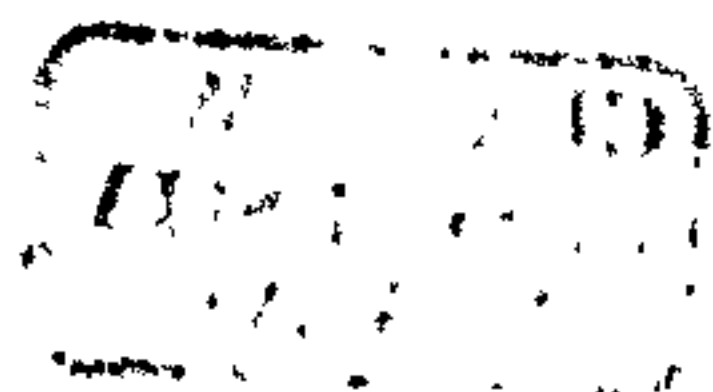


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**Studies in the dialect and palaeographical
materials of the medieval West Country**



THESIS CONTAINS

CD

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive phonological and morphosyntactic overview of the dialect materials found in Devon, Dorset and Somerset during the Middle Ages. Building on methodology developed during the creation of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, the present study involves the resurveying of sources mapped in the *Atlas* and, from the data gathered, an in-depth look at medieval West-Country dialect areas and diachronic dialectal changes. In particular, this study aims to develop new ways of analysing and profiling both historical dialectal and palaeographical material using computer-assisted methods.

The relationship between speech and writing during the medieval period is complex. This is especially the case in a conservative and, in many ways, geographically isolated area like the West Country. A survey of spellings found in the medieval texts localised to the West Country in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* affords valuable insights into the, often archaic, phonology of the area and also the rapidly standardising graphetic practices of scribes during this period.

Proceeding from the initial collection of graphemic, phonological and morphosyntactic information, it is possible thereafter, using modern and traditional dialectological techniques, to determine dialect areas as well as areas of varying graphemic usage. A new approach to the comparison of scribal hands will also be detailed in this study and submitted on a CD-ROM. In this way, many aspects of the character of southwestern medieval written language will be gathered, explored and explained.

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Manuscript Abbreviations

Add. 11748 London, British Library, Additional 11748

Add. 33758 London, British Library, Additional 33758

Add. 35288 London, British Library, Additional 35288

Albert 998 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Albert I, IV 998

Arundel 22 London, College of Arms, Arundel xxii

Ashmole 33 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 33

Ashmole 189a Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189 (Hand one)

Ashmole 189b Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189 (Hand two)

Ashmole 189c Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189 (Hand three)

Ashmole 1447 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1447

Bloxam 1008 Rugby School, Bloxam 1008

Cotton Cxiii London, British Library, Cotton Otho C xiii

Digby 14 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14

Douce 216 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 216

Douce 232 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 232

Douce 236 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 236

Greaves 54 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Greaves 54

Harley 2277 London, British Library, Harley 2277

Harley 2383 London, British Library, Harley 2383

Harley 2386A London, British Library, Harley 2386 (Amis and Amiloun)

Harley 2386M London, British Library, Harley 2386 (Mandeville's Travels)

Harley 2407 London, British Library, Harley 2407

Longleat 32 Longleat, Marquess of Bath's Manuscripts, 32

Longleat 55 Longleat, Marquess of Bath's Manuscripts, 55

Naples 13.B.29 Naples, Royal Library, XIII.B.29

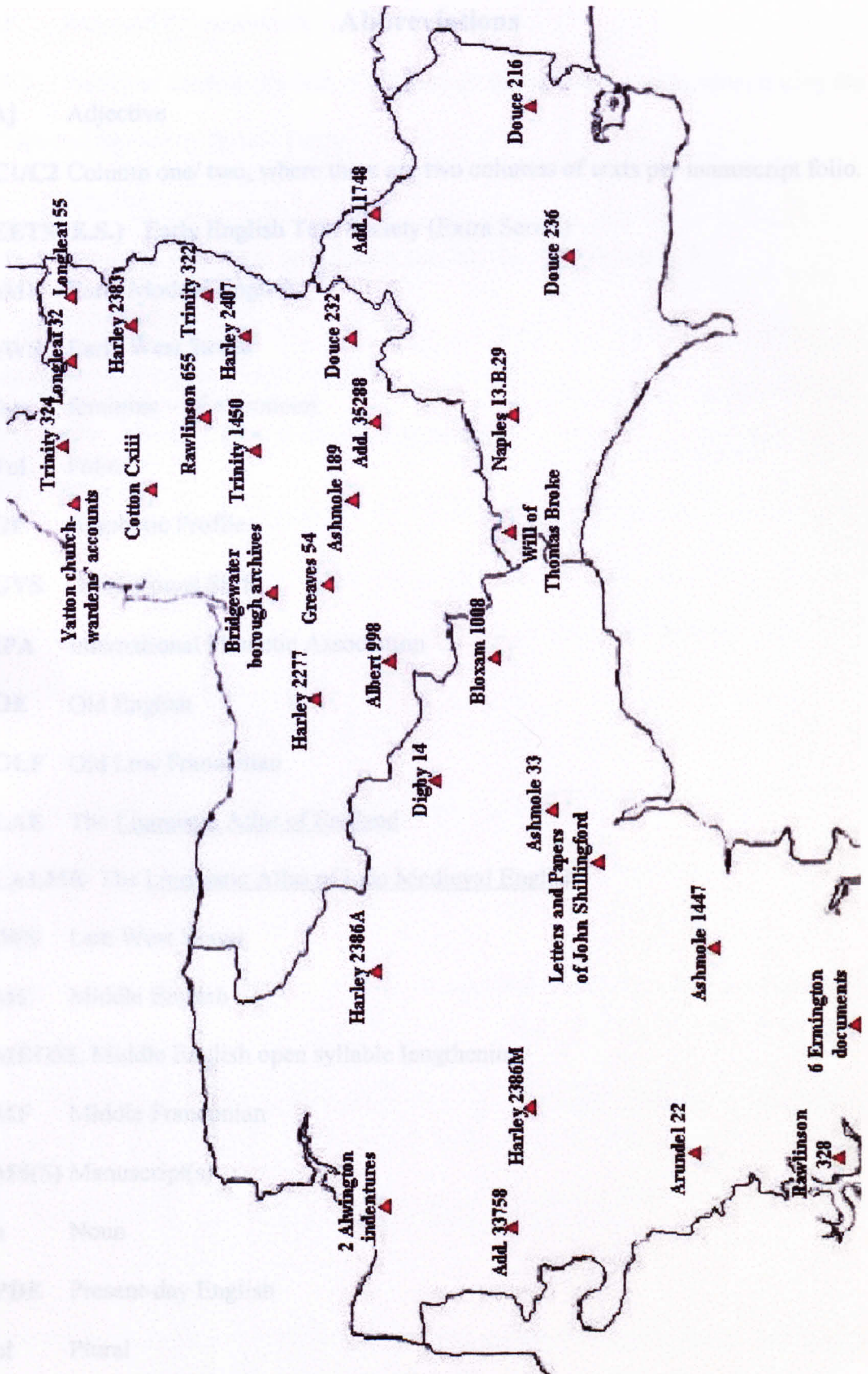
Rawlinson 655 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson .C. 655

Rawlinson 328 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson .D. 328

Trinity 322 Cambridge, Trinity College, 322 (B.14.38)

Trinity 324 Cambridge, Trinity College, 324 (B.14.40)

Trinity 1450 Cambridge, Trinity College, 1450 (O.9.38)



Map 1: LALME localisations of texts used in this study.

Abbreviations

Aj Adjective

C1/C2 Column one/ two, where there are two columns of texts per manuscript folio.

EETS (E.S.) Early English Text Society (Extra Series)

eME Early Modern English

eWS Early West Saxon

fem feminine – of a pronoun.

Fol. Folio

GP Graphetic Profile

GVS Great Vowel Shift

IPA International Phonetic Association

OE Old English

OLF Old Low Franconian

LAE The Linguistic Atlas of England

LALME The Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English

IWS Late West Saxon

ME Middle English

MEOSL Middle English open syllable lengthening

MF Middle Franconian

MS(S) Manuscript(s)

n Noun

PDE Present-day English

pl Plural

pret Preterite

r The recto/ right-hand page of a manuscript

RP Received Pronunciation

SED Survey of English dialects. A large-scale dialect survey undertaken during the 1960s and headed by Harold Orton.

sg Singular

SPSS Statistical analytical programme provided by SPSS (version 9).

subj. Subjunctive

SWME Southwestern Middle English

v The verso/ left-hand page of a manuscript

WS West Saxon

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to produce a dialectological and palaeographical survey of the English texts localised by LALME to the medieval counties of Devon, Dorset and Somerset (henceforth referred to as the ‘West Country’). A number of defining consonantal and vocalic features of the medieval West Country will be identified and explained, providing an enhanced description of phonology in this medieval region. The pronoun and verbal inflectional system of medieval West-Country written language will also be explored. Finally, the dialect geography of the medieval West Country will be described using traditional mapping and up-to-date statistical techniques – a process that should also test the localisation methodology of LALME. The thesis has five main sections:

1. A contextual survey of the medieval West Country.
2. An introduction to the theory underpinning the present study and an introduction to the methodology used.
3. A survey of the ‘phonological’ and ‘morphosyntactic’ features associated with the West Country throughout the ages.
4. A survey of the phonological and morphostyntactic data collected for the present study.
5. The identification of medieval West Country dialect areas.

Chapter one contains background material concerning the West Country, including a geographical survey of the area and information on possible medieval demographic patterns. It will be suggested that terrain, and settlement patterns influenced by this

terrain, have encouraged dialectal archaism in certain parts of the West Country and not in others, so that two distinct dialect areas have been created. Chapter one also contains a survey of the Celtic history of the area, the medieval education system, medieval literacy and the types of texts localised to the West Country in LALME.

Chapter two is a survey of written language theory and the theoretical background of this thesis. Methodology used in the present study will also be detailed, including two new approaches in the fields of palaeography and medieval dialectology. The advantages and drawbacks of these new techniques will be explored in detail.

Chapter three contains a survey of the phonological, grammatical and morphosyntactic features found in southwestern dialects. This information is derived from other surveys and anecdotal evidence from the Old English period to the twentieth century. This chapter highlights the conservative nature of West Country dialects and therefore the usefulness of recent evidence in order to support observations made in this study from medieval written documents.

Chapters four to seven contain a survey of medieval West Country dialectal features, identified using the data collected from the manuscripts localised in LALME to the counties of Devon, Dorset and Somerset. The survey includes selected vocalic and consonantal features, an overview of the pronoun system and an overview of the use of the verbal inflectional system.

Chapter eight synthesises the data collected in this study using a multivariate statistical technique called *cluster analysis*. This technique provides a means of

cross-validating LALME's localisations as well as identifying dialect groups among texts.

Chapter nine brings together the dialect areas identified in the study of medieval West-Country pronominal and morphosyntactic information (chapters 6 and 7) with the dialect areas identified using cluster analysis (chapter 8) and compares them with other historical and recent attempts at identifying West Country dialect areas. It will be shown that the dialect areas obtained in the present study, using medieval written language, are very similar to those found in recent surveys of the West Country, including a modern study where cluster analysis was used. It will be postulated that landscape and demography are responsible for the dialect geography of the West Country.

Chapter 1: Contextual survey of the West Country – geography, demography, literacy and education.

The area of study covered in this thesis encompasses three counties in the South West of England. Devon, Dorset and Somerset have been selected, as a sufficient number of texts have been localised by LALME to these areas to allow the identification of dialect groups.¹

Cornwall has been excluded from this study, as only two texts have been localised by LALME to this county. The dearth of surviving Middle English manuscripts in Cornwall compared with areas further east is due to the fact that this area was still predominantly Cornish speaking at that time. The two Middle English texts localised by LALME to Cornwall, which might show the impact of Cornish phonology and orthographic practices, have therefore been left aside for a future study.

1.1 The influence of geography on regional culture

Part of the interest of the West Country as an area for dialectological study involves its geographical setting. During the course of this study, the effect that geographical isolation has on dialectal development will become apparent. As Bennett states², the geography of an area and the dialect and literature found there during the medieval period are closely linked. This is especially the case in those areas that are remote from the capital during the Middle Ages. According to Bennett, there are several areas in medieval England that were sufficiently remote from the influence of the

¹ It should be noted that in this thesis, as in LALME, the geographical boundaries of these three counties are those that obtained before the local government reorganisations of the early 1970s.

² Bennett 1983

capital as to develop their own social structures and literary tastes. This same remoteness from the capital would appear to affect the development of spelling-systems, dialect and the book-production industry.

In an age when prosperity and population growth were closely linked to the quality of land; the particularly poor, infertile soils of Bennett's area of study (Lancashire and Cheshire in the north of England) had a unique influence on the development of that society. As a result, social structure deviated from the feudalism found in more prosperous areas of the kingdom. The inability of the land to yield a large amount of produce meant that it would not sustain 'a truly opulent landed elite'³, which resulted in a more independent and prosperous lower class. In the same way, the distance of Cheshire and Lancashire from London influenced their cultural development, making these areas independent and inward-looking. The differences in the social structure of the north of England affected those texts that seem to have been popular and the manner in which texts were copied and disseminated. Bennett identified the West Country as one area in medieval England that might be seen as a distinct region with its own particular cultural identity:

'In between the heartlands and the peripheries of the kingdom, several other regions can certainly be distinguished... The West Country, the West Midlands, the North Midlands, Yorkshire and the North, each have strong claims to be regarded as a separate region.'⁴

As with the north of England, the medieval West Country too was culturally and linguistically conservative in comparison with the rest of the country. Whiting chooses the West Country during the reign of Henry VIII, as 'a classic example of the alleged relationship between remoteness from London and resistance to religious

³ Bennett 1983: 9

⁴ Bennett: 1983: 237

change'⁵. This same conservative quality has been noted through the ages. In his novel Far from the Madding Crowd, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century novelist and native of Dorset, Thomas Hardy describes, albeit hyperbolically, the slow pace of cultural and linguistic change and the insularity of Wessex:

'In London twenty or thirty years ago are old times: in Paris ten years or five. In Weatherbury three or four-score years were included in the mere present, and nothing less than a century set a mark on its face or stone... Ten generations failed to alter the turn of a single phrase. In these Wessex nooks the busy outsider's ancient times are only old, his old times are still new; his present is futurity.'⁶

Hewett, a late nineteenth-century commentator on the Devonshire dialect, also notes the archaic nature of language in the West Country among the lower classes, claiming that:

'The speech of the peasantry of Devon and the adjacent counties is undoubtedly the purest remains of the Anglo-Saxon tongue extant in England at the present time.'⁷

There are a number of geographical factors that seem to have fostered parochialism and linguistic conservatism in the medieval West Country; three main factors were:

1. A southwestern location in Britain at a time when most linguistic innovation was coming from the North and East.

⁵ Whiting 1989: 3

⁶ Fielding 1993: 151 (chapter 22).

⁷ Hewett 1892: v

2. Geographical features, hills and moorland that isolated parts of the West Country from the main part of the island.
3. The type of demography fostered by the West-Country landscape.

It will be shown that archaic dialectal features die out last in the West of England, in particular in the West Country. Linguistic innovation and change during the medieval period came due to contact with Norse settlers and new usages tended to spread outwards from London in the East of the country.

The Welsh chronicler Gerald de Barri, writing in 1204, points out that whereas northern and eastern areas of the British Isles were subjected to the influence of Norse, the South West was never part of the Danelaw and remained, on the whole, unaffected by Danish dialectal features⁸. It is therefore unsurprising that the southwestern dialects were archaic to a greater degree than in any other part of the island.

Those areas investigated by Bennett in the north of England underwent radical linguistic changes following the Viking invasions of the late tenth century. However, a survey of pronoun-types carried out in the present study indicates that the Wessex heartlands remained remote from the Norse influence, (see chapter 6).

The specific effect that geographical features such as hill ranges or other areas of high or uninhabitable land have in inhibiting contact between communities, and therefore also linguistic change, is illustrated by the following comment from F. T. Elworthy -- a native of west-Somerset and a contemporary and informant of Alexander Ellis:

⁸ Madden 1847: xxxvi

‘...(Pickeridge Hill), jutting out to meet the Quantocks, contracts the great Somerset flat into a narrow neck, and at the centre of the valley between these hills, just at its narrowest part... we find the Saxon fortress of Taunton... The people of the little village of Ruishton... only a mile and a half to the east of Taunton, speak the eastern dialect; while in Bishops Hull, one mile to the west, they speak the western (dialect).’⁹

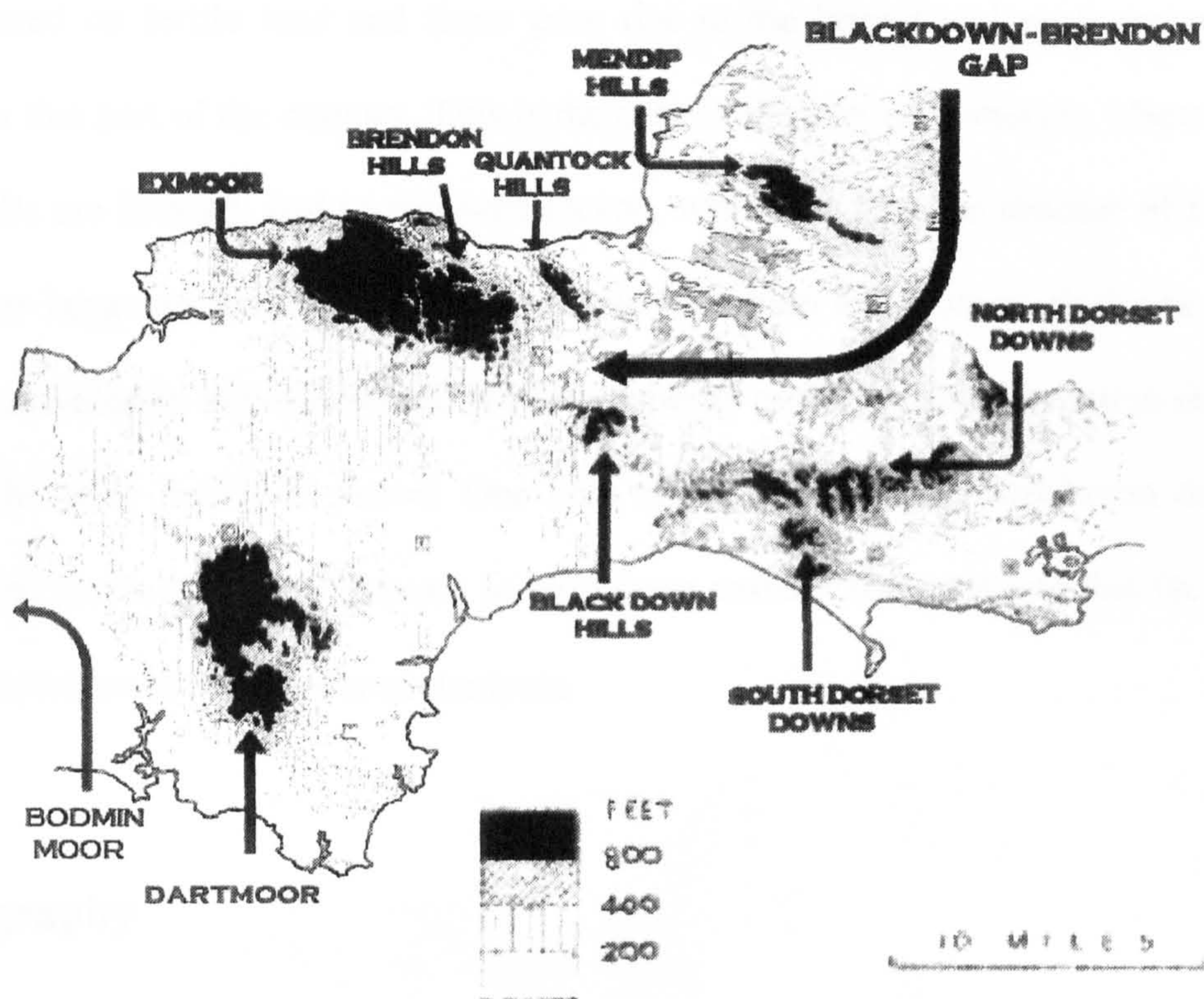
Although Devon, Dorset and Somerset during the medieval period were not as remote from the influence of the capital as the North West of England (Bennett’s area of study), the medieval South West was a region that seems to have resisted linguistic change. Hill ranges and areas of high moorland limited access from the peninsula to the main part of the island, making parts of the West Country remote enough to have a distinct identity and dialect. As Bennett explains, limited mobility fostered parochialism during the Middle Ages:

‘Naturally enough, at a time when travel across the realm remained arduous, even if far from uncommon, provincial identities were nourished by the comparative ease and frequency of short-distance communication, and the inevitable parochialism of village life.’¹⁰

Much of the West Country is a peninsula of land stretching into the Atlantic ocean. It is bounded on the north by the Bristol channel and on the south by the English channel. Land relief and soil quality are highly variable; although large areas of hills and moorland with poor, thin soils characterise this part of the country. In the West there are three main expanses of high land: Exmoor, Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor. In the east the Brendon and Blackdown hills cut off the peninsula from the main body of Britain (see map 2).

⁹ Elworthy: 1876:200

¹⁰ Bennett 1983: 6



Map 2: Hills and moorland in the West Country. Adapted from Darby 1967.

Such areas of high, sparsely populated land constrained settlement and communication between settlements. In the east, the Quantocks and the Blackdown and Brendon hills blocked travel, so that access from Devon to the rest of England and the capital was possible only through the Exe Valley and Blackdown-Brendon gap. The three areas of high land in the West are dissected by mainly south-flowing rivers. Evidence today and from the records of the Domesday Book suggest that small settlements began along these river-valleys, which provided channels of fertile land, the growth of settlements in such areas was restricted.

In addition to areas of high and infertile land, there were also more densely populated areas based on fertile land and these gave rise to the largest and most prosperous towns in this part of the country. This is the case in the east of Somerset, where Bath and Wells are located, and in southern Devon, where we find the diocese of Exeter and other large medieval settlements such as Plymouth and Totnes. Soil was more easily cultivated in these areas and led to prosperity and a greater population density during the early medieval period. One area of particularly high population density during the medieval period appears to have been eastern Somerset and this fact will prove important in later dialectal analyses.

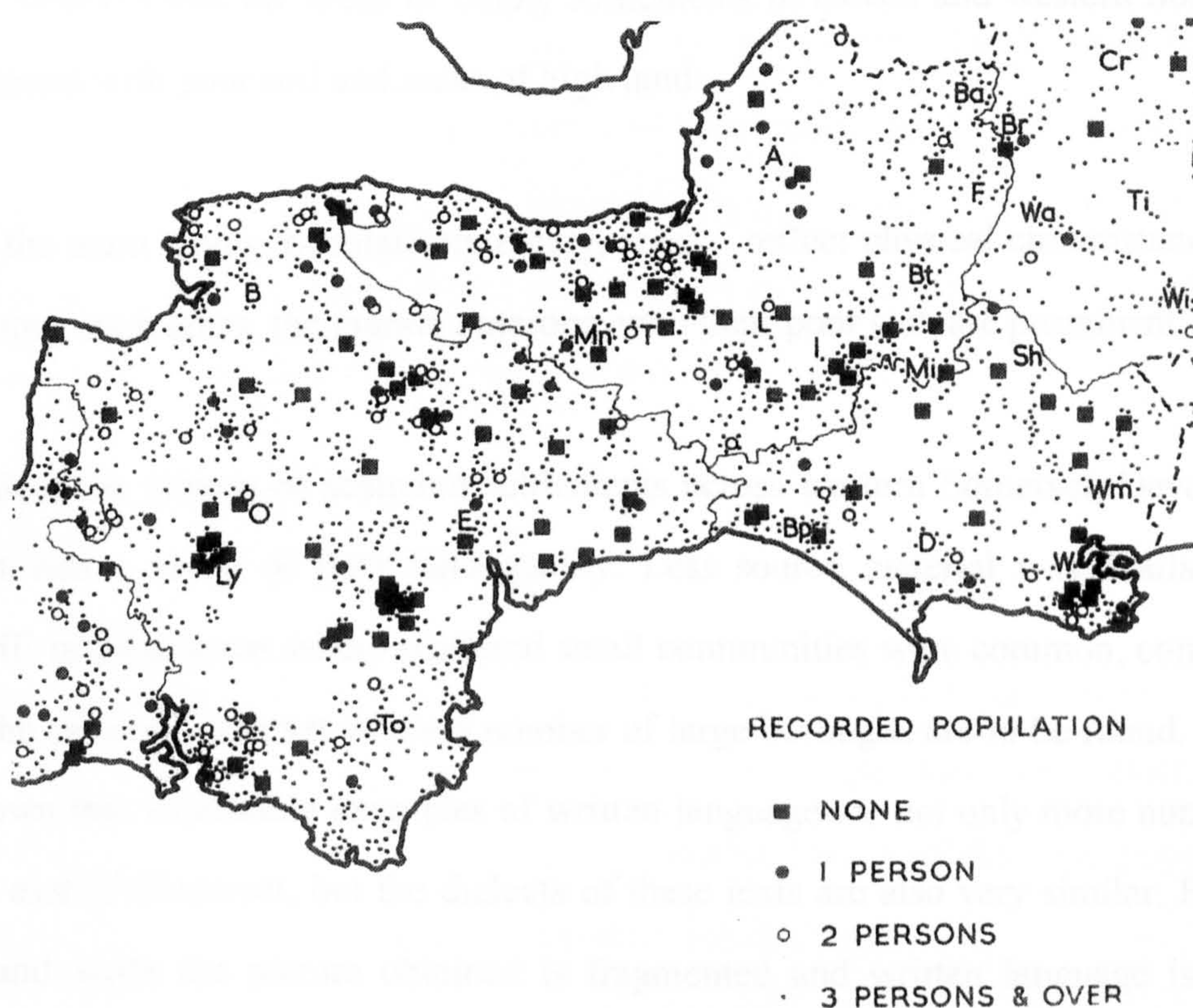
Demography

In order to find the most systematic record of the land productivity and population distribution throughout the medieval West Country, it has been necessary to go back two hundred and fifty years before the time limits of this study (1350-1450) to the Domesday Book and Liber Exoniensis¹¹. These are written records of a statistical survey of England ordered by William the Conqueror and were commissioned in 1086. Although this survey took place around two and a half centuries before the opening time limit of the present study, the information contained in it is useful, as it is a formal and systematic record of population, property and income, which extended to most of England and therefore enables comparisons between regions on the same demographic basis.

¹¹ The Liber Exoniensis is the oldest manuscript relating to the Domesday survey and contains valuable supplemental information concerning the western counties.

Welldon Finn¹² has pointed out that the demography of the early medieval West Country in general was very different from that found further east and tended towards small isolated settlements rather than large villages.

‘The most cursory study of the south-western material, or Eyton’s tables of Dorset and Somerset Hundreds, should have made it plain to anyone that over large parts of the peninsula there was nothing resembling the ‘vill’ of Cambridgeshire and elsewhere, but rather a scattered collection of isolated holdings, each with very few inhabitants...¹³



Map 3: The size of settlements in early medieval Devon, Dorset and Somerset, adapted from Darby 1967:35.

The size of early medieval West-Country settlements can be seen in map 3 above.

Darby notes that, in the West Country:

¹² Welldon Finn 1964

¹³ Welldon Finn 1964: 5

‘...many of the named places were themselves very small. Some had no recorded population... Their people and resources may have been included with those of other places, or their land may have gone out of cultivation by 1086.’¹⁴

Map 3 above highlights areas where settlements with small populations were situated. From this map it is possible to see that a comparatively large number of settlements had recorded populations of two or less, a number having no recorded inhabitants. However, this picture is not the same over the whole of the West Country; the east of Somerset mainly has villages with a population of three or over. Darby believes that the areas of empty settlements in Devon and western Somerset correspond with poor soil and areas of high land:

‘... the main empty, or relatively empty, areas... reflect physical circumstances. Among such areas, the granite outcrops, with their poor soil, are prominent.’¹⁵

Doubtless the pattern of scattered settlements across western Somerset, Devon and Dorset was a result of poor land quality. Less source material was available to LALME in these areas where scattered small communities were common, compared with the eastern Somerset where a number of large boroughs are to be found. It will be shown that localisable examples of written language are not only more numerous in the east of Somerset, but the dialects of these texts are also very similar. Further west and south the picture obtained is fragmented and written language is more variable. There is a striking correlation between these areas of empty settlements and areas where most settlements have three or more recorded inhabitants and the dialect areas obtained in this study.

¹⁴ Darby 1967: 358

¹⁵ Darby 1967: 360

Dorset

The early medieval demography of Dorset corresponded with its hill and heath landscape. A band of chalk downs that run across the central area of Dorset produces thin soils; these downs are dissected by the relatively fertile land of river valleys, along which many villages were located in the early Middle Ages. The most populous area of Dorset during the early Middle Ages appears to have been on the tip of the south coast; a low-lying area that had practically no woodland at the time, but plenty of meadow and pasture land.¹⁶

It is tempting to correlate the low population density of early (and by extrapolation, late) medieval Dorset with the sparseness of localisable literary and documentary material in this area. Of the five texts localisable to late medieval Dorset, only one is of any length. This fact places limits on the ability of the present study to draw firm conclusions about the dialectal character of medieval Dorset.

Somerset

The least densely populated area of Somerset during the early Middle Ages was the Exmoor region in the west of the county. Most of this region lies above 800ft and in this difficult landscape, with very little cultivatable land available, the population density for this region was very low in the early Middle Ages.

The largest settlements in Somerset were found in the east of the country in areas that are fewer than 100 feet above sea level.¹⁷ Settlements in the east were large and prosperous, as can be seen from the existence of a string of boroughs located along the eastern margin of the county from the Bristol channel to Dorset. These are

¹⁶ Darby 1967: 105 – 110.

¹⁷ Darby 1967: 172

Bath,¹⁸ Brunton, Frome and Milborne Port. This eastern area is of particular interest in the present study. It would seem that the relatively dense population and the existence of a number of boroughs led to greater contact with the population of the rest of the south of England and therefore a more advanced state of standardisation in written and perhaps also in spoken language.

Darby draws attention to the marked contrast between the east and west of Somerset, pointing out that there are far more names recorded for the area west of the river Parrett.¹⁹ Far from indicating that the population was greater in the western half of Somerset, this tends to indicate that a greater number of small settlements could be found as opposed to more populous, larger villages in the east. Darby points out that in the western area of Somerset the terrain did not encourage the growth of nucleated villages:

‘The tendency in the west is to form hamlets and isolated farms: the number of separate settlements is accordingly large, but each supports only a small population.’²⁰

It would appear that this pattern of dispersion in western Somerset and agglomeration in eastern Somerset has been perpetuated right up to the present day.²¹

Devon

Those parts of the Dartmoor region of Devon above 600ft, much of which was covered by forest, were almost completely unpopulated during the early Middle

¹⁸ Located in the county of Avon since 1974.

¹⁹ Darby 1967: 147

²⁰ Darby 1967: 147

²¹ Swainson 1944

Ages. Such low population densities were likewise found in northern Devon in Exmoor.

The most populous areas in Devon were again those less than 100ft above sea level, such as the stretch of New Red Sandstone land that was and is the richest agricultural land in the southwest of England.²² It is in this area that Exeter is located on the river Exe. Exeter was one of five boroughs found in Devon during the early medieval period, including Barnstaple, Lydford, Okehampton and Totnes. As with western Somerset, the hill and heath landscape of Devon, interspersed with fertile valleys, appears to have given rise to dispersed rather than agglomerative settlements.

It might be asserted that the linguistic conservatism often noted in the West Country is a product of its landscape and resulting demography. Recent sociolinguistic studies have suggested that innovation and change are less likely to occur in such 'peripheral' areas:

'...within a particular language, some dialects of the language are innovative, whereas others are conservative. The conservative dialects are often (but not always) regionally peripheral, and therefore likely to be relatively strong-tie communities that are less exposed than centrally located dialects to mainstream norms.'²³

The strong ties and independent culture of a peripheral area within a country actually prevent changes from taking place. As will be shown later on in this study, areas of dense population within peripheral parts of a country, where many towns or cities exist, are more likely to undergo linguistic change even when the surrounding rural areas do not. This is due to the weak social ties that are fostered in areas of dense

²² Edmonds 1975: 2

²³ Milroy 1992: 196

settlement such as towns and cities. Therefore, the types of settlement that resulted from the terrain of the West Country have also had an effect on its ability to undergo linguistic change. Where urban areas foster linguistic change, dispersed settlements tend to resist it and the pattern of settlement across most of the counties in the West Country was that of dispersion. Although there is no direct evidence of social ties in parts of the medieval West Country, sociolinguistic theory can be used to extrapolate from demographic information.

Not only was the West Country the last stronghold of the Cornish speaking Britons, it has also been characterised by dialectal archaism from the earliest periods of Anglo-Saxon habitation to the present day. It is by failing to change rather than by innovation that the dialect of the medieval West Country becomes distinctive. It is possible that this is linked to the geographical remoteness of the West Country from the linguistic innovations that were spreading from the north and east of England, as well as its comparative remoteness from the capital. The existence of certain geographical features that isolate part of the peninsula from the main body of the island also played a role in creating the linguistic conservatism in Devonshire and western Somerset in particular.

The introspective character of West-Country culture is similarly demonstrated in an appropriation of and interest in Celtic legend; it is possible to find a proportionally significant number of Arthurian texts among the romances localisable to the West Country. This interest in the history or pseudo-history of the West Country is undoubtedly part of the construction of regional identity and this will be discussed in detail in the following sections 1.2 and 1.3.

1.2 Medieval literacy and education in the West Country

In this section medieval literacy will be discussed by way of an introduction to the types of texts found in the medieval West Country, but also in order to explore the ways in which written language was learned at that time. An understanding of primary education during the medieval period is fundamental to the study of medieval written language. The following aspects of medieval literacy will therefore be considered in this chapter:

- The motivation behind medieval literacy.
- The different types of education available during the medieval period.
- The different types of text that belong to various groups of medieval literates.

For the greater part of the medieval period, education was designed to provide literate candidates for the priesthood and boys to help with daily religious devotions, but also increasingly to provide clerks to deal with secular administration. The development of cities or, more specifically, the administration that was becoming increasingly important in day-to-day city life, created the demand for literate workers, while the churches supplied an education to those who wished to be clerks and priests. Once a boy had a primary education, he could go on to a Latin grammar school and perhaps enter the priesthood or go on to work in government administration or law.

Types of literacy

Literacy during the medieval period was class-conditioned; a person's ability to read would be dependent on their status, the type of career open to them and also on the

traditions of their class. It is possible to distinguish four tiers of literacy in medieval society:

- Religious
- Administrative
- Cultivated
- Practical

The primary historical function of literacy was religious. Anglo-Saxon and Latin literacy had existed in England since the Dark Ages, when monasteries were the great European centres of learning. However, increasing vernacular literacy in the Middle Ages was undoubtedly a result of the development of bureaucracy under Norman rule. As Clanchy states:

‘The main contention of *From Memory to Written Record* is that lay literacy grew out of bureaucracy, rather than from any abstract desire for education or literature. The demands of the Exchequer and courts or law compelled knights in the shires and burgesses in the town to create lesser bureaucracies of their own.’²⁴

Beyond the necessity of understanding and managing one’s affairs, there was the desire among the gentry and merchants to secure a future for those children who could not be provided for by the estate. The new bureaucracies created a potential for employment for many members of the middle and upper class, as Orme points out:

‘(the gentle class) tried to place their children, when it was impossible to provide for them out of the family lands, in other careers which would give them a reasonable standard of life and the chance of self-advancement. Many

²⁴ Clanchy 1993: 19

were sent to school to be fitted for ecclesiastical careers or later, perhaps, to be trained as lawyers and administrators'.²⁵

In addition to economic considerations, literacy played an important part in the lives of the nobility and this was the case to a greater extent as social mobility increased. As Orme shows,²⁶ the nobility were still a military class and this affected every part of their lives including their leisure. This military aspect of aristocratic identity could manifest itself actively in sport and hunting, but increasingly it was a passive interest in tales of deeds of arms and chivalry. The incentive to establish the romance as an integral part of the culture of the nobility increased as the middle classes began to gain positions of authority at court. As the ability to read allowed clerks to climb the social ladder, so the aristocracy began to emphasise the need for knowledge of knightly conduct and to encode it in their literature. In doing so, the nobility created a new distinction within the ability to read; that of practical and cultivated literacy.²⁷ For this reason romances could be found amongst the possessions of anyone serious about improving their social standing.

For the merchants and craftsmen of the medieval period, the ability to read and write in the vernacular was often more of a practical necessity. It is unlikely that this extended to the reading of Latin, although learning French might have been necessary for merchants as, increasingly, only the children of the upper classes were fluent in French.²⁸ A number of verse texts aimed at teaching French to young children have survived, testifying to the increasing dominance of an English vernacular.²⁹

²⁵ Orme 1973:30

²⁶ Orme 1973: 30

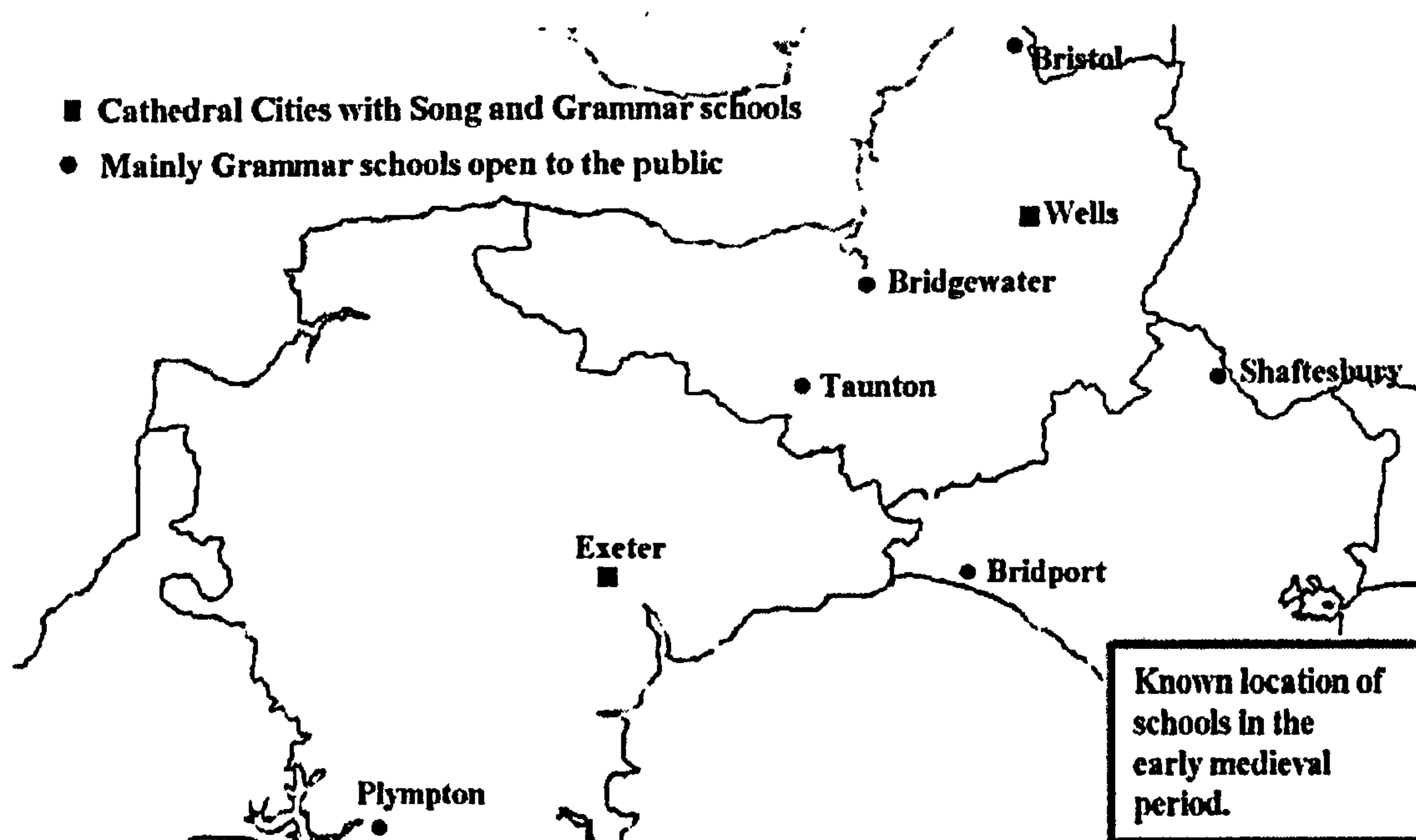
²⁷ Turner 1988: 1-3

²⁸ Orme 1973: 47

²⁹ One such text, Trinity 324, is localised in LALME to northern Somerset, (please see map one).

The lowest classes, the bound tenants of lands owned by the nobility and church, belonged to their lords as did their children. Educating the son of a villein was carried out at the discretion of the lord who owned him.³⁰ The completion of his education and perhaps entry into the priesthood would require his emancipation and would perhaps cause lands to be left tenantless in the event of the death of the father. Eldest sons were therefore seldom given an education and usually remained unfree.

The medieval education system



Map 4: Known location of schools in the medieval West Country. Adapted from Orme 1976: 5.

If the literacy of a region in the Middle Ages is to be considered and, particularly the way in which spelling and reading are taught, it is important to look at what types of education were available during this time. Elementary schools for children probably only became common towards the end of the Middle Ages³¹ and it would appear that at these schools reading and spelling were learned phonically. This can be seen not

³⁰ Orme 1973: 50

³¹ Orme 1973: 3

only by the evidence of the great variety of phonic spellings that can be found in medieval texts, but also due to the survival of an established alphabet, often called a *cross-row*; with reference to its prefatory symbol. The cross-row was set out as follows:

+ A.a.b.c.d.e.f.g.h.i.k
 l.m.n.o.p.q.r.]s.t.
 v.u.x.y.z.&.9. ∴ .est amen³²

Figure 1: The medieval cross-row alphabet

This alphabet was often written on the walls of teaching rooms and at the beginning of primers. In the absence of any specially created elementary teaching books, Orme suggests that primers -- containing basic prayers and simple liturgical devotions and written in a large, clear hand -- were used as elementary text books for those learning to read.³³

The cross-row was, of course, borrowed from the teaching of the Latin alphabet; English written language had two more symbols, one derived from Latin, the other a survivor from the Germanic *futhork*. An awareness of the presence of these two extra letters not found in the cross-row is demonstrated in a copy of Mandeville's Travels localised to eastern Devon:

‘... we haue *in* oure langage + speche *in*
 engklonde ii lettres mo þan buþ *in* þe abc
 þat is sai þis to signis þ. 3. whiche
 buþ called þorn + 3eoure.’³⁴

³² Orme 1973: 61

³³ Orme 1973: 62

³⁴ Taken from Bloxam 1008: folio 14v lines 11-14

Children often began their Latin education in Song schools, where, through plainsong, they learned to read and pronounce Latin. Bede's account of the Bishop of Hexam's curing of a boy's dumbness probably allows an insight into the teaching of reading to Anglo-Saxons and it is likely that this kind of system was still being used to teach during the medieval period. Bede reports that the bishop started by getting the boy to name the letters of the alphabet and then he proceeded to syllables, thereafter he was made to repeat sentences.³⁵ It would seem likely that the bishop was adapting current teaching methods for reading in order to help the boy to speak. Therefore this account is of great importance in uncovering the elementary education of readers during the Old and Middle English period.

After learning basic pronunciation, children progressed to Grammar schools, where Latin was taught at a more advanced level. A number of Latin textbooks survive from these schools, instructing boys how to compose prose and poetry in Latin. Books of English sentences with Latin translations can also be found dating to this era; these were called 'vulgaria' and were also used in grammar schools.³⁶ One such text, belonging to a man named Walter Pollard, is localised in LALME to Plymouth (Rawlinson 328). The ability to read and write Latin opened up many career paths; parliamentary records were kept in Latin until the first part of the fourteenth century and so an administrative post could be gained after learning Latin at a Grammar school. Latin was needed for the practice of Law and apprentice scribes were also required to be able to read and write Latin, as they were often required to copy it.³⁷ After a grammar school education, it was also possible to proceed to more specialised schools or universities in order to concentrate on Law, Theology or the Arts, astrology and medicine. It would seem that achieving this level of education was one way to obtain an important administrative post or a high position among the clergy.

³⁵ King 1992: 731

³⁶ Orme 1973: 33

³⁷ Orme 1973: 50

1.2.1 Extant medieval southwestern texts

In the previous sections types of medieval literacy and education have been considered. In the present section, those texts that have been localised to the medieval West Country in LALME will now be described, in order to show what kind of information they provide about the types of literacy found in this area. A number of the smaller texts localised by LALME are administrative texts, including wills, churchwardens accounts and legal letters. Regarding non-documentary material, there is a breadth of subject matter indicating advanced levels of practical education as well as cultivated literacy and religious learning.

Of the extant, localisable, southwestern manuscripts, religious texts are by far the most numerous, but are mainly to be found in Somerset. It is undeniable that religious texts would have been copied and used throughout the West Country, but the survival of so many in Somerset is perhaps due to the proliferation of religious centres such as Bath, Bridgewater, Bristol, Bruton, Cleeve, Forde, Glastonbury, Hinton, Ilchester, Keynsham Montacute, Muchelney, Taunton and Wells. Many more of these institutes seem to have existed in Somerset than in Devon or Dorset³⁸.

³⁸ Orme 1976: 9



Map 5: Religious texts localised to the West Country in LALME

On map 5 it is possible to see the distribution of religious texts across the West Country. A copy of the devotional text, the Prick of Conscience has been localised by LALME to western Somerset. This text appears to have been very popular during the Middle Ages as a proportionally large number of manuscripts of the text survive. It is a penitential text, split into seven books describing various subjects such as death, hell, man's sinfulness and frailty and the transitory nature of life on earth. Another devotional text, localised by LALME to Somerset, is the Speculum Christiani. This text is an instructional text for righteous living, covering such matters as the *Seven Deadly Sins* and *Seven Virtues* and also appears to have been very popular during the Middle Ages. In eastern Somerset LALME localises one of the oldest texts of the Northern Passion.³⁹ Like the Southern Passion, the Northern Passion presents the story of Christ's Passion in popular narrative form; it was originally written in the North of England at the end of the thirteenth century, but was also translated into southern dialects, as is the case with Rawlinson 655.

³⁹ This manuscript, Rawlinson 655, contains a unique 175 lines added to the original work.

On the Somerset/ Wiltshire border, LALME has localised a collection of Homilies and further south, near Dorset, LALME localises a copy of the Seven Penitential Psalms. A collection of religious texts written and perhaps composed by a John Midwynter has also been localised to northeastern Somerset. Nearby LALME localises a short medieval devotional text found in the collection of the Marquess of Bath written in the person of Christ extolling the virtues of righteous living, sinlessness and the love of others over self-punishment. In western Somerset there is a fourteenth-century copy of a southern English Saints' Lives. The only religious texts localised by LALME to Devon and Dorset, are respectively a copy of the Prick of Conscience and a short poem concerning the instruments used to crucify Christ.

Many of these religious texts have a penitential function, some also addressing contemporary heretical issues and reinforcing the importance of confession and the taking of the sacrament. Religious texts are usually interspersed with glossed Latin quotations from the apostles and church fathers; many contain apocryphal digressions concerning saints' lives, the miracles associated with certain relics as well as some anti-Semitic material.

Perhaps one subset of the religious texts is that of the three Devonshire Mandeville's Travels. The author of this text claims to have been born in St. Albans in 1322 and to have travelled extensively throughout southern Europe and the Middle East. Nevertheless, much of the material in Mandeville's Travels appears to have been gleaned from the works of other authors.⁴⁰ As this text is intended to describe the passage from western European countries to the Holy Land for those who wish to go on a crusade, it is a combined religious text and travel guide, mixing practical advice with religious comment, as well as relating fantastic legends and historical events.

⁴⁰ The itineraries of William de Boldensele and Odoric of Pordenone, Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale and Speculum Naturale and William of Tripoli's De Statu Saracenorum. (Bennett 1954: 20)

This is not to suggest that everyone who read about the crusades or copied a Mandeville's Travels for personal use intended to join the crusades. Interest in the Crusades appears to have been particularly associated with social ambition. Speedy social advancement was still linked to triumph in combat and the East was portrayed in the literature of the time as a place of wealth and adventure.⁴¹

It is noteworthy that in medieval Devon, which has already been described in this study as conservative and parochial, four texts have been localised relating to the Crusades and tales of the Middle East: namely three Mandeville's Travels and the tale of Sir Ferumbras. The Mandeville's Travels are partly religious, partly practical and partly fantastic accounts of the lands from the Mediterranean to the Holy Land and beyond. Sir Ferumbras follows a format typical of the *chansons de geste*. Ramsay describes this type of Romance:

‘These works, of which the *Chanson de Roland* is the best known example, place great emphasis on fighting and military virtues such as courage. They show Christian heroes struggling against foreign or pagan (‘Saracen’) foes.’⁴²

Sir Ferumbras is probably a translation of a French text related to the French Fierabras ‘iron-arms’ romance. However, the beginning of the text is similar to the beginning of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. The hero of the tale, earl Oliver, belongs to the court of King Charles of France. While he is eating with his entourage, Charles is challenged by the huge Saracen warrior and son of the Emir (Sir Ferumbras) to send one of his best knights to fight in one-to-one combat. When the greatest warriors in King Charles’ retinue refuse to fight, the already wounded Oliver volunteers in order to prevent his king from being disgraced. When Ferumbras is defeated, Oliver converts him to Christianity. Later Ferumbras’ sister falls in love

⁴¹ Riley-Smith 1987: 11

⁴² Ramsay 1983:2

with King Charles' nephew, Roland, and is also converted to Christianity. Eventually Oliver and others in the king's retinue defeat the Emir, gaining treasure and the favour of king Charles.

It is easy to see why such texts would have been universally popular in the Middle Ages, combining religious obligation with exciting tales of combat, love and wealth. As Riley-Smith states, there was enthusiasm for the Crusades at all levels of society, but higher up the social scale there is better evidence of people's interest in them. Riley-Smith points out that '...it is clear that the cult of chivalry... incorporated crusading as one of its defining characteristics.'⁴³

What is most interesting about the Sir Ferumbras, Ashmole 33 manuscript is that evidence seems to suggest that it was copied, perhaps translated and partly composed, by a clergyman. The cover-leaves in which the manuscript was protected are folded religious documents pertaining to the diocese of Exeter. The editor of the EETS version of the poem therefore believes that the text's author was a clergyman living in the diocese of Exeter, although others have argued that a clergyman from Exeter would not have used important documents pertaining to Exeter for the purpose of copying out a draft copy of a romance and that the author therefore probably came from outside the diocese.⁴⁴

Two texts with the same popular exploration of self-sacrifice and obedience are the Naples 13.B.29 Clerk's Tale (or the tale of patient Grizelda) and the Harley 2386 tale of Amis and Amiloun. In both tales, the main character is forced to sacrifice their children, Grizelda at the whim of her husband the king and Amis in order to cleanse his friend of a fatal disease. The theme of these texts is probably strongly influenced by Christian traditions such as Christ's martyrdom and God's testing of Abraham.

⁴³ Riley-Smith 1987:236

⁴⁴ Herrtage 1903: xvi

The Amis and Amiloun text is unfinished;⁴⁵ in the tale the Duke of Lombardy is so impressed with Amis that he makes him his butler.

‘Amys as ye may here/ he made hym hys chef botelere/ for he was hende & fre/
& amelyon ouer ham alle/ he made him stward yn hys halle.’⁴⁶

Later, Amis betrays the Duke by sleeping with his daughter and, when this is discovered, he flees. The text gets this far and then finishes in mid-sentence with the words ‘Wylliam Cresset was a lorde a lorde’ followed by three letter <a>s. This text, along with the Harley 2386M version of Mandeville’s Travels were copied in different hands after Latin texts into an account book belonging to a butler named William Cresset. The editor of the EETS version of Amis and Amiloun believes that the Harley 2386 manuscript represents a Latin miscellany that had been given to the butler in order that the extra blank pages could be used as an account book, but that Cresset had copied into it Mandeville’s Travels and Amis and Amiloun before his accounts⁴⁷. It is unlikely that this is the case as the two English texts are copied in different hands, neither of them corresponding with the hand in which the accounts were written⁴⁸ and dialectological analyses (please refer to chapter 8) rarely identify similarities between the two texts. Even though it is written in a fifteenth century, secretary hand, the archaism of the language of Harley 2386A means that it often has more in common, dialectally speaking, with the fourteenth century texts localised in LALME to the West Country than with the fifteenth century Harley 2386M Mandeville text.

⁴⁵ The text is only about four hundred and fifteen lines long.

⁴⁶ Harley 2386A, folio 131 column II lines 27 – 30.

⁴⁷ Leach 1937: cxiii

⁴⁸ Please refer to the CD-Rom submitted with this Thesis.

William Cresset definitely did copy two short 'remedies' alongside his accounts and this genre of text, indicating a practical literacy, is also found in the West Country. In southern Devon, LALME has localised a Medica detailing those plants that should be taken in order to cure various ailments and how the medicine should be prepared. This text contains information on how to treat various ailments and how these relate to the presence of the humours. In the margins of the text are diagrams of body parts and conical flasks that were used for examining urine, the chief method of diagnosis at the time.

Other texts that might be considered to be *medical*, in a medieval sense, are the astrological texts that are localised by LALME to the West Country. These include the three texts found in the Ashmole 189 manuscript, copied in three, possibly four, different hands. The texts deal mainly with predicting the future or ascertaining the right time to perform certain acts pertaining to health and wealth according to the coinciding of dates with the phases of the moon and the seasons.

The first text makes reference to *Pythagoras' golden table*, and provides advice and diagrams relating to its reproduction. The text also gives advice on determining whether it is good to be born, sell/ buy livestock, cut one's hair/toenails or be bled on various days of the week. Ashmole 189b helps the reader predict the future depending on what day Christmas falls on and Ashmole 189c concerns the use of the phases of the moon in order to predict the future. These might have been the type of texts consulted by *hende Nicolas* in Chaucer's Miller's Tale and therefore perhaps the property of someone attending university with an understanding of astronomy.

LALME localises a similar specialist text, an Alchemica, to eastern Somerset. This is a very cryptic text that describes how to make the *philosopher's stone*, the essential ingredient for turning base metals into gold and a medieval and Renaissance obsession. In this text, chemicals are referred to metaphorically and meaning is

revealed by degree in order to preserve alchemical secrets. The text includes several cryptic drawings relating to the content of the text, although a number are clearly missing though there is space left for them. There are also many illustrations and diagrams of cauldrons and various pieces of distillation apparatus.

The Glastonbury miscellany that is reported to have belonged to a monk at the Benedictine house there,⁴⁹ contains a small, versified text on gardening, concerning lists of herbs native to the British Isles; the best time to sow them and when they should have fertiliser added. Aside from this, there are a number of short rhymes on subjects such as keeping God's laws, working out what day Easter should fall on, the traits that make a good horse and not swearing on the sacrament. This miscellany also contains three, more substantial poems with the refrains: 'God shall be God when gold is gone', 'Pluck of her bells and let her fly'⁵⁰ 'Hear and see and say not all', and 'Beware, the blind eateth many a fly'.

Another form of 'practical' text is the *teaching text* and there are two good examples of this localised by LALME to the West Country: one is a Latin grammar book, or *vulgaria*, belonging to a Walter Pollard of Plymouth, Rawlinson 328, and one text, Trinity 324, is written in English and French verse, for the purpose of teaching French to children. Both texts teach the foreign language by writing a line of the language and glossing it in English. The *vulgaria* is an advanced learning text and contains complex descriptions of Latin grammar, whereas the *Femina* is a children's text using basic versified French and English, referring to everyday occupations.

One group of texts -- perhaps a subset of the romance genre -- is that of the pseudo-histories: Bruts and Arthurian legends. As Bennett states:

⁴⁹ LALME volume one: 236

⁵⁰ A versified poem about the woman's inconstancy with analogies to hawking.

‘Englishmen in the later middle ages had a well-developed sense of their national identity. Their common experience of statehood already stretched back at least half a millennium, and the widespread belief in the Trojan foundation of the realm of England gave them a shared mythical past.’⁵¹

Turville-Petre asserts that, during the politically turbulent times of the reign of Richard the third, where war threatened from both Scotland and France, a large number of English literary texts appear that focus on the development of a sense of nationhood through mythical history.⁵² In the West Country, the focus of this mythical history is often King Arthur. Longleat 55, Douce 236, Arundel 22 and Cotton Cxiii contain accounts of King Arthur and these texts are to be found in Devon, Dorset and Somerset. The effect that the Celtic language and legend had on the inhabitants of the West Country will be described in section 1.3.

1.3 Celtic background and influence on the West Country

It is necessary to provide a short summary of the Celtic history of the medieval West Country for two reasons: firstly, in order to explain why, in what was the last Celtic stronghold in southern Britain, the Celtic linguistic influence on the English of this area has been minimal and, secondly, in order to explain why, conversely, Celtic history and mythology have such a great influence on the type of literary texts found in this area and beyond during the Middle Ages.

⁵¹ Bennett 1983: 5

⁵² Turville-Petre 1996

Linguistic separation

The key to understanding the linguistic separation of the two cultures can be found in the annals of the Anglo-Saxons. Although it has often been postulated that the Anglo-Saxons and Celts lived side by side after the initial Germanic invasion of Britain; from a linguistic point of view, absorption of the Celts seems unlikely. The Cornish language has had almost no influence on the language of the Anglo-Saxons in this region.⁵³ Perhaps the reason for this lack of interaction lies in the enforced separation of these two peoples during their struggle for possession of the island; the mutual hostility of an uneasy coexistence keeping them apart. Unlike the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons did not only conquer the island, they drove out its previous inhabitants as they advanced in order to settle the lands.

Celtic lexical items in English and place-name evidence

It is unsurprising that Brythonic Celtic should have such a small influence on Anglo-Saxon, as there would have been very little social interaction between the two peoples. The separation of the two nations is supported by evidence of the small number of Celtic place-names found in the South West. It is often said that Brythonic Celtic has had very little influence on the English language except in the area of place-names, but even here it is possible to see the displacing influence of the Anglo-Saxons as they moved west. A typical view is that expressed by Baugh and Cable:

‘It is natural that Celtic place-names should be more common in the west than in the east and southeast, but the evidence of these names shows that the Celts impressed themselves upon the Germanic consciousness at least to the extent of causing the newcomers to adopt many of the local names current in Celtic

⁵³ Wakelin: 1969: 227 for the Celtic background of the West-Country word ‘crow’ ‘an enclosure’

speech and to make them a permanent part of their vocabulary. Outside of the area of place-names, however, the influence of Celtic upon the English language is almost negligible.’⁵⁴

If the distribution of place-names in the southwest of Britain is considered, the evidence actually points towards the loss of Celtic place-names in favour of those of Anglo-Saxon origin. This suggests that the influence of the Celts upon the Anglo-Saxon invaders is even less than previously thought. Pearce⁵⁵ summarises the actual occurrence of Celtic place-names in southwestern Britain and finds, with the notable exception of Cornwall, that there are very few place-names of Celtic origin in the West Country, and this is especially the case in Devon:

‘The nomenclature of Devon is strikingly English in character; the total number of Celtic names in the county including river names, has been reckoned at less than 1%... The percentage of surviving British names in the areas of modern Dorset and Somerset is perhaps rather higher. However, in connection with those of Dorset, Fagersten remarks ‘on the whole the nomenclature of Dorset is of a decidedly English character. It is true that there are a few Celtic names, but their number seems to be far smaller than has hitherto been assumed... out of the thousand names included, only about a dozen are of Celtic origin’.⁵⁶

Critical use of place-names is a good indicator of the settlement patterns of the early medieval period. Place-name evidence in the West Country would tend to support the idea of the displacement of the Celts rather than their assimilation. It is known that the river Tamar was the eastern boundary of the last area of Celtic settlement and

⁵⁴ Bauch & Cable 1993: 74

⁵⁵ Pearce 1978

⁵⁶ Pearce 1978: 21

rule in the South West; a place where Cornish was spoken into the eighteenth century. Pearce finds that in western and central Cornwall today, almost all place-names are of Cornish origin, yet in Devon, the number of Celtic place-names is negligible:

‘In north-east Cornwall a linguistic frontier can be more sharply drawn; the finger of land comprising the parishes of North Petherwin and Werrington west of the Tamar line, and a line drawn from its tip to the sea at Poundstock separates an eastern area of predominantly English place-names and a western one of Cornish. Between the Ottery and the Inny... Cornish place-names run right up to the River Tamar.’⁵⁷

Despite the fact that as far east as Dorset was part of the Celtic heartland during the fifth and sixth centuries,⁵⁸ the sharp delineation between an area of predominantly Cornish place-names and one of predominantly Anglo-Saxon place-names would tend to suggest the separation of the two cultures. The negligible amount of vocabulary borrowed from Celtic languages into English supports the idea that there was little day-to-day interaction between these two peoples even after the battles had ceased.

The displacement of the Celtic peoples: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

Evidence for the replacement of the ancient Britons by the Anglo-Saxons and the lack of interaction between the two cultures is found not only in the place-name evidence of today. Contemporary documentary evidence is also available in the annals of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Entries in all versions of the Chronicles make it possible to plot the movements of the Germanic tribes westward and northward

⁵⁷ Pearce 1978: 21

⁵⁸ Doel & Lloyd 1998: 28

over time; each relevant entry reports the retreat of the Britons as the Saxons advanced.

The Peterborough Chronicle reports the existence of five languages in Britain including English, British (probably Cornish) and Welsh.⁵⁹ In 447, the Saxons drove the Celtic army from Northwest Kent and they are reported fleeing to London. In 473, the Britons are again said to have been 'fleeing (from the Saxons) like fire'. The Winchester Chronicle reports in its preface, the establishment of the kingdom of Wessex. Cerdic and Cynric are reported landing at Cerdic's shore in 494 and six years later the chronicler reports that they had taken the land of the West-Saxons from the Britons.⁶⁰ The push westwards, driving the Celts into the West Country and finally into Cornwall can likewise be charted.

From 447 to 501, entries recall coastal invasions in the west of Sussex and near Portsmouth in Hampshire,⁶¹ once more the Britons are reported as being driven out of their homeland. Seven years later in 508, the Saxons have pushed a little further west to Charford and by 530 they had gained the Isle of Wight. During the next fifty years, entries in the chronicles report a push northward and westwards towards south Wales. One of the most important years for the Anglo-Saxon displacement of the southwestern Britons is 577, when three of the most important cities in the one-time Celtic heartland are taken; namely Cirencester, Gloucester and Bath. Cirencester was assumed to have been the capital of the Roman province of *Britannia Prima*, which encompassed all of the South West.⁶² Another important victory is reported in the entry for 658, where the Britons battle with the Anglo-Saxons and are driven west of the Parrett. Even in the present study of medieval English southwestern dialects, this is a significant east-west boundary in the peninsula. This left *Dumnonia* and *Cerniw*,

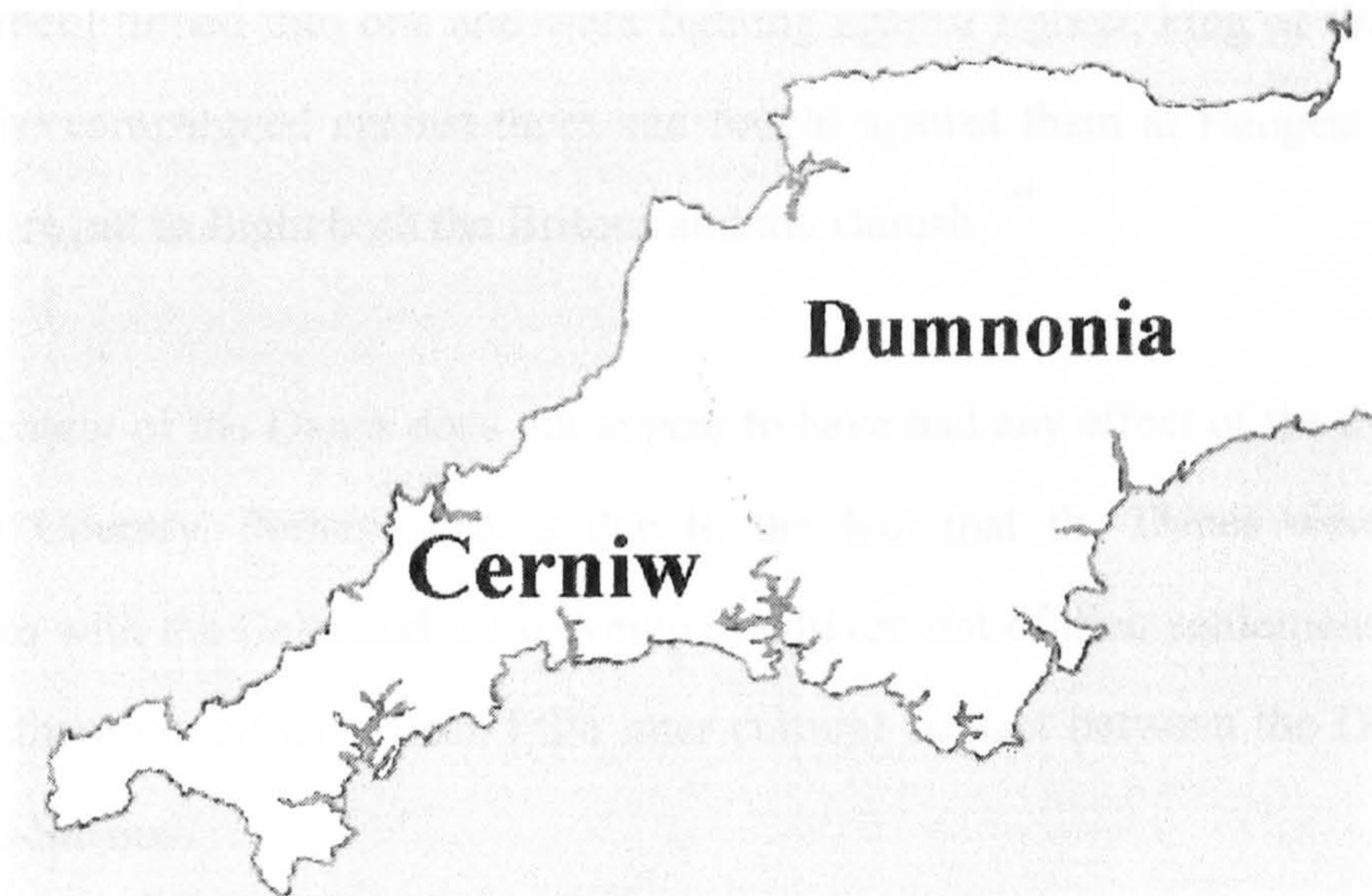
⁵⁹ Swanton 1997: 3

⁶⁰ Swanton 1997: 2

⁶¹ Swanton 1997: 15

⁶² Pearce 1978: 41

present-day Cornwall, Devon and western Somerset, as the only surviving *British* kingdoms in the South.⁶³



Map 6: The Celtic kingdoms of Cerniw and Dumnonia.

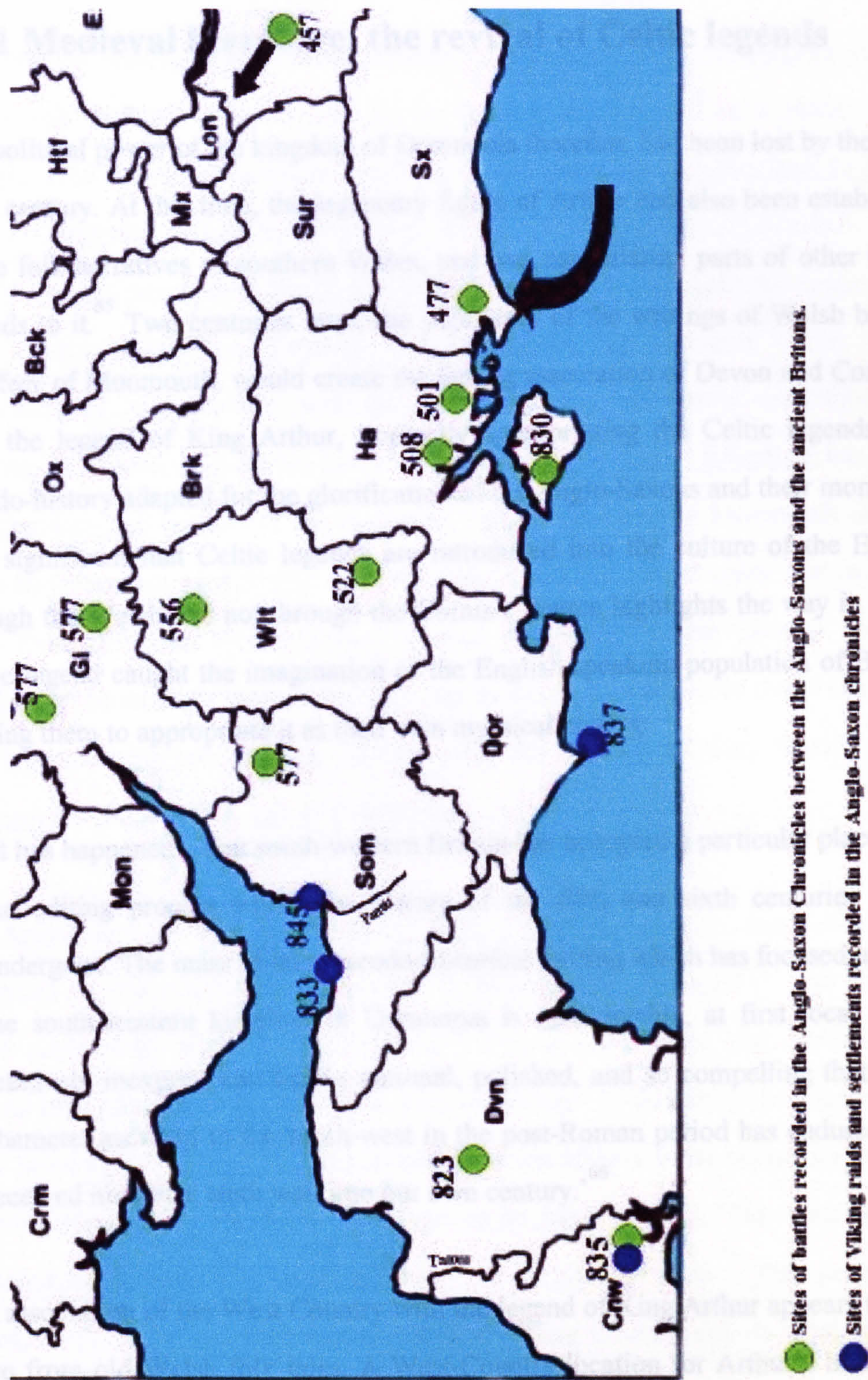
There are no reports of skirmishes with the *West Walas* during the eighth century. In 793 ‘fiery dragons’ are seen in the air and the Danish raids in the east preoccupy the chroniclers, until 823. In this year a battle took place in western Devon. Significantly, the Anglo-Saxons are referred to in the chronicle as ‘Defena’ ‘Devon men’, suggesting that they had settled into the region to such an extent that they had a distinct regional identity. The Britons, on the other hand, are identified as ‘Walas’ or ‘foreigners’. In the ninth century, therefore, the Britons seem to have been driven as far as west Devon and perhaps across the Tamar. A second wave of immigration into the West Country, this time Danish, occurred via the sea during the ninth century. This took place in southern Cornwall, southern Dorset and the north coast of Somerset through the mouth of the Severn. The Danes appear to have come to raid, but they also temporarily settled in northern Somerset. An initial Danish invasion of the Anglo-Saxons through Cornwall seems to have taken place with the support of the Britons. The entry in the chronicles for 835 tells of the British and Danish defeat in battle just west of the Tamar boundary:

⁶³ Pearce 1978: 155

‘Here a great raiding ship-army came to Cornwall, and they [Celts and Norsemen] turned into one and were fighting against Egbert, king of Wessex. Then he campaigned against them and fought against them at Hengest dune, and there put to flight both the Britons and the Danish.’⁶⁴

The settlement of the Danes does not appear to have had any effect of the dialects of the West Country. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Danes were allying themselves with the Celts and were eventually driven out of their settlements. In this scenario, there would have been little inter-cultural contact between the Danes and the Anglo-Saxons.

⁶⁴ Swanton 1997: 63



Map 7: The western progression of the Anglo-Saxon invasion of southern England – battle-sites.

1.3.1 Medieval literature: the revival of Celtic legends

The political power of the kingdom of Dumnonia therefore had been lost by the early tenth century. At this time, the legendary figure of Arthur had also been established in the folk narratives of southern Wales, and was assimilating parts of other Celtic legends to it.⁶⁵ Two centuries later, the popularity of the writings of Welsh bishop, Geoffrey of Monmouth, would create the lasting association of Devon and Cornwall with the legend of King Arthur, ironically appropriating the Celtic legends as a pseudo-history adapted for the glorification of the Anglo-Saxons and their monarchs. It is significant that Celtic legends are introduced into the culture of the English through the Welsh and not through the Cornish. Pearce highlights the way in which Celtic legend caught the imagination of the English-speaking population of Britain, causing them to appropriate it as their own mythical history:

‘It has happened... that south-western Britain has occupied a particular place in the editing process which the history of the fifth and sixth centuries has undergone. The mass of later pseudo-historical writing which has focused upon the south-western kingdom of Dumnonia is considerable, at first local and relatively inexpert, and finally national, polished, and so compelling that the character ascribed to the south-west in the post-Roman period has endured as received historical truth well into our own century.’⁶⁶

The association of the West Country with the legend of King Arthur appears to have come from old Welsh folk tales. A West-Country location for Arthur’s birth-place and court was not the only option provided by Welsh sources, which also located Arthur’s court and adventures in southern Wales.

⁶⁵ Pearce 1978:155

⁶⁶ Pearce 1978: 1

According to Pearce, in the aphoristic medieval Welsh writings, the Triads (one and eighty-five), Arthur's court is said to be located in Cornwall in a place called *Celliwic*. Another twelfth century Welsh poem, the Dialogue of Arthur and the Eagle is set in Cornwall and Arthur is given the title 'Lord of the Hosts of Cornwall.'⁶⁷ The twelfth century poem the Life of St. Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarfan locates the castle of the abductor of Guinevere in Glastonbury in Somerset.⁶⁸ The strong association of King Arthur with the West Country was firmly established by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his Latin work De Historia Regum Brianniae has since been the accepted version of the Arthurian legend. Geoffrey of Monmouth did not create the association of Arthur with the West Country; it is probable that he drew partly from different Welsh literary sources or possibly extant Cornish sources. Geoffrey of Monmouth might have used the locations mentioned in the *Tristan and Isolt* legend in his tale of King Arthur, using the location of King Mark's castle (Tintagel in Cornwall) as Arthur's birth place.

The Arthur text of the Red Book of Bath, Longleat 55, says that Arthur was conceived in <þe countre of cornewell/ In þe castel of Tyntagell>⁶⁹ and that the round table was made at <Cayrlyon>.⁷⁰ Pearce speculates that Geoffrey of Monmouth might have been trying to gain preferment by flattering the royal family of the time, as one of Henry I's illegitimate sons would have inherited large estates in Cornwall through marriage and was soon to be made its earl. The work itself is dedicated in memory of another of Henry I's illegitimate sons.⁷¹ This provides a potential reason for the great importance of the West Country and its inhabitants in Geoffrey of Monmouth's text. The Historia became very popular with medieval audiences, glamorising as it did the history of the island and the peoples who

⁶⁷ Pearce 1978:174

⁶⁸ Pearce 1978: 148

⁶⁹ Folio 42v, C1, lines 25 and 26.

⁷⁰ Folio 42v, C2, line 1.

⁷¹ Pearce 1978: 150

inhabited it. The ‘matter of Britain’ pseudo-histories derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s original work appear to have been popular in late medieval times and the Historia’s influence as the main source of the Arthurian legend continues to the present day. In this way, we see the appropriation of the legends and histories of the older Celtic civilisations in Europe by the new wave of Germanic immigrants as a vehicle for their contemporary concerns and ideals. Although the West Country figures strongly in this pseudo-history and the inhabitants of the South West appear to have embraced this borrowed past, the actual day-to-day contact between the Germanic inhabitants of the West Country and the Cornish appears to have been minimal.

Conclusion

In this contextual survey, geography, demography, literacy and education in the West Country have been considered as well as the influence of Cornish and Celtic legend on the English speaking populations of Devon, Dorset and Somerset.

The negligible influence of Cornish on West Country dialects has been discussed alongside the conversely large impact that Celtic legend had on the inhabitants of the West Country in the construction of their identity. The presence of Arthurian texts, religious texts, practical texts and romances in the medieval West Country have been explained with reference to different types of medieval literacy. The medieval education system has also been discussed in order to illustrate the way in which it was likely that writing was learned. This will prove useful in chapter two’s discussion of the study of historical written language.

At the beginning of chapter one, it was identified from anecdotal evidence that the culture and dialects of the West Country have a conservative quality, though some parts more than others. Certain features that might be of importance in the creation of dialect areas have been surveyed. An attempt has been made to discover possible demographic patterns in the medieval West Country using early medieval evidence from the Domesday survey. Those geographical features that might restrict movement within the peninsula, such as hill ranges and areas of high moorland, have been identified. From this evidence, it is possible to see that a natural barrier exists between Devon and Somerset. The Blackdown and Brendon hills divide these two counties so that travelling from one county to the other is easiest through a narrow valley, the Blackdown-Brendon gap. In addition to this, the character of the Devon and Dorset landscapes encouraged dispersed rather than agglomerative settlements, whereas eastern, but not western Somerset contained a number of boroughs and seemed to have encouraged agglomerative settlements. In this way landscape has affected demography and demography inevitably affected isogloss patterns. This notion will be discussed further through chapters three to nine, but at this point it is necessary to consider some of the theory behind this present study of medieval West Country written material and the methodology used to collect and process this data.

Chapter 2: Written language theory

Linguists and phoneticians today are careful to differentiate between spoken and written language, using the terms ‘sound’ and ‘speech sound’ to describe elements of spoken language and leaving the term ‘letter’ for the description of written language. However, this careful distinction has not always existed.⁷² In this section, earlier discussions of written language and current views on its study will be considered. Some of the theory underpinning this thesis will be outlined and important research questions for the field of historical dialectology will be identified. Questions that will be addressed in the initial part of this thesis are:

- What is the relationship between spoken and written language?
- Can phonological information be gathered from historical written records and what problems are encountered?
- Is the study of non-phonological spelling-features profitable?
- Is the study of palaeographical features profitable?

2.1 A model for understanding the speech/ writing relationship

Change and variation are the defining features of spoken language and, in comparison, written language is often seen as static. The nature of written language is such that it is maximally efficient when it does not change as frequently as spoken language. This inevitably has implications for the study of written language. McIntosh has highlighted the importance of understanding the differences between written and spoken language:

⁷² Abercrombie 1965: 79

‘...only by understanding the limitations of the correlation (between speech and writing) can we, for one thing, make proper use of the available written material as evidence about the spoken language. Furthermore, if we do reach some such understanding we shall be much better equipped to make a critical assessment of those features in this or that variety of the written language which do *not* correlate, and to appreciate what special interest these very things have thereby in their own right.’⁷³

Views have changed in recent years concerning the relationship between spoken and written language and the validity of the study of written language. The Saussurean dichotomy between diachronic and synchronic language study gave rise to many linguists’ reluctance to work with historical written evidence. As McIntosh has pointed out, spoken language has often been perceived as a first-order representation of underlying language in a way that written language has not:

‘...anything written is felt... to be much more ‘external’ and artificial, presumably because it involves such extraneous and tangible and durable things as pens and ink and vellum instead of transitory mouth positions...’⁷⁴

Where written language has been taken into consideration, it has been studied solely for the purpose of extracting phonological information. The alphabetic nature of written English is such that it has often been considered by linguists to be a reflection of the spoken language rather than a first-order representation of language in its own right. Leonard Bloomfield’s concept of written English, expressed in his book *Language*, published in 1950, typifies the way that written language has been perceived in both the present and in the past. Bloomfield states that:

⁷³ McIntosh 1989a: 2

⁷⁴ McIntosh 1989a:6

‘A symbol ‘represents’ a linguistic form in the sense that people write the symbol in situations where they utter the linguistic form, and respond to the symbol as they respond to the hearing of the linguistic form. Actually, the writer utters the speech-form before or during the act of writing and the hearer utters it in the act of reading; only after considerable practice do we succeed in making these speech-movements inaudible and inconspicuous... The important thing about writing is precisely this, that the characters represent not features of the practical world (“ideas”), but features of the writer’s language.’⁷⁵

The value of a written system for Bloomfield varied directly according to the accuracy of its alphabetic representation of the phonological system; conservatism in a writing system was seen as a deficiency:

‘The principle of alphabetic writing - one symbol for each phoneme - is applicable, of course, to any language. The inadequacy of the actual systems is due largely to the conservatism of the people who write.’⁷⁶

This conception of the function of written language was, for a time, widely adhered to by linguists.⁷⁷ However, it does not take into consideration the large amount of variation that exists both diatopically and diachronically in the spoken language. A system that is designed to express language in a non-transient way should surely be at its most efficient where correspondences with ever-changing and diverse phonologies are minimal. It is mainly in the initial stages of learning an alphabetic writing system that correlation between phonemes and graphemes are most important. These are some of the issues that have been raised, in recent years, by scholars such as Benskin⁷⁸, McIntosh⁷⁹, McLaughlin⁸⁰ and Samuels⁸¹, who have

⁷⁵ Bloomfield 1950: 285

⁷⁶ Bloomfield 1950: 291

⁷⁷ McLaughlin 1963: 18

⁷⁸ (Benskin 1982)

started to approach written language from a different perspective and to appreciate the complexity of the speech/writing relationship.

The relationship between these two modes of language has been well formulated by Michael Samuels. Samuels identifies the forces acting between written and spoken language mediums and that constitute its complex relationship, what McIntosh also calls the 'systemic correlation' between graphemes and phonemes.⁸² The main problems that can be identified in the speech/writing relationship are that, whereas speech is dynamic and fosters variation and change, written language is by nature conservative and maintains old correlations that no longer exist. However, Samuels shows that forces continually acting between spoken and written language are a testimony to their interdependence. That is to say, written and spoken language must not diverge too markedly, as this would affect the economy of the system, making it increasingly difficult to master and consequently used by few people.⁸³

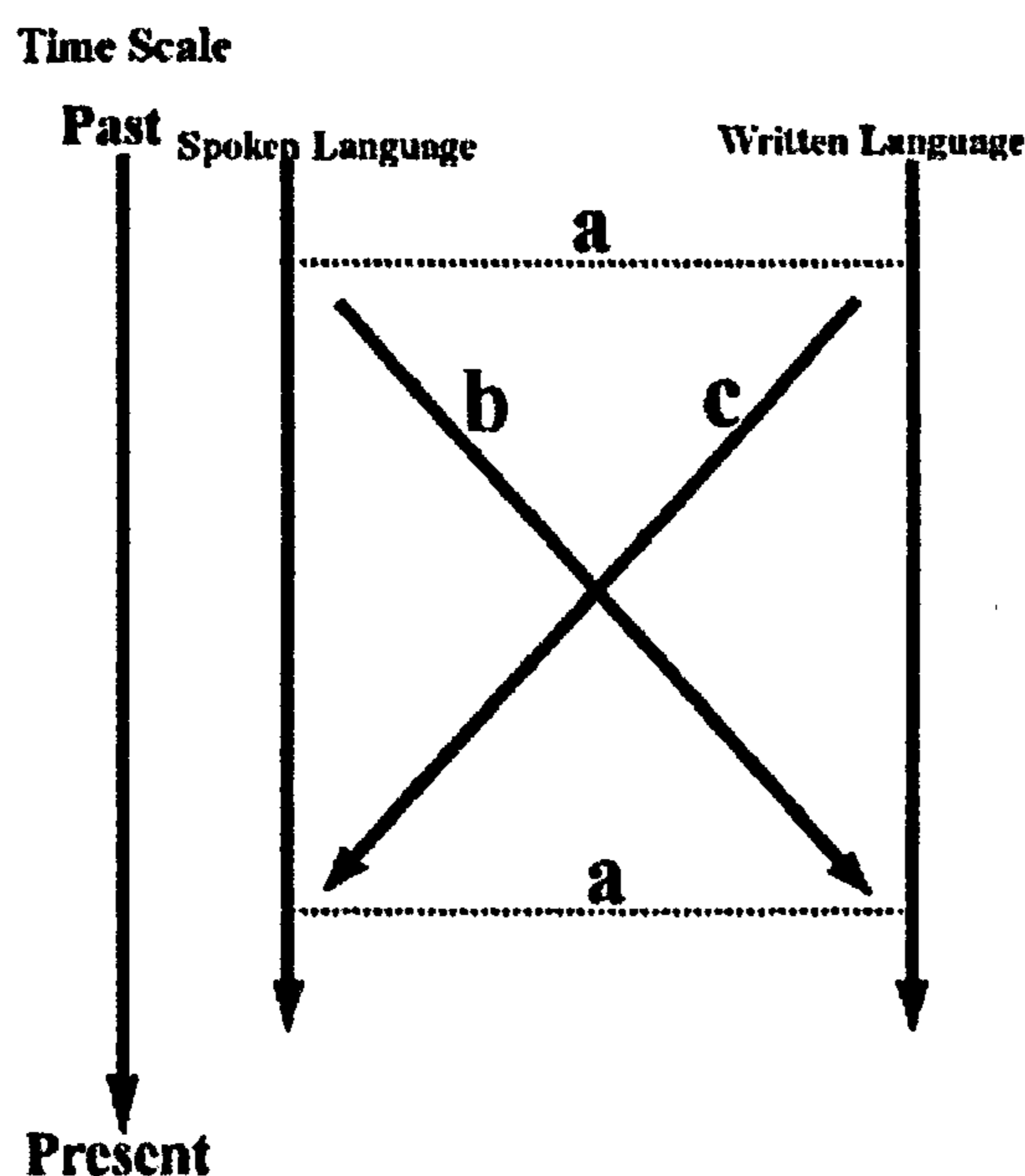


Figure 2: Diagram representing the interactions between written and spoken media. Derived from Samuels 1979:6.

⁷⁹ McIntosh 1989a,b,c and d.

⁸⁰ McLaughlin 1963

⁸¹ Samuels 1979

⁸² McIntosh 1989a:4

⁸³ Samuels 1979: 5 §1.3

Samuels' diagram in figure 2 represents the relationships that prevent divergence between written and spoken English. Broken lines labelled 'a' represent factors that limit how the far the two mediums can diverge. The first of these factors is what Janda and Auger⁸⁴ call *quantitative* hypercorrection, that is, a written language recording an older phonic spelling can often prevent a new pronunciation from taking hold. The phenomenon will be explored with reference to West-Country manuscripts in section 5.1.

The second factor is that systemic correlation between phoneme and grapheme can be maintained if written forms borrowed from other languages are altered to better represent an English phonology. Likewise phonology might adapt itself to correlate more closely with the spelling of a new word. These lines on the diagram are at right angles to the lines representing speech and writing, because they are synchronic phenomena. Lines 'b' and 'c' represent diachronic phenomena, or later compensations for a lack of systemic correlation. Pronunciations can alter at a later date to accommodate an older spelling and also, probably less frequently, except by way of spelling reformers, spellings can adapt to pronunciation. Examples of these phenomena are [forhɛd] from an older pronunciation of 'forehead' [fɔːrɪd]⁸⁵ and Webster's <thru> and <color> versus standard British English <through> and <colour> for the orthographic representation of the words [θruː] and [kʌlə].

It should be noted that each of the above points also have equivalent opposing forces, increasing the divergence of the spoken and written mediums. For example, it is possible for phonemes that correlate with written symbols to change without speakers noticing. Samuels calls this 'isolative circular shift', as he points out, 'it was

⁸⁴ Janda & Auger 1992

⁸⁵ Samuels 1979: 5 §1.3

only the exceptions to the (Great Vowel) shift that were adjusted in spelling.’⁸⁶ On the whole, people did not notice that the phonemic values attached to certain letters had changed. In the same way, synchronically speaking, large numbers of words with non-naturalised spellings have come into the English language and pronunciation has not adapted to accommodate them.

The above discussion of the complex relationship between spoken and written language leaves us with a better understanding of the limitations of the systemic correlation between these two mediums, but also presents a problem. If any understanding of the phonologies of the past is to be gained, there is no other way to access them than through written records. McLaughlin summarises current thoughts on the matter:

‘There are... at least two quite contradictory views concerning the nature and function of writing. The first suggests that writing is not itself language, but is simply a device for transcribing speech, a function that it performs with varying degrees of efficiency. Whatever system is manifested in writing is in some way or other dependent upon the phonological system. Opposed to this opinion is the notion that writing, like speech, is an independent manifestation of language; although its units may, like (phonemic) transcription, at time represent phonological units, it is not their primary function to do so. As an independent ‘substance’ it deserves independent investigation by linguists, and such investigations will reveal something about the ‘form’ of a given language as significant as that revealed by investigations of the substance of speech.’⁸⁷

As has already been suggested, written language can be an efficient system for representing language without strong systemic correlation with spoken language,

⁸⁶ Samuels 1979: 110 §6.6.vi

⁸⁷ McLaughlin 1963: 23

therefore, the second opinion described by McLaughlin is the strongest justifiable theoretical point of view. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to completely rule out the importance of the study of written language for the purposes of gaining information concerning phonology. In the past, McLaughlin has said that:

‘...some linguists consider that because writing is a means of recording language, a study of the written records of a language which cannot be directly observed will reveal something about the speech of the language in question which could not be known without such records, however inaccurate that ‘something’ might be.’⁸⁸

More realistic is the opinion expressed by Michael Benskin, while defending reasonable phonological interpretations made by the editors of LALME. Benskin calls an approach involving the study of written language with no reference to phonology, ‘an obfuscating dead end’.⁸⁹ As an example of the uselessness of the orthographic purist’s approach, Benskin draws attention to the relationships between spelling variants of the third person plural of the verb WILL (<willen>, <wilen> and <wyl(l)en>) or the third person nominative plural pronoun variants (<hi> and <hy(e)>). To ignore the relationship between spelling variants such as these is to underutilise the material available. There is a difference between the belief that all written forms can provide information about their spoken equivalents and the careful use of selected written evidence in order to say something about spoken language of a certain period where no other evidence of the spoken system survives.

It is also important not to ignore the historical context of this study and to take account of this when devising methodology. The Middle English period was unique;

⁸⁸ McLaughlin 1963: 19

⁸⁹ Benskin 1990: 226

historical literary conditions were such that written language more closely corresponded to spoken language than at any other time in the history of English.

2.1.1 Writing systems during the Middle English period

The spelling-systems of the Middle English period were inherited from the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Nevertheless, the Norman Conquest had caused a break in continuity between the Old and Middle English phases of written language, in that written French and Latin temporarily took over functions that written English had performed. In this way, written English began to have a *parochial* rather than a *national* function. The copying of texts in the Old English standard written form continued in monasteries and religious institutions during the early medieval period,⁹⁰ but otherwise, the quasi-standard West-Saxon spelling system fell out of use. In addition to this, the increasing importance of bureaucracy under Norman rule created a new need for literacy in medieval England and often literacy in parochial contexts, for example local record keeping and legal documents concerning local disputes. These two factors had implications for both the development of script-types and the development of Middle English spelling systems.

From the mid-tenth century, Anglo-Saxon square minuscule had started to be replaced by Caroline minuscule, a smaller more rounded script. During the early medieval period Caroline minuscule was itself superseded by a cursive script now known as Anglicana – the hand used in many of the earliest texts used in this study (please see figure 3).

⁹⁰ Laing 1993:3

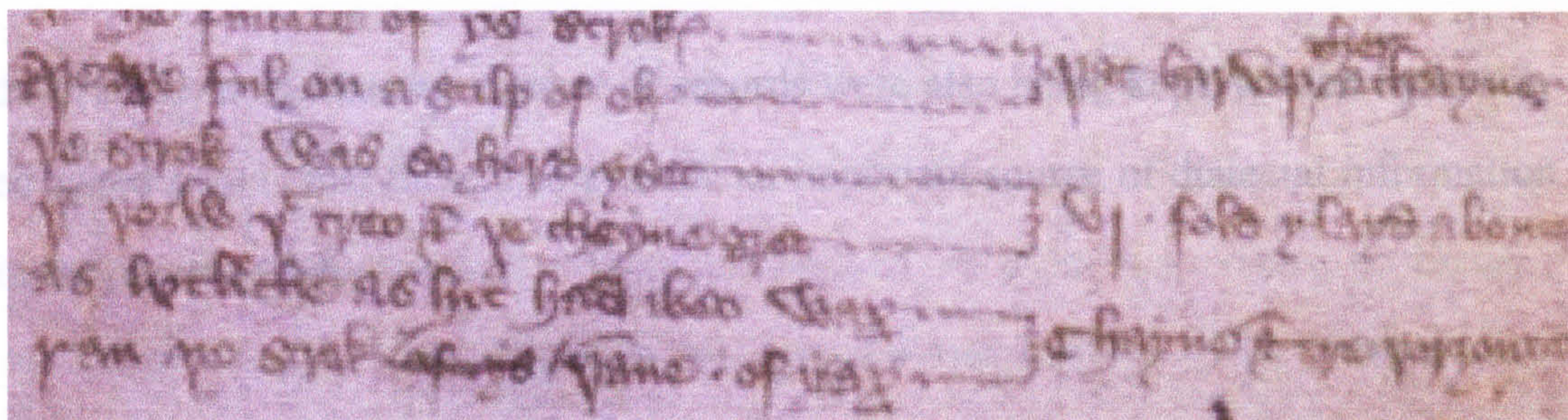


Figure 3: c1377 Anglica script of Ashmole 33. © Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The development of Caroline minuscule and later, Anglica perhaps represents the continual de-formalisation and increasing accessibility of the written mode. A move towards an even less ornate and quicker hand came with the adoption of the continental *Secretary* script from the late fourteenth century onwards. This script was characterised by angular broken strokes testifying to the rapidity with which it was written and the majority of the fifteenth century texts used in this study are written in a secretary hand, although most retain some Anglica features especially <a>s <e>s and sometimes even <w>s (please see figure 4).⁹¹

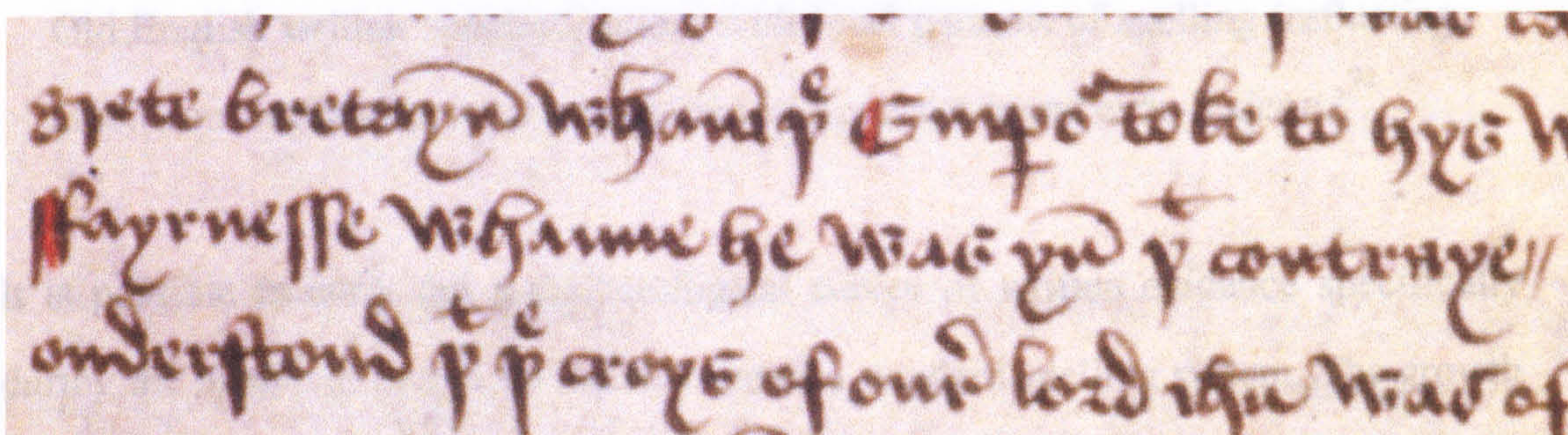


Figure 4: Extract from the late fifteenth century Harley 2386M manuscript, © British Library, London.

The existence of an increasing number of literate people in medieval England meant that the demand for written material was also on the increase. Books were being produced not only professionally by scribes, but also by amateurs for personal use. These privately produced texts evidently represent the majority of West-Country texts used in the present study; very few are professionally produced, well laid out or

⁹¹ The <w>s in this hand are a hybrid form based on Anglica and Secretary <w>s. Most of the letter <a>s and <e>s belong to the Secretary script, but the letter <g> is a typical two-compartment <g> of the Anglica script rather than the Secretary <g> which has an open loop.

decorated. An increasing number of records were also being kept, written by locally educated people and these also provide an important source of dialectal information in the present study.

With the deformalisation of the written mode, increase in literacy and no standard national education system, it is understandable that a normative spelling system could not be applied as it had been during the Old English period. At this time in the history of the English language, a great number of spelling variants are found even within a single text and certainly between texts, as writers applied their own spelling systems to texts as they copied or composed them. It is unsurprising that many of these spellings should be quasi-phonetic. As Smith points out:

‘... when Middle English was employed in the written mode after 1066, it reflected historical changes and dialectal variation which had been disguised by Old English written standardisation, with local patterns of spelling (reflecting, albeit conventionally, local pronunciations), grammar and even lexicon.’⁹²

It is possible to carry out a dialectological survey of written evidence specifically during the medieval period, in the absence of a standard spelling system. The growth and development of London had produced several incipient written standards based on the dialects spoken there,⁹³ but their use was geographically limited. Later, the establishment of the first commercial printing businesses in late fifteenth century London would cause one dominant written standard to be used in texts, where before these had been ‘translated’ from dialect to dialect as they were copied. It is not impossible to find dialectological material in written texts during the sixteenth

⁹² Smith 1999: 92

⁹³ There is some evidence that Samuels’ Type IV ‘Chancery Standard’ -- a written mixture of London and central Midlands English -- had spread considerably in use before 1470. Appeals to the Chancellor from counties outside London contain some provincial forms, but also contain evidence of an attempt to write using this standard. (See further Samuels 1989: 74 and references there cited, (see also Benskin 1992).

century, but attempts at extracting this material are limited to specific types of texts,⁹⁴ as non-standard spellings were far less frequent in written language in general. The completion of a comprehensive analysis of the texts dating to the time immediately preceding the late medieval period is hampered by a lack of availability of source material in some areas of the country, particularly in the North and North Midlands⁹⁵. It appears that during the early Middle English period, continental habits of using Latin in legal documents and the use of French as a literary language greatly reduced the use of the vernacular for these two purposes.

The late medieval period therefore represents a time in the history of the English language when phonology correlated with written language more closely than at any other time before or since and a time from which sufficient source material survives in order that a project such as the *Middle English Dialect Project* could be undertaken.

Non-phonological information derived from written Middle English.

It would be equally shortsighted to ignore the importance of those aspects of medieval written language, which do not reflect spoken language. As McLaughlin points out:

‘Traditionally, the study of the spelling of Middle English documents... has been concerned almost exclusively with the distribution of those elements in

⁹⁴ In order to identify spoken dialectal features during the early modern period in London and the South West, Matthews (1939) uses churchwardens' accounts and the documents of 'other local worthies of no great education' on account of the non-standard forms they contain.

⁹⁵ Laing 1993: 2

the spelling system which correlate with distinctive elements in the spoken system...⁹⁶

Spelling information was considered significant only where it could be used for the purposes of reconstructing spoken language and, in particular, the sound-changes that had occurred in spoken language. The work of Benskin, McIntosh, McLaughlin and Samuels have altered the importance of written language studies, showing that written English is not merely a representation of spoken language, but a manifestation of language in its own right and suitable to be studied at every level. McIntosh's research has been particularly important in the study of written language and he separates profiles of written language into two main categories:

'...it is necessary to divide the (Linguistic Profile) analysis into two parts; we must seek to detect significant variations within the written-language system as such, and not just those variations which seem to reflect differences within the spoken-language system. Contrasting features of the latter kind, e.g. *etes: etep*, *vox: fox*, *hem: þem*, *vche: eche*, are different from, but no more important for our purposes than, others which carry no contrasting phonic implications, e.g. *sche: she*, *it: itt: yt*, *þurgh: thurgh: thurz: þurz*'⁹⁷

McIntosh discovered that medieval spelling conventions could vary from region to region, even where there are no underlying dialect correspondences.⁹⁸ For this reason he categorises as 'W-features' those minimal distinctive written units that vary without reference to underlying phonological patterns and S-features, those written

⁹⁶ McLaughlin 1963: 7

⁹⁷ McIntosh 1989d: 46

⁹⁸ LALME vol. 1 section 1.4.6

units that do seem to vary according to phonology.⁹⁹ Examples of this type of (W-feature) variation – also called graphemic variation – might be the use of <sh> or <sch> in the word SHE or the use of <y> or <i> in the word IT.

Case study in graphemic variation: the use of <þ> and <y>.

Perhaps one of the most significant studies in graphemic variation so far has been that of Michael Benskin, concerning the use of the <y> graph in order to represent voiced and voiceless dental fricatives in the north of medieval England. Using the ‘fit technique’, developed for the production of LALME, Benskin plotted on a map of England:

1. Manuscripts that used only the traditional <þ>-graph to represent dental fricatives.
2. Manuscripts that used a <y>-graph in positions where a dental fricative would be expected.
3. Manuscripts that confused the historical functions of <þ> and <y>; writing, for example, <yre> for ‘three’ and <wþll> for will¹⁰⁰. In this situation <þ> and <y> become *allographs* of the same grapheme.

In map 8, the intermediate areas of confused usage are written as <þ + y>. A very convincing picture of diatopic variation emerged. As Benskin noted, the fact that the geographical areas of usage are so well defined creates a compelling argument that

⁹⁹ McIntosh 1989d:49

¹⁰⁰ Benskin 1982: 15

the geographical origin of the scribe is the defining factor in the use of <þ> or <y> to represent /θ/ and /ð/.¹⁰¹



Map 8: The distribution of thorn and <y> usage across medieval England. Benskin 1982:15.

¹⁰¹ Benskin 1982: 14

Given the range of ages of manuscripts used in the *Middle English Dialect Project*, had the variation been diachronically conditioned, the geographical distribution of variants would have been random. It could be that the confused pattern in the border area (the north-east Midlands and east Anglia) between <þ> usage and <y> usage, represents variation over time. The gradual movement southwards of <y> graph usage could produce a situation where two manuscripts, geographically side by side, but separated by decades might differ in their representation of dental fricatives. Indeed those areas where thorn and the <y> graph are confused probably represent an intermediate stage in the adoption of the new variant. Hypercorrection occurs in these areas, in much the same way that it occurs in spoken language when a sound-change is in the process of occurring. Hypercorrection is a key factor in the identification of a graphemic change and will be considered in detail, with reference to the <wh> grapheme in section 5.1.

Benskin's study is a striking example of how written language, with no reference to underlying phonology, can vary diatopically and can be used to localise a medieval text. Since the publication of LALME, the localisation of texts using non-phonological spellings has proved to be an important advancement in the study of medieval written language. Although these types of written features do not provide information about spoken dialect, McIntosh believes that they are no less important in terms of their value for localising texts.

The methodology developed by McIntosh takes account of all aspects of written language including *graphetic* information (information concerning scribal hand and script type). It is McIntosh's belief that a thorough survey of the latter aspect of

written language will also prove to have significant geographical distributions.¹⁰² In LALME both graphemic and phonological information capable of localising a text were gathered, making optimal use of written sources. The present study will follow LALME's example, but will also include a visual presentation of *graphetic* profiles from selected manuscripts. In this way, it is intended that the study will make an exhaustive use of the written material available.

2.2 Methodology used in the present study

Building on previous late medieval dialectological work

This thesis benefits from the theoretical framework developed by LALME's editors during the creation of the *Atlas*. As Laing has pointed out:

‘The line of research which led to LALME has been developed gradually from a rudimentary conception of the task to be done to an increasingly sophisticated vision of its true potential and of the theoretical linguistic principles which it embodies’.¹⁰³

Burton also concedes that:

‘It would scarcely be too much to say (borrowing Bloch's comments on Leonard Bloomfield) that ‘every significant refinement of dialectal analysis produced since the 1950s has come out of the work published by the editors during the long course of preparing the *Atlas* for publication, and that all future

¹⁰² McIntosh 1989a: 15 (endnote 16)

¹⁰³ Laing 1988: ix

research on Middle English dialects must build upon work now recorded in the *Atlas* itself.’¹⁰⁴

Previous to the publication of the LALME, the number of late medieval texts considered to be of dialectological value was often limited to those surviving texts that were authorial holographs. The lack of exploitation of texts that were the product of several stages of scribal transmission caused a significant amount of valuable dialect material to be under-utilised.

The editors of LALME, Angus McIntosh and Michael Samuels, conceived the production of a linguistic atlas of late medieval English texts as a means of increasing the number of dialectologically useful texts from this period. The project was an ambitious one and, as the editors have noted themselves, its production required that time and effort be divided equally among all of the geographical regions surveyed. The editors saw the Atlas not as a definitive work, but rather as a practical foundation from which future works could develop. In terms of the large amount of basic research carried out in tracking down texts that could be dialectally localised, as well as the methodology developed during the course of the Atlas's production, LALME has been a significant advance in late medieval dialectology and has created many opportunities for in-depth dialectological analysis.

Bearing in mind constructive criticisms of LALME, and recent technological advances in the field of linguistic atlases,¹⁰⁵ the aim of this study is to provide a detailed survey of the dialectological materials of the West Country (Devon, Dorset and Somerset) and to interpret this data.

¹⁰⁴ Burton 1991

¹⁰⁵ Kretzchmar and Schneider 1996: 11&12

In the following section, the methodology of this thesis will be laid out with reference to those areas where it diverges from that of LALME. This methodological section of the present chapter is divided into six short subsections:

- Using LALME's source material
- Resurveying LALME's southwestern corpus
- Types of data collected
- Date limits of the study
- Adapting LALME's questionnaire
- Use of manuscripts, microfilm and editions

LALME's Source Material

The identification of the source material in LALME provides a great advantage for this present study. Volume one of LALME contains lists of manuscripts already localised to the medieval South West of England.¹⁰⁶ The initial location of all the source-material used in LALME was in itself a demanding task.¹⁰⁷ This information, already provided in LALME, makes surveying the mapped sources of the southwestern part of medieval England a feasible task in the time available. The problem of mislocalisations of texts in LALME will be dealt with in section 2.2.1 and chapter 8.

The first step in this study must be to resurvey the mapped sources identified in LALME as belonging to Devon, Dorset and Somerset.¹⁰⁸ This is advisable primarily,

¹⁰⁶ pp 187 – 188, 236 & 237.

¹⁰⁷ '... the bulk of our source material had to be unearthed bit by bit before it could be analysed and classified dialectally... it was as if investigators carrying out a survey of modern dialects were first obliged to track down most of their informants to all kinds of unexpected hiding places instead of having... as many as they need, readily available and adequately classified, before the start of the investigation.' LALME vol. 1 pviii

¹⁰⁸ The local documents have not been resurveyed, as this would not have been feasible in the time allocated and very few relevant spelling forms are elicited from these shorter local documents.

because the comprehensiveness of much of the southern data has been called into question.

There have also been criticisms of the subjectivity of the LALME analysis. Later on, Burton's¹⁰⁹ criticisms of the southern linguistic profiles will be considered, as well as the problems he found with the fit technique devised by the editors of the Atlas. The local documents that functioned as a framework of reference through which other texts were placed were more easily found in the Midlands and North Midlands and were found less frequently in other areas, making localisation more difficult.¹¹⁰

Statistical techniques could prove to be a more reliable and objective means of defining the relationships between manuscript texts, based only on dialectal evidence. Using dialectometrical techniques, developed since the inception of LALME, I propose to test the methodology of the Atlas from a distinct, modern perspective. This method of analysis is detailed in section 2.2.1.2 and in chapter 8, it will be shown that vocalic and consonantal clustering seem to support rather than refute LALME localisations in most cases.

A third reason for resurveying LALME's source material is that linguistically surveying the manuscript texts localised to the West Country, in their manuscript form or as microfilm of the manuscript, is the best way to become familiar with the dialectal spellings, grammar and literary geography of this area. Each manuscript text is unique and it is the notation of observable, individual scribal phenomena: mistakes, rare spellings, and on the whole, the varying systems employed by the scribe throughout the text, that provide valuable supplementary information concerning the dialect of this area.¹¹¹ Necessarily, a limited amount of such supplementary information is presented in LALME. During the resurveying of this

¹⁰⁹ Burton 1991

¹¹⁰ 'For one thing (local document) coverage of the country is uneven e.g. there are far more for Lancashire than for Wiltshire.' Laing 1993: 3. See also LALME Vol. 1: p9

¹¹¹ McIntosh 1975: 220

material, unusual forms found in each manuscript-text were noted and have proved invaluable in the identification of initial glide insertion (section 5.4.1.1 – 5.4.2.1), h-dropping and metathesis.

Date limits of the study

During the collection of data for the *Middle English Dialect Project*, it was found that, in practice, a time scale of one hundred years between 1350 and 1450 was not applicable for the entire country. The time-span used for the southern half of England was allowed to extend as far back as 1325 in order to take into account early texts that were dialectologically interesting, but outside the time-limits that LALME's editors had set at the project's outset. However, one text localised to Somerset, namely a copy of Laȝamon's Brut (Cotton Cxiii), can be dated to the late thirteenth century.¹¹²

McIntosh, had previously criticised Moore, Meech and Whitehall for the large chronological distribution of source material in their study 'Middle English dialect characteristics and dialect boundaries':¹¹³

'(Moore et al) worked with too wide a chronological spread; using thirteenth century (and even twelfth century) material side by side with texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in this way linguistic differences due to chronological factors were confused with genuine dialectal (what I call *diatopic* as distinct from *diachronic*) differences, to the considerable confusion of the whole study.'¹¹⁴

¹¹² LeSaux 1989: 2

¹¹³ Moore, Meech & Whitehall 1935

¹¹⁴ McIntosh 1989b: 25

Rather than being a confusing factor, it might be asserted that the presence of older dialectal material, as long as it is clearly identified as such, helps to identify some interesting phenomena associated with written language, as will be shown in section 5.1. The presence of older texts *can* confuse the identification of diatopic patterns of scribal usage, but only if diachronic variation in the data used is not clearly identified. It might be said that it is a more serious mistake to lump fourteenth and fifteenth century texts together and expect no diachronic variation. As will be shown in chapters 4 to 7 of this study, there is often a distinct chronological dividing line where West-Country variants from the fourteenth and fifteenth century are considered.

Just as early southern texts that were outside the original time-limits were found to be dialectologically useful, so some later texts within the original time-limit were found to contain many standard, ‘colourless’ forms and were therefore less useful for the purposes of dialectological study. For these reasons, most of the manuscript-texts localised to the southern half of England by LALME can be dated to between the time limits of 1325 to 1425. The date-limits for the present study extend from the late twelfth century to around 1473, although the majority of texts belonging to the fifteenth century.

Adapting LALME’s questionnaire

The methodology used by those carrying out the *Middle English Dialect Project* was similar to that of modern dialect surveys, where the variant forms of dialectologically useful ‘items’ are elicited from a number of informants across a geographical area and plotted on maps in order to identify dialect boundaries. The ‘variants’ of each ‘item’ on a questionnaire can be defined as those forms that are considered to have equivalent function and/or meaning. In this way, variants collected for each item

might differ from one another lexically, phonologically, graphemically or morphosyntactically. Dialect areas have traditionally been identified when constructing dialect atlases by mapping the occurrence of the variants of each item, then drawing lines isoglosses between each instance of the same variant, until an area of common usage has been identified for the item.

In LALME, the informants are the extant late medieval scribal texts of an area and the questionnaire is applied to a representative section of each of these texts. In the case of LALME, this representative sample is five consecutive folios taken from the beginning of the text, five from the middle and five from the end. In the present study, due to the variability of script size and the number of lines per page, a 1500 line sample of each text is subjected to the questionnaire (if possible 500 lines from the beginning, middle and end of the text). In this way, it is possible to obtain a sample of spelling variants to provide information concerning graphemic, phonological, morphological, lexical and grammatical aspects of each scribe's system.

Of the four methods of completing a questionnaire shown in LALME (volume one, section 2.2.2), the 'partially ordered profile' has been used in the present study; changing ink colour every one hundred lines as variants are recorded. (see figure 5).

THINK pouzte (n)!!
 (AL)THOUGH they I pey I
 THROUGH prow I throw I prouze!!! porze I prouz I proze I

Figure 5: A section of questionnaire containing forms elicited from Harley 2383.

This allowed the easy relocation of forms previously noted, while also allowing the identification of patterns of usage throughout each five hundred-line tranche and throughout the text as a whole.

As has already been mentioned, a sample of three five-hundred line sections from the beginning, middle and end of each manuscript was subjected to the questionnaire, in order that all the texts could be surveyed in the given time. In some cases this means that the entire text has been surveyed, as in the case of Douce 232, but in the case of very large texts, the one thousand five hundred lines forms only a sample of the text. It is also the case that some fragments of texts only contain a few hundred lines and therefore these texts produce a small number of linguistic item variants.

Two factors were considered in the selection of items for the LALME questionnaire: first, as with modern dialect studies, it was important to consider the degree to which the variant spellings of an item were likely to vary diatopically. In the absence of living informants, who can be guided towards uttering a word, the second consideration had to be the likelihood that an item would occur frequently enough in the surviving corpus of literary and documentary texts to allow their comparison.

As with the varying date limits for the northern and southern manuscript corpus, it was found more profitable that the questionnaires for the northern and southern half of LALME should diverge; as some items which were of interest in the study of northern varieties showed little or no variation in the South and vice versa. Therefore two questionnaires developed that, naturally, have some items in common, but which are suited to record the highest number of dialectally significant spellings for their own particular areas. The questionnaire used in the present study is based on that used for the southern half of the LALME corpus,¹¹⁵ although a number of modifications have been made.

¹¹⁵ In order to keep the questionnaire at a manageable size, the following items recorded on the LALME southern questionnaire are not recorded in the present study IT, STRENGTH, LENGTH, WORK, BUSY, CALL, DREAD, SPREAD, FILTH, FLESH, OE fon, GOOD, HANG, HEAR, HENCE, HOLD, KIND, LEAD (v), LET, LIE, NO MORE, PRIDE, READ, RUN, SEE, SILVER, SLAIN, SPAKE, BRAKE, STEAD, THENCE, THOUSAND, WEEK, WORSE, WORSHIP, YIELD, -ER. A number of items were also later removed from the southwestern questionnaire, as they did not

It is axiomatic that the ideal questionnaire cannot really be created until all texts have been surveyed and all work completed. This study, however, benefits from the previous work of the LALME editors. Dot maps in volume one of LALME have proved to be a particularly useful source of information in devising a questionnaire suited to the South West of medieval England.¹¹⁶ These allowed the identification of those variants of items that were common to the whole of England; those that were common in the West of England; those that occurred in the West Country alone and those which were never found in the West Country. An initial study of these maps and other works on the language of the South West (see chapter 3) have led to the identification of <u> reflexes of OE *y* and *eo* as a particularly distinctive feature of southwestern medieval England and these are useful in identifying a text as coming from this area. Several OE *y* and *eo* words form part of the extended questionnaire, although it has been found that only a limited number of these words, such as SIN and EARTH occur frequently.

The items used in the questionnaire in the present study are listed below:

Nouns (sg/pl), adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions.

AFTER, AGAIN, AGAINST, ANY, BEFORE, BELIEF, BEYOND, BOTH, BRIDGE, BUT, CHURCH, DAY(S), DEEP, EACH, EARL, EARTH, (N)EITHER...(N)OR, EVIL, EYE(S), FIGHT, FIRE, FIRST, FROM, HEAVEN, HIGH, HILL, IF, KIN, KING, KISS, KNEW, LAND, LIGHT, LIFE, LITTLE, LOVE, MAN, MANY, MEN, MIGHT, MUCH, NOT, OLD, OWN, SELF, SIN, SINCE, SUCH, THAN, THEN, THERE, (AL)THOUGH, THROUGH, TOGETHER, TWO, UNTIL, WILL, WITH, WORLD, WORTHY, WOULD, YET,

elicit many variants from the manuscripts used in the survey; these were BRIDGE, BURY, DRINK, FAR, FELL, FETCH, FLY, FROM, HIDE, LISTEN, THE SAME.

¹¹⁶ LALME volume 1: 305 - 511

Pronouns

HE, HER (Accusative and Dative), HER (Genitive), HIM, HIS, I, ME, MY, OUR, SHE, THEE, THEIR, THEM, THESE, THEY, THOSE, THOW, THY, US, WE, YE, YOU, YOUR.

Verbs :- collected in first, second and third person, singular and plural, past and present tense in indicative mode.

ASK, BELIEVE, BURN, COULD, DID, FIGHT, FLY, GET, GIVE, GO, LISTEN, MIGHT, LIVE, SHALL, SHOULD, THINK, WILL.

Verbs :- collected in first, second and third person, singular and plural, past and present tense, in subjunctive and indicative mode.

TO BE, TO HAVE and TO COME

Phonemes¹¹⁷

/v/ reflexes of OE /f/, /z/ reflexes of OE /s/, /w/, /h/ and /hw/ reflexes of OE /hw/, /g/ reflexes of OE /k/, /b/ reflexes of OE /p/, /d/ reflexes of OE /θ/ and /ð/.

Morphemes and enclitic forms

-LY
NE+BE, HAVE, WILL etc.

Y- Past participle marker.

¹¹⁷ Any examples of hypercorrection were also collected in this section as evidence of the same phenomenon.

Lexical, morphosyntactic and phonological information

Lexical

The value of lexical data for the purposes of localisation varies according to the region that is being studied. The usefulness of a collection of dialectally distinct lexical items in a large-scale survey of medieval written language such as LALME is limited, as words that are useful for the purpose of localisation are often specialised words occurring infrequently in the types of texts that are found in the medieval West Country; for example farming terms. Alexander Gill identifies a number of specifically West-Country lexical items such as 'witpot' for 'sausage', but it is unlikely that this or any other of Gill's southwestern dialectal words (page 170-171) would be found in the medieval romances or religious texts that make up the majority of the texts localised in LALME to the West Country. Such collections of words perhaps belong to the taxonomic interest in dialect of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Morphosyntactic

The importance of the use of the morphosyntactic features in late medieval texts relates to the identification of the progressiveness of dialect in the area being studied. One of the distinguishing features of the medieval West Country is its linguistic conservatism in what was already the inflectionally conservative southern half of England. It is possible to trace the impact of other varieties on southwestern medieval English by looking at the proportions of different inflectional endings found in texts. An invaluable part of the southwestern questionnaire has involved the recording of pronoun and verb paradigms. The number of recorded instances of each

variant can be found, in brackets, after the variant. These pronoun paradigms are presented in the following format:

NOM (sg) y (60) me (1)

ACC (sg) me (5)

GEN (sg) my (6)

DAT (sg) me (1)

FIRST PERSON

NOM (pl) we (14)

ACC (pl) ous (10)

GEN (pl) our⁹ (64) our (1)

DAT (pl) ous (4)

REFLEXIVE

SECOND PERSON

NOM (sg) þou (2) þu (1)

ACC (sg) þou (1)

GEN (sg)

DAT (sg)

REFLEXIVE

SECOND PERSON

NOM (pl) 3e (30)

ACC (pl) 3ow (9) 3ov (2)

GEN (pl) 3our⁹ (4) 3our (1)

DAT(pl) 3ow (1)

THIRD PERSON masc.


NOM (sg) he (285) hym (1)

ACC (sg) hym (72) hī (6) hȳ (1)

GEN (sg) his (103) is (15)

DAT (sg) hym (22) hī (3) hȳ (1)

REFLEXIVE	hym silf (3)	h̄y (2)	hym sylf (1)	hym (1)
THIRD PERSON fem.				
NOM (sg)	ʒeo (49)	heo (1)		
ACC (sg)	hir ⁹ (21)	hir (3)		
GEN (sg)	hir ⁹ (11)	hir (3)		
DAT (sg)	hir ⁹ (2)	hir (1)		
THIRD PERSON pl.				
NOM (pl)	þei (346)	þei (8)	þe (3)	þeie (3)
	hi (2)	þay (1)	ham (1)	hy (1)
ACC (pl)	ham (31)	hem (23)		
GEN (pl)	hir ⁹ (79)	hir (8)	hire (1)	
DAT (pl)	hem (9)	ham (7)		
REFLEXIVE	ham (5)	hem (3)	hem silf (1)	

It can be seen from the variants entered in the table above, and indeed throughout each *linguistic profile* in the appendices, that abbreviations have not been expanded; for example,  would be recorded as <her⁹> not <here>. ¹¹⁸ Abbreviations were recorded in this way so that no irreversible decisions were made concerning this expansion and also in case this information should prove useful for any future studies based on the material collected.

In order to limit the number of items collected, while also carrying out a comprehensive morphosyntactic survey, all forms of nouns are recorded, with footnotes identifying if <(e)s> inflections are genitive or plural. Only first, second and third person, singular and plural forms of the verb in present and past tense are recorded for verbs on pages one, two and four of the questionnaire. In order to simplify the gathering and analysis of morphosyntactic information, participles,

¹¹⁸ The *Junicode* font was used in order to obtain the abbreviations needed. A key for the abbreviations used is provided before the questionnaires in the appendices (see page 407.)

imperatives and infinitive forms are not included in manuscript profiles. The variants of verb items are laid out in the scribal manuscript in the format shown below:

SHALL	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	plural
	schal (19)	schalt (29)	schal (13)	schulleþ (8)
	schel (3)	schalt ^u (2)	schel (2)	schulle (8)
		scholtou (1)	schullap (1)	schul (5)
		schelt (1)	schul (1)	schal (2)
		schal (1)	schulle (1)	schullap (1)
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	schold (1)	scholdest (2)	scholde (12)	scholde (8)
	scholde (1)	scholtou (1)	schold (5)	schulde (1)
			schudde (1)	

The declensions of three common verbs: TO BE, TO HAVE and TO COME have also been recorded in past and present tense in indicative and subjunctive mood. This information is presented in the appendices of the present thesis in the following format. The most common variant found is entered first, followed by all others in descending order of number of occurrences:

TO BE Indicative

1 ST person	am (16)				
2 ND person	art (16)	ert (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (73)	is (19)	ben (2)	his (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	bup (54)	ben (2)			
Subjunctive	beo (4)	be (4)			

TO BE Preterite

1 ST person	was (25)	were (1)			
2 ND person	were (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	was (140)	ware (3)	wes (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	were (51)	wern (17)	wer (11)	ware (2)	weren (1)
	wer (3)	war (1)			
Subjunctive	were (12)	wer (2)			

TO HAVE Indicative

1 ST person	haue (15)	hauest (1)			
2 ND person	hast (7)	hauest (4)	haue (1)		
3 RD person (sg)	hap (17)	haueþ (6)	hath (1)	haue (1)	

3 RD person (pl)	habbeþ (12)	han (10)	haue (3)	haueþ (1)
Subjunctive	haue (2)	habbe (1)	ha (1)	hab (1)
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person	hadd (1)	hadde (1)		
2 ND person	haddest (3)			
3 RD person (sg)	had (29)	hadde (12)	haueþ (2)	han (1)
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (8)	had (3)	hade (1)	hauede (1)
Subjunctive	had (1)			
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person	come (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (4)	compþ (2)	cometh (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	comeþ (3)	come (1)		
Subjunctive	come (8)	com (3)	cam (3)	
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person	come (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	cam (10)	com (6)	come (3)	
3 RD person (pl)	come (9)	comen (2)	com (1)	
Subjunctive	. ---			

The systematic recording of variants in these paradigms should provide a good means of comparison for the inflectional elements of each manuscript-text and the information collected is presented in map form in chapter 7.

Phonological

Perhaps one of the most important additions to the southwestern questionnaire, is that of features which might be described as phonemic. These features do not occur frequently in texts, but their occasional presence provides important dialectal information. A list of these rare consonantal features is included below:

1. Voicing of /f/ and devoicing of /v/.
2. Voicing of /s/ and devoicing of /z/.
3. Voicing of /p/ and devoicing of /b/.

4. Voicing of /t/ and devoicing of /d/.
5. Voicing of /k/ and devoicing of /g/.
6. Changing of /ð/ to /d/.

The proportion of instances of these features cannot be directly compared between texts, as it is not feasible to record every instance of a word-initial <f>, <s>, <p>, <t> and <k>. Nevertheless, where a few of these forms are found, they provide dialectological evidence concerning consonant voicing. Historically, some of these features are not exclusively southwestern; however, it has been found that the voicing of word-initial voiceless fricatives and plosives die out last in the West Country. In this way, these phonological features become an important part of the description of medieval southwestern written language.

Use of manuscripts, microfilm and editions.

LALME lists three types of source material from which dialectological and orthographic evidence can be collected:

- from the original manuscript
- from microfilm of the manuscript
- from a 'reliable' printed edition 'provided that sufficient information is given about details such as changes of hands in the manuscript.'¹¹⁹

There are a number of problems involved with the use of editions of manuscript-texts as source material. Burton identifies the exclusive use of the original manuscript and microfilm of the manuscript as an improvement that could be made to the methodology of LALME.¹²⁰ Although accurate editions can often afford insight into

¹¹⁹ LALME volume one (section 2.2)

¹²⁰ Burton 1991: 188

problematical readings, work is best carried out on materials as close to the original manuscript as possible. Editions were used for the documentary texts in the present study, (please refer to appendix 5).¹²¹ There is evidence to suggest that certain graphs have been replaced in these editions (see section 5.2 on the use of the <z> graph in editions), perhaps in order to make the text easier for the modern reader. Printed editions have otherwise only occasionally been used in conjunction with microfilm of manuscripts where texts are badly damaged or have become faded over time.

This is the case for the use of the EETS edition of Ashmole 33. This edition provides valuable readings of the faded cover leaves, containing an initial draft of a section of the poem. The original cover leaves are obviously much more faded since the EETS editor, Herrtage, made his transcription. Another example is that of Cotton Cxiii, the Lazamon's Brut manuscript that was badly damaged in the fire at Ashburnham House and later pieced together and rebound. It was essential to make reference to the *Society of Antiquaries* version of this text, edited by Sir Frederic Madden. For convenience and accuracy, microfilm has been used above all other source materials. Where reference has been made to an edition, its details have been recorded on the manuscript profile, presented in the appendix five.

Damage or wear to a manuscript can often appear more pronounced on a microfilm reproduction, whereas writing on the original manuscript is perfectly legible. Where this is the case, queries have been noted and checked against the original at a later date. Likewise, where large sections of the manuscript are illegible on microfilm; as much of the work as possible has been completed and the rest finished when access to the manuscript has been possible. This was the case for Douce 216 and Digby 14 and Trinity 1450.

¹²¹ It is possible that some graphemes were normalised in order to avoid confusion for the reader in the editions of documentary material (please see section 5.2 on the normalising of <}> to <z>s).

2.2.1 The use of new computer-assisted techniques in dialectological and palaeographical analysis

One means of progression in the study of historical written language is to utilise new technologies developed for the study of living languages. Labov has highlighted the problems encountered when trying to derive phonological information concerning past stages of a language:

‘Except for very recent times, no phonetic records are available for instrumental measurements. We usually know very little about the social position of the writers and not much more about the social structure of the community. Though we know what was written, we know nothing about what was understood, and we are in no position to perform controlled experiments on cross-dialectal comprehension. Our knowledge of what was distinctive and what was not is severely limited, since we cannot use the knowledge of native speakers to differentiate nondistinctive from distinctive variants.’¹²²

For Labov, the way forward in historical linguistic studies and the solution to many of the unsolved questions in this field lies in the application of theories and techniques developed in *synchronic* linguistic studies; for instance, computer assisted statistical techniques and present-day sociolinguistic theory. In Principles of Linguistic Change Labov writes:

‘The chapters to follow will apply data from the synchronic study of linguistic change in progress to historical problems. By this means, I hope to reinforce the natural alliance of dialect geography, sociolinguistics, phonetics and

¹²² Labov 1994: 11

historical linguistics – fields that share a common interest in objective data.

The connections that we can make today were not possible a hundred years ago, since they depend to a large extent on new technology.... With new methods for the multivariate analysis of discrete linguistic variation, one can provide objective evidence for more abstract analyses of the changes that are taking place.¹²³

In this section the use of multivariate statistics in dialect geography, that is, identifying dialect areas and corroborating localisations, will be described and explained, but first it is necessary to look at the means by which LALME localised texts in the medieval West Country.

2.2.1.1 Localisation

This chapter is concerned with the analysis and grouping of manuscripts according to data gathered using questionnaires as described in the previous section. Initially, the problem of subjectivity in dialectological localisation will be addressed with reference to problems specific to the West Country section of LALME. An alternative method of determining dialect groups will be considered as a means of checking localisation alongside those methods devised by the editors of LALME.

Problems of localisation

There were two ways in which the editors of LALME dealt with the problem of finding a geographical location for the dialectal spellings of each manuscript.

LALME's editors were faced with a large number of manuscripts that were not

¹²³ Labov 1994: 25

authorial holographs, but which nevertheless contained a large amount of dialectologically useful material. In order to make the best use of this material, those involved in the *Middle English Dialect Project* used spellings found in local documents to create a framework through which they could localise larger works. As the editors of LALME point out:

‘The starting-point of any dialectal investigation of mediaeval English must be with texts that can be associated with definite places or areas on non-linguistic grounds. It is essential to begin by plotting on maps all the material that can be derived from such sources: these are the ‘anchor’ texts that attach the whole structure to the real topography of Britain.’¹²⁴

This type of localisation works well in areas such as the Midlands, where a reasonable number of local documents survive. Localisation is made more difficult in areas where fewer local documents survive. The editors of LALME themselves admit that ‘the coverage of the country is uneven’¹²⁵ as far as local documents are concerned and that there are far more local documents found for Lancashire than for Wiltshire.

Where this was the case, as with the West Country, the editors of LALME seem to have relied on references, such as marks of ownership, contained within literary manuscripts as a means of establishing a location for the dialectal and graphological forms used in them. Map one at the beginning of this thesis shows the West Country locations assigned to various mapped sources in LALME.

¹²⁴ LALME volume one page 9

¹²⁵ LALME volume one page 9

At least fifteen, probably more, of the localisations on map one are extralinguistic.

The most obvious of these are the documentary texts:

1. The Yatton churchwarden's accounts
2. Two Alwington indentures
3. The Letters of John Shillingford, mayor of Exeter
4. Bridgewater Borough Archives
5. Six Ermington documents
6. The Red Book of Bath¹²⁶
7. The will of Thomas Broke of Holditch, Devon¹²⁷.

These seven sources might rightly be classed as local documents; selected as dialectological sources for their respective geographical areas for the same reasons that Matthews¹²⁸ selects his sources in his study of fifteenth to seventeenth century English of the West Country (p166 approx).

There is a slight problem concerning the use of the will of Thomas Broke. The text, dated 1417, is the will of a landowner of Holditch in Devon¹²⁹ and is localised to this area. Nevertheless, from an edition of the text edited by Furnivall, it would appear that Thomas Broke himself wrote only two lines of text as well as dating and signing the will:

¹²⁶ Moore et al. (1935: 51) localise the Liber Rubeus Bathoniae to Bath as it was compiled for municipal purposes.

¹²⁷ Holditch formed part of Devonshire until 1844 (See Darby 1967:71).

¹²⁸ Matthews 1939

¹²⁹ Now in Dorset.

‘Thys/ twey lynis I wrete almeste w^t myn⁹ owne Hond.’¹³⁰

The ‘twey lynis’ refer to the signature and date. Therefore the dialectal evidence presented in the text might not be typical of Holditch, but the area of the person who drew up the will, of whom there is no information.

Some other manuscripts that appear to have been localised extralinguistically are: Rawlinson 328, Add. 11748, Ashmole 189, Ashmole 33, Douce 216, Douce 232, Douce 236, Harley 2383 and Trinity 1450.

- 1) Rawlinson 328 contains a piece of Latin in the main hand of the manuscript saying: ‘Iste liber constat valterus Pollarde off Plymmoth’ and is accordingly localised to Plymouth, see map 1.¹³¹

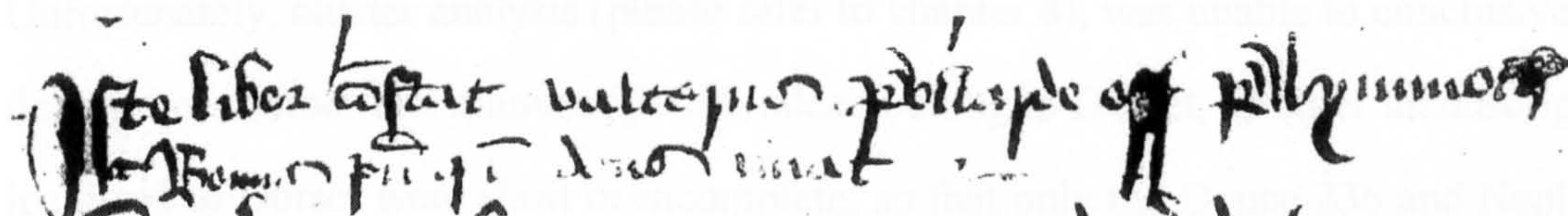


Figure 6: Section from Rawlinson 238, © Bodleian Library Oxford.

- 2) Add. 11748, contains the inscription ‘Hunc librum & librum vocatum gracia dei qui est in custodia Willī Carente heant abbatissa & conventus Shafton⁹ in succursum anime Johis horder.’ This text is localised to Shaftesbury in Dorset, see map 1.

¹³⁰ Furnival 1882:28 lines 11 & 12.

¹³¹ According to Moore et al (1935: 54) Walter Pollard lived in Plymouth during the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV. (1422 – 1483)

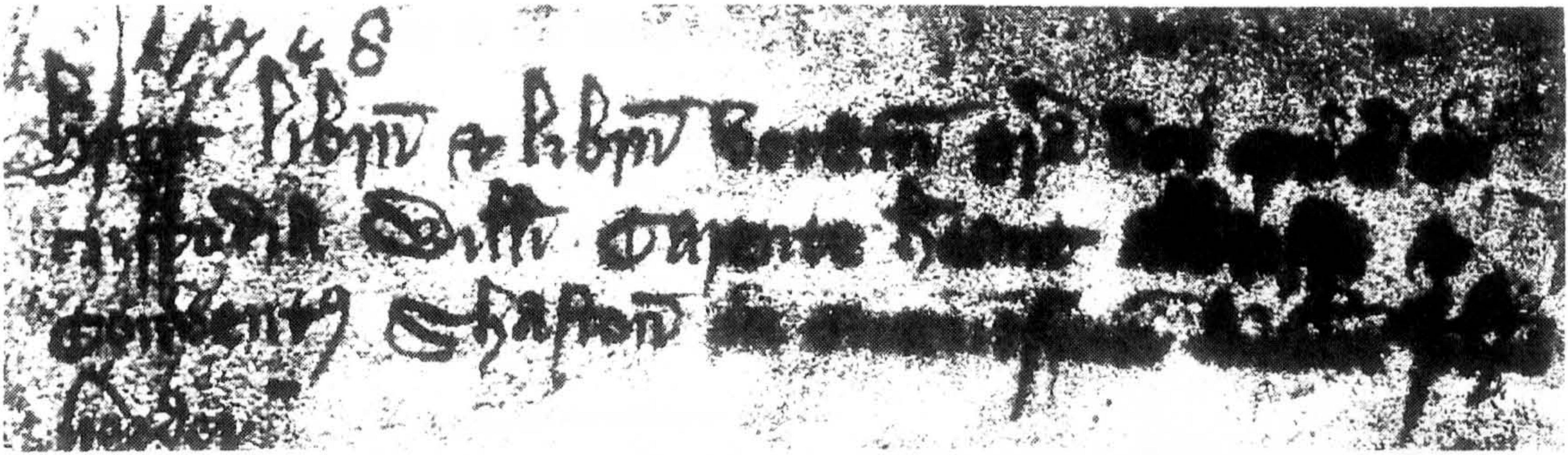


Figure 7: Section from Add. 11748, © British Library, London.

3) Douce 236 is controversially localised to Tolpuddle, perhaps on the strength of an inscription in a later hand written in the margin of folio 14r.

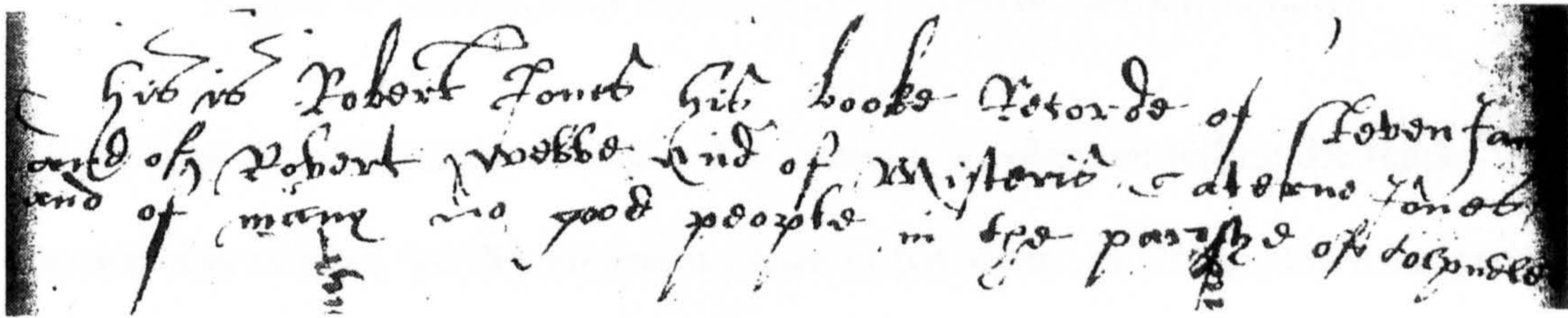


Figure 8: Marginal note from Douce 236, © Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Unfortunately, cluster analysis (please refer to chapter 8), was unable to conclusively determine whether this manuscript did indeed belong to Dorset, as other manuscripts localised to Dorset were short or incomplete, so that only the Douce 236 and Naples 13.B.29 manuscripts could be used in the analysis. This Arthur and Merlin text belonged to a cluster of manuscripts localised in LALME mainly to the southern Somersetshire and eastern Devon, which suggests that the LALME localisation could not have been far wrong.

3) In Harley 2383, several references are made to a John Mydwyntyr. As seen below, the name John Mydwyntyr is written on folio 15r. The end of a section in English in folio 30r is signed 'Mydwyntyr' in the same hand as the main body of the text, but lines 4 and 5 in folio 50v mention someone living in or being known in Couster,

Stratford.¹³² According to the entry in LALME's sources mapped for Somerset, a man called John Mydwyntyr was a clergyman at Claverton in 1474 and so the manuscript is localised to this area, see map 1.

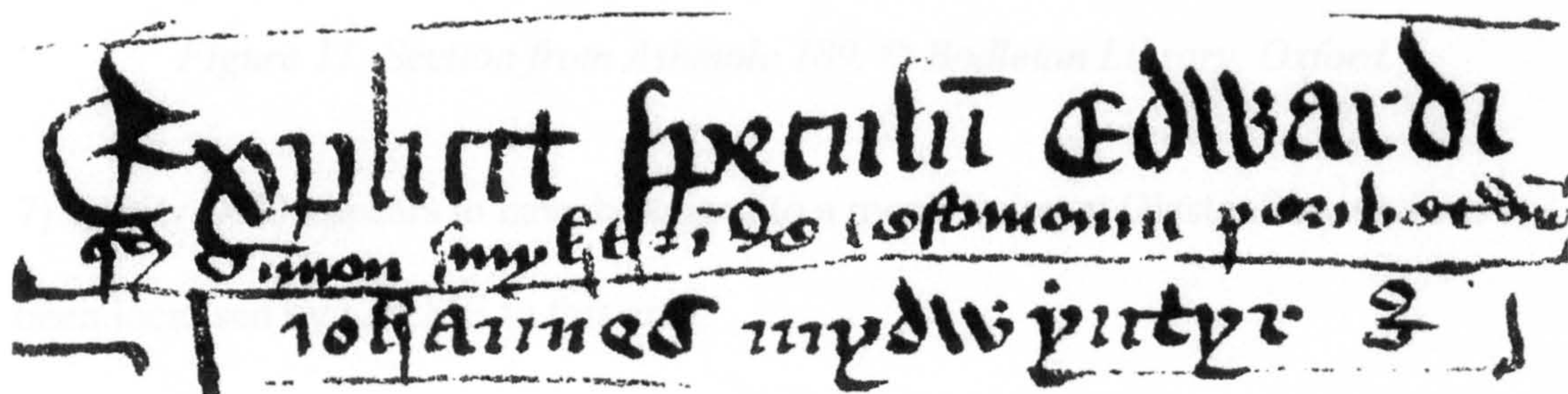


Figure 9: Section from Harley 2383. © British Library, London.

5) The four-page fragment of Douce 216 contains a colophon telling the reader that the text was written 'yn Wymborne mynster in þat stede' in Dorset, the localisation of the text seems to rely on this reference, see map 1.

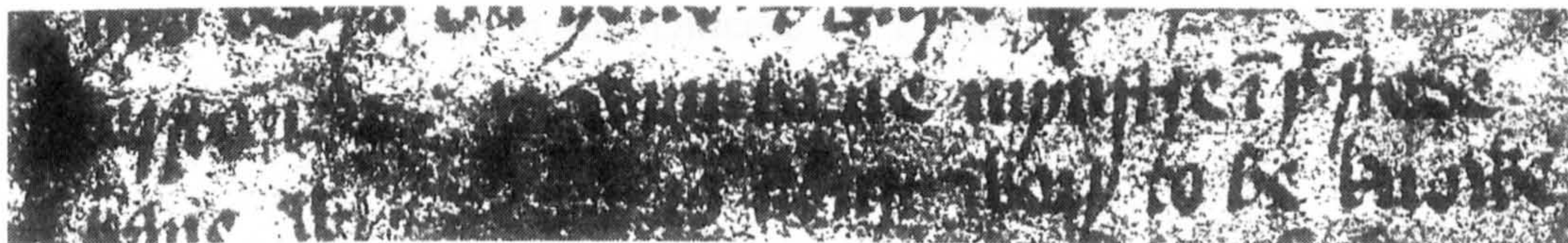


Figure 10: Section from Douce 216, © Bodleian Library, Oxford.

6) Ashmole 189a contains a reference to 'John apark dwelling in mylke strete' London. Text two is prefaced with a reference to 'Wrixill', possibly Wraxall in Somerset and the text is superceded by a two-line entry referring to Richard Coscumbe prior of Muchelney, Somerset. LALME states, in *Sources Mapped*, for Somerset that the manuscript has Muchelney connections and the manuscript was localised to this part of the county.

¹³² Folio 50v lines 4&5 <he woneth yn. or ys known In / couster Stratford...>

Dennunc' vicarius Costumbe prior de
michetuer est possessor' Gunde Abz'

Figure 11: Section from Ashmole 189. © Bodleian Library, Oxford.

7) Trinity 1450 appears to have belonged to a monk living at Glastonbury and has been localised by LALME to this area.

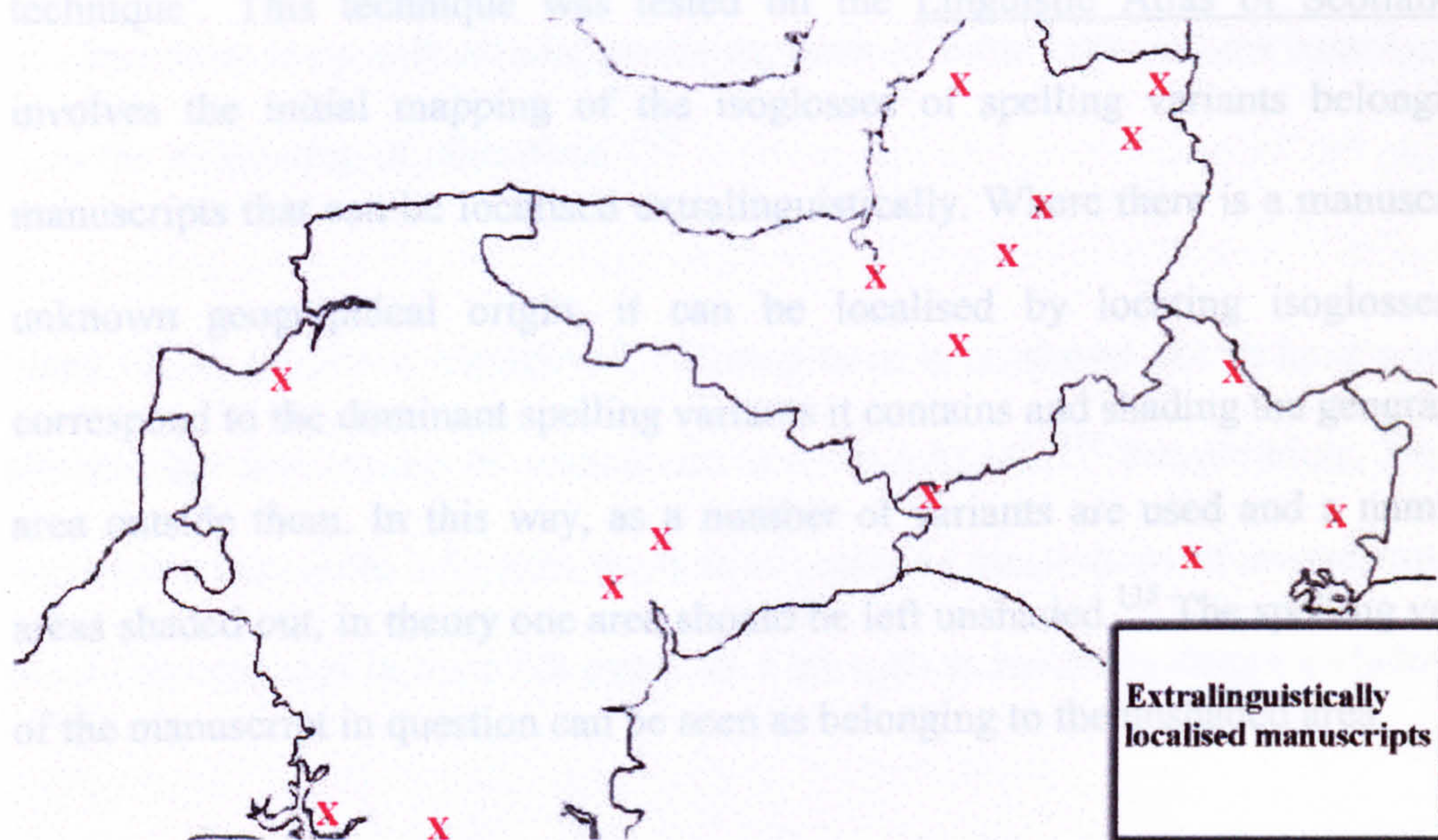
8) Ashmole 33 contains no extralinguistic clues within the body of the text, as to where it could have come from, but the manuscript itself was kept within an outer envelope containing a letter executory, dated to 1357, of a bull of pope Innocent VI for the presentation of Thomas de Silton to the vicarage of Columpton, in the diocese of Exeter. The inner cover is a public announcement dated 1377 pertaining to the chapel of Holne, again in the Diocese of Exeter. In his catalogue of Ashmole manuscripts, the editor concludes that:

‘... the author was a clergyman [who] lived in the diocese of Exeter, (probably in that city) and composed his work shortly after 1377 or early in the reign of Richard II’¹³³

The LALME editors are in agreement with this and localise Ashmole 33 to Exeter.

¹³³ Black 1845: 14

In total, sixteen texts from the mapped sources in the West Country appear to have been localised extralinguistically. The geographical distribution of these texts is represented on the map of the West Country below.



Map 9: Extralinguistically localised manuscripts.

Problems with the fit technique

The spelling information gathered from local documents in LALME functions mainly as a framework for the purpose of localising larger, literary texts. In theory, the spellings of a larger lexical range can be collected from these literary texts once they have been localised. As the editors of LALME explain:

‘... however essential local documents may be as a foundation for a dialect survey, the fact remains that they are totally inadequate in their provision of the

main material of which it must consist... their main disadvantage is their sparseness of lexical range.¹³⁴

For this reason, another means of localising documents was devised, namely the 'fit technique'. This technique was tested on the Linguistic Atlas of Scotland and involves the initial mapping of the isoglosses of spelling variants belonging to manuscripts that can be localised extralinguistically. Where there is a manuscript of unknown geographical origin, it can be localised by locating isoglosses that correspond to the dominant spelling variants it contains and shading the geographical area outside them. In this way, as a number of variants are used and a number of areas shaded out, in theory one area should be left unshaded.¹³⁵ The spelling variants of the manuscript in question can be seen as belonging to the unshaded area.

Such a method using isoglosses is often criticised as being too subjective an approach. Generally speaking, dialect areas shade into one another, so the identification of a boundary where language changes abruptly is often not appropriate. It is also the case that not all dialectal items correspond with one another in distribution and this can often be a confusing factor when using an isogloss method. In the case of historical dialectology, several possible areas of origin might be identified for one manuscript when item maps are superimposed or none at all, as was found by Burton in his study based on LALME's methodology and materials.¹³⁶

Burton has also drawn attention to the problem of mislocalisation of a text and the effect this would have on all subsequent localisations:

¹³⁴ LALME volume one pages 9 and 10.

¹³⁵ LALME volume one page 10

¹³⁶ Burton 1990

‘... the identification and the correct location of the primary anchor texts... is crucial to the construction of the dialect map. If one of these texts is seriously misplaced, chaos ensues... one wrong placing affects all secondary and subsequent texts with similar spellings; each of those texts in turn contributes to the misplacing of other texts.’¹³⁷

Many of the problems identified by Burton have been shown not to have seriously affected the localisation of manuscript texts in LALME.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, any new procedures that could help with the task of verifying localisation of manuscript-texts should be exploited to their full potential. One such technique is described below.

2.2.1.2 The use of multivariate statistics in dialectology

Recently, in the field of dialectology, there has been a move away from the identification of dialect boundaries and towards the identification of groups of informants that can be grouped together according to their dialect features. A relatively objective exploratory method of identifying dialect groups belongs to the field of multivariate statistics.

In this study, one type of dialectometrical procedure, namely *cluster analysis*, or *automatic data classification*, will be used in order to identify dialect groups according to spelling features in medieval West-Country texts. Such a technique has already been used in order to identify present-day dialect groups in the West

¹³⁷ Burton 1990: 169

¹³⁸ Please refer to Benskin 1991.

Country¹³⁹ and the results of the present attempt at dialectometrical analysis will be compared with this modern study in chapter 9.

It should be stressed that, as this is a completely new technique in the area of medieval dialectology, the approach will be one of cross-validation with localisations given in LALME. In chapter 8, it will be shown how the use of an objective statistical approach can collaborate with that of traditional methods, allowing the identification of dialect groups from selected variables collected from each manuscript-text. These groups will also be looked at in more detail using a more traditional method of producing maps of spelling forms and identifying areas of usage as in chapters 4 to 7. In order to create a context for this study, some of the present applications of cluster analysis will be considered.

Applications of cluster analysis

One area in which cluster analysis has recently been applied is that of determining authorship and characterising genre. The procedure that is used for this application is easily adapted to process the dialectal and graphemic information gained from medieval spellings and is similar to that which will be used in this present study.

A statistical study of authorial style firstly involves the identification of a set of countable stylistic features, such as common lexical items and grammatical or rhetorical features.¹⁴⁰ These countable features can be quantified if the text is

¹³⁹ Klemola 1990 (based on information gathered for the SED).

¹⁴⁰ Kenny 1982:15

subjected to a questionnaire. The frequency of occurrence of each item is a facet of the author's own personal style or the genre of the text. The entities, in this case, books by individual authors are then automatically grouped by a statistics programme into clusters according to measurements of their similarities and differences. The cluster analysis allows the researcher to obtain a picture of the relative relationship between one author and another, or one text and another, based on the stylistic information that has been gathered. This approach can be seen as a relatively objective means of analysing collected data.¹⁴¹

Statistics in dialect analysis

Statistical procedures are used in the analysis of dialects where phonetic, lexical or morphosyntactic information has been collected systematically; for example, in analysing the material collected in present-day dialect atlases.¹⁴² One study that makes use of statistics in order to determine dialect boundaries and groupings is that of Kessler. Kessler's study attempts to determine how phonetic profiles of individual Gaelic speaking informants will cluster using statistical techniques. In particular, Kessler¹⁴³ wished to see which areas would form dialect groups over the geographically fragmented Gaeltachd -- Ireland, northwest Scotland and the Isle of Man. The data used by Kessler had previously been collected by Wagner and compiled in a dialect atlas of spoken Gaelic at roughly the turn of the century. Therefore, part of Kessler's study involved the comparison of the outcome of

¹⁴¹ See Opas and Tweedie 1999

¹⁴² Klemola 1994.

¹⁴³ See Kessler 1995

localisations obtained in his own study with the more labour-intensive localisations carried out by Wagner involving traditional isogloss.

Kessler's abstract for the computation of linguistic distance is as follows:

'Dialect groupings can be discovered objectively and automatically by cluster analysis of phonetic transcriptions such as those found in a linguistic atlas. The first step in the analysis, the computation of linguistic distance between each pair of sites, can be computed as Levenshtein distance between phonetic strings. This correlated closely with the much more laborious technique of determining and counting isoglosses...'¹⁴⁴

The computation of Levenshtein distance involves the calculation of how different one word is from another; that is, how many segmental changes, additions or subtractions a phonemic transcription of a word would have to undergo in order to become another word. Though this method of analysis proved profitable for Kessler's study, the quantity of variants obtained from medieval manuscripts in the present study was too large and they were too varied to make calculation of Levenshtein distance feasible.¹⁴⁵ Instead an approach similar to that of statistical studies of authorship was used.

¹⁴⁴ Kessler 1995:60

¹⁴⁵ A pilot study using only the most common variant from a small set of variants in a limited number of manuscripts from the medieval West Country did not produce any meaningful clusters and so this technique has not been used.

Some drawbacks associated with using cluster analysis

As with any dialectological technique, there are drawbacks involved with using cluster analysis. Although it is in many ways a more objective means of identifying dialectal similarities and can synthesise a large amount of dialectological information, it requires the careful selection of texts and variables so that results are not skewed; as Kaufman and Rousseeuw point out:

‘In general, the selection of “good” variables is a non-trivial task and may involve quite some trial and error... In this respect, cluster analysis may be considered an exploratory technique.’¹⁴⁶

One of the most obvious drawbacks of cluster analysis in a medieval dialectological context, where informants come from an unknown locality, is that the technique cannot give a geographical location for a text; it can only show which texts are dialectologically similar. Here the use of isoglosses has an advantage, as texts of known geographical origin can be mapped, as can isoglosses relating to these texts. It is therefore necessary to check for geographically clustering texts by plotting symbols for one identified cluster onto LALME localisations. One proponent of the application of statistical techniques in dialect geography is Labov, who highlights the benefits of the *theory-free* nature of statistical techniques such as cluster analysis. Where the objective analysis of the computer programme corresponds with the results of a more subjective and theoretical approach, the results are compelling:

¹⁴⁶ Kaufman & Rousseeuw 1990: 14

‘...the theory-free character of these methods can yield exceptionally strong conclusions when the results coincide with the categories predicted by a particular theory.’¹⁴⁷

Using statistical techniques, it is possible to check if there is a correspondence between LALME localisations and texts that have clustered automatically using a statistics programme. If clustered manuscripts, plotted onto their LALME localisations, are geographically cohesive, there is compelling independent evidence that LALME’s theoretical approach to the localisation of medieval texts is accurate. However, if a geographically random pattern is obtained, this would be an indication that LALME’s methodology is flawed.

Another drawback connected with cluster analysis is that, whereas a large number of individual spelling variants from medieval texts can be mapped using isoglosses, the cluster analysis method has to rely on common ‘phonological’/graphemic features rather than individual spellings. The spellings found in medieval manuscripts, especially in the West Country are so many and differ so greatly, that if each separate form is considered as a variable, the spreadsheet created is not only too large, but a great number of zero and very small values would be entered. The presence of a large number of zero values can skew results or prevent the programme from carrying out an analysis. It is therefore necessary to look beyond individual spellings and instead to consider the underlying features they represent. For instance, the spellings <porh>, <porp>, <purɜ> and <porɜ> perhaps each belong to particular

¹⁴⁷ Labov 1994: 26

regions of the West Country, but with cluster analysis, the focus has to be that they are all metathesised forms as opposed to <|prou> <|prow> and <|prough>.

The lumping together of items according to features is what McIntosh hoped to avoid when the idea of LALME was first conceived. McIntosh wanted a ‘word by word’ examination of dialectal features, Douce 216. This type of analysis is also included in the present study and cluster analysis of data is intended to complement and not replace McIntosh’s approach.

One final drawback is that only those manuscripts that yield a reasonable amount of data can be used, again in order to avoid zero values. If only a few forms are elicited from a very short manuscript, such as is the case with the four-page Apollonius of Tyre fragment (Douce 216), these can contribute to an isogloss map. In the case of cluster analysis, too many zero values would be entered in the spreadsheet, causing the manuscript to appear very different from the rest, because of the missing values. For these reasons the cluster analysis procedure will be one of cross-validation in collaboration with more traditional methods in order to have the best possible dialectological analysis of the data collected.

Cluster analysis study: methodology

It was decided that, to maintain a manageable, but sufficiently discriminatory set of variables (around forty-four were used) with a minimum number of zero values, significant features rather than individual words should be used for analysis. This is

similar to the technique used in Klemola's study¹⁴⁸ of present-day West Country dialects based on material collected for the SED. The features selected for use in the present study were consonantal and vocalic; this encompasses phonological and graphemic data, as both can be used for the purpose of dialectological localisation.¹⁴⁹

Typically one or two items were selected from the questionnaire and two or more different realisations of a certain feature belonging to these item(s) were identified as phonologically or graphemically significant. For example, the realisation of the vowel in the item ANY could be rounded /ɔ/ <o>, open /a/ <a> or mid-open /ɛ/ <e> or the spelling of a number of items on the questionnaire containing <r> could be metathesised or unmetathesised. The occurrence of each of these realisations was counted and entered into a spreadsheet.

Aside from the types of features already mentioned, there were other less frequently occurring features recorded in each questionnaire. Such features include, for example, evidence of the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives and plosives. It was not considered feasible when completing the questionnaires that every word beginning with an <s> or <f> could be recorded. Nevertheless, the presence of rare spellings indicating initial fricative voicing or plosive voicing is dialectally important and so they have been recorded. Features such as these were converted into percentages for the purpose of comparability by dividing the number of occurrences by the number of lines in each manuscript that had been subjected to the

¹⁴⁸ Klemola 1990

¹⁴⁹ It is acknowledged in this study that all of the information gathered is written language and therefore, in essence, graphemic. However a distinction can be made between those spellings that most likely reflect phonological features and those spellings that have no phonological significance, (please refer to McIntosh 1989b and c).

questionnaire and multiplying by one hundred.¹⁵⁰ In this way, it was also possible to make the presence of these features comparable between manuscripts. The features selected for cluster analysis and items likely to exhibit these features are as follows:

CONSONANTS

Voicing of /f/ and devoicing of /v/.

Voicing of /s/ and devoicing of /z/.

Changing of /ð/ to /d/.

Voicing of /p/ and devoicing of /b/.

Voicing of /k/ and devoicing of /g/.

Voicing of /t/ and devoicing of /d/.

The use of <f> for <gh> in words such as THROUGH and THOUGH.

Metathesis involving /r/ in words such as BURN, FIRST and THROUGH.

Metathesis involving /sk/ in words such as ASK.

Use of <ȝ>/ <y> rather than <g> in words such as GIVE and GAVE.

Labial-velar glide insertion.

Palatal glide insertion.

Use of <w> or <wh> for OE <hw> words

VOWELS

Use of <a>, <o> or <e> in ANY.

Use of <a> or <e> in ART (are).

Use of <u>, <e> or <i/y> in BE (third person singular, ignoring <ben> forms).

Use of <e>, <u> or <i/y> in CHURCH.

Use of <y>, <u/v> or <e> at the beginning of EVIL.

¹⁵⁰ A careful note of the number of lines of each manuscript that were subjected to the questionnaire was kept from the initial part of the study.

Use of <yee> or <eye> type spellings of EYE.

Use of <i> or <y> in FIGHT.

Use of <u>, <i/y> or <e> spellings in FIRST.

Use of <i/y> or <e> spellings in GIVE.

Use of <i/y>, <u> or <e> for HER.

Use of <i> or <y> in IS.

Use of <i> or <y> in LIFE

Use of <i> or <y> in LIGHT

Use of <a>, <o> or <e> in MANY

Use of <i> or <y> in MIGHT

USE of <u>, <o> or <i/y> in MUCH.

Use of <ou> or <o> in NOT.

Use of <a> or <e> in SHALL (third person singular).

Use of <u>, <a> or <e> in SHALL (plural).

Use of <u> or <o> in SHOULD

Use of <a>, <o> or <e> in THAN

Use of <a>, <o> or <e> in THEN.

Use of <wo> or <o> in TWO.

Use of <i> or <y> in UNTIL.

Use of <i/y> or <o> in WILL (verb all persons, not including noun).

Realisation OE \ddot{y} as <i>, <y> and <u> in eg. DID, HILL, WHICH, KIN, KISS and SIN.

Use of <ous> versus <vs/us> realisations of the first person plural accusative pronoun.

Use of <our> versus <owre> realisations of the first person plural genitive pronoun.

Use of <thu> versus <thow/thou> realisations of the second person singular nominative pronoun.

Use of <a>, <e> or <i/y> in THEM

Use of <a>, <e> or <i> in THEY

It is necessary to convert the continuous measurement of each variable into a percentage, so that instead of having, for example, the number of occurrences of the variant forms of the verb GIVE beginning with <ɜ/y> or with <g> for each text, there are two percentage values adding up to one hundred. This also means that one column of variables can be deleted, thereby further reducing the number of zero values entered into the spreadsheet. Saying that 79% of the realisations of GIVE began with <ɜ/y> also tells us that 21% began with <g>, therefore, only one of these columns need be retained. Where there is a three-way distinction, as with most of the items from the vowel section of the spreadsheet, all three columns must be maintained.

Once this conversion into percentages has been carried out, the data are no longer that of continuous variables (the values that each entry can have are constrained between 1 and 100). Cluster analysis is designed to work with continuous variables, therefore a further transformation of the data is required in order to change it back into a continuous variable. In order to allow the statistics programme (SPSS) to cluster the manuscript-texts, the values recorded in each column on the spreadsheet have to undergo this further conversion from a percentage value back into a number.

Columns that are not part of a three way distinction can be converted in SPSS using the formula $\text{LN}(x/100)$, where LN stands for 'natural logarithm' and x = the percentage value in each cell of the spreadsheet. Where there are three types of variants and so three columns belonging to one item, the percentage values are converted by choosing a 'standard' variant and describing the other two columns in terms of this variant. The conversion is carried out using the formulae $\text{LN}(x/y)$ and $\text{LN}(z/y)$ for columns x , y and z , where y is the 'standard' variant. In this way, two columns are created to represent the information contained in the three columns that existed before.

A partitioning rather than a hierarchical method of analysis produced the best results in the study, possibly due to the fact that a hierarchical type of clustering links objects together, but cannot undo them at a later stage. A partitioning method, on the other hand, allows decisions about joining manuscripts and groups to be revised so that:

'the algorithm tries to find a "good" partition in the sense that objects of the same cluster should be close or related to each other, whereas objects of different clusters should be far apart or very different. The aim is usually to uncover a structure that is already present in the data.'¹⁵¹

Trials using an agglomerative hierarchical method illustrated with dendrograms showed that about six clusters could be identified, so it was decided that SPSS should separate the manuscript texts into six clusters. Members of each of the six clusters,

¹⁵¹ Kaufman & Rousseeuw 1990: 39

represented by different symbols, were then plotted onto their LALME localisations. In this way it was possible to cross-validate LALME localisations and also to identify dialect areas within the West Country. In chapter 8, vocalic, then consonantal clusters produced from information collected from the 25 manuscripts used in the study are presented separately, then the clusters produced by vocalic and consonantal information together are presented.

2.2.2 Graphetic analysis

In an article published in 1975, Angus McIntosh identified three areas of scribal output in the late medieval period that could usefully be surveyed for the purpose of comparing manuscript-texts.¹⁵² It was McIntosh's intention that a close examination of these three areas of scribal output would bring together the skills of the linguist and the palaeographer.¹⁵³ Co-operation of this kind was needed to fully exploit the classification of the scribal behaviour for the purposes of localisation and comparison of manuscript-texts. McIntosh outlined how one manuscript-text could be subjected to three questionnaires in order to gather the largest amount of discriminatory evidence: linguistic, graphemic and graphetic. The procedure and intention behind the gathering of *linguistic* and *graphemic* evidence from a manuscript-text has been fully explained in section 2.2 of this chapter and in volume one of LALME. This section deals with the application of new technology to the reproduction of the non-dialectological aspect medieval written material, that is, the reproduction of graphetic (palaeographical) information.

McIntosh recognised a need for the systematic surveying and profiling of all surviving medieval scribal handwriting and, over thirty years ago, he called for the construction of a database of graphetic profiles.¹⁵⁴ At the time, technology had not advanced sufficiently in order to allow the undertaking of such a project. This thesis has as one of its goals a feasibility study investigating the compilation of such a database. For this reason, a selection of scribal profiles has been chosen and is presented on the CD-ROM accompanying this thesis.

¹⁵² Please refer to McIntosh 1989b

¹⁵³ McIntosh 1989b: 47

¹⁵⁴ Please refer to McIntosh 1989b

The limitations of a traditional approach to palaeography will be discussed first, in order to show how a new visual approach to graphetic profiling of scribal hands can give unambiguous, first-hand information to both the experienced palaeographer and to those who are not palaeographers, but whose work relies to some extent on palaeographical information. Thereafter, the digitisation process and composition of scribal alphabets will be described as a solution to problems raised in McIntosh's articles on scribal profiles. This will include a detailed consideration of the technical aspects of digitising manuscripts; looking at questions of objectivity, quality, cost and the justification of enhancement and manipulation of the digitised image.

Graphetic information

It is widely acknowledged that direct comparison of individual scribal letter-forms is the key to medieval palaeography.¹⁵⁵ One reason for this assertion is that a broad impression of a script, even to the trained eye, is not enough to allow the identification of one scribal hand in two different works. According to Doyle and Parkes:

‘Aspect and duct are such distinctive qualities that they allow us to suspect that we can recognise that handwriting in other manuscripts, but they do not form sufficient criteria to identify the manuscripts as the work of a single scribe. However, once we suspect that we recognise the handwriting of a scribe in another manuscript, further detailed analysis may reveal idiosyncrasies in the formation of individual letters and the presence of other distinctive habits which would enable us to establish that the same scribe was responsible for the different manuscripts.’¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ McIntosh 1989b and Doyle & Parkes: 1978

¹⁵⁶ Doyle & Parkes 1978:168

A further complication is that a medieval scribe could be proficient in several different types of script of varying formality. McIntosh calls these *scribal modes*.¹⁵⁷

The impression given at first glance, in this case, would be that two manuscript-texts are not associated, when in reality they could have been written by one scribe using different scribal modes. Doyle and Parkes therefore believe that:

‘For this reason it is not enough merely to record the repertory of forms a scribe used ... it is necessary to focus upon subordinate details in the formation of individual letters, in an attempt to analyse the personal duct of the handwriting and to isolate the distinctive habits of the individual scribe.’¹⁵⁸

Graphetic profiles

A *graphemic* profile deals with *graphemes*, that is, the choice of letter form used by the scribe, for example a choice between <ʒ> or <y> at the beginning of the word GIVE. *Graphetic* profiles involve the scribe’s individual orthographic realisation of the letter-form, as is illustrated below.



Figure 12: Binary images of letter-forms segmented from manuscript-texts.

By analogy, McIntosh compares the relationship of graphetic to graphemic information with that of the allophone to the phoneme. Such a comparison can be misleading, in that the scribe’s individual way of writing a letter-form is not likely to

¹⁵⁷ McIntosh 1989b: 47

¹⁵⁸ Doyle & Parkes 1978: 168

vary diatopically in the way that allophonic realisations of phonemes do according to regional accent. However, the analogy stands if we consider how it illustrates the relationship between the scribe's actual output and the general letter-type that the scribe has in his mind when writing. The question is one of distinctiveness for the scribe and the reader. To the reader, <y> is distinct from <ɣ>; the myriad realisations of <y> -- what McIntosh calls the 'clinal variations' of each graph -- are only distinct from one another to the palaeographer.

The composition of graphetic profiles becomes more complex when the various script-types that can be employed by one scribe are considered e.g.: Textura, Anglicana, Anglicana formata, bastard Anglicana, Secretary etc. The use of different scribal modes problematises the comparison of letter-forms. For this reason, McIntosh advocates not only the compilation of graphetic profiles for Anglicana, Secretary and Textura scripts, but also a means of identifying those letter features that can be compared despite changes in mode.¹⁵⁹

Some applications for graphetic profiles

McIntosh describes several areas in which graphetic profiles can produce useful discriminatory evidence, one important application being the identification of a common scribe where the language of two or several texts varies. In such a case, linguistic and graphemic profiles would be inapplicable. However, a graphetic approach could provide a suitable means of identifying and comparing texts written by the same scribe and containing different languages. This is especially common where there are sections of Latin within or dividing English texts written by two or more scribes.

¹⁵⁹ McIntosh 1989b:48

Another application in which graphetic profiles will prove indispensable will undoubtedly be the identification of scribal changeovers within a manuscript-text. A change of ink, or script-type can often cause confusion concerning the identification of a new scribe. Scribal profiles should allow for the removal of any uncertainty caused by dissimilar linguistic and graphemic features. Manly and Rickert describe the difficulties involved in identifying scribal changeovers within a text:

'We have attempted, so far as possible, to distinguish between the number of hands in each (manuscript) and the portions written by each. Sometimes this is very easy; sometimes it is almost or quite impossible. The same hand may look very different under different conditions of work, as when the writer is rested or fatigued, calm or nervous, or when he is writing in the upper or the lower half of a large page. Several scribes trained by the same master may seem to be a single scribe... Even if two scribes working on the same manuscript normally write very differently, one may try to imitate the other when he continues his work.'¹⁶⁰

Therefore, the ability to compare scribal hands objectively outside of the context of the page is a great advantage for the identification of different scribal hands within a text.

Graphetic profiles

The method devised by McIntosh for producing graphetic profiles must now be considered in order to describe the basis of the procedure used in the present study. The composition of graphetic profiles in this study is far different from that described by McIntosh and rather relies on recent technological advances in the digitisation of

¹⁶⁰ Manly & Rickert 1940: 23

manuscripts and in graphics programmes that allow the manipulation of digital images.

The problem with graphetic classification up to this point is that it has been an abstract representation of a visual medium. Descriptive classification of letter types does not lend itself to comparison in the same way that linguistic and graphemic profiles do. Manly and Rickert highlight the problems involved in using description in order to classify a visual medium:

'We have tried to describe the hands in intelligible terms, but again it is true that there is no received system of nomenclature. Even the terms suggested by Jenkinson have not become so familiar that they can be used with the probability of arousing clear conception in the mind of the student.'¹⁶¹

McIntosh seeks to reduce the complexity of profiling an essentially visual medium as a series of written observations, by only looking at those aspects of the letter-form that could have a classificatory function. Even in doing this, McIntosh does not rule out the usefulness of minute variation for the purpose of comparing very similar texts:

'Many letters vary in shape in such a way that the range or span of variation cannot be expressed other than in terms of gradients. Thus a question 'how many shapes of <w> are there?' is hardly meaningful, and the implication of this is that enquiries about any letter features that vary in a clinal manner are of little use in the kind of questionnaire I have in mind. This is not to say that we can ask no questions about <w> but rather that we must confine our enquiries to those of its distinctive features which can be discretely profitable... in what follows I shall mainly be exploring the taxonomic potential of discretely

¹⁶¹ Manly & Rickert 1940: 23

categorisable letter-types. I do not wish to play down the importance of the others; they remain as what may often be a crucial final resource for associating or discriminating between two very similar-looking texts.¹⁶²

McIntosh's approach involves the visual representation of the main variants of each grapheme that will then serve as references for the recording of various proportions of letter-shapes throughout the manuscript.

- 1 a a¹ : a¹¹ (a a a a), a¹² (a a a);
 a² (a a); a³ (a a)
- 2 b b¹ (b b); b² (b b)
- 3 d d¹ : d¹¹ (d d), d¹² (d d);
 d² : d²¹ (d), d²² (d)
 For d²¹, d²², see note 3.
- 4 e e¹ (e e); e² (e e)
- 5 f f¹ : f¹¹ (f), f¹² (f); f²¹ (f), f²² (f). cf. 11
- 6 g g¹ (g g); g² (g g); g³ (g)
- 7 h h¹ (h h h); h² (h h h)
- 8 k k¹ (k k); k² (k k)
- 9 r r¹ (r); r² (r r); r³ (r r)
- 10 s s¹ (s s s); s² (s s); s³ (s s);
 s^{h1} (s), s^{h2} (s)
- 11 s^h c (s c ; s c) Similarly with f t
- 12 t t¹ (t t); t² (t)
- 13 p p¹ (p p); p² (p)
- 14 Abbreviations for m, n : 1. ˉ 2. ˆ e.g. h^ˉi, h^ˆi 'him'.

Figure 13: McIntosh's analytical framework, (McIntosh 1989b: 58).

¹⁶² McIntosh 1989b: 55

The main problem with McIntosh's methodology, unavoidable at that period in time, lies in the fact that it is an attempt to classify and compare visual phenomena as a series of written observations and the help of visual references is limited. McIntosh's methodological approach is too strongly based on techniques used to analyse spelling, without acknowledging the unique nature of variation in hand-writing. McIntosh's approach therefore causes him to disregard minute variation, the very thing that palaeographers rely on to discriminate between and identify texts. Yet McIntosh's graphetic profiles were designed to be an attempt to remove subjectivity, making graphological differentiation more accessible.

Digitised Graphetic Profiles

In this section, a visual method of classifying scribal output will be considered; an approach that is now feasible due to advances in technology. It details how digitisation of a manuscript text can allow the classification and comparison of individual hands, in a way that is neither abstract for the user nor time-consuming to produce.

There are several reasons why a digital representation of a scribe's graphetic output is beneficial. The first of these is the accuracy of a digital image of manuscript letter-forms. The subject of automatic digital enhancement, and the problems associated with producing an exact representation of the original manuscript page, will be dealt with in the section called 'Manipulation and automatic image enhancement'. Let us for the moment assume that, for the purpose of representing hand-written letter-forms, even at two removes from the original, the digital picture conveys the reality of the hand with greater accuracy than any other method to date. This is illustrated if we look at figure 14.

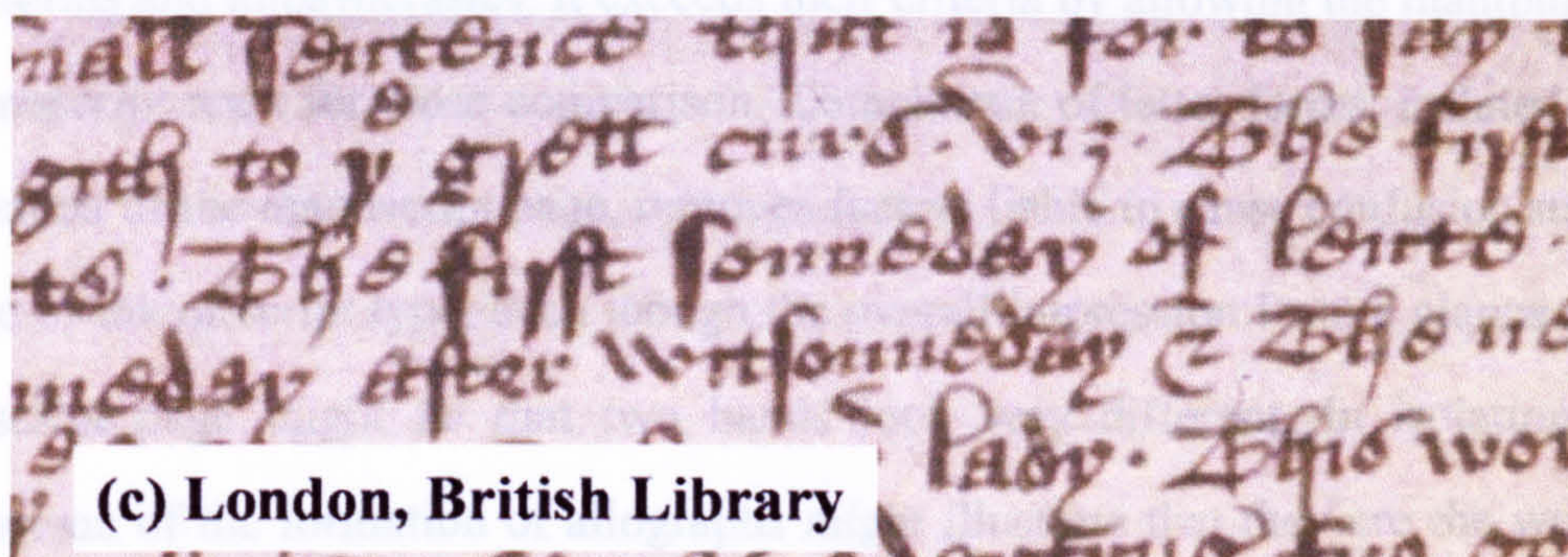


Figure 14: Extract from Harley 2383.

It is possible to see the colour of the ink, duct, changes in pressure, as well as the shape of each letter in figure 14.¹⁶³

The second reason why a digital representation of a scribe's graphetic output is preferable is that storing images of scribal output in this way encourages new ways of looking at the manuscript text. Individual letters can be segmented from the text and then organised as a scribal alphabet. In essence, images of the letter-forms produced by an individual scribe would be available, extracted from the manuscript page and presented in a form which allows easy comparison with other hands. A good digital representation of a letter-form can be manipulated and moved in a way that the original text cannot; yet it contains all of the information needed for description and comparison. In this way, the handwriting in any scribal text can be compared in detail with that of any other text.

One further reason why a digitisation of manuscript-texts facilitates palaeography is that this approach fulfils Doyle and Parkes' two criteria for being able to compare the general aspect and duct of a hand, as well as closely examining individual scribal

¹⁶³ The experience of other projects has been that hand-written materials are much better treated in the same way as colour images. The exact shadings and density of the ink, indicating changes in the pressure of the writing implement on the writing surface, show up far more clearly in colour images than in greyscale images. Such pressure variations will not appear at all on binary images. When there are several different inks and several different hands, or the paper is aged or the ink has faded, then full colour reproduction is *essential*. (Robinson 1993: 28)

letter-forms and idiosyncrasies. It exceeds their criteria by allowing the manipulation of manuscript texts for close comparison. Comparison of letter-forms, isolated from the context of the manuscript page, removes factors liable to cause confusion such as change of ink or script type; even though the overall impression from a glance at the manuscript page might be that two hands look very different. In isolation, the comparison of the formation of allographs might illustrate that they are the work of only one scribe. The compiling of scribal handwriting into visual profiles in a systematic way therefore creates a useful palaeographical addition to other aspects of scribal output that have for a long time been surveyed and profiled, but it also takes into account the fact that graphetic information is far different from graphemic information and should therefore be profiled in a new way.

There is another factor that enhances the value of graphetic profiles, namely the World Wide Web. When a manuscript has been digitised and placed on the Web, scholars all over the world have remote access to it.¹⁶⁴ Traditionally, access to manuscripts has been limited. For the purposes of preservation, manuscripts cannot be moved around or handled excessively. There are obvious drawbacks associated with this limitation from a palaeographical point of view, as the chances for comparison of hands in manuscripts belonging to different collections are limited. Manuscript digitisation is already being exploited in ventures such as the well-known Beowulf Project.¹⁶⁵ The project was devised originally in order to preserve the Nowell Codex, but has proved to be an accessible tool for close examination of the manuscript, allowing the magnification of text and comparison of any of the parts of the manuscript – something not physically possible with the original manuscript.

The creation of scribal profiles for medieval texts localised to the West Country is a far less ambitious project in some respects, but what it lacks in detail it makes up for

¹⁶⁴ Kenny & Rieger 2000: 13

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.uky.edu/%7Ekiernan/eBeowulf/main.htm>

in breadth of source material. The creation of a database of scribal profiles for a sample of the extant manuscripts of the South West of medieval England provides a chance to develop a methodology that can be applied to a larger area of study, such as all of those manuscripts localised in LALME. A database like this would provide a useful palaeographical tool that would be both objective and accessible whether it was published on the Web or made available in CD-ROM form.

This method of comparison, although it does not rely on the discrete classifications of McIntosh's method, is less subjective for two reasons. Firstly, it is not necessary to rely on second-hand information such as the impressionistic judgements of the compiler of a graphetic profile, as a visual copy of the original scribal hand is represented. Secondly, a graph-by-graph comparison -- removed from the context of the manuscript page and placed side by side -- is an objective way to look at the relationship between the graphetic features of two scribal texts. In addition to this, all letters, abbreviations and digraphs, even rare ones, can be presented in a visual graphetic profile.¹⁶⁶

Drawbacks of digitisation

Although an alphabetic organisation of all the graphemes in a scribe's repertoire provides a useful means of describing and comparing scribal hands, this approach has its limitations as it does not take into account the various allographs that appear in a cursive script when graphemes are joined to one another. Ligatures are an important part of a scribe's repertoire. Although viewing scribal letter-forms outside of their context is an objective way of comparing them, there are some instances where context is an important distinguishing feature. Malcolm Parkes¹⁶⁷ details how

¹⁶⁶ Please refer to appendix 3 for a list of tachygraphs used in the manuscripts of the present study.

¹⁶⁷ Parkes 1969

the development of cursive handwriting led to ligatures becoming an integral part of the letter form as it was recognised by scribe and reader:

‘The scribe raised his pen from the surface as seldom as possible. Thus he manipulated the pen to trace strokes of which the letters are composed; most of its movements were recorded upon the writing surface. The finishing movement of one stroke and the approach movement to the next tended to coalesce into a single movement that was recorded as a connecting stroke. This occurred not only between letters but also between the strokes which combined to make up a single letter, as, for example, in long <f>, long <s> and in the ascender of <d>. These strokes gradually came to be accepted as auxiliary features of the letter-forms, thus becoming part of the script. As a result of this process a distinctive set of letter forms emerged.’¹⁶⁸

For this reason it is important to present not only the graphetic profile for each scribe, but also the full page of manuscript from which it was taken. It is sometimes the case that a scribe will habitually use a particular letter-form before another. Where context causes the use of a letter-form that is significantly different from the usual form, for example the use of an <h> with a looped ascender instead of an unlooped one, both forms should be segmented from the manuscript page and placed in the profile. In practice, this means that there might be several allographs of each grapheme in a scribal profile and that some of them might have contextual footnotes explaining their occurrence.

Another drawback of digitised graphetic profiles is that even a true colour digital image of a manuscript page is not a completely accurate representation. In order to produce a high-fidelity copy of the image, the scanner, monitor and printer, if

¹⁶⁸ Parkes 1969: xiv

necessary, should all be carefully calibrated, so that as little distortion as possible occurs concerning the colouring and contrast of the original and the digital image.¹⁶⁹

This factor is not a great problem for this particular study, which concerns itself only with plain hand-written text rather than manuscript decoration. Nevertheless, it does highlight the distortion that can occur when digitising a manuscript page.

One of the most important and problematical aspects of digitising manuscripts is that of copyright. For the time being, the copyright maintained by the guardians of large collections usually precludes the publishing of material on the Web. It is possible that this state of affairs might change in the future as the digitisation of manuscript-material becomes more wide-spread. As it is, permission to digitise manuscript-images for academic purposes usually comes with the proviso that the collector's copyright is displayed on each image and profile. The reluctance of the guardians of large collections of medieval manuscripts to allow digital images of them to be made widely available has been one of the main problems associated with this project. The owners of smaller collections of manuscripts are often willing to allow the digitization of images of their manuscripts, but are unable to provide the materials needed to create them. It is for this reason that a selection of eleven manuscript images are presented on the accompanying CD-ROM: those found in the Bodleian Library collection, *Department of Western Manuscripts* and the British Library's manuscript collection.

Image capture

A description of the actual procedure of image capture used in this study has been lacking until now and will highlight some more issues involved in creating digitised scribal profiles. To begin with, when considering how best to obtain a digital image

¹⁶⁹ 'It is possible to calibrate monitors, scanners and printers against a reference chart so that no distortion occurs when an image is transferred from one medium to another' (Robinson 1993: 30)

of a scribal hand, the quality of image obtained should be taken into consideration, along with file size,¹⁷⁰ the availability of manuscript texts for digitisation and cost of obtaining all the materials needed. The method used will inevitably be a compromise between these four considerations. Kenney and Rieger call this process of compromise according to the aims of the project *benchmarking*.¹⁷¹

For the purposes of this study it is preferable that the digitised image is of good quality in the first place, rather than it requiring manual enhancement later on. Therefore, the digitised image should be as few removes from the original as possible.¹⁷²

The creation of this particular database relies on colour transparencies of the original manuscript-texts, putting the digital image of the manuscript at two removes from the original. Slides are taken directly from the manuscript-page. One or two pages of each manuscript¹⁷³ are selected in order that the maximum number of letter-forms can be retrieved. The selection of manuscript folios to be scanned is principally on the basis of the presence of rare letter-forms such as <q> and <x>; it is assumed that other letter forms will be found on the selected page. 35mm colour slide images of these pages are then obtained and digitised using a transmissive scanner – in this case the Nikon LS 2000 slide scanner.

The best method of capturing an image from the original manuscript involves digital cameras such as were used in the Beowulf project.¹⁷⁴ Again, this approach is not

¹⁷⁰ A CD-ROM can hold around 700 megabytes; that is, about 255 A4 size colour images stored at 100dpi or 16 A4 size colour images stored at 400dpi.

¹⁷¹ Kenney & Rieger 2000: 24

¹⁷² 'Wherever possible, always digitise from a transparency rather than a print. Even if the transparency is not the original master, it will be closer to the master than any print could be' (Robinson 1993: 19)

¹⁷³ Letter-forms taken from two page slides inevitably have a lower resolution than those taken from one page slides.

¹⁷⁴ Roche/Kontron ProgRes 3012 digital cameras scanning at 2000 X 3000ppi.

feasible given the scope and budget of the present study. In addition to this, a powerful digital camera would capture far more detail in a higher quality and using greater file space than is necessary for the purpose of creating graphetic profiles. Another bonus of using transparencies that some researchers have highlighted is the importance of transparency intermediaries for the purposes of storage and backup.¹⁷⁵ The unsuitability of digital images for the purposes of preservation due to obsolescence has often been pointed out. Microfilm is a much more durable means of preserving a text than digitisation. Advances made in computer technology move at such a rate that obsolescence is a serious problem for any digitisation project. One approach is to digitise at the highest quality possible in anticipation of new technology that will be able to exploit this. However, the best approach for this study is to maintain the original transparencies so that the work can be repeated in the future with advanced technology.

Restrictions in file size

Although the importance of high quality replication in the compiling of graphetic profiles cannot be overemphasised, there is a further consideration that must also influence the way the study proceeds, namely file size. For the purpose of storing a large number of images and segmenting, manipulating and enhancing images of individual letter-forms, it is essential that such processes can be carried out quickly and efficiently. These considerations limit the number of bytes that can be allocated to each image and ultimately affect the resolution of image. The alternative is to use up a large amount of valuable file space storing graphics files that are far more detailed than is necessary. In such a case, the compiling of graphetic alphabets would also be a frustrating and time-consuming process, as the graphics programme would take far longer to process any changes made to the image. File size can be worked

¹⁷⁵ Kenny & Rieger 2000: 27

out using the following formula, each of the variables in the formula must be adjusted to suit the purpose of the project:

$$\text{FILE SIZE (in bytes)} = \frac{\text{height x width x bit depth x resolution}}{8 \text{ bits per byte}}$$

To conclude, the digitisation of manuscript-texts for the purpose of compiling a database of scribal profiles is a compromise between file size, quality and the availability of the original manuscript-text.

Resolution and Bit-depth.

In practice, it was found that the quality of the transparency far exceeded the image-capture capabilities of the slide scanner, which could digitise at a maximum 2300 pixels per inch. File size became the biggest consideration when the number of manuscript pages to be digitised was taken into account. It was found that scanning at 72dpi achieved the best result when digitizing pages.

There are three main options for pixel depth when scanning an image:

- Binary (1-bit)
- Grayscale (8-bit)
- Colour (24-bit)

Binary scans will register every colour over a certain level of darkness as black and anything lighter as white. Grayscale has a greater bit depth and can register many tonal variations, but does not have a great enough bit-depth to register variations of hue to the same extent as a 24-bit scan, which can represent as many colours as the

human eye can detect and, for this reason, is sometimes called 'true colour'. The greater the bit depth, the greater the information that is captured by the scan and the greater the file size it produces.

Maintaining scanning resolution at 72dpi and varying pixel depth, it was perceived that scanning at 24-bit resolution worked best. Binary scans result in an image file containing the smallest number of bytes, but result in very low quality images. Areas of discolouration on the transparency would register as black in a binary scan and make these parts of the manuscript illegible. In addition to this, the white background of a text appears speckled and would require a lot of manual enhancement. The scanned letter-forms at the beginning of this section (figure 12) were converted to binary in order to reduce the file space they occupied. It is possible to see that they are a poor quality reproduction of those letter-forms scanned from the manuscript in comparison with 24-bit colour scans (figures 3,4 and 14).

Grayscale images are much better in this respect (see figures 6-11), as grayscale scans represent more subtle variations in tone. Therefore, a grayscale scan registers discoloured areas of the transparency as slightly darker than the rest of the background rather than as completely black. File sizes of the grayscale scans are considerably larger than those of binary scans and again, segmented letter-forms would require a reasonable amount of manual enhancement, although similarity or thresholding tools would work effectively.

Robinson¹⁷⁶ recommends that hand-written manuscripts should be digitised in colour. A 24-bit scan provides the best quality image, as it can identify many more tones than either grayscale or binary. However, the size of a file obtained from a colour scan is large.

¹⁷⁶ Robinson 1993: 19

One other way to reduce file size is to change the file-type of an image. The amount of visual information lost when a bitmap is converted to a *GIF*¹⁷⁷ or a *JPEG*¹⁷⁸ file is minimal, but the reduction in file size is significant. In practice it was found that converting a bitmap file to a JPEG was the best compromise. The colour scan of one manuscript page, converted to a JPEG file, provides manageable source from which individual letters can be segmented. Thereafter, letter-forms are edited so that they can be displayed in a uniform and comparable way, side by side.

Manipulation and automatic image enhancement

In this section, the problematic area of enhancement and manipulation will be considered. Thereafter the process of creating a graphetic profile will be described in detail. It is important that the subject of image manipulation should be dealt with at this stage. Manipulation might be seen by some as unjustifiable tampering with the manuscript image. However, as Robinson points out, the actual act of scanning itself automatically introduces filtering; therefore image enhancement is already part of the scanning programme.

Robinson¹⁷⁹ describes how filters could be used to 'clean up' or remove unwanted stains or speckles from the manuscript. Likewise, manual enhancement of the image, involving thresholding tools, cloning tools and erasers, can also be used to clean up an image or to help segment it from a manuscript page. Manual enhancement is time consuming, but necessary for the compilation of visual graphetic profiles.

¹⁷⁷ 'Graphics interchange format' designed to increase compatibility of the image with different hardware and using less space than a bitmap file.

¹⁷⁸ JPEG is a lossy image compression mechanism for greyscale and colour images allowing a large image to be compressed into a comparatively small file. As the compression was minimal in this case, it is impossible for the human eye to detect the information lost. The files therefore became quicker to load and easier to manipulate without any loss in image quality.

¹⁷⁹ Robinson 1993: 56

Case Study

An organised profile of graphetic variants can be created by segmenting good examples of letter-forms and presenting them in an alphabetical or in some other systematic order. Such a task is made easy using a graphics programme. Segmenting is carried out as follows:

1. It is important that the page chosen for scanning is sufficiently clear and that the area of text printed is not at the beginning or end of a quire where it might be worn or damaged, or on an area of palimpsested vellum. Damage to text can affect the quality of the scanned text and ultimately our ability to enhance and tidy-up the letter forms for presentation.
2. The initial scanned image should be cropped around the margins, in order to reduce the file size by removing those areas of the image that do not contain text, and saved to disk as a JPEG. This creates a clear area of text to work on.

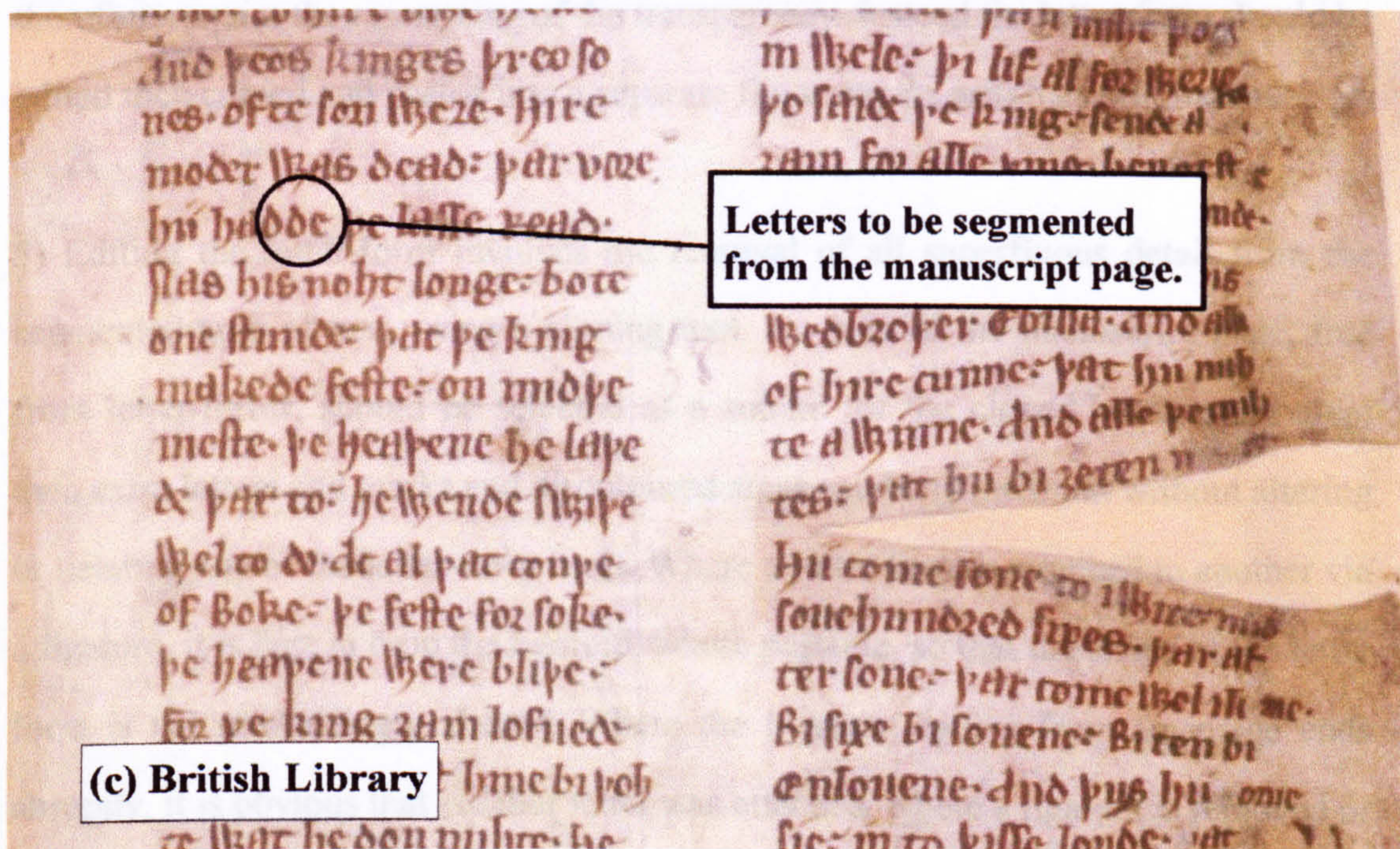


Figure 15: Selecting letters from the manuscript page (Cotton Otho Cxiii).

3. An individual letter-form, sequence of letters or abbreviation should be segmented from the previously saved file. Segmenting can be achieved using a 'crop' or similar function from the editing tools in the graphics programme. Any cropping need only be approximate as other letters in close proximity can be edited out later. The area of text segmented need only contain all of the letter required, plus a descender-long and ascender-long section of background, which should be left underneath and above those graphs that do not have descenders or ascenders in order that all letters might be presented in relation to one another in a line.



Figure 16: The letters <dde> segmented from a scanned manuscript page and <d> segmented from this group.

4) It is important that these 'changes' to the original file are not saved as this might therefore require the rescanning of the transparency. Instead the letter-form should be edited then copied and pasted into a separate file using the graphics programme.

5) Editing the letter-form involves the removal of all superfluous detail from the segmented area of text, using a cloning tool. An area of the manuscript page, free from letter-forms, should be selected as a source for the cloned background area; then extra letters and marks and discoloured areas can be painted out without altering or deleting any of the letter-form itself. Where a letter-form is attached to another via a ligature, it is best to crop the ligature, where possible, so that the shape of the letter form is not misleadingly altered. Where the ligature leading from an image ends abruptly, it is obvious that another letter was attached, where a ligature is removed or edited this is not as obvious and might be said to be misleading.



Figure 17: A cropped ligature on the letter <r>.

6) This process should be repeated for all the letters used in the manuscript in order to provide a comprehensive visual profile of all the graphetic features of the scribe.

Below are examples of two different hands contained in the Greaves 54 manuscript.

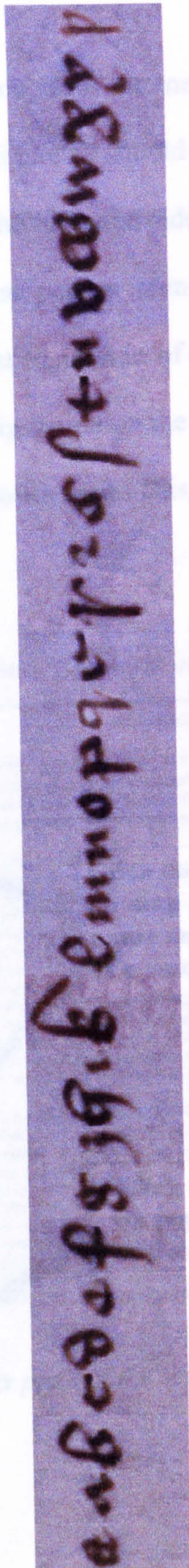


Figure 18: Scribal profile of hands A and B of Greaves 54. © Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Conclusion

The CD ROM can be accessed through an internet browser. Open the file called 'index' and the following screen in figure 19 should appear. Either by clicking on the manuscript location on the map at the left hand side of the page¹⁸⁰ or by clicking on the manuscript's name on the first pop-up menu, an image of a page of this manuscript will appear on the right hand side of the page with its scribal profile underneath. Clicking on a manuscript name on the second pop-up menu will open a separate window with a scribal profile in it. This can be used for the purposes of comparing scribal profiles.

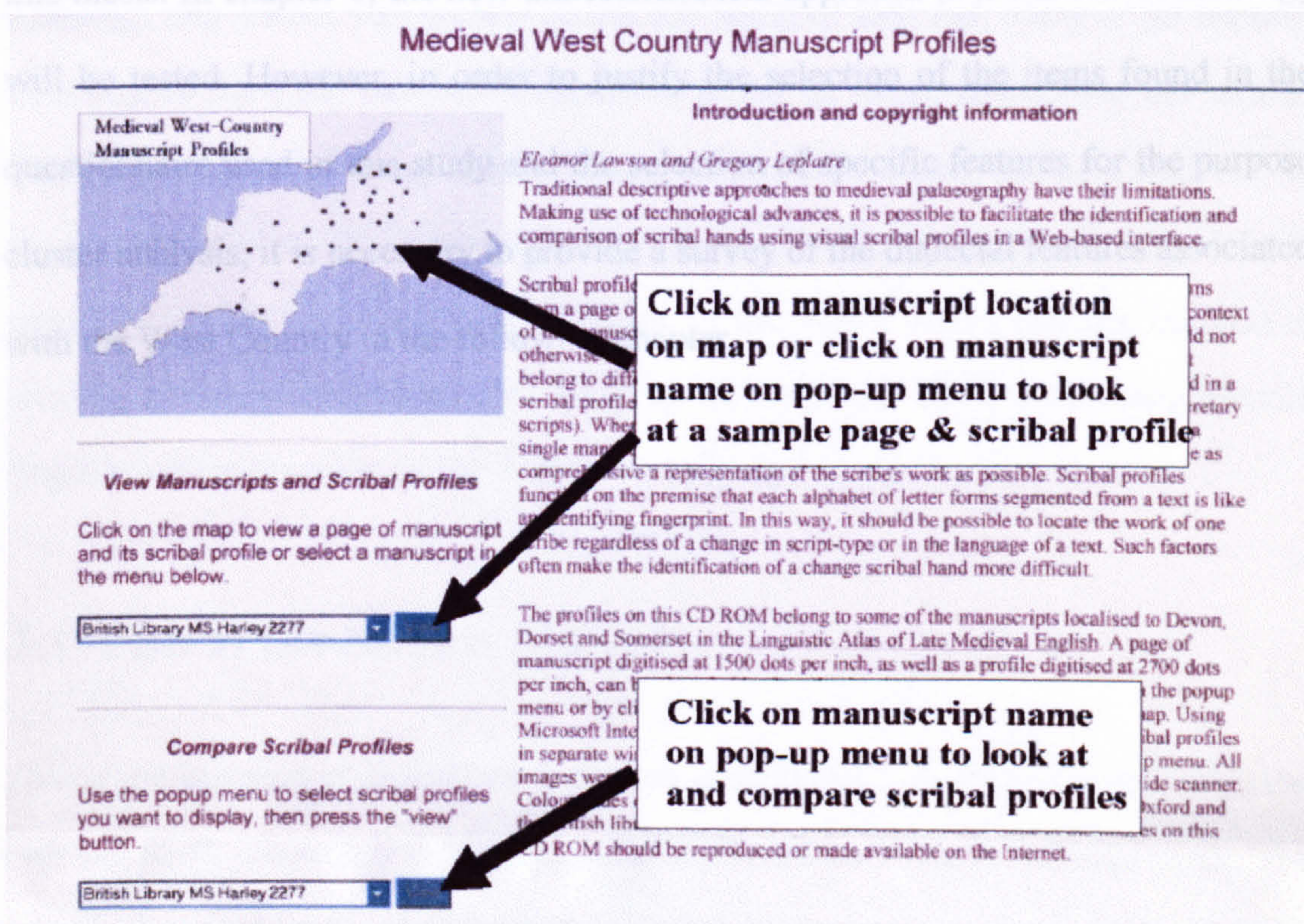


Figure 19: The index page of the scribal profiles CD ROM.

¹⁸⁰ Only a selection of manuscripts were used and so not all of the dots on the maps are links.

Conclusion

In this chapter the theory behind this thesis has been discussed. In addition to this, the methodology of the present thesis has been detailed, including the ways in which the present study has built on the work of the editors of LALME. In some cases, this has meant only minor modifications to work carried out in LALME, but in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, two new computer assisted approaches to the fields of medieval dialectology and palaeography have been described. The results of the new method of approaching medieval palaeography can be seen on the CD-ROM supplied with this thesis. In chapter 8, the new dialectometrical approach to medieval dialectology will be tested. However, in order to justify the selection of the items found in the questionnaire used in this study and the selection of specific features for the purpose cluster analysis, it is necessary to provide a survey of the dialectal features associated with the West Country in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Dialectal context of the West Country from Old English to Present-day English

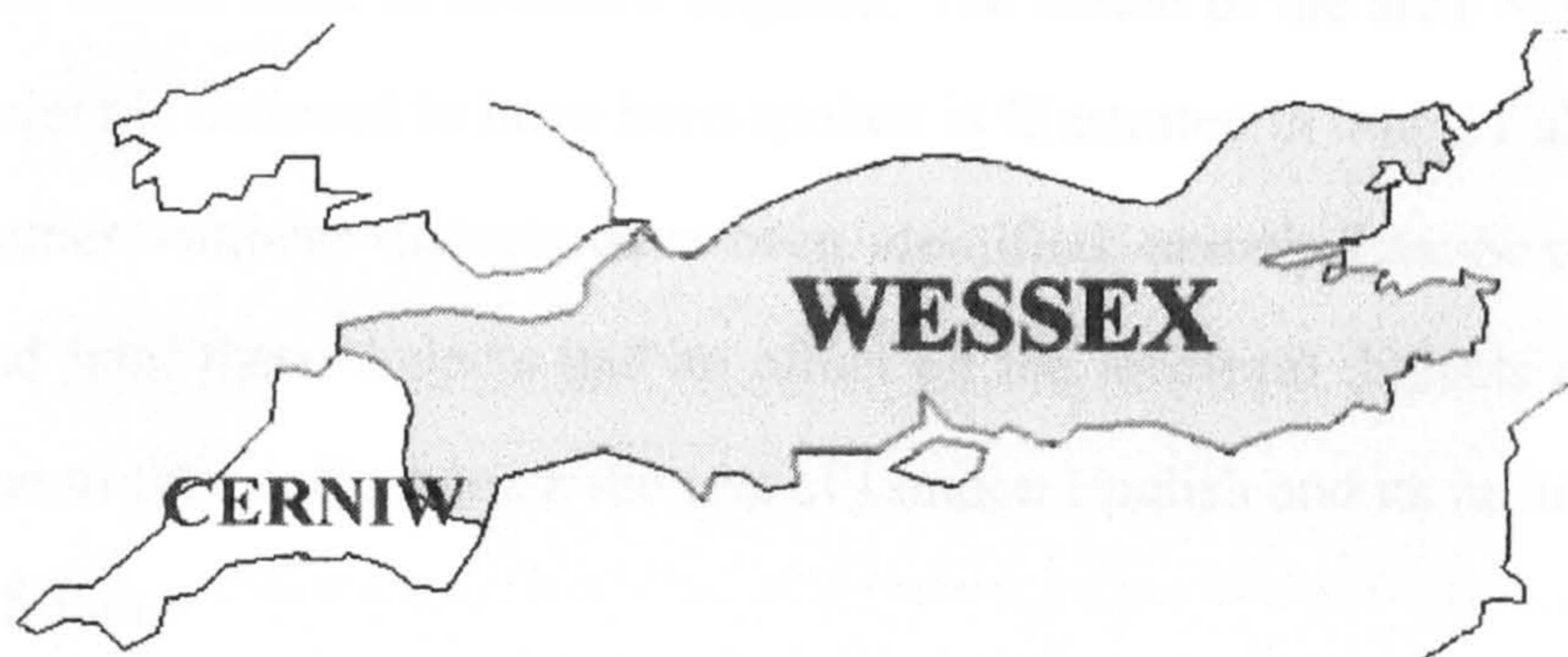
Introduction to dialectal context of South West

This chapter provides a survey of language of the West Country from the Old English period to the present day. Section 3.1 of this chapter concentrates on the West Saxon dialect, as it was the ancestor of the medieval West Country dialects. Although this dialect was spoken across the South of England, many of its features were lost in the East, but were maintained in the far West, lasting into the Middle English period and beyond. The remaining part of this chapter will be a study of the language of the West Country from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. This is primarily in order to illustrate the archaism of the West Country dialects, but also to provide a variety of evidence to back up observations made concerning Middle English written language in the West Country.

3.1 The West-Saxon dialect

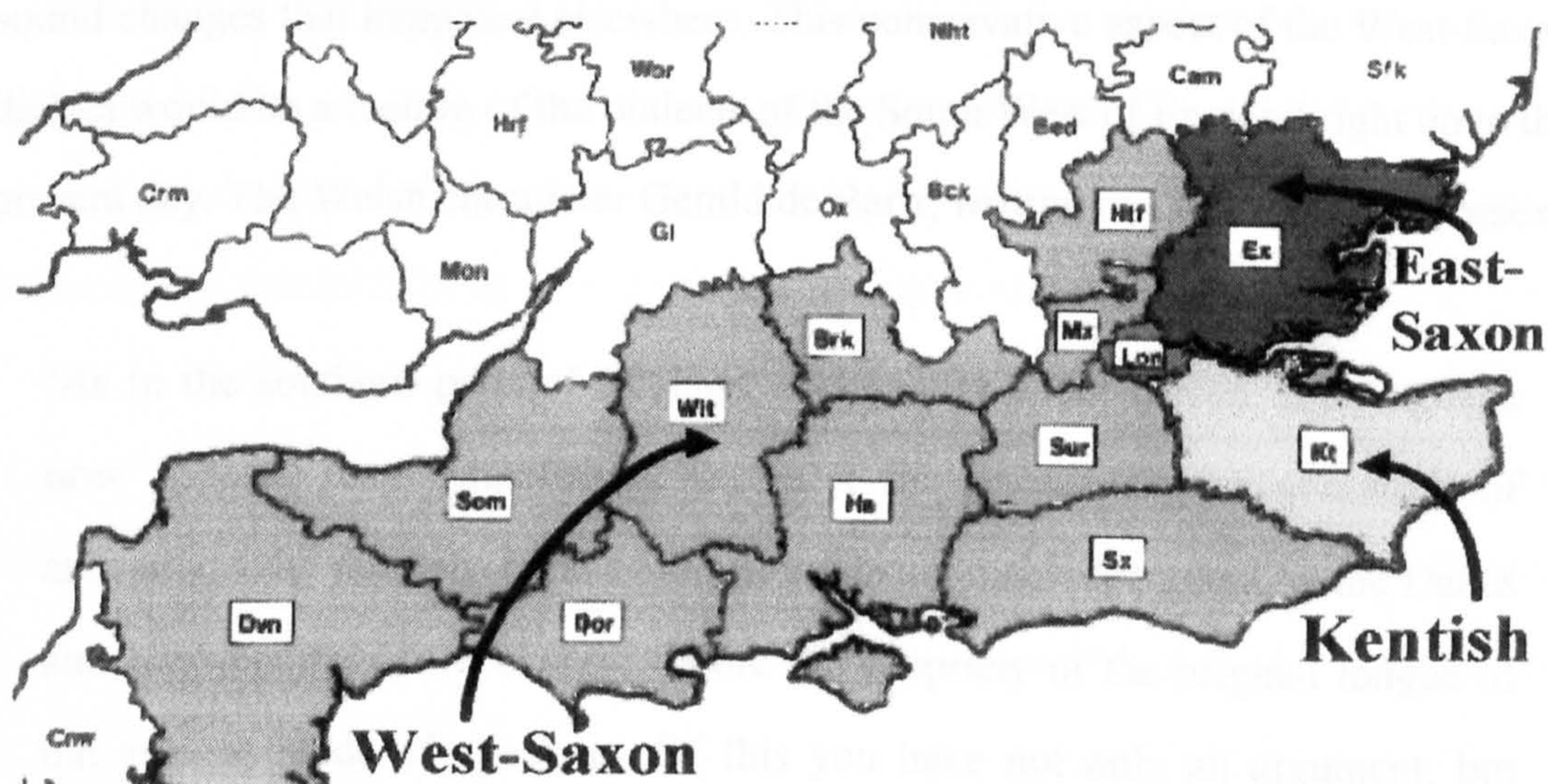
The Saxon invasion of Britain, as described in section 1.3 in chapter 1 started on the east and south coasts and then they gradually moved northwards and westwards. The main part of the Germanic settlement of Britain has been reported to have finished by the beginning of the sixth century, but, as is shown in section 1.3, battles between the Britons and Saxons continued to be reported in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles until the first half of the ninth century as the push westwards continued. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, one Saxon leader, Cerdic, and his descendants, established the kingdom of Wessex at around the turn of the sixth century and this kingdom

stretched throughout most of the south of England excepting the still Celtic kingdom of Cerniw or Kernow, present-day Cornwall, in the West.¹⁸¹



Map 10: The Germanic kingdom of Wessex and the Celtic kingdom of Cerniw.

Unfortunately, most of the information that exists concerning the Saxons at this period in time comes from archaeological evidence and contemporary or near-contemporary written accounts from the Celts and other European sources. Although the Saxons undoubtedly had a strong literary tradition at this point, it was an oral one and therefore no written literature survives from the initial stage of settlement. When written evidence of the language spoken by the Saxons does start to appear, the dialect found from mid-Devon right up to Kent and Essex has its own particular character; this is the dialect of the West-Saxons.



Map 11: The Old English dialects of southern England.

¹⁸¹ Swanton 1996: 2

West Saxon is the ancestor of the dialects that were spoken in the medieval West Country and across most of southern England. The extent of the area where this Old English dialect is believed to have been spoken is illustrated in map 11 above. In the east, two other southern dialects have been identified, namely East-Saxon and Old Kentish and later these dialects had an effect on the medieval dialects of the West Country due to their influence on the rest of London English and its influence on the rest of the South.

From the beginning of the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in England until the time of Danish rule in the early tenth century, there were periods where one kingdom dominated the rest. The period of West-Saxon hegemony was the latest, from about 800A.D. until the Norman conquest and it is to this period that the largest number of surviving Anglo-Saxon literary texts can be dated. Even during the periods where Wessex was not dominant, it was too large and powerful a kingdom to be fully subject to external rule and linguistic influence from other areas to any great extent. As a result of the relative insularity of Wessex, West Saxon remained characteristically different from other Anglo-Saxon dialects, neglecting to undergo sound changes that happened elsewhere. This conservative aspect of the West-Saxon dialect would be a feature of the dialects of the South West of England right up to the present day. The Welsh chronicler Gerald de Barri, writing in 1204, says of Wessex:

‘As in the southern parts of England, and chiefly about Devon, the language now appears more unpolished, yet in a far greater degree savouring of antiquity, - the northern parts of the island being much corrupted by the Danes and Norwegians - so it observes more the propriety of the original tongue of the ancient mode of speaking. Of this you have not only an argument, but certainty, from the circumstance that all the English books of Bede, Rabanus,

king Alfred, or any others, will be found written in the forms proper to this idiom.’¹⁸²

There were undoubtedly smaller subdivisions within the West-Saxon dialect -- which covers a relatively large geographical area -- and if it were possible to identify these subdialects, such an investigation would doubtless prove invaluable in providing information on the origins of dialectal boundaries in late medieval West-Country English. However, there are several complicating factors that problematise Old English dialectology to a greater extent than Middle English dialectology. These problems include not only the lack of authorial holographs in Anglo-Saxon times, but also the small number of extant manuscripts of any kind from this period. Another problem that arises when we consider late West Saxon, is that its written form was the literary standard during the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁸³

It has been postulated that an approach such as that used in LALME could also be feasible for Anglo-Saxon material. Kitson claims that, when the boundary clauses of land charters are surveyed, their linguistic distribution correlates with both Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns and present-day dialect boundaries.¹⁸⁴ This is, however, a new approach to Anglo-Saxon dialectology and Kitson’s planned study has not yet been completed. As it is, the dialectological localisation of Old English scribal texts is a difficult task, involving a great deal of uncertainty and relying on many unknowable factors such as scribal mobility, training and social status.¹⁸⁵

The second complicating factor in the field of Anglo-Saxon dialectology is that late West-Saxon seems to have been a written standard during the tenth and eleventh centuries, extending its influence to other kingdoms and dialects and a large number

¹⁸² Madden 1847: xxxvi

¹⁸³ Smith 1999: 87

¹⁸⁴ Kitson 1995: 48

¹⁸⁵ Toon: 1992: 414

of these surviving texts are dialectally mixed. It is often the case that West-Saxon texts contain many Mercian spellings; this may have come about due to the fact that the Mercian writing system was already well established.¹⁸⁶ Such texts usually contain a mixture of lexical items, spellings and inflectional endings from different dialects, so that unmixed dialectal forms are found in few texts.¹⁸⁷

West-Saxon developments in vocalism relevant to this study

Where most dialects of Old English are characterised by the consonantal and vocalic changes they undergo, West Saxon is characterised by the fact that it did not undergo many of the changes that happened elsewhere. Toon¹⁸⁸ ascribed this to the geographical isolation of the West Country and to the fact that it was not exposed to the second stage of Viking invasions and the settlement that began in the late eighth century. This would appear to be backed up by contemporary evidence in the observations of Gerald de Barri (see p138 above).

Therefore, West Saxon underwent palatal diphthongisation¹⁸⁹ and velar umlaut,¹⁹⁰ but did not undergo a whole series of raising of long and short vowels, breaking before /r/ and rounding and retracting before nasals that took place in Northumbrian, Mercian and Kentish¹⁹¹.

The phonemicisation of rounded front vowels took place in West Saxon, as in other areas, due to the operation of i-umlaut. Where the stressed back vowels /u(:)/ and

¹⁸⁶ Campbell 1955: 54

¹⁸⁷ Campbell 1959: 10

¹⁸⁸ Toon 1992: 417

¹⁸⁹ Hogg 1992: 107 §5.48, the diphthongisation, or perhaps *palatalisation*, of a vowel occurred in a stressed foot beginning with a palatal consonant /j, ʃ, tʃ/.

¹⁹⁰ Hogg 1992: 121 §5.74, this fronting and raising of stressed vowels, when the following syllable contained a high front vowel /i, y/ or approximant /j/.

¹⁹¹ See also Toon 1992: 417

/o(:)/ were found in the environment of /j/ or /i/, they became fronted to /y(:)/ and /ø(:)/ respectively.¹⁹² Spelling evidence from early West Saxon demonstrates the likelihood of the fronting of rounded back-vowels, as spellings such as <ui> and <oi> in early West Saxon are found as <y> and <œ> in later texts.¹⁹³ The early West Saxon spellings might have indicated the contextual influence of palatalisation, where the second grapheme <i> almost seems to function like the IPA palatal diacritic [^j]. The later spellings <y> and <œ>, on the other hand, indicate that phonemicisation has occurred, one symbol indicating the sound.

Although the front rounded vowels, resulting from i-umlaut, soon began to unround again, they disappeared last in the South West.¹⁹⁴ Medieval spelling evidence suggests that, although the quality of the front close rounded vowel might have changed, in some areas of the South West, it did not unround. In other southern varieties [y] had become an unrounded short vowel [ɪ, i] or [e], but in some areas of the West Country, the reflex of [y] seems to have been a rounded back vowel [u], represented using the <u> graph. It is also possible that the close front rounded vowel [y] had been retained in this *conservative* area of the West Country, but that due to the fact that the <y> graph was now used to represent [ɪ, i] and [e] reflexes of Old English *y* in most other dialects, the <u> graph seemed more appropriate for the representation of the rounded vowel [y].¹⁹⁵ This retraction gave rise to Middle English spelling variants such as <kunne> ‘kin’, <whuche/huche> ‘which’, <hulle> ‘hill’, <sunne> ‘sin’, <hure> ‘her’. For this reason, one important vocalic characteristic of the medieval West Country is <u> realisation of Old English *y*. (please also refer to section 4.4.1 regarding the medieval written representations of EVIL in the West Country).

¹⁹² Hogg 1992: 121 §5.74

¹⁹³ Hogg 1992:15

¹⁹⁴ Toon 1992: 430

¹⁹⁵ For another example of the changing of graphs for sounds that have neglected to undergo a sound-change see Samuels 1979: 110 §6.6.vi

West-Saxon consonantism relevant to this study

One of the most important aspects of the relationship between West-Saxon orthography and phonology is the question of voicing and devoicing of consonant sounds. West-Country dialects, right up to the present day, are characterised by the voicing and devoicing of certain stops, fricatives and affricates. These manners of articulation and their Old English orthographic counterparts will now be considered in turn in order to provide a context for the spelling practices observed in medieval West-Country texts.

The development of voiced and voiceless fricatives in Old English and their relationship to their orthographic counterparts is complex. In this section, the following aspects of the orthographic representation of Old English fricatives and will be considered:

- The presence of voiced and voiceless allophones in Old English and the lack of orthographic differentiation between voiced and voiceless sounds.
- The effect of Old English dialectal differences in the distribution of voiced fricatives.
- The origin of initial voiceless fricative voicing.

Voiced and voiceless allophones

It is traditionally assumed that the distinction between voiced and voiceless fricatives in the Old English phonological system was a phonetic rather than a phonemic one. That is to say, [v], [z] and [ð] were only allophones of the /f/, /s/ and /θ/ phonemes respectively and not phonemes in their own right. Evidence for this is based on the Old English orthographic system which only contained one set of symbols for representing both the voiced and voiceless sounds.

For this reason, it is assumed that voicing was contextually conditioned, so that word-initial/ final fricatives were voiceless and word-medial fricatives were voiced. Evidence for this can be seen if the present-day English singular and plural forms 'wolf' and 'wolves', 'hoof' and 'hooves' are considered. There is also a small amount of Old English orthographic evidence indicating that medial fricatives were voiced. In Beowulf, one past tense form of the verb 'hlifian' is spelled <hliuade>; the <u> probably representing a voiced labio-dental fricative.

Dialectal differences

This positional variation in the use of voiced and voiceless allophones does not appear to have been consistent throughout England. Orthographic evidence from the Middle English period suggests that in the Saxon inhabited area of the south of England, word-initial fricatives were usually voiced.

During the Old English period, the <z> graph was not in common currency. The graph was usually used in foreign loan-words such as Biblical names and very

occasionally it was substituted for the graphs <ts>.¹⁹⁶ The use of the graphemes <v> and <z> to represent the voiced sounds /v/ and /z/ came from French spelling practices and were therefore only properly adopted into the English writing system after the Norman invasion. The influence of Norman French also had the effect of phonemicising the voiced fricative allophones [v], [z] and [ð]. The adoption of French loan-words beginning with voiced fricatives gave rise to a situation where, for the first time in some areas of England, the distinction between voiced and voicelessness was no longer distributionally conditioned. For this reason, the graphemes <v> and <z> began to be used during the Middle English period and this revealed that in the North, where the Angles had settled, voicing was distributionally conditioned in native words, but in the South, where the Jutes and Saxons had settled, initial fricatives were often pronounced with voicing.¹⁹⁷

There is a small amount of orthographic evidence from the Old English period illustrating that initial fricatives might have habitually been voiced in the South. The earliest evidence of the voicing of an initial fricative is found in the word *five*, spelled <uif>, in a Wiltshire charter dated to 950,¹⁹⁸ rather than the usual WS <fif>. In chapter 5 (section 5.2), it will be shown that ‘five’ and its derivatives are among the most common words to be represented with an initial voiced fricative in medieval West-Country texts.

The origin of initial voiceless fricative voicing

¹⁹⁶ Campbell 1959: 22

¹⁹⁷ Fisiak 1968: 60

¹⁹⁸ Bennett, W. H. 1955: 367 and Voitl 1988: 566

The voicing of word-initial voiceless fricatives is, of course, a stereotypically characteristic dialectal feature of southwestern English today. According to Fisiak,¹⁹⁹ the phonemicisation of /v/ and /f/ only occurred in northern dialects of English with the twelfth-century influx of French loan-words beginning with /v/. A different picture can be found in the South; medieval written evidence indicates that voiced initial fricatives had always been used even though Old English orthography generally did not make the a distinction between the two sounds.

How far back this phonological characteristic can be traced is the subject of much debate, as so little evidence can be gathered from the West-Saxon orthographic system.

Like many others, Wakelin believes that voicing of initial fricatives probably began some time during the Anglo-Saxon period.²⁰⁰ However, there is some evidence to suggest that the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives might have begun before the Germanic inhabitants of the south of England had left the Continent. Using archaeological evidence, Bennett argues that the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain was an extension of a general migration southward that brought the Saxons into contact with tribes from the lower Rhine area. Spellings from remnants of a written language from this area, Old Low and Middle Franconian,²⁰¹ indicate voicing of initial fricatives in words cognate to those Middle English words that exhibit the same phenomenon, for example OLF <vor> 'for' and <vallen> 'fall' and MF <zee> 'see'.

¹⁹⁹ Fisiak 1968: 60

²⁰⁰ Wakelin 1988: 636

²⁰¹ A version of the Psalms dated roughly to 1200 A.D.

Whether this hypothesis is correct or not, the voicing of initial fricatives was restricted to the southern dialects of English where the Saxons settled. The geographical limits of initial voicing extended farther north and east during the medieval period than in present-day English where the phenomenon is restricted to the West Country. Through place-name evidence, it has been determined that this phonological characteristic extended as far north as Northern Essex and Northern Shropshire.²⁰² It is therefore important that the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives is not considered to be an exclusive characteristic of the West Country during earlier periods. Nevertheless, it is an important feature in medieval southwestern dialects and will be investigated in chapter 5.

3.2 The medieval to the modern period

This section forms a historical overview of the West-Country dialects from the medieval period to the present day. It would appear that the comparative remoteness and introspective character of the South West led to a linguistic conservatism that preserved many archaic southern dialect features even into the twentieth century, when they had disappeared almost everywhere else in the South. As Wakelin notes:

‘The South West today, however, is still a relic or ‘retreat’ i.e. there still exists in many of the small villages and hamlets of the region a conservative form of speech descended from medieval English... and least affected by Standard English...’²⁰³

²⁰² Voigtl 1988: 568

²⁰³ Wakelin 1987: 17

This preservation of older dialectal forms benefits the present study which otherwise would rely only on medieval spelling evidence. The limitations involved with the interpretation of spelling evidence have already been discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. Using information gathered from the fifteenth to the twentieth century concerning West-Country dialects, the three aims of this chapter are:

- to provide as much evidence as possible, from various sources, concerning phonological and grammatical features of southwestern dialects in order to reinforce conclusions made from medieval spelling evidence.
- to identify dialect areas in the West Country in order to show how these correlate with medieval dialect areas.
- to identify and discount those features that are assumed to be typically southwestern, but which, at an earlier age, were not specific West Country dialect markers.

In light of this third aim, it is logical to begin with the twentieth century and work backwards. It might be assumed there would be no phonological or grammatical evidence today to reinforce medieval West-Country spelling evidence. However, the number of medieval dialectal features that have been preserved into the twentieth century in the West Country is remarkable. In studying the medieval South West, it is profitable to consider linguistic evidence even from the late twentieth century, as important dialectal features, although not widely used, have often been preserved in areas of the West Country.

3.2.1 The twentieth century

Wells has observed, in his survey of the accents of the British Isles, that many of the dialect features that are traditionally associated with the West Country today are no longer wide-spread.²⁰⁴ Wakelin identifies urbanisation, sub-urbanisation and education as the main causes of the loss of regional forms, in addition to increased geographical mobility since the 1830s.²⁰⁵ All of these factors exposed previously isolated and stable populations to standard forms of English. Nevertheless, the linguistic conservatism of the South West is such that, until recently, there were a large number of historical dialectal and phonological forms that were still used.

The LAE is perhaps the most important source of information concerning the twentieth century West Country dialect. Published in 1978, but at least thirty years in the making; the LAE presents an interpretation of the 'linguistic facts' gathered by the Atlas's researchers using dialect maps. The information presented in the LAE is particularly useful for the purposes of this study, because of the way that informants were selected. The influence of dialect levelling is restricted, as researchers were instructed to seek out NORMS,²⁰⁶ a social, age and gender group least likely to undergo accent or dialect change. People aged over sixty, preferably males, who had lived all of their lives in the area being studied -- and preferably whose parents had also lived all of their lives in that area -- were selected as informants. For this reason, the evidence presented in the LAE should to some extent reflect historical patterns of

²⁰⁴ Wells 1989, volume 2: 343

²⁰⁵ Wakelin 1986:17

²⁰⁶ Non-mobile Older Rural Males

pronunciation before increased communication and the influence of the national media caused regional phonologies, grammar and lexis to be levelled.²⁰⁷

From the LAE maps, it is possible to see that the borders of Devon usually correspond with one dialect area, whereas Somerset and Dorset form part of a larger *western* dialect. Informants from Cornwall, south and west of Bodmin moor, often used Standard English forms where Devon informants exhibit dialectal forms. This use of Standard English is common in areas where Celtic languages have been spoken until fairly recently. As Wakelin states:

‘...the English Language introduced into (western) Cornwall as Cornish was given up, took root there under the influence of education: speakers of Cornish would learn not the ancient Wessex dialects of (eastern) Cornwall, Devon and Somerset... but a version of English taught to them in schools and by the upper-classes and better educated, an English deliberately acquired, and with some approximation to the contemporary standard.’²⁰⁸

Wakelin therefore describes the LAE Cornish informants as speaking Standard English with some colouring from the Devonshire dialect.²⁰⁹

Phonology

²⁰⁷ It is recognised that this is an ongoing process today. The editors of the Atlas themselves recognised the effect that the second world war would have on historical dialect areas and were anxious to begin their work soon after.

²⁰⁸ Wakelin 1986: 16

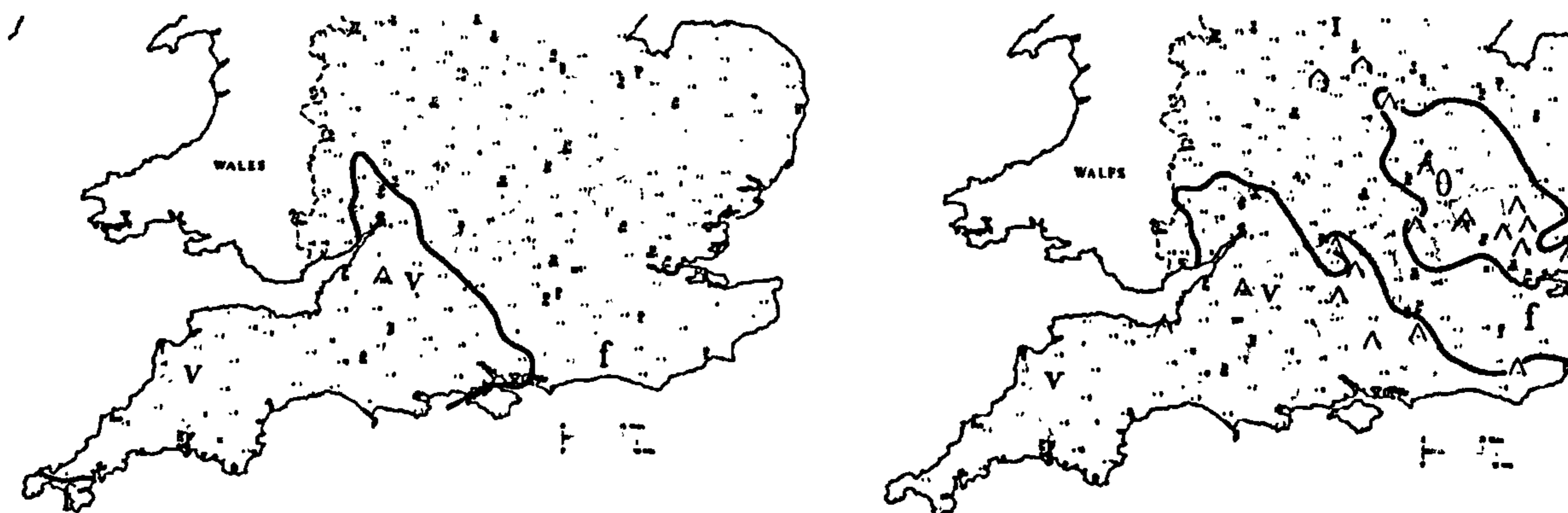
²⁰⁹ Wakelin 1994: 6

One of the most important disappearing consonantal accent features strongly associated with the West Country is the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives; so that, for example, words such as 'father' and 'Somerset' are pronounced with an initial /v/ and /z/ respectively. Wells insists that, in the late twentieth century:

'This Initial Fricative Voicing is by now sharply recessive, and nowadays more frequently encountered in pseudo-dialect songs about ['zaidə] from ['zʌməzət] than in authentic unstudied speech... In the LAE maps, initial fricative voicing never reaches north-eastwards beyond a line drawn from Hereford to Hastings.

It is also nearly always absent from Western Cornwall.²¹⁰

The LAE maps for FINGER and FURROW show the extent of an older distribution of initial fricative voicing. Voitl has produced a study indicating that, at one time, this voicing was to be found as far north and east as northern Essex and Shropshire.²¹¹ On the LAE maps shown below, it can be seen that this area of initial fricative voicing has shrunk considerably towards the West.



Map 12: LAE maps showing the distribution of initial voiced fricatives in FINGER and FURROW. (Orton 1978: maps Ph214 and Ph215).

²¹⁰ Wells 1989: 343 (volume 2)

²¹¹ Voitl 1988: 568

As Orton et al point out:

‘The maps (in the LAE) clearly demonstrate the persistence of initial voicing of /f/, /s/, /θ/ and /ʃ/ in the South West. The strength of this feature is best seen in FURROW Ph215 where the voiced forms extend eastwards to Sussex and northwards to Herefordshire.’²¹²

This southwestern area is identified again and again regarding the retention of archaic features of English, showing that, while other areas further east and north undergo linguistic change, speakers in this area in the southwest of England tend to retain archaic phonological features.

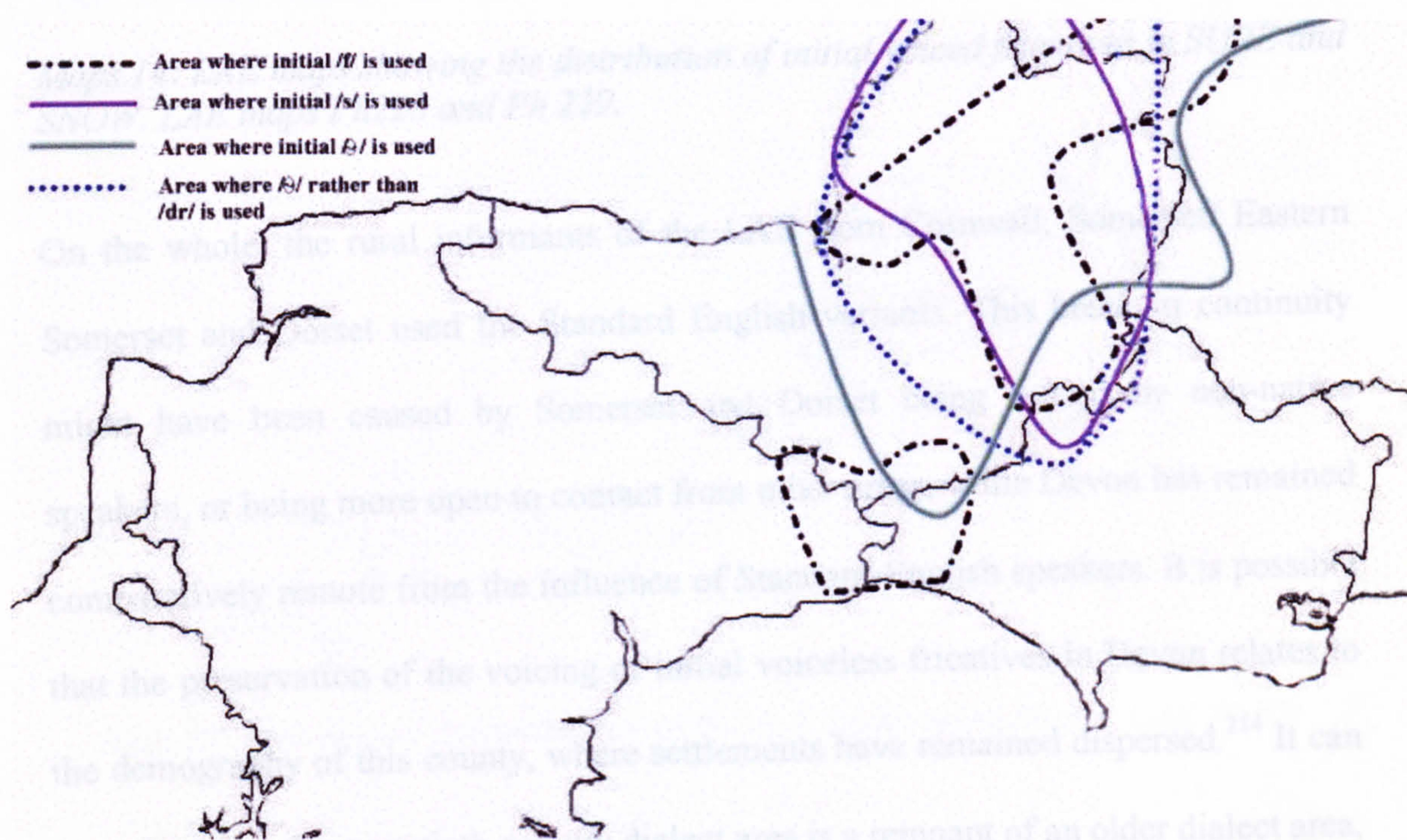
Many of the LAE maps indicating consonantal voicing show that, whereas voiced forms are found in Devon, western Somerset, Dorset, eastern Wiltshire and eastern Hampshire; eastern Somerset tends to contain the Standard English unvoiced form.

This includes the following consonantal features:

- Voicing of /f/ to /v/
- Voicing of /s/ to /z/
- Voicing of /θ/ to /ð/
- Voicing of /θ/ to /d/

²¹² Orton 1978: Introductory section *consonants*.

Sometimes the river Parrett marks a boundary east of which Standard English forms are found²¹³ and often it is the case that the eastern part of the county of Somerset forms a small isolated pocket of standard usage in the South West. LAE maps indicating this phenomenon include those for the initial sounds in the items FLEAS Ph216, FLOOR Ph217, SADDLE Ph226, THIGH Ph232, THIMBLE Ph233, THREAD Ph234 and also the preservation of initial /h/ in HAND Ph220 and HEARSE Ph221. Using evidence from the LAE maps of the items mentioned that involve voicing of voiceless fricatives, it is shown on the schematic map below that an area of Standard English variants can be identified in the eastern Somerset area; whereas east and west of this area, voicing of initial voiceless fricatives is preserved.



Map 13: Schematic map of the area in eastern Somerset where voiceless fricatives are used. Based on the LAE maps for the items FLEAS, FLOOR, SADDLE, THIGH, THIMBLE and THREAD.

²¹³ West of the river Parrett in northern Somerset are the Quantocks and the Blackdown hills.

The western Somerset border marks a boundary, east of which the item SURE is pronounced with /ʃ/ rather than /z/. For the item SNOW, bands of initial fricative voicing are found on either side of Somerset and Dorset, that is, in Devon, parts of Hampshire and parts of Wiltshire (see maps below).



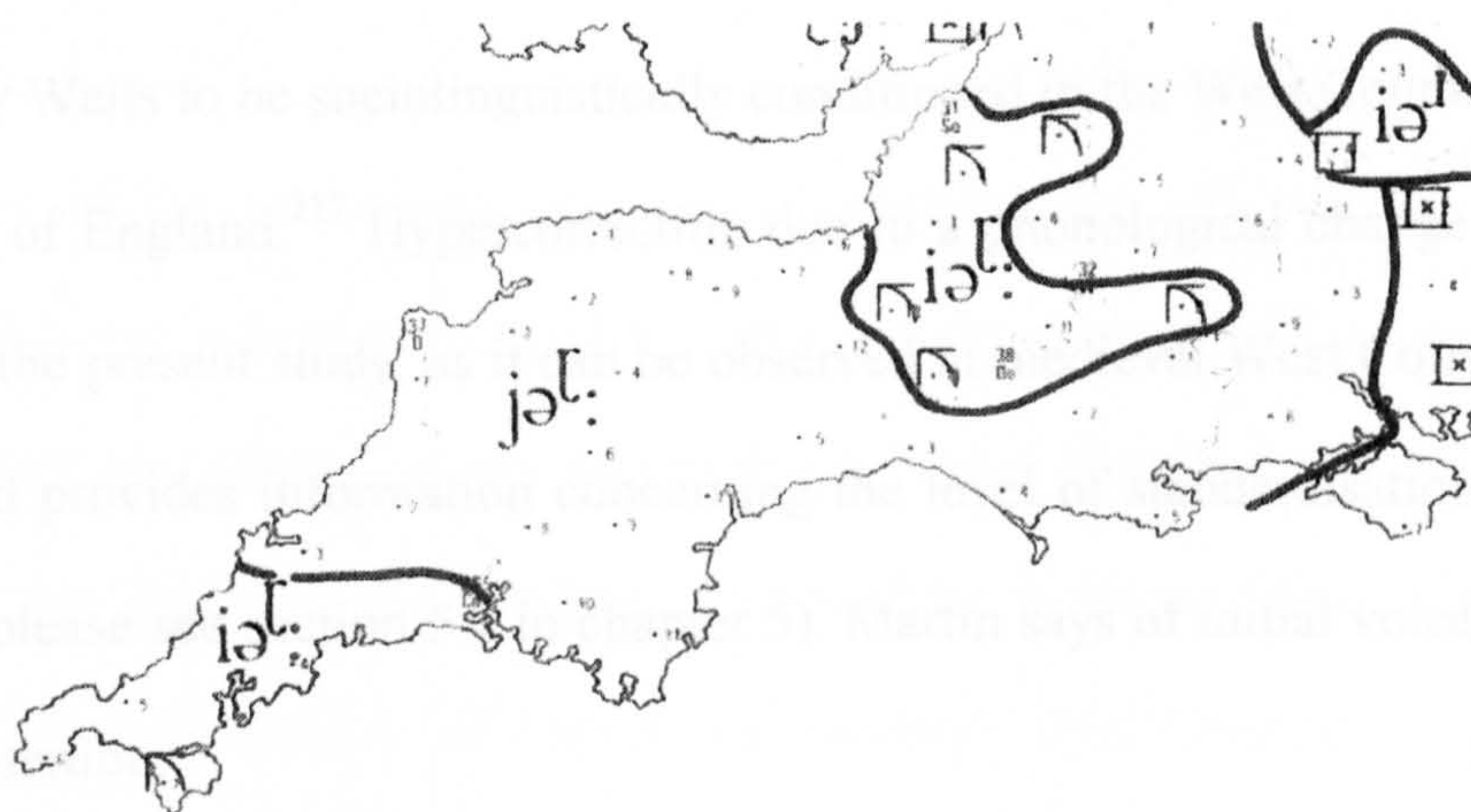
Maps 14: LAE maps showing the distribution of initial voiced fricatives in SURE and SNOW. LAE maps Ph228 and Ph 229.

On the whole, the rural informants of the LAE from Cornwall, Somerset/ Eastern Somerset and Dorset used the Standard English variants. This break in continuity might have been caused by Somerset and Dorset being settled by non-native speakers, or being more open to contact from other areas, while Devon has remained comparatively remote from the influence of Standard-English speakers. It is possible that the preservation of the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives in Devon relates to the demography of this county, where settlements have remained dispersed.²¹⁴ It can be argued that this twentieth century dialect area is a remnant of an older dialect area, apparent during the medieval period and fostered by geography and a lack of large settlements. As Milroy and Labov have noted, large settlements foster contact and linguistic change, whereas dispersed settlements do not:

²¹⁴ Darby 1967:235

‘The innovative role of cities is not new: there is good reason to think that cities have always been the centre of linguistic innovation, and that most rural dialects are relics of developments that began in the cities and spread to progressively smaller speech communities until they reached the countryside.’²¹⁵

Another feature that is important in the West Country in the twentieth century is the replacement of a glottal fricative with a palatal glide before front close vowels. According to the LAE map for HEAR this dialect feature is found throughout the West Country except in southwestern Cornwall, eastern Somerset and northern Dorset.



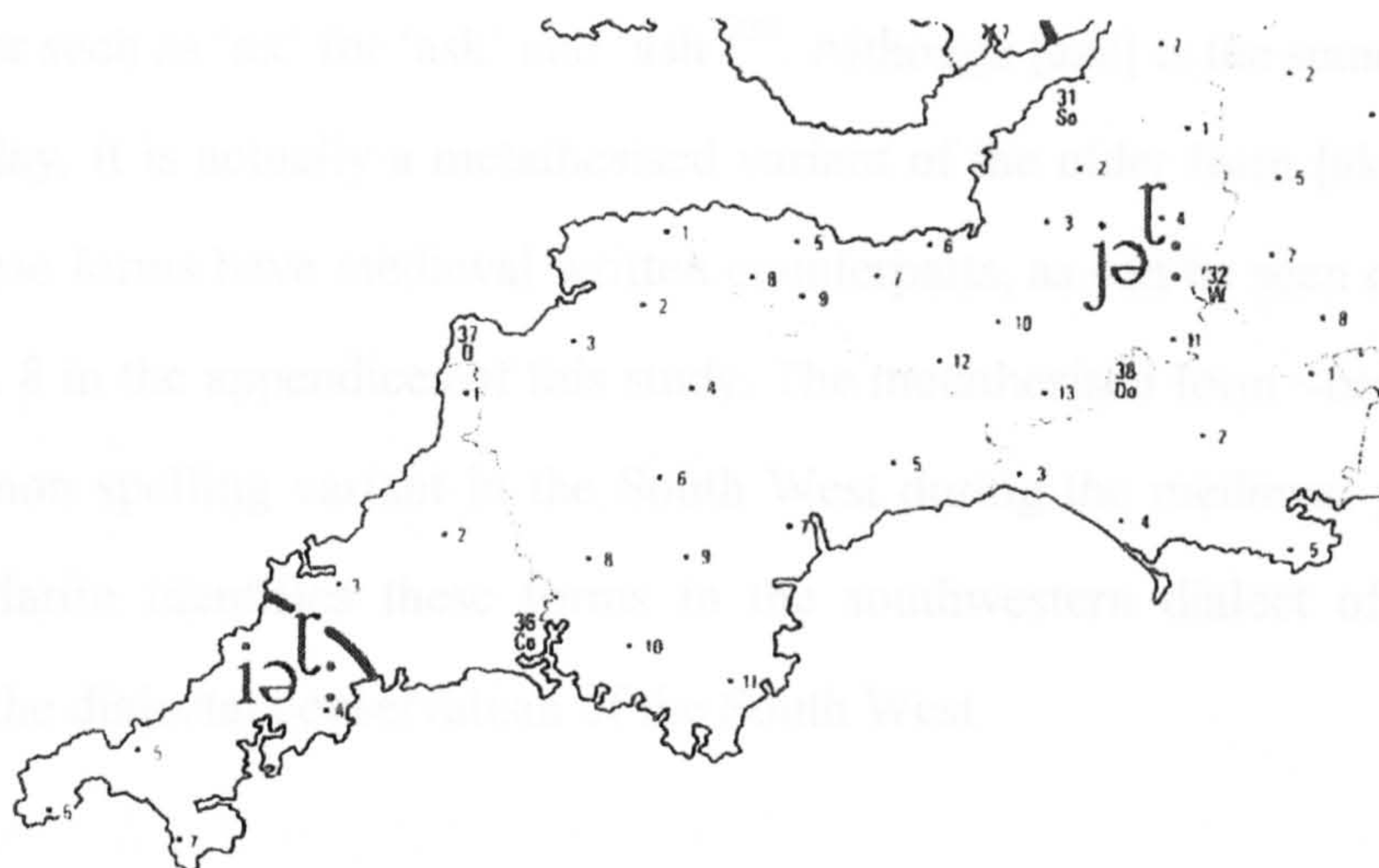
Map 15: LAE map of palatalisation of /h/ to /j/ in the word HEAR, LAE Ph101.

The same phenomenon is found for the item HEAT,²¹⁶ which is pronounced /jɛt/ in most of Devon, western Somerset and parts of Dorset. Cornwall, west of Bodmin Moor exhibits *initial-glide loss* in the word YEAR. It is common that, where a

²¹⁵ Labov 1994: 23

²¹⁶ LAE map Ph91.

dialectal variant form such as glide-insertion is found, a hypercorrect equivalent will also be found.



Map 16: LAE map of word-initial glide loss in YEAR. LAE Ph102.

Other consonantal features that are stereotypically southern, such as h-dropping are reported by Wells to be sociolinguistically conditioned in the West Country today, as in the east of England.²¹⁷ Hypercorrection due to a phonological change is of great interest in the present study, as it can be observed in medieval West Country written records and provides information concerning the level of standardisation in written language (please see section 5.1 in chapter 5). Martin says of initial voiceless glottal fricative insertion:

‘Sometimes the “h” is added to a word according to the whim of the speaker, who knows there should be an occasional “h” dropped in somewhere in “polite” speech.’²¹⁸

²¹⁷ Wells 1989: 345 volume 2

²¹⁸ Martin 1973: 9

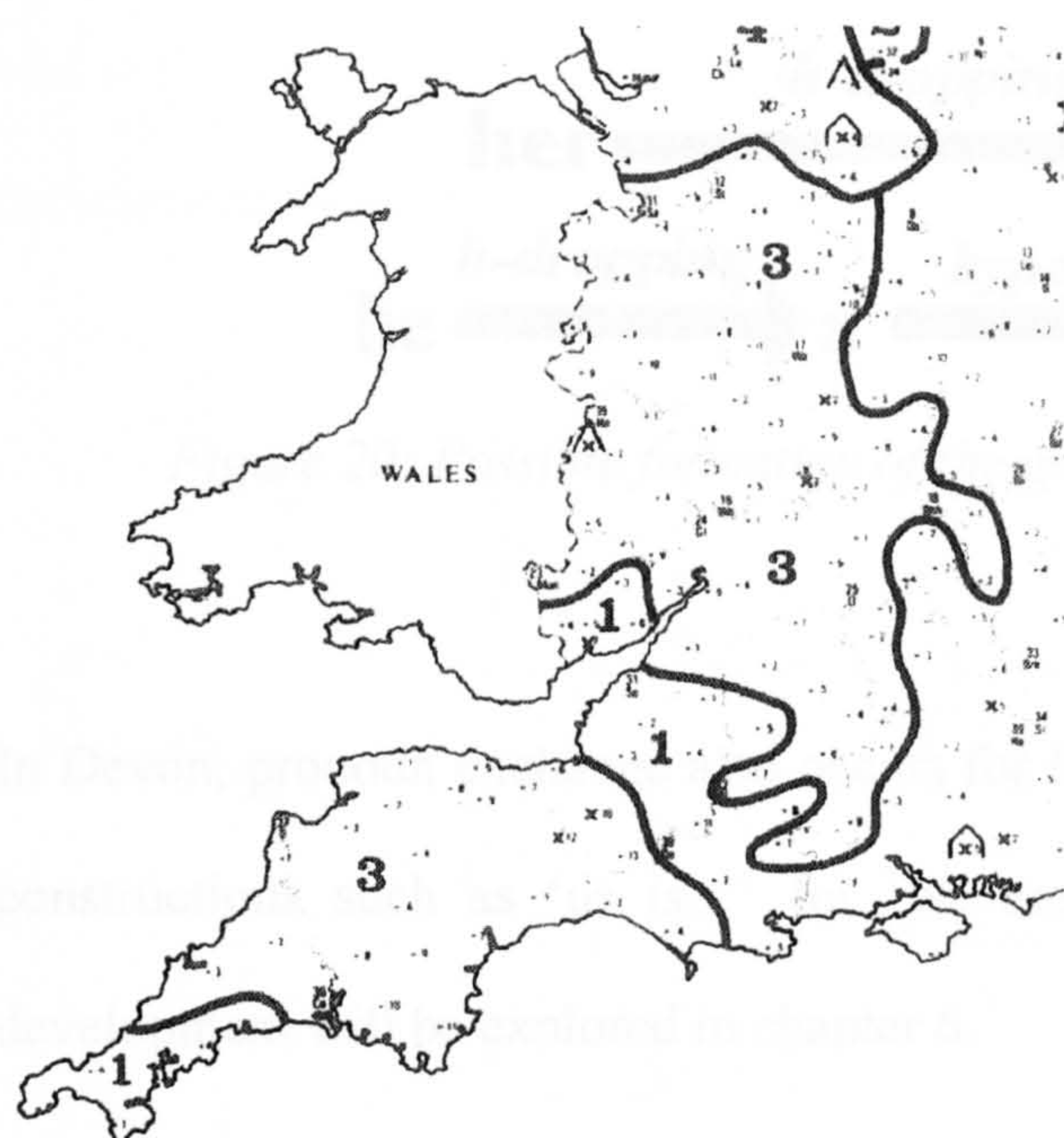
Another specifically southwestern feature found during the twentieth century is metathesis, which Martin identifies as an ‘idiosyncrasy’²¹⁹ of West-Country phonology found in words containing *r* such as ‘urn’ for ‘run’ and words containing an *sk*-cluster such as ‘ax’ for ‘ask’ and ‘ash’²²⁰. Although [ask] is the standard variant of ASK today, it is actually a metathesised variant of the older form [aks] from OE *ācsian*. These forms have medieval written counterparts, as can be seen on appendix maps 5 and 8 in the appendices of this study. The metathesised form <bren> was the more common spelling variant in the South West during the medieval period. The fact that Martin identifies these forms in the southwestern dialect of the 1970s testifies to the dialectal conservatism of the South West.

Grammatical features

Perhaps one of the best-known features of southwestern and western dialects is *pronoun exchange*, where pronouns have their functions extended from one case into another. In advanced stages of pronoun exchange, usage is extended to other genders. The use of ‘her’ or ‘er’ as the nominative form of the feminine pronoun is one of the most noteworthy features of twentieth century West-Country English. The distribution of this form, recorded in the LAE, is relevant to this study. Once again, eastern Somerset, eastern Dorset and the west of Cornwall contain the standard variant SHE, whereas Devon, western Somerset, western Dorset, Wiltshire and much of the West Midlands contain the ‘her’ variant.

²¹⁹ Martin 1973: 9

²²⁰ Martin 1973: 10



Area 1: 'she' variant

Area 3: '(h)er' variant

Map 17: LAE map of SHE. LAE M68²²¹.

According to Martin, '(h)er' is also used as the masculine and neuter nominative and accusative personal pronoun in the South West:

'In Dem (Devon), ees a er an er's a ee, all 'cept th'aud Tom cat ane even ees a er!'²²²

Ihalainen²²³ believes that hyperrhoticity is responsible for the merging of the masculine and feminine nominative pronouns. He convincingly argues that whereas the feminine pronoun 'er' is an enclitic form of the accusative 'her', the masculine is in fact a hyperrhotic form of an unstressed [a] variant of 'he'.

²²¹ There are two maps in the LAE showing the distribution of the variants of SHE. M69, however, shows a similar distribution to that of M68.

²²² 'In Devon, he is a her and she is a he, all except the old Tom cat and even he is a her' Martin 1973: 8.

²²³ Ihalainen 1994

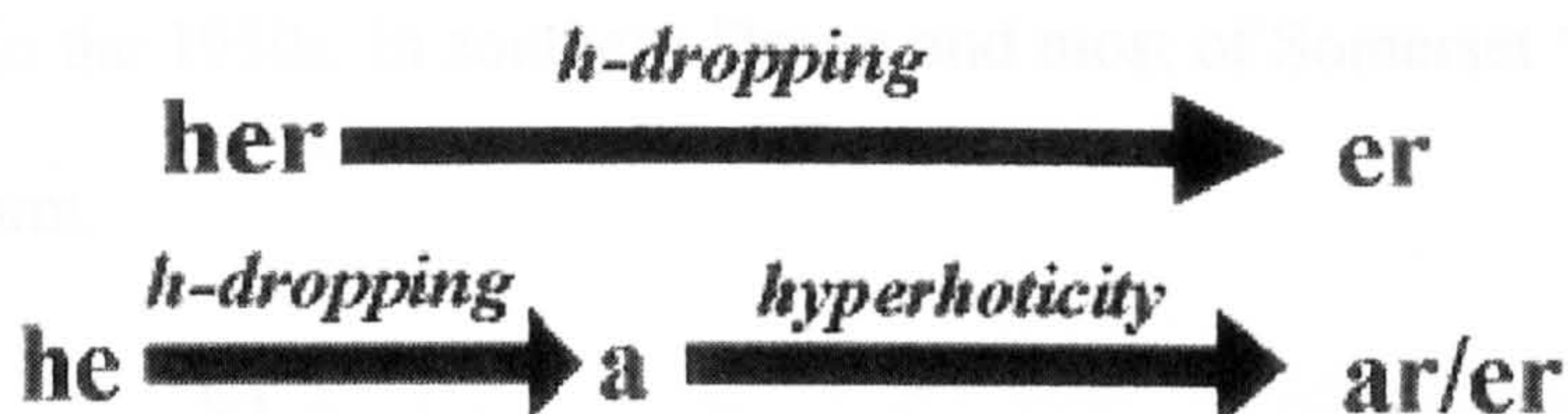


Figure 20: Possible formation of the gender non-specific pronoun 'er'.

In Devon, pronoun exchange also occurs for first person plural pronouns, producing constructions such as 'us is...' for 'we are...'.²²⁴ One possible reason for this development will be explored in chapter 6.

Evidence presented here tends to suggest that, although it was in the process of dying out, pronoun exchange had reached a particularly advanced stage in twentieth century West-Country English, especially in Devon. During the medieval period, the picture is quite different and only the initial stages of this dialectal phenomenon are evident (please see chapter 6).

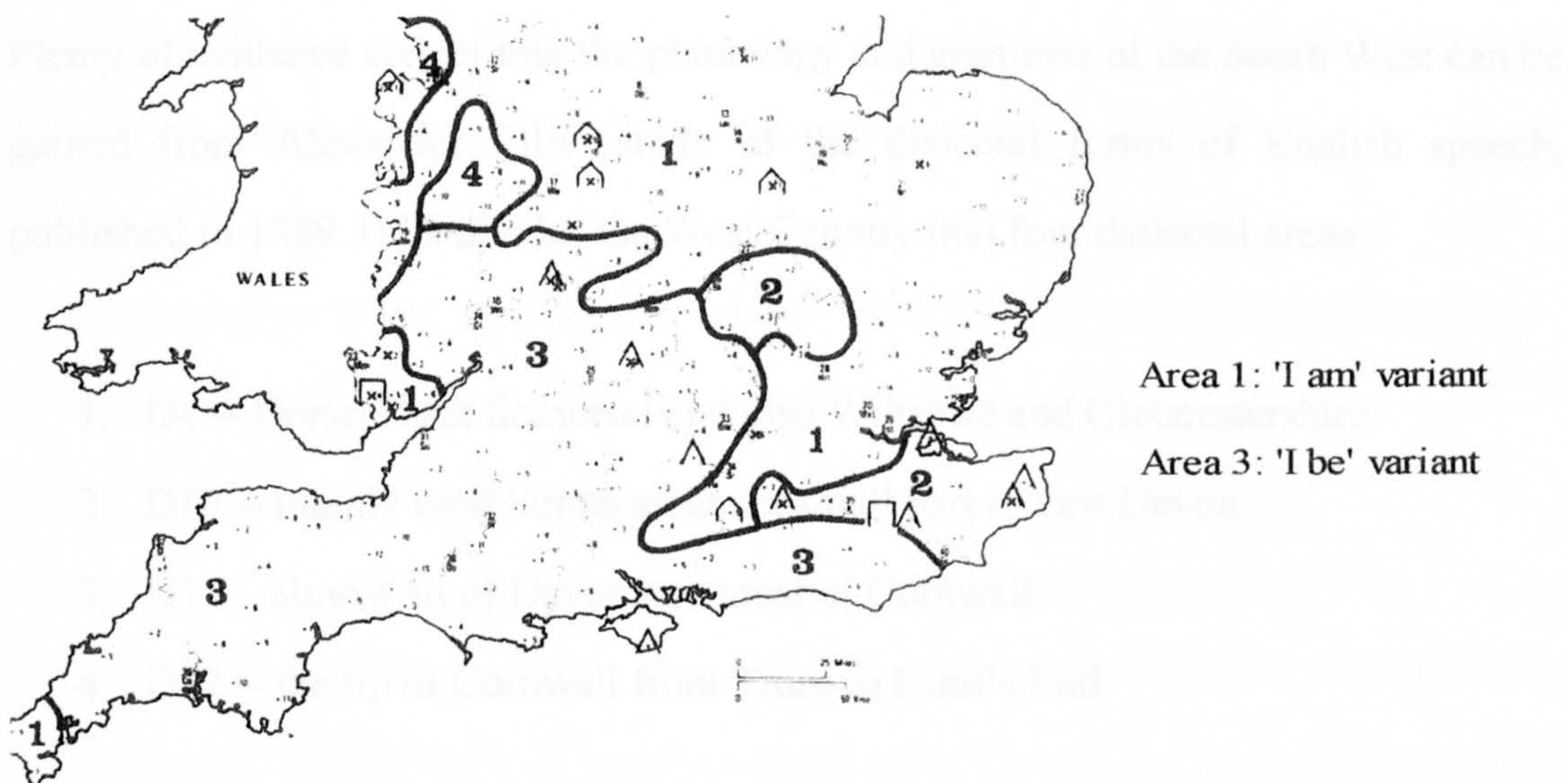
Along with pronoun exchange inevitably comes a blurring of the function of the singular and plural forms of verbs. The West-Country dialectal use of the verb TO BE is very different from Standard English usage; 'is', 'am' and 'be' are often used as plural forms of the verb TO BE rather than 'are' e.g. 'they am...' for 'they are...'.²²⁵

The use of 'be' forms lasted longest in the south of England, eventually being replaced by the 'am/is/are' used in present-day Standard English in most areas of the country. The LAE map shows a large area of the southwest of England where 'I be'

²²⁴ Martin 1973: 8

²²⁵ Martin 1973: 8

was still used in the 1950s. In southern Devon and most of Somerset 'you be' is also the common form.



Map 18: LAE map of 'I AM'. LAE M1



Map 19: Ellis's West country dialect areas. Adapted from Ellis 1889: 226n

Although Ellis notes the similarities between areas D11 and D13 (Dialect area D13 covers most of the central South), he justifies distinguishing between them due to the presence of voicing of 'initial' fricatives in area D11, a feature that "soon strikes the visitor from any other part of England."¹²⁵ Ellis notes that this feature was apparent,

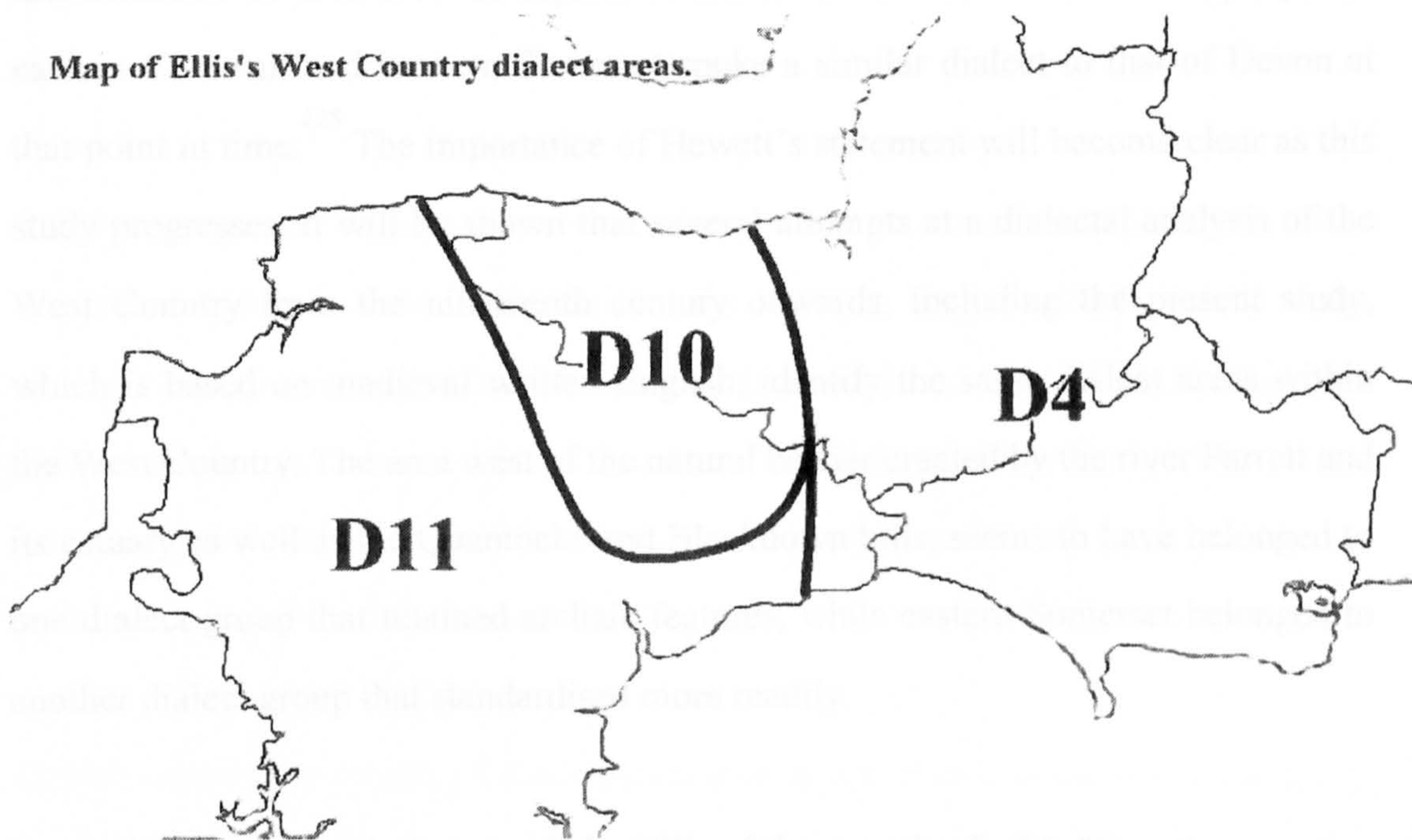
¹²⁵ Ellis 1889: 11

3.2.2 The nineteenth century

Plenty of evidence concerning the phonology and grammar of the South West can be gained from Alexander Ellis' study of the dialectal forms of English speech, published in 1889. Ellis divides the West Country into four dialectal areas:

1. D4 -- Dorset, East Somerset and also Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.
2. D10 -- mainly west Somerset and a small part of east Devon.
3. D11 -- almost all of Devon and most of Cornwall.
4. D12 -- the tip of Cornwall from Truro to Land's End.

Map of Ellis's West Country dialect areas.



Map 19: Ellis's West Country dialect areas. Adapted from Ellis 1889: 2268

Although Ellis notes the similarities between areas D4 and D5 (Dialect area D5 covers most of the central South), he justifies distinguishing between them due to the presence of voicing of initial fricatives in area D4, a feature that 'most strikes the visitor from any other part of England.'²²⁶ Ellis notes that this feature was apparent,

²²⁶ Ellis 1889: 38

at one time, across the whole of the south of England, but that by his time, it was no longer evident in Kent and Sussex and had almost disappeared in Hampshire and Berkshire. On the other hand, it had been maintained in areas D4, 10, 11 and 12. Again Ellis notes the linguistic conservatism even of areas such as D4:

‘... strongly marked peculiarities tend to show that the people have preserved much, although they have altered much of the original pronunciation, more marked on the west side than on the east’²²⁷

Hewett (1892) identified dialect areas that corresponded to Ellis’s, excepting the identification of area D10 as separate from D11. Hewett believed that people in eastern Cornwall and western Somerset spoke a similar dialect to that of Devon at that point in time.²²⁸ The importance of Hewett’s statement will become clear as this study progresses. It will be shown that several attempts at a dialectal analysis of the West Country from the nineteenth century onwards, including the present study, which is based on medieval written English, identify the same dialect areas within the West Country. The area west of the natural barrier created by the river Parrett and its estuary as well as the Quantocks and Blackdown hills, seems to have belonged to one dialect group that retained archaic features, while eastern Somerset belonged to another dialect group that standardised more readily.

From phonetic transcriptions made by Ellis of the speech of a Mr Elworthy, a native speaker of the West Somerset dialect (area D10) and a Mr J. Abbot Jarman²²⁹ from North Molton near Barnstaple (area D11), it is possible to identify the following typically southwestern features.²³⁰

²²⁷ Ellis 1889: 36

²²⁸ Hewett 1892: v

²²⁹ Ellis 1889: 160 & 161

²³⁰ Ellis 1889: 148 and 149

There are several instances of the voicing of initial fricatives in the words *for, fore, found, full, fire, fool* and *from; set, summer, say, some, selves, son, Sunday, says* and *so*. In addition to identifying the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives as being particularly southwestern, Hewett identifies the devoicing of initial voiced fricatives as being a feature of the Devonshire dialect. The presence of this feature in medieval written English will be discussed in section 5.2. In that section, it will be postulated that devoicing is a hypercorrect reaction resulting from an increased exposure to dialects where the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives was not common. Medieval evidence only tells us that hypercorrection was a written phenomenon. However, the fact that Hewett observes this as a spoken feature during the late nineteenth century suggests that this was also a phonological feature of the medieval West Country dialect.

It is likely that the absence of initial fricative voicing in more prestigious nineteenth century English dialects, for example, the London English dialect could cause speakers to hypercorrect in certain formal situations. In medieval texts, for instance, almost all hypercorrect spellings involve French-derived vocabulary. It is also interesting, but perhaps co-incidental that the hypercorrected words ‘very’ and ‘view’ in the quotation below are both of French origin.

Hewett reports the speech of a coachman driving her over Haldon (six miles southwest of Exeter):

‘Yer ‘pin ‘tap ov Aldon, mum; yu get’th a fery fine fu o’ tha country right away awver Dartymoar an’ tha zay.’²³¹

²³¹ ‘You are up on the top of Haldon madam. You get a very fine view of that country right over Dartmoor’ Hewett (1892: 2)

During the nineteenth century, voicing of plosives was also noted as a southwestern phonological feature. In Ellis's study, voicing of /t/ was found in *little* and hypercorrect devoicing was found in the initial sound of *directly*. The use of the alveolar plosive /d/ for the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ was found in the word THROUGH [dru:] and *three* [dri:]. The loss of the voiced dental fricative /ð/, word-initially, in pronouns is evident in THEE /i:/ and THEM [am].

Loss of the voiced and voiceless alveolar plosives /d/ and /t/ word-finally can be found in the words *warrant* [wɔrn] and *shepherd* [ʃəpɔr] and in the words *land* and *field*. Hypercorrect /d/ insertion is also found word-finally in [skɔlɔrd] for *scholar*.

Metathesis is found in the words *Richard*, *great* and *ask*. Under the heading 'Inelegant Expressions' in Hewett's study, sentence number five contains the form 'urn' for 'run' and sentence number ten contains 'urned' for 'ran'. This indicates that metathesis involving 'r' was considered by Hewett to be a feature of Devonshire English during the late nineteenth century. Again, this can be seen as the preservation of the older form from OE *urnon*.

The use of the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, in words which are traditionally spelled with a <gh>, is found in Ellis's study in the word THROUGH and appears to have been an important nineteenth century southwestern dialect feature, although <thruf> spellings are rarely found in the medieval texts used in the present study, (please see item map 52 in appendix 6).

Another important feature reported by Hewett is that the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is often pronounced as a palatal glide /j/,²³² in words such as 'heat' and 'heath'. The occurrence of this feature in medieval southwestern English texts will be discussed in

²³² Hewett 1892: 2

detail in section 5.4.1. Although this feature appears to have been widespread throughout the medieval and early modern period of the English language, it seems to have gradually receded westwards and southwards so that nineteenth century commentators such as Hewett consider it to be a southwestern form.

Related to this linguistic phenomenon is Hewett's observation that in the north and northwest of Devon, there is a tendency to omit the labial-velar approximant²³³ from the beginning of the word 'what'.²³⁴ Initial glide loss is also evident in Ellis's study; one example of which is [onər] for *won't she*. The w-less pronunciation of 'what' and 'won't' observed by Hewett and Ellis in the late nineteenth century, therefore provides an example of glide-omission before a back rounded vowel. As will be shown later, glide insertion and omission before certain vowels have been strongly associated with West-Country phonology, but might better be considered as having survived there even though they were more widely used during the medieval period. The insertion of a labial-velar glide /w/, before non-initial back and front vowels respectively, can be found in the words *boy* 'bwoy' in Ellis and Hewett's²³⁵ studies and *call* 'cwall' in Ellis's study.

In the absence of the use of the phonetic alphabet, Hewett's vowel descriptions are often difficult to interpret. Hewett often reports pronunciation anomalies involving the front open vowel /a/. Where the front open vowel occurs as a monophthong, it is lengthened as in words such as 'skat', 'clat', 'fat' and 'want'. There is also evidence of the use of open vowels in words such as these during the medieval period from spellings such as <yalow> 'yellow', <sarmon> 'sermon', <harde> 'heard' and <facyng> 'fetching'.

²³³ Hewett has <wh>, but it is unlikely that 'what' was pronounced with an initial fricative sound in the West-Country English of the late nineteenth century. As will be shown in section 5.1, from orthographic evidence, the loss of the voiceless velar fricative in favour of the approximant /w/ (used in present day English-English pronunciation), was well underway even in medieval West-Country pronunciation.

²³⁴ Hewett 1892: 8

²³⁵ Hewett 1982: 59

Regarding morphosyntactic features, Hewett notes the systematic use of the weak past tense inflection in a number of verbs, such as 'to do', 'to go' and 'to come' that remained strongly declined in Standard English. In addition to this, the presence of the archaic southern '-eth' declension of the third person singular and plural present verb as opposed to the '-s' declension, is noted. Ihalainen reports that the West Country was in fact the 'last stronghold' of this feature which, at one time, was common throughout the south of England.²³⁶

From evidence in Hewett's study, it is possible that imperative verbs often had the suffix /i/ attached, which was perhaps an elided form of the plural pronoun 'ye'. Hewett does not give a context concerning this feature but says only that 'ee' is joined to verbs²³⁷ giving the examples 'hoppee', 'laughee', 'tellee' and 'zittee (sit)'. If this is an example of an elided form of 'ye', then it would provide another example of the loss of initial palatal glides, so strongly associated with West-Country pronunciation at this time.

Concerning the use of the verb TO BE in late nineteenth century Devonshire English, Hewett notes the use of BE forms for the present tense of the verb TO BE, where other dialects of English at that time would have AM, IS and ARE. The use of constructions such as 'I be' and 'Us be' appears to have developed after the medieval period and it is suggested in section 7.1 that this is perhaps due to the gradual loss of the distinction between the subjunctive and indicative forms of the verb.

Pronoun exchange involving the use of the accusative first person plural 'us' pronoun rather than the nominative 'we' was also reported by Martin in his study of the Devonshire dialect, earlier in this chapter. Ellis's study indicates that in D10

²³⁶ Ihalainen 1994: 5

²³⁷ Hewett 1892: 3

numerous examples are found of the characteristic use of ‘er’ as a generic pronoun regardless of sex and case. In D11 ‘er’ is also used for HE. Concerning this feature, Hewett observes that:

‘Her is used irrespective of sex. Even a tom-cat is *her*; indeed, in speaking of persons, animals, and things, *her* is the generally used pronoun.’²³⁸

Here, Hewett is obviously making reference to the saying quoted by Martin (p156). One feature perhaps instrumental in the development of this generic pronoun is hyper-rhoticity, which Ellis transcribes in the words *daughter-in-law* [darter], *washing* [wɔrʃɪn] and *fellow* [fɛlar].

Reference is made to the use of ‘thick/thuck’-type demonstrative pronouns in both Hewett and Ellis’s studies. These pronouns have been identified as being particularly southwestern in character.²³⁹ Examples given by Hewett are ‘thick-wan there’ and ‘thickee-there’. In the present study of medieval written English, these pronouns were rarely found. The forms ‘these’, ‘they’ and ‘tho’ were more common in the West Country during the medieval period (please see item map 49 in appendix 6) although ‘thukke’ does appear occasionally.

²³⁸ Hewett 1892: 6

²³⁹ Wakelin 1986:13 ‘thicke and thucke’ used for ‘this and that’.

3.2.3 The seventeenth century

Even in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; the dialects of the West Country seem to have been considered markedly divergent from the standard of the time and this gives rise to some interesting and useful anecdotal evidence. Many of the features that were, at one time, used throughout the South appeared remarkable to the late seventeenth century author Daniel Defoe, who associated them with the ‘country jargon’²⁴⁰ of the South West in his book entitled ‘Tour Thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain’. Of the dialects of the West Country, he has this to say:

‘In my return to my western progress, I passed some little part of Somersetshire... I cannot pass my observation here, that when we are come this length from London, the dialect of the English Tongue, or the country-way of expressing themselves, is not easily understood. It is the same in many parts of England besides, but in none in so gross a degree, as in this part...’²⁴¹

Defoe goes on to draw attention to the ‘abridging of speech’,²⁴² that is, elided or enclitic forms such as ‘cham’ for ‘I am’ and ‘chill’ for ‘I will’. In addition to this, Defoe highlights other elisions such as ‘don’ for ‘to do on’ and ‘doff’ for ‘to do off’. Defoe then goes on to recount two anecdotes; one concerning a visit to a school in Martock²⁴³ where a boy reads aloud from the Psalms, translating the text into his own dialect as he goes. The second is about a thieving dog and ends in a six-line poem in a Somerset dialect. The first anecdote contains elided forms such as ‘chav’ for ‘I have’, ‘doffed’ and ‘don’t’. The anecdote exhibits the voicing of initial fricatives in ‘veet’ for ‘feet’. The second anecdote contains the elided form ‘cham’ and also the

²⁴⁰ Defoe 1927: 232

²⁴¹ Defoe 1927: 330

²⁴² Defoe 1927: 330

²⁴³ In Somerset, about eight miles west of Yeovil.

insertion of the labial-velar glide /w/ before a back vowel, in this case it is in the word 'other' which Defoe records as 'wother'.²⁴⁴

Elided forms such as these must have developed later than the Middle English period, as no examples can be found in the texts used in this study. The most interesting aspect of Defoe's account is that the archaic first person nominative pronoun *ich* was still being pronounced in late seventeenth century West-Country English. During the medieval period, only the oldest texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contain <i/yche> as a dominant spelling and *ich* is very rarely used in fifteenth century texts. Defoe's evidence would appear to suggest that although <ich> was disappearing in written language during the medieval period in favour of <y/I>, it continued to be used in spoken language right up to the late seventeenth century. This fact perhaps illustrates the effects of standardisation on written language during the medieval period.

Aside from Defoe's study, there are early seventeenth century accounts that identify the dialects of the South West as being particularly archaic and as having a phonology, grammar and lexis that are notably divergent from the standard.²⁴⁵

Alexander Gill's Logonomia Anglica²⁴⁶ contains entries for the speech of both the South and the West. Gill's entry for the dialect of speakers of southern English makes reference to many features that, over the years, have come to be associated exclusively with the West Country, but which were initially of southern origin. These include the voicing of word-initial fricatives /f/ and /s/, the use of 'ich' as the first

²⁴⁴ Defoe 1927: 333

²⁴⁵ The Standard English referred to here started to emerge during the fifteenth century and was based on the speech of London. Alexander Gill takes care to note in his Logonomia Anglica that all of his dialectal observations concern only 'country people, since among persons of genteel character and cultured upbringing, there is but one universal speech, in pronunciation and meaning.' (Danielson 1972: 104)

²⁴⁶ Published in 1619

person nominative pronoun and the feature that Defoe would later identify as being typically southwestern, namely the elision of verbs with the 'ich' pronoun to form the proclitic constructions 'cham' I AM and 'chil' I WILL.

When it comes to identifying those features of a southwestern dialect that make it distinctive, Gill invariably draws attention to archaic vocabulary and this suggests that, even during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when most of the dialectal features that are now considered to be typically southwestern were still widespread throughout the South; the South West was still considered to be linguistically conservative. Gill points out the use of archaic vocabulary such as 'nim' from Old English 'niman' 'to take' and 'vang' from Old English 'fengan' 'to receive'; the formation of past participles using 'i-' from Old English 'ge-'²⁴⁷ and the old pluralisation of nouns using '-n' as specifically southwestern in character. In addition to this, a provincial vocabulary and the occurrence of metathesis are also identified, as features of a southwestern dialect. All of these are considered by Gill to cause the southwestern dialects to be unintelligible to strangers more so than any other dialect:

'But of all the dialects the Western has the most barbarous flavour, particularly if you listen to rustic people from Somerset, for it is easily possible to doubt whether they are speaking English or some foreign language. For even now they still use certain ancient sounds, as 'sax' for *knife*²⁴⁸ 'nem' or 'nim' for *take/ accept*,²⁴⁹ and English words are replaced by their own, as 'lax' for *sharing/ a share*, 'toit' for *seat*,²⁵⁰ etc. Furthermore they corrupt proper words, some in meaning, some in pronunciation, as 'wiz wai' for (bridle), 'witpot' for

²⁴⁷ Wakelin notes that this use archaic *y*-prefix on past participles is often unhistorical in the South West. (Wakelin 1986: 13).

²⁴⁸ Wakelin 1994: 39

²⁴⁹ Wakelin 1994: 39

²⁵⁰ According to Wright's dialect dictionary 'toit' is word for a 'small seat or a hassock' in Devon, Somerset and Glamorgan.

(sausage)²⁵¹... also, 'hi vangd to mi at de vant' <in baptisterio pro me suscepit>,²⁵² 'zit am' (imperative form of 'to sit'), 'zadrauh' for (to try/taste), 'hj iz gon avisht' for (he has gone fishing). Again they say 'throttin' for (thirteen), 'narger' for (narrower), 'zorger' for (more sorrowful). Before past participles beginning with a consonant they put an I, as 'ifror' for (frozen)... 'hav yi idu' for (have you done). Also they have this peculiarity, that they alter certain irregular nouns of either number ending in z in order to distinguish the number e.g. 'hooz' (hose - singular and plural) with them remains as 'hoz' in the singular, but is 'hozn' in the plural, and 'pez' (peas) has the plural form 'pezn'.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Although the term 'pot' is now used in the southwestern dialect to refer to 'a sausage' (OED *pot* sense 8), it is likely that the term 'wit pot' refers to a 'white pudding', as a similar term 'black-pot' can be found in the southwestern dialect today (OED *black-pot* sense 2).

²⁵² John Ray also uses this example for the Somersetshire dialect in his 'Collection of English Words' 2nd ed published in 1961: 'To Vang - to answer for at the font as godfather' - 'He vang'd to me at the vant'. From Anglo-Saxon 'fengan' to receive, also to undertake." It is likely that Ray drew on the *Logonomia Anglica* as a source for his book.

²⁵³ Danielsson 1972:103

3.2.4 The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

From an examination of early accounts of dialect features and from early spelling evidence from the late medieval and early modern-English period, it is possible to select those dialectal characteristics that might have been typical of the South West of England during that time.

Using church-wardens' accounts and the documents of 'other local worthies of no great education' dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, Matthews²⁵⁴ carried out a survey of spelling evidence in order to obtain a picture of southwestern phonology during the early modern English period. One premise of this study was that such 'informants' would not habitually standardise their spelling systems and therefore there was a much greater likelihood that the spellings they used would be phonic. Spellings in documents such as churchwardens' accounts should therefore reflect dialectal phenomena in an age where very little data of this sort could be gathered.

Matthews had initially surveyed *London* churchwardens' accounts²⁵⁵ and, later, he looked at the same kind of source material in the South West. This allowed comparisons, in the latter survey, with phenomena Matthews had already observed in London records. Such a comparison allowed Matthews to identify those forms that were truly southwestern, at that point in time, as opposed to those that could be said to be generally southern. Many of the forms that dialectologists would consider to be typically southwestern, even during this period, seem to occur as frequently in London documents. Matthews' study leaves us with a few features that might be

²⁵⁴ Matthews 1939: 194

²⁵⁵ See "The Vulgar Speech of London in the XV-XVII Centuries". In *Notes and Queries*, Jan 2nd – April 3rd, 1937.

identified as being exclusively southwestern during the late medieval period. Evidence provided by Matthews will now be considered, initially concerning vocalic variants found in the South West, then the consonantal variants and finally grammatical features.

The lowering of one particular vowel, namely /ɪ/ to /ɛ/, is synonymous with the London dialect, but is also found frequently in the South West. This sound change is believed to have occurred due to influence from the Essex dialect,²⁵⁶ therefore it shows the spread of a characteristic of an incipient standard across the dialects of the south of England. Examples that Matthews finds are:

DEVON: 'drenk', 'scheppe', 'medsomer', 'tember', 'brenge', 'pellow', 'hethertoo', 'pek', 'Teverton', 'redd' *rid*, 'twest', 'Smeath'.

SOMERSET: 'Welaym', 'self', 'emagys' *images*, 'Recharde', 'reppe' *rip*, 'frenge', 'wenche' *winch*, 'Menstrells', 'rengars', 'selver', 'gefte', 'shelyng', 'streng', 'vesitations', 'heather' *hither*, 'menster', 'meckelmas'.

Those features that are generally associated with southwestern vowel systems are the rounding and retraction of front vowels, particularly in association with an /r/-consonant. Matthews finds evidence of some of these types of sound-change in London, but the association of this sound-change with /r/ seems to be a particularly southwestern phenomenon.²⁵⁷ The retraction and rounding of the open front vowel /a/ before /r/ to /ɔ/ occurs in West-Country written documents, more frequently and earlier than in London documents. Matthews found the following examples of this in Devon and Somerset documents:

DEVON: 'corredge', 'sollery', 'Morch' *March*.

²⁵⁶ Matthews 1939: 199

²⁵⁷ Matthews 1939: 196

SOMERSET: ‘schorde’ *shard*, ‘torfft’ *tafetta*, ‘torcells’ *tassels*²⁵⁸.

There are several instances in both the South West and London of the rounding and retraction of the open front vowel in words such as *land*, *hand*, *sand* and *hang*, typically in a vowel+*nd* or vowel+*ng* environment. Most of the examples cited by Matthews in the southwestern study also occurred in his survey of London documents into the early sixteenth century. Matthews notes that although this use fell out of favour in standard speech during the fifteenth century it apparently continued to be used in the West Country throughout the sixteenth century.²⁵⁹ Please see section 4.3 for a discussion of the influence of this West Midlands feature on medieval West-Country English.

It would appear that the existence of a back open vowel triggered hyper-rhoticity in the southwestern dialect, in the same way that the pronunciation of schwa [ə] does in present-day West-Country dialects.²⁶⁰ Matthews finds the following examples in Devon and Somerset written records:

DEVON: ‘alabarst’ *alabaster*, ‘scarfold’.

SOMERSET: ‘warsyne’ *washing*, ‘sarton’ *sattin*.

The lowering of the mid-open front vowel /ɛ/ to an open front vowel /a/ has also been seen as a characteristic of the West Country dialect (for examples provided by Hewett in the late nineteenth century, please refer to page 165). However Matthews again identifies that this phenomenon was apparent in London documents of this time. A few examples of lowering are found in West-Country documents: ‘ffatche’, ‘naglece’ *necklace*, ‘bales’ *bellows* and ‘langthening’.

²⁵⁸ This example also exhibits hyper-rhoticity

²⁵⁹ Matthews 1939: 196

²⁶⁰ Wells 1989, volume 2: 343

Where Matthews notes spellings that indicate a consonantal sound change, he invariably also notes hypercorrect spellings. Of all of the phonological features Matthews found evidence of in West Country written records, only a few occur more frequently in southwestern than in London records and can therefore be 'tentatively' selected as possible southwestern phonological features during the late medieval and early modern period. These are:

- Rounding and retraction of the open front vowel in words such as 'thatch', 'salary', 'passenger', 'lath', 'March', 'shard', etc.
- Unrounding of ME /o/ to /a/ in 'whom', 'whose', 'soul', 'know', 'knowledge', 'mow', 'own'.
- Voicing of /p/²⁶¹ and devoicing of /b/.
- Use of <f> for <gh> in 'brought', 'bought', 'daughter', 'through'²⁶².
- Voicing of word-initial /f/²⁶³.
- Voicing of word-initial /s/.
- Omission of the palatal glide in words such as 'gave', 'year' and 'yards' and the insertion of a palatal glide before front vowels in words such as 'earth', 'ere' and 'east'.²⁶⁴
- Loss of the labial-velar glide /w/ before back vowels and the insertion of a labial-velar glide before back vowels.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ There is only one example of this in the London documents and no examples of the devoicing of /b/.

²⁶² In the London documents this only manifests itself in the word 'daughter'.

²⁶³ This occurred only in word-medial positions in the London documents. Examples from the West-Country documents date from 1446 to 1685, most entries come from the sixteenth century. 'The considerable number of examples of voicing of initial 'f' found in the southwestern documents reflects a characteristic which has always been used in the literary southwestern dialect and which is still common in the South-Western counties.' (Matthews 1939: 202)

²⁶⁴ Y-loss appears to have occurred in London in unaccented positions, but never word-initially There were fewer examples of y-addition although it often occurred in the words 'herb', 'earth' and 'earl' (Matthews 1939: 204).

²⁶⁵ /w/ loss was much more common in the South West than in London, where there is only one example of it. There is equally little evidence for /w/ insertion (Matthews 1939:206).

In addition to these, Matthews notes that metathesis involving /sk/ occurs in London, but only in the words 'clasp', 'ask' and 'hasp', never in 'axe', 'ash' and 'desk'. Metathesis involving /r/ is more common in London except in the word THROUGH where there are no examples of it.

The grammatical feature that Matthews, and Alexander Gill, considered to be particularly southwestern was the use of a *y*-prefix at the beginning of past-participles. Matthews notes that this form was falling out of use in standard speech in the early fifteenth century and he finds no examples of its use in London from the late fifteenth century onwards.

Apparent similarities between church wardens' accounts in the South West and in London must be balanced with contemporary accounts that identify the South West as an area of particularly non-standard phonology, grammar and lexis. Although there might be some similarities between London and West-Country written language at this period in time, the comparative remoteness of the West Country undoubtedly led to the distinctive and often archaic phonology, grammar and lexis.

3.3 Influence of incipient standard written language on the West-Country dialects

It is necessary to describe briefly the dialectal origin of the language of London during the late medieval period, as it is from this variety of English that the standard written language emerged. During the late medieval period, standardisation of written language began to restrict the gathering of dialectal information from written evidence. Although it might be expected that the geographically peripheral West Country would resist the effects of standardisation, evidence that will be presented later in this thesis suggests that standard orthographic habits and spellings from the East were beginning to replace southwestern dialectal spellings. In particular, it will be shown that there are both diatopic and diachronic boundaries marking influence from the East during the medieval period.

Anecdotal evidence presented in sections 3.2.1 – 3.2.4 tends to suggest that the spoken dialect of the West Country remained distinct from eastern dialects, preserving many archaic features from late West Saxon. What is being asserted in this study is that the use of copy-texts from the East and other areas of England, as well as the increasing importance of London as an administrative centre, seem to have caused typical southwestern spellings to be used less and less in certain parts of the West Country during the fifteenth century.

The letters and papers of John Shillingford demonstrate that there was correspondence between the inhabitants of the West Country and those of London, in this case for legal purposes – a law suit between the City of Exeter and the Bishop of Exeter. The letters written by John Shillingford make clear that a number of journeys to and prolonged stays in London were necessary in order to negotiate support for himself and his associates. The language of the Shillingford letters is typical of most

of the documentary materials extralinguistically localised in LALME to various locations in the West Country,²⁶⁶ tending to contain fewer typically southwestern features than many of the southwestern literary texts. The language of the documentary material also corresponds more closely to the language of eastern Somerset and Dorset than the more archaic western dialect of Devon.

Mid-thirteenth century evidence concerning the language of London suggests that it had many features from the Essex dialect, but also had features similar to the Middlesex and Surrey dialects to the west.²⁶⁷ Samuels points out that early diocesan boundaries back up the dialectal information that links early medieval London to Essex. He also asserts that the Domesday Book suggests that Suffolk and Norfolk were the most densely populated areas of England during the early medieval period and that these counties appeared to have been the source of a large number of immigrants to London.²⁶⁸

As Smith points out, late medieval London written language evolved into a variety that had much more in common with a Midlands dialect²⁶⁹ and this seems to have come about as a result of a change in pattern of immigration into London, as a large number of merchants and traders from the east Midlands moved to the city during the second half of the fifteenth century. This meant that a number of northern forms, for example the originally Norse pronouns THEM, THEIR and THEY found their way to London much faster than their natural progression south would have allowed. As Samuels states:

²⁶⁶ In Devon, two indentures localised to Alwington and six documents localised to Ermington. In Dorset, a will localised to Thorncombe and in Somerset, texts localised to Bridgewater and Yatton.

²⁶⁷ Samuels 1979: 165

²⁶⁸ Samuels 1979: 109

²⁶⁹ Smith 1996: 91

been adopted by fifteenth century West Country scribes, as part of the permanent standardisation of written language in this part of the country.

Conclusion

In this chapter, West-Country dialect features from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century have been surveyed. Using the information collected, it has been possible to identify West-Country written *and* spoken language features. It has also been possible to identify those features that were specific to the West Country during the Middle English period. It has been identified that one of the most important features of dialects in the West Country is the preservation of archaic forms that had been lost in other English dialects. Preservation of archaic forms during the medieval period will therefore be considered in detail in this thesis. The influence of London English on the written language of the West Country has also been described in order to take into account the influence of standardisation on the types of spellings that are found in the medieval West Country.

The following chapter is the start of the analysis of material collected for this study. A number of spellings that were found to vary diatopically across the West Country, when variants of items were plotted onto their LALME localisations, will be used in order to illustrate the presence of 'phonological' and 'non-phonological' spelling variation in this part of medieval England. Throughout the following chapter, the existence of an eastern and western dialect will be highlighted. It will also be shown that the forms preserved in the western dialect are generally older vowel reflexes, whereas the eastern dialect generally corresponds more closely to that of the rest of

the south of England. The effects of standardisation will also be demonstrated by looking at the presence of consonantal hypercorrection in specific medieval West-Country texts.

Chapter 4: Vocalic West Country features

If the spelling variants gathered from each of the thirty-four texts localised to the West Country are plotted onto the locations assigned to them in LALME, it is often possible to identify items that elicit diatopically varying spellings, as opposed to those that vary randomly over the area or do not vary at all. Once geographical areas where specific spellings were used have been identified, it is necessary to find out if there might have been an underlying phonological reason for this diatopic variation. Reference can be made to LALME to see if patterns found in the West Country were part of a larger area of distribution; although the fact that much of the West Country is a peninsula of land limits our ability to trace patterns of usage with reference to the rest of England.²⁷¹

In this chapter and for the rest of this study, the term *vocalic* will be used as a generic term referring to both written and spoken vowels. The problematic nature of deriving phonological evidence from written evidence has already been discussed at length in chapter 2. In chapter 2, the fruitlessness of not attempting to derive phonological evidence from medieval written evidence was also discussed. Therefore, in the first instance, no assumptions are made concerning the possible phonological value of the spoken equivalents of scribal spellings and spelling variants are not assumed to be equivalent to phonemic transcription or direct evidence of spoken language in any other way. It is only when the presence of distinct geographical areas of usage are

²⁷¹ The 'West Country' (Devon, Dorset and Somerset) is bounded on two sides by the Bristol and English channels. To the west, only two texts have been localised to mainly Cornish speaking Cornwall during the late medieval period. There was undoubtedly some contact between Monmouth and the West Country via the sea, but most dialectal influences must have come from the East and southwest Midlands due to contact over land.

identified, indicating some kind of systemic variation, and by considering present-day phonology and sound-change mechanisms that any sort of phonological evidence can and will be derived from medieval written evidence in this study. Four items: I, US, MANY and EVIL, containing vocalic graphemes, have been selected from the questionnaire used in this study, because their variants grouped diatopically.

What is most striking in this study of vocalic variation in the West Country is that the diatopic pattern of variants found was similar for all four items. In each case, a group of spelling variants was found across most of Devon and western Somerset, while another group of spelling variants was identified in eastern Somerset. In addition to this, although it was ascertained that different sound-changes were responsible for the presence of diatopic differences in spelling variants, the older spelling form was always found in Devon and western Somerset, whereas eastern Somerset spelling variants were usually the newer forms.

The spelling variants of the first person nominative singular pronoun I, will be considered as examples of diatopically varying graphemes that have no underlying relationship to phonology. Although diatopic variation of the second person accusative plural pronoun US at first seemed to reflect the same kind of non-phonological variation found for *I*; closer investigation revealed that differences in vowel length related to stress were probably responsible for the presence of the two main spellings variants.

Diatopic variation of the spelling variants of MANY will be explained with reference to the existence of Old English by-forms. The presence of various spelling variants

of the item EVIL will be explained with reference to qualitative changes between long and short vowels during the early Middle English period and the changing relationships between sounds and graphemes after the loss of the Old English front close rounded vowel *y*.

On the maps presented in this study, the most commonly occurring spelling variant in each manuscript text is plotted on its LALME localisation. Other forms that were found in the text are listed after it separated by either (/) or (,).

- **x/y** indicates that fewer **y** variants were found than **x** variants.
- **x,y** indicates that equal numbers of **x** and **y** variants were found.

In many maps, forms occurring less than one third of the number of times that the dominant spelling variant occurred are not included. This is in order that maps did not become too cluttered, but in some maps it is possible to include them and they are enclosed in round brackets. On the map of the first person nominative singular pronoun, the entry for Ashmole 33 is: **y (ich, I, ic, ych)**, indicating that **y** was the dominant spelling variant, but that four minor spelling variants, **ich, I, ic** and **ych**, were also found in the text and that the same number of each of these minor variants was found.

a letter <J>. During this study, it was observed that the <I> variant was often positionally conditioned, so that most manuscripts contain both <I> and <y> used in different contexts. <I> usually occurs at the beginning of a line or after a punctus and <y> usually occurs within a line. For this reason, <I> is usually the second most common or the minor spelling variant in the majority of manuscript texts.

However, in one group of texts, localised to the east of Somerset, the <ɪ> form is the dominant spelling variant.²⁷² It is unlikely that this diatopic difference between graphs used in the West Country reflects a quantitative or qualitative phonetic difference. Forms represented by <y> and <I> probably both represented the unstressed form of northern English <ic/ik>²⁷³ and were pronounced [i:].

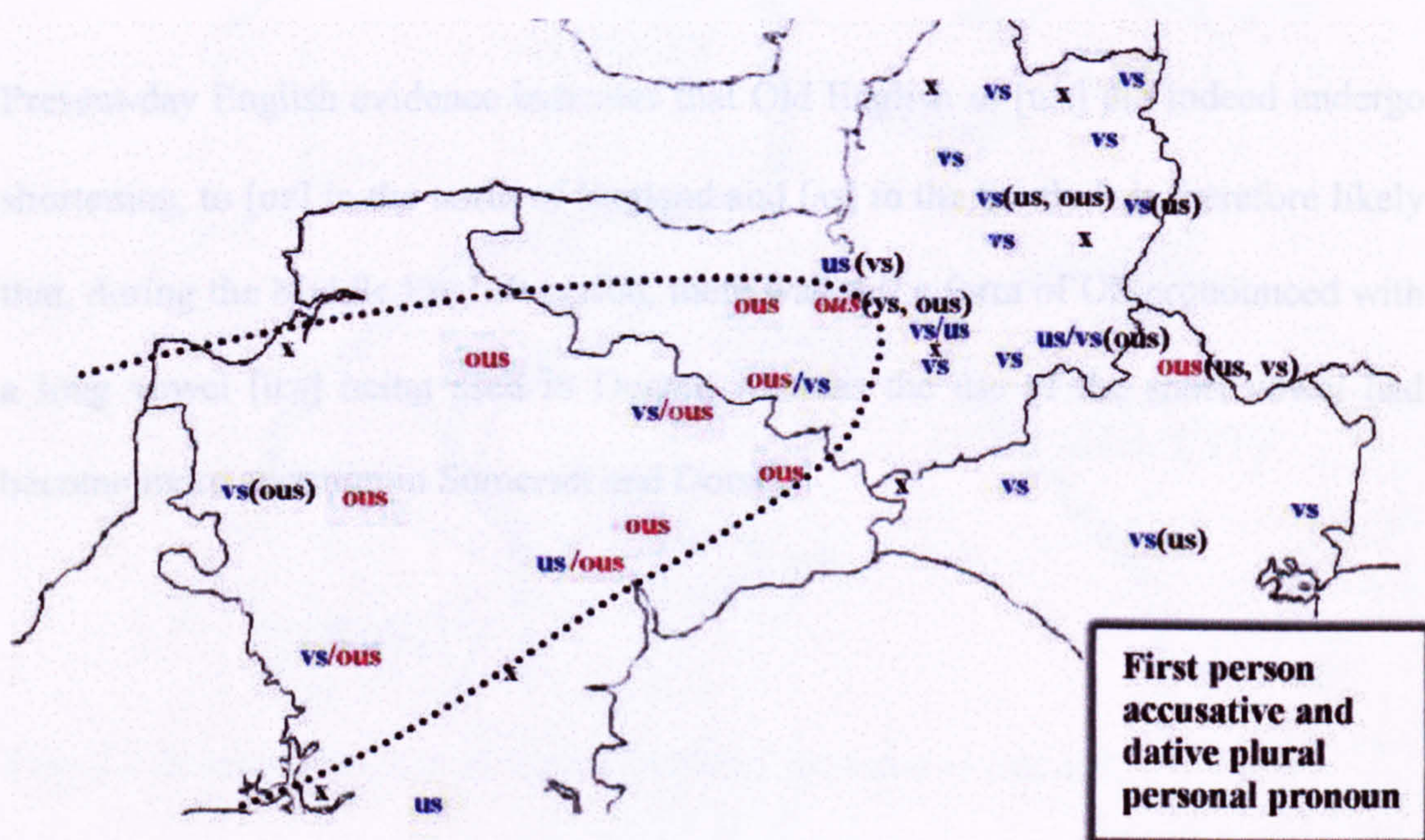
One means of explaining why this part of Somerset should use the <I> form is that this form was gradually becoming the standard spelling variant for the first person nominative singular personal pronoun. Due to reasons involving demography and geographical location, more than any other part of the West Country, eastern Somerset would have been in touch with standard phonological and graphemic influences. It is probable that the distribution of <I> and <y> relates to orthographic tradition, rather than reflecting a phonological difference. This type of variation is an example of what McIntosh calls a *written feature* (W-feature), a feature that does not reflect a phonological change, but nevertheless varies diatopically according to scribal practice (as described in section 2.2.1). In the section below, features that possibly reflect phonological differences will be considered. McIntosh calls these features *spoken features* (S-features).

²⁷² Outside of Somerset, Rawlinson 328, localised to Plymouth, also had <I> as its dominant spelling form.

²⁷³ Wakelin 1994: 112

4.2 The first person accusative and dative plural pronoun 'us'

As with the spelling variants of the first and second person pronouns I and US; a clear diatopic distribution of the variants of the first person plural accusative and dative personal pronoun can be seen on map 22. In Devon and western Somerset, the <ous> spelling variant is often the dominant form. Where <ous> is not the dominant form in Devon, it is used at least one third as often as the dominant form is used. In the instance where <us> is recorded as the only form in six Ermington texts in southern Devon, the sample-text was short, yielding only one spelling variant of this word-item, and this spelling variant happened to be <us>. The Harley2386M text in the far west of Devon only has <ous> as a minor spelling variant, but this text has clearly been mislocalised, as it almost always exhibits forms common in eastern Somerset and rare in Devon (please refer to section 8.4).



Map 22: Distribution of the spelling variants of the first person accusative and dative plural personal pronoun.

In most of Dorset and western Somerset, the dominant spelling forms are <vs> and <us>. These two variants can be assumed to be equivalent, as <v> was often a representation of a word-initial *u* in medieval English spelling.

It is possible that there was a qualitative difference between the vowels in the words written <ous> and <us/vs>, for example [u] and [ʌ],²⁷⁴ and that the <ous> form indicates the presence of a long vowel and the <u/vs> form indicates the presence of a short vowel. Grammatical words such as pronouns are often unstressed and, therefore, it might be expected that the vowel in US would undergo shortening. Jordan states that both short and long forms co-existed throughout the Old and Middle English periods, but that the shortened form prevailed. He postulates that the <s> consonant in syntactical relationship produced a shortening group, citing Orme's distinction between *uss* and *ous*, where *ous* was the long form.²⁷⁵

Present-day English evidence indicates that Old English *ūs* [u:s] did indeed undergo shortening, to [ʊz] in the north of England and [ʌs] in the South. It is therefore likely that, during the Middle English period, there was still a form of US pronounced with a long vowel [u:s] being used in Devon, whereas the use of the short vowel had become more common in Somerset and Dorset.

²⁷⁴ The <s> consonant does not usually cause breaking and retraction in the preceding vowel in the way that the liquids /r/ and /l/ often do.

²⁷⁵ Jordan 1974: 149 §150

4.3 The determiner ‘many’

Using spelling evidence found in LALME, as well as data collected for the present study; the general areas of spelling variants of MANY have been plotted on the schematised map 23 below. The map shows some regional spelling patterns for this word item.



Map 23: Schematised map of MANY spellings recorded in LALME.

In the North, the East-Midlands, East Anglia and the central South, <many> is the dominant spelling form. There is an area stretching from London to Gloucestershire where a majority of <mani> spellings occur. In the West-Midlands and far North

In Devon, where the largest number of <meny> spellings occur, it is the dominant form in at least three manuscripts around the central and southern part of the county, but in the east, towards the Devon/ Somerset border, <meny> is the second most common form. Further east again, in Dorset and eastern Somerset there are no dominant <meny> spellings.

Explanation of presence of MANY spelling variants

It is possible to explain the presence of <many>, <meny> and <mony> spelling variants, if Old English reflexes of MANY are considered. Three spellings of MANY are recorded during the Old English period, namely <mænig>, <menig> and <monig>. <mænig> can be assumed to be the oldest of these forms – an unlauded form of primitive Old English <manig>.

Campbell is unclear about the precise development of the <mænig> form in late West Saxon. Although he suggests that this variant results from the first stage of umlaut of Primitive Germanic *a* (see quotation below), Campbell also suspects that the large number of occurrences of <mænig> spellings in late West Saxon might involve the sound change where unaccented *o* > *æ* also evident in the spellings <þæn(n)e>, <hwæn(n)e>:

‘In IW-S... the pronominal accusatives *þone*, *hwone* are often affected by the change of unaccented *o* > *a*, appearing as *þane*, *hwane*... IW-S has in these words also a peculiar development to *æ*, *þæne*, *hwæne*, *þænne*, *hwænne* and this seems to be shared by the low-stressed *monig*... which often appears as

mænig too often to be explained by §193.d (umlaut of Primitive Germanic *a*).²⁷⁶

<mony>

The use of the spelling variant <mony> resulted from a sound change whereby *a* before a nasal sound became rounded and retracted to *o*. <o> spellings indicating the rounding of a vowel before nasals are found in a number of different environments:

- 1) In OE *a* before a nasal e.g. *man*, 'man' *noma*, 'name'
- 2) In OE *a* before lengthening consonant groups containing a nasal e.g. *lond*, *hond*, *lomb*. This occurred in the twelfth century.²⁷⁷
- 3) In OE *a* lengthened in an open syllable before a nasal e.g. *nome* 'name', *lone* 'lane', *schome* 'shame'.
- 4) In OE *a* in a tertiary²⁷⁸ stressed syllable before a nasal e.g. *monig* 'many', *pone* 'accusative determiner', *hwon*, 'when'.

The regularity with which the reflex of the open front vowel /a/, such as was found in MANY, was spelled <o> suggests that it underwent the sound change illustrated in figure 21.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Campbell 1992: 157 §380

²⁷⁷ Jordan 1974: 50 §30

²⁷⁸ This term will be explained later in this section.

²⁷⁹ Hogg 1992: 77 §5.3 and 221 §6.4.3.

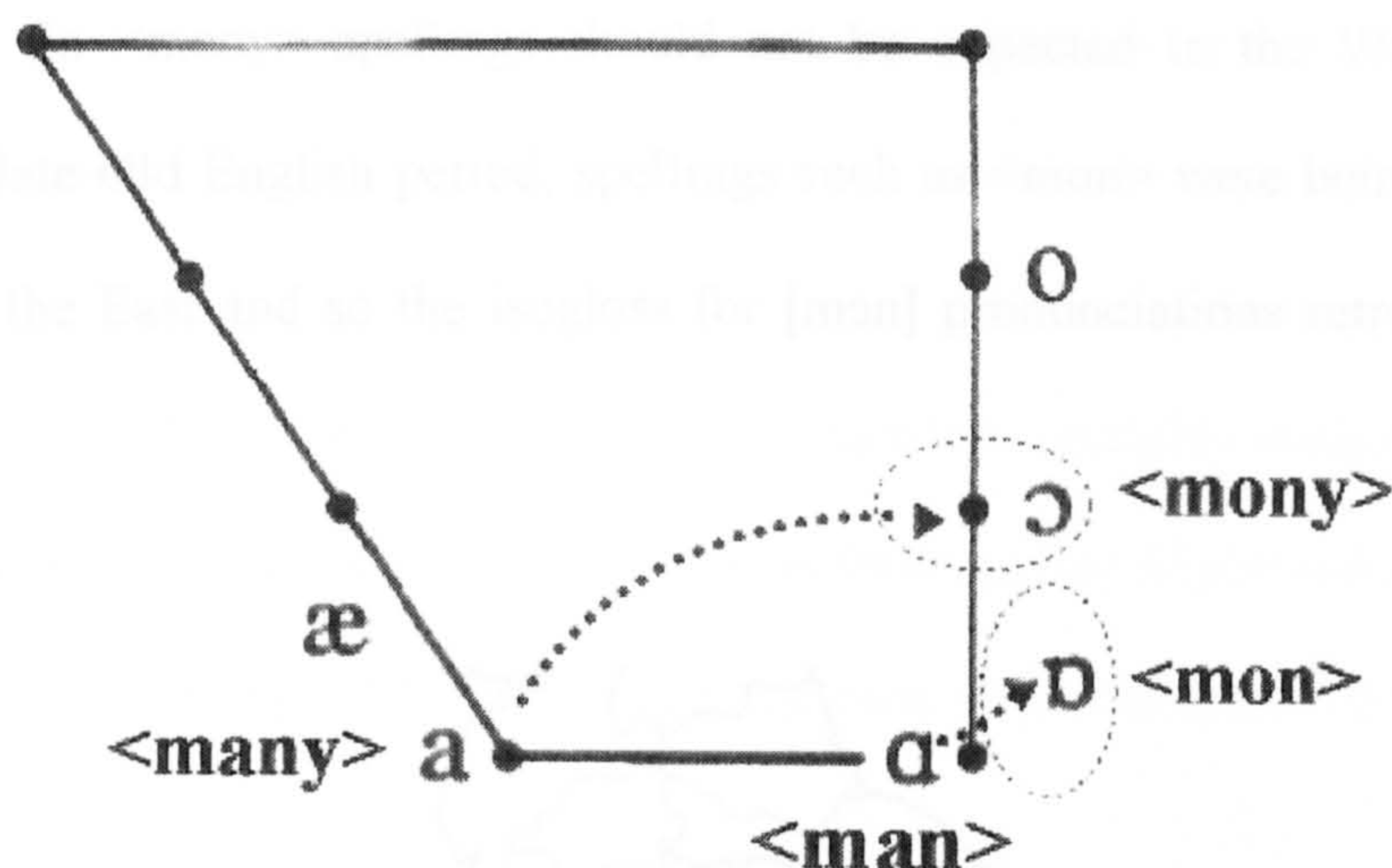


Figure 21: Vowel-space illustration of the retraction of the vowel in *MANY* and *MAN*.

This sound-change occurs in a syllable that has what Hogg calls *tertiary* stress (a syllable that has a weak stress that is neither primary nor secondary stress, but is not completely unstressed²⁸⁰). Tertiary stressed words are usually grammatical words, such as the determiner *MANY*. This form would have been too weakly stressed to have undergone a second stage of umlaut and therefore would still contain an /a/ vowel. *MANY* would therefore meet the conditions required for undergoing the change $a + nasal > o$.

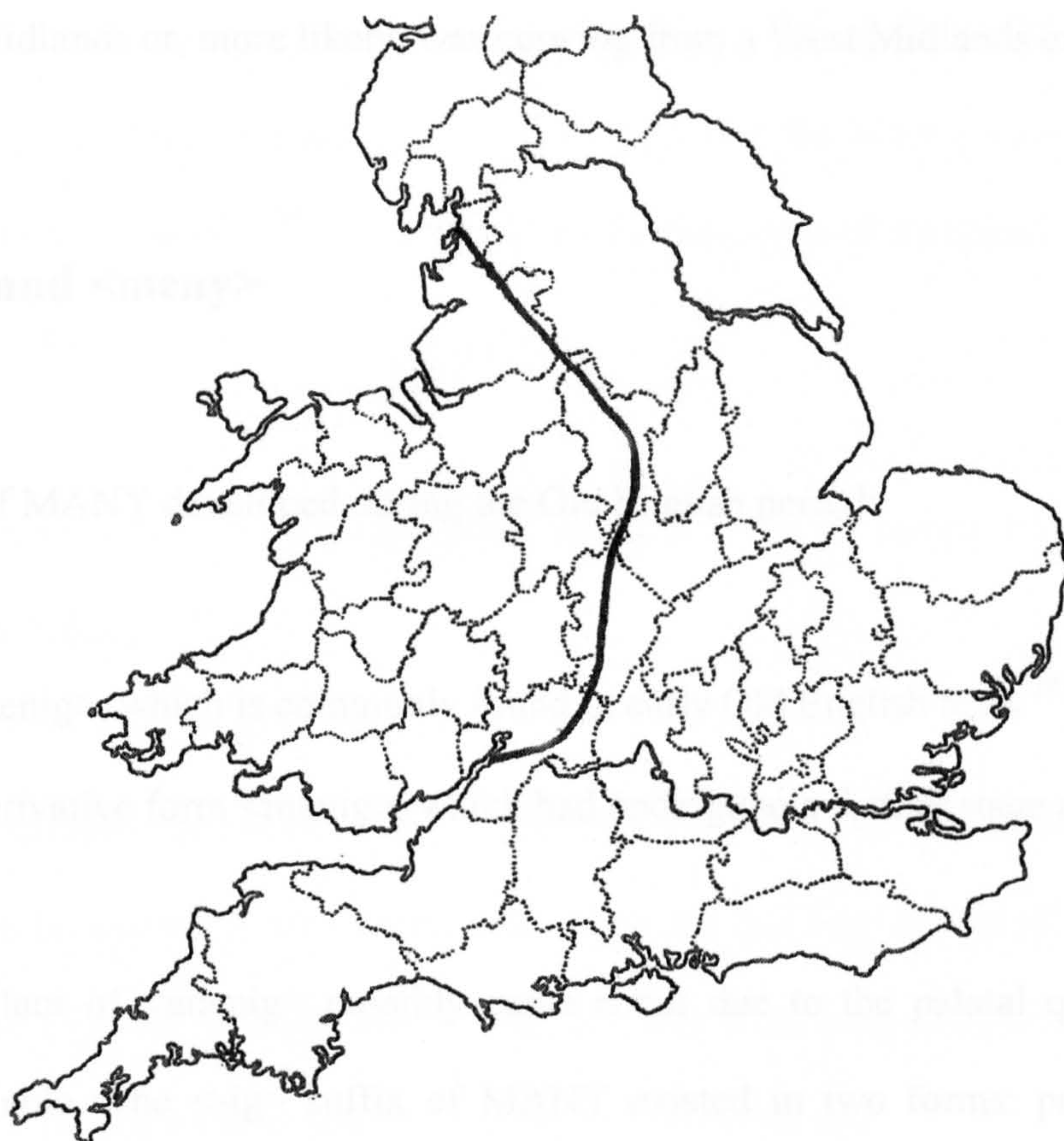
<mony> spellings were not frequent in West Saxon; therefore it is possible that umlaut had occurred in West Saxon and therefore the $a + nasal > o$ change could not happen, or the change took place and that, as Campbell suggests, a further sound-change $o > \text{æ}$ occurred, as seems to have happened often in late West Saxon.²⁸¹

According to Jordan, the back rounded medial vowel in <mony>, <mon> etc. was a feature of Anglian, whereas in West Saxon <man> and <many> were more

²⁸⁰ Hogg 1992: 220 §6.4.2.

²⁸¹ Campbell 1992: 157 §380

common.²⁸² So <mony> spellings should not be expected in the West Country. During the late Old English period, spellings such as <mon> were being found less and less in the East and so the isogloss for [mɔn] pronunciations retreated further west²⁸³.



Map 25: Map showing the eastern limits of <mony> spellings, adapted from Jordan 1974: 53

Map 25, adapted from Jordan,²⁸⁴ illustrates the limits of the geographical areas where Old English *a* followed by *m* or *n* was spelled <a> or <o>. Texts localised west of the black line tend to contain <o> spellings, east of the black line are <a> spellings.

²⁸² Jordan 1974: 50

²⁸³ Jordan 1974: 50 §30

²⁸⁴ Jordan 1974: 53 adapted Moore, Meech and Whitehall.

Jordan's map illustrates, as does map 23 above, that <mony> spellings were lost last in the West Midlands.

Mydwyntyr's use of *a + nasal > o* spellings therefore probably indicates a West-Midlands influence. It is possible that this could indicate that Mydwyntyr came from the West Midlands or, more likely, was copying from a West Midlands exemplar.

<many> and <meny>

By-forms of MANY developed during the Old English period:

- <mænig>, which is commonly found in early Old English texts.²⁸⁵
- a derivative form <menig>, which had undergone a further stage umlaut.

Further umlaut of <mænig> possibly came about due to the palatal quality of its second syllable. The <-ig> suffix of MANY existed in two forms: primitive Old English -æg [æj] and -ig [ij]. Where the latter suffix was present, it caused fronting and raising in the preceding syllable, but only when that syllable was stressed.²⁸⁶

The development of the umlauted <meny> form in northern texts can be seen throughout the eighth and ninth century. <menig> spellings started to appear in the first half of the eighth century in the Anglian Epinal Glossary. In the late eighth or early ninth century Mercian text, the Corpus Glossary, Campbell reports that

²⁸⁵ Campbell 1959: 74 §193d (footnote 4).

²⁸⁶ Hogg 1992: 136 §5.85.10b

<menig> spellings outnumber <mænig> spellings three to one,²⁸⁷ <menig> thereafter became the most common spelling.

It is not clear why, as map 23 shows, <meny> spellings developed predominantly in the South West and South East during the Middle English period. It is possible that this is a case of orthographic archaism in the case of the South West, as older spelling forms and pronunciations are often retained in the West Country and South-West Midlands. Kihlbom,²⁸⁸ in her study of the language of medieval documentary texts, notes that:

'*meny* is found only in the Devon letters, where it is the prevailing form by the side of occasional *many*.'²⁸⁹

Kihlbom therefore dismisses <meny> spellings in Devon as 'dialectal', whereas it might better be seen as a once widespread form that has been lost in all but the most conservative of areas. It might also be the case that Kent was sufficiently dialectally conservative for the archaic <meny> spelling to be preserved.

²⁸⁷ Campbell 1959: 74 §193d

²⁸⁸ Kihlbom 1926

²⁸⁹ Kihlbom 1926: 122

4.4 Reflexes of Old English *y*

One important vocalic West-Country feature that needs to be considered is the use of a rounded reflex of Old English *y*. It is unclear whether the Old English front close rounded vowel was still used in the medieval West Country or whether this vowel had been modified. It is either the case that [y] was retracted, but maintained its rounded quality, becoming a [u] vowel (best represented with the <u> grapheme), or whether it was only the grapheme used to represent the front close rounded vowel that changed. The second of these two options is plausible as, during the medieval period, the <y> graph was widely used to represent reflexes that bore little resemblance to OR *y*. In areas outside of the medieval West Country, Old English [y] unrounded and lowered to various front vowels in different dialects, but was lost last in the West.²⁹⁰ As Campbell states:

‘Some IWS manuscripts show that in some areas *ȳ* (both mutated *ū*, and from *īe*) was becoming unrounded by isolative change. This appears in spellings with *ī* for *ȳ*, and inverted spellings with *ȳ* for *ī* where there is nothing to cause rounding.’²⁹¹

There appear to have been several different reflexes of Old English *y*, as Brunner describes:

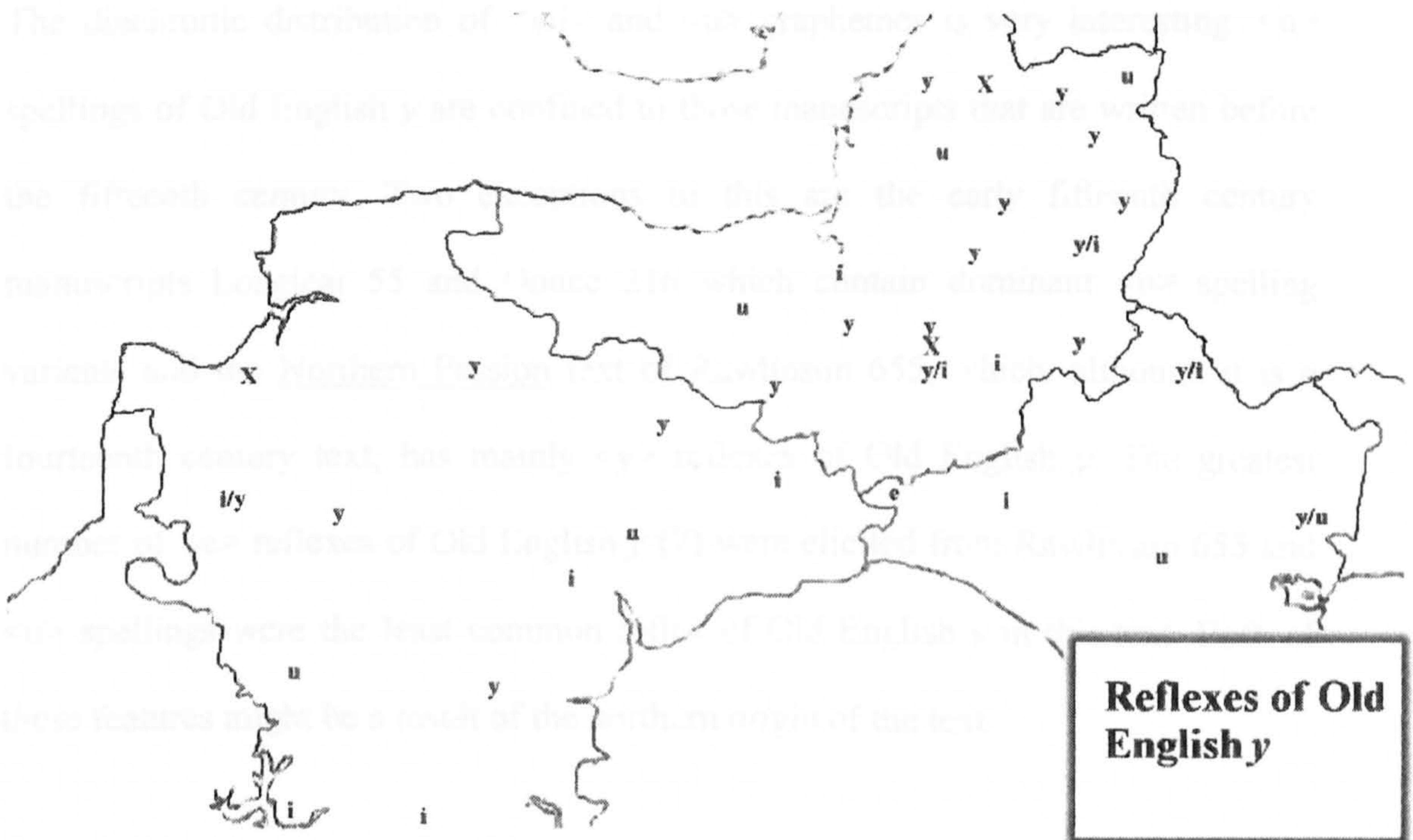
‘Old English *ȳ* [ū] had become *ē* in Kent about 900. The evidence of Middle English documents indicates that this change also occurred in Essex, in parts of

²⁹⁰ Toon 1992:430

²⁹¹ Campbell 1959: 132 §316

Suffolk and Hertfordshire, in Sussex... and probably in Middlesex and southern Cambridgeshire too. North of this region and east of a line which runs southwards down the Pennine chain to London, and also in Westmorland and Cumberland and in a small area in the west of Devon and Dorset), \ddot{y} was unrounded to \ddot{i} in the 10th or 11th century. Only in the South West (except Dorset and Devon) and the West Midlands (including Lancashire), then, was the rounded $[\ddot{u}]$ retained, and spelled *u* as in French.²⁹²

A sample of written reflexes of Old English \ddot{y} were taken from spellings of the words DID, HILL, WHICH, KIN, KISS and SIN as they occurred in texts, localised in LALME to the West Country. The dominant vowel graphemes recorded are plotted on map 26 below.



Map 26: The distribution of reflexes of Old English *y*.

²⁹² Brunner 1963: 15 §11.5

If Brunner is correct, it might be expected that <y/i> reflexes would be found in Devon and western Dorset while <u> reflexes would be found in eastern Dorset and Somerset; however, this is not the case. There does not appear to be any significant diatopic distribution of these variants, as <i> and <y> variants are found across the West Country. <y> appears to have been by far the most common reflex of Old English *y* in the medieval West Country. Instances of the eastern reflex <e> were recorded in almost half of the West Country²⁹³ manuscripts, but they were always minor variants, usually with between one and four instances in each of the manuscripts. Aside from <i>, <y> and <e> reflexes, the spelling <u> (as in <dude>, <hull(e)>, <whuche/huche>, <c/kunne> and <sunne> for DID, HILL, WHICH, KIN and SIN respectively) can be found sporadically throughout the West Country.

The diachronic distribution of <y/i> and <u> graphemes is very interesting. <u> spellings of Old English *y* are confined to those manuscripts that are written before the fifteenth century. Two exceptions to this are the early fifteenth century manuscripts Longleat 55 and Douce 216 which contain dominant <u> spelling variants and the Northern Passion text of Rawlinson 655, which, although it is a fourteenth century text, has mainly <y> reflexes of Old English *y*. The greatest number of <e> reflexes of Old English *y* (7) were elicited from Rawlinson 655 and <u> spellings were the least common reflex of Old English *y* in this text. Both of these features might be a result of the northern origin of the text.

²⁹³ The Will of Thomas Broke, Douce 236, Cotton Cxiii, Rawlinson 655, Harley 2407, Add. 35288, Greaves 54, Bridgewater borough archives, Digby 14, Ashmole 33, 6 Ermington documents, Arundel 22, Harley 2386 and Add. 33758.

Fourteenth century texts generally have <u> graphemes as their dominant spelling of Old English *y* and fifteenth century texts (especially from the mid-fifteenth century onwards) generally do not have dominant <u> spellings. In fact, twelve of the fifteenth century texts contain *no* instances of DID, HILL, WHICH, KIN, KISS and SIN written with a medial <u> vowel. Therefore, it would appear that <u> spellings were found throughout the West Country, including western Devon and Dorset, but early on in the Middle English period. This diatopic distribution also suggests that <i,y> reflexes in the West Country derive from standardisation.

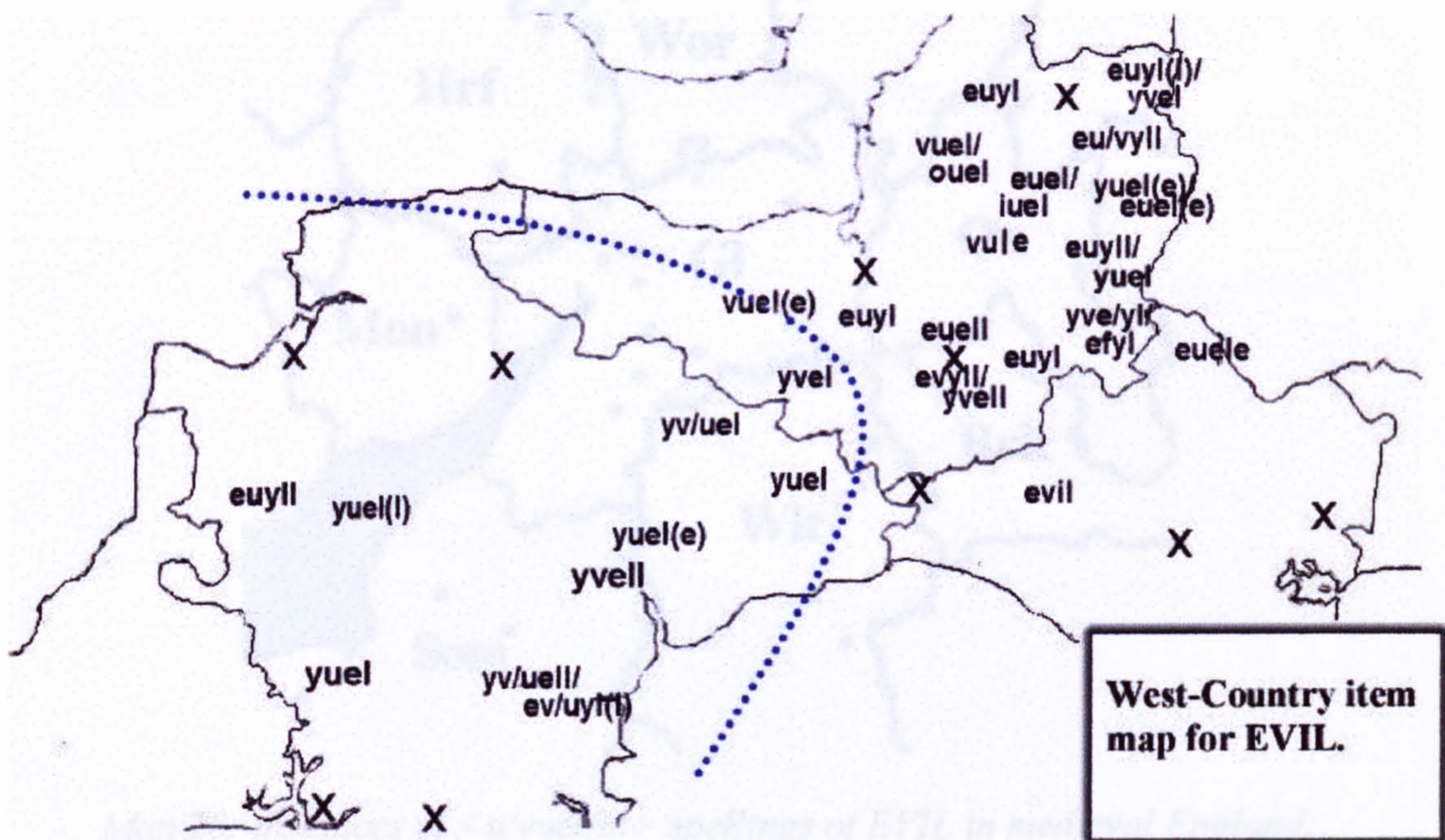
It is difficult to ascertain what the pronunciation associated with the <u> grapheme might have been, Brunner suggests that it was a back close rounded vowel, possibly centralised.²⁹⁴ It might be argued that, while all front rounded vowels were unrounding during the late Old English period rounding in the lips was becoming associated with back vowels. It is therefore plausible that preservation of rounding could cause a vowel to be pronounced with retraction in order to better fit into the phonological system. The preservation of a rounded reflex of OE *y* and the distribution of the <y> and <i> graphemes across southern England will now be considered in the following study of the item EVIL.

4.4.1 The adjective and noun, Evil

Spelling evidence shows that a mixture of spellings of EVIL beginning with <e>, <y>, <i> and <v>, can be found throughout the West Country. In Devon, spelling forms beginning with <y> are found most frequently, whereas in Somerset (and

²⁹⁴ 'Late West Saxon *ȝ*... became [ū] in Middle English, spelt *u*...' (Brunner 1963: 14–15 note 13).

perhaps in Dorset)²⁹⁵ forms beginning with <e> are more common. In Somerset, there are also three instances of spelling variants beginning with <v>.



Map 27: The distribution of EVIL spellings throughout the medieval West Country.

The presence of <vuel(e)> spelling variants in Somerset

According to Jordan, the unrounding of the Old English rounded front vowels had occurred before the Middle English period, except in some areas in the West Country.²⁹⁶ As has been demonstrated in section 4.4 above, <u> seems to have been the older West Country reflex of Old English *y*. However, if the occurrences of <u/vuel(e)> spellings collected in LALME are plotted on a map of England, the southwest Midlands turns out to be the focal point of these unusual spelling variants for this item.

²⁹⁵ Only two texts in Dorset elicited this item, in both cases, dominant spellings began with an initial <e>.

²⁹⁶ Jordan 1974:62



Map 28: instances of <u/vuel(e)> spellings of EVIL in medieval England.

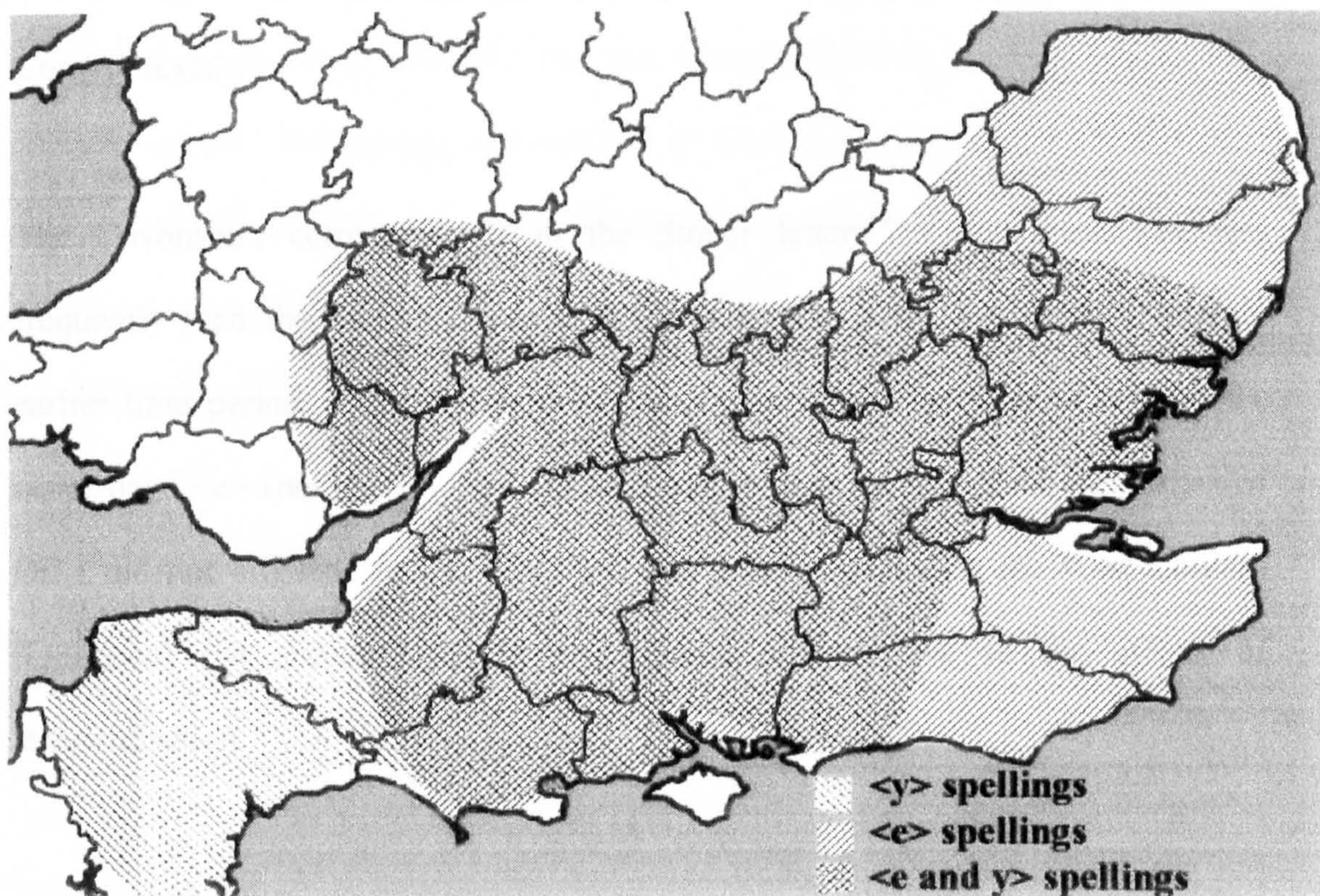
In the case of the word item EVIL, Gloucestershire can be seen as the epicentre of this development of OE *y* to ME *u*, whereas Somerset and Wiltshire are on the periphery of this area. The dots on map 28 show a concentration of <u/v> spellings of EVIL centring on Gloucestershire and spreading outwards, though mainly westwards and northwards, to neighbouring counties.²⁹⁷ There was also one outlier in Sussex.

The two dominant spellings in the West Country are those beginning with <u> and those beginning with <v>. As can be seen in map 29, in the far east of southern England, especially Norfolk and Kent, <u> forms are most common, whereas in the far West, especially Devon and western Somerset, <v> forms are most common. In between these two areas, a mixture of these forms can be found.

²⁹⁷ Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Somersetshire

of Conscience. Dots coloured red indicate Southern English Legendaries and those coloured blue indicate texts of the Prick of Conscience.

The presence of <euel(e)/yuel(e)> spelling variants.



Map 29: The distribution of EVIL spellings beginning with <e> and <y> across southern medieval England.

The two dominant spellings in the West Country are those beginning with <e>²⁹⁸ and those beginning with <y>. As can be seen in map 29, in the far east of southern England, especially Norfolk and Kent, <e> forms are most common, whereas in the far West, especially Devon and western Somerset, <y> forms are most common. In between these two areas, a mixture of these forms can be found.

²⁹⁸ 'The first instance of *e* for *y* is in the Kentish Glosses (c.900).' (Brunner 1963: 15 §11.5 note 12)

Kihlbom shows that the use of <e> as a reflex of Old English *ī* originated in the east and spread westwards throughout the fifteenth century, first to the capital and then, through standard usage, to other parts of the country.²⁹⁹ Kihlbom observes that the Cely family in Essex use <e> often and the Pastons in Norfolk use <e> occasionally.³⁰⁰ However, <euel(e)> spellings are noticeably infrequent in early West Country texts.

The Devonshire correspondents in the Stonor letters³⁰¹ (1460s) use <e> less frequently than the eastern correspondents described above and, from a slightly earlier time period, John Shillingford's papers, localisable to Exeter (1447-1450), never have <e> spellings.³⁰² This tends to suggest that the use of the <e> reflex of OE *ī* did not originate in the West, but was gaining ground in the West Country throughout the second half of the fifteenth century due to the effects of standardisation.

Explanation of the presence of different spelling variants

It is now necessary to consider the appearance of <yuel> / <euel> spelling variants in written medieval West-Country English and their relationship to the development of a qualitative difference between long and short vowels during the early medieval period. As Campbell states:

²⁹⁹ Kihlbom 1926: 21

³⁰⁰ Kihlbom 1926:19

³⁰¹ The six Ermington documents used in the present study.

³⁰² Kihlbom 1926: 20. The Letter and Papers of John Shillingford are also used in the present study.

‘It is fundamental to the history of English vowels that the long and short vowels were practically identical in quality till about 1200, and that afterwards they became distinguished by the short sounds becoming more open or more lax than the long sounds to which they had previously corresponded.’³⁰³

The significance of the date 1200 for Campbell is that Middle English open syllable lengthening, henceforth MEOSL, had not occurred at this stage.³⁰⁴ Articulatory change and the isochronicity requirement of English initiated a process whereby short vowels in the stressed open syllables of disyllabic words were lengthened. Kihlbom shows that the frequency of the use of *e* reflexes of Old English *i* in open syllables suggest that MEOSL is responsible for the change of OE *i* > ME *e*.

‘In open syllables... *e* for *i* appears much more frequently than in closed syllables... the frequency of the *e*-spellings in open syllables, in comparison with those we find in close syllables... show that in the majority of cases we have here are a result of lengthening *i* > *e* which took place in open syllables not only in the Northumbrian area, but also in certain dialects south of the Humber, above all Norfolk and Suffolk, and in Essex and surrounding parts.’³⁰⁵

The sound change might therefore be illustrated as follows:

OE [yvəl] > (unrounding) OE [ivəl] > (MEOSL) > ME [e:vəl] > (GVS) PDE [i:vəl]

or

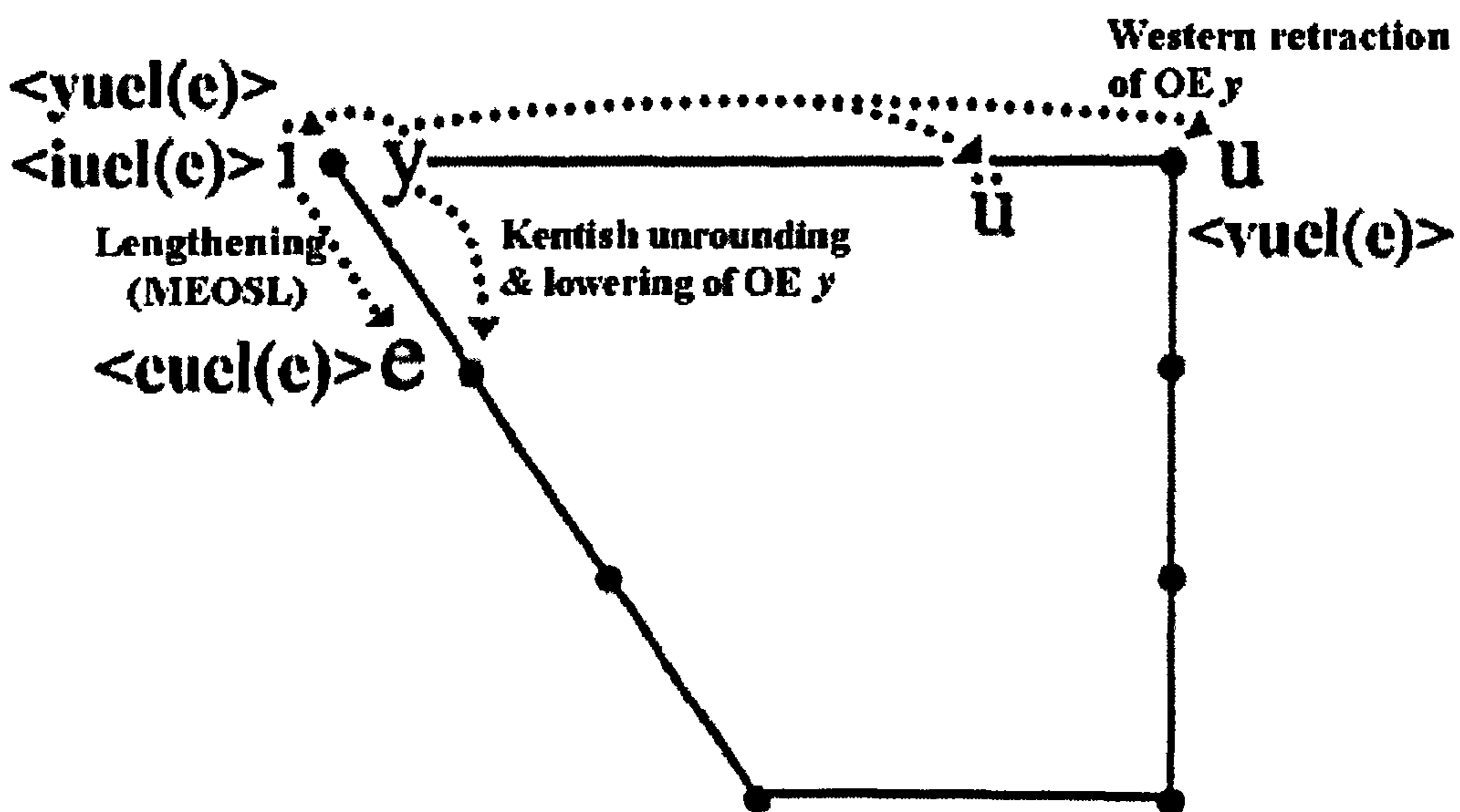
³⁰³ Campbell 1959: 14 §31

³⁰⁴ The Ormulum, which can be dated to 1200, distinguished between long and short vowels and therefore provides evidence that certain vowels should have undergone lengthening due to MEOSL had not undergone lengthening at this date.

³⁰⁵ Kihlbom 1926: 20

OE [y vel] > Kentish [e vel] > (MEOSL) > ME [e: vel] > (GVS) PDE [i: vel]

The picture is slightly different for the West Country; [y] appears to have unrounded later in the West than in the East and it is also likely that the unrounded vowel was closer than that used further east and therefore did not undergo the action of MEOSL until a later period. As Smith states, the lengthening of ĩ and ũ vowels due to MEOSL occurred later than the lengthening of more open vowels and, in some areas, close vowels in open syllables did not undergo this process of lengthening at all. This inability to undergo sound change was perhaps due to their close quality.³⁰⁶ Sonority/openness in a sound help initiate sound change, perhaps because a greater degree of articulatory movement and hence variation are possible when articulators are far apart.



Map 30: Vowel space diagram showing the development of initial vowel sounds in *EVIL* from Old English *y*.

³⁰⁶ Smith 1996: 97

It is possible to explain the presence of different medieval West-Country reflexes of Old English <yfle>. The <euel(e)> spellings found in eastern Somerset and Dorset possibly represent *e*<OE *i* due to the action *Middle English open syllable lengthening*. The use of <euel(e)> spellings spread westward through the influence of a standard spoken/written language based on London English. In evidence provided by Kihlbom and LALME, EVIL spellings beginning with <e> are found throughout the South of medieval England, but are prevalent in the texts to the East of England and are found slightly less often in the West Country. The form that is most common in Devon, but is present throughout the South of medieval England, except in the far East, is the <yuel(e)> form that seems to represent a pronunciation beginning with an unlengthened close [i] vowel. This vowel either took longer to undergo the process of lengthening and lowering or it was replaced, in written language or phonology, by the eastern <euel(e)> form. There was a limited area of the South West (centering on Gloucestershire) where a rounded vowel appears to have been retained in the word EVIL, giving rise to spellings such as <vuel(e)>.

Chapter 5: Consonantal West Country features

As Benskin says in his article describing the northern English practice of using the <y> graph to indicate dental fricatives, diachronic variation of spellings creates a random pattern on a map. Diatopic variation, on the other hand, manifests itself in clearly definable dialect areas. It could therefore be said that the identification of changing spelling systems over a short period of time is a difficult task. After spelling variants are plotted on a map, patterns of usage would not be immediately apparent in the way they are when diatopic spelling-variation is present.

Although the age-range of texts in the medieval West Country in many ways disrupts the identification of dialect areas, the study of spelling variation over time is, in itself, a very interesting aspect of medieval spelling studies in the West Country, providing evidence concerning the pace of standardisation and how scribes of the period viewed the written mode. Preliminary attempts at a dialectometrical study of this area³⁰⁷ consistently saw the older fourteenth century texts grouped together. Far from being a negative result or a complicating factor, this clustering identified an important aspect of written language in the West Country.

Initial research into dialect features associated with the South West, presented in chapter 3, would have led me to expect a large number of unusual spellings reflecting the archaic phonology that has evidently been preserved throughout the centuries in the West Country almost to the present day. On the contrary, a limited number of the

³⁰⁷ Particularly those concerned with consonantal spelling variants and lexical variation.

expected archaic features were found and only in the thirteenth to early fifteenth century texts. Late fifteenth century texts seemed rarely to contain spellings representing typically southwestern features and, where these spellings were found, they were usually not found in abundance, with the exception of Ashmole 189a and the Yatton churchwarden's documents.³⁰⁸ Moore et al have asserted that:

'The use of English for documentary purposes did not become really common until after 1450, and by that date the writing of English had become so standardised that local documents rarely give any evidence at all as to the dialect of the place in which they were written.'³⁰⁹

There are, of course exceptions to this statement, such as the Yatton text mentioned above. On the whole, however, the documentary texts have a markedly more standard form of written language, as do the late fifteenth century texts. The older fourteenth century texts, in comparison, contain a number of spellings reflecting typical southwestern phonological features and a great variety of spelling-forms even for common grammatical words. This would suggest that, during the fifteenth century, although doubtless southwestern dialectal features were still being used in spoken language, they were not being used in written language as often as they were during the previous century. There was a marked dialectal levelling in the written mode that can be assumed not to have taken place in the spoken mode of language. One of the best ways to illustrate, and perhaps explain, the lack of stereotypical dialectal features in written texts is to look at the presence of hypercorrection in texts from throughout the medieval period.

³⁰⁸ Most of the typical southwestern consonantal features found belong to the records kept by one warden in particular, John Hillman.

³⁰⁹ Moore et al 1935: 5

5.1 Hypercorrection involving the reflexes of Old English <hw>

In this section, the reflexes of Old English <hw> in the medieval West Country will be considered. The use of the orthographic descendant of OE <hw>, namely Middle English <wh>, will be compared with use of the new variant <w>. The new variant indicates the presence of an ongoing sound-change known as glide cluster reduction and it will be shown that, although it might be expected that occurrences of <w> spelling variants would increase throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the reverse is actually true.

The second part of this section involves a study of hypercorrection of <w> to unhistorical <wh>. This will involve a comparison of the number of occurrences of qualitative hypercorrection in the written texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It will be shown that hypercorrection is not to be found at all in the early texts, but is present in all of the fifteenth century texts of reasonable length. In this way, it will be suggested that there was an increasing awareness of other written, and perhaps spoken, varieties of English during this period. In particular, it is postulated that a realisation of the formality of the written mode begins to emerge during the late medieval period.

Glide cluster reduction is a common sound-change in English. Angelika Lutz³¹⁰ has demonstrated that the loss of the [hw] cluster during the early Middle English period was the last part of a sound change which saw the reduction of all [h] + C clusters in English. The initial glottal fricative was lost from [hn, hr, hl] clusters during the

³¹⁰ Lutz 1986

Anglo-Saxon period, but the [hw] cluster was retained slightly longer. One possible reason for this is that, at the same time as glide cluster reduction was occurring in words containing historical *wh*, a new group of words containing an unhistorical [hw] cluster was being created due to the insertion of labial-velar glides between glottal fricatives and back vowels, creating words such as *whore*, *whole* and *whot* ‘hot’.³¹¹ This sound change will be discussed further in section 5.4.3. It might be assumed that such a sound change prolonged the use of the <wh> grapheme even when historical /hw/ was almost completely lost.

Glide cluster reduction of [hw] occurred earliest in the South and latest in the North. In Scotland it is only now starting to be lost in urban phonologies.³¹² In the material collected for the present study, there is evidence that the [hw] cluster was lost or almost completely lost even in the earliest West-Country texts. Three main spelling variants occur in West-Country texts during the medieval period <hw>, <wh> and <w>. <wh> and <hw> can be seen as the written equivalents of the voiceless labial-velar fricative [ɸ] though the older form <hw> is rarely found in medieval West-Country texts. <w> can be seen as the orthographic representation of the reduced form, the voiced labial-velar approximant [w]. Distributions of the most common spelling-variants in each of the West-Country manuscript texts can be seen on map 31 below. Occurrences of the new spelling variant showing glide cluster reduction <w> are marked in red.

³¹¹ See Dobson 1957 volume 2:997-1001 and Kihlbom 1926: 165

³¹² Lawson & Stuart-Smith 1999: 2541.



Map 31: Middle English reflexes of OE <hw>.

Map 32: Dates of manuscripts used in this study.

Little is revealed by the diatopic distribution of <w> spellings of Old English <hw>.

A few occurrences are scattered across Devon (2) and Somersetshire (5). No instances of dominant <w> spellings for Old English <hw> were found in Dorset.

The distributional pattern of <w> spellings of OE <hw> words appears to be random.

However, the true picture of glide cluster reduction in the South West can be seen if

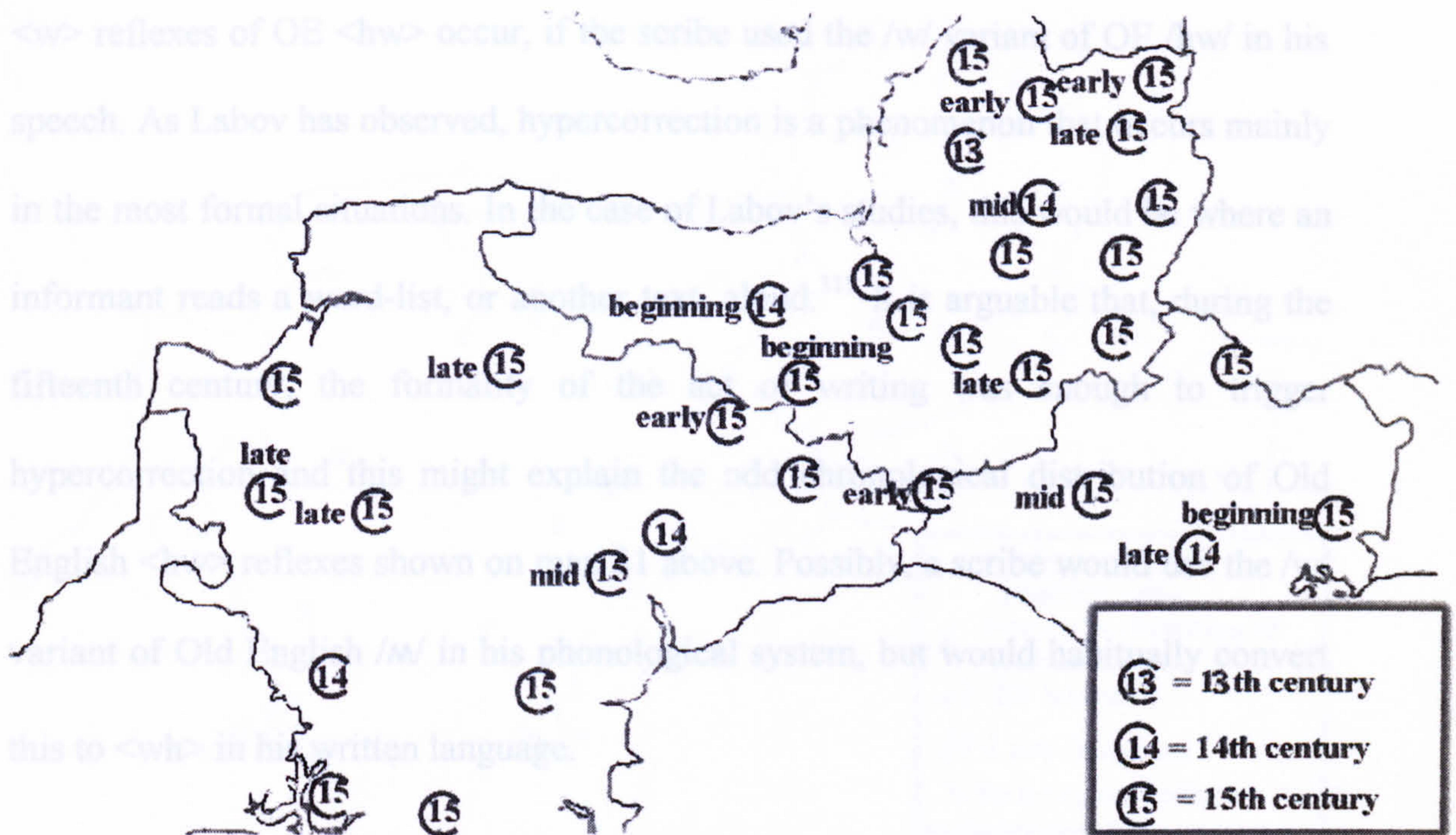
map 32, showing the dates of manuscripts involved, is considered. It is the oldest

manuscripts (thirteenth and fourteenth century) that contain dominant <w> spellings

of OE <hw>, whereas the fifteenth century manuscripts contain few <w> reflexes.

Exceptions to this are Harley 2407 and Add. 35288; however, in these two texts,

<w> is only the second most common spelling variant.



Map 32: Dates of manuscripts used in this study.

It is unusual that those manuscripts that exhibit glide cluster reduction spellings should be the oldest and that fifteenth century manuscripts should, on the whole, contain the historical form. It is highly unlikely that glide cluster reduction underwent a reversal during the fifteenth century and then a re-reversal during the Early Modern English period to create the present-day [w] pronunciations that are found in the south of England. A more plausible explanation would be that the scribes of the later manuscripts are hypercorrecting <w> forms to <wh> where <hw> occurred historically.

Janda and Auger³¹³ identify two types of hypercorrection. The first, quantitative hypercorrection, has dominated historical linguistics since Labov's work on it.³¹⁴ Where quantitative hypercorrection occurs, it is almost impossible to tell how far a sound-change has advanced, as new spelling forms are habitually replaced with historical forms. Therefore, it would be impossible to know, in those texts where no

³¹³ Janda and Auger 1992

³¹⁴ Labov 1966

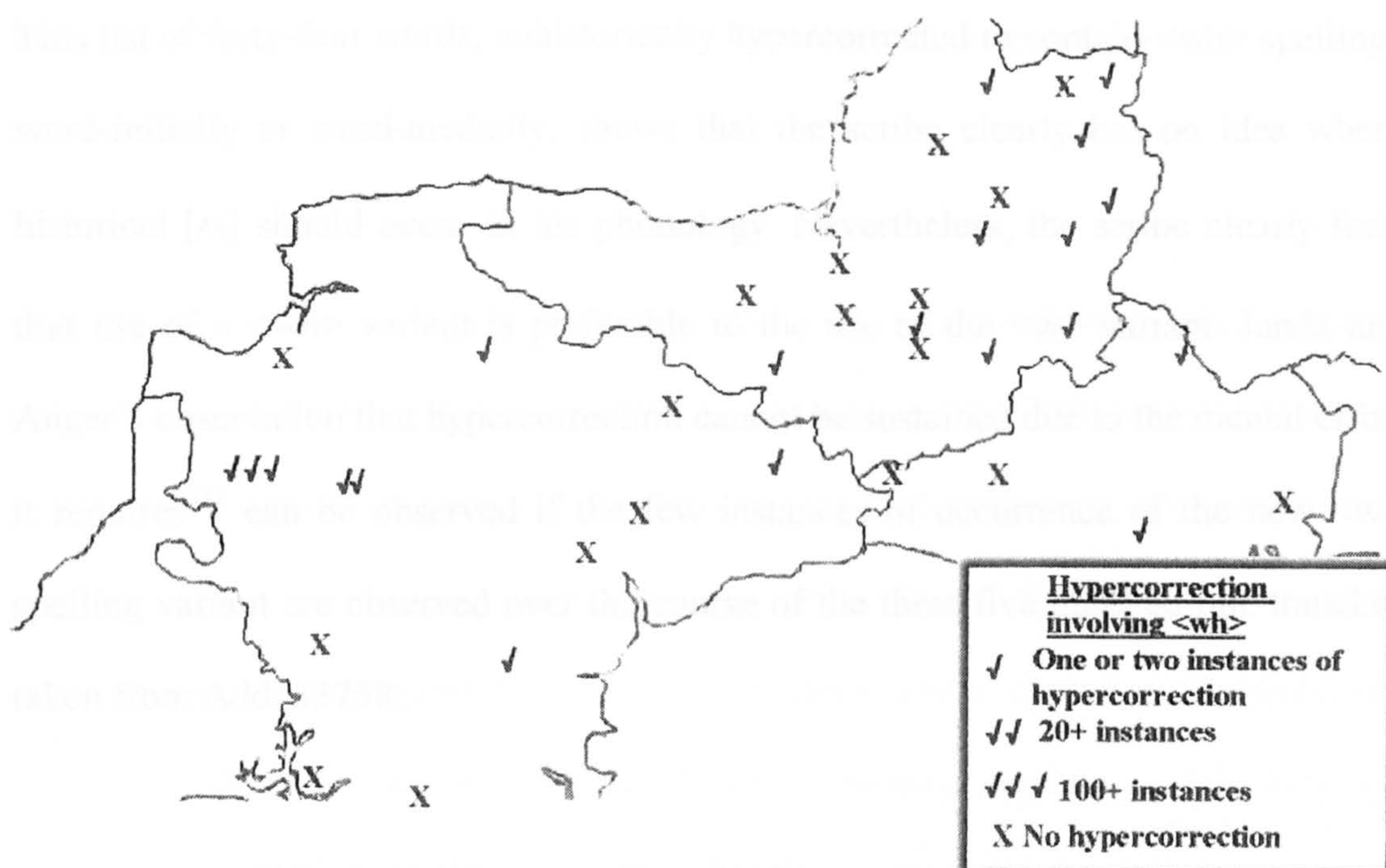
<w> reflexes of OE <hw> occur, if the scribe used the /w/ variant of OE /hw/ in his speech. As Labov has observed, hypercorrection is a phenomenon that occurs mainly in the most formal situations. In the case of Labov's studies, this would be where an informant reads a word-list, or another text, aloud.³¹⁵ It is arguable that, during the fifteenth century, the formality of the act of writing was enough to trigger hypercorrection and this might explain the odd chronological distribution of Old English <hw> reflexes shown on map 31 above. Possibly, a scribe would use the /w/ variant of Old English /w/ in his phonological system, but would habitually convert this to <wh> in his written language.

The second form of hypercorrection identified by Janda and Auger involves the inappropriate substitution of a phoneme or grapheme with a historically incorrect one. Qualitative hypercorrection is very revealing in the study of historical English. This phenomenon implies what Trudgill³¹⁶ calls a 'passive', as opposed to an 'active', competence in a spoken variety of a language and therefore indicates the advanced stage of a sound-change in a speaker's phonology. The speaker, or scribe, no longer having the /w/ phoneme as part of their phonology, overcompensates in a formal situation, such as copying a text, and uses the <wh> grapheme or /w/ phoneme in ways that are historically inaccurate.

Map 33 below shows the occurrence of hypercorrect forms concerning the glide cluster reduction sound change that occurred in the medieval West Country.

³¹⁵ Labov 1994: 87

³¹⁶ Trudgill 1983: 10 - 14



Map 33: Instances of hypercorrection of <w> to <wh> in medieval West-Country texts.

If this map of hypercorrection is compared with the manuscript-date map 32 above, it can be seen that the older texts exhibit no qualitative hypercorrection, whereas most of the fifteenth century texts of reasonable length show at least one or two instances of hypercorrection. Two related late fifteenth century texts of Mandeville's Travels, localised in LALME to the west of Devon, exhibit a large amount of hypercorrection. An extensive list of qualitatively hypercorrected forms found in Add. 33758 is presented below:

afterward	wall	weep	wilderness	with	writ
always	war	well	will (n/v)	witness	written
downward	was	went	win	woman	wrong
followed	wash	were	wind	wont	wynde
midward	way(s)	widdow	window	work	
misconstrue	water	wide	wine	world	
touch	weary	wife	wise	would	
toward	wed	wild	wit	wounds	

Table 1: Table of instances of hypercorrection in Add. 33758.

This list of forty-four words, unhistorically hypercorrected to contain <wh> spellings word-initially or word-medially, shows that the scribe clearly has no idea where historical [ʍ] should occur in his phonology. Nevertheless, the scribe clearly feels that use of a <wh> variant is preferable to the use of the <w> variant. Janda and Auger's observation that hypercorrection cannot be sustained due to the mental effort it requires³¹⁷ can be observed if the few instances of occurrence of the new <w> spelling variant are observed over the course of the three five hundred line tranches taken from Add. 33758.

	<u>Tranche 1</u>	<u>Tranche 2</u>	<u>Tranche 3</u>
	(Fol. 3r - 10r)	(Fol. 10v - 16v)	(Fol. 30r - 38r)
WHAT			wat (2)
WHITHER			weder (1)
WHERE		wer ⁹ (1)	wer (1)
WHICH	wyche (1)	wyche (1)	wyche (8)
WHILE			wyle (1)
WHITE			wyte (1)

Instances of *quantitative* hypercorrection are decreasing as the text progresses. The frequency of occurrence of *qualitatively* hypercorrect forms also varies across the span of this manuscript-text; tranche one contains 102 hypercorrect forms, tranche two contains 168 and tranche three contains only 31 hypercorrect forms. These results indicate that hypercorrection cannot be sustained perhaps because the exercise

³¹⁷ '...speakers simply lack the capacity and the motivation to devote to speech forms the kind of attention which is required for the self-monitoring associated with quantitative hypercorrection'. (Janda & Auger 1992: 199).

of writing the text becomes less formal for the scribe as he progresses and becomes less careful.

This extreme example of qualitative hypercorrection only emphasises what is taking place in other fifteenth century manuscripts that contain few or no instances of a <w> realisation of Old English <hw> and one or two instances of <wh>, used unhistorically, where <w> should be. The overall pattern illustrated on the maps above would tend to suggest that the writing system and the phonological system are diverging. The retention of historical forms in written language, while they are disappearing, or have disappeared, in spoken language is increasingly important to fifteenth century scribes, whereas the fourteenth century scribes, on the whole, represent their spoken language more closely using orthographic symbols. Such a development is to be expected during a century where literacy and book-production were on the increase; indicating that, even though the West Country can be seen as linguistically conservative, a great deal of phonological information is obscured in written language due to the standardisation of the written system and the divergence of written and spoken modes of language.

5.2 Southwestern voicing of voiceless fricatives

Some other important consonantal written features that provide information about West-Country phonology will now be considered, in particular the voicing of voiceless stops and fricatives.

Based on the relative frequency of occurrence of certain spelling forms in a sample of London and West-Country documents, Matthews ‘tentatively’ suggested some features that might be considered to be southwestern.³¹⁸ Among these are:

1. The voicing of initial consonants *p*, *s* and *v* (particularly the two latter).
2. The loss of initial *y*, development of initial *y*.
3. Written <f> where <gh> is used elsewhere
4. Loss of initial *w*, development of initial *w*.

Not all of these features are specifically southwestern. It is rather the case that these forms might be found more frequently in the West Country than in other areas in the south of England, perhaps because these features were more frequently preserved in the phonology of West-Country dialects.

One of the most important features of present day southwestern dialects is the voicing of voiceless fricative and plosive sounds. During the data-collection phase of this study, words falling into five categories of consonantal voicing were collected. Both word-initial and any word-medial instances were recorded. Evidence of hypercorrect devoicing of voiced fricatives and plosives was also included, as it was assumed to be indicative of the same phenomenon. Examples of voicing collected were:

- Use of <v> for <f> and <f> for <v>.
- Use of <s> for <z> and <z> for <s>.
- Use of <t> for <d> and <d> for <t>.
- Use of for <p> and <p> for .
- Use of <g> for <k> and <k> for <g>.

³¹⁸ Matthews 1939: 208 and 209

It is obvious that medieval written evidence does not present the full picture where voicing of voiceless fricatives and plosives is concerned. It was only occasionally that scribes used spellings indicating their use of a voiced sound where a voiceless sound would be expected. In chapter 3, it was shown that voicing of fricatives and plosives has been a systemic feature of West Country phonology at least since the medieval period and was possibly a feature of Saxon phonology before the Saxon invasion of Britain. At the beginning of the present study, it was also shown that the presence of fricative and plosive voicing in Old English phonology was, in all probability, masked by the writing system. It was only during the Middle English period that these features became phonemic and thereafter apparent in written language.

During the late medieval period, the presence of hypercorrect forms suggests that scribes were monitoring their written language and attempting to remove certain forms that they perceived to be peculiar to their dialect or generally undesirable. In maps 34 – 38, there are seventeen examples of hypercorrect <f> for <v>, one example of hypercorrect <c> /s/ for <ʒ> /z/, one example of hypercorrect <c> for <g> and one example of hypercorrect <t> for <d>. As was the case with the use of hypercorrect <wh> for historical <w>, the later the text, the more likely it is that hypercorrection will occur.

monitor his written language for dialectal forms. It is for this reason that Matthews uses churchwardens' accounts in his study of late medieval and Renaissance English in the West Country and in London.³¹⁹ No examples of hypercorrection were found in the Yatton texts.

Apart from this, it is only in the oldest texts (Cotton Cxiii, Harley 2277 and Rawlinson 655) that no hypercorrect forms were recorded. In fifteenth century texts, excepting the Yatton churchwarden's accounts, one is equally as likely to come across a hypercorrect form as an instance of dialectal voicing. Words exhibiting the voicing and hypercorrect devoicing common to southwestern phonology are noted below:

<v> for <f>

<vy/if/ve>	'five' (10)	vyfthe	'fifth' (3)	<vifty>	'fifty' (3)
<verd(e)(n)>	'fared' (8)	<ivare(n)>	'fared' (5)	<vor(e)>	'for' (10)
<vast>	'fast' (6)	<ver(r)e>	'far' (3)	<to/bi-vore>	'before' (3)
<veche>	'fetch' (3)	<vel/volle>	'full' (3)	<vy/ust(e)>	'fist' (2)
<volde>	'fold' (2)	<vre>	'free' (2)	<ivostered>	'fostered' (1)
<verthe>	'fourth' (1)	<vorþ>	'forth' (1)	<verlich>	'quickly' (1)
<voupp>	'fold up' (1)	<va3nede>	'fastened' (1)	<stedeuast>	'steadfast' (1)
<vele>	'feel' (1)	<twelf>	'twelve' (1)	<vox>	'fox' (1)
<an vewe>	'a few' (1)	<vynde>	'find' (1)	<varmynge>	'forming' (1)

³¹⁹ See Matthews 1939: 194

Hypercorrect**forms**

<fochesaf(e)>	'vouchsafe' (6)	<haf>	'have' (3)	<abofe>	'above' (2)
<ffysage>	'visage' (2)	<refewe>	'review' (1)	<to safe>	'to save' (1)
<thryffe>	'thrive' (1)	<filony>	'villainy' (1)	<schafe>	'shave' (1)
<repref>	'reprieve' (1)	<foys>	'voice' (1)		

Those words where the voicing of the labio-dental fricative is represented are almost all of Germanic origin, only 'forming' comes from an Old French root, *forme*. In contrast, those words that are hypercorrected from historically accurate spellings representing /v/ to spellings representing /f/ are mainly of French origin, this includes: *vouchsafe*, *visage*, *review*, *save*, *villainy*, *reprieve* and *voice*.³²⁰ Four words of Germanic origin *have*, *above*, *thrive* and *shave* are also hypercorrected. This would appear to support the notion of a Saxon origin of the voicing of voiceless fricatives as well as indicating a scribal awareness of linguistic register.

It is well known that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, borrowed French words beginning with /v/ caused the phonemicisation of /v/ and /f/ in northern dialects of English. In the North, the voicing or voicelessness of fricatives had always been contextually conditioned with voiceless sounds in word-initial position and voiced sounds word-medially.³²¹ In the South, the influx of French loan-words seems to have had a very different effect on phonology and orthography, as initial voiced fricatives had always been part of the Saxon phonological system.

³²⁰ Moore et al 1935: 15 also make this observation.

³²¹ Fisiak 1968: 60

Both fourteenth and fifteenth century scribes of a significant number of West-Country manuscript-texts, occasionally represent 'historical' <f> as <v>. Where fifteenth century scribes come across words of French origin spelled with <v>, some of them hypercorrect this <v> to <f>. It is probable that these scribes were assuming that the occurrence of initial /v/ was an incorrect adaptation of the foreign word to their own phonology, in which /f/ is habitually voiced. Therefore, even though the voiced labio-dental fricative was also part of French phonology, its use appears to have been strongly associated with words of Germanic origin. The phenomenon of fricative voicing was also evidently looked at in a pejorative way. Hypercorrection is a sociolinguistic phenomenon and it occurs where speakers perceive another spoken variety to be of greater prestige than their own. Concerning the influence of Norman French on Middle English, Smith tells us:

'Social class does not seem to have been distinguished by dialect or accent in the generations preceding Chaucer; rather, English-speakers who wished to mark their social distinctiveness during the fourteenth century seem to have adopted the expedient of studding their language with French-derived vocabulary'.³²²

It would appear that, in the late medieval period, West-Country scribes, in their written language at least, often took the further precaution of purging voiced labio-dental fricatives from their French-derived vocabulary. As Moore et al observe:

³²² Smith 1996: 92

‘... v-forms were obviously dialectal and professional clerks and scribes, at least after 1400, might very well wish to avoid them altogether.’³²³

Hewett’s observations of hypercorrect /f/ for /v/ in late nineteenth century English (reported in chapter 3), tends to suggest that this feature could well have manifested itself in spoken as well as written medieval English.

According to Moore et al, a pattern emerges whereby the representation of a voiced initial labio-dental fricative is more likely when the word begins a phrase or is preceded by a voiced sound. <v> for <f> is less likely where the previous word ends in a voiceless sound.³²⁴ The notion that the presence of [v] for [f] is due to some sort of phonetic assimilation is not a completely convincing argument.

A study was made of the accounts of John Hillman (a churchwarden at Yatton), as a large number of occurrences of <v> for <f> are to be found in these texts. Due to the presence of the inflectional ending <e> there are very few instances where /f/ is not preceded by a voiced sound. If the inflectional <e> ending is not pronounced, then there are a number of examples where <v> is written after a voiceless sound e.g. <... to J. Meke vor>, <drynke vor> (3), <... to John Slyette vor>, <... to J. Smythe vor>. In addition, there is one example where a <v> is clearly written after a voiceless sound <Hobkys vor>. Of course, it is also possible that although the <k>, <t> and <s> in ‘Meke’, ‘drynke’, ‘Slyette’ and ‘Hobkys’ are written as voiceless sounds, they were voiced in spoken language. For this reason it is difficult to derive contextual information from written language as Moore et al have done. It is interesting to note

³²³ Moore et al 1935: 15

³²⁴ Moore et al 1935: 15

that the one instance where ‘for’ is spelled <for> occurs after a word that ends in the letter <v>, <... to R. Reve for>. What is more likely, is that certain words according to their etymologies are considered to be more acceptable written with a <v> than others. Certain words are written with a voiced fricative more frequently than others, in particular the word ‘five’ and its derivatives. The only recorded instance of the voicing of initial voiceless labio-dental fricatives in Old English is also the word ‘five’, written <uif>.³²⁵ It is not clear why this particular word should be more acceptable beginning with <v> than other words, other than the fact that it is frequently used. Other words commonly represented with initial voicing in medieval West-Country texts are forms of the verb ‘to fare’ and the preposition ‘for’. Moore et al’s second explanation for the presence of <v> spellings, or rather their absence in most words, is that scribe’s avoided representing dialectal features in their written language and this is far more plausible.

A number of surnames beginning with <v> <Vord> ‘Ford’, <Vallew> ‘Falew’,³²⁶ <Vysser> ‘Fischer’³²⁷ and <Valocks/e> ‘Falock(s)’ from the Yatton documents have not been included in the table above, as there was no way of verifying that they are not historical forms of these names; although it is likely that they too exhibit voicing. One interesting instance of voicing or devoicing in the South West concerns the name Fortiger. King Fortiger is a character found in Arthurian texts and variations on this name are found in Cotton Cxiii, Ashmole 33 and Arundel 22. The name/ title is derived from that of the British King Vortigern who ruled during the first half of the fifth century and who features in the works of Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth. In Cotton Cxiii and Arundel 22, he is referred to as <Vortiger>, but in Ashmole 33, the

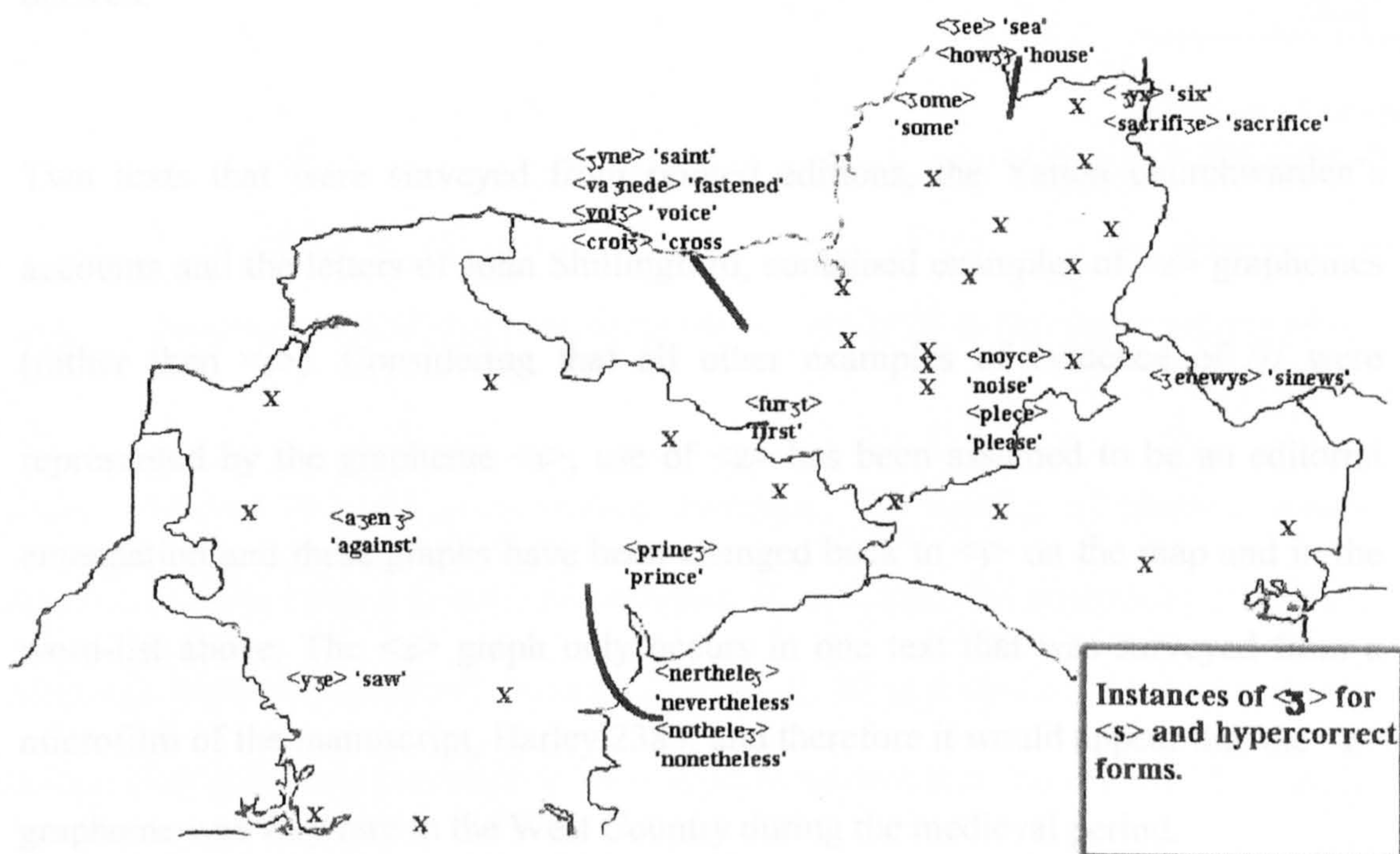
³²⁵ See page 140 approx

³²⁶ Previous churchwardens (John Wyke and John Nede) record a payment to ‘Jon Falew’.

³²⁷ Previous churchwardens (John Wyke and John Nede) record a payment to ‘Jon Fyscher’.

name is written <Fortiger>. It is possible that certain scribes might have interpreted the initial voiced fricative at the beginning of the Celtic name 'Vortigern' as a feature of southern English dialect -- as is probably exhibited in the surnames listed above -- and *corrected* it to a voiceless labio-dental fricative. In this way, due to the presence of initial fricative voicing in Saxon derived dialects and the action of hypercorrection in written language, a Celtic historical figure, Vortigern, reappears in medieval folklore as King Fortiger.

<s> for <z>



Map 35: Instances of spellings indicating the voicing of /s/ to /z/ and devoicing of /z/ to /s/.

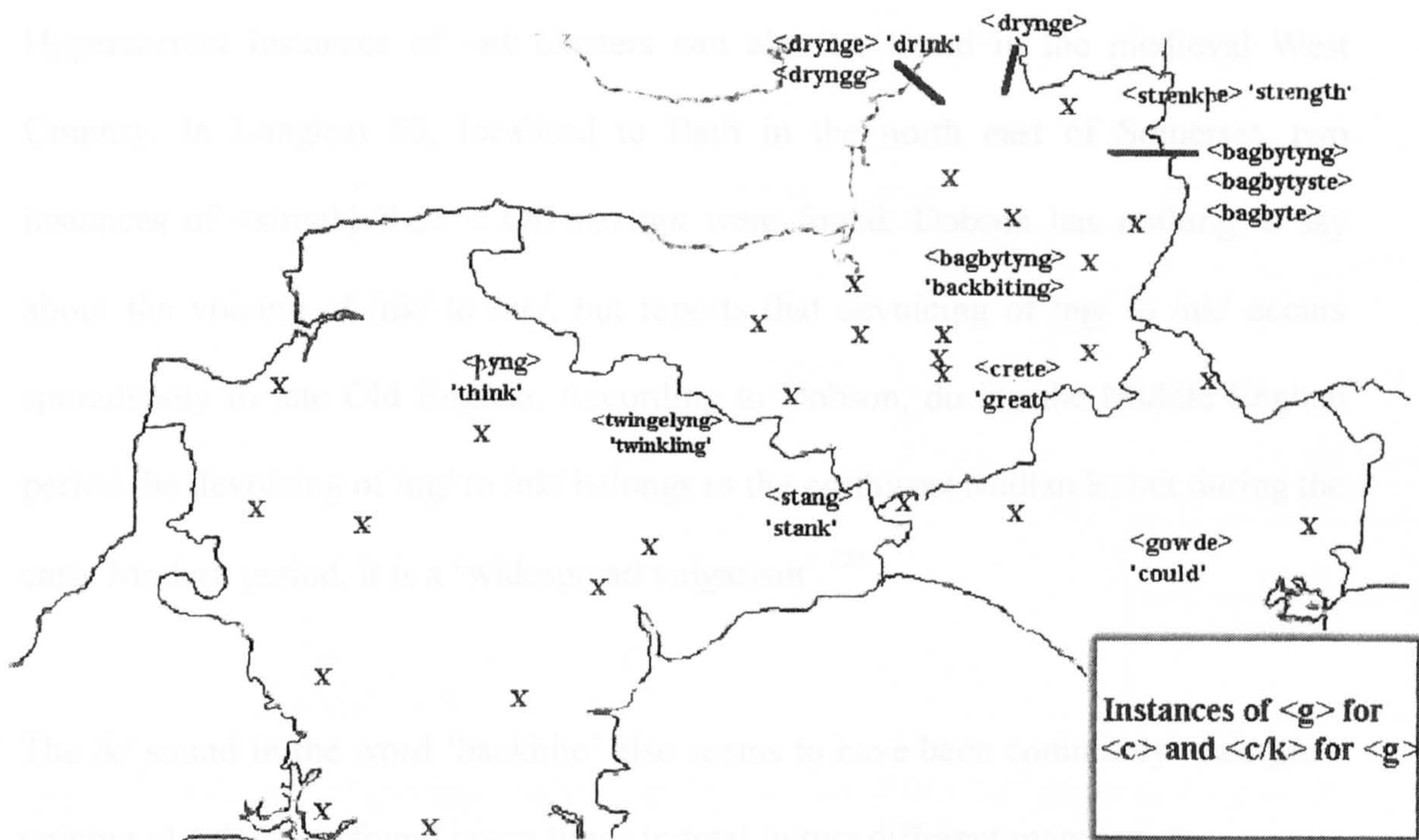
Spellings that indicate the use of /z/ for historical /s/ are less common in the West Country than /v/ for /f/ spellings. Twenty-three manuscript texts show no evidence of this type of voicing. Examples are word-initial, word-medial and word final including <3yne> 'saint', <3ee> 'sea', <3ome> 'some', <3yx> 'six', <3enewys>

'sinews', <y₃e> 'saw', <va₃nede> 'fastened', <how₃> 'house', <croi₃> 'cross', <voi₃> 'voice', <prine₃> 'prince', <nerthele₃> 'nevertheless', <nothele₃> 'none the less', <sacrifize> 'sacrifice', <fur₃t> 'first', <a₃en₃> 'against'. Hypercorrection is difficult to detect for the /z/ phoneme, as few English words begin with /z/ and there is often no attempt made to orthographically differentiate between word-final /s/ and /z/, both being written <s> or <ʃ>. There are only two clear instances of hypercorrection and these occur in Add. 11748, <noyce> for 'noise' and <plece> for 'please'. Both 'noise' and 'please' are words derived from French, but contrary to this, from the list of spellings indicating fricative voicing *prince*, *voice* and *sacrifice* are French derived.

Two texts that were surveyed from printed editions, the Yatton churchwarden's accounts and the letters of John Shillingford, contained examples of <z> graphemes (rather than <ʒ>). Considering that all other examples of evidence of /z/ were represented by the grapheme <ʒ>; use of <z> has been assumed to be an editorial emendation and these graphs have been changed back to <ʒ> on the map and in the word-list above. The <z> graph only occurs in one text that was surveyed from a microfilm of the manuscript, Harley 2383, and therefore it would appear that the <z> grapheme was very rare in the West Country during the medieval period.

5.3 Voicing of voiceless plosives

<g> for <k>



Map 36: Instances of spellings indicating the voicing of /k/ to /g/ and devoicing of /g/ to /k/.

From medieval West-Country written evidence, the voicing of plosive sounds appears to have been a much less common feature than the voicing of fricatives. Although Matthew identified the voicing of /p/ to /b/ as a particularly southwestern feature during the late medieval to early modern period; it is the voicing of /k/ to /g/ that is most commonly represented in written evidence used in this study.

Words ending in *-nk* seem to have been prone to undergoing this phenomenon, especially the word *drink* < OE *drincan*. Six instances of the word *drink*, spelled <drynge> or <dryngg>, are found between two northern Somerset manuscripts. In northeastern Devon, one instance of <pyng> for *think* < OE *þencan*, is also found. In

eastern Devon <twyngelyng> < OE *twinclian* is found and in southeastern Devon, one example of <stang> for *stank* from OE *stinčan*.

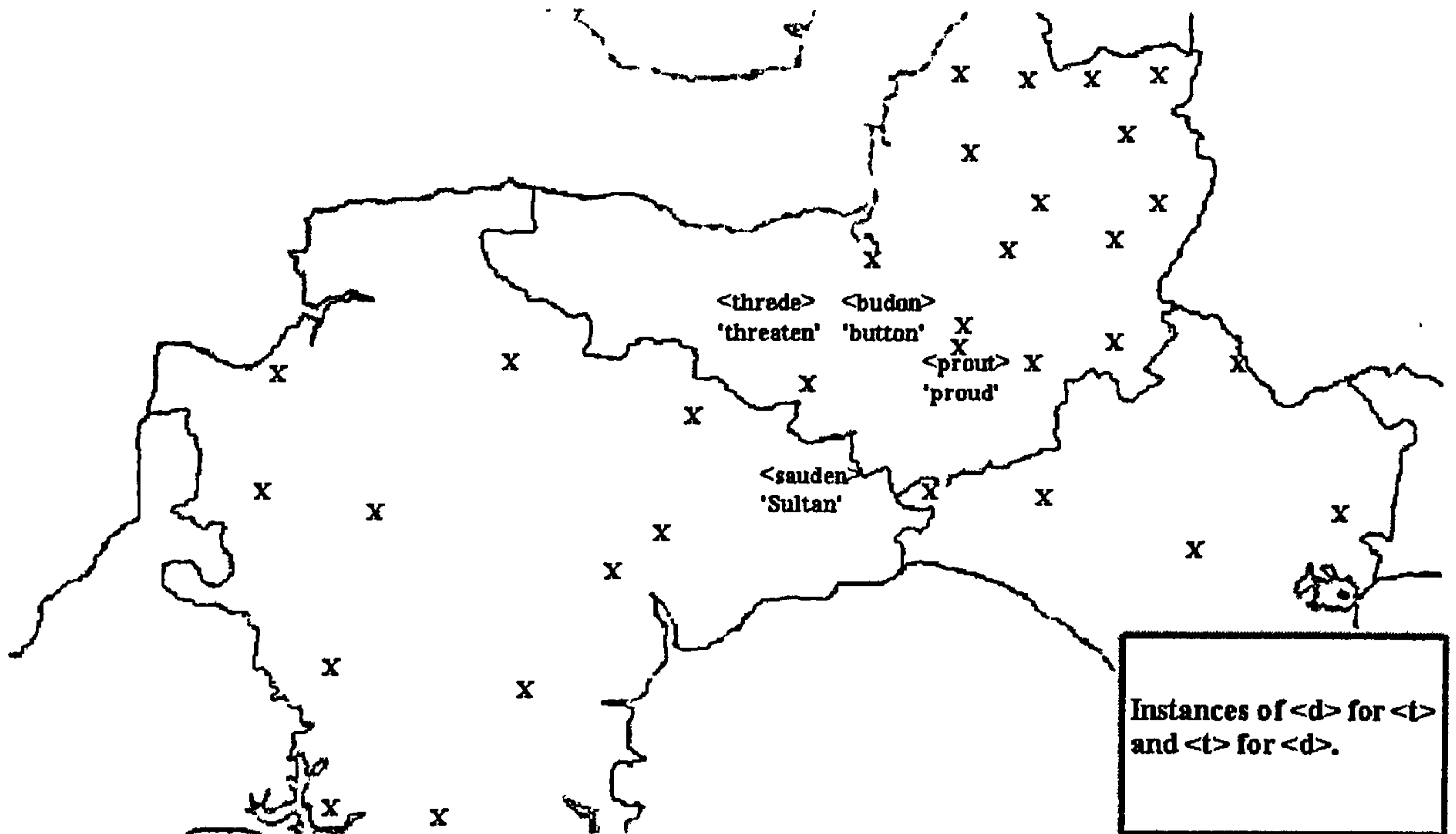
Hypercorrect instances of *-nk* clusters can also be found in the medieval West Country. In Longleat 55, localised to Bath in the north east of Somerset, two instances of <strenkp/the> < OE *strengu* were found. Dobson has nothing to say about the voicing of /nk/ to /ng/, but reports that devoicing of /ng/ to /nk/ occurs sporadically in late Old English. According to Dobson, during the Middle English period the devoicing of /ng/ to /nk/ belongs to the northwest Midlands, but during the early Modern period, it is a ‘widespread vulgarism’.³²⁸

The /k/ sound in the word ‘backbite’ also seems to have been commonly undergone voicing <bagbyt-> is found seven times in total in two different manuscripts.

Aside from this, one instance of word-initial plosive voicing is found in Dorset, namely <gowde> for ‘could’, and one instance of orthographic evidence for hypercorrect devoicing is found in southern Somerset <crete> for ‘great’ in Add. 11748 where <noice> and <plece> were also found for ‘noise’ and ‘please’ respectively.

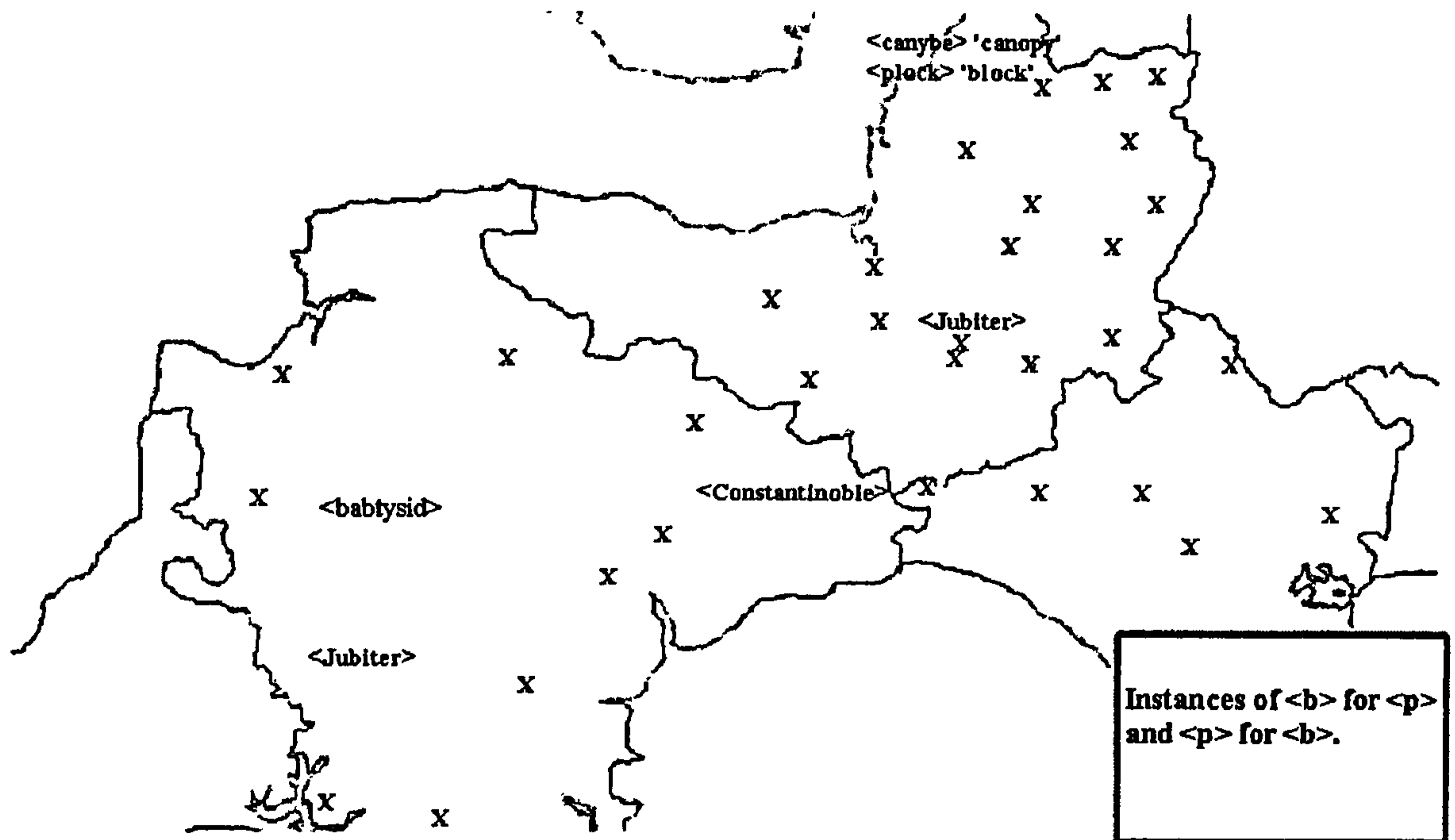
³²⁸ Dobson 1957: 942 §336

<d> for <t>



Map 37: Instances of spellings indicating the voicing of /t/ to /d/ and devoicing of /d/ to /t/.

Spelling evidence indicating the presence of the voicing of /t/ to /d/ is only found in a restricted area in western Somerset and eastern Devon. From this small amount of evidence, it is not possible to assess whether this distribution indicates the presence of a dialectal area. Unlike the case of the voicing of the voiceless labio-dental fricative, there is no clear pattern relating to the origin of words, two are of French origin *button* and *proud*, one is of Old English origin *threaten* and one is of Arabic origin *sultan*.

** for <p>**

Map 38: Instances of spellings indicating the voicing of /p/ to /b/ and devoicing of /b/ to /p/.

Instances of for historical <p> are fairly rare and are found in medieval texts that are dispersed throughout Devon and Somerset. In two separate manuscript texts, the word 'Jupiter' is spelled <Jubiter>, 'Constantinople' is written <constantinoble>, the Latin derived words 'canopy' and 'baptised' are written <canybe> (six times) and <babtysid> respectively and the French derived word 'block' is hypercorrected once to 'plock'. All of the words exhibiting voicing are foreign loan-words.

5.4 Glide Insertion: insights into phonemicisation from written evidence.

5.4.1 Word-initial palatal glide insertion

As has already been suggested in chapter 3, one important phonological feature of medieval West-Country pronunciation is the presence of an initial palatal glide before front mid-close and mid-open vowels. Where this phenomenon has survived today, it mainly involves the replacement of /h/ with /j/ in the West Country, although Dobson draws our attention to the fact that Daniel Jones' English Pronouncing Dictionary contains the entry:

'ear, -s iə [rarely jə], -z.³²⁹

The LAE identifies that, in the words HEAR and HEAT, spoken realisations beginning with a palatal glide [j], rather than a glottal fricative [h], were found in parts of the West Country and nowhere else (please refer to map 15). This might be seen as a combination of sound-changes: the loss of initial /h/ (a common occurrence in a number of non-standard varieties of English) and then the development of a palatal glide before the front-vowel. The sound-change might also be the result of a more complex process of palatalisation, from a glottal fricative to a palatal fricative and from there, through a process of laxing, to a palatal glide /h/ ⇨ [ç] ⇨ /j/.

³²⁹ Jones 1917: 120

A contemporary and informant of Alexander Ellis's, the native of western Somerset, F. T. Elworthy, provides some interesting insights into this shift from initial palatal glide insertion to glottal fricative replacement. Elworthy notes that the words 'heifer', 'heath', 'hearth', 'heat' and 'hear/here' all often begin with a palatal glide in a West-Country pronunciation.³³⁰ He specifically repudiates the claim of a friend and fellow West Countryman, Professor Spencer Baynes of St. Andrews University³³¹ that the phenomenon occurs often in unaspirated words such as 'east', 'earn', 'earth', 'early', 'eat', 'ale' and 'arm'.³³² As will be shown later in this section, at least five of the words identified by Professor Baynes appear in medieval texts with spellings indicating the presence of initial palatal glide insertion.

In chapter 3, examples of initial palatal glide insertion were traced from the twentieth century back to the medieval period. The purpose of this was to separate those pronunciations that are stereotypically southwestern now, but were general southern features during the medieval period from those forms that have been typically southwestern from at least the medieval period onwards. One particular study by Matthews³³³ was used as evidence, because it compared late medieval and early modern documents in both London and the West Country. In this way, it was possible for Matthews to identify those forms he considered to be strictly southwestern at that time and those that were not. Initial palatal glide insertion is not generally thought of as a typical southwestern feature today. Indeed, the palatalisation/ replacement of glottal fricatives with a palatal glide is more common, but is still a rare feature. On the other hand, initial palatal-glide insertion was

³³⁰ It is possible that the words HEAR and HEAT were chosen by the LAE editors, because of evidence from nineteenth century studies such as Elworthy's.

³³¹ Unfortunately Professor Baynes' presentation does not appear to have been published.

³³² Elworthy 1879: 216

³³³ Matthews 1939

identified by Matthews primarily as a southwestern feature of the medieval and early-modern period. Matthews reports that, while initial palatal glide insertion is to be found in London documents of this period, it is very rare, whereas this type of glide insertion is comparatively common in the West Country. Dobson, on the other hand, believes that the development of a palatal glide is not specifically related to West-Country English and that it is a phenomenon found throughout England during the medieval and early modern period:

'...the development (of the initial palatal glide) is widespread throughout England; (Kihlbom) rightly rejects Luick's view that it is South-western...'³³⁴

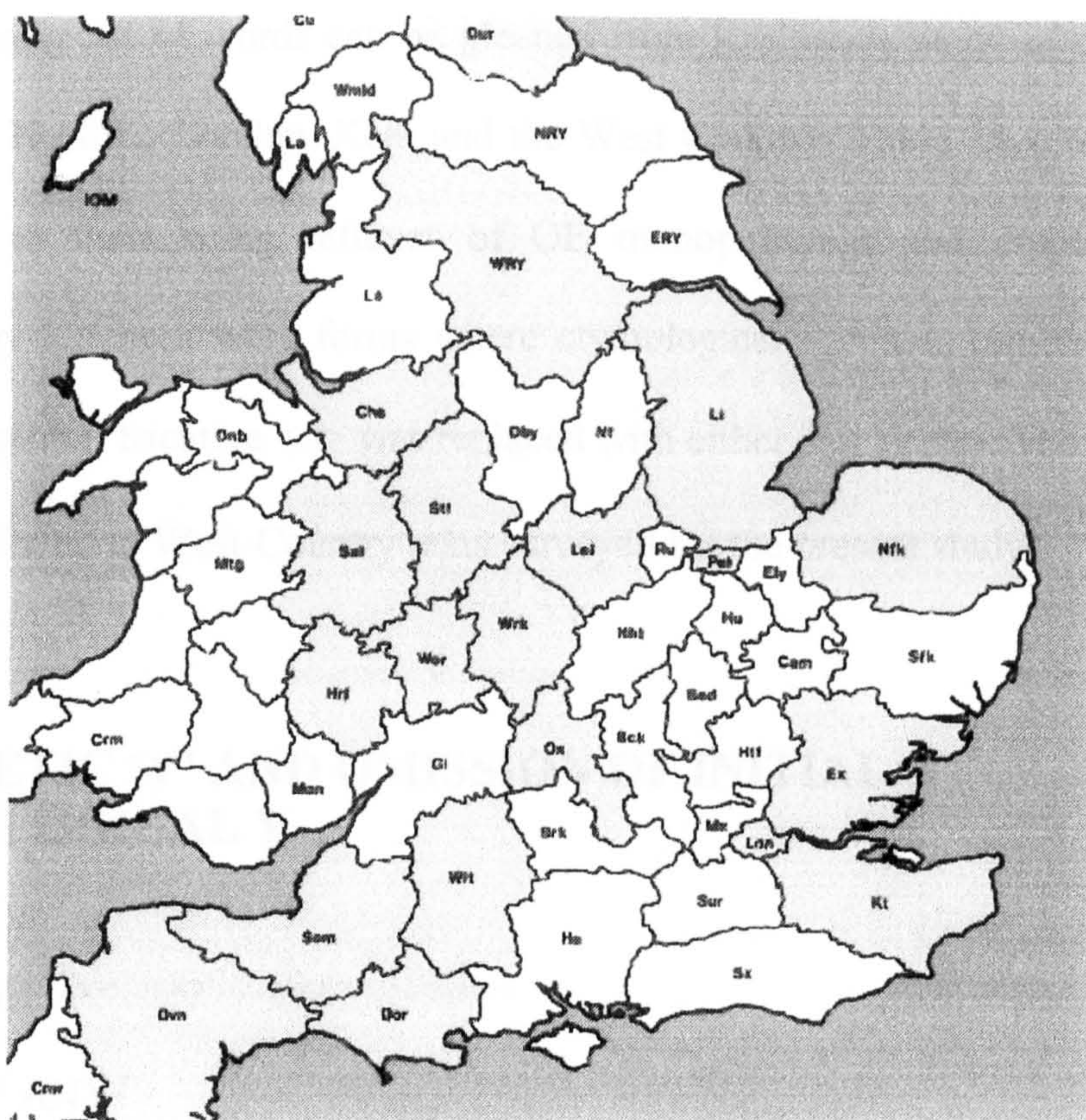
According to Dobson, initial palatal glide insertion was a feature found throughout medieval England, even in educated speech and it was only during the late sixteenth century that this feature started to be considered as vulgar or provincial. It is perhaps for this reason that it has almost disappeared, even in the West Country today.

A preliminary search of the online *Middle English Compendium*³³⁵ as well as the evidence gathered by Kihlbom³³⁶ of glide insertion in medieval English, show that this phenomenon can be found in texts from counties in all areas of England, (please see map 39). No systematic collection of data concerning this sound-change has been carried out, so it is difficult to say whether texts localisable to other counties might also exhibit this feature. Nevertheless, the spread of instances of this feature tend to suggest that it could be present throughout medieval England.

³³⁴ Dobson 1968 vol. II: 994 (footnote 3).

³³⁵ University of Michigan URL <http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/mec/>

³³⁶ Kihlbom 1926: 77-87



Map 39: Map of the counties of England containing localised medieval texts with spelling variants reflecting the insertion of an initial palatal glide before a front vowel.

Initial palatal glide insertion is reflected in spellings found in the York plays, the Ayenbite of Inwyte (Canterbury, Kent) and the Paston letters from Norfolk as well as the West-Country texts of the present study, so it can truly be said to be a widespread feature in medieval English. This is supported by Kihlbom's observation that:

‘...these spellings with prothetic *y*... or omission of etymological *y* initially, are, though always occasional, fairly common in Middle English texts, especially from the later Middle English period; they occur in documents from every part of the country - West and East, South and North...’³³⁷

³³⁷ Kihlbom 1926: 81

The following list of words can be gleaned from Kihlbom's study of documentary texts from Norfolk, London, Kent and the West Country. These have been grouped according to their being reflexes of OE monophthongs and diphthongs. Also recorded by Kihlbom were forms where etymological <y> was omitted and forms where the glottal fricative <h> was replaced with either <y> or <ʒ>. Those marked in bold were found in West-Country texts surveyed for the present study:

PROTHETIC 'Y' AND OMISSION OF INITIAL ETYMOLOGICAL Y

ǣ reflexes

yeny 'ǣnig' ANY
 ʒerre 'ǣror' BEFORE
 ʒerly, ʒarly, ʒerlyche 'ǣrlic' EARLY
 yernyng 'ǣm' EARNING
 ʒer, ʒar 'ǣr' ERE
 ʒer-while ERWHILE
 ʒewyn, yenne, Wytson yeuyn, Wyttson yeve, yeven 'efen' **EVENING**
 'ǣfen' EVENING
 ʒer 'ǣfre' EVER

ĕa reflexes

gierd, gerd 'eard' COUNTRY
 yere 'ĕar' EAR (of corn)
 ʒerwygge EARWIG
 yeke, ʒeke, ʒekun 'eac' EKE/LIKEWISE
 yeelyd EYELID
 ʒen **EYES**
 yelde, yield 'eald' **OLD**
 yem 'ĕam' UNCLE

eo reflexes

behend 'beyeondan' BEYOND
 yerle, ʒierles 'eorle' EARL
 yerth, yarthe, ʒerthly 'eorðe' **EARTH**

ʒeuery ‘eofer’ EVERY

Middle English e

yese/ʒeesyt EASED

ʒeesy EASY

ʒete ‘etan’ EAT

ʒend, ʒynde, yend, yeynd, Gravesʒend ‘ende’ END

geuelic, geuelike ‘efenelic’ EVEN

ʒeuelfuly ‘yfle’ EVILFULLY

yelles ‘elles’ OTHERWISE

Hypercorrection

eme ‘gīeme, gēme’ CARE

erdys YARDS

ere, new eris day, new erys day YEAR

erly YEARLY

elde, eild YIELD

H-loss/Palatalisation

ʒel(e), ʒelid HEAL

ʒere ‘hīeran’ HEAR

yeres HEARSE

ʒet ‘hātan’ HEAT

ʒepun ‘hāðen’ HEATHEN

ʒed(e) ‘hēdan’ HEED

ʒerbys, yerbis HERBS

ʒerd ‘heord’ HERD/SHEPHERD

Given the evidence presented above, it is interesting that both Luick and Matthews should identify initial palatal glide insertion as being a southwestern feature. One possible explanation for this, is that this feature of spoken language manifests itself more frequently in southwestern texts than in texts from other parts of the country. This is perhaps due to the parochial function of written language in this geographical area during the southwestern medieval period. Another explanation might be that initial glide-insertion was more common in this part of England and took longer to

die out there. It has already been shown, in the LAE, that the West Country was the only area in England where the initial phoneme in HEAT and HEAR were pronounced /j/ during the twentieth century and Cornwall was the only area where loss of initial /j/ in YEAR occurred. Wakelin points out that, although word initial palatal glide insertion and omission are to be found both in the west and east of twentieth century England, it is prevalent in the West. Wakelin suggests that:

‘...these forms are merely relic manifestations of a once more widespread feature.’³³⁸

It is likely that, although this feature was to be found throughout medieval England, the phonology of the East and North was in the process of changing, leaving the South West with archaic forms such as initial glide insertion from the medieval period onwards.

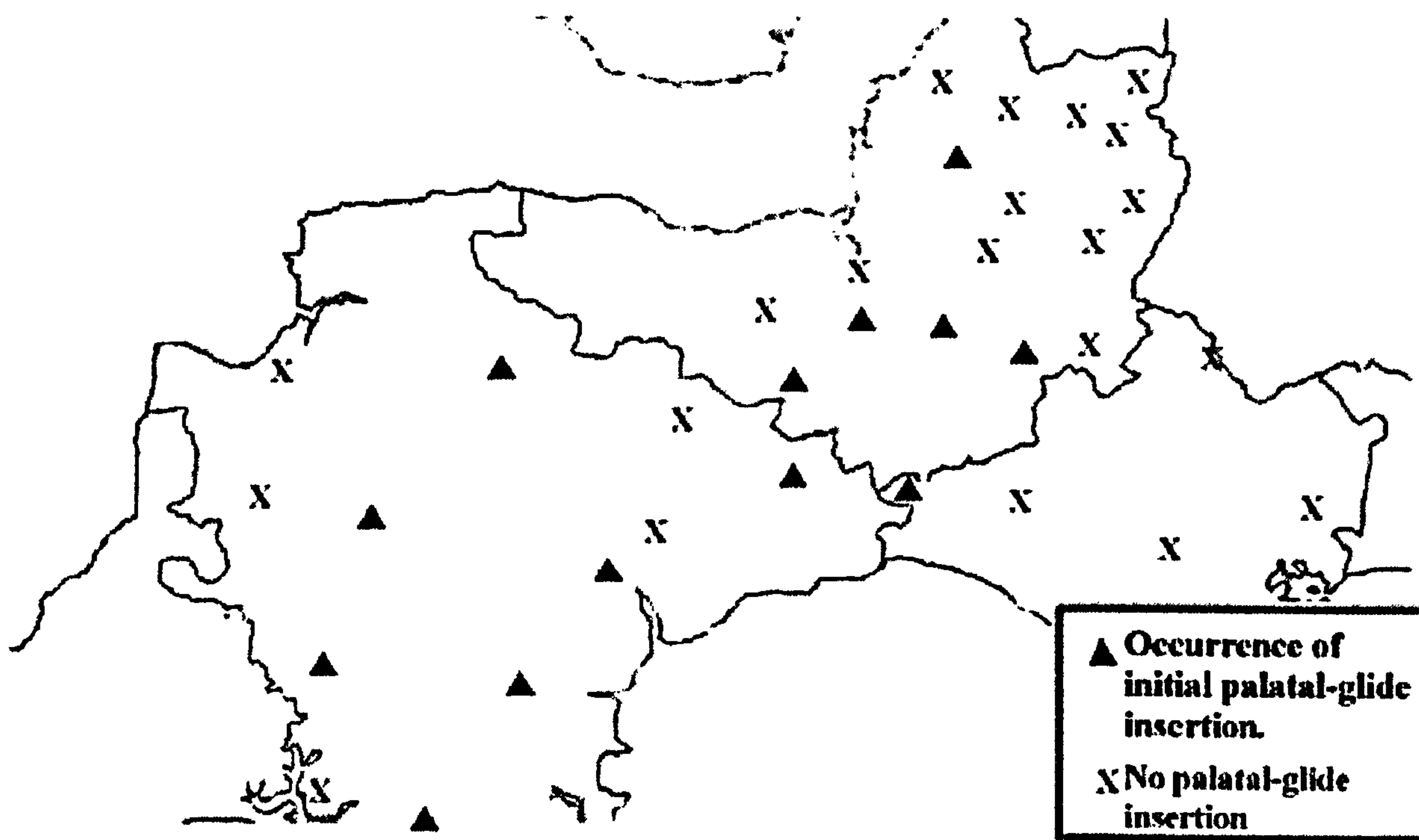
5.4.1.1 Initial palatal glide insertion in medieval West-Country manuscripts

A number of words containing the OE *ēo* diphthong were added to the questionnaire used in the present study in order to elicit medieval English spelling reflexes of this diphthong which often underwent the sound change *ēo* > *y* > *u*. It was found that one of these items, EARTH, elicited spelling forms beginning with <y> and <ɜ>. Although the word EARL, also on the questionnaire, therefore might have been expected to elicit spellings with an initial <y> or <ɜ>, it did not. For the word-item

³³⁸ Wakelin 1977: 94

OLD, several spellings of ELDEST, containing and initial palatal glide, were collected and one of OLD itself.

In addition to this, any further occurrences of spellings that showed initial palatal glide insertion were recorded, although not systematically as in the questionnaire. As a result, the presence of initial palatal glide insertion was identified in almost half of the 34 manuscripts localised in LALME to the West Country (please refer to map 40 below).



Map 40: Map of the occurrences of word/syllable-initial glide insertion in the West Country.

There is, perhaps, a slight distributional bias towards the western side of the West Country, as texts localised to north-eastern Somerset and all but the very far west of Dorset contain no occurrences of initial palatal glide insertion, whereas texts from western Somerset and Devon contain the majority of occurrences. From the representative tranches of each text, 71 % of the texts in Somerset did not contain

any instances of initial palatal glide insertion, whereas in Devon the figure is only 36%. In Dorset there are too few texts for a percentage value to be an accurate reflection of palatal glide insertion there. Suffice to say that only one text at the Devonshire border shows this feature.

Examples of hypercorrection were considered as evidence when creating map 40, but, on the whole, glide *insertion* was found. Only a small number of instances of loss of etymological initial <y> were to be found and only in the word YEAR(S). This pronunciation of YEAR seems to have survived into present-day English, as the LAE³³⁹ illustrates that in Cornwall ‘year’ is often pronounced with a front-close vowel /i/ rather than an initial palatal glide /j/. Unlike with glide loss, a range of words was found indicating word-initial palatal glide insertion. In particular, the words EARTH and END seemed to exhibit palatal glide insertion more often than others; this also seems to have been the case in Kihlbom’s study.

Examples of spellings indicating palatal glide insertion taken from West Country texts.

Front mid-close:

3ere, yers, yerys ‘ēar’ EAR

yest ‘ēast’ EAST

yete ‘etan’ EAT

yeve, yeven, yevensonge ‘efen’ EVE

³³⁹ See map 16.

Front mid-open vowel:

yerly 'ǣrliche' EARLY

yerth, Ʒerthe, Ʒerþe, Ʒerliche, Ʒourþe, Ʒurthe, Ʒurþe 'eorð' EARTH

yeftsones 'eftsona' EFTSONES

yeldest 'ieldest' ELDEST

yend, yende, Ʒend, Ʒende, aƷende, 'an end', yendynge, yendles 'ende' END

<ea> reflex:

yold 'eald' OLD

/j/ loss:

erys, eyr⁹ 'Ʒear' YEARS

The development of initial palatal glide insertion

The Old English vowels and diphthongs in words that are often realised with an initial palatal glide in certain Middle English dialects are <ǣ>, <ěo>, <ěa> and <e>. During the early West-Saxon period, there was a tendency for the diphthongs *ěo* and *ěa* to come to be written <ie>. This diphthong was unique to early West Saxon, distinguishing it both geographically from other dialects and diachronically from late West Saxon. It is not clear whether this <ie> grapheme represented a diphthong beginning with a high front vowel or whether it represented a monophthong vowel

sound, where the first element <i> functioned like the IPA diacritic [ʲ].³⁴⁰ The sound represented by the <ie> diphthong might therefore have been an [i]-coloured /e/ vowel, or, as Mitchell and Robinson put it, a vowel somewhere in between [i] and [e].³⁴¹ The situation is therefore a complex one; the presence of an <ie> diphthong fits in well with the emergence of an initial palatal glide during the medieval period, as it only requires a stress shift on the diphthong to take place. However, it would seem that this <ie> diphthong only existed during the early West Saxon period and thereafter became contracted to either a rounded or unrounded front close vowel [y] or [i] respectively.

One well-known example of a stress shift creating an initial palatal glide from an *ēo* diphthong is the case of the transition from Old English <heo> [he:o] to PDE <she> [ʃi] (this sound-change will be detailed in chapter 6). The fact that there is orthographic evidence to strongly suggest that the stress-shift on an [eo] diphthong sound-change occurred during the Middle English period is a useful analogy for the development of an initial palatal glide at least where OE *ēo* is concerned. However one point where the <heo> → <she> sound change differs from initial palatal glide insertion is that it is not a word-initial phenomenon.

³⁴⁰ See Hogg 1992: 194 §5.163

³⁴¹ Mitchell & Robinson 1996:15 §9 footnote 1.

The function of syllable boundaries in word-initial glide development

Dobson proposes that glide insertion results from the 'over-palatalisation' of the first part of a front vowel; however, he does not explain what this involves and why this should occur. Dobson does however usefully date the first occurrences of initial palatal glide insertion to before 1400, by pointing out that the development of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ had not yet occurred in manuscript texts where the first instances of initial palatal glide insertion are to be found.³⁴²

Initially, it seemed that a word's ability to be prefixed by the definite article might have been a strong influence on the insertion of /j/, as a number of occurrences of 'the yearth' 'the yend' and 'the yest' were found: <the ʒerthe>, <in the ʒend>, <In the ʒende>, <the ʒende>, <the yend>, <the yest>. The insertion of a glide might have been a case of prothesis; where a glide develops in order to smooth the transition between and prevent the merger of two high front vowels.

Although Dobson does not believe that hiatus prevention is responsible for the development of a glide, he does, however, believe that situations where a word with glide-insertion is preceded by the definite article could make the initial palatal glide more prominent. This could be a plausible explanation for the significant number of instances of glide insertion where the definite article is involved. One problem Dobson highlights regarding the theory that the prevention of vocalic hiatus is the reason for the development of an initial palatal glide, is that there are examples of

³⁴² Dobson 1968 vol. II: 993 §429

palatal glide insertion where the glide is not preceded by a vowel. This can be seen if we compare lines taken from two medieval West-Country texts used in this study: <the yest> and <toward þe est yend of þ^t cyte>. In the second example, the glide is not inserted between two vowel sounds, but is inserted between a voiceless stop and a vowel. There are many other examples of palatal glide insertion where a consonant precedes the vowel and this introduces a number of problems, if we are to accept that a palatal glide developed from a need to avoid a hiatus. Instances of palatal glide insertion after a consonant sound were recorded during the initial stage of this study as is shown below:

<ffor of ʒerlich³⁴³ lif hit (bodily death) is an endyng>, <oper yete w^t my bestys his come>, <right yerly>, <al Halwyn yeven>, <At yevensonge tyme>, <Candlemass yeve>, <he is febel and yold> and possibly also <Varouns (barons) sayde ʒe (he)>, <þe nombre yendys>, <w^t owte ʒende> depending on whether the final *e* in *sayde*, *nombre* and *owte* was pronounced.

There are also instances where etymological <y> is actually missing, creating a hiatus: <att þe eyres endy>.

There are articulatory mechanisms that support the hiatus prevention theory and suggest that a contextually conditioned sound change, such as word-initial glide insertion, could have become phonemic and therefore independent of the context in which it originally developed.

³⁴³ 'earthly'

Syllables in English tend to follow the pattern illustrated in figure 23. The syllable is made up of a nucleus plus an optional head and coda. Consonantal strength decreases towards the centre of the nucleus, so that sonorous sounds -- mainly vowels, but sometimes nasals, semi-vowels and liquids -- form the syllable nucleus.

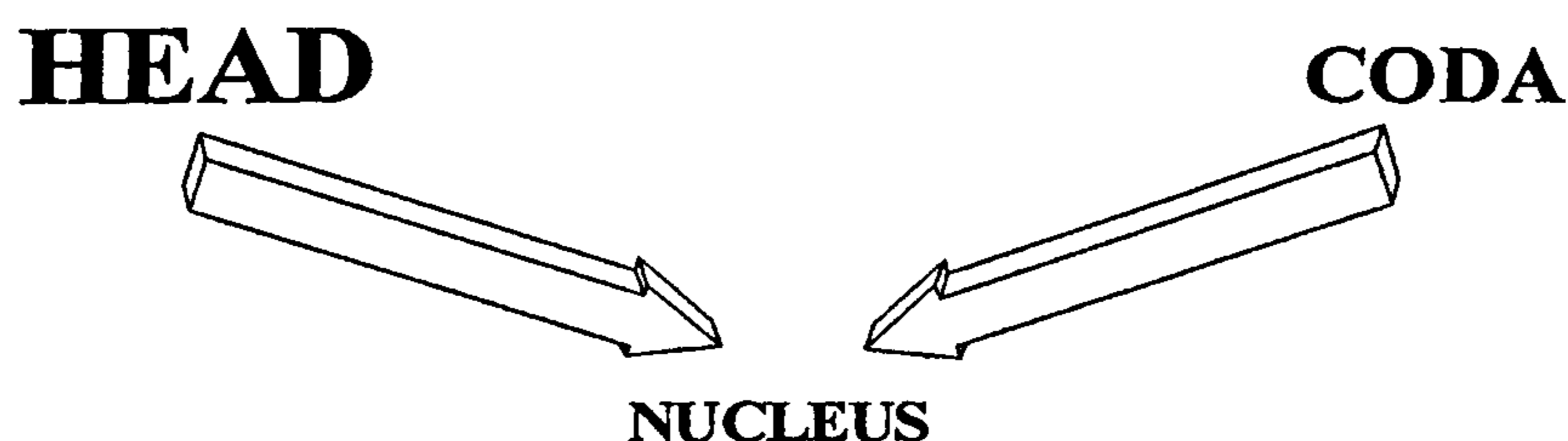


Figure 23: Diagram of the ideal English syllable structure.

The head and coda in English, and many other languages tend to be consonant sounds and the head tends to have a greater consonantal strength than the coda. It has been demonstrated that, in most languages, a consonant + vowel syllable-structure is preferred, whereas other types of syllable structure are becoming increasingly rare.³⁴⁷

The development of a glide is possible, even likely, where weak sounds like vowels end and begin consecutive syllables [...v|v...]. Where this is the case, the isochronicity of the English language would support the development of a relatively strong sound between the two vowels to form an ideal syllable pattern. It is for this reason that the words *orange* and *adder* exist in their present forms, even though they come from Middle English <norange> and <naddre> respectively. These spellings and pronunciations are an unconscious hypercorrect reaction to the fact that the 'strong' *n* consonant is often appropriated to the beginning of a following syllable. This is demonstrated in written medieval English phrases such as <a nappell tree>,³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Ohala 1999: 398

³⁴⁸ Found in Folio 38v line 33 of Add. 35288.

<a nasse>³⁴⁹ ‘an ass’ and <a noynon>³⁵⁰ ‘an onion’. If scribes were to begin writing <nappell> outside of this particular context, for example ‘the nappell’, this would be a strong indicator that word initial *n* was no longer a contextual feature, but had become phonemic. This is what appears to have been happening in the case of word initial glide insertion.

Where a word beginning with a weak sound is preceded by a word ending in a strong sound, as in the case of <all Halwyn yeven>,³⁵¹ the strong sound tends to be appropriated to the following syllable so that the speaker actually utters ‘all hallowee neven’. The development of an intermediate glide, in this case, would be superfluous to the syllabic and isochronous requirements of English and therefore its presence in written language seems to suggest that the speaker views the word-initial /j/ as being a natural part of the word *evening* and that the contextually conditioned insertion of [j] between front vowel sounds has become phonemic.

To summarise, it is possible that word-initial glides developed in the environment [...ðe | e/ɛ...] and that this sound-change was analogically extended to other non-vocalic environments. The small number of instances of glide insertion spellings compared with historical spellings where no glide is used does not contradict this theory. Written language at any stage in its development does not reflect phonology graph by graph, but is a separate and conservative system. For example, in the instance of <...a euell deth...>, use of the indefinite article ‘a’, as opposed to ‘an’, implies the presence of a consonant sound at the beginning of <evil> (probably /j/) at

³⁴⁹ Found in Harley 2386M.

³⁵⁰ Found in Ashmole 1447.

³⁵¹ Moore 1872: 16 (letter IV)

least in the mind of the scribe while he was writing. The scribe did not feel that it was appropriate or necessary to write the glide, perhaps assuming that his readers would automatically insert it while they read.

5.4.2 Word-initial glide loss

In addition to word-initial palatal glide insertion, there is also the southwestern phenomenon of word-initial palatal glide loss. It is possible that this sound-change is completely unconnected to glide insertion. However, it is also possible that one phenomenon is a hypercorrect reaction to the other.

Initial palatal glide loss is a stereotypical feature of a southwestern dialect in phrases such as <Looke> for 'look ye', as is found in the Somerset squire's speech in Tom Jones³⁵² and the Dorset shepherd's speech 'He is not good enough for 'ee'³⁵³ in Hardy's Far from the Madding Crowd³⁵⁴. Elworthy also reports, 'will 'ee' for 'will ye'³⁵⁵ and word-initial yod-dropping in 'yet'. YEAR seems to be the most common word where this phenomenon occurs, being observed both in the LAE and in the manuscript-texts of the present study. The fact that Elworthy notes that, due to word-initial glide insertion, 'here, hear, ear and year' are all pronounced alike in the late nineteenth century West Country perhaps supports the likelihood that the omission of etymological [j] from *year* might be a result of hypercorrection. It is plausible in this case that where a sound-change causes a number of words to become homophones

³⁵² Fielding 1985: 694 Book sixteen chapter two.

³⁵³ Hardy 1993: 20 Chapter twenty-nine.

³⁵⁴ In these books 'ye' and not 'thee' is always used to refer to singular and plural objects, so the spellings can be seen as an omission of [j] and not [ð]

³⁵⁵ Elworthy 1879: 216

and where there is no longer an active competence among speakers, the historical form might lose its initial palatal glide to prevent semantic ambiguity.

5.4.3 Word-initial labial-velar glide insertion

In addition to word-initial *palatal* glide insertion, a similar, but much more rare feature found in the medieval West Country is the insertion of a *labial-velar* glide [w] before back vowels. As Kihlbom states:

‘The general vulgar tendency to avoid hiatus by introducing an on-glide of a consonantal nature... is by no means confined to the front vowels. It is at work also in the case of the back vowels... Here the glide is graphically denoted by <w>.’³⁵⁶

Kihlbom believes that many examples of words pronounced with an initial [h] today, but spelled <wh> in medieval English -- and sometimes present-day English -- testify to word initial glide insertion. This creates a problem if we are to believe that labial-velar glides have developed in order to prevent hiatus. The insertion of a word/syllable initial glide is not the same type of phenomenon as glide insertion after a fricative. Although, graphemically speaking, an <h> can be changed into <wh> by adding a <w> graph *before* the <h> graph, the change from /həʊl/ into /wəʊl/ actually involves the insertion of a voiced labial-velar glide between the initial voiceless glottal fricative /h/ and the diphthong. This is a very different sound change from hiatus prevention at syllable margins previously described.

³⁵⁶ Kihlbom 1926: 162

Dobson points out that not only is /w/ inserted in the environment /h/ + back vowel, but also between numerous other consonants and back vowels; for example, he cites spelling evidence from the Ayenbite <buons> for 'bones' and <guo> for 'go'.³⁵⁷ In Ashmole 189a, the spelling <whote> 'hot' is found and <twhyche> for 'touch' is found in Add. 33758. There seems to be plenty of evidence suggesting labial-velar glides developed before back vowels in non-initial positions.

In this section, the focus will be only on those spellings that indicate the development or loss of a labial-velar glide at the beginning of a word or syllable and not the development of the glide after /h/ or any other consonant, as much more evidence of initial glide insertion was found in the present study.

As with initial palatal glide insertion, initial labial-velar glide insertion was apparently widespread both geographically speaking and with reference to register.

As Dobson states:

'The evidence of fifteenth and sixteenth century spellings, and of the early orthoepists, shows the development of [j] and [w] was not only widespread throughout England, but also that it had some effect on educated speech.'³⁵⁸

One relic of this particular sound change that is found in Present-Day Standard English is the pronunciation [wʌn] of *one* from OE *ān*. Had this word developed

³⁵⁷ Dobson 1968 volume 2: 998 & 999

³⁵⁸ Dobson 1968 volume 2: 994 §429

without the influence of the initial glide insertion sound change, it would have started, like Scots [e:n] *ane*.

Some instances of spellings indicating word-initial glide insertion found by Kihlbom and Matthews in medieval texts are shown in a list below. Again, spellings found in the West Country are highlighted in bold.

<wo> ‘how’	<wolde> ‘old’	<whone> ‘one’
<woothe> ‘oath’	<wotherwise> ‘otherwise’	<wother> ‘other’
<wonlyche> ‘only’	<wowid> ‘owed’	<wote> ‘oat’
<wordeynip/id> ‘ordains/ed’	<worder> ‘order’	<word> ‘OE ord’
<lykelywoodes> ‘likelyhood’	<woak> ‘oak’	<woopes> ‘hoops’

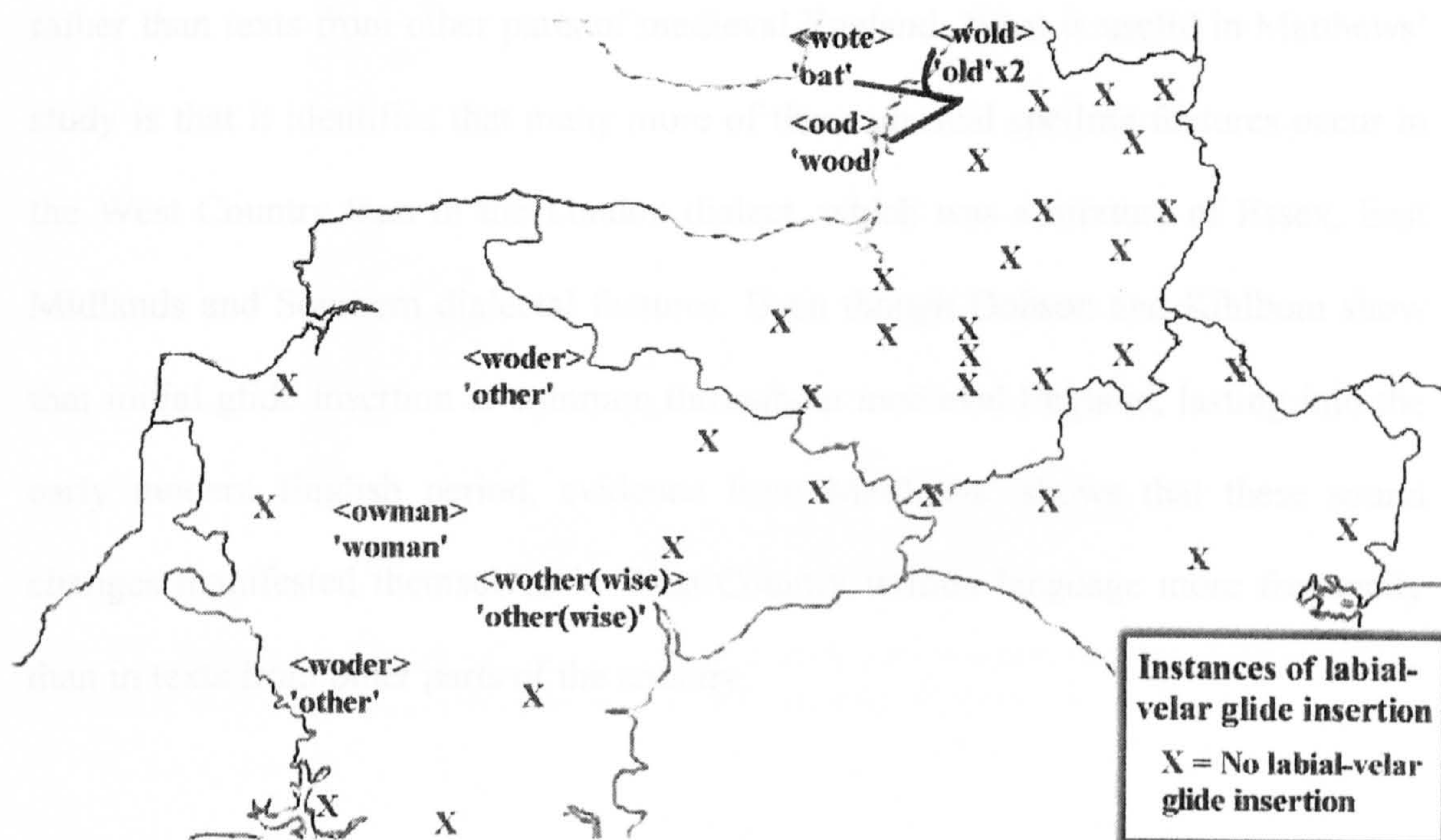
It appears that glide insertion occurs before the vowels /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/. In addition to the highlighted words in this list, two examples, where historical word initial <w> has been omitted, were also found in the medieval West Country texts surveyed, these are <owman> ‘woman’ and <ood> ‘wood’. These are included because they are possibly hypercorrect forms resulting from the word/syllable initial labial-velar glide insertion sound change.

Map 41 shows the counties (those that are shaded on the map) in which Kihlbom finds spellings that indicate the presence of initial labial-velar glide insertion, including Somerset as these spellings were found in Somerset in the present study.

met with in the 16th and 17th centuries, though decreasing in number, but disappear as spelling becomes more fixed...³⁵⁹

5.4.3.1 Initial labial-velar glide insertion in medieval West-Country manuscripts

If map 42 is considered, it is possible to see that there are a very small number of instances of spellings indicating word/syllable initial labial-velar glide insertion to be found in the medieval West Country. The majority of occurrences are found in Devon with the exception of those from the Yatton churchwardens' accounts.



Map 42: Map of the occurrences of word/syllable-initial labial-velar glide insertion/loss in the West Country.

As with initial palatal glide insertion, Matthews identified this feature as being particularly southwestern.³⁶⁰ In his comparison between medieval southwestern and London documentary texts, Matthews notes:

³⁵⁹ Kihlbom 1926: 165

‘The omission of initial *w* before a rounded back vowel seems to have been much more prevalent in the South-West than in London... Even more commonly there is evidence of an initial labial glide before a rounded back vowel... The only evidence of this labialisation in London documents relates to “one”... It would therefore seem that the labialisation was a South-Western feature.’³⁶¹

There seem to be obvious drawbacks to Matthews’ approach of identifying southwestern features using only a comparison with London documentary texts rather than texts from other parts of medieval England. What is useful in Matthews’ study is that it identifies that many more of these unusual spelling features occur in the West Country than in the London dialect, which was a mixture of Essex, East Midlands and Southern dialectal features. Even though Dobson and Kihlbom show that initial glide insertion is common throughout medieval England, lasting into the early modern English period, evidence from Matthews’ shows that these sound changes manifested themselves in West-Country written language more frequently than in texts from other parts of the country.

The preservation or predominance of word/syllable initial labial-velar glide insertion is supported by Wakelin’s study of twentieth century English dialects. Wakelin notes:

³⁶⁰ Matthews 1939: 209

³⁶¹ Matthews 1939: 206

‘In the South West the semi-vowels may be distributed differently from in RP.

Initial [w] may be lost before [ɔ], but added (initially or after a preceding consonant) before long back vowels.’³⁶²

Map 43 below shows the area of present day England where speakers pronounce ‘woman’ without an initial labial-velar glide. Areas where an initial labial-velar glide is added before a back vowel are found in sporadic patches throughout the South West and West.



Map 43: Schematised map of the distribution of /umən/ pronunciations of WOMAN in present-day English, from information provided by Wakelin 1994: 94

Summary

To conclude, medieval West-Country texts contain spellings indicating some unusual consonantal phenomena. The insertion of an initial palatal glide before front vowels was not confined to the West Country, but it does appear to have been more common there and was retained in the West Country into the twentieth century. It is possible

³⁶² Wakelin 1994: 94

that this development arose in order to prevent a vocalic hiatus. The fact that glide insertion manifests itself in written language and, in particular, outside of the context in which it developed, suggests that the inserted palatal glide had temporarily become phonemic in the medieval dialects of the West Country and the rest of England.

The insertion of labial-velar glides before back vowels in medieval West-Country English is much more complicated. It would seem that this phenomenon was not only restricted to the beginning of words, but also occurred after word-initial stops and fricatives. As with the palatal glide, the labial-velar glide might have developed at the beginning of words in order to prevent vocalic hiatus and, thereafter, became phonemic and associated with the pronunciation of back vowels, used in contexts in which it did not originally develop. It is also possible that back vowels became diphthongised to the extent that the first part of the diphthong started to be considered to be more akin to [w] than to [u]. The origin of the development is neither clear nor straightforward, but it seems to have led to the hypercorrect loss of historical [w] at the beginning of words.

Non-initial development of labial-velar glides in all probability gave rise to a new set of words beginning with unhistorical /w/, *whole*, *whore* etc. just as historical /w/ was dying out. This new development might well have contributed to the preservation of the /w/ phoneme and <wh> grapheme long after other OE [h] + *consonant* clusters had undergone reduction. The phenomenon of initial and non-initial glide insertion, as well as glide cluster reduction of OE *hw* and hypercorrection of <w> to <wh> in medieval West-Country texts, provide interesting insights into sound change and the

phonemicisation of sounds in spoken English and how this was represented in written English.

The following chapter is an overview of the pronoun system of medieval West-Country written English, including some possessive determiners. In chapter six, significant diatopic distributions of pronoun and determiner spellings will be considered. Specific reference will be made to the retention of close back monophthongs in pronouns in texts localised to Devon and western Somerset, where diphthongs were used elsewhere due to the action of the Great Vowel Shift. In addition to this, the retention of older forms of pronouns in medieval West-Country dialects will be examined including the part these older forms might have played in initiating pronoun exchange in the West-Country dialect.

Chapter 6: Overview of pronoun system of the medieval West Country

In this chapter, an overview of the pronoun system of the medieval West Country will be presented. Personal pronouns and possessive determiners were systematically collected according to case, number and gender. As it is difficult to tell exactly which spelling-forms are likely to vary across the counties in significant patterns, information on all personal pronouns was collected, so that no valuable information would be lost. In this way some unexpected diatopic distributions of pronoun variants have been identified.

Although pronouns in all cases were collected, subsequently, the accusative and dative categories were collapsed due to a lack of variation between them. It was expected that the third person masculine accusative pronoun might yield some spelling variants corresponding with the Old English accusative pronoun *hine*, but in practice, only four manuscripts contained this form where it was used both as the direct and indirect object.

In this chapter, it will be shown that variation of pronoun spellings in the manuscript-texts used in this study is both diatopic and diachronic. Some possible dialect boundaries derived from pronominal spelling evidence will be presented at the end of the chapter, as well as a table listing the pronominal forms most frequently found in each county. In addition to this, a table of forms most frequently found in the fourteenth century against those found most frequently in the fifteenth century will also be presented. It will become apparent throughout the course of this chapter that

the dialect area encompassing Devon and western Somerset is more archaic, containing older spelling forms of pronouns; whereas eastern Somerset and Dorset tend to contain new forms current in the east of England. The process of reduction of determiners and pronouns due to unstressing will also become apparent, when spellings found in texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are compared

Spelling-forms in maps presented in this chapter are occasionally marked in colour in order to highlight patterns of distribution. The most frequently occurring form is the first listed at each manuscript location on the map, thereafter an oblique mark separates spellings that occurred less frequently, but at least more than a third as often as the dominant form. Where spelling forms are separated by a comma, they occurred equally as frequently as one another. Some maps also contain lists of spelling-forms enclosed in round brackets; these forms occurred less than one third as often as the dominant spelling form in the manuscript-text and are therefore seen as minor variants. Again oblique marks separate the more frequently occurring form from the less frequently occurring form and commas separate forms that occurred equally as often as one another. In some maps, it was not possible to include minor spelling-variants, as the map became cluttered and patterns of usage were obscured -- this occurs, because some items yield large numbers of minor spelling variants.

Pronoun exchange

Although pronoun exchange is not common in Standard English, it is a frequently encountered phenomenon in dialectal English and nowhere more so than in the West Country. Ihalainen notes that:

'Early dialect literature and glossaries show a complete absence of pronoun exchange in northern English, but make frequent reference to it in the West Midlands and the South West...'³⁶³

The frequency of occurrence of pronoun exchange in the LAE material for the South West caused Klemola³⁶⁴ to use it as a source of variables in identifying dialects through cluster analysis. The initial stages of pronoun exchange can be observed in the manuscript-texts of the medieval West Country. Those pronouns that are found in unhistorical contexts in medieval West-Country texts include ME, THOW, THEE, YE, YOU, HIM and HER. In this chapter, each of these pronouns and the pronoun exchanges in which they occur in medieval West-Country texts will be examined and possible explanations will be given.

³⁶³ Ihalainen 1994: 231

³⁶⁴ Klemola 1990

fifteenth century in favour of unstressed [i], or <ich> and its variants were no longer considered appropriate in written language, perhaps becoming too closely associated with rural/non-standard English. The extent to which the spoken form *ich* might have been lost during the fifteenth century is not clear.

It is known that enclitic <ich> continued to be used in the speech of rural communities throughout the south of England during the early Modern English period, as [(i)tʃɪl] was often used as a dialect marker for rustic characters in Renaissance plays and pastoral poetry. Shakespeare's use of 'chill' 'che' and 'Ice' in King Lear supports the idea that such elided forms were common throughout the South, as Act four scene six takes place in 'the country, near Dover', in Kent.

'EDGAR: ...Nay, come not near th'old man; keep out, che vor ye³⁶⁶, or Ice³⁶⁷
try whether your costard or my ballow be the harder. Chill be plain with you....
Chill pick your teeth, zir...'

From late seventeenth century accounts such as Defoe's, mentioned in chapter 3 (page 168), it is possible to see that elided forms such as 'chill' and 'cham' were still being used during this period and were considered peculiar to the West Country. Attesting to the linguistic conservatism of the West Country, by the nineteenth century, *ich* and its enclitic forms were only to be found there. Even though *ich* survived in the West Country into at least the mid twentieth century,³⁶⁸ its original

³⁶⁶ 'I warn you'

³⁶⁷ 'before I shall...' See Ellis 1889: 85

³⁶⁸ Wakelin 1994: 112

phonetic character and grammatical function had become indistinct and this appears to have initiated pronoun exchange involving I and US. As Ihalainen states:

‘There seems to be some confusion in people’s minds between *utch* and *us*, which was also used for *I*.’³⁶⁹

The new variant ‘utch’ was found by both Ellis³⁷⁰ and Bonaparte³⁷¹ in the same geographical area of Somerset where an SED researcher called Wright later identified the use of [ɪʃ].³⁷² The ‘utch’ variant was pronounced with a retracted and lowered vowel [ɔ/ʌʃ], sometimes ending in a long front close vowel /i:/, [ɔ/ʌʃi:] ‘utchee’. It is possible that the change in the initial vowel of *ich* towards a vowel similar to that used in US might have led to confusion of these pronouns, which were now both pronounced with back vowels followed by an alveolar consonant.

Bonaparte has difficulty in determining if ‘us’ is singular, a reduced form of ‘utch’,³⁷³ or if this is simply a case of an accusative plural pronoun being used as the subject of a sentence:

‘... it is difficult, however, to decide if *us* is really for *utch*, or rather the plural *us* (which is) used instead of *we* or *I*; for *us went*, at Montacute, means both *I went* and *we went*...’³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ Ihalainen 1994: 223

³⁷⁰ Ellis 1889: 84

³⁷¹ Bonaparte 1877:579

³⁷² Wakelin 1994: 112. These instances were recorded on tape in a 1952 pilot study for the LAE, but were not included in the final work.

³⁷³ This is what Wakelin proposes it might be: ‘The form *us*, recorded in south Somerset... may also be a reduced form of *uch*, and not the first person plural pronoun.’ (Wakelin 1994: 112).

³⁷⁴ Bonaparte 1877: 580

This confusion in the pronoun system evidently arose after the medieval period, as <us/vs>, <ous> always refer to the first person accusative plural pronoun and <ich>, <y> always refer to the first person nominative singular pronoun in West Country Middle English. While the <ich> form of the pronoun was still being used, there was no ambiguity between the meaning and function of I and US. It is therefore possible that the rarity of the declining *ich/utch* form during the nineteenth century, alongside the lowering and retraction of its initial vowel sound, might have contributed to the emergence of the ambiguous usage of ‘utch’ and US. A model and description of one possible development of pronoun exchange concerning US is presented in figure 24 below:

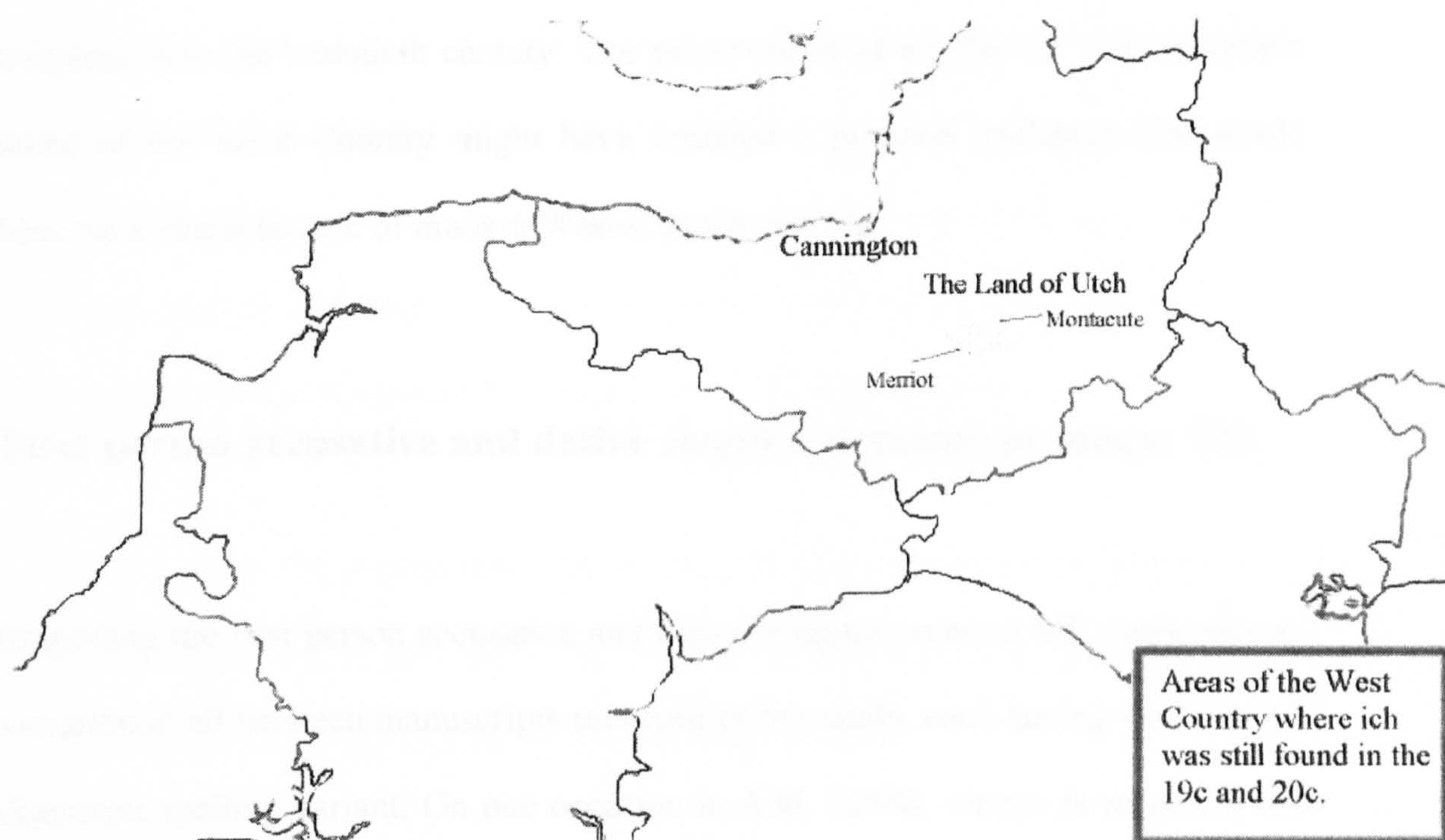


Figure 24: Diagram of possible development of pronoun exchange between I and US due to ‘utch’.

1. The form ‘ich’ undergoes a sound change becoming ‘utch’, at the same time losing currency in the rest of England and much of the West Country.
2. Similarity of the pronouns ‘utch’ and ‘us’ leads to a confusion in their usage in a restricted area of the West Country.
3. As ‘utch’ < ME *ich* could combine with singular verbs, so ‘us’ also starts to combine with singular verbs.

4. This confusion extends beyond the original geographical area of usage to other areas in the West Country.
5. Analogically, other plural pronouns begin to combine with singular verbs.

All of the above instances of *ich*, whether collected by Ellis and Bonaparte while transcribing the speech of West-Country informants in late nineteenth century or in mid-twentieth century audio recordings for the SED, identify the last stronghold of *ich* in central Somerset. If map 45 below is considered, it is possible to see that a small area extending as far east as Yeovil and as far west as Chillington; an area of 12.5km by 8.5km³⁷⁵ has been identified as a surviving pocket of *ich/uch*-usage.



Map 45: Map locating Ellis' 'Land of Utch' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

³⁷⁵ Encompassing Yeovil, East Coker, East Chinnock, Mid and West Chinnock, Merriot, Chisselborough, Montacute, Martock, Norton, South Petherton and possibly Kingsbury. These areas of usage were identified by Ellis with the help of two Montacute natives.

Ellis named this area the 'Land of Utch'.³⁷⁶ It is possible that *ich* could have been used elsewhere in the West Country and that Ellis, led by Bonaparte's observations, might have focussed solely on areas near Montacute. Bonaparte, for instance, also identified that 'utchy' for *I* was used, albeit infrequently, by older natives of Cannington near Bridgewater, fifty miles north-west of the 'Land of Utch'. Nevertheless, in 1952, when Wright identified [itf] pronunciations, he was speaking to a native of Merriott in the southwestern corner of Ellis's 'Land of Utch' (please refer to map 45).

All of the above information tends to suggest that, even though 'ich' was infrequently used in written medieval language, it continued to be used in spoken language into the twentieth century. The preservation of a reflex of 'ich' in certain areas of the West Country might have initiated a pronoun exchange that would become a characteristic of modern West-Country dialects.

First person accusative and dative singular personal pronoun: ME

Regarding the first person accusative and dative singular pronoun ME, there was no variation at all between manuscripts surveyed in this study, each having <me> as the dominant spelling variant. On one occasion in Add. 32588, <mee> is recorded, but this variant is a line-final rhyme. No map has been produced for this personal pronoun due to the lack of variation of spellings across the West Country.

³⁷⁶ Ellis 1889: 84, see also Wakelin 1994: 112.

<me> also occurs in a number of what might be called impersonal constructions such as ‘me thinketh’. In these cases, it is often assumed that ‘me’ is a reflexive pronoun or an elliptical dative construction meaning ‘I think to myself’. Nevertheless, it seems possible that <me>, in this context, is a relic form related to the Old English impersonal pronoun *man. man*, as opposed to the masculine noun *mann* (meaning ‘person’ or ‘man’) could be translated today as ‘one’ in ‘one thinks that...’.

In the Ashmole 33 text of Sir Ferumbras, the construction <ma calth me> ‘I am called’ is used, preserving an older form of the impersonal pronoun, possibly to highlight the distinction between the two pronouns used in the construction.

In the initial stage of pronoun collection, <me> forms that occurred in impersonal constructions were assigned to the same section as the nominative pronoun ‘I’ in order to differentiate them from instances of the accusative pronoun ‘me’. One Latin grammar text-book belonging to Walter Pollard of Plymouth identifies ‘me’ as an impersonal pronoun alongside the gender non-specific pronoun ‘it’.

‘How is a verbe jnpersonell ffor 3t hath nethere noumber/ ne person ne nominatife case & is declined in þe voice of/ þ^e thrid person singlre noumber and comyth in engligh wt one/ of thies ij signes 3t or me.’³⁷⁷

The verb that most frequently combined with <me> in medieval West-Country texts was ‘to think’,³⁷⁸ but also ‘to luste/ lyste’,³⁷⁹ ‘to like’.³⁸⁰ These verbs also often form

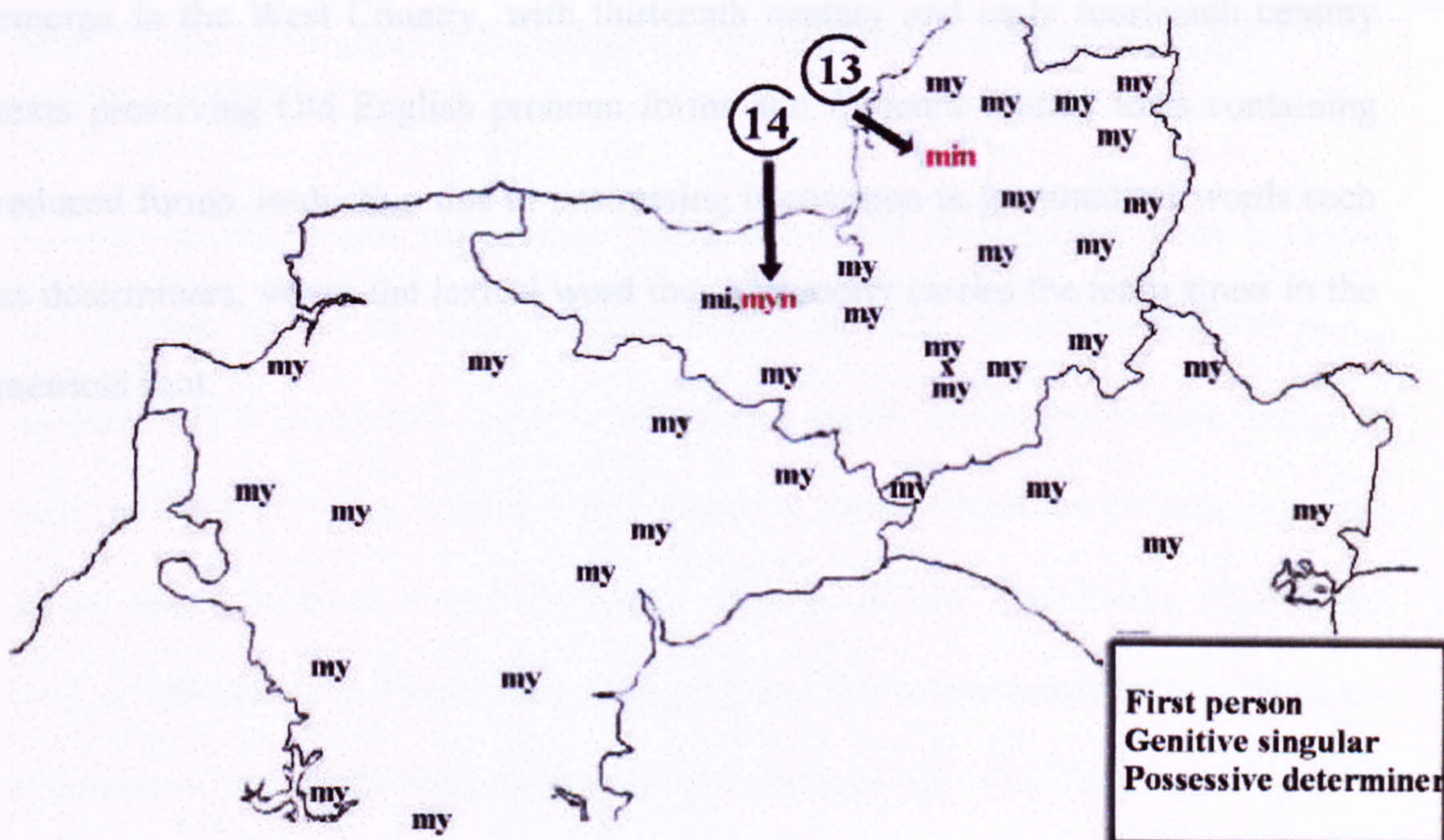
³⁷⁷ Rawlinson 328, folio 14v lines 15 - 17.

³⁷⁸ ‘to think’ or ‘to seem’

³⁷⁹ ‘to wish’ or ‘desire’

impersonal constructions with the masculine accusative pronoun 'him' and third person plural accusative pronoun 'them'. It is possible that this is an analogical development. If the Old English form 'man' had come to be written <me>, which was thereafter confused with the first person accusative singular pronoun, a speaker might therefore have assumed that an impersonal construction was formed using the accusative form of a pronoun in any person or number. The impersonal pronoun 'me' was also used in the phrases 'wo ys me/ me ys wo', 'me ys wers' and 'as me aught'.

First person genitive singular possessive determiner: MY

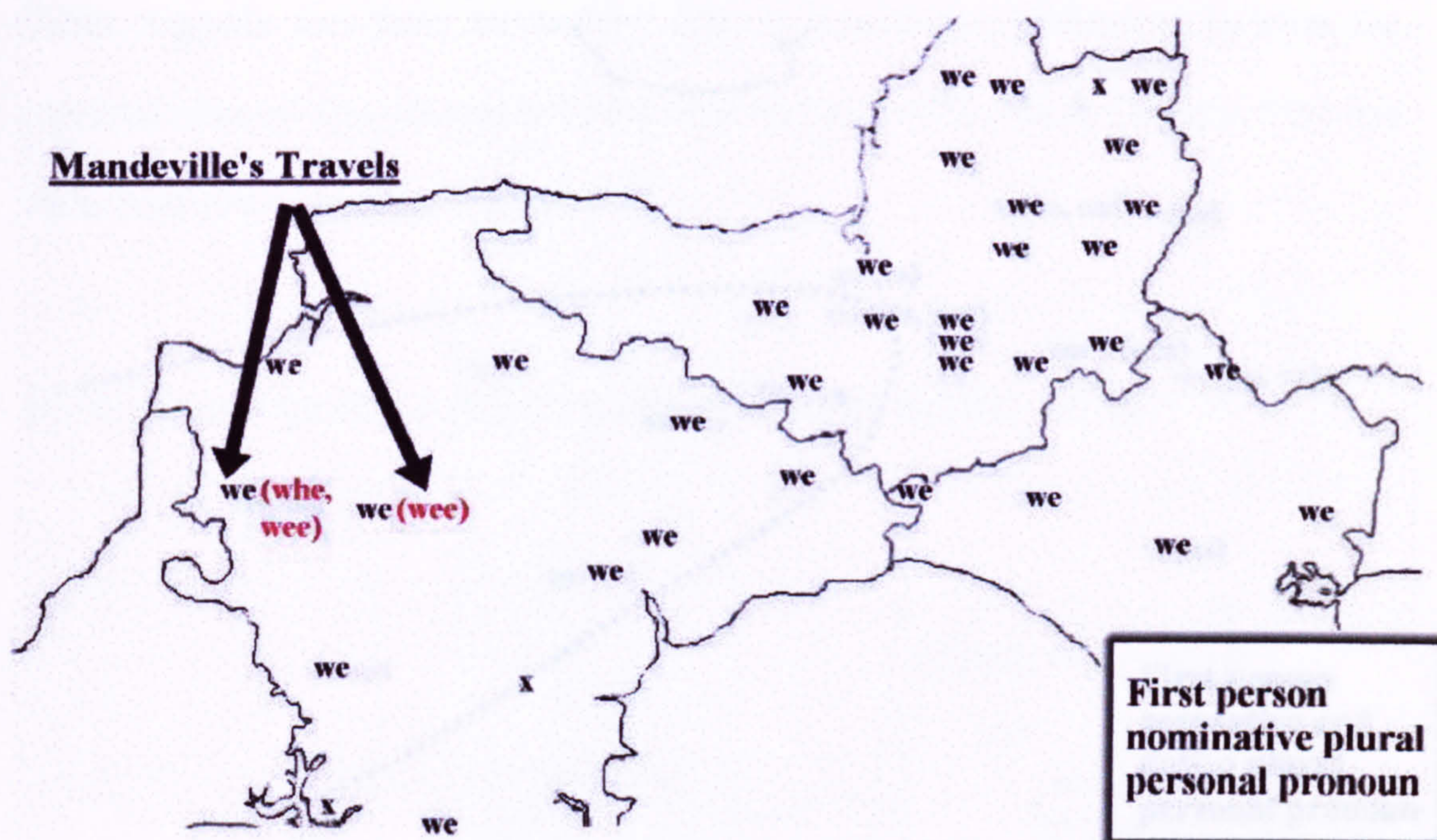


Map 46: The distribution of spelling variants of the first person genitive singular possessive determiner.

There is little variation among the dominant spelling-forms recorded for the first person genitive singular possessive determiner. Although most of the manuscript-texts had <my> as the most frequent spelling form, the majority also had at least a few occurrences of the older *mine*-type form.³⁸¹ This is understandable, as a spelling-variant of MY ending with <-n> is often used where the following word begins with a vowel or /h/ in order to prevent hiatus. The two texts that were found to contain <min/myn> as their major spelling variant for this item were also two of the texts where <ich> was found as a dominant spelling variant for the first person nominative singular personal pronoun; these are the two oldest texts used in this study (Harley 2277 and Cotton Cxiii). A pattern of diachronic change in possessive determiners -- in particular the simplification/ unstressing of determiners -- is therefore beginning to emerge in the West Country, with thirteenth century and early fourteenth century texts preserving Old English pronoun forms and fifteenth century texts containing reduced forms. Reduction due to unstressing is common in grammatical words such as determiners, where the lexical word they premodify carries the main stress in the metrical foot.

³⁸¹ The large number of less frequent spelling forms have been removed from map 46 in order to make the dominant forms stand out more clearly.

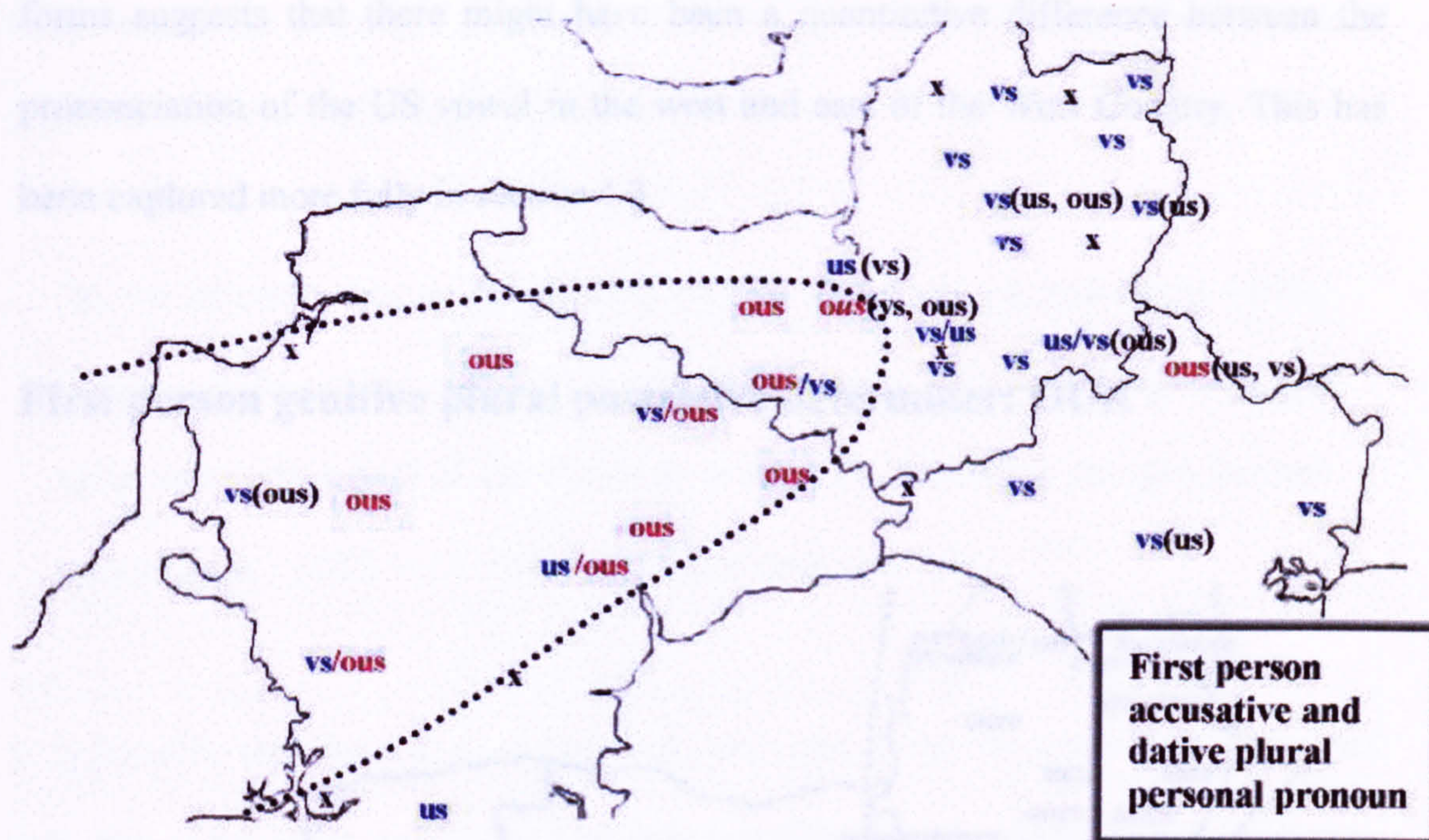
First person nominative plural personal pronoun: WE



Map 47: The distribution of the variants of the first person nominative plural personal pronoun.

As with the first person singular accusative and dative pronoun ME, there is almost no variation across the West Country where the first person nominative plural pronoun WE is concerned. <we> is the spelling found almost everywhere, except in Add. 33758 and Harley 2386M where <wee> is found. These are perhaps line-final rhyme words, as is the case with <mee> spellings of ME. Both Harley 2386M and Add. 33758 are texts of Mandeville's Travels and this textual connection explains the presence of similar spelling variants in each manuscript. Add. 33758 also contains some hypercorrect <whe> variants. The hypercorrection found in this manuscript, concerning reflexes of Old English <hw> words was discussed in section 5.1.

First person accusative and dative plural personal pronoun: US



Map 48: The distribution of the spelling variants of the first person accusative and dative plural personal pronoun.

The spellings of the first person accusative and dative plural personal pronouns might not have been expected to vary diatopically; however, an interesting distribution of spelling forms can be seen across the West Country. The main variants found are <ous>, <vs> and <us>. Dominant <ous> forms almost always occur in Devon and western Somerset, excepting one outlier in northeastern Dorset. In the rest of Dorset and eastern Somerset and <vs/us> forms are the dominant spelling variants, although <ous> forms are occasionally found as minor spelling variants.

Spelling forms <vs> and <us> do not indicate different pronunciations, but rather reflect a scribe's adherence to positional spelling rules. <v> often replaced <u>

often in the east of Somerset. The <owre> spelling form is dominant in only one manuscript text in northern Devon (Harley 2386A), but otherwise <owre> forms are found mainly in Somerset. According to Fisiak, both <ou> and <ow> were used to represent the new diphthong from OE *ū*:

‘In the fifteenth century the Middle English vowel system underwent further serious modifications, which affected long vowels and diphthongs... At the close of the first half of the fifteenth century the following changes became conspicuous... (OE) /u:/ > /uw/, sometimes spelt <ou, ow>...’³⁸³

It is possible that the variation between <ou> and <ow> is purely graphemic and does not represent an underlying phonological difference between the pronunciation of OUR in western and eastern parts of the medieval West Country. However, the fact that the reflexes of OE *ū* in the pronouns US, and THOW (*ūs* and *hū*) are different in the western and eastern halves of the West Country (see maps 48 and 50) suggests either that the diphthong was not present in Devon or that it was less pronounced than in Somerset. It is possible that the <ou> form again represents the preservation of a long vowel /u:/ from OE *ūre*, where <ow> represents a diphthong brought about due to the action of the Great Vowel Shift.

³⁸³ Fisiak 1968: 48

Second person nominative, accusative and dative singular personal pronouns: THOU & THEE.

Second person pronouns appear to have had a greater potential for undergoing pronoun exchange than most other pronouns in medieval English. As Wakelin states:

‘Since the Middle English period, the second personal pronouns, singular and plural, have shown a remarkable interchange of forms, both in standard language and dialect.’³⁸⁴

Medieval West-Country second person *singular* pronouns show some evidence of pronoun exchange, especially in the use of the nominative form THOU as the indirect or direct object of a sentence -- this occurs in eight medieval West-Country texts (please refer to map 51). The use of THEE as the subject of the sentence only occurs in one manuscript Harley 2386A (please refer to map 50).

The second person singular nominative personal pronoun has two major realisations, one with a grapheme representing a monophthong <u> and one with a grapheme representing a diphthong <ou>. Once again, there seem to be more occurrences of the monophthong variant <pu> in the West and more of the diphthong <pu/ow> variant in the East. It is possible that this indicates the preservation of a longer stressed vowel in the West, whereas in the East, due to the action of the Great Vowel Shift, a diphthong was more common.

³⁸⁴ Wakelin 1994: 112

The spread of the accusative pronoun seems to have eventually caused the loss of the YE pronoun altogether in most English dialects.

The second person nominative pronoun 'ye' is found in two main spelling forms that vary randomly throughout the West Country: one form beginning with yogh and the other beginning with <y> -- <ȝe> being the older spelling form. During the medieval period, in the West Country, yogh is in the process of being replaced in its word-initial function of representing a palatal glide /j/ by the grapheme <y>. Fourteenth and early fifteenth century texts usually have <ȝe> as the dominant form, but late fifteenth-century texts more commonly have <ye>. In Cotton Cxiii, the second most common spelling form for YE is <ȝeo>.

There are only three instances of pronoun exchange involving the replacement of the accusative pronoun YOU with the nominative form YE: the Harley 2386A text of Amis and Amiloun, the Add. 33758 Mandeville's Travels and the Add. 11748 Poem on the Instruments of the Passion (please refer to map 54).

Third person masculine nominative personal pronoun: HE



Map 55: The distribution of the spelling variants of the third person masculine nominative personal pronoun.

It might have seemed unprofitable to collect spellings of the third person masculine personal pronoun, as this pronoun occurs often in texts, but its spellings vary little. Nevertheless, one feature that had been identified in the preliminary West-Country dialectal survey in chapter 3, was that the nominative masculine pronoun was often reduced to /a/. Ihalainen uses this phenomenon to explain why the use of the gender non-specific pronoun 'er' might have developed in the West Country (please refer to page 158). In practice, very few <a> spellings of HE were found. Four manuscripts contained <a> variants of HE, three of them in Somerset and one in Exeter -- <a> was a minor variant in all of these cases.

the form of the masculine genitive pronoun 'his'. During the Old English period, genitive singular masculine and neuter *-es* inflectional endings were attached to the root of the word, as were the masculine and feminine plural *-as* inflectional endings. The separation of the genitive inflectional ending from the main part of the word might have been an attempt to differentiate between the plural and genitive inflectional endings as their vowels became unstressed and indistinct. It is unclear whether this is a specifically southwestern feature, as it has not been systematically collected in LALME. Cotton Cxiii, Albert 998 and Douce 232 all have <his> as a dominant spelling variant of the genitive inflection. It would therefore appear that there is some confusion between the genitive inflection and the masculine genitive pronoun in medieval West Country English.

The use of the masculine genitive pronoun as a genitive inflection is probably the result of the hypercorrection of dialectal h-dropping. Cotton Cxiii is the best example of a text that exhibits hypercorrection due to h-dropping, containing the spelling variants <hafter> *after*,³⁸⁶ <her> *ere*,³⁸⁷ <houte> *out*,³⁸⁸ <harwe> *arrow*,³⁸⁹ <horechard> *orchard* and <heldest> *eldest*. Albert 998 contains some hypercorrect examples of <hende> for *end*³⁹⁰ and h-dropping, <orrible> for *horrible*.³⁹¹ No h-dropping or h-insertion in words other than 'his' have been noted for Douce 232.

³⁸⁶ Folio 56v C1 line 33 and Folio 59r line 15

³⁸⁷ Folio 59v C1 line 18

³⁸⁸ Folio 60r C1 line 19

³⁸⁹ Folio 60r C1 line 21

³⁹⁰ For example, folios 4r line 16 and 5r line 33

³⁹¹ Folio 91r line 24

Third person feminine nominative personal pronoun: SHE



Map 59: The distribution of the spelling variants of the third person feminine nominative personal pronoun.

The diversity of spelling forms for the third person feminine nominative personal pronoun across the West Country bears testimony to complex sound changes that were underway during the medieval period. The most common dominant spelling variant across the counties is <s(c)he>. No attempt is made to differentiate between the <sh> and <sch> spellings, as it is unlikely that these indicate phonological differences and they do not group diatopically in the West Country. Besides the newer <s(c)he> forms, there are numerous other realisations of the feminine nominative personal pronoun, namely <heo>, <3eo> <hue>, <3he>, <scheo>, <scho> and <schoe>. From these spelling variants it is possible to identify some interesting consonantal and vocalic sound-changes taking place in the West Country during the Middle English period:

- The development of an initial palatal fricative [ç] in *she* < OE *hēo*.
- The development of initial /ʃ/ in *she* < OE *hēo*.

- The development of a rounded monophthong /u/ < OE *ēo*.

<heo> spellings indicate the preservation nominative feminine pronoun in its Old English form and, in one fourteenth-century manuscript (Harley 2277) and one early fifteenth century manuscript (Longleat 55), <heo> is the dominant spelling form.³⁹²

It is most likely that the change from <heo> [he:o] to <sche> [ʃe:] happened as follows: there was a stress shift, causing the traditional falling diphthong [e'o] to become a rising one [e'o] – [heo] therefore became [he'o] or [hjo]. [hj] being a rare consonant cluster in Old English, during which period most [h+C] clusters were in the process of being lost,³⁹³ it underwent a sound-change, becoming a voiceless palatal fricative [ç].³⁹⁴ Thereafter [ç] changed to a voiceless alveolar fricative [ʃ], which was a much more common sound in English.

A probabilistic approach to sound-change would suggest that these changes are phonetically plausible. Acoustically speaking, [hj], [ç] and [ʃ] are similar to one another and, as Ohala³⁹⁵ has shown, sounds demonstrated as similar in acoustic analyses are the same sounds that are often misinterpreted by listeners and mistaken for one another. Ohala has shown that this is one way in which a sound-change can be triggered.

In addition to the phonetic plausibility of the sound-change [hj] > [ʃ], evidence suggests that this sound change has happened elsewhere, for instance, where

³⁹² <heo> is also found in several other manuscripts as a minor spelling variant.

³⁹³ Lutz 1998: 226

³⁹⁴ Samuels 1979:115

³⁹⁵ Ohala 1989: 182

'Hjaltland' became 'Shetland' and where the informal Scottish nickname 'Shug' developed from 'Hugh'.³⁹⁶ From medieval orthographic evidence, the sound-change might also have occurred as follows:

[he'o] ⇔ [he'o]³⁹⁷ ⇔ [h'ie/³⁹⁸ h'io] ⇔ [hje/ hjo] ⇔ [çe/ço]³⁹⁹ [ʃe/ʃo]⁴⁰⁰ ⇔ [ʃi]⁴⁰¹

Reflexes of Old English <hēo> in this area, vary from the original <hēo> to forms possibly beginning with a glottal fricative /h/ or possibly palatal fricative [ç] (represented by the graph <ȝ>). It is Samuels who proposes that spellings such as <ȝeo> represented the intermediate forms [ço] and [çe]:

'...the stress-shifted forms /hjo/ and /hje/... then changed, via the intermediate stage /ço, çe/ to /ʃo, ʃe/...the intermediate stage with [ç] is shown in forms like ȝhe(o), ȝho, ghe, but these never survived for long in any given area, presumably because /ç/ as a marginal phoneme gave place to the equally distinctive, but better integrated /ʃ/'⁴⁰²

According to Samuels, early Middle English spelling evidence shows occurrences of <ȝho, ghe, yo> spellings in the North and in the East Midlands, but by the late medieval period, these forms can no longer be found and <s(c)he, ȝhe> forms are found instead. In the late medieval period <ȝho, ȝhe...> forms are only to be found in

³⁹⁶ Smith 1996: 132 & 133.

³⁹⁷ Stress shift from a rising to a falling diphthong.

³⁹⁸ eWS sound change whereby <ea>, <io> and <eo> became <ie>.

³⁹⁹ Assimilation of /hj/ to form a new sound [ç].

⁴⁰⁰ Shetland theory sound change from [hj] to [ʃ].

⁴⁰¹ [e] vowel undergoes raising to [i] during the Great Vowel Shift.

⁴⁰² Samuels 1979: 114 – 115.

texts localisable to the West Country and Kent, perhaps preserved there due to the conservative phonologies of these regions.

Spelling evidence from the feminine nominative pronoun SHE also indicates that vocalic sound-changes were underway. There are numerous forms of SHE beginning with <s(c)h>, some containing vowel graphs that seem to represent the OE diphthong /e:o/, <scheo>, some followed by symbols perhaps representing the rounded back mid-close vowel /o/, <scho>, some followed by symbols apparently representing the close rounded vowels /u/ or /y/, <hue>, or according to Brunner, a centralised rounded mid-close vowel [ö],⁴⁰³ but the majority of graphemes represent the front mid-close vowel /e/, <s(c)he>. These spellings perhaps illustrate a continuum of the sound-change described above:

<heo/he⁴⁰⁴> ⇔ <hue>⁴⁰⁵ ⇔ <ʒeo>⁴⁰⁶ ⇔ <s(c)ho(e)/<s(c)heo>⁴⁰⁷ ⇔ <sche>

Spelling forms of SHE, containing a rounded vowel, are indicative of medieval West Country written language. Brunner states that <ho> and <hue> spelling forms are to be found in the medieval West Country and that these spellings probably reflected the development of a centralised vowel [ö] from OE *ēo*.⁴⁰⁸ Brunner believes that this sound [ö] did not undergo unrounding and fronting to *ě* in the West Country until the fourteenth century, whereas it unrounded much earlier in other parts of England. The <sche> variant, first found in texts localised to the East spread to London and thereafter to the west of England. Given the West-Country spelling evidence

⁴⁰³ Brunner 1963: 59

⁴⁰⁴ An unstressed form of OE *hēo*. This supports the existence of the development of a falling diphthong.

⁴⁰⁵ <u> in this case might be representing a front close rounded vowel [y], a similar sound to [j]: [hye] [hje].

⁴⁰⁶ According to Samuel (1979: 116) <ʒ> probably represents a palatal fricative [ç].

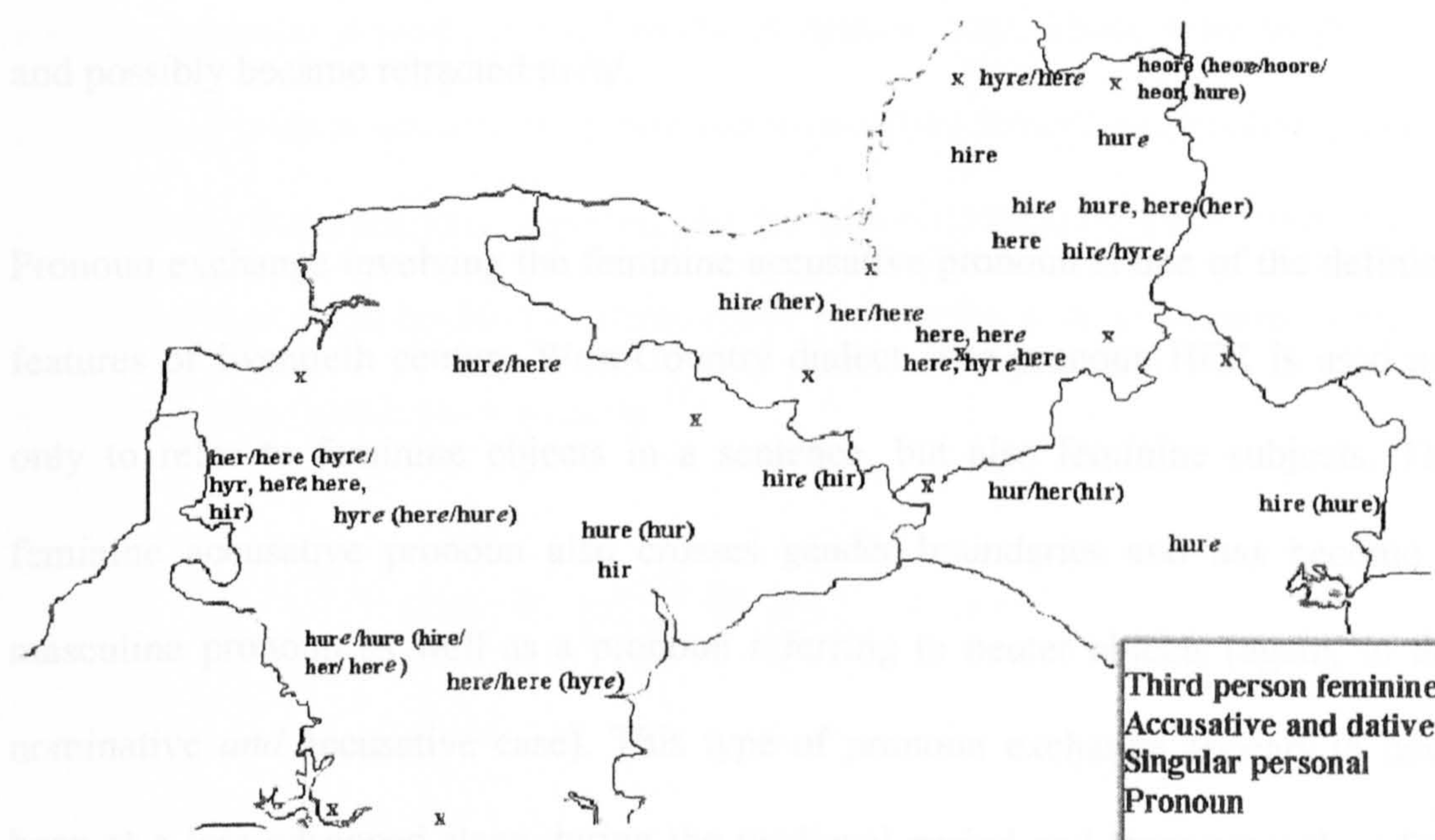
⁴⁰⁷ The palatal fricative [ç] becomes a postalveolar fricative [ʃ]

⁴⁰⁸ Brunner 1963:59

presented above, Brunner's theories seem plausible. It might be argued, however, that the <hue> spellings indicate a closer vowel than [ö], perhaps /u/ or /y/.

To conclude, the complex state of spelling variants for the feminine nominative pronoun presented on map 59 indicate that sound-changes were underway. One of the oldest manuscripts localised to the West Country in LALME, Harley 2277, a Southern English Legendary, contains the archaic form <heo> as its dominant form and unstressed <he> as a minor spelling variant. Mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century manuscripts contain forms beginning with a mixture of <h> and <ʒ> graphemes, but by the late fifteenth century, the dominant spelling form is one beginning with <s(c)h> and this is most likely due to the influence of incipient standard varieties of English from London.

Third person feminine accusative personal pronoun: HER



Map 60: The distribution of the spelling variants of the third person feminine accusative and dative personal pronoun.

The <e> at the end of the third person feminine accusative and dative personal pronoun is often reduced to a flourish at the end of the <r> graph (on the map above this is expanded to an italicised *e*). There are four main graphemes that are used to represent the medial vowel in this pronoun, namely <y>, <i>, <e> and <u>. One manuscript, Longleat 55, The Red Book of Bath, has an archaic diphthong *ēo*, (<heor(e)> < OE *hēore*), as its dominant spelling.

The <hur(e)> spelling is a particularly western feature, <hur(e)> forms are found mainly in the South West and the West Midland during the medieval period. Although <hure> forms are found as far east as Sussex, the dominant forms in East Anglia and Kent are <here> and <hy/ire>. The <hure> spelling variant is a typically western rounded reflex of OE *y* < *ēo*, as described by Brunner.⁴⁰⁹ Elsewhere the front close rounded vowel /y/ unrounded to /e/ and /ɪ/. In Kent, it was unrounded and lowered to /e/, but in the West, the front close rounded vowel retained its rounding and possibly became retracted to /u/.

Pronoun exchange involving the feminine accusative pronoun is one of the defining features of twentieth century West-Country dialect. The pronoun HER is used not only to refer to feminine objects in a sentence, but also feminine subjects. The feminine accusative pronoun also crosses gender boundaries and has become a masculine pronoun as well as a pronoun referring to neuter objects (again, in the nominative *and* accusative case). This type of pronoun exchange appears to have been at a less advanced stage during the medieval period and there are only a few

⁴⁰⁹ Brunner 1963: 10 - 11

examples of it in medieval West-Country texts. The Amis and Amiloun text in Harley 2386, the Naples 13.B.29 Clerk's Tale and the Ashmole 33 Sir Ferumbras text contain examples of <hur(e)/her> used as the sentence subject. It has already been shown that accusative first person accusative and third person masculine pronouns are often used as sentence subjects in certain constructions, where specific verbs are used, for example 'hym þinkeþ', 'me þinkeþ' and also 'hem þinkeþ'. One of the examples of the use of HER as a sentence subject was recorded as <than hur spak fflorippe the free> 'then she spoke, Floripas the free'. This is not an impersonal construction and therefore it would seem that pronoun exchange involving the feminine accusative pronoun HER is more complex than the use of accusative pronouns in impersonal constructions. The fact that the HER pronoun also crosses gender boundaries is also unusual. In the Albert IV 998 Prick of Conscience text, <hure> is used to refer to a book and the Ashmole 1447 medica contains numerous examples of herbs referred to using the pronoun HER <here/hyre> when they are sentence objects. In this text the masculine pronoun is used in the nominative case and the feminine pronoun is used in the accusative case. There were no recorded examples of male characters being referred to using the feminine accusative pronoun in this study. Ihalainen has suggested that the later development where 'her' is used in place of 'he' might be due to a hyper-rhotic pronunciation of an unstressed variant of the masculine nominative pronoun.⁴¹⁰

[he:] → [a]⁴¹¹ → [aʔ]⁴¹² → [har]⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ Ihalainen 1994:

⁴¹¹ Dialectal loss of /h/ and unstressing of the vowel to [a].

⁴¹² Hyper-rhotic colouring on the /a/ vowel.

⁴¹³ Hypercorrection of r-coloured unstressed vowel to a form containing an initial /h/ and final /r/.

According to Samuels, <ham> is the spelling of THEM that is most common in the West Country.⁴¹⁵ In this study, it is found that <ham> forms are slightly more common to Devon and <hem> forms are more common Somerset and Dorset. Reference to LALME shows that in most of the rest of the country, the majority of dominant spelling forms are of the <hem>-type, except in the North where some <ham/hame> forms are also found.⁴¹⁶

THEM is frequently abbreviated using a variety of symbols from a simple line above the vowel or a flourish after the vowel that bends back over it to represent a missing <m>, to a superscript <a> and two other superscript symbols <ⱼ> and <Ɀ> probably indicating a missing medial <a>, as <ham> is always the second most common spelling after the abbreviated forms.

The spelling variant <₃am> occurs nine times in Cotton Cxiii. In this same text, SHE and YE are most commonly represented as <₃eo>. As has already been discussed on pages 287 - 288, Samuels believes that this sound, when used at the beginning of the feminine nominative pronoun, might represent a palatal fricative [ç]. Therefore it is possible that <₃am> might represent a spoken variant beginning with a palatal fricative.⁴¹⁷ It is also possible that the scribe of Cotton Cxiii is using <₃> to represent /h/.

⁴¹⁵ Samuels 1979: 108

⁴¹⁶ LALME volume 2: 27

⁴¹⁷ See use of <₃> in Trinity 324 in THEIR section.

consonant clusters, for example in the words SHOULD <ʒolde>, SHALL <ʒulle> and WHAT <wʒat>. It is possible that there is no phonological basis for substituting historical <h> for <ʒ>. It would appear that there might have been a tendency in medieval English for the glottal fricative /h/ followed by an /eo/ diphthong to become palatalised to [ç] and that this voiceless palatal fricative was frequently represented orthographically by the letter yogh. This is one plausible explanation for a <ʒar(e)> spelling of THEIR. However, it could also be the case that the scribe has misinterpreted the use of a palatal fricative in <ʒhe> SHE and applied it to all cases where <h> would be written. The scribe of Trinity 324 uses <sche> spellings of SHE.

Summary

This study of the West-Country pronominal system has identified that a number of archaic features were preserved in the West Country.

- The archaic form of the first person nominative personal pronoun *ich* is preserved in thirteenth and fourteenth century West-Country texts, but rarely occurs in fifteenth century West-Country texts, despite the fact that it was probably retained in the spoken language of the West Country until the twentieth century.
- Old English third person plural pronouns beginning with /h/, as opposed to those derived from Old Norse and beginning with /θ, ð/ are also often preserved in fourteenth century West-Country texts. The adoption of the

nominative pronoun was in a more advanced stage in the medieval West Country than the adoption of the accusative and genitive forms.

- A rounded vowel in HER (accusative, genitive and dative) and THEIR was often preserved in the West Country spelling <hur(e)>. Elsewhere in medieval England the medial vowel in these words was unrounded and lowered to /e/.
- The initial stages of pronoun exchange are visible in second person pronouns (singular and plural). Although many of the pronoun exchanges apparent in twentieth century West Country dialects were not present during the medieval period, reasons for these exchanges can be reconstructed using medieval spelling evidence; for example, the misinterpretation of the Old English impersonal pronoun 'man' for the first person accusative singular pronoun ME and the development of the archaic 'ich' pronoun into a pronoun 'utch' of ambiguous case.

The most common dominant spelling forms in Devon, Somerset and Dorset are laid out in table 2 below.

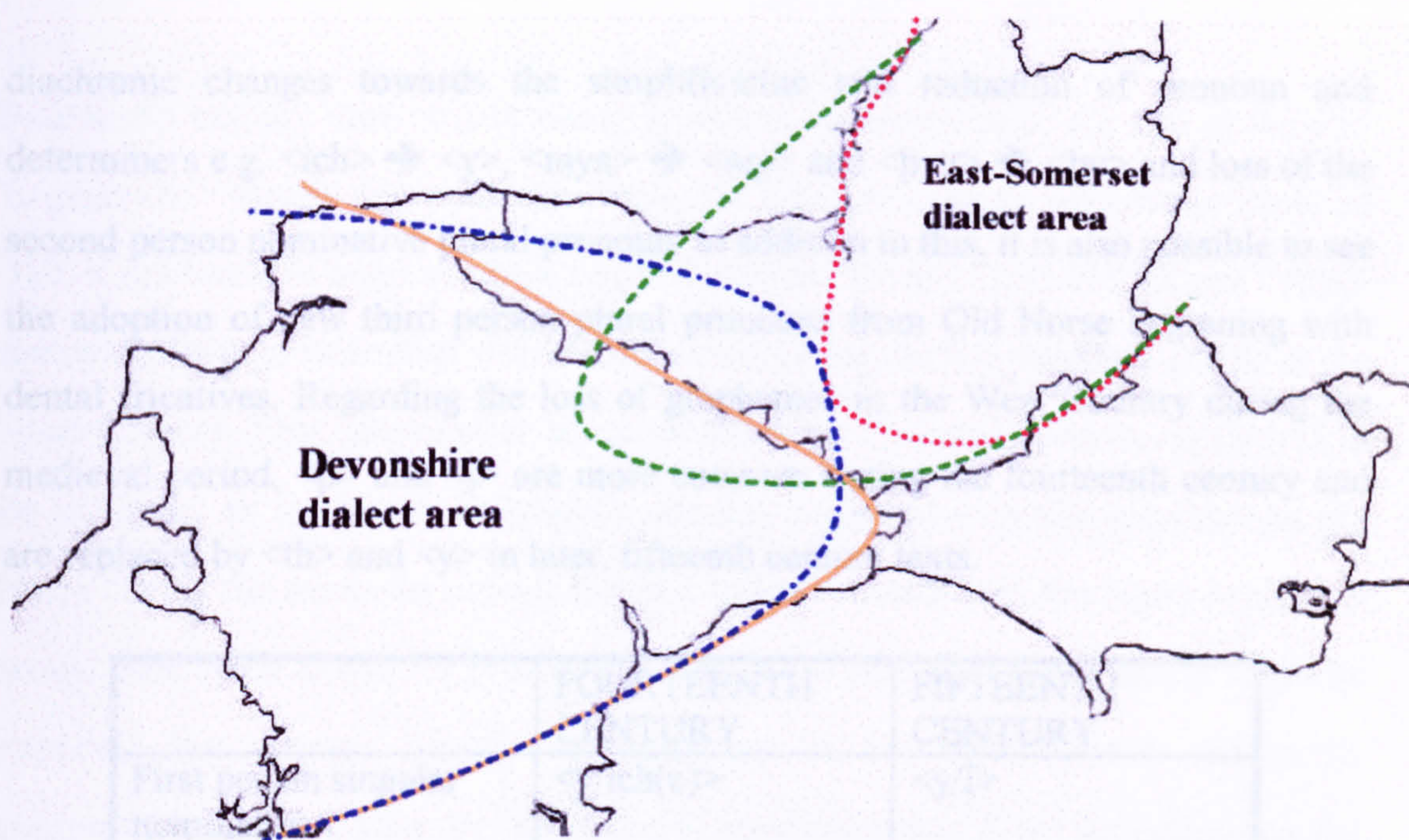
	DEVON	SOMERSET	DORSET
First person singular nominative	<y>	<I>	<y>
accusative & dative	<me>	<me>	<me>
possessive	<my>	<my>	<my>
First person plural nominative	<we>	<we>	<we>
accusative & dative	<ous>	<vs>/<us>	<vs>/<us>
possessive	<our(e)>	<owr(e)>	<our(e)>

Second person singular nominative	<þ ^u >	<þ/thow>/ <þ/thou>	<þ/thow>/ <þ/thou>
accusative & dative	<þe>	<þe>	<þe>
possessive	<þ/thy>	<þ/thy>	<þ/thy>
Second person plural nominative	<3/ye>	<3/ye>	<3/ye>
accusative & dative	<3/yow>	<3/you>	<3/yow>
possessive			
Third person masculine nominative	<he>	<he>	<he>
accusative & dative	<hym>	<hy/im>	<hy/im>
possessive	<hys>	<hy/is>	<hy/is>
Third person feminine nominative	<s(c)he>	<s(c)he>	<s(c)he>
accusative & dative	<he/u/i/yr(e)>	<he/u/i/yr(e)>	<he/u/i/yr(e)>
possessive	<he/u/i/yr(e)>	<he/u/i/yr(e)>	<he/u/ier(e)>
Third person plural nominative	<þ/thay>	<þ/they>	<þ/they>
accusative & dative	<ham>	<hem>/<ham>	<hem>/<ham>
possessive	<he/y/ur(e)>	<he/i/ur(e)>	<he/i/ur(e)>

Table 2: Summary of pronoun and possessive determiner spellings in Devon, Somerset and Dorset.

The most frequent differences in pronoun spellings are between Devon and Somerset/Dorset rather than Devon/Dorset and Somerset, although on two occasions texts from Devon and Dorset contain the same pronoun spellings, while most texts localised to Somerset contain a different variant.

Boundaries identified on the pronoun maps above were traced onto cell and are represented on the schematic map 65 below. Dialect areas can best be described as a west/east divide. The western half of Somerset frequently shares spelling features with Devon rather than with the rest of Somerset. Dorset also exhibits pronominal features found in both Somerset and Devon, but in most cases exhibits features found in Somerset.



Map 65: Schematised map of the dialect areas identified in the medieval West Country using pronoun evidence.

The most striking west/east dialectal features include:

- The use of <I> in eastern Somerset and <y> in Devon, western Somerset and Dorset for the first person nominative singular personal pronoun.
- The use of <ous> in Devon and western Somerset and <u/vs> in eastern Somerset and Dorset for US.
- The use of <þ^u> in Devon and <th/pow/ou> in Somerset and Dorset.
- The use of <our(e)> in Devon, western Somerset and Dorset and <owr(e)> in eastern Somerset for OUR.
- The majority of <þ/thay> spelling variants for THEY used in Devon, where <þ/they> is more common in Somerset and Dorset.
- The majority of <ham> spelling variants for THEM used in Devon, where <hem> is more common in Somerset and Dorset.

If the dominant spelling variants of pronouns and possessive determiners in fourteenth and fifteenth century texts are set side by side, it is possible to see

diachronic changes towards the simplification and reduction of pronoun and determiners e.g. <ich> → <y>, <myn> → <my> and <byn> → <by> and loss of the second person nominative plural pronoun. In addition to this, it is also possible to see the adoption of new third person plural pronouns from Old Norse beginning with dental fricatives. Regarding the loss of graphemes in the West Country during the medieval period, <þ> and <ȝ> are more common during the fourteenth century and are replaced by <th> and <y> in later, fifteenth century texts.

	FOURTEENTH CENTURY	FIFTEENTH CENTURY
First person singular nominative	<y/ich(e)>	<y/I>
accusative & dative	<me>	<me>
possessive	<my/in>	<my>
First person plural nominative	<we>	<we>
accusative & dative	<ous><v/us>	<vs>/<us>
possessive	<our(e)><owr(e)>	<owr(e)><our(e)>
Second person singular nominative	<þ ^u >/<thou>	<þ ^u >/<thow>
accusative & dative	<þe>	<þe>
possessive	<þy><þy/in>	<þ/thy>
Second person plural nominative	<ȝe>	<ye>
accusative & dative	<ȝow/ou>	<you/yow>
possessive		
Third person masculine nominative	<he/a>	<he>
accusative & dative	<hi/ym>/<hi/yn(e)>	<hy/im>
possessive	<hys>	<hy/is>
Third person feminine nominative	<heo>/<ȝhe>/<hue> <ȝeo>	<s(c)he>
accusative & dative	<hu/ir(e)>	<he/u/i/yr(e)>
possessive	<hu/ir(e)>	<he/u/i/yr(e)>
Third person plural nominative	<hi(i)>/<þay>	<þ/the/ay>
accusative & dative	<ham>	<he/am>/<the/am>
possessive	<hi/ur(e)>	<he/i/ur(e)>/ <their(e)>

Table 3: Summary of pronoun and possessive determiner spellings in fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts.

Fourteenth century third person plural pronouns, unsurprisingly, are still of the Old English <h-> variety. Nevertheless, during the fifteenth century, only Norse forms of THEY are found in large numbers across the West Country. Both THEM and THEIR are more likely to be written with an <h-> even during the late medieval period in the West Country. This conservative aspect of the West Country's pronoun system is to be expected, as the South, in general, was less progressive in this respect than the North during the medieval period, due to a lack of contact with the Norse settlers. It would take much longer for pronominal changes to affect the South and it might be expected that changes would take place last in the West Country due to its comparative isolation from the influences of standardisation. From the data presented in this chapter, it might also be suggested that Devon was slightly more conservative than Somerset and Dorset, as older forms are more commonly found here and that the northeast of Somerset might be said to have the greatest amount of linguistic contact with eastern areas of the country as well as being generally more populous and urbanised as a greater number of eastern pronoun forms are to be found there.

Chapter 7: Overview of morphosyntax

This chapter is a synthesis of data collected concerning verbs in this study. A number of verb forms such as participles, infinitive forms and imperatives were not collected in order to dedicate a greater amount of time to the systematic collection of verbs according to person and tense. In this way a large amount of inflectional information was gathered.

As in the previous section, where pronoun information was presented, forms of the verb TO BE will now be presented mainly in map form with a commentary pointing out important spelling features and diatopic and diachronic distributional patterns of inflections. This detailed study of the irregular verb TO BE will be followed by maps presenting a synthesis of the inflectional endings found in all other verbs collected for each manuscript-text, which will illustrate the types of inflectional endings that were found in the medieval West Country and also to what extent inflectional endings were being lost during the medieval period.

7.1 The verb 'to be'

Present indicative

Two forms of the verb TO BE were found in Anglo-Saxon and both survived into the Middle English period:

OLD ENGLISH INDICATIVE

FORMS OF THE VERB TO BE	<u>Stem 1</u>	<u>Stem 2</u>
First person singular:	ic bēo	ic eom
Second person singular	þū bist	þū eart
Third person singular	he biþ	he is
Plural	hīe bēoþ	hīe sind(on)

Stem one was especially used to indicate the future tense, whereas stem two was usually used to indicate actions happening in the present.⁴¹⁸ The distribution of these two forms was not even throughout the country during the medieval period. Middle English reflexes of stem two variants 'es/is/ys' and 'are/er/ere' were more common in northern and Midlands dialects. In the South, forms such as 'bēoþ'/'beþ' and 'buþ' tended to be used, although many instances of 'ys/is' and 'are' can also be found. It should be expected that texts localised to the South West would contain a minimal number of 'am/is/are' forms, as this area has proved to be the most linguistically conservative area in the South.

⁴¹⁸ Mitchell & Robinson 1994: 108 & 109, Smith 1999: 60

between indicative and subjunctive was carefully preserved during the medieval period and, as the subjunctive form became rare, 'be' began to be used dialectally in the indicative mode. It is also possible that the Old English use of stem one 'be'-forms for future tense contributed to this. Connotations of futurity or uncertainty might have been preserved in stem one reflexes in conservative dialects, while the 'am'-form is used mainly to express the present. As will be shown later on, although stem two forms are widespread in the singular, stem one forms tend to be preserved in the West Country in the plural. It is therefore also possible that pronoun exchange between singular and plural pronouns in West-Country dialects caused stem two forms to be used more widely in later centuries.

<am> is the dominant spelling for this item across the West Country. However, two or three unusual spelling forms are to be found in eastern Somerset. There are two cases of AM spelled with an <e> at the end. In one case, although <ame> is recorded as the most common spelling form, it is in fact the only occurrence of the item in the section of the manuscript surveyed (Harley 2383).⁴²⁰ In the other case, the <e> is abbreviated, so it might be the case that the scribe's use of a flourish, on two occasions, at the end of the letter <m> is merely an otiose stroke and not an abbreviation.

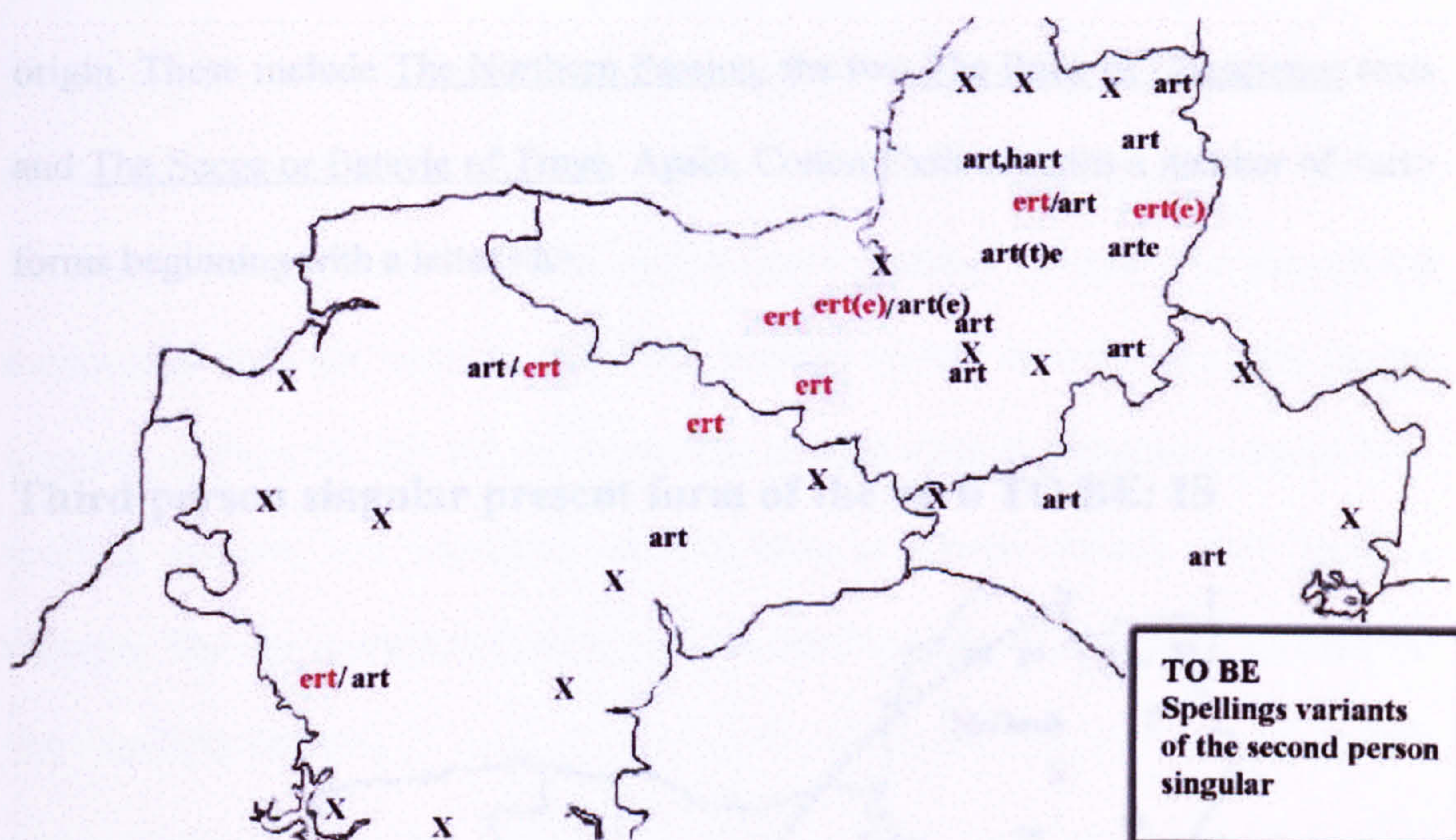
In Douce 232, is a major spelling variant. This is an unusual spelling variant in the South West and is possibly a relict from the copy text. An variant might come, via London, from the North, as is the Norse variant of the item AM.

Another unusual spelling variant is <ham>, found in the late thirteenth century manuscript of Lazamon's Brut, Cotton Cxiii. As can be seen in maps 67 and 68, the

⁴²⁰ Folio 59v line 6 'for þo þat y ame bownd to pray'

Cotton Otho Cxiii scribe habitually prefixes spelling forms with <h>. One reason why this scribe might be prefixing verbs with the, historically inaccurate, letter <h> is that this is a case of hypercorrection for a scribe who has lost word-initial /h/ from his phonology and no longer knows where <h> should occur.⁴²¹

Second person singular present form of the verb TO BE: ART



Map 67: The spelling variants of the second person present singular of the verb TO BE.

The second person singular present form of the verb TO BE occurs in two main forms in the West Country <art(e)> and <ert(e)>, both of which are derived from stem two of the verb TO BE. Again, there are no instances of dominant spelling forms derived from stem one in the medieval West Country. It is possible that

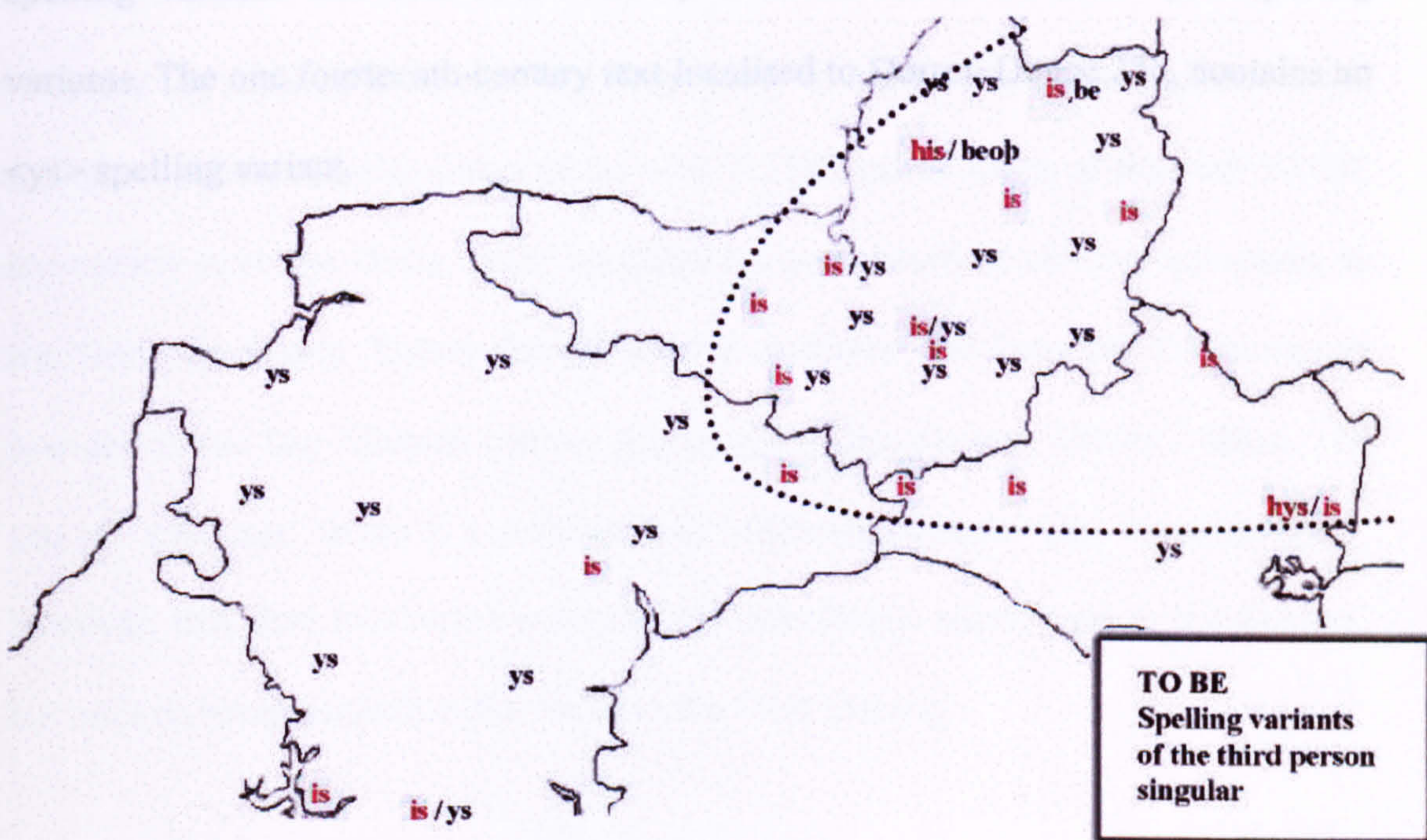
⁴²¹ Some other examples of this type of hypercorrection in Cotton Cxiii are: <hafter> AFTER (Folio 56v C1 line 33 and Folio 59r line 15); <her> ERE (Folio 59v C1 line 18); <houte> out (Folio 60r C1 line 19), <harwe> arrow (Folio 60r C1 line 21), <horechard> 'orchard' and <heldest> ELDEST.

<ert(e)> spelling variants might be due to a northern influence coming to the West Country through standard London English.⁴²² As Kihlbom notes:

‘...as a rule the Eastern area seems to have been a channel through which Northern forms penetrated into London Speech.’⁴²³

A few of the texts that contain <ert(e)> as a major spelling variant have a northern origin. These include The Northern Passion, the two The Prick of Conscience texts and The Seege or Batayle of Troye. Again, Cotton Cxiii contains a number of <art> forms beginning with a letter <h>.

Third person singular present form of the verb TO BE: IS



Map 68: The spelling variants of the third person singular present of the verb TO BE.

⁴²² Fisiak 1968: 105

⁴²³ Kihlbom 1926: 121

The third person singular of the verb TO BE was spelled <is> or <ys> in most texts. In one late thirteenth century manuscript, Cotton Cxiii, the historical form <beoþ>, deriving from stem one, is the second most common spelling variant. The dominant spelling form is a variant of IS, <his>, again prefixed with the letter <h>. In the Longleat 32 devotional text, one instance of the <is> variant was found, alongside one instance of the <be> variant.

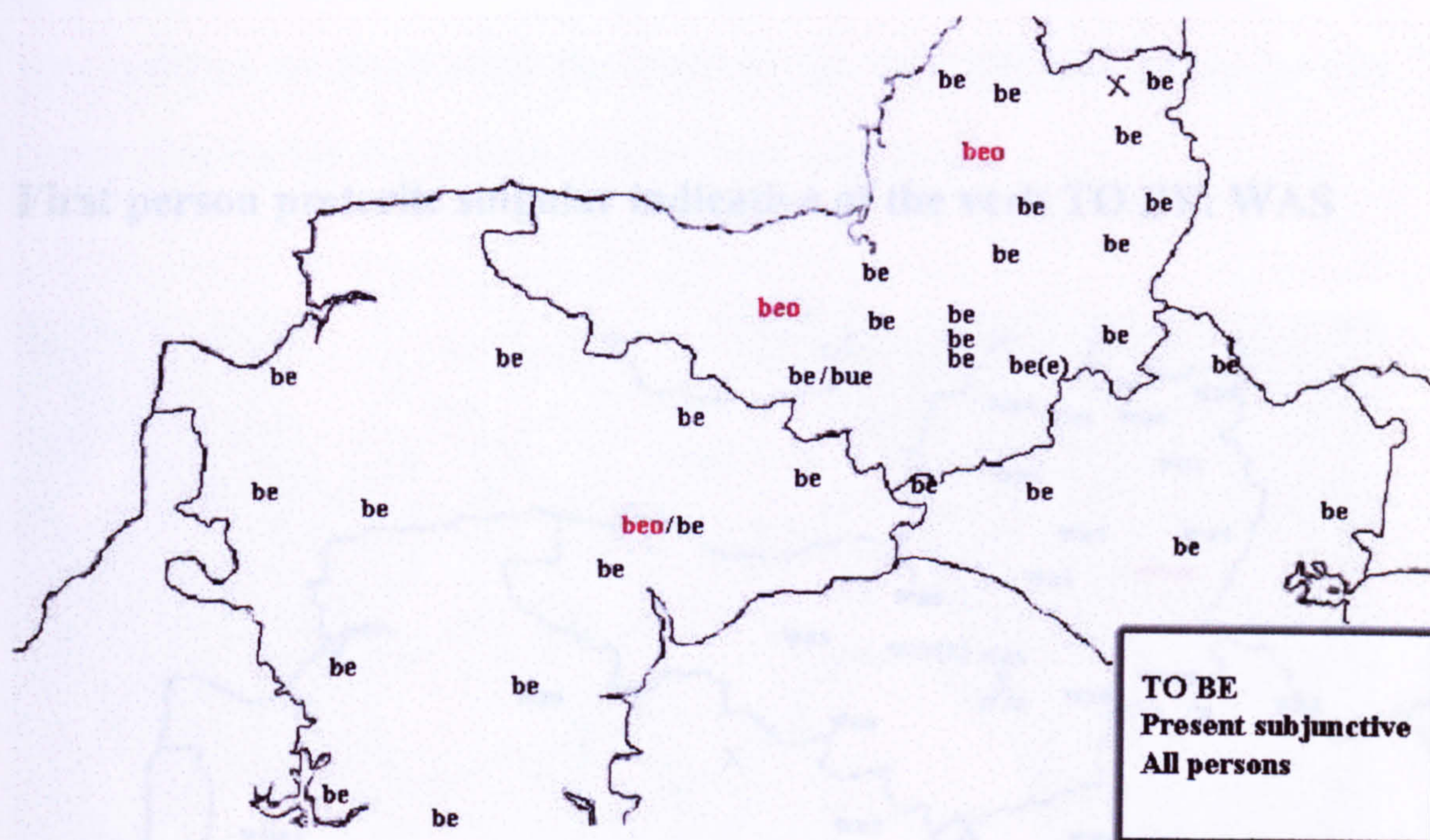
The diatopic distribution of <is> is interesting, as it seems to occur more frequently in the East, so that Somerset and Dorset contain the majority of <is> spelling variants, whereas Devon contains mainly <ys> spelling variants. The age of the manuscript does not seem to affect the spelling variant used for the third person singular of the verb TO BE, as fourteenth century texts in Somerset contain <is> spelling variants and fourteenth century texts in Devon contain <ys> spelling variants. The one fourteenth-century text localised to Dorset, Douce 236, contains an <ys> spelling variant.

common. The presence of <buth> spelling forms appears to reflect a southwestern development of SWME /u/ < OE /y/ < OE /e:o/. This <buth/þ> spelling form is in the process of being replaced from the east by <bep/th(e)> forms. Once again historical <beoþ> < OE 3rd. person plural *bēoþ*, is found to be the dominant spelling forms in two of the oldest texts Cotton Cxiii and Harley 2277. Aside from <beoþ> and <bup> variants, there are three occurrences of <bith> and <byth(e)> forms as dominant spelling forms in Ashmole 1447, localised to Devon, and Harley 2383, localised to eastern Somerset.

East-Midland <ben> forms are found on eight occasions in texts across the West Country, only once in Devon and Dorset, but on five occasions in Somerset. Rather than there being a direct link between the East Midlands dialect and the dialects of the South West, this is possibly due to influence from London English which, in turn, had been strongly influenced by the East Midlands dialect due to immigration from that area to London.⁴²⁴ The presence of <ben> forms in the West Country indicates a process of standardisation towards written London English was taking place in Somerset, but was taking longer to penetrate into Devon and Dorset.

⁴²⁴ Smith 1996:91

Present subjunctive form of the verb TO BE



Map 70: The distribution of the spelling variants of the present subjunctive of the verb TO BE, for all persons.

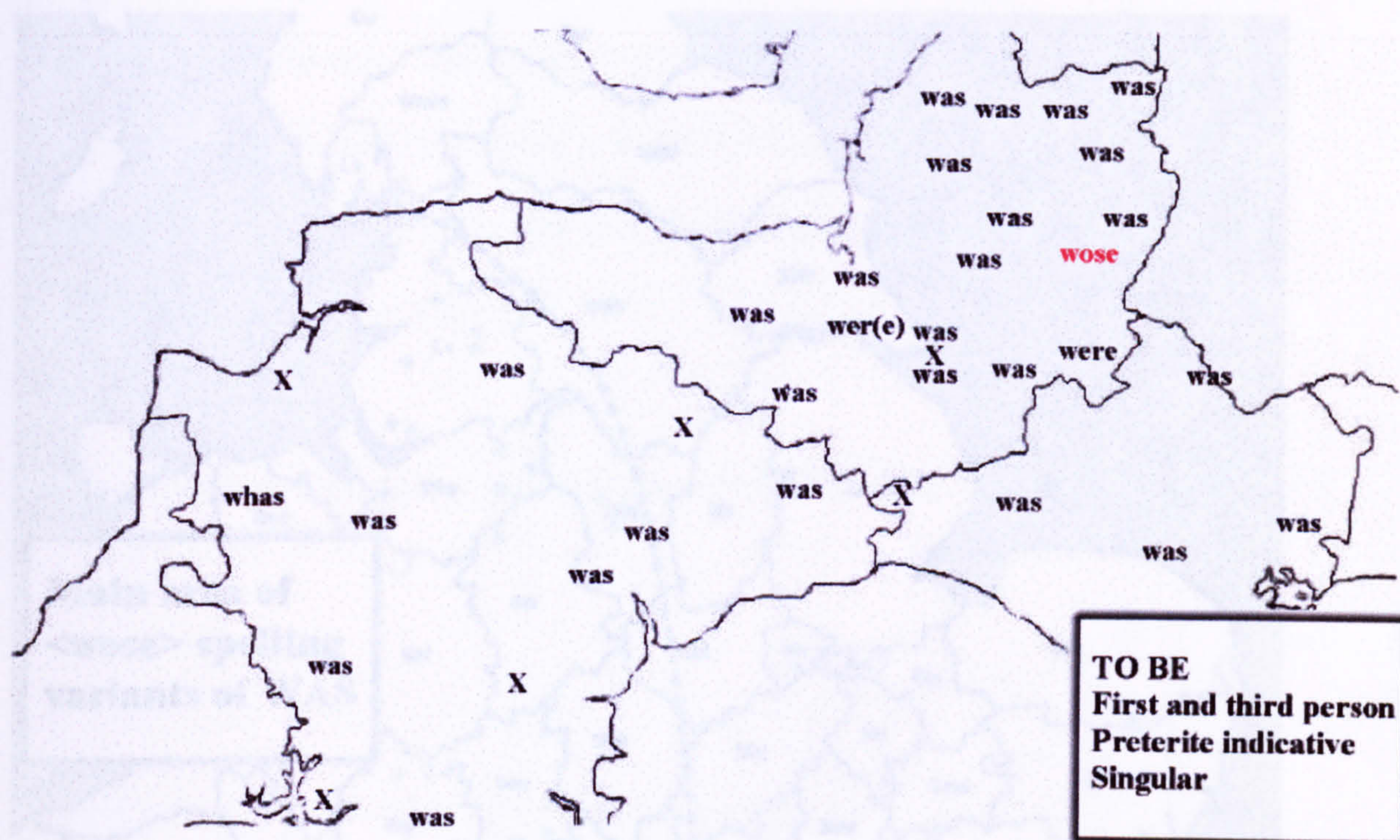
The present subjunctive form of TO BE was almost always written <be> in medieval West-Country texts, but in three of the older texts, Cotton Cxiii, the Harley 2277 and Ashmole 33, it was written <beo> < OE subj. *bēo*.

One text of the Prick of Conscience, localised to western Somerset had <bue> as its second most common spelling variant. Again this would appear to be the southwestern development of an /u/ vowel from Old English /e:o/. Brunner describes a similar development of <hue> from the Old English feminine nominative pronoun *hēo*.⁴²⁵ Brunner believes that whereas [ö:] or /y:/ < OE /e:o/ unrounded to to *ē* in other varieties during the twelfth century, in the West it remained rounded until the

⁴²⁵ Brunner 1963:59

fifteenth century. It seems likely that the <bue> spelling from Old English *bēo* represents a similar development.

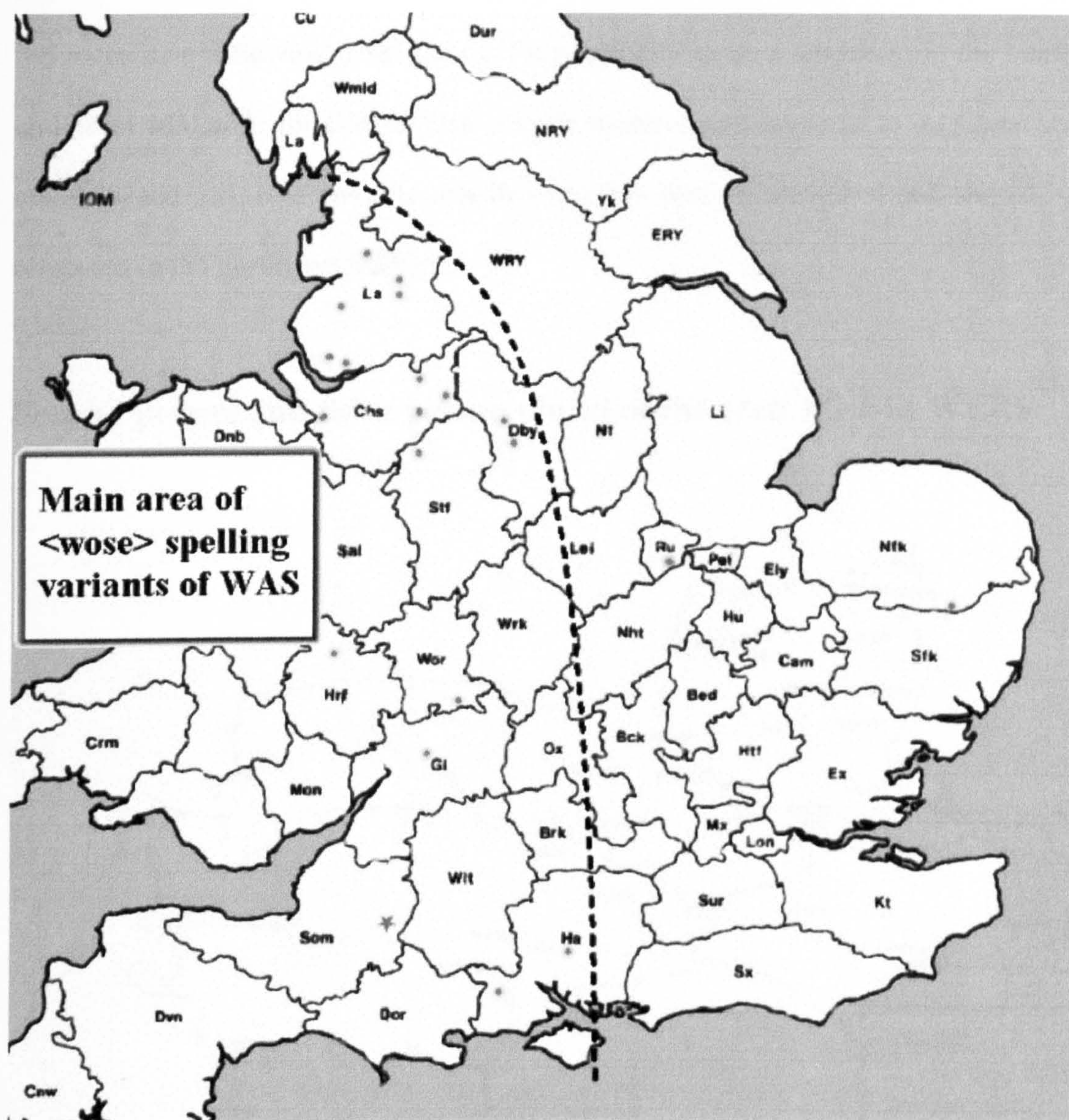
First person preterite singular indicative of the verb TO BE: WAS



Map 71: The spelling variants of the first person singular preterite of the verb TO BE.

As can be seen from map 71, the first and third person preterite indicative singular is almost always written as <was>. One exception is Add. 33758 that contains <whas> spellings. As has already been shown in section 5.1, the scribe of this manuscript habitually hypercorrects <w> to <wh>, therefore this can also be seen as an instance of hypercorrection.

Two manuscripts contain <were> as the dominant spelling form, namely Douce 232 and Greaves 54. Harley 2407, has <wos(e)> as the dominant spelling form. <wos(e)> type spellings are found along the length of the West Midlands except for two instances in Norfolk and Rutland (please refer to map 72).

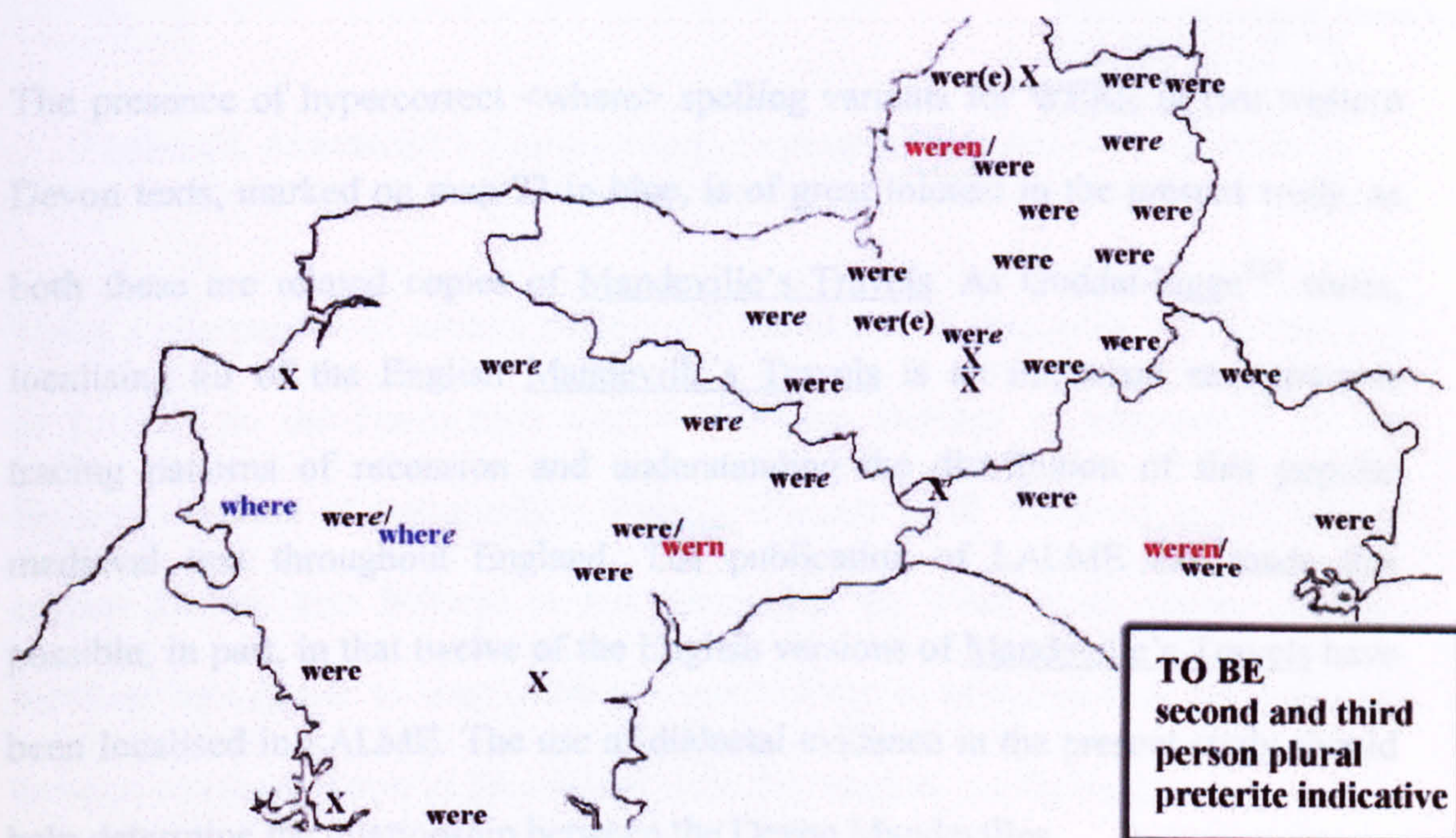


Map 72: The distribution of <wose> spellings of WAS from information contained in LALME.

The blue dots indicate texts where <wose> spellings are common. It is likely that the <wose> spelling of this item reflects a pronunciation containing a back rounded

vowel /ɒ/, as is used in the RP pronunciation of WAS today, compared with the front unrounded vowel represented in the spelling <was> /a/. Dobson believes that ME *ǣ* when preceded by the bilabial velar sound /w/, often underwent a type of phonetic assimilation, rounding and retracting to /ɒ:/.⁴²⁶ The distribution of <wos(e)> spellings (shown in map 72) also corresponds with other instances of OE *a* > *o*, under the influence of a following nasal sound. There appears to be a tendency, in the North and West Midlands for Old English *a* to be rounded and retracted to *o* (please see maps 23 and 25). It is possible that this text has been mislocalised and should be relocated in the northwest Midlands.

Second person and third person plural of the verb TO BE: WERE



Map 73: The spelling variants of the second person and third person plural of the verb TO BE.

⁴²⁶ Dobson 1957 vol. 2: 718 §195

There was no differentiation between the variants used for the second person singular form of the verb WERE and the plural form of the verb, except in the case of <wer(e)n> variants, marked in red on map 73 above, these were always used for variants declined in the plural. The three texts where <wer(e)n> variants were found (Cotton Cxiii, Ashmole 33 and Douce 236) have already been established as having been written in the fourteenth century. <weren> < OE pret. plural *wāron* can therefore be described as an archaic form preserved in a few fourteenth century West-Country texts. The <-en> ending comes from the Old English preterite plural inflectional ending <-on>. Later, through unstressing of the inflectional ending, this <-on> changed to the <-en> ending found on some of these West-Country manuscript texts. In the case of Ashmole 33, localised in LALME to Exeter, the <-en> ending has been further reduced to an <-n> ending.

The presence of hypercorrect <where> spelling variants for WERE in two western Devon texts, marked on map 73 in blue, is of great interest in the present study, as both these are related copies of Mandeville's Travels. As Guddat-Figge⁴²⁷ states, localising all of the English Mandeville's Travels is an important step towards tracing patterns of recension and understanding the distribution of this popular medieval text throughout England. The publication of LALME has made this possible, in part, in that twelve of the English versions of Mandeville's Travels have been localised in LALME. The use of dialectal evidence in the present study should help determine the relationship between the Devon Mandevilles.

⁴²⁷ Guddat-Figge 1976

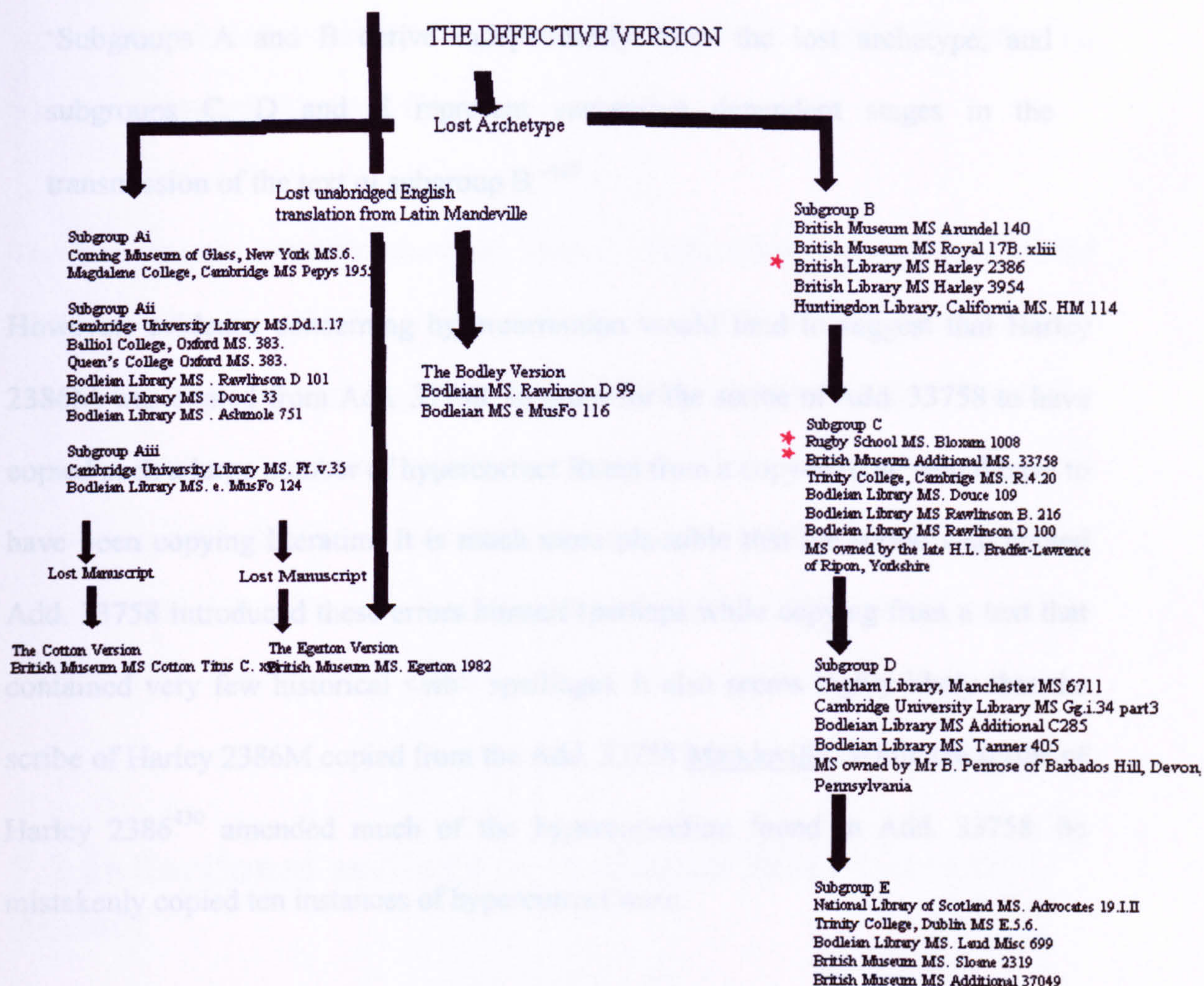


Figure 25: Mandeville's Travels recension diagram adapted from information contained in Seymour 1967

Using a comparison of content Seymour⁴²⁸ has identified that Add. 33758, localised in LALME to the Devonshire/ Cornwall border, belongs to subgroup C of the defective version of Mandeville's Travels. Bloxam 1008, localised in LALME to eastern Devon, also belongs to this group. On the other hand, Harley 2386M, localised by LALME to west central-Devon, belongs to subgroup B of the defective version, one stage closer to the original defective version, see figure 25:

⁴²⁸ Seymour 1967: 272 - 275

'Subgroups A and B derive independantly from the lost archetype, and subgroups C, D and E represent successive dependent stages in the transmission of the text of subgroup B.'⁴²⁹

However, evidence concerning hypercorrection would tend to suggest that Harley 2386M was copied from Add. 33758. In order for the scribe of Add. 33758 to have copied such a large number of hypercorrect forms from a copy-text, he would have to have been copying *litteratim*. It is much more plausible that the scribe who copied Add. 33758 introduced these errors himself (perhaps while copying from a text that contained very few historical <wh> spellings). It also seems highly likely that the scribe of Harley 2386M copied from the Add. 33758 Mandeville. While the scribe of Harley 2386⁴³⁰ amended much of the hypercorrection found in Add. 33758, he mistakenly copied ten instances of hypercorrect *were*.

It seems more likely that the hypercorrection of <w> to <wh> that exists in the Harley 2386 Mandeville resulted from a failure to amend due to lack of concentration while copying, rather than orthographic passive competence (that is, not knowing where <wh> and <w> occur historically), as the scribe hypercorrects very occasionally and mainly in the word WERE. If the hypercorrect spellings recorded in the sample of text taken from Harley 2386M are listed, it is possible to see that only occasional instances of hypercorrection of each word occur except in the case of WERE.

⁴²⁹ Seymour 1967: 274

⁴³⁰ Possibly a butler named William Cresset.

where (10), whyt (2), whanhop (1), whrot (1), towhard (1), twhyche, (1), whas (1), whassyd (1), whent (1), whyth (1).

The fact that the adverb/conjunction 'where' exists, causes the scribe of Harley 2386M to copy the unhistorical form <where> for WERE more frequently than the other occasional hypercorrect forms he copies. The Bloxam Mandeville contains only one hypercorrected form <wheneþ> 'believes'. Cluster analysis of both vowels and consonants indicates a strong dialectal relationship between Harley 2386M and Bloxam 1008, but neither text is strongly related to Add. 33758 (please see section 8.4).

7.2 Inflectional endings in medieval West-Country dialect

During the data-collection phase of this study, a number of verbs were collected according to person, number and tense. The present tense inflectional endings used in each scribal text and varying according to person and number, are presented in table 4 below. Information collected will be presented in three maps of the second person, third person singular and plural forms in order to present a comprehensive picture of the forms' inflectional endings in the West Country during the medieval period. The verbs collected were both main and auxiliary:

TO ASK
TO BURN
TO DO
TO GIVE
TO THINK
TO BE

TO LISTEN
TO LIVE
TO FIGHT
TO KNOW
TO LOVE
CAN

TO COME
TO HAVE
TO BELIEVE
TO DRINK
TO FLY
TO KISS

MIGHT
SHALL
SHOULD
WILL
WOULD

Table 4: Verbs used in the collection of inflectional endings.

Historical inflectional endings

It might be expected that the following typically southern inflections would be found⁴³¹:

1st person: Ø/e

2nd person: ...st

3rd person: ...e/ath/p

Plural: ...ath/p

However, since the late Old English period, <-es> inflectional endings from northern dialects had been spreading into the Midlands and from there, during the Middle English period, to more southerly parts of England. The far South East and South West maintained the historical <ap/ath> verbal inflectional endings longest, but the South West seems to have been the most conservative of these two areas. Wakelin reports that <eth> endings were still being used in some areas of the West Country during the twentieth century.⁴³² Once again, this supports the general pattern that has been developing through this thesis of scribes and speakers in the South West maintaining archaic features much longer than in most other southern counties. Given the wide chronological distribution of manuscripts localised to the West Country, a diachronic comparison of the presence of inflectional endings will give

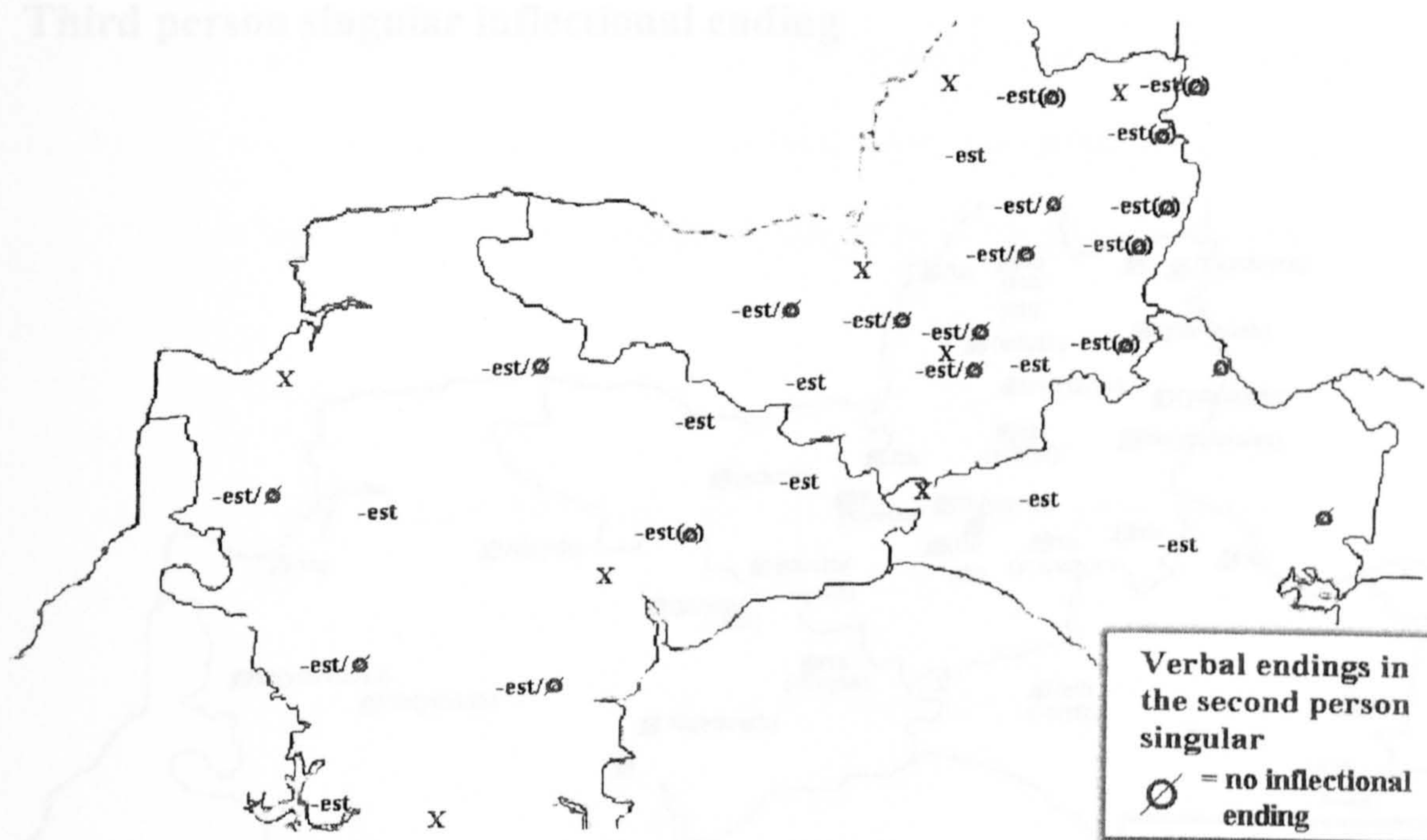
⁴³¹ See Fisiak 1968: 23

⁴³² 'The SED records *her wear 'th the trousers* from Co 1 (VI.14.14), *her 'th returned* ('her hath...') from the same locality (III.1.7), *doo 'th* ('does') from D9 (unpublished), and the *-eth* ending is extended to the [first person singular] in *I 'th seen* ('I've seen') at D10 (unpublished).' (Wakelin 1994: 119)

insight into the rate of loss of these features in written English in this part of the country.

Second person singular inflectional ending

Map 34 below shows that, in most cases, the inflectional ending for the second person $\langle\text{-(e)st}\rangle$ has not been lost in the West Country. In most manuscripts, forms with no inflectional ending are also common, but they tend to be the second dominant spelling forms.



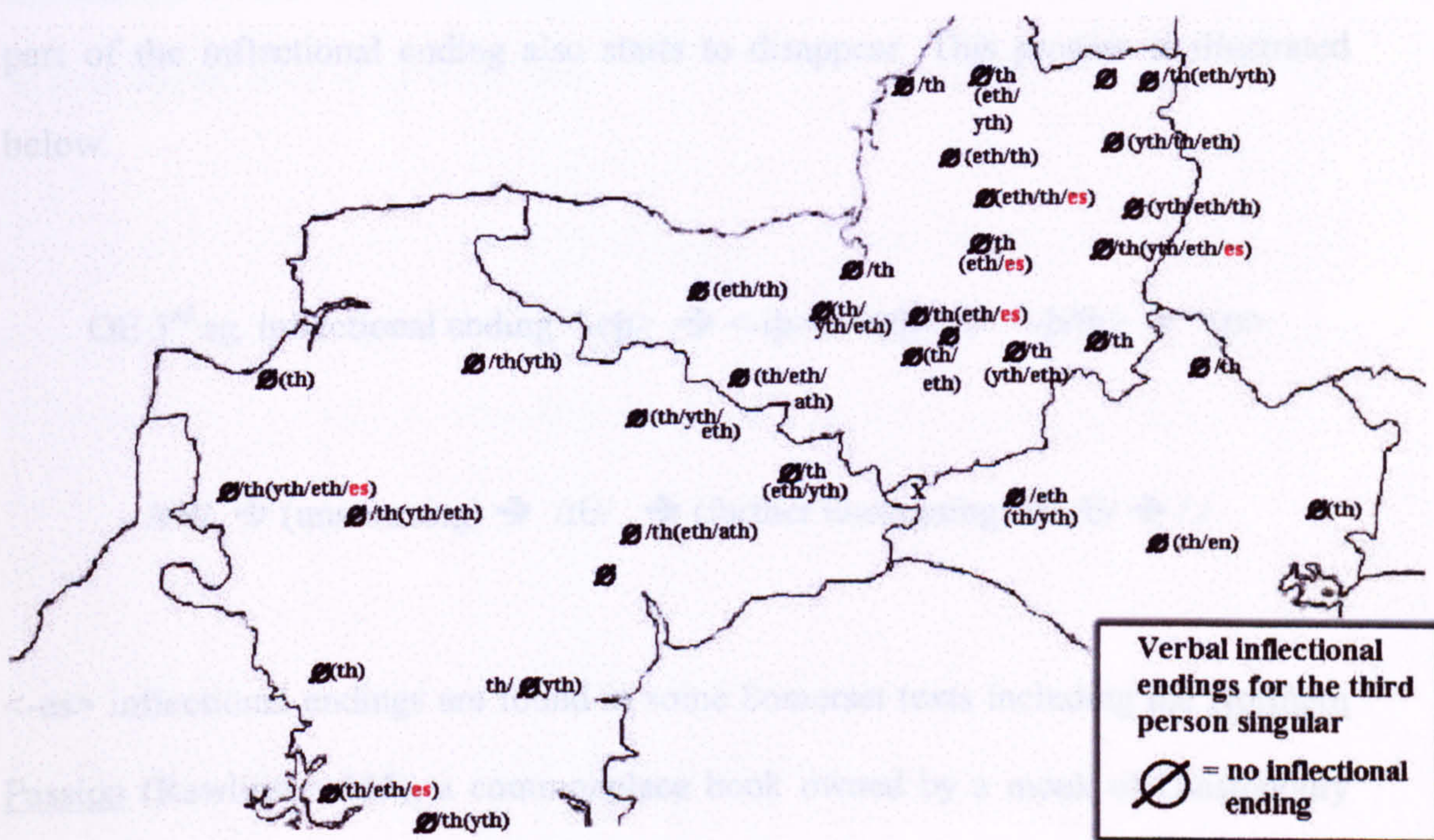
Map 74: Map of the variants of the second person singular verbal inflectional endings in the medieval West Country.

Only in two texts localised to Dorset are uninflected second person verbs used most frequently. Douce 216 *Apollonius of Tyre* is only four pages long and the hand surveyed from the Add. 11748 poem on the instruments of the Passion lasts for only six pages. In both these texts, only one verbal form in the second person singular

present was found from the list of verbs above and this form happened to be uninflected so evidence from these texts is unrepresentational and can be discounted.

It would appear that, although the second person singular inflection <-est> was beginning to be lost, this process has only just begun in the medieval West Country. It can be said that, of all the present verbal inflectional endings, <-(e)st> is the best-preserved in the West Country at this period in time.

Third person singular inflectional ending



Map 75: Map of the variants of the third person singular verbal inflectional endings in the medieval West Country

If map 75 of the inflectional endings found in the third person singular verbs is considered, it can be seen that inflectional endings on third person verbs are far less

tenacious.⁴³³ In almost all texts, uninflected forms were dominant (symbolised by \emptyset on map 75). Thereafter a contracted <-th> as in <he hath> <he doth> is sometimes a secondary dominant form. Minor spelling variants, occurring less than one third as frequently as the major spelling variant are usually <-eth/p>, <-ith/p> or <-yth/p>, though on two occasions an <-ap> ending is a minor spelling variant. The lack of uniformity between texts regarding the use of vowels in inflectional endings is possibly indicative of a sound change in progress. The various spellings used for inflectional endings might be seen as a sound change continuum where the vocalic part of the inflectional ending becomes progressively unstressed, changing qualitatively and quantitatively until it is eventually lost. Thereafter the consonantal part of the inflectional ending also starts to disappear. This process is illustrated below.

OE 3rd sg. inflectional ending <-ep> → <-ip> / <-yp> → <-þ/th> → <∅>

/ɛθ/ → (unstressing) → /iθ/ → (further unstressing) → /θ/ → //

<-es> inflectional endings are found in some Somerset texts including the Northern Passion (Rawlinson 655), a commonplace book owned by a monk of Glastonbury (Trinity 1450), an alchemica (Harley 2407) and a text concerning *Pythagoras' golden table* (Ashmole 139a). The first of these texts can be dated to the middle of the fourteenth century and the others to the fifteenth century. The fact that these texts were localised close to one another might be a coincidence, as a negligible number of

⁴³³ Although spellings ending in <p> were found in manuscripts, in order to simplify map 75 both <p> and <th> forms are represented as <th>.

verbs containing <-es> inflectional endings were found in each of these texts and are probably relict forms. The Devon texts containing an <-es> inflection were the Add. 33758 text of Mandeville's Travels containing only one <-es> inflectional ending and a Latin grammar localised to Plymouth (Rawlinson 328) where all four instances of the verb TO COME in the third person singular have the <-es> inflectional ending.⁴³⁴

Therefore, the northern <-es> inflectional ending is very rare in West-Country texts from the medieval period and any instances are probably relict forms from copy texts. It is perhaps a testimony to the conservative nature of the West-Country verbal inflectional system that only thirteen <-es> inflections in the third person are found in over 40,000 lines of surveyed text.

⁴³⁴ The Add. 33758 Mandeville consistently shows dialectal features indicating that it belongs to east Somerset. Cluster analysis has shown that its dialect is closely related to those of Ashmole 189a and Harley 2407, which also contain minor <-es> inflectional variants. Inflectional endings were not used as variables in cluster analysis.

Third person plural inflectional ending



Map 76: Map of the variants of the third person plural verbal inflectional endings in the medieval West Country.

Map 76 shows that verbs in the third person plural have a much greater tendency to be uninflected than second and third person singular verbs. A greater influence from Midland dialects is also apparent in many manuscripts in the occurrence of <-en> inflectional endings.

Summary

As can be seen from map 76, the dominant spelling variants of medieval West-Country verbs are the uninflected forms. Unlike in the case of the third person singular, a contracted <-th/p> ending is not usually a secondary dominant variant, but is usually found as a minor spelling variant alongside various stressed and unstressed forms <-ath/p>, <-eth/p>, <-yth/p>. Only two instances of the historical third person plural <-ath> inflection were identified in the fourteenth century text of *Sir Ferumbras* Ashmole 33 the early fifteenth century text of the *Prick of Conscience*

and Albert 998. The <-eth/p> and <-yth/p> inflectional ending perhaps illustrate again a process of unstressing and loss.

The Midlands plural inflectional ending <-en> is found in just under half of the texts localised to the West Country, but usually as a minor variant. In some manuscripts such as the Add. 33758 Mandeville, the Naples 13.B.29 Clerk's Tale and the will of Thomas Broke of Thornecombe, <-en> is recorded as a second dominant spelling variant. In the case of the will of Thomas Broke only three plural verbs were recorded, as the text is very short. The Mandeville's Travels text uses <-n> mainly at the end of the third person plural of the verbs 'to go' and 'to come' and the relatively large number of <-en> inflections in this *travel* text would seem to rely on there being a large number of instances of the verbs 'go' and 'come' in the third person plural. Concerning Naples 13.B.29, <-en> endings are found in a wide variety of verbs. It would therefore seem likely that the copy-text of this manuscript was written in Midlands or London⁴³⁵ variety.

Summary

To conclude, southern verbal inflectional endings are, on the whole, preserved in the texts localised to the West Country in LALME. The second person singular inflectional ending <-est> is the best preserved of the present tense inflectional endings, while the loss of the plural <-eth/ath> ending is clearly well underway. Inflections found for third person singular and plural verbs were usually of the

⁴³⁵ As has already been mentioned in section 3.3, London speech from the late medieval period was strongly influenced by Midlands dialect. See also Smith 1996: 91.

southern <-th/p> type. There were only a few instances of the northern <-s> inflectional endings that would eventually be used throughout the country. This evidence is unsurprising as southern dialects were the least progressive in this respect in England and the West Country was the most conservative of all the southern dialects. There is even evidence that archaic third person <-th> endings survived into the twentieth century in this region.⁴³⁶

Nevertheless, during the medieval period, inflectional endings also provide evidence of increasing standardisation, as the Midlands <-en> plural inflectional ending is to be found as a minor variant in almost half of the texts surveyed and as a major variant in at least five texts. The <-en> ending is not a historical part of the West-Country dialect and therefore its presence must be the result of transmission from a copy-text or direct linguistic influence from the London dialect, which had an East-Midlands colouring. The prevalence of the Midlands <-en> ending in third person plural verbs (even in thirteenth and fourteenth century texts) compared with the few instances of <-es> northern endings for third person singular verbs, suggests that London English was having an increasing effect on the English of the West Country.

⁴³⁶ Wakelin 1994:119

Chapter 8: Cluster analysis results

In this chapter, the results of cluster analyses of the data collected in the present study will be given as a means of testing LALME localisations, which were often extralinguistic, and also as a means of identifying dialect areas. Clusters identified from vocalic data will be described and explained first, followed by clusters identified using consonantal data. Thereafter, the clusters obtained from an analysis of both vocalic and consonantal data in one spreadsheet will be presented. Within these three sections, tables of the manuscripts assigned by SPSS to each cluster are included, followed by maps of cluster members mapped onto their LALME localisations.

Geographical areas where several manuscripts are found to belong to one cluster will be referred to as *dialect areas*; this follows the assumption of present-day cluster analyses based on phonemic transcription of spoken language, that groups of items identified have several phonological features in common and are therefore dialect groups.⁴³⁷ Where the term *dialect area* is used in this study, it is assumed that texts localised to this area have several graphemic features in common, some of which may indicate underlying dialectal differences and some of which may indicate varying scribal traditions bearing no relation to spoken language.

It will be shown that automatic cluster analysis of the vocalic and consonantal data collected for each manuscript tends to corroborate LALME localisations of texts.

⁴³⁷ Kessler 1995 and Klemola 1990

Except in a few cases, manuscripts that have been localised geographically close to one another are assigned to the same group by SPSS.

8.1 Results of vocalic clustering

One of the most interesting cluster analysis results obtained from the data collected is the vocalic clustering. Clusters resulting from an analysis of the vocalic data are presented in table 5 below.

SPSS was asked to divide the twenty-five selected manuscript-texts into six clusters. In practice, this meant that one manuscript Harley 2386A was found to constitute a cluster by itself.⁴³⁸ When the members of each group were assigned a symbol, which was then plotted onto the LALME localisations of manuscript texts, the clusters obtained were fairly cohesive with only a few outliers. An attempt will be made to justify the presence of outliers later in this section, but first the main dialectal groups will be described.

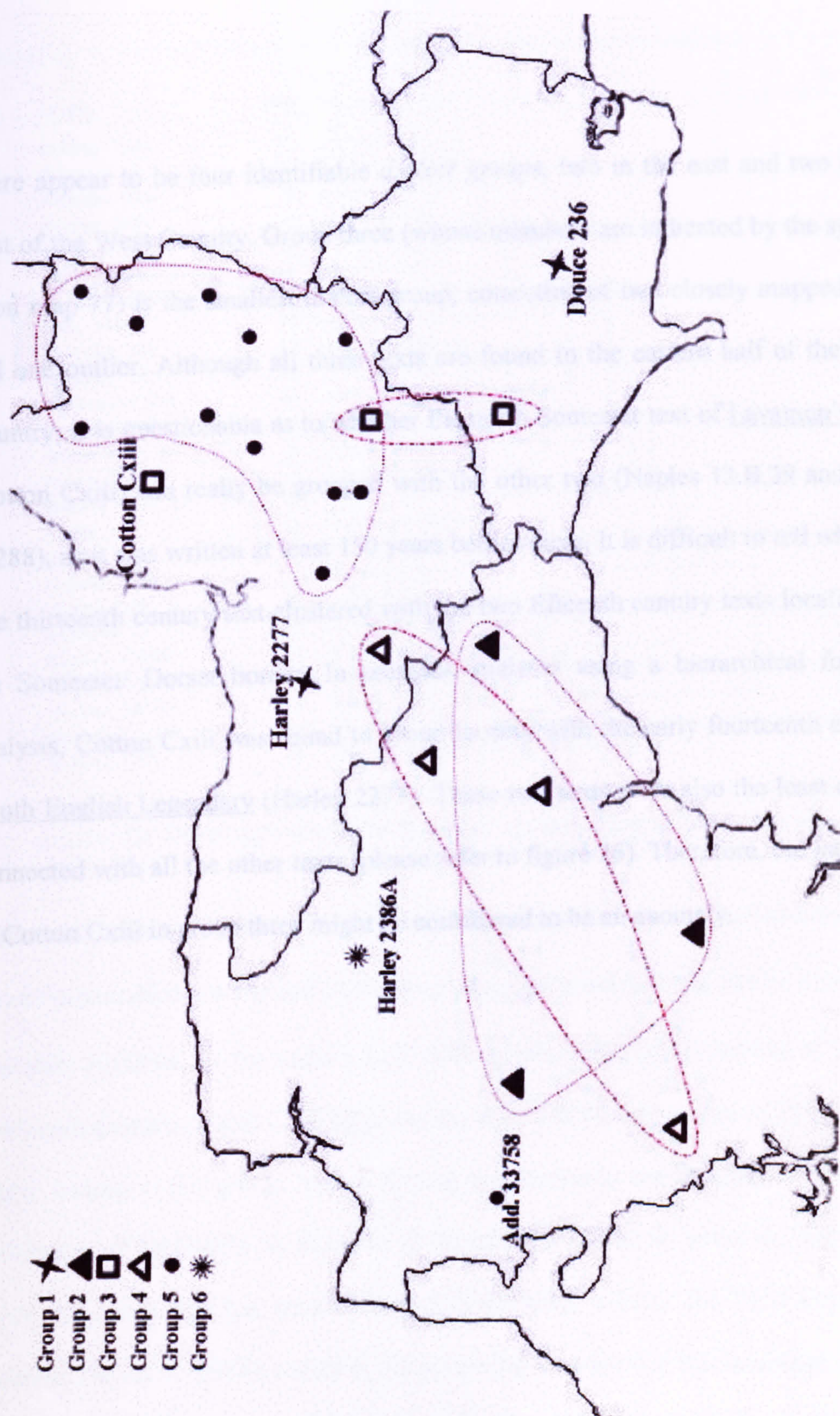
⁴³⁸ Tests involving the creation of five and seven clusters did not alter the status of Harley 2386A, therefore the clustering of the text by itself is a significant result.

Vocalic Cluster Membership


Case Number	Manuscript texts	Cluster	Distance
1	Douce 232	5	21.291
2	Harley 2386M	2	15.916
3	Bloxam 1008	2	19.436
4	Add. 33758	5	21.524
5	Harley 2407	5	18.251
6	Harley 2386A	6	.000
7	Douce 236	1	17.868
8	Ashmole 189a	5	17.981
9	Ashmole 189c	5	18.644
10	Albert 998	4	15.538
11	Digby 14	4	16.485
12	Harley 2383	5	17.097
13	Trinity 324	5	17.678
14	Cotton Cxiii	3	23.226
15	Ashmole 1447	2	17.441
16	Rawlinson 655	5	19.796
17	Trinity 1450	5	21.911
18	Add. 35288	3	21.347
19	Longleat 55	5	24.739
20	Ashmole 33	4	20.268
21	Harley 2277	1	17.868
22	Greaves 54	5	18.837
23	Naples 13.B.29	3	17.154
24	Arundel 22	4	12.321
25	Trinity 322	5	19.963

Table 5: Manuscripts assigned to each of the six vocalic clusters.

One two-member group was identified by SPSS, two instances of three-member groups and the remaining two clusters were groups of four and eleven members. The geographical distribution of texts belonging to these groups is shown on map 77.



Map 77: Automatically clustered groups generated from vocalic data and plotted onto LALME's localisations.

There appear to be four identifiable *dialect groups*, two in the east and two in the west of the West Country. Group three (whose members are indicated by the symbol  on map 77) is the smallest dialect group, consisting of two closely mapped texts and one outlier. Although all three texts are found in the eastern half of the West Country, it is questionable as to whether the north-Somerset text of Layamon's Brut (Cotton Cxiii) can really be grouped with the other two (Naples 13.B.29 and Add. 35288), as it was written at least 150 years before them. It is difficult to tell why this late thirteenth century text clustered with the two fifteenth century texts localised to the Somerset/ Dorset border. In previous analyses using a hierarchical form of analysis, Cotton Cxiii was found to group loosely with the early fourteenth century South English Legendary (Harley 2277). These two texts were also the least closely connected with all the other texts (please refer to figure 26). Therefore, the inclusion of Cotton Cxiii in group three might be considered to be an anomaly.

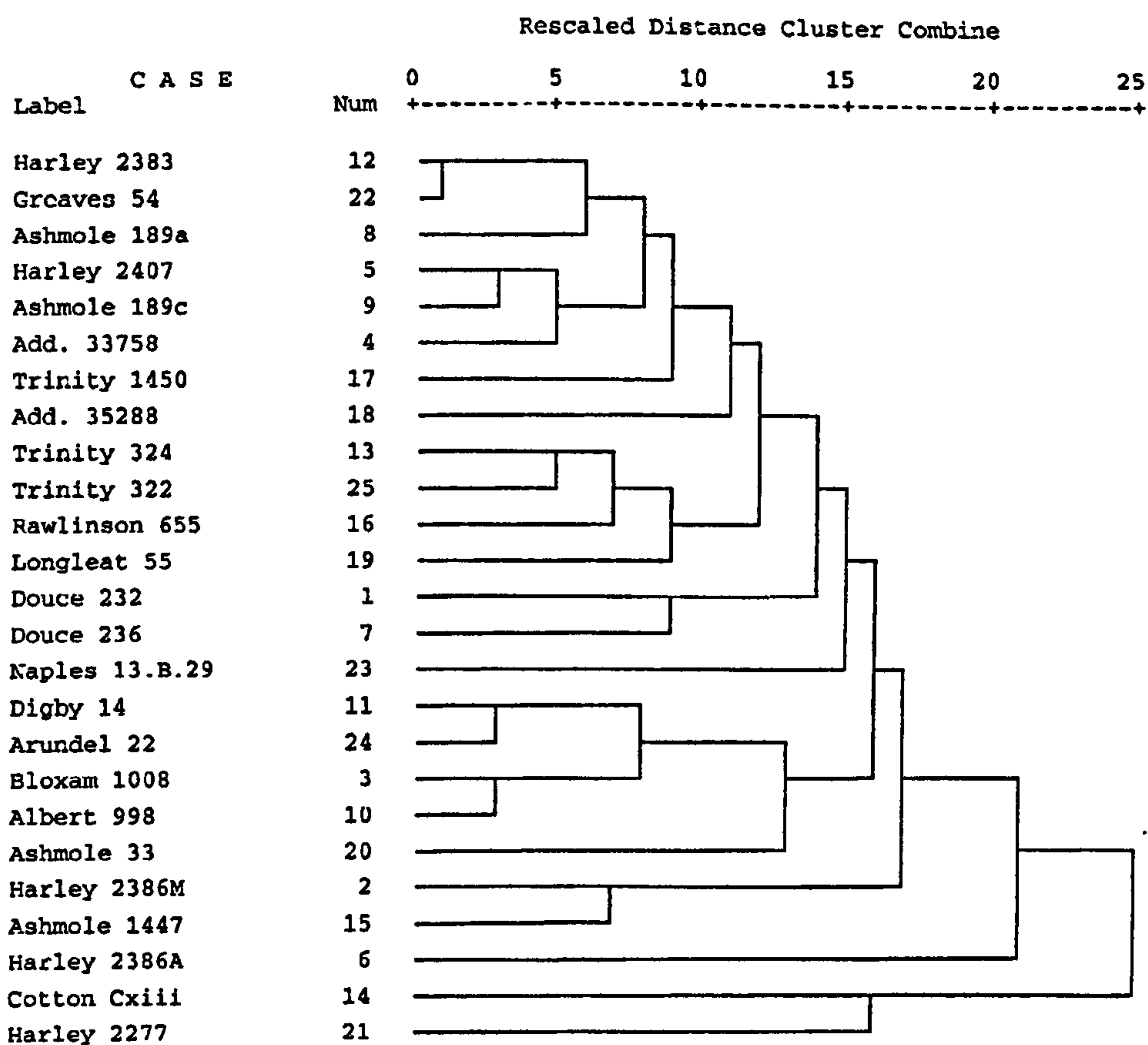


Figure 26: Dendrogram of a hierarchical cluster analysis of vocalic data.

The second eastern dialect group is much larger, but also more cohesive than group three; its members are marked on the map using the symbol ●. As can be seen, all of the texts localised to the eastern half of Somerset, with the exception of the late thirteenth century Cotton Cxiii Brut and the Add. 35288 manuscript of Partonope of Blois, belong to this group. Such a finding is particularly encouraging for the cross-validation of LALME's localisation of these texts. There is, however, one outlier from the group that has been localised to the other side of the West Country in western Devon. It will be shown in the following sections that this is always the case where the Add. 33758 manuscript is concerned. It is highly likely that this member of the Devonshire Mandevilles was not actually written by a Devon scribe, but would be better localised to eastern Somerset. Other attempts at analysis not based on

automatic data classification also tend to mark out this text as being written in an eastern Somerset dialect (please refer to sections 4.2 – 4.4.1 in chapter 4).

When the members of groups two and four were mapped onto their LALME localisation using the symbols ▲ and ▲ respectively almost all of them were manuscripts that had been localised to Devon. Group four has one member, (Albert 998) that has been localised to just across the border in western Somerset. It should be noted that this Somerset text is one of two West-Country Prick of Conscience manuscripts, the other (Digby 14) also belongs to group four and is localised just west of Albert 998, in eastern Devon. In addition to sharing vocalic features with another Prick of Conscience text, the Albert 998 manuscript also shares vocalic features with the Ashmole 33 text of Sir Ferumbras localised to Exeter and the Arundel 22 Seege of Troye text, localised to western Devon. The texts that belong to this dialect group have therefore been localised in LALME to an area that stretches from western Somerset to far western Devon. One feature that all of these texts have in common is that all four can be dated to the fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries and this perhaps explains why group-two texts and group-four texts have not clustered together despite their both being localised to Devon.

Group two texts, indicated on map 77 using the symbol ▲, are all fifteenth century texts localised to Devon. Two of the manuscripts clustered in this group are versions of Mandeville's Travels. As has been mentioned above, the third West-Country version of Mandeville's Travels is consistently identified as being a member of an eastern Somerset cluster. LALME, however, localises it to an area close to the Harley 2386M version of Mandeville's Travels, perhaps on the strength of the close

textual relationship of these versions, rather than for dialectal reasons. The third text belonging to group two is a *medica* localised by LALME to southeastern Devon.

SPSS grouped two texts as cluster one, but these texts were localised by LALME a great distance from one another, one in southern Dorset (the Douce 236 Arthour and Merlin) and the other in western Somerset (the Harley 2277 South English Legendary). Mills has expressed misgivings about the localisation of Douce 236, which appears to have been localised to Tolpuddle in Dorset on the strength of a marginal note written in a sixteenth or seventeenth century hand.⁴³⁹ The vocalic similarity of Douce 236 with the Harley 2277 text might be connected to their both being fourteenth century texts, although Harley 2277 is clearly much older than Douce 236. Macrae-Gibson asserts that the related Arthour and Merlin texts *Hale MS 150, Lincoln's Inn Library and London* and Douce 236 were both copied from a western exemplar and that the presence of some eastern spellings e.g. <kende>, <ferste> etc. make a 'Southeast/ London scribe working from a western exemplar' more likely than the other way round.⁴⁴⁰

One other unusual feature of the vocalic cluster analysis is the fact that Harley 2386A has been assigned to one group by itself. This text of Amis and Amiloun is problematic as it was clearly written in the late fifteenth century, in a secretary hand; nevertheless, it seems to have been copied from a much older text and contains a number of archaic lexical items. The text is written in verse and includes many stock romance phrases that must have been copied verbatim in order to maintain the integrity of the poem. It might be asserted that the archaic nature of this text,

⁴³⁹ Mills 1998: 199

⁴⁴⁰ Macrae-Gibson 1973, volume 2: p64 & 65

preserving an elaborate literary style, sets it apart from the other texts used in this study. In support of this assertion, it might be added that in hierarchical analyses of the vocalic information, Harley 2386A along with the two oldest texts used in the study (Harley 2277 and Cotton Cxiii) are identified as being least related to the other manuscripts in this study, although Harley 2277 (South English Legendary) and Cotton Cxiii (Layamon's Brut) are seen as being loosely related to one another (please refer to figure 26).

In conclusion, evidence derived from LALME and cluster analysis of data gathered in the present study suggests that there are two main vocalic *dialect areas* identifiable in the West Country. One area extends across the eastern half of Somerset and one extends across most of Devon and into western Somerset. The 'western' or 'Devonshire' dialect appears to differ according to the age of the text, so that fourteenth and fifteenth century texts are clustered into different groups. Information on the dialect of Dorset is limited; however, it would appear that a text localised to northern Dorset has vocalic features in common with a text north of the Somerset/ Dorset border.

8.2 Results of consonantal clustering

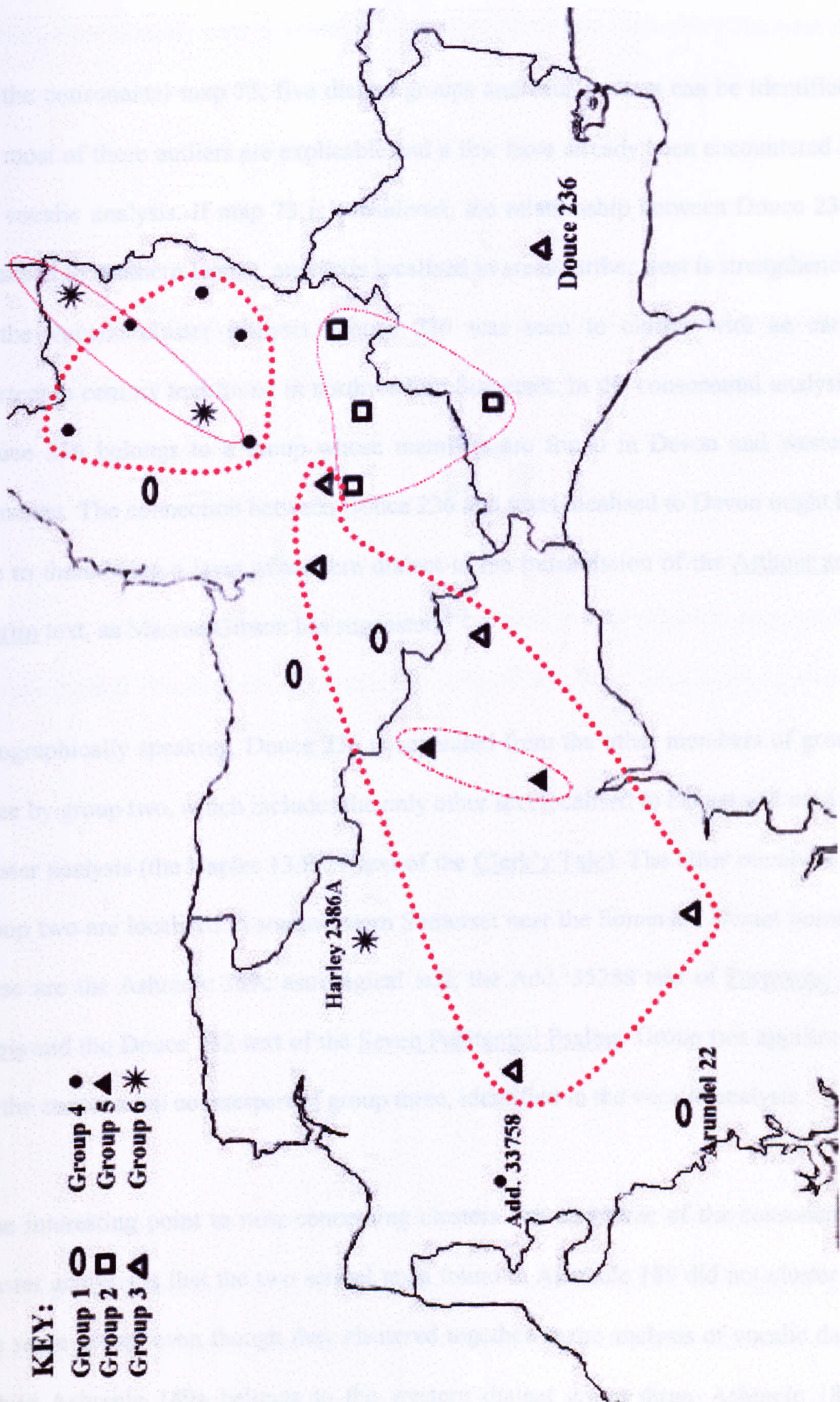
Some interesting dialect groups emerge from an analysis of the consonantal data. In particular, the classification of manuscripts due to consonantal information sheds more light on the question of the dialectal affiliations of Dorset. More information is also available concerning the dialect of the Harley 2386A Amis and Amiloun text.

The manuscripts assigned to each of the six consonantal groups are shown in table 6 below.

Consonantal Cluster Membership

Case Number	Manuscript texts	Cluster	Distance
1	Douce 232	2	3.519
2	Harley 2386M	3	4.893
3	Bloxam 1008	3	3.968
4	Add. 33758	4	5.546
5	Harley 2407	4	7.366
6	Harley 2386A	6	6.328
7	Douce 236	3	3.071
8	Ashmole 189a	3	4.536
9	Ashmole 189c	2	6.209
10	Albert 998	1	6.402
11	Digby 14	5	4.276
12	Harley 2383	4	4.269
13	Trinity 324	4	4.614
14	Cotton Cxiii	1	4.159
15	Ashmole 1447	3	7.289
16	Rawlinson 655	6	4.851
17	Trinity 1450	4	7.707
18	Add. 35288	2	3.009
19	Longleat 55	6	2.893
20	Ashmole 33	5	4.276
21	Harley 2277	1	7.742
22	Greaves 54	3	3.321
23	Naples 13.B.29	2	5.930
24	Arundel 22	1	8.887
25	Trinity 322	4	4.622

Table 6: Manuscripts assigned to each of the six consonantal clusters.



Map 78: Automatically clustered groups generated from consonantal data and plotted onto LALME's localisations.

On the consonantal map 75, five dialect groups and four outliers can be identified, but most of these outliers are explicable and a few have already been encountered in the vocalic analysis. If map 75 is considered, the relationship between Douce 236, localised to southern Dorset, and texts localised to areas further west is strengthened. In the vocalic cluster analysis, Douce 236 was seen to cluster with an early fourteenth century text found in northwestern Somerset. In the consonantal analysis, Douce 236 belongs to a group whose members are found in Devon and western Somerset. The connection between Douce 236 and texts localised to Devon might be due to there being a layer of western dialect in the transmission of the Arthur and Merlin text, as Macrae-Gibson has suggested.⁴⁴¹

Geographically speaking, Douce 236 is separated from the other members of group three by group two, which includes the only other text localised to Dorset and used in cluster analysis (the Naples 13.B.29 text of the Clerk's Tale). The other members of group two are localised to southwestern Somerset near the Somerset/ Dorset border, these are the Ashmole 189c astrological text, the Add. 35288 text of Partonope of Blois and the Douce 232 text of the Seven Penitential Psalms. Group two appears to be the consonantal counterpart of group three, identified in the vocalic analysis.

One interesting point to note concerning clusters two and three of the consonantal cluster analysis is that the two scribal texts found in Ashmole 189 did not cluster in the same group, even though they clustered together in the analysis of vocalic data. While Ashmole 189a belongs to the western dialect group three, Ashmole 189c

⁴⁴¹ Macrae-Gibson 1973: 65

clusters with the texts from the southern Somerset group two. Ashmole 189a contains many more typical southwestern consonantal features than Ashmole 189c, including the hypercorrect use of <f> for <v> and the use of for <p>.

In the cluster analysis of consonantal data, three texts belong to group six, the Harley 2386A Amis and Amiloun text and two texts localised in LALME to northeastern Somerset (Longleat 55 and Rawlinson 655). It is therefore possible that the Harley 2386A text belongs to the northeast of Somerset rather than to Devon. It might have been the case that the Amis and Amiloun text was localised to Devon, because it belongs to the same manuscript as the Harley 2386M Mandeville -- a text that is clearly written in the Devon dialect. All the evidence so far seems to suggest that Harley 2386A has little in common with any of the other texts used in cluster analysis.

Group one, whose members are indicated by the symbol ○ on map 78, includes three thirteenth/ fourteenth century manuscripts (Harley 2277, Cotton 655, Arundel 22) and one early fifteenth century text (Albert 998). Albert 998 has been dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century and therefore it is unusual that this text should have many consonantal features in common with the three earlier texts.

Group four members (indicated using the symbol ●) map onto a small area in the north-east of Somerset, except for one outlier, namely the Add. 33758 Mandeville. This reinforces the proposition that Add. 33758 has been mislocalised and belongs to eastern, perhaps northeastern, Somerset rather than the far west of Devon. In section

8.4 in this chapter, a new location for the Add. 33758 Mandeville will be proposed based on the information obtained from cluster analyses.

When group two's members are plotted onto their LALME localisations, they form another fairly cohesive group, this time in southern Somerset and northern Dorset. It is not surprising that the dialects of texts localised to northern Dorset and southern Somerset should be similar as there are no natural boundaries such as hill ranges to impede cross-county contact. The north downs run across the centre of Dorset west to east, separating the northern half of the county from its southern half. It is perhaps for this reason that the Naples 13.B.29 version of the Clerk's Tale, localised to northwestern Somerset, is seen as being part of a consonantal cluster whose other members have been localised to southern Dorset; while the Douce 236 Arthour and Merlin localised to Tolpuddle, is grouped with texts that have been localised to western Somerset and Devon. However, there is still too little information concerning the Dorset dialect to completely support the localisation of Douce 236.

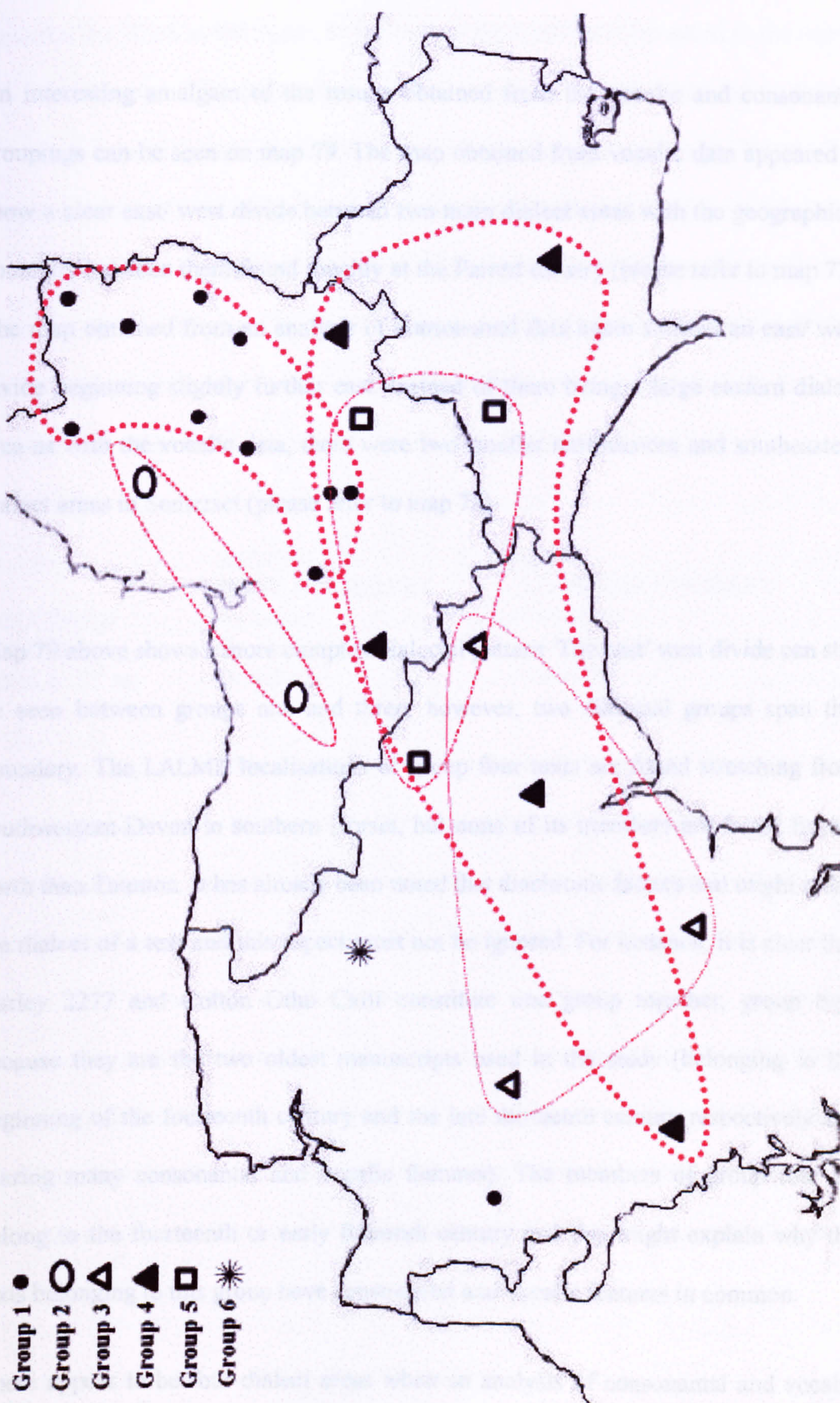
8.3 Consonantal and vocalic cluster analysis

SPSS was asked to create six clusters from a spreadsheet containing vocalic and consonantal data. The manuscripts assigned to each group are given in table 7 below and are mapped onto their LALME localisations in map 79.

Vowel and Consonant Cluster Membership

Case Number	Manuscript texts	Cluster	Distance
1	Douce 232	4	21.978
2	Harley 2386M	3	16.359
3	Bloxam 1008	3	20.064
4	Add. 33758	1	22.923
5	Harley 2407	1	20.987
6	Harley 2386A	6	.000
7	Douce 236	4	21.155
8	Ashmole 189a	1	18.394
9	Ashmole 189c	1	22.233
10	Albert 998	4	18.680
11	Digby 14	5	20.778
12	Harley 2383	1	17.782
13	Trinity 324	1	19.995
14	Cotton Cxiii	2	18.130
15	Ashmole 1447	3	18.463
16	Rawlinson 655	1	21.879
17	Trinity 1450	1	23.011
18	Add. 35288	5	18.032
19	Longleat 55	1	26.338
20	Ashmole 33	4	22.995
21	Harley 2277	2	18.130
22	Greaves 54	1	19.102
23	Naples 13.B.29	5	20.042
24	Arundel 22	4	16.675
25	Trinity 322	1	20.529

Table 7: Manuscripts assigned to each of the six consonantal and vocalic clusters.



Map 79: Automatically clustered groups generated from vocalic and consonantal data and plotted onto LALME's localisations.

An interesting amalgam of the results obtained from the vocalic and consonantal groupings can be seen on map 79. The map obtained from vocalic data appeared to show a clear east/ west divide between two main dialect areas with the geographical boundary between them found roughly at the Parrett estuary (please refer to map 77). The map obtained from an analysis of consonantal data again showed an east/ west divide beginning slightly further east. Instead of there being a large eastern dialect area as with the vocalic data, there were two smaller northeastern and southeastern dialect areas in Somerset (please refer to map 78).

Map 79 above shows a more complex dialectal pattern. The east/ west divide can still be seen between groups one and three; however, two dialectal groups span this boundary. The LALME localisations of group four texts are found stretching from southwestern Devon to southern Dorset, but none of its members are found further north than Taunton. It has already been noted that diachronic factors that might affect the dialect of a text and this aspect must not be ignored. For instance, it is clear that Harley 2277 and Cotton Otho Cxiii constitute one group together, group two, because they are the two oldest manuscripts used in the study (belonging to the beginning of the fourteenth century and the late thirteenth century respectively and sharing many consonantal and vocalic features). The members of group four all belong to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century and this might explain why the texts belonging to this group have consonantal and vocalic features in common.

There appear to be four dialect areas when an analysis of consonantal and vocalic data together is carried out. One familiar group of manuscripts that has been

identified by SPSS as belonging to the same cluster are those localised to the north-east of Somerset. This dialect area includes most of the texts localised to eastern Somerset, excepting those in the South and it extends as far west as the Parrett. It is tempting to think of this area as one of standard usage. In sections 4.2 – 4.4.1, it was demonstrated that eastern variants of MANY, EVIL and US: <many>, <euel> and <vs>⁴⁴² were found in texts localised to this area of the West Country, while, further west, older forms <meny>, <yuel> and <ous> were found. Evidence from LALME suggests that other forms can be added to this list, for example:

	DEVON/ WEST SOMERSET	EAST SOMERSET/DORSET
WHETHER	<wheder>	<wheper>
WHICH	<huche>	<which>
SHALL 3rd sg.	<schel>	<schal>

Group one might therefore represent a dialect area where eastern forms are more commonly used than in the rest of the West Country. It might also be pointed out that this area of eastern Somerset corresponds with a dialect area frequently identifiable on the maps of the LAE where Standard English forms are used. In chapter 3, section 3.2.1, it was shown that eastern Somerset often represents an island of standard usage, where further west and east, older forms are found in twentieth century West-Country English (please see map 13). It is also often the case in the LAE data that the river Parrett marks the eastern boundary of archaic dialectal forms, so that eastern Somerset contains standard forms while western Somerset and Devon exhibit a more archaic phonology.

⁴⁴² Maps 22,24 & 27.

The second group obtained from cluster analysis of consonants and vowels derived from the medieval data has already been highlighted as being conditioned by diachronic more than diatopic factors. These are the two oldest texts included in this study and therefore they most likely share certain archaic consonantal and vocalic features. It is possible that Harley 2277 and Cotton Cxiii belong to the same dialect area, but in the absence of other texts of the same age, this cannot be ascertained using cluster analysis.

Group three is another familiar cluster involving three late fifteenth century texts localised to Devon. Two of these texts are versions of Mandeville's Travels and the third is a medica. According to Seymour,⁴⁴³ Harley 2386M and Bloxam 1008 are related versions of Mandeville's Travels, but Harley 2386M is one stage closer to the original than the Bloxam manuscript.

Group four on map 79 has members localised in LALME to Devon, southern Somerset and Dorset. It should be noted that the majority of these texts belong to the fourteenth or early fifteenth-century, so it is possible that the formation of this geographically dispersed cluster is in some way connected with the age of these manuscripts.

Group five might be seen as a southern Somerset/ northern Dorset dialect area. Even though one of the texts localised to this group is found in eastern Devon; separate consonantal and vocalic analyses consistently identify a link between Add. 35288 localised to southern Somerset, and Naples 13.B.29 localised to northern Dorset. In

⁴⁴³ Seymour 1961:161

the consonantal analysis two other texts in southern Somerset were grouped with Add. 35288 and Naples 13.B.29, namely Douce 232 and Ashmole 189c. The third member of group five, Digby 14, on the other hand, has consistently been grouped with other texts localised to Devon. It might therefore be seen as an anomaly that the Digby 14 version of the Prick of Conscience grouped with Add. 35288 and Naples 13.B.29. In an agglomerative hierarchical analysis of the consonantal and vocalic data, Digby 14 groups with the other Prick of Conscience text (Albert 998) and two Devon texts (Bloxam 1008 and Arundel 22), while Naples 13.B.29 and Add 35288 are grouped together. Please see figure 27 below.

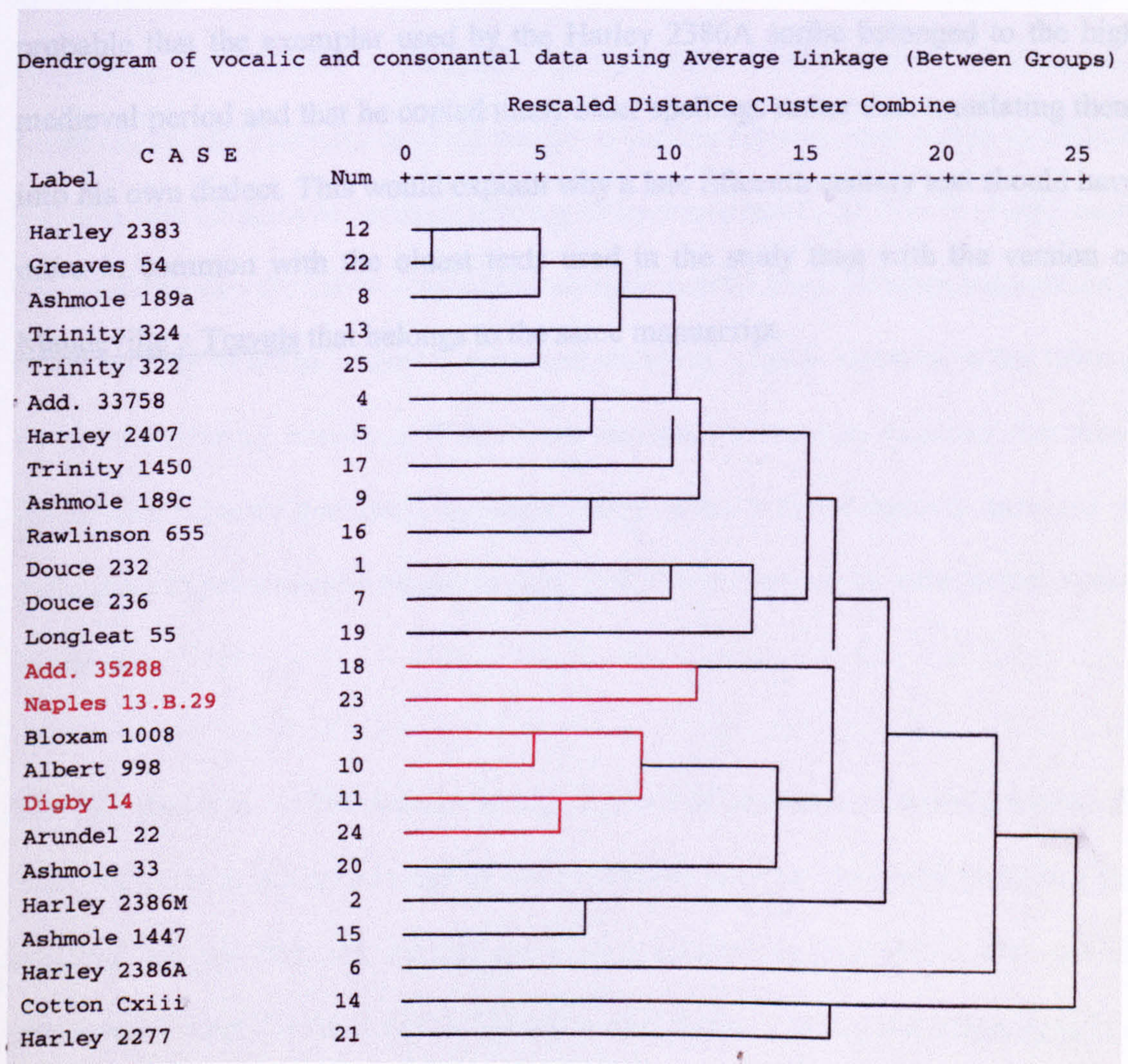


Figure 27: Dendrogram obtained from a cluster analysis of consonantal and vocalic data and illustrating the relationships between Digby 14, Add. 35288 and Naples 13.B.29.

Group six consists of one text, Harley 2386A. In the consonantal analysis, this text of the romance Amis and Amiloun was clustered with the Rawlinson 655 version of the Northern Passion and the Longleat 55 text of Arthur. The dendrogram produced from an agglomerative hierarchical analysis of consonantal and vocalic data tends to indicate that Harley 2386A, like the two oldest texts in the study (Harley 2277 and Cotton Cxiii), has very little in common with any of the other manuscripts used in this study (please see figure 27). The text itself is written in a fifteenth century secretary hand, but its content is archaic and typical of a medieval romance. It is probable that the exemplar used by the Harley 2386A scribe belonged to the high medieval period and that he copied many older spellings rather than translating them into his own dialect. This would explain why a late fifteenth century text should have more in common with the oldest texts used in the study than with the version of Mandeville's Travels that belongs to the same manuscript.

8.4 Relocalisation

In the preceding three sections, it has been identified that it is highly likely that the Add. 33758 text of Mandeville's Travels is mislocalised in LALME. In this section, an attempt will be made to relocalise Add. 33758 using information obtained from cluster analyses of the vocalic and consonantal data-sets.

Cluster analysis results highlighted the probability of the mislocalisation of Add. 33758. It was noted that the sample of text surveyed from the manuscript contained no typical southwestern consonantal features, such as the voicing of stops and fricatives or any instances of glide insertion. As has already been shown in section 5.1, this text contains an unusual amount of hypercorrection of <w> to <wh>, so it was possible that the scribe might have avoided reproducing dialectal markers such as the voicing of initial voiceless stops and fricatives or glide insertion in his writing by hypercorrecting. However, if this were the case, it might be expected that there would also be some qualitative hypercorrection in the text, yet the only instances of qualitative hypercorrection found in Add. 33758 were the use of unhistorical <wh> spellings.

The fact that Add. 33758 contains a large amount of consonantal hypercorrection of <w>, indicates an advanced stage of standardisation and this too would fit in with the dialectal pattern that has already been demonstrated as existing in the east of Somerset. Except for Add. 33758 and the related Harley 2386M text of Mandeville's Travels, there are few instances of hypercorrection of <w> to <wh> in Devon. The

majority of hypercorrection of <w> to <wh> is found in eastern Somerset (please refer to map 33 in section 5.1).

In the vocalic and consonantal cluster analyses, Add. 33758 clustered with texts localised mainly to eastern Somerset, showing that its scribe's vocalic and consonantal writing-system contains many east-Somerset dialect features. It is unusual that a text exhibiting mainly eastern written-language features should be localised to the far west of Devon. In sections 4.2 – 4.4.1, Add. 33758 was shown to contain spellings whose vowels were not consistent with the western dialect. In Add. 33758, the dominant form of US was the Somerset form <vs> and not Devonshire <ous>, the dominant form of MANY was eastern <many> rather than Devonshire <meny> and the dominant form of EVIL was eastern <evil> rather than Devonshire <yuel>. Therefore, Add. 33758 does not appear to contain typical Devon consonant or vowel graphemes and the clusters obtained from SPSS independently corroborate this observation.

Evidence from dendrograms produced from a hierarchical cluster analysis of consonantal and vocalic data show that Add. 33758 shares similar vocalic and consonantal features with Harley 2407, localised to southeastern Somerset. Add. 33758 is also closely related to the eastern Somerset texts of Ashmole 189c and Trinity 324 (please refer to figures 28 and 29).

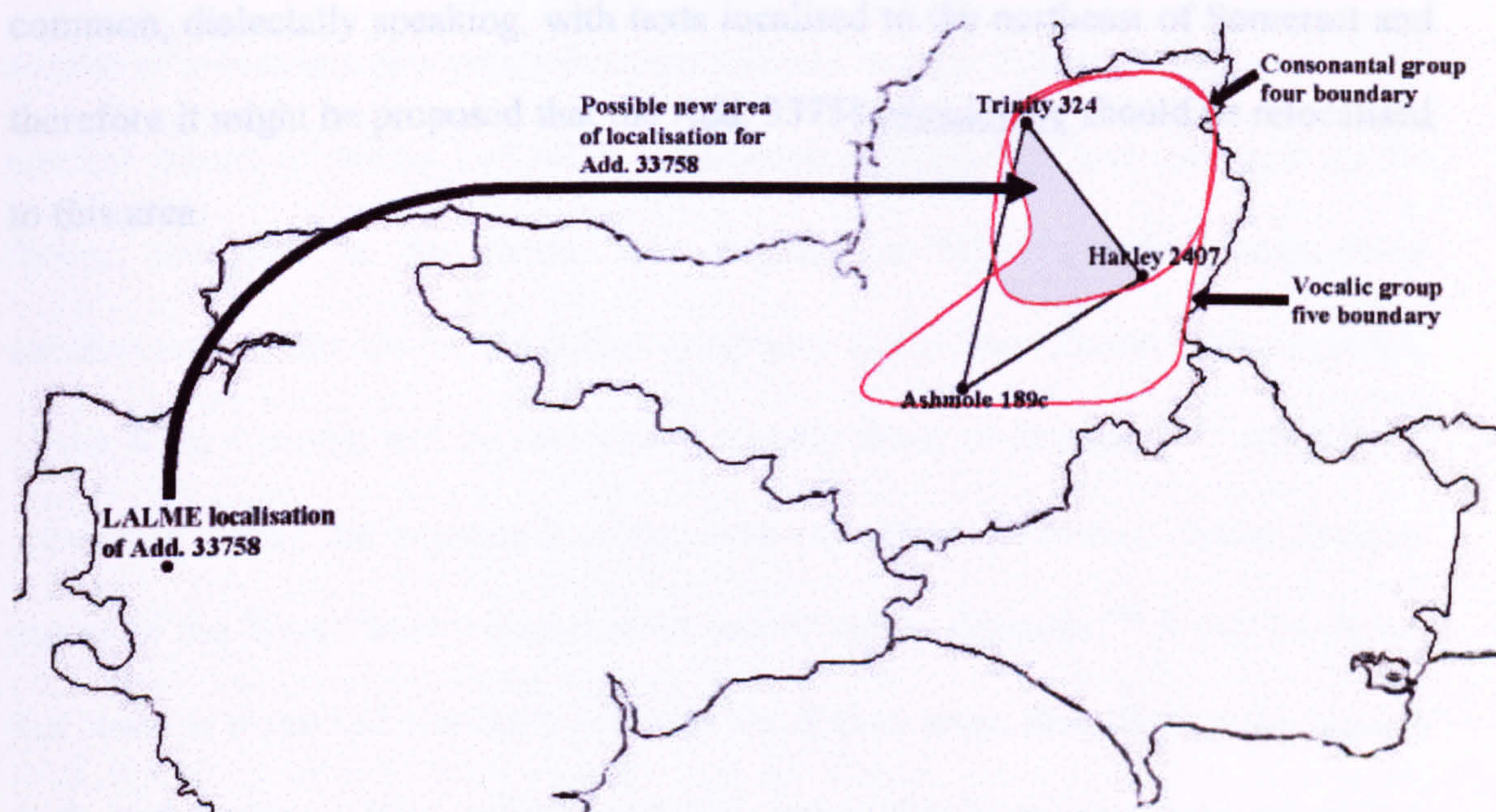


Figure 28: Add. 33758 section of vocalic cluster analysis dendrogram.

Add. 33758	4	
Trinity 324	13	
Harley 2407	5	

Figure 29: Add. 33758 section of consonantal cluster analysis dendrogram.

Using this information and information derived from partitioning consonantal and vocalic cluster analysis, it is possible to identify an area in eastern Somerset, illustrated on map 80, as a more fitting localisation for Add. 33758, than western Devon.



Map 80: Map showing one possible new localisation of Add. 33758

The three manuscripts that have most in common with Add. 33758 from an agglomerative hierarchical analysis of consonantal and vocalic data are plotted onto their LALME localisations. In the consonantal and vocalic cluster analysis using a partitioning method, Add. 33758 was seen to belong to groups four and five respectively. The areas where all of the other texts belonging to these groups were localised are also outlined on map 80. It is assumed that Add. 33758 can most

plausibly be localised to the area marked in grey on map 80, as texts in this area share a maximum number of features with Add. 33758.

To conclude, it can only be assumed that Add. 33758 has been localised to western Devon due to its close relationship with the Harley 2386M and Bloxam 1008 Mandevilles, both of which are plausibly localised to Devon. However, traditional and dialectometrical analyses of consonantal and vocalic features from a representative section of this manuscript have pointed out that it has more in common, dialectally speaking, with texts localised to the northeast of Somerset and therefore it might be proposed that the Add. 33758 Mandeville should be relocated to this area.

Chapter 9: Dialect boundaries in the West Country

In this chapter, dialect areas identified in previous chapters using medieval spelling evidence will be compared with the dialect areas identified by nineteenth and twentieth century dialectologists. Although West-Country dialects have changed much over the past five hundred years, it is useful to compare dialect areas identified from medieval written data and those identified using phonological information from studies of nineteenth and twentieth century West-Country dialects. Doing so provides another means of testing LALME's localisation methodology and can back up the theory, presented in this thesis, that geographical features and demographical patterns are responsible for the dialect geography of the West Country. Three studies of the West Country will be considered, namely those of Bonaparte⁴⁴⁴ and Ellis⁴⁴⁵ completed during the nineteenth century and one twentieth-century cluster analysis survey of the West Country dialect areas carried out by Klemola.⁴⁴⁶ It will be shown that there is a marked similarity between the dialect areas identified in the present study and studies of later dialectal material, except that boundaries between dialect areas have changed marginally over the past five hundred years, shifting further westwards.

⁴⁴⁴ Bonaparte 1877

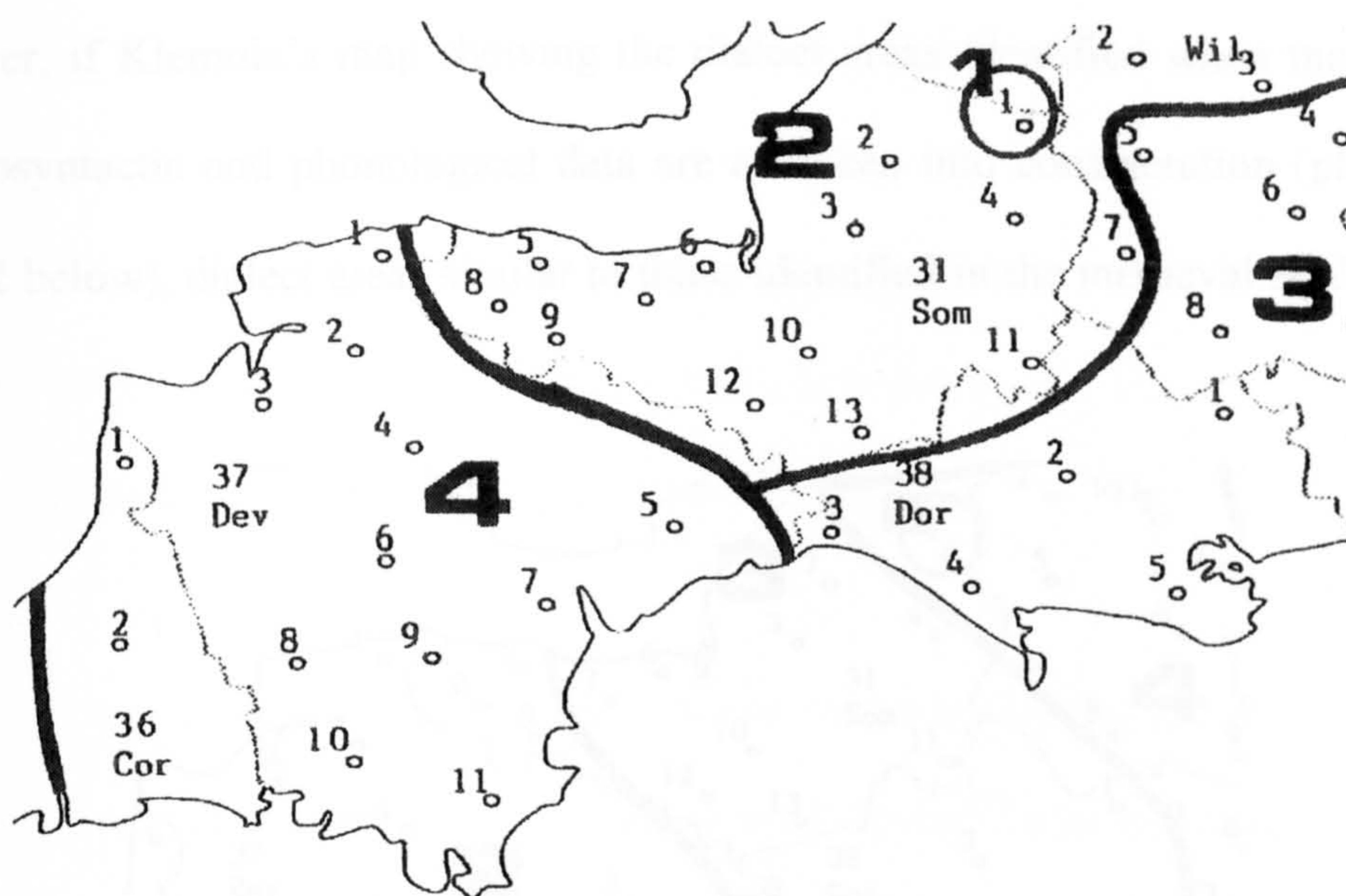
⁴⁴⁵ Ellis 1889

⁴⁴⁶ Klemola 1990

Comparing medieval dialect boundaries with those identified in later studies

Recent attempts have been made to identify twentieth century dialect boundaries in the West Country based on SED data and using cluster analysis. The methodology used was similar to that used in the previous chapter, except that a hierarchical method of analysis was used, along with phonetic transcription of spoken language rather than written language. Klemola also used lexical and morphosyntactic information in order to identify dialect boundaries. All of the informants interviewed for the *Survey of English Dialects* could be prompted to use specific local words and expressions either by asking them questions or asking for objects and pictures to be identified. A medieval study of dialect, on the other hand, relies on whatever evidence can be gleaned from texts and therefore specific local words are rarely found. The morphosyntactic variables used by Klemola involve mainly pronouns and the use of the verb TO BE. As has already been shown in chapter 6, pronoun exchange is a more prominent feature in twentieth-century West Country dialects than in the medieval West Country and so cluster analysis based on pronoun exchange would not yield very much valuable dialectal information.

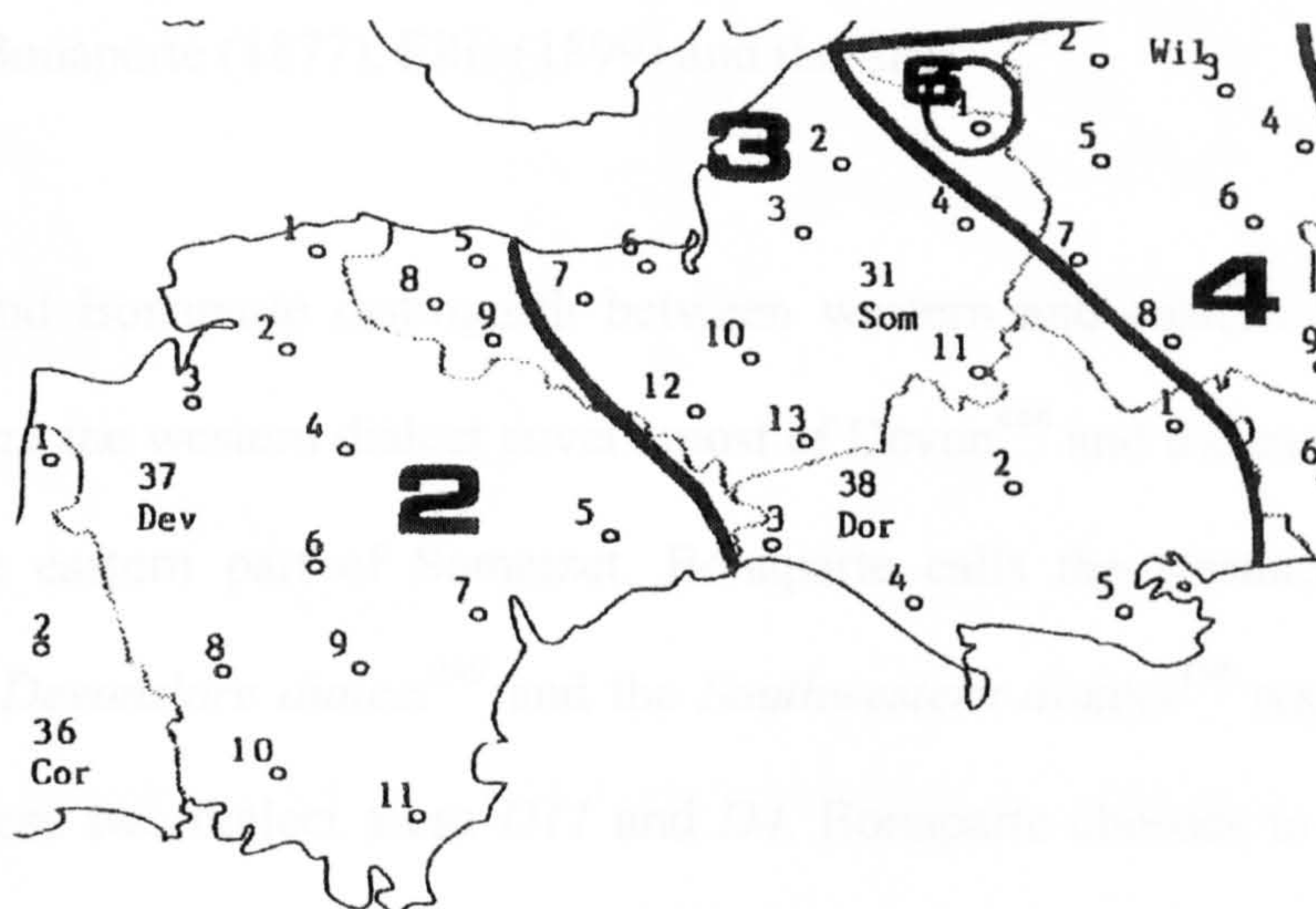
If Klemola's map of the dialect areas identified by cluster analysis of the phonological data only is considered (please see map 81 below), it can be seen that dialect areas end close to county boundaries.



Map 81: Dialect boundaries from SED phonological data subjected to cluster analysis. Klemola 1990: 377

A similar picture has been built up from medieval dialect information using both cluster analysis (chapter 8) and more traditional mapping techniques (chapters 4 – 7). Generally speaking there is an eastern dialect, including most of Somerset and Dorset with various sub-dialect groupings towards the North East of Somerset. There is also a *western dialect*, taking in most of Devon, but also often extending into western Somerset. Chapter 6, concerning West Country pronoun spellings, has identified that Dorset shares features with both Devon and southern Somerset, but most frequently the Dorset pronoun system follows that of Somerset. Cluster analysis has also revealed that Naples 13.B.29, localised to northern Dorset, has features in common with texts localised to southern Somerset. At this stage differences between the twentieth century cluster analysis of West Country dialects and this present study include the location of the boundary between East and West dialect groups.

However, if Klemola's map showing the dialect areas identified when the lexical, morphosyntactic and phonological data are all taken into consideration (please see map 82 below), dialect areas similar to those identified in the medieval study can be seen.



Map 82: Dialect boundaries from SED phonological data subjected to cluster analysis. Klemola 1990: 377

The western dialect area begins further west in Klemola's study than in the medieval study, where it extends as far east as Bridgewater and the Parrett estuary. There is also little evidence presented on map 82 to suggest any dialectal link between Dorset and Devon, whereas the link between the dialects of these counties is apparent in this present study based on medieval written language evidence, although the medieval Dorset dialect does have more features in common with the medieval eastern Somerset dialect.

The correlation between the medieval West-Country dialect areas identified in the present study and Klemola's twentieth century study of West Country dialect is

striking and there is even more evidence to reinforce historical continuity of these dialect areas in the West Country. As Klemola states:

‘... no major changes seem to have taken place during the almost 100 years between Bonaparte (1877), Ellis (1899) and the SED.’⁴⁴⁷

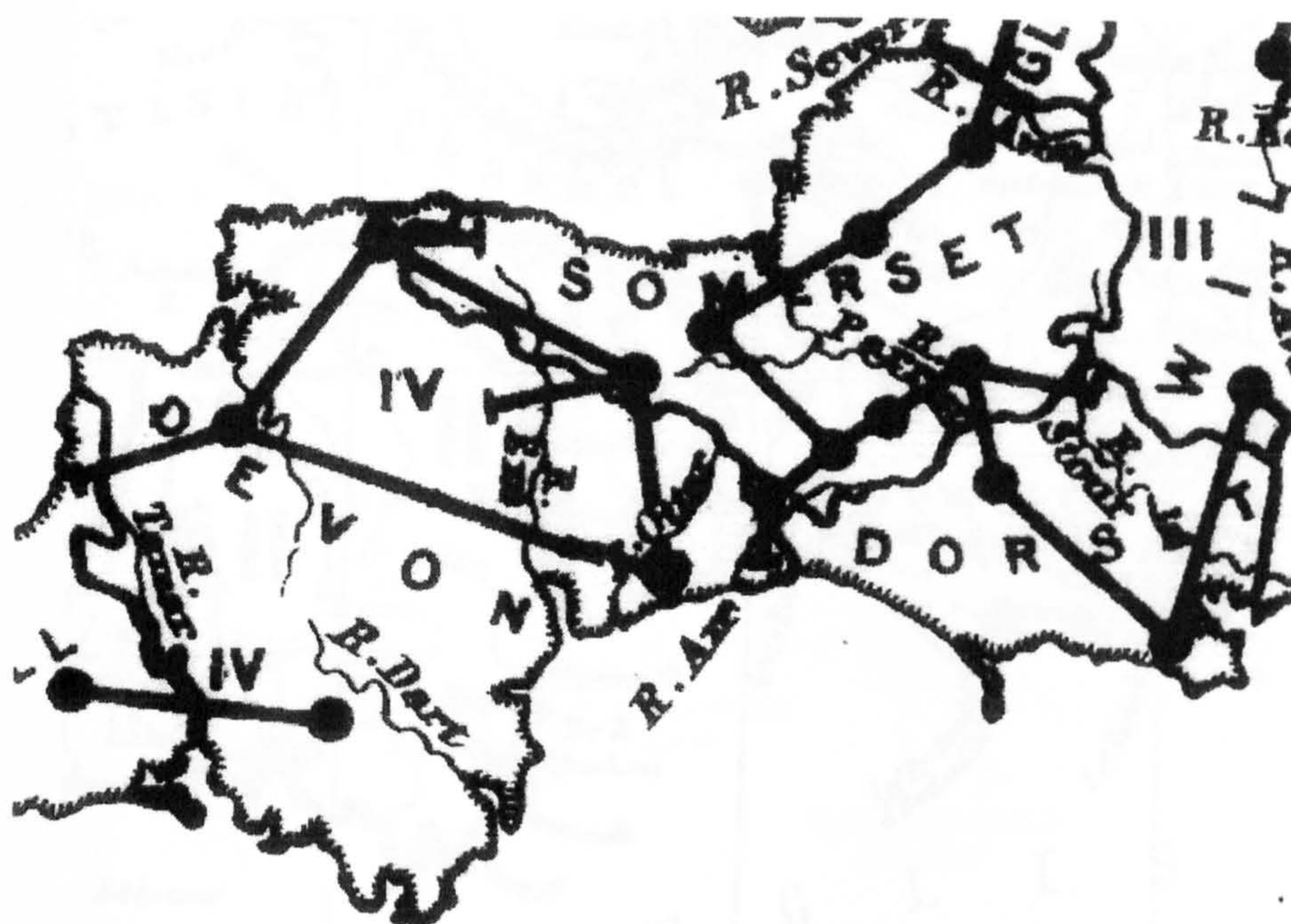
Both Ellis and Bonaparte distinguish between western and eastern West-Country dialects, where the western dialect covers most of Devon⁴⁴⁸ and the eastern dialect is found in the eastern part of Somerset. Bonaparte calls the western and eastern dialects: the *Devonshire dialect*⁴⁴⁹ and the *Southwestern dialect*⁴⁵⁰ respectively and Ellis calls these two dialect areas *D11* and *D4*. Bonaparte chooses to highlight the eastern and western dialect boundaries, while Ellis highlights the intermediate area found between these dialects, *D10*; however they are essentially identifying the same dialect areas. The dialect areas marked out by Bonaparte and Ellis are illustrated in maps 83 and 84.

⁴⁴⁷ Klemola 1990: 374


⁴⁴⁸ In Ellis's case, the area includes Cornwall

⁴⁴⁹ Dialect area IV on map 83

⁴⁵⁰ Dialect area III on map 83



Map 83: Late nineteenth century dialect areas identified by Bonaparte: Bonaparte 1877: 571

The symbol , extending from dialect areas IV and III on Bonaparte's map into the intervening area indicates that this Devonshire dialect (IV) 'projected' into the northwestern Somerset area and the Southwestern dialect (III) 'projected' into southeastern Devon. This means that features belonging to both these dialect areas (IV and III) are to be found in the intervening area.

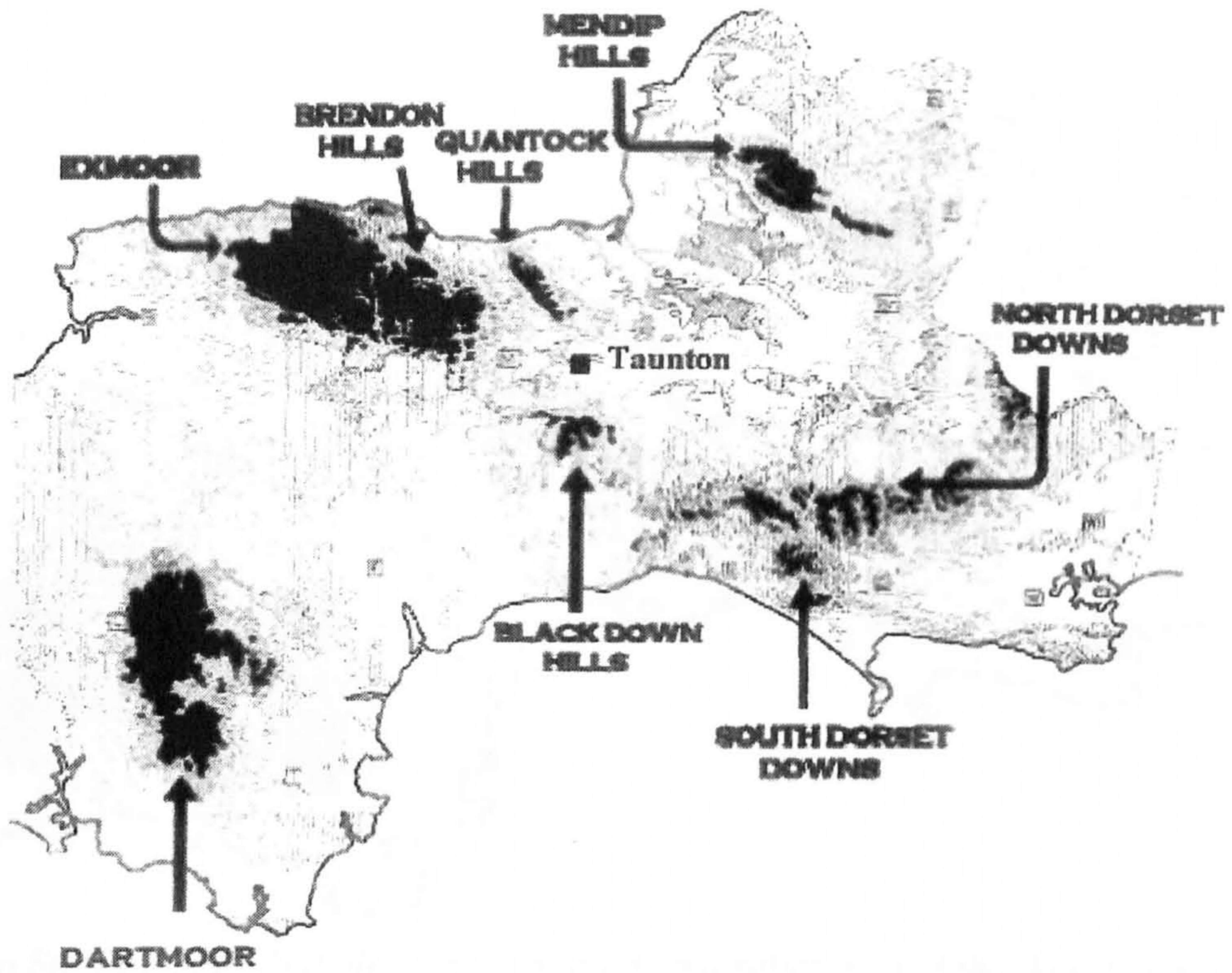
The mixture of features from eastern and western dialects that can be found in the intermediate area consisting of western Somerset and eastern Devon appears to have led Ellis to identify it as a separate intermediate dialect area, (area D10). It might be conjectured that it was Ellis's informant for eastern Somerset, (F. T. Elworthy, who was a native of western Somerset and had a specific interest in its dialect) who is chiefly responsible for the identification of D10 as a separate dialect area.



Map 84: Late nineteenth century dialect areas identified by Bonaparte: Ellis 1889.

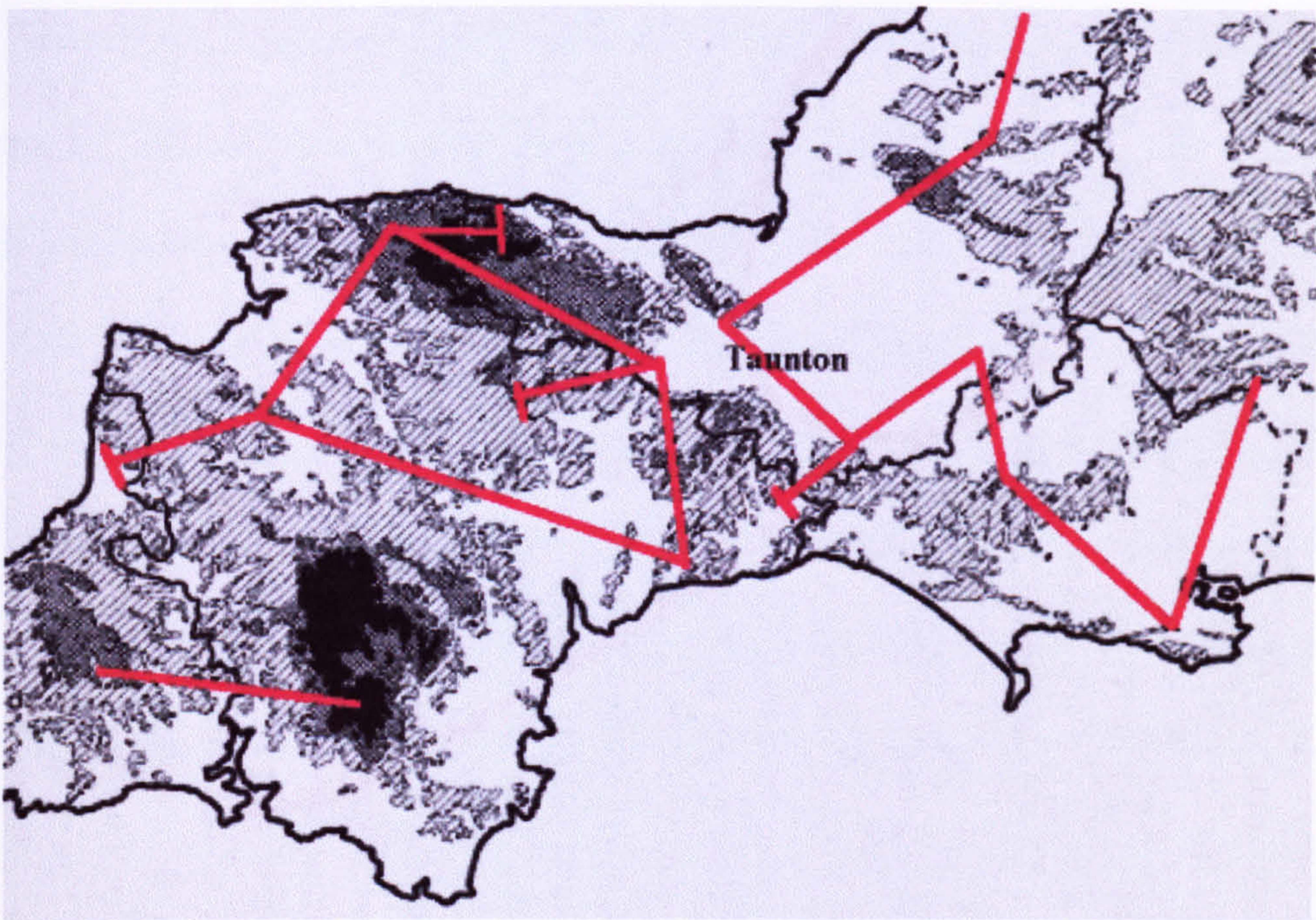
Both Bonaparte and Ellis identify roughly the same western boundary for the Somerset or 'Southwestern' dialect, which in the late nineteenth century extended as far west as Taunton. Anecdotal evidence from Elworthy, presented on page 23, suggests that the dialect boundary between Devon/western Somerset and eastern Somerset results from geographical features. The point of division between the two dialect areas during the nineteenth century is Taunton, a town situated in a narrow valley between two expanses of high-land. According to Elworthy, villages a few miles east and west of Taunton speak the eastern and western dialects respectively.⁴⁵¹ The areas of high land that restricted communication, as well as the location of Taunton can be seen in map 85.

⁴⁵¹ Elworthy 1876: 200

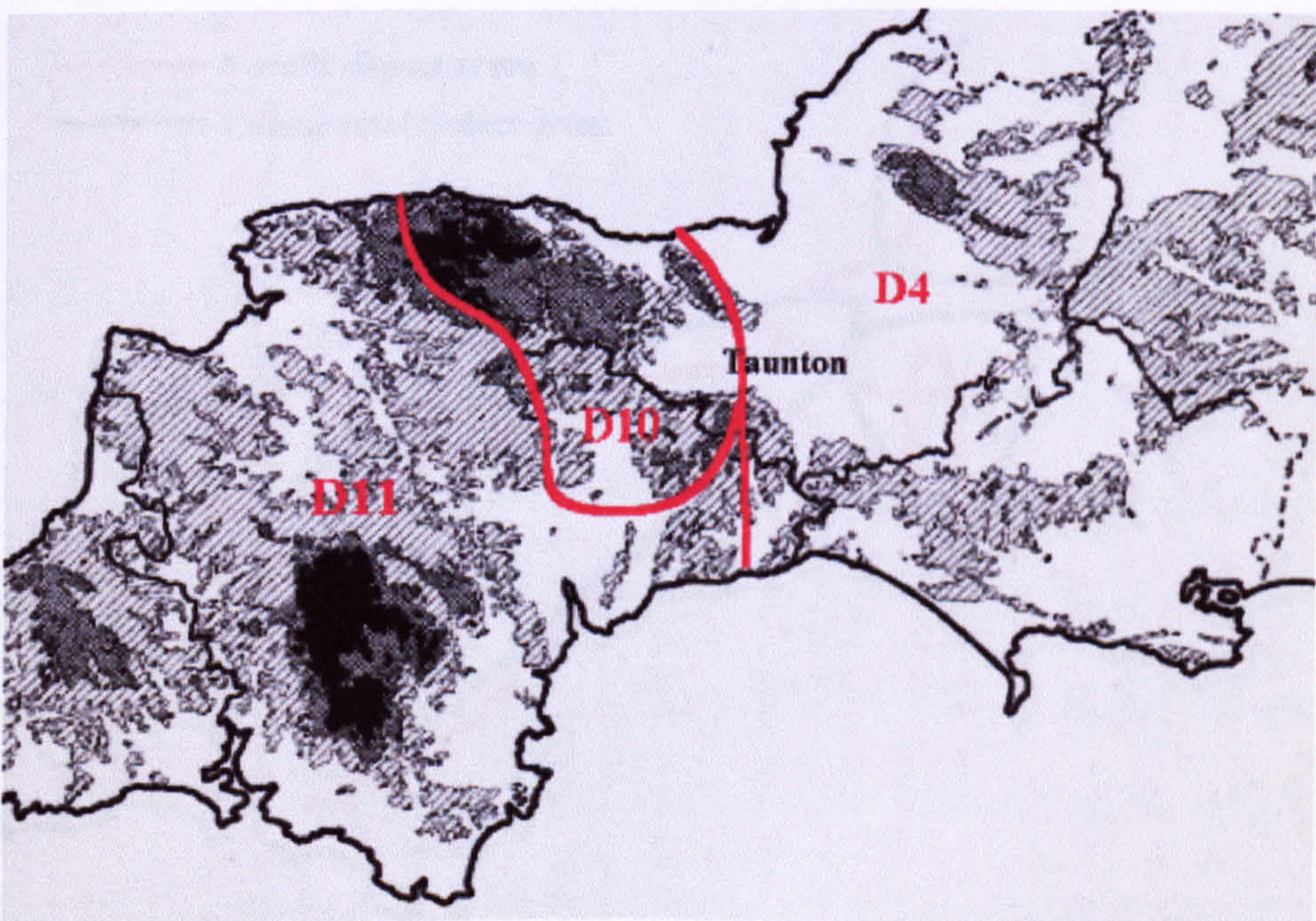


Map 85: Areas of highland in the West Country and the location of Taunton.

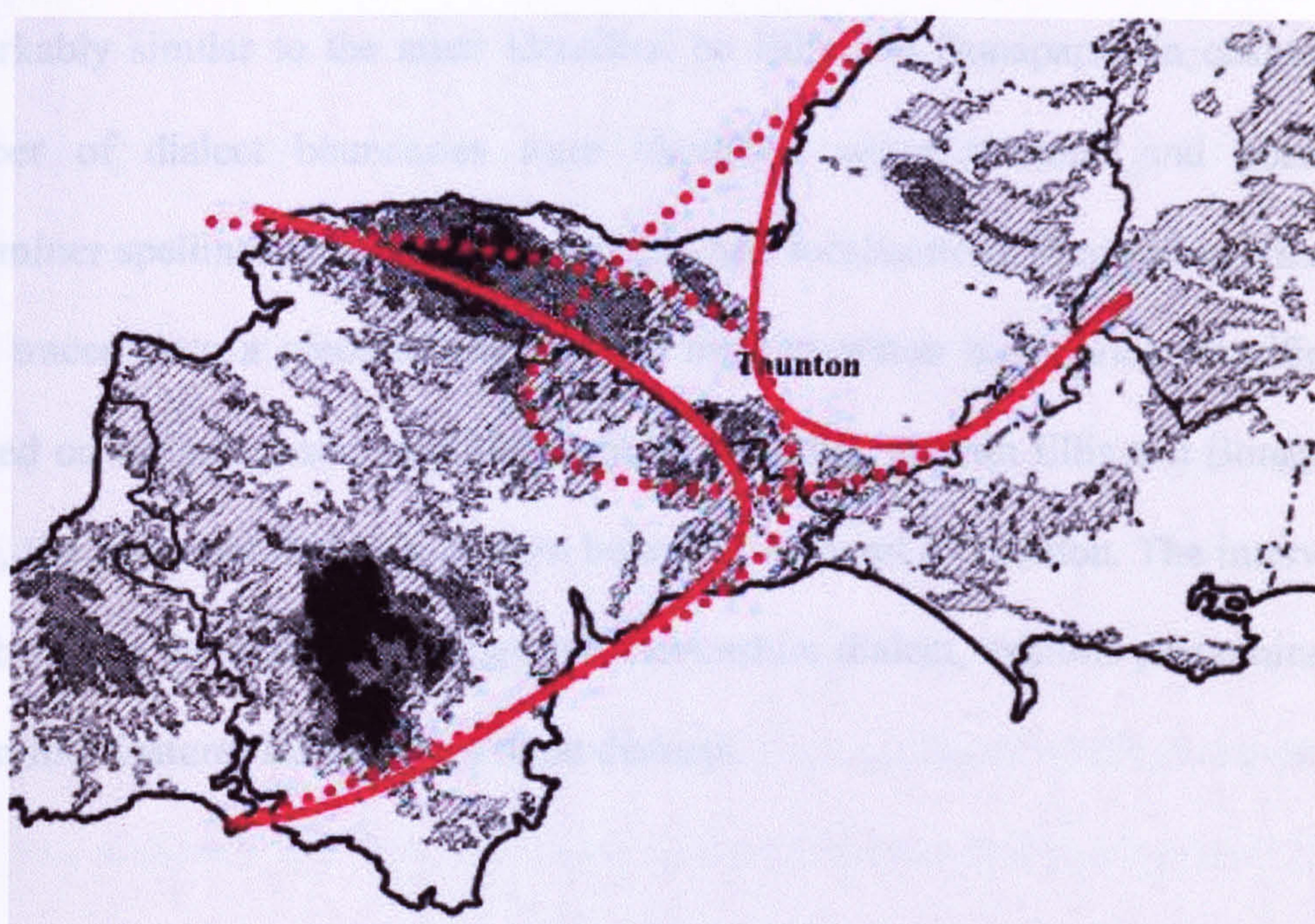
On the following two pages, the dialect areas identified in the late nineteenth century dialect surveys and those found in the present study of medieval spellings will be presented in map form. Bonaparte and Ellis's dialect areas will be presented first and thereafter the dialect areas identified in chapter 6 of this study using the spelling of pronouns will be shown along with the dialect areas identified using cluster analyses of the consonantal and vocalic information derived from medieval spellings.



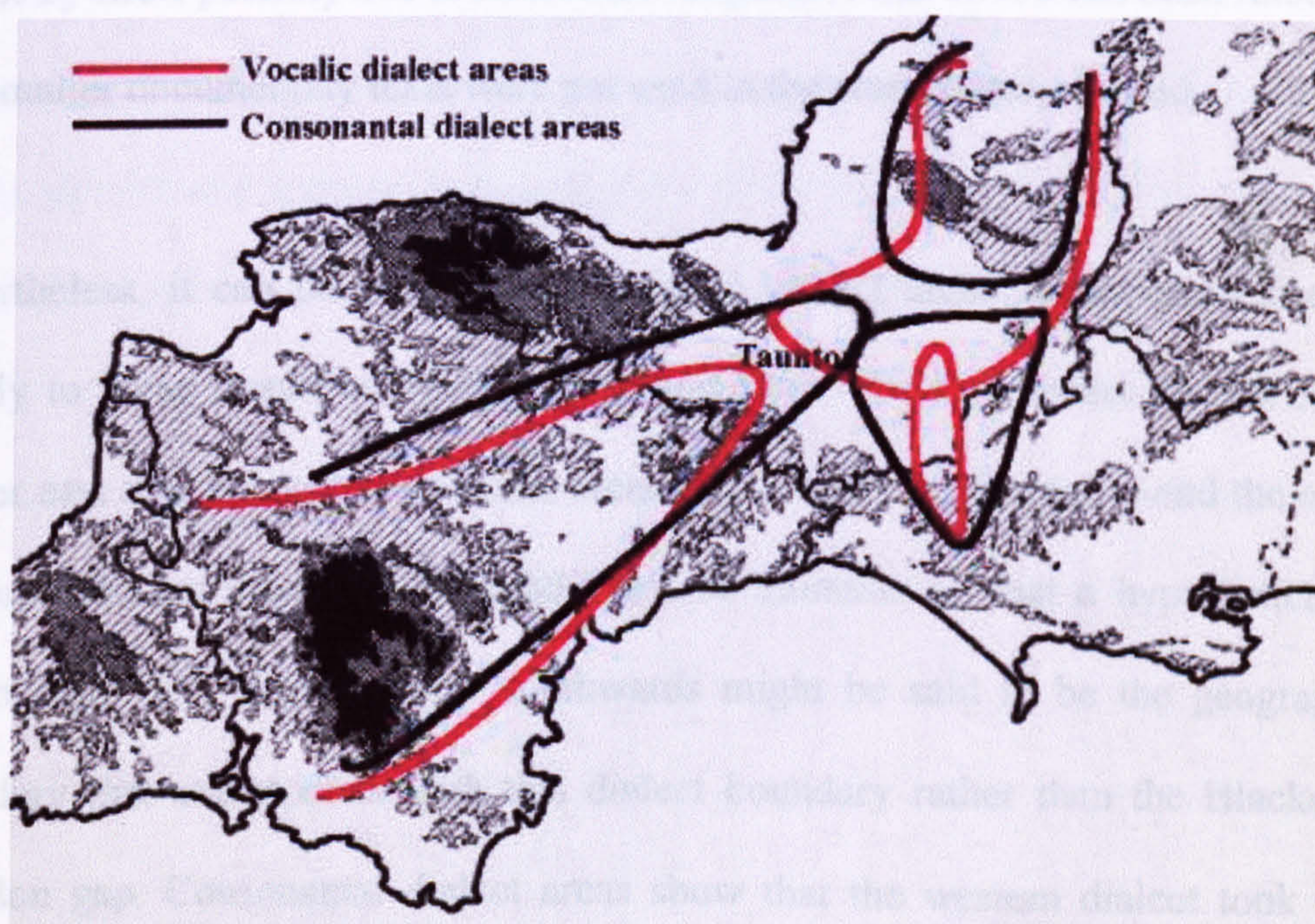
Map 86: Bonaparte's dialect areas plotted on a relief map of the West Country



Map 87: Ellis's dialect areas plotted on a relief map of the West Country



Map 88: Dialect areas identified using medieval pronominal evidence.



Map 89: Dialect areas identified from cluster analyses of medieval spelling features.

The dialect areas identified using medieval pronominal spelling evidence are remarkably similar to the areas identified by Ellis and Bonaparte. In chapter 6, a number of dialect boundaries were identified when pronoun and possessive determiner spellings were mapped onto LALME localisations. Boundaries identified were traced onto a piece of cell and the most common boundaries identified are marked on the schematic map 88. It can be seen that, as with Ellis and Bonaparte's study, the Somerset dialect's western boundary is found at Taunton. The intervening area between the eastern Somerset and Devonshire dialect, exhibits pronominal and determiner features from both of these dialects.

The schematic map of cluster analysis results (map 89) was created by superimposing the dialect boundaries identified from cluster analyses of vocalic and consonantal features onto a map of the relief of the West Country. On map 89, the Devonshire dialect area does not include northern Devon because there was a lack of information for this area. The main literary text localised to northern Devon formed a cluster by itself possibly due to its archaic language, Add. 33758 has been relocalised and smaller documentary texts were not used in the cluster analysis study.

Nevertheless, it can be seen that the vocalic dialect areas correspond reasonably closely to those identified by Bonaparte and Ellis. The Devonshire dialect extends further east than Bonaparte and Ellis identified -- as far as Taunton -- and the eastern Somerset dialect area begins slightly east of Taunton, so that a hypothetical line drawn from the Parrett estuary southwards might be said to be the geographical boundary that corresponds with this dialect boundary rather than the Blackdown-Brendon gap. Consonantal dialect areas show that the western dialect took up an

even greater part of the West Country and the eastern dialect was found only in the north east of Somerset during the medieval period. This result is not unusual if the medieval spelling evidence corresponds to the medieval phonology of this time. Sonorous sounds, such as vowels, undergo sound-change and loss much more easily than unsonorous sounds, such as consonants.⁴⁵² Therefore if a dialect boundary was shifting westwards, it might be assumed that vowel sounds would prove far less tenacious than consonant sounds.

Analyses of both vocalic and consonantal features of medieval spellings showed that there was a dialect area that included southern Somerset and northwestern Dorset during the medieval period. This corresponds with dialect areas identified by Bonaparte (please see map 86); however, Ellis indicates that the whole of eastern Somerset and the counties of Dorset and Wiltshire constitute one 'southwestern' dialect and identifies no subdialects in Dorset.

Although dialects spoken in the medieval West Country and dialects spoken in the West Country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries cannot be directly compared with one another, it is useful to identify and compare dialect *areas* found during the medieval period with those found in later studies. Not only does the identification of similar dialect areas in other studies reinforce LALME's localisation methodology, but it also supports the assertion, that natural barriers and demography resulting from land relief are responsible for dialect geography in the West Country.

⁴⁵² Lutz 1985, Ohala 1999

To summarise this information: cluster analyses of data collected for the SED in the 1960s and cluster analyses of features collected from medieval spellings show that the dialect boundary between the western and eastern West-Country dialect were found a good deal further east during the medieval period. This result might be expected as most dialectal changes in the West Country move from east to west across the peninsula. New forms appear to have originated in north-eastern Somerset and gradually moved westwards. The river Parrett and the Blackdown-Brendon gap are significant geographical features corresponding to dialect boundaries. Beyond these boundaries, there is generally an intermediate area where a mixture of features from the eastern and western dialects are used. The present study of medieval

linguistic change. This would appear to have been the case in Devon and western Somerset. Urban or densely populated areas, on the other hand, tend to foster linguistic change. Social mobility and geographical mobility are common in towns and large villages where trading takes place. Social ties in these areas are much weaker and inhabitants are much more likely to come in contact with people from other parts of the country and to modify their speech. For this reason, innovations often move from one urban area to another without affecting the intervening area:

‘One of the most important ways in which this innovation has been implemented is by ‘jumping’ from one urban centre to another. Within specific languages also, it is known that innovations tend to spread from one centre of population to another without immediately affecting the intervening countryside (which is of course more sparsely populated).’⁴⁵³

Therefore it would appear that not only the geographical features of the West Country, but its demography have played a part in creating dialect areas in the medieval period and the twentieth century. It might be said that there are more similarities between the identified medieval dialect areas and the late nineteenth century dialect areas than there are between the twentieth century dialect areas and the late nineteenth century dialect areas. This can be seen if the results of the present study of medieval written language data and Wakelin’s conclusions concerning the eighteenth century West Country are compared:

⁴⁵³ Milroy 1992: 197

'Devon, with (East) Cornwall and (West) Somerset... may be regarded as the area which is the most homogenous in appearance... and which appears most stable in the retention of old dialect features... The easternmost part of the (southwestern) area is in direct contact with the regions further (north) and (east) and this serves as a buffer zone between central English and strictly (southwestern) forms.'⁴⁵⁴

According to Wakelin, increased geographical mobility since the 1830s as well as a standard education system⁴⁵⁵ and, it might also be suggested, the national media have caused many dialect areas to change or disappear more quickly than at any other period in the history of the English language. It is therefore a mark of the extent of dialectal conservatism in the South West that dialect boundaries have changed so little in there over the past five hundred years. Although the West-Country dialects found in the twentieth century and the medieval period differ greatly, it is still possible to identify Devon as being the more archaic dialectal area during both periods, while the Somerset dialect represents a southwestern dialect containing *standard*, eastern features.

⁴⁵⁴ Wakelin 1986: 18

⁴⁵⁵ Wakelin 1986:17

Conclusion

This thesis is a comprehensive dialectological and palaeographical survey of English texts localisable to the medieval West Country. It tests the localisation methodology of LALME using more up-to-date dialectological techniques, and offers an enhanced description of the language of the area. This thesis also contains a discussion of key linguistic problems, and offers a survey of handwriting practices used in the medieval West Country.

In the initial chapters of this study, a number of typical West Country phonological, morphological and grammatical features were identified, using studies and anecdotal evidence ranging from the medieval period to the twentieth century. It was therefore possible to contextualise -- and in some cases provide *phonological* evidence to support -- observations made from medieval written evidence. From this initial contextual linguistic survey, it was found that the language of the West Country has always been characterised by its resistance to linguistic change and that medieval West-Country dialect features have been comparatively well preserved over the centuries. The discovery that West-Country dialects tend to resist linguistic change caused me to focus on studying spellings that indicated the preservation of archaic dialectal features in the medieval West Country.

In the data-collection phase of this thesis, manuscripts localised to Devon, Dorset and Somerset in LALME were resurveyed and various spellings that were expected to vary diatopically across the West Country were collected. A study of the spellings

collected confirmed that, even during the medieval period, the language of this region was characterised by archaism, including the preservation of initial voiced fricatives and plosives and the preservation of a rounded reflex of the Old English front close rounded vowel *y*, which had unrounded and lowered in most other medieval English dialects.

West-Country dialects' resistance to linguistic change appears to have been fostered by the region's southwestern location in Britain at a time when most linguistic innovation was coming from the North and East of the country. However, the preservation of archaic written-language features was not found in all areas of the West Country.

Cluster analysis and traditional mapping techniques identified the presence of two main dialect areas within the West Country: one comprising the county Devon and the western half of Somerset, the other comprising eastern Somerset and Dorset. It was demonstrated that the western 'Devonshire' dialect was the more archaic of the two dialects, especially as it maintained older graphemic representations of vowel sounds, while the eastern dialect tended to contain newer forms current in the rest of southern England. The eastern and western dialect areas were separated by a hypothetical line running from the Parrett estuary to Charmouth in the South.

A geographical survey of the medieval West Country revealed that the line of separation corresponded roughly with the location of Blackdown and Brendon hill ranges in eastern Somerset. Nineteenth-century anecdotal evidence supported the limiting effect of these geographical features on dialectal contact. The distinct nature of the western and eastern dialects was also probably fostered by variations in medieval settlement patterns across the counties, created by varying land-quality and relief.

Early medieval demographic evidence from the *Domesday* survey showed that eastern Somerset contained a significant proportion of large boroughs, whereas Devon, western Somerset and Dorset were characterised by dispersed populations, living in small isolated hamlets. The agglomerative settlements of eastern Somerset appear to have encouraged social mobility and the spreading of forms belonging to dialects found further east, whereas the dispersive settlements of the far west appear to have inhibited geographical and social mobility and so helped preserve older dialectal features.

Later dialectal studies such as those of Ellis, Bonaparte and Klemola, based on spoken-language evidence, identify similar east/west dialect areas in the West Country, although the boundary between the eastern and western dialect areas is identified as being further west than in this study of medieval written material. The changes in dialect boundaries were seen to be remarkably small over a five hundred year period.

The fact that plausible dialect areas were identified in the medieval West Country and that, using the objective statistical technique of cluster analysis, clusters of texts formed cohesive groups when plotted onto their LALME localisations, supports the accuracy of LALME's localisations, even though many localisations appear to have relied on extralinguistic evidence.

In addition to the identification of diatopic dialect groups, the age range of manuscripts used in this study allowed diachronic changes in written language to be identified. Instances of the sociolinguistic phenomenon of consonantal

hypercorrection in medieval West-Country texts showed that, during the fifteenth century, there was a great increase of scribes' awareness of the formality of the written mode, as well as a better awareness of other varieties of written and spoken English. Scribes seemed to have made a conscious attempt to purge typical southwestern dialectal features, such as the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives, from their written language. Evidence that the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives was considered to be an undesirable dialectal feature in written language can be seen in the hypercorrection of French-derived vocabulary beginning with voiced fricatives to unhistorical voiceless forms.

Instances of hypercorrection of <w> to <wh> in most fifteenth century, but no fourteenth century, West-Country manuscripts not only shows that the voiceless labial-velar fricative had been replaced by the voiced labial-velar approximant in medieval West-Country phonology, but it also shows that the presence of the historical variant was considered more desirable than the new variant in written language. All of these features point towards an increased formality in the written mode in the West Country during the fifteenth century and the beginning of an increasing divergence between the spoken and the written English in the medieval West Country.

The principal achievements of this thesis may be summarised as follows:

- An in-depth analysis of the written language of the medieval West Country was carried out and defining phonological and morphosyntactic features of the medieval West Country were identified.

- The data-collection and analysis methodologies devised during the creation of LALME were applied and built on. A new method of analysing written language data was devised involving computer assisted techniques and allowing the localisation of manuscripts in LALME to be tested.
- Dialect areas and boundaries in the medieval West Country were identified and explained, then compared with dialect areas identified in other studies of West Country spoken English.
- A new method of describing and comparing the scribal hands of medieval West Country manuscripts was created and tested, involving the digitisation of manuscript pages and the creation of scribal profiles of the handwriting of many of the medieval texts used in this study.

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Description of Manuscripts guide

1. Name of the manuscript (given in bold) .
2. The surveyed text from the manuscript (given in bold).
3. Date of manuscript text.
4. Material of manuscript.
5. Foliated or paginated.
6. Script-type and any details about hand.
7. The languages found within the text (usually English and sometimes Latin, though on one occasion French) and the dialect of English used.
8. Folios surveyed
9. The number of lines surveyed
10. The LALME grid reference.
11. Bibliography

.....

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Albert I^{er} IV.998

Prick of Conscience

Date: Beginning of the fifteenth century.

Material: Parchment

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana mixed with secretary.

Language of the text: English, eastern Devonshire or western Somersetshire.

Folios surveyed: ff2r-22v and 84r-91v.

Number of lines surveyed: 1601

LALME grid reference: 320 120

Cambridge, Trinity College, 322 B.14.38**Homilies**

Date: Fifteenth century.

Material: Vellum

Foliation: foliated

Script: Anglicana (formata)

Language of the text: English; dialect of eastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-18r and ff130r-138r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1503

LALME grid reference: 375 146

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, B.14.40**Femina (Versified text used to teach children French)**

Date: 1415

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana formata

Language of the text: English and French; English, dialect of northern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff88r-139v

Number of lines surveyed: 807 lines

LALME grid reference: 354 158

Bibliography:

Wright, W. A. (1909). *Femina* (152). Cambridge: Roxburghe Club.

Cambridge, Trinity College, 1450 O.9.38**Miscellany belonging to a monk living in Glastonbury**

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Scripts: Anglicana formata

Language of the text: English and Latin; dialect of northeastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff16v-28v, 46r, 47r, 48v-49r, 58v, 63v-64r and 69v-70r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1031

LALME grid reference: 362 162

London, British Library, Additional 11748**Poem on the Instruments of the Passion (fragment)**

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana formata.

Language of the text: English, dialect of eastern Dorset.

Number of lines surveyed: 284

Folios surveyed: ff144v-147r

LALME grid reference: 386 122

London, British Library, Additional 33758**Mandeville's Travels**

Date: End of the fifteenth century.

Material: Paper

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Mixture of anglicana and secretary.

Language of the text: English, East Somerset dialect.

Folios surveyed: ff3r-16v and 30r-38r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1472

LALME grid reference: 234 104

Bibliography:

Bennet, J. W. (1954). *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York: The Modern Language Association of America.

Hamelius, P. (1919-23). *Mandeville's Travels*. (EETS 153). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

Seymour, M. C. (1961). 'The Origin of the Egerton Version of Mandeville's Travels.' In *Medium Ævum* 1961. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Seymour, M. C. (1973). *The Metrical Version of Mandeville's Travels*. (EETS 269). London: Oxford University Press.

London, British Library, Additional 35288**Partonope of Blois**

Date: Late fifteenth century

Material: Vellum and paper

Foliation: Foliated.

Script: Secretary

Language of the text: English, dialect of southern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff27r-48r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1539

LALME grid reference: 354 122

Seymour, M. C. (1963). *The Bodley Version of Mandeville's Travels*. (EETS 253). London: Oxford University Press.

Seymour, M. C. (1967). *Mandeville's Travels*. London: Oxford University Press.

London, British Library, Cotton Otho Cxiii**Lazmon's Brut**

Date: Fourteenth century

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana

Language of the text: English; dialect Somersetshire

Folios surveyed: ff49v – 62r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1581

LALME grid reference: 345 154

Bibliography: Madden, F. (1847). *Lazmon's Brut*. London: Society of Antiquaries.

Volumes 1, 2 & 3.

London, British Library, Harley 2277**Southern English Legendary or Saints' Lives**

Date: c1300

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana

Language of the text: English; dialect of western Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-7v, ff69r-75v and ff222r-228r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1518

LALME grid reference: 315 131

Bibliography:

D'Evelyn, C. & Mill, A. J. (1959). *South English Legendary*. (EETS 244). London:

Oxford University Press.

London, British Library, Harley 2383**The collected poems of John Mydwyntyr**

Date: Second half of the fifteenth century.

Material: Probably paper

Foliation: Foliated.

Script: Bastard anglicana

Language of the text: English and Latin, dialect of eastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff24v-30v and ff46r-72r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1533

LALME grid reference: 370 156

Bibliography:

Bowes, R. (1949). Poems. In. *Modern Language Notes* (64). p454 – 461.

London, British Library, Harley 2386

Text one: Mandeville's Travels

Text two: Amis and Amiloun (fragment)

Date: Text one, late fifteenth century.

Text two, late fifteenth century.

Material: Paper.

Foliation: Foliated.

Script and hand: Text one is written in a secretary hand and hand of text two has a mixture of secretary and anglicana features.

Language of the text: English.: text one in western Devon dialect; text two in northern Devonshire dialect.

Folios surveyed: (Text1: ff74v-105v), (Text2: ff131r-137r).

Number of lines surveyed: Text one 1509. Text two 415 lines.

LALME grid reference: Text one 255 101. Text two 275 123.

Notes: One of three Mandeville's Travels localised to Devon.

Bibliography text one: see above.

Bibliography text two:

Leach, McE. (1937). *Amis and Amiloun*. (EETS 203). London: Oxford University Press.

London, British Library, Harley 2407

Alchemica

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Paper and parchment

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Bastard anglicana

Language of the text: English, dialect of eastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff3v-15v, ff52v-65v and ff91-102r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1401

LALME grid reference: 366 140

London, College of Arms. Arundel xxii

The Seege or Batayle of Troye and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia.

Date: Mid-fourteenth century.

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana with secretary influences.

Language of the text: English, dialect of the west of Devonshire.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-3r, ff40r-41v and 70r-72r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1750

LALME grid reference: 248 077

Bibliography:

Barnacle, M. E. (Ed.) (1927). *The Seege or Batayle of Troye: A Middle English Romance*. (EETS 172). London: Oxford University Press.

Longleat, Marquess of Bath's manuscripts, 32

Devotional text

Provenance and date: Fifteenth century.

Material: Vellum.

Foliation: Foliated .

Script: Secretary with some anglicana letter forms.

Language of the text: English and Latin; dialect of northeastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-2v.

Number of lines surveyed: 1031

LALME grid reference: 362 162

Longleat, Marquess of Bath's Manuscripts, 55

Arthur

Date: Early fifteenth century.

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana

Language of the text: English, dialect of north-eastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff3v-13v, ff42v-46r and ff55r-65r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1746

LALME grid reference: 375 165

Bibliography:

Furnivall, F. J. (1965). *Arthur*. (EETS 2). London: Oxford University Press.

Naples, Royal Library, xiii.B.29**Chaucer's Clerk's Tale**

Date: 1457

Material: paper

Foliation: Paginated

Script: Secretary with some anglicana letter-forms

Language of the text: English; dialect of northern Dorset.

Folios surveyed: ff2r-15v.

Number of lines surveyed: 593

LALME grid reference: 355 102

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 33**Sir Ferumbras**

Provenance and date: Exeter, c1377

Material: Paper

Foliation: Foliated

Script and hand: Anglicana

Language of the text: English; dialect of Exeter.

Folios surveyed: ff6v-15r, ff35r-38r and 60r-69v.

Number of lines surveyed: 1580

LALME grid reference: 298 097

Bibliography:

Herrtage, S. J. (1903). *Sir Ferumbras*. (EETS E.S. 34). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189

Three texts in different hands. Text one 72r – 115, Pythagoras's Golden Table; text two 210r-11r, poem predicting the future of the year from the day that Christmas falls on; text three 212r- end, predicting the future according to the phases of the moon.

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: paper

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Text one: bastard anglicana; text two: secretary; text three: bastard anglicana

Language of the text: English; dialect of southern Somersetshire.

Folios surveyed: (Text 1: ff72r-89v & ff90v-109v), (Text 2: ff210r-211r), (Text 3: ff212r – 219v)

Number of lines surveyed: Text one: 1593, text two: 80, text three: 465

LALME grid reference: All three manuscripts – 343 125

Bibliography:

Brown, C. (1916). *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*. pp 73-74 and index. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, C. (1939). *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p295. Oxford, Bodleian Library.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1447**Medica**

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Paper

Foliation: Paginated

Script: Secretary

Language of the text: English, dialect of southern Devonshire.

Pages surveyed: pp105-164

Number of lines surveyed: 1112

LALME grid reference: 277 074

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14**Prick of Conscience**

Date: Mid fourteenth century

Material: Parchment

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana

Language of the text: English, Devonshire dialect.

Folios surveyed: ff2r-13v, 89r-98r and 136r-144v.

Number of lines surveyed: 1769

LALME grid reference: 303 114

Bibliography:

Lewis, R. E. & McIntosh, A. (1982). *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the 'Prick of Conscience'*. Exeter: Short Run Press Ltd.

Morris, R. (1863). *The Pricke of Conscience*. Berlin: A. Asher & Co.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 216**Apollonius of Tyre (fragment, four pages)**

Provenance and date: Wymborneminster, beginning of the fifteenth century.

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Paginated

Script: Anglicana

Language of the text: English, dialect of Dorset.

Pages surveyed: The readable sections of all four pages.

Number of lines surveyed: 148

LALME grid reference: 401 099

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 232**Seven Penitential Psalms**

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Parchment

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana

Language of the text: English, dialect of southeastern Somersetshire.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-27v. (entire poem)

Number of lines surveyed: 1000

LALME grid reference: 366 125

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 236**Arthur and Merlin (Incomplete)**

Date: a1500.

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Anglicana.

Language of the text: English, dialect of Dorset.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-34v.

Number of lines surveyed: 1086 (entire text)

LALME grid reference: 379 094.

Bibliography:

Macrae-Gibson, O. E. (1973). *Of Arthour and Merlin*. (EETS 268 & 269). Volumes 1 & 2. London: Oxford University Press.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Greaves 54**Speculum Christiani**

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Secretary with anglicana influences.

Language of the text: English mixed with Latin; English, dialect of western Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-51r

Number of lines surveyed: 1560

LALME grid reference: 331 129

Bibliography:

Holmstedt, G. (1933). *Speculum Christiani: A Middle English religious treatise of the fourteenth century*. (EETS 182). London: Oxford University Press.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson .C. 655**Northern Passion**

Date: Mid fourteenth century.

Material: Paper.

Foliation: Foliated.

Script: Anglicana (faded).

Language of the text: English, dialect of eastern Somerset.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-44v.

Number of lines surveyed: 1158

LALME grid reference: 355 146

Bibliography:

Foster, F. A. (1913-16). *The Northern Passion*. (EETS 145-7). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson .D. 328**Miscellany belonging to Walter Pollard of Plymouth (Devon)**

Date: fifteenth century.

Material: Probably paper

Foliation: Foliated

Script: Secretary with some anglicana letter forms.

Language of the text: Latin and English; dialect of southern Devon

Folios surveyed: most pages of this manuscript contained a few lines of English.

Number of lines surveyed: 309

LALME grid reference: 247 056

Rugby School, Bloxam 1008**Mandeville's Travels**

Date: Fifteenth century

Material: Vellum

Foliation: Foliated

Text: Mandeville's Travels

Script: Anglicana.

Language of the text: English, dialect of eastern Devonshire.

Folios surveyed: ff1r-9v and ff13v-22r.

Number of lines surveyed: 1389

LALME grid reference: 320 105

Appendix 2: Questionnaire.

AFTER

AGAINST

AGAIN

ANY

ASK

BEFORE

BOTH

BURN

BUT

CHURCH

COULD

DAY(S)

DO

EACH

(N)EITHER.. (N)OR

ERE (CONJ.)

EVIL

EYE(S)

FIRE

FIRST

GIVE

GO

HIGH

HILL

IF

LAND

LITTLE

-LY

MAN

MEN

MANY

MIGHT

MUCH

NE+ (BE/ HAVE/ WILL/ witen etc)

NOT

OWN (adj.)

SHALL

SHOULD

SINCE

SUCH

THAN

THEN

THERE

THESE

THOSE

THINK

THOUGHT (n)

(AL)THOUGH

THROUGH

TWO

UNTIL

OE hw-words

WILL

WITH

WORLD

WOULD

YET

FIRST PERSON

Sg. (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

Pl. (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

SECOND PERSON

Sg. (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

Pl. (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

THIRD PERSON

Sg.
Masc (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

Fem (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

Plu. (NOM) (ACC) (GEN) (DAT)

TO BE

Indicative

first person.
second person.
third person (sg).
(pl).

Subjunctive

*
*
*
*

Preterite

first person.
second person.
third person (sg).
(pl).

Subjunctive

*
*
*
*

TO HAVE

Indicative

first person.
second person.
third person (sg).
(pl).

Subjunctive

*
*
*
*

Preterite

first person.
second person.
third person (sg).
(pl).

Subjunctive

*
*
*
*

TO COME

Indicative

first person.
second person.
third person (sg).
(pl).

Subjunctive

*
*
*
*

Preterite

first person.
second person.
third person (sg).
(pl).

Subjunctive

*
*
*
*

V - WORDS

Z/ ʒ - WORDS

<t> for <d>

<k> for <g>

<p> for

<d> for <þ>

<þ> for <y>

OE y - reflexes

BELIEVE

FLY

KING

KIN

KISS

LIVE

OLD

SIN

<eo> - reflexes

EARL

EARTH

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN



















KNEW

LIGHT

LOVE

WORTHY

Appendix 3: Abbreviations key (tachygraphs)

1. <a/e>  e.g.  <ham> or <hem>
2. <m/n>  e.g.  <um> or <un>
3. <a>  e.g.  <Adam>
4. <ur>  e.g.  <our>
5. final <e> **h** <he> e.g.  <nyghte>
6. final <e>  <ge>,  <me>,  <ne> etc.
7. <er>  e.g.  <water>
8. <ra>  e.g.  <grace>
9. <us>  e.g.  <ous>
10. <*> plural noun.
11. <♦> genitive noun.

Appendix 4: Linguistic profiles

Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, Albert IV.998 Prick of Conscience

AFTER	aft ⁹ (10)	after (4)	haft ⁹ (4)		
AGAINST	aʒens (11)				
AGAIN	agayn (5)	aʒeyn (3)	aʒen (2)	aʒenne (1)	
ANY	eny (15)				
ASK					
BEFORE	or (9) by for ⁹ (1)	by fore (7)	ore (2)	ere (1)	are (1)
BOTH	boʒe (22)	boʒ ^e (1)	boʒ (1)		
BURN(T)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> brenneʒ (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	brennyng ¹ (1) brēnand (1)
BUT	bote (96)	bot (1)			
CHURCH					
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> couʒe (5)	<u>plural</u> couʒe (2)	
DAY(S)	day (12) dawes ² (1)	dai (1)	dey (1)	dei (1)	dayes* (2)
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> doʒ (1)	<u>plural</u> don (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> dyde (1) dide (1) dude (1)	<u>plural pret</u> dyde (1)	
EACH	eche (21) ilkon (2)	echon (10)	ilke (7)	ilke a (3)	echone (2)
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noʒ ⁹ ...ne (4)				
EVIL	yvel (4)	euel (1)	yueles* (1)		
EYE(S)	eye (6)	eyen* (3)	eʒene* (1)		
FIRE	fuyr (3)	fuyre (1)			
FIRST	furst (10) furst (1)	furste (4)	ferst (2)	first (1)	fust ³ (1)
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> ʒyf (1)	<u>plural</u> ʒeueʒ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> ʒeuaʒ (3) ʒef (1) ʒaf (1) ʒevueʒ (1) ʒeaf (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> goʒe (1) goʒ (1)	<u>plural</u> goʒ (2)	
	<u>1st person pret</u> wende (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> wente (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
HIGH	heye (4) heyst (5)	heie (1) heyste (2)	hye (1) heyeste (1)	heyer (2) heieste (1)	heier (1) eyeste (1)
HILL					
IF	ʒif (18)	yf (13)			
LAND	londe (3)				
LITTLE	litel (7)	lite (1)			
-LY	-ly (24)	-liche (17)	-lyche (1)	-lye (1)	
MAN	man (141) māys ⁴ (9)	manne (3) mannys ⁴ (1)	mā (2) mānis ⁴ (1)	ma (2) manhede (1)	mon (1) mankende (6)
MANY	many (11)	meny (7)	manye (1)		

¹ Adjective² Folio 10r line 11³ Folio 10r line 11

MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myte (10) almyty (1)	myt (5) al mygti (1)	myte (24) al myti (3)	myte (4) myti (2)	almyte (1)
MUCH	moche (14)	muche (9)	myche (2)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc.	nys (2)	nel (1)	nolleþ (1)	nulleþ (1)	
NOT	noyt (54)	nouyt (19)	nauyt ⁴ (1)	nouy (1)	
OWN	oune (2)	ovne (2)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schal (2) schel (2) scholle (1)	scht ⁵ (1) schalt (1)	schel (47) schal (43) schulleþ (2) schol (2) schul (1)	schulle (24) schulleþ (15) schel (12) schul (9) schol (4) schal (4) scholle (3) scholles ⁶ (1) scholleþ (1) schalle (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			scholde (27) schulde (3)	scholde (12) schulde (1)	
SINCE	sipþe (2)				
SUCH	suche (11)	such (1)			
THAN	þa (6)	þan (4)			
THEN	þa (26)	þane (18)	þan (13)	þanne (11)	þenne (1)
	þo (2)	þonne (1)	þen (1)	þene (1)	
THERE	þ ⁹ (61)	þer (11)	þer ⁹ (3)	ther (2)	þed ⁹ (2)
	þere (2)	þeder (2)	þar ⁹ (1)	þe ⁹ e (1)	ther ⁹ (1)
THESE	þuse (1)	þis (1)	þes (1)		
THOSE	ham (4)				
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			þinkeþ (1)		
THOUGHT (n)	þouyt (5)	þoyt (1)			
(AL)THOUGH	þurj (6)				
THROUGH	þurj (15)	þourj (4)	þurj (1)		
TWO	tuo (1)				
UNTIL	til (4)				
OE hw-words (wh) (0)					
(w) (183)	wat (46) wile (9) wader (3) weder (1) uche ¹¹ (1)	wan (30) wyle (7) wan (3) wennys ⁹ (1)	war (13) wy ⁷ (6) wē (2) wā (1)	wen (13) wo ⁸ (5) weþ ⁹ (2) wam ¹⁰ (1)	wyche (9) wed ⁹ (4) wiche (2) nawer (1)
(h) (10)	huche (7)	ho (3)			
hypercorrection (1)	als ^h wo ¹² (1)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wol (8)		wol (14) wyl (2) wil (1)	wolleþ (6) wol (4) wil (2) wyle (1) nolleþ (1) nulleþ (1) ell ¹³ (1)	
WILL (n)	wylle (7)	wille (6)			
WITH(OUT)	w ¹ (50)	wiþ (7)	wyþ (2)	v ¹ (1)	wyt (1)
WORLD	worlde (17)	worle (6)	wo ¹ d (1)	worldis [*] (1)	
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			wolde (8)	wolde (2)	

⁴ Ambiguous meaning 'huche way is good & huche is nauyt', 'naught' or 'not'

⁵ Folio 6v line 8

⁶ Folio 5v line 29

⁷ 'why'

⁸ 'who'

⁹ 'whence'

¹⁰ 'whom'

¹¹ Folio 6r line 12 'which'

¹² Folio 12r line 5. Hypercorrect form.

¹³ Folio 4v line 23 'they will'

			wol (1)	wolleþ (1)	
YET	jit (14)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (32)	y ^f (13)			
ACC (sg)	me (5)				
GEN (sg)	my (5)	myn (1)			
DAT (sg)	me (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (15)				
ACC (pl)	ous (9)	vs (3)			
GEN (pl)	oure (8)	our ⁹ (2)	our (1)		
DAT (pl)	ous (3)	vs (1)			
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ^u (9)	þu (1)			
ACC (sg)	þ ^e (2)	þe (2)	þov (1)		
GEN (sg)	þi (1)	þy (1)			
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (11)	ye (1)			
ACC (pl)	ȝov (3)	ȝow (2)			
GEN (pl)	ȝow (1)	ȝovr ⁹ (1)			
DAT (pl)	ȝow (2)	ȝov (1)			
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (212)	hym ¹⁴ (1)			
ACC (sg)	hym (39)	hȳ (4)	hyn ¹⁵ (1)	hure ¹⁶ (1)	
GEN (sg)	his (88)	hys (3)	hy ⁸ (1)	is ¹⁷ (5)	ys ¹⁸ (4)
	his ¹⁹ (1)				
DAT (sg)	hym (11)	hȳ(1)			
REFLEXIVE	hym silf (12)	hym (3)	hȳ sylf (1)	hī silf (1)	hym sylf (1)
	hȳ silf (1)				
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	ȝeo (1)				
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þei (58)	hy (44)	þay (3)	hi (2)	hii (1)
ACC (pl)	ham (24)	hā (2)	hem (1)		
GEN (pl)	hir ⁹ (16)	hire (12)	hure (2)	her (1)	hyre (1)
	her ⁹ (2)	hyre (1)	hyr ⁹ (1)		
DAT (pl)	ham (11)	hā (1)			
REFLEXIVE	ham (3)	her ⁹ (1)			
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person	ert (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	is (144)	ys (81)	ysse ²⁰ (8)	his ²¹ (1)	isse ²² (1)
3 RD person (pl)	buþ (59)	biþ (2)	baþ (1)	bene ²³ (1)	
Subjunctive	be (11)	bue (5)			
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (25)	wasse ²⁴ (2)	were (1)	wer ⁹ (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	were (1)				
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (15)	were (6)	were (1)		
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (6)				

¹⁴ 'hym þynk'¹⁵ Folio 2r line 15 '... & hyn worschepe'¹⁶ Neuter object 'a book'¹⁷ Genitive inflection¹⁸ Genitive inflection¹⁹ Genitive inflection²⁰ Rhymed with 'processe'²¹ Folio 10v line 2²² Line-final rhyme²³ Rhymed with 'clene'²⁴ Rhyme

2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (21)	haueþ (1)	haue (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	habbeþ (8)	haþ (4)	haue (3)	haveþ (1)	haueþ (1)
Subjunctive	haue (1)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (8)				
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person	com (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (13)	come ^b (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	come (2)				
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	com (1)				
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<ɹ> for <d>	<furȝt> 'first' (1)				
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	oder (6)	moder* (5)	furde ²⁵ (1)	togedre (4)	fader (4)
	wad ⁹ (3)	hyder (2)	hyder (2)	þedre (2)	weder (2)
	forder (2)	wordye ²⁶ (1)	togeder (1)	erde (1)	þegre ²⁷ (1)
	enþyng ²⁸ (1)	wed ⁹ (1)			
<þ> for <y>					
<y> reflexes					
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	trowe (1)		leueþ (2)	leueþ (2)	
	wene (1)		leuaþ (1)		
FLY/FLEW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
FLIGHT (n)	flyt (3)				
KING	kyng (1)	kyngdom (1)			
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			leuaþ (2)	lyuaþ (2)	
			lyuaþ (2)	levaþ (1)	
			leveþ (1)	lyveþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			lyuede (1)	lyvede (1)	
			lyvede (1)		
LIFE	lif (22)	lyf (11)	lyve (2)	live ²⁹ (1)	lyfe (1)
	lyves* (1)	lyvyng (2)	lyvyng (1)		
OLD	old (6)	olde (5)	elde ³⁰ (2)	hold ³¹ (1)	
SIN	synne (25)	sýne (1)	synnes* (2)	synnes* (1)	synful (8)
	sinful (2)	synfully (1)	synner (1)		
EARL					
EARTH	erþe (21)	ȝurthe (1)	ȝourþe (1)	erde (1)	ȝerþe (1)
	ȝurþe (1)	ȝerliche ³² (1)	eþþly (1)		
FIGHT (n/v)					
HEAVEN	heuene (52)	heuēne (1)	heuē (1)	heue (1)	heuenes* (16)
	heuenes* (1)	euenes* (1)	heuene* (2)		
KNEW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	

²⁵ 'fourth'²⁶ <worthy>²⁷ Folio 87v line 7 <eche planete falleþ to bue/ heyer þan oþer in þegre> 'degree'²⁸ 'ending'²⁹ Noun³⁰ 'old age'³¹ Folio 3v 'h' has been erased³² Folio 21v line 29 <ffor of ȝerlich lif hit (bodily death) is endyng>

LIGHT	lyst (7)	lyst (2)	can (3)	conneþ (2)	knowynge ³³ (1)
LOVE			wot (3)	witteþ (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (7)	love (2)	knoweþ (2)		
WORTHY	worþi (3)	worþy (1)	wyste (1)		
Past participle marker	y- (55)		couþe (1)		
			lytly (1)		
			lov (1)		
			wordye (1)		

³³ Noun

Cambridge, Trinity College, Trinity 322 B.14.38
Homilies

AFTER	aft ⁹ (24)	aftir (4)	after (3)	aftyr (3)	
AGAINST	aʒenst (10)	aʒens (8)	aʒen (4)	aʒen ⁹ (2)	aʒe (1)
AGAIN	aʒen (4)				
ANY	eny (10)	any (3)			
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	by fore (16) ar (1)	bi fore (5)	axep (1) afore (1)	askyn (1) or (1)	to fore (1)
BOTH	boþe (25)				
BURN(T)	breen ³⁴ (1)	brēnȳg (2)	brēnynge (2)		
BUT	but (141)	bot (1)			
CHURCH	churche (33)				
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (33)	dai (1)	dayes* (1)	dayys* (1)	dayes* * (1)
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dost (3) doþ (3) dyde (1) dyd (1)	doþ (7)	
EACH	eche (15)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noþ ⁹ ..ne (2)	neþ ⁹ ...noþ ⁹ (1)	ne...noþ ⁹ ...ne (1)	not...noþ ⁹ (1)	neþ ⁹ ...no (1)
EVIL	yuel (6)	yuele (4)	euel (4)	euele (1)	
EYE(S)	eye* (1)	eyen* (1)			
FIRE	fyre (3)	fȳre (2)			
FIRST	first (20)	firste (5)	fyrst (5)	furste (1)	furst (1)
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			ʒueþ (3) ʒaf (7) wente (1) heyʒist (1)	ʒiue (2) ʒyueþ (1)	
GO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
HIGH	heize (2) hyeste (1)	hyer (1)	heyʒist (1)	heizist (1)	hyyste (1)
HILL					
IF	ʒif (55)	if (29)			
LAND	lond (1)				
LITTLE	litel (8)	litil (3)	litill (1)		
-LY	-lich (70)	-ly (19)	-lych (6)	-li (3)	-liche (1)
MAN	man (88) mānus* (1) man ⁹ kinde (4)	mā (4) mankynde (1) manhede (4)	mān ⁹ * (8) mākinde (1)	mānys* (2) mankinde (1)	man ⁹ * (1) mankynde (1)
MANY	many (23) mene (1)	manie (19) main (1)	maine (4)	manye (3)	mani (2)
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			myʒt (5) mizte (3)	myʒt (2) mizte (2) myʒte (1) myʒten (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (1)	almizty (1)			
MUCH	muche (23)	miche (1)	moche (1)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nille (1)	nis (1)			
NOT	not (77)	noʒt (56)	nouʒt (2)		
OWN	owne (2)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		sʒalt (16)	sʒal (21) schal (6) schul (1)	schulle (10) sʒulle (16) sʒal (12) sʒolle (5)	

³⁴ Folio 134v line 12 <þey sʒulle breen in fyre>

				sʒul (5)		
				schull (1)		
				schal (1)		
				schullen (1)		
				sʒol (1)		
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>		
			sʒolde (34)	sʒolde (38)		
			scholde (5)	scholde (3)		
			scold (3)	sʒold (2)		
			schuld (1)	schulde (1)		
			schulde (1)			
			sʒold (1)			
SINCE						
SUCH	suche (12)	siche (2)				
THAN	þan (34)	þanne (1)	þāne (1)			
THEN	þan (18)	þāne (7)	þā (2)	þanne (2)	þen (1)	
	þane (1)					
THERE	þ ⁹ (25)	þer (20)	here ³⁵ (13)	her ³⁶ (5)	þere (2)	
	þedur (1)	þare (1)				
THESE	þes (63)					
THOSE	hem (3)	þo (2)				
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>		
			þekyþ (2)	þenkiþ (3)		
				þinkiþ (1)		
				þenke (1)		
				þouʒts* (1)		
THOUGHT (n)	þouʒt (7)	þouʒte (1)	þouʒtis* (3)			
(AL)THOUGH	þowe (1)	þouʒ (1)				
THROUGH	þorow (10)					
TWO	two (19)					
UNTIL	til (5)	tille (1)				
OE hw-words (wh) (109)	what (26)	whan (22)	wʒat ³⁷ (5)	wʒāne ³⁸ (5)	whom (5)	
	while (5)	wʒan ³⁹ (4)	whiche (4)	whāne (4)	who (4)	
	where (4)	whanne (2)	whāne (2)	whistel ⁴⁰ (1)	wheþur (1)	
	whome (1)	wʒare (1)	wʒanne (1)	whid ^{9 41} (1)	whil ⁴² (1)	
	whēne (1)	wher (1)	wher ⁹ (1)	whā (1)	wheþer (1)	
	wheþ ⁹ (1)	whiles (1)	whō (1)	whare (1)	whar (1)	
(w) (17)	wiche (13)	wāne ⁴³ (1)	w ^h at (1)	wʒane (1)	wicche ⁴⁴ (1)	
(h) (2)	ho (2)					
hypercorrection (2)	whiles ⁴⁵ (1)	whiser ⁴⁶ (1)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>		
	wolle (2)	wolt (5)	wol (8)	wolle (10)		
	woll (2)		wole (6)	wole (4)		
	wol (1)		wolle (1)	wol (4)		
				wollen (1)		
				woll (1)		
				willes* (1)	willys* (1)	
WILL (n)	wille (28)	will (6)	wyll (1)			
WITH(OUT)	w ⁱ (75)	wiþ (8)	wyþ (3)			
WORLD	world (16)	worlde (3)	wordle (1)	wordlis* (2)	worldly (1)	
	wordlych (1)	worldliche (1)				
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>		
	wold (1)		wolde (11)	wolde (2)		
			wollede (1)			
			ʒat (1)			
YET	ʒit (13)	ʒut (4)				
FIRST PERSON						
NOM (sg)	I (32)	ic (1)				
ACC (sg)	me (4)					
GEN (sg)	mi (1)	my (1)				

³⁵ Folio 2v line 25 'herefore' <and here/ fore poul (St. Paul) biddeþ men...>

³⁶ 'herefore'

³⁷ 'what'

³⁸ 'when'

³⁹ 'when'

⁴⁰ 'whistle'

⁴¹ 'wheather'

⁴² 'while'

⁴³ 'when'

⁴⁴ 'which'

⁴⁵ 'wiles'

⁴⁶ 'wiser'

DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE	my self (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (77)				
ACC (pl)	vs (29)	us (1)			
GEN (pl)	oure (35)	owre (2)			
DAT (pl)	vs (5)				
REFLEXIVE	oure self (1)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þou (76)	þe (32)	þ ^a (10)	þu (8)	þow (5)
ACC (sg)	þoou (1)				
GEN (sg)	þyn (15)	þy (4)	þyne (3)	þine (2)	þin (2)
	þi (1)	þe (1)			
DAT (sg)	þe (10)				
REFLEXIVE	þe (3)	þy self (2)			
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (18)				
ACC (pl)	ȝow (2)	ȝou (2)			
GEN (pl)	ȝoure (6)				
DAT (pl)	ȝou (1)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (147)	hȳ ⁴⁷ (1)			
ACC (sg)	him (15)	hym (11)	hȳ (9)	hē (1)	
GEN (sg)	his (82)	hys (2)	is ⁴⁸ (1)		
DAT (sg)	hym (6)	him (5)	hȳ (1)		
REFLEXIVE	hym self (3)	him self (3)	him (2)	hȳ (1)	
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (5)	scho (2)	a ⁴⁹ (1)		
ACC (sg)	hure (2)	here (2)			
GEN (sg)	her (2)	here (1)			
DAT (sg)	her (1)				
REFLEXIVE	her (1)				
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þey (69)	þei (47)			
ACC (pl)	hem (46)	hē (3)	ham (1)		
GEN (pl)	ȝar (18)	ȝare (13)	her (12)	here (11)	þer (1)
DAT (pl)	hem (9)				
REFLEXIVE	hem self (5)	hem (4)	hym self (1)	hē self (1)	
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person	ert (6)	erte (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	is (222)	beþ (2)	ys (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	beþ (106)	beþe (2)			
Subjunctive	be (23)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	were (4)				
3 RD person (sg)	was (53)				
3 RD person (pl)	were (27)				
Preterite subjunctive	were (20)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (1)				
2 ND person	hast (9)	haste (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (50)	hauip (1)	haþe (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (18)	hauip (9)	habbeþ (3)	hauyþ (2)	
Subjunctive	haue (4)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hadde (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (4)				
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (4)	haddyn (1)			
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (3)	comyþ (3)			

⁴⁷ 'hy þenkyþ'⁴⁸ Genitive inflection⁴⁹ Folio 131v line 1 <a was a goude womman>

3 RD person (pl) Subjunctive TO COME Preterite	comyþ (1)	comeþ (1)	comen (1)	cōmen (1)	
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	came (4)	cam (3)	come (2)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (2)				
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	faders (15) whed ⁹ (1)	to gadere (3)	moder (1)	þedur (1)	gadered (1)
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> bileuede (1)	<u>plural</u> byleueden (2)	
BELIEF	byleue (17)	bileue (4)			
KING	king (3)	kyng (1)	kingis* (2)	kynges* (1)	kinges* (17)
KIN	kynrede (3)	kinrede (2)	kyn (1)		
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE	lif (14) lifes* (1)	life (2)	leyf (1)	lyue (1)	lyuyng (1)
OLD	olde (8)	old (1)			
SIN	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> syneste (1)	<u>3rd person</u> synneþ (1)	<u>plural</u> sūneþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> synned (1)	<u>plural pret</u> sinned (1)	
SIN (n)	synne (41) synys* (4)	sinne (7) synnys* (3)	sýne (4) synnes* (2)	sýne (2) synful (1)	sinnes* (9) sinful (1)
EARL					
EARTH	erþe (9)	erþyly (2)			
FIGHT	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> fiȝtiþ (1)	
HEAVEN	heuene (9)	heuenli (1)	heuenelich (1)		
KNEW	<u>1st person</u> wot (2) knowe (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> woot (1) knowiþ (1) wot (1)	<u>plural</u> wot (1)	
LIGHT	liȝt (20)	liȝte (2)	liȝtlich (2)	liȝtere (1)	liȝter (1)
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> louedist (1)	<u>3rd person</u> loueþ (2) louiþ (1) louyȝ (2)	<u>plural</u> loue (1) louyþ (1) louers* (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (37)	louynge (3)	unworþynesse (1)		
WORTHY	worþy (1)	worþi (1)			
Past participle marker	i- (3)				

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Femina (text used for teaching French to children)

Reference made to Wright, W. A. (Ed.), (1909) Femina. Roxburghe Club 152.
Cambridge.

AFTER	aft ⁹ (27)	afft ⁹ (2)			
AGAINST	agaynes (2) aȝeins (1)	aȝens (1) aȝene (1)	agayneȝ (1)	aȝeynes (1)	
AGAIN	aȝen (8)				
ANY	eny (5)				
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> askyþ (1) by fore (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	a fore (7)	er ⁹ (2)			
BOTH	bothe (2)	boþ ^c (2)			
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (58)	butte (3)			
CHURCH	cherche (1)				
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (2)	day ^s * (1)	dayes* (3)		
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> doþ (4) doth (2)	<u>plural</u> doth (1) doþ (1)	
EACH	eche (1)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL	euyll (5)	yuele (1)	euyll ⁵⁰ (1)	eueles* (1)	
EYE(S)	eye (6)	eyze* (2)	eyen* (2)	eyes* (1)	
FIRE	fier (5)	fyer (2)			
FIRST	fyrst (5) fyrste (1)	ffyrst ⁵¹ (3)	first (1)	fyrste (1)	furst (1)
GIVE	<u>1st person</u> ȝyue (1)	<u>2nd person</u> ȝyf (1)	<u>3rd person</u> ȝeuyþ (3)	<u>plural</u> ȝyue (1) ȝeuyþ (1)	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> goþ (3)	<u>plural</u> goþ (5) goth (1) go (1) heyȝhe (1)	hye (1)
HIGH	hyȝe (2) heȝgh (1)	heyȝgh (1)	heyȝe (1)		
HILL	hulle (1)				
IF	ȝyf (38)	ȝyff (1)			
LAND	lond (3)				
LITTLE	lytyl (10)				
-LY	-ly (27)	-lyche (1)	-liche (1)	-lych (1)	
MAN	mā (50)	man (6)	mō (1)		
MANY	manye (10)	many (2)			
MIGHT (v)					
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mystry (1)	almyȝthy (1)			
MUCH	muche (19)	moche (7)	much (4)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	naþ (1)	nel (1)	nys (1)		
NOT	nat (37) nouȝht (1)	nouȝth (8) nauȝth (1)	nouth (3) not (1)	nouȝth (2) nauȝt (1)	nouȝt (1) nauȝth (1)
OWN					
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schal (5) shal (2)	<u>2nd person</u> schalt (2)	<u>3rd person</u> schal (21)	<u>plural</u> schal (24) shulle (5) schul (2) schalle (2) shal (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> shold (1)	<u>2nd person</u> sholdeȝ (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schold (1) shold (1)	<u>plural</u> shold (1)	
SINCE					

⁵⁰ Adverb

⁵¹ Line initial

SUCH	swyche (4)	swych (3)	swych (1)	swich (1)	swych (1)
THAN	þn ⁵² (5)	þnne (4)			
THEN	þanne (15)	þnne (6)	þn (2)	þen ⁹ (1)	þen (1)
	þene (1)	þāne (1)	þē (1)		
THERE	þ ⁹ e (9)	þ ⁹ (7)			
THESE	þyse (31)	þyse (20)	þys (5)	þylke (3)	
THOSE	þ ^o (1)				
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				þenkeþ (2)	
THOUGHT (n)	þouȝth (1)	þouȝh (1)			
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH	þorv (2)	þoru (1)			
TWO	tuo (4)	two (1)			
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (101)	wher (17)	whnne ⁵³ (16)	when (18)	whēne (7)	what (6)
	whanne (4)	wh ⁹ eof (3)	when (3)	wher ⁹ (3)	whyppe ⁵⁴ (2)
	whete ⁵⁵ (2)	whan (2)	wh ⁹ e (2)	whych (2)	wheyle (1)
	whyȝt (2)	whē (2)	whyle (2)	whē (1)	whyles (1)
	whyȝt (1)	whyȝt (1)	whom (1)	wheþer (1)	why (1)
	whāne (1)	whīn (1)	wheyl ⁵⁶ (1)		
	wyche (2)	wych (1)			
(w) (3)					
(h) (0)					
hypercorrection (2)	whas (1)	swych (1)			
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wyl (8)	wylt (2)	wyl (3)	wyl (2)	
	wylle (1)		wyle (2)	wylleþ (1)	
	wyle (1)		wole (1)	wyle (1)	
WILL (n)	wylle (1)				
WITH(OUT)	w ¹ (51)	wyþ (15)	wyþ ⁵⁷ (1)	wyth (1)	
WORLD	world (1)	wordle (1)			
WOULD					
YET	.ȝytt (5)	ȝyt (5)	ȝett (1)		
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (43)	I ⁵⁸ (10)			
ACC (sg)	me (1)				
GEN (sg)	my (7)	mȳ (4)	mȳn (2)	myn (1)	
DAT (sg)					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (33)				
ACC (pl)	vs (1)				
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (3)				
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ^a (11)				
ACC (sg)	þ ^e (1)				
GEN (sg)	þȳn (3)	þȳ (2)	þȳn (2)	þȳ (2)	
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (102)	ȝow (2)			
ACC (pl)	ȝow (36)				
GEN (pl)	ȝour ⁹ (28)	ȝo ⁹ (13)	ȝo ⁹ u (5)	ȝoure (3)	ȝo ⁹ e (1)
	ȝour (1)	ȝowr ⁹ (2)			
DAT (pl)	ȝow (2)				
REFLEXIVE	ȝow (3)	ȝowe (1)	ȝe self (1)		
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (52)				
ACC (sg)	hȳ (17)	hȳm (8)			
GEN (sg)	hȳs (35)				
DAT (sg)	hȳm (6)	hȳ (3)			

⁵² Please refer to tachygraph 1 on abbreviations key.

⁵³ Folio 102r line 16

⁵⁴ 'whip'

⁵⁵ 'wheat'

⁵⁶ 'wheel'

⁵⁷ Folio 97v line 12

⁵⁸ Line initial

REFLEXIVE	hȳ (2)	hȳ self (1)	hȳ selffe (1)	hȳm self (1)	
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	she (9)	sche (7)			
ACC (sg)	hyr ^o (3)	her ^o (1)			
GEN (sg)	hyr ^o (4)	hir ^o (2)			
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þey (21)				
ACC (pl)	hem (6)	hē (5)			
GEN (pl)	har ^o (10)	har (2)	hare (1)		
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE	hem (1)				
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	ys (143)	is (1)	beþ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	beþ (21)	beth (5)	ben (4)	beth (1)	
Subjunctive	be (15)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (4)	whas (1)			
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive					
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (6)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (11)	hath (5)	hath (4)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (17)	hauþ (14)	haþ (10)	haueþ (3)	hath (2)
Subjunctive	haue (2)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (6)	comeþ ^c (1)	come (1)	comyþ (1)	cometh (1)
3 RD person (pl)	com (1)	come (1)	comeþ (1)	comē (1)	
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS	<vox> 'fox' (1)				
Z / ȝ WORDS	<jee> 'sea' (4)	<howz> 'house' (1)			
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<drynge> for 'drink' (1)				
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	to geder ^o (8)	gader (4)	donder ^o (1)	to gyder (1)	modyr (1)
<þ> for <y>	<y ^c > for 'þe' (1)				
BELIEVE					
FLY/FLEW					
KING	kyng (2)	kyngdom (1)			
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE	lyf (2)	lyue (1)	liue (1)		
OLD	old (2)	olde (1)			
SIN	synne (5)	synneȝ* (2)	synes* (1)		

⁹⁹ 'thunder'

EARL	erl (1)				
EARTH					
FIGHT					
HEAVEN					
KNOW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> cā (1)	<u>plural</u> knowe (1)	
LIGHT					
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> louep (1)	<u>plural</u> loue (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> loued (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
LOVE (n)	loue (4)	love;* (1)			
WORTHY					
Past participle marker	y- (62)				

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Miscellaneous texts in a book belonging to a monk living in Glastonbury. (Surveyed from original manuscript).

AFTER	after ⁹ (12)	afyr ⁹ (3)	after (2)		
AGAINST	ayens (1)	agayn (1)	agayne (1)		
AGAIN	ageyne (1)	ayen (1)			
ANY	eny (5)	any (1)			
ASK	<u>1st person</u> aske (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> askyth (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u> askyd (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	afore (4)	or (3)	by fore (1)		
BOTH	both (11)	bothe (8)			
BURN(T)	brente ⁶⁰ (1)				
BUT	but (30)	butt (1)	butte (1)		
CHURCH	chyrche (1)				
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> cowthe (1)	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u> cowde (2)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u> cowde (1)	
DAY(S)	day (16)	daye (2)	days* (1)	dayes* (1)	
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> doyst (1)	<u>3rd person</u> doth (8)	<u>plural</u> doth (4)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> dyd (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
EACH	eche (4)	eych (1)	ech (1)		
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nother ⁹ ...ne... (2)	nothere...ne... (2)	no...nother ⁹ (1)	nother ⁹ ... none (1)	nor ⁹ ...noythyr ⁹ (1)
	nother ⁹ ...nother ⁹ (1)	nother ⁹ ...nor ⁹ (1)	ne... nother (1)		
EVIL	yevyl (1)	vulefull (1)			
EYE(S)	ye (3)	eye (3)	yee (1)	yeen* (1)	yen* (1)
FIRE	fyre (1)				
FIRST	fyrste (4)	frust (1)			
GIVE					
GO	<u>1st person</u> go (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> goth (1)	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u> went (2)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u> wente (1)	
	wente (1)				
HIGH	hy (6)	hye (2)	hyghe (1)		
HILL	hyll (1)				
IF	yff (23)	yf (9)			
LAND	lond (3)	londe (1)			
LITTLE	lytell (1)	lytyl (1)			
-LY	-ly (29)	-lye (1)			
MAN	man (35)	wyrt (2)	wyrt (1)	mannys* (2)	
MANY	many (9)	meny (9)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> myght (1)	<u>3rd person</u> myght (3) mygth (1) myght (1)	<u>plural</u> myght (1)	
	mygth (2)	almyty (2)			
MIGHT (n/Aj)	moche (5)	mochell (1)			
MUCH					
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	not (36)	noght (10)	noyt (9)	nouyt (2)	nott (1)
	nough (1)	notte (1)			
OWN	owne (2)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schall (2)	<u>2nd person</u> schalt (11) schall (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schall (20) schal (4)	<u>plural</u> schal (3) schall (3)	
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
SHOULD					

⁶⁰ Adjective

	scholde (3)		schulde (3) schold (1) schuld (1)	scholde (2)	
SINCE					
SUCH	suche (8)	such (1)	soche (1)	swych (1)	
THAN	then (6)	than (3)			
THEN	then (15)	than (6)	then ⁹ (3)		
THERE	ther ⁹ (32)	there (19)	ther (4)	þ ⁹ (2)	thennys (1)
THESE	thes (3)	these (1)			
THOSE					
THINK	<u>1st person</u> thynke (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> thynkyth (1) thynkes (1)	<u>plural</u> thynke (2)	
	<u>1st person pret</u> thought (2) thoght (1) thowth (1) thogh (1) throwe (2) twoo (3) tyll (5) what (24) when ⁹ (3) whedyr ⁹ (1) whye (2) whales ⁶³ (1) wych (1) hoo (2) whyng ⁶⁴ (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u> thowyt (1) thought (1) throw (1) too (2) tyl (1) who (16) wher ⁹ (3) whan (2) whom (1) wyche (1) ho (1) whynges* (1)	<u>3rd person pret</u> thoughtis (1) thoght (1) thorow (1) two (2) where (14) whan ⁹ (3) whas (2) wham (1)	<u>plural pret</u> thow (1) thorwe (1) tweyne ⁶¹ (1) when (9) why (2) whyle (2) whenne (1)	though (1) whyte (3) whether ⁹ (2) whych (2) whare ⁶² (1)
THOUGHT (n)					
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH					
TWO					
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (93)					
(w) (2)					
(h) (3)					
hypercorrection (2)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wul (3) wyll (1)	<u>2nd person</u> wolte (1)	<u>3rd person</u> woll (12) wyl (8) wul (3) wull (3)	<u>plural</u> woll (5) wul (2) wull (1)	
WILL (n)	wyll (2)				
WITH(OUT)	w' (45)	wyth (31)	wyth (2)	wyt (1)	
WORLD	worlde ⁶⁵ (4)	worle (3)	world ⁹ (1)	worlle (1)	
WOULD	<u>1st person</u> wolde (1)	<u>2nd person</u> wolte (4) woldyste (1) wult (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (4) wold (2) woold (1) wuld (1)	<u>plural</u> wold (5) wolde (1)	
YET	yet (3)	yett (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (119)				
ACC (sg)	me (36)				
GEN (sg)	my (52)	myne (2)	myn (2)		
DAT (sg)	me (6)				
REFLEXIVE	me (5)	my selfe (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (12)				
ACC (pl)	vs (8)				
GEN (pl)	owre (8)				
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	thow (60)	þ ⁹ (12)	thu (7)	the (1)	
ACC (sg)	the (19)				
GEN (sg)	thy (34)	thyn ⁹ (2)	thyne (1)		
DAT (sg)	the (1)				
REFLEXIVE	the (1)	thyne (1)			
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (15)	yee (1)			
ACC (pl)	yow (8)				

⁶¹ 'two'⁶² Line final⁶³ Genitive plural 'whales'⁶⁴ 'wing'⁶⁵ <worde> 'l' added later. In margin is written <: worlde> in same hand.

GEN (pl)	yowre (8)				
DAT (pl)	yow (2)				
REFLEXIVE	yow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (70)	hym ⁶⁶ (2)			
ACC (sg)	hym (20)				
GEN (sg)	hys (54)	his (2)	is ⁶⁷ (1)	ys ⁶⁸ (1)	
DAT (sg)	hym (3)				
REFLEXIVE	hym selfe (1)	hym sylfe (1)	hym (1)		
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (25)	scheo (4)	schec (2)	schec ⁶⁹ (2)	
ACC (sg)	here (18)				
GEN (sg)	here (19)				
DAT (sg)	here (4)				
REFLEXIVE	here (1)				
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (38)	thay (2)	þey (1)	þay (1)	
ACC (pl)	hem (13)	them (6)	tham (2)	ham (2)	thaym (1)
	them ⁹ (1)				
GEN (pl)	here (10)	ther ⁹ (6)	theyre (5)	there (4)	her ⁹ (2)
	hare (1)	thayr (1)			
DAT (pl)	them (3)	ham (2)			
REFLEXIVE	ham (2)				
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (3)				
2 ND person	artte (1)	art (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (70)	is (15)	beth (1)	hys ⁷⁰ (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	beth (7)	ben (2)	beþ (1)	beth (1)	bethe (1)
	be (3)	byth (2)			
Subjunctive	be (22)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person	was (3)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (43)	wasse ⁷¹ (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (13)	ware (1)	wer ⁹ (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	were (5)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (5)				
2 ND person	haste (3)	hast (2)			
3 RD person (sg)	hath (30)	hathe (1)	haue (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (7)	hath (1)			
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (2)				
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive	had (8)				
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	commyth (1)	comyth (1)			
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person	com ⁹ (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (2)	cam (2)	comyt (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	came (2)				
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS	<thryffe> for 'thrive' (1)				

⁶⁶ Impersonal construction 'hym lakkyd' and 'hym luste'

⁶⁷ Genitive inflection

⁶⁸ Genitive inflection

⁶⁹ Line final

⁷⁰ Folio 45r line 37

⁷¹ Line Final rhymed with 'grace'

Z / ȝ WORDS

<t> for <d>

<k> for <g>

<p> for

<d> for <þ>

<þ> for <y>

bagbytyng⁹ (1)

fedyr̄s (6)

moder (2)

fader (1)

odyr (1)

gedyr (1)

BELIEF

belyue (4)

bylyue (2)

KING

kyng⁹ (11)kynggs^{*} (2)kings^{*} (1)

KIN

kyn⁹ (1)

kynne (1)

KISS

1st person pret2nd person pret3rd person pretplural pret

kyste (1)

KISS (n)

cosse (2)

kyssyng⁹ (2)

LIVE

1st person2nd person3rd personplural

LIFE

lyfe (5)

lyffe (2)

lyue (2)

leueþ (1)

OLD

oolde (2)

olde (1)

elde (1)

alyue (1)

luff (1)

SIN

synne (3)

synnys^{*} (2)

EARL

EARTH

erth (2)

erthe (1)

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

hevyn⁹ (1)heuen⁹ * (2)hevyn^{*} (1)

KNEW

1st person2nd person3rd personpluralcan⁹ (1)

knowyste (1)

can (2)

know (1)

knowist (1)

wete (1)

LIGHT

lyght (1)

lyȝt (1)

lyȝter (1)

lyȝtyst (1)

LOVE

1st person2nd person3rd personplural

louyþ (1)

loue (1)

LOVE (n)

loue (8)

louers⁷² (1)

WORTHY

worthy (4)

worthely (1)

worthyly (1)

Past participle marker

y- (18)

⁷² Plural

Linguistic Profiles

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Poem on the Instruments of the Passion

AFTER	after (1)			
AGAINST				
AGAIN				
ANY	eny (4)			
ASK				
BEFORE	by fore` (1)	or (1)		
BOTH	bothe (3)			
BURN(T)				
BUT	bote (2)			
CHURCH				
COULD				
DAY(S)	day (6)	dayes* (4)		
DO				
EACH	eche (2)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR				
EVIL	euele (1)			
EYE(S)	eye (1)	eyen* (2)	eyene* (1)	
FIRE				
FIRST				
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
		ʒif (1)	ʒef (2)	
			ʒif (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>Plural pret</u>
				ʒaf (1)
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	te ⁷³ (1)		gooth (1)	
HIGH				
HILL				
IF	ʒif (2)			
LAND				
LITTLE				
-LY	-ly (1)	-liche (1)		
MAN	man (6)	men (5)		
MANY				
MIGHT (v)				
MIGHT (n/Aj)				
MUCH				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc				
NOT	noʒt (1)	nouʒt (1)		
OWN				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	schal (2)		schal (1)	scholle (1)
SHOULD				
SINCE				
SUCH				
THAN				

⁷³ Rhymed with 'eye'

THEN					
THERE	ther (11)	þ ⁹ (4)	there (1)	þere (1)	þuder (1)
THESE	these (1)	þes (1)			
THOSE					
THINK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>Plural pret</u>	
	þoujt (1)				
(AL)THOUGH	tho (1)				
THROUGH	þurw (4)	thoru (1)	þorgh (1)		
TWO	to (1)				
UNTIL					
OE hw-words					
wh (12)	whanne (6)	whan (3)	white (1)	wher (1)	what (1)
Hypercorrection (2)	where ⁷⁴ (1)	whende ⁷⁵ (1)			
WILL (v)					
WILL (n)					
WTTH(OUT)	wiþ (20)	with (14)	w ^t (1)		
WORLD					
WOULD					
YET					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (27)				
ACC (sg)	me (17)				
GEN (sg)	my (13)	myn (6)			
DAT (sg)					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (4)				
ACC (pl)	ous (4)	us (1)	vs (1)		
GEN (pl)	oure (7)				
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þow (5)	thow (1)	the (1)		
ACC (sg)	þe (2)				
GEN (sg)	þin (5)	þi (5)	þyn (1)	thi (1)	
DAT (sg)					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (1)				
ACC (pl)	ȝe (1)				
GEN (pl)	ȝoure (1)				
REFLEXIVE	ȝow self (1)				
THIRD PERSON <i>masc.</i>					
NOM (sg)	he (17)				
ACC (sg)	hym (1)				
GEN (sg)	his (14)				
DAT (sg)	hym (1)				
THIRD PERSON <i>fem</i>					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON <i>pl.</i>					
NOM (pl)	þay (6)	thai (5)	thay (1)	þey (1)	
ACC (pl)	ham (2)	hem (2)			

⁷⁴ 'were'⁷⁵ 'wend'

GEN (pl)	hure (1)	
DAT (pl)		
TO BE Indicative		
1 ST person	am (1)	
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)	is (6)	
3 RD person (pl)	beeth (1)	
Subjunctive	be (7)	
TO BE Preterite		
1 ST person		
2 ND person	were (1)	where (1)
3 RD person (sg)	was (2)	
3 RD person (pl)	were (1)	
Preterite subjunctive		
TO HAVE Indicative		
1 ST person	haue (12)	
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)	hap (1)	
3 RD person (pl)		
Subjunctive		
TO HAVE Preterite		
1 ST person		
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (2)	
3 RD person (pl)		
Preterite subjunctive		
TO COME Indicative		
1 ST person		
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)		
3 RD person (pl)		
Subjunctive		
TO COME Preterite		
1 ST person		
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)		
3 RD person (pl)		
Preterite subjunctive		
V-WORDS		
Z / ȝ WORDS	ȝenewys 'sinews'	
	(1)	
<t> for <d>		
<k> for <g>		
<p> for 		
<d> for <þ>		
<þ> for <y>		
BELIEVE		
KING		
KIN		
KISS		
.IVE		
IFE	liue (4)	
LD		
∨ (v)		

SIN (n)	synne (6)	sinne (2)	synnes* (4)	sinnes* (2)
EARL				
EARTH				
FIGHT (n/v)				
HEAVEN	heuene (1)			
KNEW				
LIGHT (n)	lijt (1)			
LOVE				
WORTHY				

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Mandeville's Travels

AFTER	after (19)	aft ⁹ (10)	efter (1)	eftwarde (1)	
AGAINST	ayen ⁹ (8)	ayenys (2)	ayene (2)	ayens (2)	
AGAIN	agayn ⁹ (1)	ayen ⁹ (1)			
ANY	ayen ⁹ (12)	agayne (2)	ayayne (2)	agayn ⁹ (1)	ayen ⁹ (1)
ASK	any (19)	ony (6)	eny (2)		
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	asked (1)		askyd (2)		
	be fore (17)	be for ⁹ (8)	by for ⁹ (6)	by fore (2)	ere (2)
	be foor ⁹⁷⁶ (2)	by for (1)	afore (1)	er (1)	are ⁷⁷ (1)
BOTH	boþ ^c (9)				
BURN(T)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	brennyng ⁹ (1)			brenne (4)	
BUT	but (76)	butt (42)			
CHURCH	churche (24)	chirche (21)	church (4)	chyrche (3)	church (3)
	chirch (3)	cherch (2)	chirchis (1)	churches (1)	
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (28)	dayes* (5)			
DO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dede (4)	dyd (1)	
			dyd (1)		
			dyde (1)		
			dide (1)		
EACH	eche (9)	ech (1)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	no...ne no... (1)	eyþer...oþe.. (1)	noþer (1)		
EVIL	euyll (19)	euell (1)	yvyll (1)		
EYE(S)	ye (1)	yene* (5)			
FIRE	fyre (2)	fyr ⁹ (2)			
FIRST	furst (9)	first (4)	fyrst (3)	ffurste (2)	ffurst (1)
	furste (1)	ffirst (1)			
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			yevyth (6)	yeve (6)	
			yeve (2)		
			yeuyþ (1)		
FORGIVE	foryeven ⁹ (1)				
GAVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			yaff (5)	yaffe (1)	
			yaue (1)		
GO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			goþ ^c (4)	gone (18)	
			goyth (2)	gon ⁹ (8)	
			gose (1)	go (6)	
			yede (1)	goo (6)	
			goyþ (1)	gon (3)	
			goþ (1)	goon ⁹ (1)	
				goon (1)	
				goth (1)	
HIGH	hye (7)	hyt (2)	hyte (1)	hey (1)	hyer (1)
HILL	hille (12)	hill (6)	hulle (4)	hulle (3)	hyll (2)
	hylles* (5)	hilles* (3)			
IF	yff (43)	yf (4)			
LAND	londe (112)	lond (3)	londs* (6)	londes* (1)	londis* (1)
LITTLE	lytell (16)	lytyll (8)			
-LY	-ly (46)				
MAN	man ⁹ (31)	man (21)	ma ⁹ (2)	mannys* (2)	
MANY	many (96)	meny (2)	mony (1)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	

⁷⁶ Folio 32v line 9

⁷⁷ Folio 37v line 18

MIGHT (n/A); MUCH	myzt (1) myche (11) moche (1)	myzty (5) mych (2)	myzt (7) myzte (1) al myzt (1) mych (1)	myzt (4) myzteste (1) meche (1)	mekyll (1)
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc NOT	not (63) nouzte (1)	nott (12)	nozte (3)	nozt (1)	no ⁷⁸ (1)
OWN SHALL	owne (4) <u>1st person</u> schall (5)	owne (2) <u>2nd person</u> schall (1) schalt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schall (30) schal (1) schell (1) schul (1) schalle (1)	<u>plural</u> schall (28) schal (1) schulle (1) schalle (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schulde (18) schuld (7)	<u>plural</u> schulde (13) schuld (1)	
SINCE SUCH THAN THEN	syben (3) suche (11) þan ⁹ (9) þan (14) þan ⁹ (4) þe ⁹ (1)	þan (8) thanne (8) then (4) than ⁹ (1)	than ⁹ (3) thenne (8) thane (2) þo (1)	þa ⁹ (1) than (7) þanne (2) þa ⁹ (1)	than (1) then ⁹ (6) þenne (2)
THERE	ther (121) thenns (4) þere (2) þens (2)	ther ⁹ (50) þenns (3) þer ⁹ (2) theer ⁸⁰ (1)	þ ⁹ (39) þeder (3) thens ⁷⁹ (2) þedyr (1)	þer (33) theder (3) thens (2) thenns (1)	there (20) theder (1) theg ^d er (1) thens (1)
THESE	these (13) þese (1)	thes (10)	þese (8)	þes (3)	þ ^e (1)
THOSE THINK	ham (3) <u>1st person</u>	þo (1) <u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> þenke (1) <u>plural pret</u> þouzte (1)	
(AL)THOUGH THROUGH TWO UNTIL OE hw-words (wh) (213)	<u>1st person pret</u> thynkyþ (1) þoff ⁸¹ (1) þrou (44)	<u>2nd person pret</u> þrou ⁹ (2)	<u>3rd person pret</u> þrow (1)	þrou (1)	
	tyll (3) whan (56) whom (9) whych (1) whylle (1)	tell (2) whar/wher(e) (47) what (7) who (1) whan ⁹ (3)	till (1) why/ich(e) (42) while (2) whiderys (1) whyll ⁸⁴ (1)	when(e) (25) wham ⁸³ (1) whi (1) why (1)	why/ite ⁸² (12) wheder (1) white (1)
(w) (20) (h) (5) hypercorrection (398)	wyche (10) weder ⁸⁷ (1) ho ⁹¹ (4) whas (156) whey ⁹⁵ (9)	wat ⁸⁵ (2) wyffes ⁸⁸ (1) hoo (1) wher(e) ⁹² (31) whent ⁹⁶ (7)	wo ⁸⁶ (1) wom ⁸⁹ (1) he whi/yll (30) white ⁹⁷ (7)	wer ⁹ (1) wyte ⁹⁰ (1) whay(es) ⁹³ (10) whildernes (7)	wyle (1) wyche (1) whyne ⁹⁴ (10) whell ⁹⁸ (6)

⁷⁸ Folio 35r line 33 'men woote no the cause'.

⁷⁹ 'thence'

⁸⁰ Folio 8r line 28 <men may see theer...>

⁸¹ Folio 8v line 36 <þoff sche where (were) hydous to svzt>

⁸² 'white'

⁸³ 'whom'

⁸⁴ 'while'

⁸⁵ 'what'

⁸⁶ 'who'

⁸⁷ 'whither'

⁸⁸ 'wives', folio 14r line 13

⁸⁹ 'whom'

⁹⁰ 'white'

⁹¹ 'who'

⁹² 'were'

⁹³ 'way(s)'

⁹⁴ 'wine'

whi/yff ⁹⁹ (6)	why/iþ (8)	whit ¹⁰⁰ (8)	what(er) ¹⁰¹ (5)	towharde (4)
wholde (4)	whonte ¹⁰² (4)	whith ¹⁰³ (4)	whoman (4)	whay ¹⁰⁴ (3)
whent ¹⁰⁵ (3)	whryten (3)	whynde ¹⁰⁶ (3)	whryte ¹⁰⁷ (3)	whip ¹⁰⁸ (3)
whorlde (3)	wholde ¹⁰⁹ (2)	whold ¹¹⁰ (2)	what ¹¹¹ (2)	wher ¹¹² (2)
whorlde ¹¹³ (2)	whorldly (2)	white ¹¹⁴ (2)	whylde ¹¹⁵ (2)	all whey ¹¹⁶ (2)
whyues ¹¹⁷ (2)	whyde ¹¹⁸ (2)	whylle ¹¹⁹ (2)	whymmen ⁹ (1)	whise ¹²⁰ (1)
whorldly (1)	whoude ¹²¹ (1)	wheysse ¹²² (1)	whyrche ¹²³ (1)	whyddyde ¹²⁴ (1)
wherres ¹²⁵ (1)	wholde ¹²⁶ (1)	whery ¹²⁷ (1)	whyddow (1)	midwharde ¹²⁸ (1)
whylde ¹²⁹ (1)		downwharde (1)	whater ¹³⁰ (1)	afterwharde ¹³¹ (1)
whete ¹³² (1)	whrong ⁹ (1)	twhyche ¹³³ (1)	whyndow (1)	to wharde (1)
whounds ¹³⁴ (1)	whallys ¹³⁵ (1)	whryten ¹³⁶ (1)	whyst ¹³⁷ (1)	mistrowhand (1)
whepe ¹³⁸ (1)	whery ¹³⁹ (1)	whete ¹⁴⁰ (1)	all whay (1)	whitynessyth (1)
whulde ¹⁴¹ (1)	whayes (1)	whell ¹⁴² (1)	whynne ¹⁴³ (1)	whedde ¹⁴⁴ (1)
whilde ¹⁴⁵ (1)	whote ¹⁴⁶ (1)	whynde ¹⁴⁷ (1)	whulde ¹⁴⁸ (1)	

- ⁹⁵ 'way'
⁹⁶ 'went'
⁹⁷ 'to know'
⁹⁸ 'well'
⁹⁹ 'wife'
¹⁰⁰ 'with'
¹⁰¹ 'water'
¹⁰² 'wont'
¹⁰³ 'with'
¹⁰⁴ 'way'
¹⁰⁵ '(was) wont'
¹⁰⁶ 'wind'
¹⁰⁷ 'holy writ'
¹⁰⁸ 'with'
¹⁰⁹ 'would'
¹¹⁰ 'would'
¹¹¹ 'water'
¹¹² 'were'
¹¹³ 'world'
¹¹⁴ 'wit' (noun)
¹¹⁵ 'wilde'
¹¹⁶ 'all ways'
¹¹⁷ 'wives'
¹¹⁸ 'wide'
¹¹⁹ 'will'
¹²⁰ 'wize'
¹²¹ 'would'
¹²² 'wash'
¹²³ 'work'
¹²⁴ 'wedded'
¹²⁵ 'wars'
¹²⁶ 'would'
¹²⁷ 'to war (against)'
¹²⁸ Folio 10v line 6
¹²⁹ 'wild'
¹³⁰ 'whatever'
¹³¹ Written <after.wharde>
¹³² 'to know'
¹³³ 'touch' variant form of 'twyche'
¹³⁴ 'wounds'
¹³⁵ 'walls'
¹³⁶ 'writen'
¹³⁷ 'knew'
¹³⁸ 'weep'
¹³⁹ 'weary'
¹⁴⁰ 'wheat'
¹⁴¹ 'would'
¹⁴² 'will'
¹⁴³ 'win'
¹⁴⁴ 'to wed'
¹⁴⁵ 'wilde'
¹⁴⁶ 'what'
¹⁴⁷ 'wind' eg. a clock
¹⁴⁸ 'would'

WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wyll (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> whyll (5) wull (3) wyll (3) whill (2) wylle (1)	<u>plural</u> whyll (5) wylle (4) whylle (2) wyll (1) wyl (1) whell (1)	
WILL (n)	wyll (4)	whill (1)			
WITH(OUT)	w' (103) whyþ (2)	wyth (11) whit (2)	wyþ (5) whyth (1)	whith (4) wythe (1)	whip (3)
WORLD	worlde (24) whorldly (1)	whorlde (3) wor'de (1)	wo'lde (1)	worle (1)	world (1)
WOULD	<u>1st person</u> wulde (1) wolde (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (6) wulde (5) whold (2) wilde (2) wuld (2) wholde (2) whoude (1) whulde (1)	<u>plural</u> wulde (2) wuld (1) wold (1)	
YET	yt (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (32)	me ¹⁴⁹ (1)			
ACC (sg)	me (2)				
GEN (sg)	my (4)				
DAT (sg)	me (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (12)	whe ¹⁵⁰ (3)	wee ¹⁵¹ (1)		
ACC (pl)	vs (12)	ous (1)			
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (53)	our (16)	o ^s 152 (2)	ure ⁹ 153 (1)	
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ^u (3)	thu (1)	thou (1)		
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)	thi (4)	thy (1)	þ ² (1)		
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (22)	you (1)			
ACC (pl)	yow (4)	ye (3)			
GEN (pl)					
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (240)				
ACC (sg)	hy ⁹ (23) hy (3)	hē (19) hym (1)	he ⁹ (17) y ⁹ (1)	hȳ (7) hem (1)	ham (4)
GEN (sg)	his (114) ys ¹⁵⁴ (131)	hys (3)	is (1)	ys (1)	h' (1)
DAT (sg)	hē (7)	hȳ (2)	hy ⁹ (2)	hir ⁹ (1)	he ⁹ (1)
REFLEXIVE	hȳ (6) he ⁹ (1)	hȳ sylf (3)	hy ⁹ (1)	hym (1)	hy ⁹ sylf (1)
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (50)	shee (2)	she (1)		
ACC (sg)	here (5) hye (1)	her (5)	hyr ⁹ (2)	hyr (1)	her ⁹ (1)
GEN (sg)	her (9) hir ⁹ (1)	her ⁹ (6)	hyr ⁹ (1)	here (1)	hir (1)
DAT (sg)	hyr ⁹ (1)				
REFLEXIVE	here (1)	her (1)			
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (154)	þay (78)	thay (75)	þey (61)	thei (2)

¹⁴⁹ 'me thinketh'¹⁵⁰ Folio 16r line 30 <as whe done ayene goddys body>¹⁵¹ Folio 7v line 25 <that wee synne dedely>¹⁵² Fol 3v line 14 <our father> 'z-shaped <r>'¹⁵³ Folio 16r line 18¹⁵⁴ Genitive inflection

ACC (pl)	them ¹⁵⁵ (1) ham (35) þ ^e m ¹⁵⁶ (1)	he ⁹ (28) hem (1)	the ⁹ (9) the ⁹ (1)	them (5) tham (1)	hy ⁹ (3)
GEN (pl)	her (50) ther ⁹ (1)	her ⁹ (27) þer (1)	here (14) hyre (1)	herre (3)	hyr ⁹ (2)
DAT (pl)	he ⁹ (2)	the ⁹ (2)	them (2)		
REFLEXIVE	ham ⁹ (2)	he ⁹ (1)	the ⁹ (1)		
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	ys (355)	is (59)	his ¹⁵⁷ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	are (98) ar (1) be (16)	ere (15) be (1)	ar ⁹ (13) ben (1)	er ⁹ (4) er ¹⁵⁸ (1)	ben ⁹ (3)
Subjunctive					
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	whas (156)	was (28)	vos ¹⁵⁹ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	where (16) were (1) wher ⁹ (6)	wher (1)	wer ⁹ (1)	was ¹⁶⁰ (1)	wher ⁹ (1)
Preterite subjunctive		where (4)	wer ⁹ (3)		
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (9)				
2 ND person	hast (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	hath (39)	haþ ^e (8)	haþ (5)	haue (3)	has ¹⁶¹ (1)
3 RD person (pl)	haue (46)	have (2)	haþ ^e (1)		
Subjunctive	haue (2)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	had (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	had (23)	hadde (3)	hade (3)		
3 RD person (pl)	had (8)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comyth (5)	comyþ ^e (2)	com (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (13)	comen ⁹ (9)	comyn ⁹ (9)	comyth (3)	comyþ ^e (2)
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (4)	com ⁹ (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	come (6)	came (1)			
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fæde/ir (16) gadereyd (3) weder ¹⁶³ (1)	theder (6) <bedlem> for 'Bethlehem' (3) weder ¹⁶⁴ (1)	togeder (5) þede/yr (2) oder (1)	no/eder ¹⁶² (5) hederwarde (1)	moder (5) wheder (1)
<t> for <þ>	<trone> for 'throne' Fol 34r				

¹⁵⁵ Folio 37r line 5 – Impersonal construction. <þey haue that (what) them nedyth>

¹⁵⁶ Occurs at the end of a line

¹⁵⁷ Folio 31r line 24 <it hys called ynde (India)>

¹⁵⁸ Folio 16r line 18

¹⁵⁹ Folio 15v line 5 <þt vos a non as the holy crosse>

¹⁶⁰ Folio 30v line 1 <þe walles aboute was XXV myle>

¹⁶¹ Folio 4v line 16

¹⁶² <neither>

¹⁶³ 'weather'

¹⁶⁴ 'where'

line 21 (1)

BELIEVE					
KING	kyng ⁹ (20)	kyngē (20)	kyng (9)	kyngs* (9)	
KINGDOM	kyngdome (9)	kyngdom ⁹ (5)	kyn ⁹ dom ⁹ (1)		
KIN	kynne (1)				
KISS	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
LIVE				kys (1)	
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			lyue (1)	lyven (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
LIFE			levyd (2)		
OLD	lyff (1)	lyffe (1)	lyve (1)	leve (1)	
	olde (8)	elde (1)			
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
SIN	synne (4)	syn ⁹ (1)	synnes* (2)	synne (1)	
EARL				syn ⁹ (1)	
EARTH	erþ ⁶ (20)	erþe (2)	erthe (1)	synns* (1)	synnys* (1)
FIGHT (n/v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
HEAVEN	hevyn ⁹ (1)	heven (1)		fyȝte (2)	
KNEW					
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
LIGHT	lyȝt (4)	lyȝtely (1)	lyȝtyth (1)		
LOVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			louyd (2)		
			loued (1)		
LOVE	love (6)				
WORTHY	wurþi (2)	worthi (1)	whorþi (1)		
Past participle marker	y- (1)				

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Partonope of Blois

AFTER	affter (10)	affte (1)			
AGAINST	agaynys (3)	agaynste (1)	aꝓens (1)		
AGAIN	agayne (6)	aꝓen ⁹ (1)			
ANY	eny (12)				
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	before (5)	affore (3)	axed (1)		
BOTH	bothe (18)		er (2)	afore (2)	by fore (1)
BURN(T)					
BUT	butte (45)	but (3)	butt (2)		
CHURCH	chyrche (1)				
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			cowde (5)	cowude (1)	
			cowude (1)		
DAY(S)	day (21)	daye (9)	dayly (1)		
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	do (1)		dothe (15)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dydde (4)	dydde (3)	
			dyd (3)	dyd (3)	
			dide (2)	dede (1)	
			dede (1)	dyde (1)	
			dyde (1)		
EACH	eche (3)	echone (1)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nother..ne.. (1)	neyder..no.. (1)			
EVIL	euyll (1)				
EYE(S)	eyen ⁹ (1)				
FIRE					
FIRST	fyrste (2)	furste (1)	fyrste (1)	ffyrste (1)	ffyrste ¹⁶⁵ (1)
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	yff ¹⁶⁶ (1)		yeuyth (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			gaffe (2)	yeve ¹⁶⁷ (1)	
			yeff (1)		
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			gothe (6)	goo (2)	
			goyth (2)	gothe (1)	
			goythe (2)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			yede (2)		
			yed (1)		
			hyely (1)		
HIGH	hye (9)	hyenys (1)			
HILL					
IF	yff (12)	yeffe (4)	yeff (3)	yffe (2)	yff (1)
LAND	londe (8)	lande ¹⁶⁸ (3)	lond (3)	land (3)	londes* (1)
LITTLE	lytell (2)	lytel (2)			
-LY	-ly (77)	-lye (4)	-lyche (1)		
MAN	man ⁹ (30)	wyghte (2)	manne (1)	man ⁹ e (1)	aman ⁹ (1)
	manhode (6)	manly (4)	mannely (1)	manhede (1)	mannys* (1)
MANY	many (10)	maney (5)	meny (1)	money (1)	mony (1)
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			myghte (6)	myghte (1)	
			myghte (5)	myghte (1)	
			myght (3)		
			myght (1)		
			myghte (1)		
			myghte (1)		

¹⁶⁵ Line initial¹⁶⁶ Folio 41r line 11 <y yff hym>¹⁶⁷ 'gave'¹⁶⁸ Two of these are rhymes.

MIGHT (n/Aj)	myȝhte (5)	myȝthe (1)	miȝhte (1)	myȝhty (1)	alle myȝhty (1)
MUCH	moche (7)		myȝhte (1)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	nott (15)	not (10)	noȝth (8)	notte (7)	noȝhte (7)
	noȝth (6)	nogth (1)	noȝthe (1)		
OWN	owne (5)	own ⁹ (2)	ownne (1)		
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schalle (11)	schalte (1)	schalle (17)	schalle (14)	
				schulle (3)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			schulde (10)	schulde (11)	
			scholde (1)	scholde (1)	
SINCE	sethen ⁹ (1)	sythe (1)			
SUCH	sucche (18)				
THAN					
THEN	thenne (26)	then ⁹ (5)	thanne (3)	than ⁹ (2)	
THERE	there (64)	ther (54)	thar (1)		
THESE	these (12)	thethe ¹⁶⁹ (1)			
THOSE					
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	thynketh (1)		thynkyth (4)		
	thynkyhte (1)		thynkyth (1)		
	thynketh (1)		thyncketh (1)		
			thynkethe (1)		
			thynkyth (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			thoȝhte (3)		
			thoȝth (1)		
THOUGHT (n)	thoȝhte (1)				
(AL)THOUGH	thow (5)	thowe (1)	throw (1)		
THROUGH	thorow (4)	throw (2)	thorowe (1)	thoȝth (1)	
TWO	too (2)	two (1)	twoo (1)		
UNTIL	tylle (11)				
OE hw-words (wh) (56)	where (23)	whenne (12)	where (4)	when ⁹ (3)	whyle (3)
	whatt (2)	whyte (2)	whanne (2)	why (2)	whan ⁹ (1)
	who (1)	why ¹⁷⁰ (1)			
(w) (39)	wyche (17)	watte (4)	were ¹⁷¹ (4)	watte (4)	watt (2)
	wanne (2)	woo ys ¹⁷² (1)	wat (1)	wenne (1)	wanne (1)
	wan ⁹ (1)	wate (1)			
(h) (3)	hose ¹⁷³ (1)	ho (1)	hoo (1)		
hypercorrection (3)	where ¹⁷⁴ (2)	whyth (1)			
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wolle (8)		wolle (8)	wolle (9)	
	wylle (2)		wylle (3)	wylle (7)	
	wylle (5)				
WILL (n)	wyth (72)	wythe (50)	wythte (2)	whyth (1)	
WITH(OUT)	worle (3)	worlde (2)	wordle (1)		
WORLD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
WOULD	wolde (2)		wolde (18)	wolde (3)	
	yette (4)	yett (1)	ȝette (1)		
YET					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (65)	I (40)	me ¹⁷⁵ (4)		
ACC (sg)	me (44)	mee ¹⁷⁶ (3)			
GEN (sg)	my (52)	myne (8)	myn ⁹ (3)		
DAT (sg)	me (4)				
RFLEXIVE	me (3)	my sylffe (2)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (16)				
ACC (pl)	vs (2)				
GEN (pl)	owre (14)	owr ⁹ (1)			

¹⁶⁹ Folio 43r line 34 <Thethe tythynges horde partonope>

¹⁷⁰ Line final

¹⁷¹ 'where'

¹⁷² 'whose'

¹⁷³ 'whose'

¹⁷⁴ 'were'

¹⁷⁵ 'me luste/ me thynkyth' impersonal construction.

¹⁷⁶ Line final.

DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	chow (3)	the (1)			
ACC (sg)	the (1)				
GEN (sg)	thy (1)				
DAT (sg)	the (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (37)	ȝe (34)	yee ¹⁷⁷ (2)	ȝee ¹⁷⁸ (1)	
ACC (pl)	yow (50)	yowe (5)			
GEN (pl)	yowr ⁹ (29)	yowr (2)	yowre (1)		
DAT (pl)	yow (5)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (274)	hee ¹⁷⁹ (8)	hym ⁹ (2)	hym ¹⁸⁰ (2)	
ACC (sg)	hym ⁹ (52)	hym (31)	hy (1)	he ¹⁸¹ (1)	
GEN (sg)	hys (158)	ys (2)	h ⁹ (1)	ys ¹⁸² (8)	
DAT (sg)	hym (14)	hym ⁹ (13)	hem ⁹ (2)		
REFLEXIVE	hym (11)	hym ⁹ (7)	hym ⁹ sylffe (3)	hym sylfe (3)	
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (23)	she (1)			
ACC (sg)	here (4)				
GEN (sg)	here (15)				
DAT (sg)	here (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (76)	chay (37)	þey (1)	the ¹⁸³ (1)	
ACC (pl)	hem (19)	hem ⁹ (7)	them ⁹ (2)	hē (2)	ham (1)
GEN (pl)	here (23)	ther (5)	þ ⁹ (1)		
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE	hem (5)	hem ⁹ (3)	hym (3)	hym ⁹ (2)	
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (2)	am ⁹ (2)			
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	ys (88)	be (4)	buth (1)	ben ⁹ (1)	hys ¹⁸⁴ (1)
3 RD person (pl)	bene (6)	buthe (2)	buth (1)	bee (1)	be (1)
	be (3)	arne (1)	er (1)		
Subjunctive	be (10)	bee ¹⁸⁵ (3)			
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (86)				
3 RD person (pl)	were (21)	where (2)	werre (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	were (4)	werre (1)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (13)				
2 ND person	haste (2)				
3 RD person (sg)	hathe (33)	hath (3)	hath (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (14)				
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hadde (3)	hade (1)			
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (22)				
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (3)	hade (1)			
Preterite subjunctive	hadde (3)				
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comythe (1)				

¹⁷⁷ Line final eg. rhymed with 'me'¹⁷⁸ Line final.¹⁷⁹ All line final instances and rhymes¹⁸⁰ 'hym luste' Impersonal construction¹⁸¹ Rhymed with 'see'¹⁸² Genitive inflection¹⁸³ Folio 42v line 9 <tylle the be passed all thus cuntre>¹⁸⁴ Folio 33r line 5 <yinne grete drede hys he>¹⁸⁵ Line final

3 RD person (pl)	comen ⁹ (1)	comythe (1)			
Subjunctive	come (3)				
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (6)	came (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	come (4)				
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS	<noyce> 'noise' (1)	<plece> 'please' (1)			
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<crete> 'great' (1)				
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	togyder (5) weder (1)	moder (4) forder ¹⁸⁶ (1)	oder (3) thedyr (1)	fader (2) neyder (1)	anoder (2) heder (1)
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE					
KING	kyng (94)	kyng ⁹ (2)	kyng (1)	kynges* (2)	
KIN	kynne (4)	kyndrede (2)			
KISS	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> kyste (2) kyssed (1)	<u>plural pret</u> kyssyde (1)	
LIVE					
LIFE	lyffe (9)				
OLD	olde (2)				
SIN					
EARL	erle (5)	erlys (1)			
EARTH	erthe (1)	erthely (1)			
FIGHT (v)	* <u>1st person</u> fȳthte (1) fȳthte (6)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> fȳthte (1)	
FIGHT (n)					
HEAVEN					
KNOW	<u>1st person</u> knowe (1) canne (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> knowyth (1) knowe (1)	
KNEW	<u>1st person pret</u> wote (3) wotte (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> knewe (1) cowde (1) wote (1) weste (1)	<u>plural pret</u> kanne (1)	
LIGHT (n)	lythte (2)	ligh (1)	lythtely (1)		
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> loue (1) love (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u> louyd (1)	<u>3rd person pret</u> loued (5)	<u>plural pret</u> loued (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (11)				
WORTHY	worthy (2) worthyyste (1)	worthty (1) worthyeste (1)	worthey (1)	worthyer (1)	worthynys (2)
Past participle marker	y- (11)	i- (1)			

¹⁸⁶ 'further'

London, British Library, Cotton Otho C.xiii
Lazamon's Brut

Reference made to Madden, F. (Ed.), (1847). *Lazamon's Brut*. London: The Society of Antiquaries of London. Vols. 1, 2 & 3.

AFTER	after (11)	hafter (2)	eft (1)		
AGAINST					
AGAIN	agein (4)	aȝe (1)	aȝen (1)	aȝein (1)	
ANY	eni (2)	eny (1)			
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			axed (1)	axed (1)	
BEFORE	bifore (4)	her (2)	bi vore (1)	are (1)	er (1)
BOTH					
BURN(T)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
				barnde (1)	
BUT	ac (25)	bote (15)			
CHURCH	cherches (1)				
COULD					
DAY(S)	dai (10)	dai (1)	daje* (2)	daies* (1)	
DID	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				doȝ (2)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dude (7)	dude (7)	
			dud (2)	duden (1)	
EACH	ech (2)	echne (1)	eche (1)		
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL	vuel (2)	ouel (1)			
EYE(S)	eȝene (1)	ehene (1)			
FIRE	fure (1)				
FIRST					
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	ȝefue (1)		ȝaf (2)	ȝefuen (1)	
			ȝefue (1)		
			ȝef (1)		
			ȝeuen (1)		
GO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	verde (1)	wende (1)	wende (22)	wende (11)	
			verde (3)	ferde (3)	
			ferde (3)	verden (3)	
			ȝeode (1)	wende ¹⁸⁷ (3)	
			eode (1)	verde ¹⁸⁸ (1)	
				wenden (1)	
				eode (1)	
HIGH	heȝe (2)	hiȝe (1)	heh (1)	hehȝe (1)	heȝere (1)
	hehest (1)				
HILL					
IF	ȝef (11)	ȝif (5)			
LAND	londe (55)	lond (24)	londes* (4)		
LITTLE	lutel (2)	lutle (2)	lutele (1)		
-LY	-liche (18)	-lich (5)	-leche (1)		
MAN	man (23)	mā (9)	gome (2)	manne (1)	gomes* (1)
	mannes* (1)	mankunne (1)	mancunne (1)		
MANY	mani (11)	manie (3)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	mihte (1)		mihte (13)	mihte (3)	
			miht (1)		
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mihte (2)	almihte (1)			
MUCH	mochel (12)	mochē (10)	mochele (8)	mochil (1)	mochle (1)
	mochelere (1)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL, etc	nas (16)	nadde (7)	nolde (4)	nolle (3)	nuste (2)

¹⁸⁷gonne wende'

¹⁸⁸Line-final

NOT	not ¹⁸⁹ (2)	nadden (1)	nis (1)	nere (1)	nolleþ (1)
OWN	nis (1)	nelle (1)	nafde (1)		
SHALL	noht (6)				
	owe (8)	owene (5)	oþe (1)		
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			sal (1)	solle (4)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	sale (1)	sal (1)	
			<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			sole (1)	solde (4)	
			solde (1)		
SINCE					
SUCH	soch (4)	soche (1)			
THAN	þan (5)	þane (1)			
THEN	þo (57)	þane (6)	þan (3)	þanne (2)	þe (1)
THERE	þar (52)	þare (14)	þider (4)	þer (1)	
THESE	þes (3)	þeos (2)	hii (1)		
THOSE	þaie (1)	þai (1)			
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			þencheþ (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			þohte (7)	þohte (3)	
			bi þohte (2)	bi þohte (1)	
			be þohte (1)		
(AL)THOUGH	þoh (1)				
THROUGH	þorh (16)	þorþ (2)	þeond (1)		
TWO	tweie (5)	twei (3)	two (3)	twie (1)	
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (0)					
(w) (29)	wat (9)	wile ¹⁹⁰ (4)	woche (4)	wane (3)	war (2)
	ware (2)	wan (1)	weder (1)	wam ¹⁹¹ (1)	wile ¹⁹² (1)
	wich (1)				
(h) (0)					
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wolle (17)	wolt (4)	wole (3)	wolleþ (6)	
	wille (6)		wol (1)	wil (1)	
	wol (3)				
WILL (n)					
WITH(OUT)	mid (53)	wiþ (27)			
WORLD	worle (2)				
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			wolde (17)	wolde (11)	
YET	ȝet (3)	ȝete (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	ich (46)				
ACC (sg)	me (11)				
GEN (sg)	min (5)	mine (5)	mi (1)	me ¹⁹³ (1)	
DAT (sg)					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (20)				
ACC (pl)	vs (6)				
GEN (pl)	oure (7)	houre ¹⁹⁴ (2)	our (1)	vre (1)	
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þou (16)				
ACC (sg)	þe (5)				
GEN (sg)	þine (5)	þi (4)	þin (2)		
DAT (sg)	þe (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (5)	ȝeo (5)			
ACC (pl)	ȝou (1)	ȝeo (1)			
GEN (pl)	ȝoure (5)				

¹⁸⁹ 'ne + witte'¹⁹⁰ 'while'¹⁹¹ 'whom'¹⁹² Madden : 'whilom'¹⁹³ 'my'¹⁹⁴ Folio 60v column 1 line 4

REFLEXIVE	you seolue (1)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (145)	him ¹⁹⁵ (1)			
ACC (sg)	him (45)	hine (25)	hin (2)		
GEN (sg)	his (97)	his ¹⁹⁶ (2)			
DAT (sg)	him (11)	hī (1)			
REFLEXIVE	hine (2)	him (2)	him seolue (1)	him seolf (1)	
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	ȝeo (3)	he (1)			
ACC (sg)	hire (6)				
GEN (sg)	hire (2)				
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	hii (147)	hi (6)	heo (1)	ȝaie (1)	heom ¹⁹⁷ (2)
ACC (pl)	heom (15)	ham (13)	ȝam (9)	heom (5)	
GEN (pl)	hire (24)	heore (1)			
DAT (pl)	heom (1)				
REFLEXIVE	heom (4)	heom seolf (1)	ham (1)		
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	ham ¹⁹⁸ (2)				
2 ND person	art (1)	hart ¹⁹⁹ (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	his ²⁰⁰ (10)	beoþ (4)			
3 RD person (pl)	beoþ (7)	beon (3)	beot (1)	har ²⁰¹ (1)	
Subjunctive	beo (3)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (117)	wa ²⁰² (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	weren (22)	were (14)			
Preterite subjunctive	were (11)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	habbe (4)	habe (1)			
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	habbe (5)	habbeþ (2)	haueþ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	habbeþ (7)	haueþ (2)	habbe (1)	haue (1)	
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	haddest (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (25)	hafde (2)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (5)	hafde (1)			
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (1)				
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive	come (1)				
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	com (20)	come (4)	coman (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (14)	comen (5)	comē ²⁰³ (2)	com (1)	
Preterite subjtive					
V-WORDS	<ivare> 'fared' (4)	<verde> 'fared' (3)	<verden> 'fared' (3)	<var> 'to fare' (2)	<vore> 'for' (2)
	<vre> 'free' (2)	<i vostered> 'fostered' (1)	<to-vore> 'before' (1)	<vorþ> 'forth' (1)	
	<i varen> 'fared' (1)	<verlich>	<i-vere> 'friend/'	bivore (1)	

¹⁹⁵ 'him þoht', impersonal construction.

¹⁹⁶ Genitive inflection

¹⁹⁷ 'heom þohte' 'it seemed to them', impersonal construction.

¹⁹⁸ Folio 62r column 2 line 32

¹⁹⁹ Folio 55v column 1 line 31 <þou hart of mochele cunne (a great family)>

²⁰⁰ Folio 55r column 2 lines 19 <he his Leonines sone>

²⁰¹ Folio 61r column 1 line 6 <þou har of.... cunne>

²⁰² Line initial

²⁰³ Line final

		'quickly' (1)	i-ferē' (1)		
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fader (7) gaderede (3)	hider (6) moder (2)	þider (6) weder ²⁰⁴ (1)	gadere (4) weder ²⁰⁵ (1)	togederes (3) woder (1)
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE					
KING	king (61) kinges* (1)	kinge (23) kīnedom (3)	kīg ²⁰⁶ (2)	kying (1)	kinges* (3)
KIN	kene (2)	cunne (1)			
KISS					
LIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> lifuede (2) liuede (2)	<u>plural pret</u>	
LIFE	lif (2)	lifue (1)	alifue (3)	cwick ²⁰⁷ (1)	
OLD					
SIN					
EARL	eorl (13)	eorles* (6)			
EARTH	erþe (10)	erþ (6)	erthe (3)	eorþe (1)	eorþ (1)
FIGHT	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> faht (1)	<u>plural pret</u> fohten (1)	
FIGHT (n)	fihte (5)	fiht (3)	fehthe (1)		
HEAVEN					
KNEW	<u>1st person</u> wite (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> couþe (2) wiste (1)	<u>plural</u>	
LIGHT	lihte (2)				
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> lofuieþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> lofuede (6) lofde (2)	<u>plural pret</u>	
LOVE (n)	loue (3)	lofue (1)	leofue ²⁰⁸ (1)		
WORTHY					
Past participle marker	i- (117)				

²⁰⁴ 'weather'²⁰⁵ 'whether'²⁰⁶ Line-final²⁰⁷ 'the living'²⁰⁸ 'beloved'

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South English Legendary

AFTER	aft ⁹ (35)	eft (5)	eft ⁹ (2)	after (1)	eft ⁹ e (1)
AGAINST	aʒen (12)	aʒe (6)			
AGAIN	aʒe (12)	aʒen (11)			
ANY	eni (7)				
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			bad (1)	beden (1)	
BEFORE	er (29)	bifore (9)	tofore (2)		
BOTH	boþe (15)	boþ ^e (2)			
BURN(T)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			forbrende (1)		
BUT	ac (78)	bote (21)			
CHURCH	churche (27)	church (1)	churches* (2)	churchen* (1)	churchȝerd (1)
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (46)	dai (26)	daye (1)	dayes* (15)	dais* (1)
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		dost (1)		doþ (2)	
DID	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		dudest (3)	dude (16)	dude (3)	
EACH	echon (12)	ech (7)	echone (6)	eche (4)	
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	aip ⁹ ..oþ ⁹ .. (2)				
EVIL	vuel (6)	yuele (2)	vuele (1)		
EYE(S)	eʒe (2)	eʒen* (1)			
FIRE	fure (1)				
FIRST	furste (8)	furst (5)			
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
GIVE	ʒeue (2)		ʒeueþ (1)	ʒeue (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	ʒaf (4)	ʒef (1)	ʒaf (6)	ʒaf (1)	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			goþ (1)	goþ (3)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	wende (1)		wende (45)	wende (12)	
			ʒeode (4)	wenden (2)	
				ʒeoden (1)	
				ʒeode (1)	
HIGH	heʒe (13)	heʒ (12)	hoh (2)	heye (1)	heʒiste (1)
	heʒeste (1)				
HILL	hul ²⁰⁹ (5)				
IF	if (33)				
LAND	lond (27)	londe (7)	londes* (1)		
LITTLE	lute (14)	lutel (3)	alute (1)	lite (1)	
-LY	-liche (31)	-lich (4)			
MAN	man (66)	manes* (3)	mankynne (3)	mankun (1)	manschipe (1)
MANY	meni (26)				
MIGHT	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	mijte (1)	mijt (3)	mijte (33)	mijte (13)	
			mijt (2)		
			myzte (1)		
			mijtful (1)		
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mijte (7)	myzte (1)			
MUCH	moche (19)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nis (13)	nolde (12)	nas (12)	nadde (8)	nuste (8)
	ner ⁹ (3)	nam ²¹⁰ (2)	nele (2)	nabbe (2)	nolleþ (2)
	naue (2)	nele (1)	nole (1)	nabbeþ (1)	neli ²¹¹ (1)
	niste ²¹² (1)	nulleþ (1)			
NOT	nojt (77)	not (1)	note ²¹³ (1)		
OWN	owe (10)				

²⁰⁹ Folio 5r line 1 <þe hul of olyuete>

²¹⁰ 'ne + am'

²¹¹ 'I won't'

²¹² 'ne + wiste'

²¹³ Rhymed with 'throte'

SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schal (1)	<u>2nd person</u> schalt (9)	<u>3rd person</u> schal (16) schulleþ (1) schulle (1)	<u>plural</u> schulle (4) schal (4) schulleþ (3) schole (1) schullen (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> scholde (16) schulde (2)	<u>plural</u> scholde (5)	
SINCE	sipþe (3)				
SUCH	such (8)	suche (4)			
THAN	þan (7)				
THEN	þo (53)	þanne (9)	þane (7)	þan (5)	
THERE	þ ⁹ (149)	þer ⁹ (23)	þider (9)	þer (3)	þannes (2)
THESE	þuse (1)	þeo ²¹⁴ (1)			
THOSE	þulke (11)				
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
THOUGHT (n)	þoʒt (5)	þoʒte (1)	þoʒte (6) biþoʒte (1)	þoʒte (3)	
(AL)THOUGH	þeʒ (9)	þo (2)	þoʒtes (1)		
THROUGH	þurf (19)	þrouʒ (1)	þo (1)		
TWO	tuei (8)	tuo (2)	tuey (1)	to (1)	
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (67)	what (33) whoder (7) wher (2) why ²¹⁶ (1)	whan (26) whete ²¹⁵ (4) wham (2)	while (12) which (3) whanne (2)	whi (10) whoder (3) wheþ ⁹ (2)	whar (13) whiche (2) whan (1)
(w) (0)					
(h) (22)	ho ²¹⁷ (23)	hucche (2)			
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wole (22)	<u>2nd person</u> wole (4) wolt (1) woltou (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wole (8) wolleþ (5)	<u>plural</u> wole (4) wolleþ (3) woleþ (1)	
WILL (n)	wille (14)				
WITH(OUT)	wiþ (107)	mid (36)			
WORLD	wordle (8)	wordles* (3)			
WOULD	<u>1st person</u> wolde (4)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (21)	<u>plural</u> wolde (7)	
YET	ʒut (25)	ʒute (2)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	i ^c (66)	ich (23)	y (4)	me ²¹⁸ (3)	
ACC (sg)	me (17)				
GEN (sg)	mi (14)	myn (7)	myne (1)	m ⁱ (1)	
DAT (sg)	me (4)				
Reflexive	me silf (2)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (26)				
ACC (pl)	ous (11)				
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (84)	oure (1)	oour ²¹⁹ (1)		
DAT (pl)	ous (3)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þu (49)	þ ^u (2)	þe (2)		
ACC (sg)	þe (3)	þ ^e (1)			
GEN (sg)	þi (26) þin (1) þe (8)	þyn (1) þ ⁱ (1)	þyne (1)	þine (1)	þin ⁹ (1)
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					

²¹⁴ Rhymed with <iseo> 'saw'²¹⁵ 'wheat'²¹⁶ 'white'²¹⁷ 'who'²¹⁸ 'me thinkth'²¹⁹ Folio 72v line 1

NOM (pl)	ȝe (37)				
ACC (pl)	ȝou (21)	ȝu (2)			
GEN (pl)	ȝour ⁹ (12)	ȝoure (1)			
DAT (pl)	ȝou (9)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (513)	hī ²²⁰ (22)			
ACC (sg)	hī (160)	he (1)			
GEN (sg)	his (242)	es ²²¹ (2)			
DAT (sg)	hī (50)	hyne (1)	hine (1)	hi (1)	
REFLEXIVE	hī (12)	hī silue (8)	hī silf (3)		
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	heo (19)	he (1)			
ACC (sg)	hir ⁹ (4)	her (1)			
GEN (sg)	hir ⁹ (12)	hur ⁹ (1)			
DAT (sg)	hir ⁹ (1)				
Reflexive	her ⁹ (1)	hir ⁹ (1)			
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	hi (161)	hē (14)			
ACC (pl)	hē (67)	hem (2)	em ²²² (1)	hi (1)	
GEN (pl)	her ⁹ (50)				
DAT (pl)	hē (12)	þem (1)			
REFLEXIVE	hē (2)	hem (1)			
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (10)	be (1)	icham (1)		
2 ND person	ert (6)	ertou (3)			
3 RD person (sg)	is (94)	beoþ (7)	beo (4)		
3 RD person (pl)	beoþ (13)	beo (2)			
Subjunctive	beo (13)	be (2)			
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (229)	wer ⁹ (9)			
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (65)	was (3)	were (1)	weren (1)	
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (22)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	habbe (9)	haue (3)			
2 ND person	hast (2)	hastou (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (11)	haueþ (2)	habbe (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	habbeþ (8)	haueþ (2)	habbe (1)	haþ (1)	nabbeþ (1)
Subjunctive	habbe (1)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hadde (2)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (54)	hudde (2)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (3)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	comeþ (1)	comest (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (9)	com (1)	comþ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (5)	comeþ (1)			
Subjunctive	com (25)	come (7)			
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	com (28)	come (4)	cam (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (5)	com (2)			
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
	<vi/yf> for 'five' (3)	<vy/ifte> 'fifth' (2)	<stedeuast> 'steadfast' (1)	<vaʒnede> 'fastened' (1)	<vele> 'feel' (1)
Z / ȝ WORDS					
	<vifty> 'fifty' (1)	<croiȝ> 'cross' (1)	<vaʒnede> 'fastened' (1)	<ȝyne> 'saint' (1)	
<t> for <d>					

²²⁰ Impersonal construction.

²²¹ Genitive inflection

²²² Folio 74r line 37 'whar he so em found...'

<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fader (12)	þider (10)	whoder (9)	togader (6)	moder (4)
	hider (2)	worth ²²³ (1)	worþ ²²⁴ (1)	gaderen (1)	gader ⁹ (1)
	hedir (1)				
<t> to <d>	þrede 'threat' ²²⁵				
	(1)				
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		bileuestou (1)	bileueþ (3)	bileueþ (4)	
		bilueueþ (1)		bileue (2)	
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u>	<u>plural pret.</u>	
			bileuede (4)	bileouede (2)	
BELIEF (n)	bileue (3)	bileoue (1)			
KING	king (23)	kyng (9)	kyng (1)	kynges* (4)	kynedom (3)
KIN					
KISS	cussing ²²⁶ (1)				
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u>	<u>plural pret.</u>	
				custe (1)	
LIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			leuede (2)		
			lyuede (1)		
LIFE	lyf (13)	lyue (9)	lyues* (1)	alyue (3)	
OLD	olde (7)	old (3)	elde (1)		
SIN	synne (19)	sinne (7)	synnes* (5)	sinnes* (1)	
EARL	eorl (1)				
EARTH	vrþe (14)				
FIGHT (n)	fj3te (2)				
HEAVEN	heuene (23)				
KNEW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			wiste (3)	wiste (3)	
			cuþ (1)	witeþ (1)	
			can (1)		
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u>	<u>plural pret.</u>	
	wot (1)				
LIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			lijt (1)		
			lijte (1)		
			alijte (1)		
LIGHT (n/Aj)	lijt (4)	lijte (2)	alijt (2)	alijte (1)	
LOVE (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			loueþ (2)		
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u>	<u>plural pret.</u>	
			leouede (1)		
			louede (1)		
			loued (1)		
LOVE (n)	loue (8)	lou ⁹ (1)			
WORTHY	worþi (1)	worþe (1)			
Past participle marker	i (244)	y ²²⁷ (18)			

²²³ 'word'²²⁴ 'word'²²⁵ Folio 222r line 24 'op⁹ þrede þour⁹ þretinge> 'Or threat your threatening'²²⁶ Folio 69r line 15²²⁷ Mostly 'ymaked', but also 'ynome' (3), 'ynam' (1), 'yse', and 'ymarterd' (5).

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Collected Poems of John Mydwintyr

AFTER	aft ⁹ (14) aftur (1)	aftyr (2) afterward (1)	aftr (2)	after (1)	aft (1)
AGAINST	ayenst (10) aʒen ⁹ (1)	aʒenst (9)	aʒenste (9)	ayenste (4)	
AGAIN	aʒe (2)	ayen (1)	aʒene (1)	aʒen ⁹ (1)	
ANY	ony (67)	eny (37)	any (1)		
ASK	<u>1st person</u> aske (2) axke (1) <u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person</u> axe (1) <u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person</u> <u>3rd person pret</u> axkyd (1)	<u>plural</u> axe (2) <u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	by for ⁹ (6)	be fore (4)	be for (2)	to fore (1)	
BOTH	bothe (4)	both (2)	boyth ²²⁸ (1)	boþe (1)	
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (49)	bote (1)	ac (1)		
CHURCH	cherch (32) chyrche (1)	cherche (25) cherchis* (2)	churche (14)	church (4)	cherch (3)
COULD	<u>1st person</u> cowd (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
DAY(S)	day (22) holydayys (1)	daye (1)	days* (5)	dayes* (1)	dayys* (1)
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> doyste (1)	<u>3rd person</u> dothe (3) doyth (3) doythe (2) doth (1) <u>3rd person pret</u> did (1) dude (1)	<u>plural</u> doyth (2) doythe (2) <u>plural pret</u> dude (1)	
EACH	eche (3)	ech (3)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noþ ⁹ (6)	noþere (1)	noþ ⁹ .. noþ ⁹ .. (1)	no.. noþ ⁹ .. (1)	
EVIL	euyll (5)	evyll (5)	yvyll (2)	ewyll ²²⁹ (1)	vuleful ²³⁰ (1)
EYE(S)	ye (2)	yegh (1)	yʒen ⁹ * (1)		
FIRE	fyr ⁹ (1)	fyre (1)			
FIRST	fyrste (8) ffyrste ²³¹ (1)	fyrst (4) ffyrste ²³² (1)	first (2)	ffyrst (2)	ffirst (2)
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> gevith (1) ʒeuth (1) ʒeuyth (1) ʒeue (1) <u>3rd person pret</u> yafe (1) yaf (1) ʒaf (1)	<u>plural</u> yeue (1) <u>plural pret</u> yefe (1)	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> goythe (3) goethe (2) goyth (1)	<u>plural</u> goith (1) go (1) goyth (1) gothe (1) ʒedyn ⁹ (1)	
HIGH	hy (2)				
HILL					
IF	yf (23)	if (4)			
LAND	lond (6)	londe (1)	londys* (1)		
LITTLE	lytull (6)	lytull (2)	litul (1)		
-LY	-ly (92)	-lych (6)	-lyche (4)	-lich (3)	-liche (2)

²²⁸ Folio 54v line 4²²⁹ Adverb²³⁰ 'Evilful'²³¹ Line initial²³² Line initial

MAN	-lych (1) ma ^o (54) māne (1) manys ^o (1)	mā (21) ma ^o ne (1) manhed (2) mony (5)	man ^o (21) mānys ^o (9) manhod (1) meny (1)	man (13) mānes ^o (3) makynd (1)	mākynde (5) mannys ^o (1)
MANY	many (6)	mony (5)	meny (1)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> myzte (1) myztyste (1) myzhtyst (1)	<u>3rd person</u> myzte (3) myzthe (2) myzth (1)	<u>plural</u> myzth (2)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myzte (10) all myghty (2)	all myzty (15) myzthe (2)	allmyzhty (3) allmyte (1)	almyzty (2) almyzhty (1)	
MUCH	muche (9) mech (1)	meche (3)	much (1)	myche (1)	moche (1)
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nete ²³³ (1)	not (1)	nel (1)		
NOT	note (49) nozte (1) own ^o (2)	nott (17)	not (8)	nowzte (4)	nouzte (2)
OWN	own ^o (2)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schal (1)	<u>2nd person</u> schalte (10) schalt (7) shallt (3)	<u>3rd person</u> schall (12) shall (3) schull (1)	<u>plural</u> schull (22) schall (8) shull (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> shuld (2)	<u>2nd person</u> schulduste (1) schuldyste (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schuld (15) schulde (3) shuled (1)	<u>plural</u> schuld (11) shull (1) shulld (1) shuld (1)	
SINCE					
SUCH	suche (15)	such (1)			
THAN	þan (12)	þā (7)	þen (3)	þa ^o (3)	þan ^o (1)
THEN	þan ^o (8) þo (1)	then (5) þane (1)	than (2)	þāne (1)	then ^o (1)
THERE	þ ^o (47) there (4) þer (1)	ther ^o (28) thether (1)	þ ^o e (26) þar ^o (1)	ther (7) thenes (1)	þer ^o (4) thether ^o (1)
THESE	þes (8) þees (1)	thes (6) þukk (1)	þese (6)	þukke (3)	tho (3)
THOSE	tho (20) þ ^o (2)	þo (16) thoo (1)	they (7)	hem (6)	þey (2)
THINK	<u>1st person</u> þenke (1)	<u>2nd person</u> þynke (1) þenke (1)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
THOUGHT (n)	þouzte (2) þowts* (1)	þowte (1)	þowtys* (1)	þoughtys* (1)	þowghtys* (1)
(AL)THOUGH	þow (3)	þey (1)	thorow (1)	they (1)	
THROUGH	þorow (4) þerow (1)	þrouze (4) þorove (1)	throw (1) thorow (1)	þorze (1) þrow (1)	þrouz (1)
TWO					
UNTIL	tyll (4)	tyl (2)	til (2)		
OE hw-words (wh) (119)	wher ^o (20) whan ^o (5) whan (4) which (2) while (1) whyll ²³⁵ (1) wyche (18)	what (17) where (5) which (3) whych (2) whiche (1) whos (1) wych (1)	whan ^o (10) whā (5) where (2) who (2) whych (1) when ^o (1) ware (1)	why (10) whyche (5) wham (2) whō ²³⁴ (1) whose (1) whom (1) wan (1)	wha ^o (9) whyle (4) when (2) whyche (1) whane (1) wyle (1)
(w) (22)	ho (2)				
(h) (2)	whyth ²³⁶ (1)	whetyn ²³⁷ (1)	whyth ²³⁸ (1)	whyþ ²³⁹ (1)	whytyngly ²⁴⁰ (1)
hypercorrection (6)	web ²⁴¹ (1)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> woll (2)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> woll (9) will (1)	<u>plural</u> woll (2) wyl (1)	

²³³ ne + wite²³⁴ 'whom'²³⁵ 'while'²³⁶ 'with'²³⁷ 'they know'²³⁸ 'with'²³⁹ 'with'²⁴⁰ 'knowingly'²⁴¹ 'web'

WILL (n)	wyll (16)	will (5)	wyll (1)	wol (1)	
WITH(OUT)	w' (89)	wythe (5)	wol (1)	wulnott (1)	
	wyþ (1)	whyth (1)	wyllys* (2)	wyllis* (1)	wyth (3)
WORLD	worlde (8)	world (6)	with (4)	wyth (3)	wytt (1)
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	whyt (1)	whyþ (1)	wordeliche (1)
		wolke (2)	wordely (2)	wordly (2)	
		wol (1)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		woldyste (1)	wold (6)	wold (3)	
			wolde (1)	wolde (1)	
YET	ȝyt (3)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (119)	I (2)			
ACC (sg)	me (20)				
GEN (sg)	my (51)	myn (2)	myne (1)	myn ^o (1)	
DAT (sg)	me (2)				
REFLEXIVE	me (8)	my sylfe (3)	my silfe (1)		
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (39)				
ACC (pl)	vs (13)				
GEN (pl)	owr ^o (20)	our ^o (15)	ovr ^o (1)		
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE	vs (2)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ^a (41)	þow (8)	t ^a (6)		
ACC (sg)	þ ^c (13)				
GEN (sg)	þy (9)	thy (6)	þy (1)	thyn ^o (1)	þyne (1)
DAT (sg)	þ ^c (2)				
REFLEXIVE	þy sylfe (5)	þ ^c (3)			
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (20)	ye (2)			
ACC (pl)	yow (14)	you (6)			
GEN (pl)	yowr ^o (10)	yowre (2)	ȝovr ^o (1)		
DAT (pl)	yow (3)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (138)	hym ²⁴² (4)			
ACC (sg)	hȝ (24)	hym (20)	hym ^o (10)		
GEN (sg)	his (105)	hys (54)	ys (7)	h ^c (6)	ys ²⁴³ (5)
	is ²⁴⁴ (2)				
DAT (sg)	hym (7)	hym ^o (1)	hȝ (1)		
REFLEXIVE	hȝ sylfe (7)	hym sylfe (3)	hym selfe (1)	hym (1)	hȝ (1)
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (4)	she (1)			
ACC (sg)	hur ^o (2)				
GEN (sg)	hur ^o (1)	her ^o (1)			
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þey (57)	they (35)	hem ²⁴⁵ (2)	thay (2)	ȝey ²⁴⁶ (1)
ACC (pl)	hem (47)	he ^o (7)	hē (2)	hem ^o (2)	þem (2)
	heme (1)	them (1)	hym (1)		
GEN (pl)	her ^o (42)	here (15)	hur ^o (3)	heer ^o (2)	þere (1)
	þ ^o (1)	hure (1)			
DAT (pl)	hem (5)	them (2)			
REFLEXIVE	hem (4)	hem sylf (2)	hem self (1)	hem selfe (1)	
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	ame (1)				
2 ND person	art (4)	artt (2)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (202)	is (25)	bythe (2)	bethe (2)	ysse ²⁴⁷ (1)
	byth (1)	buth (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	bith (16)	bethe (13)	bythe (9)	byth (7)	ben (7)
	beth (3)	burh (3)	beth (1)		
Subjunctive	be (10)				
TO BE Preterite					

²⁴² 'hym that hathe', 'hym that ys' etc.

²⁴³ Genitive inflection

²⁴⁴ Genitive inflection

²⁴⁵ Impersonal construction.

²⁴⁶ Folio 51r line 20 <but (unless) if ȝey yeue ony certayn þerfore. to holy church>

²⁴⁷ Rhymed with 'masse'

1 ST person	was (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (31)				
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (10)	were (1)			
Preterite subjunctive	were (3)	wer ⁹ (2)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (40)	have (24)			
2 ND person	haue (1)	haste (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	hathe (19)	hath (4)	hap [*] (3)	hath (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	have (12)	haue (7)	hauep [*] (1)	hauethe (1)	havythe (1)
Subjunctive	haue (3)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	had (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	had (3)	hade (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	had (3)	hade (2)	haddyn (1)		
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comyth (1)	comythe (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	comyn ⁹ (1)	com (1)	come (1)		
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)	come (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<bagebyte> 'backbite'(4)	<bagbytyste> (1)	<bagbytyng> ²⁴⁸ (1)		
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	faders (21)	moder (10)	to gyder (6)		
<þ> for <y>	<xy> for 'they'				
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> byleue (1)	<u>plural</u>	
BELIEF	by leue (4)	beleue (1)			
FLY/FLEW					
KING	kyng (9)	kyng ⁹ (3)	kyngs [*] (8)	kyngys [*] (1)	kynges [*] (1)
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE	lyfe (6)	lif (1)	lyue (1)	a lyue (1)	
OLD	old (3)	olde (2)	eldre (1)		
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> synnythe (1)	<u>plural</u>	
SIN	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> synnyd (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
	syn (15) synnes [*] (5)	syn ⁹ (12) synys [*] (1)	synne (1) synfull (5)	sȳ (1)	synnys [*] (13)
EARL					
EARTH	erthe (2)	erth (1)	vrþ [*] (1)		
FIGHT (v)	fȳtyng (1)				
FIGHT (n)	heue ⁹ (21)	hevyn ⁹ (6)	heuen ⁹ (4)	heven ⁹ (2)	heuen (1)
HEAVEN	heueñ (1)	heue ⁹ * (2)	heue [*] (1)		
KNOW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> knowythe (1)	<u>plural</u> knowþ [*] (1) knowith (1)	
LIGHT	light (2)				
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> lovythe (5) lowyth (1)	<u>plural</u> loueþ [*] (1)	

	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
LOVE (n)	loue (10)	love (2)	louyd (1)	
WORTHY	worthy (6)			
Past participle marker	y- (46)	i- (1)		

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Amis and Amiloun

AFTER	aft ⁹ (5)	after (1)			
AGAINST	aʒens (2)	aʒyn (1)	agayne (1)		
AGAIN	aʒen (2)	aʒen (1)	aʒe (1)	agayne (1)	agane (1)
ANY	any (1)				
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			asked (1)		
			askyd (1)		
BEFORE	by for (1)	be for ⁹ (1)			
BOTH	boþ ^c (22)	boþe (5)	bþ ^{e249} (1)		
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (15)	ac (1)			
CHURCH	churche (1)				
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			cowþ ^c (2)	cowde (1)	
DAY(S)	day (28)	days* (3)			
DO					
EACH					
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nop ⁹ ...ne... (3) (1) nop ² ... (1)	nother...ne... (1)	nad ⁹ ...wod ⁹ ... (1)	neither.. other.. (1)	ayder ⁹ ...od ⁹ .. (1)
EVIL					
EYE(S)					
FIRE					
FIRST	fyrst (1)	ferst (1)			
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	ʒef (1)			ʒaf (1)	
	ʒeue (1)				
GO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			ʒede (1)		
HIGH	heʒ (2)				
HILL					
IF	yf (10)				
LAND	lond (12)	londe (9)	molde ²⁵⁰ (1)	londys* (2)	
LITTLE	lytyll (2)	lytyl (1)			
-LY	-ly (25)				
MAN	man (13)	wyʒt ²⁵¹ (2)	mā (1)	ma ⁹ (1)	
MANY	many (7)	meny (1)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		myʒt (1)	myʒt (3)	myʒte (1)	
			myʒte (1)	myʒt (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (4)				
MUCH	moche (5)	mekyl (2)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nołde (3)	ne was (1)	ne wollde (1)		
NOT	noʒt (7)	not (2)			
OWN					
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schal (7)	schalt (8)	schel (2)	schal (3)	
	schol (1)	schal (2)	schall (1)	schul (2)	
			schal (1)		
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			schulde (3)	scholde (3)	
			scholde (2)	schulde (2)	
SINCE	syʒt ²⁵² (1)	syþþe (1)			
SUCH	suche (1)				
THAN	þan (5)				
THEN	þan (28)	þo (14)	þ ^o (3)	þayn ²⁵³ (1)	þā (1)

²⁴⁹ Folio 133v column 1 line 8.²⁵⁰ Rhymed with 'tolde'²⁵¹ Person²⁵² Folio 138r column 2 line 4 <me was neu⁹ so wo/ syʒt þt y was borne>

THERE	þanne (1)	tho (1)			
THESE	þ ⁹ (29)	þar ⁹ (7)	þ ^r (1)	þer ⁹ (1)	þeder (1)
THOSE					
THINK	h ^m (1)				
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		þynk (1)			þyngke ²⁵⁴ (1)
		þynke (1)			
THOUGHT (n)	þauȝt (1)				
(AL)THOUGH	þ ^o o ₃ (1)				
THROUGH	þurȝ (1)	þorȝt (1)	þ ^o o ₃ (1)		
TWO	two (9)	towo (4)	twy (3)	to (2)	tw ^e y (1)
	twayne (1)	a twany ²⁵⁵ (1)			
UNTIL	tyl (6)	tyll (1)			
OE hw-words (wh) (37)	whan (20)	whyle (7)	what (5)	wher ⁹ (2)	why (2)
	whar ⁹ (1)				
(w) (4)	wan (2)	wat (1)	wodyr ²⁵⁶ (1)		
(h) (5)	ho (5)				
hypercorrection (1)	wher ²⁵⁷ (1)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	woll (2)	wolt (3)	wol (4)	woll (1)	
	wol (2)		woll (3)	wol (1)	
	wolle (1)				
WILL (n)	welle (2)	wylle (1)			
WITH(OUT)	w ^r (63)	wyth (1)			
WORLD	worlys ⁹ (2)				
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wolde (2)	wolt (1)	wolde (8)	wolde (1)	
YET					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (59)	I (1)	me ²⁵⁸ (1)		
ACC (sg)	me (21)				
GEN (sg)	my (33)	myne (1)			
DAT (sg)	me (13)				
REFLEXIVE	my sylf (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (12)				
ACC (pl)	ous (4)				
GEN (pl)	owr ⁹ (3)				
DAT (pl)	ous (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ^r (40)	þ ^e (1)			
ACC (sg)	þ ^e (11)	þe (1)			
GEN (sg)	þy (18)				
DAT (sg)	þ ^e (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (7)	ȝe (4)	yow (2)	ȝow (1)	
ACC (pl)	ye (4)	yow (2)			
GEN (pl)	yo ² (1)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (104)	hym (5)			
ACC (sg)	hym (19)	hȳ (7)	hyn (2)		
GEN (sg)	hys (37)	h ^r (8)	hs (3)	hy ⁹ (1)	ys ²⁵⁹ (5)
DAT (sg)	hym (13)	hȳ (9)	hyn (2)		
REFLEXIVE	hym sylf (1)				
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (35)	hue (3)	schue (2)	hur ⁹ (1)	sc ^h e (1)
ACC (sg)	hur ⁹ (10)	her ⁹ (2)			

²⁵³ Rhymed with 'for layne'

²⁵⁴ Imperative form

²⁵⁵ 'In two'

²⁵⁶ 'whether'

²⁵⁷ 'were'

²⁵⁸ Impersonal construction involving the noun 'woe'.

²⁵⁹ Genitive inflection

GEN (sg)	hur ⁹ (28)	her ⁹ (3)			
DAT (sg)	hur ⁹ (3)				
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þay (64)	hy (1)			
ACC (pl)	h ^e m (17)	ham (8)	hym (1)		
GEN (pl)	hur ⁹ (19)	her ⁹ (4)			
DAT (pl)	h ^e m (2)				
REFLEXIVE	h ^e m (3)				
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (4)				
2 ND person	ert (3)	art (3)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (18)	be (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	buth (1)	beþ ^e (1)			
Subjunctive	be (3)				
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	be (1)				
3 RD person (pl)					
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person	was (2)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (57)	wes ²⁶⁰ (2)	wa ²⁶¹ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (25)	wor ⁹ (2)	were (1)	wher ⁹ (1)	
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (9)	were (1)	war ⁹ (1)		
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (4)				
2 ND person	haue (1)	hast (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	haþ ^e (5)	haþ (4)	haþe (1)		
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	had (2)				
2 ND person	haddyst (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	had (3)	hadde (2)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (2)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (8)	cam (1)	came (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (1)	com (1)			
Preterite Subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<þyng on me> 'think on me' ²⁶² (1)				
<p> for 	breðyr (11)	worþ ^e (9)	fad ⁹ ys(8)	modyr (7)	oder (3)
<d> for <þ>	gadred (1)	wodyr ²⁶³ (1)			
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE					
KING	kyng (5)	kyng ⁹ (3)	kyngys [*] (1)		
KIN	kyne (1)	kyn (1)			
KISS	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	

²⁶⁰ Rhymed with 'pres'²⁶¹ Folio 137r column one line 18²⁶² Folio 133r column 2 line 15²⁶³ 'whether'

LIVE	<u>1st person</u> leue (1) <u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person</u> <u>2nd person pret</u>	kyssyd (3) <u>3rd person</u> leuyth (1) <u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural</u> <u>plural pret</u> leuede (1)
LIFE	lyf (2)			
OLD	olde (4)			
SIN				
EARL	erle (2)	erl (1)	e ² l (1)	erlys* (3)
EARTH				
FIGHT				
FIGHT (n)	fjyt (3)	fjyte (1)		
HEAVEN	heuene* (6)			
KNEW	<u>1st person</u> knv (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> kyþe (1) can (1) knw (1)	<u>plural</u>
LIGHT	<u>1st person pret</u> lyt ²⁶⁴ (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> lyt (1)	<u>plural pret</u>
LIGHT (n)	lyt (2)			
LOVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> louyd (1)	<u>plural pret</u> louyd (2)
LOVE (n)	loue (14)			
WORTHY	worþy (2)	worþyeste (3)		
Past participle marker	y- (17)			

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Mandeville's Travels

AFTER	aft ⁹ (18)	after (16)	after ⁹ (7)	
AGAINST	ayen ⁹ (4) ayenst (1)	ayen (2) ayean ⁹ (1)	ayens (2)	ayen3 (1)
AGAIN	ayen ⁹ (15)	ayen (4)	agayn ⁹ (3)	agayne (3)
ANY	ony (8)	eny (4)	onny ²⁶⁵ (1)	
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> askyd (3)	<u>Plural pret</u> askyd (1)
BEFORE	be fore (8) by for ⁹ (2)	by fore (8) er ⁹ (1)	be for ⁹ (7)	by for (4)
BOTH	bothe (5)	both (2)		
BURN(T)	<u>Present</u> brane (1) brene (1)	<u>Participle</u> barnyng ⁹ (1)	<u>Past</u> brend (1) barnyd (1) brent (1) brynd (1)	
BUT	bote (50) bott (3) bovte (1)	bot (29) bute (2) bovte (1)	but (13) botte (1)	bout (4) bovt (1)
CHURCH	chyrch (22) churche (1) chyrch (1) churchys* (1)	chyrche (19) chrche ²⁶⁶ (1) chyrche (1)	chirche (2) chyrch (1) cherchys* (1)	churche (2) church (1) chirches* (1)
COULD				
DAY(S)	day (10) deys* (1)	daye (8) dayes* (2)	dayes* (4)	days* (2)
DID	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> dyde (6) dyd (2) ded (1)	<u>Plural pret</u> dyde (2)
EACH				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noder... no (1)			
EVIL	yuel (4)	yuell (2)	yvell (2)	
EYE(S)	eye (1)	eyen ⁹ * (1)		
FETCH				
FILL				
FIRE	fyr ⁹ (3)			
FIRST	fyrst (8) feryst (2)	ffyrst ²⁶⁷ (3) ffyrst (1)	ffyrste ²⁶⁸ (2) first (1)	ffyrst (2) fyrst (1)
FROM				
GET				
GIVE	<u>1st person pres</u>	<u>2nd person pres</u>	<u>3rd person pres</u> yeff (1) yeuet (1) yeave (1) yeveth (1)	<u>Plural pres</u> yeve (2) jaff (1) yve ²⁶⁹ (1)
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> yaffe (2)	<u>Plural pret</u>
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> goyth (5)	<u>Plural</u> goyth (32)

²⁶⁵ Folio 91r line 23

²⁶⁶ Written at the end of a line

²⁶⁷ Line initial

²⁶⁸ Not line initial

²⁶⁹ Folio 84v line 8

			goythe (4)	goythe (5) goth (2) go (2) gon (1) gon ^o (1) heghe (1)
HIGH	hyegh (2) heygh (1)	hygh (2)	heygth (1)	
HIGHER	heyer ^o (1)	hegher (1)	hyer ^o (1)	
HILL	hulle (21)	hyll (5)	hyllys* (7)	hylls* (3)
IF	yff (13) yeff ²⁷⁰ (1)	yf (5) yef (1)	if (1)	iff (1)
LAND	lond (54) londes* (1)	londe (2)	londys* (2)	landes* (1)
LITTLE	lytyll (13)	lytell (2)	lytyl (2)	lytel (2)
-LY	-ly (15) -lech (1)	-lych (7)	-lyche (3)	-lyche (2)
MAN	man ^o (60)	man (4)	ma ^o (2)	mon ^o (1)
MEN	me ^o (162)	men ^o (48)	men (2)	me (1)
MANY	meny (32)	many (17)	myny (1)	
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> myht (2) mygth (2) myght (2) mythe (1) myhte (1)	<u>Plural</u> mygth (2)
MIGHT (n/Aj)				
MUCH	moche (8) mychyll (1)	moch (3) mychell (1)	myche (2)	moch (1)
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL, etc	nys (1)			
NOT	noth (23) nogth (6) not (3) nough (1)	noght (10) noht (4) nott (1) notz (1)	nought (10) notgh (4) nouht (1) nothe (1)	nouth (7) nothe (3) nogh (1)
OWN	awne (2)	owne (1)		
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schall (3) shell (2) schell (2)	<u>2nd person</u> schalt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schall (22) shell (10) schell (3) shull (1) schull (1) schyll (1) scell (1)	<u>Plural</u> schall (10) shull (5) schulle (4) schell (4) shullyth (2) schull (1) shulle (1)
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schulde (8) schuld (5) scholde (2) shulde (2) shold (1) schould (1) shuld (1) sethyn ^o (2)	<u>Plural</u> schuld (11) schulde (2) schulld (1) schud (1)
SINCE	sythen ^o (3) sythyn (1)	sythyn ^o (2)		sythethen (1)
SUCH	suche (1)			
THAN	chan ^o (7) theyn (1)	thanne (4)	thane (3)	then ^o (2)
THEN	thanne (11) chen (2)	then ^o (6) sythyn (2)	chan ^o (5) theyn (1)	thenne (4) thane (1)
THERE	ther ^o (134) thens (7) thans (2) thennys (1)	þ ^o (94) thare (5) thayr ^o (1)	ther (18) thyder ^o (3) theder (1)	thar ^o (16) thenys (2) thaynes (1)
THESE	these (11)	theys (4)	thes (2)	thay (1)
THOSE	them ^o (2) tham ^o (1)	tho (2) thuse (1)	thoo (2) hem ^o (1)	thaye (1)

THINK				
(AL)THOUGH	thouffe ²⁷¹ (1)	they ²⁷² (1)	thuff (1)	
THROUGH	thurgh (17)	thru ^h (16)	thruth (4)	þorgh (2)
	thrvoo (1)	thro ^v (1)	thrug (1)	thught (1)
	thru ^g ht (1)	thorg ^h t (1)		
TWO				
UNTIL	tyll (3)			
OE hw-words				
wh (213)	whanne (39)	whar ⁹ (36)	whan ⁹ (26)	whych (24)
	whare (15)	whane (13)	wher ⁹ (10)	wham ⁹ (9)
	whych (8)	what (6)	when ⁹ (5)	whych (4)
	whyche (6)	whame (1)	whanne (1)	whatt (1)
	wham (1)	which (1)	whuche (1)	when (1)
	wherre (1)	why ^t (1)	why ^t st (1)	whycche (1)
	whyle (1)	why (1)		
	w ylle ²⁷³ (1)			
w (10)	wych (2)	wyche (2)	wyche (1)	war ⁹ 274 (1)
	wych (1)	wyhane ²⁷⁵ (1)	wyte ²⁷⁶ (1)	wahme ²⁷⁷ (1)
h (17)	huche (6)	ho (5)	huche ²⁷⁸ (3)	howme ²⁷⁹ (1)
	hych (1)	huch (1)		
hypercorrection (26)	wher ⁹ 280 (10)	why ^t 281 (2)	why ^t 282 (2)	whanhop ²⁸³ (1)
	whrot ²⁸⁴ (1)	rowhard (1)	rwhyche ²⁸⁵ (1)	whas ²⁸⁶ (1)
	whassyd ²⁸⁷ (1)	whent (1)	whyth (1)	
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	wolle (1)	wolt (1)	wyll (6)	woll (4)
	well (1)		woll (1)	wyll (2)
			wyl (1)	wyl (1)
WILL (n)	wyll (2)			
WITH(OUT)	w ⁱ (80)	why ^t (6)	whyth (1)	
WORLD	worle (12)	worlde (2)	world (2)	worlle (1)
	wold ²⁸⁸ (1)			
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	wold (2)		wold (10)	wolde (2)
			wolde (2)	wold (2)
			wyllyd (1)	
			wolld (1)	
			wyld (1)	
			yt ²⁸⁹ (2)	
YET	yet (3)	yett (2)		
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (sg)	y (40)	I (19)		
ACC (sg)	me (6)			

²⁷¹ Folio 102v line 15 <thouffe hit be more/ payne>

²⁷² Folio 103v line 4 <they³ hyt be þt þer ben meny othere/ wayes>

²⁷³ 'while'

²⁷⁴ 'where'

²⁷⁵ Folio 339v line 14 'when'

²⁷⁶ 'white'

²⁷⁷ Folio 95r line 13 'whom' <of wahme þt vale (valley) hathe þe name>

²⁷⁸ 'which'

²⁷⁹ 'whom'

²⁸⁰ 'were'

²⁸¹ 'with'

²⁸² 'with'

²⁸³ 'wanhope'

²⁸⁴ Folio 79v line 21 'wrote' <Johan þe Euangelyst whrot þe apokalyps>

²⁸⁵ 'touch'

²⁸⁶ 'was'

²⁸⁷ 'washed'

²⁸⁸ Folio 86r line 11 <þe byginnyng of þe wold>

²⁸⁹ Folio 100v line 8 <bote yt thay fale yn þe artyculys of oure be lyue>

GEN (sg)	my (9)	myn ⁹ (1)		
DAT (sg)	me (1)			
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (pl)	we (11)	wee (2)		
ACC (pl)	ous (1)			
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (97) our (1)	oure (7)	owr ⁹ (5)	owre (3)
DAT (pl)				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (sg)	thu (4)	þ ⁸ (1)	thow (1)	
ACC (sg)	the (1)	thow (1)		
GEN (sg)	thy (6)	thyn (1)	thye (1)	
DAT (sg)	the (1)			
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (pl)	ye (28)			
ACC (pl)	yow (14)			
GEN (pl)				
DAT (pl)				
THIRD PERSON masc.				
NOM (sg)	he (228)	hee ²⁹⁰ (4)	hym ⁹ (1)	
ACC (sg)	hym ⁹ (38)	hym (12)	he (1)	
GEN (sg)	hys (95)	his (4)	ys ²⁹¹ (46)	
DAT (sg)	hym ⁹ (10)	hym (2)		
REFLEXIVE	hym ⁹ sylffe (1) hym sylffe (1) hym ⁹ sylfe (1)	hys sylfe (1) hym sylfe (1) hym ⁹ sylff (1)	hym ⁹ sylue (1) hym (3)	hym sylue (1) hym ⁹ (3)
THIRD PERSON fem				
NOM (sg)	scheo (31) shou ²⁹³ (4) schu (2)	shoe (8) schoe (3)	scho (5) sche (2)	shuo ²⁹² (5) sho (1)
ACC (sg)	hyr ⁹ (24)	her ⁹ (4)	hur ⁹ (2)	
GEN (sg)	hyr ⁹ (16)	hye ⁹ (5)	hur ⁹ (1)	hir ⁹ (1)
DAT (sg)	hyr ⁹ (5)			
THIRD PERSON pl.				
NOM (pl)	chay (184) thye (1) h ⁸ m ²⁹⁴ (1)	they (31) þei (1)	thaye (19) þey (1)	hym ⁹ (1) theye (1)
ACC (pl)	cham ⁹ (9) them ⁹ (2) thym ⁹ (1) hame (1)	ham ⁹ (7) thayme (2) hym ⁹ (1) ham (1)	thame (4) them (1) h ⁸ m (1)	them ⁹ (3) thaym ⁹ (1) thym (1)
GEN (pl)	hyr ⁹ (23) cher ⁹ (3)	ther ⁹ (14) chare (1)	hir ⁹ (6) chaye ⁹ (1)	þ ⁹ (3) thar ⁹ (1)
DAT (pl)	cham ⁹ (3)	ham (2)	them ⁹ (1)	hym (1)
REFLEXIVE	h ⁸ m (3) h ⁸ m sylfe (1)	them (1) hamme sylfe (1)	thayme (1) therys ²⁹⁵ (1)	thame (1) thayrys ²⁹⁶ (1)
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person	am (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (391) byth (1)	bethe (3) beth (1)	is (2)	hys (1)
3 RD person (pl)	beth (35)	ys (19)	bethe (16)	byth (4)

²⁹⁰ Folio 75r line 15 <bovte (but) hee/ had lost alle>

²⁹¹ Genitive inflection

²⁹² Folio 80r line 23 <shuo/ lythe yn a old castell>

²⁹³ Folio 86v line 14

²⁹⁴ Part of an impersonal construction

²⁹⁵ Pronoun

²⁹⁶ Pronoun

	buthe (2)	er ⁹ (2)	ben (1)	ben ⁹ (1)
	bythe (1)	bene (1)	beyth (1)	buth (1)
Subjunctive	be (10)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	was (137)	ws ²⁹⁷ (2)	whas (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (16)	wher ⁹ (8)	whar ⁹ (2)	ware (1)
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (5)	wher ⁹ (1)	wyer ⁹ ²⁹⁸ (1)	
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person	haue (19)			
2 ND person	hast ⁹ (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	hathe (8)	hath (7)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (16)	hauyth (2)	havythe (1)	hauet (1)
Subjunctive	haue (1)			
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person	had (1)			
2 ND person	hadde (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (23)	had (13)	hadd (2)	
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (4)	had (3)	hade (1)	
Preterite subjunctive				
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	comyth (15)	cōmyth (1)	come (1)	com ⁹ (1)
	comythyt (1)	commyth (1)	comythe (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	comyth (7)	come (3)	com ⁹ (1)	com (1)
	comythe (1)			
Subjunctive	com ⁹ (3)	come (1)		
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person	come (1)	com (1)		
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	com (5)	come (3)	com ⁹ (2)	
3 RD person (pl)	come (2)	com (1)		
Preterite subj.				
V-WORDS				
	<vyst> for 'fist' (1)			
Z / ȝ WORDS				
	<a yen> for 'against' (1)			
<t> for <d>				
<k> for <g>				
<p> for 	<babtysid> for 'baptysid' Fol 94v line 8			
<d> for <þ>	fader (6)	ffader (5)	moder (5)	anoder/ oder (5)
	thyder ⁹ (3)	togeder ⁹ (2)	noder (2)	gaderyd (2)
	worthys ²⁹⁹ (1)	feder ³⁰⁰ (1)	broder (1)	weder ⁹ (1)
	furder ⁹ more (1)			
<þ> for <y>				
HIDE				
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u> be hyue (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
BELIEF	by hyue (1)			

²⁹⁷ Folio 94v line 8 < þt he ws babtysid >

²⁹⁸ Folio 104v line 25

²⁹⁹ Folio 90r line 17 'words' < & þs worthys he sayd >

³⁰⁰ 'feather'

KING	kyng ⁹ (9) kyngys* (3)	kyнге (4) kengys* (2)	kenge ³⁰¹ (1)	kenge (1)
KINGDOM	kyngdom ⁹ (10)	kengdom ⁹ (3)	kyngdomys* (2)	
KIN	kyne (1)			
KISS (n)	kyss (1)	kysse (1)	kess (1)	kyste (1)
LISTEN				
LIVE	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	levyth (1) <u>3rd person pret.</u> leuyd (2) leuyde (1) lyuyng ³⁰² (1)	<u>Plural pret.</u>
LIFE	lyue (8)	lyvys* (1)	oldyst (1)	olyd ³⁰³ (1)
OLD	olde (5)	old (4)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
SIN	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u> synnyde (1)	synneth (2) <u>Plural pret.</u>
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	syne (1) synnerys (1)	synnys* (3)
SIN (n)	synne (10) synnes* (2)	synnye (1) sennes* (1)		
DEEP				
EARL				
EARTH	erthe (14)	yerth (2)		
FAR				
FELL				
FIGHT (n/v)				
HEAVEN	heuene (2)			
KNEW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u> knew (1) knwe ³⁰⁴ (1)
LIGHT	lythly (1)			
LOVE	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u> lowyd (2) louyde (1) lovyd (1)	<u>Plural pret.</u>
LOVE (n)	loue (2)			
WORTHY	worthe (1)	worthlych (1)		
y-prefix	y- (24)	i- (1)		

³⁰¹ Folio 83v line 19 <for drede of/ kenge herod>

³⁰² Noun

³⁰³ 'olden'

³⁰⁴ Line final

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Alchemica

AFTER	after (12)	aft ⁹ (10)	after ⁹ (6)		
AGAINST	agayn (1)				
AGAIN	aʒen (3)	aʒayn ⁹ (1)	aʒan (1)	aʒyn (1)	aʒeyne (1)
	aʒeyn (1)	agayn (1)			
ANY	any (3)	eny (1)	eni (1)		
ASK					
BEFORE	be fore (8)	be for (5)	be for ⁹ (1)	a for (1)	
BOTH	bothe (6)	both (5)	boþe (2)	both (1)	
BURN(T)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BUT	but (54)	bren (1)	breneth (1)		
CHURCH	chorche ³⁰⁵ (1)	bot (13)			
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	coud (5)		coude (2)		
	cowde (4)		coud (1)		
	coude (2)		cowde (1)		
	cowd (1)				
DAY(S)	day (2)	daye (2)	days* (10)	dayes* (3)	
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		doyst (1)	doth (3)	doth (3)	
		dost (1)	doth (2)		
DID	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		dyste (3)			
EACH	eche (1)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nether (1)				
EVIL	euyl (2)	yeul (1)			
EYE(S)	I ³⁰⁶ (1)	eygen ⁹ * (1)			
FIRE	fyr ⁹ (32)	fyre (12)	fyr (6)	fir ⁹ (2)	fyr ⁹ e (1)
	feyr ⁹ (1)	ffyr ³⁰⁷ (1)	fire (1)		
FIRST	fryst (15)	ffyrst ³⁰⁸ (2)	frist (2)	ffyrste ³⁰⁹ (2)	fur ⁹ st (1)
	fyrst (1)	ffurst ³¹⁰ (1)	frest (1)		
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		ʒyfe (1)	ʒevith (1)		
		ʒyf (1)	gevith (1)		
		yefe (1)	ʒyfthe (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		ʒef (1)			
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		gost (1)	goth (2)		
HIGH	hye (2)	hey (1)	heyest (2)	heyness (1)	
HILL	hulle (1)	hylles* (1)			
IF	ʒyf (15)	yf (8)	ʒyfe (4)	ʒife (2)	ʒif (2)
	yfe (2)	ʒef (1)	if (1)		
LAND					
LITTLE	lytel (7)	lytyl (3)	litel (2)	a lyt (2)	lytell (1)
	lute (1)				
-LY	-ly (23)	-lich (1)	-lych (1)		
MAN	man (29)	mān (6)	man ⁹ (1)	mā ³¹¹ (1)	mānes* (5)
	mānys* (5)	mannys* (1)	manys* (1)		
MANY	many (19)	meny (7)	mani (5)	meni (1)	
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		myght (1)	myght (1)		
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myght (1)	all myght (2)	all myhty (1)	all myghty	alle myght ¹ (1)

³⁰⁵ Folio 9v line 6 <holy chorche>

³⁰⁶ Folio 15r line 3 'the eye of a needle' signified by <I>

³⁰⁷ Line initial

³⁰⁸ Line initial

³⁰⁹ Line initial

³¹⁰ Line initial

³¹¹ Line final

MUCH	moche (4)	moch̄ (1)	moch (1)	(1)	
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	not (27)	nat (10)	nowght (2)		
OWN	owne (3)	own (2)	owne (1)	ovn (1)	
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schal (32)	schalt (59)	schal (47)	schal (7)	
	schall (8)		schall (6)	schall (1)	
	schalt (3)		schale (1)	schale (1)	
	schalle (2)		schulle (1)		
	scale (1)		shalt (1)		
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			schold (2)	schulde (1)	
			schould (1)		
SINCE					
SUCH	suche (3)	soche (1)	sych (1)		
THAN	than (40)	þan (8)	thān (1)	þān (1)	than ⁹ (1)
THEN	than (39)	then (21)	þan (5)	thān (2)	then ⁹ (1)
	thone (1)				
THERE	ther ⁹ (44)	ther (36)	þer (5)	þer ⁹ (5)	þ ⁹ e ³¹² (1)
	there (2)	thar (1)			
THESE	þes (10)	thes (5)			
THOSE	þo (2)	tho (1)			
THINK					
THOUGHT (n)	thought (1)				
(AL)THOUGH	th'owe (1)	þou (1)	thowe (1)		
THROUGH	thorowe (2)				
TWO	to (2)	tweyne (1)	a twyne ³¹³ (1)		
UNTIL	tyl (21)	til (2)	tel (2)	till (1)	
OE hw-words (wh) (121)	whan (28)	whyte (27)	white (13)	whyzt (7)	why (7)
	who (5)	whyt (5)	whyzt (2)	while (2)	whenne (2)
	what (2)	where (2)	whoo (1)	whān (1)	when (1)
	whyle (1)	whyet (1)	why ³¹⁴ (1)	wher ⁹ e (1)	whytnes (1)
	whytnes (1)	wher (1)	whose ³¹⁵ (1)	whome (1)	whyeye ³¹⁶ (1)
	whit ³¹⁷ (1)	whitenys (1)	whitch ³¹⁸ (1)	whate (1)	whytter ⁹ (1)
	whyte (1)	whēn (1)			
(w) (83)	wych (38)	wich̄ (25)	wyche (8)	wych̄ (7)	wech ³¹⁹ (2)
	wyle (1)	wich (1)	weche (1)		
(h) (8)	ho (5)	hos ³²⁰ (2)	hose ³²¹ (1)		
hypercorrection (3)	whynggs ³²² (1)	whits ³²³ (1)			
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wolle (2)	wolt (2)	wol (11)	wolle (2)	
	welle (1)	wolte (1)	wolle (7)	welle (1)	
			wyle (3)	wol (1)	
			woll (3)	woll (1)	
			wyll (3)		
			wel (3)		
			wole (2)		
			welle (2)		
			wille (1)		
			wyl (1)		
			will (1)		
WILL (n)					
WITH(OUT)	wyth (55)	with (48)	wyth (14)	with (9)	w ¹ (5)
	weth ³²⁴ (1)				
WORLD	worlde (11)	world (5)	worle (1)	worldly (1)	wo ¹ dely (1)
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	

³¹² Folio 9r line 1³¹³ 'In two'³¹⁴ 'why'³¹⁵ 'Who so'³¹⁶ Folio 63v lines 5&6 <and this sertayne (th)ynngys / with(e) the whyte whyeye kynde of the whits/ a schynt>. ??³¹⁷ Part of a compound <whit red> 'white-red'³¹⁸ 'which'³¹⁹ 'which'³²⁰ 'Who so'³²¹ 'who so'³²² 'wings'³²³ 'wits'?³²⁴ Folio 94r line 11 <wyne without water>

YET	3yt (21)	wolddyst (1) yet (2)	3ytte (2)	wolde (1) 3yt (2)	3ette (1)
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	I (88)	y (23)			
ACC (sg)	me (2)				
GEN (sg)	my (11)				
DAT (sg)					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (5)				
ACC (pl)					
GEN (pl)	owre (47) our (1)	owr ⁹ (7) owr (1)	owr ⁹ c (2)	our ⁹ (2)	oure (2)
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	thou (72) the (1)	thow (41) thowe (1)	þou (20)	þow (8)	þ ⁹ (4)
ACC (sg)	the (14) þ ³²⁵ (1)	thow (5)	þow (2)	þe (2)	thou (1)
GEN (sg)	thy (65) thyn (1) the (3)	thi (6)	thyne (2)	þy (1)	thyn (1)
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (17)	3e (5)			
ACC (pl)	yow (11)	3ow (2)			
GEN (pl)	3owr (1)				
DAT (pl)	yow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (134)	hey ³²⁶ (2)	a (1)		
ACC (sg)	hym (24)	hem (6)	him (1)		
GEN (sg)	hys (69)	his (2)			
DAT (sg)	hym (11)	hym ⁹ (1)			
REFLEXIVE	hym selfe (12) hem selfe (1)	hem silfe (2) hym sylfe (1)	hym selve (1)	hym selue (1)	hym (1)
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (19)				
ACC (sg)	hir ⁹ (1)				
GEN (sg)	hyr ⁹ (4)	her (4)	hir ⁹ (3)	hur ⁹ (1)	hyr (1)
DAT (sg)	hir ⁹ (1)	hyr ⁹ (1)			
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (7)	thay (5)	thaye (3)	þaye (1)	thye (1)
ACC (pl)	hem (7) them (1)	þame (1)	hame (1)	tham (1)	ham (8)
GEN (pl)	hyr ⁹ (3)	her (1)	her ⁹ (1)	ther ⁹ (1)	
DAT (pl)	ham (1)				
REFLEXIVE	hem selfe (3)	hem selff (1)			
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person	arte (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (281)	ben (5)	byth (1)	is (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	ben (23)	byth (2)	ben ⁹ (2)	beth (1)	ys ³²⁷ (1)
Subjunctive	be (18)	ben (3)	beo (1)		
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	wose ³²⁸ (13)	was (4)	wos (2)		
3 RD person (pl)	were (2)	wer ⁹ (1)			
Preterite subjunctive	were (4)	wer ⁹ (3)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (2)				
2 ND person	hast (12)	haue (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	hath (7)	hath (5)	hathe (2)	hape (2)	
3 RD person (pl)	haue (4)	hath (1)			
Subjunctive	haue (12)				

³²⁵ Line final³²⁶ Folio 15r line 15 <hey schal drawe to hys kynde...> and Folio 95v line 12 <hey maxe chese/ where he wol...>³²⁷ Folio 5v line 7 <þe lefys of thys erbe ys ynde blew>³²⁸ Folio 8v line 5

TO HAVE Preterite

1ST person2ND person3RD person (sg)3RD person (pl)

had (1)

hade (1)

Preterite subjunctive

TO COME Indicative

1ST person2ND person3RD person (sg)3RD person (pl)

comyth (3)

com (3)

comth (1)

cōmys (1)

Subjunctive

com (1)

cum⁹ (1)

TO COME Preterite

1ST person2ND person3RD person (sg)3RD person (pl)

com (3)

cam (3)

Preterite subjunctive

V-WORDS

Z / ȝ WORDS

<t> for <d>

<k> for <g>

<p> for

<d> for <þ>

<þ> for <y>

to geder⁹ (21)moder⁹ (6)

fader (4)

eyder (1)

oder (1)

BELIEVE

KING

KIN

kyn⁹ (1)

KISS

LIVE

LIFE

life (2)

lyfe (7)

OLD

olde (3)

SIN

1st person2nd person3rd personplural

sēne (1)

SIN (n)

synne (1)

EARL

EARTH

erthe (13)

erth (10)

er⁹the (1)

erth (1)

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

heuēn (7)

heuen (2)

heue⁹ (1)

heūe (1)

KNEW

1st person2nd person3rd personplural

can (3)

knowyst (1)

knowyth (1)

know (4)

knowe (1)

LIGHT

lyght (8)

lyght³²⁹ (1)

LOVE

1st person2nd person3rd personplural

loveth (1)

LOVE (n)

loue (3)

love (1)

loef (1)

WORTHY

Past participle marker

I- (49)

y- (7)

³²⁹ Adjective

The Royal College of Arms, Arundel 22

The Seege and Batayle of Troye

AFTER	after (7)	affter (6)	aft ⁹ (5)	afft ⁹ (1)	afterward (1)
AGAINST	to ʒens (5)	aʒens (4)	aʒenst (2)		
AGAIN	aʒen (7)	aʒe (6)	aʒayn (1)	aʒein (1)	
ANY	eny (6)	any (4)			
ASK	<u>1st person</u> aske (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> askede (2) asked (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	to fore (6)	by fore (3)	be fore (1)	ar (1)	afore (1)
BOTH	bothe (4)	both (2)	boþ ^c (2)	boþ (1)	baþe (1)
BURN(T)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> brennyþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> brent (1)	<u>plural pret</u> butte (1)	
BUT	bote (13)	but (10)	bot (6)		
CHURCH					
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (17)	daye (1)			
DID	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> doþ (2)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> dude (8) dede (1) did (1)	<u>plural pret</u> dude (4) dede (1) dyd (1)	
EACH	eche (2)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	woder (1)				
EVIL	yuel (4)				
EYE(S)	eyʒen* (1)				
FIRE					
FIRST	furst (6)	furste (3)	ffurst (1)	ffurste (1)	
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> ʒeue (2)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u> ʒaf (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> ʒaf (2) ʒef (1)	<u>plural pret</u> ʒeff (1)	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> goþ (1) go (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> wente (2) went (1) ʒeod (1) ʒude (1)	<u>plural pret</u> wente (2) wene (1) went (1) ʒeode (1) ʒede (1)	
HIGH	hye (2)	hyʒe (1)			
HILL	hille (2)				
IF	yf (10) Iyf ³³⁰ (1)	ʒyff (8) If ³³¹ (1)	ʒyf (6)	yff (2)	if (1)
LAND	lond (23)	londe (7)	londes* (3)		
LITTLE	lytel (4)	litel (1)			
-LY	-ly (19) -ly ^c (2)	-lyche (18) -leche (1)	-lych (2) -lech (1)	liche (2)	
MAN	man (19)	manne (1)	wyʒt ³³² (1)	mannys* (2)	manlyche (1)
MANY	many (20)	meny (12)	ffele (2)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u> meʒt (1)	<u>2nd person</u> meʒt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> meʒt (5) meʒt (1) meʒte (1)	<u>plural</u> meʒt (3) meʒte (2) meʒt (2)	

³³⁰ Line-initial³³¹ Line initial³³² Meaning 'person', specifically used of a female.

				meȳte (1)	
				myȳt (1)	
				meȳht (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myȳt (4)	myȳth (3)	al myȳte (1)		
MUCH	meche (35)	moche (5)	muche (3)	mech (1)	mochel (1)
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nolde (3)	not ³³³ (2)	nol ³³⁴ (1)	nadde (1)	
	nold (1)				
NOT	noȳt (28)	nouȳt (9)	not (2)		
OWN	owne (2)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schal (6)	schalt (4)	schal (14)	schul (9)	
	shal (3)	schal (2)	shal (1)	schal (3)	
				schulleȳ (3)	
				schol (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schuld (2)	schuld (2)	schuld (10)	schuld (14)	
	shuld (2)	schuldest (1)	schulde (6)	schullyt (2)	
	schulde (1)		shuld (2)	schulyȳ (1)	
				schold (1)	
				schulleȳ (1)	
SINCE	syth (1)				
SUCH	suche (3)	soche (2)	swyche (2)		
THAN	þan (10)	chan ³³⁵ (2)	thanne (1)		
THEN	þenne (38)	þanne (9)	þo (7)	tho ³³⁶ (5)	þan (5)
	þēn (3)	thenne ³³⁷ (2)	þēne (2)	þen (2)	þan (1)
	thāne (1)	thanne ³³⁸ (1)			
THERE	þ ³⁴⁴	þer (17)	þar (4)	þeder (3)	ther ³³⁹ (2)
	þedur (2)	þennys (1)	þere (1)	þer ³⁴⁰ (1)	þennes (1)
	þare (1)	þ ³⁴¹ (1)			
THESE	þes (1)	þys (1)	þilke (1)	þese (1)	
THOSE	hem (12)	þuse (6)	þay (2)	hy (2)	
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	þynkyȳ (1)		þykeȳ (1)		
	be þynke (1)				
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	þouȳt (2)		þouȳte (1)		
			þouȳt (1)		
			by þouȳte (1)		
			by þoȳt (1)		
THOUGHT (n)	þouȳt (2)				
(AL)THOUGH	thourth (1)				
THROUGH	þrow (1)	thoȳt (1)	þoruȳ (1)		
TWO	to (3)	twayne (1)	twye (1)	twy (1)	
UNTIL	tyl (5)	tille (2)	tylle (1)	til (1)	
OE hw-words (wh) (0)					
(w) (99)	wat (24)	wyche (19)	wan (13)	wanne (9)	wen (8)
	wy ³⁴⁰ (6)	wenne (6)	wer (2)	war (2)	wane (2)
	wo (1)	wer ³⁴¹ (1)	woder (1)	wene (1)	wych (1)
	wam (1)	wiche (1)	wyle (1)		
(h) (7)	huche (5)	ho (2)			
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wol (20)	wolt (1)	wol (9)	wol (3)	
	wyl (2)	wyl (1)		wil (3)	
	wole (1)			wolleȳ (2)	
				wollyt (2)	
				wollyȳ (1)	
WILL (n)	wylle (4)	wille (2)			
WITH(OUT)	w ³⁴² (38)	wyt (28)	wyth (24)	wyȳ (12)	wyt (11)
	with (5)				
WORLD	worle (2)	worlde (2)	worlle (1)		

³³³ 'Don't know'³³⁴ 'ne + wol' 'won't' or 'do not want to'³³⁵ Line initial³³⁶ Line-initial except one³³⁷ Line-initial³³⁸ Line-initial³³⁹ Line-initial³⁴⁰ 'why'

	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
WOULD	wold (1) wolde (1) ȝut (2)		wold (13) wolde (7)	wold (8) wolde (6)
YET				
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (sg)	y (72) I ³⁴³ (1)	I ³⁴¹ (28) ych ³⁴⁴ (1)	me ³⁴² (3) ȝe ³⁴⁵ (1)	y ^c (2)
ACC (sg)	me (24)			
GEN (sg)	my (15)			
DAT (sg)	me (12)			
Reflexive	me (2)	my sylf (1)	mȳ (1)	
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (pl)	we (28)			
ACC (pl)	vs (9)	ous (5)	v ⁹ (1)	
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (7)	our (6)	oure (3)	
DAT (pl)				
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (sg)	þ ^a (17)	þou (14)	thou ³⁴⁶ (1)	
ACC (sg)	þe (15)	þow (2)	þee ³⁴⁷ (1)	
GEN (sg)	þy (11)	thy (1)		
DAT (sg)	þe (1)			
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (pl)	ȝe (42)	ȝow (1)		
ACC (pl)	ȝow (20)	ȝou (3)		
GEN (pl)	ȝour (9)	ȝour ⁹ (5)	ȝou ³⁴⁸ (5)	ȝow ³⁴⁸ (2) ȝo ³⁴⁸ (2)
	ȝowr (1)	ȝowr ⁹ (1)		
DAT (pl)	ȝou (1)			
THIRD PERSON masc.				
NOM (sg)	he (106)	hy (1)	ȝe ³⁴⁹ (1)	
ACC (sg)	hym (74)	hȳ (17)		
GEN (sg)	hys (106)	his (5)	h ⁹ (2)	hes (2) h ³⁵⁰ (1)
	ys ³⁵¹ (9)			
DAT (sg)	hym (23)	hȳ (4)	hem (1)	
REFLEXIVE	hȳ sylf (2) ^m	hym (1)	hȳ (1)	hym sylff (1)
THIRD PERSON fem				
NOM (sg)	hue (17)	she (12)	sche (5)	schue (3)
ACC (sg)	hur ⁹ (7)	hure (4)	hire (2)	her (2) her ⁹ (1)
GEN (sg)	her (7)	here (5)	hur ⁹ (3)	
DAT (sg)	hure (1)			
THIRD PERSON pl.				
NOM (pl)	þay (211)	thay ³⁵² (9)	thei (2)	hy (1) he (1)
ACC (pl)	hem (39)	ham (17)	hym (8)	hā (2) hē (2)
GEN (pl)	hur ⁹ (33)	her ⁹ (6)	here (3)	hyr ⁹ (2) hure (1)
	hyre (1)	þ ⁹ (1)		
DAT (pl)	hem (3)	ham (2)		
REFLEXIVE	hem (3)	ham (1)	hȳ (1)	
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person	am (8)			
2 ND person	ert (3)	art (1)		
3 RD person (sg)	ys (25)	bup (1)	but ³⁵³ (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	bup (10)	ben (3)	byþ (2)	beþ (1) ys (1)
Subjunctive	be (5)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person	was (1)			

³⁴¹ Line-initial or sentence-initial, with one exception

³⁴² 'Me thought', impersonal construction.

³⁴³ Line initial

³⁴⁴ Folio 40v column 2 line 48.

³⁴⁵ Folio 2v column one line 8 <ȝe am com here>

³⁴⁶ Line-initial

³⁴⁷ Rhymed with 'see'

³⁴⁸ Line-final

³⁴⁹ Folio 70v column 1 line 53 <sayde ȝe hyt conforted me meche>

³⁵⁰ Line-final

³⁵¹ Genitive inflection

³⁵² Line-initial

³⁵³ Folio 41v column 1 line 20.

2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (137)	wer ⁹ (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (27)	wer ⁹ (18)	wer (5)		
Preterite subjunctive	were (6)	wer (5)	wer ⁹ (3)		
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (5)	haf (5)	haueþ ³⁵⁴ (1)		
2 ND person	hast (6)				
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (7)				
3 RD person (pl)	haueþ (9)	hauyþ (4)	haf (2)	haue (1)	hauet (1)
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	had (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (43)	had (12)	hade (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (11)	had (6)			
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	com (1)				
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)	com (2)	comeþ (2)			
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (5)	cam (2)			
3 RD person (pl)	come (12)	kam (2)	com (1)		
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
	Vortiger (2)	<varons> 'barons' ³⁵⁵ (1)			
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>	<yȝe> 'saw' (1)				
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 	<jubiter> 'jupiter' ³⁵⁶ (2)				
<d> for <þ>	fad ⁹ (20)	togeder (13)	gadered (4)	moder (3)	theder (3)
	anoder (2)	broder (2)	oder (2)	huder ³⁵⁷ (2)	
<þ> for <y>	ȝedur 'thither' ³⁵⁸ (1)				
BELIEVE					
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				byleue (1)	
				by leuyþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
KING	kyng ⁹ (74)	kyng (8)	kyng (3)	beleued (1)	
	kyngs* (1)	kyng* (1)	kinges* (1)	kinges* (4)	kingus* (2)
				kingdemes (1)	
KIN	kyn (3)	kynne (1)			
KISS	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			custe (1)	kuste (1)	
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				leuyn (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
LIFE (n)	lyue (3)	alyue (1)	lyuede (1)		
OLD	olde (1)	elde (1)	lyffe (1)		
	eldres* (1)		eldist (1)	ȝeldest (1)	eldest (2)
SIN	synne (1)				
EARL	erl (10)	erle (1)	erlys* (1)	erldom (1)	
EARTH	erþe (1)	molde (1)			
FIGHT	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	

³⁵⁴ Folio 40v column 2 line 48³⁵⁵ Folio 70v column line 53³⁵⁶ Folio 2r column 2 line 8 <his god Jubiter>³⁵⁷ 'hither'³⁵⁸ Folio 70r column 2 line 36

	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	fyteþ (1) <u>plural pret</u> fouyt (1) fyzthe (1)
FIGHT (n)	fyzt (2)	fyzth (1)	fyzte (1)	
HEAVEN	heuen (1)			
KNOW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	wot (2)	wost (1)	wyst (2)	knowyt (1)
	wote (1)		wyste (2)	wetyþ (1)
	kanne (1)		knewe (1)	
	cowþe (1)		wist (1)	
			knew (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
LIGHT	knew (1)			
LOVE	lyt (1)	lytlyche (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
			loued (4)	louede (1)
			louede (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (9)	loues* (1)		
WORTHY	worþy (4)	worthy (1)		
Past participle marker	y- (105)	I- (49)		

Longleat, Marquess of Bath's Manuscripts, 32
Devotional text (Hand one)

AFTER	after (1)			
AGAINST	ayens (1)			
AGAIN				
ANY				
ASK				
BEFORE				
BOTH				
BURN(T)				
BUT				
CHURCH	churche (1)			
COULD				
DAY(S)	day (1)	daye (1)		
DO				
EACH				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR				
EVIL				
EYE(S)	yee (1)			
FIRE				
FIRST				
GIVE				
GO				
HIGH				
HILL				
IF				
LAND				
LITTLE				
-LY				
MAN	man (1)			
MEN				
MANY	many (1)			
MIGHT (v)				
MIGHT (n/Aj)	almyghre (1)			
MUCH	moche (1)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc				
NOT	not (1)			
OWN				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schalle (6) schal (1) schall (1)	<u>plural</u>
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
SINCE				
SUCH				
THAN	than (7)			
THEN				
THERE				
THESE				
THOSE				
THINK				
THOUGHT (n)	thenkyng (1)			
(AL)THOUGH	though (1)			
THROUGH				
TWO				
UNTIL				
OE hw-words (wh) (0)				
(w) (0)				
(h) (0)				
hypercorrection (0)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wele (1)	<u>plural</u>
WILL (n)				
WITH(OUT)	with (2)			

WORLD WOULD	worlde (1) <u>1st person</u>	worldly (2) <u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (2)	<u>plural</u>	
YET	ȝit (2)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	I (2)				
ACC (sg)	me (10)				
GEN (sg)	my (3)				
DAT (sg)	me (2)				
REFLEXIVE	me (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)					
ACC (pl)					
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (1)				
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	thow (5)	þ ⁹ (3)	thou (1)		
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)	thi (8)	thyn (1)			
DAT (sg)	the (2)				
REFLEXIVE	thi selfe (1)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)					
ACC (pl)					
GEN (pl)					
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (105)		hȳ (2)		
ACC (sg)	hi (44)	hym (25)	h ⁹ (1)	h ⁹ (1)	is ³⁵⁹ (1)
GEN (sg)	his (99)	hys (1)			
DAT (sg)	hym (12)	hi (6)			
REFLEXIVE	hym self (2)				
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (11)				
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)					
ACC (pl)					
GEN (pl)					
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	is (1)	be (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	ben (12)	aren (4)			
Subjunctive					
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (1)				
3 RD person (pl)	were (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					

³⁵⁹ Genitive inflection

Preterite subjunctive

TO COME Indicative

1ST person

2ND person

3RD person (sg)

3RD person (pl)

Subjunctive

TO COME Preterite

1ST person

2ND person

3RD person (sg)

3RD person (pl)

Preterite subj.

V-WORDS

Z / ȝ WORDS

<fh> for <g>

<k> for <g>

<p> for

<h/ ȝ> for <þ>

<d> for <þ>

<þ> for <y>

modur (2)

BELIEVE

KING

KIN

KISS

LIVE

LIFE

OLD

SIN

synne (1)

EARL

EARTH

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

heuen (2)

KNEW

LIGHT

LOVE

LOVE (n)

loue (1)

WORTHY

Past participle marker

Longleat, Marquess of Bath's Manuscripts, 55

The Red Book of Bath

AFTER	after (25)	aft ⁹ (2)			
AGAINST	aʒenst (8)	aʒonst (1)			
AGAIN	aʒe (1)	ayhe ³⁶⁰ (1)			
ANY	any (14)	eny (1)			
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u> aske (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> askeþ (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	byfore (4)	afore (3)	byfor (1)	ere (1)	
BOTH	boþe (13)				
BURN	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> brenne (2)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u> brend (1)	
BUT	but (60)				
CHURCH	churche (2)				
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (22)	dayes* (5)			
DO	<u>1st person</u> do (1)	<u>2nd person</u> doest (1)	<u>3rd person</u> doþ (5) doest (1)	<u>plural</u> doþ (5)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u> dudest (1)	<u>3rd person pret</u> dude (15)	<u>plural pret</u> dude (3)	
EACH	eche (10) echoñ (1)	echone (4)	ech (1)	echon (1)	
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noþ ⁹ ...no... (3)	noþ ⁹ ...noþ ⁹ (3)	noþ ⁹ ...ne.. (2)	noþer...no... (2)	no...noþ ⁹ ... (1)
	nat...noþ ⁹ (1)	ne...no...noþ ⁹ (1)	neuer...noþ ⁹ (1)		
EVIL	euyll (2)	euyll (1)	yvel (1)		
EYE(S)	eyon* (2)				
FIRE	fyre (6)				
FIRST	furst (6)	ferst (1)	ffurst ³⁶¹ (1)		
GIVE	<u>1st person</u> yʒf (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> ʒeueþ (2) ʒeuyþ (1)	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> ʒaf (6)	<u>plural pret</u> ʒaf (1)	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> goth (1) goþ (1)	<u>plural</u> go (1) goþ (1) goon (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> went (3) wente (2) yhode (1)	<u>plural pret</u> went (3) wente (2) yhede (1)	
HIGH	hye (5)	heyest (1)			
HILL	hulle (5)				
IF	yf (2)	yff (1)	ʒyf (1)		
LAND	lond (4)	londe (2)	land ³⁶² (1)		
LITTLE	lyte (6)				
-LY	-ly (22)	-lye (1)	-lych (1)		
MAN	man (34) manneʒ* (2)	wyght (1)	mānes* (4)	mannes* (1)	māneʒ* (1)
MANY	many (35)				
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u> myʒt (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> myʒt (3) myght (3) mijt (1)	<u>plural</u> myght (2) myʒt (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (6) almyʒty (2)	myght (3) myghty (1)	myʒte (2)	myghte (1)	myʒtes* (1)

³⁶⁰ Folio 56r line 3 <and come ayhe to kateryn wepyng full faste>

³⁶¹ Line-initial

³⁶² Rhymed with 'þowsand'.

MUCH	muche (12)	much (4)	much (1)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nist (1)	molde (1)			
NOT	nat (48)	nott (1)	not (1)	naw3t ³⁶³ (1)	nowt3 (1)
OWN	nou3t (1)				
SHALL	owne (6)				
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schall (14)	schalt (16)	schall (25)	schall (15)	
	schal (1)		schal (4)	schull (12)	
				schulleþ (2)	
				schulle (2)	
				schul (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	scholte (1)		scholde (4)	schulde (3)	
			schulde (3)		
			scholte (1)		
			schold (1)		
SINCE					
SUCH	such (9)	suche (3)	such (3)		
THAN	þan (5)	þā (1)	þo (1)		
THEN	þan (23)	þo (19)	than (11)	þā (1)	þoo ³⁶⁴ (1)
	tho ³⁶⁵ (1)				
THERE	þere (35)	þer (31)	þ ⁹ (21)	ther ³⁶⁶ (14)	þer ⁹ (5)
	þeer (3)	þar (2)	þ ⁹ e (2)	there (2)	þeyre (1)
	þeyr (1)	þare ³⁶⁷ (2)			
THESE	þes (7)	þese (1)	thes (1)		
THOSE	þo (2)				
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		think (1)		þenkeþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			þow3t (1)	þou3te (1)	
			þou3t (1)		
THOUGHT (n)	þow3t (2)	þou3t (1)			
(AL)THOUGH	all þow3 (1)	þow3 (1)			
THROUGH	þru3 (3)	thru3 (1)	throw (1)		
TWO	two (11)				
UNTIL	tyll (3)	tyl (3)			
OE hw-words (wh) (91)	whan (28)	what (13)	who (10)	whyle (6)	why (5)
	wham (4)	whas ³⁶⁸ (3)	whar (3)	wher (3)	whare (2)
	whel3s ³⁶⁹ (2)	whees (2)	whyle (2)	whanne (1)	wheete ³⁷⁰ (1)
	whyce ³⁷¹ (1)	whyte (1)	whar ⁹ (1)	Whitsond (1)	whyche (1)
	whyls ³⁷² (1)				
(w) (1)	wat (1)				
(h) (6)	ho (6)				
hypercorrection (2)	slowh ³⁷³ (2)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	will (1)	wolt (3)	woll (5)	woll (6)	
	wyll (1)	wylt (1)	wyll (2)	wyll (2)	
			wol (1)	wolte (1)	
			will (1)		
WILL (n)	wylle (5)	wyll (4)	wyle (1)		
WITH(OUT)	wyþ (73)	w' (39)	wyth (1)		
WORLD	wordle (5)	wordele (1)	wordly (1)		
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wolde (4)	woldest (1)	wolde (5)	wolde (2)	
			wold (1)		
YET	3at (11)	3at (1)			

³⁶³ Rhymed with 'taw3t'³⁶⁴ Rhmed with <moo> 'more'.³⁶⁵ Line-initial³⁶⁶ Line-initial³⁶⁷ Rhymed with 'cerlare'³⁶⁸ 'whose'³⁶⁹ 'wheels'³⁷⁰ 'wheat'³⁷¹ 'which'³⁷² 'whilst'³⁷³ 'slew'

FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (102)	ych (3)	y ^c (3)		
ACC (sg)	me (20)				
GEN (sg)	my (40)	myn (8)	me (1)		
DAT (sg)	me (3)				
REFLEXIVE	me self (2)	me (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (36)				
ACC (pl)	vs (26)				
GEN (pl)	oure (16)	owre (6)	our (3)	our ^o (2)	
DAT (pl)	vs (1)				
REFLEXIVE	vs (1)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ^a (54)	thu (2)	þow (1)		
ACC (sg)	þe (34)				
GEN (sg)	þy (59)	þyn (4)	thy (3)		
DAT (sg)	þe (20)				
REFLEXIVE	þe self (1)	þe (1)			
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (29)	yhe ³⁷⁴ (2)			
ACC (pl)	ȝow (8)				
GEN (pl)	ȝowre (6)	ȝour (4)	ȝoure (3)	ȝowr (1)	ȝo ^o (1)
DAT (pl)	ȝow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (161)				
ACC (sg)	hym (32)	hy (1)			
GEN (sg)	hys (88)	his (1)			
DAT (sg)	hym (24)				
REFLEXIVE	hym (4)	hym self (2)	hy (1)	him self (1)	
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	heo (31)				
ACC (sg)	heore (17)	heor ^o (6)	hoore (5)	hure (2)	heor (1)
GEN (sg)	heore (17)	heor (5)	hoor ^o (1)	heo ^o (1)	
DAT (sg)	heore (9)	hure (4)	hoore (1)	heor (1)	heor ^o (1)
REFLEXIVE	heore self (1)	hoore self (1)	heore (1)		
THIRD PERSON pl					
NOM (pl)	þey (83)	they (6)	þei (1)		
ACC (pl)	ham (34)	hem (5)			
GEN (pl)	þeire (6)	har (6)	heore (4)	þeyre (3)	her (3)
	þeir (3)	þeyr (3)	heere (1)		
DAT (pl)	ham (3)				
REFLEXIVE	hoo ^o (1)				
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (4)				
2 ND person	art (6)				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (100)	beþ (4)	is (1)	y ^c (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	beþ (32)	boþe (1)	boþ (1)		
Subjunctive	be (14)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (100)				
3 RD person (pl)	were (23)	wer ^o (6)	wer (2)		
Preterite subjunctive	were (7)	wer ^o (3)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (5)	haff (1)			
2 ND person	hast (5)				
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (16)	happeþ (1)	hath (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (5)	haueþ (1)			
Subjunctive	haue (2)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hadde (1)	had (1)			
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (23)	had (5)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (7)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					

³⁷⁴ Folio 22v line 4 <hure yhe syr coroner...> 'hear ye sir coroner'

1 ST person	come (2)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (8)	comyþ (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	comeþ (1)				
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	come (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	coom (3)	com (2)	cam (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (4)	com (1)			
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS	<vify> for 'fifty' (3)	<vyve> for 'five' (2)	<twelf> for 'twelve' (1)	<vyf> for 'five' (1)	
Z / ȝ WORDS	<ȝx> for 'six' (1)	<sacrifise> ³⁷⁵ for 'sacrifice' (1)			
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<strenkthe> for 'strength' (1)	<strenkþ> for 'strength' (1)			
<d> for <v>	<thedes> for 'theaves' (1)				
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fadir (6) þyder (1)	moder (4) hyder (1)	þyder (3) <donderyng> for 'thundering' (1)	to gedere (2)	gaderyþ (2)
<þ> for <ȝ>					
BELIEVE					
BELIEF (n)	byleve (1)	byleue (1)			
KING	kyng (27) kynges* (2) kyn (2)	kyng (2)	kynges* (5)	kyngs* (4)	kynges* (1)
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE	lyf (11)	lyff (2)			
OLD	olde (4)	old (1)			
SIN	synn (3)	synne (1)			
EARL	erl (10)	erles* (3)			
EARTH	erthe (1)	molde (1)			
FIGHT	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> fowyt (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
FIGHT (n)	fyghtyng (1)	fyryge (1)			
HEAVEN	hevene (15)	hevene (1)	hevene* (1)	heuenly (1)	hevenly (1)
KNEW	<u>1st person</u> can (1) knowe (1) <u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person</u> <u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wyst (1) <u>3rd person pret</u> couþ* (1) cowþ (1)	<u>plural</u> cōne (1) <u>plural pret</u> cowþe (4) cowþ (1) coþe (1) knew (1)	
LIGHT	lyxt (1)				
LOVE	<u>1st person</u> loue (1) love (1) <u>1st person</u> loved (1)	<u>2nd person</u> <u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> loueþ (1) <u>3rd person</u> loued (1) louyd (1)	<u>plural</u> loueþ (1) <u>plural</u> loued (1)	
LOVE (n)	love (7)	loue (1)			
WORTHY	worthy (15)	worthynesse (2)	worþy (1)	worthyest (1)	worthely (1)
Past participle marker	ȝ- (37)				

³⁷⁵ Rhymed with 'wize'.

Naples, Royal Library, XIII.B.29
The Clerk's Tale

Analysed from microfilm print-out supplied by Peter Robinson from microfilm obtained for the *Canterbury Tales Project*.

AFTER	afir (3)	after (1)			
AGAINST					
AGAIN	agayne (5)	agayn (2)			
ANY	eny (1)				
ASK	to ax (1)				
BEFORE	er (4)	bifore (3)	by fore (2)		
BOTH	bothe (4)				
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (42)				
CHURCH					
COULD	1st person	2nd person	3rd person couth (1)	plural couthe (1)	
DAY(S)	day (9)				
DO	1st person	2nd person	3rd person dothe (2)	plural doon (2)	
	1st person pret	2nd person pret	3rd person pret did (1)	plural pret	
EACH	eche (3)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	neither...ne...(2)				
EVIL	evil ³⁷⁶ (1)				
EYE(S)	je ³⁷⁷ (2)	jee (1)	yen* (1)		
FIRE					
FIRST	first (1)	furst (1)			
GIVE	1st person	2nd person	3rd person yeuith (1)	plural	
GO	1st person	2nd person	3rd person gothe (3) goth (1)	plural goon (1) gon (1)	
	1st person pret went (1)	2nd person pret	3rd person pret went (3)	plural pret wende (1)	
HIGH	high (2)				
HILL					
IF	yef (8)	yif (3)	æf (2)		
LAND					
LITTLE	litil (1)	lite (1)			
-LY	-ly (36)	-liche (2)	-li (1)		
MAN	man (8)	wight (6)	mannys* (1)		
MANY	many (7)				
MIGHT (v)	1st person	2nd person	3rd person myght (7) myst (2)	plural mysten (1)	
MIGHT (n/A)	myghti (1)				
MUCH	moche (1)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nas (2)	nys (2)	noide (1)		
NOT	nought (11) nouytre (1)	nouyt (9)	not (3)	nat (2)	naugt (1)
OWN	owne (1)	nowne ³⁷⁸ (1)			
SHALL	1st person schalle (2)	2nd person schalt (1)	3rd person shalle (2) shal (1) schalle (1)	plural schulle (1) shalle (1)	
SHOULD	1st person	2nd person	3rd person schulde (11)	plural schulde (2)	

³⁷⁶ Adverb

³⁷⁷ Singular

³⁷⁸ 'my nowne' ie. 'mine own'

SINCE	sith (4)	sithie (1)			
SUCH	suche (7)				
THAN	than (2)				
THEN	thanne (4)	than (1)	thoo (1)		
THERE	ther (15)	there (3)	tho (1)		
THESE					
THOSE					
THINK	1st person pret	2nd person pret	3rd person pret	plural pret	
			thought (1)		
THOUGHT (n)	thouxt (1)	thoughtis ^a (1)			
(AL)THOUGH	though (3)	thouȝ (3)	thouȝe (3)	thoughe (1)	
THROUGH	through (2)				
TWO	two (3)	rwey (1)	rweo (1)		
UNTIL	tille (4)	til (1)			
OE hw-words (wh) (41)	whiche (21)	when (2)	whan (2)	where (1)	white (1)
	whanne (1)	whar (1)	what (1)	whate (1)	whos (1)
	while (1)	whens ³⁷⁹ (1)	why (1)	whom (1)	whoos (1)
	whate (1)	wher (1)	wharfore (1)	wherfore (1)	
(w) (0)					
(h) (0)					
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	plural	
	wolle (1)		wolle (2)	wille (5)	
	wille (1)		wol (1)		
WILL (n)	wille (8)	wil (1)			
WITH(OUT)	with (32)				
WORLD	wordely (2)				
WOULD	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	plural	
	wolde (1)		wolde (11)	wolde (1)	
YET	ȝit (3)	ȝet (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (23)	I (9)			
ACC (sg)	me (5)				
GEN (sg)	my (21)	myn (2)			
DAT (sg)	me (2)				
REFLEXIVE	myne (2)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (9)				
ACC (pl)	us (4)				
GEN (pl)	oure (3)	our (2)			
DAT (pl)	us (1)				
REFLEXIVE	our silue (1)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	thowe (5)	thou (4)	thow (1)	þ ^a (1)	
ACC (sg)	the (3)				
GEN (sg)	thi (11)	thyne (1)	thy (1)	thyn (1)	
DAT (sg)	the (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (9)				
ACC (pl)	ȝowe (9)	ȝow (4)	ȝowe (2)	ȝou (2)	ȝow (1)
GEN (pl)	ȝour (7)	ȝoure (5)	ȝoure (4)	ȝowre (3)	ȝowre (3)
	ȝour (1)	ȝo ³⁸⁰ (1)			
DAT (pl)	ȝowe (3)				
REFLEXIVE	ȝo ^a silue (1)	ȝoursilfe (1)			
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (56)				
ACC (sg)	him (20)				
GEN (sg)	his (51)	is ³⁸⁰ (5)			
DAT (sg)	him (3)				
REFLEXIVE	him silue (1)				
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	she (45)	sche (24)	scheo (4)	schee (2)	sho (2)
	schoe (2)	shee (2)	sheo (2)	her (1)	
ACC (sg)	hur (16)	her (12)	hir (2)	hire (1)	
GEN (sg)	her (37)	hur (25)	hir (6)	here (1)	
DAT (sg)	hur (4)	her (2)	hir (1)	here (1)	hire (1)

³⁷⁹ 'whence'³⁸⁰ Genitive inflection

REFLEXIVE	hur silfe (8)	hur (1)		
THIRD PERSON pl				
NOM (pl)	chei (17)	thai (1)	hem ³⁸¹ (1)	
ACC (pl)	hem (10)	ham (4)	theym (1)	them (1)
GEN (pl)	hur (1)			
DAT (pl)				
REFLEXIVE				
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person	art (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	is (15)			
3 RD person (pl)	ben (2)	bith (1)	been (1)	
Subjunctive	be (1)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person	were (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	was (47)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (5)			
Preterite subjunctive	were (8)			
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person	haue (4)			
2 ND person	hast (3)			
3 RD person (sg)	hath (11)	hat (1)	hathe (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	han (4)	haue (2)	hath (1)	
Subjunctive				
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	had (15)	hadde (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	had (1)			
Preterite subjunctive				
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	comyth (1)			
3 RD person (pl)				
Subjunctive				
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	come (6)	cam (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (1)			
Preterite subjunctive				
V-WORDS				
Z / ȝ WORDS				
<ɾ> for <d>				
<k> for <g>				
<p> for 				
<d> for <þ>	ɛdir (9)	moder (3)	murtherd ³⁸² (2)	
<þ> for <y>				
BELIEVE				
KING				
KIN				
KISS				
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
			hyuyth (1)	
LIFE	lyf (1)	lyuyng (1)		
OLD	olde (2)			
SIN				
EARL	erle (4)			
EARTH				
FIGHT				
HEAVEN	heuen (1)			
KNOW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>

³⁸¹ 'hem thought' Impersonal construction.

³⁸² 'murdered'

LIGHT	liȝte (1)		couthe (1)	knowe (1)
LOVE				cowthe (1)
LOVE (n)	loue (3)			
WORTHY	worthe (2)	unworthe (1)		
Past participle marker	y- (7)	I- (1)		

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 33
Sir Ferumbras

Reference made to Herrtage, S. J. (1879). Sir Ferumbras. (EETS E.S. 34).

AFTER	after (25)				
AGAINST	aʒen (12)	agayn(3)	ageyn (2)	aʒeyn (1)	
AGAIN	aʒen (14)	aʒe (7)	aʒeyn (5)	agayn (4)	aʒan (2)
	ageyn (1)	aʒee ³⁸³ (1)	aʒene (1)	aʒayn (1)	
ANY	any (4)				
ASK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	or (14)	er (8)	by fore (7)	afforn (4)	be fore (4)
	eer (2)	a fore (2)	be for (1)	bi fore (1)	
	bi forn (1)	by for (1)	by vore (1)	ere (1)	
BOTH	boʒe (21)	boʒen (3)	boʒ ^c (1)	bothe (1)	
BURN	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	Infinitive to brenne (1)
	bren (1)	bren (1)			
BURNT	brent (1)				
BUT	ac (61)	bot (21)	bote (19)	but (2)	bute (1)
CHURCH					
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (27)	dai (1)	dawes* (5)	dajes* (1)	
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	dude (2)	dost (2)	doʒ (3)	doʒ (4)	
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u>	<u>plural pret.</u>	
	dude (2)		dude (20)	dude (6)	
			duden (2)	duden (4)	
			dide (1)	dede (1)	
				dide (1)	
EACH	ech (5)	ecchon (2)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	eyʒer (6)	ayʒer (2)	eyʒer.. oʒer (1)	eyther (1)	
EVIL	yuele (4)	yuel (2)	yule (1)	yuele ³⁸⁴ (1)	
EYE(S)	eʒe (2)	eʒene* (2)			
FIRE	fyr (2)				
FIRST	fyrste (2)	arst (1)	furst (1)		
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		ʒyf (1)	ʒaf (10)	ʒaue (2)	
			ʒeue (1)	ʒyue (1)	
			ʒyue ³⁸⁵ (1)		
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		gost (1)	goʒ (3)	goʒ (1)	
			ʒede (1)		
			went (1)	wente (1)	
			wete (1)		
			wende (1)		
HIGH	heʒ (16)	hye (9)	heʒe (8)	heghe (1)	heʒere (2)
HILL	hulle (1)	hilles* (1)			
IF	if (26)	ʒif (4)	ʒyf (2)	yf (2)	
LAND	lond (4)	londe (4)	londes* (1)		
LITTLE	litel (4)	lite (1)			
-LY	-ly (19)	-lich (15)	-liche (10)	-lye (1)	
MAN	man (46)	wijt (1)			
MANY	many (14)	mony (2)			

³⁸³ Line-final rhyme

³⁸⁴ Adverb

³⁸⁵ Past tense

MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u> myzt (2)	<u>2nd person</u> mizt (5) mixt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> mizte (7) myzt (6) mizt (4) myzte (3) myzte (4) almizte (1) miche (1) nad (3) nere (1)	<u>plural</u> mizte (8) mizt (3)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myzt (9) almizt (4) muche (7)	mizt (6) almizt (2) myche (6)		mizte (4)	miztes* (2)
MUCH NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nas (9) nyste (1) nys (1) nozt (65) owe (7)	nolde (5) nulleþ (1)		nel (2) nold (1)	nadde (2) nast (1)
NOT OWN SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schal (19) schel (3)	<u>2nd person</u> schalt (29) schalt* (2) scholtou (1) schelt (1) schal (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schal (13) schel (2) schullap (1) schul (1) schulle (1)	<u>plural</u> schulleþ (8) schulle (8) schul (5) schal (2) schullap (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> schold (1) scholde (1)	<u>2nd person</u> scholdest (2) scholtou (1)	<u>3rd person</u> scholde (12) schold (5) schudde (1)	<u>plural</u> scholde (8) schulde (1)	
SINCE SUCH THAN	supþen (2) such (17) þan (32) þane (1)	suche (1) þane (18)	syche (1) þanne (13)	þo (4)	supþen (1)
THEN	þan (121) þen (1)	þane (45) supþen (1)	þo (30)	þanne (21)	þa (5)
THERE	þar (72) there (7) þore (1) þese (1) þay (1)	þer (57) thar (5) þ*re (1) þes (1)	þ* (39) þyder (2) ther* (1) þis (1)	þere (11) thare (2) þare (1) þai (1)	ther (11) þeer (1) þuse (1)
THESE	þey (2)	þus (1)			
THOSE THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> þenkeþ (1) þynkþ (1) þenkþ (1)	<u>plural</u> þenkeþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u> þohte (6) þouhte (1)	<u>plural pret.</u> þohte (4)	
THOUGHT (n) (AL)THOUGH THROUGH TOGETHER TWO	þoht (1) þo; (9) þor; (22) two (11) twayn (2) til (6) what (17)	þeys (1) þorw (14) tweyne (6) to (2) vntil (1) whyte (11) whyh (2) whyt ³⁸⁶ (1) wat ³⁸⁷ (17) wile (2) wane (3) wy (1)	þorwh (1) atwo (3) twye (1) wham (7) which (2) whete (1) wyle (6) nowar (2) warfor (1) wyche (1) hwam (1)	þrow (1) twey (2) tweyn (1) whar (7) whyche (1) whiche (1) war (3) wyles (1) wather ³⁹⁰ (1)	tweye (2) why (5) where (1) wanne (3) noware ³⁸⁸ (1) warfor (1)
UNTIL OE hw-words (wh) (57) (w) (117)	whan (1) wan (67) wān (2) wāne (3) water ³⁸⁹ (1) wam ³⁹¹ (1) hwych (3)	whyte (11) whyh (2) whyt ³⁸⁶ (1) wat ³⁸⁷ (17) wile (2) wane (3) wy (1) ho ³⁹² (3)			
(hw) (7) Hypercorrection (0) WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wil (15) wol (6)	<u>2nd person</u> wilt (4) wile (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wil (4)	<u>plural</u> wolleþ (6) willeþ (2)	

386 'white'

387 'what'

388 'nowhere'

389 'whatever'

390 'whether'

391 'whom'

392 'who'

	will (2)	wolt (1)		wille (2) wollaþ (1) wolle (1) wil (1)	
WILL (n)	wille (3)	wylle (2)			
WITH(OUT)	wyþ (110)	wyth (93)	wiþ (93)	w ^t (87)	wyt (1)
WORLD	world (1)	worlde (1)	worldy ³⁹³ (1)		
WOULD	<u>1st person</u> wolde (5) wold (1) ꝛut (11)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (11) wold (1)	<u>plural</u> wolde (6)	
YET		ꝛet (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (192) me ³⁹⁵ (3)	ich (19) ma ³⁹⁶ (1)	I (6)	ic ³⁹⁴ (2)	ych (1)
ACC (sg)	me (64)				
GEN (sg)	my (68)	myn (20)	myne (3)	my (1)	me (1)
DAT (sg)	me (6)				
REFLEXIVE	me self (4)	me (3)	me selue (1)		
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (64)				
ACC (pl)	ous (16)	o ⁹ (1)			
GEN (pl)	our (11)	oure (1)			
DAT (pl)	ous (1)				
REFLEXIVE	ous self (1)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ⁿ (74)	þow (24)	þou (21)	þov (17)	
ACC (sg)	þe (62) thee (1)	þov (2)	þou (1)	þee ³⁹⁷ (1)	þ ^r (1)
GEN (sg)	þy (52)	þyn (17)	þyne (1)		
DAT (sg)	þe (5)				
REFLEXIVE	þe (3)	þe silue (2)	þe selue (1)		
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ꝛe (35)	ꝛee ³⁹⁸ (3)			
ACC (pl)	ꝛow (15)	ꝛou (3)	ꝛo ^{u399} (1)	ꝛov (1)	
GEN (pl)	ꝛour (20)	ꝛoure (2)			
DAT (pl)	ꝛou (1)				
REFLEXIVE	ꝛow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (107) hur ⁴⁰³ (1)	a (34)	hee ⁴⁰⁰ (6)	hi ⁴⁰¹ (6)	hym ⁴⁰² (4)
ACC (sg)	hi (169)	hym (76)	hy (13)		
GEN (sg)	ys (112) is ⁴⁰⁵ (3)	is (73)	his (62)	hys (9)	ys ⁴⁰⁴ (3)
DAT (sg)	hi (16)	hy (7)	hym (6)		
REFLEXIVE	hym (11) hi selue (1)	hi (10) hym selue (1)	hi self (2)	em (1)	hy (1)
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (26)	heo (1)			
ACC (sg)	hure (7)	hur (1)			
GEN (sg)	hure (2)	hur (2)			
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE	hure (1)				
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þay (249) hy (3)	þey (24)	þai (19)	þaye (5)	þei (2)
ACC (pl)	hē (102)	hem (54)	hymen (21)	hym (2)	þaym (1)

³⁹³ 'worldly'³⁹⁴ Folio 6r line 3 of line 6³⁹⁵ 'me thinkth'³⁹⁶ Impersonal construction 'ma calth me'³⁹⁷ Line-final³⁹⁸ Line-final³⁹⁹ Line-final⁴⁰⁰ Line-final rhyme⁴⁰¹ 'hym wondrede' 'So wo was hym'⁴⁰² hym thought⁴⁰³ 'than hur spak fflorippe the free' Folio 69r line 1 of line 4⁴⁰⁴ Genitive inflection⁴⁰⁵ Genitive inflection

	hemen (1)				
GEN (pl)	hure (50)	hur (10)	hur ⁹ (4)	thar ⁴⁰⁶ (1)	hire (1)
DAT (pl)	hē (6)	hem (2)	hymen (1)		
REFLEXIVE	hem (2)	hē (2)	hymen (1)	hē selue (1)	hym self (1)
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (16)				
2 ND person	art (16)	ert (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (73)	is (19)	ben (2)	his ⁴⁰⁷ (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	buþ (54)	ben (3)			
Subjunctive	beo (4)	be (2)	be (1)		
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person	was (25)	were (1)			
2 ND person	were (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	was (140)	ware (3)	wer ⁹ (1)	wes (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	were (50)	wern (17)	wer ⁹ (3)	ware (2)	weren (1)
	wer (11)	werē (1)	war (1)		
Preterite subj.	were (12)	wer (2)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (15)	hauset (1)			
2 ND person	hast (7)	hauest (4)	haue (1)		
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (17)	haueþ (8)	hath (1)	haue (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	habbeþ (12)	han (11)	haue (3)	haueþ (1)	hab (1)
Subjunctive	haue (2)	habbe (1)	ha ⁴⁰⁸ (1)		
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hadd (1)	hadde (1)			
2 ND person	haddest (3)				
3 RD person (sg)	had (29)	hadde (12)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (8)	had (3)	hade (1)	hauede (1)	
Preterite subjunctive	had (1)				
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (4)	compþ ⁴⁰⁹ (2)	cam (1)	cometh (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	comeþ (3)	come (1)			
Subjunctive	come (8)	com (3)	cam (3)		
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	cam (9)	com (6)	come (3)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (9)	comen (2)	com (1)		
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS	<vaste> 'fast' (5)	<volde> 'fold' (2)	ffysage 'visage' (2)	<an vewe> 'a few' (1)	<vere> 'far?' 'fear?' (1)
	<by vore> 'before' (1)	<vuste> 'fist?' (1)	<vynde> 'find' (1)	<vaste> 'fast' (1)	<veche> 'fetch' (1)
	<y vollid> ⁴¹⁰ (1)				
	<prine> 'prince' (1)				
Z/ ȝ WORDS					
<th> for <g>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<h/ ȝ> for <þ>					
<d> for <þ>	togadre (16)	fader (3)	gaderede (1)	moder (1)	
<þ> for <y>					
<d> for <t>					
BELIEVE (v)	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u> be leued (1)	<u>plural pret.</u> bileueþ (1) beleue (1)	
BELIEVE (n)	beleue (1)				
KING	kyng (5)	kyng (3)	kynges* (3)	kyngdom (1)	kingis* (1)
KIN	kynne (3)	kyn (1)			
KISS	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u> custe (2) cust (1)	<u>plural pret.</u> kussede (1)	

⁴⁰⁶ Folio 61v line 3 of line 14⁴⁰⁷ Hypercorrect spelling⁴⁰⁸ Folio 13r line 1⁴⁰⁹ Folio 7r line 20⁴¹⁰ 'y vollid in þe holy fant'

LIVE (v)	<u>1st person</u> lyue (1) leue (1) lif (4)	<u>2nd person</u> lyuest (1) lyf (3)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> lyue (1)
LIFE				
LIFE				
OLD	olde (2)			
SIN				
EARL	erld (23)			
EARTH	erthe (3)	erþe (1)		
FIGHT (v)	<u>1st person pret.</u> fajt (1)	<u>2nd person pret.</u>	<u>3rd person pret.</u> fajt (1) faujt (1) fjzt (2)	<u>plural pret.</u> fojte (3) foujte (1)
FIGHT (n)	fjzt (9)	fjzte (3)		
HEAVEN	heuene (3)	heuene* (2)		
KNEW				
LIGHT (n)	lijte (2)	lyjt (1)		
LOVE	<u>1st person</u> loue (1) loue (11)	<u>2nd person</u> louest (1)	<u>3rd person</u> loueaþ (2)	<u>plural</u>
LOVE (n)				
WORTHY				
y-prefix	y- (158)	i- (25)		

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189 (hand one)
Text concerning Pythagoras' golden table. (Folios 70 - 115)

AFTER	aft ⁹ (15)	aftre (6)	after (1)		
AGAINST	agayne (3)	a yens (2)			
AGAIN	a gayne (10)				
ANY	any (21)	ony (3)	eny (1)		
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			asketh (1)		
BEFORE	before (14)	be for ⁹ (12)	be forme (2)	be form ⁹ (1)	by for ⁹ (1)
	to for ⁹ (1)	to ffore (1)			
BOTH	bothe (12)	bop ^c (7)			
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (37)	butt (10)	buth ⁴¹¹ (1)		
CHURCH	church (1)				
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		cowdyst (1)			
DAY(S)	day (24)	daye (24)	dayes* (16)	days* (5)	
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	do (1)		doþ ^c (2)	do (1)	
			dooth (1)	doth (1)	
			doyth (1)	doþ ^c (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		dude (1)	dyd (2)	did (1)	
EACH	eche (1)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nother...ne... (2)	not...nop ⁹ (2)	nother...nother ... (1)	noþ ⁹ ...noþ ⁹ ... (1)	nother...nether... (1)
EVIL	euell (4)	yewell (1)			
EYE(S)	yee (4)	ye (1)	een ^{9*} (6)	yeen ^{9*} (6)	eyen ^{9*} (3)
	yen ^{9*} (3)	yee ⁴¹² (1)			
FIRE	fyre (3)	fyr ⁹ (2)	fire (1)	ffyre (1)	ffyr ⁹ (1)
	fyr ⁴¹³ (3)				
FIRST	furst (14)	firste (1)	fyrste (1)	first (1)	ffirst ⁴¹⁴ (1)
	fyrst (1)	feste (1)			
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		yave (1)		gave (1)	
GO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		goyst (1)	goth (1)		
			gothe (1)		
HIGH	hye (3)	hyghe (3)	hygh (2)	hye (1)	hy (1)
	hyghest (3)	hyger (1)	hygnse (1)	hyly (1)	
HILL	hylle (1)	hyll (1)	hylls* (1)		
IF	yf (19)	if (15)	yff (13)	iff (8)	If ⁴¹⁵ (1)
	yef (1)				
LAND	londe (10)	lande (1)	londes* (1)	londys* (1)	
LITTLE	lytle (6)	litle (3)	litell (2)	lytell (1)	lytyll (1)
-LY	-ly (83)	-lye (2)	-li (1)		
MAN	man ⁹ (32)	mā (24)	ma ⁹ (2)	man (1)	wy3th ⁴¹⁶ (1)
	mannys* (2)	manys* (1)	mānys* (4)	mākynde (2)	māhede (2)
	mankynde (1)	māhode (1)	māhed (1)	manli (1)	
MANY	many (6)	meny (2)	manye (1)	mony (1)	
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			myght (3)		
			my3t (1)		
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myght (1)	my3ts* (1)	myghtfull (1)	myghty (4)	
MUCH	muche (6)	much (5)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					

⁴¹¹ Eyeskip <hath buth> 'hath but'.

⁴¹² 'eyed'

⁴¹³ Ajective

⁴¹⁴ Line Inital

⁴¹⁵ Sentence inital

⁴¹⁶ Rhymed with 'ly3th'

NOT	not (41)	nott (22)	noght (1)	nought (1)	nouȝt (1)
OWN	owne (10)	oune (1)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> shalle (2) shall (2)	<u>2nd person</u> shalt (13) shall (1)	<u>3rd person</u> shall (74) shal ⁴¹⁷ (52) shalle (1)	<u>plural</u> shall (6) shal (3)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schuld (1) shuld (1)	<u>plural</u> shuld (1)	
SINCE	syn ⁹ (1)				
SUCH	suche (5)	such (1)			
THAN	þe (2) than ⁹ (1)	thē (2)	then ⁹ (2)	the ⁹ (1)	þan ⁹ (1)
THEN	þe (5) than ⁹ (2)	þen ⁹ (5) þan ⁹ (1)	then ⁹ (3)	then (3)	thē (3)
THERE	þ ⁹ (17)	ther (13)	ther ⁹ (10)	there (4)	their (2)
THESE	these (10)	thes ⁴¹⁸ (4)	þes (1)		
THOSE	thos (2)	tho (1)			
THINK					
THOUGHT (n)	þoȝth (1)	thoughts* (1)			
(AL)THOUGH	though (1)	thoughe (1)	thoruȝt (1)		
THROUGH	þorowe (1)	through (1)			
TWO	to (2)				
UNTIL	tyll (3)				
OE hw-words (wh) (131)	what (21) whyte (8) whyche (3) whā (1) whiċh (1) wych (6)	who (19) wheder (6) whyles (3) whēn (1) whatt ⁹⁴²⁰ (1)	when ⁹ (18) whatt (5) whedre (2) why ⁹ (1) whales (1)	whē (13) wher ⁹ (5) whyche (2) whan ⁹ (1) wherfore (1)	whyte (10) whyte (4) wher (2) why ⁹⁴¹⁹ (1) why (1)
(w) (6)					
(h) (0)					
hypercorrection (6)	whote ⁴²¹ (5)	whales ⁴²² (1)			
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wyll (6)	<u>2nd person</u> wylt (3) wilt (2) wyll (1) wylte (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wyll (3) woll (1)	<u>plural</u> wyll (10)	
WILL (n)	wyll (2)				
WITH(OUT)	w' (139)	wyth (29)			
WORLD	worlde (5)	worldes* (2)	wordly (1)		
WOULD	<u>1st person</u> wold (1) yet (7)	<u>2nd person</u> woldyst (1) yett (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (3) ȝyt (1)	<u>plural</u> wold (1)	
YET					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	I (47)	y (4)			
ACC (sg)	me (16)				
GEN (sg)	my (40)	myne (4)			
DAT (sg)	me (5)				
REFLEXIVE	me (2)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (4)				
ACC (pl)	vs (6)	us (3)			
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (8)	oure (3)	owr ⁹ (1)		
DAT (pl)	us (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ⁹ (99)	thou (30)			
ACC (sg)	þ ^c (11)	the (2)			
GEN (sg)	þ ^r (66)	thy (58)	þy (12)	thyne (10)	thyn ⁹ (1)
DAT (sg)	the (3)	þ ^c (2)	thow (1)		
REFLEXIVE	thy selfe (1)				
SECOND PERSON					

⁴¹⁷ 'shalbe'

⁴¹⁸ Line-initial and non line-initial

⁴¹⁹ 'whether'

⁴²⁰ 'whatever'

⁴²¹ <whote wt colde> 'hot with cold'.

⁴²² Folio 6v line 23 'and on / hys nayles warte whales...'

NOM (pl)	ye (32)				
ACC (pl)	yow (5)				
GEN (pl)	your ⁹ (3)	yowre (2)	yo ⁸ (1)	youre (1)	your (1)
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (158)				
ACC (sg)	hy (9)	hym (3)			
GEN (sg)	hys (109)	hy ⁴²³ (1)	hy (1)	h ⁸ (1)	is ⁴²⁴ (2)
	hys ⁴²⁵ (1)	ys ⁴²⁶ (1)			
DAT (sg)	hȳ (3)	hym (3)			
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	she (30)	sche (2)			
ACC (sg)	here (1)	her ⁹ (1)			
GEN (sg)	here (3)	her (3)	her ⁹ (2)		
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (39)	þey (16)	þay (2)	þ'y (1)	thaye (1)
ACC (pl)	thē (9)	þē (6)	them (4)	them ⁹ (3)	hem ⁹ (3)
	ham ⁹ (2)	hem (2)	the (2)	hame (1)	þem (1)
GEN (pl)	ther (8)	þ ⁹ (5)	their (3)	her ⁹ (3)	hur (1)
	there (2)	theyre (1)	ther ⁹ (1)	theyr (1)	theyre (1)
	þer (1)	her (1)			
DAT (pl)	them (2)	þē (1)	ham ⁹ (1)	hem ⁹ (1)	
REFLEXIVE					
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person	art (3)				
3 RD person (sg)	is (161)	ys (126)	bt (13)	byth (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	beth (9)	ben ⁹ (4)	ar ⁹ (2)	ar (2)	aren ⁹ (1)
	bethe (1)	ben (1)			
	be (65)				
Subjunctive					
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person	was (1)				
2 ND person	wer ⁹ (6)				
3 RD person (sg)	was (41)				
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (7)	war ⁹ (1)	were (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (3)	were (1)	wher ⁹ (1)		
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (6)	ha ^{ac} (1)			
2 ND person	haue (2)	hast (2)			
3 RD person (sg)	hath (38)	hathe (4)	haue (2)	has (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	haue (8)	hath (2)	hafe (1)		
Subjunctive	haue (1)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	had (2)	hadde (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	had (2)				
3 RD person (pl)	had (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	cometh (5)	comes (3)			
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	cam (1)	cā (1)			
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
	<refewe> 'review'	<to safe> 'to	<ver ⁹ > 'fare' (1)		

⁴²³ Corrected from 'hy errand'

⁴²⁴ Genitive inflection

⁴²⁵ Genitive inflection

⁴²⁶ Genitive inflection

	(1)	save' (1)			
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 	Jubiter (6)				
<d> for <þ>	oder (31)	fader (13)	togeder (7)	moder (5)	wheder (4)
	gedre ⁴²⁷ (2)	wedre ⁴²⁸ (1)	hidre (1)	to gedere (1)	
<þ> for <t>	<thechyng>	<murtherer> (1)			
	'teaching' (1)				
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE					
KING	kyng (9)	kings* (1)	kyngs* (2)	kyng* (1)	
KIN	kynrede (2)	kyned (1)			
KISS					
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			lyve (1)	lyve (1)	
			liff (1)		
LIFE	lyfe (8)	lyffe (2)	life (1)	liffe (1)	lyue (1)
	lyues* (1)				
OLD	olde (5)				
SIN	synne (5)	syn ⁹ (1)	synnes* (5)	synfull (2)	
EARL					
EARTH	yerth (6)	erþ* (1)	yerthly (4)	erthly (1)	
FIGHT (n/v)	fyghter (1)	fyghters* (1)			
HEAVEN	heuen ⁹ (3)	heuyn ⁹ (1)	heven ⁹ (1)	heuē (1)	heuyn ⁹ * (1)
	heuens* (4)	hevenly (3)			
KNOW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				knowe (1)	
LIGHT	lyght (4)	lyȝth (1)	lyghts* (1)	lightnes (1)	lyghtly (1)
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			loueth (7)	loue (1)	
			lowes (1)		
			loues (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	loued (1)				
LOVE (n)	loue (13)	love (2)	lofe (1)	louely (1)	
WORTHY	worþy (2)	worþ ⁹ (1)	worthy (1)	worthynes (1)	
Past participle marker	I- (9)	y- (7)			

⁴²⁷ 'gather'⁴²⁸ 'weather'

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189 (hand two)

Poem predicting the future of the year from the day Christmas falls on. (Folios 210-11).

AFTER				
AGAINST				
AGAIN				
ANY				
ASK				
BEFORE				
BOTH	boþe (3)			
BURN(T)				
BUT	but (1)			
CHURCH				
COULD				
DAY(S)	day (10)			
DO				
EACH				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR				
EVIL				
EYE(S)				
FIRE				
FIRST	furst (1)			
GIVE				
GO				
HIGH				
HILL				
IF	if (5)	yf (4)		
LAND	londe (3)	lonys* (1)		
LITTLE				
-LY	-ly (1)			
MAN	man (1)	mannys* (1)		
MANY	many (2)			
MIGHT (v)				
MIGHT (n/Aj)				
MUCH	mekylle (1)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc				
NOT	nott (2)	not (1)		
OWN				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> shall (13)	<u>plural</u> shall (7)
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> shyld (1)	<u>plural</u> shuld (1)
SINCE				
SUCH				
THAN				
THEN				
THERE				
THESE				
THOSE				
THINK				
(AL)THOUGH				
THROUGH	thorow (1)			
TWO				
UNTIL				
OE hw-words (wh) (7)	what (3)	who (3)	sumwhatte (1)	
(w) (0)				
(h) (0)				
hypercorrection (1)	whike ⁴²⁹ (1)			
WILL + pn	1st person	2nd person	3rd person wylle (1)	plural

⁴²⁹ 'wicked'

WILL (n)			
WITH(OUT)	w' (5)		
WORLD	world (1)		
WOULD			
YET			
FIRST PERSON			
NOM (sg)	I (2)		
ACC (sg)			
GEN (sg)			
DAT (sg)			
FIRST PERSON			
NOM (pl)	we (4)		
ACC (pl)			
GEN (pl)			
DAT (pl)			
REFLEXIVE			
SECOND PERSON			
NOM (sg)	þ ^u (3)		
ACC (sg)	þe (1)		
GEN (sg)			
DAT (sg)	the (1)	þ ^c (1)	
REFLEXIVE			
SECOND PERSON			
NOM (pl)	ye (2)		
ACC (pl)	you (1)		
GEN (pl)			
THIRD PERSON masc.			
NOM (sg)	he (7)		
ACC (sg)			
GEN (sg)	hys (1)		
DAT (sg)			
REFLEXIVE			
THIRD PERSON fem			
NOM (sg)			
ACC (sg)			
GEN (sg)			
DAT (sg)			
THIRD PERSON pl.			
NOM (pl)	they (1)		
ACC (pl)			
GEN (pl)			
DAT (pl)			
REFLEXIVE			
TO BE Indicative			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)	is (7)	ys (1)	
3 RD person (pl)			
Subjunctive	be (2)		
TO BE Preterite			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Preterite subjunctive			
TO HAVE Indicative			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)	haue (1)		
Subjunctive			
TO HAVE Preterite			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Preterite subjunctive			
TO COME Indicative			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			

3RD person (sg)
 3RD person (pl)
 Subjunctive
 TO COME Preterite
 1ST person
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg)
 3RD person (pl)
 Preterite subjunctive

V-WORDS

Z / ȝ WORDS

<t> for <d>

<k> for <g>

<p> for

<d> for <þ>

<þ> for <y>

BELIEVE

togedyr (1)

KING

kyngs* (1)

KIN

KISS

LIVE

LIFE

OLD

olde (1)

old (1)

SIN

EARL

EARTH

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

KNEW

LIGHT

LOVE

WORTHY

Past participle marker

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 189 (hand three)

Text used for predicting the future according to the days of the moon. (Folios 212 – end).

AFTER	after (7)	aft ⁹ (1)			
AGAINST					
AGAIN	a gayn ⁹ (1)				
ANY	eny (18)	ony (3)	any (1)		
ASK					
BEFORE	byfore (6)	befor (1)	byform ⁹ (1)	beforn ⁹ (1)	afore (1)
BOTH	bothe (3)				
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (23)				
CHURCH					
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (142)	dayes* (3)			
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		dost (1)	doth (5)		
EACH					
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	neither...ne... (2)	not...nother (1)			
EVIL	evyll (10)	yvell (9)	evyl (1)		
EYE(S)	yen ⁹ * (7)				
FIRE	fyre (1)	fyr ⁹ (1)			
FIRST	firste (2)				
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			gevyth (1)		
GO					
HIGH	high (1)	hiest (1)			
HILL					
IF	yf (38)	if (16)			
LAND	lond (1)	londe ⁴³⁰ (1)			
LITTLE	lytell (6)				
-LY	-ly (23)				
MAN	man (25)	mā (3)	ma ⁹ (1)	mannys* (1)	mānys* (1)
	mankynne (1)	mākynne (1)	māhode (1)	māchild (1)	
MANY	many (8)	mony (1)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		myzt (1)	myght (2)		
		myght (1)			
MIGHT (n/Aj)	unmyghty (2)	myghty (1)	almyghty (1)		
MUCH	myche (4)	miche (1)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	not (24)	nought (4)			
OWN	awne (1)	owne (1)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	shal (1)	shalt (18)	shal (77)	shal (9)	
		shal (3)	shall (3)		
		shall (1)			
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			sholde (1)		
SINCE					
SUCH					
THAN	than (1)	then (1)			
THEN	thenne (4)	then (4)	than (2)		
THERE	ther (26)	þ ⁹ (2)	ther ⁹ (1)	þ ⁹ e (1)	thare ⁴³¹ (1)
THESE	theise (3)				
THOSE					
THINK					
THOUGHT (n)	thought (1)				
(AL)THOUGH	though (2)	thurgh (1)			

⁴³⁰ Plural rhymed with 'stonde'

⁴³¹ Rhymed with 'fare'

THROUGH	thurgh (5)				
TWO					
UNTIL	tyl (4)				
OE hw-words (wh) (119)	what (43)	who (39)	when (9)	whiche (6)	while (4)
	wher (3)	whos (2)	whyle (2)	whom (1)	whete (1)
	which (1)	wher ⁹ (1)	whe (1)	whanne (1)	white (1)
	wham (1)	whose (1)	which (1)	whyte (1)	
(w) (0)					
(h) (2)	ho (1)				
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		wylt (6)	wyl (7)	wyl (1)	
		wilt (1)	wyll (3)		
		wolt (1)	wil (1)		
			will (1)		
WILL (n)	wylle (2)	wyll (1)			
WITH(OUT)	with (53)	w ⁱ (3)	with (2)		
WORLD	worlde (2)	world (1)			
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				wolde (2)	
YET					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	I (20)	y (5)			
ACC (sg)	me (1)				
GEN (sg)	my (8)				
DAT (sg)					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (1)				
ACC (pl)	vs (1)				
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (3)	oure (2)	owr ⁹ (1)	o ⁹ (1)	
DAT (pl)	vs (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	thow (75)	þ ⁹ (5)			
ACC (sg)	the (10)	thow (6)			
GEN (sg)	thy (21)	thyn ⁹ (1)			
DAT (sg)	the (2)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (21)				
ACC (pl)	yow (11)				
GEN (pl)	yo ⁹ (2)	your ⁹ (1)	your (1)		
DAT (pl)	yow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (89)				
ACC (sg)	hym (10)	hy (7)			
GEN (sg)	his (36)	hys (1)	ys ⁴³² (4)	his ⁴³³ (1)	
DAT (sg)	hym (6)	hy (2)			
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	she (8)				
ACC (sg)	hyr ⁹ (1)				
GEN (sg)	her (3)	her ⁹ (2)			
DAT (sg)	her ⁹ (1)				
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (17)	thay (2)			
ACC (pl)	them (3)	tham (1)	theym ⁹ (1)	ham (1)	hem (1)
GEN (pl)	her (1)				
DAT (pl)	tham (1)	ham (1)			
REFLEXIVE					
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	art (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (112)				
3 RD person (pl)	beth (15)	ar ⁴³⁴ (1)			

⁴³² Genitive inflection⁴³³ Genitive inflection⁴³⁴ Folio 216r line 20 <then ar they well>

Subjunctive	be (21)	be (15)			
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (19)				
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive	were (2)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (1)				
2 ND person	hast (3)				
3 RD person (sg)	hath (8)				
3 RD person (pl)	haue (1)				
Subjunctive	haue (3)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (2)	had (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)	comyth (2)	come (1)			
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	cam (1)				
3 RD person (pl)	come (1)	came (1)			
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fad ⁹ ys (3)	moder (1)	to gyder (1)		
<þ> for <y>					
<t> for <d>	<prout> 'proud' (1)				
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u> byleue (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
KING	kyng (4)	kyng ⁹ (1)			
KIN	kynne (1)				
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE	lyfe (7)				
OLD	elde ⁴³⁵ (6)	olde (2)			
SIN	synne (9) synnyng ⁹⁴³⁶ (1)	sýne (1)	synnys* (1)	synneful (1)	synful (1)
EARL					
EARTH	erthe (1)	erthely (1)			
FIGHT					
FIGHT (n)	fyghter (1)				
HEAVEN	hevyn ⁹ (1)	heuy ⁹ * (2)	heuene* (1)		
KNOW	<u>1st person</u> wot (1)	<u>2nd person</u> knowe (1)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> knowe (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u> knew (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
LIGHT					
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> loveth (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (3)				
WORTHY	worthy (1)	worthiest (1)	worthynesse (1)		
Past participle marker	y- (13)	I- (2)			

⁴³⁵ 'Old age'⁴³⁶ Adjective

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1447

Medica

AFTER	aft ⁹ (4)				
AGAINST	to yeyn (1)	ayenste (1)	ayens (1)		
AGAIN	ayen (4)	ayene (1)			
ANY	eny (18)				
ASK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		ask (1)			
BEFORE					
BOTH	boþ ⁶ (1)				
BURN(T)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		brenne (1)			
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	brennyng ⁹ (3)
	brente (1)		brennyd (1)		
	bur (30)				
BUT					
CHURCH					
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (7)	dayes (1)			
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			doth (3)	doyth (1)	
			doyth (1)		
			dothe (1)		
EACH					
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	not...noþ ⁹ (2)				
EVIL	yvell (5)	eyyll (3)	euyll (2)	yuell (2)	evell (1)
	eyvl (1)	evelys* (1)	yvelys* (2)		
EYE(S)	yee (5)	eye (4)	ye (1)	eyen ⁹ * (3)	eyen* (2)
	yene * ⁴³⁷ (2)	yeyn* (1)	yen* (1)	eyne* (1)	eyn ⁹ *(1)
	eyes* (1)				
FIRE	fyr ⁹ (3)	fyre (1)			
FIRST	fyrste (1)				
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
		yefe (3)			
		efe ⁴³⁸ (3)			
		yef (1)			
GO					
HIGH	hye (1)				
HILL	hyllys* (1)	hyll ⁴³⁹ (1)			
IF	yf (138)	If ⁴⁴⁰ (1)			
LAND	londe (1)				
LITTLE	lytell (10)	lytyll (2)	lytyl (1)		
-LY	-ly (8)				
MAN	man (87)	mā (12)	māys* (16)	manys* (6)	mānys* (4)
	mānes* (4)				
	meny (13)				
MANY					
MIGHT (v)					
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mythy (1)				
MUCH	moche (19)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	not (17)	noþh (1)			
OWN					
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		schelt (4)	schell (48)	schullyth (2)	
		schelte (2)	shelt (1)	schell (2)	
			schall (1)	schelle (1)	
SHOULD					
SINCE					
SUCH					
THAN	þan (1)				
THEN	then (2)	þe (1)			

⁴³⁷ p106 line 9⁴³⁸ p148 line 6⁴³⁹ Adjective⁴⁴⁰ Sentence-initial

THERE	ther (49)	þ ⁹ (28)	ther ⁹ (1)	there (1)	
THESE	thes (2)				
THOSE					
THINK					
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH	thorow (1)				
TWO	to (1)				
UNTIL	tyll (2)				
OE hw-words (wh) (57)	whyte (30)	whan (6)	what (5)	whyle (5)	whete (4)
	when (3)	whytt ⁴⁴¹ (3)	whyche (2)	whytt ⁴⁴² (1)	wher ⁹ (1)
(w) (0)					
(h) (11)	ho (8)	hole ⁴⁴³ (3)			
hypercorrection (1)	mawhorte ⁴⁴⁴ (1)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		wolte (1)	wyll (28)		
			wylle (6)		
			woll (6)		
			wolle (2)		
WILL (n)	wyll (2)				
WITH(OUT)	w' (147)	wyth (40)			
WORLD	worlde (1)				
WOULD					
YET	yete (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (2)				
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)	my (1)				
DAT (sg)					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)					
ACC (pl)					
GEN (pl)					
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ⁸ (8)	thou (6)			
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)	thy (14)	þy (4)	thyne (1)		
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)					
ACC (pl)					
GEN (pl)					
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (263)				
ACC (sg)	hȳ (30)	hym (15)			
GEN (sg)	hys (53)	h ⁸ (2)	ys ⁴⁴⁵ (16)		
DAT (sg)	hym (2)	hȳ (2)			
REFLEXIVE	hym (1)	hȳ sylue (1)			
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	sche (5)				
ACC (sg)	her ⁴⁴⁶ (29)	here (11)	hyr ⁴⁴⁷ (3)	hyre ⁴⁴⁸ (1)	hyr ⁴⁴⁹ (1)
GEN (sg)	her ⁴⁵⁰ (2)	hyr ⁴⁵¹ (1)			
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (20)	þey (1)			
ACC (pl)	h ⁸ m (5)	ham (3)	hem (3)	hā (1)	

⁴⁴¹ 'whiter'⁴⁴² 'whiter'⁴⁴³ 'whole'⁴⁴⁴ Referred to as 'maw-wort' in following lines.⁴⁴⁵ Genitive inflection⁴⁴⁶ Of plants/ herbs ie. neuter objects. Often where 'he' was previously used as the nominative form.⁴⁴⁷ Of plants/ herbs ie. neuter objects. Often where 'he' was previously used as the nominative form.⁴⁴⁸ Referring to a neuter object⁴⁴⁹ Of plants/ herbs ie. neuter objects. Often where 'he' was previously used as the nominative form.⁴⁵⁰ Of plants/ herbs ie. neuter objects. Often where 'he' was previously used as the nominative form.⁴⁵¹ Of plants/ herbs ie. neuter objects. Often where 'he' was previously used as the nominative form.

GEN (pl)	hyr ⁹ (2)			
DAT (pl)	them (1)	ham (1)		
REFLEXIVE	ham sylue (1)			
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person	byth (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (359)	byth (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	byth (43)	b ⁴⁵² (2)		
Subjunctive	be (59)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)				
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (7)	were (3)		
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	hath (89)	hathe (2)	hat ⁴⁵³ (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	hauyrh (3)			
Subjunctive	haue (34)	have ⁴⁵⁴ (4)		
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)				
Preterite subjunctive				
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	comyrh (5)			
3 RD person (pl)	comyrh (3)			
Subjunctive				
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)				
Preterite subjunctive				
V-WORDS				
Z / ȝ WORDS				
<t> for <d>				
<k> for <g>				
<p> for 				
<d> for <þ>	ga/ederyd (10)	togeder (6)	oder (2)	moder (2)
<þ> for <y>				
BELIEVE				
KING	kyngs (1)			
KIN				
KISS				
LIVE				
LIFE	lyues* (1)			
OLD	olde (8)			
SIN				
EARL				
EARTH				
FIGHT (n/v)				
HEAVEN				
KNOW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
				know (1)
KNEW	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
			wete (1)	
LIGHT				

⁴⁵² Line-final⁴⁵³ p135 line 1 <thys herbe hat leuys y leke to...>⁴⁵⁴ p128 line 6 <yf a man have swellynge a boutte hys erys>

LOVE (n)	loue (1)
WORTHY	
Past participle marker	y- (130)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14
The Prick of Conscience

AFTER	after (12)	after ⁹ (1)	aft ⁹ (1)	
AGAINST	aʒens (17)	aʒen (1)	agayne (1)	agayn (1)
AGAIN	aʒen (1)	agayn (1)		
ANY	any (13)	eny (9)		
ASK				
BEFORE	be fore (13)	by fore (5)	or (4)	ere (1)
	ore (1)	by forn (1)	er (1)	
BOTH	bothe (14)	boþ ⁸ (6)	boþe (2)	
BURN(T)	burne (2)			
BUT	bote (56)	but (17)	butt ⁹ (1)	
CHURCH				
COULD				
DAY(S)	day (25)	daye (1)	dayse* (1)	
DO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
			dyde (1)	dede (1)
			dede (1)	
			eche (1)	
EACH	echone (2)	euche (1)		
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nother (3)	nother..ne (2)		
EVIL	yvel (6)	yuel (3)	yvelys* (1)	
EYE(S)	eye (3)	eyn* (1)		
FIRE				
FIRST	furst (12)	furste (4)		
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	
			ʒeuyth (4)	
			ʒef (2)	
			for geve (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	
			ʒaf (4)	
			for gaf (2)	
GO				
HIGH	heʒ (2)			
HILL				
IF	yf (11)	if (3)		
LAND				
LITTLE	lyte (2)	lytell (1)		
-LY	-ly (48)	-lych (3)	-lye (1)	
MAN	man (75)	mā (30)	ma ⁹ (5)	mān (5)
	man ⁹ (3)	māne (2)	wyʒt (1)	
	māys ⁸ (4)	mānys* ⁸ (2)	manhode (1)	manhede (1)
	mankynde (1)			
MANY	many (8)	meny (3)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
			myʒte (3)	myʒt (5)
			myʒt (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (19)	myʒt ⁹ (1)	myʒtys* (2)	al myʒty (8)
	al myʒte (3)	myʒte (2)	myʒtye (1)	al myʒt ⁴⁵⁵ (1)
MUCH	moche (21)			

⁴⁵⁵ Rhyme

NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc NOT OWN SHALL	nel (1) noȝt (65) <u>1st person</u> schal (4) schalt (1)	noide (1) <u>2nd person</u> schalt (3)	nys (1) <u>3rd person</u> schal (81) schalt (54) schel (12) schulle (2) schul (2) schall (2)	<u>plural</u> schul (85) schal (60) schulleth (10) schulle (9) schel (4) schulleþ (4) schullit (4) schal (2) schullyth (1) scholle (1)
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> schulde (1)	<u>3rd person</u> scholde (8) schulde (8) schuld (1)	<u>plural</u> schulde (2) scholde (2)
SINCE SUCH THAN	suche (8) than (7) thanne (1)	soche (1) þan (2)	tho (1)	þāne (1)
THEN	þan (22) thanne (3) then (1)	þāne (20) than ⁹ (3) þanne (1)	than (12) tha ⁹ (3) thā (1)	thāne (7) thenne ⁴⁵⁶ (1)
THERE	þ ⁹ (40) þare (2) þare ⁴⁵⁸ (1)	ther (32) þere (2) thar ⁹ (1)	ther ⁹ (19) þer (2) thore ⁴⁵⁹ (1)	þore ⁴⁵⁷ (4) þer ⁹ (1)
THESE THOSE THINK	thuse (1) <u>1st person</u> <u>1st person pret</u>	these (1) <u>2nd person</u> thynken (1) <u>2nd person pret</u>	thys (1) <u>3rd person</u> thynketh (1) <u>3rd person pret</u> þouȝt (1)	þ ⁹ (1) <u>plural</u> þynke (2) <u>plural pret</u>
THOUGHT (n)	þoȝt (3) thoȝtys* (1)	thouȝt (1)	thoȝt (1)	þoȝt* (1)
(AL)THOUGH THROUGH	thorgh (4) thorgh (12) þorȝ (2)	thogh (1) þ ⁹ (6)	þorȝ (1) thurgh (3)	tho (1) þorgh (2)
TWO UNTIL OE hw-words wh ¹ (86) w (41) h ⁴⁶¹ (3) Hypercorrection (0)	too (1) tyl (1) w ^h (6) w ⁴⁶⁰ (1)			
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> wolt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wol (9) woll (2)	<u>plural</u> wollyth (3) wol (3) wylle (1)
WILL (n)	wylle (14)			

⁴⁵⁶ Folio 92v⁴⁵⁷ Rhyme 'more' Folio 137v' line 17 <hy (they) schul be as godys þore>⁴⁵⁸ Rhyme⁴⁵⁹ Folio 91r line 6 <soche sorwe schal be among ham thore>⁴⁶⁰ 'whom'⁴⁶¹ 'who'

WITH(OUT)	w ^r (94)	wyth (19)		
WORLD	world (8)			
WOULD	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	plural
			wolde (6)	wolde (6)
			wold (2)	wold (1)
YET	ȝyt (11)	ȝutt (2)	ȝet (1)	ȝyte ⁴⁶² (1)
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (sg)	y (17)	I (2)		
ACC (sg)	me (5)			
GEN (sg)	my (6)	my (1)		
DAT (sg)	me (2)			
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (pl)	we (18)			
ACC (pl)	vs (11)	ous (5)	v ⁹ (4)	v3 (3)
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (19)			
DAT (pl)	vs (1)			
REFLEXIVE	oussylf (1)			
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (sg)	þ ⁿ (14)	thow (4)		
ACC (sg)	thee (2)	the (2)	þ ^e (1)	
GEN (sg)	thy (5)	þy (5)	thyn (1)	þi ⁴⁶³ (1)
DAT (sg)				
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (pl)	ȝe (13)			
ACC (pl)	yo ⁿ (1)			
GEN (pl)				
DAT (pl)				
THIRD PERSON masc.				
NOM (sg)	he (157)	hym (1)		
ACC (sg)	hȝ (26)	hym (11)		
GEN (sg)	hys (60)	h ⁿ (32)	ys ⁴⁶⁴ (22)	
DAT (sg)	hȝ (10)	hym (3)	h ⁿ m (2)	
REFLEXIVE	hȝ sylf (13)	hym sylf (7)	hym (3)	h ⁿ m (2)
	him sylf (1)	hȝ (1)		
THIRD PERSON fem				
NOM (sg)	sche (4)			
ACC (sg)				
GEN (sg)	hyr ⁹ (7)	her ⁹ (1)		
DAT (sg)				
THIRD PERSON pl.				
NOM (pl)	hy (56)	þei (48)	thei ⁴⁶⁵ (26)	thay (23)
	þay (5)	þey (4)	ham (3)	thai ⁴⁶⁶ (2)
	thy ⁴⁶⁷ (1)	hym (1)	he (1)	
ACC (pl)	h ⁿ m (58)	ham (13)	ham ⁹ (2)	hā (1)
	hȝ (1)			
GEN (pl)	hyr ⁹ (39)	her ⁹ (23)	hur ⁹ (3)	hyre ⁴⁶⁸ (2)
	þer ⁹ (1)			

⁴⁶² Rhyme⁴⁶³ Folio 94v⁴⁶⁴ Genitive inflection⁴⁶⁵ Only four of this variant weren't line initial⁴⁶⁶ Line initial⁴⁶⁷ Folio 93r line 7⁴⁶⁸ Folio 97v l7 <of wam to god veangeans thy crye>

DAT (pl)	ham (4)	h ^a m (1)		
REFLEXIVE	ham sylf (2)			
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person	am (1)			
2 ND person	ert (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	ys (173)	is (13)	bup (3)	buth (1)
3 RD person (pl)	bup (28)	buth (8)	byth (1)	
Subjunctive	be (11)	bee (1)		
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)	wer ^o (6)			
Preterite subjunctive	wer ^o (10)			
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person	hast (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	hap (15)	hath (12)	hauyth (1)	haf ⁶⁹ (1)
3 RD person (pl)	haue (6)	havyth (3)	haueth (1)	hauyth (1)
	haueþ (1)	hauyþ (1)		
Subjunctive	haue (1)			
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (4)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (4)			
Preterite subjunctive				
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person	come (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	comyth (5)	cometh (5)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (4)			
Subjunctive	come (2)			
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)	come (1)			
Preterite subjunctive	come (1)			
V-WORDS	fochesaf (3) 'vouchsafe' ⁴⁷⁰	repreþ 'repreve' ⁴⁷¹ (1)	vyfthe 'fifth' ⁴⁷² (1)	
Z / ȝ WORDS				
<t> for <d>				
<k> for <g>	<twyngelyng> 'twinkling' Fol 84r line 15			
<p> for 				
<d> for <þ>	<worthys> 'words' ⁴⁷³ (3)	<weder> 'whether' ⁴⁷⁴ (1)	<worþe> 'word' ⁴⁷⁵ (1)	<donder> 'thunder' ⁴⁷⁶ (1)

⁴⁶⁹ Rhyme⁴⁷⁰ Folio 135r line 15⁴⁷¹ Folio 93v line 7⁴⁷² Folio 141r line 20⁴⁷³ Folio 95r line 28⁴⁷⁴ Folio 96r line 18⁴⁷⁵ Folio 95r line 23⁴⁷⁶ Folio 91r line 7

	<worþ ^e > 'words' ⁴⁷⁷ (1)	<oder> 'other' ⁴⁷⁸ (1)		
<þ> for <y>				
BELIEVE				
KING	kyng (1)	kyngs* (1)		
KIN				
KISS				
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> leuyth (1) levyth (1)	<u>plural</u>
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u> lyved (1) leuyd (1)
LIFE				
OLD				
SIN	sin (1)	synne (1)	synnys* (2)	synful (1)
EARL				
EARTH	erthe (11)	erþ ^e (2)		
FIGHT (n)	fyȝt (1)			
HEAVEN	heuene (2)			
KNEW				
LIGHT				
LOVE (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> lovyth (2) loveþ (1) loveth (1) louyth (1)	<u>plural</u> lovyth (4) love (1) loveþ (1)
LOVE (n)	love (7)	loue (4)		
WORTHY				
y-prefix	y- (36)			

⁴⁷⁷ Folio 95v line 18⁴⁷⁸ Folio 139v line 20

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Apollonius of Tyre (4 page fragment)

AFTER	eft (2)	aft ⁹ (1)	afts (1)		
AGAINST	aʒeyn (2)	aʒeynes (1)			
AGAIN	aʒe (2)				
ANY	eny (2)				
ASK					
BEFORE	byfore (5)	ar (1)	or (1)	to fore (1)	before (1)
BOTH	bothe (1)				
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (2)				
CHURCH					
COULD					
DAY(S)	dayes (1)	day (1)			
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> dyde (1)	<u>plural</u> dyde (1) dide (1)	
EACH	ech (1)	ech ⁴⁷⁹ (1)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL					
EYE(S)	eyʒe (1)				
FIRE					
FIRST	firste (1)	ferst (1)			
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u> ʒaue (1)	<u>3rd person pret</u> ʒaf (4)	<u>plural pret</u> ʒaf (1)	
GO					
HIGH	hy (1)				
HILL					
IF	ʒif (1)	if (1)			
LAND	londe (3)	lond (3)	londes* (1)		
LITTLE	lyttle (1)				
-LY					
MAN	man (2)	mān (1)			
MANY	many (1)				
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> myʒte (2)	<u>plural</u> myʒte (1)	
MIGHT (n/A)	myʒtes* (1)	allmyʒt (2)			
MUCH					
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	noʒde (2)	nyst (1)			
NOT	nouʒt (8)				
OWN					
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schal (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schall (1)	<u>plural</u> schulle (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> schulde (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> scholde (2) schulde (1)	<u>plural</u>	
SINCE					
SUCH					
THAN	ʒan (1)				
THEN	ʒo (8)				
THERE	ʒ ⁹ (6) there (1)	ʒ ⁹ e (5)	ʒer (3)	ʒar (1)	ʒider (1)
THESE					
THOSE					
THINK					
THOUGHT (n)	ʒouʒt (1)				
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH					
TWO	two (1)	twey (1)	tweye (1)		
UNTIL					

⁴⁷⁹ Meaning 'every'

OE hw-words (wh) (5)	wham (3)	wher (2)		
(w) (0)				
(h) (2)	ho (2)			
hypercorrection (0)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	wol (1)	wole (1)	wol (1)	
WILL (n)	wille (2)			
WITH(OUT)	wit (11)	w' (3)		
WORLD				
WOULD				
YET	ɟutt (1)	ɟut (1)		
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (sg)	y (12)	I (6)		
ACC (sg)	me (11)			
GEN (sg)	my (11)			
DAT (sg)	me (1)			
REFLEXIVE	my self (1)	me (1)		
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (pl)	we (2)			
ACC (pl)	vs (2)			
GEN (pl)	oure (3)			
DAT (pl)	vs (1)			
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (sg)	þou (2)			
ACC (sg)	þe (3)			
GEN (sg)	þy (1)			
DAT (sg)	þe (2)			
REFLEXIVE	þe (1)			
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (pl)	ɟe (10)			
ACC (pl)	ɟou (5)	ɟow (1)		
GEN (pl)	ɟoure (3)			
THIRD PERSON masc.				
NOM (sg)	he (40)			
ACC (sg)	him (17)	hym (6)		
GEN (sg)	hys (26)	his (3)		
DAT (sg)	him (2)	hym (1)		
REFLEXIVE				
THIRD PERSON fem				
NOM (sg)	sche (9)	heo (2)	he° (1)	
ACC (sg)	hire (5)			
GEN (sg)	here (4)	her (3)	hire (2)	hure (1)
DAT (sg)				
REFLEXIVE	hire (1)	hure (1)		
THIRD PERSON pl.				
NOM (pl)	þey (7)	hy (3)	þai (1)	
ACC (pl)	hem (8)	þam (1)		
GEN (pl)	hire (3)	here (2)	þ'e (1)	hare (1)
DAT (pl)	hem (1)			
REFLEXIVE				
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person	am (3)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	hys (2)	is (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	beþ (2)			
Subjunctive	be (4)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	was (23)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (5)			
Preterite subjunctive				
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person	haue (3)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	haue (1)			
Subjunctive				
TO HAVE Preterite				

1ST person
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg) hadde (4)
 3RD person (pl) hadde (3)
 Preterite subjunctive hadde (2)

TO COME Indicative

1ST person
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg)
 3RD person (pl)

Subjunctive

TO COME Preterite

1ST person cam (1)
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg) cam (1)
 3RD person (pl) come (1)
 Preterite subjunctive

V-WORDS

<verre> 'far', fear
 or fare⁴⁸⁰ (1)

Z / ȝ WORDS

<t> for <d>
 <k> for <g>
 <p> for
 <d> for <þ>
 <þ> for <y>

BELIEVE

KING kyng (6) king (5) kings* (1) kings* (2) kynges* (1)

KIN

KISS

1st person2nd person3rd personplural

keuste (2)

kuste (1)

gan... kusse⁴⁸¹
(1)

KISS (n)

kysse (1)

LIVE

1st person pret2nd person pret3rd person pretplural pret

lyuede (1)

LIFE

lyue (1)

lyues* (1)

OLD

SIN

syne (1)

EARL

erl (2)

EARTH

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

heuene (1)

KNEW

LIGHT

LOVE

1st person2nd person3rd person

loued (1)

louede (1)

WORTHY

Past participle marker

y- (12)

⁴⁸⁰ Folio 2v line 13 <neuere verre on hys lond>

⁴⁸¹ 'Kissed'

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Seven Penitential Psalms

AFTER	afft ⁹ (3)	aft ⁹ (3)	eft (2)		
AGAINST	aʒenst (6)	ayan (2)	aʒens (1)	aʒanst (1)	
AGAIN	aʒayn (1)	aʒe (1)			
ANY	eny (1)				
ASK					
BEFORE	by fore (3)	or (3)	bi for ² (1)		
BOTH	bothe (4)	boþ ^c (1)			
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (49)				
CHURCH	churche (2)				
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (13)	days (2)	dais * ⁴⁸² (1)	lyfdays* (1)	mydday (1)
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> dyde (1)	<u>Plural</u> dude (1)	
EACH	eche (4)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL	yvel (1)	yvyl (1)	eyfyl (1)		
EYE(S)	eye (2)	eyyn* (1)	ey ⁹ nn * ⁴⁸³ (1)	eyn* * (1)	
FIRE	fire (1)				
FIRST	furst (2)				
GIVE	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u> ʒuyf (1)	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>Plural pret</u> ʒuyʒt (1)	
FORGIVE	for ʒyuenysse ⁴⁸⁴ (2)				
	<u>1st person pret.</u>	<u>2nd person pret.</u> ʒaf (1)	<u>3rd person pret.</u> for ʒeuyd (1) for yo ³ ue (1)	<u>Plural pret.</u>	
GO					
HIGH	hie (2)	hey ⁹ (1)	an hey (1)		
HILL					
IF	yf (11)	ʒyf ⁴⁸⁵ (2)			
LAND	lond (5)	londe (1)			
LITTLE	lityl (2)	lytyl (1)			
-LY	-ly (57)	-lyche ⁴⁸⁶ (1)			
MAN	man (32)	wyʒt (2)	wiʒt (1)	mānys* (3)	manhod (2)
MANY	many (5)	felle ⁴⁸⁷ (1)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u> myʒt (2)	<u>2nd person</u> myʒt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> myʒt (4)	<u>plural</u> myʒt (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (5)	myʒty ⁴⁸⁸ (1)			
MUCH	moche (2)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL	nys (7)	nere (1)	nel (1)		
etc					

⁴⁸² Folio 22v line 14⁴⁸³ Folio 9r line 15⁴⁸⁴ Noun⁴⁸⁵ Folio 12v line 13⁴⁸⁶ Folio 20v line 22⁴⁸⁷ Folio 27r line 19⁴⁸⁸ Folio 19r line 4

NOT OWN SHALL	nowyt (45) owyn (1) <u>1st person</u> shal (16)	nouyt (8) <u>2nd person</u> schalt (21) shul (1) shal (1)	not (5) <u>3rd person</u> shal (15) schal (1) shalle (1)	nowyt (1) <u>plural</u> schulle (10) schul (5) shullyt ⁴⁸⁹ (2) shull (2) shul (2) schal (1) schalt (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> shold (2)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> shold (3) shuld (1)	<u>plural</u> shold (3)	
SINCE SUCH THAN THEN	suche (2) than (1) thanne ⁴⁹² (5) then ⁴⁹³ (1)	thanne ⁴⁹⁰ (1) þanne (4)	thon ⁴⁹¹ (1) than (3)	þan (1) þan (3)	þ ^m (1)
THERE THESE THOSE THINK	þ ^o (40) these (2) hem (10) <u>1st person</u> chencke (2) chenke (1) <u>1st person pret.</u>	ther ⁴⁹⁴ (18) þ ^o (1) <u>2nd person</u>	there ⁴⁹⁵ (3) þey (1) <u>3rd person</u>	þer (3)	
THOUGHT (n) (AL)THOUGH THROUGH	þouyt (2) thouyt (1) thorow (8)	though (1) þorow (3)	þou ⁴⁹⁷ (1)	<u>3rd person pret</u> thenkyt ⁴⁹⁶ (1) þenckyt (1)	Plural pret þouyt (1) þynchust (1) bi þouyt (1)
TWO UNTIL OE hw-words wh- (67)	tyl (3) whenne (25) where (2) nawhar ⁴⁹⁹ (1) whene (1) wyle (4) whaschy ⁵⁰¹ (1)	whine (13) whas ⁴⁹⁸ (2) wham (1) whedyr (1)	what (4) why (2) whiche (1) whettyt ⁵⁰⁰ (1)	whyle (4) whi (2) wherfor (1)	who (3) while (2) whan (1)
w (4) Hypercorrection (3) WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wolle (6)	<u>2nd person</u> wilt (2)	<u>3rd person</u> wolle (3)	<u>plural</u> wolle (4)	

⁴⁸⁹ Folio 6v line 7⁴⁹⁰ Line initial⁴⁹¹ Folio 6r line 6⁴⁹² Some line-initial, some non line-initial⁴⁹³ Line-initial⁴⁹⁴ One non line-initial occurrence⁴⁹⁵ Line-initial⁴⁹⁶ 'he thought'⁴⁹⁷ Folio 28r line 9⁴⁹⁸ 'whose'⁴⁹⁹ Folio 7 line 17⁵⁰⁰ 'whets' 3rd person singular⁵⁰¹ 'washed'⁵⁰² 'know'

WILL (n)	wille (2)	wolt (1)	wol (1)		
WITH(OUT)	w ⁱ (42) wijth (1)	wylle (2) wyzth (7)	wyxt (4)	wyzt (4)	wyztth (1)
WORLD	worle (10)	wordle (1)	worles ⁵⁰³ (1)		
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wold (3)	<u>plural</u>	
YET	ȝet (4)	ȝyt (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (148)	I (4)	ych (1)		
ACC (sg)	me (97)				
GEN (sg)	my (141)	myn ⁵⁰³ (18)	mi (3)		
DAT (sg)	me (33)				
FIRST PERSON	me (1)				
NOM (pl)	we (25)				
ACC (pl)	us (14)	vs (5)	ous (3)		
GEN (pl)	oure (10)	our ⁹ (8)			
DAT (pl)	us (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þ ⁿ (79)	thou (4)	þow (1)		
ACC (sg)	þ ^c (25)	the (7)			
GEN (sg)	þy (61)	þyn ⁵⁰⁴ (19)	thy (16)	thi (7)	thyn (3)
	þ ^c (2)	the (2)	thin (1)	þe (1)	
	thyne (1)	þ ⁱ (1)			
DAT (sg)	þ ^c (14)	the (2)			
REFLEXIVE	þ ^c yslef (1)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (3)				
ACC (pl)	ȝou (1)	ȝow (1)			
GEN (pl)	ȝoure (1)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (38)	a ⁵⁰⁵ (1)	hym ⁵⁰⁶ (4)		
ACC (sg)	hym (13)				
GEN (sg)	his (20)	hys (4)	ys ⁵⁰⁷ (1)	is ⁵⁰⁸ (1)	his ⁵⁰⁹ (1)
DAT (sg)	hym (4)				
REFLEXIVE	hym self (2)	hym sylf (1)	hym silf (1)	hym (1)	
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)	hure (1)				
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þey (2)	they (9)	thay (2)	thei (1)	þ ^c y (1)
ACC (pl)	hem (9)	hym (2)			
GEN (pl)	hure (6)	hur ⁹ (5)	here (4)	her ⁹ (2)	hire (1)
	hir (1)	har ⁹ (1)			
DAT (pl)					

⁵⁰³ Before a word beginning with a vowel e.g., <enemies, eynn>⁵⁰⁴ Before words beginning with <h> or a vowel.⁵⁰⁵ Folio 20v line 13⁵⁰⁶ Impersonal construction⁵⁰⁷ Genitive inflection⁵⁰⁸ Genitive inflection⁵⁰⁹ Genitive inflection

REFLEXIVE	hem (1)	hem self (1)			
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (8)	em (5)			
2 ND person	art (7)				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (57)	is (3)	y ^a (2)	berh ⁵¹⁰ (2)	art ⁵¹¹ (1)
	ben (1)				
3 RD person (pl)	beth (15)	bethe (6)	ben (2)		
Subjunctive	be (18)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	wer ⁹ (2)	were (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	were (1)				
3 RD person (pl)	were (6)	wer ⁹ (5)			
Preterite subjunctive	were (8)	wer ⁹ (1)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (18)				
2 ND person	hast (8)	haue (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	hath (16)	hathe (7)	hap ^a (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	han (1)				
Subjunctive	haue (1)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hadde (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hauyxt (1)	hadde (1)	had (1)	hauyft (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	hauyxt (4)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	cam (2)				
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS	<foys> 'voice' (Fol 2r line 17) (1)	<fouchesaf> 'vouchsafe' (Fol 3r line 13) (1)	<vore> (1)		
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	þydyr (1)				
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE					
KING	kyng (3)	kyngis* (2)	kyngdom (1)		
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	

⁵¹⁰ Folio 6v line 13⁵¹¹ Christ is sentence subject.

LIFE	lyf (3)	lif (3)		lyuy3 (1)	
OLD					
SIN	synne (25)	ssynne ⁵¹² (2)	synnys* (10)	synful (4)	synfol (1)
EARL					
EARTH	erthe (3)	erth (1)	erthly (1)		
FIGHT (n/v)					
HEAVEN	heuyn (5)	heuenys* (1)	heuyn* (4)		
KNEW	couth (1)				
LIGHT	ly3t (2)	ly3te (1)	ly3tly (1)	litylhed (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (1)				
WORTHY					
y-prefixes	y- (35)	i- (1)			

⁵¹² Not line-initial

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Arthour and Merlin

AFTER	aft ⁹ (16)	after (1)			
AGAINST	aʒens (12)	agayn (3)	aʒeyn (1)		
AGAIN	aʒen (7)	agayn (1)			
ANY	eny (11)				
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			askede (5)		
BEFORE	by for ⁿ (7)	er (2)	or (1)	ere (1)	eer (1)
	bi for ⁹ (1)				
BOTH	bothe (10)	boþe (4)	both (3)	boþ ^c (1)	
BURN(T)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			brende (2)		
			brend (1)		
BUT	but (37)				
CHURCH	church (1)				
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			cowde (2)	cowden (2)	
DAY(S)	day (24)	dayes* (1)			
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		dost (1)	doþ (2)	doþ (1)	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dude (8)		
			dede (1)		
EACH	echon (6)	ech (1)	ech (1)	eche (1)	echone (1)
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noþ ⁹ ...ne... (3)	nother (1)	eyþer (1)	nother...ne (1)	
EVIL					
EYE(S)	eyʒen* (1)				
FIRE	feyr (2)				
FIRST	ferst (2)	furst (1)	fferst ⁵¹³ (1)		
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			ʒaf (1)		
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			goþ (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			wente (2)	wenten (6)	
			ʒede (1)	wente (5)	
			ferde (1)	gonne (1)	
				ʒeden (1)	
HIGH	an hyʒ (2)	heyʒh (1)	heyʒe (1)		
HILL					
IF	yf (16)	if (8)	ʒyf (1)		
LAND	lond (5)	londe (3)	londes* (2)		
LITTLE	lite (1)				
-LY	-ly (5)	-lych (4)	-liche (1)	-lyche (1)	-lyʒe (1)
	-lich (1)	-lich (1)	-leche (1)		
MAN	man (37)	ma (1)	manne (1)	mannes* (3)	
	man kende (2)	man kynne (1)	manhode (1)		
MANY	many (32)	manye (5)	amanye (1)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		myʒt (1)	myʒt (12)	myʒt (7)	
			myʒte (3)	myʒtte (1)	
				myʒtten (1)	
				myʒten (1)	
				al myʒty (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (8)	myʒt (1)	myʒte (1)		
MUCH	moche (11)	moch (1)	moch (1)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nold (6)	nolde (5)	nelt (1)	nolden ⁵¹⁴ (1)	nelle (1)
NOT	nouʒt (19)	noʒt (2)	nauʒt (1)	nowt (1)	
OWN	oune (1)	owne (1)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schal (5)	schalt (6)	schal (13)	schul (16)	

⁵¹³ Line initial⁵¹⁴ Plural inflection '-en'

	schalle (1)		schel (1)	schullyþ (2)	
				schulleþ (1)	
				sculle (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> schuld (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schulde (10) schuld (7) sculde (1) swyche (1)	schil (1) <u>plural</u> schulden (4) schuld (2) sculd (1) swych (1)	
SINCE	swych (2)	suche (1)			
SUCH	þan (4)				
THAN	þanne (48)	þan (20)	þo (19)	tho (1)	þane (1)
THEN	þar (35)	þar ⁹ (8)	þ ⁹ (6)	þer ⁹ (3)	þer (3)
THERE					
THESE					
THESE	þo (4)	þey (1)	tho (1)		
THOSE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> þouȝte (4) þouȝt (2) by þouȝt (2)	<u>plural pret</u> þouȝtte (1) þouȝten (1) by þouȝten(1)	
THINK					
THOUGHT (n)	þouȝt (1)				
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ (2)				
THROUGH	þrouȝ (8) þrouȝt (1)	þoruȝ (7)	þoruȝe (1)	þouȝt (1)	þro ⁵¹⁵ (1)
TWO	twey (5)	two (4)			
UNTIL	tyl (6)	til (1)			
OE hw-words (wh) (82)	whanne (28)	why (10)	white (7)	what (6)	whi (5)
	whar (5)	whiles (3)	whar ⁹ (3)	w ^h anne (2)	whāne (2)
	whedur (1)	whyche (1)	whatther (1)	whyles (1)	w ^h an (1)
	whyte (1)	whyle (1)	whane (1)	whan (1)	wher (1)
	whule (1)				
(w) (8)	wat (2)	wanne (2)	wedyr (1)	wyȝt (1)	wyle (1)
hypercorrection (1)	waune ⁵¹⁶ (1)				
WILL (v)	wher ⁵¹⁷ (1)				
	<u>1st person</u> wele (3) wyl (2) welle (2) wille (1) w' (99)	<u>2nd person</u> wylt (1) wele (1) wyl (1) wit ⁵¹⁸ (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wol (1)	<u>plural</u> wol (1) wollyþ (1) wolleþ (1)	
WILL (n)					
WITH(OUT)					
WORLD	world (3)	wordl (2)			
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u> woldest (1)	<u>3rd person</u> wold (9) wolde (2)	<u>plural</u> wolden (5) wold (3)	
YET	ȝut (2)	ȝit (1)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (30) ych (3)	ych (13) yche (2)	ich (6) iche (2)	I (5)	ich (4)
ACC (sg)	me (22)				
GEN (sg)	my (20)	myn (5)			
DAT (sg)	me (3)				
Reflexive	my selue (2)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (13)				
ACC (pl)	vs (11)	us (1)			
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (11)				
DAT (pl)	vs (1)				
REFLEXIVE	vs (2)				
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þu (31)	þ ^a (1)			
ACC (sg)	þe (8)	þeo ⁵¹⁹ (1)			
GEN (sg)	þy (13)	þyn (4)	þyne (1)	thy (1)	
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE	þy selue (1)				
SECOND PERSON					

⁵¹⁵ Rhymed with <vndo>⁵¹⁶ 'When'⁵¹⁷ 'were'⁵¹⁸ Folio 33v line 2⁵¹⁹ Rhymed with 'seo'

NOM (pl)	ȝe (28)				
ACC (pl)	ȝow (22)				
GEN (pl)	ȝowr ⁹ (8)	ȝour ⁹ (2)			
DAT (pl)	ȝow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (144)	hym ⁵²⁰ (1)			
ACC (sg)	hym (36)	hȳ (5)	hy ⁹ (1)		
GEN (sg)	his (77)	hys (19)			
DAT (sg)	hym (14)	hȳ (1)	him (1)		
REFLEXIVE	hym (3)	hȳ sylf (1)			
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	ȝhe (37)				
ACC (sg)	hur ⁹ (14)				
GEN (sg)	hur ⁹ (2)	her ⁹ (1)			
DAT (sg)					
Reflexive	her ⁹ sylf (1)				
THIRD PERSON pl					
NOM (pl)	ȝey (107)	ȝei (12)	they ⁵²¹ (2)	hem ⁵²² (1)	ȝay (1)
ACC (pl)	hem (43)	hē (3)	h ^c m (1)	hym (1)	
GEN (pl)	her ⁹ (27)	hur ⁹ (6)	here (2)	her (2)	
DAT (pl)	hem (8)	hē (3)			
REFLEXIVE	hem (7)	h ^c m (1)	hē (1)		
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (2)				
2 ND person	art (3)				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (24)	is (9)			
3 RD person (pl)	buȝ (6)	beȝ (4)	beȝe (1)		
Subjunctive	be (5)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person	was (3)				
2 ND person	were (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	was (99)	wes ⁵²³ (1)	uas ⁵²⁴ (1)	war ⁹ (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	weren (25)	wer ⁹ (23)			
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (9)	wher ⁹ (1)	war ⁹ (1)		
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (1)				
2 ND person	hast (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	haȝ (6)				
3 RD person (pl)	han (4)	haue (1)			
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person	haddest (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (15)				
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (2)	hadden (2)	haddē (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	hadde (11)				
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive	come (1)				
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	com (4)	come (3)			
3 RD person (pl)	come (4)	comen (3)	com (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	com (2)	come (1)			
V-WORDS					
	<vyf> for 'five' (2)	<viſ> for 'five'(1)			
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<gowde> 'could'				

⁵²⁰ 'hym was ful wo'

⁵²¹ Line initial

⁵²² 'hem were to don'

⁵²³ Folio 27v line 1

⁵²⁴ Folio 16r line 11

	(1)				
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	modyr (15)	fader (6)	gederys (6)	whedur (1)	
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
KING	kyng (58) kyngys* (3) kyngdom (1)	kyng ^o (17) kyngs* (1)	king ^o (1) kyngs* (1)	bi leuden (1) kyngge (1) kyngys* (1)	king (1) kyndom (1)
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE	lyf (6)	lyfe (1)	alyue (6)	alyfe (1)	
OLD	old (4)	elde (2)	eldest (1)	eldeste (1)	
SIN					
EARL	erl (2)	erlys* (6)	erlis* (3)		
EARTH	eorth (5)	mold (1)	eorth (1)	erthe (1)	
FIGHT (v)	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u> fouȝten (3) fauȝt (1) ffauȝt (1) fouȝtyn (1)	
FIGHT (n)	fȝt (7)	fȝttys* (1)			
HEAVEN	heuene (8)	heuene* (2)			
KNOW	<u>1st person</u> woot (1)	<u>2nd person</u> canst (1) wyst (1)	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> knowyþ (1)	
KNEW	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u> knewe (1)	
LIGHT (n)	lyȝt (4)	he a lyȝt (1)			
LOVE (n)	loue (6)				
WORTHY	worthyer (1)				
Past Participle marker	y (41)	ɪ ²⁵ (1)			

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AFTER	aft ⁹ (17)	aftyr ⁹ (16)	aftyr (6)	after (1)	
AGAINST	aʒens (9)	aʒen (7)	agayne (2)	agaynys (1)	
	aʒen ⁹ (1)	agaynes (1)			
AGAIN	aʒen (5)				
ANY	eny (12)	any (2)	ony (1)		
ASK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		askyd (1)			
BEFORE	by for ⁹ (12)	a for ⁹ (6)	by for (2)	by foryn ⁹ (1)	by foryne (1)
	a forn ⁹ (1)	a fore (1)	er ⁹ (1)		
BOTH	bothe (10)	both (1)			
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (74)				
CHURCH	churche (26)	church (4)	chyrche (1)	church (1)	
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (56)	dayes* (6)			
DO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dede (2)	dede (1)	
EACH					
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nother..no.. (10)	nothyr..no.. (2)	other ⁹ ..other ⁹ .. (2)	nojt...nother... (2)	nother...ne (1)
	nothe...nother (1)	nother (8)	other (44)		
EVIL	euyt (13)				
EYE(S)	ye (3)	yen* (2)	yen ⁹ * (1)		
FIRE	fyr ⁹ (5)	ffyr ⁹ (1)			
FIRST	fyrst (28)	fyrste (5)	ffyrste ⁵²⁶ (1)		
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	ʒef (1)		ʒeuethe (1)	geue (1)	
			ʒeuythe (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>Plural pret</u>	
				ʒafe (1)	
				ʒaf (1)	
				ʒaue (1)	
FORGIVE(N)	for ʒef (3)	for ʒeve (2)			
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
			gothe (2)		
HIGH	hy (3)	an hy (2)			
HILL	hulle (3)				
IF	yf (42)	Iff ⁵²⁷ (1)			
LAND	lond (4)	londe (3)			
LITTLE	lytel (3)	lytyl (1)			
-LY	-ly (96)				
MAN	man (114)	ma ⁹ (1)	mon (1)	mā (1)	man ⁹ (1)
	manhode (2)				
MANY	many (9)	meny (4)	mony (2)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		myʒt (1)	myʒt (12)	myʒt (2)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	myʒt (4)	myght (1)	almyʒt (3)	myʒtful (1)	

⁵²⁶ After a punctus

⁵²⁷ Line initial

MUCH	moche (35)	mykel (1)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL	nolde (1)				
etc					
NOT	nojt (128)	nojte (6)	not (4)		
OWN	owne (6)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	schal (5)	schalt (32)	schal (39)	schal (29)	
			shal (6)	schul (13)	
			schall (2)	shal (10)	
			schul (1)	schall (6)	
				schull (4)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		schulde (20)		schulde (15)	
		schuld (4)		schuld (1)	
		sythen (1)			
SINCE	sythe (1)				
SUCH	suche (16)				
THAN	than (11)	thenne (5)	then (3)		
THEN	thenne (45)	then (6)	thanne (4)	than (4)	tho (1)
	þan (1)	þenne (1)			
THERE	ther (90)	ther ^o (4)			
THESE	thes (12)	these (6)	them (2)		
THOSE	h ^e m (2)	cho (2)	them (1)	tham (1)	
THINK					
THOUGHT (n)	thouxt (4)	thoxt (1)	thoughtys* (1)	thynkyng (1)	
(AL)THOUGH	thogh (2)	thoꝝe (1)	thoꝝ (1)	þoꝝ (1)	þouꝝ (1)
	thow ⁵²⁸ (1)				
THROUGH	thour (14)	thour ^o (9)	throꝝe (2)	throwꝝe (2)	thoꝝe ⁵²⁹ (1)
TWO	to (3)				
UNTIL	tyl (2)	tyll (1)			
OE hw-words (wh)	who (2)	whuhe ⁵³¹ (1)	whelpys ⁵³² (1)	whome (1)	whame (2)
(274) ⁵³⁰					
	wham (2)				
(w) (8) ⁵³³	wyche (3)	wuhe ⁵³⁴ (1)	wether ⁵³⁵ (1)	wiche (1)	
(h) (22) ⁵³⁶	ho ⁵³⁷ (21)	hos ⁵³⁸ (1)			
Hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wyl (3)		wol (10)	wol (7)	
	wyll (3)		wolt (1)	wylle (2)	
	wol (2)			wyll (1)	
WILL (n)	wylle (9)	wyll (3)	wylles* (1)	wyls* (1)	
WITH(OUT)	withe (47)	with (28)	w' (15)	wythe (9)	wyth (5)
	wich(2)				
WORLD	worle (27)	worlde (8)	world (3)	worly ⁵³⁹ (4)	

⁵²⁸ Folio 34v line 12 'who'⁵²⁹ Folio 3r line 13 <thoꝝe hit be/ gode>⁵³⁰ Including the examples that follow.⁵³¹ Folio 34v line 18⁵³² Plural noun⁵³³ Including the examples that follow⁵³⁴ Folio 34v line 17 'who'⁵³⁵ Folio 40r line 21 'whether'⁵³⁶ Including the examples that follow⁵³⁷ 'who'⁵³⁸ Folio 32v line 10 'whose'⁵³⁹ 'worldly'

WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>		
		wolte (2)	wolde (14) wold (1)	wolde (4) wold (1)		
YET	ȝet (11)	ȝyt (3)				
FIRST PERSON						
NOM (sg)	y (68)	I (13)	me ⁵⁴⁰ (1)			
ACC (sg)	me (22)					
GEN (sg)	my (29)	myne (2)				
DAT (sg)	me (9)					
REFLEXIVE	me (2)	my sylve (1)				
FIRST PERSON						
NOM (pl)	we (49)					
ACC (pl)	o ³ (33)	vs (5)	ous (3)	our (3)		
GEN (pl)	our ³ (65)	owr ³ (6)	oure (5)	o ³ (3)		
DAT (pl)	o ³ (4)					
REFLEXIVE	o ³ (2)					
SECOND PERSON						
NOM (sg)	thu (96)	þu (2)	þ ⁿ (2)	thow (2)	thou (1)	
ACC (sg)	the (11)	thu (3)				
GEN (sg)	thy (91)	thi (2)	thyne (2)	thyn ² (1)	thyn (1)	
DAT (sg)	the (6)					
REFLEXIVE	thy sylve (4)	thy selfe (2)	the (2)	thy sylf (1)		
NOM (pl)	ȝe (68)					
ACC (pl)	yo ⁿ (7)	ȝo ⁿ (6)	yow (2)			
GEN (pl)	your ³ (16)	your (5)	ȝo ⁿ ⁵⁴¹ (3)	ȝou ³ (2)	ȝour (2)	
	ȝowr ³ (1)					
DAT (pl)	ȝo ⁿ (4)	yow (2)	you (1)			
REFLEXIVE	yow (1)	your sylve (1)				
THIRD PERSON						
masc.						
NOM (sg)	he (208)	a ⁵⁴² (1)				
ACC (sg)	hym (26)	hym ³ (24)	he ⁵⁴³ (1)			
GEN (sg)	hys (107)	his (102)	ys ⁵⁴⁴ (85)			
DAT (sg)	hym (22)	hym ³ (13)				
REFLEXIVE	hym sylve (7) hyme sylve (1)	hym sylve (5)	hym sylf (1)	hym ³ selve (1)	hym self (1)	
THIRD PERSON						
fem						
NOM (sg)	sche (25)					
ACC (sg)	her (12)	her ³ (5)				
GEN (sg)	her (11)	her ³ (2)	ys ⁵⁴⁵ (5)	hys ⁵⁴⁶ (1)		
DAT (sg)	her ³ (2)	her (1)				
THIRD PERSON pl.						
NOM (pl)	they (67)	thay (39)				
ACC (pl)	h ^m (33) hyme (1)	ham (8) hym ³ (1)	tham (6)	hem (2)	hame ⁵⁴⁷ (2)	hym (2)
GEN (pl)	her ³ (24)	her (21)	ther (6)	herr ³ ⁵⁴⁸ (1)		

⁵⁴⁰ 'me thinkythe' Impersonal construction.⁵⁴¹ Folio 37v line 4⁵⁴² Folio 45v line 24 <that a was dreuyn oute>⁵⁴³ 45v line 25⁵⁴⁴ Genitive inflection⁵⁴⁵ Genitive inflection on a feminine noun.⁵⁴⁶ Genitive inflection on a feminine noun.⁵⁴⁷ Folio 3r line 19⁵⁴⁸ Folio 26v line 3

DAT (pl)	h ^e m (2)	hym ^o (1)	hym (1)	hem (1)	
REFLEXIVE	h ^e m (3)	h ^e m sylve (3)	h ^e m sylue (1)		
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (25)	am ^o (1)			
2 ND person	erte (6)	ert (6)	art (5)	arte (1)	
3 RD person (sg)	ys (167)	buthe (6)	is (1)	bythe (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	buth (6)	bethe (5)	buthe (4)	ar ^o (1)	er ^o ⁵⁴⁹ (1)
Subjunctive	be (21)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	wer ^o (2)	were (1)	wer (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	wer ^o (11)	wer (9)			
Preterite subjunctive	wer (2)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (7)				
2 ND person	hast (7)	haste (3)	haþ (1)		
3 RD person (sg)	hathe (21)	hath (2)	haue (2)	hauythe (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	haue (15)	habe (4)	hauythe (1)	hauyth (1)	hath (1)
	habethe (1)	hathe (1)			
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	had (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	had (18)	hadde (10)	hadd (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	had (3)	hadde (3)			
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comythe (8)	comyth (1)			
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive	cum (1)				
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	came (9)	come (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	came (4)				
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>	<budon> for 'button' (1)				
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fader (11)	<gaderythe> ⁵⁵⁰ (5)	fadyr (4)	fad ^o (2)	ffader ⁵⁵¹ (1)
	wheder ^o (1)	mod ^o (1)	moder (1)		
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> be lyue (2)	

⁵⁴⁹ Folio 16r line 16⁵⁵⁰ 'gather'⁵⁵¹ Referring to Adam

				by lyuythe (1)	
BELIEF (n)	be lyve (1)			lyue ⁵⁵² (1)	
KING	kyng (7)	kyng ⁹ (4)	kynges* (3)	kyngs* (1)	
	kyngdomys (2)	kyngdome (1)			
KIN	kynne (2)				
KISS					
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
		lyue (1)	leuythe (1)		
			leuyth (1)		
LIFE	lyf (10)	lyue (2)	lif (1)		
	lyues (1)	leuyng ⁵⁵³ (1)			
OLD					
SIN	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			synnythe (1)		
SIN (n)	synne (65)	synnes* (14)	synnys* (3)		
EARL					
EARTH	ærthe ⁵⁵⁴ (5)	erthe (3)			
FIGHT (n/v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	fyt (1)				
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			y ftyd (2)		
HEAVEN	heuene (11)	heuyne (4)	heuy ⁹ (2)	heuy ^{nys} * (1)	heuy ⁿ * (1)
KNEW	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	knew (1)		knew (2)		
LIGHT	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			lyxyth (1)		
LIGHT (n)	lyxt (4)	lyte (1)			
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	loue (3)	louyst (1)	louythe (1)	loue (2)	
				louyth (1)	
LOVE (n)	loue (7)	love (1)			
WORTHY					
Past participle marker	y- (18)				

⁵⁵² Folio 50r line 3⁵⁵³ Adjective⁵⁵⁴ Folio 1v line 26

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Northern Passion

AFTER	aft ⁹ (12)	aft (1)			
AGAINST	aʒens (5)	aʒen (5)	agayne (1)		
AGAIN	aʒen (2)	again (1)			
ANY	eny (2)	ani (1)	any (1)		
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
BEFORE	be fore (11)	by forne (2)	by for (2)	asked (1)	
BOTH	boþ (2)	boþe (1)		ore ⁵⁵⁵ (1)	
BRIDGE					
BURN(T)					
BUT	bote (7)	bot (5)	but (5)		
CHURCH					
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (13)	daye (2)	dayes* (2)		
DO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dide (2)	dude (2)	
			did (1)	did (2)	
				dide (2)	
EACH	echon (3)	echone (2)	eche (1)		
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL	euel (2)	iuel (2)	euil (1)		
EYE(S)	eʒen (1)	eʒen (1)			
FIRE	fir ⁹ (1)				
FIRST	first (3)	ffirst ⁵⁵⁶ (2)	ffirst ⁵⁵⁷ (1)	furst (1)	
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	ʒiue (1)		ʒyueþ (1)		
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			ʒaf (2)	ʒaf (1)	
GO					
HIGH	hey (4)	hyte (1)	heij (1)	hye (1)	
HILL	hille (2)				
IF	if (13)	ʒif (10)	yf (1)		
LAND	londe (5)	lond (3)	londes* (1)		
LITTLE					
-LY	-ly (7)	-liche (2)	-lyche (1)		
MAN	man (26)	mon (2)	manne (1)	mannes* (3)	mann** (1)
MANY	many (2)	manye (1)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	mijt (1)		mijt (5)	mijt (7)	
			mijte (5)	nicht (1)	
			myzt (1)	myzt (1)	
				mijte (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mijt (5)	myzt (3)	miht ⁵⁵⁸ (1)		
MUCH	michel (4)	mekel (1)	mikul (1)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	noʒt (50)	nouʒt (1)	noʒte (1)		
OWN	owen (2)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	ssal (11)	ssale (3)	ssal (9)	ssal ⁵⁵⁹ (16)	
	sal (2)	sslt (2)	ssalt (1)	sulle (2)	
	ssall (1)	schal (1)	sal ⁵⁶⁰ (1)	ssolle (2)	
				schul (2)	
				scal (1)	
				ssull (1)	
				schulle (1)	
				sul (1)	

⁵⁵⁵ Folio 7r line 4 <saue vs lord ore we deye>⁵⁵⁶ Line initial⁵⁵⁷ Line initial⁵⁵⁸ Folio 48v line 8⁵⁵⁹ Folio 8v line 5 <þe pour men ssal haue>⁵⁶⁰ Line initial

SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> ssulde (1) schold (1) ssolde (1) scolde (1) schude (1)	schal (1) <u>plural</u> ssolde (3) ssulde (1) schulde (1)	
SINCE	sipen (3)	syþene (1)			
SUCH	swilke (1)	swihe (1)	sweche (1)		
THAN	þa (1)				
THEN	þanne (15) then (1)	þan (13) þane (1)	sipen (5) þāne (1)	þo (1)	sipþen (1)
THERE	þer ⁵⁶¹ (30) þar (2) þore ⁵⁶² (1)	þere (11) thar (2) þeir ⁵⁶² (1)	þer (10) ther (1)	þ ^o (4) thore ⁵⁶¹ (1)	ther ^o (2) þar ^o (1)
THESE					
THOSE	hem (1)				
THINK	<u>1st person</u> þinkes (2) <u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person</u> <u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person</u> <u>3rd person pret</u> þoʒt (5) þoʒte (3) by þoʒte (1)	<u>plural</u> <u>plural pret</u> þoʒte (1)	
THOUGHT (n)	þoʒt (3)	þoʒte (1)			
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH	þorowe (4) to (1)	þorþ (4)	þorʒ (1)	þorow (1)	þourʒt (1)
TWO					
UNTIL	tille (4)	tylle (1)			
OE hw-words (wh) (2)	who (1)	whē (1)			
(w) (69)					
(qu-) (4)					
(h) (2)	ho (2)				
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wille (6) wolle (3) wole (1) wol (1)	<u>2nd person</u> wile (1) wilt (2)	<u>3rd person</u> wille (3) wole (2) wolle (2) wile (2) wol (1) wil (1) wylle (1)	<u>plural</u> wylle (5) wolle (3) wille (2) wole (2) wol (1) wil (1)	
WILL (n)	wille (24)	wylle (1)			
WITH(OUT)	wiþ (97)	wit (3)	wyt (1)	wyþ (1)	w' (1)
WORLD					
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (7) wold (4) welde ⁵⁶³ (1) ʒet (1)	<u>plural</u> wolde (3) wold (2)	
YET	ʒit ⁵⁶⁴ (1)	ʒit (1)		ʒett (1)	
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	I (44)	y (43)	me ⁵⁶⁵ (4)		
ACC (sg)	me (39)				
GEN (sg)	my (22)	mine (2)	min (1)	myne (1)	
DAT (sg)	me (12)				
REFLEXIVE	me sulf (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (27)				
ACC (pl)	vs (14)	ous (1)	us (1)		
GEN (pl)	our ^o (4)				
DAT (pl)	vs (2)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þow (33)	þou (18)	þe (1)		
ACC (sg)	þe (13)	þou (8)			

⁵⁶¹ Folio 48r line 3, rhyme with 'more'⁵⁶² Rhymed with 'sore'⁵⁶³ Folio 18r line 8⁵⁶⁴ Line initial⁵⁶⁵ Impersonal construction

GEN (sg)	þy (29)	þin (4)	þine (3)	þyn (1)	þyne (1)
DAT (sg)	þe (8)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (40)	ȝow (3)	ȝe ⁵⁶⁶ (2)	ȝou (1)	ȝe (1)
ACC (pl)	ȝou (20)	ȝow (8)			
GEN (pl)	ȝour ⁹ (5)	ȝour ⁹ (1)	ȝoure (1)		
DAT (pl)	ȝou (2)				
THIRD PERSON <i>masc.</i>					
NOM (sg)	he (256)	him (10)	hym (1)		
ACC (sg)	him (46)	hī (11)	hem (3)	hy (1)	hē (1)
GEN (sg)	his (75)	is (14)	hys (8)	ys ⁵⁶⁷ (2)	
DAT (sg)	him (34)	hī (11)			
REFLEXIVE	him (10)	him self (2)	hem self (2)	him sulf (2)	
THIRD PERSON <i>fem</i>					
NOM (sg)	he (8)	scho (2)			
ACC (sg)	hī (1)				
GEN (sg)	hir ⁹ (11)	her ⁹ (1)	hire (1)		
DAT (sg)	hir ⁹ (1)				
THIRD PERSON <i>pl.</i>					
NOM (pl)	hii (60)	þey (43)	hey (12)	þay (7)	thai (6)
	þe ⁵⁶⁸ (1)	hy (1)	thay (1)	he (1)	
ACC (pl)	hem (17)	hē (4)	þem (3)	ham (2)	
GEN (pl)	her ⁹ (8)	here (3)	he ⁹ (2)	hore (2)	hir ⁹ (1)
	her (1)				
DAT (pl)	hem (11)	hē (3)	þam (1)		
REFLEXIVE	hē (3)	hem (2)			
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (8)				
2 ND person	ert (3)	art (2)			
3 RD person (sg)	is (35)	ys (7)	ert (2)		
3 RD person (pl)	beþ (5)				
Subjunctive	be (11)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (41)	war (1)	wer ⁹ (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (11)	were (4)	wore ⁵⁶⁹ (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (7)	were (5)			
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (13)				
2 ND person	hauest (4)	has (1)	haues (1)	haueste (1)	hast (1)
3 RD person (sg)	haueþ (10)	haþ (3)	has (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	haue (7)	haueþ (6)	han (1)		
Subjunctive	haue (1)				
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	had (2)	haued (2)	hadde (1)	hauede (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	had (1)	haued (1)			
Preterite subjunctive					
3 RD person (pl)					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person	come (1)	comest (1)			
3 RD person (sg)	com (4)				
3 RD person (pl)	com (3)				
Subjunctive	com (1)				
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	com (9)	come (1)	cam (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	com (5)	come (2)			
Preterite subjunctive					

⁵⁶⁶ Line initial⁵⁶⁷ Genitive inflection⁵⁶⁸ Folio 14v line 5 <þanne seiþ þe þat stondeþ by side>⁵⁶⁹ Rhymed with 'lore'

V-WORDS	<vor> 'for' (7)	<vel> 'full' (1)	<vol> 'full' (1)		
Z / ʒ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<d> for <þ>	fadur (1)				
<þ> for <y>	<ʒe> for <þe> (1)				
BELIEVE					
KING	king (3)	kings* (1)			
KIN					
KISS	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> kissed (1)	<u>plural pret</u>	
LIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> liuen (1) lyueþ (1)	
LIFE	liue (3)	lif (2)			
OLD					
SIN	senne (6) sunne (1)	sinne (2) senful (1)	syne (1)	sine (1)	synne (1)
EARL					
EARTH	erþe (2)				
FIGHT (n/v)	fiȝt (1)				
HEAVEN	heuen (6) heuen* (1)	heuene (2) heue* (1)	heue (1) heue* (1)	heuene (1)	heuene* (3)
KNOW	<u>1st person</u> knaue (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
LIGHT	lyȝt (6)	lyȝt (1)	lyȝte (1)		
LOVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> loued (2)	<u>plural</u>	
LOVE (n)	loue (7)				
WORTHY					
Past participle marker	y- (24)	i- (1)			

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson .D. 328

Miscellany owned by Walter Pollard of Plymouth (Devon), mainly a Latin grammar

AFTER	aft ^o (7)	after (4)	eft (4)	
AGAINST				
AGAIN				
ANY	eny (2)			
ASK				
BEFORE	byfore (3)	bifore (2)	afore (2)	
BOTH				
BURN(T)				
BUT	but (2)			
CHURCH	church (3)			
COULD				
DAY(S)				
DID				
EACH				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nother ^o ..ne (1)	nether ^o ..no (1)		
EVIL				
EYE(S)				
FIRE				
FIRST	first (2)	fyrst (1)		
GIVE				
GO				
HIGH				
HILL				
IF	if (5)			
LAND				
LITTLE				
-LY	-ly (2)			
MAN	man ^o (3)			
MANY	many (8)			
MIGHT (v)				
MIGHT (n/A)				
MUCH	much (1)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL. etc				
NOT	nought (1)			
OWN				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schall (10)	<u>2nd person</u> schalt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schall (22)	<u>plural</u> schall (2)
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> scholde (1)	<u>plural</u>
SINCE				
SUCH	such (3)	such (3)		
THAN				
THEN	then ^o (5)			
THERE	ther (5)	ther ^o (4)	there (1)	
THESE	thies (10)			
THOSE	þ ^e (1)			
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> thinketh (1)	<u>plural</u>
(AL)THOUGH				
THROUGH				
TWO	two (4)	tuo (2)		

UNTIL				
OE hw-words	wh- (81)			
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
			will (8)	will (6)
			wyl (1)	wil (1)
				ville (1)
WILL (n)				
WITH(OUT)	w ^t (36)	with (3)	wyth (1)	
WORLD				
WOULD				
YET				
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (sg)	I (14)	3 ⁵⁷⁰ (1)	me (3)	
ACC (sg)	me (1)			
GEN (sg)	my (7)	myn ⁵⁷¹ (5)		
DAT (sg)	me (1)			
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (pl)				
ACC (pl)				
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (2)			
DAT (pl)				
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (sg)	þ ⁹ (1)	thou (1)		
ACC (sg)				
GEN (sg)	thy (3)	thyn (1)		
DAT (sg)				
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (pl)				
ACC (pl)	y ⁹ (1)			
GEN (pl)				
THIRD PERSON <i>masc.</i>				
NOM (sg)				
ACC (sg)	hym ⁹ (1)			
GEN (sg)	his (3)			
DAT (sg)	hym ⁹ (6)			
REFLEXIVE				
THIRD PERSON <i>fem</i>				
NOM (sg)				
ACC (sg)				
GEN (sg)				
DAT (sg)				
THIRD PERSON <i>pl.</i>				
NOM (pl)	they (2)			
ACC (pl)				
GEN (pl)	her ⁹ (4)	her (1)		
DAT (pl)	hem ⁹ (1)			
REFLEXIVE				
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	is (18)	isse (1)	ys (1)	

⁵⁷⁰ Folio 14r line 8 <3 schall haue>

⁵⁷¹ Before a vowel.

3 RD person (pl)	ben ⁹ (14)	
Subjunctive	be (2)	
TO BE Preterite		
1 ST person		
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)		
3 RD person (pl)		
Preterite subjunctive		
TO HAVE Indicative		
1 ST person	haue (5)	
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)	hath (4)	
3 RD person (pl)	haue (2)	
Subjunctive	haue (1)	
TO HAVE Preterite		
1 ST person		
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)		
3 RD person (pl)		
Preterite subjunctive		
TO COME Indicative		
1 ST person	com (1)	
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)	comes (3)	comys (1)
3 RD person (pl)	come (1)	
Subjunctive		
TO COME Preterite		
1 ST person		
2 ND person		
3 RD person (sg)		
3 RD person (pl)		
Preterite subjunctive		

V-WORDS

Z / ȝ WORDS

<t> for <d>

<t> for <þ>

<k> for <g>

<p> for

<d> for <þ>

<þ> for <y>

<y^f> for *þe⁵⁷²

BELIEVE

KING

KIN

KISS

LIVE

LIFE

OLD

SIN (n)

synnes* (1)

EARL

EARTH

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

⁵⁷² Folio 8v line 5 <ye relatif be suche case as the infinitive...>

KNEW
LIGHT
LOVE
WORTHY

Handy School, District, 1928
Membership Book

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Rugby School, Bloxam 1008

Mandeville's Travels

AFTER	aft ⁹ (34)	after (1)	eft ⁹ (1)	aftir (1)	
AGAINST	aʒen (7)	aʒens (2)	aʒeen ⁵⁷³ (1)	aʒeyn (1)	
AGAIN	aʒe (8)	aʒē (6)	aʒen (3)	aʒeen (1)	agayn (1)
ANY	eny (20)				
ASK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	asked (1)		askeþ (1)		
			askede (2)		
			asked (2)		
			axed (1)		
BEFORE	bi fore (16)	bi for ⁹ (12)	bi for (2)	a fore (1)	or (1)
BOTH	boþe (3)				
BURN	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
				bren (1)	
				brenneþ (1)	
				brende (1)	
				bor (3)	
BUT	bote (114)	bur (8)	bute (5)		
CHURCH	chirche (17)	cherche (3)	chirches* (2)		
COULD					
DAY(S)	dai (24)	day (2)	daies* (5)	daies* (5)	
DID	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	do (1)		dop (2)	dop (7)	
			dop (1)		
			dide (7)	dide (1)	
EACH	eche (28)	echon (1)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL	yuel (11)	yuelle (1)	yvel ⁵⁷⁴ (1)		
EYE(S)	yen* (1)				
FIRE	fuyr ⁹ (1)				
FIRST	ferst (4)	ferste (3)	furste (3)	fruste (1)	ffruste ⁵⁷⁵ (1)
	first (2)	fū'ste (1)	fferste (1)	fferst (1)	
GIVE	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			ʒaf (4)	ʒef (1)	
			ʒef (3)		
			for ʒaf (1)		
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
	wente (1)		ʒede (3)	goþ (56)	
			wente (2)	gon (2)	
			heier (1)	goop (1)	
			hilles* (9)	goip (1)	
			if (2)	plural pret	
			lōd ⁵⁷⁶ (1)	londes* (8)	londis* (1)
HIGH	heij (5)	hiʒt (1)	heier (1)	heyʒ (1)	
HILL	hille (21)	hulle (4)	hilles* (9)	hillis* (2)	
IF	if (38)	ʒif (2)	if (2)	ef (1)	
LAND	lond (94)	londe (9)	lōd ⁵⁷⁶ (1)	londes* (8)	londis* (1)
	lōdes* * (1)				
LITTLE	litol (20)	litel (5)	litl (1)	lytil (1)	
-LY	-li (21)	-ly (3)	-liche (3)		
MAN	man (72)	mā (13)	ma (1)	mānys* (1)	māys* (1)
	mankende (1)				

⁵⁷³ Folio 8v line 7⁵⁷⁴ Adverb⁵⁷⁵ Sentence initial⁵⁷⁶ Line-final

MANY	many (54)	meny (33)	mani (1)	manye (1)	
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> myte (7) myzt (6) almysti (1)	<u>plural</u> myzt (2)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mysti (4)	al mysti (2)		mytiste (1)	
MUCH	moche (25)	muche (1)			
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL, etc	nadde (1)				
NOT	not (76)	nouzt (9)	nozt (2)		
OWN	owne (3)	ovne (1)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> schel (4) schelle (2) schal (1)	<u>2nd person</u> schelt (1)	<u>3rd person</u> schel (49)	<u>plural</u> schulle (20) schel (12) schul (3) schulleþ (3) schelle (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> scholde (1) schulde (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> scholde (13) schulde (3) schold (1) schulden (1)	<u>plural</u> scholde (8)	
SINCE					
SUCH	siche (6)	suche (1)			
THAN	þā (12)	þan (4)	þāne (1)	þēne (1)	
THEN	þāne (32) þanne (1)	þēne (17) siþþen (1)	þā (4) þān (1)	þan (2) than (1)	þenne (2)
THERE	þ ⁹ (189) þeder (1)	þ ⁹ e (54)	þer (14)	þer ⁹ (7)	þere (2)
THESE	þese (6)	þes (5)			
THOSE	þei (3)	þo (1)	þuse (1)	þis (1)	þes (1)
THINK					
(AL)THOUGH	þouȝ (9)	þouȝt (1)			
THROUGH	þourȝ (57)	þurȝ (4)	þo (2)		
TWO					
UNTIL	til (5)	tyl (1)			
OE hw-words (wh) (150)	when (31) what (8) whēne (4) whā (2) whyche (1) wan (4) war (2) huche (1) wheneþ ⁵⁸² (1)	wher ⁹ (16) whar (7) whan (3) whete (1) whenne (1) wat (4) wēne (1)	whan (15) who (6) whit ⁵⁷⁷ (3) whilis ⁵⁷⁸ (1) whed ⁹ (1) wiche (2) wā ⁵⁸¹ (1)	whiche (21) white (5) whē (2) whiles (1) while (1) wer ⁵⁷⁹ (2) wyche (1)	whar ⁹ (11) wham (5) whom (2) whee (1) whi (1) wer ⁵⁸⁰ (2) wile (1)
(w) (20)					
(h) (1)					
hypercorrection (1)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> wol (4)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wol (7) wil (1)	<u>plural</u> wolleþ (1) wolle (1) wol (1)	
WILL (n)	wille (2)				
WITH(OUT)	wiþ (95)	wyþ (5)	w ⁵⁸³ (5)	wid (1)	
WORLD	world (18)	worlde (10)	worle (2)	worli (3)	worliche (1)
WOULD	<u>1st person</u> wolde (2)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> wolde (18) wold (1)	<u>plural</u> wolde (3)	
YET	ȝit (13)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (60)	me ⁵⁸⁴ (1)			
ACC (sg)	me (5)				
GEN (sg)	my (6)				
DAT (sg)	me (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (14)				

⁵⁷⁷ 'white'⁵⁷⁸ 'whiles'⁵⁷⁹ 'where'⁵⁸⁰ 'where'⁵⁸¹ Line-final⁵⁸² 'weneth' 'believe'⁵⁸³ Line-final⁵⁸⁴ 'me thinkth'

ACC (pl)	ous (10)				
GEN (pl)	our ⁹ (64)	our (1)			
DAT (pl)	ous (4)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)	þou (2)	þ ⁿ (1)			
ACC (sg)	þou (1)				
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ȝe (30)				
ACC (pl)	ȝow (9)	ȝow (2)			
GEN (pl)	ȝour ⁹ (4)	ȝour (1)			
DAT (pl)	ȝow (1)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (285)	hym (1)			
ACC (sg)	hym (72)	hī (6)	hy ⁵⁸⁵ (1)		
GEN (sg)	his (103)	is ⁵⁸⁶ (15)			
DAT (sg)	hym (22)	hī (3)	hy (1)		
REFLEXIVE	hym silf (3)	hy (2)	hym sylf (1)	hym (1)	hy silf (1)
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)	ȝeo (49)	heo ⁵⁸⁷ (1)			
ACC (sg)	hir ⁹ (21)	hir (3)			
GEN (sg)	hir ⁹ (11)	hir (3)			
DAT (sg)	hir ⁹ (2)	hir (1)			
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	þei (346)	þ ^e i ⁵⁸⁸ (8)	þe ⁵⁸⁹ (3)	þeie (3)	
	hi (2)	þay (1)	ham ⁵⁹⁰ (1)	hy (1)	
ACC (pl)	ham (31)	hem (23)			
GEN (pl)	hir ⁹ (79)	hir (8)	hire (1)		
DAT (pl)	hem (9)	ham (7)			
REFLEXIVE	ham (5)	hem (3)	hem silf (1)		
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	is (407)	buþ (3)			
3 RD person (pl)	buþ (153)	ben (1)			
Subjunctive	be (3)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person	was (2)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (157)	wer ⁹ (3)			
3 RD person (pl)	wer ⁹ (17)	were (1)	was ⁵⁹¹ (1)		
Preterite subjunctive	wer ⁹ (15)				
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	haue (16)	haf (1)			
2 ND person	hast (1)				
3 RD person (sg)	haþ (39)				
3 RD person (pl)	haue (22)	habbeþ (17)	hauen (6)	haþ (4)	haueþ (2)
	habbe (1)	habeþ (1)	habben (1)	haveþ (1)	
	haue (1)				
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person	hauede (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (22)	hade (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (2)				
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person	come (1)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	comeþ (9)				

⁵⁸⁵ Line-final⁵⁸⁶ Genitive inflection⁵⁸⁷ Folio 15r line 18⁵⁸⁸ Mostly line-final⁵⁸⁹ Folio 16r line 30⁵⁹⁰ 'Ham nedeþ'⁵⁹¹ Folio 16r line 2 <þe walles aboute was XXV mile> *N.B. this is an error that has been copied

3 RD person (pl)	comeþ (20)	come (6)			
Subjunctive	come (3)	com (1)	cam (1)		
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (5)	com (4)	cam (3)		
3 RD person (pl)	come (3)	cam (3)			
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS	<viþ> for 'five' (1)	<filony> 'villany' (1)	<schafe> 'shave' (1)		
Z / ȝ WORDS					
<t> for <d>					
<k> for <g>	<stang> for 'stank' ⁵⁹² (1)				
<p> for 	<constantynoble> for 'constantinople' (1)				
<d> for <t>	<sauden> for 'sultan' (1)				
<d> for <þ>	fader (12)	hider (2)	þeder (5)	oder (3)	moder (3)
	gadired (3)	to geder (3)	erde (1)	wedir ⁵⁹³ (1)	dynges ⁵⁹⁴ (1)
	<wid> for 'with' (1)	<schede> for 'sheathe' (1)	<feder> for 'feater' (2)	whed ⁹ (1)	<þrank> for 'drank' (1)
	<furder> for 'further' (1)	weder ⁵⁹⁵ (1)	a noder (1)		
<t> for <þ>	<trone> for 'throne' (1)				
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	plural	
KING	kyng (31)	kig ⁵⁹⁶ (9)	kyng ⁹ (1)	troweþ (1)	kyngdom (7)
	kyndom (9)	kyndoms* (2)	kídom (2)	kynges* (5)	kyngdomes* (1)
KIN				kynidom (1)	
KISS	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	plural	
LIVE	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	kysse (1)	
			lyueþ (1)	plural	
	1 st person pret	2 nd person pret	3 rd person pret	lyue (2)	
LIFE	lyue (3)	lyf (2)	lyuede (3)	liven (1)	
OLD	old (6)	okde (2)	lif (2)	alyue (1)	
SIN	synne (6)	synnes* (5)	of eld (1)		
EARL					
EARTH	erþe (11)	erde (1)	ȝerde (1)		
FIGHT (v)	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	plural	
			fíȝtíþ (1)		
FIGHT (n)	fíȝtyng (1)				
HEAVEN	heuene (8)				
KNOW	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	plural	
	wot (1)		wot (1)	wot (2)	
	1 st person pret	2 nd person pret	3 rd person pret	knowe (1)	
LIGHT	lytli (1)		knev (1)	plural pret	
LOVE	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	plural	
			loveþ (1)		
	1 st person pret	2 nd person pret	3 rd person pret	plural pret	
LOVE (n)	loue (6)		loued (1)	loued (1)	
WORTHY	worþi (5)	worþy (1)	worþiest (1)		

⁵⁹² Folio 18v line 15 <a stang ful of water>⁵⁹³ 'weather'⁵⁹⁴ 'things'⁵⁹⁵ 'weather'⁵⁹⁶ Line-final

Past participle marker

y- (22)

i- (3)

APPENDIX 5: Information on documentary texts surveyed from printed editions.

Devon

Two indentures written by William Coffyne, Lord of Alwyngton (1445 and 1456)

(1874). *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts (part I)*. pp378-9. London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode.

Six Ermington documents (1462 – 1473?)

(42) John Dymmok (a bailiff at Ermington) to John Warefield (officer?) (1420). p32.

(64) John Frende to Thomas Stonor (c1462). p 56

(71) John Frende to Thomas Stonor (c1463). p63.

(80) John Frende v. Richard Fortescue (1466). p74.

(81) John Yeme to Thomas Stonor (1466?). p 77.

(126) Thomas Mathew to Thomas Stonor (1473?). p130.

Carpenter, C. (Ed.), (1996). *Kingford's Stonor Letters and Papers (1290 – 1483)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The letters and papers of John Shillingford, mayor of Exeter (1447 – 1450)

Letters 2,3,6,9,10,18,20,26 and 28.

Moore, S. A. (1872). *Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter (1447 – 50) (volume II)*. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons.

Will of Thomas Broke, Landowner of Holditch (1417)

Furnival, F. J. (Ed.), (1932). *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate*. pp26 - 28. (EETS 78). London: Trubner and Co.

Somerset

Bridgewater Borough Archives including (1446 – 1462) :

Award of arbitrators between John Davy and William Smyth. (1446). p 37.

Inventory of the ornaments of the parish church. (1447). p38.

Expense de receiptis predictis. (1448). p44.

Receipt of title deeds. (1448). p49.

Letter from Richard Brockyn to John Day (1451). p60.

Letter from William Browning and Robert Halswell to Richard Duke of York. (1454).

p67

Letter from Burgesses of Bridgewater to Cecily, Duchess of York. Petition for abatement of fee farm. (1460). p113.

Letter from Simon Rye of Langport (South-East of Bridgewater) to John Kendale of Taunton. (1462). p121.

William at Welle and John Walsche. Evidence of certain deeds sworn before them.

Letter from Richard Clavelleshay to John Brokhampton. (1453). p141.

Dilks, T. B. (Ed.), (1945). *Bridgewater Borough Archives (1424 - 1462)*. (Somerset Record Society 60). Yeovil: Somerset Record Society.

Yatton churchwardens' accounts (1445 - 1523)

Hobhouse, B. (Ed.), (1890). *Churchwardens' Accounts of Yatton, Somerset (1445-1523)*. Yeovil: Somerset Record Society. pp81 – 139.

APPENDIX 5: Linguistic Profiles for documentary texts.

Two indentures dated 3rd February 1445 and 15th May 1456 written
by the then Lord of Alwington, William Coffyne

AFTER				
AGAINST				
AGAIN				
ANY				
ASK				
BEFORE	a fore (1)			
BOTH	bothe (1)			
BURN(T)				
BUT	but (1)			
CHURCH				
COULD				
DAY(S)	day (1)			
DO				
EACH				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR				
EVIL				
EYE(S)				
FIRE				
FIRST				
GIVE				
GO				
HIGH				
HILL				
IF				
LAND	londes ⁵⁹⁷ (3)			
LITTLE				
-LY	-ly (2)			
MAN				
MANY				
MIGHT (v)				
MIGHT (n/Aj)				
MUCH				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc				
NOT	nofte (1)			
OWN	owne (1)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>Plural</u>
			schal (1)	
			shal (1)	
SHOULD				
SINCE				
SUCH	suche (1)	schoche (1)		
THAN				
THEN				
THERE	there (1)			
THESE				
THOSE				
THINK				
(AL)THOUGH				
THROUGH				
TWO				

⁵⁹⁷ Plural

UNTIL	tylle (1)			
OE hw-words (wh) (2)	wham (1)	whare (1)		
(w) (0)				
(h) (1)	hvete ⁵⁹⁸ (1)			
hypercorrection (0)				
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	wylle ⁵⁹⁹ (3)		wyll ⁶⁰⁰ (1)	
	wille ⁶⁰¹ (1)			
WILL (n)	wylle (1)	wyll (1)	wille (1)	
WITH(OUT)	wy3th (2)	weyth (1)		
WORLD				
WOULD				
YET				
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (sg)	y (6)			
ACC (sg)	me (1)			
GEN (sg)	my (17)			
DAT (sg)	me (1)			
REFLEXIVE	my selfe (1)			
FIRST PERSON				
NOM (pl)				
ACC (pl)				
GEN (pl)	oure (1)	our (1)		
DAT (pl)				
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (sg)				
ACC (sg)				
GEN (sg)				
DAT (sg)				
REFLEXIVE				
SECOND PERSON				
NOM (pl)				
ACC (pl)				
GEN (pl)				
THIRD PERSON <i>masc.</i>				
NOM (sg)	he (2)			
ACC (sg)				
GEN (sg)	hys (4)			
DAT (sg)	hym (1)			
REFLEXIVE				
THIRD PERSON <i>fem</i>				
NOM (sg)	schee (1)			
ACC (sg)				
GEN (sg)	here (1)			
DAT (sg)				
THIRD PERSON <i>pl.</i>				
NOM (pl)	thay (1)			
ACC (pl)				
GEN (pl)	herre (1)	their (1)		
DAT (pl)	tham (1)			
REFLEXIVE				
TO BE Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	ys (3)			
3 RD person (pl)	ben (1)			
Subjunctive	be (2)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)				
Preterite subjunctive				
TO HAVE Indicative				

⁵⁹⁸ 'wheat'⁵⁹⁹ 'Intend/want/wish'⁶⁰⁰ 'Intend/want/wish'⁶⁰¹ 'Intend/want/wish'

1ST person have (1)
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg) hath (1)
 3RD person (pl) have (1)
 Subjunctive have (1)

TO HAVE Preterite

1ST person
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg)
 3RD person (pl)

Preterite subjunctive

TO COME Indicative

1ST person
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg)
 3RD person (pl)

Subjunctive

TO COME Preterite

1ST person
 2ND person
 3RD person (sg)
 3RD person (pl)

Preterite subjunctive

V-WORDS

Z / ȝ WORDS

<ð> for <d>
 <k> for <g>
 <p> for
 <d> for <þ> broder (1)
 <þ> for <y>

BELIEVE

KING

KIN

KISS

LIVE

LIFE lyve (1)

OLD

SIN

EARL

EARTH

FIGHT (n/v)

HEAVEN

KNEW

LIGHT

LOVE

WORTHY

Past participle marker y- (2)

Six texts written by the Ermington (Devonshire) correspondants, in a collection of letters pertaining to the Stonor family of Stonor Park in the Thames Valley

AFTER	after (3)	afir (1)			
AGAINST	ageynst (4)	ayenste (3)	ayenst (3)	ageyn (1)	
AGAIN	ayen (1)				
ANY	ony (3)	eny (2)	any (1)		
ASK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> askyth (1)	<u>plural</u>	
BEFORE	before (2)				
BOTH	boþ (1)				
BURN(T)					
BUT	but (15)	bote (1)	bott (1)		
CHURCH	cherche (1)				
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> cowde (2)	
DAY(S)	day (2)	dayes* (1)	dayys* (1)	daily (1)	dayly (1)
DID	<u>1st person</u> do (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> doþ (1)	<u>plural</u>	
EACH					
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	noþer (1)				
EVIL					
EYE(S)					
FIRE					
FIRST	fyrst (1)				
GIVE					
GO	<u>1st person pret</u> went (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
HIGH					
HILL					
IF	yf (4)	yff (1)			
LAND	londe (2)	land (2)	londys* (1)		
LITTLE					
-LY	-ly (20)				
MAN	man (1)				
MANY	many (2)	meny (1)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> myzt (2) myth (1)	<u>plural</u> myzt (2)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	almyzthy (1)	almyzty (1)			
MUCH	moche (2)	mycche (2)	myche (1)		
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc	nel (1)				
NOT	not (5) notte (1)	noȝtt (2) noght (1)	noȝth (2) noȝht (1)	nat (2)	noȝt (2)
OWN	oune (2)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u> shal (1) shall (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> schalbe (2) schall (1) schal (1)	<u>plural</u> schalbe (2) shalle (1) schol (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u> schuld (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> schuld (2) scholde (1)	
SINCE	sithen (1)				
SUCH	suche (2)	such (2)			
THAN	þanne (1)	than (1)			
THEN	then (1)				
THERE	ther (19)	þer (3)	there (3)	thair (1)	thens (1)
THESE	this (1)				
THOSE					
THINK					
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH					
TWO					

UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (27)	which (6)	what (5)	whiche (3)	wherfore (2)	when (1)
	why (1)	wherapon (1)	wech (1)	whycche (1)	whane (1)
	wherefore (1)	wherfore (1)	wher (1)	where (1)	
(w) (0)	wycche (1)				
(h) (0)					
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wille (1)		will (2)	wil (1)	
			wolle (1)	wyll (1)	
				wol (1)	
WILL (n)	wyll (1)				
WITH(OUT)	with (14)	wyth (1)			
WORLD	world (1)	worly ⁶⁰² (1)			
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wold (1)		wolde (5)	wold (1)	
	wolde (1)			wolde (1)	
	jutt (3)	yette (2)			
YET					
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (34)	I (21)	me ⁶⁰³ (1)		
ACC (sg)	me (13)				
GEN (sg)	my (14)	myn (2)			
DAT (sg)	me (4)				
REFLEXIVE	me (7)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (1)				
ACC (pl)	us (1)				
GEN (pl)	our (1)				
DAT (pl)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON	ȝe (14)	ye (8)			
NOM (pl)	you (14)	yov (3)	yowe (3)		
ACC (pl)	your (13)	youre (12)	yowe (6)		
GEN (pl)	you (2)	yov (2)	yowe (1)		
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (28)				
ACC (sg)	hym (13)				
GEN (sg)	his (28)	hys (3)	is ⁶⁰⁴ (2)	ys ⁶⁰⁵ (2)	
DAT (sg)	hym (7)	him (1)			
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)	hure (2)				
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	ȝay (3)	thay (2)	they (1)		
ACC (pl)	ham (5)	them (1)			
GEN (pl)	ther (1)				
DAT (pl)	ham (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (2)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	is (20)	ys (10)			
3 RD person (pl)	bethe (1)				
Subjunctive	be (1)				
TO BE Preterite					

⁶⁰² Adjective⁶⁰³ 'me thinketh'. Impersonal construction.⁶⁰⁴ Genitive inflection⁶⁰⁵ Genitive inflection

1 ST person	was (2)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	was (7)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (1)			
Preterite subjunctive	were (1)			
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person	have (8)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	hath (7)	hap (3)	hathe (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	have (3)	havyth (2)		
Subjunctive	have (1)			
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person	hadde (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	had (5)			
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (1)			
Preterite subjunctive				
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	comyth (1)			
3 RD person (pl)				
Subjunctive	come (1)			
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person				
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)				
Preterite subjunctive				
V-WORDS	fochesafe ⁶⁰⁶ (1)			
Z / ȝ WORDS				
<t> for <d>				
<k> for <g>				
<p> for 				
<d> for <þ>	furdermore (2)	ffader (1)		
<þ> for <y>				
BELIEVE				
KING	kyng (2)	kynges* (1)		
KIN				
KISS				
LIVE				
LIFE	lyffe (1)	lyf (1)		
OLD	olde (1)	yold (1)		
SIN				
EARL				
EARTH				
FIGHT (n/v)				
HEAVEN				
KNEW	<u>1st person</u> can (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> knowe (2)
	<u>1st person pret</u> wot (2)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
	wet (1)			
LIGHT				
LOVE				
LOVE (n)	love (1)			
WORTHY				
Past participle marker	y- (12)	i- (1)		

⁶⁰⁶ Text 3 line 2 after list of names. <ye will fothesafe to hold me escusyde>

The letters and papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447-50

AFTER	after (31)			
AGAINST	ayenst (7)			
AGAIN	ayen (9)			
ANY	eny (17)	any (1)		
ASK	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
				asked (1)
BEFORE	be fore (24)	to fore (2)	or (2)	afore (2)
BOTH	bothe (11)			
BURN(T)				
BUT	but (26)	bot (9)	bote (1)	
CHURCH	churche (8)			
COULD	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
	cowde (2)		coude (1)	
DAY(S)	dey (27)	day (16)		
DO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	do (1)			
	don (1)			
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
	didde (1)		did (2)	didde (1)
				dide (1)
EACH				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	ayther (2)	nother...ne... (1)		
EVIL	yvell (1)			
EYE(S)				
FIRE				
FIRST	furst (12)			
GET				
GIVE				
GO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
	went (4)		went (3)	
HIGH	high (4)	highnesse (1)		
HILL				
IF	yf (28)	if (2)		
LAND				
LITTLE	litell (5)			
-LY	-ly (63)	-lye (1)	-ley (1)	
MAN	man (13)			
MANY	meny (10)	many (3)		
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	myght (2)		myght (9)	myght (6)
	myghte (1)		myghte (2)	
			might (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)				
MUCH	myche (13)	moche (8)	much (1)	
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc				
NOT	not (35)	noght (1)		
OWN	awne (7)			
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	shall (1)		shall (8)	shall (25)
			shalbe (2)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
	sholde (7)		sholde (16)	sholde (9)
	scholde (2)		shold (1)	
	shold (1)			
SINCE	sythenys (3)	sithen (3)		
SUCH	suche (9)	such (1)		
THAN	then (3)	than (3)		
THEN	then (8)	þen (1)		
THERE	ther (55)	there (12)	thider (1)	
THESE	these (5)	thes (1)		
THOSE	tho (1)			
THINK	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>
				thynke (1)
	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>
	thoght (2)			

(AL)THOUGH	thoughte (1)				
THROUGH	thogh (1)				
TWO	two (1)				
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (97)	whiche (38)	what (21)	wher (12)	wham (6)	when (4)
	wherapon (4)	while (3)	which (2)	wham (2)	where (2)
	who (1)	whan (1)	whom (1)		
(w) (0)					
(h) (0)					
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	woll (3)		woll (3)	woll (6)	
	wolle (1)		will (2)	wyll (1)	
WILL (n)	will (3)	wyl (2)			
WITHOUT	w' (51)	with (31)	wyth (1)		
WORLD					
WOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
	wolde (5)		wolde (21)	wolde (8)	
	wold (2)		wold (4)	wold (1)	
				would (1)	
YET	yet (12)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (sg)	y (152)	I (4)	me ⁶⁰⁷ (4)		
ACC (sg)	me (20)				
GEN (sg)	my (147)	myn (5)	myne (1)		
DAT (sg)	me (12)				
Reflexive	me (7)	myself (3)			
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (32)				
ACC (pl)	us (3)	ous (1)			
GEN (pl)	our (9)	oure (9)			
DAT (pl)	us (2)	ous (1)			
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (45)	y' (1)			
ACC (pl)	yow (27)	you (8)			
GEN (pl)	y ^{ou} (30)	your (16)	youre (5)	y' (1)	
DAT (pl)	yow (6)	you (2)			
Reflexive	yow (2)				
THIRD PERSON masc.					
NOM (sg)	he (115)				
ACC (sg)	hym (53)	him (2)			
GEN (sg)	his (99)	hys (2)	is ⁶⁰⁸ (9)		
DAT (sg)	hym (33)	him (1)			
REFLEXIVE	hym self (2)	him self (1)	hym (1)		
THIRD PERSON fem					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)	hir (1)				
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON pl.					
NOM (pl)	they (52)	þey (1)	dey ⁶⁰⁹ (1)		
ACC (pl)	ham (10)	them (6)	tham (1)	theym (1)	
GEN (pl)	their (9)	theire (4)	her (1)		
DAT (pl)	them (2)				
REFLEXIVE					
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person	am (2)				
2 ND person					

⁶⁰⁷ 'me thought' and 'as me aught'⁶⁰⁸ Genitive inflection⁶⁰⁹ XVIII p 46 line 24

3 RD person (sg)	is (38)	ys (5)		
3 RD person (pl)	beth (4)	buth (1)	ben (1)	
Subjunctive	be (3)			
TO BE Preterite				
1 ST person	was (2)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	was (69)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (10)	war (1)	was (1)	
Preterite subjunctive	were (6)	wer (3)		
TO HAVE Indicative				
1 ST person	have (14)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	hath (25)			
3 RD person (pl)	have (7)	hath (1)		
Subjunctive				
TO HAVE Preterite				
1 ST person	hadde (11)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	hadde (21)	had (5)		
3 RD person (pl)	hadde (9)	had (2)		
Preterite subjunctive				
TO COME Indicative				
1 ST person	come (1)			
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)				
3 RD person (pl)				
Subjunctive				
TO COME Preterite				
1 ST person	came (5)	come (2)		
2 ND person				
3 RD person (sg)	came (4)			
3 RD person (pl)	came (4)			
Preterite subjunctive				
V-WORDS				
Z / ȝ WORDS	<nerthelez> for 'nevertheless' (4)	nothelez (1)		
<d> for <t>				
<k> for <g>				
<p> for 				
<d> for <þ>	togeder (3)	fader (3)	thider (1)	dey ⁶¹⁰ (1)
<þ> for <y>				
BELIEVE				
KING	kyng (5)	kynges* (5)	kings* (1)	
KIN				
KISS				
LIVE				
LIFE	lyvyng (1)			
OLD	old (1)	olde (1)		
SIN				
EARL				
EARTH				
FIGHT (n/v)				
HEAVEN				
KNEW	<u>1st person</u> can (2)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> knowe (2)
	<u>1st person pret</u> cowde (1)	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u> knyw (2)	<u>plural pret</u> cowd (1)
	coude (1)		cowde (2)	
			knywe (1)	
LIGHT				
LOVE	love (1)			
LOVE (n)	worthy (8)	worthiest (1)	unworthy (1)	
WORTHY	y- (12)			
Past participle marker				

⁶¹⁰ 'they' see previous page

Will of Thomas Broke, Landowner of Holditch (Devon)

AFTER					
AGAINST					
AGAIN					
ANY	any (1)	eny (1)			
ASK					
BEFORE	tofor (2)				
BOTH					
BURN(T)					
BUT	bote (2)	bot (1)			
CHURCH	church (2)				
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (1)				
DO	<u>1st person</u> do (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
EACH					
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	no...nop ⁹ (1)				
EVIL					
EYE(S)					
FIRE					
FIRST					
GIVE	<u>1st person</u> ȝeue (1)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
GO	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> goth (1)	
HIGH	hye (1)				
HILL					
IF	ȝyf (1)	yf (1)	if (1)	iff (1)	
LAND					
LITTLE					
-LY	-lych (1)				
MAN	man(3)	ma ⁹ (1)	mankynd (1)		
MANY	many (1)				
MIGHT (v)					
MIGHT (n/Aj)	allmyȝty (1)				
MUCH					
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	nouȝte (3)				
OWN	owe (1)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> schullen (1)	
SHOULD					
SINCE					
SUCH	such (1)				
THAN					
THEN					
THERE	þar ⁹ (1)	þ ⁹ (1)			
THESE					
THOSE					
THINK					
(AL)THOUGH	ȝouȝe ⁶¹¹ (1)				
THROUGH					
TWO	twey (1)				
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (6)	wher ⁹ (2)	white (1)	whetch ⁶¹² (1)	whether ⁹ (1)	whanne (1)
(w) (0)					
(h) (1)	hole (1)				
hypercorrection (0)					
WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u> will (2)	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u> will (1)	
WILL (n)	will (1)	wyll (1)			

⁶¹¹ 'though'

⁶¹² 'hutch'? chest, coffin

WITH(OUT)	w' (2)	witt (1)	
WORLD			
WOULD			
YET			
FIRST PERSON			
NOM (sg)	I (8)	ych (2)	ich (1)
ACC (sg)	me (4)		
GEN (sg)	my (18)	myn ⁹ (2)	myn (1)
DAT (sg)	me (2)		
FIRST PERSON			
NOM (pl)			
ACC (pl)			
GEN (pl)	oure (2)		
DAT (pl)			
REFLEXIVE			
SECOND PERSON			
NOM (sg)			
ACC (sg)			
GEN (sg)			
DAT (sg)			
REFLEXIVE			
SECOND PERSON			
NOM (pl)			
ACC (pl)			
GEN (pl)			
THIRD PERSON <i>masc.</i>			
NOM (sg)			
ACC (sg)	him (1)	hym ⁹ (1)	
GEN (sg)	his (5)		
DAT (sg)	him (1)	hym ⁹ (1)	
REFLEXIVE	hy (1)		
THIRD PERSON <i>fem</i>			
NOM (sg)			
ACC (sg)			
GEN (sg)			
DAT (sg)			
THIRD PERSON <i>pl.</i>			
NOM (pl)	þey (3)	they (1)	
ACC (pl)	ham (3)	hame (1)	
GEN (pl)	her ⁹ (1)	hir ⁹ (1)	
DAT (pl)	ham (1)		
REFLEXIVE			
TO BE Indicative			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)	is (2)		
3 RD person (pl)			
Subjunctive	be (7)		
TO BE Preterite			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Preterite subjunctive			
TO HAVE Indicative			
1 ST person	haue (4)		
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Subjunctive			
TO HAVE Preterite			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Preterite subjunctive			
TO COME Indicative			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			

Texts pertaining to the borough of Bridgewater (Somerset), (1446-54)

AFTER	after (6)	afftere (1)			
AGAINST	ayenste (1)				
AGAIN					
ANY	any (1)				
ASK					
BEFORE	afore (12)	before (4)	by fore (2)	to fore (1)	bi fore (1)
BOTH	bothe (1)				
BURNT	brent (1)				
BUT	bote (2)	but (1)			
CHURCH	chirche (6)	chyrche (1)	churche (1)	churchis* (1)	
COULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			coude (1)		
DAY(S)	day (25)	dais* (16)	days* (9)		
DO	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			dede (1)		
EACH	eache (2)	eche (2)			
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	neþer..no.. (1)				
EVIL					
EYE(S)					
FIRE					
FIRST	firste (1)				
GIVE	<u>1st person pret</u>	<u>2nd person pret</u>	<u>3rd person pret</u>	<u>plural pret</u>	
			yaff (2)		
			yaf (1)		
GO					
HIGH	hye (3)	high (3)	hye (2)		
HILL					
IF	if (3)	yf (2)			
LAND	londis* (1)				
LITTLE					
-LY	-ly (20)	-liche (1)			
MAN	man (1)				
MANY	meny (1)	many (1)			
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
				myght (1)	
MIGHT (n/Aj)	mighty (1)	myghty (1)	allmigty (1)		
MUCH	moche (2)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	not (3)				
OWN	owne (1)				
SHALL	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			shall (2)	schal (2)	
			schal (1)	shall (1)	
SHOULD	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
			schuld (1)		
			schold (1)		
SINCE					
SUCH	soche (2)	suche (1)			
THAN					
THEN	then (3)				
THERE	there (8)	ther (3)	þerto (2)	therfor (2)	þere (1)
	therupon (1)	þerin (1)	therof (1)		
	thes (2)	these (1)			
THESE					
THOSE					
THINK					
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH	thurgh (1)				
TWO	two (1)				
UNTIL	tyl (1)				
OE hw-words (wh) (33)	whiche (9)	white (6)	which (5)	when (4)	where (1)
	wherof (1)	whos (1)	who (1)	wherapon (1)	while (1)
	wherfore (1)	whome (1)	whom (1)		
(w) (4)	wyche (2)	wych (1)	werefore (1)		
(h) (1)	ho (1)				
hypercorrection (0)					

WILL (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
WILL (n/Aj)	wyll (1)		woll (1)	wyll (1)	
WITH(OUT)	wilfully (1)				
WORLD	w' (23)	with (2)			
WOULD	world (1)				
	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u>	<u>plural</u>	
YET			wolde (2)		
FIRST PERSON			wold (1)		
NOM (sg)	y (9)	I (8)			
ACC (sg)	me (2)				
GEN (sg)	my (4)				
DAT (sg)	me (1)				
REFLEXIVE	me (1)				
FIRST PERSON					
NOM (pl)	we (3)				
ACC (pl)	us (4)	vs (1)			
GEN (pl)	oure (5)	our (4)	owre (4)		
DAT (pl)	us (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)	þe (1)				
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
REFLEXIVE					
SECOND PERSON					
NOM (pl)	ye (3)				
ACC (pl)	yow (5)	you (3)			
GEN (pl)	your (25)	yowr (5)	yowre (3)	youre (1)	
DAT (pl)	you (1)				
THIRD PERSON ^{masc.}					
NOM (sg)	he (12)				
ACC (sg)	hym (10)				
GEN (sg)	hys (2)	his (1)	ys (1)	is ⁶¹³ (4)	his ⁶¹⁴ (1)
DAT (sg)	hym (1)				
REFLEXIVE					
THIRD PERSON ^{fem}					
NOM (sg)					
ACC (sg)					
GEN (sg)					
DAT (sg)					
THIRD PERSON ^{pl.}					
NOM (pl)	they (14)				
ACC (pl)	them (6)	theym (4)	hem (2)	þeme (1)	
GEN (pl)	here (4)	their (4)	there (4)		
DAT (pl)	them (5)	theym (1)			
REFLEXIVE	hem (1)				
TO BE Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	is (7)	ys (3)			
3 RD person (pl)	be (1)				
Subjunctive	be (2)				
TO BE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	was (5)	were (1)			
3 RD person (pl)	were (8)	ben (3)	been (1)		
Preterite subjunctive					
TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person	have (2)				
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	hath (2)	hat (1)	hathe (1)		
3 RD person (pl)	have (8)	hath (1)	haue (1)	haf (1)	
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					

⁶¹³ Genitive inflection⁶¹⁴ Genitive inflection

1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)	had (2)	hadde (1)	
3 RD person (pl)	had (3)		
Preterite subjunctive			
TO COME Indicative			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Subjunctive			
TO COME Preterite			
1 ST person			
2 ND person			
3 RD person (sg)			
3 RD person (pl)			
Preterite subjunctive			
V-WORDS	<haf> 'have' (3)	<abofe> 'above' (2)	<verthe> 'fourth' (1)
Z / ȝ WORDS			
<t> for <d>			
<k> for <g>			
<p> for 			
<d> for <þ>	to gedyr (1)		
<þ> for <y>			
BELIEVE			
FLY/FLEW			
KING	kyng (5)	kyng (1)	
KIN			
KISS			
LIVE			
LIFE	lyvis* (1)		
OLD	olde (3)	old (1)	
SIN			
EARL	erlle (1)		
EARTH			
FIGHT (n/v)			
HEAVEN			
KNEW			
LIGHT			
LOVE			
WORTHY			
Past participle marker	y- (2)		

Churchwardens' accounts at Yatton (Somerset) (1445-1523)

AFTER					
AGAINST	agen (2)	agenst (2)	agenste (2)	aye (2)	
	agenest (1)	agens (1)	ayenst (1)	ayens (1)	
AGAIN	ayene (1)				
ANY					
ASK					
BEFORE	be fore (4)	a fore (2)	by for (1)	by fore (1)	to fore (1)
BOTH					
BURN(T)	bernyng (1)	brenyngs (1)			
BUT	but (1)				
CHURCH	cherche (30)	church (22)	churche (16)	chyrch (8)	chorche (7)
	chyrche (4)	cherch (4)	chorch (2)	creche ⁶¹⁵ (1)	
COULD					
DAY(S)	day (15)	daye (1)	days* (3)	daies* (1)	
DO					
EACH	each (1)				
(N)EITHER...(N)OR					
EVIL					
EYE(S)	ye (1)				
FIRE	fyre (1)				
FIRST	fyrst (3)	fyrste (1)	furste (1)		
GIVE	yevyrs ⁶¹⁶ (1)				
GO					
HIGH	hye (15)	hy (1)	hey (1)	high (1)	
HILL	hyll (1)				
IF					
LAND	londe (1)	land (1)	londs* (1)		
LITTLE	lytyll (1)	little (1)	lytyl (1)		
-LY	-ly (1)				
MAN	man (9)	manys* (2)			
MANY					
MIGHT (v)	<u>1st person</u>	<u>2nd person</u>	<u>3rd person</u> might (1)	<u>plural</u>	
MIGHT (n/Aj)					
MUCH	much (1)				
NE+BE,HAVE,WILL etc					
NOT	not (1)				
OWN					
SHALL					
SHOULD					
SINCE					
SUCH	suche (1)	such (1)			
THAN					
THEN	then (1)				
THERE	ther (3)	there (2)			
THESE	these (1)				
THOSE					
THINK					
(AL)THOUGH					
THROUGH					
TWO	to (3)	too (1)			
UNTIL					
OE hw-words (wh) (19)	when (3)	whyche (2)	whelys ⁶¹⁷ (1)	whele ⁶¹⁸ (1)	wheche (1)
	which (1)	whyche (1)	qwych ⁶¹⁹ (1)	whan (1)	whyl (1)
	who (1)	whyte (1)	Whyttesonday (1)	Whitsontide (1)	Whyttsontyde (1)
	what (1)				
(w) (7)	wete ⁶²⁰ (4)	wyl ⁶²¹ (1)	Witsondaye ⁶²²	Wytwysday ⁶²³	

⁶¹⁵ Page 14 line 2⁶¹⁶ Plural noun⁶¹⁷ 'wheels'⁶¹⁸ 'wheel'⁶¹⁹ Northern spelling of 'which'

			(1)		(1)	
(h) (0)						
hypercorrection (2)	whome ⁶²⁴ (1)	whomwardys ⁶²⁵ (1)				
WILL 9v)						
WILL (n)						
WITH(OUT)	with (21)	wyth (2)				
WORLD						
WOULD						
YET						
FIRST PERSON	y (1)					
NOM (sg)						
ACC (sg)						
GEN (sg)	my (7)					
DAT (sg)						
FIRST PERSON						
NOM (pl)	we (10)					
ACC (pl)						
GEN (pl)	our (5)	owre (5)	owr (4)	oure (2)	howr ⁶²⁶ (1)	
DAT (pl)						
REFLEXIVE						
SECOND PERSON						
NOM (sg)						
ACC (sg)						
GEN (sg)						
DAT (sg)						
REFLEXIVE						
SECOND PERSON						
NOM (pl)						
ACC (pl)						
GEN (pl)						
THIRD PERSON masc.						
NOM (sg)	he (1)					
ACC (sg)	hym (2)					
GEN (sg)	his (12)	hys (6)	ys ⁶²⁷ (18)	hys ⁶²⁸ (1)		
DAT (sg)						
REFLEXIVE						
THIRD PERSON fem						
NOM (sg)						
ACC (sg)						
GEN (sg)	her (1)					
DAT (sg)						
THIRD PERSON pl.						
NOM (pl)	they (3)					
ACC (pl)	am (1)					
GEN (pl)	here (3)	there (1)				
DAT (pl)	ham (3)					
REFLEXIVE						
TO BE Indicative						
1 ST person						
2 ND person						
3 RD person (sg)	ys (5)	is (1)				
3 RD person (pl)	ben (2)	are (1)				
Subjunctive	be (1)					
TO BE Preterite						
1 ST person						
2 ND person						
3 RD person (sg)	was (3)					
3 RD person (pl)	were (1)	wer (1)				
Preterite subjunctive						

⁶²⁰ 'wheat'⁶²¹ 'while'⁶²² 'Whit Sunday'⁶²³ 'Whit Wednesday'⁶²⁴ 'home'⁶²⁵ 'homewards'⁶²⁶ Hypercorrected form⁶²⁷ Genitive inflection⁶²⁸ Genitive inflection

TO HAVE Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)	hath (2)		have (2)		
Subjunctive					
TO HAVE Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Preterite subjunctive					
TO COME Indicative					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)					
3 RD person (pl)					
Subjunctive					
TO COME Preterite					
1 ST person					
2 ND person					
3 RD person (sg)	come (1)				
3 RD person (pl)	cam (1)				
Preterite subjunctive					
V-WORDS					
	<vor> 'for' ⁶²⁹ (72)	<vylyng> 'felling' (2)	<Vallew> 'surname: Fallow?' (2)	<Valocks/e> 'surname: Falock(s)' (2)	<Vord> 'surname: Ford?' (1)
	<veche> 'fetch' (1)	<wote> ⁶³⁰ 'foot' (1)	<vetch> 'fetch' (1)	<varmynge> 'forming' (1)	<voupp> 'fold up' (1)
Z / ʒ WORDS					
<fh> for <g>					
<k> for <g>					
<p> for 					
<h/ ʒ> for <þ>					
<d> for <þ>	oder (3)		hydyr (1)	thyddyr (1)	moder (1)
<þ> for <y>					
BELIEVE					
KING					
KIN					
KISS					
LIVE					
LIFE					
OLD	old (6)	olde (4)	wolde (2)		
SIN					
EARL					
EARTH	erthe (2)				
FIGHT (n/v)					
HEAVEN					
KNEW					
LIGHT	light (2)	lyght (2)	lyte (1)	lygte (1)	lygth (1)
LOVE					
WORTHY					
Past participle marker	y- (26)	I- ⁶³¹ (16)			

⁶²⁹ Mostly recorded from the period 1446-48 while John Hyllman was warden.

⁶³⁰ <w> and <v> are often interchangeable in south-western and London dialects of this period.

⁶³¹ Mostly <I-paide> 'paid'



Item map 3: AGAINST.



Item map 4: ANY.



Item map 5: ASK.



Item map 6: BEFORE.



Item map 9: BUT



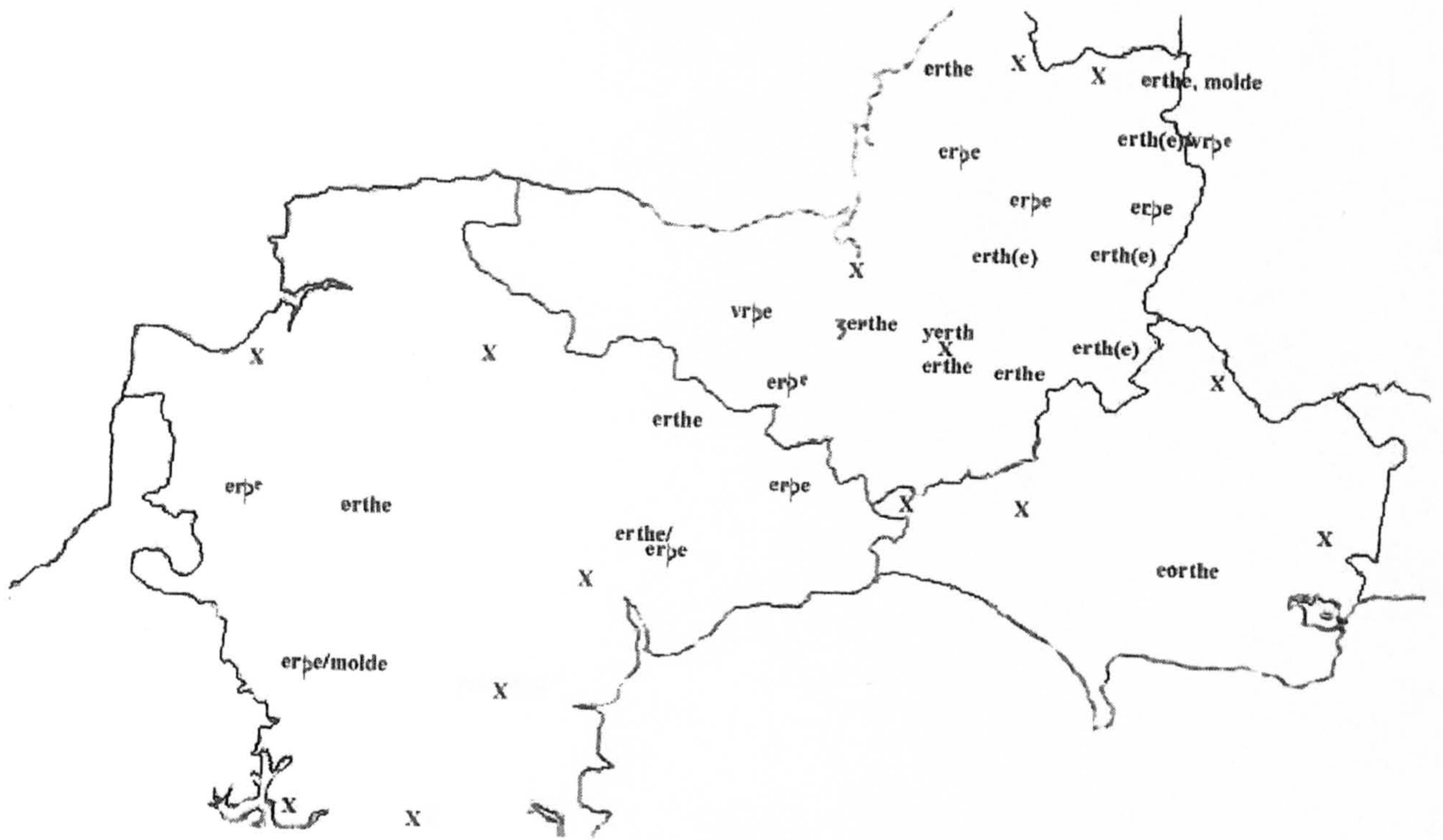
Item map 10: CHURCH.



Item map 13: EACH.



Item map 14: EARL.



Item map 15: EARTH.



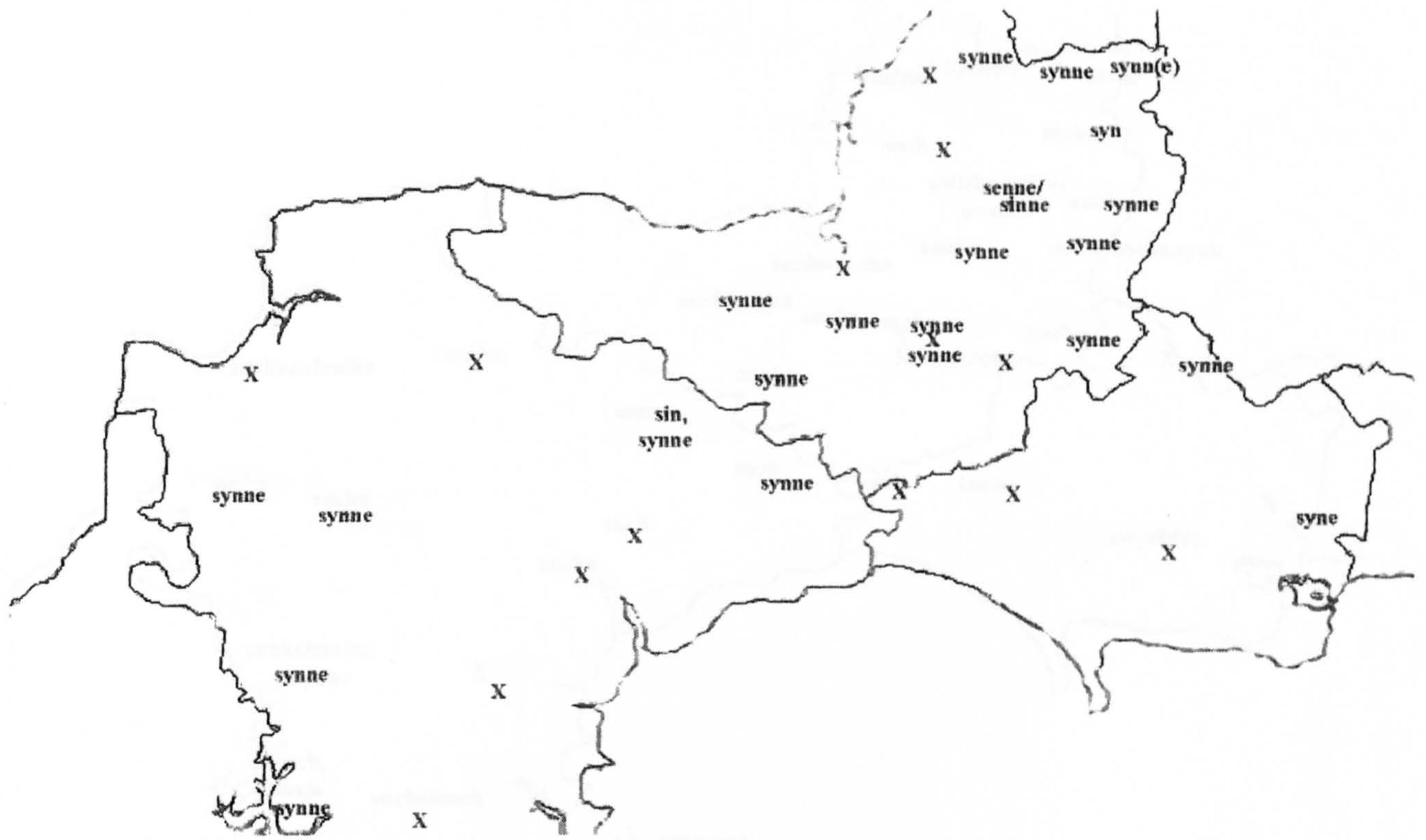
Item map 16: EVIL.



Item map 37: MUCH.



Item map 38: NOT.



Item map 43: SIN.



Item map 44: SINCE.



Item map 45: *SUCH*.



Item map 46: *THAN*.

