main variant is *thes* and the minor ones are *thys* and *þes* (Table 14). There is no single occurrence of variants with the plural marker *-e* in this text unlike the rest of the East Midland and East Anglian texts.

Thes appears in line-initial as well as in-line positions while *þes* is limited to in-lines. The predominating appearance of *th-* type forms are also seen in other items of words such as THAT, THUS, THE, THEY and THOSE. Several tokens for this item are missing in the first 1000 lines, owing to a lack of text; however, many tokens remain.

(2b) The Nt text (Cambridge University Library L1. II. 17)

Table16: Forms

	Nt	
Variants	these	35
	thyse	1
	thes	1
	this	1
Alt	þair	1
	the	3
	tho	1
	this	1
	that	1
	they	1
THESE		38
ALL		46

166. The main variant is *these* (Table 16). The minor ones are *thyse*, *thes* and *this*, all appearing only once.

Various alternative words appear such as *þair*, *the*, *tho*, *this*, *that* and *they* (Table 17). The letter *þ* is only seen in *þair*; all other forms employ initial *th*-.

Table17: Function

	Nt		
Det	these		27
	thyse		1
	thes		1
	this (w pl.N)		1
	that (w pl.N)		1
	þair		1
	the		3
	tho		1
	this w sg N		1
THESE			30
ALL			37
Pron	these	S of beV	6
		S of do V	1
		In PP	1
	thay	+ that C	1
THESE			8
ALL			9

As with the Li text, a lack of the first 400 or so lines has resulted in the reduction of the total number of tokens for the item THESE.

(2c) The Nfk text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 99)

Talbe18: Forms

	Nfk Language1	
Variants	yese	28
	yis	2
Alt	yis	1
	yo	1
	yei	1
THESE		30
ALL		33

167. The main form is *yese* and minor one is *yis* (Table 18). A significant lack of tokens for the item THESE and alternative words is caused by physical damages on several folios in the early part of the text.

Table19: Function

	Nfk Language 1		
Det	yese		21
	yis (w pl N)		2
	yo		1
	yis (w sg N)		1
THESE			23
ALL			25
Pron	yese	S of beV	3
		In PP	3
		C of be V	1
	yei	S of beV	1
THESE			7
ALL			8

(2d) The Sfk text (London, British Library, Egerton 3245)

Table 20: Forms

	Sfk	
Variants	þese	26
	these	13
	þis	2
Alt	þey	2
	hise	1
	thoo	1
	þe	1
	this	1
	thus (adv?)	1
THESE		41
ALL		48

168. The main variant is *þese* and the minor ones are *these* and *þis* (Table 20). *Þese* and *these* are strictly differentiated by their position; *þese* only appears in in-line positions whereas *these* only appears line-initially.

Several alternative words have replaced the item THESE and all of them, except *þey*, appear as its determiner equivalent (Table 21).

Table 21: Function

	Sfk		
Det	þese		22
	these		7
	þis (w pl N)		2
	þe		1
	hise		1
	this (w sg N)		1
	thoo		1
	thus (adv?)		1
THESE			31
ALL			36
Pron	these	S of beV	6
	þese	In PP	3
		S of doV	1
	þey	S of be V	2
THESE			10
ALL			12

(2e) Summary of East Midland and East Anglian texts

169. Except in the Li text a majority of variants used in the Nt, Nfk and Sfk texts consists of *these/yesel/pese* type forms. Among the minor forms *this/yis/bis* occur in every texts, but not as often as in the Northern texts.

Several alternative words for the item THESE are found more frequently in the Nt and Sfk texts than in the Li and Nfk texts. They are generally appearing more frequently in place of determiners than pronouns.

As to spellings, *th-* type forms are more regular in the Li and Nt texts while *y-* is consistent in the Nfk text. In the Sfk text distinctions between *th-* and *p-* are strictly made according to their positions as *th-* forms are only found in the line-initial and *p-* forms in-line position.

The decrease in the number of tokens for the item THESE has resulted mainly from the omission of corresponding lines (as in the Li and Nt texts) or differing hand (as in the Nfk text). Another contributing factor is its replacement by other words more frequently than in the Northern texts.

(3) West Midland and South western texts

(3a) The Sal text (Oxford, Trinity College 16 A)

Table 22: Forms

	Sal	
Variants	þese	28
	þys	4
	þus	2
	þise	1
	þees	1
	þuese	1
	these	1
Alt	dyuers	1
	þis	1
	þo	1
	þat	1
	veches	1
THESE		38
ALL		43

170. The main variant is *þese* and minor ones are *þys*, *þus*, *þise*, *þees*, *þuese* and *these* (Table 22).

This text has the most numerous minor variants of all the texts analysed. An interesting form *þuese*, which looks to be the combined form of *þus* and *þese*, is found only in this text.

Minor variants do not in general seem to appear in line-initial positions, but *þys*, *þise* and *þees* seem to be the exception.

As to function, none of the minor forms is used as pronoun while the main form appears as a pronoun as well as a determiner (Table 23). Various alternative words are also occurring in place of a determiner function.

Table 23: Function

	Sal		
Det	þese		18
	þys (w pl N)		4
	þus		2
	þees		1
	þise		1
	þuese		1
	dyuers		1
	þis (w sg N)		1
	þat (w pl N)		1
	veches		1
THESE			27
ALL			31
Pron	þese	SofBeV	4
		S of doV	3
		InPP	2
		C of be V	1
	these	SofbeV	1
	þo	S of beV	1
THESE			11
ALL			12

(3b) The Stf text (London, British Library, Lansdowne 348)

Table 24: Forms

	Stf	
Variants	þese	17
	þes	9
	these	1
Alt	þose	2
	þo	1
	þe	1
	þei	1
THESE		27
ALL		32

171. The main variant is *þese* and the minor ones are *þes* and *these* (Table 24). *þese* never appears in line-initial position, where occur the minor forms *þes* and *these*.

Function-wise, as with the minor variants in other texts, *þes* is limited to determiner usage (Table 25).

Table 25: Function

	Stf		
Det	þese		11
	þes		9
	these		1
	þose		1
	þe		1
	þo		1
THESE			21
ALL			24
Pron	þese	S of beV	2
		S of doV	2
		C of be V	1
		In PP	1
	þose	In PP	1
	þei	S of beV	1
THESE			6
ALL			8

It is interesting that variant forms of the item THOSE occur three times (that is *þose* twice and *þo* once) in place of the item THESE.

Lack of a great number of tokens for the item THESE and alternative words has resulted from omission of lines.

(3c) The Wrk text (Charlottesville, University of Virginia, Hensch 10)

Table 26: Forms

	Wrk	
Variants	þese	40
	these	9
Alt	þis	1
	þe	1
THESE		49
ALL		51

Table 27: Function

	Wrk		
Det	þese		34
	these		5
	þe		1
THESE			39
ALL			40
Pron	þese	S of beV	2
		In PP	2
		S of doV	1
		C of be V	1
	these	S of be V	4
	þis	In PP	1
THESE			10
ALL			11

alternative words appearing (Table 27). Due to this paucity of the alternative words, the total number of tokens for the item THESE in this text is the highest in Southumbrian texts.

172. The main variant is *þese* and the minor one is *these*. A lack of other variants is notable (Table 26).

These only appears in line-initial position, whereas *þese* in various positions including line-initially. This differentiation in form governed by line-position is also seen in other grammatical words such as THAT, THE and THEY, but there is no *th*- type forms used for the item THOSE despite the appearance of this item in line-initial position on three occasions (see Appendix 3) .

In addition to the absence of minor variants, it is also noticeable that there are not so many

(3d) The G1 text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous 486)

Table 28: Forms

	G1	
Variants	þes	17
	thes	10
	þys	4
	thys	1
Alt	þy	1
	hys	1
	þys	2
	thys	1
	this	1
	??tt	1
THESE		32
ALL		39

Table 29: Function

	G1		
Det	þes		15
	thes		4
	þys (w pl N)		4
	thys (w pl N)		1
	þy		1
	hys		1
	þys (w sg N)		2
	??tt (w pl N)		1
THESE			24
ALL			29
Pron	þes	S of beV	1
		+ that C	1
	thes	S of beV	5
		O of do V	1
	this	S of sg beV	1
	thys	O? of V	1
THESE			8
ALL			10

173. The main variant is *þes* and the minor ones are *thes*, *þys* and *thys* (Table 28). *Th*- type variants only appear in the line-initial whereas *þ*- type forms appear in both line-initial and in-line positions.

Þys and *thys* both appear before numerals, as in *Þys four letteth hy of sygte* (line 253), *Thys foure norcheth nuiche pryde and doste* (line 257), *In wham eny of þys foure ys* (line 259), *And þys þre skyles buþe gude to lere* (line 2471) and *To þys tweye may penaunce vs lede* (line 2779).

The remarkable lack of tokens for the item *THESE* in this text is caused by the omission of lines where the item occurs. Also, another factor is that even when the corresponding lines exist the drastic syntactic modification of lines does not seem to require demonstratives or equivalent items. A

similar situation is also found in the Dvn text.

(3e) The Dvn text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14)

Table 30: Forms

	Dvn	
Variants	thys	22
	þis	3
	thus	3
	thuse	3
Alt	thys	4
	thys	2
	hys	1
	t3yt	1
	ham	1
	that	1
THESE		31
ALL		41

Table 31: Function

	Dvn		
Det	thys (w pl N)		19
	þis (w pl N)		3
	thuse		1
	thys (w sg N)		3
	his		1
	t3yt		1
	that (w sg N)		1
THESE			23
ALL			29
Pron	thys	In PP	2
		S of pl be V	1
	thus	C or O?	2
		S of beV	1
	thuse	S of beV	2
	thys	S of sg be V	1
	thys sg?	S of be V	2
	ham	In PP	1
THESE			8
ALL			12

Th- spellings are much more frequent than *þ-* spellings, and this is also the case with forms for other grammatical words such as THAT, THE, THEY and THUS. This overwhelming usage of *th-* spellings seems to be equal to that of the Nt and Li texts.

174. The main variant is *thys* and the minor ones are *þis*, *thus* and *thuse* (Table 30). (There is another form *thes*, which appears once in place of the item THOSE; cf. 195.)

This is the only text in which forms characteristically singular (that is, *thys* and *þis*) appear regularly before plural nouns (Table 31), numerals and also as subject of the plural verb “to be”.

Also, interestingly, the minor forms *thus* and *thuse* all appear line-initially or in line-second position: *Thus for wyrchyth moch pride and bost* (line 257), *Thus as hyt is godys wyll* (line 1006), *Thus buþ manerys of manys lyf* (line 1471) *Thuse buth the synnes þat buþ dedly* (line 3362), *As thuse he sayth buth venyal synne* (line 3445) and *Of thuse materes and other mo* (line 3940).

(3f) Summary of West Midland and South Western texts

175. *Þese* appears as a main form in all the West Midland texts from Sal, Stf and Wrk. Among them, the most remarkable is the Wrk text as *þese/these* are the only variants. A stark contrast is seen in the Sal text, in which as many as five different minor forms appear. As for the South Western texts of Gl and Dvn, the main forms are the ones without the additional plural marker *-e*: *þes/thes* for the Gl and *thys* for the Dvn. As for minor forms, the Sal and Dvn texts are the only texts with *þ(th)us* type variants.

Thys in the Dvn text is regularly used as a determiner modifying plural nouns and numerals. This use of a usually singular form is of course not limited to the Dvn texts. It is found in various other texts but this seems to be more frequent in the Sal, Gl and in all of the Northern texts. Interestingly, there is no such structure in the Stf and Wrk texts. This evidence seems to correspond to Heltveit's statement (1967: 81) that that kind of structure (also including usage of *that* before plural nouns) is seen in northern and southwestern dialects.

Significant lack of tokens for the item THESE in the South Western texts is due to the omission of lines, and also to some drastic syntactic modification, which does not require either the demonstrative or alternative words. A markedly contrasting case is found in the Wrk text where as few as two lines are omitted. This is the least amount of omission of corresponding lines outside the Northern group of texts. Also, the alternative words are extremely rare in the Wrk text.

(4) Southern texts

(4a) The Brk text (Cambridge, St Johns' College 137 (E.34))

Table 32: Forms

	Brk	
Variants	pees	24
	pes	14
	pese	3
	pys	2
	peese	1
Alt	pe	2
	pees	1
	his	1
	hit	1
THESE		44
ALL		49

176. The main variant is *pees* and the minor ones are *pes*, *pese*, *peese* and *pys* (Table 32).

Though *pes* appears much more frequently than other minor variants, its use seems to be confined to the determiner (Table 33). Also, it is interesting to find that another minor form *pese* occurs only in the earliest part of the text (that is line 253, 257 and 436).

Table 33: Function

	Brk		
Det	pees		18
	pes		13
	pese		3
	pys (w pl N)		2
	pe		2
	pees (w sg N)		1
	his		1
THESE			36
ALL			40
Pron	pees	In PP	4
		S of beV	1
	peese	S of doV	2
	pes	S of beV	1
	hit	S of beV	1
THESE			8
ALL			9

(4b) The Sx text (Oxford, University College 142)

Table 34: Forms

	Sx	
Variants	þes	31
	thes	4
	þese	3
	þere	1
Alt	þis	5
	þe	2
	this	1
	many	1
	þo	1
	his	1
THESE		39
ALL		50

Table 35: Function

	Sx		
Det	þes		25
	þese		2
	thes		2
	þere		1
	þis		4
	þe		2
	many		1
	his		1
	þo		1
THESE			30
ALL			39
Pron	þes	S of be V	3
		In PP	2
		S of doV	1
	thes	S of beV	2
	þese	S of be V	1
	this	S of sg be V	1
	þis	In PP	1
THESE			9
ALL			11

177. The main form is *þes* and minor ones are *thes*, *þese* and *þere* (Table 34).

While *þes* appears in various places in the line, *thes* only appears in line-initial position. This distinction of spellings according to their positions is also seen in forms of other grammatical words, e.g. THAT, THUS and THE, but there is no *th*- type used for the item THOSE despite its appearance in line-initial position (see Appendix 3).

The least frequent minor form *þere* appears in the line *Wyth þe lyzte hand and þe lefte þere to* (line 1259); the form is noticeable since a similar form is only found in the Morris and the NRY texts. The variant also appears in the Ex text.

(4c) The Ex text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 157)

Table36: Forms

	Ex language 2	
Variants	þese	23
	these	3
	þes	2
	þere	1
	þis	1
Alt	þis	1
THESE		30
ALL		31

Table 37: Function

	Ex language 2		
Det	þese		18
	these		2
	þes		2
	þere		1
	þis (w pl N)		1
THESE			24
ALL			24
Pron	þese	S of beV	3
		+ that C	1
		In PP	1
	these	S of beV	1
	þis	In PP	1
THESE			6
ALL			7

178. The main form is *þese* and the minor ones are *these*, *þes*, *þere* and *þis* (Table 36).

Th- type forms are not prevalent in this text. One of the least frequent forms *þere* is used line-initially as in *þere þre skylles be good to lere* (line 2471). The variant is also found once in the Sx text.

Except for a singular form *þis*, there are no substitutions of forms characteristically used for other items (Table 37). This paucity of substituting words is very similar to the Wrk text among the Southumbrian texts.

The decrease in the number of tokens for the item THESE is cause by the fact that the first two thousand lines or so belong to different language (that is Language 1).

(4d) Summary of Southern texts

179. In the Brk and Sx texts forms with a plural marker *-e* are not yet prevalent whereas in the Ex text *pesel/these* are regularly used. As to minor forms, it is interesting that a northern variant *pere* appear in the Sx and Ex as determiner.

In the Sx several alternative words for the item THESE appear and the most frequent one is the singular form *pis*. In the Brk the alternative words are limited whereas in the Ex they are generally not seen.

Th- type spellings are generally not used in these Southern texts.

(5) Summary of THESE

180. Forms of the item THESE are generally transmitted well despite a slight reduction in the numerical occurrence in various texts. Each text has an overwhelming number of main forms and therefore minor forms are usually limited or quite rare. Variants appear as determiner much more frequently than as pronouns. Main forms have both pronoun and determiner functions while minor ones are generally confined to determiner.

Since the THESE-variants are transmitted, the alternative words do not appear so often. When they occur, they generally replace determiner THESE, and the most frequent replacements seen in the South Western and Southern texts (except the Ex) are done by its singular forms of the item THIS.

3. 1. 2 THOSE

(1) Northern texts

(1a) Morris text

Table 38: Forms⁵²

	Morris	
Variants	þa	37
	þas	22
THOSE		59
ALL		59

181. Both *þa* and *þas* are considered to be regular variants, though the former seems to appear slightly more than the latter (Table 38).

Table 39: Function

	Morris		
Det	þa		23
	þas		9
THOSE			32
ALL			32
Pron	þa	S of beV	6
		+ that C	6
		in PP	1
		O of doV	1
	þas	+ that C	9
		S of be V	3
		S of do V	1
THOSE			27
ALL			27

As to their function, it is clear that *þa* is more commonly used for the determiner (Table 39). For the pronominal usage, *þa* is used both as subject of the verb “to be” and as antecedent of the following that-clause whereas *þas* seems to be more preferred as antecedent.

⁵² The demonstrative at rhyming position is not included in tables.

(1b) The NRY text (Oxford Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet. 175)

Table 40: Forms

	NRY	
Variants	ya	34
	yase	17
	yas	2
Alt	yai	2
	ye	1
	yat	1
	yat	1
	yus (adv)	1
THOSE		53
ALL		59

Table 41: Function

	NRY		
Det	ya		22
	yase		8
	ye		1
	yat (w pl N)		1
THOSE			30
ALL			32
Pron	ya	+ that C	6
		S of be V	4
		In PP	1
		O of do V	1
	yase	+ that C	8
		S of be V	1
	yas	S of be V	1
		+ that C	1
	yai	S of be V	2
	yat	S of do V	1
Others	yus	adv	1
THOSE			23
ALL			27

182. The main variant is *ya* and the minor ones are *yase*, and *yas* (Table 40).

In the discussion of the item THESE we have observed that the appearance of the two distinct *yir/yer* type and *vis/yes* type forms in this text correspond to those of *pir/per* type and *bis/bes* type respectively in the Morris text. This systematic consistency is also found in variants of the item THOSE as well. It seems that *ya* and *yas(e)* usually appear in the same place of the lines where *pa* and *pas* appear in the Morris text. As with the Morris text, *ya* is preferred as determiner and *yase* in the pronoun usage is chosen more as antecedent (Table 41).

(1c) The WRY text (Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 99)

Table 42: Forms

	WRY	
Variants	yo	13
	yose	7
	yos	2
	yoo	1
Alt	ye	8
	yai	7
	yaim	4
	yat	4
	alle	2
	yus	1
	yus (adv)	1
	yen(adv)	1
THOSE		23
ALL		51

183. The main variant is *yo* and minor ones are *yose*, *yo* and *yoo* (Table 42).

Similar to the tendencies found with *b/y-* and *b/y-s* variants in the previous two Northern texts, *yo* appears much more frequently as determiner while *yos(e)* is preferred much more as an antecedent before that-clause (Table 43).

Table 43: Function

	WRY		
Det	yo		9
	yos		1
	yose		1
	ye		7
THOSE			11
ALL			18
Pron	yose	+ that C	4
		S of be V	2
	yo	S of be V	2
		S of do V	1
		+ that C	1
	yos	+ that C	1
	yoo	S of beV	1
	yai	S of beV	4
		+ that C	2
		S of do V	1
	yaim	In PP	3
		+ that C	1
	yat	+ that C	1
		S of doV	1
		S of be V	1
		In PP	1
	alle	+that C	2
	ye	In PP	1
Other	yen	adv	1
	yus	adv	2
THOSE			12
ALL			33

A significant reduction in the total number of tokens for the item THOSE, less than half of the Morris text, is caused by its replacement with other functionally equivalent words. An item THE has frequently replaced the determiner THOSE whereas an item THEY, among other functional equivalents, is the most frequent alternative for pronoun THOSE, followed by items THEM and THAT. The item THEY appears more often as subject of the verb “to be” and antecedent of that-clause while the item THEM is often used in the prepositional phrase. The item THAT appears with various functions.

(1d) The La text (London, British Library, Additional 32578)

Table 44: Forms

	La	
Variants	yos	18
	yas	1
Alt	yes	13
	yaim	6
	ye	6
	yai	4
	yat	3
	alle	2
	yei	1
THOSE		19
ALL		54

184. The main variant is *yos* and the minor one is *yas* (Table 44). Unlike the rest of the Northern texts, *y/p*- type variants do not exist.

The main form appears as determiner and pronoun, and in the latter function particularly frequently appears as antecedent of a *that*-clause (Table 45).

Table 45: Function

	La		
Det	yos		7
	yes		11
	ye		6
THOSE			7
ALL			24
Pron	yos	+ that C	7
		S of beV	3
		S of doV	1
	yas	+ that C	1
	yai	S of beV	3
		S of do V	1
	yei	+ that C	1
	yaim	In PP	4
		O of do V	1
		+ that C	1
	yat	S of beV	2
		S of doV	1
	alle	+ that C	2
	yes	S of be V	1
		+ that C	1
THOSE			12
ALL			30

Similar to the WRY, the number of tokens for the item THOSE has considerably decreased due to its replacement with alternative words. Among them the most outstanding is *yes*, which may be considered as a semantically opposite demonstrative form, replacing THOSE-variants as many as thirteen times (Table 44). This might have been caused by misinterpretation of a northern *pas/yas* as THESE since it is found that almost all forms of THOSE followed by numerals in the

Morris text are appearing as *yes* in this text, there being as few as a single THOSE accompanying numerals (at line 3400). Also, an item THE has often replaced determiner THOSE, and items THEM and THEY have often replaced pronoun THOSE.

(1e) Summary of Northern texts

185. In the Morris, NRY and WRY texts *b/y*- type forms appear much more frequently as determiners than as pronouns. *þ/y*- type forms also appear as pronouns in the Morris and NRY, particularly as subject. In the La text, no *b/y*- type variants are found. In all the Northern texts *þ-s/y-s* type variants, in their pronoun usage, are generally used more frequently as antecedent before a *that*-clause.

While the number of tokens for the item THOSE in the Morris and the NRY texts can be considered to be very similar, the number is reduced to such an extent in the WRY and the La texts that its total occurrence becomes less than one third of the Morris texts. This reduction of tokens has been caused by the replacement of the form with functional equivalents. In place of determiner THOSE, an item THE occurs in every text and also an item THESE, remarkably, appears in the La text. In place of pronoun THOSE, items THEY and THEM are generally frequent alternatives followed less frequently by forms of the item THAT. It is, however, notable that despite the decrease in the number of tokens for the item THOSE in the WRY and the La texts, both pronoun and determiner functions still persist well. This is not the case with the Stf, Wrk, Gl, Dvn, Brk texts in which determiner THOSE becomes extremely rare or disappears.

(2) East Midland and East Anglian texts

(2a) The Li text (Leeds University, Brotherton Library, 501)

Table 46: Forms

	Li	
Variants	tho	9
	þo	5
Alt	the	9
	þei	5
	them	3
	they	2
	that	2
	þe	2
	þem	1
	þat	1
	thes	1
	thys	1
	all	1
	than (adv)	1
THOSE		14
ALL		43

186. The main variant is *tho* and the minor one *þo* (Table 46). The *th*- and *þ*- spelling variation is not based on the position in lines since both forms appear indiscriminately line-initially and within lines.

Variants of THOSE still appear as determiner and as pronoun (Table 47). The determiner THOSE is frequently replaced by forms for the item THE while the pronoun THOSE is replaced by forms of the items THEY, THEM and THAT.

As to the place of the appearance of variants of the item THOSE, it is interesting that, in this text it does not seem to occur so much until line 4163. Such forms appear as rarely as three times before that line but they start to appear rather frequently after that line as far as the end of the text (that is line 4944). Though the omission of the first 1100 or so of corresponding lines should be taken into consideration, the appearance of THOSE-variants seems to be uneven within this text.

Table 47: Function

	Li		
Det	tho		3
	þo		1
	the		9
	þe		2
	thes		1
THOSE			4
ALL			16
Pron	þo	+ that C	3
		S of beV	1
	tho	S of be V	4
		S of do V	1
		+ that C	1
	þei	S of beV	3
		S of do V	1
		+ that C	1
	they	S of beV	1
		+ that C	1
	them	O of do V	1
		In PP	1
		+ that C	1
	þem	In PP	1
	that	S of be V	1
		S of doV	1
	þat	+ thatC	1
	thys	S of do V	1
	all	+ that C	1
Other	than	adv	1
THOSE			10
ALL			27

(2b)The Nt text (Cambridge University Library L1. II. 17)

Table 48: Forms

	Nt	
Variants	those	7
	tho	1
Alt	the	12
	these	8
	thay	4
	thai	3
	thaym	3
	that	2
	al	2
	þay	1
	thayme	1
	þat	1
	ich	1
	than (adv)	1
THOSE		8
ALL		47

187. The main form is *those* and the minor one is *tho* (Table 48). Despite the omission of the first four hundred lines, the total number of variants for the item THOSE in this text is approximately less than one sixth of the Morris text.

This text is the only Southumbrian text with *those* as main forms as the rest of the southern texts have *p/th/yo* as regular forms. *Those* appears slightly more as pronoun than as determiner (Table 49).

Table 49: Function

	Nt		
Det	those		2
	tho		1
	the		12
	these		5
	thay		2
	ich		1
THOSE			3
ALL			23
Pron	those	+ that C	4
		S of do V	1
	thai	S of beV	2
		S of doV	1
	thay	+ that C	2
	þay	+ that C	1
	thaym	In PP	2
		+ that C	1
	thayme	S of doV	1
	that	S of beV	2
	þat	S of beV	1
	these	In PP	1
		S of be V	1
		+ that C	1
	al	+ that C	2
Other	than	adv	1
THOSE			5
ALL			24

The most frequent alternative for determiner THOSE is an item THE followed by an item THESE. There are also two instances of *thay* appearing as determiner, and in both of the instances it is used before numerals: *To abate thayr fyre thay thre ar best* (line 3092) and *That thay xv dayes contynewe* (line 4751). Frequent alternatives for pronoun THOSE are forms for the item THEY, followed by forms for the items THEM, THAT and THESE.

As to the spelling, this is the only text with consistency of *th-* spelling in *those* as well as in other grammatical words.

(2c) The Nfk text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 99)

Table 50: Forms

	Nfk Language 1	
Variants	yo	7
	ye	6
Alt	yei	3
	he	2
	hem	2
	pat	1
	yese	1
	yitt	1
	alle	1
THOSE		7
ALL		24

Table 51: Function

	Nfk Language 1		
Det	yo		3
	ye		6
	yese		1
THOSE			3
ALL			10
Pron	yo	S of be V	2
		O of do V	1
		+ that C	1
	yei	S of beV	2
		S of doV	1
	he pl	+ thatC	2
	hem pl	In PP	2
	pat	S of doV	1
	yitt	In PP	1
	alle	+ thatC	1
THOSE			4
ALL			14

subject and *he* for antecedent.

188. The only form used in this text is *yo* (Table 50).

A significant lack of tokens for the item THOSE and functional equivalents results from physical damage in the earlier part of the text and classification of some folios into a different language. Despite the great paucity of THOSE-variants, they still seem to retain both determiner and pronoun functions (Table 51).

As with other texts, variants of the item THE have often replaced determiner THOSE, and forms for the items THEY and THEM have often replaced forms for the pronoun THOSE. As for forms of THEY, two types of variants *yei* and *he* appear (both are regular forms according to the LP), and these two look as though they are used systematically: *yei* for

(2d) The Sfk text (London, British Library, Egerton 3245)

Table: 52 Forms

	Sfk	
Variants	þoo	8
	thoo	3
Alt	þe	10
	þey	6
	hem	5
	þese	4
	these	4
	all	2
	they	1
	he(m) ?	1
	the	1
	þat	1
	that	1
	it	1
	thane (adv)	1
THOSE		11
ALL		49

Table 53: Function

	Sfk		
Det	þoo		4
	thoo		1
	þe		10
	the		1
	these		4
	þese		2
THOSE			5
ALL			22
Pron	þoo	+ that C	2
		O of do V	1
		S of be V	1
	thoo	S of beV	1
		+ that C	1
	þey	+ that C	3
		S of be V	2
		S of do V	1
	they	+ that C	1
	he(m)?	In PP	1
	hem	In PP	3
		+ that C	1
		O of do V	1
	þat	In PP	1
	that	S of beV	1
	þese	+ that C	2
	it	S of doV	1
	alle	+ that C	1
	all	+ that C	1
Other	thane	adv	1
THOSE			6
ALL			27

189. The main form is *þoo* and the minor one is *thoo* (Table 52). *þoo* appears in-line and *thoo* in line-initial positions.

As with the Nfk text, the variants of the item THOSE still maintain both determiner and pronoun functions (Table 53), despite the huge decrease in the number of its tokens caused by its replacement with a considerable number of alternative items, viz. THE and THESE in place of determiner THOSE and particularly THEY and THEM among other words in place of pronoun THOSE.

(2e) Summary of East Midland and East Anglian texts

190. The Nt text is the only one in which *those* appears regularly. The rest of the three texts from Li, Nfk and Sfk have *tho(o)/bo(o)/yo* type as main forms.

As to function, variants of the item THOSE still maintain both determiner and pronoun function though they have become substantially decreased in number. By far the most popular substitution for determiner THOSE is made by an item THE followed by an item THESE. We have also noticed that *thay* appears twice as determiner in the Nt text. Items THEY and THEM are the most frequent alternatives for the pronoun THOSE. In the Nfk text, two types of variants of an item THEY: *th-* and *h-* type forms, look to appear systematically.

(3) West Midland and South western texts

(3a) The Sal text (Oxford, Trinity College 16 A)

Table 54: Forms

	Sal	
Variants	þo	18
	þoo	1
	thoe	1
Alt	þe	4
	hem	3
	he	2
	þey	1
	þaime	1
	am	1
	þee	1
	alle	2
	þat	1
	þuse	1
	þis	1
	þes	1
	þese	1
	þus (adv?)	1
	suche	1
THOSE		20
ALL		42

Table 55: Function

	Sal		
Det	þo		6
	þoo		1
	þe		4
	þes		1
	þis		1
	he (adj?)		1
	suche		1
	alle		1
	þus (adv?)		1
THOSE			7
ALL			17
Pron	þo	+ that C	6
		S of doV	2
		In PP	2
	þo	S of be V	2
	thoe	S of be V	1
	þey	S of doV	1
	he	+ that C	1
	hem	In PP	2
		+ that C	1
	am	O of doV	1
	þaime	O of doV	1
	þat	In PP	1
	þee	S of doV	1
	þuse	S of beV	1
	alle	+ that C	1
THOSE			13
ALL			25

191. The main variant is *þo* and the minor ones are *þoo* and *thoe* (Table 54). In this text we see the highest number of tokens for the item THOSE in the Southumbrian texts, to an extent which is only equalled by the number of tokens in the WRY and La texts. Also, this text has numerous alternative words used in place of variants of THOSE.

Variants of THOSE still maintain both determiner and pronoun functions, but the former becomes less prominent than the latter (Table 55). Besides its pronominal usages as antecedent of that-clause and subject, there are two instances of it appearing in a prepositional phrase, which is generally quite rare as it is frequently replaced by an item THEM even in the Northern texts.

As in other texts forms for the item THE are the most frequent substituted forms for the determiner THOSE. However this substitution does not appear as often as in other texts since various other words occur. In place of pronoun THOSE, forms of the item THEM frequently appear. It is

noticeable that forms for the item THEY appear twice. As in the Nfk text, the *th*- variant appears as subject while the *h*- variant appears as antecedent.

(3b) The Stf text (London, British Library, Lansdowne 348)

Table 56: Forms

	Stf	
Variants	þo	5
Alt	þe	4
	þei	1
	hem	1
	þat	1
	þese	1
	all	1
	þen (adv)	1
THOSE		5
ALL		15

192. There is only one variant *þo* (Table 56). A substantial paucity of tokens for the item THOSE and alternative words is due to a large number of omissions of lines in which the items would appear.

Table 57: Function

	Stf		
Det	þo		1
	þe		4
	þese		1
THOSE			1
ALL			6
Pron	þo	S of beV	2
		S of doV	1
		+that C	1
	þei	S of beV	1
	hem	In PP	1
	þat	S of doV	1
	all	S ofbe V	1
Other	þen	adv	1
THOSE			4
ALL			9

(3c) The Wrk text (Charlottesville, University of Virginia, Hensch 10)

Table 58: Forms

	Wrk	
Variant	þoo	5
	þo	4
	þose	2
Alt	þe	12
	þese	12
	hem	4
	þei	3
	þat	2
	the	2
	thei	1
	that	1
	such	1
	alle	1
THOSE		11
ALL		50

193. The main variants are *þoo* and *þo* and the minor one is *þose* (Table 58). The main forms all appear as pronouns and, hence, interestingly, there is no single instance of them appearing as determiner. The minor form is used for determiner and pronoun (Table 59).

By far the most common substitution for the determiner THOSE is made by forms for the items THE and THESE. For the pronoun THOSE, forms of the items THEY, THEM and THESE are the most frequent substitution.

Table 59: Function

	Wrk		
Det	þose		1
	þe		11
	þese		8
	the		2
	alle (w þe + Npl)		1
	such		1
THOSE			1
ALL			24
Pron	þo	+ that C	3
		S of beV	1
	þoo	S of beV	2
		+ that C	2
		In PP	1
	þose	+ that C	1
	þei	S of beV	2
		S of doV	1
	thei	+ that C	1
	hem	+ that C	3
		O of do V	1
	that	S of beV	1
	þat	S of doV	1
		S of be V	1
	þese	S of beV	3
		+ that C	1
	alle	+ that C	1
THOSE			10
ALL			26

(3d) The Gl text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous 486)

Table 60: Form

	Gl	
Variants	po	3
Alt	pe	8
	hy	4
	hom	4
	hym	3
	that	2
	pes	2
	thes	2
	pylke	2
	pey	1
	he	1
	the	1
	al	1
	suche	1
	who	1
	pilk	1
	than (adv)	1
THOSE		3
ALL		38

194. The only variant used in this text is *po* and it appears as few as three times (Table 60). The total number of tokens for the item THOSE and alternative words is small due to the omission of the corresponding lines and drastic syntactical alternation in those lines in question, which does not seem to require either the demonstrative or alternative words (see also the Dvn text, cited in 195 below).

Table 61: Function

	Gl		
Det	po		2
	pe		8
	the		1
	thes		2
	suche		1
THOSE			2
ALL			14
Pron	po	S of doV	1
	pey	+ that C	1
	hy	+ that C	2
		S of beV	2
	he	+ that C	1
	hom	+ that C	2
		Oof doV	1
		In PP	1
	hym	In PP	2
		O of doV	1
	that	S of doV	1
		S of be V	1
	who		1
	pilk	+ that C	1
	pylke	+ that C	1
		S of beV	1
	pes	S of beV	1
		S of do V	1
	al	+ that C	1
Other	than	adv	1
THOSE			1
ALL			24

Also, this text very frequently substitutes alternative words for this item (similar to the Sal and Dvn texts).

The most frequent substitutions for determiner THOSE are forms of the item THE. Alternatives for pronoun THOSE are forms of the items THEY, THEM, THAT, THILK and THESE. As to variants of THEY, two types of forms *th-* and *h-* are used, but the latter appears more often than the former because it is the regular form for nominative according to the LP.

(3e) The Dvn text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14)

Table 62: Forms

	Dvn	
Variants	tho	1
Alt	the	7
	hy	7
	ham	4
	he	2
	that	2
	alle	2
	thay	1
	thai	1
	they	1
	thys	1
	thywe	1
	thes	1
	suche	1
	than (adv)	1
THOSE		1
ALL		33

Table 63: Function

	Dvn		
Det	the		7
	thai		1
	they		1
	thys		1
	suche		1
THOSE			0
ALL			11
Pron	tho	S of doV	1
	hy	S of beV	4
		+ that C	2
		In PP	1
	he	S of doV	1
		+ that C	1
	thay	S of beV	1
	ham	+ that C	2
		O of do V	1
		In PP	1
	that	S of doV	1
		S of beV	1
	thywe	+ that C	1
	thes	S of beV	1
Other	alle	+ that C	2
	than	adv	1
THOSE			1
ALL			22

195. The only variant apparent in this text is *tho* (Table 62). It appears once as subject (Table 63). For the same reason as in the Gl text, the total number of tokens for the item THOSE and alternative words is very small.

The most frequent substitutions for determiner THOSE are forms for the item THE. There are also two instances of forms of the item THEY appearing as determiners within the same line: *In thai tyme they prophetys to* (line 4499). The frequent substitutions for the pronoun THOSE are forms items THEY, THEM and THAT.

Th- and *h-* type forms are used for variants of THEY, and the latter appears much more frequently than the former, despite the fact that both are regular nominative forms according to the LP. *Th-* variant appears once as subject of the verb “to be”, as in *Thay ys the world þat fennd and our flesch* (line 1253).

(3f) Summary of West Midland and South Western texts

196. The three West Midland texts from Sal, Stf and Wrk have their own characteristics that cannot be generalized. The Sal has quite a few tokens for the item THOSE, the highest number amongst the Southumbrian texts. The Stf text significantly lacks corresponding lines, which causes the number of tokens for THOSE and alternative words to lessen. The Wrk text has decreased number of tokens for THOSE to a similar extent to that in East Midland and East Anglian texts, but unlike those texts determiner THOSE is extremely rare. The two Southwestern texts, Gl and Dvn, show a stark contrast to these three texts in the sheer number of token for THOSE. There are as few as three instances in the Gl and one instance in the Dvn. Hence, it might be more than possible that the item THOSE did not exist in the areas where the two texts were copied.

For the substitution of the determiner THOSE, an item THE appears as the most favourite in all the texts but considerably so in the Wrk. An item THESE also appears more or less in all the texts but it appears rather more frequently in the Wrk text. For this reason, there is only one determiner THOSE in the Wrk text. In place of the pronoun THOSE, forms of the items THEY and THEM seem to be generally common in all the texts. In the Gl and Dvn *th*- and *h*- type variants appear for the item THEY and the latter type forms are much more frequent than the former type.

(4) Southern texts

(4a) The Brk text (Cambridge, St Johns' College 137 (E.34))

Table 64: Forms

	Brk	
Variants	þo	3
Alt	þe	15
	þees	9
	þilke	6
	þes	5
	þey	4
	þat	3
	hem	2
	he	1
	þat	1
	alle	1
THOSE		3
ALL		50

197. The only variant used is *þo* (Table 64), which appears as a pronoun three times (Table 65). The substantial lack of tokens for the item THOSE is similar to the Gl and Dvn texts.

There is no determiner THOSE. By far the most frequent substitution for it is made by forms of the item THE, followed by forms for the items THESE and THILK. The frequent replacement for pronoun THOSE is made by forms for the items THESE and THEY, followed by forms for the items THAT and THILK.

Forms for the item THILK appear most frequently in this text, although the area of its appearance within the text seems to be generally limited from line 2808 to line 3186.

Table 65: Function

	Brk		
Det	þe		15
	þees		5
	þes		3
	þilke		3
	þat (w pl N)		1
	alle		1
THOSE			0
ALL			28
Pron	þo	+ that C	2
		O of doV	1
	þey	+ that C	2
		S of be V	2
	hem	O of do V	1
		In PP	1
	he	+ that C	1
	þat	S of beV	2
		S of doV	1
	þes	S of beV	1
		+ that C	1
	þees	+ that C	4
	þilke	+ that C	2
		S of beV	1
THOSE			3
ALL			22

(4b) The Sx text (Oxford, University College 142)

Table 66: Forms

	Sx	
Variants	þo	14
	þoo	1
Alt	þe	9
	þes	8
	hem	4
	þei	3
	þese	3
	þat	3
	that	1
	3unge	1
THOSE		15
ALL		47

Table 67: Function

	Sx		
Det	þo		7
	þoo		1
	þe		9
	þes		5
	þese		2
	þat		1
	3unge (w N)		1
THOSE			8
ALL			26
Pron	þo	+ that C	4
		S of beV	2
		In PP	1
	þei	+ that C	2
		S of beV	1
	hem	+ that C	3
		O of do V	1
	þat	S of beV	2
	that	S of doV	1
	þes	+ that C	2
		S of be V	1
	þese	+ that C	1
THOSE			7
ALL			21

198. The main form is *þo* and the minor one is *þoo* (Table 66). The total number of tokens for the item THOSE is slightly higher than that in the East Midland and East Anglian texts, but not as many as the Sal or Northern texts. This increase in number of tokens is particularly noticeably seen in determiner THOSE (Table 67).

As in other texts, the items THE and THESE are the frequent alternatives for determiner THOSE and items THEY, THEM and THESE are the frequent alternatives for the pronoun THOSE.

One interesting thing about the pronoun substitution by forms for the item THEY is that *h*-type variants are not used even though they are listed as regular forms together with *th*-type variants in the LP.

(4c) The Ex text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 157)

Table 68: Forms

	Ex Language 2	
Variants	þo	6
	þoo	3
	þose	3
Alt	þe	6
	þese	6
	þei	2
	þay	2
	hem	2
	þai	1
	þat	1
	þe synnes	1
THOSE		9
ALL		33

Table 69: Function

	Ex Language 2		
Det	þo		4
	þose		2
	þoo		1
	þe		6
	þese		6
	þay		1
THOSE			7
ALL			20
Pron	þo	+ that C	1
		S of be V	1
	þoo	+ that C	1
		S of do V	1
	þose	+ that C	1
	þei	S of beV	2
	þai	+ that C	1
	þay	+ that C	1
	hem	+ that C	1
		In PP	1
	þat	S of beV	1
Other	þe synnes		1
THOSE			5
ALL			13

with two different vowels *ei* and *ai*; the former is used for forms functioning as subjects of the verb “to be” and the latter as antecedent of that-clauses. This seemingly systematic choice could be fruitfully pursued. Nonetheless, our data demonstrate that the *ei*- type spelling is rather prevalent in the Southumbrian texts except for the Nt text, while an *ai*-type spelling is regular in Northern texts. In addition, *þose*, which is

199. The main form is *þo* and the minor ones are *þoo* and *þose* (Table 68).

As in the Sx text, forms of the determiner THOSE, which is generally rather rare in Midland and South Western texts, are prominent (Table 69). In addition, a variant with additional *–s(e)* *þose* becomes apparent. Such forms do not usually appear outside the north and are only found in the Nt and Wrk texts amongst the Southumbrian texts.

Beside the common substitution of determiner THOSE by forms of the items THE and THESE, there is one incidence of a form for the item THEY appearing as determiner as in *Ffor þay two may brynge þe soule to reste* (line 3092) in which *þay* is used before numerals like that in the Nt text.

As to the alternatives for pronoun THOSE, forms for the items THEY and THEM are the most frequent as in other texts. Variants of the item THEY appear

generally rare in the Southumbrian texts, appears in this text. These two characteristics would show some linguistic connection to the north.

(4d) Summary of Southern texts

200. Among the three Southern texts, the Brk text is very similar to the South Western texts (the Gl and Dvn) in the substantial lack of tokens for the item THOSE. By contrast, the Sx and Ex have the larger number of tokens for this item.

The Brk text has no determiner THOSE, which is supplanted frequently by an item THE. For the pronoun THOSE, an item THEY appears frequently. Also, for both of the functions, items THESE and THILK are used. In the Sx and Ex texts, determiner THOSE appears to an extent that it is highest in Southumbrian texts except the Sal. The frequent alternatives for THOSE in these texts are forms for items THE, THEY and THEM.

(5) Summary of THOSE

201. Generally speaking, the more southward we move in the consultation of the texts, the smaller number of tokens for the item THOSE we come across except the two southeastern texts of Sx and Ex. In these texts, determiner THOSE, which is not often apparent in the southern texts, becomes salient. Among other texts, the southwestern texts (i.e. Gl and Dvn) have substantially fewer tokens for the item THOSE.

In the Southumbrian texts generally *þo* (including *þoo* and *tho*) is the regular form whereas in the north (except for the La) both *þo* (including *þa/ya/yo* types) and *þos* (including *þas/yas/yos* types) seem to be regularly used, and it is found that the former

are more often chosen for determiner while the latter generally appears more frequently as antecedent among other pronoun usage.

The most frequent replacement of determiner THOSE is made by forms of the items THE and THESE, the degree of which replacement varies markedly from text to text. Forms of the item THEY also appear as determiners in three texts (in the Nt, Dvn and Ex.), particularly before numerals. The most frequent replacement of pronoun THOSE is made by forms of the items THEY and THEM. In the texts, where *th-* and *h-* type forms are used for an item THEY, it seems as though *th-* would have been preferred as subject of the following verb (as seen in the Nfk, Sal and Dvn texts) than antecedent. In the Ex, where *they* and *thay* type variants appear for an item THEY, we might be able to say that these two are differentiated in their function since the former is only used as the subject of the verb “to be” and the latter as antecedent of that-clauses. These assumptions, needless to mention, will need to be supported by further investigation.

3. 1. 3 Conclusion

202. The analyses above indicate that there is a significant difference between the items THESE and THOSE in transmission. Forms of THESE are generally transmitted as such whereas forms of THOSE are replaced quite often by substituted items such as THE, THEY and THEM. Some of the reasons for this difference lie in the different functions and semantics of these two items. The item THESE is a determiner much more than a pronoun in the Morris text and this function does not change in the other texts of *the Prick of Conscience*.

203. Conversely, forms of the item THOSE appear as both determiner and pronoun in

similar proportion in the Northern texts. However, this item is generally less and less attested as we move southward except in the southeastern texts. A significant lack of tokens for the item THOSE in southwestern texts would lead us to speculate that forms for this item did not exist there at all. Use of alternative items is considerable in this area, ranging from rather general ones such as forms of THE, THEY, THEM to geographically restricted ones, such as forms of THESE, THILK, SUCH.

204. It seems therefore that various systemic reorganizations must have taken place in the process of accommodating various forms of the demonstratives in various places.

3. 2 The demonstratives in the WRY texts

3. 2. 1 Form and function in each text

(1) THESE

(1a) Northwestern area

Table 70: A list⁵³ of form and function of THESE in Northwestern texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 13 in Appendix 1)

LP4		LP406	
*yees	pron [ante, obj, comp] ((det))	yere	det ((pron)) [subjD, obj, ante]
(yere)	pron [prep] det	(yese)	det ((pron)) [subjD]
((yer))	det	((yes))	det all with <i>all</i>
((yair))	det	((yer))	det
((*yes))	pron [obj]		
((thir))	det		
yeir			
thyse			
LP5		LP454	
thes	det ((pron))[subjB, subjD] frequently following numerals	yir	det ((pron)) [subjB]
((this))	det all following numerals	yere	det ((pron)) [subjB, ante]
((thise))	det all following numerals	(yer)	det
((ther))		(yes)	det
		((yees))	pron [obj]
		((yis))	det
		((*yise))	det

⁵³ To indicate relative frequency, the bracketing conventions of LALME are used. Unbracketed forms, single bracketed forms and double bracketed forms indicate main forms, less frequent forms occurring around 33 % and rare forms. An asterisk in front of variants signifies the form not listed in the LPs in LALME, and italicized variants, which are sometimes placed at the very bottom row, are those that unidentified in texts in question but listed in LPs in LALME.

((*yire)) det

LP18

yir det
(pron) [subjB/D quite often at
line-initial((obj,comp))]
(yis) det often line-initial
(((*yire)) pron [obj, subjB]
((det))
(((*yijs)) det
(((*yeir)) det
(((*yier)) det

LP592

yir pron [ante, subjB]
(det)
(yis) pron [subjB]
det
((yer)) det
((thir)) pron [subjB]

LP32

yir det
((pron)) [subjB always at line-
initial((prep))]
(yis) det often at line-initial
(((*yer)) det
(((*yise)) det

LP598

yes det
((pron)) [subjB quite often at
line initial]
((ye3)) det
(((*yer)) det
(((*yis)) det

LP171 (*Prick of Conscience:*
Rawlinson C 891 or A text)

þir det
((pron)) [subjB, prep]
(þese) det
((pron)) [subjB]
(((*þis)) det
((þes)) det
(((*þise)) det

LP601

yese pron [obj((subjD))]
yise det
((pron)) [rhyme]
((yhese)) det

LP191

yhese pron [obj]
(yese) pron [comp, subj]
(((*yise)) pron [rhyme]

LP603

yhese pron [obj]
((det))
((yise)) pron [rhyme, obj] all with *all*
yese

LP364

yese pron [obj, ((prep, comp))]
 ((det))

((yise)) pron [rhyme]

((yes)) pron [subjD]

205. One of the most striking features in the four central inner texts, 601, 364, 191 and 603, from this area is that forms of the item THESE generally appear as pronouns, being used as objects of verbs and of prepositions, complements and subjects. In those texts the determiner THESE is less frequent or non-existent. Whether this frequent pronoun usage of THESE has some connections to the number of its appearances or not is uncertain, but the total number of forms of the item THESE in these texts, both determiner and pronoun, is remarkably small considered that they are lengthy religious verse texts. The forms of THESE in those texts are quite similarly expressed by *pese* or *pise* type variants (including *yese*, *yise*, *yhese*) but generally not by other forms or not even such variants like *p_ir*, *p_es* or *p_is* type, which we would expect in northern texts. The rather limited function as pronoun and the limited forms of variants causes these texts to stand out from all the rest of the texts in WRY. These texts also share very similar forms and usage with reference to the item THOSE (see 228).

206. The four central inner texts with the unique features are surrounded on all sides by texts with *p_ir* or *p_er* as main forms, viz. 171 (*Prick of Conscience*: Rawlinson C 891 or Text A in Chapter 3. 3), 406, 454, 18, 32 and 592. Among these, 171 and 406 would have some connection to the central inner texts since *p_ese/yese* are the second frequent forms in those texts. Also, 454 and 18 show some similarity in their greater number of minor forms as well as their variation. For instance, 454 has two frequent variants *y_ir* and *y_ere* and two less frequent variants *y_er* and *y_es*. As to the rare ones there are as many as four

yees, yis, yise and *yire*. Likewise 18 has, beside a frequent form *pir* and less frequent form *bis*, four rare variants *pire, pijs, peir, pier*.

207. In spite of the number of variants in these surrounding texts, it is generally the regular forms, that is *pir* type forms, which have the dual functions of pronoun and determiner. The rest of the variants usually appear only as determiners and this seems to be particularly the case with *pes* and *bis* type forms.

208. 4, located in the southeast, seems to show mixed characteristics. Similar to 454 and 18, it has a quite a number of rare forms. However, it has *pees* as a main form, which is generally not found in the Northwestern texts but frequently in the Central texts. As to function, interestingly, the main form appears more frequently as pronoun than as determiner, dissimilar to the Central texts, but seemingly close to the aforementioned central inner texts. For this reason, it might be considered as a text with mixed characteristics.

209. There are a couple of texts, which seem to be rather outside the sphere of the general Northwestern forms. In 598 and 5 *pes* variants are regularly used. The forms appear in other texts as well but never as a main form. This seemingly marginal form might be ascribed to the geographical features which prevented the penetration of both *pese* and *pir* type variants. One interesting feature in 5 is that while numeral is always attached to the minor forms *this* and *thise* in their determiner usage, it seems to be optional in the regular form *thes*.

(1b) Northeastern area

Table 71: A list of form and function of THESE in Northeastern texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 14 in Appendix 1)

LP53		LP410	
yir	det ((pron)) [prep]	yir	det ((pron)) [subjB always at line initial ((prep))]
(yise)	det	((yis))	det
((yes))	det	yeir	
((thes))	det		
((yese))	det		
((*this))	det		
LP358		LP526	
yes	det ((pron)) [subjB, ((comp))]	vis	det ((pron)) [subjB all at line- initial]
(vis)	det	(yir)	det
(yese)	pron [prep(obj)]	(yise)	det ((pron)) [subjB all at line- initial]
((yees))	det	((yese))	det pron [subjB at line-initial]
((*yise))	det	((*yes))	pron [subjB at line-initial]
((thes))			
LP398		LP1349	
yese	pron [obj always with <i>all</i> ((prep))] (det)	yes	det ((pron)) [ante(subjB)]
((*these))	pron [prep] det		
yere, yer, vis, zes, yes, y ^{es}			

210. Overall distribution patterns of variants of THESE look quite similar to those of THOSE in this area (see Map 18 in Appendix 1). *Pir* type variants only appear in the three texts located in northwest (526: *Speculum Vitae*), central midland (53) and the south

central (410). They are regularly used in the last two texts while they are less regularly in the first text.

211. A regular variant in the first text is *yis*. Though it is generally used as determiner, when it is used as pronoun, it always appears in line-initial position, as do the other variants. There is only one other text in the entire WRY texts in which *yis* appears as a main form, that is 500 in the middle of Central area, and it is, interestingly, a different copy of the same text.

212. Two texts located in the right and left sides of the long skewed area grouped with the three texts have *yes* as a regular form. It is the only form in 1349 while a number of minor forms exist in 358. In the latter texts, among other variants, a less frequent form *yis* generally accompanies numeral or intensifier *all* and another less frequent *yese* is only used as pronoun.

213. There is one more text 398 in the southeast. A different characteristic of its main form *yese* is found in its much more frequent pronoun usage than its determiner usage, similar to some of the texts in the Northwestern area. Also, it often accompanies the intensifiers *all* and *togedys/togædir* as in *all yese togedys/togædir*.

(1c) Central area

Table72: A list of form and function of THESE in Central texts

(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 15 in Appendix 1)

<p>LP29</p> <p>*<i>pese</i> det *<i>pese</i> det ((pron)) [ante] almost all of this is at line-initials</p> <p>(<i>pes</i>) det pron [subjB, prep]</p> <p>((<i>*thes</i>)) det at line-initial ((<i>*pesse</i>)) det at line-initial ((<i>*peys</i>)) det <i>theis</i></p>	<p>LP378</p> <p>yies det yeis det</p>
<p>LP30</p> <p>yies det (thies) det ((<i>yier</i>)) ((<i>yⁱes</i>))</p>	<p>LP415</p> <p>Thes pron [subjB always at line-initial] yes pron [subjB after y^t] Thys pron [subjB at line-initial]</p> <p>N.B. <i>Th-</i> variants are always at line-initials while <i>y-</i>are used after conjunction THAT. A similar stylistic variation is also found in THEY (see Table 76)</p>
<p>LP115</p> <p>yes det</p> <p>((pron)) [subjB, comp, prep]</p>	<p>LP473</p> <p>yise det ((pron)) [subjB, prep, obj] ((yees)) det ((pron)) [ante] ((yese)) det pron [prep] ((<i>yir</i>))</p>

LP168
yes det
 ((pron)) [prep]
((yer)) det
((y^{cs})) det
((*thees))pron [prep]

LP204
yise det
((pron)) [obj, subjB]

LP211
these det
 ((pron)) [obj]
(thise) det
((thyse)) det

LP348
these det

LP474
yise det
((pron)) [subjB((prep, obj))]
((yis)) det
((yer))
((yir))

LP477
*yise pron [obj, prep]
thise det
((these)) det
((*thees)) det
((*thyse)) det
yes

LP488
yer det
 ((pron)) [subjB often at line-
 initial((comp))]
(yes) det
 ((pron)) [subjB always at line-
 initial((prep))]

N.B. *Yer* often appear at line-initial
and particularly so from f.19 to f.28.

LP494 (*Prick of Conscience*: Additional
 25013 or B text)
yise det
 ((pron))[subjB((subjD, prep))]
(yis) det
(yes) det
 pron [subjB, prep]
((*yese)) det
 pron [comp]
((*these)) pron [obj?]
((yies))

LP360		LP496	
yes	det	yese	det
			((pron)) [prep, obj]
		((yees))	det
		((*pyse))	pron [prep]
		((yise))	det
		((These))	pron [subjB]
LP377		LP500	
yes	det	yise	det
			((pron)) [subjB always at line-initial((prep))]
		yis	det
			((pron)) [subjB always at line-initial]
		((yir))	det
		((*yes))	det

214. The pattern of forms for THESE in this area is very complicated and so is that for THOSE, as we shall examine later. A north central text 488 has *yer* regularly and it marks the southern limit of a regular appearance of *b-r* type forms. The only minor form in this text is *yes*, which is prevalent from central areas to the eastern areas. These two variants, as a consequence, seem to demonstrate strong northern and central types of forms. In this religious poem, *yer* almost always occurs in line-initial from f.18v to f.28v, but various positions in earlier folios.

215. To the south of that text there is rather a large area in which *bes* type forms regularly appear (as in 360, 377 and 115). These central texts might be also connected to a central eastern text 168, in which also the same type of variants prevails. The distribution pattern of *bes* variants, hence, would make a gentle curve inland from the Central area.

216. Inside the area surrounded by the curve exist some enclaves of texts with variants

which are not found in surrounding texts. In 500, a text of *Speculum Vitae*, there are two regular variants *yise* and *yis*. These two forms seem to be appearing in quite the same frequency with no clear functional differentiation. The only noticeable thing is that *yise* is used predominantly in the early part of the text. It gradually decreases in number as the text progresses and *yis* becomes frequent from the middle of the text onwards. Interestingly, *yis*, though it appears in various texts from WRY as a minor form, only occurs as a main form in this text and in another copy of the same text (526 in Northwest). Though we do not know their textual relation, the regular occurrence of *yis* in these two texts might suggest some connection between them.

217. To the southeast of 500, there are two texts 211 and 348 with *these* as a regular form. In the latter it is the only form, but in the former minor forms exist, all with *th-* as in *thise* and *thyse*. (Also the item THOSE in this text is reflected as *those*.)

218. There are texts with mixed forms. *Yies* and *yeis* in 378 seem as though they were hybrids of *yis* in its north (in 500) and *yes/pes* in its east and south (in 377 and 115). Similar forms also appear in 30, which looks to be situated between two different groups of variants, *yes/pes* to the east (in 377 and 115) and *yise/thise* to the west (in 494 and 477).

219. Moving to the southeast, we see three texts commonly with *yise*. In 474 and 473 *yise* is a main form while it is the only form in 204. The lack of any minor variants for this item in the last text seems to have resulted from the fact that it was written slightly later (that is, in a late fifteenth or early sixteenth century according to the LP) in time than LALME usually covers. In a northeastern text 415, an interesting systemic differentiation is made between *th-* and *y-* type forms. Both types unanimously appear as subjects of

following be-verbs, but it is always *thes/thys* that are used at sentence-initials with *t* in capital letter while *yes* is used after conjunction THAT in superscripted form *y^t*. Examples are *Thes er y^e grefis y^t xij men fendes defectyffe* (p22, line 29), *Thes er ye fawtes yt xij men fendes defectyve.* (p25, line 32-33), *Thys er ye defawtes y^t xij men fendes deffectyffe ...* (p26, line 35), *M^d y^t yes er y^e Artecles yt ...* (p23, line 16). A very similar differentiation is also found in *ya* and *thay*, two distinct forms of THEY (see 239).

220. At the other side of WRY, in the southwest, two texts 29 and 496 have *pesel/yese* as a main form. In 29, a verse text, the main form and rare forms (*thes* and *besse*) are almost always placed at line-initial while a less frequent form *bes* never appears in that position. In 496, a prose text, all the variants starting with *p-/y-* are confined within sentence while a minor form with *th-* appears in the sentence-initials. In these texts we see a variation of spellings presumably with same pronunciations such as *bes/thes*, *peys/theis* and *pesel/besse* in 29, and *yese/yees/these* and *yise/byse* in 496. The similar spelling variation is also found in another southwestern text of 477.

221. At right side of the two texts there are another two texts 494 (*Prick of Conscience: Additional 25013* or B text in Chapter 3. 3) and 477 with a common main form. A regular form in these texts is *yise*, which is also a prevalent form in southeastern texts, as we have seen. In 494 the main form and various other minor forms appear much more as determiners than pronouns. In 477, however, *yise* exclusively appears as a pronoun and the rest of the minor forms all appear as determiners. In the latter text there are sets of variants, of which spelling seems to represent the similar pronunciation as in *yise/thise/thyse* and *these/thees*, like other southwestern texts 29 and 496.

(1d) Southern area

Table 73: A list of form and function of THESE in Southern texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 16 in Appendix 1)

LP100		LP363
þese	det	None
	((pron)) [subjB]	
	Often at line-initial	
((These))	det	
	at line-initial	
LP165		LP373
þise	det	yes
	((pron)) [prep(subjB)]	
(þese)	det	
((þyse))	det	
((þuse))	det	
((*þys))	det	
((thise))		
((this))		
LP175		LP405 (<i>Prick or Conscience</i> : Bodley 99 or C text)
yise	det	
(yese)	pron [subjB, obj, comp]	
	det	
((*yis))	det	yise det
((yiese))	det	((pron) [subjB, comp, prep]
((yies))	det	(yis) det
((*yere))	det	((pron)) [prep]
((*yer))	pron [subjB]	((*thise)) det
((*thise))	pron [?]	
LP200		LP479 (<i>Prick of Conscience</i> : HM 139 Hand A or D text)
yese	pron [obj?]	
yes	det	þise det
		(*þis) det
		(þese) det

LP234
yise det
((pron)) [subjB((ante))]
((*yis)) det

LP497
None

LP240
þe3 det
(þes) det
((þise)) pron [?]
((þis))

LP591 (*Prick of Conscience*: HM 139
Hand C or E text)
þise det
((pron)) [subjB, comp, prep]
(þis) det
((pron)) [subjB]
((*þir)) pron [subjB]

222. Texts in this area are divided mainly into two groups according to regular forms: the central western texts and the general eastern texts. The location of the latter texts covers almost all the eastern half of the Southern area. This division seems to be a rather strict one since the regular forms of the former do not appear in the latter and vice versa.

223. Two central western texts 200 and 100 have *þese/yese* as a regular form. Due to a lack of evidence we cannot comment on 200, but in 100 the form always occurs either line initial or line second. The minor variants are extremely scarce in these texts.

224. In a north central text 405 (*Prick of Conscience*: Bodley 99 or C text in Chapter 3. 3) and in three southeastern texts 234, 479 (*Prick of Conscience*: HM 139 Hand A or D text in Chapter 3.3) and 591 (*Prick of Conscience*: HM 139 Hand C or E text in Chapter 3.3) main forms *þise/yise* are predominant. All these texts also share minor forms *þis/yis*, but other than that minor forms are very few. As far as these two types of variant forms are concerned, 175 can belong to this group, but it has many more variants. Besides the

regular forms *yise* and *yese*, there are as many as six rare forms *ysis*, *yiese*, *yies*, *yere*, *yer* and *thise*. The number of variants shows that this text has mixed characteristics due to its location, very close to the border with the north west of Lincolnshire.

225. Aside from 175, there are two more texts, located close to the established regional border areas, with presumably mixed variants. Slightly to the south of 175 is 240. A predominant form in this latter text is *peʒ*, which never appears in any other texts in the WRY as a main form (though it does as a rare form in the farthest northern text 598 in Northwestern area). In this text a less frequent form *pes* and a rare form *pise* also exist. The appearance of these three variants seems to be conditioned by folios. This text consists of two separate sections of folios, that is, ff.18v-23v and ff.122v-154v. In the earlier folios *pes* is the most frequent form and it appears evenly almost in every folio while *peʒ* and *pise* are rare forms and they only appear from ff. 21r-23r. In the latter folios *peʒ* is the exclusive form.

226. Another text in the southwest, 165 (*Speculum Vitae*), might be considered to have overlapping variants of the two main groups of texts. In this text the eastern regular variant *pise/yise* appear as a main form and the central western regular variant *pese/yese* as a minor form. No clear systemic choice for either set of variants is found though some sort of differentiation might be extracted from their appearance side by side within the same lines in two consecutive lines: *ffor pise glotons and pese lechoures* (f.35v line 37) and *pise drinkers and pese riotoures* (f.35v line 38). It seems as though *pise* and *pese* in these lines were deliberately used for some sound effect in the two sets of similar phrases. Also in this text exist variants in different spelling with presumably same pronunciation, similar to 29, 496 and 477 in Central area, such as *pise/pyse/thise* and *pys/this*. Beside

these rare forms, another unfamiliar form *puse* is used in this text, which also demonstrates its border characteristics.

(2) THOSE

(2a) Northwestern area

Table74: A list of form and function of THOSE in Northwestern texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 17 in Appendix 1)

LP4		LP406	
yas	pron [ante]	yo	pron [ante((subjB/D, prep, obj))]
ya	det		((det))
N.B. The definite articles are <i>yo</i> ((<i>ye</i> , <i>ya</i>)).		(* <i>ya</i>)	pron [ante((prep))]
		((<i>*yose</i>))	?
		((<i>*yas</i>))	det
		((<i>*yoo</i>))	det
LP5		LP454	
thai	det	yose	det
((<i>*thei</i>))	det		((pron)) [ante]
		yos	det
			((pron)) [ante((prep, obj))]
		(<i>yo</i>)	pron [ante((rhyme, prep, obj))]
			(det)
LP18		LP592	
yaa	det	ya	pron [ante]
	((pron)) [ante((subjD, rhyme))]		det
(<i>yas</i>)	det always with <i>oper</i>	yo	pron [obj]
((pron))	[subjB]		
((<i>*yaas</i>))	det often with <i>oper</i>		
((<i>*ya</i>))	det		
((<i>yais</i>))			

N.B. The definite article forms are *ye*, *ya*((*yaa*)), hence the last two forms functioning both as demonstrative and definite article. Also, *yair* might be also used as definite article. Interestingly, *yas* and *yaas* always appear with *oper*.

LP32		LP598	
ya	pron [ante((subjB, prep, obj))] ((det))	ya	pron [rhyme, obj] det
((yo))	pron [ante]yas		det
((*yaa))	pron [subjD]	(*yos)	pron [subjB] det
N.B. The definite articles are <i>ye</i> ((<i>ye</i> , <i>ya</i>)).		(*yo)	pron [rhyme, ante]
		((*yaʒ))	det

LP171 (<i>Prick of Conscience</i> : Rawlinson C 891 or A text)		LP601	
base	det ((pron)) [ante((obj, subjB))]	yo	pron [rhyme((ante, subjB, prep))]
(po)	pron [rhyme] ((det))	((yho))	pron [rhyme]
(paas)	det ((pron)) [ante]		
(*pa)	det ((pron)) [subjD, obj]		
((*pas))	det		
((pose))	pron [ante] det		
((poos))	pron [ante]		

LP191		LP603	
ya	pron [rhyme((ante,prep))]	ya	pron [rhyme((ante, subjB/D))] ((det))
((yo))	pron [rhyme, subjD, obj]		
((*yas))	pron [rhyme]	yo	pron [rhyme((ante, prep, subjB))]
((*tha))	pron [rhyme]	(*tha)	pron [rhyme((prep))]
		((tho))	pron [rhyme]
		((*yos))	pron [obj]
		yose	

LP364	
ya	pron [rhyme((ante, subjB, prep))]
(yas)	pron [ante((prep))]
((yo))	pron [rhyme((prep))]

((yais))

227. In most of the texts in this area, except the ones on the very southern edge, *po* type variants (including *ya(a)/yo(o)*, *pa/po* and *tha*) are much more usual forms than *pos* type variants (including *yas/yos(e)*, *pa(a)s(e)/po(o)s* and *thas*) and they generally appear as pronouns. The texts with pronominal *po* variants are further divided into two groups of western border texts and central inland texts according to the existence of *pos* forms. In the texts located in the vertically long areas close to the western border of Lancashire (those are 598, 171, 406 and 454) *pos* variants are also used and they are generally determiners. They also appear as pronouns in the antecedent position, but only significantly in the southern text of 454.

228. The texts in the central inland areas, 601, 191, 603, 592 and 32, generally lack *pos* type variants. Only *po* type variants are in regular use as pronouns. Among various pronominal functions, antecedent seems to be prevalent in all the texts. However, it also appears substantially at rhyming position in 601, 191 and 603. Another significant feature about these three texts is that there are virtually no forms for the determiner THOSE, and interestingly enough, forms for THESE also seem to be confined to pronominal usage in these texts (see 205).

229. Between the two main groups we find text 364. In this text THOSE might be considered to have mixed features of the two groups. As to form it has both *po* and *pos* type variants, similar to the western border texts, particularly the ones in the central and southern areas. However, in terms of function, both variants appear exclusively as pronoun and, thus, the text lacks determiner THOSE, which is similar to the central inner

texts. The two types of pronominal forms have a significant functional differentiation. It is found that *pa* is generally more prevalent in a rhyming position (like the central inner texts), while *pas* appear in antecedent position (like the southern western-border text).

230. Apart from those texts belonging to or closely related to the above two groups, the texts in the south show their individual characteristics. 5 in the southwest has a few evidence of *thai* and *thei* as determiner. These variants are considered to be used for the pronoun THOSE, in which case it is very difficult to discern whether they are demonstrative or nominative third person plural pronoun. Data for this text are, hence, inevitably very scarce.

231. Right next to 5 is 18, in which both *po* and *pos* type variants coexist. The former is a more predominant form and appears more often as determiner than as pronoun. The latter interestingly, almost always combined with the extra word *oper/other* as in *Stilli menand til pas oper* (line 4948), *Pas oper it wired al bidene* (line 5902), *Mare pan all pas oper smert* (6059), *All paas oper ne war bot tint* (line 21681), *And sipen paas other at his list* (line 22130) and *Of all paas oper ouer-mast* (line 22232) (see more in Appendix 3.2.1). Moreover, there seems to be a systemic differentiation between two types of *po* type variants *paa* and *pa*. *Paa* is a regular form of demonstrative while *pa* is considered to be a regular variant for definite article along side with *pe*. Also, it is found that there is one incidence where *paa* is used for the meaning THEY⁵⁴.

232. In the southeastern text 4, despite the extreme paucity of evidence, *pos* forms appear as pronoun and *po* forms as determiner. This functional differentiation is usually observed

⁵⁴ According to the glossary of the transcribed text of *Cursor Mundi* (Morris: 1874-1863)

in the texts in the Southern area.

(2b) Northeastern area

Table 75: A list of form and function of THOSE in Northeastern texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 18 in Appendix 1)

LP53		LP410	
base	det	yas	pron [ante, subjB]
((tha))	det		(det)
		(ya)	det
LP358		LP526	
*yo	pron [ante((subjB))]	yaa	det
	((det))		(pron) [ante((subjB))]
(ya)	det	(ya)	det
((*yoo))	pron [ante]	(yase)	det
((*Tho))	det		pron [ante]
yai		(*yha)	det
			(pron) [rhyme, ante]
		((*yhaa))	pron [ante]
LP398		LP1349	
yas		ya	pron [ante]
			(det)
		((yoo))	pron [ante]
		((*yaa))	pron [ante]
		(yos)	

233. The texts in this area are divided into two groups according to the availability of *pos* type variants. Three texts (526, 53, 410) in the long area running in a skewed way from the northwest to central south have both *po* and *pos* type variants. Two other texts, one in the western central (358) and the other on the northeastern edge close to the border of NRY (1349), do not have the *pos* type variants at all.

234. In the first three texts share some common features: *ya* is exclusively used as determiner, while *pos* variants and other distinctive forms such as *yaa* and *yha(a)*, which only occur in 526, appear as both pronoun and determiner.

235. In the other two texts *ya* likewise appears as determiner exclusively (as in 358) or often (as in 1349). As to pronoun, the formal differentiation seems to be made by alternation of vowel (as in *yo* in 358) or by addition of the extra vowel (as in *yoo* and *yaa* in 358 and 1349).

(2c) Central area

Table 76: A list of form and function of THOSE in Central texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 19 in Appendix 1)

LP29		LP378	
*po	pron [rhyme(ante)((subjB)) (det)	None	
((*poo))	pron [ante]		
((*thoo))	pron [rhyme]		
((*pose))	pron [ante]		
((pos))	pron [ante]		
N.B. The definite article is <i>po</i> .			
LP30		LP415	
yo	det (pron) [ante((subjD, prep))]	None	
yos	det ((pron)) [ante]		
((*yoo))	det ((pron)) [ante]		
((thos))	det		
		N.B. THEY shows an interesting stylistic variation as <i>y^a</i> always appears after <i>y^t</i> whereas <i>thay</i> is always after these conjunctions <i>yf</i> , <i>if</i> , <i>as</i> and <i>or</i> .	

LP115
yo det
 ((pron)) [ante]
((*ya)) pron [subjB]
((yoo)) det
yos

LP473
yo det
 ((pron)) [ante]
(yoo) det
(yose) det
 (pron)[ante]
(ya) pron [ante, obj]
 (det)
((*yos)) pron [obj?]
((yase))

N.B. *Ya* is also the least frequent form
for THEY.

LP168
None

LP474
yo det
(*yas) det
 pron [obj]
((*Tho)) ?
((*yase)) det

N.B. *Ya* is also the least frequent form
for THEY.

LP204
yo det
((yose)) det

N.B. Both variants always appear with
numeral.

LP477
yose det
(*yos) det
(*yo) det

N.B. YOU appears as *yo*.

LP211
those det

LP488
yos pron [ante]
 (det)
(yo^s) pron [subjB]
(yo) det

LP348 None	LP494 (<i>Prick of Conscience</i> : Additional) 25013 or B text)												
	<table> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 354 1153 417">yo</td><td data-bbox="1248 354 1809 526">det (pron) [ante((subjB, prep, rhyme))]</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 526 1153 589">(*yoo)</td><td data-bbox="1248 526 1809 636">pron [subjB((subjD))] ((det))</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 636 1153 699">((yaise))</td><td data-bbox="1248 636 1809 699">pron [ante]</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 699 1153 762">((*yose))</td><td data-bbox="1248 699 1809 793">pron [rhyme] det</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 793 1153 856">((*yase))</td><td data-bbox="1248 793 1809 903">pron [ante] det</td></tr> </table>	yo	det (pron) [ante((subjB, prep, rhyme))]	(*yoo)	pron [subjB((subjD))] ((det))	((yaise))	pron [ante]	((*yose))	pron [rhyme] det	((*yase))	pron [ante] det		
yo	det (pron) [ante((subjB, prep, rhyme))]												
(*yoo)	pron [subjB((subjD))] ((det))												
((yaise))	pron [ante]												
((*yose))	pron [rhyme] det												
((*yase))	pron [ante] det												
LP360 None	<table> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1075 1153 1138">LP496</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1138 1153 1201">yoo</td><td data-bbox="1248 1138 1809 1201">pron [ante((subjB)]</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1201 1153 1263">(yos)</td><td data-bbox="1248 1201 1809 1263">pron [ante]</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1263 1153 1326">((yose))</td><td data-bbox="1248 1263 1809 1326">pron [ante]</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1326 1153 1389">((*yo))</td><td data-bbox="1248 1326 1809 1389">pron [ante]</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1389 1153 1451"><i>tho</i></td><td></td></tr> </table> <p data-bbox="1019 1451 1809 1561">N.B. There is no determiner THOSE. The definite articles are <i>yo</i>((<i>ye</i>, <i>the</i>)).</p>	LP496		yoo	pron [ante((subjB)]	(yos)	pron [ante]	((yose))	pron [ante]	((*yo))	pron [ante]	<i>tho</i>	
LP496													
yoo	pron [ante((subjB)]												
(yos)	pron [ante]												
((yose))	pron [ante]												
((*yo))	pron [ante]												
<i>tho</i>													
LP377 None	<table> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1734 1153 1796">LP500</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1019 1796 1153 1859">yo</td><td data-bbox="1248 1796 1809 1953">pron [ante((prep, subjB, rhyme))] ((det))</td></tr> </table>	LP500		yo	pron [ante((prep, subjB, rhyme))] ((det))								
LP500													
yo	pron [ante((prep, subjB, rhyme))] ((det))												

236. Texts in this area reveal the most complicated situation. Two texts located in the heart of this area have either *þo* or *þos* type forms only. In 500 *yo* is the only form and it is used much more frequently as pronoun. Its determiner usage appears as few as four instances out of twenty-nine total occurrences of *yo*. This paucity of forms for the determiner THOSE might have some relation to definite article *þo*, which seems to be rather prevalent in the western and southern areas of this text (see Chapter 3. 2. 3). To the east of this text, 211 exists, in which only *those* appears as determiner. The rest of the texts in the Central area have both *þo* and *þos* variants.

237. Two texts in the southern central area show some similarity. In 115 and 204 *bo* variants are much more predominant than *bos* variants and both of them are generally used as determiner. In the latter text, however, there might be a slight indication of functional differentiation made between the two variants. Both of those variants are always used with numerals but while *yo* usually appears before Roman numerals such as *yo iij days*, *yose* appears before written numerals as in *yose thre names*. Since the latter evidence is only available once, it hardly possible to vindicate this as a systemic differentiation, however.

238. Compared to 115 and 204, *bos* variants seem to appear relatively more frequently in another set of texts, 474 and 473, located in the eastern edge close to the border of Lincolnshire. In the former text, though with very limited evidence, both types generally appear as determiner and there is one incident of *yas* appearing as pronoun. Similarly, in the latter text both types are regularly determiner, and in pronoun usage *bos* variants as a whole seem to be more frequent than *bo* variants. Nonetheless, there might to be more than just our simple *bo* and *bos* type categorisation in this text. There are three *bo* variants *yo*, *yoo* and *ya*. We might set aside *ya* for a moment due to the identical form being also used for THEY. It is found that *yoo* is exclusively used for determiner while *yo* is used, though sparingly, as pronoun in an antecedent position as well.

239. Though we have excluded *ya* from the above discussion regarding a possible functional differentiation of *b*- variants in 473, it still deserves some comments in relation to the meaning THEY. *Ya* with the meaning 'they' appears in 415, 474, 473 and 175 (the last text belong to Southern area), all located in the eastern edge close to the border to

southwestern ERY and northwestern Lincolnshire. It also appears in 100, which is inland to the west of the Southern area. The form *ya* is generally the least frequent form for THEY in those texts except for 415, where it regularly appears in a superscripted form *y^a* alongside the other frequent form *thay*. Interestingly, the appearance of these two variants seems to be rule-governed. It is found that *thay* is used after conjunctions such as *yf*, *if*, *as* and *that* while *y^a* is generally used after *y^t* superscripted form of THAT. Examples for *thay* are *yf thay brynge anny more fyche chafer* (p.23 line 36-37), *if thay be founden gilty herafter* (p.24 line 24), *as thay be prewed gederynge* (p.26 line 6) and *we will that thay lefe* (p.25 line 24). Examples for *y^a* are *also in case be y^t y^t y^a sall not deny no por man nor woman ...* (p.23 line 19-20), *when y^t y^a com tharfor for yar monny* (p.23 line 21) and *for we thynke y^t y^a sell un to pepyll der fleche* (p.23 line 25) (see more in Appendix 3.2.3). Unlike other texts with *ya*, which are religious poem or pose, this text consists of legal documents. It is therefore possible that this formal variation of THEY might have lied in a stylistic variation of texts in different genres. (A similar differentiation of two types of variants *thes/thys* and *yes* is also seen in this text. See 219)

240. A text in the north central area (488) and three texts along the border to Lancashire running vertically from the north to south (494, 29 and 496) are similar in terms of their general usage of *þo* and *þos* variants. In these texts *þo* variants usually appear as determiner. This conclusion, however, needs qualification, since identical forms are also used for the definite article as well, particularly frequently in two southern texts (29 and 496), hence making it difficult to discern the difference between demonstrative and definite article. (For the detail discussion of the relation of demonstrative *þo* and definite article *þo* see Chapter 3. 2. 3) Contrarily, *þos* type variants and distinct forms such as *þoo* are generally used more often as pronouns.

241. Between the set of western border texts and the southern central texts, there are 477 and 30. In these two texts, similar to the western texts, *þos* variants appear quite frequently, but they are generally used more as determiner than pronoun. As to *þo* variants, similar to the central texts, they seem to be slightly more appearing as pronoun than *þos* variants in 30.

(2d) Southern area

Table 77: A list of form and function of THOSE in Southern texts
(The geographical distribution of variants are shown in Map 20 in Appendix 1)

LP100		LP363
þoo	det	None
	(pron) [ante]	
((þos))	(pron) [comp]	
((*þo))	det	
N.B. <i>þa</i> is a least frequent form for THEY.		
LP165		LP373
þo	pron[ante((subB, prep, rhyme))]	None
	((det))	
((þa))	pron[ante]	
	det	
((þose))	det	
LP175		LP405 (<i>Prick of Conscience</i> : Bodley 99 or C text)
yose	pron [ante((prep, obj))]	
	((det))	
((yase))	det	yo det
	(pron)[prep]	((pron))[ante(rhyme)((subB/D))]
((*yais))	pron [ante]	(yose) pron [ante((subB))]
((*ya))	pron [subJB]	((det))
		(*yos) pron [ante((rhyme, prep))]

N.B. Ya is also the least frequent form for THEY. ((det)) ((*yoo)) pron [subjB]

N.B. *Yo* is also the least frequent form of the definite article.

LP200

yo	pron [ante((obj))]
((yose))	pron [ante]

N.B. *Yo* is also a regular form for the definite article.

boo

N.B. *po* is also used as the definite article.

LP234

yo	det
	((pron)) [prep]
(yose)	pron [obj]
	(det)
(yoo)	pron [ante]
	(det)

N.B. *Yo* is also a less frequent form for the definite article.

LP240

po	det
(pos)	pron [ante]
((pas))	pron [subjD]

po	det
	((pron)) [ante((subjB/D, rhyme))]
(pose)	pron[ante,prep(subjB, rhyme)]
(poo)	pron [ante(rhyme, obj)]
((pos))	

N.B. *po* is also used as the definite article.

242. All the texts in this area, except 175 in the northeast close to the border to Lincolnshire, can be divided into two groups of western texts and general eastern texts,

according to the function of variants. The western texts consist of 200 and 165 (*Speculum Vitae*). In these texts *þo* type variants appear overwhelmingly. In the stark contrast, *þos* type variants appear as seldom as once in each of the texts. In 200 both types are exclusively and in 165 they are generally used as pronoun. Hence, there is a substantial lack of determiner THOSE in these texts. Considering the fact that *þo* is also used as definite article, this lack of the determiner THOSE might have some connections to it. Moreover, another common feature 200 and 165 share is that there is no occurrence of *þoo/yoo* even though those forms are prevalent in general eastern texts as well as western border texts in Central area.

243. While in the two western texts *þo* variants are virtually the only regular ones, in almost all of the rest of the texts (405, 100, 234, 479, 240 and 591), of which location covers a slight more than eastern half of Southern area, both *þo* and *þos* type variants appear frequently with common systematic functional differentiation. In those texts *þo* type forms are much more regularly used as determiner (though they are still sometimes found in the antecedent position) and *þos* type forms usually appear as pronoun and their pronominal usage is not confined to antecedent. Some of these texts have other distinct variants *þoo/yoo*, which are also generally used as pronoun. Among those texts, there is one where these two might have been differentiated in their function. In 234 *yoo* appears as antecedent while *yose* is never used in that position.

244. Form and function of THOSE in 175, located in the far north east close to the border to Lincolnshire, are quite different from those of the two main groups. The obvious formal peculiarity is found in the rare form *yais*. This form never appears in any other WRY texts (except once as a rare form in 364 in Northwestern area). Another interesting

thing is that there are virtually no *þo* type forms. Though *ya* appears once as pronoun we might as well exclude it from the discussion since the identical form is also used for THEY as mentioned above. The regular forms are, hence, only *þos* variants, which appear both as pronouns and determiners.

3. 2. 2 Prototypical variants and functional difference of THOSE between the north and the south

3. 2. 2. 1 Prototypical variants of THESE and THOSE

245. In the last section we have brought together the texts sharing common forms and functions of the demonstratives and plotted them on maps. By doing so, we have observed various intricate isoglosses within the WRY. Despite the existence of a number of isoglosses, we may further detect rather generalized boundaries within the Riding by extracting prototypical forms⁵⁵. Table 78 shows all the variants collected from the texts examined. This list is supplemented by adding variants from the LPs, of which texts are not examined⁵⁶. The two numerals in parenthesis signify this: the one to the left of the slash is the number of texts in which a given variant appears as a main form and that to the right is the number of texts in which the variant simply appears. The most frequent forms are those underlined.

⁵⁵ In the quest of the prototypical variants, Smith (forthcoming b)'s methodology is used.

⁵⁶ Those LPs are differentiated in the below Table 79 by adding ⁺ in front of the LP numbers and also, the LPs in which a given variant is listed but was not found in the examination are in italic.

Table 78: Variants of THESE and THOSE in the WRY texts

THESE

thees(0/2), *theis*(1/1), *ther*(0/1), *thes*(3/7), *these*(5/10), *thies*(0/1), *thir*(0/2),
this(1/4), *thise*(2/8), *thys*(1/1), *thyse*(1/3), *yair*(0/1), *yeʒ*(0/1), *yees*(1/5), *yeis*(1/1),
yeir(2/3), *yer*(2/11), *yere*(3/5), *yes*(10/19), *y^{es}*(/45), *yese*(8/16), *yhese*(2/3), *yier*(0/2),
yies(2/4), *yⁱes*(0/1), *yiese*(0/1), *yijs*(0/1), *yir*(6/11), *yire*(0/2), *vis*(3/15), *yise*(11/20),
peʒ(1/1), *pes*(0/5), *pese*(4/8), *pesse*(0/1), *peys*(0/1), *pir*(2/3), *bis*(0/4), *bise*(4/6),
buse(0/3), *bys*(0/3), *byse*(0/2), *ʒes*(1/1)

THOSE

tha(0/3), *thai*(1/1), *thei*(0/1), *tho*(2/5), *thoo*(0/1), *thos*(0/1), *those*(2/2), *ya*(8/16),
yaʒ(0/1), *yaa*(2/4), *yaas*(0/1), *yai*(1/1), *yais*(0/3), *yaise*(0/1), *yas*(4/9), *yase*(1/6),
yha(0/1), *yhaa*(0/1), *yho*(0/1), *yo*(16/24), *y^o*(0/1), *yoo*(1/10), *yos*(4/11), *yos^s*(0/1),
yose(4/12), *pa*(0/2), *paas*(0/1), *pas*(0/2), *pase*(1/1), *po*(7/9), *poo*(2/4), *poos*(0/1),
pos(1/5), *pose*(2/7)

246. A great number of variants appear sporadically in a few texts. Also, there are variants such as *yer*, *vis*, *yoo* and *yose* appearing relatively frequently overall but only sporadically as a main form. These variants could together be termed as ‘noise’ (Smith: forthcoming b), and by eliminating that noise we can obtain general frequent forms. Nonetheless, this noise is part of the story of systematic adjustment in process, and we will return to these minor variants in so-called border texts in the last section of this chapter.

247. From Table 78 we observe that the most frequent recorded form for THESE is *yise* followed by *yese* and *yes*. *Yir* might be also included due to its regular appearance in several texts. The two most frequently recorded forms for THOSE are *ya* and *yo*. Table 79 is a list of texts in which those variants appear.

Table 79: The text numbers with the frequent variants.

THESE

yise: ((32)) (53) 175 ((191)) 204 234 ((358)) ((364)) 405 ((454)) 473 474 477 494
 ((496)) 500 (526) 601 ((603)) ⁺605
yes: ((4)) ((53)) 115 168 200 358 ((364)) ⁺377 398 ((406)) 415 (454) 477 (488)
 (494) ((500)) ((526)) 598 1349
yese: ((53)) (175) (191) 200 (358) 364 ⁺373 398 (406) ((473)) ((494)) 496 ((526))
 601 603 ⁺1102
yir: 18 32 53 410 454 ((473)) ((474)) ((500)) (526) 592

THOSE

ya: 4 ((18)) 32 ((115)) ((175)) 191 (358) 364 (406) (410) (473) (526) 592 598
 603 1349
yo: 30 ((32)) 115 ((191)) 200 204 234 358 ((364)) 405 406 (454) 473 474 (477)
 (488) 494 ((496)) 500 592 (598) 601 603 ⁺605

When these variants are plotted on maps, a clear geographical tendency emerges (see Map 21 and Map 22 in Appendix 1).

248. Generally *yes* appears in the north and *yise* in the south. The northern limits of *yise* seem to correspond to the River Calder. The northern and southern forms overlap in the central areas, but they seem to be squeezed inland, except for the far north and far south, by *yese* penetrating from both western and eastern border areas adjacent to neighbour counties. *Yir* is limited to northern area but its spread seems to correspond to the topographical features of the northwest lowland area and the River Wharfe.

249. The appearance of *ya* and *yo* also demonstrates a north-south division. *Ya* spreads in the north and *yo* in the south, and the two overlap in the northwestern areas. This *a/o* division results from the different development OE /ā/. In the northern area it was fronted

(spelled *-a-*, *-ai-* in ME) and ultimately raised to /iə/ or to /e:/, becoming /ei/ when the standard spelling pronunciation was introduced (Smith 1962: 80-81). In the southern area it became rounded to /ō/ in the early thirteen century (spelled *-o-*) and was ultimately raised to /uə/ or to /ɔ:/, becoming /ou/ when the standard spelling pronunciation was introduced (Smith 1962: 80-81). This line roughly the followed the River Ribble and the River Wharfe as Map 23 (in Appendix 1) shows.

250. Map 21 and 22 demonstrate that a diatopically generalized frequent set of forms for THESE and THOSE is difficult to seek. In the vast central area the variants of THESE overlap, and so do the variants of THOSE in the northwestern areas. Only in the further northwest and further southeast would generalization be possible, where we see *yes-ya* in the former and *yise-yo* in the latter.

3. 2. 2. 2 Functional difference between the northern *ya* and the southern *yo*

251. Apart from the general formal separation of northern *ya* and southern *yo*, a further interesting division can be observed in function. Table 80 is a list of texts in which *ya/yo* occur as pronoun and as determiner. Among them, those texts with *ya/yo* used as main form are plotted on Map 24 and Map 25 in Appendix 1.

Table 80: Texts with pronoun *ya/yo* and determiner *ya/yo*

Texts with pronoun *ya/yo*

<i>ya</i> :	32 ((115)) ((175)) 191 364 (406) (473) (526) 598 603 1349
<i>yo</i> :	(30) ((32)) ((115)) 200 ((234)) 358 ((364)) ((405)) 406 (454) ((473)) (494) ((496)) 500 (598) 601 603

Texts with determiner *ya/yo*

ya: 4 ((18)) ((32)) (358) (410) ((473)) 598 ((603)) (1349)

yo: 30 115 204 234 ((358)) 405 ((406)) ((454)) 473 474 (477) (488) 494 ((500))

252. According to those maps *ya* (and slightly *yo*) generally appears as pronoun in the northern area whereas *yo* (and slightly *ya*) appears as determiner in the southern area. The southern limit of the pronoun *ya/(yo)* is approximately close to the *a/o* boundary. This implies that the boundary would not merely be a division of form but possibly of function as well.

253. The northern texts with pronoun *ya/(yo)* are divided into two types: the ones with *ya/(yo)* generally being used as antecedent of that-clause (406, 32, 592, 358, 1349) and the ones with them in the rhyming position (598, 364, 191, 601, 603). The second type, of course, applies only to verse texts.

254. As for the first type, the regular antecedent usage of *ya/(yo)* might reflect conservatism due to its topography, though this speculation is not clearly demonstrated because of the nature of data available. Nonetheless, as we will see in the next section, among the five *Prick of Conscience* texts in the WRY, particularly two texts close to the border to Lancashire (that is, texts in northwest (171) and in central west (494)), *yail/pai* appears as the most frequent substitute for THOSE in the same position.

255. Among the second type of texts, the last four texts show a very similar usage in that *ya/(yo)* as well as other variants are appearing in rhyming positions in overwhelming number, incomparable to any other WRY texts examined. They also, though rare, appear as antecedent and subject of be-verb. Interestingly, these four texts also share the usage of

THESE as well in that it is either exclusively or quite frequently used as pronoun (see 205). Such ample evidence of pronoun THESE is not found in any other WRY texts.

256. It is not certain why *ya/(yo)* regularly appears as pronoun there, but as for *ya* it would be possible that during the process of OE /ā/ being fronted and raised, it somehow became phonetically close to the third person plural pronoun THEY. Hence, it might also become semantically and functionally similar to THEY. Also, we should keep in mind that *ya* appears as a minor variant for THEY in several texts close to the Humber estuary (see 239).

257. The analysis for the appearance of the determiner *yo/(ya)* in the south has to include the fact that the very same forms are used as the definite article there as well. The detail examination of systemic regulation between a demonstrative *þo* and a definite article *þo* is dealt with in the next section, but it is important to remember that the distribution of these two overlaps in the south of the WRY (compare Map 25 with Map 26 in Appendix 1). Their similarity in function and in distribution, no doubt, suggests that these two are somehow related. For this reason, it is generally the demonstrative pronoun which appears in the distinctive forms *þoo/yoo* and *þos(e)/yos(e)* in the south.

258. Another point to be added is that the distribution patterns of the determiner *yo/(ya)* and that of *yise* also very roughly correspond (see Map 21 and Map 25 in Appendix 1). Even though *yese* and *yes* are also appearing in the south, it is remarkable that their northern limit is similarly demarcated by the River Calder. Since forms of THESE are generally used as determiners, in these southern areas proximal and distant determiner oppositions seem to be much more clearly demonstrated by *yise* and *yo/(ya)* than any

other area of WRY.

3. 2. 3 Relations of demonstrative *þo* with definite article *þo*

259. As well as being one of the variant forms of the demonstrative THOSE, *þo* (including *yo/tho* and *þa/ya*) is also used as definite article in a limited number of texts in WRY. In those texts, where a single form is used for two categorically different functions, we might expect a potential confusion, but this does not seem to be the case. Various methods seem to be employed to disambiguate them, and these methods might hold the key to understanding the occurrence and the spread of distinct forms of the demonstrative.

260. The distribution of the definite article *þo* is clearly area-specific. Map 26⁵⁷ in Appendix 1 shows it occurs in a long belt running counterclockwise from slightly inland of the northwest border WRY shares with Lancashire, through the bottom of WRY to the junction of WRY, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. Its appearance is particularly remarkable in the area close to the border of southeast Lancashire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Interestingly, it does not appear so much in areas close to eastern Lancashire or never appears in area adjacent to Lincolnshire, the ERY or the NRY.

261. All the texts containing the definite article *þo* are divided as per Chapter 3. 2. 1 (by sub-areas) but this time with respect to only three areas, Northwestern, Central and Southern. This method of grouping the texts is not only convenient but also analytically

⁵⁷ This map is compiled from data taken from LPs in LALME as well as my own data. 597, 70 and 605 are not examined as texts but included in the map.

useful as certain forms or features often occur only in limited areas. Each examination is based on a list demonstrated at the outset, and each contains all the texts’ LP numbers, forms of definite article as well as its frequency (taken from LPs) and regular forms for demonstrative determiner and demonstrative pronoun (taken from my data)⁵⁸.

(1) Northwestern texts with definite article *bo*

Table 81: Forms of definite article and demonstrative THOSE in the Northwestern texts

Text	Definite article	Dem determiner	Dem pronoun
406	ye((y, yo))	generally non-existent	yo, ya
601	ye((the, te, yo, yhe))	non-existent	yo
32	ye((y ^e , ya))	generally non-existent	ya
18	ye, ya((yaa))	yaa	yas, yaa [yaa is also THEY]
4	yo((ye, ya))	ya	yas

262. Table 81 shows that all the Northwestern texts, with one exception, have *bo* type variants as a rare form of the definite article. Among them, three texts 406, 601 and 32 are similar in that demonstrative determiners are virtually non-existent and that *yo/ya* appear as demonstrative pronouns. Since a regular form of the definite article is *ye* in those texts, the differentiation of the pronoun and the definite article is functionally and formally maintained.

263. In 18 *yaa* is generally used as demonstrative determiner and pronoun. The gemination of the spelling *a* looks as though it appeared so as not to be confused with *ya*, a regular form for THE along side with *ye*. Similarly disambiguation seems to be made in

⁵⁸ Numerous minor forms are omitted in the following lists for clarification, and those are listed in detail in four sub-divided lists in Chapter 3. 2. 1. (2).

4, but via a different method. Due to the availability of *yo* and *ya* type variants, these two seem to be cunningly differentiated according to their function. While *yo* is generally used more as a definite article, *ya* seems to be chosen more as a demonstrative determiner. In both of the texts, a distinctive variant *yas* is only used as a pronoun, hence minimising ambiguity.

(2) Central texts with definite article *po*

Table 82: Forms of definite article and demonstrative THOSE in the Central texts

Text	Definite article	Dem determiner	Dem pronoun
494	ye((yo))	yo	yoo
115	ye((yo))	yo	yo
29	po	po	po
496	yo((ye, the))	non-existent	yoo

264. The relatively clear formal differentiation between definite articles and demonstratives we have seen in the Northwestern texts is not found in a straightforward way in the Central texts as shown in Table 82. In 494, 115 and 29 *yo/po* are regularly used as demonstrative determiners. They also regularly appear as definite articles in 29 and 496, and also as demonstrative pronouns in 115 and 29. The pronoun usage is least troublesome because of its fundamental functional difference from that of the determiner. However, despite the possible coexistence of *yo/po* as determiner and as pronoun without confusion, we may say that it is pronominal function that drives the choice of distinctive forms, as demonstrated in *yoo* in 494 and 496. It is possible that the spelling *yoo* was invented because *pos* type variants were not so common in this area.

265. Similarly, in 29 *bo*, used for three grammatical functions, must have had formal separation based on its function: definite article and demonstrative determiner on one side and pronoun on the other. This formal separation is demonstrated by the fact that distinctive variants *boo* and *pos*, too rare to be included in the above list, are exclusively used for pronouns in that text. Since no demonstrative determiner is identified in 496, there are no formal ambiguities between definite article *yo* and demonstrative pronoun *yoo*.

(3) Southern texts with definite article *bo*

Table 83: Forms of definite article and demonstrative THOSE in the Southern texts

Text	Definite article	Dem determiner	Dem pronoun
405	ye((y ^o))	yo	yose, yos
200	yo((ye))	non-existent	yo
234	ye(yo)	yo	yose, yoo
479	bo	bo	pose
591	bo	bo	pose, boo

266. Table 83 shows that the definite article *bo* seems to be most regularly used in the Southern texts. It appears rarely in 405 but regularly or relatively frequently in the rest of the texts. Also, it is used as a demonstrative determiner in all the texts except for 200. In this text it appears as a demonstrative pronoun, hence *yo* being presumably disambiguated for two different functions. The remaining four texts 405, 234, 479 and 591 have the distinct forms such as *pos* and *boo* types exclusively used as demonstrative pronouns. Among those texts, the first two texts seem to have more or less three different forms for three different functions whereas in the second two texts a formal and functional merger of definite article and demonstrative determiner seem to have taken

place.

(4) Summary

267. The examination shows that the texts with definite article *bo* did not seem to cause much systemic ambiguity with regards to forms for the demonstrative THOSE.

In the Northwestern texts *bo* type variants are generally rare forms of definite articles since *be* type forms are regularly used for that function. In those texts demonstrative determiners are often non-existent whereas demonstrative pronouns are allowed to take *bo* type variants due to its fundamentally different function from definite articles.

The Central texts may be considered to have the most intricate systems. With the exception of one text, definite articles seem to be differentiated from demonstrative THOSE by form. In the texts where *bo* appears as a rare form of definite article (because *be* is a regular form for that function) the identical form is used for demonstrative determiners and pronouns. In the texts where *bo* appears as the regular form of definite articles, distinct *boo* type forms appear as demonstrative pronoun.

In the Southern texts, the clearest functional differentiation seems to be revealed. In these texts distinct variants *bos* and *boo* are only used for demonstrative pronouns. In some texts *bo* is used both as definite article and definite determiners, hence producing a substantial number of *bo*. In other texts where a definite article is *be*, three separate forms (*ye*, *yo* and *yos/yoo*) are used to express the three functions (definite article, demonstrative determiner and demonstrative pronoun).

3. 2. 4 Conclusion

268. As far as the four sub-divided areas as a whole are concerned, the Central area shows the most complicated demonstrative system since the texts there are divided into much smaller groups according to form and function of THESE and THOSE as demonstrated in Map 27 and 28 in Appendix 1 respectively. The Northwestern area also shows complexity, but the Northeastern area looks to be less complicated and Southern areas least complicated.

269. Within these areas we have identified texts with mixed and compromise systems, resulted from systemic adjustment caused by the availability of various forms from the adjacent areas, in inland areas as well as in established regional border areas. Nonetheless, in terms of the sheer number of variant forms, the latter areas are much more remarkable than the former as demonstrated in Map 29 and 30 in Appendix 1.

270. In the inland Northeastern area there are three texts with a number of variants, but other than that all the texts are located in the established regional border areas. Among them particularly significant is the western area of the Pennines. Along this mountain range running from north to south, also, is spread the definite article *þo* (see Map 26).

271. The prototypical forms of THESE in the north are *yes* and *yese*, and those in the south are *yise* and *yese*. In both of the areas *yese* is only prevalent in the western and eastern border areas. The prototypical form of THOSE in the north is *ya* and that in the south is *yo*. This north-south formal separation of THOSE is further demonstrated by the functional differentiation as in the north *ya* is generally pronoun whereas in the south *yo*

is determiner. The pronoun function of northern *ya* might have resulted from the process of phonological change it went through, which made it recognised as functionally similar to third person plural pronoun THEY. The emergence of the southern demonstrative determiner *yo* has some connection to the existence of definite article *po/yo*, of which distribution overlaps in the south. In this area, hence, it is more than possible that due to the overwhelming appearance of *po/yo* as both demonstrative determiner and as definite article, more and more distinct forms *pooyoo* and *poseyose* are preferred for demonstrative pronoun for the sake of clear formal disambiguation. Even though those are still minor forms, they are generally appear as pronoun in the Southern texts.

3.3 The demonstratives in five *Prick of Conscience* texts in the WRY

3.3.1 Preliminary: method and texts

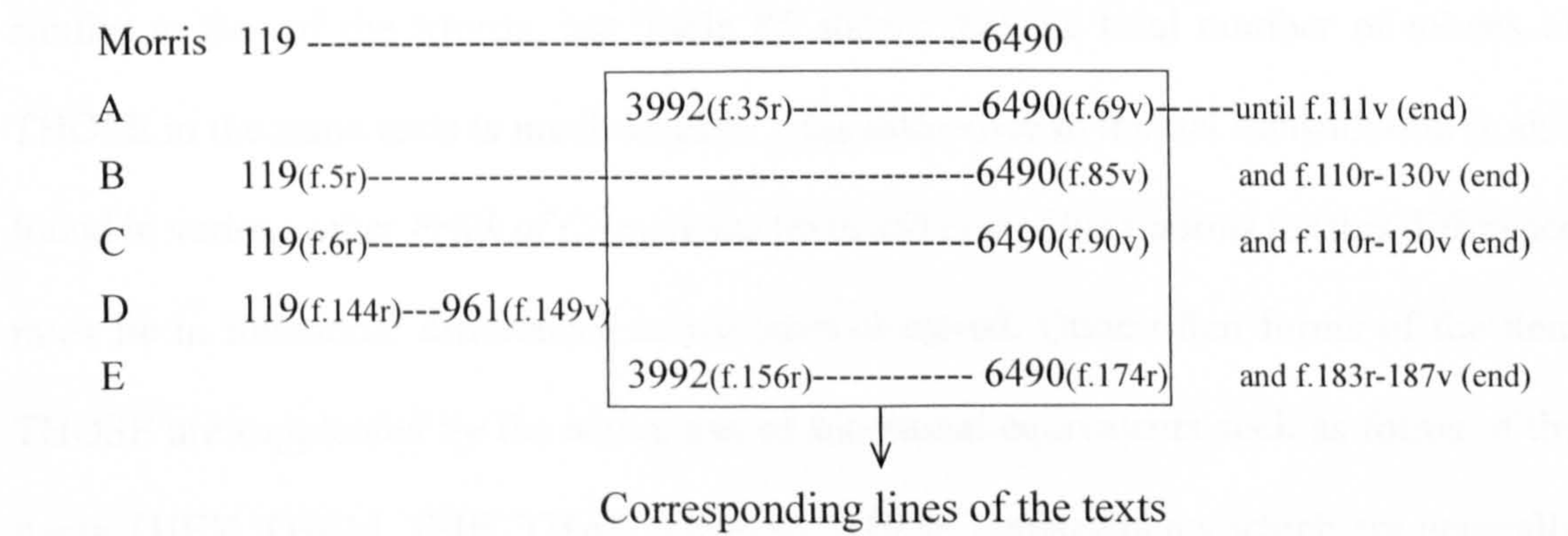
272. In this section the examination of THESE and THOSE consists of two phases. First we examine the transmission of THESE and THOSE in corresponding lines of five different copies of *Prick of Conscience* located in the WRY in a similar way as we have done in Chapter 3.1 using Morris' edition as a base text (see 153 for methodology). Then, we shift our focus to the form and function of variants of THESE and THOSE in all the analyzed lines in the individual texts. Though these two phases seem to be two independent inquiries, they are analytically interrelated and provide us overall with a better understanding of the process of systematic selection. The profiles of the five *Prick of Conscience* texts in the WRY are as follows (see their geographical location at Map 12 in Appendix1):

- A, LP171, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 891. Hand C. ff. 35r-111v (middle). Fully analysed.
- B, LP494, London, British Library, Additional 25013. ff. 1r-136v. Analysed from 5r-85v and 110r-130v.
- C, LP405, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 99. ff. 1r-120v. Analysed from ff. 6r-90v and 110r-120v.
- D, LP479, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 139. Hand A. ff. 144r-149v. Fully analysed.
- E, LP591, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 139. Hand C. ff. 156r-187r. Analysed from 156r-174r and 183r-187r.

273. While B and C are long texts, A, D and E are short texts since each is sub-divided into separate scribal hands. Because of these shorter texts, even though a substantial

amount of folios are available from other texts, the number of corresponding lines is very limited. Figure 3 shows analysed folios from all the texts and the range of lines corresponding to that of the Morris, represented by the folios inside the square outline. According to the table, lines from 3992 to 6490 are available in all the texts except for D. Since D is the shortest text and is without overlapping lines, it is only dealt with, together with E, when we examine the individual texts.

Figure 3: Analysed folios and corresponding lines in the texts



3. 3. 2 THESE and THOSE in corresponding lines

3. 3. 2. 1 Forms

Table 84: THESE and alternatives in the corresponding lines 3992-6490

	Morris		A		B		C		E	
Variants and alts	þir	16	þir	12	yise	8	yise	15	þise	13
	þer	2	þese	2	yis	4	yis	2	þese	1
	þis	2	þes	1	yes	3			þis	1
	þes	1	þis	2	yese	1			þir	1
			þase	1	yo	2				
			þe	1						
			þus	1						
THESE		21		17		16		17		16
ALL		21		20		18		17		16

Table 85: THOSE and alternatives in the corresponding lines 3992-6490⁵⁹

	Morris		A		B		C		E	
Variants and alts	þa	29	þase	12	yo	10	yo	11	þo	18
	þas	19	þo	1	yai	17	yose	4	þose	4
			þa	1	yaim	3	yos	6	þoo	1
			þai	16	yam	1	yai	7	þai	6
			þaim	5	yat	1	yaim	3	þame	4
			þat	1	ye	9	yair	1	he	1
			þe	4	yise	1	yat	3	þat	3
			þese	6			ye	9	þise	2
							alle	1	all	1
THOSE		48		14		10		21		23
ALL		48		46		42		45		40

274. Table 84 shows that the total number of tokens of THESE in A, B, C and E is very similar to that of the Morris, but Table 85 shows that the total number of tokens of THOSE in the same texts is much smaller. This difference in textual transmission is also found in various other *Prick of Conscience* texts and one of the reasons for this difference must lie in functional differences as we have observed. Quite often forms of the item THOSE are supplanted by the active use of functional equivalents such as forms of the items THEY, THEM, THE, THAT and even THESE, replacements which are generally observed in all the WRY texts⁶⁰, albeit in uneven proportions. The different extent of replacement is clearly observed in THEY and THE in Table 85 as the former appears much more in A and B, whereas the latter appears more frequently in B and C (the peculiar nature of the frequent appearance of THESE in A is dealt with in the discussion of individual texts). Since both THEY and THE appear frequently in B, the number of THOSE is substantially smaller in the text.

⁵⁹ Variants of THOSE in rhyming position are included neither here nor in Table 86. As would be expected, THOSE in rhyming position are all transmitted (see lines 1581, 4480, 5017, 5522, 5936 and 6006 in Appendix 4). It might be worth commenting, however, that *þos*, which means ‘thus’ in the Morris in rhyming position as in *For God spak til þas thre cites þos* (line 4203) appears either as THUS or THESE but not as THOSE in other texts. This implies that *þos* would have been semantically understood as ‘thus’ or semantically felt similar to ‘these’ for its cataphoric function.

⁶⁰ Aside from this word by word replacement, sometimes noun phrases consisting of THOSE and plural nouns are replaced by personal pronouns such as *þa worlde*s by *yaim/þaim* (line 971) and *þas fredes* by *yaim* (line 3626).

3.3.2.2 Function

Table 86: Function of THOSE in the corresponding lines 3992-6490

Det	Morris		A		B		C		E	
	ba	20	base	9	yo	7	yo	5	bo	13
	bas	6	bo	1			yos	1		
			ba	1						
Total		26		11		7		6		13
Pron	ba	9	base	3	yo	3	yo	6	bo	5
	bas	13					yose	4	pose	4
							yos	5	boo	1
Total		22		3		3		15		10

275. The very first thing that catches our eye in Table 86 is that the identical form is used for both determiner and pronoun in B. By making column B a provisional boundary in the table, we notice differences in form and function between the left column (A) and the two right columns (C and E) when we tentatively categorise all the variants into *b*- type and *b*-s type. In A, *b*-s type variants appear to be used more as determiner than pronoun while it is generally used as a pronoun in C and E. On the contrary, *b*-type variants appear quite infrequently as determiner in A while they are determiner as well as pronoun in C and are quite frequently determiner in E. Even this brief examination with limited data from corresponding lines shows that every text seems to have its own system.

276. Although all the texts show their own individual characteristics, THOSE in A merits further attention. As we have seen above in Table 85, a lack of pronoun THOSE in A is a result of its substantial replacement by THEY. Also, we have noticed in Table 86 that no *b*-type variants are used for pronoun THOSE. From these two pieces of information we can speculate that *b*- variants (particularly *ba* types) were likely regarded as nominative third person plural pronouns which presumably transformed into *pai* ‘they’. This speculation is supported by the fact that A is located in the north, where the prototypical northern variant *ba* usually appears as pronoun (see 252).

3.3.3 Systemic choice of variants in the individual texts

277. This section focuses on the details of scribal choice of variants for THESE and THOSE in the individual texts. For this purpose all the variants of the demonstratives collected from examination of roughly eighty percent or more of available folios of each text are object for analysis. Since the systemic choice according to grammatical function seems to be more clearly apparent in THOSE, the following discussion focuses mainly on THOSE and THESE is mentioned only when necessary.

278. For convenience's sake, the variants are separated into three categories according to the frequency of their appearance: most frequent, less frequent and least frequent forms⁶¹. The most frequent forms are always used for both pronoun and determiner, but never in the same proportion. In some texts they tend to appear more as pronoun and less as determiner, and in other texts they tend to appear more as determiner and less as pronoun. In stark contrast, functions of the least frequent variants, appearing generally only a couple of times or less, are not easy to examine due to their scarcity. Their value, however, cannot be underestimated as they sometimes give us useful signals for their inclusion in texts. The most profitable linguistic characteristics are often found in less frequent variants. A certain linguistic tendency indicated by the most frequent variants is more often than not reinforced by the function of these less frequent variants.

279. There is another interesting facet to the less frequent variants though it might not be directly relevant to the theme of this section. The rarer variants usually appear scattered

⁶¹ Classification of less frequent form here is slight different from what represented in LALME's bracketing conventions (see footnote 53) since variants appearing approximately from ten to thirty percent of the regular forms are regarded as less frequent forms.

within texts, but they sometimes occur only in limited ranges of folios within texts. This implies that a given scribe might have had two or more exemplars at his disposal when he copied. Alternatively, this might somehow reflect the psychological state of scribes, which, while interesting and perhaps germane to a greater understanding of scribal behaviour, is beyond our scope. Nonetheless, the restricted occurrence of certain variants sometimes reveals some interesting linguistic phenomena. Since each text has its own system, we first examine the demonstratives in each text, followed by a summary and hypothesis.

(1) A

Table 87: Forms of THESE/THOSE and function of THOSE in all analysed lines in A

	Form				Function of THOSE					
	THESE		THOSE		Det		Pron			
variants	þir	30	þase	36	þase	27	þase	9	+ that C	5
	þese	8	þo	11	þaas	7			In PP	1
	*þis w.pl.N	3	þaas	8	þa	4			In rhyme	1
	þes	2	*þa	6	þo	3			S of be V	1
	*þise	1	*þas	3	þas	3			O of do V	1
			þose	2	þose	1				
			þoos	1			þo	8	In rhyme	8
							þa	2	S of do v	1
									O of do v?	1
							þaas	1	+ that C	1
							þose	1	+ that C	1
							þoos	1	+ that C	1

280. There are as many as seven distinct variants used for THOSE as demonstrated in Table 87. Numerically speaking, *þase* is the most frequent form. However, this numerical supremacy does not seem to be as distinguishingly strong as in other texts because, unlike other texts, there are as many as three less regular variants: *þo*, *þaas* and *þa*. The least apparent forms are all *þ-s(e)* type variants *þas*, *þose* and *þoos*. Though we cannot say anything certain about individual characteristics of these minor forms, they seem to have their own distinct functions. But first we must consider the general function of the most frequent form *þase*.

281. *base* is used much more as determiner than as pronoun. Its rarity of pronominal usage before that-clauses could be explained by an overwhelming penetration of THEY as examined in the last section. Nonetheless, *base* still survives slightly in that position and this survival of *base*, no matter how weak, has further implications when considering evidence that it is always *b-s(e)* type but never *b-* type variants which are used for that function.

282. There are three less frequent variants *bo*, *baas* and *ba*. *baas*, very similar to the regular form *base*, is generally used as the determiner and has only one pronominal usage as antecedent. The unique thing about this variant is not so much in its form or function but its sequential occurrence in a limited range of the text. It appears only from ff. 82v to 88r, which is approximately the middle part in the text. It is not possible to interpret this intensive appearance of *baas* in such a limited number of folios. One thing we might be able to say, however, is that since the appearance of *baas* and *base* overlaps in those folios, these two variants could have been considered as one and the same variant.

289. Both *bo* and *ba* are likewise used as determiners though in different proportions (*ba* is more regular than *bo*). There is, however, a significant difference in their pronominal usage. *bo* only appears in the rhyming position whereas *ba* never appears in that position. Considering the location of this text (the most northern area among the texts in question) and the remarkable predominance of *a* spellings over *o* for THOSE in this text, we can reasonably speculate that the former is a more regular spelling in A. The penetration of the rather southern spelling *o* in the restricted position would suggest that the exemplar also had *bo* and not *ba* at rhyming positions as well. This evokes further speculation that

the exemplar either came from somewhere south of the *a/o* boundary of the border areas or that *bo* was chosen for that specific position since *ba* might have become ambiguous since it had developed other meanings.

290. There are as few as two incidences of pronominal *ba* in the entire text. Close examination of each of these occurrences of *ba* reveals its peculiar characteristics which suggest it did not have demonstrative meaning. The equivalent lines in Morris' edition do not have THOSE but *pai* 'they' and *yhe* 'you'. One of the incidences of *ba* in A, hence, might have been caused by a scribal error of omitting the last *i*. That the other *ba* in A would have meant 'you' would be supported by the fact that *tha* is one of the dialectal forms used in the WRY areas to mean 'you' according to EDD. Therefore, it is possible that *ba* has different meanings from what we would otherwise assume from its form.

291. Another variant aside from *baas*, which appears only in the limited continuing folios, exists in this text. This time, however, it is a variant for THESE. The less frequent form *bese* only occurs from ff. 38r to 46v, which is in earlier part of the text. Something intriguing about *bese* is revealed by the parallel comparison of the corresponding lines from the other texts. As shown below *bese* is used where the rest of the texts have THOSE or its functional equivalents, except for B, which lacks most of the corresponding lines:

Morris' edition	A
4520 Als <i>þa</i> twa prophetes sal þam ken,	Alls <i>þese</i> prophetes sal þann ken
4743 Bytween <i>þa</i> days, or þai sal alle	Betwene <i>þese</i> days or þai sal alle
4747 Þat <i>þa</i> fiften days of takens sal be,	Þat <i>þese</i> XV tokenes sal be
4748 Bot he reherces <i>þa</i> takens fiftene	Bot he reherces <i>þese</i> tokenes fifteen
4751 Þat <i>þa</i> XY days contens.	Þat <i>þese</i> xv days contynus
4758 Þe first day of <i>þas</i> fiften days,	Þe first of <i>þese</i> xv days

B	C
4520 Als <i>yo</i> prophetes sal yaim ken	Als <i>yo</i> tuo prophetes schal yai ken
4743 No corresponding line	Betwene yaim or yai schal all
4747 No corresponding line	Yat ye XV dayes schal be
4748 No corresponding line	Bot he reherces tokyns XV
4751 No corresponding line	Yat <i>yos</i> fiftene dayes contense
4758 No corresponding line	Ye first day of ye fiftene dayes

E

4520 As *þo* two prophettes schall hem ken

4743 Bytwiþ þame or þai sal fall

4747 Þat *þo* fiften dayes schall be

4748 Bot he reherces to tokens fiften

4751 Þat *þo* fiftene tokenes contnues

4758 Þe firste day of *þo* fiftene dayes

292. It is true that forms of the item THESE sometimes appears in place of forms of THOSE as we have seen in variously located *Prick of Conscience* texts but it never appears this much in this manner in any other texts. Moreover, all the above lines with *þese* never overlap with the lines containing the regular form *þase*, though these two are generally used in the first one-third of the text. This means that *þase* appears in several lines at the outset, and it is then suddenly blocked by the appearance of *þese* in several lines, after which *þase* again returns. It might be possible to attribute this abnormality of *þese* to a scribal confusion with *þase*, though we admit that this speculation sounds too simple.

(2) B

Table 88: Forms of THESE/THOSE and function of THOSE in all analysed lines in B

	Form				Function of THOSE					
	THESE		THOSE		Det		Pron			
vaiants	yise	47	yo	59	yo	34	yo	25	+ that C	10
	yis	7	*yoo	7	yoo	1			In rhyme	6
	yes	6	*yose	2	yose	1			S of be V	5
	*yese	2	*yase	2	yase	1			In PP	4
	*these	1	yaise	1			yoo	6	S of be V	5
	yies								S of do V	1
							yose	1	In rhyme	1
							yase	1	+ that C	1
							yaise	1	+ that C	1

293. Table 88 shows that the regular form *yo* appears quite predominantly, and its determiner usage is slightly more frequent than its pronominal usage. As a determiner it is used before the plural nouns but it also occasionally appears before singular nouns as well. Though the definite article is *ye* in this text, it seems as though there was a slight tug-of-war between *yo* and *ye* in terms of their functions. This is demonstrated by the corresponding lines in which both *ye* and *yo* appear where the Morris has *þa* and there are also a few incidences of *yo* being used where the Morris has *þe*. This situation is much more strongly demonstrated in C.

294. Due to frequent replacement by THEY, overall pronominal *yo* seems to be less significant and limited to rhyming and antecedent positions. It also appears as subject of be-verbs only in the early part of the text, about which more interesting scribal behaviour can be seen in its relation to *yoo*.

295. While the pronominal *yo* seems to be favoured in rhyming and antecedent positions, a less frequent variant *yoo* appears mainly as subject of sentences. This would suggest that the difference between *yo* and *yoo* is not only orthographic but functional as well.

This seemingly distinct function of *yoo*, however, has to be handled with caveats. Firstly, its appearance, with one exception, is limited to early sequential folios (that is from ff.16v to 17r). Secondly and rather curiously, those lines with *yoo* do not have matching lines in any other WRY texts. It is also found that several lines with *yo* appearing in the overlapping folios (that is from ff.16v to 18r) mainly as subject do not have equivalent lines in other texts either. This indicates that those folios with subject *yoo* and *yo* are more than likely to have originated from slightly different versions of the text, and it is therefore possible that at least two different texts might have been present when B was copied.

296. A great majority of THOSE in this text are *p*-type and the appearance of *p*-s type variants is not very significant. *p*-type forms are considered to have derived directly from OE *þa* 'those'. However, *p*-s type variants, presumably having been produced from OE *þas* 'these' apparently seem to have either disappeared or simply do not exist in B. Only a couple or less incidences of *p*-s variants: *yaise*, *yose* and *yase*, appear and they are generally used as pronoun as well as determiner. The *p*-s type forms eventually came to dominate as written standard, and what we see in B can be considered as the very beginning of their gradual penetration into the standardised language.

(3) C

Table 89: Forms of THESE/THOSE and function of THOSE in all analysed lines in C

	Form			
	THESE		THOSE	
variants	yise	58	yo	50
	yis w.pl.N	7	yose	7
	thise	2	*yos	7
			*yoo	1

Function of THOSE					
Det		Pron			
yo	34		16	In rhyme	7
yose	1		+ that C	5	
yos	1		S of be V	2	
			S of do V	1	
			O of do V?	1	
		yose	6	+ that C	4
				S of be V	2
		yos	6	+ that C	3
				In PP	2
				In rhyme	1
		yoo	1	S of be V	1

297. Table 89 shows *yo* is predominantly used and that its determiner usage is more prevalent than its pronominal usage, similar to B. As a determiner, *yo* is generally used before plural nouns, but it also appears occasionally before singular nouns as in B. In pronominal usage it appears mainly in rhyming and antecedent positions, and when appearing as subject, it often accompanies *all* as in *And all yo may ancryste be calde* (f. 57r line 33) and *Ffor alle yo schal bere his merke* (f. 61r line 5) ⁶².

298. The minor variants *yose*, *yos* and *yoo* predominantly appear as pronominal, and the first two variants look as though they are about to take over all pronominal functions with their unconstrained appearance in any position. As is sometimes the case with less frequent variants, *yose*, though starting to appear in earlier folios, occurs more intensively in the middle of the text. Likewise, *yos* only starts to appear in the middle of text. Interestingly, these two do not seem to overlap in their appearance in the text. In the middle of the text *yose* appears in several lines from ff.60 to 64, and then *yos* follows in several lines from ff.66 to 85.

⁶² These two lines correspond respectively to line 4143, line 4405 in the Morris.

(4) D and E

Table 90: Forms of THESE/THOSE and function of THOSE in all analysed lines in D&E

	Form			
	THESE		THOSE	
variants	D			
	þise	9	þo	17
	*þis w.pl.N	3	þose	2
	þese	2		
	E			
	þise	40	þo	105
	þis	6	þose	6
	*þir	1	þoo	5

Function of THOSE					
Det		Pron			
D					
þo	17	þose	1	+ that C	1
þose	1				
E					
þo	88	þo	17	+ that C	10
þoo	1			In rhyme	4
				S of be V	1
				S of do V	1
				O of do V	1
		þose	6	+ that C	2
				In PP	2
				S of be V	1
				In rhyme	1
		þoo	4	+ that C	2
				O of do V?	1
				In rhyme	1

299. Table 90 shows that the predominant form in D and E is *þo* with determiner function, like in B and C. However, unlike those texts, its overwhelming numerical supremacy is caused by the fact that the demonstrative determiner THOSE and definite article THE are formally merged and expressed by the identical form *þo*. As a consequence, it appears before plural and singular nouns alike, hence, occurring much more substantially than in both B and C. As a result of this formal merger of what we regard as two separate words from the viewpoint of present-day usage, a more distinct form for demonstrative pronoun THOSE would have been needed. This might be the one of the reasons *þose* and *þoo* are regularly apparent as pronoun, similar to B and C.

300. Despite its considerable appearance as determiner as well as definite article, *þo* still persists as pronoun, though much decreased in number compared to B and C. Aside from appearing in rhyming position, it is still sparsely used as antecedent, but as subject it

seems always to be combined with *all*, similar to C, as in *And all þo may be antcriste callede* (f. 164ra line 27), *Ffor all þo schall bere his marke* (f.165rb line 6) and *And turne all þo to hym holly* (f.165vb line 50)⁶³.

3. 3. 4 Summary and hypothesis

301. Based on the similarity of form and function of THOSE we can generally divide the five texts into three groups: A, B and C/D/E, among which A is vastly different from the rest of the texts. These three divisions also reflect their geographical locations in the WRY. A is in the northwest, B in the central west and C, D and E in the south. Among the southern texts, the last two are located very close to the southern border.

302. In A, *þ-s* type variants are much more frequent and they are regularly used as determiner and less frequently as pronouns. Also, *þ* – type forms, which never appear significantly, are usually used as determiner and their pronominal function seems to be either limited to rhyming position (as is the case with *þo*) or rather analytically problematic (as with *þa*). The paucity of forms for the pronoun THOSE looks to be supplanted by the frequent use of the third person plural pronoun THEY according to the parallel examination of the corresponding lines with other WRY texts. There seems, however, to be more than simple replacement. We have speculated from various evidence the possibility of the formal and functional merger of *þa*, the northern form of pronoun THOSE, and *þai*, the northern form of personal pronoun THEY. When pronoun THOSE and THEY become very similar in form and function, a more distinct form would have

⁶³ These three lines correspond respectively to line 4143, line 4403 and line 4565 in the Morris.

been required for determiner THOSE, and hence *p-s* type variants predominantly assume determiner function.

303. The demonstrative system is very different in the rest of the texts since *p-s* type variants are, numerically speaking, either marginal as in B or less significant as in C and D/E, and a great majority of forms predominating in these texts is *po* as determiner. *po* also appears least significantly as pronoun, being generally restricted to rhyming and to antecedent position. This predominant appearance of determiner *po* does not seem to be problematic in B and C since they have the distinct form *pe* for definite article, as we have noticed its frequent appearance in place of determiner THOSE in the corresponding lines. It becomes very ambiguous, however, in D and E due to its formal merger to definite article. When determiner THOSE and THE become very similar in form and function, linguistic pressure would demand a more distinct form of pronoun THOSE: a linguistic situation, which encourages the intake of distinctive forms for its pronominal function. This would very well explain why *p-s* variants (and another distinct form *po*) are generally used for pronouns. Besides this formal disambiguation, it is also interesting that in C and D/E pronominal *po* is often combined with the intensifier *all* as if to emphasise its functional difference from determiner.

3.3.5 Conclusion

304. In order to verify the hypothesis that forms for THESE and THOSE were distributed systemically according to function, we first examined THESE and THOSE in the corresponding lines in five different versions of *Prick of Conscience*. As demonstrated in

those lines, scribes converted the language of the exemplar into their own kind of language. When they did so, they generally changed THESE into one of its variants while they translated THOSE into THEY and THE (among others) as well as into one of its variants, albeit in uneven proportions. The forms they chose were obviously the ones which are available to them, but it is more than probable that they were far from freely chosen. The items they chose reflected speech in the area where each text was copied and those items were one of the elements which connected to other linguistic elements in those areas as part of a system. After all, language is *tout se tient*: everything is connected to everything else.

305. Very simply put, the dual functions of THOSE in each text can be illustrated by two distinct forms as shown in Table 91.

Table 91: System of THOSE in each text

	Pronoun THOSE	Determiner THOSE
A	<i>pai</i> , (<i>pase</i> : limited)	<i>pase/paas</i>
B	<i>pai</i> , (<i>po</i> : limited)	<i>po</i>
C	<i>pose/pos</i> , (<i>po</i> : limited, and with <i>all</i>)	<i>po</i>
D/E	<i>pose/poo</i> , (<i>po</i> : limited, and with <i>all</i>)	<i>po</i>

The above table demonstrates that pronoun THOSE and determiner THOSE are formally differentiated. From this state of systems represented in each text, a more dynamic explanation of the process of how certain forms have emerged as they did can be achieved by including THEY and THE in the discussion.

Table 92: Systemic relation of THOSE to THEY and THE in each text

	THEY	Pronoun THOSE	Determiner THOSE	THE
A ↓	<i>pai</i>	<i>pai</i> , (<i>base</i> : limited)	<i>base/paas</i>	<i>pe</i>
B	<i>pai</i>	<i>pai</i> , (<i>bo</i> : limited)	<i>bo</i>	<i>pe</i>
C	<i>pai</i>	<i>pose/pos</i> , (<i>bo</i> : limited, and with <i>all</i>)	<i>bo</i>	<i>pe</i>
D/E	<i>pai</i>	<i>pose/poo</i> , (<i>bo</i> : limited, and with <i>all</i>)	<i>bo</i>	<i>bo</i>

306. Table 92 shows that the formal merger of THEY and pronoun THOSE (which would be represented more appropriately in spelling as *pa* than *pai*) in the northern text A caused the intake of *p*-s variants for determiner THOSE. A very different development, but for the same reason of systemic disambiguation, emerged in the southern texts of D and E, where the formal merger of THE and determiner THOSE encouraged the intake of *p*-s variants for pronoun THOSE. How the two distinct developments moved to central areas, if they ever did, from the north and the south is not known, but it would not be wrong to assume that general linguistic influence from the south is more strongly felt during the late ME period. In the central area, as demonstrated in B and C, the demonstrative systems underwent different reorganization processes due to the availability of different variants of THOSE, THEY and THE.

307. Much interest in commonly surviving texts such as *Prick of Conscience* lies in the evidence of scribal method. The evidence of scribal choice in the five WRY texts, when synthesised into general functional tendencies examined in all the texts in the Riding, reveal not just a static system but also possible explanation as to how the system emerged in certain texts. From this investigation, it becomes clear that various maps in LALME, whose compilation was based on the arraying of various forms, could be usefully supplemented by producing maps based on varying functions.

308. The item THESE is more or less excluded from the entire discussion and is only referred to in comparison with THOSE in the section on textual transmission. This is because the item THESE is usually used as determiner and very rarely as pronoun, hence hardly showing formal divergence according to grammatical function as does THOSE. Nonetheless, a different kind of functional selection might have been made with regards to THESE. It seems as though the appearance of the minor form *vis* in B and C had something to do with meter since *vis* generally appears in the second position of lines in those texts. Examples in B⁶⁴ are *On vis two tymes he schuld thynk yam* (f. 6r line 23), *To vis men may vnsware shortely* (f. 42r line 7), *Alle vis tokenes als said he* (f. 53v line 16), *All vis tokenynges sall yan be schewed* (f. 69r line 26) and examples in C⁶⁵ are *Alle vis kyndely to olde men falles* (f. 12r line 10), *Til vis two may penaunce vs lede* (f. 39v line 9), *Of vis maters yat mas mencion* (f. 54v line 15), *Of vis schal som fall and say* (f. 55r line 30) and *Be vis tokenes may men writ* (f. 65v line 27).

⁶⁴ The following four lines correspond respectively to line 510, 3044, 4041 and 5301 in the Morris.

⁶⁵ The following five lines correspond respectively to line 800, 2779, 3940, 3992 and 4734 in the Morris.

Chapter 4 Theoretical implications

4. 1 Introductory remark

309. Sociolinguistic fact dictates that languages are systems. Hence, all human utterances, whether they are standard or non-standard, can be mapped systematically. It is an observable axiom of sociolinguistics, too, that all living languages vary, and this variation is one part of the universal language system: systems arise from variation and variations survive because they exist within a system. In this way language is considered to have a self-organizing capacity.

310. In the examination of various WRY texts, we have identified various intricate demonstrative systems. By integrating the general linguistic tendencies extracted from those systems and linguistic facts obtained from the *Prick of Conscience*, we have detected the functional process as to how certain forms of demonstratives were more likely to have emerged than others.

311. Though this dynamic process of systemic selection is not generally found within any single text, it is worth examining other varieties of ME from other parts of the country. By doing so we can create contexts for the WRY materials, and this examination is the focus of the subsequent section (Chapter 4. 2). This is followed by the examination of the evolution of the demonstratives through the ME to PDE in the WRY (Chapter 4. 3) and by a more general discussion of the history of English demonstratives (Chapter 4. 4).

4.2 Other demonstrative systems in other varieties of ME

312. In this section we examine the demonstratives in three texts selected from three geographically non-adjacent areas as follows⁶⁶:

London:	<i>Auchinleck Manuscript</i>
Devon:	<i>Sir Ferumbras</i>
Scotland (Aberdeen):	<i>Barbour's Bruce</i>

4.2.1 *Auchinleck Manuscript*

313. *Auchinleck Manuscript* (National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 19.2.1), copied in London between 1331 and 1340, consists of miscellaneous texts or metrical romances in six scribal hands and it provides important information about dialects of pre-Chaucerian London. Five of those scribes' dialect profiles are localised in LALME: Scribe 1 (Hand A in LALME, LP 6510) in an area of Middlesex closely adjacent to the border of northern London; Scribe 2 (Hand B in LALME, LP 6940) in northern Gloucestershire close to the Worcestershire border; Scribe 3 (Hand C in LALME, LP 6500) in northern London; Scribe 5 (Hand E in LALME, LP 6350) in southern Essex and Scribe 6 (Hand F in LALME, LP 7820) in southern Worcestershire close to the Gloucestershire border. Scribes 1 and 3 are particularly important as they form the basis for Samuels' typology (1963: 87) of late medieval London English, where he describes their language as representative of a distinctive stage (that is his 'Type

⁶⁶ All the data are listed in Appendix 6.

II'⁶⁷) in the development of the London dialect.

314. Scribe 1 is the most voluminous copier, responsible for seventy percent of the surviving codex (Wiggins 2003), and the other scribes take different kinds of work during their various stints. Unlike earlier book production, which mainly took place in monastic scriptoria, *Auchinleck* was probably produced in a London bookshop by professional scribes collaborating on a commercial venture (Cunningham and Pearsall 1977). These scribal hands are considered to represent the weak-tie social situation of the then capital city, to which large numbers of people moved to seek their fortunes. Hence 'disparate varieties of the vernacular could come into close proximity, even in one manuscript' (Smith 2001: 226). Among the texts copied by these scribes, the following texts are consulted⁶⁸.

Scribe 1: *King of Tars, Amis and Amiloun, Kyng Alisaunder, Roland and Vernagu, Sir Tristrem, Horn Childe, Sir Orfeo, Guy of Warwick*

Scribe 2: *Speculum Gy de Warewyke, Simonie*

Scribe 3: *The Seven Sages of Rome, Sir Degaré, Floris and Blauncheflur*

Scribe 5: *Sir Beves of Hamtoun*

Scribe 6: *Otuel*

⁶⁷ Type I is represented by the language found in the majority of Wycliffite manuscripts. Some of the strong linguistic features suggest it had based on the dialects of the Central Midland counties, especially Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire. Type III is represented by, among others, the language of Chaucer. Type IV consist of a great number of government documents, starting to appear in the year following 1430, hence the language represent this type being called 'Chancery Standard'. This type is very different from Type III and it is this type that becomes a basis of modern written English. (Samuels 1963: 87). Occurrence of each of these distinctive linguistic stages show that language in London had undergone quite a rapid of change in rather short period of time.

⁶⁸ The printed texts used for examination are following, *The King of Tars*, ed. Perryman, J. Middle English texts series 12 (Heidelberg, 1980). *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. Leach, M. EETS os 203 (London, 1937). *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. Smithers, G. V. EETS os 227, 237 (London, 1952-1957). *The English Charlemagne romances*, re-ed. Herrtage, S. J. H. EETS es 39 (London, 1882). *Sir Tristrem*, ed. McNeill, G. P. Scottish Text Society first series 8 (Edinburgh, 1886). *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild*, ed. Mills, M. Middle English texts series 20 (Heidelberg, 1988). *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Lowe, K. A. 2nd ed. Dept. of English Language, University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1997). *The romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, J. EETS es 42, 49, 59 (London, 1883-1891). *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, ed. Morrill, G. L. EETS es 75 (London, 1898). *The Simonie*, ed. Embree, D. and Urquhart, E. Middle English texts series 24 (Heidelberg, 1991). *The seven sages of Rome*, ed. Brunner, K. EETS os 191 (London, 1933). *Middle English metrical romances*, ed. French, W. H. and Hale, C. B. (New York, 1930). *Floris and Blauncheflur : a Middle English romance*, ed. Vries, F. C. (Groningen, 1966). *The Romance of Sir Beves of Hamtoun*, ed. Kölbing E. EETS es 46, 48, 65 (London, 1885-1894).

4. 2. 1. 1 The demonstrative forms and their general functions

315. The demonstratives in these scribal hands are:

Scribe 1:	<i>bis</i> ((<i>bese</i> : only once))	-	<i>bo</i>
Scribe 2:	<i>bise</i>	-	<i>bo</i>
Scribe 3:	<i>bis</i> (<i>bise</i>)	-	<i>bo</i>
Scribe 5:	<i>bis</i> (<i>bes</i>)	-	∅
Scribe 6:	∅	-	<i>bo</i> , <i>pose</i>

Regular variants for THESE and THOSE manifested in these texts are *bis* and *bo*. The appearance of *bo* is, however, numerically very rare in all the texts and certainly not as frequent as in the Ex text of *Prick of Conscience* (see 199) or in a Middlesex text *Deonise Hid Diuinite* (see 80). It is generally used for determiner in all the scribal hands and, hence, its pronoun usage is quite scarce: as few as two times as antecedent only in two texts (that is *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Sir Tristrem*) written by Scribe 1. The extreme paucity of the antecedent *bo* does not seem to have been caused by its replacement by nominative or oblique form of third person plural pronoun since ...THEY THAT... and ...THEM THAT...structures do not generally seem to occur. It might be the case that a stylistic difference between romance poems on one hand and religious texts on the other is responsible for the lack of these structures.

316. Though the regular form for THESE in most of the scribal hands is *bis*, Scribe 2 has a different variant *bise* as the only form. It is this form in association with the form in Scribe 1 from which we might be able to observe one of the phases of change in progress

in Scribe 3. (Scribe 5 has to be ignored here because of lack of sufficient tokens for the item THESE.)

4. 2. 1. 2 Possible change in progress in Scribe 3's THESE?

317. In Scribe 1, *his* is virtually the only variant and the form premodifies plural nouns as well as noun phrases consisting of nouns and numerals. Some of the examples are:

THESE in Scribe 1

<i>Bifor his lordinges euerichon</i>	(line 1385 in <i>Amis and Amiloun</i>)
<i>For his tidinges</i>	(line 43 in <i>Rouland and Vernagu</i>)
<i>Wip-in his zeres pre;</i>	(line 1257 in <i>Amis and Amiloun</i>)
<i>& or his pre zere ben al gon,</i>	(line 1258 in <i>Amis and Amiloun</i>)
<i>Togider his kni3tes zeuen</i>	(line 819 in <i>Rouland and Vernagu</i>)
<i>Bis seuen winter Yschal abide</i>	(line 532 in <i>Horn childe</i>)
<i>of alle his seuen zere;</i>	(line 867 in <i>Horn childe</i>)

318. When *his* premodifies noun phrases, it looks as though there was a particular rule (see the last five examples). That is, when nouns are placed right after *his* but before numerals, they are plural (e. g. *his zeres pre*) and when nouns are placed after *his* and after numerals, they are singular (e. g. *his pre zere*). This rule, however, does not necessarily originate in Scribe 1's usage because some of the numerals in rhyming positions are probably constrained by their positions.

319. Another noticeable thing in Scribe 1's stint is that there is only one instance of an adjective appearing in between the demonstrative and following plural nouns. Considering the great number of texts Scribe 1 copied, the absence of this structure seems to be very surprising. Moreover, in that structure plural marker *-e* is not attached to the

adjective e.g., *Pis gentil kniȝtes hende & fre*; (line 2276 in *Guy of Warwick*). This is quite a contrast to Scribe 2 where this structure is much more in evidence and plural marker *-e* is attached to all the adjectives. Some examples are:

THESE + adjective + noun in Scribe 2

And nabeles þise gode men fallen oft in fame (line 111)

For þise wantoun prestes þat pleien here nice game (line 112)

Pat ben þise false fisiciens þat helpen men to die. (line 212)

Ac whiles þise grete lordinges þus han ihurled to hepe, (line 445)

(All the lines are in *Simonie*)

320. Another interesting point about Scribe 2's stint is that the item THESE never appears with numerals, unlike in Scribe 1's stint. These different environments in which the item THESE appears in Scribe 1 and Scribe 2 might be contrasted with two distinct variants in Scribe 3.

321. Scribe 3 uses the two variants *þis* and *þise* and his choice, first of all, appears to depend on texts he copies as is shown below: the former is only found in *The Seven Sages of Rome* and *Sir Degaré* whereas the latter is only found in *Floris and Blauncheflur*.

THESE in Scribe 3

7 alle þis oper lowen þerfore. (line 811)

Nou boþe þis children alle for bliss (line 824) (*The Seven Sages of Rome*)

But ȝhe miȝte þis gloues two (line 637)

But ȝhe þis gloues mai take and fonde (line 655)

ȝif I mai, þis daies seuen, (line 350)

Þis seuen daies i nel nowt speke (line 363) (*Sir Degaré*)

Bob þise swete þinges for blis (line 514)

Dreri were þise children two; (line 696)

Pat þise children loked vpan, (line 725)

Þise children to slen, iwis. (line 787) (*Floris and Blauncheflour*)

322. It might also be possible that the choice of variant is constrained by syntactic factors. It looks as though *his* variants were selected before plural nouns whether numeral precedes or follows them or not (similar to Scribe 1). *Bise* seems to be preferred before plural adjective (similar to Scribe 2) as well as plural noun in irregular declension such as *children* as shown above. This assumption is, nonetheless, open to further investigation and should be supported by more evidence for verification.

323. Though Scribes 1 and 3 are both located around northern London, it is obvious that they differ in their use of demonstrative systems. Scribe 3's usage seems to show a mixed system of both Scribe 1 and Scribe 2. This mixed system might be regarded as one of the transitional phases toward the next linguistic stage (categorised as 'Type III' in Samuels' typology) as demonstrated by the language of Chaucer, in which *bise* becomes the frequent form. *Bise*, however, does not seem to survive long as it is soon replaced by *pese* type forms. An interesting comparison may be made with THESE in the Ex text of *Prick of Conscience*, where *pese/these* are the overwhelming majority (see 178).

4. 2. 1. 3 Functional factors in the adoption of *those* variants

324. Despite what seems to be a rather fast adoption of *pese* variants as standard forms in the south, the appearance of *pos(e)* type forms, and hence their accommodation into system of standard English, was very late. As we have seen (Chapter 2. 1. 3. 4 and Chapter 3. 1. 2. (2) (3) (4)) *po* is generally the only southern form in the late ME period. This is the case with *Auchinleck*, in which only Scribe 6 has *pose* and *po*, each of which appears only once.

325. Various factors can be cited for the appearance of the -s added forms. It is quite possible that -s was merely added by analogy in order to orthographically or phonetically correspond to its proximal counterpart *these* /ðɛ:z/, hence becoming *thos(e)* /ðɔ:z/. The strong pronominal function of *þo* might also have promoted the attachment of the noun plural maker -s (see 80). Another part of the explanation for the favouring of -s types may have to do with a clash with Norse-derived *though* as the final fricative *gh* disappeared between the fourteenth and sixteenth century, after the initial /θ/ of *though* became voiced, and ended up like *þou*, *þow* and *þo* (Grzega 2000: 117, Millar 2000: 288-289) in the south. This clash did not happen in the north midlands, where the initial consonant stayed voiceless and produced deviant types, such as *þof* /θɔf/ ⁶⁹. The spread of the Norse-derived *though* to the south itself may have been to avoid another homonymic clash caused by a native *they* 'though' and the nominative personal pronoun *they*, since it closely follows *they* in its movement from the north to the south without preceding it (Samuels 1963: 64-66).

326. It is true that this snowball effect presumably caused by the southern penetration of a series of Norse-derived close class words is not very clearly demonstrated. We can, however, examine this scenario more closely by comparing Scribes 1 and 3 (localised in northern London) with Scribes 2, 5 and 6 (localised in the southern area distant from London).

⁶⁹ Such pronunciation was considered to have been vulgar or dialectal in the sixteenth century (Barber 1981: 316) and it is this colour of vulgarity Henry Fielding used *thof* for the speech of Mrs. Honour, Sophia Western's waiting-woman in *Tom Jones* written in 1748 (Wyld 1936: 288).

Table 93: THEY and THOUGH in the different scribal hands in *Auchinleck*

	THEY		THOUGH
Scribe 1:	<i>pai</i> ((<i>hii</i> , <i>hij</i> , <i>hye</i> , <i>he</i> , <i>pei</i> , <i>pay</i>))	-	<i>pei</i>
Scribe 3:	<i>pai</i> ((<i>3he</i> , <i>3e</i> , <i>hi</i> , <i>hii</i> , <i>pei</i> , <i>paie</i>))	-	<i>pai</i> , <i>pei</i>
Scribe 2:	<i>peih</i> , <i>hii</i> , <i>hij</i> ((<i>pei</i> , <i>pey</i>))	-	<i>pouh</i>
Scribe 5:	<i>pai</i> , <i>hii</i> ((<i>pei</i>))	-	<i>pou3</i> (<i>be3</i>)
Scribe 6:	<i>pei</i>	-	<i>pau3</i>

327. Table 93 shows that Scribes 2, 5, and 6 do not show any potential for the clash as they use Norse-derived forms for THEY and THOUGH unlike in Scribes 1 and 3 where *they* type pronouns and native *they* types of the conjunction are used. Scribe 1, nonetheless, seems to cunningly distinguish between them in their spelling: *pai* for ‘they’ and *pei* for ‘though’, at least for readers to visually differentiate them since *ai* and *ei* represent a single diphthong attested in rhyme in lines 83 and 84 in *King of Tars* (Perryman 1980: 22). In Scribe 3 there is a rare case of the identical form for the two words appearing in the same lines as in *And pai pai seruede him neuer so faire*, (line 554) in *Florice and Blaunche flour*. Despite the systemic functional differentiation made by Scribe 1, the forms used by these two scribes might have felt ambiguous. All the other scribes, coming from well outside of London and hence knowledgeable of other dialectal options for THOUGH, might have made conscious attempts, by selecting their own type of variants, to avoid this confusion observed in contemporary London.

Table 94: THOUGH and THOSE in the different scribal hands in *Auchinleck*

	THOUGH		THOSE
Scribe 1:	<i>pei</i>	-	<i>po</i>
Scribe 3:	<i>pai, pei</i>	-	<i>po</i>
Scribe 2:	<i>pouh</i>	-	<i>po</i>
Scribe 5:	<i>pou3 (pe3)</i>	-	<i>ø</i>
Scribe 6:	<i>pau3</i>	-	<i>po, pose</i>

328. Table 94 shows that a potential clash for THOUGH and THOSE cannot occur in the stints of Scribes 1 and 3 as OE *they* type forms are used for THOUGH.

329. The homonymic clash between two words belonging to different word-classes is, of course, not possible to prove, but we should recognise that ‘opportunities for such clash exist’ (Smith: forthcoming a). One of the reasons that we should include the functional account is that various other southern texts seem to differentiate formally between their forms for the items THEY and THOUGH. A cursory observation of various LPs of southern texts shows that they are generally mutually exclusive. In texts in which *they* type personal pronouns appear, the conjunction THOUGH is often reflected as Norse-derived *though* type forms. In texts where native *h*-type personal pronouns appear, the conjunction tends to be native *they* type forms. This seemingly systemic choice of a given form might have been made deliberately in order to avoid the clash as Samuels (1972: 71) mentions. He says scribes, who regularly use *they* type forms for both THEY and THOUGH, often intentionally choose archaic *h*-type forms for THEY to make the distinction clear. Also, we find that in the texts where *they* type THEY and *they* type THOUGH coexist, scribes seem to have consciously added a subordinating particle *that* or intensifying adverb *al* to the conjunction, e.g. *pei3-pat*, *pey-pat*, *pei3-al*, *al-yei*, *al-thei*,

al-yi, *al-bi*, and *al-bey* possibly for the same functional reason.

330. Similarly, we cannot prove the clash between *þo* type THOUGH and *þo* type THOSE. However, the opportunity might have emerged when pronoun *þo* appeared as an antecedent of the subsequent that-clause in sequence *þo þat*since conjunctions often accompanied particle *that* in the following positions (see 80, 81). A more complicated linguistic situation might have occurred with the existence of *þo* (<OE *þā*) meaning ‘then’ and ‘when’ evidenced in the various scribal hands in *Auchinleck*, which are slotted in the same syntactical environment as *þo* ‘though’.

4.2.2 *Sir Ferumbras*

331. *Sir Ferumbras*⁷⁰ (MS Ashmole 33) is a romance poem with nearly 6000 lines, written for the most part in short, alternately rhyming lines. The poem is considered to have been copied and perhaps translated by a clergyman in the diocese of Exeter sometime after 1377, probably in a Devonshire dialect and it shows a large mixture of midland and northern forms (Herrtage 1879: xviii). LALME locates this text (LP5110) as central east of Devonshire.

332. While *Auchinleck* is considered as a text representing a weakly-tied social situation where various southern dialects came in contact, *Sir Ferumbras* may be associated with a strongly-tied community of southwestern areas. Though the southwest is not totally immune to the influence of the capital, the region seems to have resisted linguistic change

⁷⁰ Printed text from EETS ed. by Herrtage, Sidney, J (1879) was examined.

courtesy of geographical difficulties. ‘Hill ranges and areas of high moorland limited access from the peninsula to the main part of the island, making parts of the west county remote enough to have a distinct identity and dialects’ (Lawson 2002: 23). Perhaps one of the best-known dialect features in these areas is pronoun exchange, where pronouns have their functions extended from one case to another. It is this feature that uniquely connects demonstrative and pronominal systems.

4. 2. 2. 1 The demonstrative forms and their general function

333. The demonstratives THESE and THOSE in this text are:

þis, þys, þes((þus)((þuse, þese, þeues, þeese)) - ?þay, ?þey

As to THESE, variants without an additional *-e* are much more common than those with *-e*, similar to the Dvn text of *Prick of Conscience*, where *thys/þys* are the regular forms. Unlike that text, however, there are quite a number of minor forms all of which are variants with the additional *-e*. These minor variants possibly reflect a very early stage of gradual penetration of linguistic influence from the southeastern area.

334. Forms of THESE are generally used as determiners and pronoun usage of the item, which is proportionally very rare, seems to be limited to either *þis/þys* types or variants with *-e*. Interestingly, *þes* is never found as pronoun despite its regular appearance. Pronoun *þis/þys* are always used as subject of following be-verbs in plural e.g. *or þis were al y-don* (line 1999) *þys buþ þe games of my contre* (line 2228) and *þat þys buþ crystes relyqes owe*, (line 5068) whereas the variants with *-e* are not limited to that function e. g.

& now y hopede þat þuse had y-ben (line 1174), "Doʒtere," sche saide, "wat men buþ þeese (line 1350), "ʒea : alle þese buþ noʒt worþ a stre" : (line 2229) and þuse prykeap faste forþ by-fore, (line 4387).

335. As to THOSE, the relationship between form and function seems to be rather complicated. Herrtage (1879 xxi) treats *þo* as plural forms of definite articles not as demonstratives, since case, gender and number distinctions still persist in this text. Following is the inflection of the definite articles according to Herrtage (1879 xxi).

Table 95: Inflection of definite articles in *Sir Ferumbras*

	Singular		Plural	
	M & F	N		
nom	<i>þe, þa</i>	<i>þat</i>	nom & acc	<i>þo, þay, þey</i>
gen	<i>[þas]</i> ⁷¹			
dat	<i>þan, þen</i>			
acc	<i>þan, þen</i>	<i>þat</i>		

(Herrtage 1879 xxi)

Table 95 shows that *þo*, *þay* and *þey* are the plural forms of definite articles. It might, however, be somewhat unreasonable to regard them as proper definite articles because they are virtually non-existent with this function.

336. While it is true that quite a number of *þo* forms appear in this text, almost all of them are used with adverbial meaning ‘then’ and ‘when’. A definite article *þo* is substantially scarce, used as seldom as couple of times in the entire text. This scarcity is also evident

⁷¹ Only in the set phrase *sone þas* ‘soon thereafter, directly’ which occurs several times in the text (Herrtage 1879 xxi and xxvii).

with *þay* and *þey* as we cannot find lines in which they appear as definite articles even though we come across a quite a number of them appearing as nominative plural forms of third person plural pronoun. Scarce as the evidence is, it would seem difficult to treat them as plural forms of definite articles.

4. 2. 2. 2 Possibility of *þay* and *þey* as demonstrative THOSE

337. Although Herrtage considers *þay* and *þey* as definite articles, there may be cases in which they are better treated as demonstrative, and a clue to their demonstrative characteristic lies in their relation to the other variants of the third person plural pronoun. The following Table 96 shows the various forms for the third person plural pronouns in this text.

Table 96: Inflection of third person plural pronoun in *Sir Ferumbras*

nom	<i>hee, hi, hy, hymen, þai, þay, þaye, þei, þey</i>
gen	<i>her, hir, hire, hure, hyre, þair</i>
dat	<i>hymen, hem, hymyn, þaym</i>
acc	<i>hymen, hyme, hem, hemen, em, þeym</i>

(Herrtage 1879 xxii)

The sheer number of variants is surprising, not to mention the preservation of dative and accusative forms. *Th-* and *h-* type forms coexist in every case. Particularly noticeable is that unique forms of *hymen* type (including *hymyn hyme* and *hemen*) are used for nominative, dative and accusative. According to MED, they may have been formed from the combining of plural *hem* with the southern plural ending *-en*. Stratmann’s *Middle English Dictionary* states it originates in *heoman*, the OE dative. Whatever their

etymology, they are likely to have developed to provide a clear differentiation from the singular *him* (Visser 1963-73: 428). It is significant that those forms spread into every case except for genitive. The one common case functioning as both nominative and oblique is also found in colloquial expression (e.g. It is me.) and in various creole languages.

338. When *th*- and *h*- type forms coexist, we might expect some constraints in their usage. However, the majority of nominative forms are already *th*- variants and *h*- forms are very rare. Also, the majority of accusative/dative and genitive are *h*- variants and *th*- forms are extremely rare. As such, it is not obviously clear as to why one type was selected at the expense of the other type. One possible explanation for the choice of either type may be alliteration. We often find *th*- type forms appear in an environment where various other *th*-words exist, whereas *h*- type forms appear with other *h*-words as we can see in the following examples:

þoʒ þay wern her boþe twayn : (line 535)
& grete dyntes þanne þay gerte : (line 601)
¶ þan þey waxe wonder wroþe : (line 696)
& so fro þeym þay paste. (line 1195)
¶ þe A[myral] þan þay founde þer (line 1790)
þanne do þat þaye in-buched beo : (line 2879)
So þey wolde : þai sayden þan : (line 2956)

And hy hure þankede faire aplyȝt : (line 1393)
a-rayd hem for hure message. (line 1496)
aȝen hem hy toke þe waye, (line 2701)

For further analysis it may be worth examining the forms of third person plural pronoun

in the Dvn text of *Prick of Conscience*, in which *h*- type variants are used regularly whereas *th*- type variants seem to be limited in number. It is in this rare appearance of *th*- type variants that we might be able to see its demonstrative element.

339. As mentioned above (see 195), both *hy* and *thay* appear as subject followed by be-verbs in those lines where the Morris text has pronoun THOSE. There is a difference in forms of the following be-verbs: *hy* is followed by a plural form *buth*, *thay* by a singular form *ys*. It is unknown why the singular form is used for *thay*, but it certainly seems to be very awkward for present-day Standard English users. *Thay* is not limited to pronoun usage in this text as it also appears as determiners twice within a single line. When we compare these two lines in which *thay* appears with their respective corresponding lines from Morris' edition, WRY (Bodley 99) and Ex texts in parallel fashion, *thay* in the Dvn seems to be a mere replacement of THOSE as shown below.

Dvn	<i>Thay ys the world þat fennd and our flesch</i> (line 1253)
Morris	<i>þa er þe world, þe fende, our flesshe,</i>
WRY	<i>Yoo are ye worlde ye fende and our flesshe</i>
Ex	<i>þo are þe wauld · þe fend · oure flesssh</i>
Dvn	<i>In thai tyme they prophetys to</i> (line 4499)
Morris	<i>Bytwen þa tymes þa prophetes twa</i>
WRY	<i>Betwene yo tymes ye prohetes two</i>
Ex	<i>Betwene þoo tymes þe prophetes twoo</i>

An interpretation for the *th*- variant in those lines could be found in earlier texts from southwestern areas. Before the first appearance of *th*- type nominative third person plural pronoun *þe*³³ in the northern text *Ormulum* in 1200, demonstrative and relative usages of *þæge*, possibly for the emphatic purpose, occurred in southwestern texts as early as the

eleventh century (Brunner 1963: 60, also see Ogura 2001 for examples). Since these regions were located outside the Danelaw, the first appearance of *þæge* cannot be explained simply as a result of borrowing from Norse. It is, therefore, possible to assume that this late OE demonstrative *þæge* became *they* and appeared as such in the DvN text of *Prick of Conscience* and *Sir Ferumbras*. If this is the case, *they*, which is formally regarded as a personal pronoun, is considered to be demonstrative by function in those texts. It is this *they*, which is still maintained as a regional colloquial speech in place of THOSE as demonstrated in the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (M83 THOSE).

4. 2. 2. 3 Adoption of demonstrative *they* into pronoun paradigm

340. How the demonstrative *they* was adopted as personal pronoun might be extrapolated from the unique pronominal system in present-day southwestern dialects. In those areas pronominal forms are determined not by subject or object function but by weak and strong stress position; *em/'m* (< OE *heom*) is used for weak position while *they* is used for strong position (see 8). In those areas, literary *them* as a personal pronoun does not exist. This means that *em/'m* are used for both subject and object of sentences⁷² in unemphatic usage. In *Sir Ferumbras* the case inflection of personal pronoun still preserves well, but the fact that *hymen* type forms are used for nominative as well as for accusative/dative might be due to the existence of a very similar pronominal system then as we see in present-day southwestern areas. The existence of such a system would facilitate the usage of emphatic form *they* as nominative case.

⁷² EED index of *EM*.

4. 2. 2. 4 A demonstrative system in the nineteenth century southwest

341. In modern usage, the gender system is preserved in respect to singular common nouns (that is, nouns which denote things) as they are referred to by personal pronoun *he* (and *'n* and *er*), whereas *it* is used to refer to mass nouns such as *water* and *stone*. So, for instance, to refer to a *tree*, people in southwestern areas say *He's a-cut down* and *John vell'd en* ('John felled it') and in reference to *water*, they say *It's a-dried up* (Barnes 1886: 17-18).

342. This two-way reference system is also found in demonstratives: in order to refer to common noun *theäse* (singular) is used whereas *this* is used for mass noun. Similar differentiation is also made between *thik* (singular) for common noun and *that* for mass noun. Examples are:

Come under theäse tree by this water.

Teäke up this dowst in theäse barrow.

Goo under thik tree, an' zit ('sit') on that grass.

Teake thik pick ('a hay-fork'), an' bring a little o' that hay. (Barnes 1886: 18)

When mass nouns become specified and take on the characteristics of common nouns, demonstratives *this/that* are switched to *theäse/thik*. For instance, as for the mass noun *cloth*, when it is unshaped *this/that* is used, but as soon as it has been made up into a tablecloth, *theäse/thik* is used (Barnes 1886: 18).

Table 97: One of the demonstrative systems in the south-west in the 19th century

		Near	Far	Remote
Mass N	Singular	<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	} <i>yonder</i>
	Plural	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	
Common N	Singular	<i>theäse</i>	<i>thik</i>	} <i>yonder</i>
	Plural	<i>theasum/theasun</i>	<i>they</i>	

(Barnes1886: 18-19)

343. Table 97 shows one of the demonstrative systems in south-western dialects⁷³ in 1886. A plural proximal demonstrative for common noun *theasum/theasun* seems to have developed from its singular form *theäse* whereas its distal counterpart *they* seem to be simply slotted into plural spot, instead of being derived from its singular form *thik*, (from the same form, however, *thuck* could have developed in some area in the southwest). Also, the third demonstrative *yonder* for a remote concept existed then.

4. 2. 3 *Barbour's Bruce*

344. *The Bruce* by John Barbour is the oldest poem of any length produced in Scotland (approximately 14,000 lines) telling the heroic story of King Robert I of Scotland, who is also known as Robert the Bruce, and James Douglas in the War of Independence. Barbour, a native of Aberdeen, lived from about 1320 to 1395 and was Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

⁷³ Various other interesting demonstrative systems in southwestern areas are also mentioned in Rogers (1979: 32, 35 and 36) and in Elworthy (1875-6: 23). Also see Chapter 2. 1. 4. 4.

He completed the poem in 1375. Its printed text for EETS⁷⁴ is based mainly on MS Advocate's Library, Edinburgh (from the beginning to Book IV. I. 56) and on MS G 23 St. John's College, Cambridge (from Book IV. I. 57 to the end), both of which were copied by John Ramsay in 1489 and in 1487 respectively (Skeat 1870, 1889: lx).

345. The sociolinguistic aspects of Aberdeen in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries might have been very similar to those of London as it was one of the most prosperous Scottish towns then (Watt 1900: 53-54) owing to its thriving trading business. This social situation, no doubt, created a lot of weakly-tied people in the city. Nonetheless, different language interference in the previous centuries made the language in Scotland very distinct, and the way in which the language was reorganised was hence quite different from that of London. In Scotland Gaelic was the main language until the late eleventh century and it is only in the twelfth century that English rose to prominence due to English immigration. Most of these immigrants were from northern England, a former Scandinavian colony, and the languages they brought with them were very much affected by Norse. It is these Norse-induced variations that contributed to the formation of every level of Scots language.

4. 2. 3. 1 The demonstrative forms and their general function

346. The demonstratives THESE and THOSE in this text are:

thir - thai(tha)((thir))

⁷⁴ Edited by Skeat (1870, 1889) and whence examined for analysis.

Thir is the only form for THESE and it is used mostly as determiners. When it is used as pronouns, which is very rare, it is always placed at the line-initials. The identical form is also used as a rare form of THOSE. A glossary of the printed text sometimes defines its meaning in a given line as either ‘these’ or ‘those’ but not every *thir* is referred to, which often leads us to difficulties in discerning its meanings. An interesting comparison can be made to *þir* in the Morris version of *Prick of Conscience*. In this text, a regular form *þir* is considered to mean ‘these’ only, but it can arguably be used in the sense of ‘those’ as well.

347. Various sources for the origin of *thir* type forms have been discussed in Chapter 2 (see Chapter 2. 1. 3. 2). Beyond these we can add further conjecture to their etymology. According to *the Scottish National Dictionary*⁷⁵ *thir* might have originated as a contracted form of *þa er* literally meaning ‘those are’ This might be possible as *þa* is prevalent as pronoun as far as our WRY evidence is concerned (see Chapter 3. 2. 2) and it often appears as subject of a following be-verb as observed in the northern texts of *Prick of Conscience* (see THOSE in the Morris and NRY in 181, 182). The contracted form of *þa er* might have been initially used emphatically and started to take the meaning ‘these’.

348. There are two other variants for THOSE in this text *thai* and *tha*. *Thai* is a regular form and is used as determiners and pronouns. The same form is also used as nominative third person plural pronouns, similar to Norse. Whether this similarity can be concretely related to Norse is uncertain since we have to take into consideration that *they* in the northern English dialect was possibly derived from OE *þā* through northern phonetic development and not originated in Norse *þeir* (see 86). Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate to deny the existence of some linguistic connection to Norse due to the fact

⁷⁵ At index of *THIR*.

there were already Scandinavian people in Aberdeenshire well before the immigrants arrived from northern England.

349. *Tha* is a minor form and always appears in rhyming position coupled with its rhyming words, as we would expect. Similarly, when *thai* appears in that position, it generally appears with coupling rhyming words, but sometimes words ending in *-a* are also used. Some of the examples are:

Thai in a rhyming position with word ending *-a*

Off Leuynax and Atholl war thai
Eduuard the bruce wes thar alsua, (II line 236)

He gert als call erlis twa,
Glowsister and herfurd war thai, (IV line 78)

And othir of gud renoune alsua;
Thomas randale wes ane of thai (VI line 510)

And followit straucht eftir thai twa
He knew the kyng wes ane of thai. (VI line 588)

For the sleip masterit hym swa,
That, or he gat vp, ane of thai (VII line 212)

Outane the lord of lorne, and thai
Of argile, that vald with him ga. (IX line 463)

Castellis and pelis for til ta.
And this lythkow wes ane of thai; (X line 148)

And til renownyt Erllis twa,
Of glowcister and [herfurd] var thai, (XI line 163)

Weill thretty thousand men and ma.
Mak we four battalis of all thai, (XI line 280)

And [in-till] ilk derenze of thai
He vencust sarisenis twa; (XIII line 326)

The above examples show that *(al)swa* and *twa* are used frequently, followed by *ma*, *ga*, *ta*. Interestingly, these are the words also being used as rhyming words with *tha* as well.

And werray the brws as thar fa.
Thomas Randell wes ane off tha, (II line 463)

The Erle Ihone wes ane off tha,
Off athole, that quhen he saw sua (III line 307)

Ingland, Ireland, and Wayls alsua,
[And] Akatane zet, with all tha. (XI line 44)

Ane hundreth thoudand men and ma.
And fourty thousand war of tha (XI line 104)

Angus of ylis and but, all tha.
He of the playne-land had alsua (XI line 337)

He gert men mony pottis ma
Of a fut breid round, and all tha (XI line 365)

The butler, with [the] Erllis twa,
[Of] Desmwnd and [kildar] war tha, (XIV line 514)

Tharfor he ordanit lordis twa,
The Erll of murreff wes ane of tha, (XVII line 506)

Auchty thousand he wes and ma;
And aucht battellis he maid of tha; (XVIII line 350)

Of frans thar tane ves knychtis twa;
The lord of souly wes ane of tha, (XVIII line 472)

350. The appearance of these limited words in rhyming position coupled both with *thai* and *tha* might imply there is something more to those words than just to regard them as a copying error of John Ramsay. Whether those words (*(al)swa*, *twa* *ma*, *ga* and *ta*) had been pronounced in two ways is not certain but as far as *thai* and *tha* are concerned, they are often not orthographically distinguished in literary early Scots (Smith 1902: xxxiv). This would imply that the spellings of the two words do not necessarily reflect

pronunciation. In this line of discussion, it is interesting to find that present-day form *thae* seems to have a variation in pronunciation. According to OED its pronunciation is /ðe:, ðIə/, but *Collins Scots Dictionary* mentions it is pronounced as *they*.⁷⁶

351. Another significant facet of *thai* is that it always appears in the line-initial or line-second position as antecedent. Some of the examples are:

That thai, that war off hey parage, (I 102)
As thai that saw hym said to me. (I 388)
And thai that duellis at the logyng, (II 282)
And thai that wenys to rest all nycht (II 288)
And thai, that held on hors, in hy (II 362)
Thai that enbuschit war thame saw, (IV 412)
For thai, that dredand war to de, (IV 417)
And thai that na defens mycht mak, (V 96)
As thai that war in-to gud will (V 99)
And thai that in the castell were (V 337)
And than thai that enbuschit war (VI 417)
And thai that saw sa suddandly (VI 420)
Thai that slepand assalzeit war (VII 326)
For thai, that first assemblit wer, (VIII 306)
And thai that in the wodsyde weir, (IX 139)

The function of *thai* is to refer back to something or some words mentioned in the previous lines. We might therefore generally expect it to appear in the earlier positions in lines. Nonetheless, the systematic appearance of the sequence *thai that* is very interesting.

⁷⁶ In connection to the pronunciation of *tha* and *thai*, it might be worth mentioning two place names appearing in this text *Yla* and *Gallowa*. The former is now written *Islay* but the older spelling is closer to present-day pronunciation /aila:/ (Johnston 1903: 212). The latter, now *Galloway*, is written in *Gall-ghaidhealaibh* or *Gallobha* in Scottish Gaelic, seeming close to the spelling in this text. Nonetheless, there seem to be very complex background in the emergence of the both Gaelic and modern spellings in the latter name, which can be only handled by experts (see detail in Mackenzie 1931: 76-78).

352. Though *thir* and *thai* are the regular forms for THESE and THOSE respectively in this text, there existed different varieties of demonstrative systems in the contemporaries to this text. One interesting system is that singular *this*, *that* and also indefinite article *ane* ‘a’ premodify plural nouns in collective sense in Middle Scots and northern ME (Smith 1902: xxxv), e.g. *this wanis*⁷⁷ (*wanis* is plural of *wane* ‘dwelling’), *bat innis*⁷⁸ (*innis* is plural of *in* ‘lodgings, quarters’) and *ane boundis*⁷⁹ (*boundis* is plural of *bound* ‘the boundary or limits of a territory’). It is this usage of *this* and *that* preserved in the present-day Aberdeenshire dialect called ‘Broad Buchan’ in such phrases *this neeps* ‘turnips’ and *that neeps* whereas those become *thir neeps* and *thae neeps* in Central Scots (Smith 1902: xxxv). This construction of singular demonstrative and plural nouns, hence, has to be distinguished from the other dialectal usage in which *this* and *that* combined with plural forms do not necessarily have collective meanings. Also, it has to be differentiated from *this* and *that* used in referring to mass noun in southwestern areas, about which we have already mentioned (see 341).

⁷⁷ *Rauf Coilzear*, from Appendix p.264 line 31 in Smith 1902.

⁷⁸ *Cursor Mundi*, 15407 from Notes in Smith 1902 p. x

⁷⁹ *Gavin Douglas*, from Appendix p116 line 21 in Smith 1902.

4. 3 The evolution of demonstratives in the history of WRY English

4. 3. 1 Demonstratives in present day WRY dialect and their distribution

353. According to the Basic Material of SED⁸⁰ a frequent equivalent for THESE in present-day WRY dialect is *these* and less frequent ones are *these here/two* types and that a frequent equivalent for THOSE is *them* and less frequent ones are *them there/two* types (see Map 31 and Map 32 in Appendix 1 for the geographical distribution). *These* appears in the northern and southeastern areas whereas *these here/two* types appear in the central west and the southwestern areas. The distribution pattern of the former roughly overlaps with that of *them* and the latter with that of *them there/two*.

354. The attachment of *two* is considered to reflect given objects (that is two coins) used for the questionnaire of SED and, hence, *these two* and *them two* might be expected to occur ubiquitously. It is interesting, however, that the occurrence of those types seems to depend on geography. So does *there here* and *them there* types.

355. Apart from the aforementioned frequent forms, there are some distinct minor forms such as *thir* in Map 31 and *thur*⁸¹, *thor*⁸² and *yon* in Map 32. *Th-r* type variants all appear along the Pennines and *yon* close to the border to ERY. *Thir* might be a remnant form of ME *yir*, from which demonstratives with opposite meaning *thur* and *thor* might have emerged, consequently corresponding to ablaut distinction; front vowel correlated to

⁸⁰ *The linguistic Atlas of England* includes maps for 'these' (M82) and 'those' (M83), but they do not exactly reflect the Basic Materials recorded in SED. The map legend THIR in M82 encompasses *thur* and *thor* without distinguishing them from the key word THIR, and also *yon* is missed out in M83.

⁸¹ Transcribed from [ðwə tə].

⁸² Transcribed from [ðɔː].

nearness and back vowel to distance, similar to the standard forms *these* and *those*. *Yon* seems to have expanded its original semantic function of ‘remote-ness’ to cover ‘far-ness’ as well. In order for this to have happen, we can assume that the distinction between ‘far’ and ‘remote’ might have no longer been structurally made.

356. When the above two maps are compared with the distribution maps of prototypical ME variants (that is, Map 21 and Map 22 in Appendix1), there seems to be quite a difference in the way that regular forms spread. There are two separate regular forms found in the north and in the south in the ME maps whereas there is single form *these* and *them* commonly spread in the north and the south. However, we may be able to mention one thing common to the two sets of maps. It is noticeable that it is always the central area where various complex systems appear. Furthermore, distinct minor forms always appear in the established border areas in the present-day dialectal maps and so do distinct variants in the ME maps (see Chapter 3. 2. 1 for the description).

4. 3. 2 Comparison of prototypical ME forms and present dialectal forms

357. In the ME WRY texts we have observed that the most frequent recorded variants for THESE are *yise*, *yese*, *yes* and *yir* and the most frequent recorded variants for THOSE are *ya* and *yo* (see 247). When these prototypical ME forms are compared with regular present-day dialectal forms (Table 98), we cannot seem to find any clear formal diachronic continuities, except for *yese* and *these* (and *yir* and rare present-day variant *thir*).

Table 98: Prototypical demonstrative forms in ME and present-day in WRY

	Near	Far
ME	yise, yese, yes, yir	ya, yo
Present-day	<i>these</i>	<i>them</i>

358. Though the present-day dialectal *these* is identical to the standard form, its pronunciation in Yorkshire is /ðia̯z, ðəiz/ (SED) and not /ði:z/ as in RP pronunciation. This pronunciation seems to represent more closely several minor forms *yies*, *yiese*, *yijs*, *thies*, *yeis*, *peys*, *theis* attested in various ME texts. On the basis of pronunciation, it might be possibly included as one of the process of reorganization the assumption that when the standard form first spread, it simply introduced the spelling without changing its local pronunciation already prevalent in the various areas within the WRY. It is this spelling with the regional pronunciation which possibly later spread to the peripheral parts of the Riding as a local standard.

Unlike *these*, an attempt to formulate some kind of evolutionary continuity from ME *ya* and *yo* to present-day *them* is not straightforward as it is hardly feasible that the former produced the latter. Understanding the emergence of *them* requires a much broader framework, one which goes beyond a clear-cut grammatical categorisation of demonstrative or personal pronouns.

4. 3. 3 Understanding the occurrence of *them*

359. THOSE appears more or less in similar proportions in five WRY *Prick of Conscience* texts and we have seen two different processes of systemic functional

reorganization based on the two distinct forms (*þose* and *þo* types) in the texts located in the north and in the south of the WRY. Whether this system evidenced in the written materials can also been adopted structurally into speech in those areas in the ME period is of course not known.

360. In the large central area, conversely, it is very difficult to generalize any possible process of systemic reorganization due to various mixed and complex systems. Nonetheless, this complex state of demonstrative systems in the large central area might be considered as one of the causes which promoted the choice of *them* for inter dialectal communication. Its repeated selection in speech, possibly influenced and aided by intra- and extra- language factors from outside of the WRY, secured the demonstrative usage of *them*. However, it might be erroneous to assume the emergence of the demonstrative *them* is by itself responsible for the diverse and intricate demonstrative systems in the central areas. It is more than possible that *them* was already used as demonstrative well before it is evidenced as present-dialectal usage.

361. The emergence of demonstrative *them* has already been discussed in Chapter 2 (see 110 – 114) and a simple summary of that discussion should suffice here. A minor OE variant of demonstrative *þæge* (<OE *þā*, and later spelt *they/thay* in ME), possibly used for emphatic purposes, was adopted into nominative third person plural pronoun when the OE syntactic system became dysfunctional. The availability of equivalent Norse words might have accelerated this process, particularly in some parts of the north which experienced intensive Scandinavian settlement. During the process of accommodation of the original marked demonstrative into personal pronoun, *they* lost its emphatic element

and became unmarked, hence creating a vacant slot for deictic demonstrative. This slot was filled by the introduction of another demonstrative *them* (<OE *þā̃m/þām*) for that function. This suppletion was only possible because regular pronunciation of the oblique form is /ə̃m/ or /m/ (<OE *hem/heom*) in the north (Wright 1892 §350) (as well as in the south).

4. 4 Explaining the history of the English demonstratives

362. The demonstrative *these* and *those* may be considered as being very susceptible to change in the history of the English language. This susceptibility might come from their characteristics that allow greater variation. A huge number of variants existed in the ME period, as we can see in LALME that records no fewer than forty-seven separate variants for THESE alone (Smith: forthcoming b). Not all the variants from the past have survived in the present-day. The survival (or otherwise) of variants depends on whether they had undergone reorganization to fit the language system in which they appeared.

363. One of the important mechanisms that trigger the change is analogy. We have seen how analogy would have played a role in the formation of standard forms in the addition of adjective plural maker *-e* to *this/thes* to create the plural forms *this-e/thes-e* as well as in the addition of pronoun plural marker *-s(e)* to *tho*, creating plural form *those*. The former occurred earlier probably because of its rather strong adjectival characteristics, which is also seen in other variants as well e.g. *yir-e* and *yer-e*.

364. The operation of analogy is not, of course, limited to the standard forms: there are many other alternative paths in the development of the non-standard forms as well. Some of the selected proximal and distal sets of variants show their interesting contrast. SED has *theys* - *they* (in Ex), *thesen* - *thosen* (in Sal), *thir* - *thur/thor* (in WRY), *thick* (in Hrf, Gl, So) - *thuck* (in Wlt). Also EDD lists *theas(e)/theeas(e)* - *thoase/thooase* (in Yorkshire).

365. Except for the first set, all the rest have similar consonant configuration: all start

with *th*- and end with various identical suffix-like elements or fossil inflectional endings. In addition, they all have a similar vowel distinction: front vowel for proximal and back vowel for distal, which association is also found in the standard set of forms *these/those*. This phonaesthetic association probably is related to another part of complex story of emergence of the English demonstratives and would explain a possible semantic shift of ME northern *þas* (<OE *þās* ‘these’) to ‘those’, becoming synonymous with *þa* (<OE *þā* ‘those’), when *þir* were more and more used with proximal meaning.

366. Although semantic shift is also a very important element, it is usually very difficult to detect in the historical inquiries. However, how easily the relation of spatio-concept and the demonstratives that refer to the concept can be altered in the non-standard usage might be demonstrated by the responses to the SED questionnaire. Some informants use *these* in the situation where ‘those’ is expected and others use *those*, *they* and *them* when ‘these’ is expected (see 88-93). Besides this ambiguity regarding the proximal and distal concept, ambiguity of number distinction is also seen by the fact that *this* and *that* are respectively used for ‘these’ and ‘those’ (see 88-93). A very extreme case is *thik* as it can be used irrespective of number and physical distance to reference (see 94, 95). Also, we have noted the very different usage of *this* and *that* in the southwestern area and in Aberdeen: in the former they are used to refer to mass nouns whereas in the latter they are used to refer to collective nouns.

367. Variants are continually produced regionally and socially, but they have to be collectively and repeatedly chosen to cause diachronic change. The process of selection may often be clearly observed in border regions. In texts located in such areas, some variants are more preferred than other variants in order to avoid systemic functional

ambiguity. The functional account of southward movement of a series of Norse-derived forms of *they*, *though* and *those* has already been noted (see Chapter 4. 2. 1. 3). Also, in our examination of demonstratives in the WRY, we found two different systemic selection of *bose* type variants in the north and in the south of WRY due to two separate systematic ambiguities (see 306). Such variants were probably reinterpreted as *those* when the standard form was introduced into the area. However, the fact that *those* type forms are not prevalent in many present-day dialects would support the interpretation that the adoption of *those* type forms in this instance is not simple adoption of standard usage. For this reason we have to include what we regard as third person plural pronoun *they* and *them* in the discussion of development of demonstratives since they would have been originated in the OE demonstratives.

368. Change occurs by a combination of intra- and extra- linguistic factors. We cannot, therefore, predict change. However, we may be able to say that why some variants are retained and others have gone away might ultimately depend on their functional value in communities. As long as they fulfill its function they are chosen and maintained in system. When they become dysfunctional, for whatever intra- and extra- linguistic reasons involved, they cease to be chosen and consequently they are more than likely to disappear.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

369. It is sometimes said that there is no viable theory for the explanation of language change. It is true that a theory that would explain, hence predict, all the details of linguistic phenomena is impossible in the historical study of language since linguistics does not belong to the same field of study as physical science. It is possible, however, to look back at historical evidence and from that evidence construct various tools which can be used to define elements of language change. In this thesis we have focussed on one of the stages of the evolution of demonstratives in the WRY, and from the resulting evidence we have created an explanatory tool for language change.

370. We have discovered that THESE and THOSE underwent different processes of development due to their fundamental functional differences. THESE is often used as determiner while THOSE is used both as determiner and pronoun. Because of these dual functions, combined with its formal ambiguity, THOSE was frequently replaced by functional equivalents, among which THEY and THE are the most common.

371. By examination of THEY- and THE-variants in relation to THOSE-variants, we have identified two separate processes of systemic functional selection of a certain form of THOSE in the north and in the south of the WRY. These selections both occur in order to formally disambiguate THOSE from either THEY or THE. This therapeutic choice is one step toward dynamic change as Samuels (1972: 154) remarks 'each small innovation or regulation 'prepares the way' for further ones in the same direction', and it is this step which is interpreted as one of the explanations of the cause of language change.

372. Although the findings in this thesis are relatively limited in number, we can, however, further detect various small innovations by consulting texts from ME as well as from OE, EModE, LModE and PDE from which we can systematize general synchronic and diachronic processes of development. Ultimately, such approaches greatly contribute, as a whole, to how the English language has changed in the way it has.

373. This thesis has attempted to develop a methodology whereby complex systems from the ME period can be compared and their different structures accounted for. It is of course only a preliminary attempt at such comparisons, and much further work in similar fields could be attempted.

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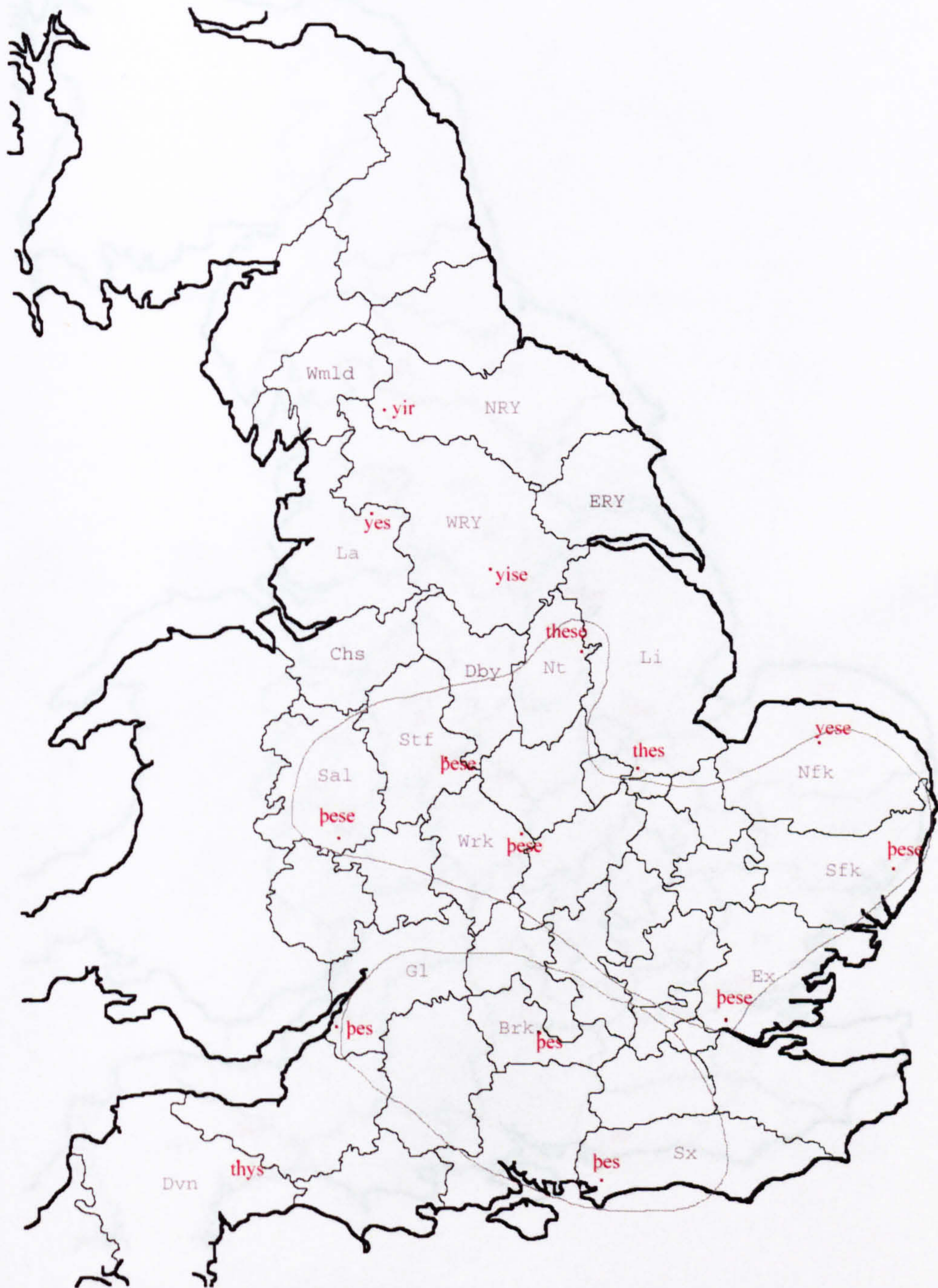
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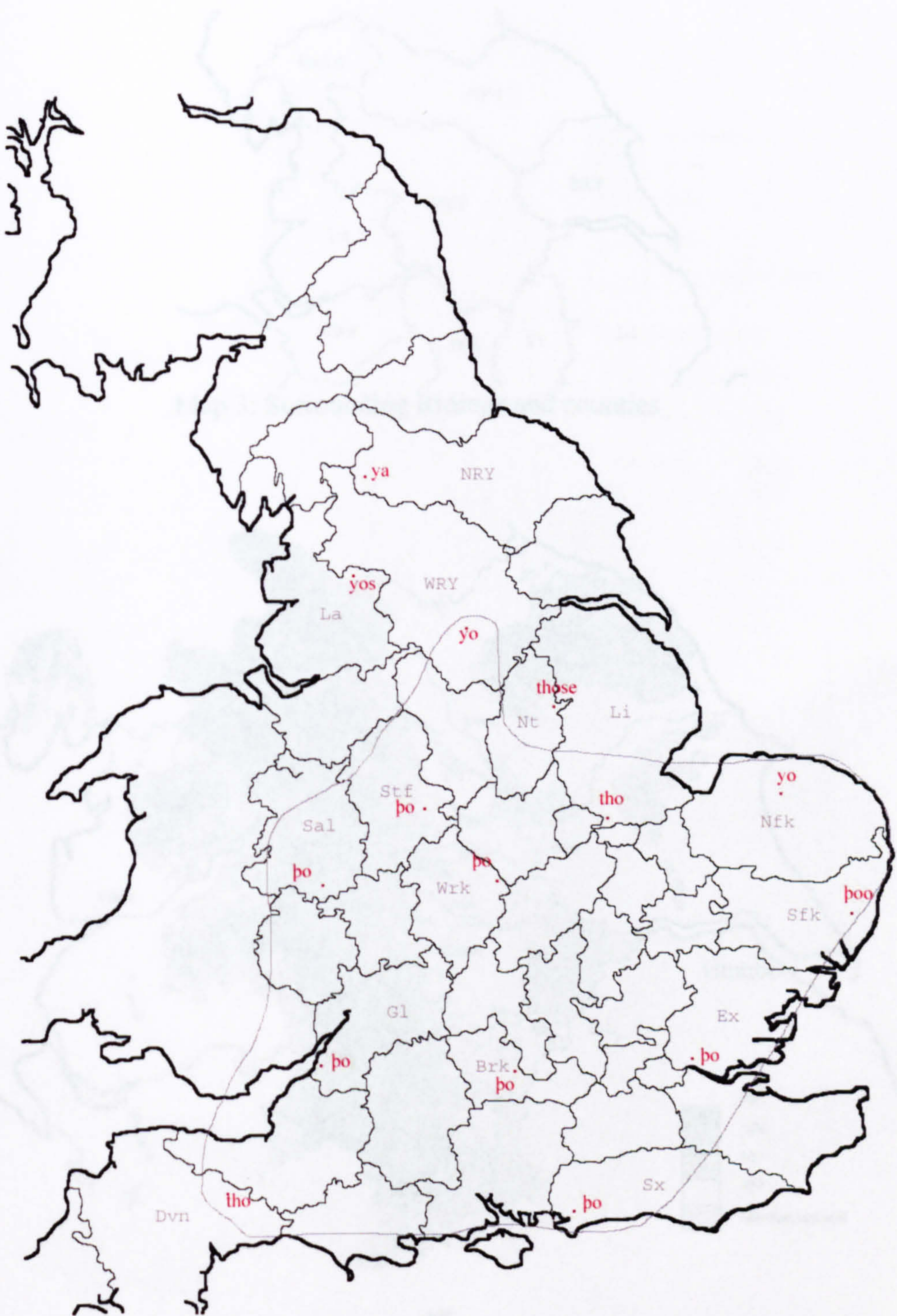
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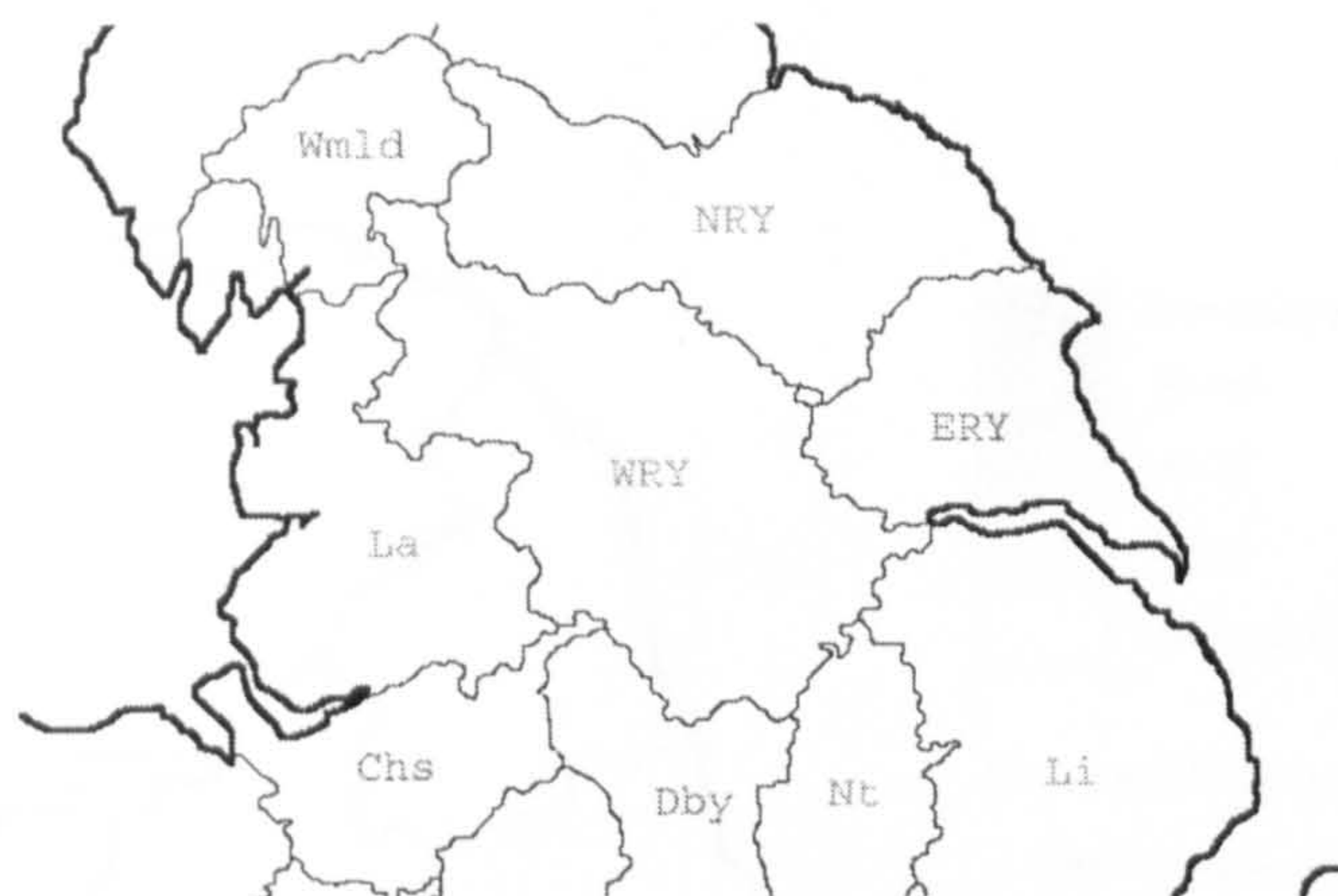
Appendix 1: Maps



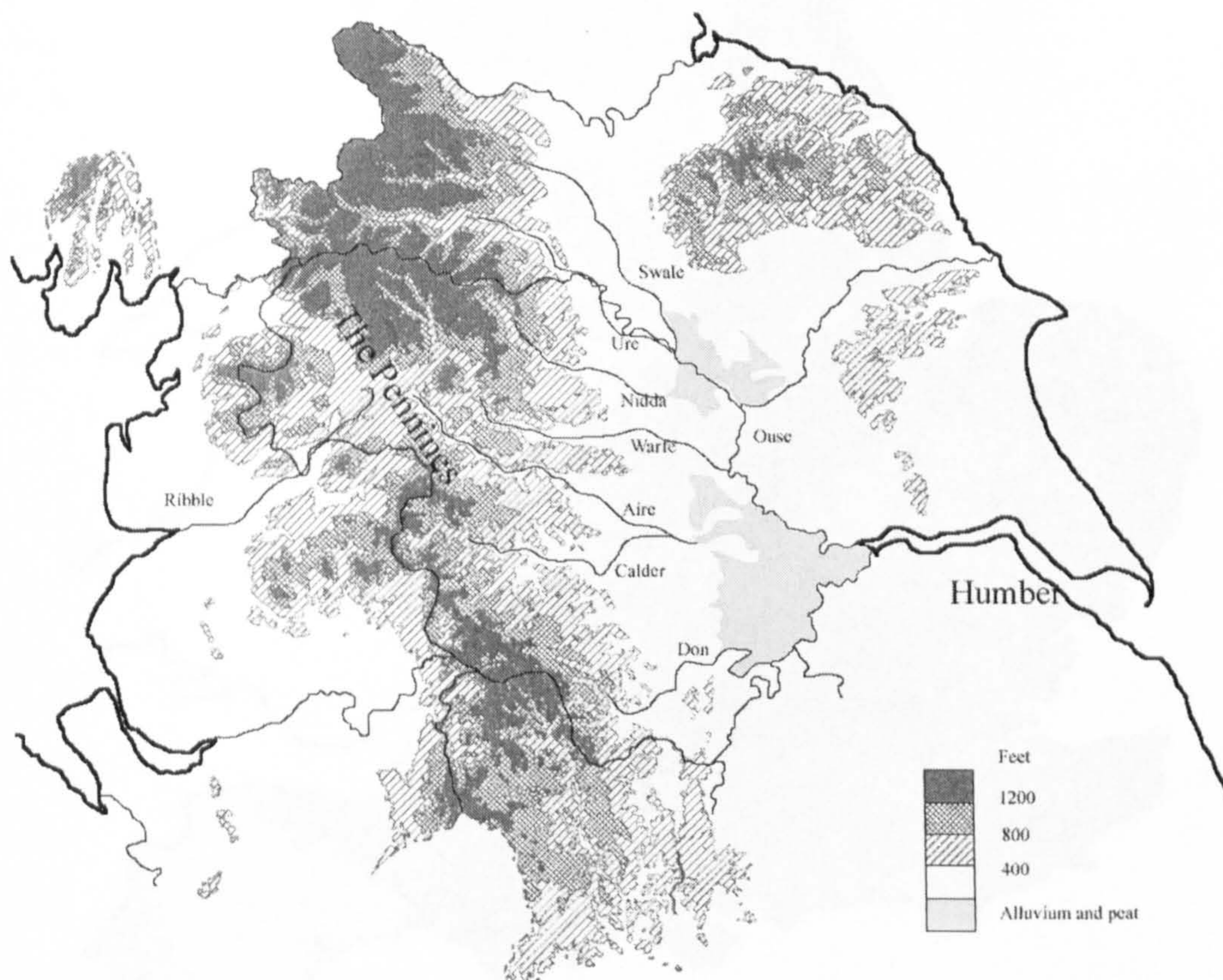
Map 1: Regular forms of THESE in fifteen localised *Prick of Conscience* texts



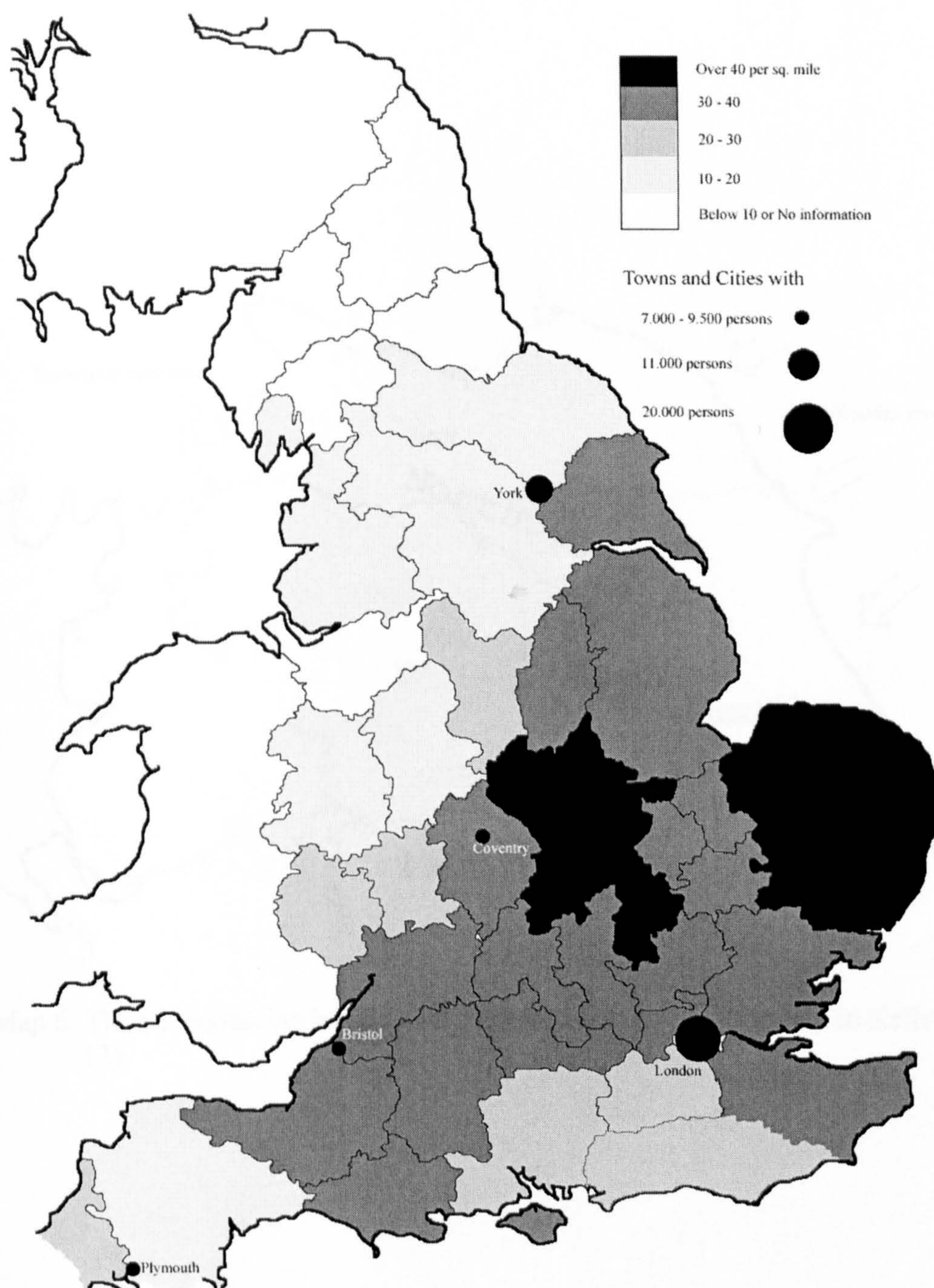
Map2: Regular forms of THOSE in fifteen localised *Prick of Conscience* texts



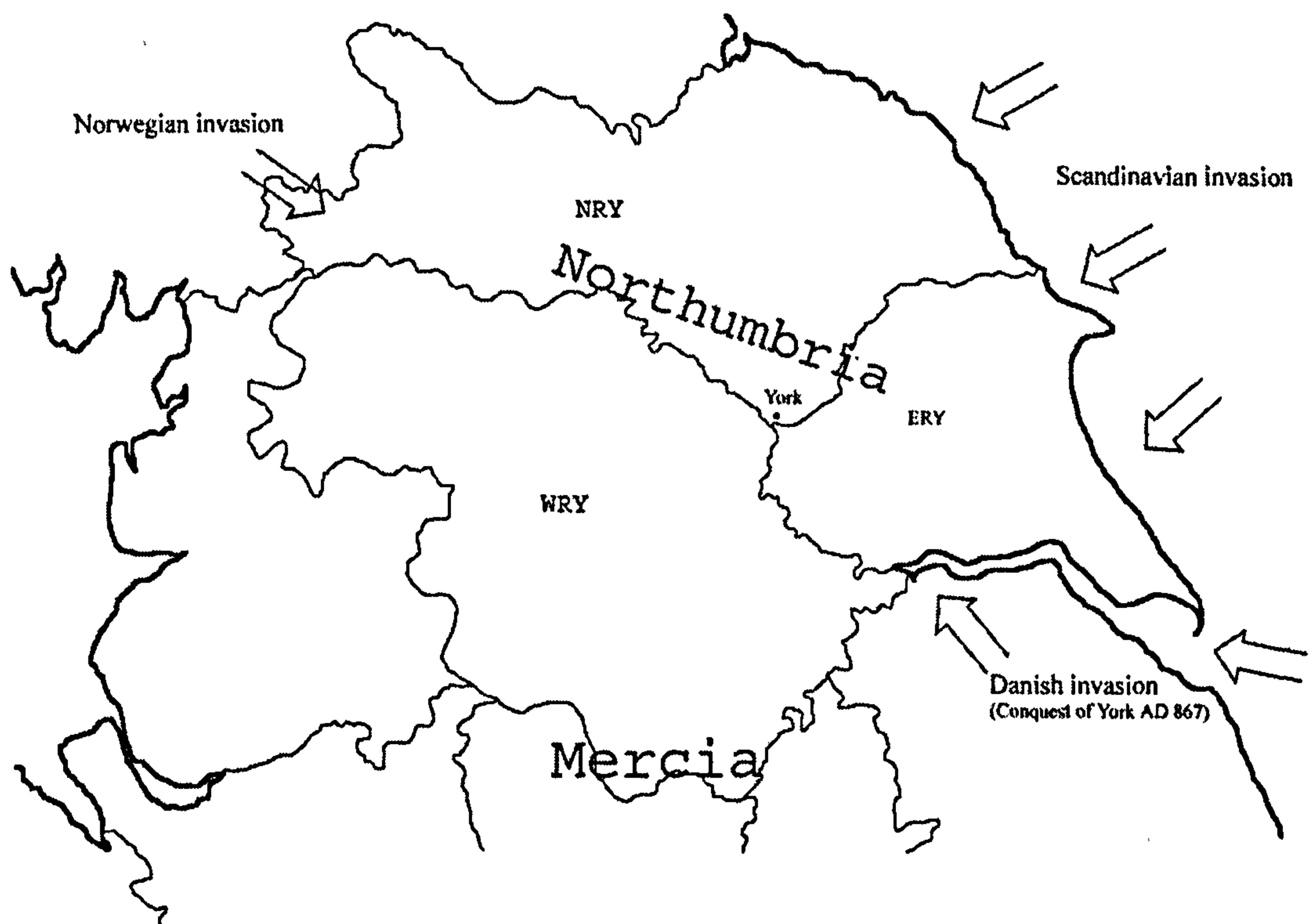
Map 3: Surrounding Ridings and counties



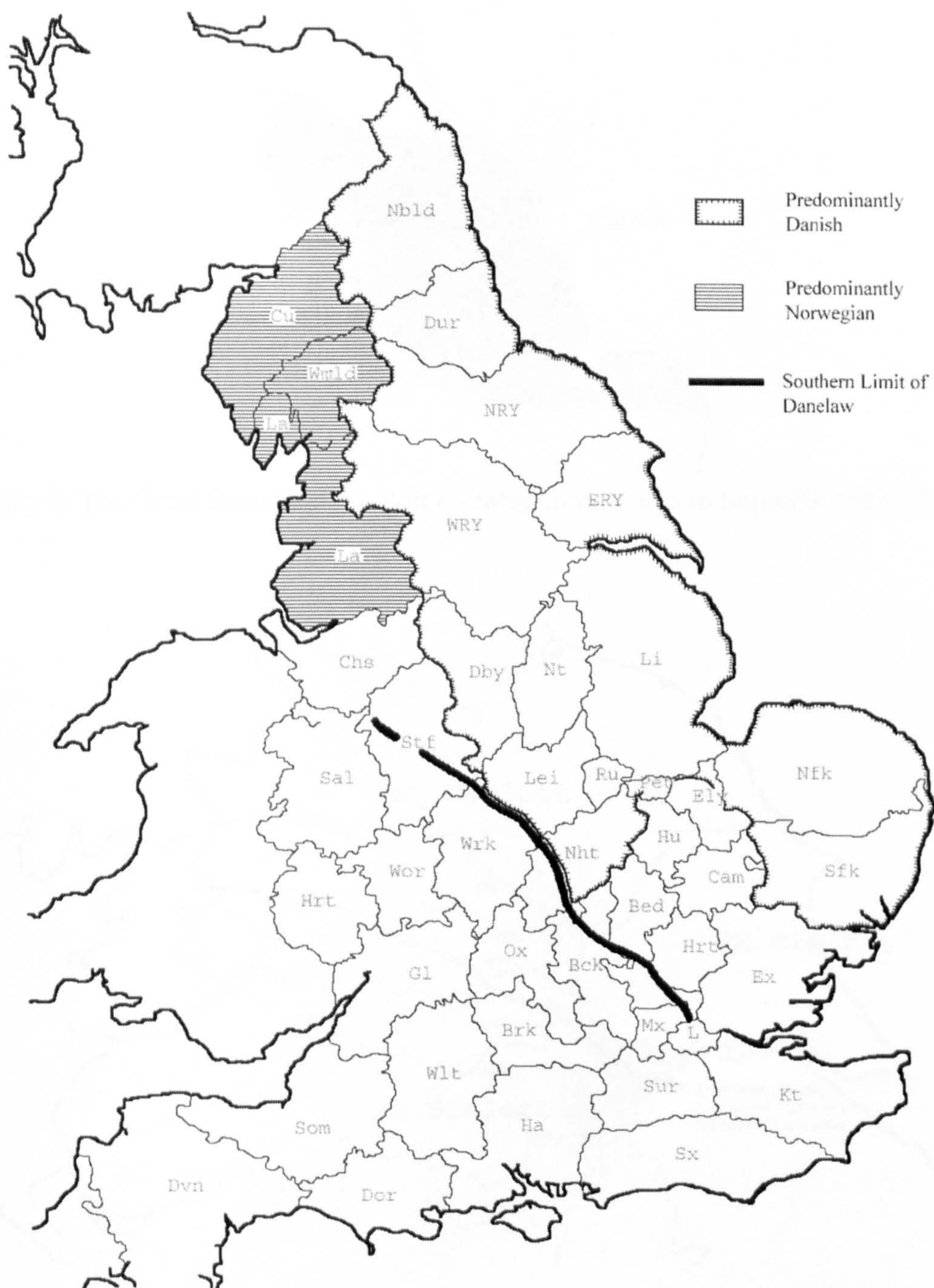
Map 4: Topographical features of WRY



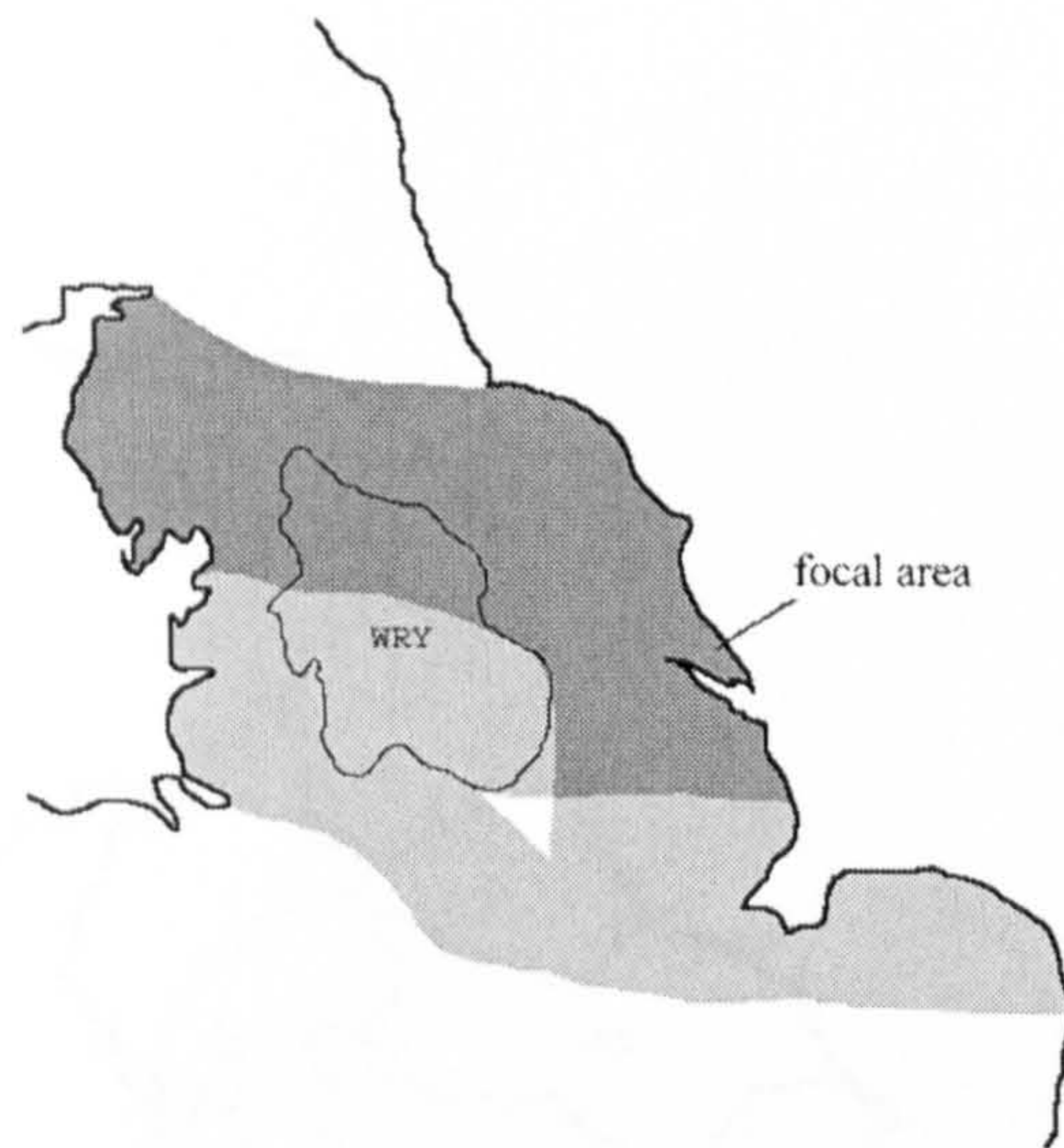
Map 5: Poll Tax Returns of 1377 (created based on Fig.30 and the description on page 233 in Darby 1951)



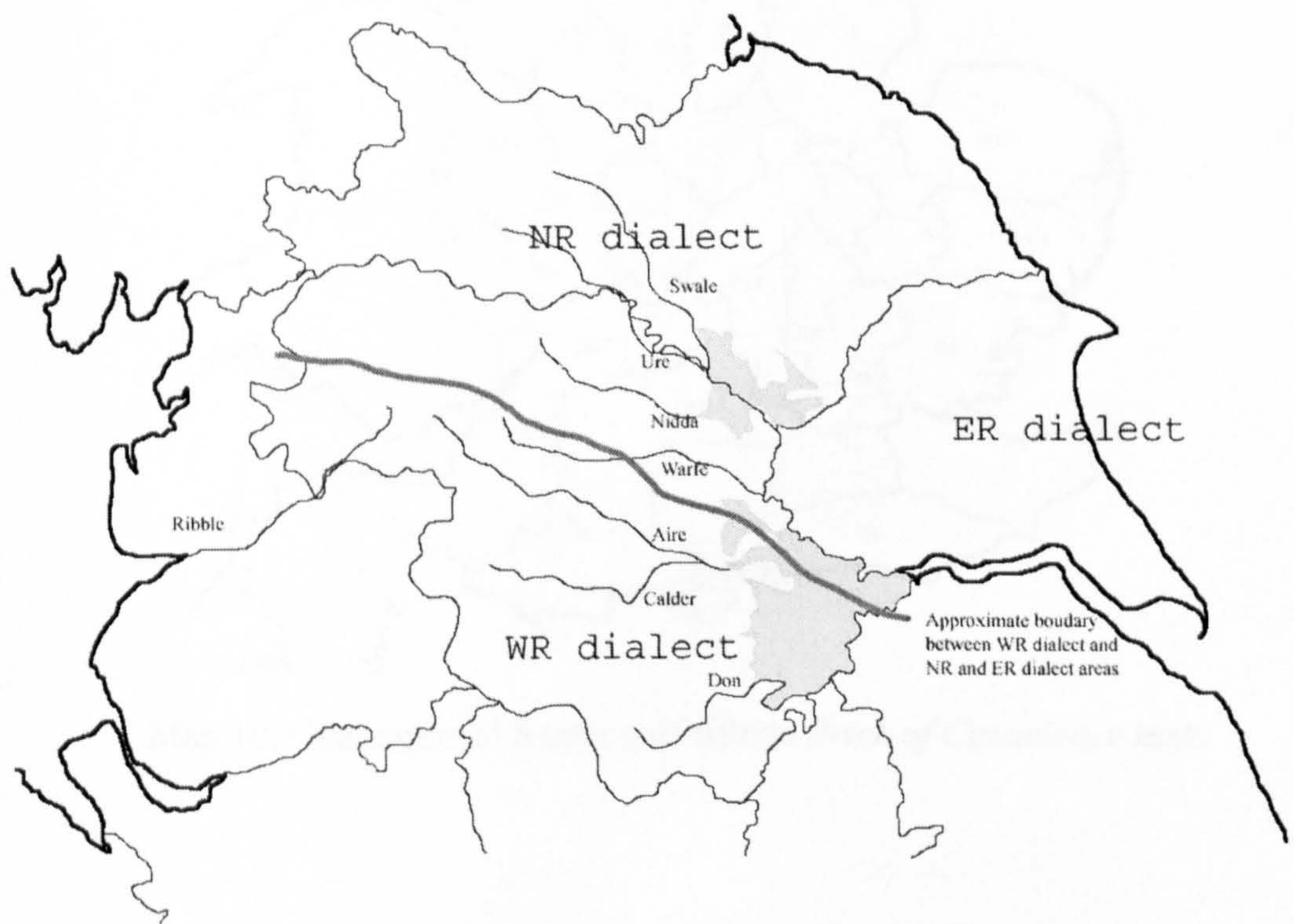
Map 6: The Scandinavian invasion of Yorkshire (created from a map in Kellet 1992: 13)



Map 7: Norse settlements in England (created from Map 7 in Haugen 1996: 139)



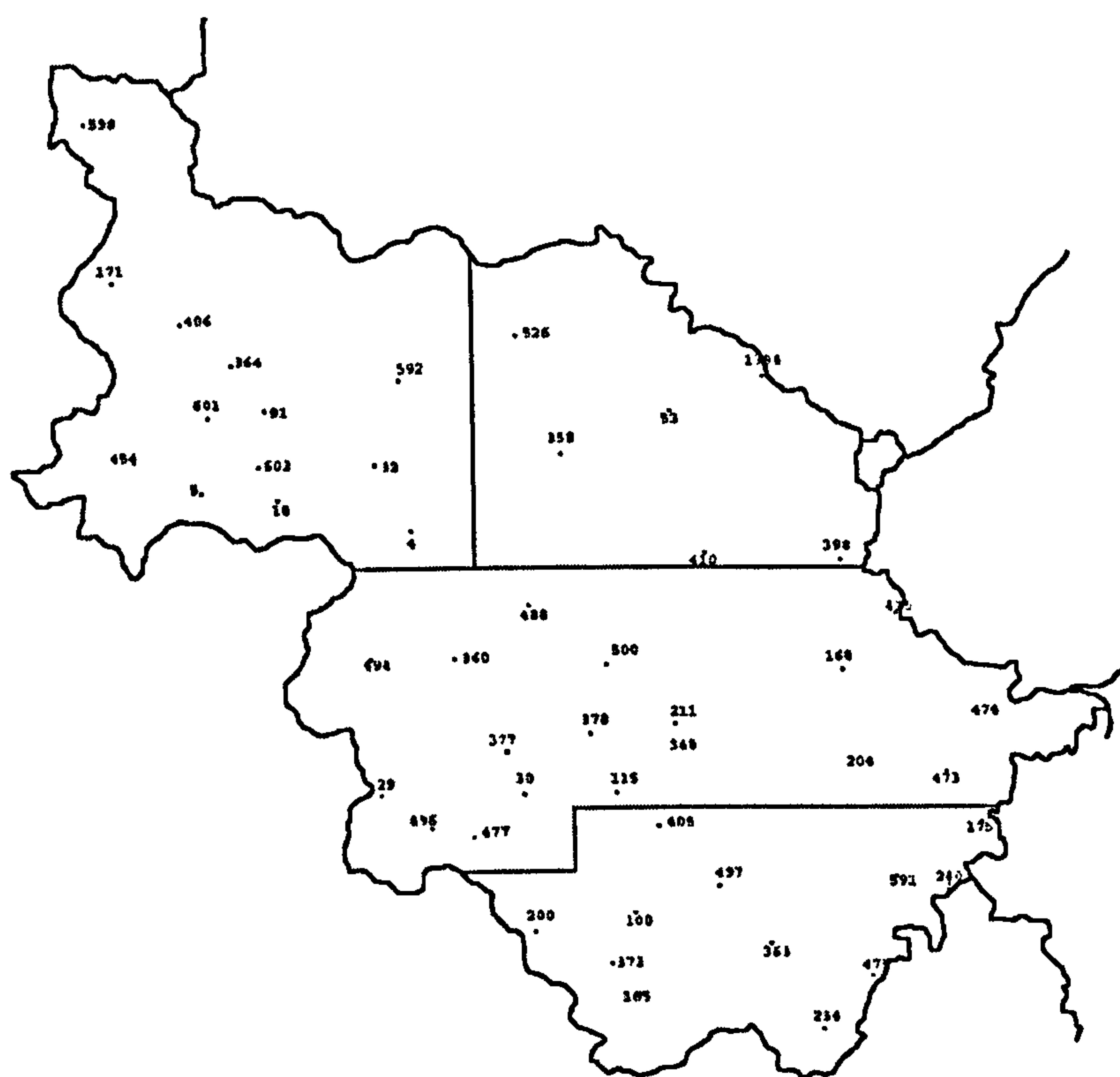
Map 8: The Great Scandinavian Belt (created from a map in Samuels 1985: 270)



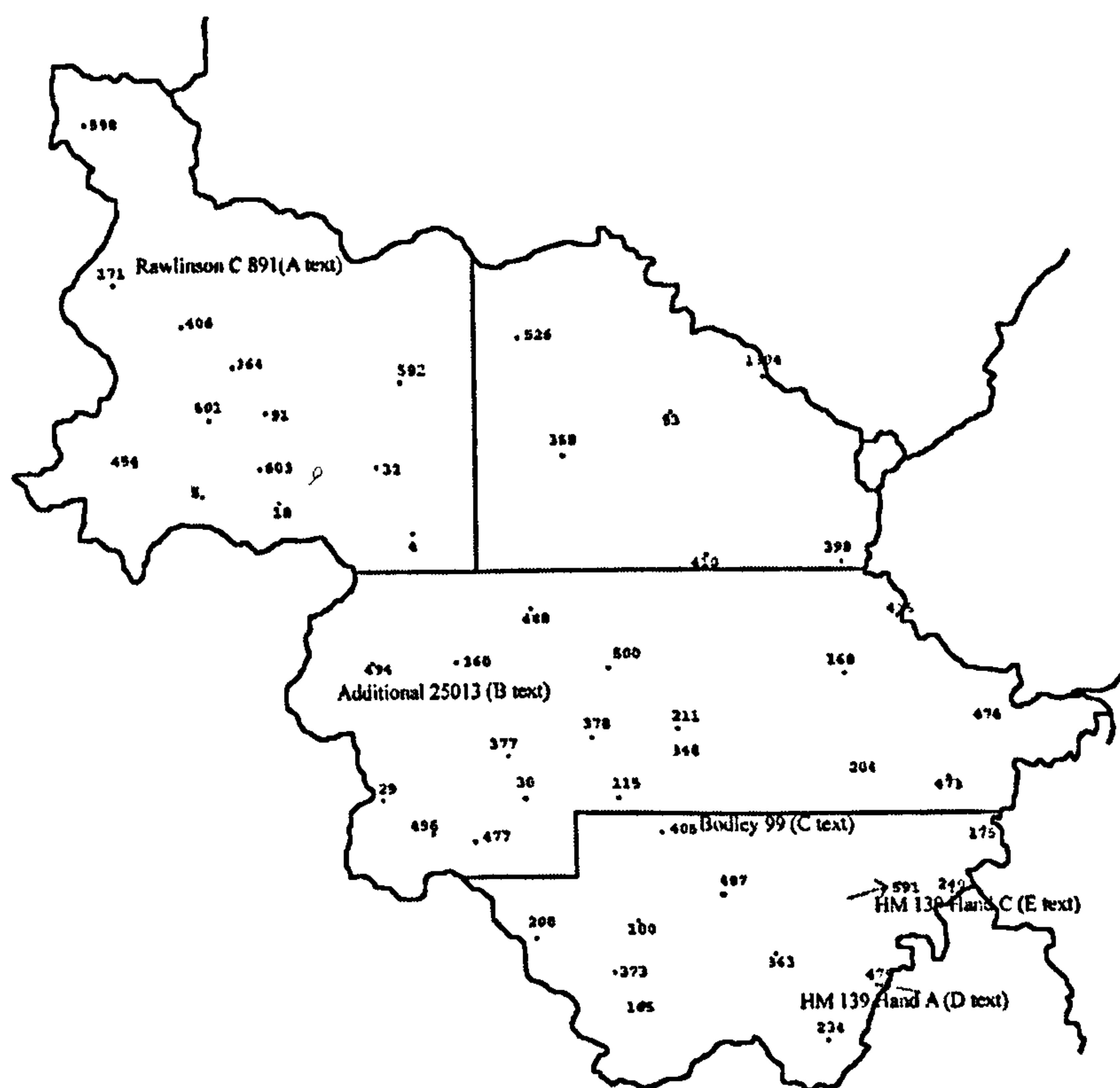
Map 9: Approximate dialect boundaries between the WRY and the E/NRY (created from Kellett 1992)



Map 10: Geographical location of fifteen *Prick of Conscience* texts



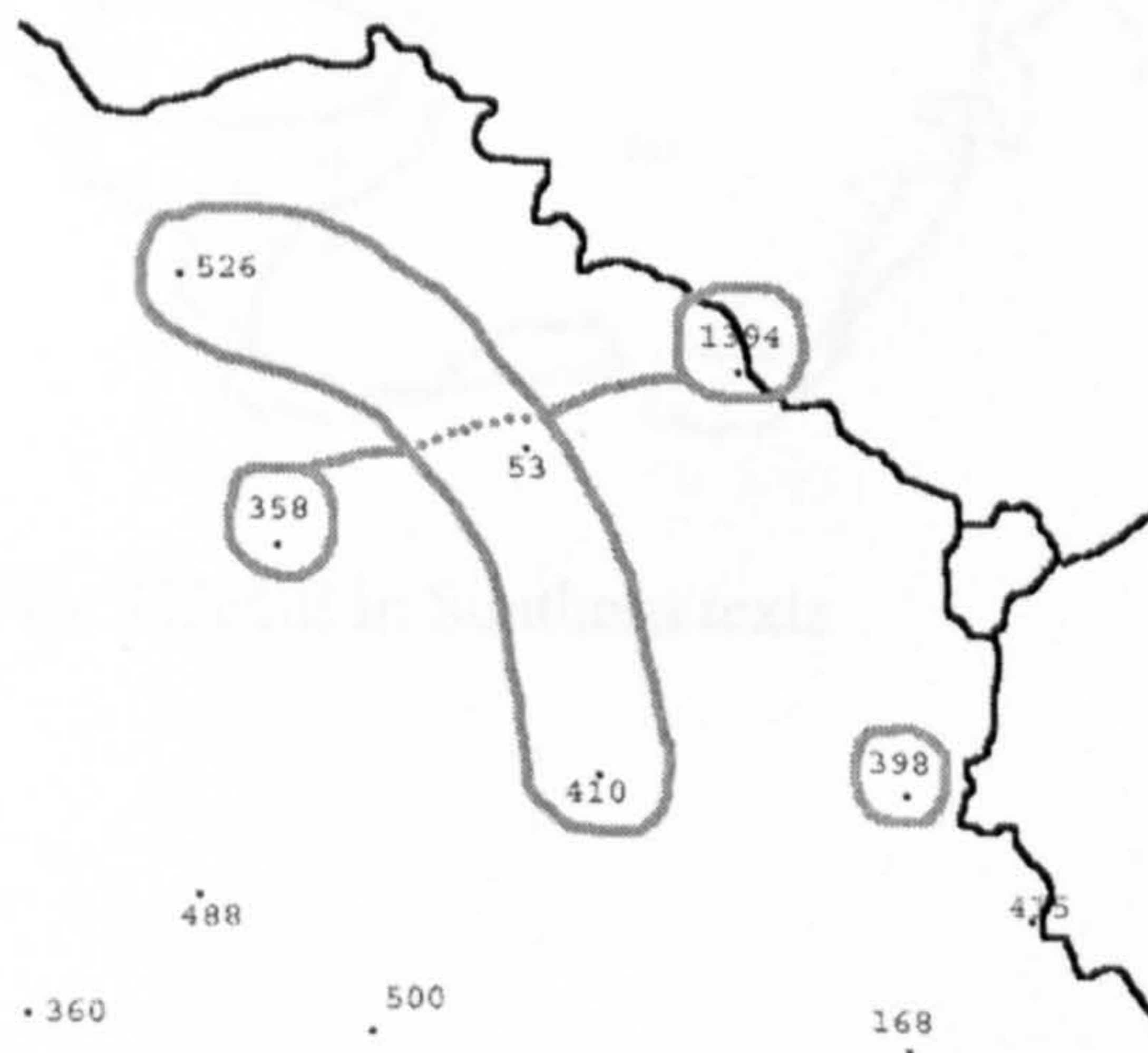
Map 11: Geographical location of all the analysed WRY texts



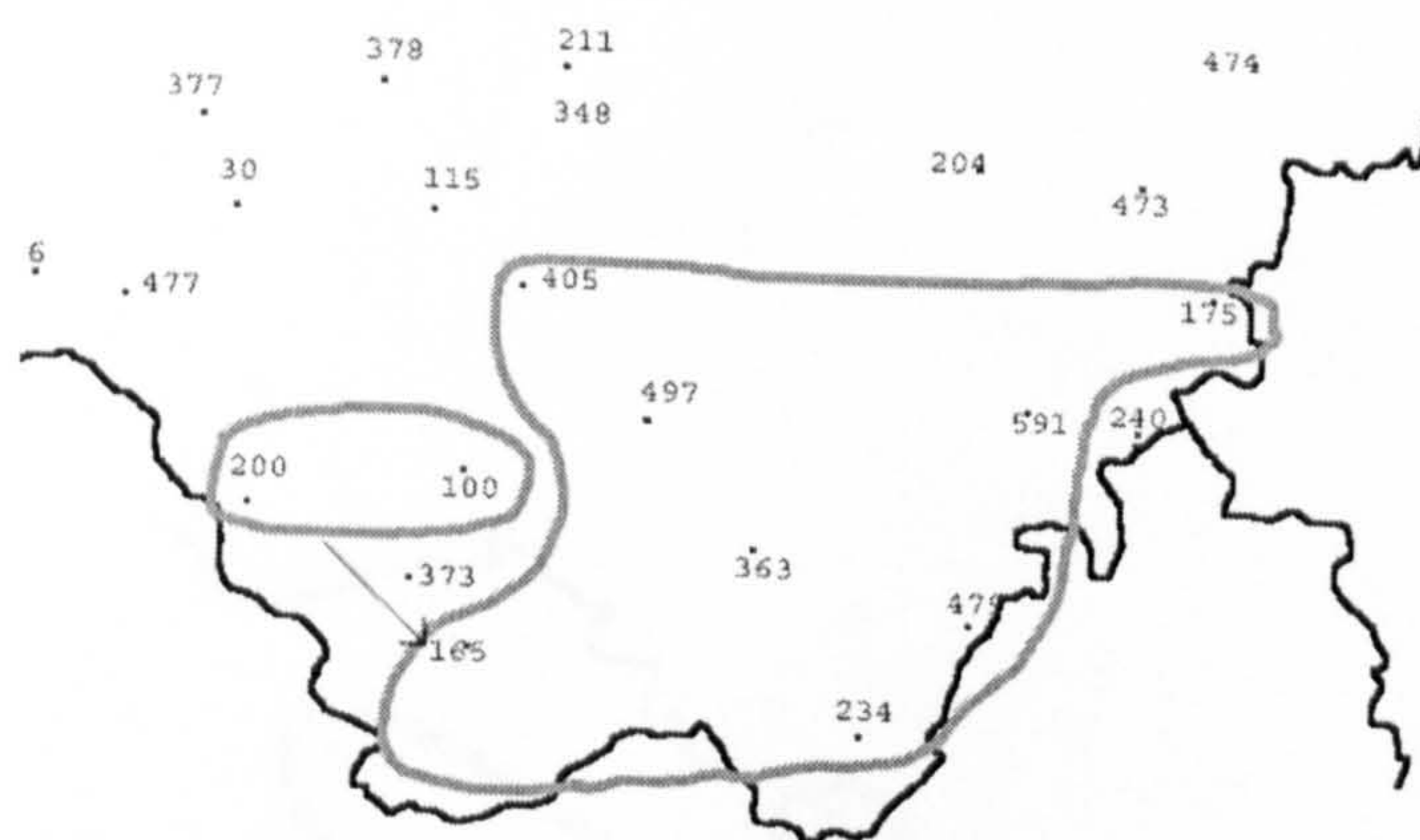
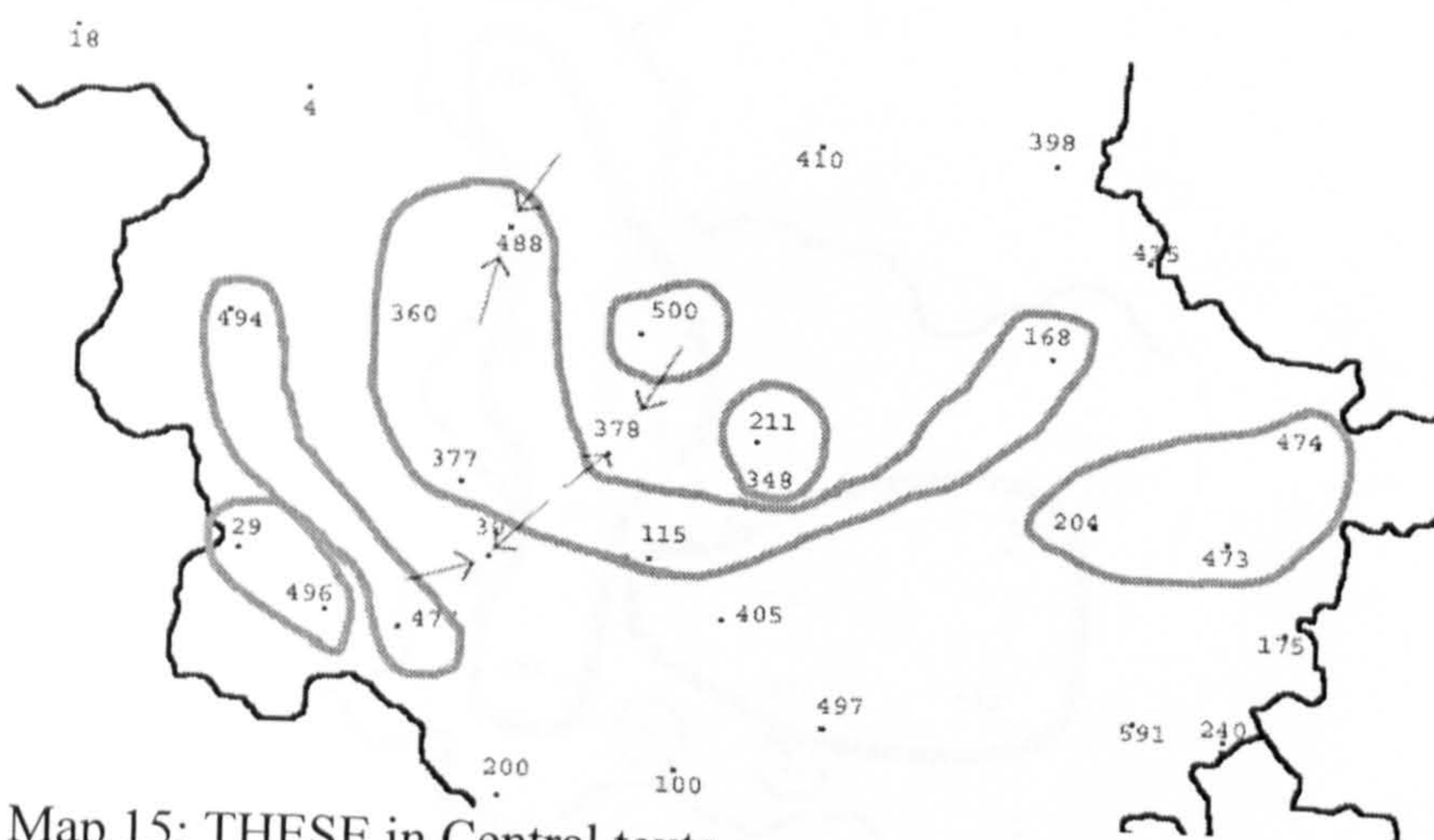
Map 12: Geographical location of five *Prick of Conscience* texts in WRY

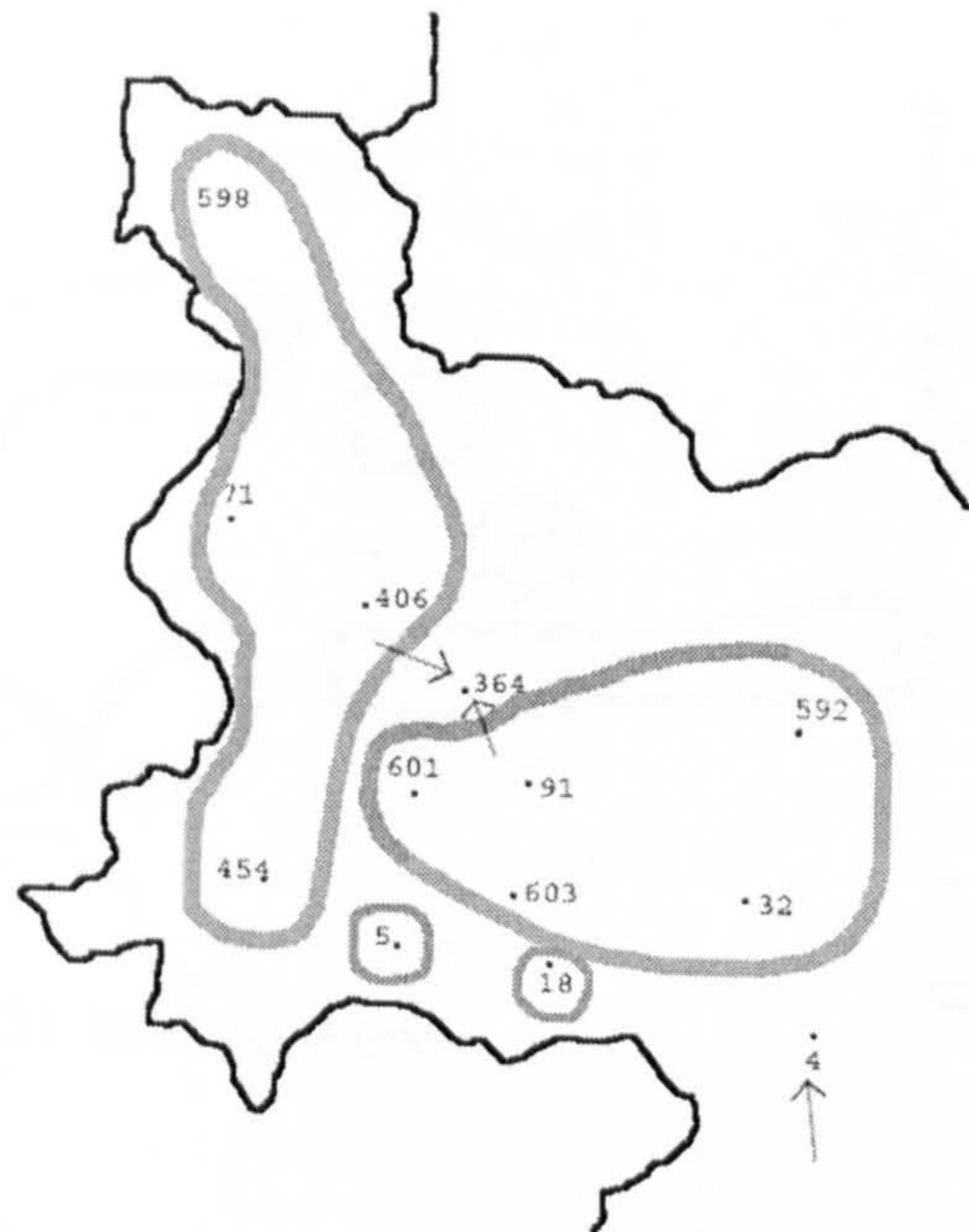


Map 13: THESE in Northwestern texts

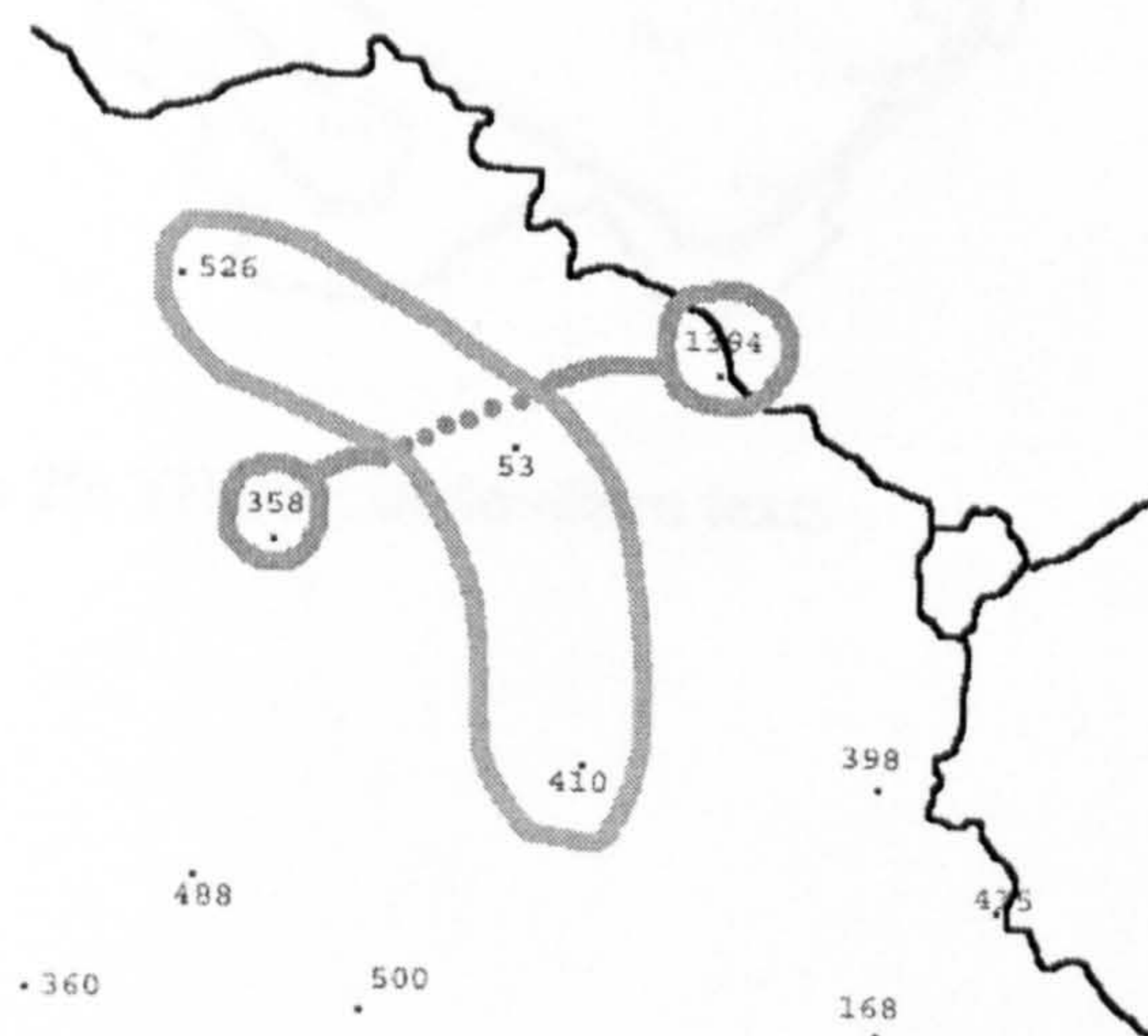


Map 14 THESE in Northeastern texts

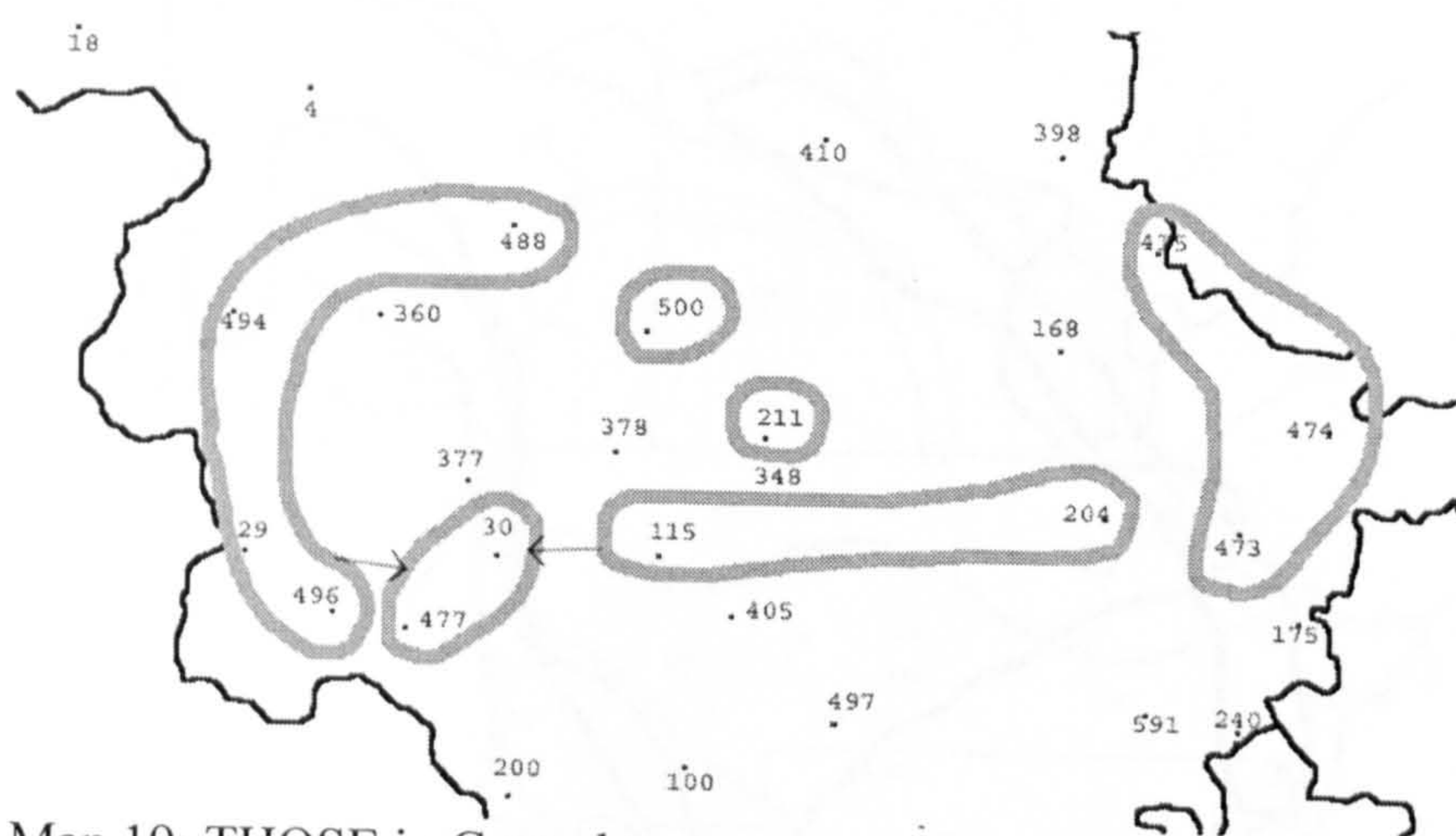




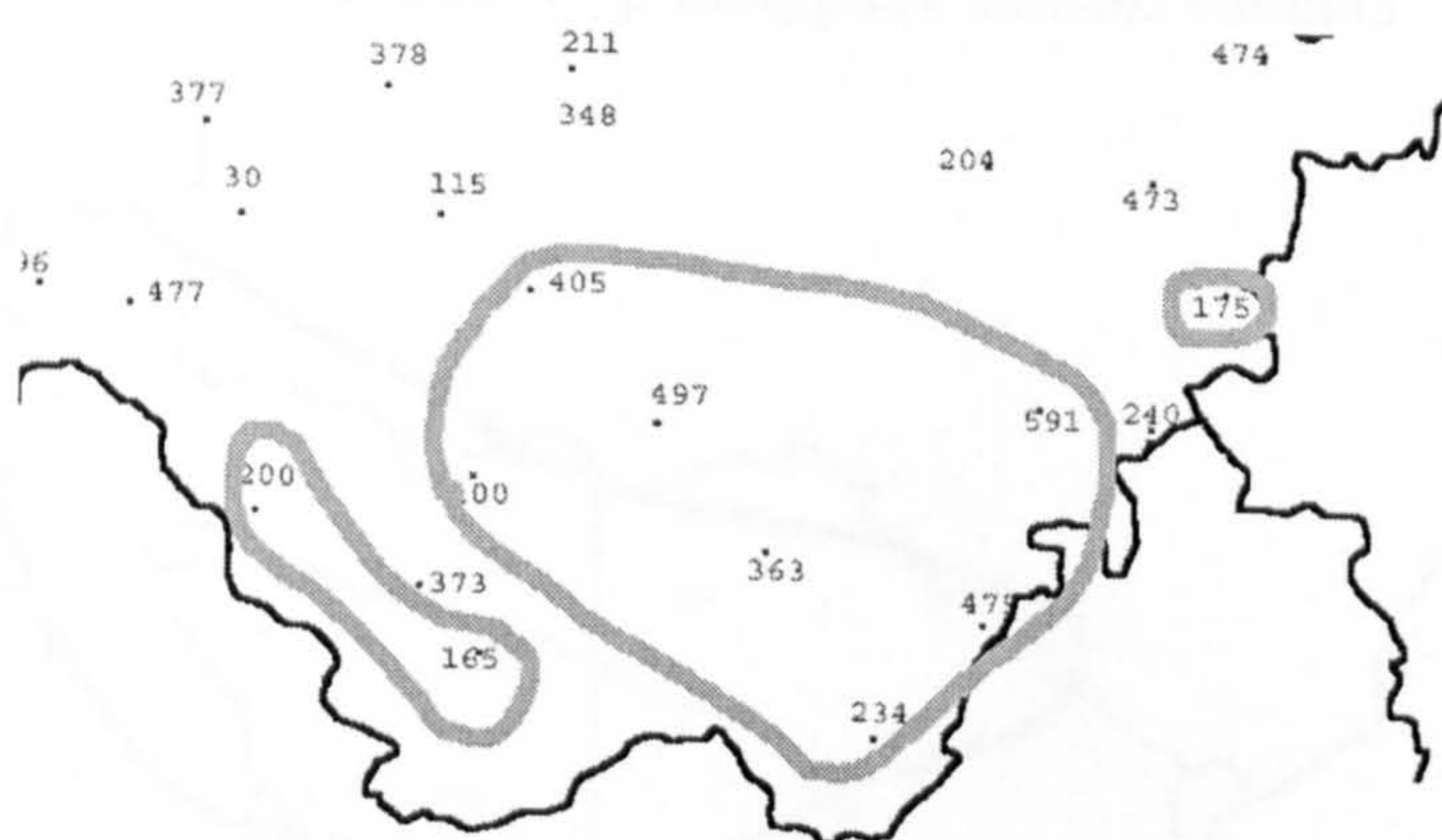
Map 17: THOSE in Northwestern texts



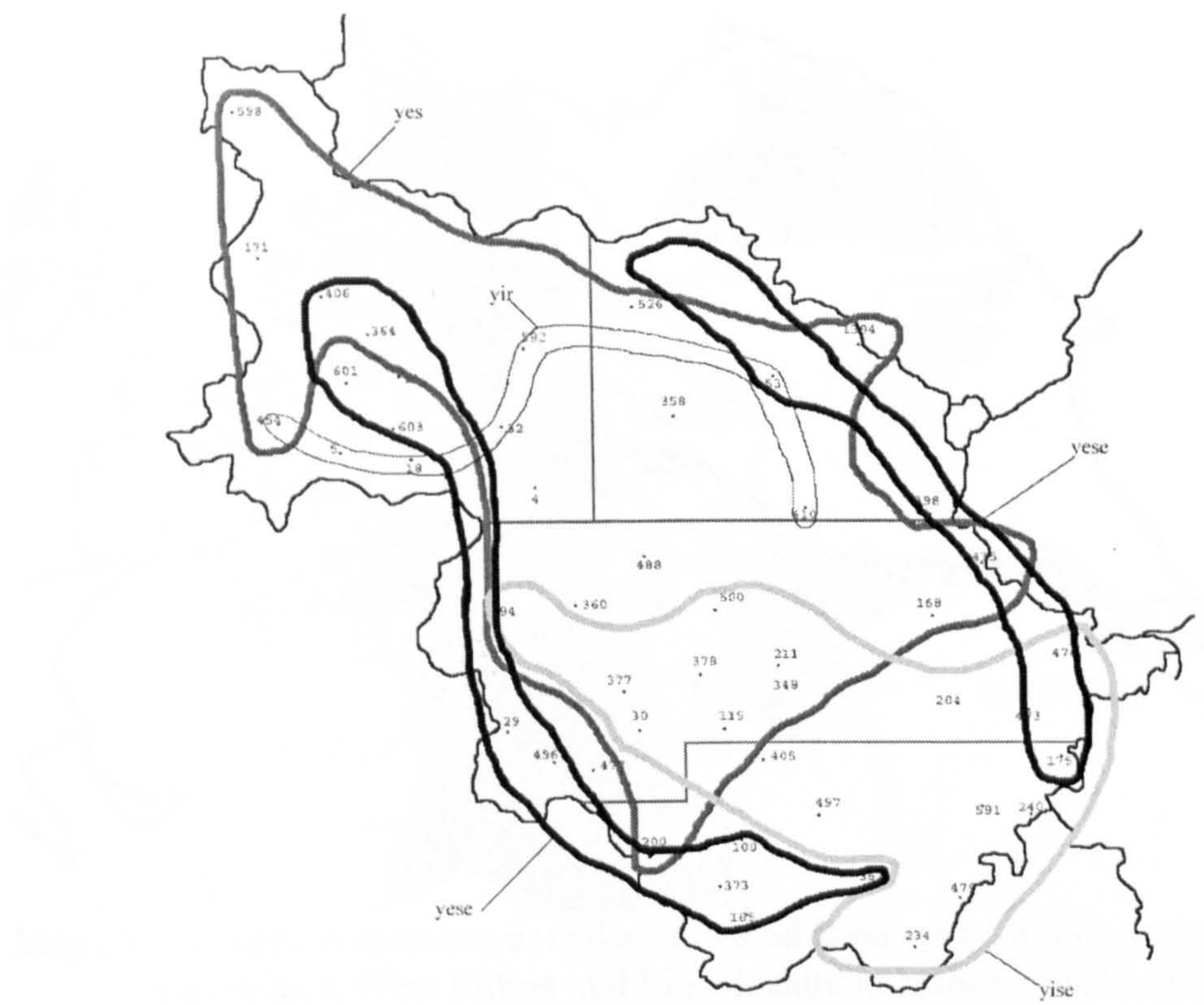
Map 18: THOSE in Northeastern texts



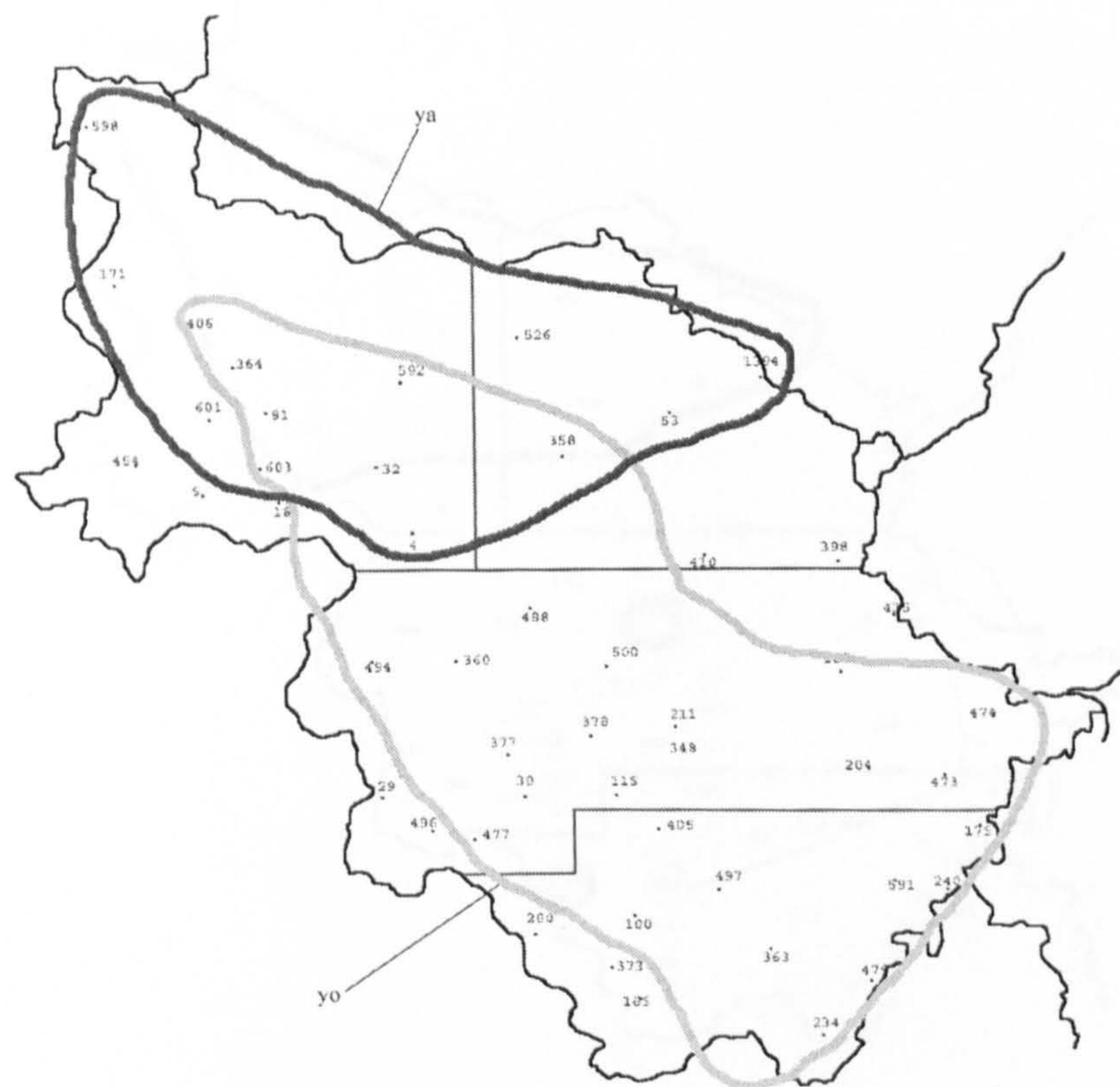
Map 19: THOSE in Central texts



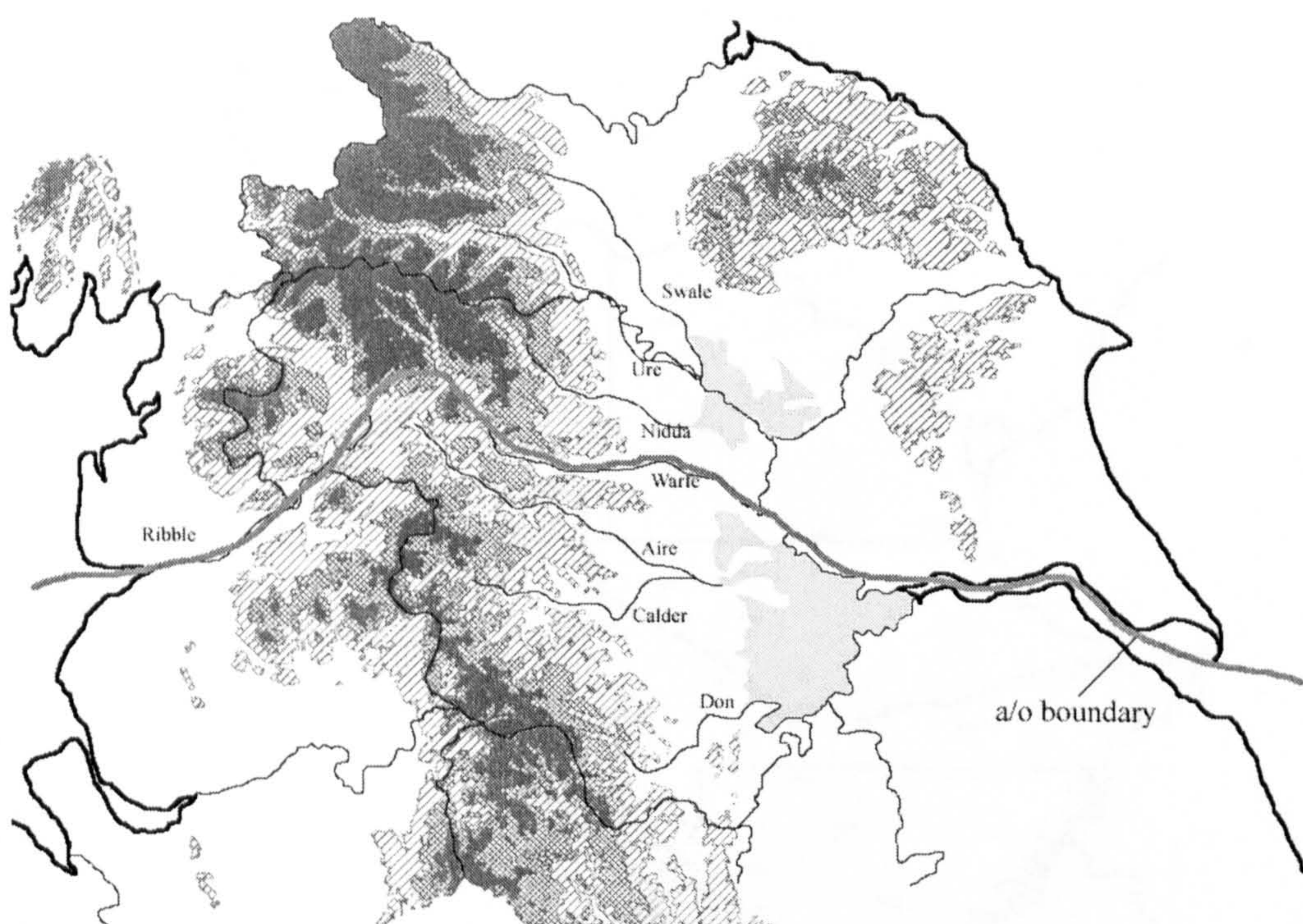
Map 20: THOSE in Southern texts



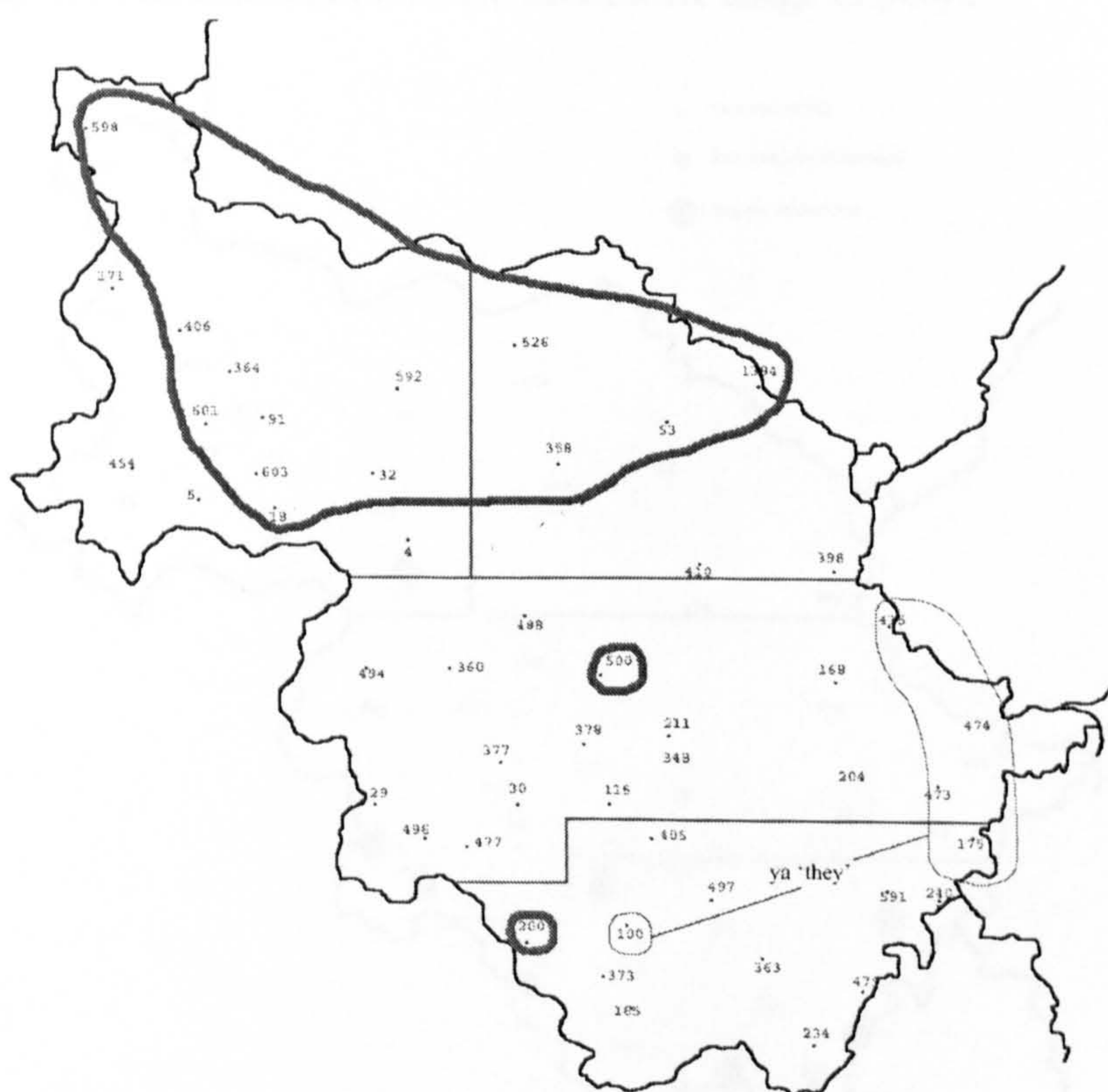
Map 21: The distribution of prototypical THESE variants



Map 22: The distribution of prototypical THOSE variants



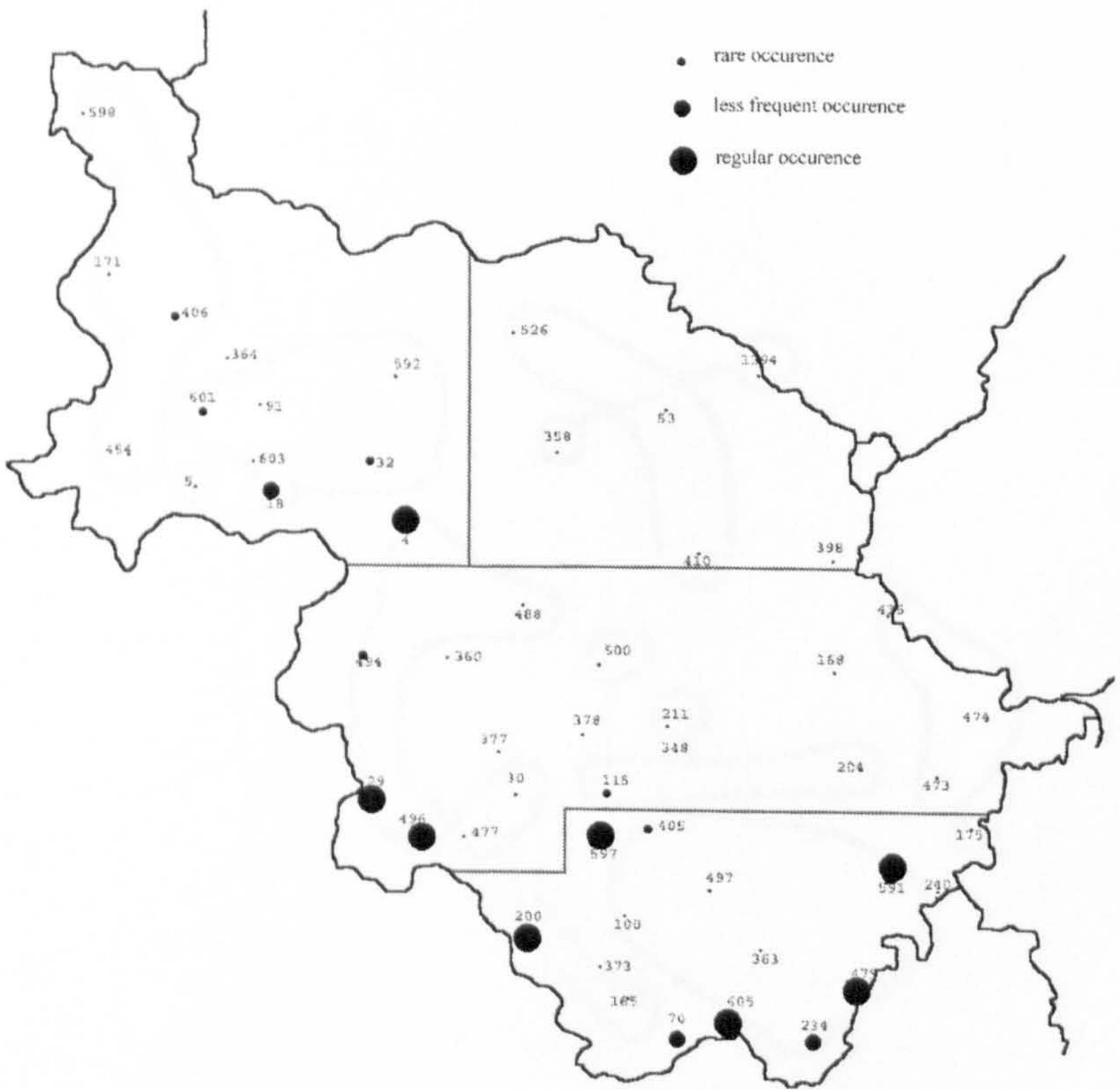
Map 23: The approximate a/o boundary (created from map 2 a/o forms in Lancashire, West Riding and Lincolnshire in Milroy 1992b: 183)



Map 24: The distribution of the pronoun usage of ya/yo



Map 25: The distribution of the determiner usage of *yo/ya*



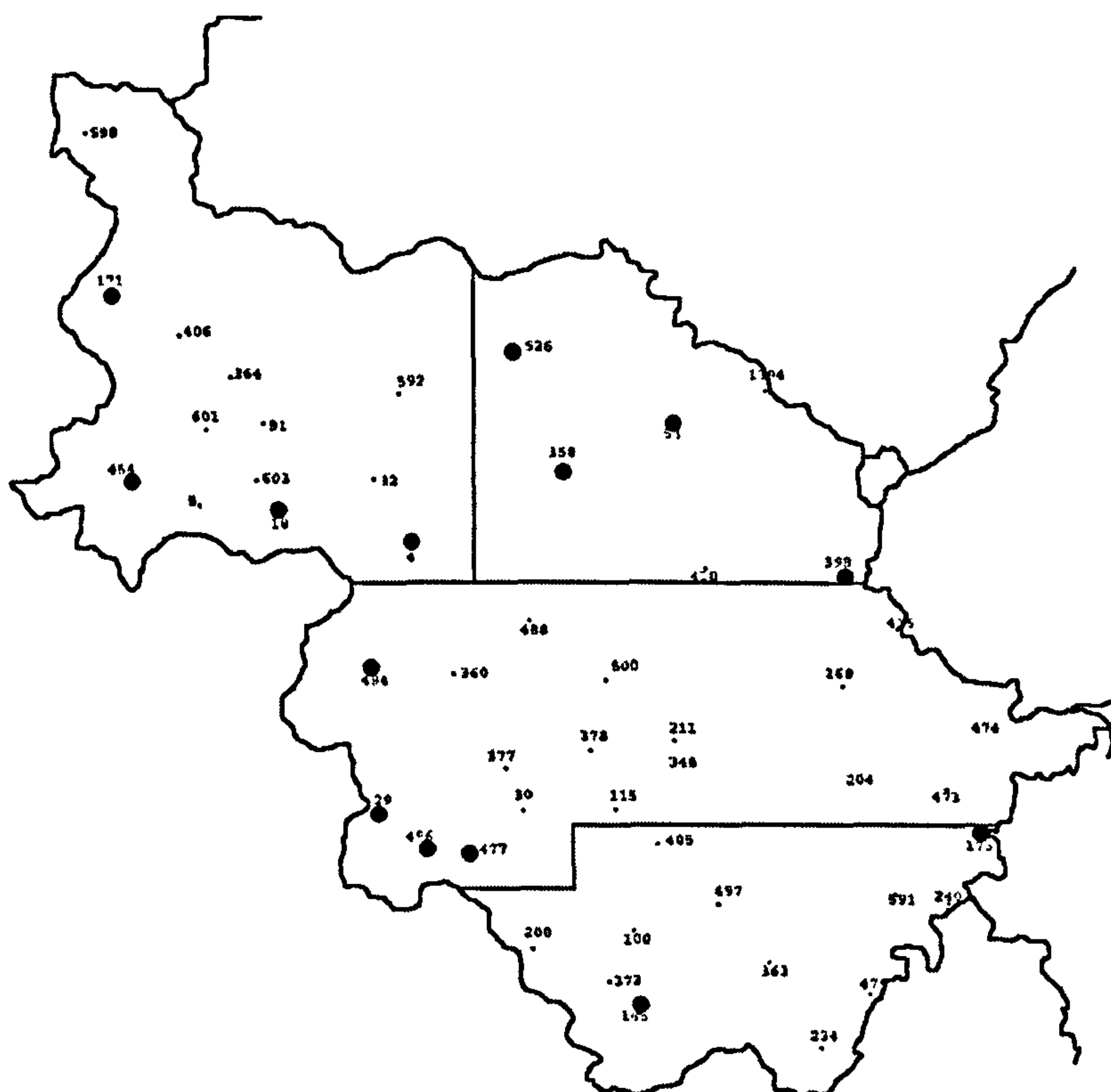
Map 26: The distribution of the definite article *po*



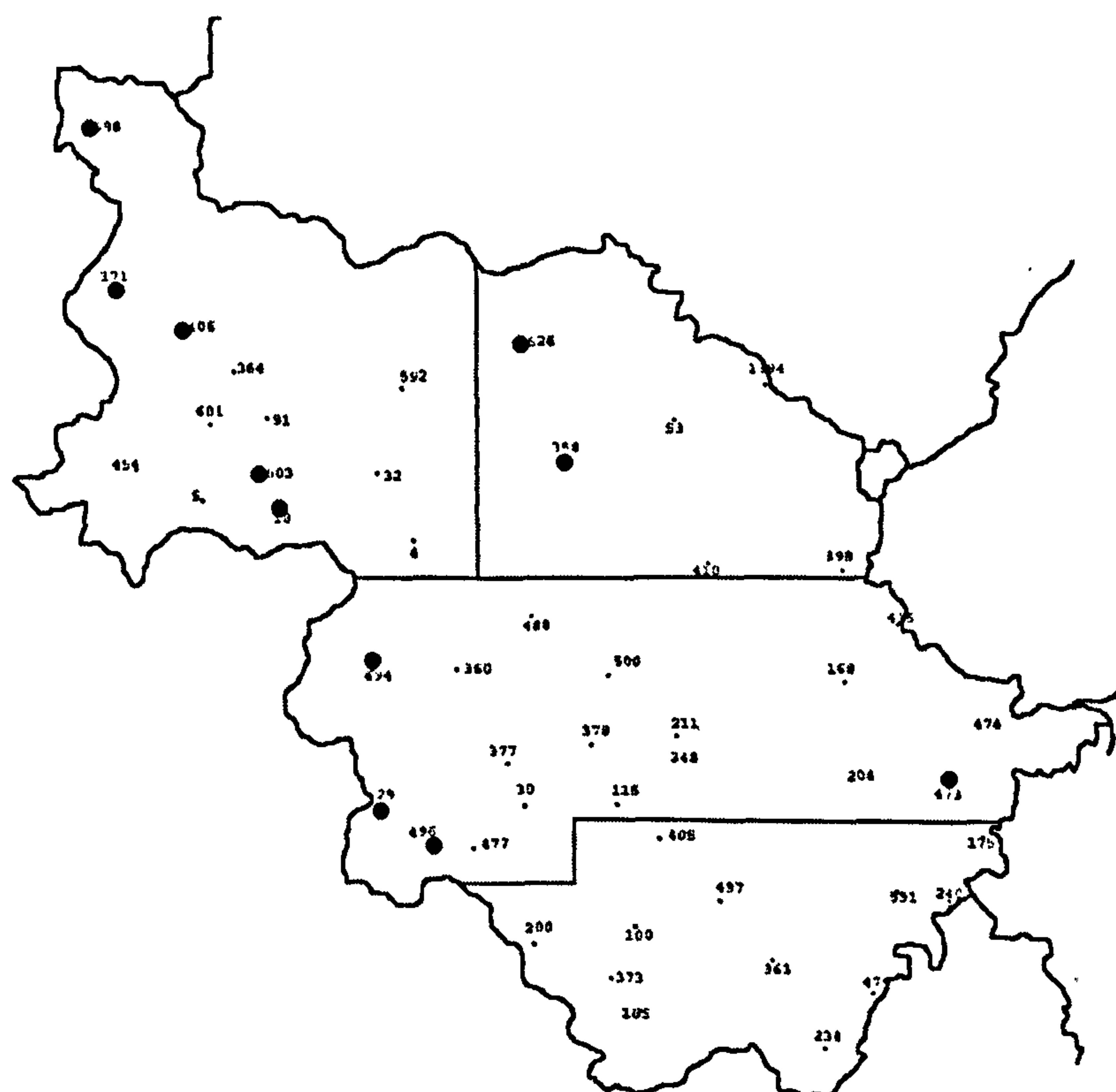
Map 27: The combined map of Maps 14, 15, 16 and 17: THESE in four areas



Map 28: The combined map of Maps 18, 19, 20 and 21: THOSE in four areas



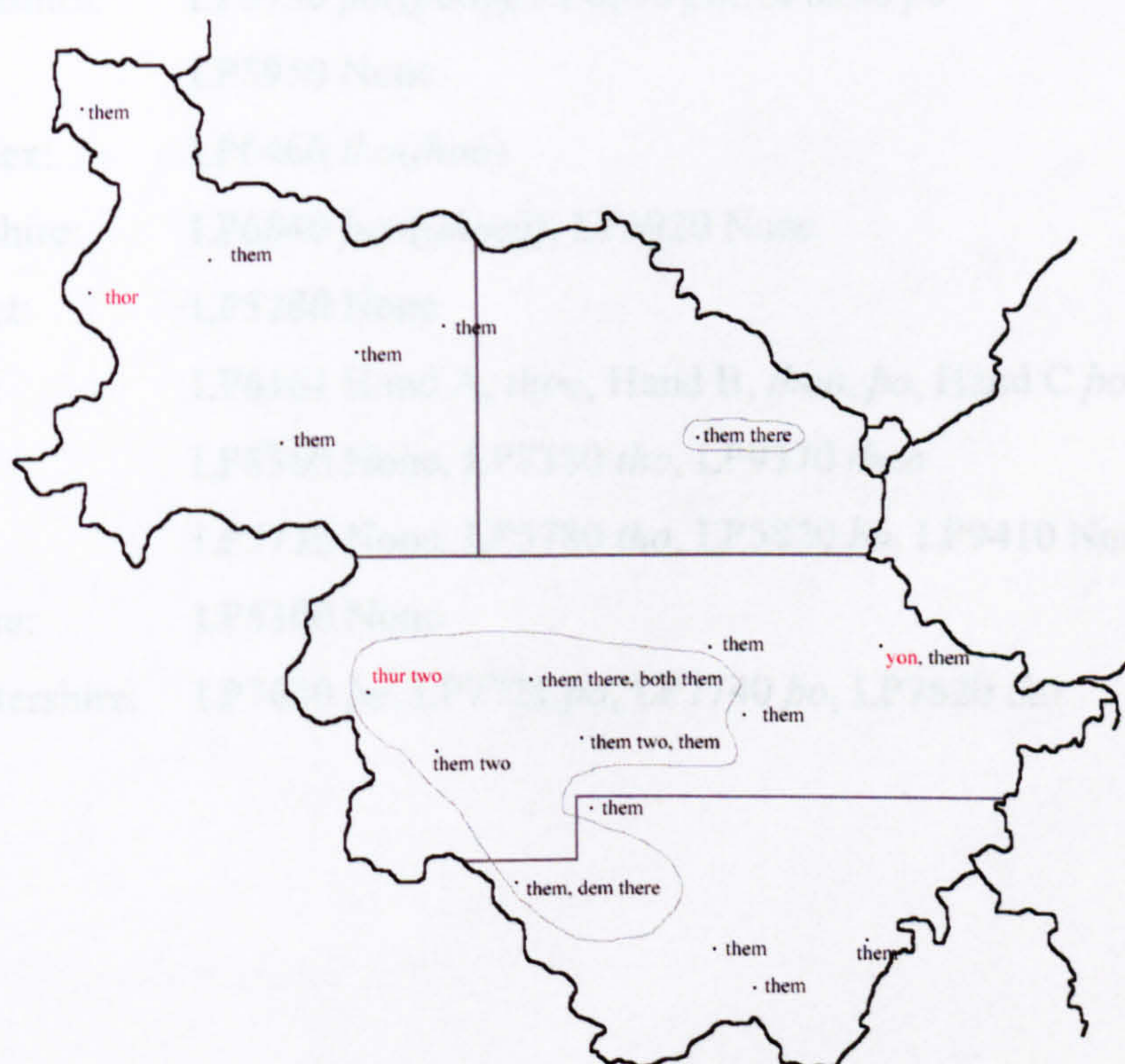
Map 29: The distribution of texts with more than five variants of THESE



Text 30: The distribution of texts with more than five variants of THOSE



Map 31: The distribution of THESE based on Basic Material of SED



Map 32: The distribution of THOSE based on Basic Material of SED

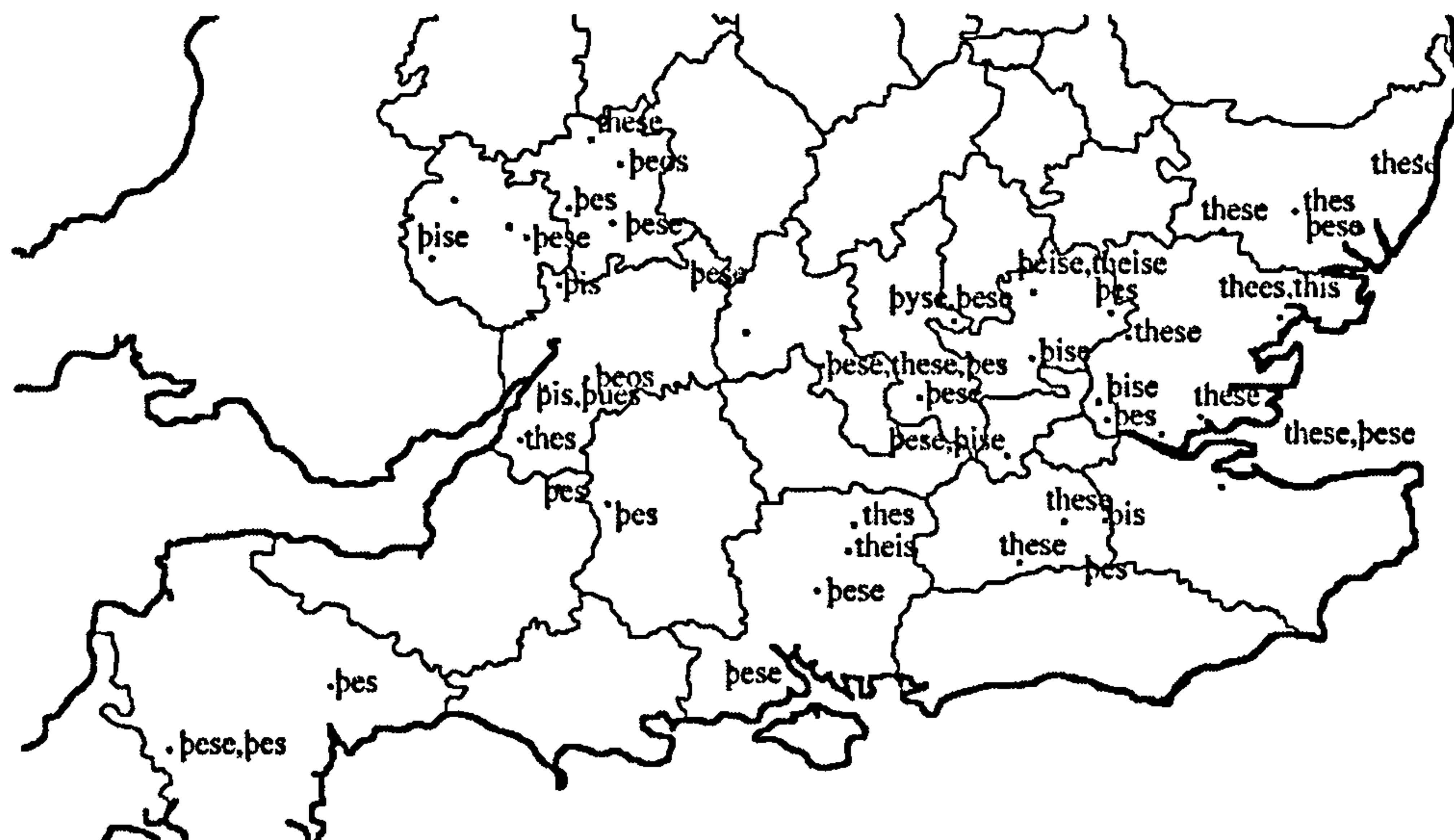
Appendix 2: THOSE in Southern texts

1. 1 Variants of THOSE and their frequency of occurrence

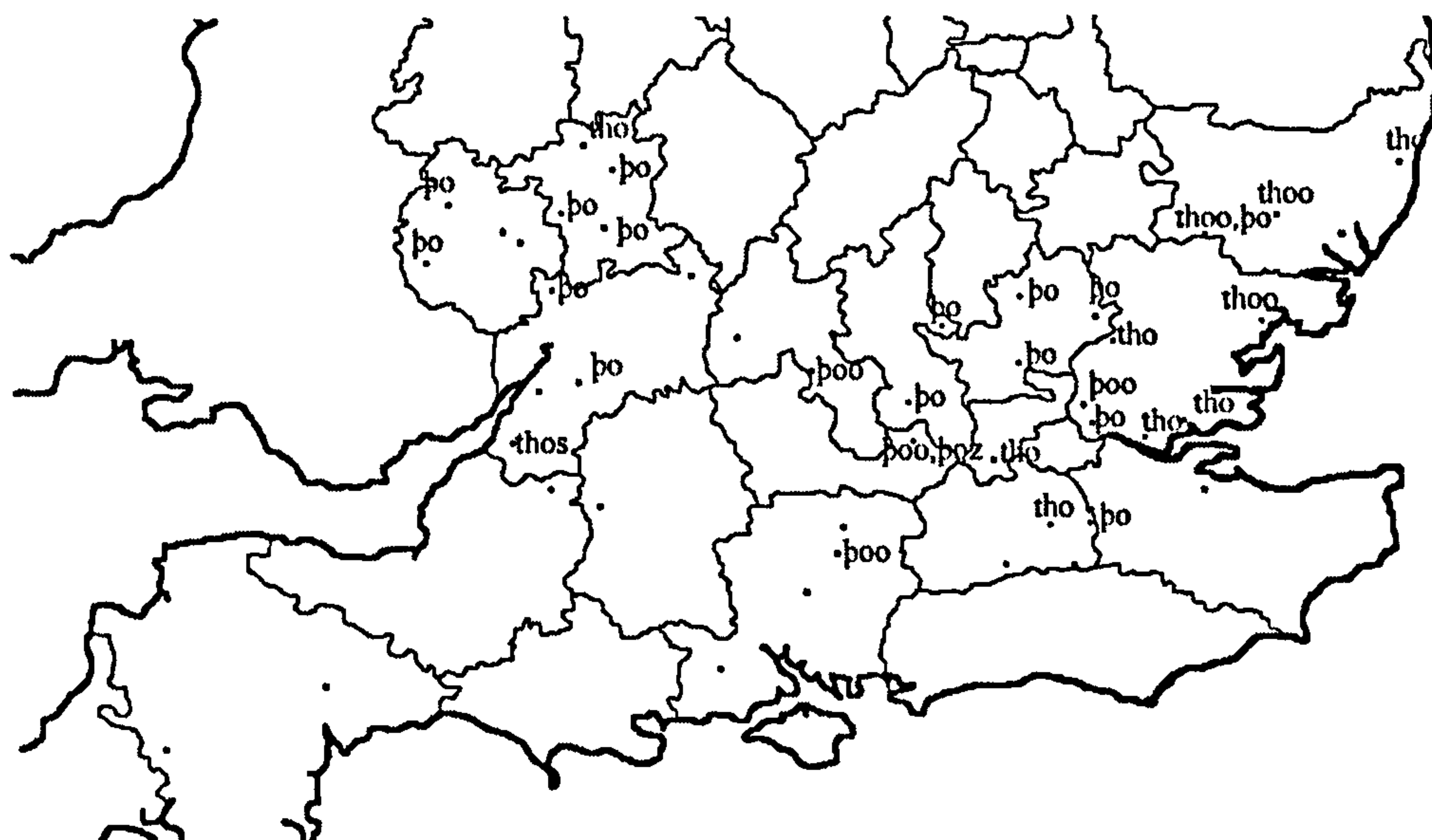
Berkshire:	LP6751 <i>boo</i> , <i>boʒ(bo)</i> ⁸³ (<i>bouʒ</i> , <i>powʒ</i>)
Buckinghamshire:	LP6630 <i>bo</i> , LP6730 <i>bo((Tho))</i>
Devonshire:	LP5050 None, LP5110 None
Essex:	LP6040 <i>tho((bo))</i> , LP6120 <i>thoo</i> , LP6240 <i>tho</i> , LP6260 <i>boo((bo))</i> , LP6280 <i>bo</i> , LP6360 <i>tho((bo))</i> , LP9450 <i>tho((thoo))</i> ,
Gloucestershire:	LP6930 None, LP6990 <i>bo</i> , LP7051 None, LP7790 <i>bo</i> , LP9580 <i>thos</i>
Hampshire:	LP5490 None, LP5530 None, LP5590 <i>boo</i> , LP5600 None
Herefordshire:	LP7370 <i>bo</i> , LP7410 None, LP7420 <i>bo</i> , <i>pose</i> , LP9260 <i>bo</i>
Hertfordshire:	LP6530 <i>bo((boo))</i> , LP6570 <i>bo</i> , LP6590 <i>bo</i>
Kent:	LP5950 None
Middlesex:	LP6460 <i>tho(thoo)</i>
Oxfordshire:	LP6840 <i>boo((thoo))</i> , LP6920 None
Somerset:	LP5280 None
Suffolk:	LP6161 Hand A, <i>thoo</i> , Hand B, <i>thoo</i> , <i>bo</i> , Hand C <i>bo</i> , LP8360 None, LP8380 <i>tho</i> , LP9370 <i>thoo</i>
Surrey:	LP5730 None, LP5780 <i>tho</i> , LP5820 <i>bo</i> , LP9410 None
Wiltshire:	LP5300 None
Worcestershire:	LP7630 <i>bo</i> , LP7721 <i>bo</i> , LP7740 <i>bo</i> , LP7620 <i>tho</i>

⁸³ The bracketing convention of LALME is used here. Unbracketed forms are the main forms, singular brackets indicate less frequent forms occurring as realisations in around 33 % of the cases and double brackets indicate a rarer realisation.

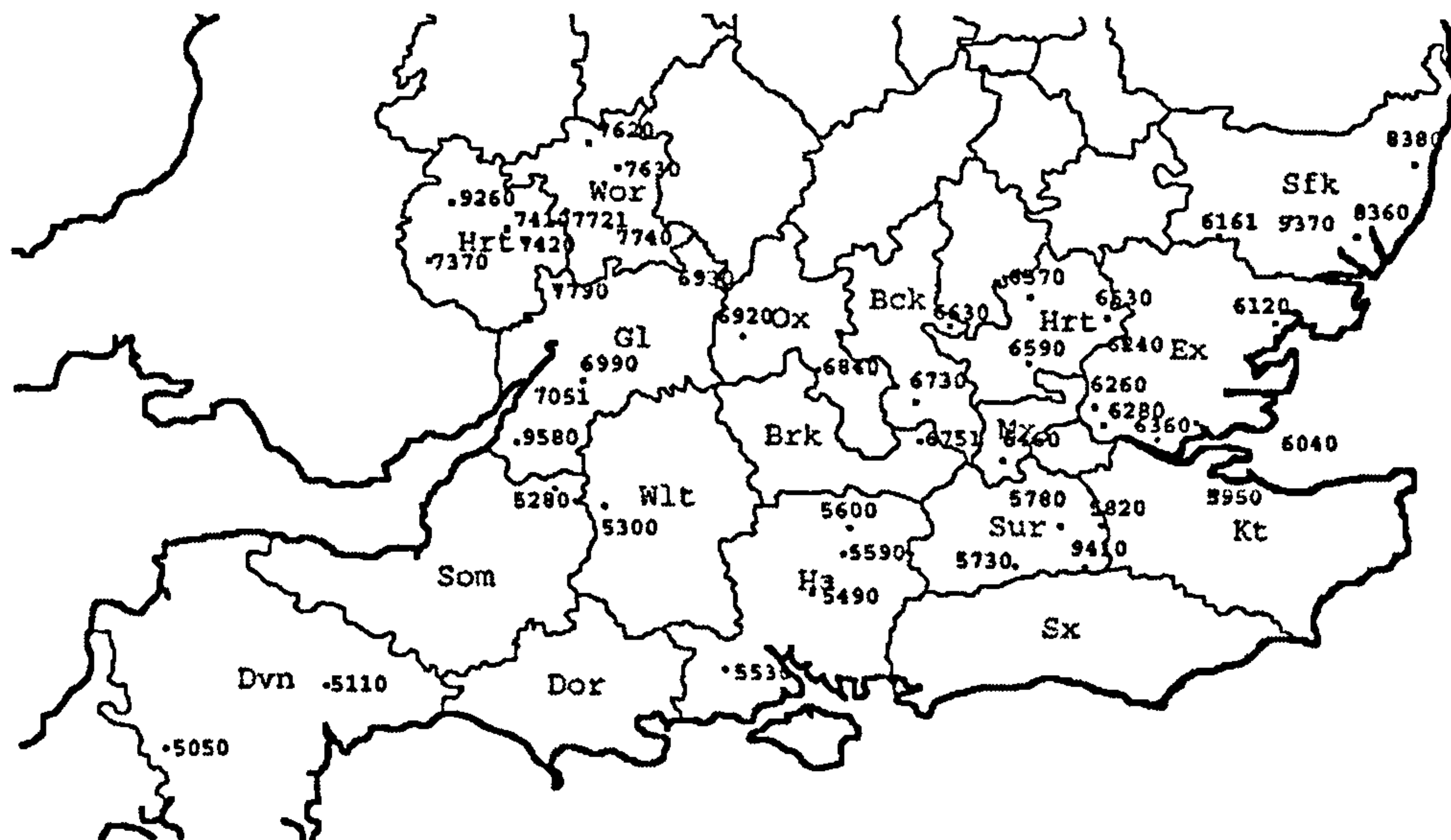
1.2 Distribution maps of THESE and THOSE in the Southern texts



Map 33: THESE in the southern texts



Map 34: THOSE in the southern texts



Map 35: Geographical location of the examined southern texts

1.3 Data

Berkshire

LP 6751

Middle English Sermons, ed. Woodburn O. Ross, EETS os 209 (London, 1940)

THESE

- And all þese haue be wittenes of oure fey3the, (p.2, l.30)
- Þise be blessed marters in heven nexte to þe apostles, (p.2, l.31-2)
- and þei were þise: (p.3, l.34)
- Þese iij properteys bettur withowte comparison (p.4, l.3)
- Þese wordes þat I haue / take (p.5, l.13)
- How þou shalte worshippe hym lerne in þise too wordes: (p.8, l.17-8)
- he lete slee þise men and brent hure citte. (p.17, l.20)
- The vij verkes of bodely mercy ben þese: (p.19, l.7)
- For of þese werkes of mercy Criste shall speke (p.19, l.9-10)
- þise vordes ben seid (p.21, l.25)
- Þese þre faders þou muste wurshippe (p.23, l.35)
- Þise alonly may suffre hym at þe Daye of Dome, (p.30, l.27-8)
- þe werkes of mercy ben þese: (p.32, l.35)
- and þer-fore biddeþ þe prophete þise too togeþur, (p.35, l.7-8)
- I will 3eue þese þat com laste as I 3aue þe. (p.40, l.39-40)
- These wordes þat I haue takon to seye at þis tyme (p.47, l.35)
- And þise ben þoo: (p.49, l.22)
- it will destrew all þese. (p.68, l.10)
- Thise beþ, I sey, officers of gret men (p.68, l.18)

THOSE

- and reprevd þo3 people þat fell to synne a 3eyn (p.9, l.8-9)
- þat is, all þoo þat hase takon bapteme an becom Cristen men, (p.13, l.28-9)
- þat all þoo þat euer lyved in þis liffe shall ryse in bodye and soule (p.15, l.8-9)

to fultill þoo þinges þat þei ben ordeynt fore. (p.15, l.16-7)
 and muche ioye in heven to all þoo þat kepeþ is Commaundementes, (P21, l.37-P22, l.1)
 and moche sorowe to all þoo and moch myschefe þat brekeþ hem, (p.22, l.2)
 for þo þat put hure beleue oþur truste in anny suche þinges withdrawon hure beleue and truste from God;
 (p.22, l.12-14)
 Oure Lorde God þreteþ grettly all þoo þat wurshippeþ nott here fadere and modre (p.23, l.36-7)
 þe Holy Gooste and grace to all þoo þat dothe ashe þe with meke herte (p.26, l.28-9)
 it is no merveyll þan þoþ þat he drede hym in all þe veynes of ys herte. (p.28, l.22-3)
 þat ben þoþ þat dyen withoute dedely synne. (p.30, l.26-7)
 for þo causes of loue þat þou can þenke in þus world, (p.35, l.18-9)
 I may seye þoo wordes (p.42, l.10)
 and þe grace of almyghty God thorowght þoþ besechyng of ys blessed modur and mayden, (p.46, l.2-3)
 and to knowe þoo synnes (p.48, l.6-7)
 And þise ben þoo: (p.49, l.22)
 aske forþeuenes of God for þoþ trespasses þat he hap don to hym. (p.55, l.4-5)
 for all þoo causes of loue (p.61, l.5)
 Oure Ladie and all þowþ seyntes þat been in heven prey for þe, (p.113, l.23-4)
 þoþ sicurly þat be good lyuers and soreful now, (p.273, l.22-3)

LP 6730

The Earliest English Translations of the first three books of De Imitatione Christi, ed. J. K. Ingram, EETS es 63
 (London, 1893)

THESE

These are þe wordes of crist, (p.2)
 and þese owe to prouoke us more (p.20)
 for in þese perauenture þou hast ofte offendid þy god (p.22)

THOSE

Ner þo werkes drawe not him to desires of viciouse inclinacioun, (p.5)
 Telle me now, where are þo lordes & maistres (p.6)
 & namely ayenst þo þinges þat most lette us. (p.22)
 Tho þat are not common þinges, are not to be shewed outwarde, (p.22)
 but þo þat are due & eninynded, (p.22)

Buckinghamshire

LP 6630

Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne", ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS os 119, 123 (London, 1901-03)

THESE

Of þyse þan ys my sawe, (l.13)
 Þyse ten were fyrst vs 3euyne, (l.15)
 Þese twey wurdys þat beyn otwynne, (l.85)
 And 3yf he wolde forsake þese þre, (l.207)
 By þese ordryd men, y mene, (l.1541)

THOSE

For þo þat to dremys ouer moche trastys, (l.415)
 And alle þo þat on hem trowe (l.483)
 And þo men fallyn more yn plyzt (l.681)
 who shuld yn þo stedys sytte. (l.1418)

Devonshire

LP 5050

The Seege or Batayle of Troye, ed. M. E. Barnicle, EETS os 172 (London, 1927)

THESE

ffor þes wordys þe quene was wo; (l.255)
Of al þese he had þe choys; (l.893)

THOSE

None

LP 5110

The English Charlemagne romances. Part 1, Sir Ferumbras, ed. S. J. Herrtage, EETS es 34 (London, 1879)

THESE

¶ þan þe sarsyn huld vp ys hed : after þes wordes felle, (l.428)
¶ Now by-gynt a strong batayl : be-twene þis knyȝtes twayne; (l.602)
& þan by-gan þe stronge fiȝt : betwene þes kniȝtes tweye; (l.626)
þey foȝten to-gadres þanne ȝerne : þys wytherwyns wilde & wroþe, (l.672)
¶ þan þey waxe wonder wroþe : þys knyȝtes styþ on stoure, (l.696)
¶ þan by-gan a ferly fiȝt : be-twene þis two baroun, (l.716)
¶ Al so scharply þes men of mayn : þan smyte to-gadre aȝy (l.724)
¶ Wan þay y-seȝe þat þes frensche men : ȝyue hem so scherp a schour, (l.958)
¶ þan comencede a batail newe : by-twene þes hostes two, (l.986)
þus þay prikede, þuse two baroun : hure frendes to rescowe, (l.1012)
& now y hopede þat þuse had y-ben : dukes & Erldlis of fraunce, (l.1174)
now shcal y speke my fille riȝt : with þes knyȝtes of fraunce.”(l.1253)
& þys kniȝtes wiþ hure ecchon : as it was hur wille. (l.1321)
¶ To a wyndowe wente þes barouns fre : & ther þay loked oute, (l.1342)
As þese frensche men come ryde : bote prikede forþ with bost. (l.1553)
“ȝea : alle þese buþ noȝt worþ a stre” : þan saide Lucafere. (l.2229)
& oppon þat cloþ ase heo wold : þes reliques fayre layde. (l.2121)
& þese vytailles ther haþ he cast : in-to þe dych adoun, (l.2764)
Flo[rippe] redely was thar-ate : let in þuse lordes gente, (l.3153)
To þus lordes cam sche there, (5080)

THOSE

None

Essex

LP 6040

The Tale of Beryn, ed. F. J. Furnivall & W. G. Stone, EETS es 105 (London, 1909)

THESE

And seyð to hir þese wordis tho: “Allas! þat love ys syn! (l.48)
ffor comyngly of these swevenys þe contrary men shul fynde: (l.108)
But then, as nature axith, as these old wise (l.196)

THOSE

ffor, shortly to conclude, al tho were aduersarijis (l.769)
ffor þo þat dyned me to-day, ordeyned me to a-rest." (l.2234)
ffor natur was more substancial, when tho dayis were, (l.2518)
"A kyng þere was in tho 3eris, þat had noon heire male, (l.2681)
Vp rose .x. burgeysis, - not tho þat rose to-fore, (l.3148)
To make an oyntement to cure al tho been blynde, (l.3629)
Ther fill in tho marchis, of al thing such a derth, (l.3677)
ffor of the world[e] wyde tho dayis he bare þe floure. (l.3694)

LP 6120

Palladius on Husbandrie ed. B. Lodge & S. J. Herrtage, EETS os 52, 72 (London, 1873-1879)

THESE

This ropes with thi seede cloos hem under (1-1.801)
And either shall thees talpes voide ro sterve. (1-1.931)
And billes all thees brerers up to smyte, (1-1.1160)
Ffor nowe this vynes, whoso taketh kepe, (4-1.6)

THOSE

Asshe, popler, elm, thoo three wol multiplie, (3-1.194)

LP 6240

Religious Lyrics of The 14th Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1924)

THESE

None

THOSE

None

Twenty-six political and other poems, ed. J. Kail, EETS os 124 (London, 1904)

THESE

These ben myn enemyes, lord, echone, (p.131, l.321)
ffor these mowen best gete me mede (p.138, l.549)
Than sayde thys kyng these wordys y-wys: (p.147, l.161)

THOSE

I wote well I am oon of tho; (p.146, l.115)

LP 6260

Adam Daby's 5 Dreams about Edward II & C, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS os 69 (London, 1878)

The Legend or Life of St. Alexius.

THESE

¶ þise opere holy seintz & gode, (l.25)
And þise confessoures, (l.27)

þise seuentene 3ere; (l.465)
Of alle þise seuentene 3ere (l.1066)

THOSE

þat fulfilde were þoo dedes: (l.117)
¶ Ri3th so bifel by þoo dawes (l.577)
þat non hym knew of alle þo, (l.779)

King Solomon's Book of Wisdom

THESE

þat þise clerkes 3utt to þis day : in þorou3 his owen þou3th; (l.7)
Riche 3iftes & present3 : maken þise luges blynde, (l.75)
þis book made Salamon : of þise wisdoms & more: (l.103)
And brent þise men al to dust : þere was an hard dom. (l.184)

THOSE

None

LP 6280

The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, ed. K. D. Bülbring, EETS os 97 (London, 1891)

THESE

He þat doþ þes þynges, ne shall nou3t be stired wyþ-outen ende. (Psalm 14, l.7)

THOSE

alle þo þat fallen in to þerþe shul fallen in hys sy3t. (Psalm 21, l.31)
for alle þo þat susteine þe shal nou3t be confounded. (Psalm 21, l.27)

LP 6360

Henry Lovelich's Merlin, ed. E. A. Kock, EETS os 185 (London, 1932)

THESE

These kynges seweden the Sesoyngnes there, (l.15801)
Whanne þat these kynges hadden Mad this joye, (l.15815)
these hethene Sesoignes, verament, (l.15833)
of these Messengeris alle jn fere; (l.15916)
and þese bachelers gynnen forth to Ryde; (l.16331)
To-forn at þese pavylouns here scholen 3e sen, (l.18776)
alle these 3onge Men with Gaweyn so kende. (l.18626)
and for þese worthy men that with me be; (l.18785)
that alle these bestes weren closed Echedel, (l.18878)

THOSE

be-twene tho partyes thanne hem among. (l.15662)
To tho Fwyauntes he spak owt-Ryhtes (l.15708)
Therto tho 3ates Ful clos they ben (l.17351)
with-owten tho þat in þe contre weren abowte, (l.18150)
and slwoen alle tho they myhten Reche (l.18431)
and alle þo that with hem gonne gone. (l.19192)

LP 9450

Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, ed. A. Erdmann, EETS es 108 (London, 1911-1930)

THESE

All **thise** folk / weren / at this weddyng newe, (l.872)
Possede shal, **thise** bestes in her Rage, (l.1229)
And thus **thies** knyghtes / pompous and ellat, (l.1349)
Ful yrouslly / **thise** myghty champions, (l.1355)
Of **thyes** knyghtes having ful gret wonder. (l.1373)
That alle **thise** noble worthy werreoures, (l.2679)
Thogh all **thise** /, shortly in sentence, (l.2976)
Of my tresour / and sette **þies** thre a-syde, (l.3356)

THOSE

Maugrè all **tho** / that hym wolde lette. (l.579)
So **thoo** ladies / at her In-comyng, (l.1462)
And **tho** lordes / that with hym abyde (l.2586)
I mene **tho** that prudent wern and wise, (l.3121)
For alle **tho** / that persshyn for **þi** sake. (l.3678)

Gloucestershire

LP 6930

Jacob and Iosep: a Middle English poem of the thirteenth century, ed. A. S. Napier (Oxford, 1916)

THESE

Iosep of **þese** wordes nas he no **þing** glad, (l.218)

THOSE

None

LP 6990

The Southern Passion, ed. B. D. Brown, EETS os 169 (London, 1927)

THESE

Iudas **þat** him suppe solde : and **þeos** wordes sede, (l.22)
þat alosed **3e** him makeþ : of **þeoues** recet, allas.' (l.113)
þreo **3er** and an half : **þeose** toknynges so stronge (l.439)
þeos beop lo ampty lampes : (l.553)
þeos wordes and opere mo : (l.748)
ffor **þeos** **þreo** were him euere next : (l.1082)
And **þeos** wordes he sede : (l.1086)

THOSE

And sende to **þo** corp-tylyers : (l.239)

LP 7051

Specimens of Early English, part II ed. R. Morris & W. W. Skeat 4th ed. (Oxford, 1898)

THESE

þe water of þis welles whanne hyt ys ysode (l.103)
wel semep in þis holy seintes, (l.143)
þues were þe causes (l.18)
Duc William touk þues spyes and ladde ham aboute (l.61)

THOSE

None

LP 7790

English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932)

English Lyric No 48-52

THESE

þis foweles murie singep. (l.6)
þis sawes ne beþ nout newe. (l.113)

THOSE

þo hauekes and þo houndes? (l.15)
hy se þo blodi flodes hernen (l.17)
alle þo þat to me greden - (l.47)

Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus

THESE

None

THOSE

Alle þo þat here ben hine; (l.74)
þen alle þo þat her ben inne." (l.106)

LP 9580

Registrum Iohannis Mey, ed. W. G. H. Quigley & E. F. D. Roberts (Belfast, 1972)

THESE

blessed be God as 3it thes partees of Iryell (no 168)

THOSE

as we have written unto 3ou up thos sayd maters (no 356)
and upon thos said maters that ye assert us playnly (no 360)

Hampshire

LP 5490

English Gilds, ed. L. Brentano, EETS os 40 (London, 1870)

THESE

And þese vsages beth of hem þt beth of frauchyse of sowter as of opere. (p.359)

THOSE

None

LP 5530

Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century, printed G. Henslow (London, 1899)

THESE

and do þes iii þyngys vp-on (p.8)
þanne take alle þes þynges and (l.11)
and louke þat alle þese þynges (l.21)
and do alle þese þynges in-to a panne (p.21)
to drynke þes 3 grases, (p.26)
do al þes þynges in a panne (p.27)
and put al þese into a pot (p.42)
bray al þese in a mortar (p.43)
put alle þese þer-to (p.44)
be non of þese sygnes (p.52)
And whanne al þese ben stampe (p.52)

THOSE

None

LP 5590

The Early English Versions of The Gesta Romanorum, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS es 33 (London, 1879)

THESE

And when þe knyzt hurde theise wordes, he had grete merueile, (p.2)
Theise two fowte to-geder vn to þe time þat þe toode, scil. (p.6)
and þerfore iff theise too men woll come to-geder to þe feste of Hevene, (p.16)
So þes too knyztis zede forth on þis wey. (p.20)
Theise ij. Ben felowis, (p.22)
and tolde þe Emperour all þes thingis.(p.28)
but if she hadde on of theise poyntys, scil. (p.30)
And the knyzt wrozte in all thes thinges, (p.265)

THOSE

and ouercome þoo þre knyztis, (p.19)

LP 5600

The Early English Versions of The Gesta Romanorum, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS es 33 (London, 1879)

THESE

And when the knyght had herd thes wordis, he cried with a lowde voys, (p.43)
When the emperoure herd þes wordis, he was confusid in hym self, (p.43)
& þes woundis þou haddist for my love. (p.43)
And when the doughter had red thes letres, she told hit to þe kyng, her husbond. (p.50)
thes thre are to wynne the castell to you ayen; (p.54)
And as he thought these wordis, hit come to his mynde, (p.81)

THOSE
None

Herefordshire

LP 7370

The Brut, ed. F. W. D. Brie, EETS os 131,136 (London, 1906-1908 repr. 1971)

THESE

and þise ij breþerne, after here fadres deth, (p.14, l.23)
and þise were þo xxij douȝtres; (p.15, l.10)
When þise ij breþerne were so dede, þai nade Lefte bihynde (p.22, l.10)
when Gutlagh herde þise tydynges, (p.25, l.1)
þat þise couenauntes shulde nouȝt bene broken ne falsede. (p.25, l.28)

THOSE

and þise were þo xxij douȝtres; (p.15, l.10)
þat þo ij eldest doughtren (p.18, l.4)
but þo þat were strongest sette litel by ham þat were of lasse estate, (p.23, l.7-8)
so þat þo ij fletes metten to-gederes, (p.25, l.2-3)
and þo þat kepte þe costes of þe see token Gutlagh and Samye, (p.25, l.10)
and þo wolde haue ȝeue him bataile; (p.26, l.22)
þo ij breþerne, with miche blisse, went to-geder into newe Troye, (p.26, l.26-7)

LP 7410

Religious Lyrics of The 14th Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1924)

THESE
None

THOSE
None

LP 7420

The Brut, ed. F. W. D. Brie, EETS os 131,136 (London, 1906-1908 repr. 1971)

THESE

by þese ij squyers, (p.335, l.12)
Wherefore þese ij lordez comyn yn-to Westminster churchē (p.335, l.15-16)
to here & know þe entencion of þese rebellis and misgouerned pepil. (p.377, l.14)
haue come yn to Engelande with alle þese schippes and goodis, (p.338, l.16-17)
and at þat batayle was slayn a gret multitude of þese Flemyngeȝ, (p.338, l.22)

THOSE

and his counsel lette brenne þose schippeȝ, (p.338, l.18)
And þis fest and iustes was holde general, and to alle þo þat wolde come, of what land or nacion (p.343, l.19-20)

LP 9260

The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. W. H. Hulme, EETS es 100 (London, 1907)

THESE

None

THOSE

alle þo þat bueþ heryne; (l.82)

Hertfordshire

LP 6530

The Book of Vices and Virtues, ed. W. N. Francis, EETS os 217 (London, 1942)

THESE

þes þre comaundements ordeynen vs specially to God. (p.3, l.9)

þese ben þe ten comaundements, wher-of þe þre first ordeynen vs to God, (p.6, l.12-13)

For who-so doþ azens þes comaundements forseid wytyngly, (p.6, l.16-7)

þese ben þe articules of þe feiþ of cristen men, (p.6, l.20)

And alle þes articles beþ in þe crede (p.6, l.30-31)

þes articles biddeþ þat men bileue þat þe Holy Gost is þe 3ifte (p.8, l.28-9)

and take good hede in alle þes goodes of kynde (p.20, l.3)

THOSE

riȝt so doþ þe deuel alle þo þat he may ouercome and cache in synne. (p.10, l.18-20)

and al þo þat in suche þinges bileuen and setteþ þer-ynne her hope. (p.15, l.9-10)

þe lord & alle þoo þat beþ in his help in suche doynges. (p.26, l.18-19)

LP 6570

Mandeville's Travels, ed. P. Hamelius, EETS os 153-154 (London, 1919-1923)

THESE

And the Jewes maden the cros of theise .iiij. manere of trees (p.6, l.22-23)

he scholde putte þeise .iiij. greynes vnder his tonge (p.7, l.22-23)

And of þeise .iiij. greynes sprong a tree as the aungel seyde (p.7, l.23-24)

For a kyng of Fraunce boughte þeise relikes somtyme of the Jewes (p.8, l.12-13)

Philosophres some tyme wenten vpon theise hilles (p.10, l.33)

THOSE

And abouen in the dust t in the powder of þo hilles (p.10, l.36)

And þei acursen all þo þat abstynen hem to eten flesch the saterday. (p.13, l.4-5)

whan I departed fro þo contrees. (p.23, l.22)

and all þo ben at his wages (p.23, l.26)

LP 6590

Chaucer's Translation of Boethius 's "De Consolatione Philosophiae", ed. R. Morris, EETS es 5 (London, 1868)

THESE

In þe mene while þat I stille recorded[e] þise þinges (l.28)
In þe neþerest[e] hem or bordure of þese cloþes men redden ywouen in swiche a gregkysche. (l.49-51)
And by-twene þese two lettres þere weren seien (l.54)
Who quod sche hap suffred aprochen to þis seek[e] man þise comune strumpetis of siche a place (l.65-7)
Forsoþe þise ben þo þat wip þornes and prykkynge of talentz or affecciouns (l.70-1)
compleinede wip þise wordes þat I schal sey (l.98-9)
Felest þou quod sche þise þinges and entren þei ouzt in þi corage. (l.247-8)
þise wrecched[e] erþes. (l.543)
broken out þise þinges (l.550)
any of þese þinges (l.841)

THOSE

At þe leest no drede ne myzt[e] ouer-come þo muses. (l.6)
Forsoþe þise ben þo þat wip þornes and prykkynge of talentz or affecciouns (l.70-1)
þe folye of men wenyng þo epicuryens and stoyciens (l.200-1)
Al myzten þo same þinges bettere and more plentiuously (l.591-2)
þat yif þo þinges of whiche þou pleynest (l.857-8)

Kent

LP 5950

Religious Lyrics of The 14th Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1924)

THESE

None

THOSE

None

Middlesex

LP 6460

Deonise Hid Diuinite, ed. P. Hodgson, EETS os 231 (London, 1955)

THESE

By goyng vp & downe of these angellis (p.101)
to help alle tho that by thes iv staves of this ladder (p.101)
Thes foure degrees be so bounde togedir, (p.102)
Whan þe woman herde thes wordys of Ihesu, anone she thougt in her hert (p.106)
& spende ther tyme & occupacion in thes counsellis, (p.107)
and evyn lyke steryn hym wyth their lovys as these drynkeris the tavernarys doon. (p.114)
drawyn downward fro thes degrees. (p.116)
It is not semely that tho eerys that riht now herde thes wordys (p.117)

THOSE

to help alle tho that by thes iv staves of this ladder (p.101, l.11)
helpith litel or nouzte withoute tho that be folwyng as prayer & contemplacion. (p.102, l.10)
Vttirly so he doth with alle tho that he makith his dwellyng with, (p.104, l.20)
'Nylle 3e love tho thynges that be in þe worlde.' (p.105, l.1)

whan he **tho** that be hard as stonys in wykidnes movith & steryth to love God. (p.106, l.27)
 Blissyd be **thoo** alle þat levyn vanitees & spende ther tyme & occupacion in thes councellys, (p.107, l.12)
 and **tho** that alle sellyn, (p.107, l.14)
Thoo that noon evylle doo with her handys, (p.108, l.11)
 that fayrest is befor alle **tho** þat euere were (p.108, l.30)
 he hath holdyn to hymself to 3eve to **thoo** that he wille, (p.110, l.22)
 Blissid are **tho** that thus wepen, for Cryste sayth by them that they shall law3e. (p.112, l.1)
 but alle **tho** that desyre fully to haue it, (p.114, l.11)
 ful nobyl and ful fayre before alle **tho** that euere were borne of modyr. (p.115, l.37)
 It is not semely that **tho** eerys that ri3t nowe herde thes wordys (p.117, l.21)

Oxfordshire

LP 6840

The English Register of Oseney Abbey by Oxford, ed. A. Clark, EETS os 133, 144 (London, 1913)

THESE

Thes witnesses (p.8, l.2-3)
 To **thes** þynges, I haue grauntyd, (p.8, l.10)
 And **þese** churches of my londe, (p.11, l.21-22)
 In the which, **these** we have avised (p.14, l.4)
These witnessys, (p.15, l.22)
 And **þese** churches, (p.16, l.7)
 In **þe** which, **these** thynges we haue avised (p.17, l.26-27)

THOSE

In the charter of Eldrede Kyng and [in] **þoo** oþer Instrumentes (p.57, l.22-23)
 In **þoo** places where I haue woodys. (p.87, l.2)
 to **þe** susteynyng of **þoo** thynges (p.87, l.18)
 or els lefe to haue **thoo** tithis, (p.87, l.22)
þe forsaide chanons all **þoo** tithis anone schall take and haue, (p.87, l.22-23)

LP 6920

The Early South-English Legendary or lives of the Saints, ed. C. Horstmann EETS os 87 (London, 1887)

THESE

None

THOSE

None

Somerset

LP 5280

Arthur, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS os 2 2nd ed (London, 1869)

THESE

Þes were; & many anoþer goom (l.166)
Þes were at þe Feste. (l.168)
Þes were þere also theoband: (l.178)
 Alle **þes** were þere wythoute fable, (l.179)

Þes lettres were opened & vnfold, (l.199)
Eche of þese vyve at her venyw (l.307)

THOSE
None

Suffork

LP 6161

Legendys of Hooly Wummen, ed. M. S. Serjeantson, EETS os 206 (London, 1938)

Hand A pp1-38 (ff1r-26r)

THESE
And these thre thyngys longyn to ‘what’: (l.19)
These sexe vertuhs be figuryd mystyly (l.321)
Be these sexe vertuhs to heuene dede stye, (l.327)
As sone these wurdys as he had seyd, (l.729)

THOSE
In thoo dayes and yet it is so (l.373)

Hand B pp38-58 (f27r-39r)

THESE
These thyngys knowen, lyst what I mene: (l.1539)
When she þes wordes & many mo, (l.1749)
These thyngys peysed & oþer moo (l.1854)
Thryes ten dayes in here journey, (l.1953)

THOSE
Which in t[h]oo dayes were his most cure, (l.1710)
To alle þo þat hem dede loue or know (l.1982)

Hand C pp58-end (ff39v-end)

THESE
So off these hethene folk and vicious, (l.2119)
Alle þeese hath ordeynit for mannys solace. (l.2166)
Whann þese maydyns on þis manere (l.2211)
Schuld to þese ydols for socour craue, (l.2216)
These dayis tuelue er sau I no brede. (l.2338)
Whyl þese tormentours so cruelly dyde schrape (l.2467)
‘Cesse, iuge, þes wordys,’ quod Cristyne, ‘to me, (l.2683)
And doon þeis ydols godly honour, (l.2689)
These ydols to worship ne to serue. (l.2704)
And al þeis doon, I hym ensure, (l.3207)

THOSE
And þan þo tuelue maydynis to hir seruyse (l.2182)
Off þo defautys wych I dyd ying.’ (l.2298)
Off al þo þat, blyndyd by ydolatrie, (l.2431)
And al þo maunmettys fully to diffye, (l.2433)
Graunt also, lady al þo þat þe (l.3131)
He profyrde alle þo þat hym wolde brynge (l.3592)
But alle þo eek wych stondyn aboute, (l.4318)

Alle þo wych entryd fyrst to me, (l.4470)
 Alle þo presoun hyr seyn wundryd ful sore (l.4803)
 For þo þat remembre wold hyr passyoun, (l.4900)
 And of þo Eleuene thowsend uirgyns al-so, (l.5044)
 Wyth þo fre yiftys clene & pure, (l.5173)
 Had þo two yer fostryd in þat place. (l.6063)
 But alle þo goddys of wych ye yelpe (l.6607)

LP 8360

The Seege or Batayle of Troye, ed. M. E. Barnicle, EETS os 172 (London, 1927)

THESE

þo þese wymmen to me dede com (l.541)

THOSE

None

LP 8380

The Life of St. Katharine of Alexandria, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS os 100 (London, 1893)

THESE

Thov ledest these folk, right so seythe the book, (l.4)
 ffor in ale these rychely dooth she abounde- (l.18)
 Looke alle these seyntis that in this world so rounde (l.19)
 So had þou fully alle these hooly thyng. (l.33)
 The contre al abovte was ful of these men, (l.113)
 These vessellis of gold, martyrs I mene, (l.120)
 To þese olde folk, whiche leveden alle in dwere (l.178)

THOSE

That of tho folkes wiche lustys had lorn, (l.200)

LP 9370

Chronicles of London, ed. C. L. Kingsford, (Oxford, 1905)

THESE

by thes present lettres wretyn. (p.22)
 and presence off these wronges aforseyd, (p.27)
 Also, affter tyme that meny off these persones hadde made (p.28)
 the fforseyde kyng willfully hath withstonde thes Statutes and ordenaunces, (p.35)
 the Erchebisshop shulde yeve ffull ffeyth to thes wordes (p.39)
 Thes ben the poyntes the which Sir William Bagott hath in (p.51)

THOSE

in the which grete censures and sentences off cursyng ben conteyned ayens alle thoo, that contrarien,
 withseyn, or (p.29)
 with stonde thoo Statutes or eny off hem. (p.29)
 And outake thoo v or vj m markes alle the Statutes, (p.37)
 And that alle thoo that wolde or owyn fforto chalenge eny service (p.47)

Surrey

LP 5730

The Middle-English versions of Partonope of Blois, ed. A. T. Bödtker, EETS es 109 (London, 1912)

THESE

Of man ne woman, tylle these yerse be (l.1818)
Of alle these dysportys now chese ye.” (l.2214)
More of these houndes toke he no kepe (l.2284)
And thise wee knyghtes of Sornogoure, (l.2733)

THOSE

None

LP 5780

The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, ed. T. Wright, EETS os 33 (London, 1906)

THESE

thinkynge of these thought[s], (p.2)
& for these causes aforesaid, (p.3)
These .iiij. knightis is the king of Fraunce, (p.16)
Afterward these two susteres plaide atte the tables with .ij. knightes, (p.19)
And y haue sein these .ij. daughters, (p.19)
And so these words weren saide betwene the baronesse and the knight (p.30)

THOSE

But she thought that thei were tho that kepte her. (p.7)
for alle tho that do so for the worldes plesaunce, (p.38)

LP 5820

The Middle-English versions of Partonope of Blois, ed. A. T. Bödtker, EETS es 109 (London, 1912)

THESE

Be-twe-ne þis kynges samfaill (l.3067)
This wordes to me full harde. (l.3351)
All þis lordes þey stode ichone. (l.3735)

THOSE

Of all þo þat set In hethyn lay, (l.3859)

LP 9410

Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books, ed. T. Austin, EETS os 91 (London, 1888)

THESE

& atte þe dressoure ley þes pelettys .v. or .vj. in a dysshe, (p.34)

THOSE

None

Wiltshire

LP 5300

An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle, ed. E. Zetzl, EETS os 196 (London, 1935)

THESE

& seide þes wordes anon (l.102)
Al þes bep? in þe tonnen idon (l.173)

THOSE

None

Worcestershire

LP 7630

Religious Lyrics of The 14th Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1924)

THESE

þeos are þe werkes of Merci seuene, (no 95, l.83)
And alle þeos disputacions (no 104, l.33)
þeose þre þinges, I vnderstonde, (no 113, l.59)

THOSE

Ful harde vengeaunce wol fall on þo, (no 95, l.155)
Amonge þo foules euerichone, (no 117, l.5)

LP 7721

English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932)

THESE

þes cnistes weren a-cneu iseten (no 26, l.57)
þes kinges were boþe some & saiste, (no 26, l.65)

THOSE

to saue þo þat hise ben (no 15, l.21)
þo heroudes herde þe kinges speken, (no 26, l.33)

LP 7740

Lanfrank's "Science Chirurgie", ed. R. von Fleischhacker, EETS os 102 (London, 1894)

THESE

& so whanne þis tretys is fully endyde (p.3, l.21-22)
And þis tretys under summe conteynde x. Chapyttles. (p.3, l.23-24)
þese elementys, (p.10, l.22)
foure of þese ben symple, (p.11, l.22)

Alle þese þynges before seyde beþ natureles, (p.15, l.39-40)
 Þese sixe thynges ben y-clepyde vnnaturell, (p.17, l.28-29)
 ordeyneþ & deff[e]ndeþ every party of þese spermes in here kynde, (p.21, l.32-33)
 Þese smale lymes han dyverse formes, (p.22, l.23)
 & þese villes bene of þre maners, (p.30, l.31)
 Also þese wondes han dyverse causes. (p.32, l.22-23)
 & alle þese en dyverse, (p.32, l.32)
 Of þese mundrycatyfes þou schalt han a ful techynge in þe laste tretys. (p.37, l.34-35)

THOSE

in kuttinge ore opnynges þo partyes þat ben hol, & in helynge þo that ben tobroken opere kutte, (p.7, l.34-p.8, l.2)
 & entyremete he nought of þo þat beþ in dyspeyre. (p.9, l.25-26)
 But for þat þe qualities, þat with þo bodyes of Elementes (p.10, l.33-34)
 & yt ys vnpossible to departe þo qualites from bodyes – (p.10, l.34-35)
 One of þo men ys of an hote compexioun (p.12, l.28)
 & whenne þo ben y-dreyede, kynde engendryth fflesch. (p.14, l.30)
 but þo tweyne defautes, (p.29, l.34)
 Þo woundes þat beþ y-mad in lengthe of þe synwe beþ lasse perylous, & þo þat beþ in brede of þe synwe beþ more perilous. (p.39, l.36-p.40, l.21)
 Iuel woundes beþ þo, to whom scharpe humores rennyth (p.42, l.28-29)

LP 7620

The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS 117, ed. F.J. Furnivall, EETS os 98 (London, 1892-1901)

THESE

These . in inst. of teon (l.821)
 kepyn these (l.825)

THOSE

And all tho that of hem two spronge (l.152)

Appendix 3: Parallel lines of fifteen *Prick of Conscience* texts

	Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY (Bodley 99/Ctext)
119	And alle þer benefice hald in mynde,	And all yir benyface hald in mynde	And many benefyce vnto him did
253	þus þer four lettes his insight	Yus yir foure lettes his insyght	Yise foure lettes his insight
257	þir four norishces ofte pompe and pride	Yir foure norisches oft pomp and pryde	Yise four norissh pompe and pride
259	For in him, in wham ane of þer four es	For in him in whame ane of yir foure es	In whom so any of yise four es
289	þis wordes by þam may be sayd here,	Yis wordes bi yam may be said here	Yise wordes be yaim may be sayd here
433	Principaly, in þis partes thre,	Principaly in yis partes thre	Prinsypally in yise thynges thre
434	þat er þir to our understandyng;	Yat er yir to our vnderstandyng	Yat are yise til our vndurstandyng
436	þer þre partes er þre spaces talde	Yir thre partes er thye spaces	Yise may be thre spaces talde
461	With þer he was first norissshed þar.	With yir he was first noryssched yare	Her with was he norissht yer
	3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
119	Omitted	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
253	Yus yes four lettes his insight	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
257	Yes foure nowe rises pompe and pride	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
259	In wham so any of yes foure is	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
289	Yes wordes may be saide be yay here	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
433	Principally in yes thynges thre	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
434	Yat is vntill oure vndrestandynge	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
436	Yes may thre sparces be talde	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
461	Here with was he norissied yare	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
	6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
119	Leaf broken (<i>Language 1</i>)	And hise benefycis holde in mynde	And þese gode dedud halden in mynde
253	Leaf broken	These foure in wordly lettib his syht	þese four rettun hym • his syzt
257	Leaf broken	These foure nursche pompe and pryde	þese foure noreschun • pomp an pride
259	Leaf broken	In wom so ony of þese foure es	Omitted
289	þese wordys þat he seyth may be seyde here	These to hem may be seyde here	þise wordus by hem seyt he here
433	Prinsipaly in thingys thre	Principaly in þyngs thre	Souereynly in tymus þre
434	þat is to our vndirstondynge	That arn to our vndirstandynge	þat bune • to • oure vndurstandyng
436	þese may be thre spacis told	Of iche manners lyf boþe zunge tolde	þus mowne • þre spacus be tolde
461	þer with was he norched her þer	Here wiþ was he nurschid þare	þer wyth wes he • noreschede þore

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
119 And þese good dede hold in mynde	And hys gudnysse haue in mynde	And hys goddnys have yn hys mynde
253 These foure rettith? hym insight	Þys four letteth hy of sygte	Thys foure letteth hy of syzt
257 Þes foure norischen pompe and pryde	Thys foure norcheth nuiche pryde and doste	Thus for wyrchyth moch pride and bost
259 In whom any of þese foure es	In wham eny of þys foure ys	In whom eny of thys four yes
289 Þes wordne by hem seyth he here	Þes wordes by hom beth y sayd here	Thys wordys by hy by sayde here
433 Principally in thinges þre	Principalyche in partyes þre	Princypalyche • partyes thre
434 That are to oure vnderstandyng	That buth to oure vnderstandyng	That buth to our vnderstandyng
436 þus may thre spaces be tolde	Thes mowe be spaces y tolde	Thys may be hy spacys y tolde
461 Here wyt was he norysched þere	Difficult to read	There with was he norsed there
12 Wrk		
119 No corresponding line		
253 þus þe foure letten his owne insighte		
257 Þese foure norissde ofte pompe and pride		
259 Ffor in whom oon of þese foure is		
289 These woordes by hem may be seyde here		
433 Pryncepally in þese partes thre		
434 That be þese to vderstandyng		
436 These þre partes ben þre spaces tolde		
461 With þis he was first norisshed þere		
13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
119 And al þe benefice haue in mynde	And many benefecys he hym dydde	And his benefetes halde in mende (<i>Language 1</i>)
253 þus þese four lettes hys sizte	þus þes foure lettyth mannys syzth	Þis foure lettes a man in syghte
257 Þese four norissches ofte pompe and pride	Thes four norschen pompe and pryde	Þis foure norysses pompe and pryde
259 Ffor in him whome oon of þees four is	Ffor in hym on whom oon of þes four ysse	In wham so any of þis foure is
289 Þes wordes by he may be sayde here	Thus by hym may be sayd here	Þis wordes be þam he sayde here
433 Prinsiply in þys partices þre	Pryncypally in partyes þre	Pryncypally in þynges þree
434 And beþ þese siker vn to vndyrstynge	That beþ þes iij to vnderstandyng	Þat ere tyll oure vnderstandyng
436 Þes þre partices beþ y told	Þes iij partyes ben spacys tolde	þus may be þre spaces tolde
461 With here he was norisshed þer	And þus he was y norsched þer	þer wyth was he norysshed þere

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
491 "Alle þas", he says, "þat comes of Eve,	All yase he sais yat comes of Eue	Alle yose he says yat comes of eve
510 Of þis twa tymes we shuld thynk þan,	Of yes twa tymes we think yen	Of yise two thynges we schuld thyk yan
797 He lakes þa men þat now are sene;	He lakes ya men yat now er sene	And falles yo man yat now are sene
800 Alle þir, thurgh kynd, to an ald man falles,	All yir thurgh kynd till ane ald man falles	Alle yis kyndely to olde men falles
828 Men says, al þir takens sere	Men sais all yir takens sere	Men sayne yat alle yise tokens sere
961 þat world þer clerkes 'world of world' calles.	Yat warld yir clerkes world of world calles	Yat ye world of worldes yise clerkes calles
971 Swa þat withouten þa worldes es noght.	Swa yat withouten ya worlds es noght	So at withouten yaim are noght
983 As men may here þer clerkes telle.	As men may here yir clerkes tell	Als men may her yise clerkes telle
1006 Þir worldes byfor als was Goddes wille	Yir worldes bifore als was godes will	Yise worldes als it was goddes wille
1065 Þas men worldesshe men men calles,	Yase men worldylch men men calles	Yus men worldly men men talles
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
491 Alle yas he said yat are comen of Eve	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
510 Of yes two thynges we suld thynke yan	No corresponding line	Of these two thinges we schulde thinke þan
797 And lakkes yos men yat nowe are sene	No corresponding line	And lakkes these men that now ar sene
800 Alle yes byndely to olde men falles	No corresponding line	Alle these kyndely to olde men falles
828 Man said yat alle yes tokenes sere	No corresponding line	Men sayn þat these tokens þat ar here
961 Yat worlde ys worlde of worldes clerks calles	No corresponding line	That world þe worlde of worldes clerkes calles
971 So yat withouten yaim is nogt	No corresponding line	So that withouten thaym is noght
983 Als 3he may here yes clerkes telle	No corresponding line	As þe may here these clerkes telles
1006 Yes worldes as it is gods wille	No corresponding line	Thes worldes it was goddes wylle
1065 Yes ne? worldly men men calles	No corresponding line	These men worldely men men calles
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
491 Alle þo he seyde þat þat comyth of eue	Alle þese he seyp þat comm of eue	Also he seyth þo comm of Eue
510 Of þese to schalde we thynken þan	Of þese two þynges we schuld þynke þan	Of þese tow shulde we þenke þane
797 And lakkes þo men þat now are sene (<i>Language 2</i>)	And lackip men þat now arn sene	And laketh þo • þat now ar sen
800 Alle þese kendely til olde men falles	Alle þese kyndly to elde men fallip	To olde men • þese cuyndly fallen
828 Men says þat þis tokenes sere	Men seyn þat alle þese toknis seere	Men sey þat • al þys tokenes here
961 þat þe world of worldes riches calles	That þe world of worldis richesse callip	Of worldely recheys • þat •þe world calleþ
971 So þat withouten hem as nowt	Soo þat wiþoutn hem are nouht	So þat wybouten • hem ys no3te
983 As men may here þis clerk telle	As men may here þese clerkes telle	As clerkes mounne her • lewed men telle
1006 Þis world es as godes wylle	This world as it is goddis wille	Þys worldes bothe as goddes wylle
1065 Yo men warldlyche men cal (<i>language1</i>)	These men worldly men men calle	Suche men worldely men we calle

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
491 Alle þo he seyth com of eue	All þylke he sayth þat cometh of eve	Alle he saythes that cometh of eve
510 On þese two schuld we thinke þen	Of þys þyng schal we þynke þanne	On thys to thyngs schul we thynke yan
797 And laikup þe men þat now be sene	Omitted	No corresponding line
800 Alle þese to old men kyndly falleth	Alle þes manners to olde men falleth	Ale thys maner ys to olde men falleth
828 Men seyn þat þese tokens sere	Men seyen þat þes toknys beth	Men sayth þat þis tokenys buth
961 Omitted	Ffor none bote suche god to hym calleth	Ffor none bote suche god to hy callyth
971 Omitted	So þat withouten hym ys rigt nouȝt	So that withoute hy is ther ryȝt noȝt
983 Omitted	As men mowe here þes clerkys telle	As men may here thys clerkys telle
1006 Omitted	Thys as yt ?? godys wyll	Thus as hyt is godys wylle
1065 Omitted	Suche worldlyche men we call	Suche worlych men we call

12 Wrk
491 Alle as he seith þat comen of Eve
510 On þese two tymes schall we þenke þan
797 He lacketh men þat now be seen
800 Alle þese by kynde to an olde man falleth
828 Men seyn þat all þese tokenes heere
961 And clerkes worlde of worlde þat calleth
971 Soo without þe worlds bene noght
983 As men may here þese clerkes telle
1006 Þese worldes bifore as was goddes wille
1065 Such men worldly men men calles

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
491 Alle þes he saiþ comeþ of Eve	Al þes he seyth þat comeþ of adam and of eue	Alle þese he says þatt come fro Eue
510 Of þes to tymes we shulde þanne	On þis in ech tyme we schoulde þenke þanne	Off þis two þynges we shuld þenk þan
797 He lakkeþ þe men þat nowe beþ seene	And laklyttheþ zunge men þat now been	And lackses yonge men þat now are sene
800 Alle þese þorug kynde to an olde man falleþ	Alle þes of kynde to an olde men falleth	Alle þis to olde men kyndely falles
828 Men seyes alle þes tokenes ysere	Men sayn alle þes toknes sere	Men says þat all þese tokenes sere
961 Þat worde þes clerkes a worlde of worldes calleþ	Þat wordle þes clerkys wordle of wordys calleþ	Þatt þe waulde of weuldly vyches calles
971 So withoutene þe worlde nys nouȝte	So þat withoute þo wordlys is nouȝthe	So þat wythouten þaim are nought
983 As man may here wise clerkys telle	As men hereþ clerkys telle	Als men may her þis clerkes tell
1006 Þes worldes byfore as was goddys wille	Þes wordles byfore after godys wylle	Þis werld als it is goddes wylle
1065 Þes men worldlich men men kalles	Þes men wordlychmen man calles	Þese men wauldly men men call

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
1078 Alle þas men þat þe world mast dauntes	All ya men yat ye world mast dauntes	Alle yose men yat ye worlde moste dauntes
1080 And þas þat þe world serves and loves,	And yase yat ye world serues and loues	And yai yat ye worlde moste lofes
1188 Bot þa þat wille him folow, he ledes	Bot ya yat will him folow he ledes	Bot alle yat will folow him he ledes
1223 And þa er þe grete stormes kene	And ya er þe grete stormes kene	And yo are ye grete stomes kene
1253 Þa er þe world, þe fende, our flesshe,	Ya er ye world ye fend oure flesshe	Yoo are ye worlde ye fende and our flesshe
1259 With þe right hand and þe left; þere twa	With ye ryght hand and ye left yir twa	With ye right hands and with ye lift also
1271 Þe whilk þer clerkes þe left hand calles	Ye whilk yir clerkes ye left hand calles	And yat yise clerkes ye lift hande calles
1281 Þe whilk þir clerkes noght elles calles,	Ye wylk yir clerkes noght els calles	Ye qwilk yise clerkes noght elles calles
1330 And to þis wordes, þat sum men mys pays,	And to yis wordes yat som men mys pays	And til yise wordes yat some mispayes
1338 Bot þe world prayses nan, bot þa anly	Bot ye world prayses name both ya anely	Bot ye worlde prayses no ne bot ye onely
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
1078 Alle yes men yat ye worlde must daunttes	No corresponding line	Ich man that the worlde most dawntes
1080 And yei yat ye worlde serves and lowes	No corresponding line	And thay that the worldes serues and loues
1188 Ffor alle yat will hym folowe he ledes	No corresponding line	Ffor al that wil hym folowe he ledes
1223 And yes are grete tormets and kene	And tho are the grete stormys kene	And these grete turmentes and kene
1253 Yat is ye worlde • ys fende • oure flesche	Þo aren the world the fende þe flesh	That is the worlde the fende and oure flesch
1259 Wyth ye right hande and with ye lefte also	Wyth the ryght and wyth þe lefte also	With the right honde and the lift also
1271 And yat clerkes here lefte hand calles	Thus clerkys þe lefte hand callyth	And that clerkes here the lift hond calles
1281 Yat yes clerkes noȝt elles calles	The whyche thys clerkys noght ellys callyth	That these clerkes noght elles calles
1330 And to yes worldes yat sum men mys pays	And to thys wordys þat som mys payth	And to þair wordes þat sum men mys payes
1338 Bot ye worlde prayses non bot yaim only	But the world praysyth noon but þem only	But the worlde praises noȝt but these onely
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
1078 Also yo men yat is were most dauntes	Alle þoo men þat þe world most daunteþ	Alle men þet þe world moste daunteth
1080 And he yat ye werd seruyth and loyth	And þey þat þe world seruip and louip	And þo þat hit schervetþ and louueth
1188 He yat wil folwyn him he ledis	Nouht alle þat wilu him folwe he hedis	Þo þat wole hym folowe he ledes
1223 Yo arn ȝet ye stormys kene	And þoo arn þe grete stormis kene	Þese ben þe grete stermes kene
1253 Ye ten is ye werd • ys fend • A oure fleysch	Thoo arn þe world þe feend owr flesch	Þat vs to a sayle ȝenner seth frechde
1259 With ye ryft hond and ye left also	Wip the ryht hand and þe lefte alsoo	Buth þe ryȝt hond and þe lyfte also
1271 Þat þese clerkys þe ryht hand callith	And þat þese clerkis left hand callip	Þe wheche clerkes þe lyft hond calleth
1281 Þis qwyl not ellys yese clerkis callith	The gwicher þese clerkis nouht ellis callip	Þus clerkes welthe non oþer þe pyng calleþ
1330 And to yis word yat sum men mys pays	And to þese wurdys þat sum men mis payip	To þese wordes þat sum men myssepayeþ
1338 Þe werd plesith none but hem only	But þe world preysip noon but he only	Þe world preyseth but þo wonly

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
1078 Omitted	He þat þys world most host wyþe	He that thys worlde most host wyth
1080 Omitted	And hy þat servyth most and loveþe	And that hy þat serveth hyt most and loveth
1188 Omitted	Bot who so folowye ho wese hy lede	Bote he here folwe 3e wol hym lede
1223 Omitted	And þes buþe þe stormys kene	And thes byth the stormys kene
1253 Omitted	Omitted	Thay ys the world þat fennd and our flesch
1259 Omitted	Wyth þe ryzte honde and with þe lyft also	Wyth the ryzt honde and the lyft also
1271 Pat þes clerken lyft hond calleþe	??tt clerkys clepen þe lyst hond alse	T3yt clerkes clepyth the lyft hond als
1281 Omitted	Clerkys þis nouzt ellys calle	Clerkys þys nozt elles calleth
1330 Omitted	Omitted	And to thys worthe þat somme mys payeth
1338 Omitted	Omitted	The world prayeth that men only

12 Wrk
1078 Alle þe men þat þe worlde moost daunteth
1080 Thei þat þe worlde serveth and loueth
1188 But þo þat wil folwe he ledes
1223 And þo bene þe stormes kene
1253 Þoo ben þe worlde þe feend and oure flesshe
1259 With þe right hande and þe lifte alsoo
1271 Pat þese clerkes þe lifte hand calles
1281 And þat men hoolden heeve noght elles
1330 To þese wordes þat some men myspaieth
1338 But þe worlde preiseth noon but þoo onely

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
1078 Alle þe men þat þe worlde moste dauntip	Alle þe men þat þe wordle most a daunteþ	Als þese man þat þe wauld moste dauntes
1080 And þees þat þe worlde serveþ and loveþ	And þei þat þe wordle most loueþ	And þese þat þe warld suffices and loves
1188 But he þat hi wenep follawe he ledes	Omitted	Bot all þat hym folwes he ledes
1223 And waxeþ fulle kene ??? stormes and þralles	And þat ben þe stormes kene	And þo ere þe grete stormes kene
1253 Pat ys þe worlde þe fende our flesshe	Þat is þe fend þe wordle and oure flesche	Þo are þe wauld · þe fend · oure flesssh
1259 Wyth þe ryzte honde and with þe lefte þis	Wyth þe lyzte hand and þe lefte þere to	Wyth þe ryght hand and wyth þe left also
1271 Þe whiche þes clerke þe lyftes honde kalleþ	Þe wyche þes clerkes þe left hand calleþ	And þat þese clerkes þe left hand calles
1281 Þe wiche þees clerke nouzt ellys kalleþ	Þe wyche clerkes not ellys calles	The whych þese clerkes nough elles calles
1330 And to þys worlde as som men myssepayeþ	And to þis word þat foure men myspays	And tyl þese worldes þat sum mysprayse
1338 But þe worlde prayseþ noon but hem oonly	Ffor þe wordle preyseþ nouzt but only	Bot þe weuld prayses non bot þem only

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
1446 Alle þer variance to understande	All yir varyance to vndirstand	Alle yise variaunce to vndirstande
1471 Þer er þe maners here of þis lyfe,	Yere er ye maners here of yis lyfe	Yise are ye maners of mannes lyfe
1500 Bathe þer worldes, I dar wele say,	Bath yir worldes I dar wele say	Bothe yise worldes i dar wel say
1516 Of bathe þer worldes gret outrage we	Of bath yir worldes gret outrage we se	In bothe yis worldes outrage we se
1522 Þas tas over mykel vayn costage,	Yat tase ouer mykell vayn costage	Yat takes mycul vayne costages
1546 Of swilk comes þir gyses þat we se.	Of whilk comes yir gyses yat we se	Ne slike gyse als men may now se
1564 And þa, þat with swylk gyses God greves,	And ya yat with wilk gyses god greves	And yai yat with slike gyse god greves
1577 In Godes name, als þes verses shewes us.	In godes name als yis vers schewes vs	No corresponding line
1581 Þis may be said be all þa	Yis may be said bi all ya	Yis may be sayd be alle yo
1682 Ffor als þir clerkes fynes writen and redes,	For als yir clerkes fyndes wryten and redes	Ffor alls yise clerkes in bokes redes
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
1446 Alle yes variances till vndrestande	All thys varyance to vndyrstand	Omitted
1471 Yes are ye maners of mans lyffe	Þes ar þe maners of mans lyff	These ar the maners of mannes lyve
1500 Bothe yes worldes I • dare wele say	Bothe thes worldys I dar weel say	Both these worldes I dar wele say
1516 In bothe yes worldes outrages wese	In bothe thes worldys owtrage now we se	In this world outrages we se
1522 Yat takes mykist vayn costage	That takyth mekyll veyn costage	No corresponding line
1546 ?? siche gise als men may se	Such gyse as men may now se	Ne such gyses as men may se
1564 And fore yai with siche gise god greves	And þei þat such pryde vsyth and god grevys	And for thai with such gise god greves
1577 In gods name also yis treties sais vs	No corresponding line	In goddes name as this tretes shewes vs
1581 And yis may be said by alle yo	No corresponding line	And this may be saide be al tho
1682 Ffor als yat clerkys in bokes redes	Ffor as clerkys in boke redyth	Ffor as these clerks in bokes redes
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
1446 Omitted	That arn vnstable and variande	Omitted
1471 Þese arn þe manerys of manys lyf	These arn þe maneris of manis lyf	Þese ben maneres of monnes lyef
1500 Bothe þese wardis I • der wel sab	Boþe þe worldis I dar wel say	Boþe þys worldes y dar wel say
1516 In bothe þese werdis outrage we se	In boþe þese worldis outrage we see	?? boþe worldes outrage we see
1522 Þat takyn meche veyn costage	It takip mochil vayn costage	Þee tasth mychel veyn cosgate
1546 Swiche gise as men now may se	Ffor swiche gysis as men mown now see	??y schuc as men monne now y see
1564 And þei with swich þese god greues	And þey þat wiþ swiche gysis god greuis	He þat with schuc gyse god greues
1577 Omitted	No corresponding line	Omitted
1581 Þis may be seyde be alle þo	This may be seyde as þe bok putth?	Þus may be seyde of alle þoo
1682 Ffor as clerkys in bok redyth	Ffor as þese clerkis in bokis reddin	As dyuers clerkes • in bokes reden

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
1446 Alle þes tokenes vndurstonde	That bene vnstable and vnstyedfast	Omitted
1471 Þese are maners of mones lyf	Thes buþe maners of mannys lyfe	Thus buþ manerys of manys lyf
1500 Boþe þes worldus I dar wel say	Bote þys world i dar wel saye	Bote thys world y ther wel say
1516 In boþe þese outrage we se	Boþe þy worldys outrage ben	Outrage both bothe thys worles
1522 Þat · takeþ myche veyn costage	That takeþe mucho vayns costage	That taketh moche vayn costage
1546 ?? such as men may now se	Omitted	No corresponding line
1564 Þer þat ??? þes gyses god greues	And þey þat with suche gyse grevyth	No corresponding line
1577 Omitted	Omitted	Hy steryeth god to wrethe sayth he
1581 Þys may be seyde be alle þo	This sayþe he by hom and no mo	Thys maybe sayd as the boke ?vyth
1682 Omitted	Ffor as clerkys in bokes redeþe	Ffor as clerkes on bokys redyth

12 Wrk
1446 Þat soo vnstable ben and variande
1471 These ben þe maners of mannes lif
1500 Bothe þese worldes I dar wel seye
1516 Of bothe þese worldes greet ourtage we see
1522 Þat taketh ouer much vayn custage
1546 Of suche men comen gises as we see
1564 And þus with her gyses god þei greve
1577 In goddes name as is shewede to vs
1581 Þis may be seide by all þoo
1682 Ffor as clerkes fynde writen and redeth

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
1446 Alle þees variance to vnderstandynge	All þese varyaunce to vnderstande	All þis varyaunce to vnderstande
1471 Þees beþ þe mannes here on þys lyfe	Þese ben þe manerys of þis lyf	Þese are þe maner of mans lyf
1500 Boþe þe worldes ych dar wel say	Boþe wordys dar wel say	Bothe þese werldes · I · dar wel say
1516 Of boþe þes worldes grete owtrag we se	Of boþe þe wordles gret outrage we se	In boþe þese werldes outrage we see
1522 Þat haueþ over moche vayne costage	That har euer mucho vayne costage	Þat takes mekell veyn costage
1546 Of wiche comeþ þees gise þat we see	Of wych comeþ þis gyse as men se	Ore swylk gyse als men may now se
1564 And þey þat with suche gise here god grevece	And þo þat with such wyse god greues	And þay þat swylke pryde vre god greves
1577 In godnes name as þat vers schewiþ vs	In godis name as þis vers scheweþ vs	No corresponding line
1581 Þus may be sayde by alle þo	Þus me dede by alle þo	And þis may be sayde be alle þeo
1682 Ffor as clerkys fyndeþ wryten and redeþ	For alle clerkes fyndeþ wretyn and redeþ	Ffor als þis clerkes in bokes redes

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
1830 Wha-swa wil of þer four take hede	Wha sa will of yir foure tak hede	Who so to yise four wil take hede
1832 Of twa of þere four, byfore I spake,	Of twa of yir foure bifer I sapke	Of tuo of yise four before I sapke
2202 For þas þat men sese in gude lyfe ende	For yase yat men sese in gud lyfe ende	Yat is all yose yat may here ende
2337 Als þa er þat now in heven duels,	Als yai er yat now in heuen dwels	Als yai are now yat in heune duelles
2448 And þa sal be shewed byfor þe	And ya sall be shewed bifer ye	Yen schal be schewed vnto ye
2451 Pan of þa þat þou mught here knawe.	Yan of ya yat you mought here knawe	Yen of yat yat yow couthe here knawe
2471 Þir thre skils er gude to lere,	Yir thre skyls er gud to lere	Thise thre skilles are gode to lere
2477 Commes of our-selven þa er our-awen,	Comes of our seluen yai er our awen	Comes of oure selfe yai are oure awe
2512 Bot yhit es he noght syker in þir days,	Bot yhit es he noght syker in yis days	Bot syker ar we not in yis dayes
2548 Þer er Bernard wordes þat says:	Yir er Bernard wordes yat says	Yise are bernard wordes yat says
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
1830 Who so to yes foure takes heede	Qwo so to þes foure takyth hede	Who so to the foure takes hede
1832 Of two of yes foure before I • spake	Of two of thys fowre byfor I spak	Of two of these foure before I sapke
2202 Yat is alle yos yat may be here ende	Thay ys all þo þat here may ende	That is al those þat may here ende
2337 Als yai are nowe yat in heven dwelles	As þei are þat now in hevyn duellys	As thai ar now that in heven dwels
2448 Yai sall be schewed vnto ye	Than shal be shewyd on to the	Than schal be shewed vnto the
2451 Yan of yos yat you couthe here knowe	þen of þat þat þou cowde here kanwe	Than of those that you couth here knawe
2471 And yes thre skilles are gude to lere	Thes thre skyllys es good to lere	And tho thre skylles ar gode to lere
2477 Comme of oure selve yos are oure awen	Comyth of owre self þei ar oo??	Comes of oure seluen þat ar oure owen
2512 Bot sikire are we nozt in yes days	But sekyr are we not in thes days	But seker ar we noght in these dayes
2548 Yes are bnarde wordes yat sais	Thes arn seynt bernardes wordys þat þere seyth	These ar Barnard wordes that thus sayes
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
1830 Wo so of þese foure take hede	Wo so to þese foure takip hede	To þese foure he so taketh hede
1832 Of to of þese foure before I sapk	Of two of þese foure before I spak	Of tooe of þese byvore y spake
2202 þat arn alle þat her may ende	That is alle þey that here may end	To both alle þat her monne ende
2337 As yei arn þat in heuene dwel	No corresponding line	As ys þat duellen in heuene lyzt
2448 Þan schal it ben shewyd on to þe	Thane schal be schewid vn to the	Þaime schal hit be schewed byfore þe
2451 Pan of yitt yon coudest here knawe	Thane of þat þow koudist here knawe	Þan of þo þou coudest her rede
2471 Þese thre skelys arn goode to lere	These þre skilis are good to lere	Þees þre arne goode to lere
2477 Comyn of our self and arn oure owyn	Komm of owr self and arn owre own	Comen of vs and arn oure oun
2512 But seke arn we nout in þese days	But sikir are we nouht in þis dayies	But sikur be we not on veches dayes
2548 Þese arn þe wordys þat Bernad seyth	These arn seynt anselmis wurdip þat says	Seynt Bernard her to vs sayth

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
1830 Whos to þese foure take hede	Who þat of þes foure takeþe hede	Ho that of thys foure taketh hede
1832 Of two of þese before I spake	Of twey of þes foure ic spake	Of to of thys foure þat y spake
2202 Omitted	That buþe al þat here makeþe ende	That buth alle þat here maketh ende
2337 Omitted	As hy buþe nowȝe þat in heven dwellys	Omitted
2448 Þen schal be schewed vnto þe	Than schal be schewys openlyche to þe	Than schal be y schowed openly to the
2451 Omitted	Than for hom þat þou coutedyst wes	Omitted
2471 Þes þre be goode to lere	And þys þre skyles buþe gude to lere	And thys thre skelys buþ good to lere
2477 Commes of oure self and are oure owne	Þat sups of vs slef hy buþe oure owne	Cometh of ous sylf hy buth oure owe
2512 Bot syker be we not ȝu þese dayes	Bot syker we ne be nouȝt in þes dayes	But syker we buth noȝt on thys dayes
2548 Seynt bernard here vs sayuþ	Seynt benard sayþe þus as we redeþe	Saint Bernard sayth thus as we rede

12 Wrk
1830 Whoo soo will of þese foure take heede
1832 Of two of þese foure bifore I spake
2202 Ffor þat men see in gode lif ende
2337 As þoo ben þat now in heven dwelles
2448 And þat schall be schewede to fore þe
2451 Þan of hem þat þou might heere knowe
2471 Þese þre skiles ben ful gode to lere
2477 Comen of oure self þese ben oure owen
2512 Omitted
2548 These be bernardes wordes þat seys

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
1830 Who so of þees four takeþ hede	Who so ??? of þes fower take hede	Who so wele of þese foure take hede
1832 Of to of þees four byfore y spake	Of two of þes four byfore y spak	Omitted
2202 Ffor þo þat men seep in goode lyvyngende	Ffor alle þo þat me seþ in goud lyf ende	Omitted (<i>Language 2</i>)
2337 Alle þo þat now beþ in helle deuellyþ	As þo þat now in heuene dwellys	As þei be now þat in heuene dwelles
2448 And þey shulle be schewed bifore þe	And þo schulle be schewde afor þe	Omitted
2451 Þan of þilke þat þow myȝtest here knawe	Omitted	þan of þe synnes þu here couþe knowe
2471 Þees þre skilles beþ gode to lere	Þes iij skyles beþ goud to lere	Þere þre skylles be good to lere
2477 Comeþ of oure self þat beþ oure owen	Comeþ of vs self þo ben oure owe	Comen of oure self þat beþ oure owen
2512 But ȝit ys he nouȝte siker and his dayes	Bote ȝut he is vnsiker in his dayes	Bot yit full seker is he nouȝt yan
2548 Þees beþ auselme wordes þat say	Thes ben þe wordys þat þus sayþ	Omitted

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
2622 Til ioy or payne, als says þer clerkes.	Till ioy or payn als says yir clerkes	Til ioy or pyne als says yise clerkes
2708 Of þir sex poyntes I wil spek and rede,	Of yir sex poyntes I will spek and rede	Of yise sex poyntes now wil I rede
2779 Til þer twa may penaunce us lede.	Till yir twa may penaunce vs lede	Til yis two may penaunce vs lede
2808 And þa þat þar war with hym out tuke	And ya yat yare ware with him out tuke	And alle yat were yat in he toke
2816 Alle þir four stedes men may helle calle,	All yir foure stedes men may hell call	Yise four stedes men may helle calle
2872 Yhit says þir grete clerkes namly,	Yhit sais yir gret clerkes namely	itt says yise grete clerkes namely
2899 And þa seven I wille here specify,	And ya seuen I will here specify	Omitted
2902 Þe first payn es of þa seven,	Ye first payn es of ya seuen	Ye furst payne is of yo seve
2966 Of þes twa maners of payns of drede	Of yes twa maners of payns of dede	Omitted
3006 Þir maladies þar þe saul mar greves,	Yir maladies yare ye saule mare greues	Yo maladyes yore more saules greues
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
2622 To ioye or payne als sais yes clerkes	Tyl ioye or peyn as seyth clerkys	To ioye or paynes as sayne these clerkes
2708 And of yes sex poyntes will I rede	Of thes syx poyntys now wyl y rede	And of the sex peyntes nowe wil I rede
2779 To yes two may penaunce vs lede	To thys two may penaunc vs lede	To these two may penaunce vs lede
2808 And alle yat were ye with hym he toke	And all þat were ???? with hym he toke	An al that were ther with hym he toke
2816 Yes foure stedes men may helle calle	Thes fowre stedys men helle call	These foure stedes men may hel cal
2872 Yus sais grete clerkes namely	it seyn thes grete clerkys namyly	Yet sayes a grete clerke witterly
2899 Bot I fynde writen of paynes seuene	Omitted	Omitted
2902 Ye first payne is of seuene	The fyrst peyne of the seuyn	The first payne of the seven
2966 Of yes two maners of paynes of drede	Omitted	Of these two maners of paynes drede
3006 Yes maladices more yos saules greves	Thes maledyes the sowle more grevyn	These maladys more those saules þer greves
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
2622 To ioye or peyne so seyn þese clerkys	To ioye or peyne as seyh þese clerkis	To ioy or peyne as seyen þese klerkes
2708 Of þese sexe poyntys wel I rede	Of þese sexe poyntis now wul I reede	Of þese syxxe peynes yow wol y rede
2779 To þese penauns may vs lede	To þese two may penaunce vs lede	To þese too may penaunce vs lede
2808 Leaf broken	And alle þat wern þer in wiþ him he took	Alle þet þer were with hym be tok
2816 Þese four stedys men helle calle	These foure stedis men hell calle	Þese foure stedde helle men calle
2872 It seþn þese grete clerkys namely	It seyn þese grete clerkis namely	Bet seyen þys klerkes nomly
2899 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
2902 ¶ þe fyrste peyne of þe seuene	The firste peyne of al of þe seuene	Þe firste peyne of seuene
2966 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
3006 Þo maladyis þe soule more ?enyth	Thoo maladyis þere he more greuiþ	Þat maladyse þe soule more greueth

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
2622 To io ^y or pyne as seyn þe clerkus	Omitted	To io ^y e or payne as telleth clerkys
2708 Of þese syx poyntes I now wol I rede	Of þes syx poyntes now wol Iche rede	Of thys sex poyntys now wol y rede
2779 To þese two may penaunce vs lede	To þys tweye may penaunce vs lede	To thys too may penans ous lede
2808 All þer were with hym he toke	And þat were with inne with hym he toke	And þat were withynne with hy he toke
2816 Þese foure stedes men helle calle	Thes foure stedys hell men call	Thys foure stedys howe men calle
2872 3it seiþe þes gret clerkus namely	Omitted	T3yt sayeth somme that come clergye
2899 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
2902 Þe first peyne of þe seuen	The furste payne of þo seuen	Omitted
2966 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
3006 Þo maladyes more hem greueþe	Omitted	That malady grevyth the body sore

12 Wrk
2622 To io ^y e op [?] peyne as seyn þese clerkes
2708 Of þese vi poyntes I will speke and rede
2779 To þese two may penaunce vs lede
2808 And þo þat þere were with hym toke
2816 All þese foure stedes men may here call
2872 3et sey þese grete clerkes namely
2899 Of þese sevene wil I here specefy
2902 The firste peyne of sevene
2966 Of þese two maners of peynes to drede
3006 Þese maladyes þe more þe soule greveth

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
2622 To io ^y e oþer peyne so seyen þees clerkes	To io ^y e or payne as sayþ þis clerkys	To io ^y e or peyne • as sayþ þese clerkes
2708 Omitted	Omitted	Of þese sexe poyntes I welle speke and rede
2779 To þees to may penaunce men lede	To þes two þinges may penaunce us lede	Omitted
2808 And þilke þat þere were onte toke	And hem þat þer were out he tok	And þo þat þere were with hym he took
2816 Alle þees foure steedes helle may men calle	Alle þese iiij men may helle calle	Þese foure stedes men may helle calle
2872 It seyen þees grete clerk namely	3ut sayþe ry3t grete clerkys openly	3it sayþ þes grete clerk namely
2899 And þilke seuene iche wolle here specify	And þo seuene I wol here specyfy	Omitted
2902 Þe firste peyne of þe seuene	The furste payne of þe seuene	The fyrste peynes is of pergatory
2966 Of þees to maners of peynes to drede	Of þes ij maners as paynes of drede	Omitted
3006 Þees maladises þer þe soule more greueþ	Þes malodyes þer þe soule more greueþ	Þese maladies þe soule more greves

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
3092 To abate þat fire, þa thre er best,	To abate yat fyre yat thre er best	Omitted
3093 For þa thre may bring þe saul to rest.	For ya thre may bryng ye saul till rest	Omitted
3186 Þa er venial synnes þat may falle,	Ya er venyel syns yat may fall	Yat are venyal synnes yat may falle
3217 Þan þa saules has, whyles þai er þare.	Yan ya seules has whils yai er yare	Yen ye saules has qwyle yai are yore
3306 Þis twa maners of saules er save,	Yes twa maners of saules er saue	Yise tuo maners of saules are safe
3358 Þa syns þat er cald dedly	Ya syns yat er cald dedly	Omitted
3361 And whilk þas er I wil yow telle.	And whilk yase er I will yhow tell	And whilk yai are I schal you telle
3362 Þir er þa hede syns þat er dedely;	Yer er ye hed syns yat er dedly	Yise are yo synnes yat are dedly
3369 Ilkan of þir es a dedly syn.	Ilk ane of yir es a dedly syn	Ilkone of yise are a dedly syn
3375 In any of þir syns dedly,	In any of yir syns dedly	In any of yise synnes dedly
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
3092 To abate yat fire yes thre are best	To abate þat fyre þei ar the beste	To abate thayr fyre thay thre ar best
3093 Yes thre may brynge ye saule to rest	For þei may bryng a sowle to reste	These thre may brynge the saule to rest
3186 Yat is venyall syne yat may falle	That are venyall sennys þat may fall	That is venial synne that may fal
3217 Yan ye saules haue whiles yai are yore	Than the sowlys han qwhy! they be þore	Than the saules haue whiles þay ar thore
3306 Yes two maners of saules are saue	Thes two manyr of sowlys ar	These two maner of saules ar save
3358 Yes synnes yat are called dedly	The synnys þat ar callyd dedly	Those synnes þat be called dedely
3361 And whilke yai are I will 3owe telle	And qwych they be y shall yow telle	And which thai ar I wyl you tel
3362 Yes are ye synes yat are dedly	Thes arn the sennys þat ar dedly	These ar the synnes þat ar dedely
3369 Iwone of yes is dedly synne	Euerch of thys dedly synne	Ich one of these ar synne dedely
3375 In any of yes synnes dedly	In any of thes sennys dedly	In any of thyse synnes dedely
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
3092 To abate þat fer is best	To abate þat fyr þan are beste	To slake þe fuyer þuse arn beste
3093 Þese thre may brynge þe soule to reste	These thre may brynge þe soule to reste	Ffor þey may brynge þe soule to rest
3186 Þo arn venyal synys þat may falle	That arn venial sinnis þat mowu falle	To vyl?yn synnes þet folke in falle
3217 Þan þe soulys han qwyl þei arn þore	Than þe soulis han qwil þat þey arn þare	Þen soules ha? when þey ben þore
3306 Þese to maner of soulys arn saue	These two maner of soulis arn saue	Þese towe manere soules ben saue
3358 þe synnys þat arn dedly	These sinnis þat arn cald dedly	Þo synnes þet arn called dedly
3361 And qweche þei arn I sahll 3ow telle	And qwhiche þey arn I schal 3ow telle	Wheche þo bune y schal 3ow telle
3362 Þese arn þe synnys þat arn dedly	These arn þe sinnis þat arn dedly	Þese arn þe synnes þet are dedly
3369 ?chon of þese is a dedly syn	Ichone of þese is a dely sin	Vyche on of þese is dedly synne
3375 In ony of þese synys dedly	In any of þese sinnis dedly	In any of þese synnes dedly

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
3092 To abate þat fire is best	Thes to sle þat fyre buþe best	Thuse may slaye that fier best
3093 Þese þre may brynge þe soule to rest	And þes mowe bryngd soule to rest	And bryng þe sawle to everlestyng rest
3186 Þo are venialle synnes þat may falle	That buþe venyal synne þat moste falle	That buþ vanyel synnys þat most falle
3217 Þen þe soules haue whyl þey are þore	Than soules habbeþe whyle hy buþe þore	Than sawlys hauyth wyl hy buþ thare
3306 Þes two manners soules be saue	Thes twey manner soules buþe saue	Thys too maner sawlys buþ save
3358 Þo synnes þat are calde dedly	Dedlyche synne schal nouȝt sch???	Dedly synnys schul noȝt schortly
3361 Wheche þei ben I schal ȝou telle	Ich wole ȝowe telle	And huche hy buth y wol yon telle
3362 Þese are þe synnes þat are dedly	Thes buþe þe synnes þat buþe dedelye	Thuse buth the synnes þat buþ dedly
3369 Vchone of þese is dedly synne	Omitted	May dedly synne be wel a synne
3375 In any of þese synnes dedly	Omitted	Other yn eny of ham trewly

12 Wrk
3092 To abate þat fuyre þese þre be best
3093 Ffor þei may brynge a soule to rest
3186 That ben venyall synnes þat may fall
3217 Þan þe soules solfre whiles þei be þore
3306 Þese two manere of soules be save
3358 The synnes þat ben clepyd dedly
3361 And what þei wer I will ȝou telle
3362 These ben þe synnes þat be deedly
3369 Echoon of þese is a dedly synne
3375 In any of þese sinnes dedly

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
3092 To abate þat fire þilke þre beþ beste	To abate þat fyr þo iij ben best	To abate þe fyre þo tweyne be beste
3093 Ffor þilke þre may brynge a soule to reste	Ffor þo iij may brynge a soule to rest	Ffor þay two may brynge þe soule to reste
3186 Þilke beþ venal synnes þat may falle	Ffor smale venial synnys þat to hem falle	Omitted
3217 Þan þe soules haueþ while þey beþ þore	Þan þe soules haue þe whyche beþ þore	Omitted
3306 Þes to maners of soules beþ saue	Þes two maners of soules be saue	Þese two manners of soules bene saue
3358 Þe synnes þat beþ called dedely	Þo synnes þat ben called dedly	Þe synnes þat be called dedely
3361 And whiche þey beþ yche wole ȝow telle	And wlych þei ben y wol ȝow telle	And wheche þei be I welle ȝou telle
3362 Þees beþ þe hede synnes þat beþ dedely	Thes ben þe hed synnes þat ben dedly	Þese be þe heued synnes dedely
3369 Schone of þees ys a dedeliche syn	Ech of þes ben dedly synne	Iche one of þese bene dedely synne
3375 In eny of þes seuene dedely	Or eny of þes synnes dedlye	In any of þese synnes dedely

Morris

3392 For als men heres þer clerkes say,
 3400 Þas ten er þir þat I now rede;
 3410 Þer ten puttes venial syns away,
 3411 Als men may here þer clerkes say.
 3445 And says þat þer er venial syns.
 3488 Þir smale syns Saynt Austyn telles,
 3493 Over þas þat I haf tald byfore.
 3503 Þat he use þa ten thynges sere
 3511 For þas syns þat he has wrought,
 3576 For als þas þat passed, als I sayd are,

3 La

3392 Ffor as men heres yes clerkes say
 3400 Yos ten are yes yat I sall rede
 3410 Yes ten puttes venyel synnes away
 3411 Als men may here yes clerkes say
 3445 And sais yat yes are venyel synes
 3488 Ffor yes smale synes saynt Austyn telles
 3493 Yen yes yat I haue tolde before
 3503 ?e ilke day yes x thynges sere
 3511 Ffor ye syne yat he has wrought
 3576 Ffor as yos yat passe als I saide are

6 Nfk

3392 Ffor as men here þese clerkys say
 3400 Þe ten arn þese as I 3ow rede
 3410 Þese ten poytn venial synps away
 3411 As men may here þese clerkys say
 3445 And seyth þat þei arn venial synnys
 3488 Ffor these thynges seynt Austyn tellys
 3493 Mo þan I haue told before
 3503 Vse iche day þo thingis sere
 3511 Ffor þo synnys þat he hath wrouht
 3576 Omitted

1 NRY

For als men heres yir clerkes say
 Yase ten er yir yat I now rede
 Yir ten puttes venyel syns oway
 Als men may here yir clerkes say
 And says yat yere er venyele synnes
 Yir smale syns saint austyn telles
 Ouer yase yat I haue tald bifer
 Yat he vse ya ten thynges sere
 Ffor yase syns yat he has wrought
 For als yase yat passed als I said

4 Li

Ffor as men may here clerkys sey
 Thes ten ar thes as y now rede
 Thes ten putt venyal sennys away
 As men may here thes clerkes say
 And seyth þat they ar venyal sennes
 Ffor thes sennys seynt Austyn tellyth
 Ouyr þes al I told byfore
 Vse euery day two thynges sere
 For þe syn þat he hath wrought
 Omitted

7 Sfk

Ffor as men here þese clerkes say
 These ten þey arn as I 3ow rede
 These ten puttin venial sinnis away
 As men mowu here þese clerkis say
 And seyþ þat þey arn venyal sinnis
 Ffor þese smale sinnis seynt austyn tellip
 Ouir þoo þat I teld of before
 Vse iche day þese ten þyngis sere
 Ffor þe sinne þat he hap wrouht
 Omitted

2 WRY

Ffor als men heres yise clerkes say
 Yo ten are yise yat I now rede
 Yise ten puttes venyal syns always
 Als men may here yise clerkes say
 And says yat yai are venyal synnes
 Ffor yise smale synnes saynt austyn telles
 Over yat I have tolde before
 Vse ilk day yus ten thynges ser
 Ffor ye synne yat he had wrought
 All yat men dose here lesse and more

5 Nt

Ffor as men heres clerkes say
 Those x ar thay that I nowe rede
 These x puttes venial synnes away
 As men may here these clerkes say
 And sayes that these ar the venial synnes
 Ffor these smal synnes seint Austen telles
 Than these that I haue told before
 Vse ych day these x thynkes sere
 Ffor is syn that he has wrought
 Ffor as those passes as I saide ore

8 Sal

For os men here þese clerkes say
 Thoe arn þese as y wol now her rede
 Þese putten venyale synnes away
 As men may here þese kerkes say
 And seyth þet þo arn venyal synnes
 For þese thynges seynt austyn telleth
 Oouer þat y haue y told byfore
 Our echehe day to do þo ten thynges sere
 For þo synnes þat he hath wor3t
 Omitted

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
3392 Ffor as men here þes clerkus seye	Ffor as we hureþe þes clerkes say	Ffor as we heryth ys clerkys say
3400 Þo are þese as I now rede	The x buþe þes þat Iche nowe rede	Huche hy buth y wol yon rede
3410 Þese put venial syne away	Thes ten doþe venynal synne awaye	Thys ten doth venyal synne away
3411 As men may here clerkus say	As men mowe hire þes clerkys saye	As men may here thys clerkes say
3445 And seyþe þat þei are venial synnes	Ffor þes seyþe he bouþe venyal synne	As thuse he sayth buth venyal synne
3488 Ffor þese sy?? austyn telleþe	Ffor þes vinale synnes seynt Austyn telleþe	Ffor <i>thys</i> smale synnys saint austyn telleth
3493 Ouer þo þat I haue told bifore	Mo þan Iche haue ytolde byfore	Mo than I have tolde before
3503 Vche vche day do ten þinges sere	Thes ten þynge auzt here ech wyse	Thys ten thynges auzte here a vyse
3511 Ffor þe synnes þat he haþe wrouzt	Ffor þe synne þat he hare ywrouzt	Ffor the synne that he hath wrogt
3576 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
12 Wrk		
3392 Ffor as men here þese clerkes say		
3400 Þose ten ben þose þat I now rede		
3410 These ten put venyall synnes away		
3411 As men may here clerkes sere		
3445 And seith þat þese be venyall synnes		
3488 Þese smale þinges as seynt austyn telleth		
3493 Ouer þese þat I tolde bifore		
3503 Þat he vse þese þinges seere		
3511 Ffor þe synnes þat he hath wroght		
3576 Ffor þer þat passen as I seyde are		
13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
3392 Ffor as men hereþ clerkis say	Ffor as men hereþ þes clerkys say	Ffor as we here þese clerkes say
3400 Þees ten hit beþ þat iche nowe rede	Þes ben þo ten þat wil I rede	Þose teen · be þese · þat I · now rede
3410 Þees ten poyntes venial synn doþ away	Þes x poynts venial synnys doþ away	Þese teen putte venyal synnes away
3411 As men may here clerkes say	As men may her clerkys say	As men may here þese clerkes say
3445 Omitted	And seþ þes ben venial synnys	And saip þat þese be venyall synnes
3488 Omitted	Þes ben venyal synnes seynt austyn tellys	Þese smale synnes seynt Austyn telleþ
3493 Omitted	Aboue al þo I tolde afore	Over þose þat I haue tolde before
3503 Omitted	Þat he vse ten þinges ysere	Vse þese teen þynges dyuers in fere
3511 Omitted	Of þe synne þat he haþ ywrouzt	Omitted
3576 Omitted	Ffor as þoo soule passeþ as ysayde are	Omitted

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
3626 Thurgh þas frendes may þai helped be	Thurgh yase frendes may yai helped be	Thoro yaim may yai helped be
3744 Bot bathe þa twa þe saules has	Bot bath ya twa ye saules has	And bothe yo alle ye sawles has
3838 Þa cays er noght elles to se	Ya kays er noght elles to se	Ye keyes are not elles to se
3890 And swilk er þas þat here er fre	And wilk er yase yat here er fre	Withouten dedly syn and fre
3940 Of þis maters, þat þus mas mencion	Of yes maters yat yus mase mencyon	Of yis maters yat mas mencion
3992 Of þir sal som falle, als yhe herd me say,	Of yir sall som fall als yhe herd me say	Of yis schal som fall and say
4041 Þir takens til his disciples tald he	Yir takens till his disciples tald he	Yise tokens to his discipuls sayd he
4043 Bot sum of þir takens has bene,	Bot som of yir takens has bene	Some of yise tokens has bene
4123 And noght anly oboven þa goddes alle,	And noght anely obouen ya godes all	Omitted
4143 Þan may alle þas anticristes be calde,	Yan may all yase anticristes be cald	And all yo may ancryste be calde
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
3626 Thurgh yaim may yai helped be	Thurgh frendys they may holpyn be	Thorgh thaym may htay holpen be
3744 And bothe yes alle yes saules has	And bothe thys all the sowlis hath	Omitted
3838 Ye kayes are nozt elles to se	The keyes ar not ellys to se	The keyes ar noght ellis to se
3890 Withouten dedly syn and fre	Without dedly syn and fre	Withouten dedely synne and fre
3940 Of yis maters yat makes mencyon	Of thys matyr þat makyth mencoun	Of these maters thus makes mencion
3992 Of yes sall falle some I say	Of thes shal som fal y say	And do here penunce whiles we may
4041 Yes tokenes to his disciples tolde be	Thes toknys to hys dyscypulys told he	And these tokens as sayde he
4043 Some of yes tokenes has bene	Som of thes hath bene	But some of these toknes haue bene
4123 Omitted	Omitted	And noght onely above tho goddes al
4143 And alle yos may antcrist be cald	And all tho anticryst may be cald	Than may al anticriste be calde
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
3626 Thorw hem may þe helpe be	Thurh hem mowu holpin be	Omitted
3744 And bothe þo alle þe soulys han	And boþe þoo all þe soule hath	Omitted
3838 Þe keyzes arn not ellys to se	Thoo keyis arn nouht ellis to see	Þo keyes arn nozt elles to see
3890 Withoutyn dedly synne and fre	Wiþowtin dedly sinne al free	Wihouten dedly synnes and fre
3940 Of þis materye þat makyth mencyoun	Of þis materys þat makip menciu	Of þis mater þat maketh mencyoune
3992 Of þese schal sunne falle as I say	Of þese schuku sinne falli?	Of þese schme sume fallen y say
4041 Þis toknes tyl hyse disciplis told he	These toknis to hise discyplis teld he	To his disciples þuese tokenes seyde he
4043 Som of þese han bene	Sume of þese han been	Summe of þese 3er þis ham bene
4123 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
4143 And also þei may antecrist be calde (<i>Language 3</i>)	And also þey mowu antecrist be cald	And alle mown antecristes be called

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
3626 Þorow hem may þei holpen be	Thoȝ þe soules mowe holpe ye be	Thorough the sawle may I holpe be
3744 No corresponding lines	Omitted	Omitted
3838 No corresponding lines	The keyes buþe nouȝt ellys to se	The keyes buþ nouȝt ellys to se
3890 No corresponding lines	Withoute dedly synnes and fre	Withoute dedely synne and fre
3940 No corresponding lines	Of þys maters þat makeþe mensyon	Of thuse materes and other mo
3992 No corresponding lines	Sune byfore and sune ate þe say	Of thys schal ?? falle as men say
4041 No corresponding lines	Thes toknys and many mo sayde he	Thys tokenys and many mo sayde he
4043 No corresponding lines	Omitted	Somme of thys have falle
4123 No corresponding lines	Omitted	Omitted
4143 No corresponding lines	And anticrist hym mowe be callid	And antecrist hy may be callyd
12 Wrk		
3626 Þurgh þese freendes may þei holpen be		
3744 But bothe two þe soules hath		
3838 The keyes ben noght elles to see		
3890 And such þei ben as here be free		
3940 Of þese maters þat þus maken mencion		
3992 Of þese shall some fall as ȝe herde me say		
4041 These tokens to h is disciples tolde he		
4043 But some of þese tokens haue bene		
4123 And not onely aboue þese goddes all		
4143 Than may þese all antecristes be calde		
13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
3626 Þoruȝ þees frendes mowe þey holpen be	Þorw þese frendys may þei yholpe be	Þorough þese frendes may þay holpe bee
3744 But boþe þes to þe soules haþ	Bote charite and nede þe soule haþ	Bot boþe þo two þe soules haue alone
3838 Þe keyes beþ nouȝte elles to see	Þe keyes beþ nouȝt ellys to se	Þese keyes be nouȝt ell to see
3890 And suche beþ þees þat here beþ fre	And such beþ þes þat here beþ fre	And sweche be þai þat here be fre
3940 Of þees maters þat þus makeþ mencion	Of þes materes þat makeþ þus mencyon	Off þes materes þat þus makeþ mencyoun
3992 Of þees schul some falle as ȝe herde me say	Of þese schul som falle as ȝe hurde me say	Off þis schal befall euen as · I · say
4041 Þees tokenes to his disciples tolde he	Þes toknys to his descyples tolde he	Alle þese tokenen al þus sayde hee
4043 But some of þees tokenes haue bene	Bote some of þes toknes haue ybene	Bot some of þese tokenes haue bene
4123 And not oonliche aboue þees godd alle	And not only aboue þe godis alle	And not only aboue þo goddes alle
4143 Þen may alle þees anticristes be told	Þanne may þes antecristes be cald	Omitted

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
4151 Wharfor I hald þir gret mysdoers	Wharfor I hald yir gret mysdoers	Ffor thi halde yise misdoers
4203 For God spak til þas thre cites þos,	For god spak till yase thre cites yus	God spak til yo thre citeces yus
4297 For þa þat his disciples sal be cald	For ya yat his disciples sall be cald	Yo yat his disipuls schal be calde
4329 And bere þa dede bodys about,	And bere ya ded bodyse about	And bere ys ded bodyes aboute
4360 “Þat þas þat God has chosen here	Yat yase yat god has chosen here	Yat yose yat god has chosen here
4387 And put alle þa to þe dede at þe last	And put all ya till ye ded at ye last	And put yai vnto ded at ye last
4401 Bot with þas þat had Criste forsaken	Bot with yase yat had crist forsaken	Bot with yaim yat hade cryste forsake
4405 For al þas men sal bere his merk,	Ffor all yase men sall bere his merk	Ffor alle yo schal bere his merke
4413 On þis four maners, als I haf shewed,	On yes four maners als I haue shewed	On yise fourre maners als I have schewed
4480 Þat by Gog er understanden alle þa	Yat bi gog er vnderstanden all ya	Be gog are vndurstanden alle yo
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
4151 Ffor y? I halde yos myssedoers	Therfor I holde thes mysdoers	Wherfore I holde these yrete misdoeers
4203 God spake to yes thre cytes yus	Ihus and spak to thes thre cytees þes	Omitted
4297 Yos yat sall his discyples be calde	They þat hys dyscypulys shal be cald	Wherfore þay þat his disciples ar calde
4329 And bere ye ded bodyes aboute	And bere tho dede bodyys abowt	And bere the dede bodies aboute
4360 Yat yos yat god has chosen here	Þat þo that god hath chosyn here	That those that god has chosen here
4387 And yai yaim to ye ded at ye last	And put them to deth at þe last	And putt thayme to dede atte last
4401 Bot with yaim yat has crist forsaken	But wyth them that hath cryst forsakyn	But with theym that hath crist forsaken
4405 Ffor alle yos sall bere his marke	Ffor all tho schal bere hys merk	Omitted
4413 On yes fourre maners as I haue schewed	On thes fowre maners as y haue schewyd	On these fourre maners as I haue shewed
4480 By gog are vndrestanden alle yo	Be gog ys vndyrstondyn all tho	That by Gog at vnderstonden tho
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
4151 Ffor þi I holde þis mysdoeris	Ffor thy I halde þese misdoeris	Þerfore y holde þese mysedoers
4203 God spak to þe thre cites þus	And spak to þese thre citeis thus	God seyde and spak to þis iii ceeteus þus
4297 Þo þat his disciplis schal be calde	They þat hise discyplis schulu be calde	And þo þat his descyples schul be tolde
4329 And her þe dede bodys aboute	And bere þe dede bodyis aboute	And bere þe dede bodyes abouten
4360 Omitted	That þese þat god hap chosin here	Þat þo þat god hath chosen her
4387 And put on to þe ded atte last	And put hem to þe ded atte laste	And am to dethe put at þe laste
4401 But with hem þat hath crist forsaken	But wip hem þat had cryst forsakin	But with hem þat han crist forsake
4405 Ffor alle þo schul beren his merke	Ffor alle þey schulu bere his merk	For þo schule all bere his marke
4413 And on þis fourre maners as I schewed	And on þese fourre maneris as I has schewid	In fourre maneres as y haue schewed
4480 Be gog is vndirstonde alle þo	Be gog is vndirstandin alle þoo	By gog ar vnderstonde alle þo

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
4151 No corresponding lines	Ffor powre þat hold þes mysdoers	And therefore I holds thys mysdoers
4203 No corresponding lines	He spake to hym and sayd þus	He spak to ham and sayde thus
4297 No corresponding lines	Omitted	Thys dysciplis schul be so colde
4329 No corresponding lines	And bere þe ded bodyes aboute	And bere the dede bodyes abowte
4360 No corresponding lines	That þilk þat god haþe ychose here	To thywe þat god hath chose here
4387 No corresponding lines	And putte hom to deþe ate laste	And put ham to the deth at þe last
4401 No corresponding lines	Bote with hom þat haue god forsake	Bote wyth ham þat haþ god forsake
4405 No corresponding lines	Ffor alle þo schulleþe here hys merke	Ffor tho schal bere his merke
4413 No corresponding lines	In þes foure maners as Iche haue yschewyd	In þis four maners as y have sayde
4480 No corresponding lines	By gog buþe vnderstond all þo	By Gog buþ vnderstonde al tho
12 Wrk		
4151 Wherfore I hoolde þese grete mysdoers		
4203 Ffor god spak to þese þre citees þus		
4297 Ffor þo þat his disciples shall be cald		
4329 And bere dede bodyes aboute		
4360 Þat þoo þat god hath chosen heere		
4387 And put hem to þe deth atte last		
4401 But with hem þat haue cryst forsake		
4405 Ffor all þe men shall haue his merke		
4413 On þese foure maners as I haue schewede		
4480 Þat by gog ben vnderstanden all þoo		
13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
4151 Wherfore iche holde hem grete myssedoeres	Wherfore I hodde alle þes mysdoeres	Wharfor · I · halde þese grete mysdoers
4203 Omitted	God spak to þes citeys þus	Omitted
4297 Omitted	And þei þat his descyplys schul be told	Omitted
4329 Omitted	And ber þe dede bodyes aboute	And bere þe dede bodyse aboute
4360 Þat þees þat god haþ ichose here	Þat þese þat god haþ cosen here	Þat þoo · þat god haþ chosen here
4387 And put alle þo to þe deep at þe laste	And he schal putte hem to deþ ate laste	Omitted
4401 But with þees þat haueþ criste forsake	Bote with hem þat cristen men forsake	Bot wyth hem þat had crystendom forsake
4405 Ffor alle þees men schulle bere his merk	Ffor alle þo men schulle bere his markes	Ffor alle þoo shall bere hese merk
4413 Of þees foure maners iche haue shewede	On þes iiij manerys as y schewede	On þese foure manneres as I · haue shewed
4480 Þat by gog bep vndirstonde alle þo	Þat by gog bep vnderstond two	Omitted

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
4483 By Magog may þas understanden be	Bi magog may yus vnderstanden be	Be magog may yose vndurstanden be
4485 Or þas er understanden þar-by,	Or yas er vnderstanden yare by	Or yose are vndurstanden ye by
4491 Þir twa prophetes, als says som,	Yir twa prophetes als says som	Yus schal it be als wittnes ?????
4499 Bytwen þa tymes þa prophetes twa	Bitwen ya tymes ya prophetes twa	Betwene yo tymes ye prohetes two
4520 Als þa twa prophetes sal þam ken,	Als ya twa prohetes sall yam ken	Als yo tuo prophetes schal yai ken
4542 He sal do tak þa prophetes bathe	He sall do tak ya prophetes bathe	He schal gare take yo prophetes both
4627 Til alle þas þat desayved sal be,	Till all yas yat desayued sall be	Til alle yose yat disseyved schal be
4699 Þir er þe wordes of þe gospelle,	Yir er ye wordes of ye gospels	Yise are ye wordes of ye gospelle
4715 Þir takens er tald aftir þe lettre here,	Yir takens er tald eftir ye lettre here	Yis is tolde after ye lettur here
4733 Agayn whilk alle þir takens sal come;	Agayn whilk all yir takens sall come	Agayne whilk alle yise tokuns schal come

3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
4483 In magog may yos vndrestanden be	Be magog tho vndyrstondyn may be	By Gog may these vnderstonden be
4485 Or yos are vndrestanden yer by	Or tho ar vndyrstondyn þer by	¶ Or these ar vnderstonden ther by
4491 Yus sall it be als witnes some	Thus shal yt be as wytnessyth some	These two prophetes as sayes some
4499 Betwene yos tymes yos prophetes two	Betwyx the tymys the prophetys two	Betwe the tyme these prophetes two
4520 Als yos prophetes sall yaim ken	As tho two prophetys shal them ken	As the prophetes shal theym kenne
4542 Yat he sall gete yos prophetes bothe	He shal do take the prophetys bothe	He shall make take the prophetes both
4627 To alle yos yat deceyued sall be	To all tho that deceyuyd shal be	To al those that dysceyued schal be
4699 Yes are ye wordes of ye gospels	Thes arn the wordys of the gospels	These ar the wordes of the yodspel
4715 Yis is tolde after ye lettre here	Thys ys tolde aftyr the lettyr here	These tokens I haue tolde after the letter
4733 Agaynes ye whilke yes tokenes sall come	Ageyn the whych al þes toknys shal come	Agayne which these tokens shal come

6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
4483 Be magog may þat vndirstonde be	Omitted	By magog vnderstonde may bee
4485 Þo arn vndirstonde þer by	Omitted	Vr vnderstondyng þo bun þer by
4491 Þus schal it be as witnes som	Thus schal it be as witenesse summe	Þus schal hit be as seyn sume
4499 And betwene þo tymes þe prophetes two	Betwene þoo tymis þe prophetis two	Þes menzyme þus prophetes too
4520 As þe two prophetes schal ken	As þe prophetis schulu hem ken	As þe mhetes? ??him hem kenne
4542 Þat he shal do take þe prophetis bothe	He schal doo take þe prophetis both	He schal do take þe prophetes boþe
4627 Tyl þat throuthe þat now ha we	To alle þoo þat disceyuid han be	To þo þat schul disceyued be
4699 Þese arn þe woundrys of þe gospels	These arn þe wurdys of þe gospel	These ar þe wordes of gospelle et magestate
4715 Þus ys told thorw þe lettyr here	Thus is teld aftir þe lettre here	Aftur þe letter þat is told here
4733 Agayn qwilke alle þese tokenes shal come	Azeyn qwiche al þese toknis schul come	Azeyn wheche schul þus tokenes come

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
4483 No corresponding lines	By magog may vnder sond be	By Magog may vnder stonde be
4485 No corresponding lines	Oþer? þylk buþe vnder stonde þes bye	Omitted
4491 No corresponding lines	Thes schal yt be al syggeþe sune	Thus shcal hit be as sayst somme
4499 No corresponding lines	Bytwene þe tyme of þo prophetes two	In thai tyme they prophetys to
4520 No corresponding lines	As þe prophetes schulleþe teche hom þenne	As the prophetys shcal teche ham then
4542 No corresponding lines	That he schal make þe prophetes boþe	Omitted
4627 No corresponding lines	Omitted	To ham þat shal dissevyd be
4699 No corresponding lines	Omitted	Thys buþ the tokenys of the gospels
4715 No corresponding lines	This ys ytold after þe lettre here	Thys ys y tolde after the lettre here
4733 Azens whiche all þes toknys schulleþe come	Azens weche al þis tokenys schal come	

12 Wrk
4483 By magog may vnderstanden be
4485 Ffor þese ben vnderstanden þer by
4491 These two prophetes as seyn some
4499 Bitwene þe tymes þe prophetes two
4520 As þe two prophetes schall hem kenne
4542 He shall doo take þe prophetes both
4627 To all hem þat desceivede schall be
4699 Þese ben þe wordes of þe gospel
4715 Þese tokenes ben tolde after þe letter here
4733 Aþeynes which all þese tokenes schal come

13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
4483 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
4485 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
4491 Þes to prophetis as saip some	Thes two as clerkys sayeþ some	Þere two prophetes · as sayne some
4499 Bytwene þes tymes þes prophetes two	And in þat tyme þes prophetes two	Betwene þoo tymes þe prophetes twoo
4520 As þe prophetis schulle hem ken	As þo two prophetes schul hem ken	As þose prophetes shulue hem kenne
4542 He schalle fete take þe prophetes boþe	He schal take þe prophetes both	He shal do take þe prophetes boþe
4627 To alle þes þat deceyvede schal be	To alle hem þat deceyued schul be	To hem alle þat desvayued shal bee
4699 Þes be þe þe wordes of þe gospels	Þes beþ þe wondres of þe gospels	These woordes bee · of the gospel
4715 Þe clerkis haue tolde after þe letter here	Þes toknys beþ told after lette here	These tokenes · I · haue tolde after þe letter
4733 Aþeyn wiche alle þes tokenes shul come	Azens whyche þes toknys shul come	Agayne wheche · all þese tokenes shall come

Morris	1 NRY	2 WRY
4743 Bytwen þa days, or þai sal alle	Bitwene ya days or yai sall all	Betwene yaim or yai schal all
4747 Þat þa fiften days of takens sal be,	Yat ya fiftene days of takens sall be	Yat ye xv dayes schal be
4748 Bot he reherces þa takens fiftene	Bot he reherces ya takens fyftene	Bot he reherces to kyns xv
4751 Þat þa XY days contens.	Yat ya fyftene days contens	Yat yos fiftene dayes contense
4758 Þe first day of þas fiften days,	Ye first day of yas fyftene days	Ye first day of ye fiftene dayes
4816 Þus tels Ierom þer takens fiftene,	Yus telles Ierom yir takens fyftene	Yus telles Ierome yise tokens fyftene
4818 Bot for alle þa takens þat men sal se,	Bot for all ya takens yat men sall se	Bot for alle ye tokens yat men schal se
4837 Þir er þe wordes of þe godspelle,	Yir er ye wordes of ye gospels	Yise are ye wordes of ye gospels
4908 Sal contend þir thre short tymes passand,	Sall contene yir thre short tymes passand	Omitted
4944 Þa þat sal be dampned sal wende,	Ya yat sall be dampned sall wende	Yos yat shcal be dampned schal wende
3 La	4 Li	5 Nt
4743 Betwene yaim or yai sall falle alle	Betwyx them or they shal fall	Betwene the dayes or thay shal al
4747 If yes xv days sall be	That tho fyftene days shal be	That xv dayes of toknes shal be
4748 Bot he reherces tokenes fyftene	But he recheryth toknys fyftene	But he rehersed the toknes fiftene
4751 And yes tokenes contenes	Þat þo fyftene toknys conteynys	That thay xv dayes contynewe
4758 Ye first of yes fyftene days	The fyrst day of þe fyftene days	The first day of the xv dayes
4816 Yus telles Ierome ye tokenes xv	Thus tellyth Ierom th?s toknys fyftene	Thus telles Ierome the toknes fiftene
4818 Bot for all ye tokenes yat men sall se	But for all the toknyes þat men shal se	Omitted
4837 Yes are ye wordes of ye gospels	Thes arn the wordys of the gospels	Omitted
4908 Sall contene yis thre tymes passande	Omitted	Shal contene these thre tymes short passand
4944 Yos yat are dampned yeu sall wende	Þo þat shal be dampnyd shal wende	Thay þat shal be dampned þay shal wende
6 Nfk	7 Sfk	8 Sal
4743 Bytwen hem or þei schulu alle	Betwene hem or þey togidir alle	Bytwene hem 3er þey schun alle
4747 Þat þe fyftene dayes schal neyh be	That þoo fiftene days schulu be	Þat þoo fiftene dayes schun be
4748 But he reherces toknes fyftene	But he reheryþ toknis fiftene	But he rehersed tokenes fiftene
4751 Þat þe fyftene toknes contens	That þe fyftene toknis contenis	Þat þo fyftene tokenes contrenes
4758 ¶ ffyrst day of þe fyftene days al	The firste day of þoo fiftene dayis	The furste day of þo fyftene dayes
4816 Þus tellith Ierom þis toknes fyftene	Thus tellip Ierom þese toknis fiftene	Ierom telleth þese tokenesse fyftene
4818 But for alle þe toknes þat man schal se	But for alle þe toknis þat men schulu see	But for he tokun þat mon schal see
4837 Þese arn þe wordys of þe gospele	These arn the wurdys of þe gospel	Þese bun þe wordes of þe gospels
4908 Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
4944 Þei þat schal be dampnys schal wende	Thoo þat schulu be dampnid schulu wende	Alle þe dampned þeme schun wynde

9 Stf	10 Gl	11 Dvn
4743 No corresponding lines	Bytwens hom oper þylk schulleþe all	Beteweder eny or dayes schul falle
4747 No corresponding lines	That x v dayes schulleþe be	That xv · dayes schulleth
4748 No corresponding lines	Bot he reherceþe toknes fyftene	Bote he rehersyth tokenys xv
4751 No corresponding lines	Omitted	And the fyftene I wol teche
4758 No corresponding lines	The furst day of þe fiften dayes	The firste day of the xv · dayes
4816 No corresponding lines	Thes telleþe seynt Ierome toknyssse fyftene	Thus telleth seint Ierom tokenys xv
4818 No corresponding lines	Bote for þe toknyssse þat men schulleþe se	Bote for the tokenys þat men schul se
4837 No corresponding lines	In þe wordes of þe gospell	As hyt ys wrete yn the gospell
4908 No corresponding lines	Omitted	Omitted
4944 No corresponding lines	Hy þat buþe dampnyd schul wende	Hy þat buth dampned shulle wende
12 Wrk		
4743 Bitwene þese daies or þei shull all		
4747 Þat þese fiftene dayes or tokenes shull be		
4748 But he rehersetþ tokenes fiftene		
4751 Þat þe fiftene dayes contenes		
4758 The firste of þese fiftene dayes		
4816 Thus telles Ierom þese tokenes fiftene		
4818 But for all þe tokenes þat men shull see		
4837 These ben þe woordes of þe gospell		
4908 Shall contene þese three times passande		
4944 Þoo þat shall be dampnede shull wende		
13 Brk	14 Sx	15 Ex
4743 Bytwene þe dayes or 3e shulle see alle	Bytwen þes dayes or þei schulle alle	Betwene þo dayes oper þey shul all
4747 Þat þe fiftene days of tokenes shulle be	Þat xv dayes of toknys sulle be	Þat þese fiftene tokenes schuld bee
4748 But he rehereþ þat tokenes fiftene	Bote he rehersyþ toknys fyftene	Bot he reherseeþ þese tokenes fiftene
4751 Þat þe fiftene tokene contynnes by daye	Þat xv dayes conteynys	Þat þese fiftene dayes contenns
4758 The firste day of þe fiftene dayes	The furste of þese fyftene dayes	These firste · of þese fiftene dayes
4816 Þus telliþ Ierome þees tokenes fiftene	Þus telleþ Ierom þe toknys fyftene	Thus telleþ Ierome · þese tokenes fiftene
4818 But for alle þe tokenes þat men mowe see	Bote for al þe toknys þat men schul se	Bot for alle þe tokenes þat men shall see
4837 Þees beep þe wordes of þe gospelle	This bep þe wordys of gospelle	These bee þe woordes of þe gospell
4908 Schal contende þes þre temes passynge	Schal conteyne þre termys passande	Shal contene þis þre short tymes passyng
4944 Þey þat schal be dampnede schulle wende	Þo þat schul be dampne schul wende	Þay þat shal be dampned · þan · shal wende

Appendix 4: THESE and THOSE in the WRY texts

1 THESE

1. 1 Northwestern area

LP4

***pees**

In whiche reuelacions among opere aren contenyd *pees* þat folwen. (p158)

Pees, she seide, (p158)

I made seuen preieris to oure lord god, whiche are *pees*: (p158)

& þen seynt Elizabeth, when sche hade herde *pees* wordis, seide: (p159)

pere

In alle *pere* I soght Ihesu bot I fand hym noght, ... (p190)

Pan Cristes hand-mayden, qwen scho had hard *pere* thynges, sayde: (p160)

þer

þer skrythes in to my mynde delyciost swetenes, ... (p187)

þair

þair wretchednes þat I haue of tolde, (p4)

thir

Bot *þer* remedy sal be Prayer, Greeting, Fastyng, Wakyng: *thir* thynges if þei be done with discrecion, ... (p12)

***pes**

Pes, scho sayde, I kepud in my saule, (p160)

yeir

thyse

LP5

thes

Be way of kynde *thes* two may noȝt be the to dere; (100)

Dere fader, all *thes* haue y of the. (178)

Thes colours both [fer] & nere castes so mekil liȝt, (379)

Woman with *thes* thre bot seint mary was ther neuer non; (417)

Thes thre are on god & on verray nature, (863)

& *thes* gode dedes gode, benigne & myld wil him make; (924)

The seuent is to pray to god for all *thes* hertely, (1089)

In *thes* four dowers sal thi body be so parfit (1143)

Thes are vnderstanding, a mynd, & a will. (1146)

Sothly, [*thes*] thre dowers of the saul are the gret blis, (1179)

Thes thre maners are: verray martires, (1199)

this

In siȝt of *this* thre persons in on godhede (841)

None is other of *this* persones thre, (861)

This thre of mede & grace bringes agayn taking. (904)

Thurgh trewe kepyng of any of *this* seuen (1077)

thise

In godhed are *thise* persones thre, (7)

None is othir of *thise* persons thre,(9)

Bot if *thise* foure vse ay wele thair myght, (161)

((ther))

LP18

þir

þir childir, quen þai had to spend, (5039)

¶ First wald þai me ha slan, *þir* ten, (5067)

¶ *þir* breþer helid ai forth þair wai. (5127)

þir tuelue mi suns ar ilkan. (5361)

Sua lang has *þir* tua boght þair sede (5391)

To *þir* twa wimmen spake þe king - (5553)
 Moyses and aaron *þir* tua, (5605)
þir wimmen went þam ham a-gain, (5693)
 ¶ *þir* er þe folk of israel (6291)
 Loken in *þir* wandes thre. (6338)
 Bot for all *þir* dedes gode (6395)
þir Iuus þat o will war wlanck, (6397)
þir er þe comamentes ten (6481)
þir four-birthes þat i of tell, (6813)
þir tua men broght þam to þair right. (6930)
 Omang *þir* puple sal þou latt (7323)
 Ilkan o *þir* of oþer com, (7852)
þir wandes thre wit-in þe rote (8107)
 And þat þou wit *þir* wande wess (8173)
 Ai quen he tok an o *þir* a-wai. (8248)
þir thinges þat I tell yow here, (8283)
 O *þir* þou sal haf on to wale." (8554)
 Til queþer o *þir* tua sal i deme, (8733)
 Sin womman has *þir* suiken sua (9009)
 O *þir* thinges es mast to min, (9123)
 Als all *þir* clerkes wis wate. (9468)
 And helden had *þir* laghes tuin, (9505)
 Wit-vten *þir* has king na might (9548)
 Sin al *þir* thre ar sett for me, (9691)
 His names es *þir*, wit-vten les, (9826)
 And quat mai be biclep *þir* dikes, (10063)
 Thoru *þir* am i driuen dun, (10115)
 O-mang *þir* festes i of tell (10213)
 O-mang *þir* hirdes duelland þare, (10301)
 ¶ þou trou *þir* samples witerli, (10351)
þir lambes ten þam al als an (10391)
þir hundreth scepe þat þar was bun (10399)
 Amang *þir* men es forhwit tald (10752)
þir seuen þe biscop hir bitaght, (10823)
 ¶ Quen þai wer mett, *þir* leuedis tuin, (11023)
 ¶ *þir* leuedis mensked þam emell, (11051)
 Born to night wit *þir* takeninges, (11252)
þir angels wited þam ewai, (11262)
 And of *þir* offerands to mak. (11400)
þir kinges rides forth þair rade, (11427)
 O *þir* thre giftes, sais sum bok, (11507)
 All wondred on *þir* wordes herd, (12129)
þir men held hijs lijf dai and night (12569)
 ¶ *þir* are þe barn-hedes þat i tald (12577)
 þa toper broþer o *þir* tua (12702)
 Bidd *þir* stanes be bred to will, (12946)
 Sum o *þir* ansuar sal þou sai, (12974)
 ¶ *þir* disciplis tok þair ansuar (13112)
 þai hint him þan, *þir* felun Iues, (13576)
þir war his discipleis tuelue, (21177)
 Petre and philippe, o *þir* tua (21183)
þir four for us ai prai to dright (21345)
þir tua men war messagers, (21414)
 Wit-vten cases *þir* dais thre (21617)

þir signes se we ilk dau, (21877)
þir clerkes telles þat er wise, (22009)
þir tua cites sal foster him. (22102)
 Vr lauerd snaips *þir* tua tuns, (22103)
 Heier þan *þir* he sal him bere, (22287)
þir men sal be þan his felaghes, (22778)
þir mikel maisters sais þat þai (22855)
 Hu *þir* mai be i sal vndo (23380)
 ¶ *þir* er þe blisses and mani elles, (23613)
 Bot als *þir* godds freindes sall (23615)
þir sal be fair and dughti bath, (23619)
þir sal be light als fuxul to flei, (23621)
þir sal be selcut strang and wight, (23623)
þir sal liue in fredom fre, (23625)
þir sal euer liue in delite, (23627)
þir sal in hele liue euer mare, (23629)
þir sal be euer in lastand lijf, (23631)
þir sal ha wijt þair wil to wise, (23633)
þir sal o suete frenscep be traist, (23637)
þir sal haf weldnes of all wale, (23641)
þir er four traistes blith and gladd, (23645)
þir laghes in ioi þar þai er lend, (23647)
þir thre þan mai we wel fordriuef, (23753)
 ¶ *þir* martirs tuin þat i of mene, (24311)
 þat are *þir* cares cald. (24382)

þis

þis midwimmen for godd was radd (5547)
 Come nathing o *þis* fleis þar, (5965)
þis wandes takens persons thre, (6341)
þis wandes euer he wit him bare, (6360)
þis beists lauerd þan sal bi quit (6713)
þis Iuus, fild wit vn-resun, (6923)
 Vri *þis* letters tok and bare, (7903)
 ¶ *þis* leches sun did þai sun forth bring, (11875)
þis hundret scepe þat i of melt (10387)
þis kinges thre þar wai þai tok (11382)
 Wit rightwisnes *þis* four mai be, (21340)

**þire*

Wit alkin thing sal *þire* acorde, (23639)
 þan sal *þire* felauscip tua (23097)
þire to deme sal be na nede, (23124)
 All *þire* in þe sal be plente, (23460)
þire ar þe ilk blesced-hedes, (23475)

**þijs*

And þat to-quils *þijs* oþer ten, (4985)

**þeir*

If þai tru noþer o *þeir* tua, (5831)

**þier*

Wald do *þier* frosses a-wai fra me." (5938)

LP32

yir

þir ere lighers, and þai say to bigile þe, (f.8b)
 Bot alle *þir* thar hym noght drede ... (f.8c)

yei gif yam til any erthly thinge and yan *yir* places comes
 agaynes ye fader of heuen (f.6va)
 you sal yann breke *yir* wordes ye fader spekes tille ye sone

(f.7ra)
 bot alle *yir* thar hym noght drede. (f.8va)
 with *yir* wordes he sal defayne ye folke (f.17vb)
yir ere fals brether (f.19rb)
yir enmys ar flesche (f.29rb)
 on *yir* he led me noght for my merite (f.35va)
 whe *yir* wele or wa falle on yam (f.48ra)
yir are ye wordes of god ye fader (f.181ra)
 erth flescheli of *yir* two of heuen (f.182ra)
 depnes es ye hertyis of men in alle *yir* dose god what he
 wille (f.182ra)
yir samel are ille stirynges (f.184rb)
 till *yir* ille dedies and ... (f.186va)
 God ymange *yir* wordes yat ... (f.190va)
 Bir doghters sette samen (f.190va)
 Bir es noght fallynge of walle (f.190vb)
 Blisful yai sayde tille wham *yir* thinges are blisful folke

(f.190vb)
 yat passe louand fia *yir* days in till yat dap (f.191ra)
 alle *yir* yof yai be chaungeabil (f.195rb)

yis
Bis thusand of folke es all þe develis of helle...(f.8c)
yis thusand of folke as alle ye deuelis of helle (f.8va)
Bis wordes may nane say sothli ... (f.21a)
 whare *yis* hertes sal be fed (f.43ra)
yis two hope and drede makis man hali (f.162rb)
 in *yis* all men il and gode (f.191va)

**yer*
 in alle *yer* benefices he comannes (f.150va)

**yise*
yise proude are oure forme faders (f.166rb)

LP171 (*Prick of Conscience*: Rawlinson C 891 / A text)

þir
 Of *þir* sal euen als I saþ (f.35r l.29)
**Namely in þir citees twa* (f.38r l.16)
 On *þir* foure maners als I haue schewed (f.41r l.12)
þir two prophetes als sais some (f.42r l.20)
þir wordes er of þe gospelle (f.45r l.9)
þir tokenes I haue tolde after þe letter (f.45r l.25)
**Schewe alle þir places and þus say* (f.51v l.13)
 Alle *þir* tokenes sal þan be schewed (f.53r l.14)
 He sais *þir* wordes þurgh þe prophet dauid (f.59r l.26)
 Godes of grace many *þir* be (f.61r l.27)
 Godes of hap er *þir* to gesse (f.61r l.31)
 Of al *þir* godes men behoues (f.61r l.33)
 Of *þir* men sal aresoned be (f.62v l.12)
**þir* ille men þat sal dampned be (f.64v l.15)
þir wordes þat er hydus to here (f.65r l.21)
 An say to þaim *þir* wordes certayne (f.65v l.12)
**þit mizt his mercy al þir synnes passe* (f.67r l.28)
 All *þir* ar general paynes of helle (f.70v l.25)
þir tauern goers schuld þe on þink (f.72v l.35)
 For *þir* two wip oþer es endeles þare (f.73r l.30)
 Of *þir* paynes of helle þat I talde (f.82v l.22)
þir two aboute gase al erpely þinges (f.84v l.1)
 All *þir* heuens sene may be (f.86r l.8)
 Ne mones nouzt als dose *þir* oþer twa (f.86v l.12)
 Alle *þir* ioyes er þair generale (f.87v l.33)
 Of *þir* skilles and of oþer many (f.93v l.22)

þir paynes sal þai euermore fele (f.109r l.29)
 Alle *þir* paynes þa I here telle (f.109r l.34)
 In *þir* seuen er sere maters drawen (f.110v l.9)
 Ffor þe vnderstondyng of *þir* maters seuen (f.110v l.23)

þese
**Of þese toknes þat þit sal come* (f.38r l.8)
 Alls *þese* prophetes sal þann ken (f.42v l.12)
 Betwene *þese* days or þai sal alle (f.45v l.17)
 þat *þese* XV tokenes sal be (f.45v l.21)
 Bot he reherces *þese* tokenes fiftene (f.45v l.22)
 þat *þese* xv days contynus (f.45v l.25)
 þe first of *þese* xv days (f.45v l.31)
 þus telles Ierome *þese* tokenes fiftene (f.46r l.19)
þese er þe wordes of þe gospelle (f.46v l.1)

**þis*
 Qwarefore I holde *þis* grete misdoers (f.37v l.4)
 Sal contene *þis* thre schort tymes passand (f.47v l.35)
 Alls berces witnes in *þis* two vers (f.71r l.29)

þes
 Alle *þes* tokenes als sayd he (f.36r l.4)
 þe vir payne es of *þes* fourtene (f.74v l.7)

**þise*
 Abouen vs er alle *þise* planetes seuen (f.84v l.27)

LP191

yhese
 yat dos *yhese* bayhe night and dai (f.163v l.25)
 ware god sekas noht *yhese* ful smert (f.181v l.4)
 heres *yhese* alle genge wich eres bise (f.184r l.13)
 and fol sal *yhese* noht understand (f.210r l.37)

yese
 I haue mined what *yese* mai be (f.180v l.16)
yese and alle wurmes in *ya* (f.196r l.5)

**yise*
 and lauerd am of alle *yise* (f.175r l.13)

LP364

pese

þat does *pese*, night and dai, (XIV, 7)
Noght-ne sekis god *pese* to se? -(XLIII, 23)
Vnderstandes *pese* in thoghte, (XLIX, 23)
Anes spak god, twa *pese* herd .I.: (LXI, 11)
In alle *pese*, sinned [þai] yhit in thoght, (LXXVII, 36)
And foele noght vndrestand *pese* oght. (XCI, 6)
And mi witenesses *pese* þat lere am .i. salle, (CXXXI, 12)

Seli folke to wham *pese* ere, saide þai; (CXLIII, 18)

pise

And lauerd lesed am of alle *pise*. (XXXIII, 19)

pes

Alle *pes* come ouer vs; ne we forgat þe, (XLIII, 19)

LP406

yere

...may stry for *yere* enemys mosti noyes vs (f.44ra l.38)
ne call not god soke *yere* ymages (f.91vb l.27)
and yat fole sal not vndirstande *yere* (f.138vb l.23)
sal not vndirstand *yere* þinges. (f.138vb l.29)
yere vertues has god not ye lynns as who say. (f.140ra l.35)
And *yere* knewe not my wayes till whom I sware (f.141va l.1)
¶ *yere* wrchide men giffen til luffe (f.141va l.3)
¶ *yere* thynges of destructyon of adam and reparaylynge
yurght criste · (f.146ra l.6)
¶ Als who say yof *yere* sparows haue bodyly helpe of riche
men · (f.149bvb l.14)
yere make knawen til me. (f.185rb l.24)
al *yere* yof yai channgiabill and drubly (f.190vb l.1)
al *yere* yofe yai be sene stirde (f.190vb l.9)
¶ In *yere* intrumentsi yat he neuens is ... (f.192rb l.21)
and al *yere* ye ?phet sagh be drimyð (f.198ra l.4)
¶ *yere* stremys are holy (f.198ra l.37)

and al *yere* yat most semys (f.203rb l.16)

yese

...rede him to ille *yese* wirked he called ye deuell (f.24rb l.2)
yese wordes may none say suthli bot a perfytt (f.37vb l.11)
yese sall not haue half yair dayes (f.80va l.20)
for yi *yese* two domes gronnys a right wis man (f.89va l.6)
...are godes holy stede as *yese* faderles and wydous
(f.103va l.19)
for *yese* vertuese oght for to haue (f.105ra l.29)

yes

And in all *yes* angers I forgatte not god (f.41ra l.23)
¶ All *yes* illes ?odon vs. (f.91va l.23)
of all *yes* he prayes (f.109rb l.11)

yer

dred yat heres *yer* wordes. (f.107vb l.20)

LP454

yir

yir er ye wordes of ye holy apostel (f.1ra l.4)
yir flours are lufly and fair (f.4vb l.5)
Oft *yer* fals prayers god spekes *yir* wordes. (f.10va l.13)
and of all *yir* perils yat othir are fallen. (f.12rb l.42)
he schelde vs fro *yir* vnthewes. (f.16rb l.31)
By *yir* stirynges may youo knaw (f.16vb l.9)
als *yir* clerke sais more (f.17rb l.3)
yat fondes hym with *yir* thre : (f.17rb l.39)
if you *yir* stirynges haue of in mynde (f.18va l.21)
when he sais *yir* wordes yat ... (f.20ra l.4)
in ye fire mynde of *yir* ters hade (f.20ra l.28)
heres *yir* wordes and know (f.20ra l.41)
3e say *yir* wordes of Job (f.20ra l.44)

yere

w sande *yere* paynes sall you tho-le (f.2vb l.42)
yere thre is of *yo* yat wastis yaire time (f.6vb l.12)
and *yere* conat? men yat ye pore pilles (f.6vb l.36)
ferth maner of men *yere* are yat likyng has to do (f.7va l.44)
of *yere* wordes Gregor spekes (f.7vb l.9)
noght for many of *yere* yat aboute heri?end reu?es yai *yer*
mede (f.8va l.6)
thewes *yere* mas ways befor god come (f.16va l.15)
to yi lorde *yere* wordes of bernarde (f.18ra l.22)

yer

and wabende hym with *yer* tre? (f.2vb l.45)
yer thre ye an-ngell lerds yat holy abbbts (f.6vb l.4)
yat bare *yer* wormes away · (f.11rb l.45)
to *yer* anngels prayde (f.14va l.24)
comes to viset yi saule be *yer* messanngeres (f.16va l.4)

yes

by ye prophet schowes with *yes* wordes (f.4va l.52)
who so has *yes* aght thinges oft in his hert (f.13va l.20)
ye be lyue with *yes* wordes (f.14ra l.39)
and othir idoll spech *yes* eghe yat ... (f.16rb l.24)
and with *yes* wordes yaim thretes (f.18vb l.43)

yees

ffor yi holy men beofre *yis* tyme yat *yees* I lettynge knw (f.6va l.24)

yis

yose heres yat herd *yis* wordes (f.16rb l.20)

***yise**

you heres him spekes and say to ye *yise* wordes. (f.15ra l.11)

***yire**

yai *yire* wordes sais (f.19rb l.23)

LP592

yir

and in all *yir* yat most semes deppest (f.209d)
yir goddes has suete sauoe til ye sawil (f.210 a)
yir er ye seuen dedely syns (f.212c)

yis

for to *yis* ilko thinges our corrupcioun es gretly (f.211d)
yis er ye worldes (f.212a)

yer

be first of *per* ten comannment als (f.210c)

thir

7 *thir* war broght to ded in yat in hymes (f.211b)

LP598

yes

yes sex suld hys childyr knaw (f.3rb l.2)
specially in *yes* twa thynges (f.5vb l.34)
and all *yes* thynges thre (f.6ra l.10)
yes thre persons ar all ane (f.6ra l.24)
ye trinite men *yes* thre calles (f.6ra l.26)
and to *yes* thre · thre thynges falles (f.6ra l.27)
yes ten comannmentis on raw (f.6vb l.14)
yes comannmentis er no fabels (f.6vb l.20)
ffor *yes* twa yen dispises he (f.7vb l.28)
yes men may fynd yat gyfes entent (f.8ra l.12)
yes twa comandmentis to fele (f.8ra l.25)
yes er ye comandimentis ten (f.8rb l.3)
yes comandimentis er now tolde (f.8rb l.7)
suld kepe *yes* comannmentis and safe (f.8rb l.12)
yes vn? suld in our trouthe hynges (f.9rb l.4)
yes er ye ru? articils knawen (f.9va l.23)
with *yes* thre men suld be led (f.10ra l.28)
bot we thurgh meknes *yes* be bro3t (f.10rb l.2)
thurgh *yes* mi thynges yat I sall tell (f.10rb l.11)
thurgh *yes* four thynges yat I now say (f.11ra l.8)
thurgh *yes* four thynges yat here bene (f.11rb l.6)
ffor *yes* thre ordaynes specially (f.11va l.33)
yes thre vertus deperted bene (f.12ra l.19)
bot *yes* thre maners of his clene (f.12ra l.29)
in *yes* thre first vertus are sene (f.12ra l.30)
yes phylosopers yat er wysse (f.12ra l.41)
yes foure vertus men comonly calles (f.12rb l.7)
ffor thurgh *yes* four vertus sere (f.12rb l.11)
yes foure vertus yat er dyuers (f.12rb l.41)
yes foure vertus has offices sere (f.12va l.11)

yat he made of *yes* foure vertus (f.12va l.15)

Yes thre vertus armes aman? (f.12vb l.33)

??? he has *yes* thre thynges in hert (f.12vb l.36)

thurgh *yes* foure vertus yat I praye (f.13-1ra l.17)

yes foure sais saynt paule wele (f.13-1rb l.15)

??en he spekes of *yes* foure vertus (f.3-1rb l.36)

withouten *yes* foure vertus clene (f.13-1va l.25)

he yat has *yes* vertus all (f.13-1vb l.5)

als men may here *yes* clerkis tell (f.13-1vb l.11)

werkis of mercy all *yes* men calles (f.13-2ra l.3)

rewled in *yes* thynges thre (f.13-2ra l.40)

of *yes* twa lifes als sais ye clerkis (f.13-2rb l.1)

to outcome *yes* thre faese anely (f.13-2rb l.10)

outcome *yes* thre fals enmyse (f.13-2rb l.36)

who so will *yes* foure wordes sialde (f.13-2va l.2)

yes foure wordes with litill stody (f.13-2va l.31)

after *yes* foure wordes at ye begynnyng (f.13-2va l.40)

and if we *yes* foure fest last in vs (f.13-2va l.42)

yes foure wordes ar ye plonge cald (f.13-2vb l.3)

of *yes* seuen askynges ye first thre (f.13-2vb l.21)

als *yes* clerkes schew vs cany? (f.13-2vb l.26)

in ye saule yat *yes* thre bene (f.13-2vb l.30)

yat in *yes* thre thynges thurgh skylle (f.13-2vb l.32)

festeynes of godde *yes* gyftes thre (f.13-2vb l.40)

yes thre thynges yat we suld haue (f.14ra l.9)

yes craftes er all full of our vice (f.42va l.2)

all *yes* er fohs and nycetes (f.42vb l.22)

yes seuen degres er seuen skilles (f.43vb l.19)

yes er ye degres of mercy sefen (f.45ra l.11)

out of mercy als sais *yes* ckerke (f.45ra l.15)

?ye gastly werke bene *yes* to knaw (f.45ra l.19)

yerfore *yes* lordes suld take kepe (f.46vb l.13)
yes foure thynges als I hafe tolde (f.48ra l.35)
yes er ye braunches of mercy (f.48va l.15)
yes seuen werke standes mekill in stede (f.48va l.36)
 als mercy may here *yes* clerke tell (f.48va l.38)
 and saide to hyre *yes* wordes right (f.49-2ra i.22)
 by *yes* two wais men synes gretly (f.55va l.16)
yes thre thynges als in boke is sene (f.56vb l.16)
 als *yes* clerke vnderstandes itt (f.57rb l.29)
yes er ye fife witte to vnderstande (f.57va l.15)
yes er ye fyfe witte to kepe ríht (f.57va l.30)
yes er ye fife wyndous of ye hous (f.57va l.34)
ya er wy?? thoughts and all dedes (f.58vb l.5)
 when *yes* thre thynges er right soght (f.59va l.2)
 and synne er is ilk ane of *yes* thre (f.83va l.4)

in all *yes* sates mare and lesse (f.86ra l.7)

yeȝ
 yerfore says *yeȝ* nobile clerkis (f.5rb l.4)
yeȝ wordes als I schew ȝou can (f.5va l.25)
 an[d] ane of *yeȝ* he is noght worthy (f.7vb l.5)

**yer*
 yai yat *yer* twa in herte will hald (f.3va l.13)

**yis*
 in *yis* foure vertus yat I sa?ce last (f.13-1ra l.23)

LP601

yese
 ¶ alle *yese* come ouer vs ai (f.20r l.10)
 ¶ noht ne sekis god *yese* to se (f.20r l.20)
 ¶ vnderstandes *yese* in þoht (f.24r l.3)
 ¶ Eues spak lourd two *yese* herde · I · (f.29v l.26)
 you grounded alle *yese* for to be (f.48v l.29)

yise
 and lourd yanne lesed of alle *yise* (f.12v l.6)
 here *yise* alle genge with eres bi se (f.22v l.5)
 in al tune we trowe *yise* tre (f.93r l.28)
 ¶ *yise* tre haue omt? wurchening (f.93v l.34)

yhese
 ¶ in alle *yhese* sinnes yai yhit in yhoht (f.41v l.26)

LP603

yhese
 qui yat dos *yhese* wele wite he mai (f.8v l.20)
 het *yhese* haue inoned what mai be (f.28vl.11)
 heres *yhese* alle genge with eres bise (f.32v l.16)
 in vnderstandes *yhese* in yoght (f.34r l.18)
 and *yhese* oure neghburyhes yat are bolde (f.55r l.15)

yise
 kud laund lesed yam of al *yise* (f.22r l.13)
 het alle *yise* ouer vs yar soht (f.30r l.4)

yese

1. 2 Northeastern area

LP53

þir

þir thre he felled wythowten fayll (57)
To *þir* tway had great invy; (154)
For *þir* and vnthir nyght and day (313)
þan *þir* thre warlowes vanist all away; (449)
Gar putt *þir* hertes in thi ploghe (660)
þir wordes when Bryan vnderstod (851)

þise

And draffe *þise* dere hame wyth hys hand, (654)
The clethinge of *þise* men perfyte (1065)

þes

þus the fend *þes* faytors fyff (191)

thes

þat thou beldes in *thes* buskes bare, (492)

þese

And fand *þese* hertys all in hys come. (652)

*this

'Off *this* tydynges am I payd. (520)

LP358

yes

withouten an old *yes* twa (f.3va l.7)
yes er werkes of a?? lyf (f.3va l.30)
yes werkes yof yai be (f.3vb l.8)
and ȝit has *yes* men on charite (f.4rb l.18)
by *yes* takens may you knaw (f.7va l.39)
yes meens er qwilk men behones (f.9ra l.20)
yes vnto I sal you se in medi (f.9rb l.26)
yes gastly werkes (f.9va l.2)
yes thre er meknes (f.9va l.8)
and *yes* tempacouns falles of ... (f.19vb l.9)
yu see yat *yes* tempacouns er any other (f.21rb l.5)
sothly *yes* wondes when I here yam (f.24ra l.19)
for *yes* er called god frendes (f.25ra l.30)
for *yes* twa er specialy god lifte (f.28va l.10)
al *yes* er specialy god (f.38ra l.24)
All *yes* qwilk I cal god (f.38ra l.38)
Sothly *yes* er special dedes (f.34ra l.15)
Now be *yes* wordes you may (f.34rb l.16)
ffor yof *yes* slynges er noght bot litil (f.34vb l.12)
ye brannches of enny and ne? er *yes* (f.35ra l.17)
yes fleschely likyns makes a man fule bestly (f.39va l.22)
and *yes* vemale synnes of glotony (f.40rb l.32)
Of *yes* twelf artikils four I haf declared (f.50rb l.15)
agayn *yes* manner of men (f.51ra l.22)
yes synful saules er myn (f.51rb l.33)
if he resane *yes* sacramentes (f.52vb l.4)
so yat in *yes* seuen comandmentes (f.58va l.21)
al *yes* comandmentes of god (f.58va l.25)
and for we nede euer ilk day *yes* two manners of bredes.
(f.61va l.8)
¶ He fourt askyng of *yes* four askyngs (f.63rb l.16)
ffor *yes* thre eneles I pray our grace (f.63va l.15)
ilkon of *yes* vij · angels (f.64ra l.1)
by *yes* vij trumpes er vnderstand (f.64ra l.3)
yes sacramentes if yat be rew led dewly (f.64ra l.13)
ye first of *yes* vij sacramentes es ye ... (f.64ra l.16)
and *yes* two er done away (f.64ra l.28)
yai sal fulfil on of *yes* four payns (f.65rb l.10)

yes manner of men and women (f.65rb l.22)

kast done ye tone of *yes* postes of hope (f.85ra l.17)

yat *yes* walles be set opon a gud gronde (f.85ra l.26)

letes mekil folk in *yes* days (f.86va l.35)

to put *yes* fyne besandes (f.86vb l.18)

to put *yes* fyne besandes (f.87ra l.4)

when he sal say *yes* wordes (f.89vb l.7)

when e sal say *yes* wordes to yo yat sal be dampned
(f.89vb l.31)

how *yes* four may stand cwardes (f.91va l.11)

and yat es in *yes* four festes (f.94rb l.3)

Yes er bakd ??? and erers of yat ... (f.94vb l.9)

spokde again *yes* synes (f.94vb l.11)

yis

ye lawer degre of *yis* felyng men (f.5ra l.31)

and *yis* four may be vnderstandid (f.8va l.15)

I hope you does al *yis* werkes (f.30r b l.9)

yis thre werkes has an excellent (f.33vb l.17)

bot ye brekyng of *yis* two comandmentez (f.55ra l.29)

yat es to say *yis* ten comandmentes bydden of god (f.58vb
l.20)

yese

or swilk oper and of *yese* I qwilk yu feles mast ... (f.15rb
l.18)

of haly kirk als?ȝa after *yes* and beneth *yese* (f.34ra l.4)

al *yese* he had sai?? bot soth. (f.37vb l.17)

yees

yis see yat *yees* men if any be swilk yat ... (f.15va l.27)

*yise

yise saules for yai had mast charite sal haf hyest mede
(f.25ra l.18)

((*thes*))

LP398

yese

...and lange of *yese* erdylyche? muche (p.109 l.14)
 and þou take as ?che of *yese* thynges (p.113 l.11)
 and sethe *yese* · iij quartes ynto a þotell (p.119 l.13)
 seth all *yese* thogedys tyll hyt come to a þotell (p.20 l.7)
 and seth all *yese* ho?? and (p.123 l.22)
 boyle all *yese* in a þotell (p.123 l.16)
 of the gardyn of all *yese* mynte (p.125 l.10)
 of fenell let all *yese* well be sthrede (p.125 l.12)
 þen fry all *yese* togedys (p.125 l.33)
 tryacle as muche as a *yese* and ... (p.128 l.2)
 all nept of *yese* y lyche (p.129 l.2)
 and boyle all *yese* togædir and fry hem well (p.129 l.18)

*these

þe plowe of the lyly of en?che of *these* and hanfull gody

(p.110 l.7)

and whyle *these* erbes byn styll yn the moc?? (p.110 l.9)

yere

yer

yis

zes

yes

yes

LP410

yir

through *yir* four thynges to tell (f.46v l.12)
yir tuelf degrese yat I now neuen (f.48v l.27)
 withouten *yir* tuelf in *yir* thre (f.48v l.31)
 and namely with *yir* vertuse seuen (f.53v l.25)
 and *yir* four efter cardynalles (f.53v l.32)
 ffor *yir* thre ?? dayns specialy (f.53v l.35)
 he yat had *yir* vertus all (f.53v l.37)
yir ten comannmentes on raw (f.55v l.23)
yir fyue lebes hase offices ere (f.56v l.9)
 in hert and oute gase be *yir* zates (f.56v l.27)
yir thre names he beres be skill (f.57v l.12)
yir sey ar full mykell in vse (f.58v l.7)
yir sey mase a grett lettyng (f.58v l.19)
yir ar *ya* sex yat ar noght gode (f.58v l.23)
yir sprynges and spreids on ilka syde (f.58v l.27)
yir ar ye voices aghten to kanw (f.58v l.29)

yir ten synnes yat I neuen will (f.60v l.14)
 and ilkane of *yir* a vertu es (f.61v l.16)
yir ar called ye seuen degrese (f.61v l.31)
yir vataylles suld a man abyde (f.61v l.37)
yir grobes in ilk a man and wyfe (f.62v l.21)
yir ar ye tuelfe degrese of vertus (f.63v l.9)
 ye tuelfst is belyues of all *yir* (f.63v l.22)
yir grese of vertus men may fynde (f.63v l.23)
yirtre has full swete sauour (f.63v l.25)
 yat men may se grew i *yir* trese (f.63v l.40)

yis

in *yis* gastely foreste groves (f.46r l.33)
yis phylosofers yat war wyse (f.56v l.11)
*yis*beres full many flour (f.63v l.26)

((*yeri*))

LP526

yis

and nane of all *yis* thynges thre (f.46v l.15)
yis thre personns er all aue (f.46v l.29)
 the trinite men *yis* thre calles (f.47r l.1)
 and to *yis* thre: thre thynges falles (f.47r l.2)
 of *yis* thre mans saule made es (f.47r l.29)
yis thre comandments to fele (f.50r l.1)
 bot ye meke may payse in *yis* thre (f.101v l.22)
 on *yis* thre wyse yat es to say (f.102r l.11)
 at *yis* thre ye fende ofte smyles (f.106r l.28)

¶ *yis* thre onte of envy may spryng (f.105v l.21)
 a wycked gladdyng *yis* men calles (f.105v l.26)
 ffor why charite *yis* men telles (f.111r l.13)
 in *yis* foure falles resoun to be (f.114r l.22)
yis er *yaa* foure luf and drede (f.114v l.21)
yis er ye seuen vertues to taste (f.117r l.16)
 in *yis* seuen poyntes of equite (f.117r l.29)
yis er ye sex vices knawen ryse (f.120v l.22)
 ffor *yis* thynges that I talde laste (f.211r l.12)
 also *yis* grete ladys of myght (f.216r l.2)

yis twa ye prayer may euen vp lede (f.217v l.12)
 withouten *yis* twa it may noght sleghe (f.217v l.17)
 to god wyth *yis* twa wenges yare by (f.217v l.22)
 als *yis* precheurs says yat oft preches (f.218r l.22)
 he sall noght spede als says *yis* clerkes (f.219r l.24)
 als *yis* ckerkes wele it wate (f.219r l.26)
 swylk men heres god als says *yis* clerkes (f.219v l.14)
 yat *yis* foure pilers sulde vp here (f.219v l.20)
 yurgh *yis* thre spesayll stabeld es (f.223r l.18)
 in *yis* thre cases men may wyrk (f.225r l.13)
yis men of grete state if yai ware wyse (f.301v l.21)
 yat *yis* wommen sudle yaire dyght (f.304v l.24)
 als *yis* clerkes haues ofte schewed vs (f.306r l.10)
yis er ye pasybles to prays (f.308r l.19)
yis twa gyftes haldes ye toyer faste (f.310v l.9)
 bot if he vse als teches *yis* clerkes (f.311v l.5)

yir

specially in *yir* twa thynges (f.46r l.27)
yir thre maners er gode to lere (f.101r l.19)

yat *yir* synnes forgyfen may be (f.109r l.6)
yir seuen vertues full wyde spreades (f.117r l.18)
 when *yir* thre thynges er ryghtly soght (f.205r l.13)
 we sulde fyrste seke als teches *yir* clerke (f.207v l.8)
 yat we lysten noght *yir* charmers (f.303r l.5)

yise

yise er ye foure wordes to here (f.36v l.1)
yise foure wordes mykell maters kyndes (f.36v l.6)
 knaw in hym *yise* thynges thre (f.37v l.21)
 ¶ *yise* er ye comandments tenne (f.48v l.12)
yise tenne comandments or raw (f.48v l.28)
yise comandmentes er no fabels (f.49r l.4)

yese

yese er on Inglysche yus to men (f.36v l.4)
 on *yese* thre thynges yat yai haue (f.38r l.25)

***yes**

yes er be ryght goddes sonnes calde (f.308r l.25)

LP1349

yes

and of ye maner of *yes* landes I sall zou tell playnle (f.2v l.16)
 ye rews made ye crose of *yes* four maner of trees (f.4v l.11)
 and so *yes* kymels springe vpe a tre (f.5v l.5)
 and *yes* perties er twa pertices of ye see (f.7r l.17)
 yat *yes* hilles passes ye cloudes (f.8r l.5)
 and yai of *yes* iles calles hyr lady of ... (f.11r l.5)
 and about ye contre of reisim ar *yes* citees (f.23r l.16)
 sett *yes* twa monethes (f.25r l.6)
 and of on of *yes* naylles (f.25v l.6)

and *yes* wordes he sayde on ye crose (f.26r l.20)
 and on *yes* greces went our lorde (f.26r l.21)
 and under *yes* greces is a chapell (f.26r l.22)
 yat is to say that *yes* stanes be made brede (f.34v l.23)
 and of *yes* hase sinne article our fa (f.42r l.17)
 and when a man is onte of *yes* hilles (f.45r l.9)
 men has gode gifen *yes* landes (f.50v l.19)
 and so *yes* yat sulde be turnyde to ihus (f.51r l.19)
 and 3e sall vnderstande yat *yes* yat warschipes (f.61r l.14)
 so say yai yar yat *yes* er halie men (f.65r l.17)
 all day with *yes* folkes yat er nakyde (f.66r l.18)

1. 3 Central area

LP29

***pese**

pese fowle fendys for my mysdede (T/f.103v l.7)
pese hydous bests wer wonder yrette (T/f.112v l.1)
pese smybes wer full of sowlye vnto? in (T/f.124v l.1)
pese termentowrys wer fowle and blake (T/f.125v l.9)
pese þat þu art delynered froo (T/f.126v l.5)
pese too kynyes þat y see here (T/f.139v l.4)
save of *pese* too as þu mayst wytte (T/f.143r l.2)
pese men quod þe anYell bryzt (f.146r l.17)
pese folke he seyð þat murþe makyþ þis (T/f.147v l.7)

þes

before þe quene saying *þes* wordes. (M/f.31r l.17)
sayd þe yonȝ quene what ben *þes* fowre þynȝes (M/f.33r l.18)

erthely se behelde and *þes* ben foure notable þynȝes (M/f.33v l.11)
and fro *þes* þer into mew payn (T/f.106v l.4)

***thes**

thes thynkns þe semely vnto see (T/f.162v l.2)

***þesse**

þesse sowlys þat þu hast here yseyn (T/f.135v l.1)

***þeys**

?ill *þeys* peynes þat þu hast sene (T/f.136r l.17)

theis

LP30

yies

yat *yies* to kynd was trew and ryȝt (f.32r l. 21)
yat he saw *yies* folke myssayre (f.47r l.13)

ded hym fra (f.10r l.25)

((*yier*))

thies

When thamar herd *thies* tyghyinge to / that Indas wyf was

((*y^les*))

LP115

þes

¶ Aythere of *þes* wyfs toke þame a mayden: (p162)
¶ And in so mekill are *þes* maydens nedful to þar laydes, (p162)
¶ And þe names of *þes* childer and *þes* vertuȝ, sall be knawe by þis fygyre þat felouse: (p163)
Sons of Iacob of Lya are *þes* sewen: (p163)
Sones of Iacob of Ȝelfa are *þes*: (p163)
¶ *þes* felynges in a mans saule may be now ordaynde & now vnordaynde, (p163)
-with-outon *þes* two hope is presumpcion, (p164)
¶ and after *þes* scho laft beryng of childer till a nothere tyme. (p165)
And forþi fo Bala wer borne *þes* two: (p165)
¶ *þes* two childer are full nedfull & spedfull to a werkand saule: (p165)

Wen Lya sagh þat Rachel here sister made gret ioy of *þes* two basterdese born of Bala her maydyne, (p166)
¶ *þes* are þe childer þat Ȝelfa, Gad & Assere: (p166)
¶ *þes* are þe childer þat Ȝelfa broght broght in sorow, (p166)
...; þe first of *þes* in getyn be Gade, (p167)
¶ Bot here it is to wite how with *þes* fawer sons of *þes* two maydens ... (p167)
& mone trawels of *þes* othere affeccions command before? (p170)
& wen we vse vs besile in *þes* felynges ... (p170)
& kepyng of *þes* vertus: (p170)
..., all þat *þes* other vertus dos it ... (p170)
in any of *þes* felynges beforsayd ouer his myght ... (p170)
...; wilk are *þes*: (p172)
þes þre are calde þe lefra of oure lorde, ... (p172)

LP168

yes

aporcoum of yes make was for eghen (f.11v l.6)
astorm of al yes xiiij sinnes take off (f.19v l.25)
of yes sp??? take half on once (f.20r l.2)
ceyne of ilkane of yes here take ane (f.20r l.18)
ilkane of yes sedes take half a (f.20r l.22)
med way iij virces of al yes thynges (f.20r l.24)
nals of yam and a virce of yes ke for (f.21r l.24)
mynt sange and v??eg stip yes greses wele and small (f.24v l.25)
it take al yes thinge and eche yam (f.25v l.7)
and take of yes aske and make le and wach yi *thees* (f.49r l.10)
now is ye v?telb of yes erbes ye netle (f.51v l.1)
hete of yes erbes (f.51v l.3)
anance of al yes erbes (f.52r l.13)
do al yes thyng in a pan (f.53v l.3)
if yu may noght haue all yes herbes (f.53v l.11)

stap to gib al yes ?reses (f.55v l.12)

take as mekle nise of it as of al yes oper ?reses (f.56r l.19)
and als off rose take al yes thinges to gid (f.61r l.8)

yer

salte of ilkans of yer iij (f.7v l.14)
says yat yer thynges es il yer (f.13v l.5)

y^{es}

? hilipendula of ilkane y^{es} roos take (f.20r l.6)
and all y^{es} my small and farce ye att within as (f.44r l.21)
Take y^{es} ?reses and stap yam ilkane (f.52r l.6)
and luke yat al y^{es} thynges (f.53v l.1)

*thees

ffor wark and su?ellynge in *thees* or feste (f.48v l.2)
and take of yes aske and make le and wach yi *thees* (f.49r l.10)

LP204

yise

of yise thre herbes tak (f.1r l.5)
and lat fry all yise thyng togider (f.4r l.22)
and also drink mente with yise oper herbes (f.7r l.4)
and lat stamp all yise thynges todiger (f.7r l.13)
gyfe hym to drink yise thre herbes (f.11v l.15)

and fry all yise togidre (f.14v l.6)

lat screde yise herbes right small (f.15r l.11)
write yise thre names in parchemyne (f.16r l.4)
and lat fry yise two togider right wele (f.17r l.21)
bot by al hole yise ben ye dayes (f.21r l.19)
shelles and gallardis of all yise foure alike mykil (f.29r l.5)

LP211

these

these wold by thare wytt / make a shyp be drownde; p105, l. 145)
That vyrgyn now has / *these* wordys vphold (p111, line 344)
Lord, what *these* weders ar cold! (p116, line 1)
These men that ar lord fest (p117, line 20)
These men that ar wed / haue not all thare wyll, (p118, line 73)
These floodys so thay drowne, (p120, line 132)
On *these* thefys yit I mene. (p136, 635)
ffor *these* maters to gnast. (p170, line 156)
If ye byde in *these* wonys (p171, line 169)
All *these* I defende; (p172, line 207)

kyll we *these* boyse! (p176, line 336)

thise

That *thise* wordis be purst (p107, l. 209)
Gett out of *thise* wonys! (p178, line 393)
Bot had I slayn hym indede / with *thise* handys two, (p242, line 436)
Of all *thise* causes ilkon / which ye put on hym, (p246, line 98)
ffor all *thise* dedys of great louyng (p249, line 179)

thyse

lord, *thyse* weders ar spytus (p118, line 58)
thyse nyghtys ar long, (p122, line 181)

LP348

these

In to the witnes of the whilk to *these* identeurs ay ther (l.20)

LP360

yes
and att all yes punissys (l.15)

LP377

yes
and yes sayd conandes ...(WBD/VIII/10: l.16)

LP378

yies
...thyng to *yies* en??ur3 ye perties before sayd hand sett to
yar seles (l.8)

yeis
... *yeis* men to edi?tnes ... (l.8)

LP415

Thes
Thes er y^e grefis y^t xij men fendes defectyffe (p22, line 29)
Thes er ye fawtes yt xij men fendes defectyve. (p25, line
32-33)

yes
M^d y^t *yes* er y^e Artecles yt ... (p23, line 16)

Thys
Thys er ye defawtes y^t xij men fendes deffectyffe ... (p26,
line 35)

LP473

yise
yise be ye wordes of ye gret docto (f.2v l.10)
betwix *yise* foure doghters of our lond (f.7r l.9)
yat *yise* foure doghters shulde go to hym (f.7r l.15)
saying in *yise* wordes yis doght goth fastnes says yat ...
(f.7r l.19)
wherfore to acorde all *yise* togedir (f.7r l.25)
yise ffyrst I askyd grace of god (f.9r l.7)
had hard *yise* wordes sly sayd (f.9r l.26)
yat *yise* thre persons ... (f.10v l.25)
none of *yise* persons ... (f.10v l.31)
began his message in *yise* wordes (f.11r l.25)
hade told *yise* condiciouns (f.12v l.20)
withouten *yise* two vertus maide hede (f.13v l.1)
so in *yise* meke and kud i kordes of ... (f.13v l.18)
and as *yise* wordes haile mary (f.15r l.21)
in *yise* fyrst wordes haile mari (f.15r l.25)
standis in *yise* wordes ffull of grace (f.15r l.29)
yise twa and nobill and worthy cautikils? yat ... (f.18r l.1)

as ys gspell tellys in *yise* wordes (f.22r l.10)
folawes *yise* now ioyfull tyzinges of yair lord (f.22r l.15)
ye apostol techez and *yise* wordes whenn he says yat ...
(f.23v l.29)
how *yise* thre kynges come (f.24v l.21)
what yat *yise* thre giftes offred of *yise* kinges be to kyns
gostly (f.25v l.19)
ye modir woundinge of all *yise* wordes keped (f.27r l.33)
al *yise* diseysez wer to yame matter of gret tabulacon (f.30r
l.13)
as many dos namely in *yise* daise ffor yis vices (f.30v l.23)
I with gret sorow haues soght ye all *yise* thre dayes (f.34r
l.17)
Bot *yise* wordes yai vndirstonde noght (f.34r l.22)
hy shewes in *yise* wordes (f.36r l.1)
dedis to *yise* my lest breyer 3e did to me (f.36r l.8)
and lufed principally *yise* ye tus of meknes sothly (f.36r
l.10)
we sall in all *yise* folies (f.38r l.22)

and of all *yise* srthly (f.38r l.46)
 all *yise* ar ye wordes of saynt bernard (f.39v l.3)
 if you will not and lene nozt *yise* werldly thinges (f.41r l.1)
 ffor nozt onely he was temped in *yise* thre tymes (f.42r l.5)
 yar *yise* tyzinge of his gracious victory (f.43v l.6)
 vndirstanding es in *yise* wordes ye whilk d??? commly tels
 (f.47v l.13)
 at ye begynnyng of his sermon yat bene *yise*. (f.48v l.3)
 sayd ye gospell of *yise* twa systers (f.70r l.3)
 ffor how se euer it stand of *yise* twa astates and degre is
 (f.70r l.24)
 and slayne thurgh syn in *yise* iij maners (f.71v l.1)
 spake to ye ded body in *yise* wordes (f.72v l.1)
 yat he answerd to yame in *yise* wordes (f.73v l.1)
 aftir ye letter tellyng how *yise* twa systers martha and
 maria (f.74r l.28)
 yat *yise* twa astates yat es to say ... (f.74r l.31)
 a lord Ihus rayse *yise* folk (f.76r l.26)
 lord Ihus orie? to all *yise* men (f.76r l.32)
 all *yise* forsaid thinge (f.77r l.11)
 yat vse *yise* for sayd vertus (f.78v l.3)
 ¶ and yar ar yat soper wer *yise* homely gest and with Ihus
 (f.78v l.12)
 in yat house *yise* foure persones doying to our lord Ihus
 (f.79r l.4)
 and yan thurgh *yise* wordes yai wer all wele (f.80r l.7)
 and of *yise* thre wepynges (f.80v l.15)
 and specially in *yise* thre dayes (f.81r l.17)
 ye pharasees saying to yame in *yise* wordes (f.81v l.8)

LP474

yise
 whan *yise* wytes all be deme (f.158r l.22)
yise noys when yai halod wer (f.160v l.11)
 when yis abbas *yise* tyzande harde (f.160v l.17)
 when yis abbes *yise* worde harde (f.160v l.25)
yise chenes war of hym full fayn (f.164r l.31)
 gastly he *yise* days iij (f.165v l.26)
 yf we sek fh? with *yise* thre (f.165v l.35)
yise words says ye dew of helle (f.170r l.21)
 Amang *yise* worldys me?? and tyre?? (f.174r l.37)
yise er ye words of our gospell (f.179r l.33)
yise men zede forth and zern yai soght (f.183r l.28)
 ffor *yise* er saynt austyn worde (f.183v l.27)
yise thenes saw yis tholm?dnes (f.184r l.5)
 here are *yise* proud men ??yte (f.184r l.27)
 ffor who so thynke on *yise* with teres (f.186v l.33)

LP477

**yise*
 then gyf hym to drnke *yise* in herbis thre daise (f.20v l.11)
 ¶ of all *yise* comes ?nordynat wakyng (f.82r l.8)
yise seid wordes (f.86v l.21)
 in the labo? of all *yise* (f.87r l.23)

saying to yame in *yise* wordes (f.88v l.15)
 all *yise* forsaid wordes I haue spoken to zow (f.88v l.31)
 or ye graciose giftes of ye holy gost with *yise* souly
 stynkyng bistes (f.120v l.9)
 of *yise* blyssed wounddez (f.130r l.1)
 if you fest *yise* blyssed woundes (f.130r l.2)
yise thinge stirres charite to god (f.131v l.8)
 and my last dome *yise* thinges brynges in drede in saule
 (f.131v l.9)
 of *yise* and all other I cry god mercy (f.137v l.14)
 haly kirke off *yise* and all oper I ask god mercy (f.138v
 l.20)
 in all *yise* synnes yat I haue schewed (f.139r l.13)
 dos *yise* sex thinges (f.139v l.5)

yees
 by ye whilk as vndirstand *yees* twa lyses (f.70r l.4)
 of ye persones in *yees* astates and yis mekill he sayd
 (f.70r .25)
 and a trew of all *yees* whos saule rest (f.70v l.32)
 and so it semes by *yees* wordes (f.74r l.27)
 if ze know *yees* yat I have ... (f.85r l.11)
 how wondirfully pou sed *yees* forsaid wordes (f.89r l.8)

yese
 and *yese* nabyll creature man sou our comforth (f.6r l.26)
 yat as to say yat we in all *yese* sshew (f.24r l.1)

((*yir*))

yise er ye dedis of mercy (f.187r l.27)
 with *yise* thre schuld all plate (f.189r l.9)
 yat *yise* howse all changed I se (f.190v l.2)
yise ye holy gost gyft us yat grace (f.193v l.25)
 In *yise* thre as I haue sayd zow (f.195r l.25)
 at *yise* now wyll I answar ye (f.197v l.31)
 ffor yi *yise* two thinge as I wene (f.208r l.27)
 off *yise* god men rat stand fast here (f.215v l.38)

yis
 in *yis* dedes with tostes gode (f.185v l.20)

((*yer*))

((*yir*))

with hard blode ayanes *yise* in secoond (f.91v l.18)

thise
 and lay you? to *thise* medsynse er gode (f.26v l.7)
 of *thise* forsaid gerk by gem selfe gayde (f.39v l.5)

and *thise* poind g?ridtte be calde mala ... (f.98v l.21)

these

and take all *these* sace the pod?g (f.22r l.11)

*thees

for the anguayll *thees* benys well inyour moth (f.17v l.13)

*thyse

we make an ande of *thyse* grete (f.94v l.7)

yes

LP488

yer

and when *yer* houses of office er made (f.4v l.36)

what *yer* er herd comannmente (f.5r l.17)

to *yer* thre ladys and yair lyfe reweles eftir yeir techyng (f.5v l.2)

¶ and *yer* metes fedes ye saule (f.6r l.12)

¶ saynt bernard speks of *yer* words of Job (f.7r l.31)

yer er orlege? in touar? (f.7v l.13)

yer er orlege in cites yat wakkyns *yer* merchande (f.7v l.14)

and *yer* er orlege in religion (f.7v l.15)

fende ye fadir of *yer* four doghters (f.8r l.1)

thurgh ye wykednes of *yer* four (f.8r l.9)

and chaste oute *yer* foure foule wighte yos lothly fendes doghters (f.8r l.18)

¶ and if it thurgh any vnhap bifall yat any of *yer* four doghters (f.8r l.27)

falles in hert to duell thorgh *yer* four thynges to tell (f.11v l.6)

withouten *yer* tuelf and *yer* thre verray meknes may noght be (f.13v l.16)

yer thre dinine vtus men calles (f.18v l.16)

ye gostly werke er *yer* to know (f.19v l.5)

yer werkes of mercy sal he neuen (f.19v l.21)

yer ten comannmente on raw (f.20v l.12)

yer sex er ful mekil in vse (f.23v l.4)

yer sex mase a gret settyng (f.23v l.10)

yer er yo sex yat nozt gude es (f.23v l.12)

yer spnge and spredes on ilke a syde (f.23v l.14)

yer ere ye virces aghten o to know (f.23v l.15)

yer er ye bronrches firste to know (f.26v l.5)

yer batails suld a man abyde (f.26v l.19)

yer er ye tuelfe degres of vertus (f.28v l.5)

yer graces of vertus men may fynde. (f.28v l.12)

yer vertus amans hert ledes (f.28v l.14)

yat men may see grufe in *yer* trees. (f.28v l.20)

yes

yes two sal caste fro ye consciens (f.4r l.12)

lagh god vn to his secuante hight *yes* thre (f.7r l.8)

¶ *yes* foure has ye sende of hell (f.8r l.3)

yes er ye tuelfe abusyouns: yat groffes in religiouns (f.15v l.16)

and ilkone of *yes* a vertu es (f.26v l.8)

yes er cald ye seuen degres (f.26v l.16)

when we forsake *yes* worldly dedes (f.28v l.3)

lady for yi sonn sake : saffe me fro *yes* fendes balke (f.32v l.3)

LP494 (*Prick of Conscience*: Additional 25013 / B text)

yise

Yise thre partes ar thre spaces talde (f.5r l.39)

Alle *yise* kyndely til an olde man falles (f.10r l.9)

Men sais yat all *yise* tokenes sere (f.10r l.37)

*All *yise* prites clerkes calles (f.10v l.5)

Yise worlde als is was goddes will (12v l.36)

*Be *yise* skilles als I can proue? (f.13r l.10)

*Ffor *yise* skylles als clerkys schewe can (f.13r l.24)

**Yise* nettes yat yai ar taken in (f.18r l.37)

With ye right hande and ye lifte *yise* two (f.19r l.7)

Yat *yise* clerkes ye lefte hande calles (f.19r l.19)

Ye whilk *yise* clerkes noght elles calles (f.19r l.29)

All *yise* ordeynes god all weldande (f.21r l.29)

Of bothe *yise* worldes grete outrage we se (f.22r l.22)

Ffor als *yise* clerkes in bokes redes (f.24v l.5)

Who to wil on *yise* foure take hede (f.26v l.10)

Yise thre skilles are gode to here (f.34v l.34)

To joye or payne als sais *yise* clerkes (f.36v l.33)

Of *yise* sex poyntes I will speke and rede (f.37v l.20)

Yise foure stedes men may helle calle (f.39r l.14)

Yise are ye heued synnes deadely (f.46r l.28)

Ilkone of *yise* are deadely synne (f.46r l.33)

In any of *yise* synnes deadely (f.46v l.4)

Ffor als men heres *yise* clerkes say (f.46v l.21)

¶ Yo ten ar *yise* yat I now rede (f.46v l.29)

Yise ten pouttes venial synnes away (f.47r l.5)

*And yarefore ye poete on *yise* wise sais (f.47r l.11)

Yise are smale synnes saynt austyn tell (f.48r l.7)

Yat 3e vse *yise* ten thynges sere (f.48r l.22)

Of *yise* maters yat yus makes mencioun (f.52r l.5)

*Of *yise* maters and of other mo (f.52r l.14)

*Of alle *yise* haue I spoken to ye ende (f.52v l.7)

And noght onely obouen *yise* goddes all (f.54v l.27)

Whare fore I halde *yise* grete mysdoers (f.55r l.16)

On *yise* foure naners als I haue schewed (f.58v l.25)

Yise two prophetes als sais some (f.59v l.30)

Yise wordes are of ye gospell [(f.62v l.11)

Yise tokenes I haue tolde after ye lettr (f.62v l.27)

Yise are ye wordes of ye gospell (f.63r l.34)

Alle *yise* agayne ye synful sal be (f.71r l.8)

Of *yise* men sal yai aresoned be (f.78v l.6)
 **Yise* ille men yat damned sal be (f.80v l.12)
Yise wordes yat are hidous to here (f.81r l.19)
 Of *yise* skilles and of ther mony (f.111v l.19)
 Als *yise* erthly cites are made of here (f.121v l.19)
 Bot *yise* blisses yat here neuen (f.124r l.23)

yis
 On *yis* two tymes he schuld thynk yam (f.6r l.23)
 Als men may here *yis* clerkes telle (f.12v l.13)
 To *yis* men may vnsware shortely (f.42r l.7)
 Alle *yis* tokenes als said he (53v l.16)
 Sal contene *yis* thre schort tymes passande (f.64r l.35)
 All *yis* tokenynges sall yan be schewed (f.69r l.26)

LP496

yese
 almyghty Ju? *yese* wordes bene vnderstonder (f.2r l.14)
 and ych on of *yese* owen (f.7v l.21)
 of all *yese* degrees of sybraden holy chyrche (f.8r l.14)
 yei bene anoynted and neghded *yese* askynges wroyes
 (f.9v l.8)
 and say thryes *yese* wordes (f.9v l.25)
 vnderstonde wel alle *yese* poyntes (f.11r l.6)
 of wolle tyche *yese* hit it waxen (f.13r l.12)
 for *yese* noreshory yo body and make hit fatte (f.61v l.13)

LP500

yise
yise are yo foure wordes to here (7 l.30)
yise are on englis yus to neuen (7 l.33)
yise foure mykel mater byndes (7 l.35)
 in god ye fadir are all *yise* thre (8 l.34)
 on *yise* thre þinges yat yai haue (10 l.20)
yise sex suld his childir knawe (10 l.27)
 yo yat *yise* two in hert will halde (11 l.3)
yise wordesw als I schewe yow can (21 l.7)
 speciale in *yise* two thynges (22 l.18)
yise thre persons er alle ane (23 l.11)
 of *yise* thre mans saule made es (24 l.3)
yise ten comanndementes on rawe (26 l.11)
yise comanndementes er no flables (26 l.17)
 in any of *yise* he es noght worthy (30 l.16)
 ffor *yise* two yan despises he (30 l.39)
yise er ye comanndementes ten (32 l.21)
yise comanndementes er nowe calde (32 l.25)
 sulde kepe *yise* comanndementes and saue (32 l.30)
 with *yise* thre men suld be ledde (40 l.29)
 þurgh *yise* foure þinges yat I sal telle (41 l.16)

yes
 Principaly in *yes* partes thre (f.5r l.36)
 He sais *yes* wordes þurgh þe prophete dauid (f.75r l.22)
 ¶ Godes of grace may *yes* be (f.77r l.17)
 Of all *yes* to gedur men hehoues (f.77r l.23)
 And say to yam *yes* wordes certayne (f.81v l.11)

**yese*
 Godes of hap arne *yese* to gesse (f.77r l.21)
 *3et myght his mercy alle *yese* synnes pas (f.83v l.1)

**these*
 Ffor he *these* hir to his moder dere (f.118v l.15)

((*yies*))

yees
 for all *yees* degrees of sybraden lettun (f.8r l.16)
 ay schal haue *yees* medes (f.9r l.18)

**pyse*
 he may sonnes haue grace to *pyse* to amende (f.52v l.13)

yise
yise thre hynges thouzt wille and delyte (f.60v l.10)

These
 ¶ *These* bene yo · x · comanndements of god (f.62v l.3)

yise seuen poyntes and es noght irke (101 l.27)
yise thre cute? of enmy may springe (108 l.22)
 in *yise* foure falles resoun to be (121 l.13)
yise er ye zates of ye saule namly (123 l.28)
yise er ye seuen vertus to tast (125 l.30)
yise er sex vices knawen rif (130 l.36)
 and sene how *yise* fendes ferde (320 l.13)

yis
 ye trinyte men *yis* thre calles (23 l.13)
 and to *yis* thre: thre thynges falles (23 l.14)
yis thre comanndementes to fele (27 l.34)
yis two comanndementes to fele (32 l.1)
 shewes it in *yis* thynges thre (41 l.10)
yis thre maners er gode to lere (101 l.35)
 bot ye meke may praise in *yis* thre (102 l.28)
 alle othir men prayse on *yis* thre wise (102 l.31)
 on *yis* thre wise yat es to say (103 l.8)
 ¶ a wicked gladnes *yis* men calles (108 l.27)
 yat *yis* syns forgyuen may be (113 l.18)
yis ere yo foure loue and drede (122 l.2)

yis seuen vertus ful wide spreades (125 l.32)
in *yis* seven poyntes of equitye (126 l.2)
indernes als *yis* clerkes says (129 l.1)
yis er ye branches of mercy (204 l.12)
yis seuen werkes standes mykell in stede (204 l.33)
als men may her *yis* clerkes telle (204 l.35)
and sayd to hir *yis* wordes right (210 l.37)
als *yis* clerkes vndirstndes it (219 l.22)
in holy writ yat *yis* clerkes can (224 l.8)
als *yis* clerkes vndirstandes right (303 l.25)

yis thre perties yat I yus neuen (307 l.38)
yis war a sikir ordynante (313 l.11)
and discrescioun als telles *yis* clerkes (325 l.14)

yir
of alle *yir* ??yntes I ??? to say (3 l.35)

*yes
to yes thre states falles to rede (308 l.1)

1. 4 Southern area

LP100

pese
os *pese* clerkez witen, (ex 109 after 16762)
pese thre thinges a-bod our lord, (ex 69 after 17288)
pese thre, makand þer mone, (ex 97 after 17288)
pese thre maries come þiderward, (ex 124 after 17288)
When *pese* wymmen come (ex 140 after 17288)

With *pese* thre maries os þa went, (ex 290 after 17288)
pese wymmen told amang hom all (ex 304 after 17288)
"*pese* are þe wordez, I-wis, (ex 460 after 17288)

These
These ilk wordez said he. (ex 65 after 16762)

LP165

pise
Also *pise* gret ladyces of my gist (f.12r l.24)
Withouten *pise* to it may noght fleghe (f.13v l.8)
To god with *pise* to wynges þ??ly (f.13v l.13)
Bot synnes as *pise* clerkes knawes (f.13v l.14)
pise wydoes þat idelnesse lufes (f.18v l.1)
ffro fying of *pise* thynges thre (f.21r l.32)
pise thre thynges may gretly file (f.20v l.35)
As *pise* clerkes understandes right (f.24v l.26)
pise seþ lefes byfore sayde (f.25v l.11)
In *pise* manere as clerkes schew cen (f.26r l.7)
When *pise* thre thynges specyaly (f.26r l.13)
pise thre pertyes þat i þus nemen (f.27r l.5)
To *pise* thre states falles to rede (f.27r l.7)
Bot al way has *pise* maydens chaste (f.27v l.25)
þan to wyne as *pise* clerkes ware (f.31v l.32)
hou glotony wastes *pise* thre (f.34r l.8)
pise men synes perillously (f.34v l.13)
comes *pise* brannche of glotony (f.35v l.10)
ffor *pise* glotons and *pese* lechoures (f.35v l.37)
pise drinkers and *pese* riotoures (f.35v l.38)
Talde and haunt *pise* mesmres twe (f.37v l.10)
pise ar þe fendes pre? lesiouns (f.41r l.25)
þat on *pise* tre grewes heghe and lawe (f.41v l.30)
pise ten synnes þat I nemen wyll (f.41v l.32)
in *pise* brannche lyue leues hyuges (f.43r l.9)
þat is þe synnes of *pise* flaterers (f.44r l.36)
pise two men may fynde in a boke (f.45r l.35)
pise thre ar dethe at eues he sinytes (f.45v l.32)

on *pise* brannche fyue leues may hyng (f.45v l.33)

pese
þerfore *pese* festes þai schuld kepe clene (f.9v l.25)
ffor þe dignyte as *pese* clerkes ware (f.19v l.20)
Glotony as *pese* clerkes pro?ues (f.33v l.34)
þat is ledde by *pese* sex ways (f.34v l.26)
ffor *pise* glotons and *pese* lechoures (f.35v l.37)
pise drinkers and *pese* riotoures (f.35v l.38)
eight so *pese* losengeres dose (f.44r l.25)

pyse
On such dere days as sayes *pyse* cerkes (f.9r l.5)
Als sayes *pyse* clerkes þat knawes itte (f.18r l.33)
Als 3e may here *pyse* clerkes telle (f.20r l.22)
wherfore *pyse* men þa lyues noght right (f.36r l.29)

puse
pua ar *puse* two ay at strife (f.37v l.33)
þerfore *puse* vaunter are our bolde (f.43r l.2)

***pys**
pys were a sy?res erdiannce (f.29v l.24)

((*thise*))

((*this*))

LP175

yise
etynge als who say *yise* wordes er not sayde of me (f.3v .3)
I dide neue none of *yise* thynges (f.11v l.21)
and *yise* wymen yat luffed him so tenderly (f.17r l.13)
when yai had broght him agayne to pilate *yise* fele hundes (f.18r l.4)
when *yise* wickede fendes (f.26r l.4)
yan comes *yise* wycked tormentos? (f.27v l.17)
And als some *yise* two discipils come agayne into iersum

(f.50r l.8)
Beholde how al *yise* thynges ar ful of ioye and gladnes (f.51r l.4)
ffor al *yise* apparycions wer done in ye day of pasch (f.51v l.25)
yu has herde sume of *yise* apparycions (f.52v l.14)
¶ Wherfor he neuens fyrst of *yise* sex thynges (f.57r l.9)
yise thre with gud wil to forsak of synnes (f.61 l.19)
whilk *yise* wyse werldely men er wont for to use (f.65v

1.22)

yese
and of *yese* foure sal webealde more clerely (f.1r l.4)
ke takes *yese* harde and sorowful betynges of *yose* wykede
men (f.18v l.8)
yat scho toil *yese* of hir wayne? tynge (f.36v l.20)
yat er *yese* I baptyze ye in ye name of ye fader (f.61r l.17)
yese er ye sex thynges yat I hafe spoken of (f.66v l.20)
ffor if 3e conandely knawe *yese* sex thynges (f.67r l.4)

***yis**
and yerfore in *yis* vertues sal we inforece vs to (f.5r l.17)
wha sa dose *yis* twa fulfyller al ye toyer (f.60v l.24)
and *yis* behoues(check MED) hafe thre thynges (f.61v l.15)

yiese
I am no3t with *yiese* armede men (f.14r l.6)

LP200

yese
yese gaf god to yo prophyte may see (f.83v l.5)

LP234

yise
yise are ye wordes of ye apostel (f.245r l.2)
if hym want oght of *yise* yat ? here (f.245v l.21)
tille *yise* gastely vnderstanden are (f.245v l.24)
and ouer litel betwene *yise* two gud (f.247v l.14)
yise two thynges sothely arises of two thynges (f.248v l.15)
amende yat in alle *yise* is fallen and ... (f.249v l.38)
with ye soule fende *yise* thre agayns vs (f.250v l.13)
yise foure thynges in ye chapitre he dose (f.251r l.11)

LP240

þe3
þe3 shrewes walde efte hafe made (f.21v l.25)
þen wex *þe3* shrewes wonder wroth (f.21v l.26)
and hidd þarfor *þe3* tormentours (f.23r l.18)
þe3 women take þer godes3 all (f.123r l.11)
þe3 wreched men with b?oke3 and croke3 (f.123r l.15)
and criste *þe3* women in mydde (f.123r l.18)
þe3 women felid no harme (f.123r l.20)
on of *þe3* women had two sones (f.123r l.31)
þe3 childre for þe modre dede (f.123r l.41)
þe crist is garte þat *þe3* childre take (f.123v l.1)
ffro whilk al oþer wa tre3 come als *þe3* clerke3 tell (f.127v

yu sulde now fele in ilkone of *yiese* apparycions (f.52v l.21)

yies
a gude ihus how grett schame and vilany do yai do 3ow
yies cursed iowes (f.21v l.6)
and *yies* sorueful dayes of hir wydownese (f.34r l.22)

***yere**
yere ten comandementis yat I hafe now rekkende (f.60v l.13)

***yer**
yer til oure neghbores ar ful nedeful (f.63r l.7)

***thise**
also of prayer in py? *thise* in ye erthe til his fader (f.5r l.15)

yes
yo con?ton ?e *yes* erthly godes (f.83v l.32)

yise foure thynges mase drede mon gladly to do (f.251r l.15)
when yei haued *yise* two landes (f.251r l.29)
haue done iwelle *yise* als meke schepe (f.251v l.10)
helle and heuen are *yise* two stedes: in one of *yise* two
nedly hehose mon dwelle (f.253v l.2)

***yis**
to lust falles bot euer stand ir?t to feght agayns *yis* thre
(f.250v l.20)

1.34)
and make hir his leman · abp? of *þe3* tuo (f.136r l.43)
þe3 tuo beome3 þe wele ynogh (f.136v l.17)
before *þe3* tyrate3 mydly (f.136v l.34)
to *þe3* haly men we ??te (f.139v l.13)
he cried faste out *þe3* ship (f.140r l.23)
and al *þe3* fals godde3 devil3 þai er ylk is (f.142r l.21)
þe3 xij daye3 before (142v l.20)
al *þe3* maidens he calde to hym (f.142v l.38)
þe3 maidens fell vnto his fete al kneland on þer kne
(f.142v l.39)
þe3 folke þat þou walde schew þi grace (f.143v l.1)

After *þeȝ* men to brynge agayne (f.146v l.14)
 after *þeȝ* men ȝnde wone (f.146v l.15)
þeȝ besteȝ þat scho had þaim take (f.146v l.31)
þeȝ disipleȝ ȝ ȝode þaim (f.146v l.33)
þeȝ besteȝ dreghe so mekely (f.146v l.40)
 bot one of *þeȝ* thrity men (f.147r l.10)
 both *þeȝ* tres men garte he take (f.147v l.7)
þeȝ pilgrimeȝ if þai were tres to dome (f.147v l.11)
þeȝ women gaf hym light (f.149v l.10)
 þi godes sulde quod *þeȝ* maidens in faire place (f.149v l.13)
 þe more torment fele after *þeȝ* dayes thre (f.150r l.37)
 bot gyf me space *þeȝ* thre dayes (f.150v l.49)
 to *þeȝ* pore men he ȝode and saide (f.151r l.6)
þeȝ tormentoeȝ opon hym dange (f.151r l.34)
 and *þeȝ* wordeȝ to hym saide (f.151r l.40)

þes
 he werit vntill *þes* messang cr?es (f.18r l.35)
 al *þes* maydesn were at rome with þis haly pope (f.18v l.34)
 thoght at *þes* maydens walde to criste turne many man (f.19r l.5)
 and of *þes* clene maidens þat ... (f.19v l.13)
 and brynge vs al vnto þat blis þat *þes* maydens er ... (f.20r l.1)
þes two breþer come (f.20v l.34)
 he bad bre?? *þes* two shrewes (f.21r l.37)
þes twe I brynge to þe (f.21v l.2)
 at o will quid? *þes* shrewes (f.21v l.18)
 when *þes* shrewes al hole were (f.22r l.10)
 amange *þes* men ilkone (f.22r l.21)

þise
þise or shrewes loghe þe?? (21r l.28)

((*þis*))

LP363

None

LP373

yes

LP405 (*Pirck of Conscience*: Bodley 99 / C text)

yise
 Prinsypally in *yise* thynges thre (f.7r l.23)
 Yat are *yise* til our vndurstandyng (f.7r l.24)
Yise may be thre spaces talde (f.7r l.26)
 Of *yise* two thynges we schuld thyk yan (f.8r l.30)
 Men sayne yat alle *yise* tokens sere (f.13r l.5)
 Yat ye world of worldes *yise* clerkes calles (f.14v l.33)
 Als men may her *yise* clerkes telle (f.15r l.21)
Yise worldes als it was goddes wille (f.15v l.9)
 And yat *yise* clerkes ye lift hande calles (f.19r l.20)
 Ye qwilk *yise* clerkes noght elles calles (f.19r l.30)
 Til *yise* acordes ye wordes of seneke (f.19v l.5)
 And til *yise* wordes yat some mispayes (f.20r l.9)
 Alle *yise* variaunce to vndirstande (f.21v l.19)
Yise are ye maners of mannes lyfe (f.22r l.10)
 Bothe *yise* worldes I dar wel say (f.22v l.4)
 Yus *yise* ȝouge men alle new gett (f.23r l.10)
 Ffor alls *yise* clerkes in bokes redes (f.25r l.5)
 Who so to *yise* four wil take hede (f.27r l.15)
 Of tuo of *yise* four before I sapke (f.27r l.17)
Yise are bernard wordes yat says (f.36v l.19)

Til ioy or pyne als says *yise* clerkes (f.37v l.15)
 Of *yise* sex poyntes now wil I rede (f.38v l.23)
Yise four stedes men may helle calle (f.40r l.12)
 ȝitt says *yise* grete clerkes namely (f.40v l.31)
Yise thre may bringe ye saule to reste (f.43v l.24)
Yise tuo manners of saules are safe (f.46v l.2)
Yise are ȝo synnes yat are dedly (f.47r l.10)
 Ilkone of *yise* are a dedly syn (f.47r l.17)
 In any of *yise* synnes dedly (f.47r l.23)
 Ffor als men heres *yise* clerkes say (f.47v l.2)
 Ȝo ten are *yise* yat I now rede (f.47v l.10)
Yise ten puttes venyal syns always (f.47v l.20)
 Als men may here *yise* clerkes say (f.47v l.21)
 Ffor *yise* smale synnes saynt austyn telles (f.48v l.23)
 Of all *yise* als I sayde before (f.53r l.20)
Yise men are yai and none elles (f.54r l.1)
Yise tokens to his discipuls sayd he (f.56r l.10)
 Some of *yise* tokens has bene (f.56r l.12)
 Ffor thi I halde *yise* misdoers (f.57v l.7)
 On *yise* foure maners als I have schewed (f.61r l.23)
 Yat *yise* folk at *yise* worldes ende (f.62r l.12)

Yise wordes yat he in ye gspell says (f.64r l.34)
Yise are ye wordes of ye gspelle (f.65r l.27)
 Agayne whilk alle *yise* tokuns schal come (f.65v l.26)
 Yus telles Iereme *yise* tokens fyftene (f.67r l.5)
Yise are ye wordes of ye gspell (f.67r l.20)
 Alle *yise* tokens schal yen be schewed (f.73v l.12)
 All *yise* agayne synful shal be. (f.75v l.8)
 Ffor *yise* clerkes yat clergy can (f.81r l.16)
 God es of grace may *yise* be (f.81v l.34)
 Godes of hap are *yise* to gesse (f.82r l.6)
 Of alle *yise* godes men be houes (f.82r l.8)
 Of *yise* men schal aresonnd be (f.83r l.22)
Yise worldes yat are hidous to here (f.85v l.24)

yis
 Alle *yis* kyndely to olde men falles (f.12v l.10)
 In bothe *yis* worldes outrage we se (f.22v l.20)
 Bot syker ar we not in *yis* dayes (f.36r l.20)
 Til *yis* two may penaunce vs lede (f.39v l.9)
 Of *yis* maters yat mas mencion (f.54v l.15)
 Of *yis* schal som fall and say (f.55r l.30)
 Be *yis* tokenes may men writ (f.65v l.27)

thise
Thise thre skilles are gode to lere (f.35v l.16)
 To abate yat fyre *thise* thre are beste (f.43v l.23)

LP479 (*Prick of Conscience* HM 139 Hand A / D text)

pise
 And *pise* benefyce halde in mynde (f.144va l.31)
Pise foure lettyn hym in sight (f.145rb l.27)
Pise foure norische pompe and pryde (f.145rb l.31)
 In whome so euer any of *pise* foure es (f.145rb l.33)
Pise wordes by heme may be saide here (f.145va l.15)
 Men sayne þat *pise* tokene sere (f.148rb l.39)
 As men may here *pise* clerkes tell (f.149rb l.17)
 Ffor *pise* skilles as clerkes schew can (f.149va l.23)
pise men worldely men men calles (f.149vb l.15)

pis
 Þo begynnyng of *pis* pertes (f.145rb l.9)
 Þat *pis* tretis will rede or here (f.145vb l.8)
 When þai *pis* tretis here or rede (f.145vb l.22)

pese
 Of *pese* two thynges we suld thynk þen (f.146vb l.3)
Pese worldes all as it is goddes will (f.149rb l.40)

LP497

None

LP591 (*Prick of Conscience*: HM 139 Hand C / E text)

pise
Pise thre skilles are gude to lere (f.156vb l.41)
 Bot siker are we not in *pise* daies (f.157ra l.30)
 To ioye or payne as sayne *pise* clerkes (f.157va l.43)
 To *pise* to may penaunce vs lede (f.158rb l.27)
Pise foure stedes men hell call (f.158va l.14)
 ȝit sayne *pise* grete clerkes namely (f.158vb l.20)
Pise thre may brynge þo soule to reste (f.159vb l.15)
Pise are þo synnes þat are dedely (f.160vb l.39)
 In any of *pise* synnes dedely (f.160 l.50)
 Ffor als men here *pise* clerkes say (f.161ra l.9)
 Þoo tene are *pise* as I now rede (f.161ra l.17)
Pise ten putte veniall synnes away (f.161ra l.27)
 Als men may here *pise* clerkes say (f.161ra l.28)
 Ffor *pise* smale synnes seint austyne telles (f.161rb l.47)
 Of all *pise* als I saide before (f.162vb l.21)
Pise men here þai and none elles (f.163ra l.17)
 Of *pise* maters and oper mo (f.163rb l.20)
 Of *pise* schall sun fall I say (f.163va l.3)

All *pise* schall be begynnyng harde (f.163va l.41)
Pise tokenes to his discipels tolde he (f.163va l.45)
 Sume of *pise* haue bene (f.163va l.47)
 God spake to *pise* thre cites þis (f.164rb l.28)
 And on *pise* foure maneres as I haue schewede (f.165rb l.14)
Pise are þo wordes of þo(the) gspell (f.166va l.20)
 And by *pise* tokens may men wit (f.166vb l.9)
 Þus telles Ierome *pise* tokenes fiftene (f.167ra l.31)
 All *pise* tokenes sall þen be schewede (f.169ra l.53)
 All *pise* agayne þo synful sal be (f.169vb l.25)
 Of *pise* þai sal hem þer accuse (f.170ra l.15)
 All *pise* sall be in witnes broȝte (f.170rb l.52)
 For þi þo clerkes þat clergy can (f.171va l.36)
 Godes of grace may *pise* be (f.171vb l.31)
 Godes of hap are *pise* to gesse (f.171vb l.37)
 Of *pise* gudes men behoues (f.171vb l.39)
 Till *pise* men sall aresonde be (f.172rb l.12)
Pise wordes þat are hidose to bere (f.173ra l.15)

And saide to hem *þise* wordes certane (f.173ra l.42)
Bot all *þise* blisses þat I here neuene (f.184va l.19)
þise riches gostely to vnderstande (f.185rb l.25)
þise paynes sal þai euer more fele (f.186rb l.55)
All *þise* paynes þat I here tell (f.186va l.3)

þis
þis are bernarde wordes þat sais (f.157rb l.19)
Tho thryd parte of *þis* bokees spede (f.157vb l.46)

Of *þis* nowe sex poyntes will I rede (f.158ra l.20)
þis two maner of synnes are safe (f.160va l.45)
3it sayne *þis* clerkes on þis maner (f.160va l.49)
Agayne whilk all *þis* tokenes sal come (f.166vb l.8)

***þir**
þir are þo wordes of þo gospell (f.167ra l.51)

2 THOSE

2. 1 Northwestern area

LP4

pas
þe godenes of god is so mykel þat he comforts þam wonderfully *pas* þat has na comforth of þo worlde, ... (p11)

þa
I asked grace of alle-myghty [god] to kepe *þa* thre comandementes of *þo* lawe: (p160)

LP5

thai
And therfor, syn he synned, all *thai* lesse vertue has. (66)
Thai foure doghters thurgh comune assent (159)
As straitly, for more penaunce, as euer *thai* myzt be; (618)

***thei**
And al bare *thei* wittenes of his godhede. (672)

LP18

þaa
þan war *þaa* breþer bondon hard, (4919)
Forth war broght *þaa* breþer ten (4927)
þaa sorful now, *þaa* sare men; (4928)
þaa held þam self al for þai hade, (5413)
þan did þe king call *þaa* midwiues (5550)
O *þaa* þat war egypciene, (6118)
þaa wandes durst he noght vp-drau. (6330)
Suld luken be *þaa* wandes thrin." (6340)
And to *þaa* þat gret birþin bar, (6448)
And said *þaa* sottes(fools) þam o-mang, (6495)
To sauue *þaa* men þat has na sak. (6598)
þaa holes, quen þai þam vndid, (6611)
And all *þaa* men þat had þe gilt (6619)
And slan *þaa* þat war maledight." (6640)
¶ Now sal yee o *þaa* domes here, (6667)
And hight *þaa* men to giue þair mede, (7121)
Hir lauerd consail all to *þaa* (7237)
To gleu *þaa* gomes at þair mete. (7254)
þaa sarzins þan þe king vm-sett, (7751)
And quen þe kyng come ner *þaa* tres, (8041)
Quen he began *þaa* wondes to se, (8063)
þaa branches o sua mikel blis, (8117)
Alle *þaa* þat sagh þat sight, (8127)
He tok *þaa* wandes in his hand, (8187)
O *þaa* wandes grett lose þai made. (8204)
He did *þaa* vandes forto ris; (8216)
þat es to sai, *þaa* tabels tuin, (8275)

þat yernand es *þaa* nu in strijf, (8375)
Efter þe laghes war in *þaa* dais. (8888)
For-þi said godd self o *þaa* luus, (9352)
þat menges wit *þaa* colurs heu; (9952)
He went amang *þaa* wildrin laus (10293)
þar his fee was gett in *þaa* daus. (10294)
þaa þat þis maiden was to cuth, (10621)
And *þaa* men war þider cald (10741)
For wordes o *þaa* lues fell. (11182)
þai had sene o *þaa* angels bright, (11264)
þai offerd him, *þaa* kinges heind, (11374)
Herod *þaa* kings cald in dern, (11473)
Biheild *þaa* giftes riche and dere. (11510)
þaa kinges thre ar broght to bedd, (11520)
þaa kinges ferd a-noþer wai, (11537)
If þai moght wit *þaa* kinges mett, (11542)
O *þaa* childer þat war slain, (11578)
And stod a-pon *þaa* bestes grim, (11613)
Quen maria sagh *þaa* bestes dute, (11633)
And o lame o *þaa* lakes selue (11985)
þat an was o *þaa* sisters thre, (12550)
In water baptised he al *þaa* (12754)
And said þat all *þaa* fok moght here, (12838)
O *þaa* þat cums vte o þat blod (13188)
To gedir *þaa* askes þat *þaa* brend, (13239)
þaa phariseus þat war ful fell, (13588)
þus gaf *þaa* seli men answar (13610)
To *þaa* lues þan ansuand he, (13639)

Was mikel renumed in *baa* dais, (13763)
 And tuix þam spak *baa* lues fell, (13827)
 þan said *baa* lues, "selcut her we, (13904)
 Bot pater-noster in *baa* dais, (21191)
 þai fell, þai fledd, *baa* wiperwin, (21403)
baa þat cros had on þaim draun, (21679)
 In *baa* dais mang þe luus lede, (21696)
 Wit *baa* nails al redi bune; (21798)
baa feindes cri o iudas herd, (21831)
 þat all *baa* men þat he mai wijt (22018)
 And *baa* þat he mai noght wit dred, (22183)
 þan sal al *baa*, scortli to sai, (22203)
 For in *baa* kinges sal it stand (22251)
 He sal him son al in *baa* dais, (22272)
 Als crist has to *baa* luus bald, (22309)
 All þat funden bes *baa* dais, (22368)
baa oper all he mai ouer-reke (22375)
 All *baa* þat he tru in him sal ger, (22379)
baa cruel dais and þaa kene (22428)
 Wit sorful signes *baa* fiftene; (22430)
 Was nan suilk o *baa* forwit sene, (22580)
baa warlaus all sal walk þan vte, (22611)
 Quen all þai sall *baa* trumpes here; (22756)
 All *baa* þat sua þam-seluen buud (22771)
 All *baa* þat godd has chosin til his (22833)
baa þat er not born o-liues, (22849)
 For *baa* war noght baptis iwiss, (22853)
 Als *baa* þat er his dughti dere, (23044)
baa care-ful eth sal be to kene, (23116)
baa dintes ar ful fers and fell, (23239)
 to se *baa* warlaus in þat wise, (23250)
 O *baa* wepand in þat waa, (23255)
 And qui þar es *baa* paines nene, (23265)
 Wit *baa* pines sex and thre. (23270)
 And *baa* men þat sa starck war her, (23275)
 If þai suld for *baa* feluns prai, (23345)

Ne hert mai think *baa* ioies sere, (23366)
 And seuen in saul, al for *baa* medes, (23371)
 Amang *baa* hirdes am i an,- (23881)
 For *baa* þat ar me lijfe and dere, (23936)
 Bot quen i sagh *baa* juus snell, (23996)
 ¶ Mani o *baa* þat wit me mett (24623)
 And o *baa* scippes for to spir, (24813)
baa þat he had na giftes til, (24823)
baa sori loked ai sua for-suonken, (24861)
 þis angel to *baa* quakand kidd, (24881)

þas
 Stilli menand til *þas* oper, - (4948)
þas oper it wired al bidene; (5902)
 Mare þan all *þas* oper smert (6059)
 Of al *þas* oper es nan sa god,-(10000)
þas oper þat in þe temple was. (10616)
þas er þe seuen virtus to tell, (10037)
þas oper lighted dun thic-fald, (11258)
þas oper leons þat war ald, (12352)
þas oper thre wrat in gru, (21292)

***þa**
 Bot him-seluen and *þa* tua, (5660)
 A leme brast o *þa* branches bright, (8048)
 þe thride boke efter *þa* tua (8471)
 Amang *þa* stretes er þar an (12334)

***þaas**
 Allan to *þaas* iuel i tell (9029)
 All *þaas* oper ne war bot tint (21681)
 And sipen *þaas* other at his list. (22130)
 Of all *þaas* oper ouer-mast, (22232)

þais

LP32

ya
 Bot *þa* þat lufes noght so has no langinge þat he come,
 ...(f.21a)
ya yat ere gode wedded men.(f.6ra)
 ye genge *ya* ware ye knyghtes of rome yat teucitþes (f.6rb)
 and ye folke *ya* ware ye i?ewys thought (f.6rb)
 when *ya* yat suld gif yem haly tille godds luf (f.6va)
ya ere fendes yat bigiles wreched saules (f.6va)
 Breke ye bandes of *ya* and kast we ferre fia vs yair zocke
 (f.6va)
 he yat wones in heunes sal dryf tille yat hethinge *ya* (f.6vb)
 all *ya* worthi hethinge (f.6va)
 and lastand you sal *ya* breke (f.7rd)
 ogaynes *ya* wrechednes of yis lif (f.9ra)
 ye voyce of *ya* yat lufes noght lot bodily tynge (f.9va)
 in ye monthe of *ya* yare hert es vaynes (f.10va)
 Araue oppenand es ye throte of *ya* wyth yair tonges
 swikely (f.11ra)
 zitte ye ere *ya* yat kan noght speke (f.14rb)
 ye name of *ya* you did oway withouten ende (f.15rb)
 ye mynde of *ya* qist with dynne (f.15va)

desire of *ya* yat are in anguys and says tille god (f16ra)
 Als thurgh zates of dede and from *ya* zates you hyghes me
 (f.16rb)
 and *ya* yat can noght defende yam with clergy (f.19rb)
ya yat es defayned thurgh yam (f20rb)
 yat lays ye word es brught in *ya* seuen giftes (f.20va)
ya er yirr wylcome vnderstand and ... (f.20vb)
 lot *ya* yat lufes noght so has no langinge (f.21ra)
 yar es nane of *ya* yat dos gode (f.21vb)
 for yu made charite brade in me til *ya* (f.29rb)
 multitude of *ya* yat soke lyf noght for erthli god bot sekand
 ye face of god (f.36va)
 als iacob did *ya* ere yai yat sekys hym (f.36va)
 zeld ye zeldinge of *ya* til yam (f.42ra)
 yat es so mekil yat *ya* sal wil dye for trwes luf (f.42vb)
 desert are *ya* yat neuer zit did wele desert (f.43ra)
 and drede of dede of *ya* hende (f.45ra)
 yat es *ya* yat flowes in lustes of flesche (f.47va)
 yat standes noght ogaynes god ??? ked hert are *ya* yat says
 ... (f.48ra)
 yat es *ya* yat are depe in malice in his tresours (f.48va)

and *ya* yat hopis in his mercy (f.49rb)
 fra dede ye faules of *ya* (f.49va)
 yat es til *ya* yat brekys ye hardenes of yeir hert (f.51ra)
 and of al *ya* lord sal delmer hym (f.51ra)
 in heuen yat es *ya* yat are heuen witand (f.54ra)
 yat es righthede of lyf til *ya* yat are right of hert (f.54va)
 says you febil in luf yat es wont *ya* (f.54vb)
ya at are il yof yai florische now (f.55va)
 ye swerd of *ya* gange in til yair hertys (f.56ra)
 swilke are *ya* yat lufes parfitely (f.58ra)
 amange *ya* yat sal be purged in fir of purgatorie (f.58ra)
 for *ya* pynes may fu?? yat (f.58ra)
 in *yer* two solaces man ioyes (f.59ra)
 And *ya* yat enqueryd illes of me spacke vanitees (f.59ra)
 forow withoutyn noumbir for *ya* twa virces dessaynes ma
 man (f.150rb)
ya yat lefte in egypt was rad (f.150va)
 Blisful *ya* yat kepis dome (f.151ra)
 yat we be with *ya* men (f.151ra)
 lo *ya* yat ioyd til ydol (f.153rb)
 and his wonders schew til men yat es *ya* ilk mercys
 (f.154ra)
 for *ya* goddes haue noght offices of lymes (f.161vb)
 yan es a man better yan *ya* yat spekis and sees (f.162ra)
ya yat dredis our lord (f.162rb)
 all other haly men and *ya* are special tille our lord
 (f.162va)
 ne alle yat lightes in to helle noght *ya* yat are dede in syn
 sal loue ... (f.162va)
 Say now *ya* yat dredis ye lord (f.163vb)
 yat es *ya* yat lyues not ydel in ye law of our lord (f.165rb)
 blisful *ya* yat ransakes his witnesynges (f.165rb)
ya yat wirkis wickednes and his ways has nohgt gane
 (f.165rb)
 may not kepe *ya* lot if my ways ... (f.165va)
 you blamed ye proude weried *ya* yat heldes fro yi
 comannement (f.166rb)
 for *ya* yat hope inerth has none in heuen (f.168ra)
 yai yat knew yi witnes synges yat es *ya* yat bignyns to do
 wele turned (f.169vb)

for alle he ordayns *ya* it be in sere maner (f.171va)
ya es ille tonges with cotes ??? comforth and ... (f.175vb)
 whilke are *ya* yat ware glad we sal ga in goddes hous and
 when *ya* ware sayde (f.176va)
 ye voyce of *ya* yat are passed ye periles of yis werld
 (f.177ra)
ya yat traist in lord als hille of syon (f.177va)
 and *ya* yat traistes in hym are als hil of syon (f.177va)
 yat ere *ya* yat are contemplatys men (f.177va)
 yat *ya* be noght stird fro him (f.177va)
ya yat heldes fro ye comannementis of god (f.177vb)
 with *ya* · yat es when of all ye werld men synnes tille haly
 kirk (f.178ra)
 yai are *ya* yat lastes in halynes till ye dede (f.180va)
 and *ya* are v?ray loute?s of god (f.180va)
ya yat are in ane withoutyn dewe of charite (f.181rb)
 for *ya* yat are bit? in syn has temptacioun oft of eghen
 (f.182rb)
 ille men perische in *ya* wakes (f.183ra)
 ye chosen of yam are *ya* yat haldes yamsel rightwise and
 ... (f.188va)
 yat my praier sal pay to *ya* synful (f.189ra)
 als *ya* yat sekis mans solace and yair angwys (f.189va)
 and ye right had of *ya*. (f.190va)
 when he settis ye vanite yat *ya* speke (f.190vb)
 als *ya* yat has no wittte of lonyng of water (f.191va)
 Lomelynges are *ya* yat has here no duellynge stede
 (192vb)
 faderles and wydowys are *ya* yat are with oniya? heple and
 solace (f.192vb)
 whilke are *ya* folke yat neghes til hym (f.195vb)

yo
 be entent es to confourme *þo* þat ere fyled in Adam
 ...(f.4c)

**yaa*
 and *yaa* wagged ye heued laghand and manasand and
 sayand (f.32ra)

LP171 (*Prick of Conscience*: Rawlinson C 891 / A text)

þase
 Bot some of *þase* taknes has bene (f.36r l.6)
 And nouzt anely abouen *þase* goddes alle (f.37r l.15)
 Betwene *þase* tymes þe prophete twa (f.42r l.28)
 And 3it nouzt of *þase* þat dose no gode anely (f.53v l.20)
 Namely *þase* þat has knawen itte (f.55r l.34)
 And of *þase* þai sal þaim þare acuse (f.55v l.14)
 And nouzt anely for *þase* werkes vndone (f.59v l.9)
 Ffor þai haue dispend *þase* godes wrang (f.61v l.3)
 Of *þase* godes þai wolde nouzt bede (f.61v l.8)
 And so sely may be alle *þase* (f.62v l.13)
 Ffor *þase* paynes er ful felle and harde (f.68v l.4)
 Ay qwen he of *þase* paynes þouzt (f.68v l.14)
 A party of *þase* paynes sere (f.68v l.21)
 And alle *þase* tunges of ilka man (f.69r l.26)
 3it mi3t þai nouzt *þase* paynes tel ri3t (f.69r l.30)
 þat coupe telle *þase* paynes properly (f.69v l.4)

And sene *þase* paynes les and mare (f.69v l.6)
 He spak mekel of *þase* paynes hidous (f.69v l.33)
 And qwilk *þase* ar I will 3ow telle (f.70r l.35)
 Bot all *þase* paynes can I nouzt say (f.70v l.31)
 Of *þase* fendes in his kynde liknes (f.74v l.29)
 And qwat of *þase* þat to þaimselfe es di3t (f.82v l.10)
 Þan *þase* oper þat er lawer (f.84r l.11)
 Waieue *þase* heuens turned ay aboute (f.84r l.25)
 Bot þe þredde es abouen *þase* twa (f.84v l.6)
þase wille I shew 3ow as I can (f.88r l.24)
 þat among alle *þase* ioyes in heuen (f.88r l.26)
 And hele *þase* woundes þat were of greue (f.94v l.25)
 Bot *þase* þat sal come to heuen blisse (f.97v l.33)
 And alle *þase* þat to heuen sal be vptane (f.98v l.18)
þase turrets gastly sere honoers may be (f.104r l.5)
þase 3ates gastely mey be mekenes (f.104r l.21)
þase stretes and loues gastely to telle (f.105r l.24)

base riches gastely to vnderstand (f.105r l.30)
Lord ful gladde for *base* dayes er we (f.107r l.24)

bo

bat be gog er vndirstonden al *bo* (f.42r l.9)
And þus sal crist do to alle *bo* (f.49r l.34)
And namely *bo* synnes þai sal oute say (f.55v l.12)
þe halowes also sal acuse alle *bo* (f.56r l.15)
Fful many men here lyues of *bo* (f.61v l.23)
bat er euen contrary to *bo* (f.88r l.15)
bat er euen contrary vn to *bo* (f.92r l.15)
bat ere euen contrary to *bo* seuen (f.92r l.25)
God wiþ alle þe company of *bo* (f.101v l.13)
Alls *bo* 3ates of heuen ere ne so clene (f.104r l.20)
bat er euen contrary vn to *bo* (f.109v l.16)

baas

Ffro *baas* paynes þat shal falles to ilk man (f.82v l.5)
To *baas* hidus paynes wiþouten ende (f.82v l.28)
In *baas* paynes sal þai nouȝt come (f.83r l.6)
Paas twa heuens aboute ay rynnnes (f.83v l.3)
þe erþe þat *baas* poyntes aboute gaas (f.83v l.7)
To regard of *baas* heuens aboute (f.83v l.10)

LP191

ya

þurgh openand it yrote of *ya* (f.159v l.10)
with yar tunges ?wikeli yan dide god deme *ya* (f.159v l.11)
none and sternes layhe *ya* (f.160v l.25)
yat are unfest and forwurch fia yi face sa *ya* (f.161r l.9)
for wuryed with dui? minde of *ya* (f.161r l.18)
witegege for yat men are *ya* (f.161v l.15)
ya yat richwise are of hert (f.162r l.30)
he selconyed alle his willes in *ya* (f.163v l.33)
and after *ya* fast hiphed thai (f.163v l.35)
and ronnddes of hilles droued are *ya* (f.165r l.3)
I sal filyhe nu fas and umlappe *ya* (f.166r l.5)
I auerd in þi wiagh droue salt þou *ya* (f.167v l.8)
and loue lauerd sal yai *ya* (f.168v l.10)
againes *ya* yat drouen ine (f.169r l.3)
ffor ye uphald noht sheut ben *ya* (f.169v l.3)
after yar werkes gif to *ya* (f.171r l.28)
þou salt and nogh big *ya* yer to (f.171r l.34)
and fra *ya* me filphande be (f.173r l.9)
þou made to *ya* yat hope in þe (f.173r l.20)
to *ya* yat are pride doande (f.173r l.35)
and blast of his mouht al miht of *ya* (f.174r l.12)
yat feinyhes sengellit hertes of *ya* (f.174r l.31)
in *ya* in his merci yat are hopande (f.174v l.2)
and in hunger he foster *ya* (f.174v l.4)
ffor *ya* are relikes to man paisfulesse (f.177v l.34)
and saiden wha sal se now *ya* (f.191r l.37)
a roned are alle yat segh *ya* (f.191v l.7)
ya yat here him hated hace (f.193r l.11)
yat ledes *ya* yat bunden are (f.193r l.32)
als sa *ya* yat charpen yhare (f.193r l.34)
in il hoping wi haue yhe *ya* (f.193v l.35)
samen strenyhed are yai *ya* (f.195r l.4)
and in forbiden is it made to *ya* (f.195r l.25)

Of *baas* þat wiþ god sal be pryne (f.88r l.18)
Vn to *baas* bodies þat sal be saue (f.88r l.28)

**þa*

What hede ware þat *þa* creatures (f.68r l.13)
bat *þa* sal haue þat neuer sal blyn? (f.70v l.20)
Ffor all *þa* paynes þat þare sal b knawen (f.82v l.11)
Ffor all *þa* paynes þat þare sal b knawen (f.82v l.11)
Bot *þa* turrets ar more schynand (f.104r l.3)
Alle *þir* paynes *þa* I here telle (f.109r l.34)

**þas*

þai sal be wiþ *þas* bandes brynnand (f.78v l.12)
Sal se þan *þas* ioyes euerilkane (f.98v l.19)
þas paciounse stanes gastly may be (f.103v l.32)

pose

**Alle pose* þat of þe fendes craste can (f.38r l.24)
þus boþe *pose* heuens aboute gase ay (f.84r l.16)

poos

He sais alle *poos* þat to helle wendes (f.79v l.4)

ya yat me hate lese me yam fra (f.195r l.34)
and hatereden of yi wrath umgripe? *ya* (f.195v l.23)
yese and alle wurmes in *ya* (f.196r l.5)
shent and shoned be yai *ya* (f.196r l.15)
outyhede als of fained wimes of *ya* (f.198r l.10)
and fulle daies sal be funden in *ya* (f.198r l.17)
and understand in newist of *ya* (f.198r l.33)
without ye *ya* streuen fa (f.199v l.18)
heue yi hand in pride of *ya* in ende (f.199v l.30)
yai saide in yar hert samen kinred of *ya* (f.200r l.4)
somer and waie þou shope *ya* (f.200r l.23)
pirde of *ya* hate ye ups? yhes ar (f.200r l.35)
hou fele we herd and knawen *ya* (f.200v l.28)
hou fele he sent to our fadres couth to ma *ya* (f.200v l.36)
wite word of god noht ge?te *ya* (f.201r l.10)
and in his lagh noht wald yai *ya* (f.201r l.11)
and bred of heuen he gaf to *ya* (f.201v l.3)
he send in yam hund slegh and it ere *ya* (f.202r l.10)
and mares of yam *ya* yat ware (f.202r l.24)
and upbraiding of ai he gaf to *ya* (f.202v l.25)
yi kirke heh fortrade *ya* (f.203r l.4)
Ies whenne sai in folke whare is god of *ya* (f.203r l.31)
of ye upbraidings of *ya* yat be (f.203v l.1)
and of satnes of where fed he *ya* (f.204v l.9)
Nedful and faderles demes *ya* (f.204v l.16)
Alle grountes of erþe stired are *ya* (f.204v l.21)
and fra genge for lese we *ya* (f.204v l.36)
Make to *ya* als madian and cysar? (f.205r l.11)
and in yi wrath to dreue *ya* (f.205r l.24)
he sal noht stere fra godes *ya* (f.205v l.28)
and in *ya* yat turned are til hert (f.206r l.12)
ya yat me haten yat yai se (f.206v l.25)
and of princes of *ya* yat in hit ware (f.207r l.6)
to *ya* yat are in flosshe fallande (f.207r l.17)

and pine radnesses in droued *ya* (f.207v l.9)
 yi fothfastnesse mast in *ya* (f.207v l.20)
 ffor graiping of yi sete are *ya* (f.208r l.14)
 penne spake þou in drem to *ya* (f.208r l.25)
 I sal seke in yherd wicnesse of *ya* (f.208v l.15)
 of un lippes unspedi noht make *ya* (f.208v l.20)
 and in yi werkes riht sones of *ya* (f.209v l.21)
 ffor in ai grounded þou *ya* (f.230r l.1)
 ffra yi wicnesses noht helped · i · *ya* (f.230r l.13)
 with *ya* yat pais hated ai (f.230v l.31)
 I am fain in *ya* yat saide are to me (f.231r l.15)
 þurht hap slowlghed us *ya* (f.231v l.14)
 when wraghed brath of *ya* in us yus (f.231v l.15)
 ffiled has his 3horning ful of *ya* (f.232r l.37)
 oft fra un3houpe? me ouer com *ya* (f.232v l.22)
 loke in ephrate herd we *ya* (f.233v l.2)
 ne sohtlic gast is in mouth of *ya* (f.234v l.18)
 I eke to yam be made yat man *ya* (f.234v l.19)
 yat smot egipt wiht first kined of *ya* (f.234v l.38)
 yat led israel fra mid of *ya* (f.235r l.1)
 and erctage? gaf ye land of *ya* (f.235r l.13)
 and naman sal be in *ya* (f.236r l.36)
 wiht fulli hatereden hated · i · *ya* (f.236v l.13)
 A tlre? of snakes under lippes of *ya* (f.236v l.25)
 proude snares to me hid *ya* (f.236v l.29)
 fra wirchednesse noht be sal *ya* (f.237r l.7)
 winges of *ya* ful are 3hit (f.238v l.22)

sle forht gang ne ??e in waies of *ya* (f.238v l.27)
 in yat dai forwurch sal alle 3ohtes of *ya* (f.239v l.9)
 and names kalles til alle *ya* (f.239v l.36)
 yat giues to marcs mete of *ya* (f.240r l.9)
 and in *ya* ouer is merci are hopande (f.240r l.14)
 he sal ousend his word and melt *ya* (f.240r l.28)
 and his domes noht shewed *ya* (f.240r l.33)
 in ai and in werld of werld sec he *ya* (240v l.7)
 g?ad shipes of god in þrote of *ya* (f.240v l.38)

yo

And to dreue *yo* sal he in hilde wrath (f.158r l.36)
 þheld for þhelding of yam to *yo* (f.171r l.30)
 again þi broþer *yo* spakes sirand (f.185r l.28)
 and here yar biseking and sauf make *yo* (f.239r l.32)

***yas**

and in þi solitues forlese *yas* (f.187r l.7)

***tha**

þou for spilt ai alle *tha* (f.199v l.17)
 wrath of god stegh ouer *tha* (f.201v l.17)
 als oreb fet princip es of *tha* (f.205r l.15)
 sexn yher and ten in *tha* (f.209v l.5)
 in raking of tegh of *tha* (f.231v l.22)
 mikled lauerd to do to *tha* (f.232r l.10)

LP364

þa

Bandes of *þa* breke we ai, (II, 3)
 In yherde irened salt þou stere *þa*, (II, 9)
 Lauerd, how felefolded are *þa* (III, 1)
 With þar tunges fikeli þai dide; lauerd, deme *þa*. (V, 11)
 Þai ar vnfest and forworth fra þi face sal *þa*. (IX, 3)
 With dine forworthed mynde of *þa*; (IX, 7)
 Gripen es þe fote ofe *þa*. (IX, 16)
 Set lagh-berer ouer *þa*, (IX, 21)
 Openand thugh es throte ofe *þa*, (XIII, 5)
 Drede ofe god bifor eghen ofe *þa*. (XIII, 7)
 He selkouped alle mi willes in *þa*. (XV, 2)
 After *þa* þan highed þai. (XV, 3)
 And he sent his arwes, and skatered *þa*; (XVII, 16)
 And fra *þa* me þat hated ai; (XVII, 20)
 For al his domes in mi sighte ere *þa*, (XVII, 25)
 .I. sal filghe mi faas, and vmlap *þa*; (XVII, 41)
 And be mon, at queme sal *þa*, (XVIII, 15)
 Lauerd in his wreth sal dreue *þa*, (XX, 9)
 And in þaire leuynges forgraiþe lickam of *þa*. (XIX, 12)
 Ful fer fra mi hele ere *þa* (XXI, 1)
 With lippes þai spake, and heued stired *þa*: (XXXI, 6)
 And als me inloked *þa*; (XXI, 18)
 For, þat þe vphald, noght schent ben *þa*. (XXIV, 2)
 And with wic hatereden *þa* hate me ai. (XXIV, 20)
 Noght drede sal mi hert for *þa*; (XXVI, 5)
 After þair werkes gif to *þa*, (XXVII, 5)
þa þat sagh me euerilkane (XXX, 15)
 And at ere filyhand me fra *þa*. (XXX, 19)
 Mi gladschepe, haue me *þa* fra (XXXI, 9)

For he loues merci, dome, *þa* twa; (XXXII, 5)
 And blast ofe his mouth al might of *þa*. (XXXII, 6)
 Þat feined sinderlike hertes ofe *þa*; (XXXII, 15)
 And in hunger fostre *þa*. (XXXII, 19)
 He [sal] outake *þa* him drouand ware. (XXXIII, 7)
 And his eres at bedes ofe *þa*. (XXXIII, 15)
 For wilfuli þen hidden *þa* (XXXIV, 8)
þa ere scatered, ne stungen sare-(XXXIV, 19)
 Bot gnaisted ouer me with þaire tethe *þa*. (XXXIV, 19)
 Fra ilpernes ai ofe *þa*, (XXXIV, 20)
 For *þa* ere relikes to man þat paisful es. (XXXVI, 39)
 And lauerd helpe sal he *þa*, (XXXVI, 42)
 Of whilk na tale es [of] *þa*; (XXXIX, 16)
 Rathlike þaire schenschepe bere *þa* (XXXVIII, 21)
 Wike worde set *þa* againes me. (XL, 9)
 Outake þou me ai fra *þa*. (XLII, 1)
 Negh es lauerd to *þa* þat ere droued of herte, (XXXIII, 18)
 Noghte ane sal be brised ofe *þa*. (XXXIII, 20)
 Þai be schent and schoned be *þa* (XXXIV, 4)
 Þai dinned, and dreued ere watres of *þa*; (XLV, 3)
 Þai ere droued, þai ere stired, drede griped *þa*; (XLVII, 5)
 With þe fole forworth sal *þa*. (XLVIII, 9)
 In kinde and kinde teldes of *þa*! (XLVIII, 11)
 And þe helpe sal elde of *þa* (XLVIII 15)
 For god skatered banes of *þa* (LII, 7)
 Drede and quaking ouer me come *þa*, (LIV, 5)
 And þe tunges twinne of *þa*; (LIV, 9)
 And if to *þa* þat hates me (LIV, 13)
 Come mote dede sone ouer *þa*; (LIV, 16)
 Here sal god, and meke *þa*, (LIV, 20)

Bot þou, lauerd, lede salt *þa* (LIV, 26)
 Alle dai mi wordes cursed *þa*; (LV, 5)
 Mensones, wepenes and arwe teth of *þa*, (LVI, 6)
 And mi saule þen croked *þa*; (LVI, 8)
 God bris sal þaire tethe in mouth of *þa*; (LVII, 6)
 Here in land demand *þa*. (LVII, 11)
 And menslaers sauue me fra *þa*. (LVIII, 2)
 Þai be torned at euen, and hunger thole *þa* (LVIII, 7)
 Loke, in þair mouth speke sal *þa*, (LVIII, 8)
 Leswhen mi folke forgeten be *þa*: (LVIII, 11)
 Gilt of þar mouth, sagh of lippes of *þa*; (LVIII, 13)
 Þai sal be torned at euen, and hunger thole *þa* (LVIII, 16)
 In weghtes, þat biswike *þa* (LXI, 9)
 And in vnnait mi saule soght *þa*: (LXII, 9)
 And noght drede; qued sagh to him feste *þa*. (LXIII, 4)
 Þou graiped þe mete of *þa*; (LXIV, 10)
 Ouer our heuedes to be *þa*; (LXV, 10)
 Als wanes reke, als wane *þa*; (LXVII, 2)
 Snawe whittened in Selmon be *þa*, (LXVII, 15)
 Lauerd he is ai in *þa* (LXVII, 18)
 In kye of folke, þat outsteke *þa* (LXVII, 33)
 Samen-strenghted ere þai *þa* (LXVIII, 6)
 And in forbisen am .i. made to *þa*. (LXVIII, 14)
 Þat me hates lese me fra *þa*, (LXVIII, 18)
 Þaire borde be in sanrc bfore *þa*, (LXVIII, 27)
 For wham þou smate, forthfilyhed *þa*, (LXVIII, 31)
 Þe se, and alle crepand in *þa*. (LXVIII, 39)
 Schent and schoned be þai, *þa* (LXIX, 2)
 Schent and wanande be *þa* (LXX, 14)
 And worschepfulle þe name of *þa* (LXXI, 14)
 To *þa* of hert þat ere rightwis! (LXXII, 1)
 For noght es bihalte to dede of *þa*, (LXXII, 4)
 Forthyhode als of fattenes wickednes of *þa*; (LXXII, 7)
 Lo, birthe of mennes sones schoned .i. *þa*. (LXXII, 15)
 And vndirstand in newest of *þa*. (LXXII, 17)
 Liknes of *þa* to noght thryng sal tou. (LXXII, 20)
 For loke, *þa* þat þam ferre þe fra, (LXXII, 26)
 Samen þe kynered ofe *þa*: (LXXIII, 9)
 Somer and ware, þou schope *þa*. (LXXIII, 18)
 For fulfilled er þai *þa* (LXXIII, 21)
 Of þine vpbraidinges, of *þa* whilke ai (LXXIII, 23)
 Litted, drinke sal al *þa* (LXXIV, 8)
 And alle hornes of sinful breke sal .i. *þa*; (LXXIV, 9)
þa sal be in his vmgange; (XCVI, 2)

Of *þa* þat him dredand be; (CII, 13)
 For inlai drede of *þa* ouer þam. (CIV, 36)
 And lauerdes ere of *þas*, þat hated *þa*. (CV, 38)
 Ne in to helle *þa* þat doune falle. (CXIII, 18)
 For in *þa* quikenedeste þou me. (CXVIII, 93)
 When wretched breth ofe *þa* in vs þus, (CXXIII, 3)
 Cleues ofe *þa* fulle ere yhite, (CXLIII, 15)

þas
 Ogaines *þas* þat droued me; (XXII, 6)
 To *þas* þat ere pride doand. (XXX, 30)
 And in *þas* in his merci þat ere hopand; (XXXII, 18)
 To *þas* þat ere þe witeand, (XXXV, 11)
 To *þas* þat right ere ofe herte. (XXXV, 11)
 To *þas* þat ere in our vmgange. (XLIII, 15)
 And lauerd of *þas* forbi alle thinge (XLVIII, 15)
 And in þi sothnes tosprede *þas*. (LIII, 5)
 Pride of *þas* þat þe hates ai vpstegh *þas*. (LXXIII, 24)
 To *þas* þat ere in our vmgange. (LXXVIII, 4)
 And sent mi hand ouer drouand *þas*. (LXXX, 13)
 And in *þas* þat turned ere til hert. (LXXXIV, 9)
þas þat me hates þat þai se; (LXXXV, 16)
 To *þas* þat ere in flosche falland, (LXXXVII, 4)
þas þat wirken wickenesse. (XCI, 9)
þas þat ere mine illewilland, (XCI, 11)
 To *þas* þat yhemes witeworde his, (CII, 17)
 In stede whilke þou grounded to *þas*. (CIII, 9)
 And he ete in land of *þas* alle þe hai, (CIV, 33)
 And fire to schine to *þas* bi nighte. (CIV, 37)
 And lauerdes ere of *þas*, þat hated þa. (CV, 38)
þas þate in me rises nou, (CVIII, 27)
 To *þas* þate ere him dredande. (CX, 4)
 Alle *þas* þate hated Syon. (CXXVIII, 4)
 And in *þas* ouer his merci ere hopand. (CXLVI, 12)

þo
 And folke vnnait thoght þai *þo*? (II, 1)
 And his witeword þat be schewed to *þo*. (XXIV, 15)
 Wodenes to *þo* after lickenesse (LVII, 4)
 And in þar mouth him loued *þo*: (LXXVII, 40)
 And here þar bisekinge, and saufe make *þo*. (CXLIV, 20)

((*yais*))

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yo
 sawl as *yo* yat are gud weddid men (f.25ra l.27)
 when *yo* yat suld giff þanne holy to gods lufe (f.25va l.5)
 ye name of *yo* you did away (f.33ra l.34)
 yat is *yo* deuell left hyt ryȝt yat he has (f.33ra l.39)
 and ye se cites of *yo* you has destroyede (f.33rb l.9)
 and ye cities of *yo* yat are twe men in ye whylk (f.33rb l.15)
 and for *yo* zates you heghes me yt (f.34ra l.12)
 is ye bodyly pyne of *yo* yat has not ye ... (f.36vb l.1)
 none of *yo* yat dos gude noght to onnce (f.38va l.4)
 vermine of snakes vndr *yo* lippes of *yo* (f.39rb l.1)
 ¶ I sull not gedyre conentes of *yo* of bloder (f.40va l.38)

¶ *yo* princes ware like to ye lion. (f.42rb l.26)
 and fro *yo* yat hated me (f.44ra l.35)
 yen all *yo* pompes of yis werlde (f.47ra l.38)
 ¶ ye frut of *yo* you sall lose fro ye erthe : (f.48vb l.38)
 ¶ he sal by inpose my saule fro *yo* yat neghes til me. (f.80ra l.20)
 ¶ yat is he sal hy my saule from *yo* yat are sent cristin men yat ... (f.80ra l.22)
 ¶ men of blod are *yo* yat sloes yair auen saules (f.80va l.16)
yo yat spendes som of ye? lisse in synne (f.80va l.27)
 ¶ *yo* yat lisses slesch by yai luf to wery my wordes (f.80vb l.32)

¶ So do yai als yo yat sufferd my saule (f.81ra l.14)
 ¶ wodeness to yo after ye likenyng of noddys (f.82va l.18)
 Suilk are yo yat luffes perfitli (f.83ra l.12)
 I be not ymange yo to whame you salt say in yi dome (83ra l.26)
 and for oure wickednes you chastid man with yo wonndes
 yat he ... (f.85va l.14)
 he sall do to yo yat will no penance do for yair synne
 (f.89va l.4)
 he thyng to yo yat are in oure vmgange (f.91rb l.27)
 schepe of saghtir are yo men yat are slaynand not seghtes
 (f.91vb l.40)
 yat is of yo yat are cald iacob (f.94rb l.19)
 ¶ wikkand wickednes are yo yat with herd herte fulfillis in
 ded (f.95rb l.16)
 and yo sall haue hungr to turne oþer men (f.95va l.23)
 al genge yo sall bringe til noght (f.95vb l.1)
 and yo yat will not here (f.95vb l.2)
 yat yo yat you luffes (f.96va l.35)
 yat is I sal depert yo yat beres cristes 3ok (f.96vb l.10)
 fro yo yat beres ye fyndes birthy? (f.96vb l.11)
 yat are yo yat cl?er aliens til me are ... (f.97ra l.2)
 so yat ye nonmbre of yo yat sall be saule ware fulfillede.
 (f.97ra l.12)
 Whilke are yo gudes : (f.100vb l.3)
 and of al yo yat are in yis werld (f.100vb l.17)
 ¶ ye fure of deserte are yo yat we ... (f.101rb l.15)
 as yo yat luffes ?oyuglory (f.103rb l.23)
 yat is in yo saules fro whome ye hete... (f.103rb l.39)
 for yo yat drimes 3on now sal be drimed (f.103va l.8)
 modyrles yat is of yo til whome yeir fadyr ... (f.103va l.10)
 yat is of yo til whome yair ille houseband... (f.103va l.12)
 yat are yo yat yn raht luffe are takyne (f.104ra l.12)
 ¶ yat is yo yat were not trouand god (f.104va l.4)
 so yat yo yat were yi foer be made (f.104vb l.16)
 yat is to yo yat sonnes yi lonyng in herte (f.104vb l.40)
 And yo princes are ... (f.105ra l.2)
 ¶ Princes of inda princes of yo : (f.105ra l.26)
 And yai are princes of yo yat are in holy kirke (f.105ra l.30)
 yat is yo yat were blake in synne sal ... (f.105rb l.40)
 with yo yat liffes with god (f.107vb l.18)
 bot onye yo yat endes in rightwi snes (f.107vb l.24)
 and kynges of ye ile yo are yat out loket (f.111rb l.4)
 yat are yo yat loues god brennand in lufe (111rb l.10)
 And yo yat are of yat cite of Babilonne (f.111vb l.7)
 yat is yo yat luffes yis werlde (f.111vb l.8)
 bot til yo yat are of right herte. (f.112ra l.19)
 ¶ yat is yo yat are writng wise men conetouse weldes
 (f.112vb l.15)
 he won dres hym yat yo yat are so hauten (f.113rb l.26)
 did in ye deuells sermce of yo yat you fedes in yis liffe
 (f.114ra l.32)
 ¶ ye cofynage of yo sayde in yair hert togedre : (f.114rb l.1)
 ¶ ye cofynage of yo is felagh schipe (f.114rb l.3)
 yat is yo yat were first vnstable (f.115ra l.28)
 ¶ yo brast welles and bekes. (f.115rb l.5)
 and ware yat is yo yat liffes (f.115rb l.39)
 yo are vnperfit men yat ware first depertid from hym
 (f.130va l.20)
 yo yat hatid me. (f.131vb l.37)
 yat is yo yat ware straye in ?onatys (f.132ra l.39)

yo cadle til god. (f.132rb l.1)
 land of forgetyng is in yo · yat vmyinkes? not (f.133ra l.30)
 yat is ye nonmbre of yo yat sall be at yi right be ekide.
 (f.134rb l.26)
 ¶ first borne · he sayis · for yo are wont to be honourd
 (f.135ra l.17)
 and he was helt ful of shame for yo yat beres ye rep?ne of
 synne. (f.135vb l.34)
 yat is many of yo yat for sake alle (f.137vb l.20)
 ¶ yat is yo yat are settin holy kirke (f.139rb l.14)
 yo whilke sal not be stirde (f.139va l.9)
 ¶ Settill of wikkidnes are yo yat loffes werldis þinges
 (f.140va l.40)
 yo ar yles yat stanes (f.142rb l.17)
 yat ye warlde myght se yo myracles (f.142rb l.37)
 yo are sanede til yaimselfe not til god (f.143ra l.15)
 bot yo yat are halowed in treuth (f.143ra l.18)
 : and yo yat louyd me agaynes me yai sware. (f.145va l.3)
 in wilful obedience and yo yere are in yair stede (f.148rb l.17)
 ¶ yo yat are synfull · saile fro yeir synnes (f.149vb l.14)
 he streng of 3oure heritage til only yo yat are takynd with
 ye streng (f.150rb l.30)
 and none is of yo il men yat sekis my saule to folow
 (f.185ra l.16)
 as yo yat sekis mans solace in yair anguis. (f.185va l.37)
 as yo yat has no wille of louyng · (f.187va l.30)
 fadirles and widows are yo yat are withouten helpe and
 solance of men (f.188va l.32)
 ¶ ??? of herte · are yo yat offers til him sacrificie (f.188vb l.33)
 and he sal melt yo : (f.190ra l.18)
 ye watirs abouen heuen are yo yat are depertid fro he
 watirs (f.190va l.9)
 he said bestis for yo bestis yat are mikil (f.190vb l.19)
 sythen al bestis for yo bestis yat are lesse. (f.190vb l.20)
 yat is when 3e drinke of yo clere wellis. (f.192vb l.9)
 and yo yat lightis in ye lake sal not abid (f.194ra l.33)
 of synful man and yo yat lightis in ye lake of ... (f.194rb l.1)
 til his sonnes yo suthfastnes of trouth (f.194rb l.16)
 At yo begynge of hire sange (f.194va l.10)
 ¶ yo yat firste was filde in erhtly lustis (f.195ra l.14)
 for on yo fete yai goo til god (f.195va l.12)
 yat sagh hillis yo are proud men · (f.198ra l.40)
 ¶ yat is yo yat wore in ye grounde of illis gasse voice
 (f.198rb l.8)
 ¶ ye gladnes of yo · (f.198va l.27)
 and yat yo drinke ye schirefte blod of grape (f.200rb l.7)
 ¶ lo vengeance yo yat are proude (f.200vb l.8)
 ¶ ffor whi oure god is not as ye goddis of yo : (f.201va l.18)
 ¶ Of ye viunese? of sodoms ye ??ere of yo : (f.201va l.29)
 ¶ yo yat sal se yair perye? sal say (f.202ra l.23)
 bot yis mercy is only til yo yat dredis him. (f.203rb l.27)
 yat is yo yat sekis ye way of heghnes abouen oþer. (f.203rb l.38)
 ¶ ye myghttye · yat is yo yat royes in yair myght (f.203va l.5)
 ye meke yat is yo yat haldis no þynge lower yan yai selfe ·
 (f.203va l.12)

*ya

bot of yat ya yat he amouestis ye whylk are (f.26va .23)

¶ yis mynd of *ya* yat dos in yair syinne sall ... (f.33rb l.24)
 if he myght wyne *ya* yan he ware ... (f.35rb l.36)
 and fra *ya* yat wiked to slo me (f.99vb l.14)
 ¶ Agaynes me *ya* spals yat satte in ye zatt : (f.106va l.20)
 of *ya* yat hatid me (f.106vb l.9)
 and his bunden yat are *ya* yat are vndir loue (f.108ra l.36)
ya til ye right hand yat did merecy · *ya* til ye left hand yat
 not did it (f.142rb l.6)
 whilke are *ya* folke yat neghes sal hym trewth (f.191ra
 l.18)
 ¶ sal of draguns ye viue of *ya* : (f.201vb l.3)

yat is *ya* yat desird ye pompe of ye warld (f.203va l.33)
 *yose
 ¶ moyses ahdn aaron and samuel · yose yai ware grete
 beofre god · (f.143vb l.37)
 *yas
 and ymange all *yas* wickednes (f.41ra l.40)
 *yoo
 And yat we may be fylled in yoo gudes (f.100vb l.14)

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yose
 for do all yose synnes or yat may for... (f.3va l.30)
 ye toyir is yose yat kan haue no rest (f.6va l.45)
 yis is ilk day sene be yose yat are dede (f.6vb l.26)
 men sekis yose gud dedes (f.7va l.48)
 god gyfes hy yose gudes (f.8ra l.30)
 ye fendes of yose yat yai dwelled (f.8ra l.46)
 god lufes yos yat oght hym gyfes with a glade hert and
 namely yose werkes (f.8va l.25)
 and in likyng of hym with yose thynges yat most may stir
 (f.8vb l.18)
 he kepe yose thinges to yi be hone (f.10vb l.8)
 yat he wald for do yose wormes (f.11rb l.28)
 and has fardon yose thinges (f.11vb l.10)
 and all yose yat cristendome has tane (f.12vb l.2)
 Think on yose fete and handes (f.14rb l.38)
 and on yose wide wondes (f.14rb l.40)
 I so synful a wrech for yose manly godes (f.15ra l.38)
 yose heres yat herd yis wordes (f.16rb l.20)
 thynk of yose paynes yat crist theloed (f.17va l.18)
 you ar vnbethogh of all yose paynes yat ihus for ye tholed
 (f.18ra l.17)
 zow thyng of yose sore styneband pynes his moder tholed
 (f.18rb l.42)
 sall be to yose yat has done (f.18vb l.39)
 hit sall be to yose yat endes in ill (f.18vb l.41)
 yai say yose werkes yat you wreth (f.19vb l.36)

yos
 bot onely vnto yos yai receyues ye secunde (f.2va l.5)
 and yos he mas hym to lose his tyme (f.5va l.29)
 and yos workes yat yai hope crist to pay (f.5vb l.9)
 he pynde with yos men yat er in way to hend (f.5vb l.19)

of tyme to trauaile about yos thynges (f.6rb l.15)
 bot yos zeres hande I spendid (f.6rb l.38)
 if he myght oght fynde of yos rich clothes (f.7va l.23)
 yat is when ze sande to pray forgit yos yat has ?sdene
 agaynes zow (f.10vb l.41)
 yer is god in antere to here yos yat to hym prayes redy to
 helpe (f.12vb l.36)
 for yos yat in holy kirk prayede (f.13ra l.3)
 and answeye yi lord with yos wordes (f.13ra l.33)
 and to yos yat gret hunger stirs to pray (f.14vb l.37)
 ffor all yos thrgh s?ked hir saule (f.18va l.7)
 all to rise to lat out yos bodies yat ... (f.19ra l.18)
 thyng yos dredfull wordes (f.19ra l.30)
 Be yos yat in yat fire sall hyme ou?? lithoute ende : (f.20ra
 l.8)
 and blodys yos eghe yat for hete and smoke sall (f.20ra
 l.10)
 mas yos wrethes ters for to wepe (f.20ra l.24)
 and yos ters ye fire strenghtes ay ilke (f.20ra l.25)

yo
 and syn to yo yat consails yai to amend (f.2rb l.46)
 man to fulfill it in dede · ffor yo (f.3ra l.9)
 bot yo I tell zeres of my lyfe (f.6rb l.41)
 yere thre is of yo yat wastis yaire tyme (f.6vb l.12)
 makes feste of yo godes yai pill (f.7va l.38)
 of oure gremly synnes and of yo many paynes gret (f.9va
 l.10)
 swete be yo ters yat (f.15rb l.31)
 and restoryng of yo yat fel (f.17ra l.16)
 you yo lothly fendes sall amang yaim (f.20rb l.15)
 yat yere in dwelles yo soriful wrechis (f.20rb l.33)

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ya
 ... of haly kyrk for til ya lawful es to fulfille ye dede of ...
 (f.211b)

bot ya yat noyces til man bodily or gastly (f.211c)
 yo
 Nise yei and help yo and in nede hele yo (f.208d)

LP598

ya

ya on gode how so we fire (f.3rb l.12)
 wythouten ya twelfe in yes thre (f.11va l.11)
 yat be thurgh pride ya gudes noght tyne (f.20va l.18)
 als godde sais blissed er all ya (f.21vb l.15)

yas

yas thre sene mynd and vndirstandinge (f.6ra l.36)
 bot all yas wordes vnderstandes (f.43rb l.39)
 yas werkes passes all oper vertus (f.443a l.15)
 yas payns er so hedeus to here (f.47ra l.31)

***yos**

yat spendes yos goddes our ill manere (f.40vb l.16)
 and both yos was als cerke can se (f.54va l.42)

***yo**

and yo yat ye werke of mercy has done (f.44va l.7)
 yat thurgh schappe is like yo (f.53ra l.22)

***ya3**

ya3 sons may call her bodyly (3va l.15)

LP601

yo

of drihitinges fist in wombe yo (f.1r l.25)
 ffor yat he is wroght with yo (f.1v l.17)
 ¶ and he senae his arewes3 scatered yo (f.1v l.34)
 and hatand me you forlese yo (f.2v l.32)
 lond in thi wragh to dreued salt too yo (f.4v l.5)
 and loue lourd sal yai yo (f.5v l.13)
 K gaiues yo yat drouen me (f.6r l.9)
 ¶ after yar hande werk yeld to yo (f.8v l.7)
 ¶ yo yat segh me euerilk oun (f.10r l.13)
 and yat are filihand me fro yo (f.10r l.24)
 ori gladschip outake me fro yo (f.11r l.6)
 and gast of his mouthe al miht of yo (f.11r l.32)
 and in yo on his merci whilk are hopand (f.11v l.25)
 and is eres in ?edes of yo (f.12r l.33)
 and of all yair drouinges lesed be yo (f.12v l.2)
 soht salle broken on of yo (f.12v l.8)
 ¶ yai be fordone and shent be yo (f.12v l.20)
 ¶ ffor willi to me hidde yo (f.12v l.28)
 wich yai teche bot gnaist on me yo (f.13r l.24)
 and eritage mai sal be of yo (f.14v l.33)
 for yo are relikes to man paisfulisse (f.15v l.13)
 and mani folded ar yai yo (f.16v l.3)
 off whilk no tale is of yo (f.19v l.20)
 kud raise me and i sal yelde to yo (f.18v l.3)
 ¶ yi hand spred folk and ton planted yo (f.19v l.11)
 to yo yat are in oure vmgang (f.20r l.3)
 to dreued ar hilles in strength of yo (f.21r l.32)
 ¶ yo weyer inn saule god bie? sal he (f.23r l.6)
 ¶ ffor alle bestes of wodes unne? are yo (f.23v l.8)
 schent are yai for god sorle yo (f.25v l.6)
 and in soghnes sorlese yo os (f.25v l.23)
 ye tunges yat are of yo (f.26r l.14)
 soght yoled hate I yo (f.26r l.24)
 ¶ and if to yo whilk hate me (f.26r l.25)
 it is in middes of yo (f.26v l.1)
 ¶ ffro yo whilk yat neghen me (f.26v l.6)
 alle wor yai with me yo (f.26v l.8)
 ¶ soghlyt lourd you salt lede yo (f.26v l.23)
 ¶ God tegh m yar monht sal brise of yo (f.27v l.31)
 ¶ and con lourd scorn salt yo (f.28r l.28)
 ¶ and m saule vunath sohten yo (f.30r l.18)

¶ ar wes of smale made are woundes of yo (f.30v l.7)
 hyehe sal to yo yi fod vnright (f.31r l.30)
 or hotes sal I yelde to ye yo (f.31v l.21)
 yo yat here him hated hase (f.32r l.30)
 ¶ yat ledes yo yat bunden are (f.32v l.16)
 als so yo yat sharpen yare (f.32v l.18)
 in yuel hoping whi haue ye yo (f.33r l.18)
 ¶ ouer hore of m heued manifolded are yo (f.34r l.26)
 whilke me hate lese me fro yo (f.34v l.24)
 ¶ alle yo are yai in thi siht (f.35r l.5)
 and bragh of thi wragh vmlappe yo (f.35r l.18)
 ¶ sheut and shonned to alle yo (f.35v l.12)
 ¶ of okered and wicned bie saules of yo (f.37r l.21)
 to yo of hert yat are richtwisse (f.37v l.8)
 in erde forth ferde ye tung of yo (f.37v l.24)
 ¶ loke yo sinful and nn?he sinnand (f.37v l.29)
 loke wuyhe of yi sones I shoued yo (f.38r l.3)
 and vnderstand vt mast of yo (f.38r l.7)
 to noht sal con bring licues of yo (f.38r l.15)
 ¶ for loke yo yat seue yam oght (f.38r l.28)
 ¶ paise yi hand in hende in yivel hit pride of yo (f.38v l.10)
 in yivel hit ??st o yo (f.38v l.19)
 ¶ ??se endes of erde you made yo (f.39r l.7)
 for fulfild yan are yai yo (f.39r l.14)
 of yo ilk wilk yat ai (f.39r l.21)
 sore of yo ye hate vpstyhed ai pride (f.39r l.24)
 yo weyer is dreg noht lieled? is (g.39v l.8)
 and drink? of it sal alle yo (f.39v l.9)
 ¶ Rlle? soft of erhe to saule make yo (f.39v l.32)
 dreued is and gnot ye eze of yo (f.40v l.18)
 ¶ hou fele we herd and kanwen yo (f.40v l.28)
 ¶ hou fele he sende oure fader to tough make yo (f.41r l.1)
 ¶ godes wite wod noht geten yo (f.41r l.13)
 ¶ he brack ston in more and watred yo (f.41r l.23)
 yat mete to yar saules aske suld yo (f.41r l.30)
 ¶ and it rained mauna til ete to yo (f.41v l.8)
 ¶ and tai ete and swyefild are yo (f.41v l.18)
 ¶ and tai are truned and fonded yo (f.42r l.11)
 ¶ kud in blode he turned stremes of yo (f.42r l.17)
 in ded ?elenked he alle yo (f.42r l.34)
 and fer fro ye licham of yo (f.42v l.10)
 in euer vpbraiding gaf he yo (f.43r l.4)

of yar hende ledde he *yo* (f.43r l.20)
 of yi ?me ?set *yo* (f.43r l.25)
 to *yo* yat are in oure vmgang (f.43v l.1)
 whore is non ye god of *yo* (43v l.17)
 seuen fold in bosemes of *yo* (f.43v l.27)
 ¶ of ye vpbraiding of *yo* (f.43v l.28)
 ¶ and of farnes of whete fedde *yo* (f.45r l.8)
 ¶ Nedeful and faderles demes *yo* (f.45r l.15)
 grenndes of er3e al strire sal *yo* (f.45r l.20)
 and fis? folk forlese we *yo* (f.45r l.35)
 ¶ als madian and fisare make to *yo* (f.45v l.13)
 ¶ he sal noht schere fro gode *yo* (f.46r l.33)
 kud in *yo* whilk turned are til hert (f.46v l.20)
 and folke of echiope wore *yo* (f.47r l.20)
 and of princes *yo* wilk wore in hitte (f.47r l.26)
 with *yo* yat are in flosshe falland (f.47r l.37)
 ffor yarked sal be in *yo* (f.48v l.3)
 lourd god of ye wes who to *yo* (f.48v l.18)
 forgraihing of yi sete are *yo* (f.48v l.36)
 of al *yo* are me filihand (f.49r l.22)
 in the waies is of *yo* (f.50v l.27)

LP603

ya

And folke ful vnnait þhoght þai *þa*? (II, 1)
 Lauerd, whi fele-folded are *þa* (III, 1)
 With þar tunges swikli þai did; louerd, deme *þa*. (V, 11)
 Berfe you made to *ya* yat hop in ye (f.20r l.1)
 to *ya* yat are pride donand (f.20r l.16)
 Quia ffor he loues dome mercy *ya* twa (f.20v l.32)
 kud blast of his mouth als nuht of *ya* (f.21r l.2)
 Qui yat friyed smderlit hertes of *ya* (f.21r l.21)
 kud in hung he foster *ya* (f.21r l.33)
 of him dredand and outtake *ya* (f.21v l.20)
ya yat wilen min rihtwisnesse (f.23r l.30)
 non *ya* sal noht be fordon of blisse (f.25r l.16)
 kud fele folded are yai *ya* (f.26r l.20)
 in weshtes yat biswike *ya* (f.40v l.9)
ya yat here him hated has (f.43r l.25)
 Cauerd sal gif to *ya* yat spelle (f.43v l.29)
 and forbisen is it made o *ya* (f.45v l.19)
 Hiat yar borde in suare be bifore *ya* (f.46r l.16)
 and bragh of yi wragh vmgri?p *ya* (f.46r l.21)
 and to sorgh of mi wonde? eked *ya* (f.46r l.25)
 ??? sheute and shoned alle be *ya* (f.46v l.19)
 and wurchipful ye name *ya* (f.48r l.30)
 ffor ghyhode als of farnes wienes of *ya* (f.48v l.30)
 loke birye of yine sones shoued I *ya* (f.49r l.16)
 and yiyel doun *ya* kusten hit (f.49v l.33)
 Intemde · *ya* brend wiht fire helimes ye same (f.50r l.1)
 Quata · hou fele we herd and knawen *ya* (f.52r l.13)
 to yar sones come after *ya* (f.52r l.23)
 Ne yat yai ne be als fadres of *ya* (f.52r l.31)
 wicword of god noht noht yhemend *ya* (f.52v l.4)
 ?t · and manna til ete ramed to *ya* (f.52v l.32)
 to yar sumes and not forsxist he *ya* (f.53r l.30)
 ?isit he send in yam hund slegh and it ete *ya* (f.53v l.12)
 vp braidinge of ar he gaf to *ya* (f.54r l.29)
 to *ya* yat are in our vmgange (f.54v l.25)

¶ Eritage of geuge yat he gaf *yo* (f.72v l.4)
 in yar yrote noht krie? sal *yo* (f.73v l.20)
 like be to yam yat maken *yo* (f.73v l.21)
 he her and forhiler he is of *yo* (f.73v l.20)
 and in name of lourd for I wroken *yo* (f.75r l.6)
 ffor yat wroken I am in *yo* (f.75r l.12)
 richtwise yhates open to me *yo* (f.75r l.25)
 and toward me spoken *yo* (f.76r l.28)
 ¶ loperd als ?wis hert of *yo* (f.77v l.25)
 yai kep him noght *yo* yat wore his (f.106v l.30)
 ¶ *yo* yat kep him dai or niht (f.106v l.31)

yho

and in lobeden me *yho* (f.5r l.24)
 and in hunger fostre *yho* (f.11v l.27)
 fro yem lyyernes of *yho* (f.13r l.27)
 ¶ and lourd helpe sal he *yho* (f.15v l.18)
 and yat vs hated rened *yho* (f.19v l.30)
 dede sede sal al *yho* (f.23r l.1)
 so yat yai be beswike *yho* (f.29v l.20)

At, and wiht famesse of whet fed he *ya* (f.56v l.2)
 nedeful and fader led demes *ya* (f.56v l.9)
 and in yi wragh to dryue *ya* (f.57r l.23)
 and of princes of *ya* yat war in hit (f.59r l.26)
 ffor graiying of yi sete are *ya* (f.60v l.19)
 ffram lippes vns?edi? noght make *ya* (f.61r l.30)
 saies of oure 3heris seyti ten in *ya* (f.62r l.23)
 and in yi werkis right and sones of *ya* (f.62v l.9)
 Adente ffal sal fra yi side of *ya* (f.62v l.29)
 ?ffra · *ya* said ant spaken wickednesse (f.64r l.12)
 ??? · yi fole laund meked *ya* (f.64r l.14)
 Quia in manu · for in his hand al endis of e?ye are *ya*
 (f.64v l.27)
 and al yat eu? are in *ya* (f.65v l.9)
 riheing of his sete are *ya* (f.65v l.22)
 ffra hand of helle lesid he *ya* (f.66r l.11)
 and ye bode he gaue to *ya* (f.66v l.29)
 ??? dos laund oure god you herd *ya* (f.66v l.30)
 At sicut. and als hil?ige wend sal you *ya* (f.68v l.13)
 if laund rewful vnto *ya* (f.69v l.14)
 instede whilc you grounded to *ya* (f.69v l.30)
 ??? ea. euer *ya* sal wun foyheles heuen (f.70r l.6)
 herodis wilde haukes hous leder of *ya* (f.70r l.20)
 al in wisdom made you *ya* (f.70v l.4)

yo

Pat in him traist seli alle *þo*. (II, 13)
 Bai sal glad, and þou sal wone in *þo*. (V, 13)
 Bai are gripen in redes whilke 3oth *þo*. (IX, 23)
 In þi hende þat þou giue *þo*. (IX, 37)
yo yat rithwis are of hert (f.7r l.8)
 of snakes vnder lippes of *yo* (f.8r l.17)
 and wai pais noht knew *yo* (f.8r l.24)
 he selkonyed alles his willes in *yo* (f.8v l.28)
 and after *yo* yorned yai yhare (f.8v l.30)
 ffro fate of wickes me twinged *yo* (f.9v l.15)

Dersegr? I sal fikhe un fos and vmlap *yo* (f.11v l.4)
 ffer fro un hele are *yo* (f.13v l.13)
 and loue lound sal yai *yo* (f.14v l.12)
 againes *yo* yat drouen me (f.15r l.10)
 ffor ye vphald noht shent ben *yo* (f.15v l.15)
 kud his wit word yat be shewed to *yo* (f.16r l.10)
 yheld for yholding of yam to *yo* (f.17v l.24)
 at kud giud *yo* ale y bankalf be mun (f.18r l.25)
 Qyi *yo* yat seyhem me ilkane (f.19v l.10)
 ye shones *yo* hoghtes of folk als swa (f.21r l.10)
 kud in *yo* in his merci yat are hopand (f.21r l.31)
 to *yo* yat are ye witand (f.23v l.32)
 to *yo* yat rihtwise are of hert (f.24r l.1)
 ffor *yo* are leuinges to man paisfulesse (f.25r l.28)
 ?eru?? · *yo* wher fantom mensonees ar (f.40v l.8)
 Ao?t? · to dreued are alle yam *yo* segh (f.41v l.6)
 and daies fulle in *yo* be funden sal (f.49r l.4)
 At, . and in wretchednes miht of *yo* (f.54r l.19)
 and in *yo* yat terned are ill hert (f.58r l.20)
 and if hi sonas man lagh forlet *yo* (f.61r l.21)
 D?? · and he sal yheld *yo* yar wicnes and yar inelnes (f.64v l.20)

***tha**

alle awai I sal do *tha* (f.12v l.19)
 noht ane sal be brised of *tha* (f.22r l.15)
 als I q?uemed vn to *tha* (f.23v l.25)
 ffra ye ?yernesse of *tha* (f.23r l.3)
 alle salt you drink *tha* (f.24v l.28)

I pi? · vunatt sohtlit nu saul soht *tha* (f.41r l.11)
 yai saiden wa sal se *tha* (f.41r l.31)
 R? rwes of smale made are wendes of *tha* (f.41v l.4)
 In ille hope whi haue yhe *tha* (f.44r l.14)
 cauerd in *tha* is dwelland (f.44r l.22)
 A our samen strenghed are thai *tha* (f.45r l.31)
 yat me hate lefe fra *tha* (f.45v l.28)
 ye se and alle wurmes in *tha* (f.46v l.9)
 and vnderstande in newist of *tha* (f.49r l.20)
 you forlesed alle *tha* (f.49v l.11)
 alle ye ? inreden yat was of *tha* (f.50r l.4)
 ffor yat fulfild are thai *tha* (f.50v l.1)
 yar saules and mares of *tha* (f.53v l.26)
 whare is nou ye god of *tha* (f.55r l.8)
 and fra folk forlese we *tha* (f.56v l.29)
 Bone · set princes als oreb of *tha* (f.57r l.14)
 T?mes · alle princes yat saiden of *tha* yat be (f.57r l.16)

tho

Ransakand hertes of *tho* (VII, 10)
 Forwrped with din minde of *tho*; (IX, 7)
 Gripid ys þe fote of *tho*. (IX, 16)
 kud inloked me *tho* (f.14r l.13)

***yos**

in me tern? · in me yurgh ferdan wragh *yos* of *yi* (f.60r l.4)

yose

2. 2 Northeastern area

LP53

base
Omang *base* monkes mare & mynne. (220)
base wordes to wrytt I am avised. (862)
Forto hald *base* monkes oute. (956)
And þarein cledde *base* heremytes tyte, (1110)

On this wise *base* cayteffes to, (1122)
And att *base* fre yhates wyth the mette (1247)

tha
Þat bygged was in *tha* buskes wythin, (387)

LP358

***yo**
Agayns yis artikil dose *ya* men an *yo* women (f.52rb l.24)
yo er ye enimys of ye cros of crist (f.60va l.12)
Baleb??s er *yo* men (f.60vb l.8)
??ochetes as *yo* men ye qwilk ??? (f.61ra l.30)
ye first manner of men er *yo* ye qwilk heres noght god
word with denocon of hem. (f.62rb l.17)
ye second manner of me er *yo* ye qwilk heres god word
with gret ioy. (f.63rb l.24)
ye thyrd manner of men er *yo* ye qwilk heres god word
(f.62rb l.30)
to be mercyful to *yo* yat has trespass agayn vs (f.62va l.26)
To *yo* yat er in hel (f.63va l.13)
thorow ye kepyng of *yo* comandments we myght be
delinde (f.63vb l.21)
for to amend *yo* yat er vnder ye cure (f.65rb l.20)
standes in ye way of salnacon er *yo* ye qwilk for luf of god
(f.65rb l.25)
vnderstand *yo* manners of men (f.86va l.3)
ye first manner of men er *yo* ye qwilk can a craft (f.87vb
l.22)
ye second manner of men er *yo* ye qwilk can a craft er men
of haly kyrk (f.87vb l.29)
yis manner of ded sal be vnto *yo* yat sal be dampned at ye
day of dome (f.89va l.41)

when e sal say yes wordes to *yo* yat sal be dampned
(f.89vb l.31)
sal be ful hand to *yo* yat kepes euel (f.89vb l.37)
What sal worth of *yo* yat ledes al ye lyf (f.91ra l.27)

ya
agnyn yis artikil doe *ya* men (f.51ra l.16)
Agayns yis artikil doses *ya* weded men (f.52ra l.34)
Also agan yis artikil dose *ya* wifes (f.52rb l.4)
Agayns yis artikil dose *ya* men an *yo* women (f.52rb l.24)
Agayn yis artikil dose *ya* men and women (f.53ra l.30)

***yoo**
?rewd men as *yoo* ye qwilk wil (f.61ra l.14)
wher he wil comannd *yoo* yat thurgh slawth wald (f.86rb
l.20)
yat has taken a castel dose with *yoo* ye qwilk he fyndes
(f.86vb l.10)

***Tho**
Tho thynges langes to ym euen cristen yat es for to say
(f.64vb l.11)

yai

LP398

yas

LP410

yas
to hald *yas* wykked bestes art? (f.46r l.26)
ye thryd is *yas* yat wedded bene (f.59v l.27)
and *yas* may be cald skill (f.60v l.13)

ya
and thynkes na mare to do *ya* synnes (f.57v l.41)
yir ar *ya* sex yat ar noght gode (f.58v l.23)

LP526

yaa
till all *yaa* yat will it haunte (f.33v l.28)
and *yaa* yat will noght lere and knawe (f.34r l.5)
yaa sonns may calle nere baldely (f.39v l.3)
yaa yat er his creatures ryght (r.45r l.19)
and *yaa* be takens ye twa lawes (f.49r l.8)
als *yaa* yat er bodely sene (f.50r l.10)
yat wyll in schryft *yaa* synnes gun??te (f.109r l.3)
yis er *yaa* foure luf and drede (f.114v l.21)
yaa festes sulde men halogh and kepe (f.212v l.6)
yarefore god all *yaa* dryue walde (f.214v l.7)
ye thrid es of *yaa* yat wedded bene (f.221r l.25)
and if *yaa* rokes and yat clething (f.305r l.13)
yat all *yaa* seuen synnes for does (f.311r l.8)

ya
so yat ilkane of *ya* askynge sere (f.35r l.25)
ya thre bene mynde and vnderstandyng (f.47r l.11)
haldes *ya* balannce yat sothfastnes (f.301r l.3)

LP1349

ya
bott *ya* yat kary marchandise on camels (f.42v l.7)
besyde *ya* yat men duellys nott in (f.60r l.18)
and nate *ya* bestes yat has gude metynge (f.62r l.19)

yoo
and he preyed our lorde yat all *yoo* yat preyed in yat place

till *ya* men yat synfully lyfes (f.305r l.22)
of all ye toyer betwene *ya* twa (f.310v l.12)

yase
bot *yase* yat haues it of scole tane (f.33r l.12)
yat kepes noght *yase* festes wele (f.212v l.19)
bloody handes *yase* men haues (f.218v l.9)
yase yat ye hert haues full of pite (f.219v l.12)

***yha**
hele of saule and till all *yha* (f.32r l.12)
yat we noght in *yha* thefes handes sall (f.210v l.17)
yurgh whylk *yha* yat spekes ofte ille (f.302v l.19)
of *yha* charmes ware sa he wendes (f.303r l.15)
yha men passes ofte mesure ryght (f.303v l.16)

***yhaa**
bot *yhaa* anely yat wyll fullfyll (f.108v l.4)

(f.29v l.19)

***yaa**
and cursyde it and all *yaa* yat beldyse it (f.34v l.9)

(*vos*)

2.3 Central area

LP29

**þo*

he markyd wyll when the satt *þo* (H/f.1r l.13)
what nedys þat sayd houkyn *þo* (H/f.1v l.4)
so hawe we all as þu schalt se *þo* (H/f.1v l.8)
sud syn seyð þe *þo* mon *þo* (H/f.2r l.13)
for þem vnto *þo* wordes end (G/f.26v l.19)
and þat *þo* þat come to be hur maysters (M/f.30v l.10)
þat lady to loue and charite moost *þo* þat refuse hemselffe.
(M/f.38v l.1)
þo men þat see hym with eue (I/f.52v l.13)
wheder knyzt lovyst þu better of *þo* too (A/f.83r l.9)
þo knyzt seyð to his feloo *þo* (A/f.83r l.8)
full few lady ar of *þo* (A/f.84r l.14)
when þat he saw *þo* fendys felle (T/f.104v l.3)
þen seyð þe sowle to þat anyell *þo* (T/f.108v l.3)
þo wrecchyd sowlys to dryve to payne (T/f.119v l.6)
þen seyð tundale to þe anyell *þo* (T/f.116v l.11)
þen of all *þo* peynes þat euer he saw (T/f.117r l.2)
and bad *þo* sowlys to hom kast (T/f.126r l.2)

þo fendys þan fast away fledde (T/f.131r l.6)
of *þo* þat þu mayst see with hym (T/f.135r l.7)
for all *þo* þat wold in passe (T/f.140v l.6)
and seyð of all *þo* þat y here see (T/f.141v l.3)
þo ar men þat þrow debocyon (T/f.151r l.1)

**þoo*

for *þoo* þat don wylle schall at yret dome here (T/f.144r l.17)

**thoo*

ayde deymon of *thoo* (G/f.22v l.15)

**pose*

pose þat by hur stode (A/f.83r l.19)

þos

save *þos* þat with hym fled (G/f.22v l.13)

LP30

yos

Abraham Macor and dran Thare sinns and all *thos* thre
(f.5r l.16)
So the land of canan so sent he first *yos* thre (f.5r l.31)
Thos drede not god in no degre wot lyfyd in bust and
lochere (f.5v l.10)
Abraham hy sent was wyll of wond mihem(?) he herd tell
yos tychande (f.6r l.23)
yos bytts folke to scheld hym fro. (f.6v l.26)
yos cytes sald y c?tan and the wer werst forow? was her a
hydwyse bere (f.7r l.2)
And indis wyfe in *yos* days dydd the was he wenon lenyd
(f.10r l.22)
all *yos* enemyse and full grett welth (f.18r l.10)
and *yos* yat to yat syn assent the ??? of god (f.18r l.32)
began to be grett m??? all *yos* men amang (f.20v l.4)
god send full sone makyll *yos* fals folks to ... (f.21r l.7)
he hang *yos* kyngs als oþer had bene before (f.28r l.13)
bot yei conquerd all *yos* cuntreys clend (f.28v l.14)
in his sted was o??an? furth *yos* folke to led (f.29v l.15)

yo

ffor that werkyng he was full wo that *yo* wy?hly and so
worthy (f.3v l.2)
God sayd yat was no grid yat in. bot loth and *yo* that with
hys? word (f.6v l.19)
hys endyings com on ylka syd and had firth *yo* chylder troo
(f.6v l.24)
hys doydhams and ferd he that tyl wot thei fynd nay ther
wold non of *yo* (f.6v l.25)
Tyll loth with hys mend3 and *yo* chylder wer werst (f.6v l.28)

When Indis herd hom all *yo* went he was ?????????? (f.11r l.22)

then all *yo* two hath tand to rod (f.12r l.7)
and *yo* yat after them can duell yer ... (f.13v l.19)
then all *yo* rebels yew repent (f.20r l.24)
yo wenid werly soyzt yis falshed to ... (f.23v l.19)
of all *yo* yat myzt armysdere fulfyll (f.24r l.9)
yer loned god with gud wyll yat *yo* zong men so zemed
(f.25v l.19)
thow I said on a thrim sent he with *yo* folke to fyzt (f.26v l.13)
bot take ye water vpon ye hande to drynke *yo* sall do
enmys dere (f.32v l.13)
and *yo* yat lyge loro on the sande to drynke (f.32v l.4)
al *yo* yatt enmy vp stande were bot ... (f.32v l.7)
zelde and r?ilmana *yo* · iij dyed at yat dede (f.32 l.13)
a sone he sall to ye send yat sall gone? ne *yo* folke in fere
(f.34r l.22)
and with *yo* wordes yei went away (f.36v l.27)
and all *yo* yat ye enemys ware ... (f.39r l.12)
for both *yo* names yei bare yat tyde (f.46r l.2)
yei sette *yo* folke both fleth and blod (f.46v l.4)
and all *yo* yat wyll stand (f.49v l.25)
and for *yo* folke wylke so??tes feld (f.103v l.26)
kyng Josap hat tr??d al *yo* sageed ye kyng for dorote
(f.108v l.18)

**yoo*

yoo ten yat told tychand my folke (f.20r l.16)
and moyses furth his men remenys tyll yer *yoo* folke ...
(f.22r l.8)

all *yoo* yat on ye sette vp standes (f.32v l.2)
yoo v x men went with pace full playn (f.47r l.1) ((*thos*))

LP115

<p>þo þarfor pray we <i>þo</i> trinite (p162) Qware pyne is bittur os is <i>þo</i> galle, (p162) Loue we þen <i>þo</i> trinite, (p162) þat made <i>þo</i> blysse þat neuer sal ende. (p162) <i>þo</i> hole trinite he graunt þisse, (p162) Bot i pray þe wat comforth may be to <i>þo</i> þat trule dredes & bitterle sorose þer olde synes, (p164) ..., þen cowat3 reson to know <i>þo</i> ynges at þe affeccion feles. (p165)</p>	<p>*þa ¶ And þerfor reson schewes þat it is more profetabull forto ynk on gastele ynges wat so <i>þa</i> be, (P165)</p> <p>þoo & oft-syth it fals þat gode suffurs <i>þoo</i> men to fall grewosle be ... (p169)</p> <p>þos</p>
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LP168

None

LP204

<p>yo and take ym? oyle and ym? vynegre and tempre <i>yo</i> two togider (f.18v l.5) and afte <i>yo</i> iij dayes be past lat him ete ... (f.19r l.10) any of <i>yo</i> iij dayes he sall dye a wicked dede (f.21r l.12)</p>	<p>any of <i>yo</i> iij days he sal be dede (f.21r l.14) and if a man be bornd in any of <i>yo</i> iij dayes (f.21r l.17)</p> <p>yose blesse hym with <i>yose</i> thre names (f.16r l.11)</p>
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LP211

those
ffrom *those* mens grefys, (p102, line 53)
I shrew *those* lyppys (p108, line 251)
Gett I *those* land lepars (p171, line 166)

LP348

None

LP360

None

LP377

None

LP378

None

LP415

None

Following are two variants for 'they'.

y^a

& also in case be y^t y^t y^a sall not deny no por man nor woman ... (p23, line 19-20)

...when y^t y^a com tharfor for yar monny, (p23, line 21)

...for we thynke y^t y^a sell un to pepyll der fleche (p23, line 25)

...& se y^t y^a sell a resonabyll pennyworth after he byes so (p23, line 27-28)

Item for owr fechers, elykwys, y^t y^a sell noy feche w^t owt y^t ... (p23, line 28-29)

thay

...&, yf *thay* brynge anny more fyches chafer, y^a for to forfyte thar feche. (p23, line 36-37)

...; we will that *thay* lefe; and, if *thay* be founden guilty hereafter, ... (p25, line 24)

...as of as *thay* be prewed gederynge (p26, line 6)

...& boght tham or *thay* com at the merketh ... (p26, line 12)

LP473

yo

and in comtemplacioun of *yo* thinge yat sal before ye incarnecioun (f.10r l.17)

ye seyth of haly kirke *yo* thre dayes foode all onely (f.15v l.9)

wherefore if we will ??le *yo* trow ioy and comfort of Ihus we most ... (f.21r l.22)

yis day also befall *yo* two gret wondirs (f.22v l.17)

¶ also it es one of *yo* thre be ye whilk (f.31r l.11)

Yat it behoues me to be occupied in *yo* thinge yat ... (f.34r l.20)

doctors days he beged : *yo* thre days (f.34r l.32)

yo thinge yat longed to his fadir (f.34v l.20)

ffor *yo* yat ar gude and trew (f.38r l.41)

and *yo* yat ar temperill? and our faylying for *yo* yat ar heuenly (f.38r l.41)

and also if you despite and for sake *yo* thinge yat all men commly desyres (f.41r l.3)

when *yo* yl days of his fasting were complete (f.41r l.31)

and also haue of *yo* yat er and wer made at his awne will (f.42r l.20)

also in *yo* twa last tymes he called Iames and Iohn (f.45r l.23)

and harkynd *yo* swete wordes (f.48v l.17)

for to aske onely *yo* thynges yat wer nede (f.49r l.11)
 how *yo* miracles dones yan (f.71r l.22)
 redy to helpe and hele all *yo* yat askyd hym (f.71v l.15)
 so with *yo* blyssed handes (f.84v l.25)
 elles for *yo* werke yat 3e se belene3 (f.88v l.14)
 to write sothly *yo* forsaid swete wordes of Ihus (f.89r l.20)
yo forsayd gostly fe?mge shud same to hym (f.f.90r l.28)
 takyn hede to *yo* thinges yat haues bene wryten (f.90v l.2)
 of ye saule to *yo* thinges yat folowe3 of his blissed passcioun (f.90v l.5)
 to *yo* yat hym loues (f.139r l.25)
 whate es more grace to *yo* : yat haue3 defined ye stronge pyne of hell (f.139v. l.16)

yoo
 and of ye soper made to hym yer and of *yoo* thinge done yatt (f.1v l.26)
 of *yoo* thinge yat be fell aftir ye dethe of our lord Ihus and aftir none (f.2r l.10)
 erthely thynges yat be *yoo* thynges yat be visibyll (f.3v l.7)
 Also saynt Jon says yat all *yoo* thynges yat Ihus did. (f.3v l.10)
 Bot yan was a question a among *yoo* systers (f.7v l.27)
 ffor *yoo* thre persons ... (f.10v l.30)
 or wher and on what manner lyued he *yoo* thre dayes (f.34r l.28)
 and fullfylling of all *yoo* thre (f.40v l.7)
 yat I do in ye name of my fadir *yoo* berts witnes of me who I am (f.73r l.8)
 and Ihus sayd *yoo* wordes (f.88r l.16)

yose
 of ye speciale reward of our lord Ihus behett to all *yose* yat for sake ye warlde for his loue (f.1v l.13)
 to kepe *yose* thre commandmente (f.9r l.4)
 bot *yose* twa beste and what tyme yat yai come to ... (f.20v l.13)
 ffyrst *yose* ilka warschipfull old men (f.27r l.6)
 for *yose* yat wirkes slik curiuftees yai take no helde to lose ye tyme (f.30v l.20)
 and namely *yose* few dayes folowyng (f.79v l.26)
 se noght forgaf *yose* yat myght no3t meke (f.138v l.5)
 gifes strengthes agaynes *yose* : yat wer to come (f.139v l.6)

ya
 and ye holy gost bene as thre erthely men yat *ya* you sees (f.10v l.26)
 and on one *ya* who systers sent words (f.73r l.22)
 ¶ what tyme *ya* paske lambe was broght (f.83v l.18)
 in yat most excellent sacrament of *ya* aitter? (f.87v l.2)
 and our faith whilk as ye grimd stane of all haly kirke and be gymer? of all vertues and *ya* yat he sees (f.122r l.6)
 and taried for swilk manner of confession of *ya* synnes (f.127r l.33)

***yos**
 ...*yos* of ye incarnacioun (f.11r l.16)
 Yos her ye hand mayde and ye ?uant of my lord (f.13v l.16)

((*yase*))

LP474

yo
yo ilk peyns all thyrty (f.182r l.28)
 To do befor hys eyn *yo* dedys (f.194v l.21)
yo mekyll ioi yat he had yam (f.207r l.5)

***yas**
yas long tale I haue 3ow talde (f.183r l.36)

god costin *yas* we lay (f.185v l.29)

***Tho**
Tho chole? modudus? and 3edirus leads olme (f.173r l.30)

***yase**
 bot ilkon of *yase* wemd? thre (f.186v l.21)

LP477

yose

and do yose iij togeder and medyll them (f.14r l.26)
vu selyng aboute yose places (f.83v l.12)

*yos

yos kynge yat comes of tolde men (f.85v l.22)

*yo

?hylde hode and yn yo riths (f.93v l.11)

LP488

yos

yat all yos yat may noght be in bodely religion (f.4r l.5)
¶ also it falles som tyme of yos yat god lufes hertly (f.5v l.36)
and hilles fro all yos yat folowes yair fleschly zernynges (f.7r l.22)
and sal wakkyn yos oyer ladys (f.7v l.12)
and chaste oute yer foure foule wighte yos lothly fendes doghters (f.8r l.18)
yat all yos yat of yis religioun (f.8r l.22)

ye thryd is yos yat weddid had lene (f.24v l.14)
and yos ten may be cald (f.25v l.7)

yo^s

yo^s er ye fyue noble besann?des (f.21v l.14)

yo

yis is ye tre of yo sacramente (f.18v l.22)

LP494 (*Prick of Conscience*: Additional 25013 / B text)

yo

All yo men yat ye worlde most dauntes (f.13v l.33)
Bot yo yat wil hym folowe he ledes (f.15r l.11)
And yo may be calde stormes ful kene (f.15v l.7)
And yo ar anerous men of hert ful harde (f.16v l.19)
Yo ar drounbun in ye flode of ye worlde and sykes (f.16v l.27)
Ffor yo ilke to wyne in ye flode er leue (f.17r l.27)
And yo ar tane and halden fast (f.18r l.25)
And all yo yat so ar tane (f.18r l.27)
Yo er ye worlde ye fende oure flesche (f.19r l.1)
Bot ye worlde praieses none bot yo onely (f.19v l.37)
And yis may be sayd be all yo (f.23r l.13)
Yan of yo synnes yat you here couthe kanwe (f.34v l.14)
And yo yat yore ware with hym oute toke (f.39r l.6)
And amonge yo paynes als 3e sal here (f.40r l.22)
Ye first payne if of yo seuen (f.40r l.28)
Ffor yo fendes er so foule and hideus (f.40r l.37)
Bot zit it greues yo saule wil more (f.41v l.12)
To abate ye fire yo two ar best (f.42v l.19)
Ffor yo two may brynge ye saule to rest (f.42v l.20)
Yo saules to turment and to greue (f.44v l.8)
yo two manner of saules ar saue (f.45v l.6)
Yo synnes yat ar calde deadly (f.46r l.23)
¶ Yo ten ar yise yat I now rede (f.46v l.29)
Ouer yo yat I haue tolde before (f.48r l.12)
Ffor als yo yat passes as I saide ore (f.49r l.25)
Yurgh yo fendes may yai helped be (f.50r l.5)
Of yo sal falle euen as I say (f.53r l.5)
Bot some of yo tokenes has bene (53v l.22)
All yo yat of ye fendes crafte can (f.55v l.36)

Yat be gog are vndurstanden all yo (f.59v l.19)
Betwen yo tymes ye prophetes two (f.60r l.2)
Als yo prophetes sal yaim ken (f.60r l.21)
And make yo lymes semely to syght (f.65v l.26)
And yus sall crist do to all yo (f.65v l.29)
And zit noght for yo yat dose no gode onely (f.69v l.31)
Namely yo yat has knawen itt (f.71r l.37)
And namely yo synnes yai sal oute say (f.71v l.12)
And of yo yai schal yaim accuse (f.71v l.14)
Ye hawles als so sal accuse all yo (f.72r l.13)
And oneli for yo werkes vndone (f.75v l.4)
Of yo godes yat wold not bede (f.77r l.33)
Fful mony men here lyues of yo (f.77v l.15)
Wat nede ware yat yo creatures yan (f.84r l.23)
And sene yo paynes les and more (f.85v l.21)
Yat are euen contrary vn to yo (f.110r l.18)
Yat are euen contrary to yo seuen (f.110r l.28)
3ot yo yat sal come to heuen blis (f.116v l.20)
And alle yo yat to heuen sal be vptane (f.117v l.16)
Sal se yan yo ioyes euerilkone (f.117v l.17)
Yerfore sais crist yus in yo gospel (f.120r l.28)
Yo percious stones gostly may be (f.125v l.23)
Bot yo turrets are more schynande (f.126r l.3)
Yo turrets gostly sere honoerus may be (f.126r l.5)
Gostly to speke yo wardes so light (f.126r l.13)
Als yo 3ates of heuen ne so clene (f.126r l.20)
Yo 3ates gostly may be mekenes (f.126r l.21)
Yo stretes and loues gostly to telle (f.127v l.16)
Yo riches gostly to vndurstand (f.127v l.22)
Lord ful glad for yo daies are we (f.130r l.26)

***yoo**

And *yoo* ar men yat to hre state clymbes (f.16v l.13)
 And ar *yoo* ar vnbuyning men and frawarde (f.16v l.31)
Yoo ar men yat slachynge and fagyng mase (f.16v l.37)
Yoo men com noyer suffre wele ne mo (f.17r l.16)
 Toure whare can *yoo* rest ne dwelle (f.17r l.17)
Yoo ar men yat grethy are caried (f.17r l.25)
 And *yoo* sul be schewed before the (f.34 l.11)

yaise

All *yaise* he sais yat comes of eue (f.6r l.6)

***yose**

And lackes *yose* men yat nowe ar sen (f.10r l.6)
 And so sely may be all *yose* (f.78v l.15)

***yase**

Yase men worldeliche men men calles (f.13v l.20)
 And so er all *yase* yat worlde loues (f.14r l.20)

LP496**yoo**

or harmes for al *yoo* bene acused of god hym selfe (f.4r l.4)
 and to alle *yoo* yat you hafte ordeyned (f.51v l.2)
 also betwene yo cristeners and *yoo* yat bene cristened (f.8r l.4)
 as *yoo* yat leuen in yo new mone (f.52v l.16)
 for he slees alle *yoo* yat fulfillen hit in dede (f.58v l.2)
 Ageynes yis done alle *yoo* yat oker yat ... (f.59v l.4)
 and also *yoo* yat fynden mennes thynges (f.59v l.6)
 ¶ And *yoo* yat withholden men ye gode. (f.59v l.8)
 no man ?? nomely *yoo* yat are in wedd loke (f.60v l.1)

yos

he has sette in heuen *yos* yat hym lo (f.51v l.12)
 And he slees alle *yos* yat thoro hym leues yat ... (f.58r l.21)
 yt god has gyuen his curs to *yos* yat kepe not his comanndementes (f.63r l.4)

yose

and becomes yo deuels wer kemon and *yose* yat dispeiden yo halydeyes (f.56r l.15)

***yo**

¶ also *yo* yat letten any mon to prechance *yo* popos bulles (f.12r l.14)

tho**LP500****yo**

hele of saule and til alle *yo* (f.1r l.12)
 til al *yo* yat it will haunt (4 l.1)
 so yat ilkone of *yo* · al kynges sere (6 l.8)
 bot onely *yo* yat walde be his (8 l.27)
yo yat yise two in hert will halde (11 l.3)
yo sones may calle here baldely (11 l.5)
yo yat er his creatours right (20 l.30)
yo thre ben mynde and vnderstandynge (23 l.23)
yo two pappes er yat I tolde (24 l.14)
yo two laghes togedir are gode (25 l.28)
 and *yo* betoken ye two lawes (26 l.20)
 als *yo* yat are bodily sene (28 l.6)
 or fro *yo* yat nede has with drawes (29 l.21)
 and *yo* sal I schewe zow nowe (36 l.26)

ilke one of *yo* may be a merke (41 l.12)

and *yo* yat er noght goddes senes (204 l.8)

ffor *yo* yat v?ray maydens bene (302 l.3)

yat er *yo* yat has ay drede (303 l.4)

yo yat kepes with alle yair wyght (303 l.29)

yo yat kepes ye fyne wittes ille (303 l.33)

ffor *yo* yat lyues in mariage (307 l.22)

and *yo* yat kepes clene widenhede (307 l.26)

bot *yo* yat kepes maydenhede wele (307 l.28)

yat *yo* yat has yat state so fre (310 l.33)

amang alle *yo* yat he myght dere (318 l.16)

yo yer ye grete riches of heuen (326 l.19)

ffor *yo* suld for ye hert by hid (326 l.23)

blissed he sayd be alle *yo* (328 l.30)

yat god to *yo* yat it loues has dight (329 l.21)

2. 4 Southern area

LP100

poo

poo mervels doyn in dede, (ex 147 after 16762)
Namly to *poo* þat synful are, (ex 258 after 17288)
þat he apered to *poo* twoo, (ex 433 after 17288)

pos

"What wordez are *pos*," he saide, (ex 331 after 17288)

***po**

And knaws not of *po* wonders (ex 343 after 17288)

LP165

po

po festes schuld men halon and kepe (f.9v l.19)
po to hys wyfe so grete and strong (f.15r l.34)
Bot *po* þat in state of sponsaile (f.16r l.5)
And do noght elles in *po* tymes nomely (f.16v l.9)
Bot noght of *po* as i wylle trowe (f.17v l.22)
Bot *po* þat right wydowes ar called (f.18v l.6)
Bot *po* þat right ware holy and dere (f.19r l.34)
And nomely *po* þat ar bonnden to be (f.19v l.4)
þat ar *po* þat ay haues drede (f.24v l.15)
als god sayes blessed ar al *po* (f.33r l.4)
alle *po* fro goddnesse þat pai may (f.36r l.6)
ffirst *po* þat lyues after þe flesch (f.37r l.21)
po þat byfed after þare lo lefte (f.37r l.29)
po þat þoron sleght countly (f.37r l.33)
po þat lyues here in body (f.37v l.17)
po þat wille þoro in hert fre (f.38r l.13)

po men lyues honorably ay (f.38r l.17)
po þat lyues in manner of skille (f.38r l.21)
po þat lyues after þare spirite (f.38 l.25)
ar *po* þat etes writh gret del??? (f.38r l.26)
or he says *po* schul be byfy (f.38v l.21)
and *po* ten may be called by skille (f.41v l.31)
and al *po* idel wordes men calles (f.42v l.10)
and þerfore *po* þat pleses men so (f.45r l.1)
and *po* may be lykned nomely (f.45r l.23)
and nenyms *po* þat pay ou? take (f.45v l.27)

pa

wherfore þyse men *pa* lyues noght right (f.36r l.29)
pa þat lyues after fisik (f.38r l.5)

pose

þat tormentes *pose* ypocritees (f.37r l.38)

LP175

yose

it was yat sulde betray our lorde ihus yose al he asked it at his request (f.4r l.3)
kepe yose yat you hase gygen to me (f.7v l.19)
bot for al yose yat sal trow in me thorow yaim (f.7v l.22)
if he saughe it fully with his bodely eghe al yose thynges (f.9v l.16)
ffor yose ilke man aght with gret reuence (f.9v l.20)
and also yose yat er 3it behynde I am redy to fulfyl (f.11v l.4)
ke takes yese harde and sorowful betynges of yose wykede men (f.18v l.8)
luffed him ful tenderly and vnto yose wycked cybaldes (f.25v l.20)
and I sal no more fele of yose (f.41v l.19)
he walde yat some creatures of yose yat he made war ... (f.56r l7)

yase

so was he hastyede with yase wickede men (f.21v l.20)
and we yase ilke and nane oper yaim we wer now (f.57v l.15)
ye sexte thynges and laste of yase I firste tochede (f.64v l.4)

***yais**

and toke oute *yais* yat war his (f.58r l.19)

***ya**

what wordes *ya* ware (f.38r l.18)

LP200

yo

yo yat sefen in wyches afte (f.83v l.12)
thre maners yo yat I weres nedles (f.83v l.40)
glotony or oþer synnes and yo yat dippendes yaire wittes... (f.84r l.28)
agaynes mon slaght with hande says yo (f.84v l.12)
and yo yat asoyled yam ... (f.85r l.18)
and yo yat prichen fairly in holy kyrke agayn yo old lawe or yo newe (f.85r l.20)

yose

he has gyfen his malyson to yose yat breken his comannmentis (f.83r l.17)

LP234

yoo

hou sore yoo wondes were (f.249r l.26)
ye sowle yat hit mase yoo yat sotheli hit feles (f.252r l.31)
yat is it wynnes to yoo yat wissely dredes (f.252v l.7)

yose

and flees yose es solies yat he ere loued (f.246r l.27)
for be yose seys ye psalme written are (f.249v l.31)
you lost alle yose goddes (f.253r l.4)
frende to spite of yose duellynges (f.253v l.11)
when yi hert has thoro soght yose lothely (f.254r l.24)

yo

if he drahe ye ton more stcett yen yo tozer it ma (f.247r l.36)
feble and wayke and oft styutes sro yo gode thoroës (f.248v l.22)
ye suche is ye grete mercy of god yat to yo synful hesthewes? (f.249r l.34)
god is full of mercye to yo synfull here so sal he be ... (f.249v l.1)
alle mon kynde was damned to yo dede (f.249v l.33)
bot kest his eheue to yo and ... (f.251r l.23)

LP240

þo

he sulde be martyrde with þo maydens for it was godde will (f.19v l.31)
þo folke toke þis dekeum serus (f.22r l.16)
it is o right þo giltles men (f.22r l.28)
þo folke torned to cristend laghe (f.141r l.7)

þos

and þos þat has me grefed I shal þam dampus to hell (f.132v l.4)
ffro kynde to kynde til al þos þat wil hym 7ife and donte (f.153r l.10)
and þos þat walde not trowe al blinde (f.153v l.36)

þas

3aroës and arphayat þas fals goddes hight (f.20v l.38)

LP363

None

LP373

None

LP405 (*Prick of Conscience*: Bodley 99 / C text)

yo
And falles yo man yat now are sene (f.12v l.7)
And yo are ye grete stomes kene (f.18v l.6)
Yis may be sayd be alle yo (f.23v l.14)
Yo aungels schal reherte ye gode (f.34v l.17)
Alle yo werkes yat ei? we wroght (f.34v l.19)
Yo furth skille yat ye laste to telle (f.37r l.4)
Ye furst payne is of yo seuen (f.41r l.25)
Yo maladyes yore more saules greues (f.42v l.9)
And se yo paynes eu? Ilkone (f.46v l.12)
Yise are yo synnes yat are dedly (f.47r l.10)
Yo ten are yise yat I now rede (f.47v l.10)
Yo saules yat are in purgatory broght (f.50v l.4)
Vnto yo saules yat are in payn (f.50v l.26)
Yo lyms yat are newed? fro ye body (f.51v l.12)
To yo saules yat duelles in hell ay still (f.51v l.34)
And bothe yo alle ye sawles has (f.52r l.6)
Yo frendes of holi kirk may wyn (f.54r l.3)
And all yo may ancryste be calde (f.57r l.33)
God spak til yo thre citeces yus (f.58r l.25)
Yo yat his disipuls schal be calde (f.59v l.13)
Ffor alle yo schal bere his merke (f.61r l.5)
Yo men yat are couetouse (f.61v l.7)
Be gog are vndurstanden alle yo (f.62r l.23)
Betwene yo tymes ye prophetes two (f.62v l.4)
Als yo tuo prophetes schal yaim ken (f.62v l.23)
He schal gare take yo prophetes both (f.63r l.11)
In yo strets ligg still thre days (f.63r l.15)
Yo dayes yat are ill and heuy (f.63v l.19)
Ffor all ye fyre yat is in yo(the?) sper (f.67v l.17)
Yus schal he do namely to yo (f.69v l.13)
And noght yo yat dose no gode onely (.74r l.18)
Yo synful men yat is to say (f.75r l.30)
Ye halowes schal accuse all yo (f.76v l.24)
And yo pore men schal playn with right (f.77r l.28)
Ne yo body be hit all ane (f.81r l.15)
Fful many men lyfes here of yo (f.82r l.33)
Of yo yat schal be demed and deme noght (f.83v l.12)

Yo twelfe naoon?s of israel (f.83v l.33)
Yat are yo yat god sese here lel (f.83v l.34)
Be yo schepe vndurstande we may (f.85r l.12)
Yo ill men yat dampned schal be (f.85r l.15)
What nede were yo creatures yan (f.88v l.4)
Right so yo yat in heuen schal wone (f.110r l.17)
Yat are euen contrary vnto yo (f.112r l.6)
Of yo men yat are rightwys (f.112r l.12)
To yo saules of ye synful yat schal wende (f.112r l.18)
Yo saules schal yai know opunly (f.113r l.30)
Yo iiij blis is grete power (f.116r l.21)
With yo bodies yat saue schal be (f.117v l.20)
Gode with ye cumpany of yo (f.120v l.31)

yose
Alle yose he says yat comes of eve (f.8r l.12)
Alle yose men yat ye worlde moste dauntes (f.16v l.10)
Yat is all yose yat may here ende (f.32r l.7)
Yat yose yat god has chosen here (f.60v l.6)
Be magog may yose vndurstanden be (f.62r l.26)
Or yose are vndurstanden ye by (f.62r l.28)
Til alle yose yat disseyved schal be (f.64r l.27)

*yos
Yat yos fiftene dayes contenes (f.66r l.8)
Yos yat shcal be dampned schal wende (f.68v l.17)
Of yos yai schal ye accuse (f.76v l.19)
So sely may be alle yos (f.83r l.27)
Yos yat with cryste schal deme yat day (f.83v l.20)
Alle yos yat are fals cristen men (f.84r l.7)
Yen schal oure lorde till all yos say (f.85v l.21)

*yoo
Yoo are ye worlde ye fende and our flesshe (f.19r l.2)

*yus
Yus men worldly men men talles (f.16r l.32)
Vse ilk day yus ten thynges ser (f.49r l.4)

LP479 (*Pick of Conscience*: HM 139 Hand A / D text)

þo

Grace and *þo* gudeness of þo holy goste (f.144ra l.3)
 Wharfore *þo* creatuoures at are doume (f.44rb l.5)
þo materes þat are þer in contende (f.145vb l.10)
 As of *þo* wretchednes of man kynde (f.145vb l.30)
 And of *þo* vnstabelnes of þo worlde here (f.145vb l.32)
 Þo seuent perty es of *þo* ioyes of heuen (f.145vb l.41)
 And know *þo* wretchednes of his kynde (f.146rb l.14)
 In al *þo* pertes of life of man (f.146rb l.16)
 Whilk as *þo* trees are with *þo* boes (f.147va l.11)
þo bowes are *þo* armes with þo body armes (f.147va l.33)
þo braunches may men kyndely call (f.147va l.35)

þo toos with *þo* fyngers all (f.147va l.36)

And lakkes *þo* men at now are sene (f.148rb l.7)
 Þat *þo* elementes and al *þo* heuens (f.149rb l.2)
 Coutenes holy *þo* planetes all (f.149rb l.33)
 Þere *þo* sternes and *þo* planetes are (f.149va l.7)
þo worldes may here togeder fall (f.149va l.34)

***þose**

Al *þose* he sais þat comen of eue (f.146va l.30)
 as *þose* men et þo world moste dawntes (f.149vb l.28)

þoo

LP497

None

LP591 (*Prick of Conscience*: HM 139 Hand C / E text)

þoo

On to *þoo* þat þider are broȝte (f.158va l.35)
þoo tene are þise as I now rede (f.161ra l.17)
 And both *þoo* all þo soules haue (f.162rb l.51)
þoo þat his discipuls schall be callede (f.164vb l.13)
 By gog are vnderstande all *þoo* (f.165va l.26)

þose

Ilkone of *þose* es dedely synne (f.160vb l.46)
 Þat *þose* þat god has chosen here (f.165ra l.17)
 Or *þose* are vnderstande þer by (f.165va l.31)
 And so sely may be al *þose* (f.172rb l.17)
þose þat criste sal deme þat day (f.172rb l.42)
 Þen sal oure lorde to al *þose* say (f.173ra l.12)

þo

Þat all *þo* men of þis mydelerths? (f.156ra l.33)
þo aungels schal rehers þo gode (f.156va l.23)
 And *þo* deuels þo yll with eger mode (f.156va l.24)
 All *þo* werkes þat we here wrought (f.156va l.25)
 After *þo* dedes þat þou has done (f.156vb l.29)
 Bot when *þo* deuels and þo anngels (f.157va l.3)
 Of all *þo* domes before schewede (f.57va l.30)
 Bot in erth schall dwell *þo* bodes all (f.157va l.38)
 It schall be demede after *þo* werkes (f.157va l.42)
 Ffro *þo* bitter paynnes of purgatory (f.157vb l.43)
 And with *þo* bodes agayne til hell be sent (f.158va l.1)
 Helpen not *þo* soules bot perchauns ders (f.158va l.45)
þo fyrste paynes of *þo* seuen (f.158vb l.48)
 Ffor *þo* aungels schal þer redy be (f.159ra l.15)
 And *þo* deuels grysly to se (f.159ra l.16)
 And *þo* aungels on his ryzte hande (f.159ra l.20)
 Þen schall *þo* saules haue grete mournynge (f.159rb l.2)
 Þus schal *þo* saules as god vowches safe (f.159rb l.28)

Ffor *þo* saules schalt dwell þer rime (f.159rb l.30)

And when *þo* soules are so made bryȝte (f.160ra l.22)
 Þat *þo* soules are als in wildernes (f.160rb l.49)
þo soules þat to purgatory schall wende (f.160va l.21)
 After *þo* synnes are many or fone (f.160va l.24)
 And se *þo* paynes euer ilke one (f.160vb l.1)
þo synnes þat are called dedely (f.160vb l.35)
þise are *þo* synnes þat are dedely (f.160vb l.39)
 Ouer *þo* at I tolde before (f.161rb l.52)
 Vse ilk day *þo* ten thynges sere (f.161va l.8)
 Þat *þo* soules of þame þat are dedely (f.161vb l.12)
 Vnto *þo* soules þat are in payne (f.162ra l.21)
 Þat helpes *þo* soules in purgatory (f.162ra l.27)
þo lymes þat are hewed fro þo body (f.162rb l.23)
 And *þo* þat geder ne to þat place (f.162rb l.34)
 And *þo* moo soules þat þider wendes (f.162rb l.40)
 To *þo* soules þat dwell in hell any fall (f.162rb l.44)
 And to *þo* soules þat are in heuen namely (f.162rb l.45)
 And to *þo* soules *þo* soules þat are in purgatory (f.162rb l.46)
 And both *þoo* all *þo* soules haue (f.162rb l.51)
þo soules þat to paradise are gone (f.162rb l.57)
 May helpe *þo* soules þat are in payne (f.162va l.42)
 Of whilk þo pape *þo* keys beres (f.162vb l.23)
 As *þo* papes es ȝit may graunt (f.163ra l.10)
þo deueles son he schall be callede (f.163vb l.51)
þo deueles will he schall fullfill (f.163vb l.54)
 And all *þo* may be antcriste callede (f.164ra l.27)
 Of *þo* wonders I schall tell sunne (f.164vb l.5)
þo wonders of god in erth so grete (f.164vb l.28)
 And chase *þo* wonders vp in þo aire (f.164vb l.32)
 Þat *þo* lawes of criste will forsake (f.165ra l.3)
 And *þo* cristen men in þat cuntre (f.165ra l.46)
 Ffor all *þo* schall bere his marke (f.165rb l.6)

Þe thirde parte of þo starnes of heuen(f.165rb l.21)
 Þat dragone es vnderstande þo fende (f.165rb l.26)
 Þo men þat are coucious (f.165rb l.32)
 By 3ende þo mountaynes of caspy (f.165va l.4)
 Sinne? glose sais as þo clerkes telles (f.165va l.19)
 Bot by wiþ þo tymes þo prophetes two (f.165va l.41)
 As þo two prophettes schall hem ken (f.165vb l.5)
 Þai schal preche as þo apocalippes sais (f.165vb l.8)
 Þai schall be as þo apocalippes spekes (f.165vb l.14)
 He schall gar take þo prophetes both (f.165vb l.27)
 And turne all þo to hym holly (f.165vb l.50)
 Þo daies þat are febul and heuy (f.166ra l.15)
 To al þo þat deceyuede schall be (f.166rb l.3)
 Þo wordes þat he in þo gospel sais (f.166rb l.10)
 Ffor all þo prophetes þat man may neuene (f.166rb l.24)
 Ne as þo haloes þat are in heuen (f.166rb l.25)
 As þo dedes of þo apostels schewn vs (f.166rb l.31)
 Þise are þo wordes of þo gospels (f.166va l.20)
 Ffor mengyng þe of noise of þo se (f.166va l.26)
 Ffor þo myghtes of heuen schulde stirde be (f.166va l.31)
 Þat þo fiftene dayes schall be (f.166vb l.20)
 Þat þo fiftene tokenes contnues (f.166vb l.24)
 Þe firste day of þo fiftene dayes (f.166vb l.29)
 Bot for all þo tokenes þen men sal se (f.167ra l.33)
 Þir are þo wordes of þo gospels (f.167ra l.51)
 All þo gude men to clense3 syne (f.167va l.11)
 Ande þo wickede men til haide pyne (f.167va l.12)

Þus sal be done namely to þo (f.167vb l.50)
 All þo signes of his passyoun (f.169rb l.7)
 Beholde þo wondes þat 3e scikkede (f.169rb l.29)
 And nou3t þo þat dos no gude onely (f.169rb l.37)
 And þen þo synnes sal say þus (f.169vb l.50)
 Þo deueles þat to tempe men are bysy (f.170ra l.19)
 Þo haloes sal accuse all þo (f.170ra l.52)
 As þo apocalippes schewes openly (f.170rb l.6)
 So he he beholdes þo wayes of man (f.171ra l.2)
 Thurgh þo synnes þat I haue wrought (f.171ra l.31)
 Fful many men lisen here of þo (f.172ra l.8)
 Þo þat sal be demede and deme no3te (f.172rb l.34)
 Þat are þo þat god ses here lele (f.172va l.2)
 All þo þat are fals cristen men (f.172va l.9)
 Of þo paynes of hell þat are endeles (f.173vb l.46)
 Þo paynes are ful fell and full harde (f.173vb l.47)
 As when þai on þo paynes thoghte (f.173vb l.57)
 A party of þo paynes sere (f.174ra l.5)
 Þat couth tell þo paynes properly (f.174ra l.56)
 And sene þo paynes all lesse and more (f.174ra l.58)
 God with þo cont?ta?ny of þo (f.183vb l.40)
 Als wele þo þat sal be fro hym ferre (f.186ra l.9)
 Þat all þo at til heuen sal come (f.186va l.18)
 Whilk þo þat til hel sal wende (f.186va l.22)

((þos))

Appendix 5: Parallel lines of five WRY texts of *Prick of Conscience*

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
119 And alle þier benefice hald in mynde,		Leaf is not clear
253 þus þer four lettes his insight		Yis four lettes hym in his syght
257 Þir four norisches ofte pompe and pride,		Yise four norisehes pompe and pride
259 For in him, in wham ane of þer four es,		In wham some one of yis four is
289 Þis wordes by þam may be sayd here,		Yise wordis be yame may be saide here
433 Principaly, in þis partes thre,		Principaly in yes partes thre
434 þat er þir to our understanding;		Yat are to oure vndurstandyng
436 Þer þre partes er þre spaces talde		Yise thre partes ar thre spaces talde
461 With þer he was first norissed þar.		With yis he was noryst yare
491 “Alle þas”, he says, “þat comes of Eve,		All yaise he sais yat comes of eue
510 Of þis twa tymes we suld thynk þan,		On yis two tymes he schuld thynk yam
797 He lakes þa men þat now are sene;		And lackes yose men yat nowe ar sen
800 Alle þir, thurgh kynd, to an ald man falles,		Alle yise kyndely til an olde man falles
828 Men says, al þir takens sere		Men sais yat all yise tokenes sere
961 þat world þer clerkes ‘world of world’ calles.		Yat worlde of worldes clerkes calles
3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
119 And many benefyce vnto him did	And þise benefyce halde in mynde	
253 Yise foure lettes his insight	Þise foure lettyn hym in sight	
257 Yise four norissch pompe and pride	Þise foure norische pompe and pryde	
259 In whom so any of yise four es	In whome so euer any of þise foure es	
289 Yise wordes be yaim may be sayd here	No corresponding line	
433 Prinsypally in yise thynges thre	Pryncipally in thynges thre	
434 Yat are yise til our vndurstandyng	þat are to oure vnderstandyng	
436 Yise may be thre spaces talde	No corresponding line	
461 Her with was he norissht yer	Her with was he norisched þare	
491 Alle yose he says yat comes of eve	Al þose he sais þat comen of eue	
510 Of yise two thynges we schuld thyk yan	Of þese two thynges we suld thynk þen	
797 And falles yo man yat now are sene	And lakkes þo men at now are sene	
800 Alle yis kyndely to olde men falles	All þis kyndely to olde men falles	
828 Men sayne yat alle yise tokens sere	Men sayne þat þise tokene sere	
961 Yat ye world of worldes yise clerkes calles	þat þo world of worldes riches calles	

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
971 Swa þat withouten þa worldes es noght.		So yat withouten yaim is noght
983 As men may here þer clerkes telle.		Als men may here yis clerkes telle
1006 Þir worldes byfor als was Goddes wille		Yise worlde als is was goddes will
1065 Þas men worldesshe men men calles,		Yase men worldeliche men men calles
1078 Alle þas men þat þe world mast dauntes,		All yo men yat ye worlde most dauntes
1080 And þas þat þe world serves and loves,		And yai yat ye worlde serues and loues
1188 Bot þa þat wille him folow, he ledes		Bot yo yat wil hym folowe he ledes
1223 And þa er þe grete stormes kene		And yo may be calde stormed ful kene
1253 Þa er þe world, þe fende, our flesshe,		Yo er ye worlde ye fende oure flesche
1259 With þe right hand and þe left; þere twa		With ye right hande and ye lifte yise two
1271 Þe whilk þer clerkes þe left hand calles		Yat yise clerkes ye lefte hande calles
1281 Þe whilk þir clerkes noght elles calles,		Ye whilk yise clerkes noght elles calles
1330 And to þis wordes, þat sum men myspays,		And to yis worde yat sum men myspais
1338 Bot þe world prayses nan, bot þa anly		Bot ye worlde praieses none bot yo onely
1446 Alle þer variance to understande		All yise ordeynes god all weldande
1471 Þer er þe maners here of þis lyfe,		Yis is ye maners of mans lyfe

3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
971 So at withouten yaim are noght	So þat withouten þame are noght	
983 Als men may her yise clerkes telle	As men may here þise clerkes tell	
1006 Yise worldes als it was goddes wille	Þese worldes all as it is godes will	
1065 Yus men worldly men men talles	Þise men worldely men men calles	
1078 Alle yose men yat ye worlde moste dauntes	As þose men et þo world most dawntes	
1080 And yai yat ye worlde moste lofes	And þai at þo worlde seruen and louen	
1188 Bot alle yat will folow him he ledes		
1223 And yo are ye grete stomes kene		
1253 Yoo are ye worlde ye fende and our flesshe		
1259 With ye right hands and with ye lift also		
1271 And yat yise clerkes ye lift hande calles		
1281 Ye qwilk yise clerkes noght elles calles		
1330 And til yise wordes yat some mispayes		
1338 Bot ye worlde prayses no ne bot ye onely		
1446 Alle yise variaunce to vndirstande		
1471 Yise are ye maners of mannes lyfe		

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
1500 Bathe þer worldes, I dar wele say,		Bothe ye worlde als men here clerkes say
1516 Of bathe þer worldes gret outrage we se		Of bothe yise worldes grete outrage we se
1522 Þas tas over mykel vayn costage,		Yat takes ouer mykel costages
1546 Of swilk comes þir gyses þat we se.		Ne swilk gise als men may now se
1564 And þa, þat with swylk gyses God greves,		And for yai with swilke gise god greues
1577 In Godes name, als þes verses shewes us.		In goddes name als yis vers sais vs
1581 Þis may be said be all þa		And yis may be sayd be all yo
1682 Ffor als þir clerkes fyndes writen and redes,		Ffor als yise clerkes in bokes redes
1830 Wha-swa wil of þer four take hede,		Who to wil on yise foure take hede
1832 Of twa of þere four, byfore I spake,		No corresponding line
2202 For þas þat men sese in gude lyfe ende		No corresponding line
2337 Als þa er þat now in heven duels,		Als yai are now yat heuen dwelles
2448 And þa sal be shewed byfor þe		And yoo sul be schewed before the
2451 Þan of þa þat þou mught here knawe.		Yan of yo synnes yat you here couthe kanwe
2471 Þir thre skils er gude to lere,		Yise thre skilles are gode to here
2477 Commes of our-selven þa er our-awen,		Comes of oure selfe yai ar oure awen
3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
1500 Bothe yise worldes I dar wel say		
1516 In bothe yis worldes outrage we se		
1522 Yat takes mycul vayne costages		
1546 Ne? slike gyse als men may now se		
1564 And yai yat with slike gyse god greves		
1577 Omitted		
1581 Yis may be sayd be alle yo		
1682 Ffor alls yise clerkes in bokes redes		
1830 Who so to yise four wil take hede		
1832 Of tuo of yise four before I sapke		
2202 Yat is all yose yat may here ende		
2337 Als yai are now yat in heune duelles		Als þai are now þat in heuen dwelles
2448 Yen schal be schewed vnto ye		Þat shcal be scheuede vnto þe
2451 Yen of yat yat yow couthe here knawe		Þen of þat þat þou couth here knowe
2471 Thise thre skilles are gode to lere		Þise thre skilles are gude to lere
2477 Comes of oure selfe yai are oure awe		Commen of oure selfe þai are oure awen

Morris

1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text

2 Additional 25013 / B text

2512 Bot yhit es he noght syker in þir days,
2548 Þer er Bernard wordes þat says:
2622 Til ioi or payne, als says þer clerkes.
2708 Of þir sex poyntes I wil spek and rede,
2779 Til þer twa may penaunce us lede.
2808 And þa þat þar war with hym out tuke
2816 Alle þir four stedes men may helle calle,
2872 Yhit says þir grete clerkes namly,
2899 And þa seven I wille here specify,
2902 Þe first payn es of þa seven,
2966 Of þes twa maners of payns of drede
3006 Þir maladies þar þe saul mar greves,
3092 To abate þat fire, þa thre er best,
3093 For þa thre may bring þe saul to rest.
3186 Þa er venial synnes þat may falle,
3217 Þan þa saules has, whyles þai er þare.

Bot 3et ful siker is he not yan
Yis es ansesme? worde yat sais
To ioie or peyne als sais yise clerkes
Of yise sex poyntes I will speke and rede
No corresponding line
And yo yat yore ware yat hym oute toke
Yise foure stedes men may helle calle
3et sais yis grete clerke namely
Als I fynde writen specialy
Ye first payne is of yo seuen
No corresponding line
Yus maladies ye saule more greues
To abate ye fire yo two ar best
Ffor yo two may brynge ye saule to rest
No corresponding line
No corresponding line

3 Bodley 99 / C text

4 HM 139 Hand A / D text

5 HM 139 Hand C / E text

2512 Bot syker ar we not in yis dayes
2548 Yise are bernard wordes yat says
2622 Til ioi or pyne als says yise clerkes
2708 Of yise sex poyntes now wil I rede
2779 Til yis two may penaunce vs lede
2808 And alle yat were yat in he toke
2816 Yise four stedes men may helle calle
2872 3itt says ylse grete clerkes namely
2899 No corresponding line
2902 Ye furst payne is of yo seve
2966 No corresponding line
3006 Yo maladyes yore more saules greues
3092 No corresponding line
3093 No corresponding line
3186 Yat are venyal synnes yat may falle
3217 Yen ye saules has qwyle yai are yore

Bot siker are we not in þise daies
Þis are bernarde wordes þat sais
To ioie or payne as sayne þise clerkes
Of þis nowe sex poyntes will I rede
To þise to may penaunce vs lede
Als þat were þer withinne with hym he toke
Þise foure stedes men hell call
3it sayne þise grete clerkes namely
No corresponding line
Þo fyrste paynes of þo seuen
No corresponding line
Þo maladyse þanne more greues
No corresponding line
No corresponding line
No corresponding line
No corresponding line
No corresponding line

Morris

3306 **Þis** twa maners of saules er save,
3358 **Þa** syns þat er cald dedly
3361 And whilk **þas** er I wil yow telle.
3362 **Þir** er **þa** hede syns þat er dedely;
3369 Ilkan of **þir** es a dedly syn.
3375 In any of **þir** syns dedly,
3392 For als men heres **þer** clerkes say,
3400 **Þas** ten er **þir** þat I now rede;
3410 **Þer** ten puttes venial syns away,
3411 Als men may here **þer** clerkes say.
3445 And says þat **þer** er venial syns.
3488 **Þir** smale syns Saynt Austyn telles,
3493 Over **þas** þat I haf tald byfore
3503 Þat he use **þa** ten thynges sere
3511 For **þas** syns þat he has wrought,
3576 For als **þas** þat passed, als I sayd are,

3 Bodley 99 / C text

3306 **Yise** tuo maners of saules are safe
3358 No corresponding lines
3361 And whilk yai are I schal you telle
3362 **Yise** are yo synnes yat are dedly
3369 Ilkone of **yise** are a dedly syn
3375 In any of **yise** synnes dedly
3392 Ffor als men heres **yise** clerkes say
3400 **Yo** ten are **yise** yat I now rede
3410 **Yise** ten puttes venyal syns always
3411 Als men may here **yise** clerkes say
3445 And says yat yai are venyal synnes
3488 Ffor **yise** smale synnes saynt austyn telles
3493 Over yat I have tolde before
3503 Vse ilk day yus ten thynges ser
3511 Ffor ye synne yat he had wrought
3576 All yat men dose here lesse and more

1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text

2 Additional 25013 / B text

Yo two manner of saules ar saue
Yo synnes yat ar calde deadly
And whilk yai ar I will 3ew telle
Yise are ye heued synnes deadely
Ilkone of **yise** are deadely synne
In any of **yise** synnes deadely
Ffor als men heres **yise** clerkes say
¶**Yo** ten ar **yise** yat I now rede
Yise ten pouttes venial synnes away
No corresponding line
And sais yat yore ar venial synnys
Yise are smale synnes saynt austyn tell
Ouer yo yat I haue tolde before
Yat 3e vse **yise** ten thynges sere
Ffor ye synnes yat 3e haue wrought
Ffor als yo yat passes as I saide ore

4 HM 139 Hand A / D text

5 HM 139 Hand C / E text

Þis two maner of synnes are safe
Þo synnes þat are called dedely
And whilk þai are I schall 3ou tell
Þise are **þo** synnes þat are dedely
Ilkone of **þise** es dedely synne
In any of **þise** synnes dedely
Ffor als men here **þise** clerkes say
Þoo tene are **þise** as I now rede
Þise ten putte veniall synnes away
Als men may here **þise** clerkes say
And sais þat þai are venial synnes
Ffor **þise** smale synnes seint austyne telles
Ouer **þo** at I tolde before
Vse ilk day **þo** ten thynges sere
Ffor **þo** synne þat he has wrought
No corresponding line

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
3626 Thurgh þas frendes may þai helped be		Yurgh yo frendes may yai helped be
3744 Bot bathe þa twa þe saules has		No corresponding line
3838 Þa cays er noght elles to se		No corresponding line
3890 And swilk er þas þat here er fre		and whilke ar yai yat here re fre
3940 Of þis maters, þat þus mas mencion		of yise maters yat yus makes mencion
3992 Of þir sal som falle, als yhe herd me say,	Of þir sal euen als I sap	Of yo sal falle euen as I say
4041 Þir takens til his disciples tald he	Alle þes tokenes als sayd he	Alle yis tokenes als said he
4043 Bot sum of þir takens has bene,	Bot some of þase taknes has bene	Bot some of yo tokenes has bene
4123 And noght anly oboven þa goddes alle,	And nouȝt anely abouen þase goddes alle	And noght onely obouen yise goddes all
4143 Þan may alle þas anticristes be calde,	Bot antecrist als sais holy writt	No corresponding line
4151 Wharfor I hald þir gret mysdoers	Qwarefore I holde þis grete misdoers	Whare fore I halde yise grete mysdoers
4203 For God spak til þas thre cites þos,	No corresponding line	No corresponding line
4297 For þa þat his disciples sal be cald	Parfor þai þat his disciples er calde	Yarfore yai yatt his disciplis ar calde
4329 And bere þa dede bodys about,	And here þe deade bodyes aboute	And bere ye deade bodies aboute
4360 “Þat þas þat God has chosen here	Þat þai þat god has chosen here	Yat yai yat god has chosen here
4387 And put alle þa to þe dede at þe last	And put þaim to þe deade at þe last	And put yaim to ye deade at ye last
3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
3626 Thoro yaim may yai helped be		No corresponding line
3744 And bothe yo alle ye sawles has		And both þoo all þo soules haue
3838 Ye keyes are not elles to se		Þo key es here noght elles to se
3890 Withouten dedly syn and fre		Withouten dedely synnes and fre
3940 Of yis maters yat mas mencion		Of þis mater þat mas mension
3992 Of yis schal som fall and say		Of þise schall sun fall I say
4041 Ylse tokens to his discipuls sayd he		Þise tokenes to his discipels tolde he
4043 Some of yise tokens has bene		Sume of þise haue bene
4123 No corresponding line		No corresponding line
4143 And all yo may ancryste be calde		And all þo may be ancriste callede
4151 Ffor thi halde yise misdoers		Ffor þi halde þat vs mysderes
4203 God spak til yo thre citeces yus		God spake to þise thre cites þis
4297 Yo yat his disipuls schal be calde		Þoo þat his discipuls schall be callede
4329 And bere ys ded bodyes aboute		Ffor dewels schalt euer? in þaire bodys
4360 Yat yose yat god has chosen here		Þat þose þat god has chosen here
4387 And put yai vnto ded at ye last		I put þame to þo dede at laste

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
4401 Bot with þas þat had Criste forsaken	Bot wiþ þaim þat had crist forsaken	Bot with yaim yat has criste forsaken
4405 For al þas men sal bere his merk,	Ffor alle þai sal bere his merk	Ffor alle yai sall bere his merke
4413 On þis four maners, als I haf shewed,	On þir foure maners als I haue schewed	On yise foure naners als I haue schewed
4480 Þat by Gog er understanden alle þa	Þat be gog er vndirstonden al þo	Yat be gog are vndurstanden all yo
4483 By Magog may þas understanden be	Be gog may þai vndirstonden be	Be gog may yai vndurstanden be
4485 Or þas er understanden þar-by,	Or þai er vnderstonden þare by	Or yai ar vndurstanden yar by
4491 Þir twa prophetes, als says som,	Þir two prophetes als sais some	Yise two prophetes als sais some
4499 Bytwen þa tymes þa prophetes twa	Betwene þase tymes þe prophete twa	Betwen yo tymes ye prophetes two
4520 Als þa twa prophetes sal þam ken,	Alls þese prophetes sal þann ken	Als yo prophetes sal yaim ken
4542 He sal do tak þa prophetes bathe	He sal do take þe prophetes bothe	He sal gare take ye prophetes bothe
4627 Til alle þas þat desayved sal be,	Til þaim þat disseyued sal be	Till all yaim yat disseyned sal be
4699 Þir er þe wordes of þe gospelle,	Þir wordes er of þe gospelle	Yise wordes are of ye gspell
4715 Þir takens er tald aftir þe lettre here,	Þir tokenes I haue tolde after þe letter	Yise tokenes I haue tolde after ye lettr
4733 Agayn whilk alle þir takens sal come;	Agayne qwilk alle þe tokenes sal come	No corresponding line
4743 Bytwen þa days, or þai sal alle	Betwene þese days or þai sal alle	No corresponding line
4747 Þat þa fiften days of takens sal be,	Þat þese XV tokenes sal be	No corresponding line

3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
4401 Bot with yaim yat hade cryste forsake		Bot with þame þanne þat hade criste forsaken
4405 Ffor alle yo schal bere his merke		Þat had forsaken criste and his merke
4413 On yise foure maners als I have schewed		And on þise foure maneres as I haue schewede
4480 Be gog are vndurstanden alle yo		By gog are vnderstande all þoo
4483 Be magog may yose vndurstanden be		Be magog may þat vnderstonde be
4485 Or yose are vndurstanden ye by		Or þose are vnderstande þer by
4491 Yus schal it be als wittnes ?????		No corresponding line
4499 Betwene yo tymes ye prohetes two		Bot by wiþ þo tymes þo prophetes two
4520 Als yo tuo prophetes schal yai ken		As þo two prophettes schall hem ken
4542 He schal gare take yo prophetes both		He schall gar take þo prophetes both
4627 Til alle yose yat disseyved schal be		To al þo þat deceyuede schall be
4699 Yise are ye wordes of ye gospelle		Þise are þo wordes of þo gspell
4715 Yis is tolde after ye lettur here		Þis es tolde after þo letter here
4733 Agayne whilk alle yise tokuns schal come		Agayne whilk all þis tokenes sal come
4743 Betwene yaim or yai schal all		Bytwiþ þame or þai sal fall
4747 Yat ye XV dayes schal be		Þat þo fiften dayes schall be

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
4748 Bot he reherces þa takens fiftene	Bot he reherces þese tokenes fiftene	No corresponding line
4751 Þat þa XY days contens.	Þat þese xv days contynus	No corresponding line
4758 Þe first day of þas fiften days,	Þe first of þese xv days	No corresponding line
4816 þus tels Ierom þer takens fiftene,	þus telles Ierome þese tokenes fiftene	Yus tell Ieromeyis tokens fiftene
4818 Bot for alle þa takens þat men sal se,	Bot for alle þe tokenes þat men sal se	Bot for all ye tokens yat men sal se
4837 Þir er þe wordes of þe godspelle,	Þese er þe wordes of þe gospelle	Yise are ye wordes of ye gospell
4908 Sal contend þir thre short tymes passand,	<i>Sal contene þis</i> thre schort tymes passand	Sal contene yis thre schort tymes passande
4944 Þa þat sal be dampned sal wende,	þai þat sal be dampned þan sal wend	<i>Yai yat sal be dampned yan</i> sal wende
5012 And make þa lymys semely to sight;	No corresponding line	And make yo lymes semely to syght
5017 And þus sal he do namly, to al þa	And þus sal crist do to alle þo	And yus sall crist do to all yo
5301 Alle þer takens sal þan be shewed	Alle þir tokenes sal þan be schewed	All yis tokenynges sall yan be schewed
5345 And yhit noght þas þat dus na gud anly,	And 3it nou3t of þase þat dose no gode anely	And 3it noght for yo yat dose no gode onely
5358 Þat sal be demed, als þa her worthy.	Þat sal be demed als þai her worpi	Yat sall be demed als yai ar worthi
5439 Alle þere ogayne þe synful sal be.	Alle þare ogaynes þe synful sal be	Alle yise agayne ye synful sal be
5469 Namly þas men þat knawes it,	Namely þase þat has knawen itte	Namely yo yat has knawen itt
5482 And of þa syns þat þai sal out-say,	And namely þo synnes þai sal oute say	And namely yo synnes yai sal oute say

3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
4748 Bot he reherces to kyns XV		Bot he reherces tokenes fiften
4751 Yat yos fiftene dayes contense		Þat þo fiftene tokenes contnues
4758 Ye first day of ye fiftene dayes		Þe firste day of þo fiftene dayes
4816 Yus telles Ierome yise tokens fyftene		þus telles Ierome þise tokenes fiftene
4818 Bot for alle ye tokens yat men schal se		Bot for all þo tokenes þen men sal se
4837 Yise are ye wordes of ye gospell		Þir are þo wordes of þo gospell
4908 No corresponding line		No corresponding line
4944 Yos yat shcal be dampned schal wende		þai þat sal be dampned sal wende
5012 And make yat hym semly in syght		An make þat lyme semely in sight
5017 Yus schal he do namely to yo		þus sal be done namely to þo
5301 Alle yise tokens schal yen be schewed		All þise tokenes sall þen be schewede
5345 And noght yo yat dose no gode onely		And nou3t þo þat dos no gude onely
5358 Yat schal be demed als yai are wurthy		Þat sal be demede as þai are worthy
5439 All yise agayne synful shal be.		All þise agayne þo synful sal be
5469 Namely to yaim yat knawes it		And namely þame þat knowes it
5482 And of all ye synnes yat yai schal out say		Of all synnes þat þai sal oute say

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
5484 And of þas þai sal þam þar accuse,	And of þase þai sal þaim þare acuse	And of yo yai schal yaim accuse
5522 Þe halghes alswa sal accuse alle þa,	Þe halowes also sal acuse alle þo	Ye hah?es als so sal accuse all yo
5540 Alswa alle þas þat has tholed here	Also al þai þat has tholed here	Als al yai yat has tholed here
5578 Alswa þa þat sugettes war til man.	And þai þat subiettes ware to man	And yai yat sugetes ware to mon
5756 God says þis wordes thurgh þe prophet David	He sais þir wordes þurgh þe prophet dauid	He sais yes wordes þurgh þe prophete dauid
5774 And noght anely for þa werkes noght don,	And nouzt anely for þase werkes vndone	And oneli for yo werkes vndone
5844 For þes clerkes þat gret clergy can	Ffor þus clerkes þat clergy can	Ffor yus clerkes yat clergy can
5864 And þas, þat may helpe and wille noght,	And þai þat may helpe and wille nouzt	And yai yat may helpe and will noght
5902 Gudes of grace may þir be,	Godes of grace many þir be	¶ Godes of grace may yes be
5908 Gudes of hap er þir to gesce,	Godes of hap er þir to gesse	Godes of hap arne yese to gesse
5910 Of alle þir gudes men byhoves	Of al þir godes men behoues	Of all yes to gedur men hehoues
5915 For þai despended þa gudes wrange,	Ffor þai haue dispend þase godes wrang	Ffor yai haue dispended ye godes wrang
5936 Ful many men lyfes here of þa	Fful many men here lyues of þo	Fful mony men here lyues of yo
5997 Of alle þir thynges men sal aresoned be.	Of þir men sal aresoned be	Of yise men sal yai aresoned be
6000 Of alle þir, men sal yhelde acount strayt,	Þus sal men zelde acount strayte	Yus sal men zelde acompte straitte
6006 And swa sley may be alle þas,	And so sely may be alle þase	And so sely may be all yose

3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
5484 Of yos yai schal ye accuse		Of þise þai sal hem þer accuse
5522 Ye halowes schal accuse all yo		Þo haloes sal accuse all þo
5540 Also alle yat has tholed here		Also al þat has thoilede here
5578 And yai yat sogettes were to man		And þai þat sogetes were to þanne
5756 God says thoro ye prophete dauid		God sais thurgh þo prophete David
5774 No corresponding line		No corresponding line
5844 Ffor yise clerkes yat clergy can		Ffor þise clerkes þat clergy can
5864 And yai yat may helpe and wil not		And þai at may helpe and will nouzte
5902 God es of grace may yise be		Godes of grace may þise be
5908 Godes of hap are yise to gesse		Godes of hap are þise to gesse
5910 Of alle yise godes men be houes		Of þise gudes men behoues
5915 Ffor yai dispende yair godes wrange		Ffor þai dispaendese he godes wrange
5936 Fful many men lyfes here of yo		Fful many men lisen here of þo
5997 Of yise men schal aresonnd be		Till þise men sall aresonde be
6000 Yus schal men zelde acounte strayt		Þus sal men zelde acounte stratce
6006 So sely may be alle yos		And so sely may be al þose

Morris	1 Rawlinson C 891 / A text	2 Additional 25013 / B text
6024 Þa þat sal deme and noght demed be,	Þai þat sal deme nouzt and demed be	Yai yat sla deme and noght demed be
6026 Of þa þat demed sal be and dem sal noght,	Of þaim þat sal be demed and deme nouzt	Of yai sal be demed and deme noght
6033 Þa sal wende til helle with-uten dome.	Þai wende to helle wiþouten dome	Yai wende to helle witouten dome
6034 First þas þat with Crist sal deme þat day	Ffirst þai þat wiþ crist sal deme þat day	Ffirst yai yat wit criste sal deme yat day
6048 Þat es, þas þat God sese here als lele.	Þat is þai þat sese here god almizty	Yat es yai yat sese here god almyght
6055 Als þas þat er fals cristen men,	Alls þai þat ware fals cristen men	Als yai yat were and also cristen men
6071 “Þas þat with-uten lawe uses syn	Þai þat wiþouten lawe kaunted syn	Yai yat witouten lawe haunted synne
6093 Þa þat of þair syn here wald noght stynt;	Þat of syn here wolde nouzt stynt	Yat of synne here wolde ?et stynt
6179 Þan sal our loverd til alle þas day,	Þan sal oure lorde til alle þaim say	Yen sla our lord to yam say
6182 Þir wordes þat er hydus to here:	Þir wordes þat er hydus to here	Yise wordes yat are hidous to here
6209 And say til þam þir wordes certayne:	An say to þaim þir wordes certayne	And say to yam yes wordes certayne
6388 What nede war þat þa creatures þan,	What hede ware þat þa creatures	Wat nede ware yat yo creatures yan
6416 For þa paynes er swa fel and hard,	Ffor þase paynes er ful felle and harde	Ffor ye paynes are ful felle and harde
6428 Ay when þai on þa paynes thoght;	Ay qwen he of þase paynes þouzt	Ay when he on ye paynes thoght
6435 Aparty of þa paynes sere,	A party of þase paynes sere	Aparty of ye paynes sere
6488 Þat couthe telle þa paynes proprely,	Þat coupe telle þase paynes properly	Yat couthe telle ye paynes proprely
6490 And sene þa paynes bath les and mare?	And sene þase paynes les and mare	And sene yo paynes les and more

3 Bodley 99 / C text	4 HM 139 Hand A / D text	5 HM 139 Hand C / E text
6024 Yai yat schal deme and noght demed be		Als noþer deme ne demede be
6026 Of yo yat schal be demed and deme noght		No corresponding line
6033 Yai wende to helle withoute dome		Þai wende till helle withouten dome
6034 Yos yat with cryste schal deme yat day		Þose þat criste sal deme þat day
6048 Yat are yo yat god sese here lel		Þat are þo þat god ses here lele
6055 Alle yos yat are fals cristen men		All þo þat are fals cristen men
6071 Yai yat withouten law yus syn		Þai þat withouten lowe þe synnes
6093 Yat of yair syn here wolde not stynt		Þat of þair synte here wold notzt stynt
6179 Yen schal oure lorde till all yos say		Þen sal oure lorde to al þose say
6182 Yise worldes yat are hidous to here		Þise wordes þat are hidose to bere
6209 And say to yaim yise wordes certayn		And saide to hem þise wordes certane
6388 What nede were yo creatures yan		No corresponding line
6416 Ye paynes are ful fell and harde		Þo paynes are ful fell and full harde
6428 Ay when yai on yat payne thoght		As when þai on þo paynes thoghte
6435 Aparty of ye paynes sere		A party of þo paynes sere
6488 Yat couth telle ye paynes proprly		Þat couth tell þo paynes properly
6490 And sene ye paynes lesse and more		And sene þo paynes all lesse and more

Appendix 6: THESE and THOSE in *Auchinleck Manuscript*, *Sir Ferumbras* and *the Bruce*

1 *Auchinleck Manuscript*

1. 1 Scribe 1

The king of Tars

Analysed from *The King of Tars*, ed. Perryman, J. Middle English texts series 12 (Heidelberg, 1980) line 1-500.

THESE

Þis wordes he him sent; (75)
When þe soudan þis wordes herd, (97)

THOSE

Bifor þo princes prout in pres (88)
When þo letters weren yradde (286)
& welcomed þo messangers (334)
Ozain þo kniges fiue. (1095)

THOUGH

“Wele better þei mi douhter were, (344)
þei sche were ten so briȝt.” (348)
þei þat sche made gret solas, (394)
& þei sche al þe lawes coupe, (505)

THEY

A douhter þai hadde hem bitven, (10)
þe messangers forþ þai went (34)
Wiþ þat word þai turned ozain (83)
& to þe soudan þai went. (84)
Þai com into þe halle. (87)
On knes þai gun doun falle. (90)
Þai seyð, “Sir, þe king of Tars (91)
þat þai com to his parlement (115)
& alle þai seyð wiþ gode entent (136)
þai were at his comandment, (137)
þai schul ben alle redi diȝt (140)
& whan þai were so at his hest, (142)

Of bateyl þai gun sett a day, (154)
No lenger no wald þai lende,. (156)
So wilde þai were & wode (171)
þai sette him on a ful gode stede (190)
Trewes þai gun bitven hem take: (215)
& when þai were þus at on, (277)
Messangers þai sent anon (278)
To þe soudan þai went þat tide, (284)
& þus þai tel him gan. (285)
Into a chaumber þai went yfers (292)
Gret ioie þai hadde, wiþouten les, (310)
þai welcomed hem wiþ glad chere. (322)
To chaumber when þai went. (324)
þai maden cri & michel wo (325)
For þai schuld her douhter forgo (326)
þat þai schuld bi her conseyl do (329)
To halle þai gun wende, (333)
Her sorwe coupe þai noman kiþe, (353)
When þai seye hir forþ fare. (354)
[þai seye it miȝt on oþer go; (355)
Into chaumber þai went þo. (358)
When þai were togider boþe to, (359)
Toform þe soudan þai hir sett. (390)
So lopliche þai were al ywrouȝt (433)
& hye þat will nouȝt so anon (1042)
No wonder þei me greue. (600)

Amis and Amiloun

Analysed from *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. Leach, M. EETS os 203 (London, 1937) line 98-598.

THESE

Wiþ-in þis ȝeres þre; (1257)
& or þis þre ȝere ben al gon, (1258)
“Bifor þis lordinges euerichon (1385)

THOSE

Þo tvey barouns, þat were so hende, (112)
þus war þo hende childer, ywis, (133)
So wele þo children loued hem þo, (139)

Þo hende childer in cuntre were, (158)
He dubbed boþe þo bernes bold (164)
So wiþ-in þo ȝeres to (217)
Þo bold bernes for to abide (278)
As þai stode so, þo breþeren bold, (313)
þo kniztes hende & fre. (327)
Þo bold bernes to. (399)
To serue þo hende in [hale]. (438)
When þo lordinges were out ywent (505)

To here þo mirþes mare. (546)
 Þus þo leuedis fair & briȝt (895)
 To saue þo tvay leuedis briȝt, (1097)
 He bad men schuld þo leuedies take (1214)
 & herd þo wordes euerichon, (1274)
 To saue þo leuedis tvain, (1398)
 To saue þo leuedis tvain, (1398)
 So wiþ-in þo ȝeres to (1525)

THOUGH

Þei he be went me fro. (369)
 Þei þat he wer wode: (113)
 Mi borþer þei he were! (624)
 Þei þat he wer wode; (1113)

THEY

Þai token her leue forto fare (107)
 In court þai schuld abide, (114)
 Þat þai were boþe glad & fain (124)
 Þai ȝaue her childer her blisceing (127)
 & oft þai þonked þe douke þat day (130)
 To her owen cuntres þai gun fare. (132)
 Ouer al þe lond þan were þai priis (137)
 Ouer al þe lond þan were þai priis (137)
 Treweþes to-gider þai gun plizt, (146)
 While þai miȝt liue & stond (147)
 Þat þai schuld frely fond (150)
 Where þat þai were in lond, (153)
 Þer-to þai held vp her hond. (156)
 Þai were him boþe leue & dere, (161)
 Þo þai were fiften winter old, (163)

Al þat þai wald he fond hem þo, (170)
 Þat in what stede þai gun go, (172)
 In to what stede þat þai went, (175)
 Þai gat hem gret renoun. (180)
 For þat þai were so war & wiis (182)
 In to her seruise when þai were brouȝt, (193)
 Wel hendeliche þai bigan; (195)
 Wiþ riche & pouer so wele þai wrouȝt, (196)
 For þai were so bliþe of chere, (199)
 Þe los of loue þai wan, (201)
 For þai were so gode & hende, (211)
 Ful richeliche þai were wrouȝt, (249)
 & boþe þai weren as liche, ywis, (250)
 When þai were redi forto ride, (277)
 Al þat day as þai rade (283)
 Gret morning boþe þai made, (284)
 & when þai schuld wende otvain, (286)
 Of hors þai liȝt adoun. (288)
 When þai were boþe a-fot liȝt, (289)
 As þai stode so, þo breþeren bold, (313)
 Gret sorwe þai made at her parting (325)
 & on her stedes þai gun spring (329)
 Ful bliþe of him þai ware; (342)
 & wiþ wretþe þai went atvinne, (398)
 Þus in court to-gider þai were (403)
 When þai hadde þus seyð, ypliȝt, (470)
 Þai diȝt him wiþ-outen dueling, (496)
 & when þai were to-gider al-on, (568)

Kyng Alisaunder

Analysed from *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. Smithers, G. V. EETS os 227, 237 (London, 1952-1957) line 1-388.

THESE

Þese vnderfeng þemperour (121)

THOSE

Ac þo men miȝt se men anowe (9)
 To alle þo þat han ben me mide (283)
 Tebes and al þo oþer londes (300)

THOUGH

None

THEY

Þai schuld it hele and ben in pais (20)
 King Alisaunder þei him were wo (44)

Þerfore no dur þai saunfaile (98)
 ȝif þai wenden þat Ich man ware (100)
 No cunnen hye of no shame (108)
 Naked þai gon wiþouten hater (114)
 Wiþouten lust of sinne þai strenep (117)
 Þat hye no hadde warldes manhed (119)
 Þo þai hadde of him siȝt (167)
 Þai liueden here a litel ras (215)
 Þai be lordles and Ich am ded (252)
 Al þai gunnen aloude crie (272)
 So michel so þai wolden haue (353)

Rouland and Vernagu

Analysed from *The English Charlemagne romances*, re-ed. Herrtage, S. J. H. EETS es 39 (London, 1882) line 1-500.

THESE

For þis tidinges (43)
 Togider þis kniztes 3euen (819)

THOSE

None

THOUGH

Þei þat he had in fiȝt, (624)
 Þei þat he were mi fo." (649)
 Þei alle prechours aliue, (812)

THEY

Þider he gan go. (70)
 Þai toke him þe letter & kist his hand, (74)
 Þai busked hem & made hem yare, (83)
 No feld þai neuer are; (106)

þan brouȝt þai forþ þe holy croun, (110)
 Our leuedi smok þt hye had on, (116)
 Forþ þai gun bring, (118)
 Þat þai wenden alle y-wis, (134)
 Þai hadde ben in paradys, (135)
 ¶ Þai tok leue at þemperour, (137)
 Deserd þai were after þan, (290)
 & amorwe grapes þai bere, (311)
 For paners þai gun sende; (313)
 And for paners þai crid þo, (314)
 Þai destroyd þurch godes miȝt, (326)
 As þai stoden in þe halle, (408)
 Ac þai no miȝt it finde nouȝt, (414)
 Þe bodi þai founde þore, (418)

Sir Tristrem

Analysed from *Sir Tristrem*, ed. McNeill, G. P. Scottish Text Society first series 8 (Edinburgh, 1886) line 1-500.

THESE

Þis auentouns as þai ware (11)
 Þis greues wexen al gray, (14)

THOSE

Of al þo þat þer were (203)
 ¶ Þo tomas asked ay (397)
 He clomb þo holtes hare; (422)

THOUGH

Þei morgan lord wes; (24)
 Þei men tristrem had sworn, (650)
 Tristrem, þei þou be þro, (778)
 Þei he were king wiþ croun, (937)
 Þei he wer wounded sare; (1223)

THEY

Þat neuer þai no lan (38)
 Þai spilden mani aman (40)
 A forward fast þai bond (46)
 Þer to þai bed her hond (50)
 Markers king þai fond (54)
 ¶ To marke þe king þai went (56)
 Þe kniztes, þai were hende (62)
 A turnament þai ches (65)
 Þai asked who was fre (71)
 Þai seyð þat best was he, 973)
 A knaue child gat þai tvo, (107)
 ¶ Þe trewes þat þai hadde tan (111)
 ¶ Þai busked and maked hem boun, (144)
 Þai lefted goinfainoun, (146)
 And out of hauen þai rade (147)
 Til þai com til atoun, (148)
 Her sailes þai leten down, (150)
 And knizt, ouer bord þai strade (151)

Þai dede as rohand bade. (154)
 And knizt, ouer bord þai strade (151)
 Þai dede as rohand bade. (154)
 Oȝain him gun þai ride; (180)
 On helmes gun þai hewe, (190)
 And play þai bi ginne; (321)
 As þai best sat and pleyd, (346)
 Out of hauen þai rade (347)
 Of lod þai were wel glade, (351)
 ¶ His maister þan þai fand (353)
 Hye seyden: "ȝond is þe land, (355)
 Þai louȝ and þouȝt it gode. (363)
 Þai witt þat frely fode; (369)
 Þai nisten hou to fare, (370)
 On lond þai wold he ȝede, (373)
 ȝif þai wist ani to finde. (374)
 ¶ A lond þai neizet neize, (375)
 O lond þai sett þat sleize (379)
 Weder þai hadde to fare, (384)
 A lond þai left þat childe. (385)
 ¶ Winde þai had as þai wolde, (386)
 He asked hem whennes þai ware, (428)
 Þai seyð:- "of yngland." (429)
 ¶ For dred þai wald him slo, (430)
 ȝif þai wald wiþ him go (434)
 "ȝif" þai sworn þo (436)
 Les of houndes þai ledde; (446)
 Þai token in þat tide (447)
 Bestes þai brac and bare, (452)
 In quarters þai hem wrouȝt, (453)
 To þe quen þo seyð þay, (1193)

Horn childe

Analysed from *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild*, ed. Mills, M. Middle English texts series 20 (Heidelberg, 1988) line 1-500.

THESE

þis seuen winter Y schal abide (532)
of alle þis seuen zere; (867)
of al þis seuen zere, (927)

THOSE

(Hende Hapeolf was on of þo) (8)
Malkan King was on of þo, (152)
Forþ þai zede þo kniztes bold; (1039)

THOUGH

þei King Hapeolf fauȝt fast, (199)
þ[ei] King Malkan wan þe priis (229)

THEY

(Alle were þai frely born) (21)
Lesinges on him þai lizt. (36)
Alle her pray to schip þai bere, (53)
& al þat þai haue mouȝt, (56)
Al were þai redi boun; (63)
(Alle were þai redi to fiȝt) (65)
On Alerton More al þai mett: (67)
Seþpen to Clifland þai rade, (70)
In a mor[n]ing þai bigan: (73)
Of al þat day þai no blan (74)
Sides þai made blo & wan (76)
þai toke anon þat ich pray, (88)
& now þai ben al slon; (126)
þe lond þat þai held of me (130)
Feute þai schuld him bere, (141)
While þat þai liue miȝt, (142)
Al Westmerland stroyed þay : (154)
Also fast as he may. (161)
'Bid hem þat þai com to me (163)
þai busked hem wel hastily (169)
Glised þer þai riden by, (173)

& seþpen to Staynes More þai rode (175)
þai ȝaf a crie for prede. (183)
þai durst neize him na mare. (216)
Stones to him þai cast; (219)
þai brak him boþe legge & kne (220)
þai fleize & durst nouȝt abide, (233)
To Yrlonde he come oȝain (235)
Make her ros þai wan þe pray, (239)
þai busked boþe niȝt & day, (250)
As fast as þai may, (251)
Houlac King þer þai fond (254)
þai schal wende wiþ me. (270)
Alle þai were in court to fede, (278)
Alle were þai cloþed in o wede, (280)
Al þai seyde þat hir [hadde] sene, (304)
A les of grehoundes forþ þai brouȝt; (346)
(So were þai ful fiftene). (426)
þai hadde frendes fer & neize: (437)
Wiþ þe king of Fraunde duelled he : (448)
Mani time þai gat þe gre (449)
þe king seiȝe þat þai wer wiȝt; (451)
Wiif þai tok & duelled þare, (454)
In Ingland com þai nomore (455)
Whiderward so þai went, (461)
Euer þai gat þe gre. (462)
þus þai duelled þer in pes (466)
To hem þat þai miȝt þe better be, (470)
& bad þai schuld wiue. (471)
Hou þai Horn bitray mouȝt: (479)
Horn gan þai wray (489)
Traitors boþe be þai!' (492)
þe king leued þat þai sede: (493)
þe letter told þat he brouȝt (700)

Sir Orfeo

Analysed from *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Lowe, K. A. 2nd ed. Dept. of English Language, University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1997) line 39-500.

THESE

None

THOSE

None

THOUGH

And þei þou best so totorn, (173)
Now, þei it comenci to snewe and frese, (247)
þei we nouȝt welcome no be, (433)

THEY

For auentours þat þai dede and told. (46)
þai sett hem doun al þre (69)
In þe orchard to þe quene hye come, (91)
þai priked oȝain as þai miȝt driue. (141)
þai made scheltrom in ich a side, (187)
And sayde þai wold þere abide (188)
And when þai al ycomen were, (203)
þai kneled doun al yfere (223)
For ioie abouten him þai teþ, (274)
Ac no best þai no nome, (287)

No never he nist whider þai bcome. (288)
Ac never he nist whider þai wold. (296)
Of game þai founde wel gode haunt, (309)
And sum astrangled as þai etc, (396)

Rigt as þai slepe her vndertides (403)

Guy of Warwick

Analysed from *The romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, J. EETS es 42, 49, 59 (London, 1883-1891) line 123-624, then scanned.

THESE

Þis armes ichil the 3iue, (1021)
Þis Almayns þai han ouercome, (1989)
Þis gentil kniztes hende & fre; (2276)

THOSE

Wip þo armes brizt & schene?' (863)
Togider smiten þo kniztes fre: (1980)

THOUGH

Þei he to Scotland suwe him scholde. (130)
Þei a man bar an hundred ponde, (137)
Þei he it wist, siker aplizt, (537)
Þei ich hire loue, blame me noman; (546)
Þei gret strengþe me do abide.' (562)
Þei he wer an emperour sone, aplizt: (716)

THEY

Al þai wonderd strongliche, (163)
When þai were fro chirche y-come, (197)
þai sett hem to mete anon, (233)

Al an-amourd on him þai were, (239)
Gij þai finde blaike and blo; (506)
Hij asked him where his iuel stode. (507)
In the feirest maner þat þai can, (624)
& fond to speden 3if þai may (625)
& alle þai wer bliþe & glade. (686)
& hii answerd sone anon, (777)
Þai weren boþe strong kniztes, (779)
Þai don hem in her wai sikerliche. (846)
Of rideing wil þai neuer stent (849)
To þai come to þe turnament. (850)
& when þai wer þider y-come, (851)
Þai seye þer mani dou3ti gome: (852)
Mani a knizt þai seye cominde. (854)
Hii? answerd anon: 'y wene, (864)
Gij wel gode socour hij? doþ (1976)
Thai 3iuen mani strokes herd. (9192)
Now hij had her way y-nome, (1983)

1. 2 Scribe 2

Speculum Gy de Warewyke

Analysed from *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, ed. Morrill, G. L. EETS es 75 (London, 1898) line 1-500.

THOSE

Fals witnesse is on of þo- (111)
¶ Noht one he, bute alle þo. (239)
¶ Noht one he, bute alle þo. (239)
Riht as i do alle þo, (557)

THESE

Þise sholen bileue wid þe- (84)
Þise bep þe þewes, þat i þe teche, (97)
Þise holi men alle bidene, (191)

THOUGH

Þat, þouh man haue muche katel (162)
Ac, þouh I hadde in my bayli[e] (289)
Þouh man be charged, silerli (468)
Þouh þe þinke, hit greue þe. (588)

THEY

Þan þeiþ don god, þat hem wrouhte (25)
Whiche þeiþ bep, alle on rewe.' (80)
To strong[e] pine þeiþ wolen þe led[e]; (104)
Þeiþ fallen ofte in gret peril. (170)
For þei schold hym þe better knawe;] (180)
To suffre here, whiles þeiþ liue, (184)
Hij sholen haue euere among (186)

How þeiþ liuede in wo and tene. (192)
¶ Allas! What sholen hij onne take, (267)
Wheiper þeiþ wolen, or þeiþ nelle, (271)
¶ hij sholen haue deþ wid-oute deiing (277)
Here deþ hij sholen wilnen euere, (279)
Ac to ende of deþ comen hij neuere; (280)
Hij sholen euere more duire (281)
Whan þeiþ sholen parten henne, (297)
Ful wel þeiþ sholen here weie kenne (298)
Þere sholen þeiþ noht ben agilt, (307)
Hij sholen haue, mid iwise, (309)
In tokne of o god, þat hij were. (354)
Off him þeiþ han al here leme. (384)
'Þe clene of herte, blessed þeiþ be;' (414)
'Þeiþ sholen se god' aperteliche, (416)
Off which þeiþ sholen neuere misse. (418)
¶ Þanne sholen þeiþ here, herkne nouþe, (419)
Þere hij sholen him sen also, (433)
¶ And þere þeiþ sholen se sopliche, (441)
Þat þeiþ deden hemselue make. (443)
For drede hij sholen þanne quake; (444)
Allas, what sholen hij þanne do, (483)
While þeiþ mihte in here liue! (486)

The Simonie

Analysed from *The Simonie*, ed. Embree, D. and Urquhart, E. Middle English texts series 24 (Heidelberg, 1991) line 1-476.

THESE

Þise opere ben to slouwe and feinteliche kunnen worche (40)
And þise ersedeknes þat ben set to uisite holi church, (49)
And napeles þise gode men fallen oft in fame (111)
For þise wantoune prestes þat pleien here nice game (112)
And þise abbotes and priours don azein here rihtes: (121)
Þanne wolen þise freres al day þider come. (176)
Þat ben þise false fisiciens þat helpen men to die. (212)
Ac whiles þise grete lordinges þus han ihurled to hepe, (445)
Þise prelatz of holi church, to longe þeiþ han islepe. (446)
And þise assisours þat comen to shire and to hundred (469)

THOSE

None

THOUGH

And þouh þe pope clepe him in, zit shal he stoned þeroute. (12)
Þouh he were þe wiseste þat euere was iborn, (21)
For þouh þe bishop hit wite þat hit bename kouþ, (91)
Þouh he wite no more þan a gos wheiper he wole liue or die. (222)
And þouh þe botes be torn, zit wole he maken hit stout. (278)
He fareþ in a while as þouh he hadde siluer ore. (326)
And þefore nis no wonder þouh a þe wolrd it smerte. (366)

THEY

God greteþ wel þe clergie and seiþ þeiþ do amis, (7)
Of alle men of holi church of what lif þeiþ were, (32)
Þefore doren hii noht speke for rising of strif (34)
And þe fraunchise of holi church hii laten ligge slepe (46)
Þat alle þe pore þat þer comen, on ydel sholen þeiþ worche (63)
And þuf þeiþ seruen þe chapele and laten þe chirche

stoned. (78)
 Also faire hii gon to bedde as househonde and wif, (82)
 Per bep so manye prestes, hii ne muwe noht alle be gode. (110)
 Hii gon wid swerd and bokeler as men þat wolde fihte. (114)
 And þere hii clateren cumpelin whan þe candel is oute. (120)
 Hii ridden wid hauk and hound and contrefeten knihtes. (122)
 Hii shold leue swich pride and ben religiuous. (123)
 Loke what loue þer is to God whom þeih seien þat hii serue. (132)
 His meyne is vnwelcome, comen hii erliche or late: (141)
 Hu mihte þeih louen þat Louerd þat seruen þus his men? (144)
 Hii weren sockes in here shon and felted botes aboute. (146)
 Hu mihte þeih faire forsake þat hii ne ben coueytouse? (191)
 Þeih shold chastise þe folk, and þeih maken hem bolde. (194)
 Alle þeih bep isworne holi churche holde to rihte; (243)
 And nu ben þeih þe ferste þat hi sholen assaille. (246)
 Hii brewen strut and stuntise þereas sholde be pes. (247)
 Hii sholde gon to þe Holi Lond and maken þere her res (248)
 And nu ben þeih liouns in halle and hares in þe feld. (252)
 Nu ben þeih so degysed and diuerseliche idiht, (255)
 Hii sholde ben also hende as eny leuedi in londe; (262)
 Hii ben degised as turmentours þat comen from clerkes plei; (285)
 Hii ben ilaft wid pride and cast nurture away (286)
 Gentille men þat should ben ne bep hii none iliche. (288)
 Hii kunnen of þe faire day make þe derke niht. (290)
 Hii gon out of þe heie-vey. Ne leuen hii for no sklaundre, (291)
 Godes curs motne hii haue, but þat be wel set (311)

Þeih bien londes and ledes; ne may hem non astonde. (327)
 Þeih pleien wid þe kinges siluer and breiden wod for wele. (330)
 Ac shrewedeliche, for soþe, hii don þe kinges heste: (331)
 Godes curs moten hii haue, but þat be wel don! (342)
 Þeih wolen bigile þe in þin hond, but if þu be þe warre. (344)
 Attourneis in cuntre, þeih geten siluer for noht. (349)
 Þeih maken men biginne þat þey neuere hadden þouht, (350)
 And whan þeih comen to þe ring, hoppe if hii kunne. (351)
 Al þat þeih muwen so gete, al þinkeþ hem iwonne (352)
 Ne triste no man to hem, so false þeih bep in þe bile. (354)
 Þat nolde þeih neuere stinten or a þe world were bishrewed, (370)
 Vnneþe wolde eny don a char, so were þeih daungerouse (388)
 Pride prikede hem so faste þat nolde þeih neuere hause pes (433)
 Ar þeih hadden in þis lond maked swich a res (434)
 Of eorles and of barouns, baldes hii were; (441)
 And nu hit is of hem bicom riht as þeih neuere ne were (442)
 God loke to þe soules þat hii ne be noht lorn. (444)
 Þise prelat3 of holi churche, to longe þeih han islepe. (446)
 Al to late þeih wakenen, and þat was muchel reuþe. (447)
 Þeih weren ablent wid coueytise and mihte noht se þe treuþe (448)
 Þeih dradden more here lond to lese þan loue of Ihesu Crist. (450)
 Þanne þinkeþ hem þeih muwen þe bet for þeih han more nede (472)

1.3 Scribe 3

The Seven Sages of Rome

Analysed from *The seven sages of Rome*, ed. Brunner, K. EETS os 191 (London, 1933) line 120-620, then scanned.

THESE

3if I mai, þis daies seuen, (350)
þis seuen daies i nel nowt speke (363)

THOSE

None

THOUGH

þei he had iwraththed 3our wif, (671)

THEY

And spak that hi all mi3te ihere: (130)
þai vnderfengen him wi3 cher blithe (139)
þer þai toke to gideres alle (151)
þai wolde make a riche halle (152)
Amideward þai fo[un]den a space (159)
þer inne þai set an halle anon, (161)
þei wolde proue in þe sexte 3er (183)
Leues þai tok, sextene, (185)
þat he niste four þai hid. (188)
To gider þai made gret solas, (207)
Fort þat þai ani founde. (225)
þai brouwte here to fore þemperour. (227)

Anon þai asked þe mariage. (230)
þai weren iwedded bi commun dome (231)
In chaumbre to gidere þai sete (257)
Gladliche þai dronke and ete. (258)
And quik þai com toforn him bo. (290)
Mi sone þat þai atire fair, (294)
I not bi waie 3if þai song (300)
Til þai come to þat inne. (301)
And in þai wente ri3t euene, (305)
And þe seuen wise þai grette (310)
His sone þat þai bringge him sket (314)
þai seghe þe constillacioun (325)
þai wald, wit and resoun, (379)
Wi3 þis word þai ben alle (387)
To riche bed þai were idi3t (392)
þai dede hem out of þat gardin, (405)
Euele þai gonnen him bisen, (493)
þai saide, here lordes heste hit was (496)
Anon þai ronnen in to þe bour, (497)
On þei se3en in þe grounde, (1107)

Sir Degaré

Analysed from *Middle English metrical romances*, ed. French, W. H. and Hale, C. B. (New York, 1930) line 1-500, then scanned.

THESE

But 3he mi3te þis gloues two (637)
But 3he þis gloues mai take and fonde (655)

THOSE

þo glouen 3e put vnder his hade, (197)
3he knew þo gloues þat were hire. (661)

THOUGH

And þei þat he me herte sore, (461)
þai he be strengere þan Sampson; (560)
And þei he 3be þe bare qued, (561)

THEY

Hou 3he mi3te here strengthe asai; (4)
Amidde þe forest hii abod; (48)
And seide þat hii moste alizte (51)
þai alizt adoun alle þre, (53)
þai wolden vp and after wolde, (57)
And þai token þe wai amys. (60)
þai moste south, and ridden west (59)
Into a launde hii ben icome, (63)
þat þai were amis igon. (65)

þai li3t adoun euerichon (66)
þai nist what hem was best to don; (69)
Hii leien hem doun vpon a grene, (71)
Fram þe Kyng þai weren isent, (141)
þai browt hire into þe ri3t wai (143)
þe liter child þai herde crie, (237)
For on hire honden hii wolde, (313)
And on non oper hii nolde. (314)
And 3if þai ben nowt so, (399)
Mani a iorné þai ride and sette. (425)
So on a dai gret folk þei mette, (426)
And whennes hii come ad what is þis þing? (430)
Boþe þai gonne to iusti þan, (507)
And togider þai gert ful ri3t, (545)
To churche þai were togidere ibrou, (608)
Wolde nowt þa[t] þai sinned ifere: (626)
To chirche þai wente wi3 barouns bolde; (627)
A riche feste þai gonne to holde; (628)
To bedde þai sscholde wende, þat fre, (631)
And sore þei wepen at here parting. (987)

Florice and Blaunche flour

Analysed from *Floris and Blaunche flour : a Middle English romance*, ed. Vries, F. C. (Groningen, 1966) scanned.

THESE

Bob þise swete þinges for blis (514)
Dreri were þis schildren two; (696)
þat þise children loket vpan, (725)
þise children to slen, iwis. (787)
ʒ alle þis oþer lowen þerfore. (811)
Nou boþe þis children alle for bliss (824)

THOSE

We scholle heren þo children speke, (687)
For he wolde þo schildren speke. (749)

THOUGH

And þei alle þe men þat beþ ibore (235)
Als þai þou were a masoun. (337)
þai hit be gold pur and fin; (381)
þai hit were worȝ swiche þre.' (383)
And þai þai seruede him neuer so faire, (554)
þameral, wroþ þai he were, (774)

THEY

Weping þai departed nouþe (15)
þai made for him non oþer chere, (17)
þan þai seȝe him ligge on bere. (18)
Nou forth þai nime wiȝ alle main, (19)
So longe þai han vndernome, (21)
To þe hauene þai beȝ icome (22)
Richeliche þai were idiȝt. (24)
Gladliche þai dronke ʒ ete, (28)
Al þai made glade chere, (29)
Herinne þai bouȝt ȝat maden swete. (49)
þai scholde winne þe mai so sone, (237)
þai mai hem wassche of þe rene; (307)
So heui charged þat wroþ þai were. (431)
And þai þai seruede him neuer so faire, (554)
Till þaie come þar þai two laie; (624)

1.4 Scribe 5

Sir Beves of Hamtoun

Analysed from *The Romance of Sir Beves of Hamtoun*, ed. Kölbing E. EETS es 46, 48, 65 (London, 1885-1894) scanned.

THESE

þouȝ þow him seche þes seue ȝer, (1319)
Ichaue leie þis seuen ȝare, (2001)
Þis twe kinge fouȝte ifere (2613)

THOSE

None

THOUGH

Napeles þouȝ him þouȝte eile (513)
No wonder, sire, þeȝ ȝe be wroþe, (1206)
'No wonder, þeȝ ȝe be agreued, (1207)
þouȝ he be bi-ȝende Ynde!' (1276)
þouȝ þow him seche þes seue ȝer, (1319)
ȝif þow wilt drinke, þeȝ it be nouȝt swet, (1421)
þouȝ is spere wer scharp igrounde, (3401)
þouȝ þow wost me take a honde (3547)

THEY

þai, þei
So longe þai ȝede to gedres te bedde, (49)
A knaue child be-twene hem þai hadde, (50)
Marchaundes þai fonde ferli fale, (506)
Forþ þai wente wiȝ þat child, (509)
Al mote þai be domnand deue (567)
Al aboute þai gone þringe, (625)
And hard on him þai gone dinge (626)
Here hors is fet þai laine vnder; (640)

þai were aferde, hii wer niȝ wode. (688)
þai were fain so to ascape. (696)
þo laide þai on wiþ eger mod (1004)
þei wente to þe king & swor oþe: (1205)
þai lauȝte him wiþ queinte ginne. (1526)
And ase þei boþe to gedere mete, (1747)
Wiþ here launces þei gonne mete, (1748)
þus þai leide on in boþe side (1755)
þai kiste hem anon wiþ þat (1989)
þei kottede here forers of ermin, (3721)

hii

Hii lete him pase. (456)
Til þat hii come to þe se, (502)
Schipes hii fonde þer stoned (503)
þe child hii chepeden to sale, (505)
Whan hii riuede out of þat stonde, (515)
Beues seȝ, þat hii to him ferde, (851)
And asked hem alle, what hii radde. (932)
And slowe Sarsins, as hii wer wod, (1005)
Hii lowe, þe scherewes, þat him gan wreie: (1211)
Beues him þankede & þus hii delde: (1333)
Alle hii gonne vy riȝt sotnde, (1399)
And er hii miȝte þat hors winne, (1525)
So longe hii han Beues driue, (1789)
þat hii come to þe cliue, (1790)

1.5 Scribe 6

Otuel

Analysed from *The English Charlemagne romances*, re-ed. Herrtage, S. J. H. EETS es 39 (London, 1882) line 1-500.

THESE

None

THIOSE

þose þre ich biseche þe, (85)
Sende seiztnesse bi-twene þo kniztes (570)

THOUGH

þau3 ich hadde skwieres twelue, (225)
¶ þau3 þou bringe wiþ sscheld & spere (269)
¶ þau3 otuwel speke outrage, (329)
þau3 þei hebben envie to me, (1027)

THEY

Alle þei scholden to him bouwe. (37)
& alle þei were togidere sworn, (47)
For þei herden alle tidings, (51)
þat þei wolden wiþ alle fare, (62)
Bote ar þei þiderward ferden, (67)

Suiche tydignes þei herden, (68)
þat þou telle me whiche þei be.” (86)
& þere þei stoden oppon her feet. (93)
þere þei seten oppon a rowe, (96)
þat þei nere a-boute no good, (177)
þei be-helden otuwel alle, (187)
& þei wiþ drowen hem echone, (201)
& biheld hem as þei zede, (203)
& whan þei bep to were ibrouzt, (267)
þanne be þei rizt nouzt. (268)
Certes alle þei sscholden deie. (272)
þei wenten a non to here masse, (393)
þer þei sschollen fizten ifere. (430)
þei riden to-gedire wiþ speres kene, (446)
¶ Po þei sien non oþer bote, (499)
þei wenten to-gidere al on fote, (500)

2 *Sir Ferumbras*

THIESE

þys
þys wytherwyns wilde & wroþe, (672)
þys knyȝtes styþ on stoure, (696)
 "Tak," he sayde, "*þys vauasours* : (1184)
 & *þys kniȝtes wip hure ecchon* : (1321)
þys messangers agayn þe morwe : (1496)
þys frensche men buþ bop lyther & fel : (1535)
 Ac *þys frenschemen an haste* : (1621)
 ¶ And take we þe heuedes of *þys Sarsyns* : (1662)
 þan were *þys lordes glad & feyn* : (2135)
þys buþ þe games of my contre : (2228)
 þat *þys wymmen waxeþ feynle*, (2505)
þys schreweþe Sarsyns þat wern ounwraсте : (2905)
 To *þys barouns sche gradde an hegh* : (3116)
þys frenschemen ne andurich ous noȝt : (3217)
 to *þys barouns seþe* : (ok :) (3319)
þys forty dawes ryȝt, (3324)
 ¶ Sone were *þys noble barouns* : (3365)
þys barons were ful sone l-diȝt, (3561)
 ¶ þan seȝen alle *þys barouns þat he was passed*
 þe pauyllons, (3599)
 by *þys maufesours of þe tour hem to fette to hure*
 secour, (3633)
 þe were *þys traytours gald & blyþe*, (4191)
 ¶ *þys knyȝtes prikeþ forþ on hure way*, (4395)
 þe kyng & *þys barons soure* (4700)
 þat *þys buþ crystes relyques owe*, (5068)
 ¶ *þys lordes were þanne confortid wel*, (5071)
 Duk naymys *þys relyques custe aȝene*, (5075)
 Ac *þys lordes hymen potte a-gayn*, (5189)
 ¶ To *þys barouns of gret honour Florippe*, (5535)
 On fote þanne fuȝte *þys princes boþe*, (5599)
 ¶ Wan *þys lordes had seȝen hur naked*, (5887)

þis
 ¶ þe kyng answerede *þis traytours* : (314)
 Wip þe strokes þat *þis frekes slente* : (674)
 be-twene *þis two baroun*, (716)
 after *þis Sarsynȝ chace*, (982)
þis noble kniȝtes tweye, (1006)
 To rescuwe *þis barouns gode* : (1008)
 "Oundo *þis prysouns on & on*" : (1310)
 ¶ þe wyle *þis barouns ley out þan* : (1348)
 Now let we be *þis Barouns ther* : (1426)
 & of *þis barouns y wil ȝow tel* : (1647)
 or *þis were al y-don*. (1999)
 ¶ *þis barouns þanne hir þankede alle* : (2130)
 Ac *þis barouns laid hem on* : (2287)
 for Al so furde *þis xij. barons* : (2293)
 & of *þis barons on þe tour* : (2374)
 & with *þis lordes þat buþ for-said* : (2534)
 Wer-with *þis damesels & we* : (2609)
 Noþeles *þis lordes buþ for y-wente* : (2632)
 ¶ Forþ now prikeþ *þis bolde barouns* : (2633)
 Wan *þis barouns hymen seep* : (2798)
 wip-inne *þis dawes tweye*, (2791)
 "Wel depardicux," quap *þis barouns* : (3061)

þis frensche men echone : (3125)
þis barons enchacede hur fon so faste : (3129)
 Wanne *þis barons lokid out* : (3283)
 To help ous out of *þis tene*." (3458)
 By *þis two skyles þat y say ȝow* , (3495)
 bot god now helpe *þis lordes fyue* (4701)
þis lordes of honoure ; (4702)
 þan her by-twene *þis walles bare* (5025)
 Ac *þis barons hymen gunne mete*, (5031)

þes
 after *þes wordes felle*, (428)
 betwene *þes kniȝtes tweye*; (626)
 ¶ Al so scharply *þes men of mayn* : (724)
 ¶ Wan þay y-seȝe þat *þes frensche men* : (958)
þes Sarsyns al wip strengþe, (970)
 by-twene *þes hostes two*, (986)
 with *þes knyȝtes of fraunce*."(1253)
 ¶ To a wyndowe wente *þes barouns fre* : (1342)
 & forþ hem wendeþ *þes noble knyȝtes* : (1507)
 forþ wende *þes kynges seuene*, (1550)
 wyþ-inne *þes moneþys tweyn*." (1857)
þes dozopers xij. of fraunce, (2036)
þes reliques fayre layde. (2121)
 ¶ þar fond he *þes lordes alle* : (2198)
 Byfore *þes barouns þan Flo[rippe] ther* : (2263)
 euerech of *þes barouns*, (2279)
 Now habbeþ *þes frensche lordes stoute* : (2321)
þes frensemen him habbeþ a-slawe : (2356)
 Ac *þes barons þat buþ wip-inne* : (2492)
 Wer-wyth *þes damesels of honour* : (2521)
 Sone þanne were *þes barouns diȝt* : (2613)
 among *þes frenschemen*, (2987)
þes lordes þanne with pride, (3149)
 Of *þes frenschemen on þe tour* : (3164)
 ¶ Ac as *þes Sarsyns prykede faste þay founde hure lord þar*
 ate laste ; (3719)

þus
þus kynges a-scried erld Olyuer : (858)
þus barouns gode & lel, (1770)
 or come *þus monþes twayn*, (1886)
 & alle *þus opre þat ȝe her see* : (2210)
 & *þus damesels for-werneþ al* : (2808)
 Ouper with *þus Sarsyns we worþ y-let* : (3050)
 Ac *þus lordes hem gunne to chace* : (3127)
 ¶ þan saiden hy *þus lordes alle* : (3317)
 Now buþ *þus barouns of honour y-come aȝen in-to þe tour*
 : (3411)
 " To ligge *þus her ys gret anuy*, (3455)
 An heȝ þan wente *þus barouns stout*, (3597)
 Ful wel of-seȝ *þus knyȝtes come*, (4427)
þus barouns buþ gode and suffysaunt (4885)
 Ac *þus lordes defendede hem welle*, (5015)
 To *þus lordes cam sche there*, (5080)

þuse

þus? þay prikede, þuse two baroun : (1012)
& now y hopede þat þuse had y-ben : (1174)
And yf y þuse viage leue þus, (4063)
þuse prykeþ faste forþ by-fore, (4387)
& let in þuse lordes gent, (3153)

þeuse
& þan schulleþ þay þeues stronge : (2361)
& wyþ hym þus þeues stronge (4957)

THIOSE
None

þese
"3ea : alle þese buþ nozt worþ a stre" : (2229)
& þese vytailles ther hap he cast : (2764)

þeese
"Doztere," sche saide, "wat men buþ þeese : (1350)

3 The Bruce

THIESE

thir

Thir angrys may I [na] mar drey, (III 321)
 And said to hir *thir* versis heir, (IV 248)
 Of *thir* twyn maners makis fanding (IV 691)
Thir wordis that I sall zow schaw: - (V 160)
 Quhar that ane vantis of *thir* thre, (V 422)
 And for he dred *thir* thingis suld fale, (V 425)
 Of *thir* thre in sa lull ryde!" (V 652)
 Of *thir* twa, outhir to fle or de, (VI 115)
 That we sall nocht *thir* dayis thre (VII 303)

THIOSE

thal (determiner usage)

With-thi that *thal* all gud men be, (II 270)
 Off all *thal* felloun sayis thre, (III 146)
 Off pith to fecht with *thal* traytouris, (III 599)
 Bot *thal* propheticis so thyn ar sawin, (IV 685)
 Or gif *thal* men, that will study (IV 717)
Thai nobill men and *thal* worthy (V 163)
 He saw *thal* thre cum all on raw (V 590)
 With *thal* wordis, forouten hoyn, (V 602)
Thai folk that weill twa hundreth wer, (VI 274)
 That it is [mene] betuix *thal* twa, (VI 347)
 Thomas randale wes ane of *thal* (VI 510)
 And follow it straucht eftir *thal* twa, (VI 587)
 He knew the kyng wes ane of *thal*, (VI 588)
 For he had drede of *thal* thre men, (VII 185)
 That, or he gat vp, ane of *thal* (VII 212)
 That *thal* thre tratouris he has slane, (VII 222)
 For *thal* thre men, withouten les, (VII 419)
Thai men assale his mastir swa, (VII 452)
 That all *thal* of his Cumpany (VII 593)
 For *thal* of cwnyngame and kyle, (VIII 17)
 And in his brothir Symon, *thal* twa, (VIII 397)
Thai twa the toun had all in vard, (IX 339)
 All *thal* thre dais before and mair, (IX 380)
Thai twa the land had in stering, (IX 510)
 And with him bath *thal* twa he had, (IX 735)
 And or *thal* of the tothir party (X 50)
 For *thal* of lorn full manfully (X 72)
Thai pottis, and thame helit had (XI 371)
 To men that oysis *thal* mysticis, (XII 414)
Thai of Irland war cummyttrit swa (XIV 298)

thal (pronoun usage)

Rycht as *thal* than in presence war, (I 20)
 And, certis, *thal* suld weill hawe prys (I 21)
Thai said, successioun of kyngrik (I 57)
Thai bar all othir wayis on hand, (I 62)
 Till at the last *thal* all concordyt, (I 71)
 And *thal* couth nocht persawe the skaith (I 82)
Thai trowyt that he, as gud nychtbur, (I 87)
 Messingeris till hym *thal* sent, (I 138)
 And fra he wyst quhat charge *thal* had, (I 141)
 That *thal* suld mak ane assemble; (I 146)
 In all thing, as *thal* wrayt him to, (I 148)
 That *thal* syne, throw thar gret walour, (I 451)
Thai war sum tyme erar may then les, (I 458)
Thai raid, quhill, on the fyften day, (II 17)

That so smertly has slayn *thir* thre (VII 482)
Thir with thair menze held thar vay, (X 48)
 In this tyme that *thir* Iuperdyif (X 788)
 Quhen all *thir* sammyn assemblit war, (XI 105)
 And quhen *thir* lordis had persaving (XII 367)
Thir war lordis of gret renounce, (XIV 143)
Thir with thair men ar cummyn [thar], (XIV 147)
 And with *thir* lordis so feil wes then, (XIV 521)
Thir war the worthy poyntis thre, (XVI 523)

Cummyn till louchmaban ar *thai*, (II 18)
 That *thai* come hame sa priuely: (II 21)
 And his men eftir him askit *thai*, (II 55)
Thai Said that he, sen zhystirday, (II 56)
 Than knokyt *thai* at his chamur thar; (II 59)
 And quhen *thai* hard nane mak ansuar, (II 60)
Thai brak the dur; but *thai* fand nocht, (II 61)
 The quhethir the chambre hale *thai* socht, (II 62)
Thai tauld the king than hale the cas, (II 63)
 And purches thaim that *thai* mycht etc. (II 581)
 And bot xi within war *thai*, (III 444)
 Thaim that *thai* trowit his freynd wer, (IV 11)
 Quhen this wes said, *thai* went thare way; (V 89)

thal that (an antecedent *thai* + *that* clause)

That *thai*, that war off hey parage, (I 102)
 As *thai* that saw hym said to me, (I 388)
 And *thai* that duellis at the logyng, (II 282)
 And *thai* that wenys to rest all nycht (II 288)
 And *thai*, that held on hors, in hy (II 362)
Thai that enbuschit war thame saw, (IV 412)
 For *thai*, that dredand war to de, (IV 417)
 And *thai* that na defens mycht mak, (V 96)
 As *thai* that war in-to gud will (V 99)
 And *thai* that in the castell were (V 337)
 And than *thai* that enbuschit war (VI 417)
 And *thai* that saw sa suddandly (VI 420)
Thai that slepand assalzeit war (VII 326)
 For *thai*, that first assemblit wer, (VIII 306)
 And *thai* that in the wodsyde weir, (IX 139)
 That *thai* that strinth schup to defend, (IX 150)
 And *thai* that war within the toune, (IX 364)
 For *thai* that war vithin, ma fall, (IX 376)
 Bot *thai*, that he send throu the toune, (IX 426)
 Bot *thai*, that war arestit then (IX 721)
 And *thai* that saw thame so stoutly (IX 618)
 And *thai* that mycht eschap, perfay, (X 81)
 Bot *thai* that chassit, quhen *thai* thaim saw (X 89)
 Bot *thai* that left upon the land (X 131)
 And *thai* that neir enbuschit war (X 241)
 And *thai* that war went furth beforun, (X 245)
 Bot *thai* that I wat vittirly (X 350)
 And *thai*, that ma war than he was, (X 447)
Thai that war vachis till assay (X 651)
 For *thai* that fellit or stekit war (X 688)
 And *thai* that war tharin ilkane (X 757)

And *that* that war of his menze (XI 149)
And *that* that ryland on thame weir, (XI 589)

tha

Thomas Randell wes ane off *tha*, (II 463)
The Erie Ihone wes ane off *tha*, (III 307)
[And] Akatane yet, with all *tha*. (XI 44)
And fourty thousand war of *tha* (XI 104)
Angus of ylis and but, all *tha*. (XI 336)
Of a fut breid round, and all *tha* (XI 365)
[Of] Desmond and [kildar] war *tha*, (XIV 514)

The Erll of murreff wes ane of *tha*, (XVII 506)
And aucht battellis he maid of *tha*; (XVIII 350)
The lord of souly wes ane of *tha*, (XVIII 472)

thir

Off *thir* twa that I tauld off ar, (I 76)
Be *thir* quheyne, that sa worthily (III 249)
So fure it of *thir* kyngis two ; (XIII 653)
With all *thir* menze fecht will I (XV 142)
Qwhen *thir* folk thus dicumfit was, (XVII 589)
And thiddir brought *thir* menze war. (XIX 47)