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A Dialect Analysis of Hymns and Poems to the Virgin and Christ and Other Religious Poems from Ms. Lambeth 853

Steven A. Weiler

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A DIALECT ANALYSIS OF HYMNS AND POEMS
TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST AND OTHER RELIGIOUS
POEMS FROM MS LAMBETH 853

by

Steven A. Weiler

Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota, 1979

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

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May

1982

This thesis submitted by Steven A. Weiler in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota is hereby approved by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done.

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AND OTHER RELIGIOUS POEMS FROM MS LAMBETH 853

Department English

Degree Master of Arts

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Signature Steven A Weiler

Date April 13, 1982

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This Thesis is dedicated to my mother and father, whose love
and support made this possible.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a dialect analysis of a select group of hymns and poems to the Virgin and Christ and other religious poems from MS Lambeth 853. It thoroughly examines the phonology of the vowels in words of Old English origin found in the MS and records all these words except for most of the unstressed conjunctions. It restricts examination of consonants to those phenomena which are considered conclusive in respect to dialect. It has both a compiled list of all pronoun forms according to person, number, case, and gender and an examination of such forms that are important in terms of dialect. It records all inflectional endings for present indicative verbs and discusses their significant dialect features. The Appendices include a set of dialect maps corresponding to each dialect feature discussed in the thesis, a summary of the developments of spelling exhibited by the MS, and a concordance of the material investigated.

The MS definitely exhibits a Southeast-Midlands character, a conclusion reached by my completing the following steps: one, preparation of a concordance; two, separation of all duplicate words; three, noting the stressed vowel of the accented syllable of the ME word, determination of its counterpart in Old English; four, separation of words according to parts of speech and analysis of features that are conclusive of dialect; and five, collation of data, thus pinpointing dialect region.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

MS LAMBETH 853

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS No. 853 is "a chubby vellum quarto, written in a large, clear, upright hand, which looked at first sight fourteenth century, but which museum authorities . . . put at about 1430 AD" (Furnivall, p. vii).

THE AIM AND SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION

The aim of this investigation is twofold: to trace the historical development of Old English words found in MS Lambeth 853; and to determine which dialect system is most likely to be the Middle English equivalent of the language of MS Lambeth 853.

The scope is an investigation of the most important dialect features of Hymns to the Virgin and Christ and other religious poems of MS Lambeth 853 found in Hymns to the Virgin & Christ, The Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems, chiefly from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS No. 853, originally edited for the Early English Text Society by Frederick J. Furnivall in 1868, but now reprinted by Greenwood Press, 1969. This thesis examines the phonology of the vowels in words of Old English origin found in the MS and records all these words except for most of the unstressed conjunctions. It restricts examination of consonants to those which are considered conclusive in respect to

dialect. It has both a compiled list of all pronoun forms according to person, number, case, and gender and an examination of such forms that are important in terms of dialect. It records all inflectional endings for present indicative verbs and discusses their significant dialect features.

METHODOLOGY

The following steps were taken to discover which of the five Middle English dialects is the dialect of the MS: one, preparation of a concordance of the material investigated; two, separation of all duplicate words; three, noting the stressed vowel of the accented syllable of the ME word, determination of its counterpart in Old English; four, separation of words according to parts of speech and analysis of features conclusive of dialects; and five, collation of data, thus pinpointing dialect region.

The portion of MS Lambeth 853 under investigation in this thesis covers the first 117 pages of Hymns to the Virgin & Christ, The Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems, chiefly from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS No. 853 (my concordance, Appendix 3 of this thesis, contains nearly 20,000 citations).

After collating the words in the concordance, I recorded and separated duplicate words, thereby leaving approximately 3500 words to be examined.

The stressed vowel in the accented syllable of the ME word having already been noted, I checked each word against the Middle English

Dictionary.¹ This step of research served two purposes: one, it determined if the word was a foreign borrowing, and if so, the word was noted and eliminated from further investigation; two, it indicated the OE equivalent of the ME word. When the etymology of the words was traced to Old English, the remaining words, roughly 2000, were checked against Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary to find the corresponding OE forms of the words. The stressed vowels of the accented syllables were then noted, and the words were collated according to OE stressed vowels. The results of this phase of the investigation are the heart of this thesis, as they are the single most important linguistic feature in fixing dialect.

The previous step completed, all words of OE origin were separated and grouped according to parts of speech. Since pronouns and verbs were of main interest in fixing dialect, the other words were set aside. Pronoun forms were collated and tabulated. The verbs were checked in the MS to determine tense; then the preterit forms were separated and eliminated from further research, as preterit verb forms are of little help in fixing dialect. The present tense verbs were checked against the MS to determine person and number, and the corresponding endings were noted, collated, and tabulated.

¹ I used the Kurath/Kuhn Dictionary for words beginning with letters A through O; from P on, the Stratmann Dictionary was used.

Throughout the investigation the following Roman numerals will be ascribed to their respective hymns or poems:

- i Veni, Coronaberis, a hymn, p. 1 of MS
- ii Hail, Blessed Mary, a hymn, p. 24 of MS
- iii Aue Maria, a hymn, pp. 26-27 of MS
- iv The Sweetness of Jesus, a poem, p. 14 of MS
- v Be my Coumfort, Christ Ihesus, a poem, p. 20 of MS
- vi Richard de Castre's Prayer to Jesus, a poem, p. 28 of MS
- vii Do Merci bifore Thi Jugement, a poem, p. 54 of MS
- viii The Love of Jesus, a poem, pp. 90-102 of MS
- ix Se What our Lord Suffride for our Sake, a poem, pp. 117-120 of MS
- x Y wiyte my silf myn own Woo, a poem, pp. 226-233 of MS
- xi The Virtues of the Name of Jesus, a poem, p. 88 of MS
- xii þe Deuelis Perlament, a poem, pp. 157-182 of MS
- xiii The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life, a poem, pp. 120-150 of MS
- xiv God send us Paciens in our Oolde Age, a poem, pp. 113-117 of MS
- xv This world is but a Vanyte, a poem, p. 58 of MS
- xvi This World is False and Vain, a poem, p. 32 of MS
- xvii Earth, a poem, p. 35 of MS
- xviii Reuertere, a poem, p. 61 of MS
- xix Merci Passith Ri₃twisnes, a poem, pp. 66-73 of MS
- xx The Belief, a poem, p. 39 of MS
- xxi The Ten Commandments, a poem, p. 47 of MS
- xxii Kepe Weel Cristis Comaundement, a poem, p. 49 of MS

xxiii The Sixtene Poyntis of Charite, a poem, p. 42 of MS

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS

REPRESENTATION OF OLD ENGLISH SOUNDS

OE a appears as a in ake (xiv, 25), answere (viii, 124), answeride (xii, 9; xii, 305; xix, 9), aslake (xiv, 47), asse (xiii, 303), baken (xiii, 399), balke (xviii, 47), bihatid (xvii, 24), binam (xviii, 34), can (iv, 104; vii, 65; viii, 22; viii, 186; viii, 271, ff.), candel (xiii, 369, xiii, 371), candelis (xiii, 373), canst (xix, 19; xix, 41; xix, 66), castels (xvii, 9), cradil (v, 17), craue (vii, 43; xv, 60), dar (xiii, 149; xiii, 256), dare (v, 45; x, 81; x, 93; xv, 55), farip (x, 78), fareweel (xiii, 111), fare (viii, 34; viii, 224; viii, 113; xiii, 327; xviii, 21, ff.), false (xii, 400), forsake (iv, 110; viii, 154; ix, 9; x, 60; xiii, 115, ff.), forsaken (xiii, 393; xiii, 494; xiii, 506), gadere (xii, 100), gadre (xiii, 330), gadriden (xii, 97), game (xiii, 3; xiii, 588, xxiii, 74), gamys (xiii, 291), gan (i, 27; i, 43; v, 6; v, 51; viii, 203, ff.), gladiþ (viii, 98), grame (xiii, 168), hand (viii, 53), hange (xiii, 346), handliþ (xii, 185), handle (xii, 431), hate (viii, 74; viii, 93; viii, 156; xii, 503; xiii, 546, ff.), haten (xiii, 395), hatid (xvii, a), hatiden (xiii, 383), hatis (xii, 372), haue (i, 15; iv, 2; iv, 6; iv, 8; iv, 59; ff.), kan (viii, 274; xviii, 120), lame (xii, 455),

lamme (i, 57), last (ii, 45; xiii, 487), laste (ix, 80; x, 127; xii, 252; xiii, 504; xvi, 39; ff.), made (i, 12; iv, 107; viii, 2; x, 9; x, 35; ff.), madist (vi, 1; vii, 27; vii, 42; xii, 287; xvii, 45), make (iv, 25; iv, 57; iv, 108; v, 45; vi, 11; ff.), maken (xiii, 600), maker (vii, 2), makid (xiii, 13; xvii, 21), makist (v, 69), makip (iv, 102; vii, 45; viii, 20; viii, 29; viii, 102; ff.), man (v, 5; v, 47; v, 46; v, 45; v, 37; ff.), manhede (iv, 78; ix, 47; xx, 25), manhode (xiii, 85; xiii, 252), mankinde (xii, 28; xii, 120; xii, 127; xiii, 1; xx, 18; ff.), manly (xii, 224), mannis (i, 12; v, 4; v, 75; xii, 64; xii, 66; ff.), mannys (v, 15; xii, 59; xiii, 392; xiii, 418), many (v, 28; ix, 63; x, 50; xi, 19; xiii, 17; ff.), manye (v, 76; x, 68; x, 73; xii, 43; xii, 52; ff.), nakid (viii, 209; xiii, 11; xiii, 27; xvii, c; xvii, 22; xvii, 34), name (iii, 7; ix, 2; ix, 29; xi, 2; xi, 7; ff.), palmis (xx, d), quake (vii, 83), rakid (xvii, 23), ran (v, 43; viii, 18; xii, 116; xviii, 10), rank (xvii, 24), raper (xvi, 5; xvii, 16), rapir (xvi, 9), sake (vii, 78; ix, 4), sale (xii, 502), schamefastli (viii, 132), spare (vi, 32; vi, 56; xiii, 108; xi-i, 221; xiii, 231), sparist (xiii, 227), sparip (xviii, 67), stake (xiv, 29), staren (x, 77), take (iv, 106; vii, 67; vii, 81; vii, 88; vii, 92; ff.), taken (vii, 58; xii, 476; xx, 20), takip (xii, 152), tale (xiii, 65), talis (xiii, 472), talke (xix, 3; xxii, 45), tame (xii, 451; xiii, 162), thanne (xiii, 41), pan (i, 9; i, 43; iv, 18; iv, 106; v, 55; ff.), panke (xiii, 479), panne (v, 32; viii, 122; viii, 245; ix, 79; xi, 17; ff.), wake (vii, 76; ix, 8; xiii, 117;

xvi, 11; xix, 141), wan (v, 41; viii, 20; viii, 211), wandre (viii, 38; xv, 1), wantowne (xii, 307; xvii, 118), ware (xiii, 219), whan (iv, 114; v, 68; xviii, 90), whanne (i, 42; i, 46; ii, 20; iii, 16; iv, 51; ff.),

reflex due to velar g--clawe (xiv, 69), dawe (xiii, 96), drawe (iii, 16; xii, 109; xiii, 94; xvii, b; xix, 26; ff.), drawen (xiv, 77), lawe (xi, 21; xii, 107; xii, 368; xiii, 90; xix, 31; ff.), lawful (xxii, 98), withdrawe (vi, 7).

OL a appears as aa (duplication shows length) in waar (xiii, 63; xiii, 137; xviii, 89; xxii, 28; xxii, 50), waare (xiii, 217; xiii, 236; xiv, 40).

OE a appears as ai (due to scribal practice) in waischen (vii, 44), waischip (iv, 27), waissche (xiii, 621; xiii, 644),

reflex due to vocalization of palatal g in daies (xii, 55), slain (xx, 19), slayn (viii, 223; xx, 52).

OE a appears as e in heng (xiii, 201; ix, 36), mente (xii, 18), penne (xii, 481), unsperid (xii, 15), when (xiii, 431), whens (xxiii, 2).

OE a appears as ee in vnleefful (xxii, 58), vnleeffulli (xxii, 82; xxii, 90).

OE a appears as ey (due to vocalization of palatal g) in sleyn (xii, 420).

OE a appears as o in among (ix, 14; x, 126; xiv, 59; xxiii, 1; xxiii, 7), amonge (xii, 424; xiii, 382; xiii, 625), amongis (xii, 11), fro (iv, 111; iv, 51; iv, 58; xi, 16; xii, 427; ff.), from (iv, 52; iv, 116; v, 7; vi, 8; vi, 35; ff.), hond (vi, 35; xii, 285; xii, 362; xii, 377; xviii, 257), honde (xiii, 486; xiii, 608), hondis (vi, 10; vii, 74; viii, 129; viii, 252; xii, 75; ff.), hongip (xi, 22), lomb (xii, 375), lombe (ix, 5), lond (xxi, 38; xxii, 1), londe (xii, 364), londis (xiii, 376), long (iv, 49; xiv, 52; xiv, 71; xiv, 71), longe (xii, 74; xiii, 286; xiii, 365; xiii, 380; xiii, 548; ff.), longinge (viii, 185; viii, 274; viii, 278), longip (iv, 48; viii, 149; xii, 287), longynge (iv, 6; viii, 179; viii, 193; viii, 236), song (i, 50; i, 71; v, 20; xi, 9; xii, 360; ff.), songe (viii, 48; xiii, 363), sory (vii, 89; xii, 422, xix, 87), sprong (i, 52; v, 1; xii, 115), stonde (xiii, 490), strong (xii, 257; xiv, 57; xix, 115; xxiii, 21), stronge (iv, 55; xiii, 361; xvi, 14; xix, 137), prong (v, 27), vndir-stonde (xii, 379), vndirstonde (xvii, 59; xxii, 3), vndirstondinge (vii, 31; xiii, 637), wombe (xii, 5; xiii, 193; xiii, 199).

OE a appears as oo in boond (ix, 59; xii, 284; xii, 413), foonde (xii, 242; xiii, 474; xix, 13), foondid (xii, 51), froo (x, 102; x, 118; xiii, 423), soore (xii, 95; xii, 347; xiii, 342; xiii, 453; xiii, 469; ff.), stoonde (viii, 83; xiii, 606), stoondip (xii, 150; xxiii, 62), wip-stoondip (xii, 108).

OE a appears as ou in

reflex due to medial h brou_zt (iv, 24; vii, 23, viii, 79; ix, 49; x, 4; ff.), brou_zte (iv, 56; xii, 69; xii, 83; xii, 134; xii, 403; ff.).

OE ā appears as a in aske (xviii, 98), askid (xii, 348), askinge (vi, 21; xviii, 100; xviii, 102), axe (vii, 25; vii, 37; vii, 49; xii, 382; xiii, 549; ff.), axid (xii, 254), axip (xiii, 97; xiii, 260; xiii, 261; xiii, 273), blake (xii, 388; xiv, 31), halowe (xxii, 34), hame (xii, 99), madde (xiii, 543), mare (viii, 115), sare (viii, 117; xv, 12; xviii, 23; xix, 12), wakid (xiii, 9), wra_þpe (vii, 63; viii, 239; x, 13; xii, 153; xiii, 121; ff.), wra_þpen (vi, 34).

reflex due to vocalization of palatal g swayn (xii, 87)

reflex due to medial w fawe (xix, 28), þrawe (xii, 111).

OE ā appears as e in helewe (xxi, 13), sere (xii, 322).

OE ā appears as i in bihi_zt (vii, 52), si_ze (viii, 219).

OE ā appears as o in bone (v, 40), bonis (xiv, 25; xiv, 29), bothe (ii, 10; ii, 14; ix, 1; xvi, 12; xx, 8), bope (ii, 4; ii, 28; v, 3; v, 11; v, 18; ff.), brode (iv, 83), clothis (xiii, 131), clope (xii, 44; xiii, 20; xxi, 19; xxii, 43), clōpid (xvi, 18), clōping (x, 26), clōpinge (xvii, 26), clōpis (xiii, 224), drofe (xii, 176), fo (iv, 84; xxi, 17; xxiii, 103), go (iv, 77; ix,

46; x, 102; xii, 89; xii, 195; ff.), grone (xiv, 68), grope (xii, 431), holi (i, 34; v, 49; vi, 50; vii, 44; vii, 95; ff.), golines (xx, 40), holli (iv, 15; iv, 45), holy (xviii, 107), hom (xiii, 291; xiii, 370; xvii, 7), homeli (xiii, 163), homeward (xii, 135), hote (xii, 19), lo (xii, 63; xii, 374; xiii, 255; xiii, 576; xvii, 33), lord (iv, 5; iv, 46; iv, 100; iv, 109; iv, 116; ff.), lorde (xvi, 17), lord-is (xxiii, 99), lordis (x, 86; x, 99; x, 113), lordschip (xiii, 183; xvi, 38; xvi, 40), lordschipe (xvi, 37), lore (iv, 5; iv, 34; iv, 96; iv, 97; xi, 18; ff.), lopith (xv, 66), mo (ix, 16; xii, 408; xxii, 9), more (iv, 92; v, 45; vii, 3; viii, 95; viii, 96; ff.), no (iv, 16; iv, 87; iv, 93; iv, 31; v, 45; ff.), not (i, 6; iv, 110; v, 70; v, 83; vi, 32; ff.), no-þing (xix, 87; xxiii, 95), nowhere (viii, 32), on (i, 35; i, 44; i, 54; v, 82; vi, 10; ff.), ony (v, 55; vi, 24; vi, 34; vi, 55; viii, 57; ff.), so (i, 2; i, 3; i, 13; i, 52; i, 68; ff.), sore (ii, 11; iv, 40; iv, 90; viii, 203; ix, 60; ff.), strokis (xxi, 22), tokene (xii, 128), two (iv, 73; v, 38; vi, 10; vii, 179; viii, 6; xiii, 15; ff.), who (iv, 35; viii, 27; viii, 233; ix, 69; x, 71; ff.), who-so (iv, 1; iv, 10; vii, 9; xii, 493; xiv, 71), wo (v, 68; viii, 3; x, 48), wote (xiii, 496).

OE \bar{a} appears as oo (duplication shows length) in abood (xii, 96), a-goon (xii, 74), a-noon (xii, 342), anoon (viii, 68; viii, 147), anoone (xii, 245), bood (ix, 16), boote (v, 5), broode (x, 77), cloop (xii, 24), foo (iv, 61; v, 69; x, 46; x, 70; x, 94; ff.), foomen (v, 7), foon (ix, 14; xiii, 496), foos (iv, 101; x, 138),

goo (x, 54; xii, 163; xii, 442; xii, 448; xiii, 8; ff.), goon
 (xii, 471; xiii, 490; xiii, 507; xiv, 33; xxii, 53), goostli
 (iv, 101; vi, 49; viii, 101; xiii, 205; xx, 43), goop (xiii,
 591; xiv, 6; xvii, 13; xvii, 14; xvii, 27), hooli (xii, 504;
 xiii, 607), hooly (xii, 459), hoome (xiii, 584), hoot (xii, 161;
 xxiii, 26), hoote (xiii, 470), loo (xiii, 233; xiii, 575),
loore (viii, 226; xiii, 471; xiii, 574), loop (xiii, 282; xv, 29;
 xxiii, 59), loope (xiii, 380), loopeli (xiii, 142), moo (v, 62;
 ix, 63; xiii, 292; xiii, 484; xiv, 35), moore (ix, 32; ix, 47;
 xii, 324; xii, 419; xiii, 98; ff.), noo (xii, 452; xvi, 40;
 xix, 15), noon (iii, 9; iv, 9; iv, 104; iv, 105; xii, 198), noone
 (xii, 80), oon (v, 38; vi, 51; vi, 52; vii, 1; vii, 3; ff.),
oone (v, 47; xxii, 55), oonis (xii, 164; xii, 187), oonli (viii,
 111; xii, 65; xii, 91; xii, 466; xv, 42; ff.), oonly (viii, 140;
 xx, 5), oonys (xii, 195; xii, 201; xix, 79), oopis (xiii, 207;
 xiii, 444; xxii, 30), roos (iv, 80; v, 34; v, 43; viii, 223;
 xii, 418; ff.), roose (iii, 12; xiii, 298), schoon (xii, 206;
 xviii, 2), soo (x, 78; xii, 402; xiii, 154; xiii, 330; xiii, 419;
 ff.), stoon (vi, 49; xii, 76; xiii, 475; xviii, 51), stoonys
 (xii, 63; xii, 228), too (xviii, 19), toon (xii, 244), woo (iv,
 75; vi, 40; viii, 152; viii, 191; viii, 262; ff.), woost (i, 55;
 x, 130; xii, 282; xvi, 35; xix, 121), woot (viii, 32; viii, 197;
 x, 17; xii, 233; xix, 19), wroot (xiii, 651), wroop (xv, 28;
 xxiii, 57).

OE \bar{a} appears as ow (reflex due to medial w) blowe (xiii, 366), blowen (xxiii, 43), crowe (xviii, 109), know (vii, 32; xviii, 71), knowe (viii, 110; x, 2; x, 20; xii, 190; xiii, 53; xiii, 58; ff.), knowen (xxii, 31), knowing (xiii, 635), knowinge (xxiii, 107), knowith (xviii, 110; xviii, 111), knowliche (vii, 90; xii, 54; xiii, 85), knowynge (iv, 2; xii, 26), mowen (xii, 38; xiii, 647), owe (x, 5), owne (ii, 26; viii, 46; viii, 107; ix, 23; x, 8; ff.), slownes (xi, 12), sowe (xiii, 625; xiii, 626), sowen (xii, 36), sowkyng (xiii, 66), vnknowen (xii, 34).

OE \bar{a} appears as ou (due to medial h) nought (xii, 332), nou₃t (iv, 20; iv, 54; vii, 18; viii, 152; ix, 23; ff.), nou₃te (xii, 59), ou₃t (xviii, 98), ou₃te (iv, 44; iv, 85; iv, 98).

OE \bar{a} appears as ou (due to medial h) soule (i, 12; iv, 10; iv, 21; iv, 118; v, 4; ff.), soulis (vi, 54; vii, 43; viii, 122; x, 51; xii, 249; ff.).

OE \bar{a} appears as ou (unknown) ouper (xiii, 133).

DISCUSSION

Before discussing the reflexes of the phonemes /a/ and / \bar{a} / in MS Lambeth 853, an examination of the ME lengthening of /a/ in open syllables is necessary. "In the thirteenth century the short vowels a, e, o were lengthened in open syllables of disyllable words, so that a became [a:], e became [ɛ:], and o became [ɔ:]" (Moore, p. 68). This lengthen-

ing was founded in an entirely new principle: "The quantity of the vowel depends, thenceforward, on the nature of the syllable, whether it is open (i.e., terminated by a vowel) or closed (i.e., terminated by a consonant), and also on the accent and on the length of the word" (Moose, pp. 16-17). This change took place after the rounding of OE [a:] to ME [ɔ:] and indicated by the fact that [a:] in words like ME [na:mə] from OE nama never became [ɔ:] (Moore, p. 68). For further discussion on reflexes of OE ā see Chapter IV, pp. 72-73.

CATEGORICAL EXPLANATIONS

OE a appears as ai

waischen, waischip, waissche--unknown. However, in this MS the letter i often follows the reflexes of some OE vowels preceding sch. See also fleisch (p. 23), freische (p. 31).

OE a appears as e

when (xiii, 431), rhymes with men (l. 429)
unsperid (xii, 15) rhymes with rerid (l. 14)
heng, mente, penne, whens--reflex appears next to a nasal, possibly nasal umlaut.

OE a appears as ee

vnleefful and vnleeffulli--unknown

OE a appears as ey

sleyn--Rather early ei was merged with ai (Mosse, p. 27).

OE ā appears as a

Remembering that OE ā remained in Northern English (Moore, p. 20) we find the following words used for rhyming purposes (this suggesting that the scribe at least had a familiarity with the Northern Dialect):

blake (xiv, 31) rhymes with stake (1. 29)

hame (xii, 99) rhymes with frame (1. 97)

mare (viii, 115) rhymes with fare (1. 113)

sare (viii, 117) rhymes with mare (1. 115)

wakid (viii, 9) rhymes with nakid (1. 11)

nay (x, 31) rhymes with aray (1. 29)

fawe (xix, 28) rhymes with drawe (1. 26)

prawe (xii, 111) rhymes with drawe (1. 109)

Unknown are halowe, wrappe, wrappen, and forms of the verb askien

OE ā appears as e

sere (xii, 322) rhymes with zeere (1. 324)

helewe--unknown

OE ā appears as i

bihi₃t (vii, 52) rhymes with ri₃t (1. 50)

si₃e (viii, 219) rhymes with y₃en (1. 217)

OE ae appears as a in after (xii, 471; xiii, 530; xiii, 647), aftir (iv, 6; iv, 49; v, 51; vii, 28; viii, 68; ff.), aftirward (xiii, 83), almes (xiii, 358), almesse (xiii, 185), at (iv, 20; v, 47; viii, 61; viii, 162; ix, 20; ff.), att (xix, 157), bachbite (xxii, 52), backe (xiii, 469; xiii, 579), badde (xiii, 73), black (xv, 46), blak (xiv, 8), blaste (xii, 411), brasen (xii, 370; xxiii, 20), fadir (iv, 23; v, 14; v, 44; xii, 7; xii, 10; ff.), fadrīs (iv, 35; xii, 270; xii, 353), fast xi, 3; xiii, 46; xiii, 485; xiv, 6; xiv, 10; ff.), faste (iv, 14; viii, 103; xii, 51; xii, 55; xii, 250; ff.), fastne (viii, 150; viii, 164; xi, 3), glad (xii, 319; xii, 421; xiv, 32; xviii, 10; xix, 87; xix, 106; ff.), gladde (xiii, 541), gladder (xiii, 551), glas (xiii, 297), glase (xxii, 54), gras (vii, 29), graue (v, 33; xv, 61; xix, 116; xx, 20; xxi, 7), had (i, 6; vi, 55; xii, 2; xii, 5; xii, 14; ff.), hadde (viii, 233; xv, 5; x, 15; x, 22; x, 41; ff.), hadden (xii, 182), hadde-y-wist (xiii, 498), haddist (xii, 318; xiii, 473; xix, 61), happe (xvii, 26), hast (v, 40; vi, 2; vii, 16; vii, 14; viii, 200; ff.), hath (xiii, 513; xxi, 43), hap (iv, 20; iv, 22; iv, 24; iv, 96; iv, 107; ff.), heere-aftir (xii, 311), ladde (ix, 62), lappid (i, 50), lastande (viii, 115), lastinge (vi, 48), lastip (viii, 1; viii, 120; viii, 184; viii, 277), lastyng (i, 66; iv, 77), lastyng (iv, 32), late (xii, 497; xiii, 18; xiii, 135; xiii, 307), pal (xvi, 18), race (xii, 238), sad (xxiii, 67), sadde (xiii, 539), sadli (iv, 7), satte (xii, 165), slake (iv, 112; viii, 3; x, 58; xiii, 113; xiii, 411), slakeen (viii, 12), smale (xiii, 649), spak (xii, 313; xii, 321; xii, 375; xii, 435), staf (xiv, 90), staffe (xiii, 92;

xiii, 486), stale (xiii, 450), stalworþe (xii, 58; xiii, 146; xiii, 450; xiii, 457), staue (xv, 58), þral (iv, 57), þralle (i, 12; vii, 42), was (i, 12; i, 17; i, 53; iv, 28; iv, 57; ff.), wat (xiii, 203), watir (i, 27; v, 29; xii, 177; xii, 364), watirlees (vii, 53), what (iv, 92; vii, 15; ix, 4; ix, 14; ix, 40, ff.).

OE æ appears as aa (duplication shows length) in staale (xiii, 453; xiii, 457).

OE æ appears as ai/ay (due to vocalization of palatal g) in day (ii, 45; ii, 22; iv, 99; v, 18; vi, 20; ff.), daye (xxii, 34), fair (ii, 10; iii, 2; v, 26; viii, 183; viii, 254; ff.), faire (viii, 217; x, 29), fairest (ii, 7; ii, 17; ii, 25; viii, 211), gray (xiv, 8), mai (xiii, 375), maide (ii, 5; xii, 4; xii, 482), maiden (i, 34; xii, 123; xii, 292; xii, 479; xiii, 653), maidens (ii, 23; vii, 145), maist (xii, 77; xii, 437; xii, 228; xiii, 475; xiii, 499; ff.), may (ii, 42; ii, 46; v, 57; vii, 35; vii, 62; ff.), mayden (v, 9; xx, 11), maye (xx, 43), mayn (x, 83; xxii, 10), mydday (xv, 33), nailid (viii, 263; xii, 219; xx, 19), sayen (xix, 122), sayn (xix, 122), sayn (x, 81), to-day (xvi, 35; xix, 7).

OE æ appears as au (due to medial h) in lau₃t (viii, 249), lau₃te (xiii, 586).

OE æ appears as e in berid (xii, 218), bett (xiv, 80), bred (viii, 194), brede (xii, 48), eruest (xiii, 350), heruest (xiii, 375), messe

(xix, 14), reche (xiii, 285), secke (xiii, 589), wheper (vii, 76; viii, 222; xii, 33; xvi, 11; xviii, 78; ff.), whepir (ix, 1; xxiii, 38), wrecche (iv, 44; iv, 85; iv, 98; iv, 108; xiv, 66; ff.), wreche (vi, 35), wretche (xii, 396).

OE ǣ appears as ei (due to vocalization of palatal g) in seide (iv, 34; x, 31; xii, 64; xii, 65; xii, 71; ff.), seiden (xii, 21; xii, 127; xii, 359), seidist (xii, 290; xii, 343).

OE ae appears as i in togider (xii, 267), to-gidere (xii, 243; xiii, 94), togidre (xix, 3), whipir (xiii, 640).

OE ǣ appears as ou (due to palatal) in moun (viii, 69; x, 77)
as ow (due to palatal) in mowe (ix, 6; x, 56; x, 112; x, 120; x, 128).

OE āē appears as a in adradde (ix, 60), a-gaste (xii, 256), agast (xiii, 200), agaste (xiii, 600), ladi (i, 68; iii, 13; xix, 157), baren (xii, 479), lady (ii, 10; ii, 45; iii, 4; iii, 8; iii, 21; ff.), radde (xiii, 537; xiii, 553), wrastile (xiii, 289).

OE ǣ appears as ay (due to vocalization of palatal g) in clay (v, 31; xv, 68; xvii, 20).

OE ǣ appears as au (due to medial h) in tau₃t (xiii, 45), tau₃te (xii, 135; xv, 22; xxiii, 31).

OE āē appears as e in brere (xviii, 12; xviii, 13; xviii, 17), clene (i, 7; xii, 492), clenner (i, 9), clennes (i, 69; xxii, 33), clennesse (x, 91; xiii, 197), clensip (viii, 13), dedis (xii, 217; xix, 39; xxii, 35), dredde (ii, 21), drede (iii, 22; v, 77; viii, 61; viii, 122; ix, 45; ff.), dreden (x, 79), dredful (xiii, 30), dredlees (xii, 2), ech (vi, 44; vii, 26; vii, 70; ix, 41; xxii, 97; ff.), eche (xii, 447; xxii, 1), eddris (xii, 450), er (xiii, 332), euensong (xv, 57), euensonge (xiii, 374), uer (vii, 3), euere (i, 66; ii, 2; ii, 25; iv, 100; viii, 24; ff.), euere-more (xii, 196), uerlastinge (xv, 71; xviii, 31; xviii, 119; xxii, 71), uerelastyng (viii, 49; xii, 260; xii, 263; xx, 54), ueri (xiv, 55), uermo (xii, 440), uermore (viii, 28; viii, 40; viii, 104; viii, 228, xiv, 49; ff.), uery (ii, 35; vii, 2; viii, 38; viii, 188; x, 3; ff.), for-lete (viii, 250), greue (xxiii, 44), greued (vi, 3; vi, 42), greuen (iv, 101), helip (vii, 29), helpe (xiii, 412), hete (xii, 52; xviii, 41), led (viii, 196), ledde (iv, 58; viii, 126; xii, 386; xviii, 35), lede (iv, 32; iv, 119; v, 79; viii, 149; viii, 226; ff.), leder (xiii, 64), ledip (xiii, 62), left (ix, 10; xii, 70), lefte (xiii, 491; xiii, 492; xix, 146), lere (x, 109; xiii, 246; xvi, 32; xiv, 79; xxii, 4; ff.), lerid (iv, 34; iv, 96), lest (vii, 14; xii, 76; xx, 48; xxii, 28; xxii, 63), leste (xiii, 350; xvi, 26), let (iii, 9; iv, 112), lete (iii, 17; iv, 39; v, 64; v, 70; v, 83; ff.), letip (xii, 253), lette (xii, 209; xii, 408; xx, 48), leue (viii, 73; xii, 372; xiii, 48; xiii, 195; xiii, 197, ff.), leude (x, 126), lewide (xiii, 303), menep (xiii, 554),

mis-dede (iv, 76), mysdede (xix, 156), neuere (i, 17; i, 39; i, 70; ii, 5; iii, 9; ff.), neuermore (xii, 345), red (xii, 491), redde (xviii, 18), redy (xiii, 487), slepe (vii, 76; xvi, 11), strete (xv, 18), teche (xiii, 283; xiii, 477; xxi, 1; xxiii, 31), techinge (x, 31), techist (xiii, 356), techip (xiii, 211; xxiii, 78), there (vii, 1), therfore (xviii, 113), perē (i, 39; iv, 69; v, 62; viii, 150; viii, 231; ff.), perbi (vii, 32; xxiii, 79), per-fore (vii, 22), perefore (i, 47), perfore (iv, 38; iv, 60; iv, 94; iv, 103; vii, 59), per-inne (xiii, 540), perinne (viii, 51), perof (iv, 2; vii, 9; viii, 23; viii, 78; xii, 181; ff.), peron (xx, 19), per-tille (iv, 37), per-to (x, 30; x, 38; xx, 55), perto (xi, 16; xii, 478; xix, 51; xx, 47; xxi, 30), perē-wip (viii, 92), pler-with (xiii, 157), vnsele (xxii, 21), were (iv, 15; iv, 65; iv, 66; iv, 68; ff.), weren (ix, 64; xii, 429; xiii, 451; xiii, 485; xiii, 570), what-euere (x, 123), where (vii, 42; viii, 38; xii, 93; xii, 199; xii, 233; ff.), where-euere (x, 123), where-so (x, 28), wherfor (xii, 303), wherfore (ix, 53), wherwip (xiii, 316).

OE æ appears as ee (duplication shows length) in beere (xii, 75; xii, 124; xiii, 579; xiv, 77; xxi, 33), biheest (vii, 50), biheeste (xvi, 7), bileeuen (xii, 445; xii, 447), bleere (xiii, 78), cleene (vi, 19; viii, 167), cleennesse (x, 84), deede (x, 90), deel (xii, 335), deele (xii, 454; xiii, 308), dreedful (xiii, 30), dreedip (xix, 7), eerli (xiii, 118; xxii, 51), feer (ix, 15; xxii, 5), feere (xii, 126; xxi, 41), feerdful (v, 76), greede (v, 73), heelee (xii, 456; xiii, 310; xiii, 435;

xiii, 525), heer (xiii, 322; xiii, 338; xiii, 366), heete (xii, 262), leeche (iii, 479), leede (xviii, 84), leer (xix, 11), leere (iv, 5; iv, 48; ix, 13; xiii, 91; xiii, 161; ff.), leerid (xii, 11), leete (xii, 350; xii, 352; xii, 404; xviii, 21), meene (i, 5), see (ii, 34; v, 54), seed (xii, 35; xii, 277; xii, 290; xii, 293; xii, 119; ff.), seede (xii, 625), sleep (xii, 56; xiii, 10), sleepe (vii, 76; xvi, 11), teeche (xii, 445), weere (x, 6).

OE ē appears as ei in fleisch (iv, 30; iv, 102; iv, 107; v, 10; v, 40; ff.), fleische (x, 15; xii, 44; xiii, 312; xx, 51; xix, 118), fleischeli (xiii, 221; xxi, 26), fleischli (vi, 7; viii, 113), fleish (xx, 52), fleissch (xiii, 521), fleissche (xiii, 489; xiii, 595; xiii, 619; xiii, 64).

OE ē appears as ei (due to vocalization of palatal g) in eiper (ix, 18), keies (xiii, 632), neiper (vi, 20; x, 39; xii, 161; xii, 185; xii, 186; ff.).

OE āē appears as o in bemond (xiii, 95), hore (xv, 13), most (iv, 8).

OE ē appears as oo (duplication shows length) in echoon (vii, 7), euery-choon (xii, 242), euerychoon (xiii, 494), euerychoone (vi, 38), moost (v, 80; vi, 37; vii, 9; viii, 138; viii, 245; ff.), mooste (xxiii, 96).

OE æ appears as ou (due to medial h) in sloupe (xiii, 209; xiii, 125; xiii, 217; xiii, 224; xiii, 269; ff.).

DISCUSSION

Arising from West Germanic *a by palatalization, the OE short vowel ae is only encountered in a closed syllable and in open syllables before the front vowel e (Mosse, p. 19). From roughly the early twelfth century on, ae was depalatalized and retracted to ae; furthermore, it was lengthened in open syllables (Mosse, p. 19). Important to note is the fact that the short vowel ae had closed to e in the West Midlands area, as Fernand Mosse notes on page nineteen of the Handbook of Middle English:

In Mercian (or more exactly, in the West-Midland area) and in Kentish, from the OE period on, this vowel had already closed to e. . . . In the ME period West Midland and Kentish keep e . . . in the West Midland we also find the spelling ea (thus eappel 'apple') because in this dialect ea had become e. Then in the thirteenth century in West-Midland and in the fourteenth century in Kentish the quality a is generalized. (Mosse, p. 19)

The evolution of OE āē is quite complicated: one must recall that in OE the West-Saxon dialect merges in āē two sounds of different origin:

1. The sound that derives from the fronting of W. Gmc *ā; thus OE dāēd 'deed,' OE strāēt 'paved road.' By convention this sound is called āē₁.

2. The sound which is the product of the i or j mutation of OE \bar{a} (deriving from W Gmc *ai); Thus OE $d\bar{a}\bar{e}l$ 'part,' OE $t\bar{a}\bar{e}can$ 'to teach.' This sound is called $\bar{a}\bar{e}_2$.

On the contrary, from the OE period on, in the dialects north of the Thames, these two sounds remain distinct: to $\bar{a}\bar{e}_1$ there corresponds a close vowel [\bar{e}] written e . . . while $\bar{a}\bar{e}_2$ remains the open vowel [\bar{e}], written ae. (Mosse, p. 22)

But $\bar{a}\bar{e}$ [$\bar{æ}$] generally retracted to \bar{e} [e :], which is generally thought to have taken place during the twelfth century (Moore, pp. 66-67).

OE $\bar{a}\bar{e}$ appears as i

whipir, togider, to-gidere, togidre--unknown

Categorical Explanation:

OE $\bar{a}\bar{e}$ appears as a

adradde (ix, 60) rhymes with hadde (l. 58 and ladde, l. 62)

a-gaste (xii, 256) rhymes with haste (l. 254)

agaste (xiii, 600) rhymes with faste (l. 598)

madde (xiii, 543) rhymes with gladde (l. 541)

radde (xiii, 537) rhymes with sadde (l. 539)

unknown: ladi, lady, wrastile, baren

OE $\bar{a}\bar{e}$ appears as ei

fleisch, fleische, fleischeli, fleischli, fleissch, fleissche--

unknown, see discussion, p. 14.

neiper--contraction of ne $\bar{æ}q\bar{d}$ er

OE ǣ appears as o

hore (xv, 13) rhymes with sare (l. 12 and perfore, l. 15)

unknown--bemond, most

OE æ appears as oo

echoon (vii, 7) rhymes with moone (l. 5)

euery-choon (xii, 242) rhymes with toon (l. 244)

euerychoon (xiii, 494) rhymes with boon (l. 492 and foon, l. 496)

euerychoone (vi, 38) rhymes with bigoon (l. 40)

unknown--moost, mooste

OE e appears as a (due to vocalization of palatal g) in a-way (xi, 12;

xvi, 24; xxiii, 89), away (vii, 79; vii, 81; x, 42; x, 90;

xiii, 372; ff.), say (ii, 44; viii, 7; viii, 241; ix, 56;

x, 93; ff.), saye (xiii, 370), way (viii, 178; ix, 50; xiii, 405;

xvii, 34; xviii, 11).

OE e appears as e in awreke (xiv, 50), bed (xiii, 380), xiii, 390),

bedis (xiv, 62), bende (xiii, 424), bere (i, 20; xii, 230;

xiii, 121; xiii, 151; xiii, 167; ff.), berist (i, 57), berip

(xviii, 57; xxiii, 73), best (viii, 8; xiv, 23; xiv, 37; xviii,

95), beste (xiii, 314; xiii, 352; xiii, 405; xiii, 407; xviii, 88),

bete (viii, 188; xiii, 149), betere (iv, 104; iv, 105; viii, 110),
bettere (iv, 31), bettir (xiii, 188), bi-sett (viii, 262), breke
(iv, 73; xii, 370), brekinge (xxii, 64; xxii, 96), clerk (vii, 65;
xix, 33), clerkis (xiii, 191), dele (viii, 54; xiii, 491),
dwelle (i, 37; viii, 94; viii, 178; viii, 271; xii, 389; ff.),
dwellid (xii, 323), dwelling (xxiii, 71), dwellynge (xii, 458;
xviii, 106), ebbid (xiii, 368), efte (xvi, 30), ellis (xiii,
230; xx, 44), endiþ (i, 71), englisch (xviii, 26), ete (xiii, 118;
xiii, 194; xiii, 578), etying (xiii, 204), euene (xii, 357;
xiii, 465), fen (viii, 121), fresch (v, 26), fretip (xiii, 267),
gelde (iv, 93), heggis (xiii, 184), helle (viii, 96; viii, 127;
viii, 273; x, 132; xii, 48; ff.), hellis (xii, 387), help
(xiii, 239; xxiii, 94), helpe (iii, 4; vi, 40; ix, 20; x, 115;
xii, 325; ff.), helpen (v, 58), helpip (xiii, 497), hen (xviii, 5;
xviii, 74; xviii, 75), hende (iii, 25; v, 49), hendeli (xviii,
18), hens (iv, 114; viii, 34; x, 140; xxii, 102), hent (viii,
47; xviii, 12; xxi, 42; xxii, 78; xxii, 102; ff.), heuy (xiv,
17), lende (viii, 41), lenger (xiii, 514), lengist (xiii, 130),
lent (viii, 185; xii, 492; xiv, 14; xvi, 30; xxi, 18; ff.),
lente (x, 39; xiii, 20; xiii, 435; xvii, 26), mede (viii, 128;
xiii, 215), meltip (xviii, 63), men (v, 32; viii, 4; viii, 65;
viii, 69; viii, 102; ff.), mengid (xiii, 51), mennis (xiii, 132;
xiii, 136; xxiii, 18), necke (xiii, 585), nempne (iii, 7),
nempned (xi, 8), nett (xiv, 81), quelle (xix, 39), qwelle
(viii, 275), qweme (vii, 15), reckene (xiii, 341), rekenyng
(xiii, 415), rekenyng (xiii, 440), rekenyng (xiii, 54), rest

(viii, 6; viii, 257; xii, 120), reste (viii, 213; xii, 338; xiii, 316; xiii, 346; xiii, 388; ff.), schende (iv, 118), schendiþ (xii, 374), schent (vii, 10; xii, 211; xxii, 22; xxiii, 108), send (xiv, 12; xiv, 48; xiv, 60), sende (iii, 26; v, 51; vi, 43; vi, 47; viii, 139; ff.), sent (viii, 187; xii, 27), sente (x, 34; xii, 478; xviii, 7), sete (v, 8), sett (v, 54; xiv, 78; xv, 25; xvi, 34; xvii, 3), sette (iv, 7; iv, 23; viii, 59; viii, 144; ff.), settiþ (xix, 76), speke (viii, 245; xi, 8; xii, 436; xiii, 234; xiii, 355; ff.), speken (xii, 17; xii, 246; xii, 315), spekist (xi, 4; xii, 306), spende (xiii, 371; xiii, 499; xix, 129), spendist (xiii, 98; xiii, 100), sperre (iv, 67; viii, 147; xii, 235; xii, 351; xiii, 400), speres (xvi, 45), stele (xiii, 288; xxi, 29), strengþe (x, 116; xiii, 299; xiii, 307; xiii, 410; xiii, 435; ff.), strenþe (xiii, 33), swelle (xii, 5), swere (xiii, 165; xxi, 11; xxii, 27), telle (viii, 22; viii, 90; viii, 269; xii, 7; xii, 119; ff.), tellist (xii, 281), telliþ (xiii, 432; xviii, 54), to-breke (viii, 247), twelue (xii, 181), þenke (xvi, 31), þenkist (xix, 18), þenkiþ (iv, 18; iv, 49; viii, 19; viii, 23; xvii, 6; ff.), vnshent (xxii, 6), we (i, 46; ii, 46; vii, 61; vii, 62; vii, 74; vii, 76; ff.), wedde (iv, 60), weddid (xii, 187), wede (v, 18; xii, 184), wele (viii, 3; viii, 56; xii, 333; xxii, 20), well (i, 27), welle (i, 29; ii, 6; ii, 37; vii, 44; xii, 115; ff.), wem (xxii, 89), wende (iv, 114; v, 53; x, 140; xiii, 290; xiii, 422; ff.), wendis (xxiii, 5), west (xii, 114), weste (xiii, 348), wrecchid (iv, 53; xvi, 6; xvi, 25; xvii, 17;

xvii, 21; ff.).

OE e appears as ee (duplication shows length) in beed (iii, 14; viii, 21), beende (xiii, 643), biheeld (xix, 89), biheet (xix, 104), cheest (xiii, 128), deere (xiii, 80), eend (xix, 92), eende (iii, 27; iv, 120; ix, 80; x, 127; x, 143; ff.), eendelees (viii, 272; xii, 416), eendid (xii, 191), eendinge (vi, 27), eendlees (ix, 72), eendynge (viii, 284), feeld (ii, 7), for-beerre (xiii, 76), zeelde (vii, 89; xiii, 69; xiii, 460; xvii, 39), meete (i, 6; v, 9; x, 130; xii, 56; xiii, 20; ff.), qweeme (xii, 464), reest (xiii, 126), scheent (xxi, 10), seelde (xii, 6; xiii, 431), seen (viii, 65; viii, 69; viii, 125; xii, 205), seete (x, 89; xii, 339), steel (xix, 51), steele (xii, 450), steelep (xiii, 454; xiii, 458; xiii, 460; xiii, 463), steelip (xiii, 459; xiii, 462), teer (xii, 244; xiii, 622), wee (x, 76; x, 144), weel (i, 5; v, 81; iv, 44; iv, 85; iv, 95; ff.), weelde (viii, 39; viii, 76; viii, 162; xiii, 67; xiii, 458), weelfare (xiii, 223), weende (iii, 28).

OE e appears as ei in freisch (xvi, 4), freische (viii, 67), freischli (xviii, 36).

OE e appears as ei/ey (due to vocalization of palatal g) in awei (viii, 45; viii, 191), away (viii, 68; viii, 239), leie (xiii, 194; xiii, 585), seie (v, 71; x, 79; xi, 21; xii, 316; xii, 329; ff.), seist (xi, 5), seip (xiii, 188; xiii, 333; xiii, 365;

xiii, 399; xiii, 534; ff.), wei (xiii, 468), weie (xiii, 428), wey (viii, 23; x, 28; xii, 46; xii, 136; xiii, 621).

OE e appears as i in bipinke (xiii, 357; xviii, 105; xviii, 115), him-silf (xviii, 50; xxi, 3), silf (v, 42; x, 2; x, 8; x, 16; x, 24; ff.), silfe (xiii, 43), sille (xxii, 69), stide (iii, 15; viii, 91; xii, 272), stidefast (iv, 115), stidefastli (viii, 271), this (xii, 88; xiii, 593; xviii, 41; xviii, 59; xviii, 73), pink (xvii, 29), pinke (vii, 7; viii, 248; viii, 265; viii, 281; ix, 11; ff.), pinken (xiii, 428), pinkep (viii, 247; viii, 251), pinkip (ix, 53; xii, 238; xix, 10), pis (i, 55; i, 69; iv, 13; iv, 22; v, 35; ff.), winde (xiii, 375; xix, 55).

OE e appears as o in bigoten (xiii, 3), goten (xx, 5), quod (xii, 365; xii, 369; xii, 405; xiii, 121; xiii, 123; ff.), spoke (xii, 34), spoken (xii, 19; xii, 125; xii, 369).

OE ē appears as a in bradde (ii, 18).

OE ē appears as e in a₃e (xviii, 14), biseche (iii, 21; vi, 33; xix, 93), bledde (iv, 62), blede (ix, 22), blessid (i, 23; i, 30; i, 51; ii, 10; ii, 13; ff.), blessidful (vi, 53), blessidist (ii, 2), breme (xx, 31), crede (xiii, 36; xiii, 631), deme (xii, 462), demed (viii, 201), fed (viii, 198), fedde (ii, 23), fede (iv, 30; v, 77; xii, 44; xii, 180; xiii, 360; ff.), fele (viii, 50; xi, 18; xiii, 387; xiii, 489; xviii, 46), felle (v, 7;

viii, 92; xii, 117; xii, 251; xiii, 511; ff.), fleme (vii, 17), flemed (xiii, 573), flemyd (xiii, 423), grene (viii, 67), ȝe (v, 11; ix, 1; ix, 2; xii, 6; xii, 251; ff.), ȝeme (xii, 340), ȝhe (viii, 264; xiii, 480; xiii, 534), he (iv, 21; iv, 23; iv, 24; iv, 59; ff.), hede (iv, 26; iv, 74; vii, 88; x, 129; xii, 42; ff.), herd (viii, 47; xix, 81; xix, 122), herde (xii, 110; xiii, 633; xiii, 650; xv, 69; xix, 3), here (i, 37; i, 60; iv, 42; vi, 31; x, 63; ff.), herof (xii, 64), kele (xxii, 23), kelid (xiii, 470), kenne (xiii, 216), kepe (ii, 45; vi, 19; vii, 76; viii, 36; xii, 494; ff.), keping (vii, 94), kepinge (x, 85), kepip (xii, 107; xiii, 319; xiii, 319), kept (xiii, 352), me (i, 19; i, 20; i, 37; i, 42; i, 50; ff.), mete (i, 43; iv, 29; viii, 192; xiii, 194; xiii, 429; ff.), mette (xii, 294), schene (vii, 19), sechip (xxiii, 53), seke (xiii, 29), sleue (xiii, 476), speche (xii, 172; xii, 441; xiii, 281; xiii, 474; xiii, 487), spede (vi, 31; xii, 33; xii, 148; xiii, 187; xiii, 559; ff.), swete (i, 1; i, 38; i, 41; iii, 21; xv, 21), sweteli (i, 19), swetnes (iv, 1; iv, 113; viii, 151; viii, 270; xi, 8), swettist (ii, 29), swettiste (viii, 105), ten (xiii, 212; xiii, 484; xix, 131; xxi, 45), wenest (xii, 256), weneþ (xiii, 332; xiii, 526), wepe (xv, 15; xv, 23), wepinge (viii, 63; xv, 3), y-met (xiv, 74).

OE ē appears as ee (duplication shows length) in beemys (xii, 208), bleede (v, 75), deeme (vii, 13; vii, 85; xx, 29), deemed (xviii, 55), feelee (xii, 452; xiii, 439; xviii, 83; xxii, 18),

feelinge (vii, 30), feet (vi, 10; xiii, 447), feete (viii, 252), for-bleed (xii, 16), greete (v, 6; xii, 50; xiii, 238; xiii, 258; xiii, 649; ff.), hee (xii, 363; xvi, 3), heere-to-forn (xvi, 21), keele (viii, 52), keepe (vi, 41), leet (xviii, 7), leett (viii, 268; xviii, 39), meede (x, 124; xiii, 40; xiii, 555; xxii, 100; xxiii, 45), queene (i, 4; i, 34; ii, 9; ii, 17; iii, 2; ff.), scheene (i, 2), sweete (ii, 5; iii, 2; v, 4; v, 23; viii, 48; ff.), sweetnes (i, 71), teep (xiii, 488; xiv, 33), pee (i, 17; i, 10; i, 22; i, 27; i, 29; ff.), weepe (xiii, 295).

OE ē appears as ei/ey (due to vocalization of palatal g) in leid (xv, 61), leide (iv, 60), leit (xii, 226), leite (xii, 355), tweyne (xiii, 5; xiii, 31).

OE ē appears as o in fonge (iv, 53; xiv, 54).

DISCUSSION

During the first half of the thirteenth century a change took place--"in disyllables, if the accented syllable was open, the short vowel a, e, o, lengthened into ā, ē, ō. . ." (Mosse, p. 17).

Also, during the ME period, long accented vowels shortened before consonant groups, except the following which caused lengthening at the end of the OE period--mb, nd, ld, rd, r (Mosse, p. 18).

- OE e appears as ei
freisch, freische, freischli--unknown, see discussion, p. 14.
- OE e appears as i
 unknown: all
- OE ē appears as a
bradde (ii, 18) rhymes with bistadde (l. 20)
- OE ē appears as o
fonge (iv, 53) rhymes with wrong (l. 51 and stronge, l. 55)
- OE ea appears as a in al (ii, 3; ii, 6; ii, 11; ii, 14; ii, 30; ff.),
all (xiii, 147), alle (i, 7; i, 21; i, 28; ii, 11; ii, 31;
 ff.), almi₃ti (xix, 153), almi₃ty (xix, 117), almy₃t (xiii,
 341), almy₃ti (v, 62; vi, 46; xix, 31), als (xvi, 12), also
 (iv, 37; iv, 79; v, 66; vi, 26; viii, 10; x, 14; ff.), alway
 (vii, 4), al-where (xx, 27), arme (xiii, 286), arnes (xii, 124),
as (i, 44; i, 55; i, 58; iii, 12; iv, 23; ff.), aschamed
 (xiii, 342), barn (v, 21), calle (i, 10; ii, 19; iii, 13;
 vi, 17; vii, 38; ff.), callep (xiii, 518), callid (iv, 12;
 iv, 47; xii, 167; xii, 167), callide (i, 4), falle (iii, 17;
 vi, 19; vii, 45; xii, 162; xii, 336; ff.), fallen (v, 64),
fallist (xxiii, 3), fallip (xxiii, 75; xxiii, 89), gate (xiv,
 44), 3af (iv, 70; vii, 29; x, 39; xii, 210; xii, 224; ff.),
3afe (i, 2), 3ate (xii, 501; xiii, 630), 3atis (xii, 250;
 xii, 252; xii, 260; xii, 263; xii, 354; ff.), 3aue (vii, 41),

halle (xii, 164), hard (ii, 20; vii, 8; viii, 72; ix, 64; xii, 63; ff.), harde (iv, 76), harder (viii, 96), harme (xii, 452; xii, 503), harmes (xxii, 78; xxiii, 58), harmeless (xxii, 71), harpe (xiii, 91), naruz (xii, 222), salue (iv, 40), scabbe (xiv, 69), schadewe (xvi, 26), schake (xiii, 119; xiv, 27), schakep (xiii, 400), schal (i, 15; i, 22; i, 28; i, 39; iii, 16; ff.), schalle (xx, 50), schalt (i, 3; i, 19; i, 51; viii, 8; viii, 34; ff.), schame (ix, 27; xii, 101; xxiii, 76), schamed (vii, 10), schappe (xiii, 299), scharp (xii, 96), scharpe (xvii, 12), scharper (xii, 149), stalle (iii, 15), ward (viii, 143), warne (xxii, 1), sax (xv, 57), waxe (xiii, 404).

OE ea appears as au/aw (due to medial h) in drauzte (xiii, 588), drawzt (xvii, 6), fauzte (iv, 61), lauzter (xxiii, 66), rauzt (xii, 335), saw (xiii, 11), sawe (xix, 29; xxii, 85), sawz (xii, 180).

OE ea appears as e in wexe (viii, 152; xiii, 462; xiv, 31), wexinge (viii, 175), wexip (x, 66; xiii, 300; xviii, 63).

OE ea appears as ee in beerde (ii, 13; v, 21; v, 50).

OE ea appears as ey (due to vocalization of palatal g) in seyn (xii, 424; xiii, 583).

OE ea appears as i in si_z (v, 8; xii, 80; xii, 105; xii, 122; xii, 143; ff.).

OE ea appears as o in biholde (viii, 254; x, 119), bolde (viii, 102; xiii, 121; xix, 47), bolder (xii, 151), colde (xxiii, 95), folde (xxiii, 92), holde (viii, 104; viii, 282; xi, 10; xi, 19; xiii, 88; ff.), holden (vi, 28; xiii, 181), holdip (xiv, 82; viii, 260; xxiii, 93), olde (ix, 30; xiii, 65; xiii, 84; xiii, 429; xiv, 24; ff.), solde (i, 53; ix, 26; xix, 45), with-holde (vi, 35).

OE ea appears as oo in boold (ix, 28; x, 71; xiii, 71; xv, 59), boolde (viii, 258; xiii, 151; xiii, 278), booldnes (xv, 38), coold (xv, 57; xv, 58), coolde (viii, 256; xii, 161; xiii, 19; x, 66; xiii, 470), foold (ix, 32; xiii, 82), foolde (x, 68; xiii, 17; xix, 42), fooldis (vi, 51), hoolde (xiii, 468), oold (xv, 46; xv, 69), oolde (viii, 98; ix, 1; x, 65; xiii, 21; xiii, 125; ff.), soolde (xiii, 32), toold (x, 69; xxiii, 49), toolde (viii, 100; xiii, 472).

OE ea appears as ou in foulden (xiii, 485)
(due to medial h) rou_zte (x, 38; xix, 77).

OE ea appears as u in schul (xii, 211).

OE ea appears as y in nygt (x, 92), ny_zt (iv, 99; v, 18; vi, 20; viii, 5; viii, 229; ff.), ny_zte (xiii, 454), ny_ztis (viii, 257).

OE ēā appears as a in baddist (vii, 33; vii, 37).

OE ēā appears as e in a₃en (viii, 23), a₃en (i, 28; iv, 56; iv, 80; iv, 88; viii, 123; ff.), a₃ens (vii, 65; vii, 83; ix, 61; xii, 166; xii, 354; ff.), a₃enseid (xviii, 100), bede (xiii, 34; xiii, 629; xii, 270), bet (xv, 27), betyng (viii, 205), chese (xxiii, 112), dede (iv, 28; v, 79; vii, 20; viii, 124; ix, 18; ff.), fewe (viii, 88; xiv, 80), for-bete (viii, 218), gret (viii, 9; viii, 266), lese (viii, 276; xiv, 34), leye (xix, 2), nede (v, 75; x, 139; xii, 182; xiii, 312; xix, 125; ff.), nedelees (xiii, 330), nedip (vi, 44; xxii, 44), nei₃bore (xiii, 135; xxiii, 101), nei₃boris (xxi, 37; xxi, 41; xxii, 65; xxii, 81; xxii, 89; ff.), nei-boris (xxii, 17), nerre (xii, 135), reue (viii, 141), reuep (viii, 257), scheperdis (xii, 119), schewe (xiii, 590), schewide (xii, 85), schewis (xiii, 68), schewith (x, 75), schewip (xix, 42), schrewide (xii, 395), schrewis (xiii, 72), sle (xxi, 21; xxii, 49), prete (xiii, 20; xv, 20), pretee (xiii, 582), preten (xii, 397), vnnepe (xiii, 373).

OE ēā appears as ee (duplication shows length) in beete (v, 11; xiii, 80; xiii, 260; xiii, 584), beeting (v, 307), bileeue (vii, 93; xii, 433; xii, 439; xvi, 9; xx, 1; ff.), breed (xii, 64; xii, 65; xiii, 399), chees (ii, 26), deed (iii, 16; v, 32; viii, 95; viii, 221; xii, 183; ff.), deedli (vi, 20; xiii, 4; xiii, 505; xix, 6; xviii, 78), deedly (vi, 29), deef (xii, 171), deep (iv, 71; iv, 78; iv, 91; vii, 80; ix, 49; ff.),

EEK (i, 36; vi, 4; viii, 171; xii, 125), EERE (xiii, 163),
EEST (xii, 114), FOR-BEET (viii, 218), GREET (i, 71; iv, 46;
vii, 51; viii, 71; viii, 265; ix, 45; ff.), GREETLI (xi, 19),
3EER (xii, 324; xii, 491; xiii, 244; xiii, 286; xiii, 305;
ff.), 3EERE (xii, 51; xiii, 65; xiii, 81; xiii, 84; xiii, 89;
ff.), 3EERIS (v, 25; xiii, 465; xiii, 481), HEED (viii, 252;
xii, 71; xiii, 122; xiv, 27), HEERE (iii, 4; iii, 8; viii, 126;
ix, 69; ff.), HEERYNG (xii, 172; xiii, 411), HEERYNGE (xiii,
441; xiv, 16), LEEF (xviii, 15), LEEP (xii, 70), LEEPE (xiii,
293; xiii, 427; xiii, 467), LEEPIS (xii, 181; xiii, 451;
xiii, 461; xiii, 474), LEES (vi, 45), LEESE (xii, 147; xiii,
588; xvi, 29), LEEUE (xiii, 296; xiii, 480; xiii, 649; xix,
147), NEEDE (ix, 20; xii, 146), NEEDIȝ (xi, 19; xiii, 412;
xix, 12), NEER (xxii, 5), NEERE (xii, 128; xiii, 572), REED
(iii, 12; viii, 210), SLEE (xii, 132; xii, 140; xii, 210),
TEERIS (vi, 29).

OE ēā appears as ey (due to vocalization of palatal g) in AGEYN
(ix, 37; xii, 305; xii, 312; xii, 321; xii, 325; ff.).

OE ēā appears as i in HIGHT (xii, 227; xii, 263), hi₃ (i, 35; iii,
20; v, 58; viii, 138; ff.), hi₃e (xii, 121; xii, 142; xii, 342;
xiii, 75; xvi, 23), hi₃er (v, 55), hi₃est (xii, 165; xiii,
116; xiii, 140; xviii, 42; xxiii, 14; ff.), hi₃eth (xiii, 348),
hi₃t (ii, 15), hi₃te (xii, 20; xii, 104; xii, 202; xiii, 519),
i₃e (vii, 35; xiii, 441), i₃ee (viii, 66), i₃en (xiii, 297;
xiii, 338; xiii, 469).

OE ēā appears as ie in hie (viii, 17; xviii, 85).

OE ēā appears as y in hy_ze (xiii, 618), ny_z (viii, 21), y_ze (xii, 144; xiii, 622; xvi, 24), y_zen (viii, 217).

DISCUSSION

The Old English 'digraph' ea, the second element being an obscure glide, hence indicating a variety of quality in the vowel or the preceding or following consonant, resulted in the ME a. "This is much rather a question of spelling than of phonetic evolution" (Mosse, p. 26).

During the eleventh century, when OE diphthongs were reduced to simple vowels, ēā became ae and therefore follows the course of ae and āē, and its later evolution merging with these vowels (Mosse, p. 25).

Categorical Explanations:

OE ea appears as e

wexe, wexinge, wexip--unknown

OE ea appears as u

schul--unknown

OE ea appears as y

nygt, ny_zt, ny_zte, ny_ztis--could be from OE niht or OE nyht.

OE ēā appears as e/ee

general development in the West-Midlands and Kentish

OE ēā appears as i

unknown--all

OE ēā appears as ie

hie--metathesis

OE ēā appears as y

hy₃e, ny₃, y₃e, y₃en--unknown

OE eo appears as e in be (i, 4; i, 42; ii, 41; iii, 1; ff.), berken (xiii, 597), bifel (xii, 113), bireueþ (vii, 56), clepe (iii, 13), clepid (xii, 102; xii, 104; xii, 490; xiii, 170; xiii, 266), derk (xxii, 35), derkenes (viii, 280; xii, 374; xviii, 69), erpe (iv, 9; iv, 45; iv, 52; iv, 58; vi, 50; ff.), erpe- (iv, 3; vi, 43; viii, 57), fer (xii, 129; xiii, 347; xiii, 468; xiii, 483; xviii, 37), grew (v, 33; xii, 22), hem (vi, 28; vi, 35; vi, 36; vi, 39; vi, 40; ff.), herken (xiii, 234), hert (xv, 51), herte (iv, 7; iv, 15; iv, 67; iv, 72; iv, 73; ff.), hertile (xvii, 37), hertili (iv, 94; viii, 40; xviii, 28), hertis (ix, 3), heuen (iii, 2; iii, 3; iii, 6; iii, 28; iv, 24; ff.), heuene (ii, 15; iv, 58; v, 20; v, 52; v, 58; ff.), heuene-riche (viii, 30), heuenli (vi, 25; vii, 25), lerne (xiii, 90; xiii, 112; xiii, 242; xv, 26; xv, 29; ff.), lerved

(xii, 199; xvi, 17; xv, 34), repe (xii, 38), seuene (iii, 9; xiii, 631), smerte (vi, 9; xviii, 67), sterre (ii, 34; iii, 3; xii, 133), swerd (xiii, 586), werk (iv, 118; v, 39; x, 111; xi, 20; xix, 35; ff.), werkes (viii, 130), werkis (iv, 95; iv, 97; vii, 40; viii, 259; x, 123; ff.).

OE eo appears as ee (duplication shows length) in bee (v, 52; vii, 23; xix, 155; xxiii, 102), leerne (viii, 33; xiii, 126; xiii, 624), learned (x, 126), leernynge (xiii, 99), reepe (xiii, 375), vnlearned (x, 110).

OE eo appears as i in bri₃t (i, 3; i, 44; i, 62; ii, 10; iii, 3; ff.), br₃tnes (i, 68), fight (xii, 258), fi₃t (vii, 57; iv, 89; xiii, 256), fi₃te (xiii, 445; xiii, 463; xiii, 515; xv, 20), 3istirday (xiii, 353), hirde (vi, 52), milke (xiii, 66).

OE eo appears as o in 3ong (v, 25; xviii, 47; xviii, 60), 3onge (viii, 98; ix, 1; ix, 30; x, 1; xii, 72; ff.), schorte (xiii, 131), worschip (xvi, 40), worschipe (xii, 87; xii, 130; xiii, 279; xxi, 6; xxi, 17; ff.), worschipid (xiii, 181), worschipide (x, 82; xii, 40), worthi (xxiii, 23), wor₃p (xix, 74), worpi (xvi, 21; xix, 114), worpiest (xii, 343), worpili (xviii, 55).

OE eo appears as oo in schoorte (xvi, 25).

OE eo appears as ou (due to the medial, palatal g) in yougpe (xiii, 477), 3ougpe (xiii, 349; xiii, 361; xiii, 453; xiii, 455;

xiii, 457; ff.), 3outhe (xiii, 345), 3oupe (xiii, 101; xiii, 227; xiii, 229; xiii, 277; xiii, 313; ff.), 3oupis (xiii, 633).

OE eo appears as u in schuld (x, 109), schulde (iv, 3; iv, 17; iv, 19; iv, 71; iv, 73; ff.), schulden (vii, 32; vii, 37; ix, 39; x, 110; x, 114; ff.), schuldist (xiii, 19).

OE eo appears as y in blyue (xii, 177; xix, 30), mylk (ii, 23).

OE eō appears as e in beinge (xviii, 99; xx, 8), ben (i, 60; ii, 20; v, 62; vii, 7; vii, 18; ff.), bi-twene (xiii, 184; xxi, 27), bitwene (xiii, 612; xiii, 449), breſt (viii, 194; xviii, 93), chekis (xiv, 31), creplis (xii, 170), depe (xxiii, 45; viii, 212), dere (i, 63; iii, 1; iv, 44; iv, 50; iv, 71; ff.), derling (i, 63), derlinge (viii, 107), derworpiest (xii, 352), deuel (xi, 13; xii, 41; xii, 57; xii, 81; xii, 93; ff.), deuelis (xii, 3; xii, 4w; xii, 97; xii, 254; xii, 391; ff.), felawis (xiii, 94; xii, 319; xv, 20), fere (i, 60; x, 111; xii, 308; xii, 403; xvi, 16), fle (xviii, 86), forbede (xii, 273; xiii, 209), fre (iv, 57; xx, 18), freli (xxii, 18), frende (xiii, 503), frendis (xiii, 410; xiii, 494; xiii, 570; xiii, 580), frewille (xiii, 111), knelid (xviii, 17), lemys (ii, 12), lesing (xii, 461), lesinge (xviii, 108), sche (v, 52; xii, 426; xii, 476; xiii, 654; xviii, 83; ff.), se (i, 2; i, 11; iv, 1; iv, 10; iv, 68; ff.), tene (viii, 71), these (xiii, 600),

þese (vi, 47; xii, 17; xii, 367; xiii, 43; xiii, 290; ff.),
þeus (xiii, 449), þre (vii, 4; x, 105; xii, 122; xii, 129;
 xii, 134; ff.), went (viii, 45; viii, 191; xii, 209; xiv, 18;
 xvii, 23; ff.), wente (i, 45; iv, 51; iv, 81; vi, 14; x, 11;
 ff.), whele (xiii, 493).

OE ēō appears as ee (duplication shows length) in been (vi, 39;
 vi, 41; xiii, 496), breest (viii, 209; xiii, 122), deer
 (x, 108), feend (vii, 15; vii, 43; vii, 57; vii, 79; ix, 59;
 ff.), feende (iv, 116; xii-, 641), feendis (ii, 21; v, 83;
 xii, 9; xii, 175; xii, 272; ff.), flee (iv, 111; viii, 72;
 x, 91; xii, 356; xii, 449; ff.), free (iv, 107; vii, 28; vii,
 42; xii, 283; xii, 365; ff.), freelli (xxiii, 3), freend
 (iv, 86; v, 69; x, 46; x, 94; xxii, 17; ff.), freende (xii,
 444; xiii, 16; xiii, 158; xiii, 418; xiii, 636), freendis
 (ix, 9; xiii, 100; xiii, 437; xiii, 649; xiv, 37; ff.),
freendschip (xiv, 39; xxii, 18), freewille (xiii, 47), knee
 (xviii, 22), leeme (xii, 355), leesen (x, 117), leesinge
 (iv, 4), preest (xiii, 590; xix, 108), preestis (x, 106; x,
 109; xviii, 55), seest (xxii, 44), seep (xviii, 50), teene
 (xiii, 122), tree (vi, 6; v, 82; viii, 263; xii, 274; xii, 286;
 ff.), trees (vii, 29), þeef (x, 57), þeefte (x, 61), þeeuis
 (xiii, 200), weede (xiii, 627), weele (xiii, 306; xiii, 437;
 xiii, 523).

OE ēō appears as ew (due to medial w) in knew (xii, 10; xii, 143; xviii, 45; xxi, 47), knewe (v, 35; vii, 71; viii, 86; viii, 234; xii, 18; ff.), new (xii, 12; xviii, 24), newe (viii, 84; x, 101; xii, 453; xiii, 300; xiii, 354; ff.), rewful (xviii, 32; xix, 82), trewe (viii, 82; viii, 90; x, 100; xiii, 164; xiii, 175; ff.), trewer (xix, 51), vntrewe (viii, 64; xxii, 45).

OE ēō appears as eew (due to medial w) in neewe (xii, 101; xii, 200).

OE ēō appears as i in brist (viii, 205; xviii, 36), fli_z (xviii, 9), light (x, 114; xii, 225; li_zt (ii, 12; v, 20; viii, 97; viii, 151, viii, 231; ff.), li_zte (xiii, 146; xiii, 370; xiii, 447; xiii, 452; xiii, 457; ff.), li_zthond (ii, 27), li_ztnesse (xiii, 33; xiii, 437), li_ztnynge (xii, 133).

OE ēō appears as o in zode (xii, 223).

OE ēō appears as ou (due to medial w and displacement of accent) in four (xiii, 481), fourtene (xiii, 84), fourti (xiii, 305), fourty (xii, 55), zou (xii, 284; xii, 383; xii, 449; xii, 450; xii, 451; ff.), zoure (ix, 3; xii, 253; xii, 264; xiii, 639; xiv, 10), troupe (xxiii, 69), trouthe (xii, 26), troupe (xii, 261; xiii, 312; xiii, 315; xix, 54).

OE ēō appears as ue (due first to medial w, then a reduction of the diphthong to u) in rue (xix, 97), true (iv, 13; iv, 88; viii, 232; x, 9; xx, 32; xx, 54; ff.).

DISCUSSION

For discussion of the reflexes of OE ēō see Chapter IV, pp. 76-77.

Categorical Explanations:

OE eo appears as i

unknown--all

OE eo appears as o, oo

possible influence of Danelaw region

OE eo appears as u

all forms of schuld--unknown

OE ēō appears as i

unknown--all

OE ēō appears as o

Inasmuch as all Old Norse diphthongs were rising diphthongs, it is not surprising to find 3ode as the reflex of ēode in the former Danelaw, cf. OE Eoforwic, ME York.

OE i appears as e in hue (v, 26; viii, 230), renne (xii, 210; xiii, 427), rennyng (xvii, 7), werne (xii, 406).

OE i appears as ee in scheelde (iv, 116), weelcome (xiii, 111; xiii, 327).

OE i appears as i in ari₃t (xviii, 111), bid (xiii, 643), bidding (x, 99), biddinge (x, 7), biddip (xiii, 154; xiii, 594; xvii, 7; xiii, 79), bihinde (xviii, 99), binde (xiii, 109; xiii, 520), bindip (viii, 180), bischipis (x, 85; xvi, 22), bisie (xxii, 29), bitter (vi, 13), bitterli (vii, 131), bittir (iv, 3; xii, 94; xii, 366; xix, 44), bittirli (iv, 62; xix, 22; xxii, 96), bittirnes (vii, 55), bitwixe (vii, 96), blindip (xviii, 49), blinne (xxii, 29), blis (i, 30; i, 38; i, 39; i, 62; iii, 23; ff.), bliss (i, 22), blisse (x, 142; xii, 86; xii, 485), bring (iii, 23; xvii, 7), bringe (i, 30; vi, 51; vi, 54; viii, 14; viii, 42; ff.), bringeþ (x, 67), child (ii, 2; xii, 468; xiii, 4; xiii, 11; xiii, 17; ff.), childe (i, 36; iv, 108; viii, 238; xii, 2; xii, 124; ff.), childhode (xiii, 83; xv, 19; xv, 22), childhood (xiii, 81), childis (xii, 7), children (xii, 139; xii, 182; xii, 465; xiii, 80; xv, 18; ff.), chirche (vi, 50; xiii, 210; xx, 37), clinge (xv, 68; xvii, 20), cristen (ii, 47), di₃t (iv, 91; vii, 59; xv, 67), di₃te (xiii, 517), disciplis (ix, 15; xii, 429; xii, 442), drink (xxi, 19), drinke (xii, 56; xii, 451; xiii, 196; xiii, 578), drinkis (xiii, 264), fil (xii, 142; xviii, 19; xviii, 22; xix, 77), finde (viii, 85; xii, 175), griste (xiii, 504), it (ix, 19; ix, 43; ix, 50; x, 101; xii, 36; ff.), itt (x, 23), hider (xii, 265; xvii, 22), hidir (xii, 238; xii, 241; xii, 247; xii, 308; xii, 349; ff.), him (viii, 233; viii, 265; viii, 275; viii, 278; x, 64; ff.), hindren (x, 55), hindringe (xxi, 39; xxiii, 54), hir (i, 66; v, 8; v, 35; v, 51;

viii, 118; xii, 6; ff.), his (iv, 15; iv, 21; iv, 35; iv, 40; iv, 45; ff.), hise (iv, 65; iv, 68; viii, 212; viii, 217; viii, 219; ff.), icche (xiv, 25; xiv, 69), ilke (viii, 254; xiii, 3), in (i, 1; i, 4; i, 11; i, 13; i, 20; ff.), inne (xiii, 62; xix, 149), in-si₃t (xiii, 250), in-si₃te (xiii, 339), in-to (iv, 119; viii, 11; viii, 5; viii, 30; viii, 31; ff.), into (iii, 27; vii, 74; viii, 18; viii, 53; viii, 149; ff.), is (i, 61; i, 66; i, 69; ii, 27; i, 55; ff.), it (i, 45; iii, 7; iv, 1; v, 81; vii, 15; ff.), ligge (viii, 127; xiii, 380), liggen (viii, 121; xiii, 376), lie (xiii, 270; xiii, 509), liest (xiii, 546), liep (xii, 266; xiii, 540), lijs (i, 29; xii, 41; xii, 388; xiii, 183; xiii, 279; ff.), lillye (xiii, 298), lippis (i, 43; i, 46), liuep (xxii, 1), liuynge (xviii, 29), mi₃t (xviii, 92), mi₃te (xvi, 38), quicke (xix, 116), quik (v, 34; xx, 30), right (xii, 261; xii, 278; xii, 296; xii, 433), ri₃t (iv, 95; vii, 18; vii, 50; x, 89; xii, 40; ff.), ri₃te (xiii, 148; xiii, 443; xiii, 459), ri₃tful (x, 122), ri₃tfulli (xviii, 53), ri₃tli (vi, 52), ri₃tis (i, 28), ri₃twijsli (vii, 85), ri₃twijsnes (x, 83; xix, 80; xix, 152; xix, 160), ri₃twisnes (xix, 16; xix, 32; xix, 64; xix, 88; xix, 96; xix, 112; ff.), schilde (xiii, 526), schip (xiii, 59), schrifte (xiii, 35), sight (xii, 172), si₃t (i, 1; vii, 17; vii, 56; viii, 149; x, 208; ff.), si₃te (v, 23; viii, 233; xii, 231; xiii, 411; xiii, 441), sikir (ix, 50), sikirly (xii, 811), singe (xxii, 63), sitte (i, 19; i, 35; viii, 193; xii, 344; xii, 502), sitten (xviii, 20), sittist (iii, 20;

xx, 26), sittip (i, 38), sipen (iv, 27; viii, 189; viii, 262;
 xii, 34; xii, 193; ff.), sixe (xiii, 60), sixte (xxi, 28),
sixtene (xxiii, 16), sixti (xiii, 337; xiii, 425), slidir
 (xii, 269), spille (iv, 39; viii, 64; viii, 164; xiii, 43;
 xiii, 230; ff.), spillist (xiii, 281; xix, 55), spilt (vi, 32;
 viii, 206), spring (vii, 54), springip (xii, 293), stille
 (i, 42; i, 47; xii, 339; xii, 372; xiii, 41; ff.), stilnes
 (xxii, 66), stinckeþ (x, 68), swing (viii, 203), til (ii, 22;
 xii, 27; xii, 83; xii, 220; xii, 434; ff.), tille (iv, 103;
 viii, 168; viii, 181; xv, 4), þider (xii, 271), þidir (xiii,
 647), þing (iv, 16; iv, 87; vi, 23; viii, 12; viii, 52; ff.),
þingis (x, 81; xxiii, 73; xxiii, 77; xxiii, 81; xxiii, 85),
þirle (viii, 147), þirllid (xii, 235), þrid (xx, 24),
þridde (x, 65; x, 84; xii, 112; xii, 41; xx, 34; ff.), vnbinde
 (xix, 53), which (x, 51; x, 107; xii, 326; xviii, 110; xx, 35),
whiche (ii, 26; vii, 82), whidir (xii, 223; xiii, 375; xiii,
 402; xxiii, 2), wicked (iv, 118; viii, 130; ix, 25; ix, 56;
 xiii, 71; ff.), wickidli (xvii, 41; xxiii, 41), wickidnes
 (xix, 101; xxiii, 65), wickidnesse (xiii, 563), wijnde (xvi,
 9), wil (vi, 4; vii, 20; viii, 157; ix, 61; x, 3; ff.), wilde
 (xiii, 79; xiii, 94; xiii, 361; xviii, 103; xix, 27), wildenes
 (xviii, 86), wildirnes (xii, 53), wildirnesse (xiii, 14), wilfulli
 (xix, 35; xix, 150; xxii, 75), wilis (xii, 49; xiii, 178),
wille (i, 45; iv, 35; iv, 79; iv, 99; viii, 58; ff.), wilne
 (xiii, 550; xix, 142; xxii, 19), windis (xiii, 372), wist
 (xii, 233; xiv, 41), wistist (xiii, 311), wite (ix, 67;

x, 32; x, 112; x, 136; xiii, 183), with-inne (iv, 21; viii, 39; viii, 76; xii, 137; ff.), withinne (xvi, 5; xvii, 31), with-ynne (xiii, 7), wiþ-inne (viii, 127; viii, 161), wiþ-ynne (viii, 80), witnes (xii, 218; xii, 230; xii, 266; xxi, 33; ff.), witnesse (xiii, 167), witnessiþ (xviii, 44), witt (ii, 6; ii, 37; v, 13; x, 18; xii, 93; ff.), witte (xiii, 56; xiii, 242; xiii, 280), wittis (iv, 115; xiii, 50; xiii, 178; xiii, 219; xix, 129), wringe (xiii, 295), writen (viii, 4; xii, 74; xii, 91), writt (v, 18; xii, 77; xii, 91; xii, 279; xviii, 97; ff.), writte (xiii, 607), written (xvi, 5; xviii, 15), y-wis (i, 54; xiii, 190), y-wisse (xiii, 331).

OE i appears as ie in schielde (viii, 244; viii, 273), wielde (viii, 240; x, 1; x, 17; xii, 8; xiv, 58).

OE i appears as y in atwynne (xiii, 222), blyndid (viii, 217), blynne (viii, 163; xiii, 544; xix, 66), blynes (xiii, 83), brynge (viii, 199; xiii, 291), byndiþ (viii, 108), drynking (xiii, 204), dym (xii, 373), fynde (iv, 31; iv, 104; vii, 65; x, 73; xiii, 21; ff.), fyndiþ (x, 101; viii, 88; xiii, 208), fyschis (xii, 179), grym (xii, 369), gryst (xii, 100), in-syght (x, 119), kny₃t (xv, 33), kny₃thode (x, 113), kny₃tis (x, 106), knyt (v, 17; v, 38; xii, 95), lyme (xii, 71), lymes (xiii, 485), lyue (iv, 79; v, 70; vi, 36; viii, 33; viii, 136; ff.), lyued (xiv, 73; xix, 113; xix, 133), lyuede (xii, 59), lyueden (xiii, 378), lyueþ (viii, 237; xiv, 71), lyuyng (xii, 66;

xx, 40; xxiii, 36), lyuynge (x, 84; xii, 78; xii, 463; xiii, 219; xv, 66), myddil (vi, 50), myddis (xii, 123), myghte (xii, 79; xii, 81; xii, 140; xii, 176; xii, 257), myghte (xii, 44), myghti (xii, 259), my_zt (i, 6; iii, 4; v, 14; vi, 18; viii, 54; ff.), my_zte (iv, 1; iv, 92; iv, 93; viii, 27; xii, 406; ff.), my_ztili (v, 43; xiii, 403), my_ztist (xii, 338), mylde (ii, ; iii, 6; ix, 38; xii, 4; xii, 359; ff.), myldeli (viii, 220), myrie (xii, 327; xiii, 93; xiii, 284; xiii, 294; xiii, 363; ff.), myst (xii, 17; xii, 98; xviii, 70), nym (xii, 371), nyste (xii, 163; xii, 232), pyn (xii, 410), quycke (xii, 462), ry_ztwisnes (xix, 48), skyn (xiii, 492), sprynge (i, 27; xiii, 289), spryng (viii, 280), swynk (xvii, 30; xvii, 32), syght (xiv, 15), synge (viii, 16; viii, 133; viii, 193; xii, 360; xiii, 293; ff.), twynkeling (xvi, 24), tylle (viii, 60), wrynge (viii, 129), wynde (xiii, 207; xiii, 281), wyndis (xii, 411), wyndip (xi, 12), wynne (iv, 23; viii, 15; viii, 165; xii, 296; xiii, 271, ff.), wynnen (xiii, 127), wynnes (xiii, 85), wynnep (x, 62; xvii, 9), wyntir (xiii, 9; xiii, 114; xiii, 466), wynnynge (xxiii, 50), wyste (xii, 236), yf (xxiii, 11), ynne (xii, 412; xiii, 359), ys (xvi, 19; xxiii, 26), yt (xviii, 109), y-wys (xiii, 321; xiii, 434; xviii, 50; xviii, 73), I-wys (xiii, 545).

OE i appears as ye in myelde (viii, 242; x, 19; xii, 441).

OE i appears as i in a-bide (ix, 43; xxii, 74), abide (xiii, 249; xii, 157; i, 51; i, 3; xv, 36; ff.), a-bidiþ (ix, 70), abidiþ (xxiii, 85; xxiii, 88), abite (xiii, 288), adwiten (xiii, 396), arise (xii, 239; xiii, 380; xxiii, 4), aside (xiii, 253), bi (i, 19; i, 35; iv, 19; iv, 33; vii, 49; ff.), bidde (xii, 151; xiii, 105; xiii, 529), biside (xiii, 135; xv, 70; xxii, 76), bisidis (xv, 2), bite (xiii, 398), bitee (xiii, 619), blinde (iv, 102; xiii, 205; xvi, 10), chide (xiii, 152; xiii, 255; xiii, 260), fifthe (xxi, 24), fifti (xiii, 321), friday (ix, 52), glide (viii, 216; xxii, 53), idil (xiii, 329), liche (xvi, 14), li₃tneþ (xii, 373), lijf (iv, 32; iv, 60; iv, 70; iv, 77; v, 79; ff.), like (xvii, 15), likened (xvi, 26; xviii, 43), likid (iv, 16), likinge (iv, 9; viii, 59; viii, 66; viii, 109; viii, 141; ff.), liking (i, 50; iv, 8; xiii, 35; xiii, 309; xv, 43; ff.), likingnes (xviii, 75), likingly (xviii, 20), likne (viii, 11; xv, 9), likyng (x, 36), mi (iv, 37; iv, 53; iv, 58; iv, 69; v, 79; ff.), pile (xii, 139), pilis (xiii, 182), pipis (xiii, 364), riche (ii, 28; viii, 129; x, 54; x, 57; xii, 90; ff.), richee (xiii, 328; xvi, 13), richelees (xiii, 63; xiii, 119; xiii, 245; xiii, 575), richesse (xiii, 18; xiii, 168; xiii, 257; xiii, 315; xii, 330; ff.), ride (xii, 159; xiii, 133; xiii, 251), ripe (xii, 37), rise (i, 28), risen (vii, 46; viii, 123; xii, 229), schineþ (i, 58), schinynge (iii, 3), schriue (xix, 108), side (viii, 210; ix, 41; xii, 221; xiii, 131; ff.), sidis (iv, 65; x, 6), si₃e (viii, 229; xii, 123; xii, 42), si₃ed (xix, 81), si₃ede (xii, 347), si₃hande (viii,

261), si_zing (xiii, 38), si_zinge (viii, 177; xv, 12), si_zkep (xiii, 558), si_zynge (xv, 4; xviii, 23), sipis (xix, 86), sti_z (xii, 460; xx, 25), stijfly (xii, 108), swipe (xiii, 348), thi (i, 5; vii, 48; xxii, 89; xxiii, 101), tide (viii, 214; xviii, 2), tijd (xviii, 1), pi (i, 2; i, 3; i, 11; i, 13; i, 36; ff.), pin (i, 21; iv, 4; vi, 10; vi, 14; vi, 35; ff.), pine (viii, 174; xiii, 441; xvi, 29; xxi, 14), pritti (xii, 51; xiii, 249), while (viii, 178; x, 98; xii, 72; xii, 137; xii, 141; ff.), whilis (x, 95), white (viii, 209; xiii, 450), wide (viii, 212; xviii, 45), wijf (ii, 187; xii, 215; xxi, 27; xxii, 68; xxii, 81), wijn (viii, 101), wijs (xii, 45; xii, 167; xiii, 637; xix, 94), wijsdom (v, 13; xiii, 276; xiii, 439), wijsdome (ii, 6), wijse (xiii, 382), wile (xiii, 606), wis (iv, 115; xiii, 94), wise (vi, 24; vi, 34; ix, 74; xii, 400; xiii, 134; ff.), wisest (viii, 4; viii, 215), wisse (v, 68), write (xi, 21; xii, 33; xiii, 621), writip (xiii, 598).

OE ī appears as ie in stie (xvii, 48).

OE ī appears as ii in liif (viii, 126; viii, 223; xii, 418; xvii, a).

OE ī appears as i_j (alternate form of i, duplication shows length in li_jfe (iii, 22; xiii, 392), li_jk (xii, 198; xiv, 66), li_jke (viii, 28; viii, 32), li_jknes (iv, 21; viii, 171).

OE ī appears as iy in wiyn (xii, 177), wiyte (x, 8; x, 16; x, 24; x, 40; x, 48; ff.).

OE ī appears as o in woman (xii, 186), women (xii, 182), womman (xiii, 108; xiii, 231), wommen (ii, 19; ii, 31; x, 29; xiii, 93; xiii, 226).

OE ī appears as y in blyndid (viii, 217), by (vii, 90), drye (vii, 79), fyue (vii, 77; xii, 179; xii, 180; xix, 129), knyf (xii, 185), lyues (iii, 27), my (i, 7; i, 9; i, 4; i, 6; i, 21; ff.), myn (i, 15; iv, 7; iv, 72; iv, 73; vi, 7; ff.), myne (iv, 15; iv, 50; vi, 21; viii, 172; x, 8; ff.), pyne (viii, 99; viii, 120; viii, 170; viii, 214), ryde (xv, 34), ryse (xx, 52), schryue (xix, 15), schynyng (viii, 183; xii, 122), tyde (xiii, 368), tyme (viii, 50; x, 2; xii, 128; xii, 317; xii, 491; ff.), ydil (xiii, 207; xxi, 9; xxii, 25), ydilnes (xviii, 103).

DISCUSSION

In closed syllables, i, like the rest of the Old English short vowels, remained without change in ME (Mosse, p. 19). Whereas generally, "long accented vowels shorten in closed syllables before consonant groups (except for groups which caused the first phase of lengthening)," but aside from this, the long vowels remained in Middle English (Mosse, pp. 18-20).

Categorical Explanation:

OE i appears as e

renne, rennyng, werne, for₃euenes, for₃ete, for₃etip, for₃eue,
₃eue, ₃eueþ--unknown.

OE i appears as ee

for₃eeuenes, scheelde, weelcome--unknown

OE i appears as ie

schielde, wielde--e shows length

OE i appears as y

y is an alternate form of i.

OE i appears as ye

myelde--e shows length.

OE ī appears as ie, ii, iy

Second letter shows length.

OE ī appears as o

woman, women, wommen--unknown

OE ī appears as e

hue--unknown

DISCUSSION

In closed syllables, u, like the rest of the Old English short vowels, remained without change in ME (Mosse, p. 19). Whereas generally, "long accented vowels shorten in closed syllables before consonant groups (except for groups which caused the first phase of lengthening), but aside from this, the long vowels remained in Middle English" (Mosse, pp. 18-20).

OE u appears as o, oo

The o(o) appears to make MS easier to read because of abundance of minims.

OE u appears as ow

The o appears to make MS easier to read because of abundance of minims, and the w shows length.

OE ū appears as ou

The u shows length.

OE ū appears as ow

The w shows length.

OE y appears as e in berke (xiii, 619), dedist (xii, 299; xiii, 478), 3erninge (xiii, 44), 3ernynge (, 197), helden (xii, 4), stente (x, 37), steren (xiii, 398).

OE y appears as ee in heelden (xii, 98).

OE o appears as a in cam (xvii, 25), came (xii, 232; xii, 412).

OE o appears as o in a-fore (v, 56), apostolis (xxiii, 7), a-slope (xii, 427), bifore (iv, 26; vii, 12; vii, 24; vii, 36; vii, 60; ff.), biforn (xii, 467; xiii, 357), bodi (i, 23; i, 30; i, 52; v, 30; v, 54; ff.), bodies (viii, 121; xii, 446), body (v, 66; xii, 68; xii, 266; xii, 456; xiii, 31; ff.), bolt (xii, 410), boren (xii, 2; xii, 171; xv, 10), born (v, 19; vii, 71; xii, 113; xiii, 12; xiv, 1; ff.), borun (xii, 465), broken (xii, 412), chosen (i, 33; xii, 358; xxiii, 8; xxiii, 72), clot (v, 31; xvii, 20), cole (xix, 44; viii, 25), corn (xiii, 359), corne (xiii, 627), cropen (xv, 45), crose (viii, 201), do (i, 3; ii, 22; vi, 12; vi, 23; vii, 12; ff.), dore (xiv, 44), drope (xii, 425), flockis (vi, 51), folewe (ix, 39), folewide (x, 12; xii, 201), folewip (xviii, 76), folowe (xiii, 48), folowith (xiii, 82), folk (xii, 371; xii, 373; xiii, 78; xiii, 164; xiii, 175; ff.), folke (xiii, 43; xiii, 299; xiii, 426), for (i, 17; i, 12; i, 61; i, 66; ii, 47; ff.), for-lore (x, 44), forthi (xii, 304), forp (xii, 454; xiii, 585; xiii, 601; xviii, 80; xix, 8; ff.), forpe (xiii, 106), for-pi (viii, 89; xxii, 103), godhede (iv, 80; xii, 22; xii, 67; xii, 268; xx, 27), godli (xx, 24), golde (xvii, 14), gospel (v, 19; xiii, 188; xiii, 537; xiii, 547; xiii, 553), holt (xv, 2), holte (xv, 70), hope (vii, 47; ix, 19; xii, 311; xiii, 535; xiii, 601, ff.), hopip (xxiii, 81), horde (xiii, 529), locke (xiii, 128; xiii, 630), lok (xii, 410), los

(xxiii, 76), losse (xiii, 256), lost (xix, 91; xix, 123),
loste (xii, 231; xii, 310; xii, 326; xix, 78), losten
(xii, 225), molde (xvii, 13; xvii, 13), morewe (xv, 9),
morowtide (xviii, 70), nose (xiv, 31), of (i, 26; i, 27; i, 29;
i, 46; i, 52; ff.), ofte (xi, 15; xi, 16; xiii, 472; xvi, 28;
xviii, 86; ff.), often (xix, 122), open (xviii, 30), opene
(xii, 354; xx, 31), openep (xi, 14; xii, 252; xii, 260; xii,
263), ouercome (iv, 82), ouer-goo (xii, 320), score (xiii,
481), sorewe (viii, 132; xiii, 8; xiv, 56; xiv, 78; xv, 11;
ff.), sorewen (viii, 117), sorewful (xiii, 582), sorowe
(v, 71; ix, 41; xiii, 336; xiii, 351; xiii, 622; ff.), sowowe
(xiii, 38), stolen (xiii, 461), to-fore (vii, 48), tofore
(vii, 84), to-morowe (xiii, 353), tomorowe (xvi, 35), top
(xii, 244), porn (viii, 207), pornes (xviii, 67), wold (xiv,
58; xvii, 5), wolde (iv, 13; iv, 59; iv, 89; viii, 64; viii,
78; ff.), wolden (vii, 69; xiv, 50), woldist (v, 75; xii, 296;
xiii, 174; xiii, 562; xiii, 574; ff.), wole (iv, 32; iv, 39;
iv, 84; iv, 86; iv, 108; ff.), wolen (x, 54; xii, 390; xiii,
290; xiv, 27; xiv, 31; ff.), wolt (vi, 54; viii, 7; viii, 33;
viii, 133; viii, 268; ff.), wonye (viii, 80; xii, 328), word
(v, 79; ix, 18; x, 111; xii, 411; xviii, 16; ff.), worde
(vi, 4; vii, 20; x, 122; xii, 67; xii, 110; ff.), wordis
(xii, 94; xii, 307; xii, 316; xii, 322; xii, 435; ff.),
wordli (vi, 8), world (iv, 22; v, 41; vii, 8; vii, 11; viii,
69, ff.), worldde (v, 52; vii, 57; xiii, 593; xiii, 617;
xiii, 641, ff.), worldis (vii, 55; viii, 56; xii, 146; xii,

376; xiii, 568), worldli (ix, 34; x, 33; xii, 86; xiv, 63; xiv, 85), worldlis (xiii, 417), y-bore (xiii, 552), y-born (v, 21).

OE o appears as oo (duplication shows length) in boore (xii, 351), croos (xx, 19; x, 99; x, 110; xiii, 235; xiii, 237), hool (xii, 174; xii, 243; xiii, 310; xiv, 57; xx, 49), hoope (xiii, 607), hoore (xiii, 338; xiii, 561), loost (xiii, 99), looste (xiii, 318), poot (xvi, 4), soote (viii, 248), stoolen (xiii, 464), y-loore (xiv, 5).

OE o appears as ou in vnourne (xiii, 404).

OE o appears as ou (due to medial h) in bou_zt (vi, 2; vii, 16; viii, 75; viii, 225; viii, 251; ff.), bou_zte (viii, 146), bou_ztist (x, 43), y-bou_zte (iv, 50).

OE ō appears as au (due to medial h) in sau_zte (xiii, 592).

OE ō appears as ew in drewis (xiii, 66).

OE ō appears as o in anothir (x, 57; xii, 24), a-no_per (xii, 136), blodi (iv, 65), blome (xii, 293), blosmes (i, 44; i, 62), bonde (xii, 381; xiii, 44; xiii, 604), bote (iv, 104; iv, 105; viii, 246; vi, 16; xii, 414; ff.), botelees (xxii, 42), bro_per (iv, 33; x, 115; xix, 90), bro_pir (x, 59), cok (xviii, 109),

crokis (xii, 170), domysday (viii, 70), fode (iv, 31; v, 67; vi, 43; xii, 59), forsope (ii, 44; iv, 69; viii, 241; xii, 65; xii, 291; ff.), for-sope (viii, 81), moder (i, 5; i, 7; i, 15; i, 17; i, 22; ff.), modir (ii, 1; ii, 42; v, 9; v, 57; vii, 78; ff.), modris (xiii, 4), mote (iii, 28; vi, 16; vi, 23; xiii, 464; xiii, 585), oper (xiii, 136; xiii, 214; xiii, 421; xiv, 35; xiv, 39), opere (xii, 387; xiii, 132), operis (xiii, 156), opir (x, 55; x, 113; xii, 80; xiii, 432; xv, 26; ff.), scole (xv, 25), scolee (xii, 163), soft (xxiii, 67), softe (v, 3), sote (v, 3), sothe (xiv, 4), sope (xxi, 35), sopeli (iv, 10; xiii, 172), to (i, 6; i, 9; i, 25; i, 30; i, 30; ff.), toke (iv, 26; iv, 103; xiii, 471), vnsoft (xxii, 37).

OE \bar{o} appears as oo (duplication shows length) in a-loone (iv, 4; v, 42; vii, 3; xii, 466; xiii, 509), aloone (iv, 59; ix, 10; xii, 78; xiii, 13), blood (iv, 63; v, 29; vi, 2; vi, 53; vii, 41; ff.), bloode (vi, 16), bloodi (viii, 210; viii, 218; viii, 252), bloody (viii, 264), booke (xxiii, 12), doom (vii, 23; vii, 59; vii, 68; vii, 83; vii, 461), doome (ii, 22; xii, 295; xii, 415; xiii, 189), doon (ii, 19; viii, 208; x, 107; xii, 188; xii, 216; ff.), doone (iii, 23), flood (xiii, 196), foode (viii, 202), foot (xii, 76), foote (v, 7; xiii, 123), good (iii, 7; vi, 27; vi, 55; x, 37; ix, 34; x, 109; ff.), goode (vi, 41; xii, 217; xii, 249), goodis (xiii,

394), goodli (i, 43; ii, 33), goodnesse (xiii, 564), looke (xxiii, 15), mood (ix, 38; ix, 76; x, 35; xiii, 51; xix, 17; ff.), moone (iii, 8; v, 45; vii, 5; ix, 12; xii, 225; ff.), roode (vi, 6; vii, 82, viii, 208; ix, 36; xii, 211, ff.), scoole (xii, 164), soone (iii, 22; xii, 209; xii, 232; xii, 320; xiii, 68; ff.), soop (xii, 281; xv, 31; xxiii, 98), soope (xii, 437; xxii, 93), soopefast (vi, 26), soopfast (v, 37; xii, 207), stood (viii, 204), stooden (xii, 269), stoodist (xii, 333), stoole (xii, 165), took (iv, 37; iv, 74; v, 10; x, 11; x, 30; xii, 292; ff.), tooke (xxiii, 13), woode (xii, 173; xiii, 55), y-doo (xii, 438).

OE \bar{o} appears as ou (due to medial h) in bisou_zte (xix, 79), sou_zt (vii, 21; viii, 77; xix, 74; xxii, 93), sou_zte (iv, 52), pou_zt (vi, 4; vii, 20; viii, 9; viii, 35; viii, 53; ff.), pou_zte (iv, 18; xii, 57; xii, 136; xii, 143; xii, 430; ff.).

OE \bar{o} appears as ow (due to medial w) in flowe (xiii, 368), growe (xiii, 626), growinge (vii, 29), wowe (xiii, 362), y-now (xiii, 567), y-nowe (xiii, 364).

OE \bar{o} appears as u in must (ix, 30; xiii, 54; xiii, 58; xiii, 238; xiii, 230; ff.), muste (xii, 155; xiii, 101; xiii, 220; xiii, 221; xiii, 230; ff.).

DISCUSSION

In closed syllables, o, like the rest of the Old English short vowels, remained without change in ME (Mosse, p. 19). Whereas generally, "long accented vowels shorten in closed syllables before consonant groups (except for groups which caused the first phase of lengthening), but aside from this, the long vowels remained in Middle English" (Mosse, pp. 18-20).

Categorical Explanations:

OE o appears as a
cam, came--unknown

OE o appears as ou
vnourne--unknown

OE ō appears as ew
drewis--unknown

OE ō appears as u
must, muste--unknown

OE u appears as o in a-boue (xvi, 31), aboue (i, 7; xii, 334), bicome (xii, 87; xiii, 288; xv, 37; xvi, 17), biloued (xvi, 1; xvi, 16), bondman (xiii, 110), come (i, 9; i, 63; ii, 30; ii, 46; viii, 46; ff.), comen (xii, 459), comeþ (xii, 363; xiii, 87; xiii, 244), comyng (xiv, 76), comynyng (xx, 38), doluen (xix, 116), dombe (xii, 171), for-clonge (v, 31), hony (xi, 6), loue (iii, 22; iv, 3; iv, 6; iv, 8; iv, 9; iv, 11; ff.), loued (xiii, 365; xiii, 395; xiii, 495; xvii, a), soueden (xiii, 383), louedist (xii, 576), loueli (i, 49; i, 50; iv, 96; iv, 97; viii, 153; ff.), louer (xi, 16), louers (viii, 100; xii, 386), soues (xii, 179), louesum (viii, 219), loueþ (viii, 238; viii, 243; xiii, 509; xiii, 512; xvii, 29; ff.), louynge (viii, 48; viii, 111; viii, 159), mornynge (xv, 69), ouer (x, 36; x, 82; xii, 114; xiii, 608; xiv, 94; xix, 31; ff.), ouer-comer (xii, 259), ouercomeþ (viii, 135), ouerhope (xiii, 331; xiii, 521; xiii, 523; xiii, 525; xiii, 532; ff.), some (xii, 243), someris (xviii, 41), somers (xviii, 1), sone (i, 2; i, 11; i, 36; ii, 4; ii, 23; ff.), songen (xii, 483), þorou_z (xix, 130), þoru_z (iii, 28; iv, 28; iv, 80; v, 23; x, 117; ff.), wondir (v, 39; viii, 261; x, 97; x, 108; xii, 110; ff.), wondirful (xii, 189; xiii, 26), wondirly (xvii, 1), wondre (x, 26; xii, 57; xiii, 452; xiii, 456), wondris (xii, 113; xii, 200; xii, 360), wone (iv, 120; viii, 182), woneþ (xxii, 76), woniyng (viii, 199).

- OE u appears as oo in foond (ii, 25; xii, 250; xviii, 37);
loouynge (viii, 10), moorne (xix, 12), moornynge (viii, 235).
- OE u appears as ou in bounde (iv, 14; vi, 15; xiii, 560), bourne
(xiii, 408), brou_ztist (v, 4), brou_zttist (xvii, 22), fou_zten
(xii, 226), founde (x, 126; xiii, 160; xiii, 276; xiii, 556;
xix, 123), founden (xiii, 326; xxii, 60), ground (ii, 33),
grounde (xii, 36; xiii, 504), hound (xviii, 6), houndis (xiii,
398; xiii, 597), thou (xxii, 9), pou (i, 2; i, 3; i, 15; i,
18; i, 19; ff.), prou_z (v, 32), vnbounde (xiii, 558), wounde
(vi, 13; viii, 161), woundid (iv, 62; iv, 90; xiii, 565),
woundis (iv, 68; vi, 9; vii, 77; viii, 212; xii, 431; ff.).
- OE u appears as ow in abowe (xix, 59), bowip (xiii, 469).
- OE u appears as u in a-sundir (xii, 228), bursten (xii, 228),
crummes (xiii, 195), cunne (xxiii, 15), curse (xv, 28), cus
(v, 22), drunkelew (xiii, 205), dubbid (xv, 33), durste
(xv, 36), ful (i, 5; i, 27; i, 19; i, 43; i, 47; ff.), full
(xii, 269), fulli (xiii, 5; xix, 159), fulnes (xi, 21),
gruntyngis (xv, 12), hundrid (xii, 424; xiii, 577; xxiii, 92),
hunger (xii, 61; xiii, 19; xiii, 224), huntid (xiii, 401),
kunne (xviii, 72; xx, 39), kunnen (xiii, 246), lust (vi, 7;
viii, 118; x, 36; xiii, 35; xiii, 91; xiii, 101; ff.), luste
(xiii, 235; xiii, 309), lustis (xiii, 221; xiii, 226; xiii,
620; xv, 44; xvi, 12), pullid (xviii, 17), schulen (i, 31;

ii, 22; ii, 28; vii, 46; viii, 122), schullen (xii, 75; xiii, 632), spurne (xii, 76; xiii, 406), spurned (xviii, 11), sum (ii, 14), summe (x, 7; x, 117; x, 125; xii, 167; xii, 167; ff.), sumtime (xv, 5), sumtyme (iv, 66; xii, 309; xii, 392; xii, 423; xiii, 532; ff.), sunday (xii, 492), sunge (xii, 489), sunne (i, 58; xii, 207; xii, 225; xiii, 347; xviii, 2; ff.), sunnis (xii, 122), thus (iv, 89; xii, 385; xiii, 81; xiii, 393; xv, 65), tunge (xiii, 76; xiii, 78; xiv, 34; xviii, 26; xxi, 22; ff.), tungis (xii, 453), turne (viii, 235; ix, 71; xiii, 402; xvii, 42; xviii, 14; xviii, 26; ff.), turned (xii, 103; xv, 7), turnep (viii, 5; viii, 6; viii, 87; viii, 279; xiii, 203), pundir (xii, 226; xii, 355), p_us (i, 71; v, 46; v, 70; vii, 58; viii, 79; x, 93; ff.), undir (xx, 17), up (v, 34; v, 42; viii, 30; viii, 123; ix, 3; ff.).

OE u appears as v in vnder (xxiii, 75), vndir (v, 7; xii, 221; xii, 232; xv, 2; xv, 70; ff.), vndir-nome (xii, 289), vndre (xiii, 493; xv, 25).

OE ū appears as ou in aboute (ix, 42; xii, 443; xiii, 468), bour (i, 25), boure(s) (xvii, 11), coude (iv, 10), coudist (xix, 34), doun (viii, 216; xii, 111; xii, 117; xii, 142; xviii, 19; ff.), foule (viii, 59; xii, 195; xiii, 235; xiii, 266; xiii, 275; ff.), foulide (iv, 28), hous (xiii, 223; xxi, 38; xxii, 89), housholde (xiii, 88), housis (xiii, 75), loute (ii, 28), mouþ (xi, 6), mouþe (xiii, 319; xiii, 351; xiii, 443), nouþe (xiii, 315), oure (i, 43; i, 46; ii, 30; ii, 45; vii, 22; ff.), out

(v, 29; v, 41; v, 53; vii, 17; vii, 75; viii, 220; ff.), oute (i, 46; viii, 284; xii, 192; xiii, 8; xiii, 447; xiii, 618), proud (x, 53; xvii, 21), schroud (xvii, 22), souke (i, 2), sour (xii, 94), pousand (ix, 32; xii, 180; xii, 325; xiii, 568; xix, 86), vncoupe (xxii, 31), with-out (xix, 2), without (iv, 4; xix, 92; xix, 109), with-oute (xviii, 108), withoute (iv, 120), with-uten (vi, 45), withouten (xiii, 56), wip-out (xii, 460), wipout (viii, 99; xix, 120; xxiii, 77), wipoute (i, 14; xii, 56; xii, 294), wip-oute (xxiii, 101), wipouten (ix, 80; xiii, 263).

OE ū appears as ow in a-down (xii, 478), a-downe (xii, 70), bowe (xiii, 460), bowur (i, 23), cowde (x, 2), cowdist (xii, 402), cowthe (xiii, 317), downe (xii, 413), downeward (xv, 47), how (vii, 7; viii, 266; ix, 20; ix, 21; ix, 26; ff.), lowde (xxii, 51), lowte (ii, 28), now (i, 63; i, 47; v, 71; v, 78; v, 45; ff.), nowpe (xiii, 345), rowne (xiii, 163), sowthe (xiii, 347), towne (xii, 139).

OE ū appears as u in dust (xvi, 33), us (iv, 30; iv, 32; iv, 34; v, 2; v, 10; ff.), pursday (xii, 459).

OE ū appears as y in vp (xii, 412; xii, 479; xxiii, 73), vs (ii, 45; x, 74; x, 138), vt (i, 57).

DISCUSSION

In closed syllables, u, like the rest of the Old English short vowels, remained without change in ME (Mosse, p. 19). Whereas generally, "long accented vowels shorten in closed syllables before consonant groups (except for groups which caused the first phase of lengthening), but aside from this, the long vowels remained in Middle English" (Mosse, pp. 18-20).

OE u appears as o, oo

to make MS easier to read because of abundance of minims

OE u appears as ow

the o appears to make MS easier to read because of abundance of minims, and the w shows length.

OE ū appears as ou

the u shows length

OE ū appears as ow

the w shows length

OE y appears as e in berke (xiii, 619), dedist (xii, 299; xiii, 478), ɜerninge (xiii, 44), ɜernynge (, 197), helden (xii, 4), stente (x, 37), steren (xiii, 398).

OE y appears as ee in heelden (xii, 98).

OE y appears as i in abie (viii, 130; x, 108; xix, 118), be-pinke (xviii, 29), bie (xii, 127; xix, 46; xix, 126; xxii, 69), biried (xx, 20), birpe (iv, 26), birpun (viii, 97), dide (i, 46; i, 70; ix, 24; xii, 175; xii, 181; ff.), diden (xii, 118; xii, 249; xiii, 384), fille (iv, 97; viii, 166), first (xii, 104; xii, 193; xii, 492), firste (x, 10; xx, 2; xxi, 8), fli_zt (xviii, 6), fli_zte (xiii, 152), ful-fille (xiii, 107), fulfille (xiii, 226; xv, 44), fulfillid (v, 40; xi, 13), gilt (ix, 23; iv, 70; vi, 30), gril (xv, 12), hildande (viii, 55), hille (i, 44; xv, 2; xv, 47; xvii, 48), kinde (i, 69; iv, 37; v, 55; vii, 61; vii, 62; viii, 81; ff.), kindeli (vii, 64; xiii, 262; xxii, 104), kindenes (vii, 51), kindis (v, 38), king (iv, 12; vi, 25; vii, 25; vii, 64; viii, 153; ff.), kingdom (ii, 46; xii, 384; xiii, 280), kingis (viii, 15; xii, 129; xvi, 22), kis (i, 46; xii, 186; xii, 262), lire (xiii, 298), miche (xiii, 371), mirpe (viii, 88; viii, 237), mirpis (xiii, 364), stintip (xxiii, 62), pinne (xiii, 224; xiii, 269), vnkinde (vii, 63; x, 75), vnkindeli (xiii, 384), vnkist (xiv, 43).

OE y appears as o in comeli (ii, 9; v, 22), comest (xii, 308), worche (iv, 95; iv, 99; xii, 148; xx, 39), worchen (x, 51; xii, 248), worching (xxiii, 68), worchinge (xvii, 47), wormes (x, 130; xvi, 33), sorse (xii, 148; xiii, 248).

OE y appears as u in crucche (xiv, 62), such (i, 68; viii, 88; xiii, 181; xiii, 292; xiii, 541; ff.), suche (x, 79; xii, 316; xii, 336; xii, 208; xxiii, 72; ff.), sunnest (vii, 10).

OE y appears as y in knytte (xx, 50), kyn (iv, 17; xii, 290), kynde (iv, 27; iv, 29; iv, 53; iv, 98; xiii, 79; ff.), kynde (viii, 158), kyndeli (iv, 19), kyndenes (iv, 17; iv, 74; xix, 42), kyng (iv, 47; viii, 282), kynne (xix, 68; xix, 148; xxii, 31), myche (iv, 81; viii, 71; viii, 148; ix, 31; xi, 17; xii, 147; ff.), myriþe (xi, 8), mykil (iv, 11), mylle (xiii, 504), mynde (iv, 25; iv, 100; iv, 114; vii, 67; ix, 75; ff.), myrþe (xviii, 68), myrþis (xxii, 100; xxiii, 1), synful (vii, 89; ix, 24; xix, 46), synlees (xiii, 552), synne (iv, 110; iv, 111; vi, 15; vi, 20; vii, 21; ff.), synned (xiii, 548), synner (xix, 17; xix, 33; xix, 49; xix, 65; xix, 81; ff.), synnes (viii, 268; xiii, 87; xiii, 395; xiii, 495; xiii, 505; ff.), synnis (iii, 9; ix, 22; xviii, 46; xviii, 81; xix, 6; ff.), tyne (viii, 103), yuel (viii, 73; viii, 244; x, 134; xiii, 53; xv, 63; ff.).

OE y appears as e in besinesse (xiii, 217), businessis (xiii, 223).

OE ȳ appears as i in bilde (xiii, 75), bisili (xiii, 415), bisily (xii, 215), besinesse (xiii, 571), bisynesse (xiii, 209; xiii, 329), filid (ii, 5), filist (xxiii, 3), filthe (viii, 74), filþis (xiii, 458), fist (xiii, 500; xviii, 61), hide (vii, 35; xii, 144; xii, 155; xv, 39; xvii, 26; ff.), hire (viii, 160;

xii, 493), kiþ (xix, 148), kiþe (iv, 92; xii, 72), litil (x, 53; xii, 427; xiii, 471; xiii, 476; xiii, 578; ff.), pride (viii, 118; viii, 156; x, 117; xii, 153; xii, 270; ff.), whi (vii, 21; viii, 196; xii, 306; xii, 404; xiii, 386; ff.), wissching (xiii, 498), wisschis (xiii, 381).

OE \bar{y} appears as ie in fier (vii, 11; viii, 11; viii, 131; viii, 158; xxiii, 26; ff.).

OE \bar{y} appears as y in wyssche (xiii, 138), twynne (viii, 37; xiii, 60).

OE \bar{y} appears as ye in drye (xiii, 195).

DISCUSSION

The Old English \bar{y} , the result of the i-mutation of u, was represented in Middle English according to dialect by ü, i, or e (Mosse, p. 23). For further discussion see Chapter IV, pp. 74-76.

Categorical Explanations

OE y appears as o
comeli, comest, worche, worchen, worching, worchinge, wormes,
sorse--to make MS easier to read because of abundance of minims.

OE \bar{y} appears as e
Southeastern and Kentish form.

OE ȳ appears as ie
e shows length

OE ȳ appears as y
wyssche, twynne--y is an alternate form of i.

OE ȳ appears as ye
drye--y is an alternate form of i, and e shows length.

CHAPTER III
PRONOUNS AND VERBS

Pronouns

First Person Singular

nominative I (i, 14; iii, 8; iii, 28; iv, 5; iv, 109; ff.)

y (i, 5; i, 6; i, 10; iii, 8; iii, 16; ff.)

genitive mi (iv, 37; iv, 53; iv, 58; iv, 69; v, 79; ff.)

my (i, 4; i, 6; i, 7; i, 9; i, 21; ff.)

myn (i, 15; iv, 7; iv, 72; iv, 73; vi, 7; ff.)

myne (iv, 15; iv, 50; vi, 21; viii, 172; x, 8; ff.)

objective me (i, 19; i, 20; i, 23; i, 37; i, 42; ff.)

Second Person Singular

nominative thou (xxii, 9)

pou (i, 2; i, 3; i, 15; i, 18; i, 19; ff.)

genitive thi (i, 5; vii, 48; xxii, 89; xxiii, 101)

pi (i, 2; i, 3; i, 11; i, 13; i, 30; ff.)

pin (i, 21; iv, 4; vi, 10; vi, 14; vi, 35; ff.)

pine (viii, 174; xiii, 441; xvi, 29; xxi, 14)

objective pee (i, 10; i, 17; i, 22; i, 27; i, 29; ff.)

Third Person Singular Masculine

nominative he (iv, 16; iv, 21; iv, 23; iv, 24; iv, 37; ff.)

hee (xii, 363; xvi, 3)

hie (viii, 17; xviii, 85)

genitive his (iv, 15; iv, 21; iv, 35; iv, 40; iv, 45; ff.)

hise (iv, 65; iv, 68; viii, 212; viii, 217;
viii, 219; ff.)

objective him (i, 35; iv, 10; iv, 11; iv, 14; iv, 25; ff.)

Third Person Singular Feminine

nominative sche (v, 52; xii, 426; xii, 476; xiii, 654;
xviii, 83; ff.)

genitive her (xii, 5; xii, 7; xii, 124; xxiii, 45)

hir (i, 66; v, 8; v, 35; v, 51; xii, 8; ff.)

objective her (xii, 380)

hir (xii, 6; xii, 480; xviii, 76; xxii, 83;
xxii, 85; ff.)

Third Person Singular Neuter

nominative it (i, 45; v, 81; vii, 15; vii, 38; vii, 45; ff.)

genitive lacking

objective it (iv, 1; viii, 22; viii, 26; viii, 50; viii,
52, ff.)

yt (xviii, 107)

First Person Plural

nominative we (i, 46; vii, 7; vii, 23; vii, 25; vii, 30; ff.)

wee (x, 76; x, 144)

genitive oure (i, 43; i, 46; ii, 30; ii, 45; v, 7; ff.)

objective us (iv, 30; iv, 32; iv, 34; v, 2; v, 10; ff.)

vs (ii, 45; x, 74; x, 138)

Second Person Plural

- nominative ȝe (v, 11; ix, 1; ix, 2; xii, 6; xii, 251; ff.)
ȝhe (viii, 264; xiii, 480; xiii, 534)
- genitive ȝoure (ix, 3; xii, 253; xii, 264; xiii, 639;
 xiv, 10)
- objective ȝou (xii, 284; xii, 383; xii, 449; xii, 450;
 xii, 451; ff.)

Third Person Plural

- nominative þei (ii, 20; vi, 56; viii, 119; viii, 125;
 viii, 127; ff.)
- genitive her (viii, 118; viii, 121; viii, 122; viii, 124;
 ff.)
hir (viii, 118)
- objective hem (vi, 28; vi, 35; vi, 36; vi, 39; vi, 40; ff.)
them (vi, 33; xii, 262; xii, 377; xii, 379;
 xii, 430; ff.)

Verbs: Present

The first person singular inflection is -e as reflected in likne (viii, 11), reckene (xiii, 341).

The second person singular inflections are -st, -est, -ist as reflected in:

comest (xii, 308), liest (xiii, 546), seest (xxii, 44), wenest (xii, 256), berist (i, 57), fallist (xxiii, 3), filist (xxiii, 3), maist (xii, 77), makist (v, 69), seist (xi, 95), sittist (iii, 20), sparist (xiii, 227), spekist (xi, 4), spendist (xiii, 98), spillist

(xiii, 281), techist (xiii, 356), tellist (xii, 281), wistist (xiii, 311), woldist (v, 75)

-is as reflected in wendis (xxiii, 5)

The third person singular inflections are -s, -es, -is and -ith, -ep, -ip.

-s, -es, -is as reflected in: lijs (i, 29), blynnes (xiii, 83), wynnes (xiii, 85), hatis (xii, 372), schewis (xiii, 69)

-ith, -ep, -ip as reflected in: folowith (xiii, 82), knowith (xviii, 110), lopith (xv, 66), schewith (xi, 75)

bireuep (vii, 56), bringeþ (x, 67), calleþ (xiii, 518), comeþ (xii, 363), zeueþ (xii, 172), lieþ (xii, 266), li₃tneþ (xii, 373), liueþ (xxii, 1), loueþ (viii, 238), lyueþ (viii, 237), menep (xiii, 554), openep (xi, 14), ouercomeþ (viii, 135), reueþ (viii, 257), schakeþ (xiii, 400), schineþ (i, 58), seeþ (xviii, 50), si₃keþ (xiii, 558), steeleþ (xiii, 454), stinckeþ (x, 68), turneþ (viii, 5), weneþ (xiii, 332), wynneþ (x, 62)

a-bidiþ (ix, 70), abidiþ (xxiii, 85), axiþ (xiii, 97), beriþ (xviii, 57), biddiþ (xiii, 154), bindiþ (viii, 180), blindiþ (xviii, 49), bowiþ (xiii, 469), byndiþ (viii, 108), chasiþ (xi, 13), clensiþ (viii, 13), drawiþ (xvi, 27), endiþ (i, 71), falliþ (xxiii, 75), farip (x, 78), folewip (xviii, 76), for₃etiþ (xviii, 58), fretiþ (xiii, 267), fyndiþ (x, 101), gladiþ (viii, 98), handliþ (xii, 185), heliþ (viii, 29), helpiþ (xiii, 497), holdiþ (xiv, 82), hongip (xi, 22), hopiþ (xxiii, 81), kepiþ (xii, 107), lastiþ (viii, 1), lediþ (xiii, 62), makiþ (iv, 102), meltiþ (xviii, 63), nediþ (vi, 44), neediþ (vi, 44), neediþ (xi, 19), schendiþ (xii, 374), schewiþ (xix, 42),

sechep (xxiii, 53), seip (xiii, 188), settíp (xix, 76), sittíp (i, 38), sparíp (xviii, 67), springíp (xii, 293), steelíp (xiii, 459), stintíp (xxiii, 62), stoondíp (xii, 150), takíp (xii, 152), techíp (xiii, 211), tellíp (xiii, 432), waischíp (iv, 27), wexíp (x, 66), witnessíp (xviii, 44), wíp-stoondíp (xii, 108), wonep (xxii, 76), wyndíp (xi, 12)

First person plural endings are -e and -en. -e as represented in: arise (xii, 239), axe (vii, 25), fele (viii, 50), foonde (xii, 242), grone (xiv, 68), zeelde (vii, 89), hide (vii, 35), mowe (ix, 6), quake (vii, 83), slepe (vii, 76), wake (vii, 76), write (xi, 21), -en as represented in: drawen (xiv, 77), risen (vii, 46).

The third person plural endings are -e, -en, -íp. -e as represented in: abie (viii, 130), ake (xiv, 25), beere (xii, 75), blake (xii, 388), dredde (ii, 21), for₃ete (xiii, 580), lere (x, 109), ligge (viii, 127), loute (ii, 28), lowte (x, 27), mete (i, 43), quelle (xix, 39), qwelle (viii, 275), rise (i, 28), steele (xii, 450), talke (xix, 3), pretee (xiii, 582)

-en as represented in: adwiten (xiii, 396), bileeuen (xii, 445), berken (xii, 597), dreden (x, 79), greuen (iv, 101), haten (xiii, 395), hindren (x, 55), kunnen (xiii, 246), liggen (viii, 121), leesen (x, 117), maken (xiii, 600), staren (x, 77), pinken (xiii, 428), preten (xiii, 397), wolen (x, 54), waischen (vii, 44), wrappen (vi, 34), -íp as represented in: writíp (xiii, 598).

The present participle ending is ing(e)/yng(e), except for the following reflecting the -ande ending: hildande (viii, 55), lastande (viii, 115), pleyande (xii, 383), si₃hande (viii, 261).

CHAPTER IV
SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

OE ā appears as a (17)*

e (6)*

ee (2)*

ey (1)*

o (50)

oo (53)

ou (8)

ow (19)

() denote number of words found in MS with this spelling for reflex.

* words with these spellings were dealt with in the Categorical Explanation of ā and a, pp. 13-15.

Line A (see Map 1), representing the southern limit of Old English ā retained as an unround vowel, spelled a, ai, ay, characterizes the fact that unrounded forms are not found to occur south of the line, even though rounded forms (spelled o or oo) possibly could be found north of it. These rounded forms were a feature of the emerging standard form of English, a standard spreading from London and central England, a focal point far south of the southern limit of the a forms (Moore, p. 113).

The diphthong [ɔ:u] (spelled ou or ow), composed of two back rounded vowels, developed from:

1. Old English ā or ō followed by w: OE cnāwan [kna:wan], Middle English knowe(n) [knɔ:uən]. . . .
2. Old English ā followed by [ɣ]¹ spelled g: OE āgen [a:ɣɛn], Middle English owe:n [ɔ:uən].
3. Old English ā or ō followed by h: OE āh [a:x], Middle English ough [ɔ:ux]. . . (Moore, pp. 70-71).

While the data shows that the orthography for the unrounded vowel (a, ai, ay) occurred seventeen times, a significantly greater number of rounded forms (120) were present. This information suggests that the MS was written in a dialect other than Northern.

OE a before nasal appears as a (29)

o (1)

Line D (see Map 2), representing the eastern and southern limits of the rounding of Old English a before nasals, indicated in both Middle and Old English by o spellings (as in mon, nome, ronk), excludes as valid evidence such words as OE lang, land, or camb--because the homorganic consonant group following the vowel would have produced Late OE ā and would have become ME [ɔ:] (spelled o or oo) even in areas where unrounding before nasals was prevalent. But

¹ This sound, like g of North German sagen, is not a stop consonant (like g in go) but a voiced velar fricative. It resembles the spirant w in English woo but is made without any rounding of the lips (Moore, p. 70, fn. 70).

words like OE nama (noma) are admissable as evidence because in them the lengthening in open syllables took place after the development of OE [a:] to ME [ɔ:]. In determining this line the words thank and many were also disregarded because of irregularities of behavior.

(Moore, p. 114)

According to the data for a before nasal, it may be assumed that the MS was written in a dialect other than West Midlands. It should be noted, however, that the MS has twenty-eight occurrences of the rounded form before nasal spelled ng, nd, mb. Although such words are excluded as valid evidence in determining Line D, the substantial number of occurrences suggest that the MS, while not written in the West Midland dialect (the dialect which preserved the quality o (spelled o or oo), might have been written near the West Midlands area. At the very least, this shows the author had a knowledge of the West Midland dialect.

OE ȳ appears as e (2)

i (19)

ie (1)

y (2)

ye (1)

The Old English ȳ, the result of the i-mutation of u, was represented in Middle English according to dialect by u, i, or e.

Therefore

1. It remained \bar{u} , short or long in the southern and south-western third of England, i.e., West Midland (except for almost the whole of Lancashire), and South-West. It was written u and sometimes, when it was long, ui or uy.

2. In the dialects of the North and of the East-Midland, by unrounding it became i, written i or y.

3. In the dialects of the South-East, including Kentish of course, it became e (Mosse, p. 23).

The data shows no spellings ui or uy for the reflex of the OE \bar{y} ; this suggests the MS was not written in either the West-Midlands or the South-West. The e reflex of the OE \bar{y} does occur once, this being a characteristic of the South-Eastern dialect. However, there are twenty-three occurrences of the unrounded form for the reflex of OE \bar{y} , and accordingly strongly suggesting the MS was written in either the Northern or the East-Midland dialect (see Line F, Map 3).

OE y appears as e (7)

ee (1)

i (35)

o (8)

u (3)

y (23)

The OE y, just like the OE \bar{y} , was the result of the i-mutation of u and was represented in Middle English according to dialect by

u, i, or e. Therefore, the data shows eight forms with South-East orthography. Furthermore, the MS shows three occurrences of u forms for the OE y; however, the eight o forms must also be included with these, as o was written to make the MS easier to read, thus avoiding even more minims which would result if u were used. We have, then, eleven forms which suggest West-Midland or South-West dialect. Far greater in number, though, are the i or y spellings for the reflex of OE y: there are fifty-eight forms using the unrounded i or y, this suggesting the MS was written in either the North or the East-Midland dialect (see Line F, Map 3).

OE $\bar{e}o$ appears as e (37)

ee (28)

ew (7)

eew (1)

i (7)*

o (1)

ou (7)

ue (2)

*words with these spellings were dealt with in the Categorical Explanation of $\bar{e}o$ and eo , p. 42.

Discussing the reduction of Old English Diphthongs, Mosse states:

In the course of the 11th century the OE diphthongs were reduced to simple vowels: . . . $\bar{e}o$ became \bar{o} , that is to

say, only the first element (e) of this diphthong remained, but assumed the rounded articulation of the second element (o) and the result was \ddot{o} (the probable evolution being $\bar{e}o > \ddot{oo} > \ddot{o}$). Then, in the course of the 12th century, \ddot{o} was unrounded and progressively moved toward \bar{e} , except in the South and West-Midlands where this unrounding is not encountered until much later, first for the short vowel, then, in the 14th century, for the long. (Mosse, pp. 25-26)

According to Moore, the West-Midland and Southern dialects pronounced the reflex of OE $\bar{e}o$ [œ:], written eo, o, u, oe, or ue (Moore, pp. 77-117). There are, then ten forms that show characteristics of either the West-Midland or Southern dialects. But far greater in number are the e forms, numbering seventy-three. The data suggests, therefore, that according to the reflex of the OE diphthong $\bar{e}o$ the MS was written in a dialect other than West-Midland or Southern (see Line F, Map 3).

OE eo appears as e (33)

ee (6)

i (7)*

o (12)

oo (1)

ou (5)

u (4)

y (2)*

*Words with these spellings were dealt with in the Categorical Explanations of ēo and eo, p. 42.

Similar to the OE diphthong ēo, the diagraph eo, in the West-Midlands and Southern dialects, was pronounced [œ] and written eo, o, u, oe, or ue (Moore, pp. 71-117). Therefore, the MS shows twenty-two forms exhibiting West-Midlands or Southern characteristics. But greater in number are the e, ee forms, thirty-nine, which show the natural development of eo in England. The eo data suggests, then, that the MS was not written in either the dialect of West-Midland or Southern (see Line F, Map 3).

Line I (see Map 4) suggests the northern limit of initial y for Old English initial f (Moore, p. 115). The initial f, in all instances occurs in the MS, suggesting that the MS was not written in any of the following dialects: southern West-Midlands, Southern, or Kentish.

Line C (see Map 5), representing the southern limit of sal and sulde or solde for standard English shal and should, distinguishes Northeast-Midland and Northern from the other dialect regions (Moore, pp. 113-114). In all instances, sh- forms occur in the MS, thus suggesting that the MS was not written in the Northeast-Midland dialect, nor the Northern dialect.

According to Moore,

Line E represents the northern limit of the object pronouns in the plural--hem, ham, hom for them. Although hem was still the more frequent form in the written English of London in the fifteenth century, them, moving down from the north, was already a powerful intruder, foretelling its ultimate establishment as the standard form. (Moore, p. 114)

The third plural personal pronoun form in the MS are hem (50) and them (12). Accordingly, this information suggests that the MS was written neither in the Northern dialect nor the Northeast-Midland dialect (see Line E, Map 6).

Line G (see Map 7), constituting the southern limit for the -(e)s inflection in the third person singular, present indicative of verbs, "moves from east to west, bisecting the West Midland area, and then with lines C and E serving to separate Northeast from Southeast Midland" (Moore, p. 115). The third person singular, present indicative verb inflections of the MS are -ep (80) and -es (5), and thus suggesting that the MS was written neither in the Northern dialect, North-West Midland dialect, nor the Northeast-Midland dialect.

While line B represents the southern limit of -(e)s as the present indicative plural inflection, line H represents the northern limit of the -eth inflection in the present indicative plural (Moore, pp. 113-

115). The plural, present indicative endings are -e(n) (46), -ep (1), and -es (0). This suggests the MS was not written in any of the following dialects: Northern, the uppermost section of Northeast-Midlands, the southern section of the West Midlands, Southern, and Kentish (see lines B and H, Map 8).

In all instances in the MS, the third person singular, feminine nominative pronoun is sche. As this type is essentially that of the East-Midlands (Mosse, p. 56), this data suggests that the MS was written in the East-Midlands dialect (see Map 9).

The present participle verb endings are -inge (82) and -ande (4). This suggests that the MS was written in either the central Midlands, Southern, or most of Kentish (Mosse, p. 78). (See Map 10.)

THE DIALECT OF THE MS

Definitely exhibiting a Midland character, the following summary of dialect features gives a more precise indication of provenance within the Midlands area:

1. reflex of OE ā, south of Line A, non-Northern
2. reflex of OE a before nasal, east of line D, non-West-Midland
3. reflex of OE ȳ, east of line F, non-West-Midland and non-Southern
4. reflex of OE y, east of line F, non-West-Midland and non-Southern
5. reflex of OE ēo, east of line F, non-West-Midland and non-Southern

6. reflex of OE eo, east of line F, non-West-Midland and non-Southern
7. OE initial f, north of line I, non-Southwest-Midland and non-Southern
8. sal/shal, south of line C, non-Northern and non-Northeast-Midland
9. third person plural pronoun, south of line E, non-Northern and non-Northeast-Midland
10. third person singular indicative, south of line G, non-Northern and non-Northeast-Midland
11. plural present indicative, south of line B and north of line H, non-Northern, non-Northeast-Midland, non-Southwest-Midlands, and non-Southern
12. third person singular nominative feminine pronoun, East-Midland
13. present part., non-Northern, non-eastern West-Midlands, non-eastern East-Midland, and non-extreme eastern Kent

As demonstrated by these dialect characteristics, the dialect of MS Lambeth 853 is clearly Southeast-Midland. (See Map 11.)

As noted earlier in the thesis, most of the hymns and poems under investigation in the MS were copied approximately 1430 A.D. This, along with the fact that many of the hymns and poems appear in other MSS, suggests that the MS is a collection of works originally composed in dialects other than Southeast-Midland. And, according to dialect feature, poems that exhibit dialect characteristics other

than Southeast-Midland are the following:

1. reflex of OE ā, north of line A, Northern: vi, vii, viii, x, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xviii, xix, xxii
2. reflex of OE a before nasal--only occurrence is the preposition from
4. reflex of OE y, west of line F, Southwest: viii, x, xii, xiii
5. reflex of OE ēo, west of line F, Southwest: iv, vii, ix, xii, xiii, xiv, xix, xx, xxiii
6. reflex of OE eo, west of line F, Southwest: v, viii, ix, x, xii, xiii, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi, xxiii
9. 3rd pl. pers. prn., north of line E, Northern and Northeast-Midland: vi, xii
10. 3rd sg. pres. indic., north of line G, Northern and Northeast-Midland: i, xii, xiii
11. pl. pres. indic., south of line H, Southwest-Midland, Southern, and Kentish: xiii
13. pres. part., Northern: viii, xii

Collating the results of the previously mentioned data, I have determined that all but three of the poems (ii, iii, and xi) exhibit dialect characteristics other than Southeast-Midlands. Poems which suggest a Northern origin include vi, vii, viii, x, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xviii, xix, xxii, while a Northeast-Midlands origin is likely for i, and Southern origin for poems iv, v, ix, xvi, xvii, xx, xxi, and xxiii. (See Chart 1.)

CHART 1

PROBABLE ORIGIN OF HYMNS AND POEMS

	NORTHERN	NORTHEAST- ML	SOUTHEAST- ML	WEST-ML	SOUTHERN	KENTISH
i		X				
ii			X			
iii			X			
iv					X	
v					X	
vi	X					
vii	X					
viii	X					
ix					X	
x	X					
xi			X			
xii	X					
xiii	X					
xiv	X					
xv	X					
xvi					X	
xvii					X	
xviii	X					
xix	X					
xx					X	
xxi					X	
xxii	X					
xxiii					X	

From the hymns and poems under investigation in MS Lambeth 853 I have determined that three seem to have been composed in a Southeast-Midlands dialect (ii, iii, xi), and the other twenty seem to have been first composed in a variety of other dialects and then copied in a Southeast-Midlands dialect.

APPENDIX A
DIALECT MAPS

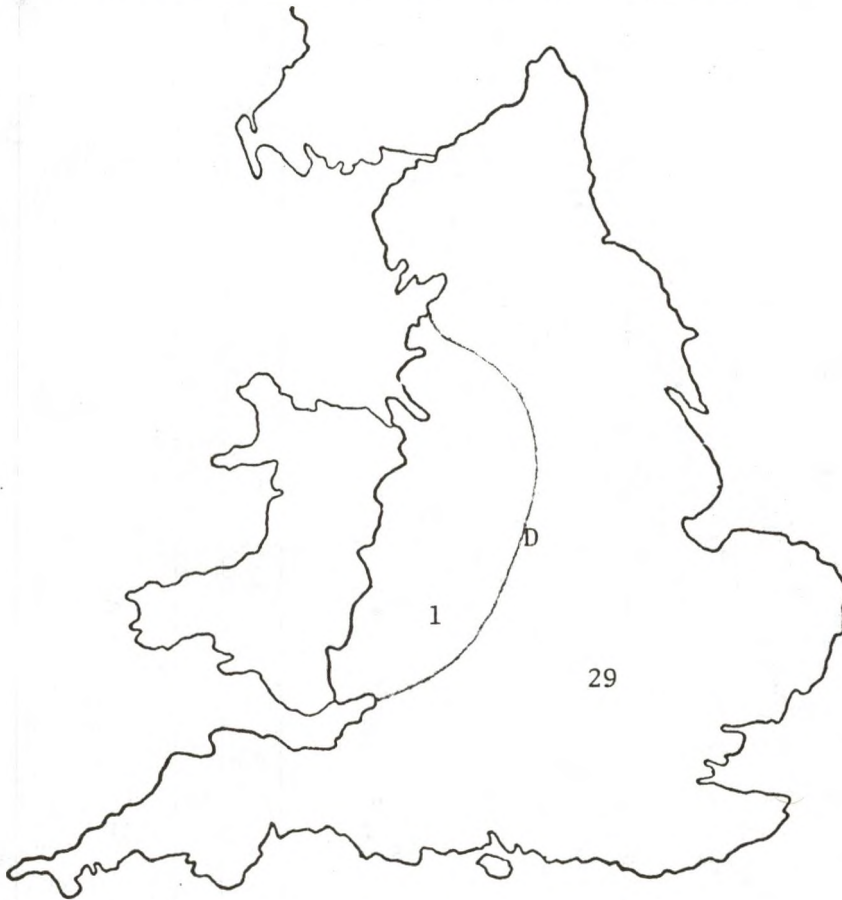
MAP 1

Line A represents the southern limit of the reflex of Old English ā as an unrounded vowel. The MS contains 17 unrounded a forms and 120 rounded o, oo forms.



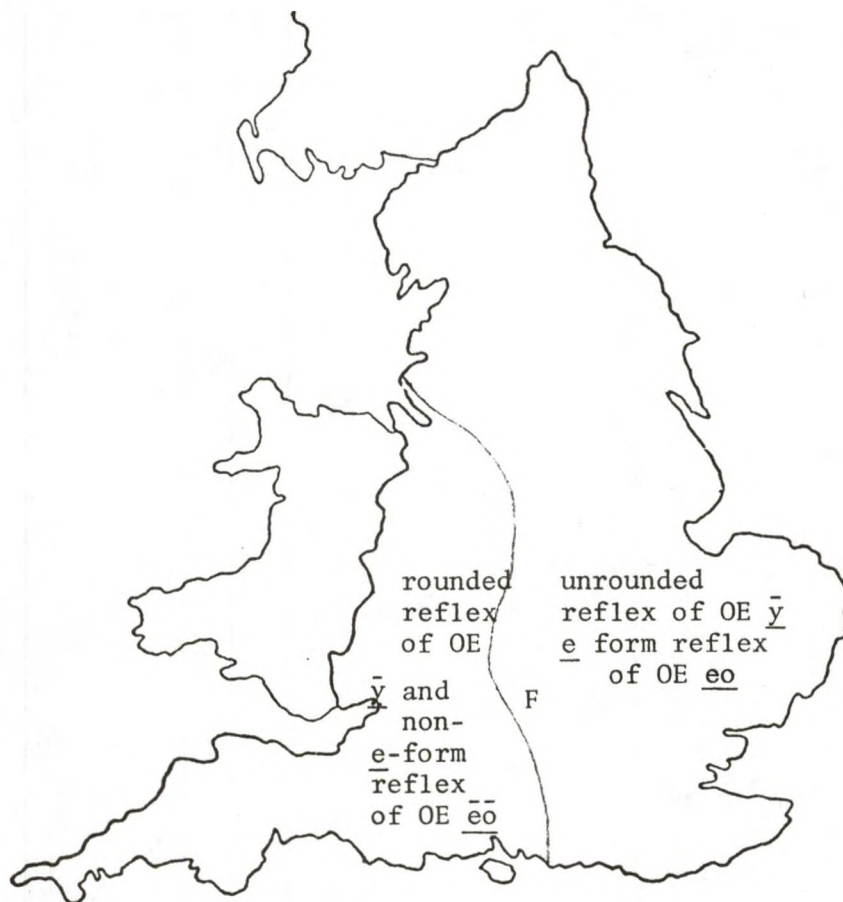
MAP 2

Line D represents the eastern and southern limits of the reflex of the Old English a before nasals as a rounded vowel. The MS contains one rounded o form and 29 unrounded a forms.



MAP 3

Line F represents the eastern boundaries of the rounded reflex of the OE \bar{y} and the non e form reflex of OE $\bar{e}\bar{o}$. The data shows that a vast majority of the reflexes fall east of the line. For further information see pp.



MAP 4

Line I suggests the northern limit of the reflex of the Old English initial f as v. The initial f occurs in all instances in this MS.



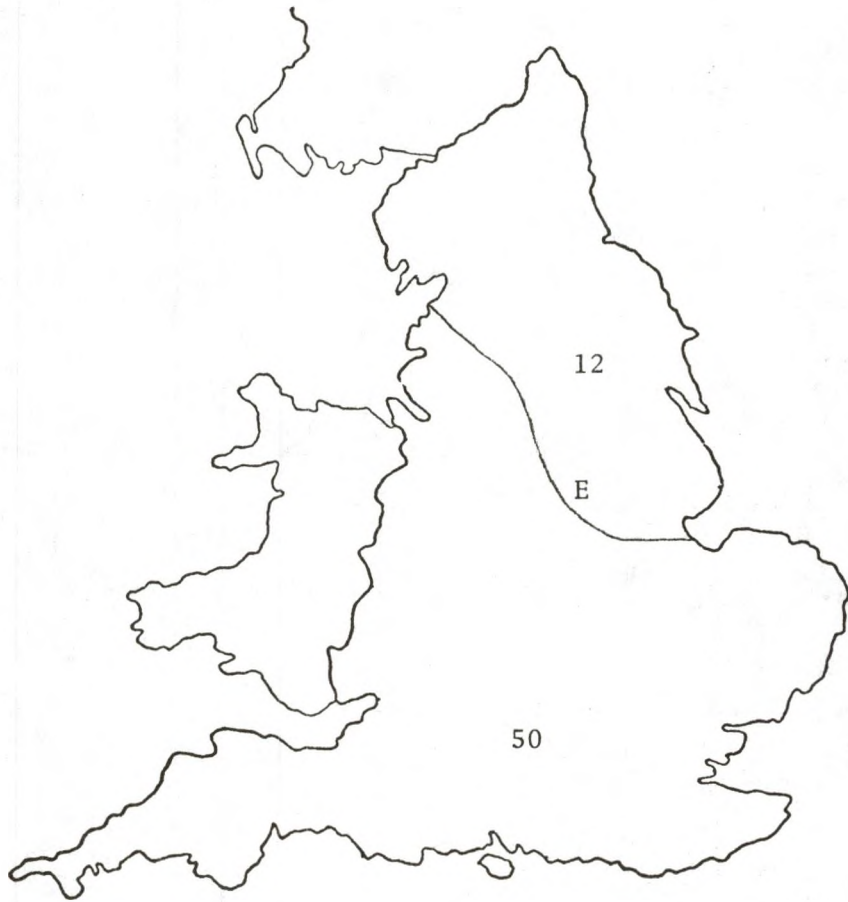
MAP 5

Line C represents the southern limit of sal and sulde or solde for standard English shal and should. In all instances, sh-forms occur in this MS.



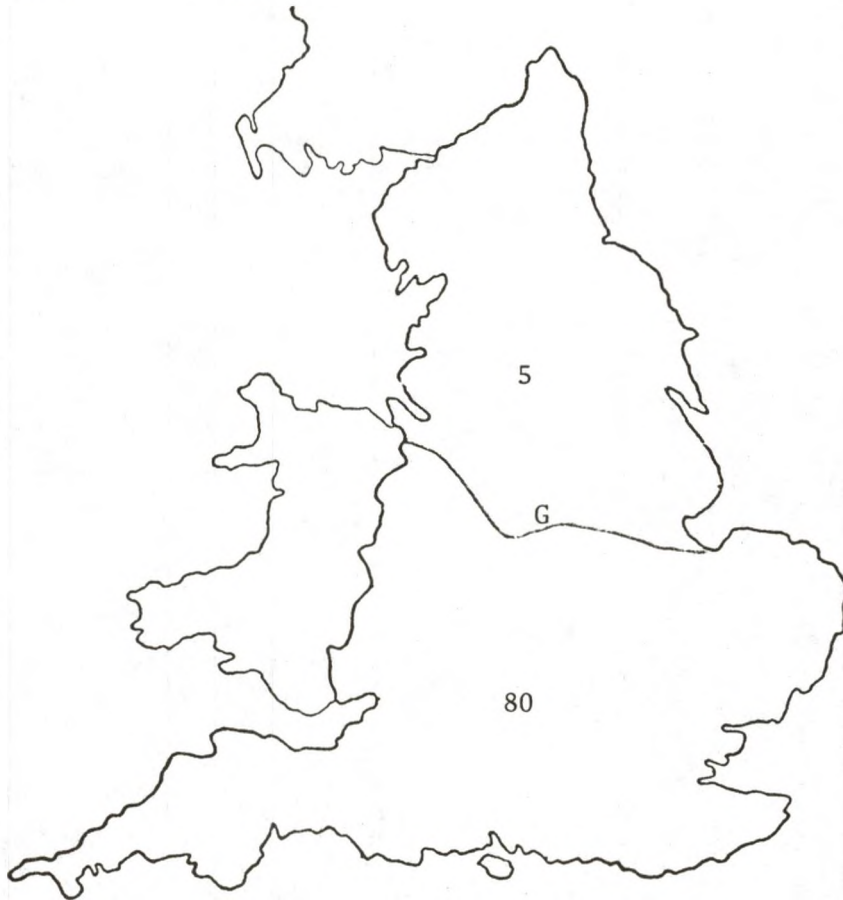
MAP 6

Line E represents the northern limit of hem as the object pronoun in the plural. The third plural personal pronoun forms in the MS are hem (50) and them (12).



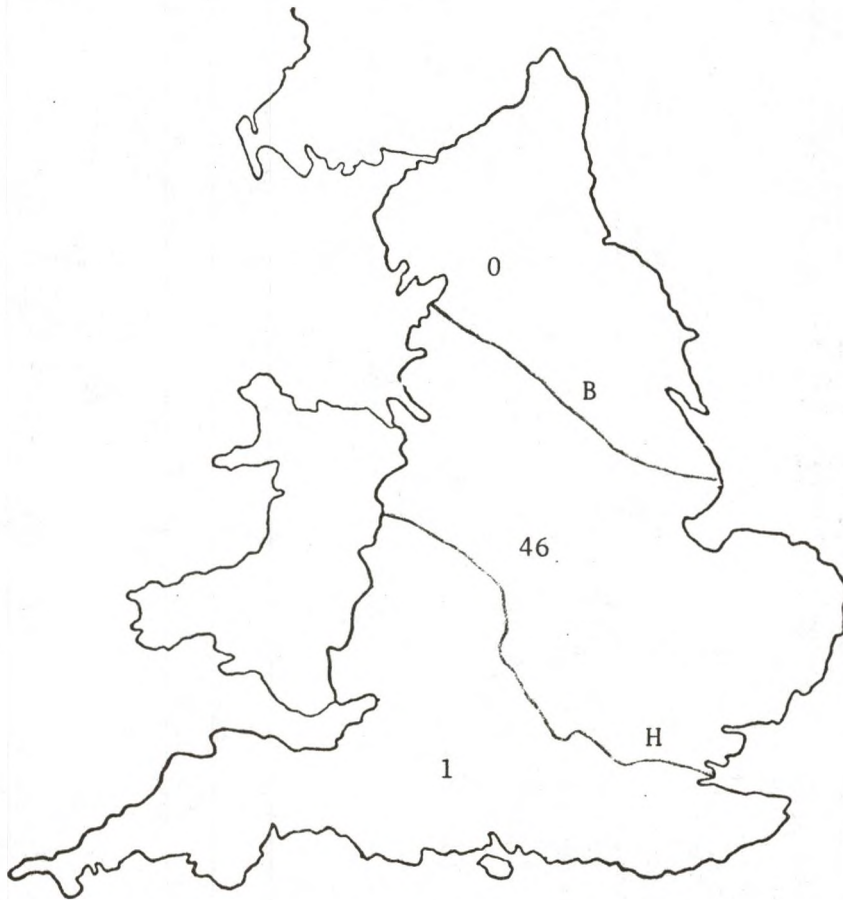
MAP 7

Line G suggests the southern limit for the -(e)s inflection in the third person singular, present indicative of verbs. The third person singular, present indicative verb inflections of the MS are -(e)s (5) and -ep (80).



MAP 8

While line B represents the southern limit of -(e)s as the present indicative plural inflection, line H represents the northern limit of the -ep inflection in the present indicative plural. The plural, present indicative endings are -e(n) (46), -ep (1), and -es (0).



MAP 9

In all instances in the MS, the third person singular, feminine nominative pronoun is sche, a form essentially of the East-Midlands.



MAP 10

The present participle verb endings are -ande (4) and -inge (82).

The latter form is essentially that of the central Midlands, Southern, and most of Kentish.



MAP 11

Collating the results of the examination of the thirteen dialect features found in the portion of MS Lambeth 853 under investigation demonstrates that the MS language is clearly Southeast-Midland.



APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPELLING

SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPELLING

The following summary of the developments of spelling indicates the predominant form as found in the MS.

OE a appears as a

OE a plus nasal appears as a

OE ā appears as o

OE ae appears as a

OE āē appears as e

OE e appears as e

OE ē appears as e

OE ea appears as a

OE ēa appears as e

OE eo appears as e

OE ēo appears as e

OE i appears as i

OE ī appears as i

OE o appears as o

OE ō appears as o

OE u appears as o, u

OE ū appears as ou

OE y appears as i/y

OE ȳ appears as i

APPENDIX C

A CONCORDANCE OF HYMNS AND POEMS TO THE
VIRGIN AND CHRIST AND OTHER RELIGIOUS
POEMS FROM MS LAMBETH 853

A CONCORDANCE OF HYMNS AND POEMS
TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST AND OTHER
RELIGIOUS POEMS FROM MS LAMBETH 853

a-batys - xii, 376
a-bay - xiii, 401
a-bide - ix, 43; xxii, 74
abide - i, 3; i, 5; x, 92; xii, 157; xiii, 249; xv, 36
a-bidiþ - ix, 70
abidiþ - xxiii, 85; xxiii, 88
a-bie - xix, 22
abie - viii, 130; x, 108; xix, 118
abite - xiii, 288
abood - xii, 96
a-boue - xvi, 31
aboue - i, 7; xii, 334
aboute - ix, 42; xii, 443; xiii, 468
abowe - xix, 59
abraham - xii, 365
absolon - xvi, 15
abstynence - iii, 26
accuse - xiii, 247
accusiþ - xiii, 394
acorden - xii, 126

A CONCORDANCE OF HYMNS AND POEMS
TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST AND OTHER
RELIGIOUS POEMS FROM MS LAMBETH 853

a-batys - xii, 376
a-bay - xiii, 401
a-bide - ix, 43; xxii, 74
abide - i,3; i,5; x,92; xii, 157; xiii, 249; xv, 36
a-bidiþ - ix, 70
abidiþ - xxiii, 85; xxiii, 88
a-bie - xix, 22
abie - viii, 130; x, 108; xix, 118
abite - xiii, 288
abood - xii, 96
aboute - ix, 42; xii, 443; xiii, 468
a-boue - xvi, 31
aboue - i, 7; xii, 334
abowe - xix, 59
abraham - xii, 365
absolon - xvi, 15
abstynence - iii, 26
accuse - xiii, 247
accusiþ - xiii, 394
acorden - xii, 126

- acordiden - xii, 126
- ad - ii, 40
- Adam - ix, 62; xii, 274; xii, 277; xii, 299; xii, 347; xii, 357;
xii, 361
- adams - iv, 28; xii, 36; xii, 290; xx, 30
- adheres - xvi, 46
- a-down - xii, 478
- a-downe - xii, 70
- adradde - ix, 60
- adwiten - xiii, 396
- a-fore - v, 56
- after - xii, 471; xiii, 530; xiii, 647
- aftir - iv, 6; iv, 49; v, 51; vii, 28; viii, 68; viii, 117; ix, 67;
x, 22; xi, 18; xii, 222; xii, 276; xii, 457; xiii, 272; xiii, 501;
xix, 150; xxiii, 91
- aftirward - xiii, 83
- a-gaste - xii, 256
- agast - xiii, 200
- agaste - xiii, 600
- age - x, 1; xiii, 81; xiii, 89; xiii, 114; xiii, 305; xiii, 317;
xiii, 337; xiii, 345; xiii, 353; xiii, 383; xiii, 409; xiii, 433;
xiii, 454; xiii, 458; xiii, 460; xiii, 462; xiii, 464; xiii, 506;
xiii, 508; xiii, 513; xiii, 515; xiii, 517; xiii, 519; xiii, 526;
xiii, 577; xiii, 634; xiv, 3; xiv, 8; xiv, 12; xiv, 13; xiv, 24;
xiv, 36; xiv, 48; xiv, 60; xiv, 70; xiv, 72; xiv, 84; xiv, 96;
xv, 45; xviii, 45; xviii, 58; xviii, 93; xviii, 101

- ageyn - ix, 37; xii, 305; xii, 312; xii, 321; xii, 325
- aggregidist - xii, 346
- a-goon - xii, 74
- a₃e - xviii, 14
- a₃en - viii, 223
- a₃en - i, 28; iv, 56; iv, 80; iv, 88; viii, 123; viii, 192; x, 31;
 xii, 112; xii, 286; xii, 302; xii, 342; xii, 418; xiii, 353;
 xiii, 443; xiv, 7; xvii, 42; xviii, 26; xviii, 27; xx, 50
- a₃en-risyngge - xviii, 38
- a₃ens - vii, 65; vii, 83; ix, 61; xii, 166; xii, 354; xiii, 212; xv, 54;
 xxiii, 60; xxii, 82
- a₃enseid - xviii, 100
- ake - xiv, 25
- al - ii, 3; ii, 6; ii, 11; ii, 14; ii, 30; iv, 3; iv, 22; iv, 42;
 iv, 54; iv, 75; v, 77; vi, 8; vi, 50; vii, 6; vii, 50; viii, 35;
 viii, 43; viii, 73; viii, 77; viii, 113; viii, 118; viii, 135;
 viii, 152; viii, 157; viii, 173; viii, 191; viii, 197; viii, 198;
 viii, 215; viii, 218; viii, 225; viii, 227; viii, 246; viii, 262;
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