

University of Cambridge

Faculty of English

An edition of the *Conduct of Life* based
on the six extant manuscripts with full
commentary, complementary critical
and codicological analysis, notes and
introduction

Appendices

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Robin John Payne

Corpus Christi College

APPENDIX

Combined Parallel Texts

The Parallel Text Edition of the *Conduct of Life* shows all of the manuscript versions of the text arranged line-by-line. It is hierarchical in structure, in as much as the order of the manuscripts is arranged by date of copying, for want of a better way of discriminating between the texts: Trinity, being the oldest manuscript is listed first with the other manuscript versions listed in chronological order. However, the intention of this edition is not to privilege one manuscript version of the text over the others.

The Parallel Text Edition of the *Conduct of Life* is a detailed collation, the likes of which are not usually included in a scholarly edition – whether it is ‘best fit’, ‘copy text’ or ‘critical’ edition of a work. This edition is intended as an accompaniment to both the Copy Text Edition and the Diplomatic Editions, or it can be used on its own. The Copy Text Edition is keyed to this edition, where further elucidation of notes might be found as well as what might be a more clear presentation of variance, without some of the ‘clutter’ of apparatus. In addition, the Parallel Text Edition allows the reader to compare dialectal variance, where this is impossible to represent in the notes accompanying the other edition – where one manuscript version of the text is chosen as a base. Therefore, the notes and commentary to the linguistic features of the different versions of the *Conduct of Life* are also keyed to this edition of the texts.

For ease of reading the accompanying notes on variance (not dialectal) are written out in full prose, and the grammatical properties listed using the following abbreviations:

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>1st</i> | first person | <i>indec.</i> | indeclinable | <i>pref.</i> | prefix |
| <i>2nd</i> | second person | <i>indef.</i> | indefinite | <i>pl.</i> | plural |
| <i>3rd</i> | third person | <i>inf.</i> | infinitive | <i>poss.</i> | possessive |
| <i>adj.</i> | adjective | <i>int.</i> | interrogative | <i>pp</i> | past participle |
| <i>adv.</i> | adverb(ial) | <i>irreg.</i> | irregular | <i>prep.</i> | preposition |
| <i>art.</i> | article | <i>masc.</i> | masculine | <i>pres.</i> | present |
| <i>card.</i> | cardinal | <i>mark.</i> | marker | <i>pron.</i> | pronoun |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>comp.</i> | comparative | <i>neg.</i> | negative | <i>quant.</i> | quantifier |
| <i>cont.</i> | contracted | <i>n.</i> | <i>n.</i> | <i>reflex.</i> | reflexive |
| <i>cj.</i> | conjunction | <i>num.</i> | number | <i>rel.</i> | relative(s) |
| <i>def.</i> | definite | <i>ord.</i> | ordinal | <i>sbj.</i> | subjunctive |
| <i>dem.</i> | demonstrative | <i>pa.</i> | past | <i>sg.</i> | singular |
| <i>imp.</i> | imperative | <i>part.</i> | participle | <i>sup.</i> | superlative |
| <i>inan.</i> | inanimate | <i>ph.</i> | phrase | <i>tse.</i> | tense |
| <i>ind.</i> | indicative | <i>pr.</i> | present | <i>v.</i> | <i>v.</i> |

This edition of the text of the *Conduct of Life* retains the same approach to the features of orthography, capitalization and punctuation found in the Diplomatic Editions of the texts (see the introduction to the Diplomatic Editions on p.). However, illuminated and rubricated letters and words are not represented in the text or in the notes. Scribal emendation has been accepted and later glosses and additions to the texts are not shown. Every effort has been made to avoid editorial interference in the text itself; however, the purpose of this edition is scholarly comparison and, therefore, it has been necessary, and of interest, to move and transpose lines, and reconstruct full lines from prose (in L) and half-lines (in D) where necessary, for this purpose.

The text of the *Conduct of Life* found in T is the longest with 400 long lines of verse, although lines 203-204 are repeats of lines 73-74.⁸⁵⁶ L was originally written out as 302 prose lines, which have been reconstructed as 267 long verse lines, before it ends imperfectly. E2 preserves 368 long lines of verse and ends imperfectly, whereas E1 has 398 long lines of verse. D differs from all other versions of the sermon as it is written in 764 short lines, which have been written out as long lines here for the purpose of comparison. J has 388 long lines and can be noted for having additional single lines not present in the other manuscript versions of the

⁸⁵⁶ Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English: Part II. Notes*, p. 342, contends that, since both of these couplets begin a folio, the scribe of Trinity made a mistake in recopying lines 73-74 as lines 203-204 before realising his error. Hill, 'The Twelfth-Century 'Conduct of Life'', pp. 98-99, however, asserts that Hall makes 'unjustified assumptions about the scribe's exemplar and his habits' arguing that the reason a normally careful scribe had not cancelled the lines when he realised the mistake was because the exemplar he was copying from may already have contained the duplicated couplet.

text.⁸⁵⁷ Whereas, M has 335 lines and omits much that is present in the other versions of the *Conduct of Life* and is prefaced by two lines from *The Wages of Sin*.⁸⁵⁸

The following is a list of the line variation within the *Conduct of Life* and keyed to the *Combined Parallel Texts* edition that follows.⁸⁵⁹ They are listed under 1. *Additions*. 2.

Omissions. 3. *Variant Order*. This is sub-divided into: 3i. The same couplet placed in a different context. 3ii. Two lines of one couplet reversed in the same couplet. 3iii. Two or more couplets reversed in the same context.

T: *Additions*: Ω82 (maintains the 4 consecutive rhyming lines –te, as a result of the omission of Ω77), Ω210–Ω211 (repeats of Ω74–Ω75). *Omissions*: Ω77.

L: *Omissions*: Ω103, Ω134–Ω135, Ω181 and Ω205. *Variant order* 3i.: Ω11–Ω12.
Final line of L: Ω285.

D: *Additions*: Ω410–Ω413. *Omissions*: Ω30–Ω31, Ω48–Ω49, Ω95–Ω96, Ω98–Ω99, Ω277–Ω280, Ω347–Ω348, Ω363–Ω364, Ω378–Ω379, Ω384–Ω385. *Variant order* 3ii: Ω86 and Ω85.
Variant order 3iii: Ω46–Ω47 and Ω44–Ω45.

E2: *Omissions*: Ω134–Ω134 (added at the bottom of the folio in the scribes hand – partly erased), Ω158 and Ω159. Final Line: Ω387.

E1: *Variant order* 3iii: Ω262–Ω263 and Ω260–Ω261.

J: *Additions*: Ω15 (rhyme scheme spoilt as a result), Ω97, Ω146–Ω147, Ω275 (As a result of this line, the couplets in J at Ω275–Ω281 do not match with the remainder of the MSS, the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual), Ω281 (restores rhyme as a result of the addition of Ω275), Ω344 (2nd line of the couplet beginning at Ω342); Ω369 (this line is present in place of Ω368 and is the second half of the couplet beginning at Ω367); Ω419–Ω420 (two additional lines after the end of the sermon); *Omissions*: Ω70–Ω71, Ω122–Ω123, Ω172–Ω175, Ω180–Ω181, Ω230–Ω231, Ω343, Ω359–Ω360, Ω368, Ω394–Ω397; *Variant order*: Ω99 (follows the line at Ω95 in J). *Variant order* 3i: Ω232–Ω233.

M: *Additions*: Ωi–Ωii, Ω106–Ω107 and Ω242–Ω243. *Omissions*: Ω13–Ω14, Ω28–Ω29, Ω58–Ω59, Ω78–Ω79, Ω158–Ω159, Ω162–Ω163, Ω176–Ω177, Ω190–Ω191, Ω204–Ω205, Ω214–Ω215, Ω264–Ω265, Ω274–Ω276, Ω288–Ω289, Ω300–Ω301, Ω304–Ω313, Ω336–Ω339, Ω342–Ω343,

⁸⁵⁷ These and other line variations are also noted in Appendix I of Hill 'The Twelfth-Century 'Conduct of Life', pp. 141-142 and are, however, arranged by line variations from Trinity MS B 14 52.

⁸⁵⁸ R. Morris, *An Old English Miscellany*, EETS, OS 49 (1872, repr. 1927), pp. 58-71

⁸⁵⁹ The description of the line variation that follows uses Hill's terminology as it best represents the difference between the manuscripts. See, Appendix I of Hill 'The Twelfth-Century 'Conduct of Life', pp. 141-142

Ω382-Ω392, Ω395, Ω400-Ω405, Ω407-Ω409 and Ω413. *Variant order 3i*: Ω60-Ω61, Ω212-Ω213, Ω282-Ω283, Ω302-Ω303, Ω406 (in M it is the first line of the couplet **goodnesse: blisse** – the second line of this couplet is found at Ω393). *Variant order 3iii*: Ω50-Ω51 and Ω48-Ω49; Ω56-Ω57 and Ω54-Ω55; Ω120-Ω121 and Ω118-Ω119 and Ω114-Ω117; Ω182-Ω183 and Ω178-Ω181; Ω198-Ω199 and Ω196-Ω197, Ω218-Ω219 and Ω216-Ω217; Ω294-Ω297 and Ω259-Ω262; Ω349-Ω352 and Ω340-Ω348 (with the omission of Ω342-Ω343 found in all other MSS (except L), and Ω344 which is only in J); Ω372-Ω375 and Ω370-Ω371. *Variant order 3ii*: Ω249 and Ω248.

Ωi

McClean i. Þe holi gostes mizte us alle helpe 7 dizte us pissie 7 us teche

Ωii

McClean ii. Ý scilde us fram þe unpizte bi daie 7 bi nizte þat þencheþ us bipeche

The *Conduct of Life* in M is prefaced by two lines from *The Wages of Sin*,⁸⁶⁰ marked Ωi and Ωii.

Ω1

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 1. Ich am nu elder þan ich pas a pintre 7 a lore. |
| Lambeth | 1. Ich em nu alder þene ich pes apintre 7 a lare. |
| Digby | 1. Ic am elder þanne ic pes a pinter 7 ec a lore |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 1. Ich æm elder þen ich pes. apintre and a lore |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 1. Ic æm elder þænne ic pæs. a pinter and a lore |
| Jesus | 1. Ich am eldre þan ich wes a winter and ek on lore. |
| McClean | 1. Ich am elder þane ich pas of pintre 7 of lore |

- The *adv. nu* is only found in T and L. Both T and L better preserve the rhythm of the septenary metre in the first half-line.
- All MSS use the *prep. a* before the *pl. n. pinter/winter/pintre* except for M which has *of*. In L and E² the *prep.* is cliticized with the following *pl. n.*: *apintre*.
- Both D and J include the *adv. ec/ek* making for a more exact rhythm in the second half-line.
- All texts once more use the *prep. a* before *lare/lore* except for M which maintains *of*, as previously, and J which switches to *on*.

Ω2

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 2. Ich pealde more þan idude mi pit oh to be more |
| Lambeth | 2. Ich pelde mare þene ich dede mi pit ahte bon mare. |
| Digby | 2. ic ealdi more þanne ic dede mi wit oghte to bi more |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 2. Ic pælde more þanne ic dude. mi pit ah to ben more |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 2. ic pælde more þanne ic dude. mi pit ah to ben more |
| Jesus | 2. Ich welde more þan ich dude. mý wýt auh to beo more. |
| McClean | 2. Ich eldi more þan ich dude mi pit azte beo þe more |

- D and M write the *v. pr. 1st sg. ind.* (OE *ealdian*) *ealdi/eldi*, where all of the other texts have a variant of the *v. pr. 1st sg. ind.* (OE *wealdan*) *pealde* in T, *pelde/welde* in L and J, and *pælde* in E² and E¹.
- L and M omit the *inf. marker to* found before the *inf. v. be/bon/bi/ben/beo* in all the other MSS.
- Only M has the *dem. adj. þe* with the *comp. more*.

⁸⁶⁰ Morris, *An Old English Miscellany*, pp. 58-71

Ω3

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 3. To longe ich habbe child iben a porde 7 a dade. |
| Lambeth | 3. Þel longe ich habbe child ibon a porde 7 a dede |
| Digby | 3. Þel longe ic habbe child ibien on porde 7 on dede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 3. pel lange ic habbe child ibeon. a peorde 7 ech a dede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 3. Þel lange ic habbe child iben. a porde 7 ec a dede |
| Jesus | 3. wel longe ich habbe child ibeo. a werke and eke on dede. |
| McClean | 3. To longe ich habbe child ibeo of pordes 7 of dede. |

- M agrees with T against the other MSS by reading *adv. to* + *adv. longe* as opposed to *adv. pel* + *adv. longe/lange* in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *n. werke* where all the other texts have the *n. porde/peorde* except for M which has the *pl.* form of the *n.* in *pordes*.
- The *adv. ech/ec/eke* is present in the second half-line of E², E¹ and J but not in the other MSS.
- The *prepositions* vary between the texts. They are **a** in T, L, E² and E¹, but **on** in D, **a** followed by **on** in J and **of** in M.

Ω4

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 4. Þeih ibie a pinter eald to jung ich am on rade. |
| Lambeth | 4. þah ich bo a pintre ald to ʒung ich em on rede. |
| Digby | 4. þeʒ ic bi on pintren eald to ʒiung ic am on rede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 4. þeh ic beo apintre eald. tu ʒyng i eom a rede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 4. þech ic beo a pintre eald. to ʒung ic eom at rede |
| Jesus | 4. þah ich beo of wynter old. to yong ich am on rede. |
| McClean | 4. Þeʒ ich beo of pintres eld to ʒung ich am of rede |

- J and M write the *prep. of* in the first half-line of the text where it is **a/on** in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *prep. of* and E¹ the *prep. at* in the second half-line of the text where it is **on/a** in all the other MSS.

Ω5

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 5. Vnnet lif ich habbe ilad 7 ʒiet me þincheð ilade. |
| Lambeth | 5. Vnnet lif ich habbe ilede. 7 ʒet me þingþ ilede. |
| Digby | 5. Vnnet lif ic habbe ilede 7 ʒiet me þingh ic lede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 5. vn nut lif ic habb ilæd. 7 ʒyret me þincð ic lede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 5. Vnnvpt lyf ic habbe ʒe lad. 7 ʒuet me þinh ic lede |
| Jesus | 5. vnnet lif ich habbe ilad. and yet me þinkþ ich lede. |
| McClean | 5. Vnnet lif ich habbe ilad 7 zet me þincþ ich led |

Ω6

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 6. Þan ibiðenche me þar on pel sore ime adrade. |
| Lambeth | 6. þenne ich me bi þenlche pel ful sare ich me adrede. |
| Digby | 6. þanne ic me biþenche pel pel sore ic me adrede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 6. Þanne ic me bi þenche. pel sore ic me adrede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 6. þanne ic me bi þanche. pel sore ic me adrede |
| Jesus | 6. hwenne ich me biþenche. ful sore ich me adrede. |
| McClean | 6. Þhane ich me biþenche pel sore ich me a drede |

- The *word-order* is different in T which writes the *v. pr. ind. 1st sg.* **biðenche** + *reflex. pron. 1st sg.* **me** where it is the reverse in all the other MSS.
- T concludes the first half-line with the *adv.* **þar-on** where L and D have the *adv.* **pel** and all the other MSS omit either reading.
- All of the texts begin the second half-line with the *adv.* **pel** except for L and J which have the *adv.* **ful**.

Ω7

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 7. Mast al ich habbe idon is idelnesse 7 chilce. |
| Lambeth | 7. mest al þet ich halbbe idon bi fealt to child hade. |
| Digby | 7. Mest al þet ic habbe idon is idelnesse 7 chilðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 7. Mest al þat ic habbe ydon. ys idelnesse and chilce. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 7. Mest al þat ich habbe ydon ys idelnesse and chilce |
| Jesus | 7. Mest al þat ich habbe idon. is idelnesse and chilce. |
| McClean | 7. Mest phat þat ich habbe ido is idelnes 7 chilse |

- All texts use the *rel. pron.* **þat/þet** in conjunction with the *adj.* **al**, functioning as a *n.*, as was the rule in Old English (Hill 'Notes' p.354), except for T where the marker is absent and M which writes the *pron* **phat** + *rel. pron.* **þat**.
- The second half-line in L differs from all the other MSS. L writes **bi fealt to child hade** where it is **is idelnesse 7 chilce** (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS. Although L omits the idea of idleness, at this point, the overall meaning of the line remains the same.

Ω8

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 8. Þel late ich habbe me biþohte bute me god do milce. |
| Lambeth | 8. pel late ich abbe me bi þocht ȝ bute God me nu rede. |
| Digby | 8. to late ic habbe me biþogt bute god me don milce. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 8. pel late ic habbe me bi þoht. but me god do milce. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 8. Þel late ic habbe me bi þoht. bute me god do milce |
| Jesus | 8. wel late ich habbe me bi þouht. bute god do me mýlce. |
| McClean | 8. To late ich habbe me biþogt bute me crist do milse |

- Both D and M agree against the other variants through the inclusion of the *adv.* **to** where all the other MSS have the *adv.* **pel**.
- There are some minor differences in the *word-order* of **me god do** (T) between all the texts in the second half-line; see also the following notes for variants present in L and M.
- M has the *n.* **crist** where all the other MSS have the *n.* **god**.
- L writes the *adv.* **nu** + *v. pres. 3rd sg. subj.* (OE *rædan*) **rede** where all the other texts have the *v. pres. 3rd sg. subj.* **do/don** + *n.* **milce/mýlce/milse**. However, a similar idea of God's mercy/understanding is present in both different versions of the line.

Ω9

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 9. Fele idel pord ich habbe ispeken seðen ich speken cuðe. |
| Lambeth | 9. Fole idel pord ich habbe iqueðen soððen ich speke kuðe. |
| Digby | 9. Vele idel pord ic habbe iqueðe siþen ic speke cuðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 9. Fele ýdele pord ich habbe iqueðen. sýððen ic speke cuþe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 9. Fele ýdele pord ic habbe i queþen sýðen ic speke cuþe |
| Jesus | 9. veole idel word ich habbe ispeke. seofþe ich speke cuþe. |
| McClean | 9. Vele idele pordes ich habbe ispeke siþþe ich speke cuþe |

- T, J and M agree on the *v. pp.* (OE *sprecen*) **ispeken/ispeke** where it is the *v. pp.* (OE *cweðan*) **iqueðen/iqueðe/i queþen** in L, D E² and E¹.

Ω10

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 10. 7 fele geunge dade idon þe me ofðinkeð nuðe. |
| Lambeth | 10. Fole gunlge dede idon : 7 þe me of þinchet nuðe. |
| Digby | 10. 7 vele euele deden idon þet me ofþencheð nuðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 10. And fale geunge dede ido. þe me of þinchet nuþe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 10. and fele geunge deden i do þat me of þinchet nuþe |
| Jesus | 10. and feole yonge deden ido. þat me of þincheþ nuþe. |
| McClean | 10. 7 fele zunge dede ido 7 þat me repeth nuþe |

- L omits the *cj. 7* **and** where it is present at the beginning of the line in all the other MSS.
- D writes the *pl. adj.* **euele** where all the other MSS have the *pl. adj.* **geunge** (T) or a variant thereof.
- M includes the *cj. 7*, at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **repeth** in the second half-line where all the other texts have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ofðinkeð** (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω11

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 11. Alto lome ich habbe igult a perke 7 a porde. |
| Lambeth | 27. Alto lome ich habbe igult a perke 7 o porde. |
| Digby | 11. Alto lome ic habbe igelt on porke 7 on porde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 11. Al to lome ic habbe a gult. a peorche 7 ec a porde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 11. Al to lome ic habbe a gult a perche 7 ec a porde |
| Jesus | 11. Al to lome ich habbe agult. on werke and on worde. |
| McClean | 11. Al to muchel ich habbe a gult of prke 7 of porde |

This line and the one that follows occur in a different position in Lambeth (lines 27 and 28) but they have been placed here for purposes of comparison; the original line order is retained in the editions of the individual texts found elsewhere in this study.

- M writes the *adv.* **muchel** instead of the *adv.* **lome** which is found in all the other MSS (**muchel** is also repeated in the following line in both M and all the other MSS).
- M writes the *prep.* **of** (*twice*) in the second half-line where it is the *prep.* **a/o/on** in all the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ agree on the inclusion of the *adv.* **ec** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω12

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 12. Alto muchel ic habbe ispend to litel ileid on horde. |
| Lambeth | 28. Alto muchel ich habbe ispent. to litel ihud in horde. |
| Digby | 12. al to muchel ic habbe ispent to litel ileid on horde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 12. Al to muchel ic habbe ispend. to litel ý leid an horde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 12. al to muchel ic habbe i spend. to litel ý leid an horde |
| Jesus | 12. Al to muchel ich habbe i spend. to lutel i leýd an horde. |
| McClean | 12. Al to muchel ich habbe ispend to litel ileid on horde. |

This line and the previous one occur in a different position in L (lines 27 and 28) but they have been placed here for the purpose of comparison; the original line order is retained in the editions of the individual texts found elsewhere in this study.

- L writes the *v. pp.* (OE *hýðan*) **ihud** where all the other texts have the *v. pp.* **ileid** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω13

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 13. Mast al þat me likede ar nu hit me mislicað. |
| Lambeth | 11. Mest al þet me likede er nu ː hit me mislekeð |
| Digby | 13. Mest al þet me likede þo nu hit me mislikeð |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 13. Mest al þet me licede ær. nu hit me mis lichet |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 13. Mest al þat me likede ær. nu it me mýs liked |
| Jesus | 13. Best al þat me likede er. nv hit me mýs lýkeþ. |

Line Ω13 is not present in M.

- J begins the line with the *adj.* **best** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **mest**.
- D writes the *adv.* (OE *þā*) **þo** where it is the *adv.* (OE *ǣr*) **ar/er/ær** in all the other MSS.

Ω14

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 14. Þe muhel folged his ipil him selfen he bispicað. |
| Lambeth | 12. þa muchel fulieð his pil ː hine solf he bispikeð. |
| Digby | 14. se þe muchel volgeð his ipil himselue he bispikeð. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 14. þe mýchel folgeþ his ý pil. him sulfne he bi spikeð |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 14. þe muchel folgeþ his ý pil. him sulfne he bi spikeð |
| Jesus | 14. þe muchel foleweþ his wil. him seolue he bi swikeþ. |

Line Ω14 is not present in M.

- The *rel. pron* **þe** is preceded in D by the *dem. pron. masc.* **se** which retains gramatical gender (*masc.*) in the *rel.* construction normal to OE.

Ω15

| | |
|-------|--|
| Jesus | 15. Mon let þi fol lust ouer go. and eft hit þe likeþ. |
|-------|--|

This is an additional line which does not occur in any of the other known MSS. The rhyme scheme of J is made irregular by its presence.

Ω16

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 15. Ich mihte habben bet idon. hadde ich þo iselðe |
| Lambeth | 13. Ich mihte habbe bet idon. hefde ich þe iselþe. |
| Digby | 15. Ic migte habbe bet idon hadde ic þo iselðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 15. Ich mihte habbe bet idon. hadde ic þo ý selþe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 15. Ic mýhte habbe bet i don hadde ic þer ý selþe |
| Jesus | 16. Ich mýhte habbe bet i do. heuede ich ený selhþe. |
| McClean | 13. Ich mizte bet habbe ido zef ich hadde þe selþe |

- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of M: M has the *adv.* **bet** + *v. inf.* **habbe** where it is the reverse in all of the other MSS.
- M includes the *cj.* **zef**, at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *word-order* is also different in the second half-line with M having the *pron.* **ich** + *v. pa. ind. f^t sg.* **hadde** where it is the reverse in all the other MSS.
- E¹ has the *adv.* **þer** and J the *adj.* **ený** where it is the *def. art.* **þo/þe** in all the other MSS.

Ω17

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 16. Nu ich polde ac ine mai for elde 7 for unhalðe. |
| Lambeth | 14. Nu ich palde ah ich ne mei 7 for elde 7 for un helþe. |
| Digby | 16. nu ic polde ac ic ne mai vor helde ne uor unhelðe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 16. Nu ic polde ac ic ne mei. for elde ne for unhelþe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 16. nu ic polde ac ic ne mai. for elde ne for un helþe |
| Jesus | 17. Nv ich wolde and i ne may. for elde. ne for vnhelhþe. |
| McClean | 14. Nu ich polde 7 ich ne mai for elde ne for unhelþe. |

- J and M agree on the *cj.* **7/and**, after the *v. pa. ind. f^t sg.* **wolde/polde**, where it is the *cj.* **ac/ah** in all the other MSS.
- T and L agree on the *cj.* **7**, in the second half-line, where it is the *cj.* **ne** in all the other MSS.

Ω18

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 17. Elde me is bistolen on ar ich hit ipiste |
| Lambeth | 15. Elde me is bistolen on. er ich hit piste. |
| Digby | 17. Elde me is bistolen an er ic hit ipiste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 17. Ýlde me is bi stolen on. ær ic hit a pyste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 17. Elde me is bi stolen on. ar ic hit a puste |
| Jesus | 18. Elde is me bi stolen on. er þan ich hit wiste. |
| McClean | 15. Elde me is istolen up on erþan ich hit piste |

- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of J which has the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **is** + *pron. f^t sg.* **me**, where it is the reverse in all the other MSS.
- M omits the *pref.* **bi**, written in all the other MSS, in the *v. pp.* **istolen**.
- M has the *prep.* **up-on** where it is **on/an** in all the other MSS.
- J and M agree on the *cj.* **er-þan/erþan** where it is the *cj.* **ar/er/ær** in all the other MSS.

Ω19

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 18. Ne mai ich isien bifore me for smeche ne for miste. |
| Lambeth | 16. ne michte ich seon bi fore me. for smike ne for miste. |
| Digby | 18. ne mai ic isien biuore me vor smeche ne uor miste. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 18. ne mihte ic iseon be fore me. for smeche ne for miste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 18. ne mȳht ic isen be fore me. for smeke ne for mȳste |
| Jesus | 19. Ne maȳ ich bi seo me bi fore. for smoke ne for mȳste. |
| McClean | 16. Pat ich ne mai me iseo bifore uor smiche ne for miste |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **pat**; a reading unique to this MS.
- The *word-order* varies in the first half-line of both J and M when compared to the other MSS.
- T, D, J and M agree on the *pr. tse.* in the *v. ind. 1st sg.* **mai/maȳ** where it is the *pa. tse.* in the *v. ind. 1st sg.* **michte/mihte/mȳht** in L, E² and E¹.
- J writes the *v. inf.* **bi-seo** where it is **isien** (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS.

Ω20

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 19. Arȝe pe beð to don god to juel al to þriste |
| Lambeth | 17. Erȝe pe beoð to done god. 7 to ufele al to þriste. |
| Digby | 19. Arȝe pe bieð to donne god to euele al to þriste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 19. Ærpe pe beoþ to done god. 7 to ȳfele al to þriste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 19. Arȝe pe beoþ to done god to vuele al to þriste |
| Jesus | 20. Erewe we beoþ to donne god. vuel al to þriste. |
| McClean | 17. Arȝ pe beoþ to donne god of euel al to þriste |

- L and E² agree on the *cj.* 7 at the beginning of the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes the *prep.* **of** before the *n.* **euel** where it is the *prep.* **to** in all of the other MSS, except for J where neither variant is present.

Ω21

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 20. More eie stondeð man of man þan him do of criste. |
| Lambeth | 18. Ma re eie stondeð men of monne þanne hom do of criste. |
| Digby | 20. more eie stondeð man of man þanne him doð of criste. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 20. more æie stent man of manne. þanne hȳm do of criste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 20. more eie stont man of manne. þanne him det of criste |
| Jesus | 21. More eȳe stondeþ mon of mon. þan him to crȳste. |
| McClean | 18. More eie stondeþ man of man þan him do of criste |

- E² and E¹ agree on the *cont.* form of the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **stent/stont** where all the other texts have **stondeð/stondeþ**.
- L has the *pl.* form of the *n.* **men** and **monne** and, therefore, the *pron. 3rd pl.* **hom** where the *sg.* form is used in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *prep.* **to** before the *n.* **crȳste** where all the other texts have the *v. subj. 3rd sg.* **do** + *prep.* **of**.

Ω22

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 21. Ðe pel ne deþ þe hpile he mai pel ofte hit sal him repen. |
| Lambeth | 19. þe pel ne doð þe hpile þe ho mugen. pel oft hit schal ropen .: |
| Digby | 21. Ðo þet pel ne doð þer pile hi muge ofte hit ham sel riepe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 21. Ðe pel ne deþ þe hpile he mei. pel oft hit hým scæl rupen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 21. Ðe pel ne deþ þe hpile he mei pel oft hým scæl rupen |
| Jesus | 22. Ðe wel ne doþ hwile he maý. hit schal him sore reowe. |
| McClean | 19. Ðe pel ne deþ þe phile he mai sore hit scal him repe |

- D and L agree on the *3^d pl.* form throughout this line where it is *3^d sg.* in all the other texts (see following).
- All of the texts begin the line with the *rel. pron. sg.* **þe** (he who) except for D where it is *pl.* **þo þet** – in a construction that combines the *dem. pron.* with the *rel.* – and L where **þe** is *pl.*
- T, J, M, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *dōn*) **deþ/doþ** and the *v. pr. ind. 3^d* **mai/mei/maý**. L and D, however, use the *pl.* form in **doð** and **mugen/muge**, with the *3^d pl. pron.* **ho/hi**.
- There is variation between the texts in the second half-line: J and M agree with one another in content and vocabulary but the *word-order* differs greatly between these two texts. The other five texts begin with the *adv.* **pel**, except for D where the reading is not present, and include the *adv.* **oft** (not present in J and M); E¹ omits the *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit** found in all the other MSS; L omits the *pron. 3^d pl.* **ham** (D), which is *sg.* **him** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. Although there is variation between the texts in this second half-line, the meaning is not significantly different.

Ω23

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 22. Ðan alle men sulle ripen þat hie ar sepen. |
| Lambeth | 20. þenne ge mapen sculen 7 repen þet ho er sopen. |
| Digby | 22. þanne hi moupe sulle 7 ripe þet hi her þan siepe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 22. þænne hý mopen sculen 7 ripen. þer hi ær seopen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 22. þenne hý mopen sculen 7 ripen. þer þe hi ar seopen |
| Jesus | 23. hwenne alle men repen schule. þat heo ear seowe. |
| McClean | 20. þhane hi sculle mope 7 ripe her þat hi er sepe |

- The readings differ in the first half-line. Both T and J have the *adj.* **alle** with *pl. n.* **men** where the other texts use the *3^d pl. pron.* **hi/hý** in combinations with the *inf.* **moupe/mopen/mope** and the *v. 3^d pl. ind.* **sulle/sculen/sculle** (M inverts the *word-order* of the *inf.* and the *v.* against the reading in the majority of other MSS) except for L which has the *2nd pl. pron.* **ge** with the *inf.* **mapen** and the *v. 2nd pl. ind.* **sculen**.
- The *v. inf.* **mapen/moupe/mopen/mope**, which is used in combination with the *v. inf.* **repen/ripe/ripen** in the majority of the texts, is missing from both T and J although the meaning is retained.
- E² and E¹ begin the second half-line with the *adv.* **þer** where it is the *rel. pron.* **þat/þet** in all the other MSS; E¹ follows this with the *rel. pron.* **þe** where E² does not.
- D writes the *adv.* **her-þan** where it is **ar/er/ær/ear** in all the other MSS.

Ω24

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 23. Do al to gode þat he muȝe ech þe hpile he beð aliue. |
| Lambeth | 21. Do he to gode þet he mulȝe þe hpile þet he bo aliue. |
| Digby | 23. do ech to gode þet hi muȝe þer pile hi bieð aliue |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 23. Don ec to gode þet ȝe muȝe. þa hpile ȝe buð alife |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 23. Don ec to gode þet ȝe muȝe þa hpile ȝe buð a life |
| Jesus | 24. Dod to gode þat ȝe muwen. þe hwile ȝe beoþ alȝue. |
| McClean | 21. Doþ al to gode þat ȝe muȝe þe phile ȝe beþ aliue |

- There is variation throughout the texts in this line although the sense remains the same in all MSS.
- T, L and D write the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sbj.* (OE *dōn*) **do** where the other texts have the *pr. 2nd pl. imp.* **don** (E² and E¹), **dod** (J) and **doþ** (M).
- Both T and M read **al** (*adj.*) **to gode** where E² and E¹ have the reading **ec** (*adv.*) **to gode** with the *adv.* in place of the *adj.* D reads **ech** (also found later in the line of T), which should not be confused for a variant reading of **ec** in E² and E¹, as the reading in D is the *sg. indef. pron* from OE *ælc*, where L reads *pron. sg. 3rd masc.* **he**. J does not include the *pron., adj. or adv.* and reads **dod to gode**.
- As a result, there are differences with the *pron.* later in the line: T and L twice write the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** but it is **hi** (*pl.*) in D where the other texts write the *pron. 2nd pl.* **ȝe/ȝe/ ȝe**.
- The *v.* from OE *bēon* differs between the MSS of the *Conduct of Life* in this line. It takes the form **beð** (*pr. 3rd sg. ind.*) in T; **bo** and **beo** (*pr. 3rd sg. sbj.*) in L and M respectively; **bieð** (*pr. 3rd pl. ind.*) in D, with **buð** (E² and E¹) and **beoð** (J) taking the *pr. 2nd pl.*

Ω25

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 24. Ne lipne noman to muchel to childe ne to piue. |
| Lambeth | 22. ne lipnie na mon to muchel to childe ne to piue. |
| Digby | 24. ne leue no man to muchel to childe ne to piue. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 24. ne hopie no man to muchel to childe ne to pife |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 24. ne hopie no man to muchel to childe ne to pȝfe |
| Jesus | 25. Ne lipne no mon to muchel. to childe. ne to wȝue. |
| McClean | 22. Ne truste noman to muchel to childe ne to piue |

- There is significant variation in the *v. pres. 3rd sg. sbj.* at the beginning of this line. T, L and J agree on **lipne/lipnie** where E² and E¹ read **hopie**, D reads **leue**, and M **trust**. The remainder of the line is the same apart from dialectal/orthographical differences.

Ω26

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 25. Þe þe him selfe forgiet for pive oðer for childe |
| Lambeth | 23. þe him solue forget for piue ne for childe ȝ |
| Digby | 25. Se þet hine selue vorȝet vor piue oþer uor childe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 25. Þe him selue for ȝut for pife. oðer for childe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 25. Þe him selue for ȝut for pȝfe oþer for childe |
| Jesus | 26. þe him seolue for ȝet. for wiue. oþer for childe. |
| McClean | 23. Man þat hine selue uorȝet uor piue oþer uor childe |

- M begins the line with the *n.* **man** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D and T agree on the construction: *dem. pron.* **þe/se** + *rel. pron.* **þe/þet**, for ModE 'he who', where all the other MSS have only the *rel. pron* **þe/þat**.
- L writes the *cj.* **ne** where the other texts have the *cj.* **oðer**.

Ω27

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 26. He sal cumen on euel stede bute him god be milde. |
| Lambeth | 24. he scal cu men in uuel stude bute him God bo mil de |
| Digby | 26. he scal comen on euele stede. bute god him bi milde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 26. he sceal cume an uuele stede bute him god beo milde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 26. he sæl comen on vuele stede bute hȳm god be milde |
| Jesus | 27. he schal cumen on vuele stude. bute god him beo Milde. |
| McClean | 24. He scal come in euele stede bute god him beo milde |

- There is some variation in the second half-line with D, J and M agreeing on *n. god* + *pron. 3rd sg. him* where it is in the reverse order in all the other MSS.

Ω28

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 27. Sende god biforen him man þe hpile he mai to heuene. |
| Lambeth | 25. Sendeð sum god biforen eop. þe hpile þet ȝe mugen to houene. |
| Digby | 27. Sende sum god biuoren him man þet pile to heuene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 27. Send æch sum god bi foren him. þe hpile he mei to heuene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 27. Sende ec sum god be foren hȳm þe pȳle ȝe ben aliue |
| Jesus | 28. Sende vch sum god bivoren him. þe hwile he maȳ to heouene. |

This line does not occur in M.

- All texts use the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sbj* (OE *sendan*) **sende** except for L, which has the *v. pr. 2nd pl. imp.* **sendeð**. L differs from the other texts throughout this line, as the message is more direct and personal through the use of the *imperative* and the *2nd person* formula. E¹ also switches to the *2nd person* from the *3rd person* after the caesura.
- E¹ and E² have the *adv. æch/ec* where J has the *pron. vch* and it does not occur in the other MSS.
- All texts have the *adj. sum* in the first half-line apart from T.
- T and D include the *n. man* where it is not present in the other MSS.
- E¹ writes a different ending to the second half-line from all the other MSS where it reads **þe pȳle ȝe ben aliue**.
- L writes the *v. pr. 2nd pl. ind.* **mugen** where it is *3rd sg. ind.* **mai/mei/maȳ** in T, E² and J (the reading does not occur in D and E¹)

Ω29

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 28. For betre is on almesse biforen þan ben after seuene. |
| Lambeth | 26. for betere is an el messe biforen ȝ þenne boð efter souene. |
| Digby | 28. for betere is on elmesse biuore þanne ben efter seuene. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 28. betere is an elmesse bi fore. þenne beon æfter seuene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 28. for betere his on almesse before þanne ben after vȳue |
| Jesus | 29. Betere is on almes bi uoren. þane beoþ after seuene. |

This line is followed in Lambeth by the lines now found at Ω11 and Ω12.

This line does not occur in M.

- E² and J omit the *cj. for*, at the beginning of the line, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- L and J write the *irreg. v. pr. 3rd pl. ind.* (OE *bēon*) **boð/beoþ**, in the second half-line, where the other texts have the *sbj.* form in **ben/beon**.
- E¹ has the *quant. card. vȳue*, as an alternate reading at the end of the line, and in rhyming position with **aliue** from the previous line, where all the other MSS have the *quant. card. seuene/souene/seuene*.

Ω30

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 29. Ne bie þe leuere þan þe self ne þi mæi ne þi mowe |
| Lambeth | 29. Ne beo þe loure þene þe solf. ne þin mei. ne þin mage. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 29. Ne beo þe leoure þene þe sulf. þi mæi ne ði mage |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 29. Ne beo þe leure þan þi self þi mei ne þi moȝe |
| Jesus | 30. Ne beo þe leouere þan þi seolf. þi meȝ ne þi mowe. |
| McClean | 25. Ne beo þe leuere þane þi self þi mei ne þi moȝe |

Line Ω30 is not present in D.

- T and L begin the second half-line with the *cj.* **ne** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
-

Ω31

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 30. Sot is þe is oðer mannes frend betere þan his owen. |
| Lambeth | 30. soht is þet is oðers monnes frond betre þen his aȝen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 30. sot is ðe is oðres mannes freond. betere þene his aȝe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 30. for sot ȝs þat ȝs oþer mannes frond betre þan his oȝe |
| Jesus | 31. Sot is þat is oþer mannes freond. more þan his owe. |
| McClean | 26. Sot is þat is oþre mannes frend betere þane his oȝe |

Line Ω31 is not present in D.

- E¹ writes the *cj.* **for**, at the beginning of the line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
 - J writes the *adj.* **more** where it is the *adj.* **betere/betre** in all the other MSS.
-

Ω32

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 31. Ne hopie wif to hire were ne were to his wiue |
| Lambeth | 31. Ne lipnie pif to hire pere. ne pere to his piue |
| Digby | 29. Ne hopie pif to hire pere ne pere to his piue |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 31. Ne hopie pif to hire pere. ne per to his pife |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 31. Ne hopie pif to hȝre pere ne pere to his pife |
| Jesus | 32. Ne lipne no wif to hire were. ne were to his wȝue. |
| McClean | 27. Ne trust pif to hire pere ne pere to his piue. |

- L and J agree on the *v. pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. **lipnie/lipne** where M has the *v. pres. sbj.* 3rd sg. **trust** and the other MSS have the *v. pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. (OE *hopian*) **hopie**.
- J includes the *adj.* **no**, before the *n.* **wif**, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω33

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 32. Be for him self afriç man þe hpile he beð aliue. |
| Lambeth | 32. bo for him solue ech. mon. þe hpile þet he bo aliue. |
| Digby | 30. bi for him selue eurich man þer pile hi bieð aliue. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 32. beo for him sulue æurich man. þe hpile he beo aliue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 32. bue for him selue æfrech man þe pȳle he bo alife |
| Jesus | 33. Beo vor him seolue vȳch mon. þe hwile he beoþ alȳue. |
| McClean | 28. Biuore him do þel euerich man þe phile he is aliue |

- The reading in the first half-line of M is different from all others:
- M writes the *prep.* **biuore** where in all the other MSS the line begins with the *v. subj. pr. 3^d sg.* **be** + *prep.* **for** (T) or a variant thereof.
- All of the texts agree on the *reflex pron.* **him self** (T), or a variant thereof, except for M where it is not the *reflex* form of the *pron.* in **him**.
- M writes the *v. subj. pr. 3^d sg.* **do** + *adv.* **þel** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The majority of texts write the compound form of OE *æfre ælc* in the *adj.* **afriç** (T), **eurich** (D), **æurich** (E²), **æfrech** (E¹) and **euerich** (M) except for L and J which write (OE *ælc*) **ech/vȳch**.
- The texts vary towards the end of the line with their treatment of OE *bēon*. T and J have *irreg. v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* **beð/beoð**; L, E² and E¹ have the *subj.* form of the *pr. 3^d sg.* **bo** (L and E¹) and **beo** (E²); D has the *pl.* form of the *ind.* in **bieð**, preceded by the *pl.* form of the *pron. 3^d hi* – where it is **he** in all other manuscripts – and M has the *irreg. v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* **is** as an alternative reading.

Ω34

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 33. Þis þe him selue biðencheð þe hpile he mot libben |
| Lambeth | 33. Þis is þe to him solue þench þe hpile þe mot libben. |
| Digby | 31. Þis is þet hine biþencheð. þo hpile þet he mot libbe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 33. Þis is þe him sulfne bi þencð. þe hpile he mote libbe. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 33. Þis is þe him sulf be þenþ þa hpile þe he mot libbe |
| Jesus | 34. Þis is þat him seolue biþenkþ. þe hwile he mot libbe. |
| McClean | 29. Uor he is pis þat hine biþancþ þe phile þat he mot libbe. |

- The scribe of J writes **Þis** for **Þis**. It is likely that this is a scribal error based on the wrong guide letter having been written into the left hand margin. All of the other MSS have the *adj.* **pis**.
- The *v. pr. 3^d sg.* **is** not found in T, where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- M has an alternative first half-line reading: **uor he is pis þat hine biþancþ**. The meaning, however, is the same as that found in all the other MSS.
- L includes the *prep.* **to**, in the first half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- Both D and M form the *refl.* with **hine** and without **selue** (T), or a variant thereof.
- L uses the *cont.* form of the *v. pres. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *ðencan*) in **þench** where all the other MSS have a form of OE *beðencan* in **biðencheð** (T) or a variant thereof.
- LDE¹M write the *cj.* **þo hpile þe** (L), or a variant thereof, whereas, it is **þe hpile** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- L does not include the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he**, in the second half-line; this is likely to be a scribal error as the clause fails to function without it.

Ω35

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 34. For sone pilleð him forȝiete þe fremde 7 þe sibbe. |
| Lambeth | 34. for sone pule hine forȝeten þe fremede 7 þe sibbe. |
| Digby | 32. vor hine pilleð sone uorȝiete þo fremde 7 þo sibbe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 34. for sone pulleð hine for ȝite ðe fremde 7 þe sibbe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 34. for sone pillet him for ȝýten þe fræmden and þo sibbe |
| Jesus | 35. vor sone willeþ him for ýete þe fremede and þe sibbe. |
| McClean | 30. So sone pilleð hine uorzete þe uremde 7 þe sibbe |

- M begins the line with the *adv.* **so** where all the other MSS have the *cj.* **for**.
- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of D where it is written: **vor hine pilleð sone**; in all the other MSS the *adv.* **sone** and the *pron.* **3^d sg.** **hine** are *trs*.

Ω36

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 35. þe pel ne doð þe hpile he mai ne sal he þan he polde. |
| Lambeth | 35. þe pel ne deð þe hpile he mai ⁊ ne scal penne he palde. |
| Digby | 33. Se þet pel ne deð þe pile he mai ne sal he þanne he polde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 35. Þe pel ne deð þe hpile he mei. ne sceal he hpenne he polde. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 35. Þe pel ne deþ þe pile he mai ne scal he panne he polde |
| Jesus | 36. þe wel nule do hwile he maý. ne schal he hwenne he wolde. |
| McClean | 31. Þe pel ne deþ þe phil he mai ne scal he phane he polde. |

- All texts begin the line with the *rel. pron.* **þe** except for D which combines the *masc. dem. pron.* **se** with the *rel. pron.* **þet** in a form suggestive of Old English.
- All texts form the *neg* using the *adv.* **ne** with the *v. pr.* **3^d sg. ind.** (OE *dōn*) **doð/deð/deþ** apart from J which uses the *v. pr. ind.* **3^d sg. nule** (ModE *will not*) in combination with the *inf.* **do**.
- L omits the *pron.* **3^d sg.** **he**, before the *cj.* **penne**, where it is present in all the other MSS.

Ω37

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 36. For mani mannes sore ispinc habbeð ofte unholde. |
| Lambeth | 36. Monies monnes sare ispinc habbeð oft unholde. |
| Digby | 34. vor manies mannes sore ispinch habbeð ofte unholde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 36. manies mannes sare ispinch. habbeð oft unholde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 36. mani mannes sor ȝe spýnch habbet ofte alle vn holde |
| Jesus | 37. Moný monnes sore iswýnk. ofte habbeþ vnholde. |
| McClean | 32. Manies mannes sor yswinch habbeþ ofte unholde |

- T and D agree on the *cj.* **for** at the beginning of the line where it is not present in any other MSS.
- The *word-order* in J is slightly different in the second half-line where it reads *adv.* **ofte** + *v. pr.* **3^d pl.** **habbeþ** reversing the order in the other MSS.
- E¹ includes the *adj. pl.* **alle** in the second half-line where it is not present in any other MSS.

Ω38

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 37. Ne solde noman don a furst ne laten pel to done. |
| Lambeth | 37. Ne scal na mon don afirst. ne slapen pel to done. |
| Digby | 35. Ne solde noman don afirst ne sleuhþen pel to donne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 37. Ne scolde nanman don a furst. ne slapen pel to done. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 37. Ne solde no man don a ferst. ne sclakien pel to done |
| Jesus | 38. Ne scholde nomon don a virst. ne slakien wel to donne. |
| McClean | 33. Ne scolde noman don auirst ne sclakie pel to done |

- In the first half-line L writes the *pr. ind.* form of the *v. 3^d sg.* **scal** where it is the *pa. 3^d sg.* **solde** (T), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.
- T writes the *n.* **furst** where it is the *adv.* **afirst** (L), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.
- There is variation between the texts in the second half-line: T writes the *v. inf.* (OE *lætan*) **laten**; L, E² and D have the *v. inf.* (OE *slāpian*) **slapen/sleuhþen**; E¹, J and M have the *v. inf.* (OE *sleacian*) **sclakien/slakien/sclakie**.

Ω39

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 38. For mani man bihoteð pel þat hi forȝieteð sone. |
| Lambeth | 38. For moni mon bihateð pel þe hit forȝeteð sone. |
| Digby | 36. for mani man bihoteð pel þet hit forȝet pel sone. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 38. for mani mān bi hateð pel. þe hit forȝitet sone |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 38. for mani man bi hoted pel he it forȝýtet sone |
| Jesus | 39. vor monȳ mon bihoteþ wel. þat hit for ȳeteþ sone. |
| McClean | 34. Vor mani man bihoteþ pel 7 hit forȝet pel sone |

- All of the texts begin the second half-line with the *rel. pron.* **þat/þe/þet** except for E¹ which has the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** and M which has the *cj.* **7**.
- D and M agree on the *cont.* form of the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **forȝet/forȝet** + *adv.* **pel** where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **forȝieteð** (T), or a variant thereof, and the *adv.* is not present in any other MSS.

Ω40

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 39. þe man þe pile siker ben to habben godes blisse. |
| Lambeth | 39. Þe. mon. þe pule siker bon to habben Godes blisse. |
| Digby | 37. Se man þet pile siker bien to habbe godes blisce |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 39. þe man ðe siker pule beon to habbe godes blisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 39. Þe man þe pule siker ben to habbe godes blisse |
| Jesus | 40. Þe mon þat wile sýker beo. to habbe godes blýsse. |
| McClean | 35. Ac þilke man þat ple beo siker to habbe godes blisse |

- M begins the line with the *cj. ac* + *dem. pron.* (OE *ilca*) **þilke** (contraction of the *def. art. & pron.*) where this reading does not occur in any other MSS.
- The *word-order* is different in E² which writes the *adj.* **siker** + *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **pule** + *v. inf.* **beon** and in M which writes **ple** + **beo** + **siker**, where all of the other MSS have **pile** + **siker** + **ben** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω41

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 40. Do þel him self þe hpile he mai þanne haueð hes mid ipisse. |
| Lambeth | 40. do þel him solf hpile þet he mai ⁊ þenne haueð he his mid ipisse. |
| Digby | 38. do eure god þer hwile he mai þanne haueð he hit to iwisse. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 40. do þel hīmsulf þe hpile he mei. ðen haueð he mid ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 40. do þel him silf þe pile he mai þanne haueð he it mid ýpisse |
| Jesus | 41. Do wel him seolf þe hwile he maȝ. þenne haueþ he hit mȝd iwisse. |
| McClean | 36. Do þel himself þe phile he mai þanne haueþ he mid ýpisse |

- D begins the line with **do eure god þer hwile** where all the other MSS read **do þel him self þe hpile** (T) or a variant thereof. The meaning in both variants is very similar.
- L writes the *cj.* **hpile-þet** where it is **hpile** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- T combines the *pron. 3^d sg. (masc)* with the *pron 3^d sg. (inan.)* to form **hes** where it is separate in **he his** (L), **he hit** (D and J), **he it** (E¹). Both E² and M write the *pron. 3^d sg. (masc.)* **he**.

Ω42

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 41. Þe riche men peneð siker ben þurch pallen 7 thurh dichen. |
| Lambeth | 41. þes riche. Men. peneð bon siker þurh palle 7 þulrh diche. |
| Digby | 39. Þo Riche weneð siker bien þuch palles 7 þurh diches |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 41. Þes riche men peneð beo siker. þurh palle end þurch diche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 41. Þos Riche men peneð ben sikere þurh palles 7 þurh diche |
| Jesus | 42. þeos riche men weneþ to beon sýker. þurh walles 7 þurh diche. |
| McClean | 37. Þis riche men peneð beo siker þurȝ palles 7 þurȝ diche |

This line in J is found in the MS after the one at Ω43 but has been transposed, as was the intention of the scribe, to reflect the correct order of the text. An ·a· in the margin preceding the text indicates that this line should be read first.

- T and D use the *def. art. pl.* **þe** (T) and **þo** (D) where the remainder of the MSS have the *dem. adj. pl.* **þes** (L and E²), **þos** (E¹), **þeos** (J) and **þis** (M).
- D omits the *n. pl.* **men** found in the first half-line of all the other MSS; **riche** in D functions as a *n.* where it is an *adj.* in all the other MSS.
- J includes the *inf. mark.* **to** before the *inf. v.* **beon** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and D write the *adj. pl.* **siker** + *v. inf.* **beon** where the order is the reverse in all the other MSS.

Ω43

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 42. He deð his aihte an siker stede þe hit sent to heueriche. |
| Lambeth | 42. þe deð his echte on sikere stude he hit sent to heuenriche. |
| Digby | 40. se deð his heġhte on sikere stede þet sent hi to heueriche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 42. he deð his a sikere stede. þe sent to heueneriche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 42. he ded his eicte on sikere stede þe hi send to heuene riche |
| Jesus | 43. Ah heo doþ heore aȳhte in siker stude. þat sendeþ hit to heoue riche. |
| McClean | 38. Ac þe deþ his eȳte in sikere stede he hit sent to heueneriche |

This line in J is found in the MS before the one at Ω42 but has been transposed, as was the intention of the scribe, to reflect the correct order of the text. A ·b· in the margin preceding the text indicates that this line should be read second.

- The line begins with variation between many of the MSS: T, E² and E¹ begin with the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** in combination with *v.* **deð/ded**; L begins with *def. art.* **þe** and D with the *dem. pron.* **se** in combination with **deð**. Both J and M begin the line with the *cj.* **ah/ac** but J then has the *pron. 3^d pl.* **heo** followed by the *v.* **doþ** where M agrees with L and writes **þe deþ**.
- J writes the *poss. pron. 3^d pl.* **heore** where all the other MSS have the *poss. pron. 3^d sg.* **his**.
- E² omits the *n.* **aihte** (T), or a variant thereof, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- L and M agree on the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** where it is the *rel. pron.* **þe/þet/þat** in all the other MSS.
- E² omits the *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit/hi** found in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sendeþ** where all the other texts have the *cont. form* in **sent/send**.

Ω44

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 43. For þarf he ben ofdrad of fure ne of þieue. |
| Lambeth | 43. For þer ne þerf he bon of dred of fure ne of þoue |
| Digby | 43. Þer ne darf man ben ofdred of fere ne of þieue |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 43. For ðer ne ðierf beon of dred. of fure ne of þeoue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 43. For þer ne þarf he ben of drad of fure ne of þeve |
| Jesus | 44. vor þer ne þarf. he beon adred. of fure ne of þeue. |
| McClean | 39. Vor þar ne darf he ben afered of fure ne of þeue |

The line shown here from Digby (43) and the one that follows (44) are located two lines further on in the Digby MS but have been placed here for the purpose of comparison.

- T begins incorrectly; the interlinear corrections made at the time do not correct the text completely. The text of T is partially corrected with the interlinear insertion of [f] after **þar** and [he], in a different hand, (cf. notes to the transcription of T) but it should read '**for þar ne þarf he ben ofdrad**'.
- D omits the *cj.* **For** at the beginning of the line.
- E² omits the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** present in all the other MSS in the first half-line, except for D which writes the *n.* **man**.
- T, L, D and E² write the *v. pa. part.* (OE *ofdrædd*) is **ofdrad/of dred/ofdred/of drad**. However, it is *v. pa. part* (OE *andrædan*) **adred** in J and *v. pa. part* (OE *ā-færan*) **afered** in M.

Ω45

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 44. Þar ne mai hit him binime þe loðe ne þe lieue. |
| Lambeth | 44. þer ne þerf he him binimen þe laðe ne þe loue. |
| Digby | 44. þer ne mai him naht binime se loþe ne se lieue. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 44. þer ne mei hi bi nime. ðe laðe ne ðe leoue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 44. þer ne mai it hȳm bi nimen þe loþe ne þe leue |
| Jesus | 45. þar ne may hit bynyme. þe loþe ne þe leoue. |
| McClean | 40. Þar ne mai hit him binime þe loþe ne þe leue |

The line shown here from Digby (44) and the one previous (43) are located two lines further on in the Digby MS but have been placed here for the purpose of comparison.

- L writes the *v. pr. 3^d sg.* **þerf** + *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** where all the other MSS, except for D (see following note), have the *v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *magan*) **mai** + *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit** (T) or variants thereof.
- D omits the *pron. 3^d sg.* **hit** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
- E² and J omit the *pron. 3^d sg.* **him** where it is present in the first half-line of all the other MSS.

Ω46

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 45. Þar ne þarf he habben care of here ne of ġielde |
| Lambeth | 45. þer ne þerf he habben kare of ġefe ne of ġelde. |
| Digby | 41. Þer ne darf he habben kare of ġieue ne of ġielde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 45. Þar ne þærf he habbe kare of pȳfe ne of childe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 45. Þer ne þerf he habbe kare of piue ne of childe |
| Jesus | 46. Þer ne þarf he beon ofdred. of ȳfte. ne of yelde. |
| McClean | 41. Þar ne darf he habbe care of zunge ne of zelde |

Lines Ω46 and Ω47 in Digby occur in the MS before those now found at Ω44 and Ω45 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- J writes the *v. inf.* **beon** + *v. pp.* **ofdred** where all the other MSS have the *v. inf.* **habben** + *n.* **care** (T), or variants thereof.
- There is significant variation between the texts in the second half-line: L, D and J agree on the *n.* (OE *ġiefu*) **ġefe** (L), or a variant thereof, with the *n.* (OE *ġield*) **ġelde** (L), or variants thereof; T agrees with the second of these *ns* (at the line end) but not the first, where it has the *n.* (OE *hīre, hȳr*) **here**; E² and E¹ agree with each other but have very different readings from all the other texts with the *n.* **pȳfe/piue** and the *n.* **childe**; M writes the *adj.* (OE *geong*) **zunge** with the *adj.* (OE *eald*) **zelde** at the line end.

Ω47

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 46. Þider pe sendeð 7 ec bereð to litel 7 to selde. |
| Lambeth | 46. þider he sent. 7 solf bereð to lutel 7 to selde. |
| Digby | 42. þider pe sendeð 7 selue bereð to litle 7 to selde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 46. þuder pe sendet 7 sulf bereð. to lite 7 to selde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 46. þider pe sendeð suuel and bred to lutel and to selde |
| Jesus | 47. þider we sendeþ and seolf bereþ. to lutel and to selde. |
| McClean | 42. Þider pe sendeþ 7 us self bereþ to litel 7 to selde |

Lines Ω46 and Ω47 in Digby occur in the MS before those now found at Ω44 and Ω45 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- L uses the *cont.* form of the *v. pr. 3^d sg.* (OE *sendan, besendaþ*) in **sent** following the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** where all the other MSS have **sendeð** (T), or a variant thereof, and the *pron. 1st pl.* **pe/we**.
- E¹ has an alternate reading in the first half-line and reads **suuel and bred** as the *subject* of the *v. sendeð*.
- T writes the *adv.* **ec** where all the other MSS have the *pl. pron.* **solf/selue/sulf/seolf**, except for E¹ (see note above), and M which has the *reflex.* form in the *pl. pron.* **us-self**.

Ω48

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 47. Þider pe solden drawen 7 don pel ofte 7 ilome. |
| Lambeth | 47. þider pe sculen dragen 7 don pel ofte 7 ilome. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 47. þider pe scolden dragan 7 don. pel oft 7 pel ge lome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 47. Þider pe solden drapen and don pel oft 7 pel ge lome |
| Jesus | 48. þider we schulde drawen and don. wel ofte and ilome. |
| McClean | 45. Þider pe scolde bere 7 draze ofte 7 pel ylome |

Lines Ω48 and Ω49 in M occur in the MS after those now found at Ω50 and Ω51 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

Line Ω48 is not present in D.

- L has the *v. pr. f^t pl. ind.* (OE *sceall*) *sculen*, in the first half-line, where all the other MSS have the *pa.* form of the *v.* in **solden** (T) or a variant thereof.
- The reading in M is different where M writes the *v. inf.* **bere** + *cj.* 7 + *v. inf.* **draze** + *adv.* **ofte** + *cj.* 7, where it is *v. inf.* **drawen** + *cj.* 7 + *v. inf.* **don** + *adv.* **pel** + *adv.* **ofte** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- E², E¹ and M have the *adv.* **pel** before the *adv.* **ge lome** (E²), or a variant thereof, at the end of the line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω49

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 48. For þar ne sal me us naht binime mid prongpise dome. |
| Lambeth | 48. for þer ne scal me us naut binimen mid prangpise dome. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 48. For þer ne sceal me us naht bi nime. mid prancpise dome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 48. for þer ne scal me us nout binimen mid pronge ne mid poȝe |
| Jesus | 49. Ne maȝ þer non hit vs bynȳmen. mȳd wrongwise dome. |
| McClean | 46. Þar ne mizte me hit us binime mid none pronge dome |

Lines Ω48 and Ω49 in M occur in the MS after those now found at Ω50 and Ω51 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

Line Ω49 is not present in D.

- M and J both display significant variation, in both *word-order* and *vocabulary* in the first half-line, from the remainder of the MSS, but do show some similarity with each other. The overall meaning remains the same.
- In the second half-line, M scribe writes the *adj.* **none** + *adj.* **pronge** where it is the *adj.* **prongpise** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS, except for E² (see note below).
- E¹ ends the line **mid pronge mid poȝe** which finds no agreement among the other texts and spoils the rhyme with the previous line **ge lome**.

Ω50

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 49. Bider pe solde ġierne drawen polde ġie me ileuen. |
| Lambeth | 49. þider ġe sculen ġorne dragen. palde ġe god ilelue. |
| Digby | 45. Bider pe solden alle draghen wolde ġe me ileuen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 49. Bider pe scolden ġeorne dragen. polde ġe me ileue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 49. Bider pe scolde ġerne drapen 7 don polde ġe me ileue |
| Jesus | 50. þider we schulden drawen and don. wolde ye me ileue. |
| McClean | 43. Bider ze scolde alle don polde ze me yleue |

Lines Ω50 and Ω51 in M occur in the MS before those now found at Ω48 and Ω49 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- L and M agree on the *pron. 2nd pl. ġe/ze* where all the other texts have the *pron. 1st pl. pe*.
- L writes the *v. pr. ind. 2nd pl.* (OE *sceall*) **sculen** where it is *pa. 1st pl. solde* (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other texts, except for M where it is the *pa. 2nd pl. scolde*.
- M writes the *adj. pl. alle* + *v. inf. don*, and D writes the *adj. pl. alle* + the *v. inf. draghen*, where all the other texts write the *adv. ġierne* (except J where it is not present) + *v. inf. drawen* (T), or variants thereof.
- E¹ and J include the *cj. 7/and* the *v. inf. don* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pron. 1st sg. acc. me* is missing from the second half-line of L and the *n. god* is written instead.

Ω51

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 50. For ne mai hit us binime no king ne no syrreue. |
| Lambeth | 50. For ne mei þet hit ou binimen king ne reue. |
| Digby | 46. for þer mai hit us binime ne king ne his serreue. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 50. for ðere ne mei hit bi nimen eop þe king ne se ireue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 50. for þer ne mai hit ou bi nimen þe king ne þe scirreue |
| Jesus | 51. vor þer ne maÿ hit vs bÿ nÿme. þe king. ne þe schirreue. |
| McClean | 44. Þar ne miȝte me hit us binime king ne no scerreue |

Lines Ω50 and Ω51 in M occur in the MS before those now found at Ω48 and Ω49 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M omits the *cj. for* (T), or a variant thereof, found in all of the other MSS at the beginning of the first half-line.
- All texts have the *adv. ðere/þer/par* in the first half-line except for L and T.
- The *neg. ne* is not present in the first half-line of D where it is present in the other MSS.
- L includes the *dem. pron. þet* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E¹, E² and L agree on the *pron. 2nd pl. ou/eop* where all of the other MSS read *pron. 1st pl. us/vs*; the *word-order* is also different in E², which has the *pron.* following the *v. inf. bi nimen*, where it precedes the *v.* in all of the other MSS.
- T and D include the *adj. no* before the *n. king*, where it is the *def. art. þe* in E², E¹ and J, and where neither is present in L and M
- T and M include the *adj. no* before the *n. syrreue* (T), or a variant thereof; D has the *pron. 3rd sg. poss. his* and E² writes the OE *masc. form of the def. art. se* where it is the modernised version **þe** in E¹ and J; none of these readings are present in L.
- L and E² agree on the *cont. form of the n. reue/ireue* (OE *gerēfa*) where all of the other MSS use the compound from OE *scīr+gerēfa*.

Ω52

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 51. Al þat beste þat pe habbeð her þider pe solde sende. |
| Lambeth | 51. Al þet beste þet pe hefden þider pe hit solde senden |
| Digby | 47. Þet beste þet pe hōgeð. Þider pe solde senden. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 51. Þet betste þet pe hedde. þuder pe scolde sende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 51. Al þat beste þat pe habbet þider pe scolde sende |
| Jesus | 52. Al þe beste þat we habbeþ. þider we schulde sende. |
| McClean | 47. Al þat faireste þat man haueþ to gode he hit scolde sende |

- The *adj.* **al** is not present in D and E².
- M, in the first half-line, writes the *adj.* **faireste**, where it is **beste/betste** in the other MSS, and the *n.* **man** where it is the *pron.* **pe/we** in all the others.
- The *v.* (OE *habban*) is *pr. 1st pl.* **habbeð** (T), **habbet** (E¹) and **habbeþ** (J), but it is *pa. 1st pl.* in **hefden** (L) and **hedde** (E²), and it is *pr. 3rd sg.* in **haueþ** (M); D has the alternative reading of *v. pr. 1st pl.* (OE *agen*) **hōgeð**.
- M specifies that it is to **gode** where earthly possessions should be sent where all the other texts use the *adv.* **þider/þuder**.
- T includes the *adv.* **her** following **habbeð**; this is not present in any other MSS.
- L and M both include the *3rd sg. pron.* **hit** in the second half of the line where it is not present in any other MSS.
- M writes the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** with the *v. pa. 3rd sg.* **scolde** where it is the *pron. 1st pl.* **pe** + the *v. pa. 1st pl.* **solde** (T), or variant thereof, in all other MSS.

Ω53

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 52. For þar pe mihte finden eft 7 habben abuten ende. |
| Lambeth | 52. for þer pe hit michte finden eft. 7 habben buten ende. |
| Digby | 48. for þer pe mūgen hit finden eft. 7 habben buten ende. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 52. For þer pe hit mihte finde eft. 7 habbe bute ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 52. for þer pe it mupen finden eft 7 habben abuten ende |
| Jesus | 53. vor þer we hit mýhte vinden eft. 7 habben ·o· buten ende. |
| McClean | 48. Þar he hit mizte finde eft 7 habbe euere bute ende |

- The *cj.* **for/vor** is not present in M.
- M has the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** where all the other texts have the *pron. 1st pl.* **pe**.
- T and D do not have the *pron. 3rd sg.* **hit/it**, after **pe**, where all the other MSS do.
- The *irreg. v.* (OE *meahte*) is *pa. 1st pl.* **mihte** (T and E²), **michte** (L), **mýhte** (J) but is *pa. 3rd sg.* **mizte** (M) and *pr. 1st pl.* **mūgen** (D) and **mupen** (E¹).
- M has the *adv.* **euere** after the *inf. v.* **habbe** where it is not present in any other MSS except in J where *adv.* ·o· is written for OE *ā*.

Ω54

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 53. Se þe her doð ani god for to haben godes ore. |
| Lambeth | 53. þo þe er doð eni God for habben godes are. |
| Digby | 49. Se þe her deð ani god to habbe godes ore |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 53. Þe ðe her deð eni god. for habbe godes are |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 53. Þe þe her det ani god for to habben godes ore |
| Jesus | 54. He þat her doþ eny god. to habbe godes ore. |
| McClean | 51. Þe man þat ani god doþ her uor habbe godes ore |

Lines Ω54 and Ω55 in M occur in the MS after those now found at Ω56 and Ω57 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *art.* is often used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives as in **Se þe** (T and D) which is an older form modernised during the period to **þe þe** (E¹) but retained in some instances as late as the thirteenth century.
- L begins with the *pl.* form of the *dem. pron. + rel.* in **þo þe** where it is *sg.* in all other MSS.
- J has the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** before the *rel.* **þat** instead of the antecedent found in most other MSS.
- M has the *def. art.* **þe** with the *n.* **man** as an alternative reading. It is followed by the *rel.* **þat** found only in this MS and J (see previous note)
- The *word-order* in the first half-line of M differs to all the other MS: M writes **ani god doþ her**, where it is **her doð anid god** (T), or variants thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- T and E¹ write **for to** as a *mark.* to the *inf.*, at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is **for** in L, E² and M, and **to** in D and J

Ω55

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 54. Al he hit sal eft finde þar 7 hundredfealde more. |
| Lambeth | 54. al he hit scal fin den eft þer 7 hundred fald mare. |
| Digby | 50. al he hit sel finde þer 7 hundred fealde more. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 54. eal he hit sceal finde ðer. 7 hundred fealde more |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 54. al he it scal finden þer. 7 hundred felde more |
| Jesus | 55. Al he schal vȳnde þer. an hundred folde more. |
| McClean | 52. Þar he hit scal finde eft and hundredfelde more |

Lines Ω54 and Ω55 in M occur in the MS after those now found at Ω56 and Ω57 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M has the *adv.* **þar**, at the beginning of the first half-line, where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **al/eal** used as a *n.*. As a result, the *adv.* **þar** (T), or a variant thereof, is not repeated at the end of the first half-line in M, where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- J does not include the *pron. 3rd sg.* **hit/it** in the first half-line where it is present in all the other MSS.
- The *adv.* **eft** is present in T, L and M but not in the other MSS: In T the *adv.* is found before the *v. inf.* **finde**, where in L and M it is found after.
- J begins the second half-line with the *indef. art.* **an** where it is the *cj.* **7/and** in all the other MSS.

Ω56

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 55. Se þe aihte pile holde þel þe hpile hes muge pealden. |
| Lambeth | 55. þe þet echte pile halden þel hpile þe he muge es pelden. |
| Digby | 51. Se þet eghte pile hialde þel þe hpile þe hi mot wealde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 55. Ðe ðe ehte pile healden þel. þe hpile he mei his pealden |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 55. Ðe þe ehte pile healden þel þe pile he mai his pelden |
| Jesus | 56. þe þat aȝhte wile holde wel. þe hwile he maȝ him wolde. |
| McClean | 49. Ðe man þe his ezte þel pile pite þe phile he mai pelde |

Lines Ω56 and Ω57 in M occur in the MS before those now found at Ω54 and Ω55 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *art.* is often used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives as in **Se þe** (T) and **se þet** (D); see notes to Ω54.
- There are several minor differences between M and the other MSS at this line; the most significant being the inclusion of the *v. inf.* **pite** (OE *witan*) where all the other MSS read *v. inf.* **holde** (T and J), **halden** (L), **hialde** (D), **healden** (E² and E¹).
- Both T and L use the *subj.* form of the *v. pr. 3rd sg.* (OE *magan*) **muge** where it is *ind.* **mei/maȝ/mai** in all the other MSS, except for D which has *v. pr. 3rd sg. ind.* **mot** (OE *mōtan*).
- T combines the *pron. 3rd sg. (masc)* **he** and *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **es** in **hes**, where it is **he ...es** (L), or a variant thereof, in L, E² and E¹; **hi/he** only in D and M, and **he ... him** in J.

Ω57

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 56. Ȝieue hes for godes luue þanne doð hes þel ihealden. |
| Lambeth | 56. Giue hies for godes luue ȝ þenne deþ hes þel ihalden. |
| Digby | 52. Ȝieue hi for godes loue Þanne deð he hi þel ihialde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 56. ȝiue his for godes luue. þenne deð he his þel ihealden |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 56. ȝiue his for godes luue eft heo hit scullen a finden |
| Jesus | 57. ȝeue hit for godes luue. þenne doþ he hit wel iholde. |
| McClean | 50. ȝeue he uor godes loue þanne beþ hi þel ihelde |

Lines Ω56 and Ω57 in M occur in the MS before those now found at Ω54 and Ω55 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T, L, E² and E¹ combine the *pron. 3rd sg. (masc)* **he** and *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **es** in **hes/hies**, in the first half-line, where it is only the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **hi/hit** in D and J, and the *pron. 3rd sg. (masc)* **he** in M.
- The second half-line of E¹ has been written by mistake: **eft heo hit scullen a finden**. The rhyme is incorrect because of an eye-skip to two lines further on, where the second half of the line is repeated, but in the correct position.
- Both T and L combine the *pron. 3rd sg. (masc)* **he** and *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **es** in **hes** (see note to previous line), in the second half-line, where the combination is written separately in **he hi** (D), or a variant thereof, in D, E¹ and J, and is only the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **hi** in M; E¹ has an different reading (see preceding note).
- M has *v. pr. 3rd sg. ind* (OE *bēon*) **beþ** where all the other MSS (apart from E¹: see note above) read *v. pr. 3rd sg. ind* (OE *dōn*) **doð/deþ/deð/dop**.

Ω58

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 57. For ure spinch 7 ure tilðe is ofte puned to spinde. |
| Lambeth | 57. Vre spinc 7 ure tilþe is ofte iponed to spinden. |
| Digby | 53. Vre ispinch 7 ure itilðe is ofte iponed to aspinde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 57. Vre ispinch 7 ure tilðe. is oft ipuned to spinden |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 57. Vre ispinch 7 ure tilþe is ofte ipuned to spinden |
| Jesus | 58. vre swýnk 7 vre týlehþe. is iwuned to swýnde. |

Line Ω58 is not present in M.

- The *cj. for* is present in T but not any of the other MSS.
- The *adv. oft/oftte* is not present in J.
- The *v.al pref.* (OE *gē*) is **i** in **iponed/ipuned/iwuned** but is not present in T.

Ω59

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 58. Ac al þat pe ȝieueð for godes luue al pe hit sulen eft finden. |
| Lambeth | 58. Ach þet þe pe doð for godes luue ⁊ eft pe sculen al finden. |
| Digby | 54. ac þet pe doð for godes loue eft pe sollen hit al vinde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 58. ac ðet pe doð for godes luue. eft pe hit sculen afinden |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 58. ac þat pe dot for godes luue eft pe it scullen a finden |
| Jesus | 59. Ah heo þat hit ȝeueþ for godes luue. eft hit mowen ivýnde. |

Line Ω59 is not present in M.

- T includes the *adj. al* in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T agrees with J on the *v. ȝieueð/ȝeueþ*, against all the other MSS which have *v. pr. 1st pl. doð/dot*, except in *num.* where it is *1st pl.* in T but *3rd pl.* in J and preceded by the *3rd pl. pron. heo* where it is *1st pl. pe* in all the other MSS including T.
- There are some small differences in vocabulary and *word-order* in the second half-lines of all of the MSS at Ω59 but the sense remains the same: T writes the *adj.* as *n. al* + *pron. 1st pl. pe* + *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit* + *v. pr. 1st pl. ind.* (OE *sceall*) **sulen** + *adv. eft* + *v. inf. finden*; the reading is the same in D but with a different *word-order*; the *word-order* in L is similar to that of D but the *pron. 3rd sg. (inanimate) hit* is not present; E² and E¹ have a different *word-order* to the other MSS and also do not include the *adj.* as *n. al*, found in all of the other MSS except J; J reads *adv. eft* + *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* + the *v. pr. 3rd pl. ind.* (OE *magan*) **mowen**, where it is the *v. pr. 1st pl. ind.* (OE *sceall*) **sulen/sculen/sollen/scullen** in all of the other MSS, + *v. inf. ivýnde*.

Ω60

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 59. Ne sal þar non euel ben unboht ne god unforgolden. |
| Lambeth | 59. Ne scal nan ufel bon unbocht. ne nan god unfor golden. |
| Digby | 55. Ne sel non euel bien vnboht ne no god unforgolde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 59. Ne sceal nan uuel beon un boht. ne nan god un for ȝolde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 59. Ne scal non vuel ben vn bout ne non god vn for ȝolde |
| Jesus | 60. Ne schal non vuel beon vn bouht. ne no god vn vor gulde. |
| McClean | 57. Ne scal non euel beo unboȝt ne no god unzulde |

Lines Ω60 and Ω61 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω64 and Ω65 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- **ne sal þar**: T has the *adv. þar* where it is not present in any of the other MS. T, however, does not include the *adj. nan/no/ne* in the second half-line in order to maintain the cadence of the line.
- M constructs the *v. pp. unzulde* without the *pref. for/vor* as found in all the other variants.

Ω61

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 60. Euel pe doð al to muchel 7 god lasse þan pe solden. |
| Lambeth | 60. vfel pe doþ al to muchel. 7 god lesse þenne pe sculden. |
| Digby | 56. euel pe doð al to muchel god lesse þanne pe solde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 60. uuel pe doð eal to michel. 7 god lesse þenne pe scolde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 60. vuel pe doð al to muchel 7 god lasse þanne pe scolde |
| Jesus | 61. Vuel we doþ al to muchel. god: lasse þane we scholde. |
| McClean | 58. Euel pe doþ al to muchel god lasse þane pe scolde |

Lines Ω60 and Ω61 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω64 and Ω65 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

Ω62

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 61. Se þe mast doð nu to gode 7 se last to lothe. |
| Lambeth | 61. þo þe mest doð nu to gode. 7 þe lest to laðe. |
| Digby | 57. Se þet mest deð nu to gode 7 se þet lest to loðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 61. Þe ðe mest deð nu to gode. 7 ðe þe lest to laðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 61. Þe þe mest deð nu to gode 7 þe þe lest to laðe |
| Jesus | 62. þe þat mest doþ nv to gode. 7 te þe leste to laþe. |
| McClean | 53. Þe man þat deþ her mest to gode 7 alþre lest to loþe |

- The *art.* is often used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives as in **Se þe** (see the notes to Line Ω54 for a discussion of this).
- M begins the line: **Þe man þat** instead of **se þe** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all MSS, except for L where it is *pl.* **þo þe**.
- M writes *v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. deþ* + *adv. her* + *n. mest*, where the *adv.* is **nu** and the *word-order* is different in all of the other MSS.
- In D, E², E¹ and J the *art.* is used as *pron.* antecedent to the *relative* in **se þet** (D), or a variant thereof, where it is the *relative* only **se/þe** in T and L, and M has the *adj. pl. gen. alþre* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω63

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 62. Eiðer to litel 7 to muchel hem sal þunche boðe. |
| Lambeth | 62. Eiðer to lutel 7 to muchel scal þunchen eft hom baþe. |
| Digby | 58. aider to litel 7 to muchel sal þenchen eft hem boðe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 62. æiðer to litel 7 to michel sceal ðinche eft him baðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 62. aȳþer to lutel 7 to muchel scal þinchen eft hȳm baðe |
| Jesus | 63. Eyþer to lutel and to muchel. schal þunchen heom ef to baþe. |
| McClean | 54. Aiþer to litle 7 to muchel hit scal him þinche boþe |

- The *word-order* is different in the second half-line of T and the text does not include the *adv. eft* as is present in all other MSS except M.
- There is some variation in content and *word-order* in M but the meaning of the line is maintained
- J has the *prep. to*, found in no other MS, before the *pron. baþe*.

Ω64

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 63. þar me sal ure perkes peiġen bifoꝛe þan heuen kinge. |
| Lambeth | 63. þer me scal ure perkes peien bi foran þe heuen king. |
| Digby | 59. Ðer me sal ure perkes peġe biuore þe heuene kinge |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 63. Ðer me sceal ure peorkes peġen. be foren heue kinge |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 63. Ðer me scal vre perkes peġen bi foren þen heuene kinge |
| Jesus | 64. Ðer me schal vre werkes weġen bȳ vore heouene kinge. |
| McClean | 55. Þhane me scal ure purkes peġe to uore þe heuenkinge |

- M has the *cj.* **phane** where all the other texts begin the line with the *adv.* **þer/þer**.
- M forms the *prep.* **to uore** where it is **bifoꝛe** (T) or a variation of this in all the other MSS.
- Neither E² and J write the *def. art.* preceding the *n.* **heue kinge/heouene kinge**.

Ω65

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 64. 7 ġieuen us ure perkes lean after ure erninge. |
| Lambeth | 64. and ġeuen us ure spinkes lan efter ure erninge. |
| Digby | 60. 7 ġieuen us ure workes lean efter ure earninge. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 64. 7 ġieuen us ure spinches lien æfter ure earninge |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 64. 7 ġieuen us ure spinches lȳen after vre erninge |
| Jesus | 65. And ȳeuen vs vre swȳnkes lean. after vre earnȳnge. |
| McClean | 56. 7 ȳeue us ure suinches lien after ure ernigge |

The couplet that follows line 56 in M (Lines 57 and 58) has been transposed for reasons of comparison.

- T and D agree on the *pl. n.* (OE *weorc*) **perkes/workes** against the other MSS which have the *gen. n.* (OE *swinc*) **spinkes** (L) or variants thereof.

Ω66

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 65. Africh man mid þat he haueð mai bugge heueriche |
| Lambeth | 65. Ech mon mid þet he hauet. mei buggen houelne riche. |
| Digby | 61. Eurich man mid þet he haueð mai beggen heueriche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 65. Eure elc man mid þan ðe haueð mei bigge heueriche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 65. Eure ilc man mid þan þe he haueð mai biggen heueriche |
| Jesus | 66. Everuȳch mon mȳd þat he haueþ. maȳ bugge heoueriche. |
| McClean | 59. Ac euerich man mid þan þe he haueþ mai bugge godes riche |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ac**, present in no other MSS.
- E² and E¹ keep separate the *adv.* (OE *æfre*) **eure** and the *adj.* (OE *ælc*) **elc/ilc** in the *adj. ph.* **eure elc/eure ilc**. The words are compounded in T (**africh**), D and M (**eurich**) and J (**everuȳch**). L uses the *adj.* **ech** on its own.
- M writes **godes riche** where it is **heueriche** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω67

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 66. Þe þe more haueð 7 þe þe lasse boðe iliche. |
| Lambeth | 66. þe mare haueþ 7 þe þe lesse ȝ baþe hi mugen iliche. |
| Digby | 62. se þet lesse 7 se þet more here aider iliche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 66. þe ðe mare hefð 7 ðe þe lesse. baðe mei iliche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 66. þe þe more haueð 7 þe þe lasse. boþe mai iliche |
| Jesus | 67. þe riche and þe poure boþe. ah nouht alle ilýche. |
| McClean | 60. Þe þe more haueþ 7 þe þat lasse boþe iliche |

- There is significant variance in both the *word-order* and the vocabulary in this line although the meaning is for the most part the same.
- The *art.* is used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives (see note to line Ω56) in **þe þe** (he who) (T) and variants that begin this line. However, this form is not present in either J or L which begin, in both instances, without the *def. art.* **þe**.
- D writes the *adj.* **mare** followed by *adj.* **lesse**, where it is the reverse in all the other MSS, except J (see note below).
- J writes the *adj.* **riche** and **poure** where all other MSS write **more** and **lasse** (T) or variants of. The *v.* **haueð** is no longer required (also absent from D) and the *adv.* **boþe** is written, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- M agrees with T on content and *word-order*.
- E² and E¹ agree with each other and with T but have the additional *v. pr.* 3rd sg. **mei/mai** in the second half-line.
- L includes the *pron.* 3rd pl **hi** with the *v.* **mugen** in the second half-line – not present in any of the other MSS.
- The second half-line of D reads: **here aider iliche** and J reads: **ah nouht alle ilýche**; neither of these variants is found in any of the other MSS.

Ω68

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 67. Also on mid his peni se oþer mid his punde |
| Lambeth | 67. Also mid his penie also oðer mið his punde. |
| Digby | 63. Al suo on mid his panie swo oþer mid his punde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 67. Eal se mid his penne. se ðe oðer mid his punde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 67. He also mid his penie se þe oþer mid his punde |
| Jesus | 68. þe poure. mýd his penýe. þe riche mýd his punde. |
| McClean | 61. Ase pel þon mid his penie also þe oþer mid his punde |

- The *adv.* **also** (T), or a variant thereof, found in T, L, D, E¹ and M, is preceded in E¹ by the *pron.* 3rd sg. **he**, found in no other MS. The reading in J is different, see the following notes.
- M includes the *adv.* **pel**, in the first half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- T and D write the *card. pron.* **on** in the first half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS, except for M where it is found combined with the *def. art.* **þon** (ModE 'the one').
- J, once more, differs from all the other MSS in this line by making explicit to whom the subject of the line refers through the *def. art.* **þe** + *adj.*, acting as a *n.*, **poure**, in the first half-line, and the *def. art.* **þe** + *adj.*, acting as a *n.*, **riche**, at the beginning of the second half-line.
- T, D, E¹ and E² begin the second half-line with the *cj.* **se/swo**, where it is the *cj.* **also** in L and M and is not present in J (see previous note).
- E², E¹ and M include the *def. art.* **ðe/þe** before the *pron.* **oðer/oþer**, where the *def. art.* is not found in T, L and D; the reading in J is different at this point (see previous notes).

Ω69

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 68. Þis is þet punderlukeste pare þat ani man funde. |
| Lambeth | 68. þet is þe punderlukeste chep ⁊ þet eni mon efre funde. |
| Digby | 64. þet is si ponderlicheste pare þet ani man eure vonde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 68. þet his ð punder lukeste pare. ðe æniman æure funde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 68. þat is þe punder likeste gare þat eni man eure funde |
| Jesus | 69. þat is þe wunderlicheste ware. þat euer was ifunde. |
| McClean | 62. Þis is þat alþre beste pare þat euer pas ifunde |

- T and M agree on the *dem. pron.* **þis** where it is **þet/þat** in all the other MSS.
- D writes **si** for the *def. art.* This is a regular occurrence in the text of D.
- M writes **alþre beste** where it is *adj. sup.* **punderlukeste** (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- L writes *n.* (OE *cēap*) **chep** where it is *n.* (OE *waru*) **pare/ware** in all the other MSS except for E¹ where it is written **gare**, mistakenly. The use of the word **chep** possibly emphasises the idea of a bargain more accurately than the other MSS.
- L, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *n.* **eni mon** + *adv.* **efre** (L), or a variant thereof, in the second half-line; whereas, T does not include the *adv.* **efre** (L), and J and M have the *adv.* **eure/euere** + *v. pa 3rd sg.* **was/pas** instead of the *n.* + *adv.*

Ω70

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 69. 7 se þe more ne mai don mid his gode iþanke. |
| Lambeth | 69. 7 þe ðe mare ne mai don ⁊ do hit mid his gode þonke. |
| Digby | 65. 7 se þet more ne mai don mid his gode þonke |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 69. And þe ðe mare ne mei don. mid his god iþanke |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 69. And þe þe more ne mai don bute mid his gode þanke |
| McClean | 63. 7 þe þat ne mai namore do mid is gode þonke |

Line Ω70 is not present in J.

- The *art.* is used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives in **se þe** (he who) (T), or variant thereof (see note to line Ω53).
- M has the *adj.* **namore** in the first half-line where it is **more/mare** in all the other MSS. The *word-order* is also different at this point with **ne mai** preceding **namore**.
- L begins the second half-line with **do hit**, only present in this MS, which suggests a less passive voice and more didactic.
- E¹ has the *adv.* (OE *būtan*) **bute** which is found in no other MSS.

Ω71

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 70. Also pel se þe þe haued goldes fele manke. |
| Lambeth | 70. Also pel se þe þe haued golde fele manke. |
| Digby | 66. al spo pel spo se þet haued goldes vele monke. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 70. eal se pel se ðe haued goldes feale marke |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 70. al se pel se þe haued goldes feale manke |
| McClean | 64. Also pel so he þat haueþ of goldes fele monke |

Line Ω71 is not present in J.

- M uses the *prep.* **of** where the other texts form the construction using the *gen.* (see the *gen.* ending **-es** in **goldes**) suggesting that M scribe lacked understanding of this line Laing (LAEME).
- In T, L and D the *art.* is used as a *pron.* antecedent to a *relative* in **þe þe** (T), or a variant thereof, whereas, E² and E¹ have only the *relative* **ðe/þe**, and M has the *pron.* **3rd sg.** **he** + *relative* **þat**.
- E² mistakenly writes *n. pl.* **marke** where all the other MSS write *n. pl.* **monke/manke** from *mancus* (a coin or weight of gold used during the period). The rhyme, in E², is therefore spoiled with the previous line ending **iþanke**.

Ω72

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 71. And ofte god can more þanc þan þe him ȝieueð lasse. |
| Lambeth | 71. 7 oft god kon mare þonc þen þe him ȝeueð lesse. |
| Digby | 67. 7 ofte god can more þanc þan þe him ȝiefð þet lesse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 71. And oft god kan mare þanc ðan ðe him ȝiuēt lesse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 71. And god can more þanc ðan þe him ȝiued lesse |
| Jesus | 70. 7 ofte god con more þonk. ȝe þat ȝueþ him lasse. |
| McClean | 65. Vor ofte god kan more þonc him þat ȝefþ lasse |

- M writes **vor** where all the other MSS have **and/7**.
- The *adv.* **ofte/oft** is not found in E¹, where it is present in the first half-line of all of the other MSS.
- The *art.* is used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives in **þan þe** (to him who) (T and D), **þen þe** (L), **ðan ðe** (E²) and **ðan þe** (E¹). However, M writes **him þat** and J writes **ȝe þat**. All lines are *3rd sg.* in the second half-line except in J where it is *2nd pl.*
- The *word-order* of the *v. pr.* *3rd sg. ind.* **ȝueþ** + *pron.* *3rd sg.* **him** in J is the reverse of all of the other MSS, except for M where **him** is not present as it is found earlier in the half-line (see previous note).

Ω73

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 72. Al his perkes 7 his peies is milce 7 rihtpinesse. |
| Lambeth | 72. 7 his perkes 7 his peȝes his milce. 7 rihtpinesse. |
| Digby | 68. alle his porkes 7 alle his peȝes is mihte 7 rihtpinesse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 72. eal his peorkes 7 his peies is milce 7 rihtpinesse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 72. al his perkes 7 his peies is milce 7 ritȝifnesse |
| Jesus | 71. Alle his werkes. 7 his ȝeftes. is in rȝhtwisnesse. |
| McClean | 66. ȝef his porkes 7 his peȝes is milse 7 riȝtpinesse |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ȝef** and L with the *cj.* **7**, where all the other MSS begin with the *adj.* **al/alle/eal/alle** functioning as a *n.*
- D writes **7 alle his peȝes**; the inclusion of the *adj. pl.* **alle**, at this point, is unique to this MS.
- D writes the *n.* **mihte** where all the other MSS, except J (see note below), write the *n.* **milce/milse**.
- J writes the *n. pl.* **ȝeftes** where it is the *n. pl.* **peies** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. The remainder of the line is different (and simplified) in J which reads **is in rȝhtwisnesse** where the reading is **is milce 7 rihtpinesse** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- E¹ writes **ritȝifnesse** (*sic*) which is probably an error in transcription.

Ω74

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 73. Litel loc is gode lef þe cumeð of gode pille |
| Lambeth | 73. lultel lac is gode lof ȝ þet kumeð of gode pille. |
| Digby | 69. Litel loc is gode lief þet cumð of gode ipille |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 73. Lite lac is gode leof. ðe cumeð of gode ipille |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 73. Lutel loc is gode lef þat comeð of gode pille |
| Jesus | 72. Lvtel lok is gode leof. þat cumeþ of gode wille. |
| McClean | 67. Litel loc is gode lef þat cumþ of gode pill |

Ω75

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 74. 7 eðlate muchel ġieue þan his herte is ille. |
| Lambeth | 74. 7 ecle te muchel ġeue of þan þe herte is ille. |
| Digby | 70. 7 eðlete muchel iġeue þanne si herte is ille. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 74. 7 eð lete muchel ġiue ðenne ðe heorte is ille |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 74. 7 eð lete muchel ġyue ðenne ðe heorte is ille |
| Jesus | 73. 7 lutel he let on muchel wowe. þer þe heorte is ille. |
| McClean | 68. 7 zeþ lete muchel zeue of him þat his herte is ille |

- The reading is different in this line of J in comparison with the other MSS and which argues that great sadness or woe cannot be left behind when the heart is ill, whereas the message of the other MSS is that the giving [to God] of great gifts is worthless when the heart is ill. It might be possible to see in this difference in J an objection to a problematic line which discourages the giving of gifts for the souls of the dead.
- M writes the *prep. of* + *pron. 3^d sg. him*, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- L includes the *prep. of*, where it is not present in the other MSS, except for M where the reading is different (see previous note).
- T and M agree on the *poss. pron. 3^d sg. his*, where it is *def. art. þe* (L), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω76

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 75. Heuene 7 erðe he ouer sihð his eien beð ful brihte. |
| Lambeth | 75. Houene 7 horþe he ouer sich. his eġen boð spa brichte. |
| Digby | 71. Heuene 7 erðe he ouersieð his eġhen beð fulbrihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 75. Heuene 7 eorðe he ouersihð. his eġen beoð spo brihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 75. Heuene 7 erþe he ouer sihð. his eġen beð so britte |
| Jesus | 74. Heouene 7 eorþe he ouer sýhþ. his eýen beoþ so brihte. |
| McClean | 69. Heuene 7 erþe he ouersicþ his ezene beþ þel brizte |

- There is very little variation in this line: at the conclusion of the line, T and D agree on the *adv. ful* in **ful brihte/fulbrihte**, M has the *adv. þel*, where all of the other MSS read *adv. spa/spo/so*.

Ω77

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Lambeth | 76. sun ne 7 mone 7 houen fur boð þestre aġein his lih te. |
| Digby | 72. sunne 7 mone 7 alle sterren bieð þiestre on his lihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 76. Sunne. mone. dei. 7 fur. bið þustre to ġeanes his lihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 76. sunne. mone. dai. 7 fur bud þustre to ġenes his lithte |
| Jesus | 75. Sunne. 7 mone. heuene. 7 fur. beoþ þeostre aýeýn his lýhte. |
| McClean | 70. Sonne. 7 mone. sterre. 7 fur. is þestre to zenes his lizte |

Line Ω77 is not present in Trinity.

- There is some variation in this line as to the list of *n.s* which are dark or gloomy in comparison with God's eyes (see previous line): all of the texts agree on the **sunne/sonne** and the **mone**; L then lists **houen fur**, where J has **heuene** and **fur**; M has **sterre** and **fur**, where D has **alle sterren** and E² and E¹ agree on **dei/dai** and **fur**. The meaning of the line is not lost in the variation.

Ω78

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 76. Nis him no þing forholen spo muchel is his mihte. |
| Lambeth | 77. Nis him noht forholen nihud. spa muchele boð his mihte. |
| Digby | 73. Nis him ec noþing uorhole spo muchel bieð his mihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 77. Nis him naht for hole. ni hūd. spa michel bið his mihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 77. Nis him nout for hole ni hud so muchel bet his mihte |
| Jesus | 76. Nis him for hole nowiht. ne ihud. so muchele beoþ his mýhte. |

Line Ω78 is not present in M.

- L, J, E² and E¹ include the *v. pp.* **nihud** (L), or a variation thereof, not found in T and D, as well as the *v. pp.* **forholen** (L), or a variation thereof, which is found in T and D.
- T and D agree on the *n.* **no þing/noþing** where the other MSS have *n.* **noht** (L), or a variation thereof.
- The *n.* **noþing** in D is preceded by the *adv.* **ec** which is not present in T.
- J writes the *v.* **for hole** before the *n.* **nowiht**; this *word-order* is the reverse of that which is found in all the other MSS.
- T writes the *v. pr.* **3rd sg. is** where all the other MSS have the *v. pr.* **3rd pl. boð** (L), or a variant thereof.

Ω79

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 77. Ne bie hit no spo derne idon ne on spo þuster nihte. |
| Lambeth | 78. nis hit ne spa derne ne spa þostre nihte. |
| Digby | 74. nis noþing spo dierne idon ne on spo þiestre nihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 78. nis hit na spa durne idon. ne aspa þustre nihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 78. nis it no so derne i don. ne a spa þustre nihte |
| Jesus | 77. Nis no so derne dede idon. in so þeostre nýhte. |

Line Ω79 is not present in M.

- T forms the *neg.* through **ne** + *v. subj.* **3rd sg. bie** where it is *v. pr.* **3rd sg. nis** in all the other MSS.
- Both D and J are without the *pron.* **3rd sg. hit/it** as found in all the other manuscripts. D writes *n.* **noþing**, where J has the additional *n.* **deed**, written later in the first half-line; neither of these readings are found in any of the other MSS.
- L does not include the *v. pp.* **idon** which is found in all the other MSS.
- The *cj.* **ne**, at the beginning of the second half-line, is not found in J, where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- The *prep.* **on/a/in** is not present in L, where it is found in the second half-line of all of the other MSS.

Ω80

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 78. He pot hpat þencheð 7 hpat doð alle quike pihte |
| Lambeth | 79. he pat pet þenkeð 7 hpet doð alle quike pihl̥te. |
| Digby | 75. He pot hpet þencheð 7 hpet doð alle quike pihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 79. He pat hpet deð. 7 ðenchet. ealle quike pihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 79. He pot pat deht 7 þenchet alle quike pihte |
| Jesus | 78. he wot hwat þencheþ. 7 hwat doþ. alle quýke wýhte. |
| McClean | 71. He pot 7 palt phat doþ 7 queþeþ alle quike pihte |

- There is some variation between M and the other MSS in this line: The inclusion of the *cont.* form of the *v.* **3rd sg.** (OE *wealdan*) **palt**, in M, suggests that God has control or governance over the actions and speech of the audience (and all living creatures). However, the other lines emphasise omnipotence, without the emphasis on control, of thought (not present in M) and action.
- E² and E¹ agree on an alternative *word-order* to the other MSS: **He pat hpet deð. 7 ðenchet** (E²) as opposed to **He pot hpat þencheð 7 hpat doð** (T), or variants thereof. However, the overall meaning of the sentence is retained, although T, L, D and J appear to pay special attention to the sin of unpure thought; a reading which is lost in the other MSS.

Ω81

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 79. Nis louerd spilch is crist ne king spilch ure drihte |
| Lambeth | 80. Nis na lauerd spich se is crist. ne king spuch ure drihten. |
| Digby | 76. nis no louerd spich is christ ne no king spich is drihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 80. nis na hlauord spilc se is crist. na king spilch ure drihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 80. nis no louerd spilc se is crist. na king spilc vre drihte |
| Jesus | 79. Nis no louerd such is crist. ne king. such vre dryhte. |
| McClean | 72. Nis no louerd suich is crist no king suich is ure drizte |

- T does not contain the *adj.* **na/no** in the first half-line where it is present in all the other MSS.
- L, E² and E¹ agree with one another with **spich** + **se/spilc** + **se** functioning as an *adv.*, where it is an *adj.* **spilch** (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- D writes bothe the *cj.* **ne** and the *adj.* **no** preceding the *n.* **king** where it is only *cj.* **ne** in T, L and J and *adj.* **na/no** in E², E¹ and M.
- D has the *v. pr.* 3^d *sg.* **is** preceding the *n.* **drihte** where all other MSS write *pron. 1st pl.* **ure/vre**, except for M which has both in **is ure drizte**.
- The **-en** ending in **drihten** (L) makes for an imperfect rhyme.

Ω82

| | |
|---------|---|
| Trinity | 80. Boðe ġiemeð þe his bien bi daie 7 bi nihte. |
|---------|---|

This line is only found in Trinity. Line Ω79 is missing from Trinity; the inclusion of this line maintains the four consecutive rhyming lines which rhyme **-te**.

Ω83

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 81. Heuene 7 erðe 7 al þat is biloken is in his honden |
| Lambeth | 81. Houene 7 orðe 7 al þet is biloken is in his honde. |
| Digby | 77. Heuene 7 erðe 7 al þat is biloken is on his honde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 81. Heouene 7 eorðe. 7 eal þet is. bi loken in his hande |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 81. heuene 7 herþe 7 al þat is be loken in his honde |
| Jesus | 80. Heouene 7 eorþe. and al þat is. biloken is. in his honde. |
| McClean | 73. Heuene 7 erþe god almiȝti halt al in his honde |

- All texts agree on this line apart from M which omits the phrase **7 al þat is** (T) and includes the *n.* **god almiȝti**, which is implied by context in all the other MSS. M also has the *cont.* form of the *v. 3^d sg.* **halt**, where all others write **biloken** (T) or a variant thereof. The general meaning of the sentence is maintained.
- E² and E¹ omit the *v. 3^d sg.* **is**, present in all the other MSS except M.
- The **-en** ending in **honden** (T) makes for an imperfect rhyme.

Ω84

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 82. He doð al þat his pill is apatere 7 alonde. |
| Lambeth | 82. He deð al þet his pil is 7 a pettre 7 alonde. |
| Digby | 78. he deð al þat his pille is on sae 7 ec on londe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 82. he deð eal þet his pille is. apetere and a lande |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 82. he ded al þat his pilles is a patere 7 a londe |
| Jesus | 81. he doþ al þat his wille is. a watere. and eke on londe. |
| McClean | 74. He deþ al þat his pille is a patere 7 a londe |

- There is little variation between the texts at line Ω84.
- D writes **on sae** where all the other MSS have **apatere** (T) or a variant thereof.
- Both D and J have the *adv.* **ec/eke** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω85

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 83. He madeð þe fisses in þe sa þe fueles on þe lofte. |
| Lambeth | 83. he makede fisses in þe se 7 fugeles in þe lifte. |
| Digby | 80. he prohte fis on þer sae 7 fogeles on þar lefte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 83. He makede fisses in ðe se. 7 fugeles in ðe lufte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 83. He makede fisses inne þe see 7 fugeles inne þe lofte |
| Jesus | 82. he makede fýsses in þe sea. and fuweles in þe lufte. |
| McClean | 75. He scuppeþ þe fish in þe seo þe fozel bi þe lefte |

The couplet 79 and 80 in D has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D writes *v. pa. 3rd sg. prohte* (OE *wyrcean*) and M writes *v. pr. 3rd sg. scuppeþ* (OE *scieppan*) where all of the other MSS have the *v. pa 3rd sg. makede* (OE *macian*), except for T which has the *pr.* form of the *v.* in **makeð**.
- T and M have the *def. art. þe* before **fisses** /**fish** and before **fueles**/ **fozel**, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M uses the *sg.* form of the *n.s* in **fish** and **fozel** where it is *pl.* in all the other MSS.
- The *cj. 7/and* is not found in T and L, at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- M has the *prep. bi*, in the second half-line, where it is **on/in** in all of the other MSS.
- M is the only text which has an exact rhyme between this line and the next: **lefte: scefte**.
- T and E¹ write the *n. lofte* where it is **lifte/lefte** in all the other MSS; these words are cognate but have a different root.

Ω86

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 84. He pit 7 pealdeð alle þing 7 he sop alle safte. |
| Lambeth | 84. he pit 7 paldeð alle þing 7 scop alle scefte. |
| Digby | 79. He piteð 7 pialdeð alle þing. he iscop alle seafte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 84. he pit 7 pealdeð ealle ðing. 7 he scop ealle ge sceafte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 84. he pit 7 palt alle þing 7 he scop alle scefte |
| Jesus | 83. he wit and wald alle þing. and schop all schafte. |
| McClean | 76. He pot alle kennes þing he scop alle scefte |

The couplet 79 and 80 in D has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- All of the texts use the *cont.* form of the *v. pr. 3rd sg.* (OE *witan*) in **pit/pot** except D where it is **piteð**.
- M has the *adj. pl. alle + n. kennes*, in the first half-line, where it is the *cj. 7/and* + the *v. pr. 3rd sg.* (OE *wealdan*) **pealdeð** (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS (in E¹ and J the *cont.* form of the *v. palt/wald* is found).
- T, E² and E¹ agree on the combination *cj. 7 + pron. 3rd sg. he* at the beginning of the second half-line, where the *pron. he* is not found in L and J, and the *cj. 7/and* is not found in D and M.
- E² retains an Old English form in writing **ge sceafte** (OE *ge+scaeft*) where the *pref.* is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω87

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 85. He is ord abuten ord 7 ende abuten ende |
| Lambeth | 85. he is hord buten horde 7 ende buten en de. |
| Digby | 81. He is ord albuten orde 7 ende albuten ende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 85. He is ord abuten ord. 7 ende abuten ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 85. He is ord abuten orde 7 ende abuten ende |
| Jesus | 84. he wes erest of alle þing. and euer byþ buten ende. |
| McClean | 77. 7 he is ord bute ord 7 end bute ende |

- M begins the line with **7** which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The reading is very different in J. There is a very formulaic approach to the other texts which relies on repetition; this is not present in J, although the general meaning of the line still remains the same

Ω88

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 86. He is one afre on eche stede pende þar þu pende. |
| Lambeth | 86. he ane is eure an ilche stude pende þer þu pende. |
| Digby | 82. he one is eure on eche stede pende þer þu pende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 86. he ane is æure en elche stede. pende þer þu pende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 86. he one is eure on elche stede pende par þu pende |
| Jesus | 85. he is on ewiche stude. wende hwer þu wende. |
| McClean | 78. He is one in eueriche stede pende phider þu pende |

- J omits the *adj.* **one** (T), or variant thereof, and *adv.* **afre** (T), or variant thereof, in the first half-line.
- M writes the *adj.* **eueriche** as one word where they are written separately in all other MSS (see note above).
- E¹ and J agree on the *adv.* **par/hwer** in the second half-line where all the other texts have *adv.* **þar/þer**, except for M which has *adv.* **phider**.

Ω89

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 87. He is buuen us 7 bineðen biforen 7 bihinde |
| Lambeth | 87. he is buuen us 7 binopæn. biforen 7 bi hinden. |
| Digby | 83. He is buuen us 7 bineþen biuoren 7 ec bihinde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 87. He is buuen us 7 bi neoðen. bi foren 7 bi hinde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 87. He is buuen vs 7 bi neþen bi foren 7 bi hinde |
| Jesus | 86. he is buuen and bi neþen. bi voren vs and bi hinde. |
| McClean | 79. He is boue 7 he is bineþe biuore 7 bihinde |

- There are few variations between the MSS in this line.
- The *pron.* *f^t pl.* **us** is not found in M, where it is present in the first half-line of all of the other MSS, except for J where it is found after **bi voren**.
- M repeats the combination *pron.* *3^d sg.* **he** + *v.* *pr.* *3^d sg. ind.* **is** before **bineþe**, where it is not found in the other MSS
- **boue**, **bineþe**, **biuore** and **bihinde** are *adv.* in M where they are *prep.* **buuen**, **bineðen**, **biforen** and **bihinde** (T), or variants thereof, in all the other MSS.
- D has the *adv.* **ec** in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω90

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 88. Þe godes pille doð aihpare he maig him finde. |
| Lambeth | 88. þe þe deð godes pille uper he mei him finden. |
| Digby | 84. se man þet godes pille deð. he mai hine aihpar uinde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 88. þe ðe godes pille deð. eiðer he mei him finde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 88. þe þe godes pille ðe eiðer he mai him finde |
| Jesus | 87. þe þat godes wille doþ. ichwer maȝ him fȳnde. |
| McClean | 80. Þe man þat godespille deþ oueral he hine mai finde |

- There is some variation at the beginning of the line: T begins by forming the *rel. pron.* by using the *indeclinable particle* **þe**. However, L, E¹, E² and J include the *dem. pron.* in the *rel.* construction (**þe þe/þe ðe/þe þat**) normal to OE; both D and M begin with the construction: *def art.* + *n.* + *rel. pron.* e.g. **se man þat**. In this example (D) the *art.* is inflected for gender – this is unusual in the Middle English period but not in D.
- The *word-order* of **deð godes pille** in L is different to all of the other MSS.
- E¹ writes **ðe** (sic) for **deð**.
- There is significant variation in the second half-line in *word-order* and vocabulary.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *pron.* **eiðer** not found in any of the other MSS. M writes *adv.* **oueral**, which is not found in any of the other MSS. The other MSS have a variant of the *adv.* **aihpere** (T).
- The *pron.* *3^d sg.* **he** is not found in J, where it is present in all of the MSS in the second half-line.
- M and D agree in **hine** on the *masc.* form of the *pron. acc.* *3^d sg.* where it is **him** in all the other MSS.
- The *adv.* **aihpere** is found after the *pron. acc.* *3^d sg.* **hine** in D, where it is found earlier in the half-line of the MSS where it is present.
- The *word-order* of **he hine mai** in M is different to all of the other MSS

Ω91

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 89. Elche rune he hereð 7 he pot alle dade |
| Lambeth | 89. Helche rune he iherð 7 pat alle deden. |
| Digby | 85. Eche rune he iherð 7 pot eche dede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 89. Elche rune he ihurð. 7 he pat ealle dede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 89. Elche rune he i hurd 7 he pot alle dede |
| Jesus | 88. Hvých rune he iherþ. þe wot alle dede. |
| McClean | 81. Eche rune god ihurþ god pot ache dede |

- M writes the *n. god* where all the other MSS have the *pron. 3^d sg. he*.
- All MSS except J and M begin the second half-line with the *Tironian nota* 7.
- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *pron. 3^d sg. he* in the second half-line but it is *n. god* in M and *rel. pron. þe* in J; the reading is not present in L and the subject is implied from the first half-line in D.
- All texts agree on the *adj. pl. alle/ealle* with *pl. dade* (T), or a variant thereof, except D and M which have the *adj. eche/ache* with the *sg. form* of the *n. dede*.

Ω92

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 90. He þurh sihð elches mannes þanc pi hpat sal us to rade. |
| Lambeth | 90. he þurþ sicheþ uches monnes þonc. Þi hpat scal us to rede. |
| Digby | 86. he þurhsigð eches iþanc pai hpat sel us to rede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 90. he ðurh sihð ealches mannes ðanc. phet sceal us to rede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 90. he þurð sihð elches mannes þanc pat scal us to rede |
| Jesus | 89. he þurh sýhþ. vých monnes þonk. wý hwat schal vs to rede. |
| McClean | 82. He þurzsicþ aches mannes þonc phat scal us to rede |

- D does not include the *n. poss. mannes/monnes* in the first half-line.
- T, L, D and J begin the second half-line with the *interjection pi/pai/wý* (OE *wā*) which is not present in the other MSS.

Ω93

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 91. Þe þe brekeð godes has 7 gulteð spo ilome |
| Lambeth | 91. Þe þet brokeð godes hese 7 gulteð spa ilome. |
| Digby | 87. Þe þet godes hesne brekeð 7 gelteð spo ilome |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 91. Þe ðe brekeð godes hese. 7 gultet spa ilome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 91. þo þe brekeð godes hese 7 gultet so ilome |
| Jesus | 90. þe þat brekeþ godes hes. and gulteþ so ilome. |
| McClean | 83. Þe þat brekeþ godes isest 7 gulteþ suo ýlome |

- E¹ and J agree on *dem. pron. (ModE those) + rel. pl. pron. þo þe/þe þat* at the beginning of the line where all the other texts have the *pron. 3^d pl. + rel. pl. pron. þe þe/þe þet/þe ðe/þe þat*.
- D has a slightly different *word-order* in the first half-line and writes *n. pl. (OE hās) hesne* where all the other texts have the *sg. form*, except M which writes *isest* for *ihest* (scribal error).

Ω94

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 92. Hpat sulle pe seggen oðer don ate muchele dome |
| Lambeth | 92. hpet scule pe seggen oðer don et þe muchele dome. |
| Digby | 88. hpet sulle pe siggen oðer don at to heage dome. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 92. hpet scule pe seggen oðer don. æt ðe muchele dome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 92. pet sulle hi seggen oþer don. at þe muchel dome |
| Jesus | 91. hwat schulle we seggen oþer don. at þe muchele dome. |
| McClean | 84. þhat sculle pe sigge oþer do atte heze dome |

- E¹ has *pron. 3^d pl. hi* + *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl. sulle* where all the other MSS have *pron. 1st pl. þe/we* + *v. pr. ind. 1st pl. sulle* (T), or variant thereof.
- Both T and M combine the *prep.* and the *def. art.* in *ate/atte*.
- D and M write the *adj. heage/heze* where it is *muchele/muchel* in all the other MSS.

Ω95

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 93. þe þe luueden unriht 7 euel lif ladden |
| Lambeth | 93. þa þe luueden unriht 7 ufel lif leden. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 93. þa ða luueden unriht. 7 uuel lif ledde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 93. þo þe luueden vnriht 7 vuel lif ladde |
| Jesus | 92. þe þat luueþ vnryht. and heore lif. vuele ledeþ. |
| McClean | 85. þe þat her habbeþ a gult 7 euel lif her ladde. |

Line Ω95 is not present in Digby.

This line in J is followed by the one at Ω99 which has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *art.* is often used as a *pron.* antecedent to relatives as in *þa þe* (L) (we who) and other variants thereof, but not in T and M which begin the line with the *pron. 1st pl. þe* followed by the *rel. pl. þe/þat*. The meaning, however, is still maintained.
- All the texts agree on the reading *luueden unriht* except for J and M. J has the *v. pr. 3^d pl.* in *luueþ* where the other MSS have *pa. pl. luueden* (*1st person* in T and *3^d person* in the other MSS). M has the alternative reading *her habbeþ a gult*.
- In the second half-line it is J and M that differ from the others once again (cf. previous note) with the addition of the *poss. pron. 3^d pl. heore* in J and the *adv. her* in M; neither of these readings are present in the other MSS.
- J has the *3^d pl. ind.* form of the *v. ledeþ* where it is *1st pl. ladden* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω96

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 94. Hpat sulle pe seggen oðer don þar ængles beð ofdradde. |
| Lambeth | 94. þet sculen ho seggen oðer don :þen þe engles bon of dred. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 94. hpet scule hi segge oðer don. ðer engles beoð of dredde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 94. pat scullen he seggen oþer don þar engles bed of dredde |
| Jesus | 94. hwat schulle seggen oþer don. þer engles heom drede. |
| McClean | 86. Huat sculle pe come to dome þar angles beþ adradde |

Line Ω96 is not present in Digby.

- Both T and M agree on the *pron. 1st pl. þe* + *v. pr. ind. 1st pl. sulle/sculle*, where it is *pron. 3^d pl. ho/hi/he* + *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. sculen* (L), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS except for J where the *pron.* is not present.
- M has a different reading from the remainder of the MSS in the second half of the first half-line where it reads *come to dome*. This reading demonstrates some awkward phrasing and loses much of the sense conveyed by the other MSS.
- L reads *cj + pl. def. art. þen þe* at the beginning of the second half-line where the other texts have *cj. þar* (T) or a variant thereof.
- L has the *sbj.* form of the *v. pr. 3^d pl. bon* where the other texts have the *ind.* form in *beð* (T), or a variant thereof, except for J which has the *reflexive* form of the *pron. 3^d pl. heom*. The meaning is retained in these MSS. (*drede* in J is the *3^d pl. sbj.* where it is *pp.* in the other texts)

Ω97

| | |
|-------|--|
| Jesus | 95. Crist for his muchele mýhte. hus helpe þenne and rede. |
|-------|--|

This line from J is found in no other MS.

Ω98

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 95. Hpat sulle pe beren us biforen mid hpan sulle pe iqueme |
| Lambeth | 95. hpet sculen pe beren biforen us mid hom scule pe iquemen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 95. Hpet scule pe beren bi foren. mid hpan scule pe cpeman |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 95. Hpat sculle pe beren bi foren us mid pan sculle pe him i queme |
| Jesus | 96. Hwat schulle we beren vs bivoren. Mid hwan schulle we queme. |
| McClean | 87. Þhat sculle pe bere us biuore mid pham sculle pe ýqueme |

Line Ω98 is not present in Digby.

- E² omits the *pron. 1st pl. us*, found in all the other MSS.
- T, J and M have the *pron. 1st pl. us + prep. biforen* where the *word-order* is the reverse in L and E¹
- E¹ writes *pron. 3rd sg. him* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω99

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 96. Þe þe nafre god ne duden þan heuenliche deme. |
| Lambeth | 96. þo þe neure god ne dude þe houenliche deme. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 96. pe þe næure god ne duden. þe heuenliche demen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 96. pe þe neure god ne duden þe heuenliche demen |
| Jesus | 93. We þat neuer god ne duden. þen heueneliche demep. |
| McClean | 88. Þe þat non god ne habbeþ ýdo þe heuenliche deme |

This line in J is found in the MS after the one found at Ω95 but has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

Line Ω99 is not present in Digby.

- The *art.* is used as a *pron. antecedent* to the *rel. pl.* in **þo þe** (L) where all the other MSS begin the line with the *pron. pl. sg. pe/we* followed by the *rel. pl. þe/þat*.
- There is some variation in M which has the *adj. non* where all the other MSS have the *adv. nafre* (T), or variant thereof. Furthermore, M has the *v. pr. pl. sg. + v. pp. habbeþ ýdo* where all the other MSS have *v. pa. pl. sg. duden* except for L which has **dude** in the *pl. 3rd* (cf. previous note).
- J writes **demeþ** (sic) for the *n. deme*. The lines in J are out of order as has been indicated by this line being transposed for comparison.

Ω100

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 97. Þar sulle ben deflen spo fele þat pilleð us forpreien. |
| Lambeth | 97. þer sculen bon doule spa fole þet pulled us forþpreien. |
| Digby | 89. Þer sulle deoflen bi spo uele þet willeð us vorpreien |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 97. Þer scule beon deofles spa uele. ðe pulled us for pregen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 97. Þer sculle ben deofles spo fele þe pulled us for preien |
| Jesus | 97. þe schule beon deoulen so veole. þat wulleþ vs for wreýe. |
| McClean | 89. Þar sculle beo deueles suo fele 7 pulleþ us forpreie |

- The *word-order* is slightly different in D which has the *v. inf. bi* following the *n. pl. deoflen* where all of the other MSS have the reverse.
- M has the *cj. 7* where all the other MSS have the *rel. pl. þat* (T) or variant thereof.

Ω101

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 98. Nabbeð hie no þing forȝieten of þat hie her iseien. |
| Lambeth | 98. 7 nabbeð hi naþing forȝeten of al þet ho isegen. |
| Digby | 90. nabbeð hi no þing uorȝete of þan þet hi isegen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 98. nabbeð hi naþing for ȝýte. of eal þet hi isegen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 98. nabbet hi noþing for ȝýte of al þat hi ere segen |
| Jesus | 98. Nabbeþ heo nowiht for ýete. of al þat heo iseyen. |
| McClean | 90. Ne habbeþ hi noþing forȝete her þat hý ýseze |

- L begins the line with the *cj.* 7, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J writes *n. nowiht* where it is *n. no þing* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- T and D omit the *adj.* **al** /**eal** functioning as a *n.* at the beginning of the second half-line.
- M reads *adv.* **her** where all of the other texts read **of al** – except T and D (cf. previous note).
- E¹ includes the *adv.* **ere** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other manuscripts, except for T where it is **her** later in the line.

Ω102

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 99. Al þat hie iseien her hie pilleð cuðen þare |
| Lambeth | 99. Al þet pe misduden her :⁊ ho hit pulleð kuðe þere. |
| Digby | 91. Al þet pe misdeden hier hi pilleð keðen þere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 99. Eal þet pe mis dude her. hit pulleð cuðe þære |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 99. Al þat pe mis duden her hit pullet cuþe þere |
| Jesus | 99. Al þat we mýsduden here. heo hit wulleþ cuþe þere. |
| McClean | 91. Al þat pe misdude her hi hit us pilleþ cuþe þare |

- T has a different reading to all of the other MSS in the first half-line with **al þat hie iseien her** where the other texts have **al þet pe misduden her** (L), or a variant thereof. The *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **hie** is a reference to the **deflen.** of the previous lines, who will be the judges. The meaning of the line remains that it is impossible to escape one's actions and that they will be known at the judgement.
- D does not include the *pron.* 3^d *sg.* **hit** present in all the other MSS except T (cf. previous note).
- Neither E² and E¹ include the *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **ho** (L), or a variant thereof, found in the the other MSS.
- M includes the *pron.* 1st *pl.* **us** in the second half-line which is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω103

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 100. Bute pe haben hit ibet þe hpile pe here paren. |
| Digby | 92. bute pe habben hit ibet þer hpile pe hier pere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 100. buten pe habbe hit ibet. ðe hpile pe her pere |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 100. buten pe habben it ibet þe pile pe her pere |
| Jesus | 100. Bute we habben hit ibet. þe hwile we her were. |
| McClean | 92. Bute pe hit habbe her ibet þe phile þat pe here pere |

Line Ω103 is not present in L.

- There are some differences in *word-order* in the first half-line of M which also has the *adv.* **her** where it is not present in any other MSS.
- M also, in the second half-line, includes the *cj.* **þat** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω104

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 101. | Al hie habbeð on here prite þat pe misduden here. |
| Lambeth | 100. | Al ho habbeð in hore prite ⁊ þet pe misduden here. |
| Digby | 93. | Al hi habbeð on her prite þet pe misdeden hiere |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 101. | Eal hi habbet an heore iprite. þet pe misdude here |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 101. | Al hi habbet an here i prite þat pe mis duden here |
| Jesus | 101. | Al heo habbeþ in heore wrýte. þat we mýsduden here. |
| McClean | 93. | Al hi habbeþ in hure prite þat pe misdede here |

Ω105

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 102. | þeih pe hes ne niseien hie paren ure iferen. |
| Lambeth | 101. | þach pe nusten ne niseġen ⁊ ho peren ure ifere. |
| Digby | 94. | þeġh pe hi nisten ne iseġen hi peren vre iueren. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 102. | þeh pe hi nuste ne ni seġen. hi peren ure iuere |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 102. | þei pe it nusten ne i seien hi peren vre i fere |
| Jesus | 102. | þah we hit nusten. heo weren vre i fere. |
| McClean | 94. | Þeġ pe hi neste ne ne iseġe hi pere ure ýfere |

- There is some variation between the MSS in the first half-line.
- J and E¹ agree on the *pron. 3rd sg. it/hit* where all the other MSS, except L which omits the *pron.* completely, have *pron. 3rd pl. hes* (T) or a variant thereof.
- T omits the *v. pa. 1st pl. nusten* (*neg. of OE witan*) (L) or a variant thereof.
- J omits the *v. pa. 1st pl. niseien* (*neg. of OE seon*) (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω106

| | | |
|---------|-----|---|
| McClean | 95. | Iesu crist seinte marie sone us alle helpe 7 rede |
|---------|-----|---|

This line in M does not occur in any other MS.

Ω107

| | | |
|---------|-----|---|
| McClean | 96. | 7 euermore ýscilde us uram euele ýuerrede |
|---------|-----|---|

This line in M does not occur in any other MS.

Ω108

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 103. | Hpat sullen horlinges don þe spichen 7 þe forsporene |
| Lambeth | 102. | Hpet sculen ordlinghes don. þa swicen 7 ta forsporene |
| Digby | 95. | Hpet sulle þo horlinges don þo spikele 7 þo vorsporene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 103. | Hpet sculen horlinges do. þe spikene þe for sporene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 103. | Hpet scullen horlinges do. þe spikele þe for sporene |
| Jesus | 103. | Hwat schulleþ horlinges don. þe swiken. and þe forsworene. |
| McClean | 97. | Phat sculle horlinges do þe suike 7 þe forsuorene |

- D has the *def. art. pl.* **þo** in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D and E¹ use the *adj.* form for the *n.* (OE *swicol*) in **spikele** where it is *n.* **spichen** (T), or variants thereof, in all the other MSS.
- Neither E² and E¹ have the *conj.* **7** or **and** in the second half-line where it is present in all the other MSS.

Ω109

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 104. | Þi spo fele beð icleped spo fepe bed icorene |
| Lambeth | 103. | hpi boð fole iclepede. 7 spa lut icorene. |
| Digby | 96. | a þei spo uele beð icleped 7 spo viape icorene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 104. | pi spa fele beoð icluped. spa fepe beoð icorene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 104. | pi spo fele beod i cleped spa feupe beod i corene |
| Jesus | 104. | Swiþe veole beoþ icleped. and fewe beoþ icorene. |
| McClean | 98. | Api so fele beoþ icluped so uepe beoþ ýcorene |

- J has the *adv.* (OE *swiðe*) **swiþe** where all the other MSS have the *int. pron.* **þi** (T) or a variant thereof.
- L omits the *adv.* **spo/spa/so**, present in all the other MSS except for J.
- L has *v. pr. 3rd pl. ind.* **boð** + *pron pl.* **fele**, where the *word-order* is the reverse in the other MSS.
- L, D and J agree on the *conj.* **and/7** at the beginning of the second half-line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- J omits the *adv.* **spo** (T), or a variant thereof, in the second half-line.
- D omits the *v. 3rd pl.* **bed** (T), or variant thereof, present in all MSS except for L (cf. see following note).
- L has the alternative reading, **7 spa lut icorene**, in the second half-line. L writes the *indeclinable n.* **lut** (OE *lūt*) where it is the *pron. pl.* **fepe** (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω110

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 105. | Þi hpi paren hie bigiete to hpan paren hie iborene. |
| Lambeth | 104. | pi hpi peren ho bigeten to hpon peren ho iborene. |
| Digby | 97. | Þei hpi peren hi bigete 7 to hpi iborene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 105. | Þi hpi pere hi bi ġite. to hpan pere hi iborene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 105. | Þi hpi pere he bi ġite to pan pere hi i borene |
| Jesus | 105. | way hwi were heo bi ýete. hwi were heo iborene. |
| McClean | 99. | A pi phat scolde hi bizete phat scolde hi ýborene |

- The reading in M is different from all the other MSS and some of the sense has been lost: the text has the *adv.* **phat** in combination with the *v. 3rd pl.* **scolde** in both the first and second half-line where **hpi** (T) better serves the *v. pp. pl.* **bigete** and **ýborene**. M is missing the *aux. v.* (Mod E) **be** in both of these grammatical units to make sense.
- D and J agree on the *adv.* **hpi** where all the other MSS read *pron.* **hpan**.
- D begins the second half-line with the *conj.* **7**, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *prep.* **to**, which is found in all of the other MSS at the beginning of the second half-line, is not present in J.
- D omits the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **paren** (T) and *pron. 3rd pl.* **hie** (T), or variants thereof, in the second half-line.

Ω111

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 106. | Þe sulle ben to deaðe idemd 7 afremo forlorene. |
| Lambeth | 105. | þet sculen bon to deþe idemet. 7 eure ma forlorene. |
| Digby | 98. | þet sullen ben to deaðe idemd 7 euer mo vorlorene. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 106. | þe scule beon to dieðe idemd. 7 eure ma for lorene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 106. | þe sculle ben to deþe i demd 7 eure mo for lorene |
| Jesus | 106. | þat schulle beo to deþe idemed. and euer more forlorene. |
| McClean | 100. | Pat sculle beo to deþe ýdo 7 eueremore uorlorene |

- M writes *v. pp. pl.* (OE *dōn*) **ýdo** where it is *v. pp. pl.* (OE *dēman*) **idemd** (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω112

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 107. | Elch man sal þar biclepien him selfen 7 ec demen. |
| Lambeth | 106. | Ech .Mon. scal him solue þer biclepie 7 bidemen. |
| Digby | 99. | Ech man sel himselue þer biclepien bitelle 7 deme |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 107. | Elch man sceal him ðer bi clupien. 7 ech sceal him demen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 107. | Elch man scal him sulne þar bi clepiean 7 ec demen |
| Jesus | 107. | huých mon him seolue schal her. bi cleopien. and ek deme. |
| McClean | 101. | Ac euerich man him selue scal bichipie 7 eke deme. |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ac** which it is not present in any other MSS.
- M writes *adj.* **euerich** where it is *adj.* **elch** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- There is variation in the *word-order* of the phrase **sal þar biclepien himselfen** throughout all of the MSS.
- E² writes **him** for the *reflexive* form of the *pron.* *3^d sg.* where it is **him + selfen** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. E² repeats the *reflex. pron* *3^d sg.* **him** in the second half-line where it is not present in the other MSS. This is preceded by the *adj.* **ech** and the *v. pr.* *3^d sg.* **sceal** which are not present in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *adv.* **her** where it is not present in the other MSS.
- M writes **bichipie** where all the other texts have *inf. v.* (OE *beclypian*) **biclepien** (T), or a variant thereof. The meaning of this word in M is unclear and is possibly a corruption of **biclupie**?
- D writes the *v. inf.* (OE *betellan*) **bitelle** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- L, D and E² omit the *adv.* **ec/ek/eke** present in the second half-line in all the other MSS.

Ω113

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 108. Hic oȝen perc 7 his þanc to pitnesse he sal temen. |
| Lambeth | 107. his aȝen perch 7 his þonc te pitnesse he scal demen. |
| Digby | 100. his oȝen perc 7 his iþanc to pitnesse teme. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 108. his aȝe peorc 7 his iðanc. to pitnesse he sceal temen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 108. his aȝe perc 7 his iþanc to pitnesce he scal temen |
| Jesus | 108. his owene werkes and his þouht. to witnesse hit schal teme. |
| McClean | 102. Al his porkes 7 his þoȝt þar to he scal teme |

- T writes *possess. pron. 3rd sg.* **hic** where all the other MSS write **his**. The *possess. pron. 3rd sg.* is usually **his** in T.
- M begins the line with *pl. adj.* **al** which is not present in any other MSS..
- M omits the *adj.* **oȝen** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
- J and M agree on the *pl.* form of the *n.* **werkes/porkes**, where it is *sg.* **perc** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- J and M agree on the *n.* **þouht/þoȝt** where it is the *n.* **þanc** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *adv.* **þar to**, where it is *prep. to + n.* **pitnesse** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- D omits the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** and the *v. pr. sg.* **sal** (T), or variants thereof, in the second half-line. The meaning is still retained.
- J writes the *pron. 3rd sg.* **hit** where all the other MSS, except D (cf. previous note), write *pron. 3rd sg.* **he**.
- L has *v. inf.* **demen** where all the other MSS have **temen/teme**. It is probable that this is an error by the scribe – especially since the previous line in L ends **bideme**.

Ω114

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 109. Ne mai him noman alse pell demen ne alse rihte |
| Lambeth | 108. ne mei him na. mon. alsa pel demen ne alsþa rihte |
| Digby | 101. Ne mai him no man al spo pel demen ne spo rihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 109. Ne mei him na man eal spa pel demen ne spa rihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 109. Ne mai hȳm na man al spa pel demen ne al sa rithte |
| Jesus | 109. Ne maȳ him nomon deme so wel. iwis. ne al so rȳte. |
| McClean | 107. Ne mai no man deme þane man also riȝte |

These lines in M (Ω114–Ω117) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS after those now found at Ω118 and Ω119.

- M omits the *pron. 3rd sg.* **him/hȳm** found in all the other MSS in the first half-line.
- The reading in M is different in the second half-line to all of the other MSS and is slightly confusing.
- The word order of **alse pell demen** (T), found in all of the MSS except M (see previous note), is different in J.
- J writes the *adv.* (OE *gewis*) **iwis** in the second half-line where it is not present in any other MSS.

Ω115

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 110. For non ne cnopeð hine alse pel buten one drihte. |
| Lambeth | 109. for nan ne knauð him ase ȝere ȝ buten ane drihte. |
| Digby | 102. vor non ne knopeð hine spo pel bute one ure drihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 110. for nan ni cnapað him spa pel bute ane drihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 110. for nan ni cnaped him spa pel buten one dritte |
| Jesus | 110. for non ne knoweþ so wel his þonk. bute vre dryhte. |
| McClean | 108. Not non his porkes so pel so pot ure drizte |

These lines in M (Ω114–Ω117) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS after those now found at Ω118 and Ω119.

- There is significant variation in M although the meaning of the line is similar. M writes the *v. pr. 3^d sg. ind. not*, where it is the *cj. for*, at the beginning of the first half-line, in all of the other MSS; and where all of the other MSS write *neg. ne* + *v. pr. 3^d sg. ind. cnopeð* M has *pron. 3^d sg. his* + *n. pl. porkes*.
- J omits the *3^d sg. pron. hine/him* (as does M, although much of the line is different in M: see first note) in **cnopeð hine alse pel** (T) and writes instead: **knoweþ so wel his þonk**. The overall meaning of the line is, however, retained.
- L writes *adv. ȝere* where all the other MSS have the *adv. pel/wel*.
- T and L agree on the *adv. alse/ase*, where the other MSS have the *adv. so*.
- M has the *cj. so* + *v. pr. 3^d sg. ind. pot*, where it is the *adv. buten* (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS.
- M and J agree on the *pron. 1st pl. vre/ure* where it is the *adj. one/ane* in the other MSS. D has both the *adj. one* and the *pron. ure*.

Ω116

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 111. Man pot him self best his perkes 7 his pille. |
| Lambeth | 110. Ech. Mon. pat him solue best ȝ his perkes. 7 his pille. |
| Digby | 103. Ech man pot him selue best his porkes 7 his pille |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 111. Elc man pat him sulf betst. his peorch 7 his ipille |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 111. Elc man pot him sulue best his perc 7 his i pille |
| Jesus | 111. Vych mon wot him seolue best. his werkes and his wille. |
| McClean | 109. Euerich man himself pot best his porkes 7 his pille |

These lines in M (Ω114–Ω117) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS after those now found at Ω118 and Ω119.

- T omits the *adj. ech/elc/vych*, found in the other MSS, and M writes *adj. euerich*, as an alternative, at the beginning of the line.
- The *word-order* of **pot him self** (T), or variants thereof, is reversed in M.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *sg. form* of the *n. peorch/perc* where the other MSS have the *pl. form* in **perkes/werkes/porkes**.

Ω117

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 112. | Se þe last pot he seið ofte mast se þit al pot is stille |
| Lambeth | 111. | þe ðe lest pat biseiþ ofte mest : ʹ þe hit al pat is stille. |
| Digby | 104. | se þet lest pot seið ofte mest 7 se þet al pot is stille. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 112. | he ðe lest pat he seið ofte mest. ðe ðe hit pat eal. is stille |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 112. | þe þe lest pot seit ofte mest 7 þe þe it pot is stille |
| Jesus | 112. | Pat lest wot he seyþ ofte mest. 7 he þat al wot is stille. |
| McClean | 110. | Ac þe þat pot lest saiþ ofte mest 7 þe þat al pot is stille |

These lines in M (Ω114–Ω117) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS after those now found at Ω118 and Ω119.

- M begins with the *cj. ac* which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *art.* is used as a *pron.* antecedent to *relatives* at the beginning of T (**se þe**) and D (**se þet**) which use an older form modernised during the period to **þe þe** (E¹) and **þe þat** (M). E² has the *pron. 3rd sg. he* in combination with the *rel. ðe* and J just has *rel. þat*. In the second half-line T and D, once again, retain the older form in **se** but T combines the *rel.* with the *pron. 3rd sg.* in **þit (se þe+hit)** where D has **þet**. E², E¹ and M also have the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel.* in **ðe ðe/þe þe/þe þat** where L has the *rel. þe* followed by the *pron. 3rd sg. hit* and J has the *pron. 3rd sg. he* followed by the *rel. þat*.
- The *word-order n. last + v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. pot*, found in all other MSS, is reversed in M.
- In the first half-line L has the *v. pr. 3rd sg. biseiþ* where all of the other MSS have **seið** (T), or a variant thereof.
- T, E² and J have the *pron. 3rd sg. he* in the first half-line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- D, J and M omit the *pron. 3rd sg. hit* (L), or a variant thereof, from the second half-line where it is present in all the other MSS.
- T, L, D, J and M write *adj. al + v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. pot* (T), or a variant thereof, in the second half-line, where the *word-order* is reversed in E¹, and the *the adj. al* (T), or variant thereof, is not present in E¹.

Ω118

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 113. | Nis no pitnesse alse muchel se mannes ogen hierte |
| Lambeth | 112. | nis nan pitnesse alse muchel se monnes aȝen horte. |
| Digby | 105. | Nis no pitnesse al spo muchel spo mannes ogen hierte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 113. | Nis nan pitnesse eal se muchel. se mannes aȝe heorte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 113. | Nis no pitnesse al so muchel so mannes hope heorte |
| Jesus | 113. | Nis no witnesse al so muchel so monnes owe heorte. |
| McClean | 105. | Nis no pitnesse al so muchel so is þe mannes herte |

These lines in M (Ω118 and Ω119) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS before those now at Ω114–Ω117 and followed those at Ω120 and Ω121.

- All of the MSS agree on *n. poss. mannes + adj. ogen* (T), or variants thereof, in the second half-line, except for M where it is *v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. is + def. art. þe + n. poss. mannes*.

Ω119

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 114. | Hpo se seið þat hie beð hol him self pot his smierte. |
| Lambeth | 113. | pa se seið þet he bo hal. him solf pat best his smirte. |
| Digby | 106. | þeḡh ȝpo sigge þet he bi hol him self he pot his smerte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 114. | hpa se segge þet he beo hal. him self pat betst his smeorte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 114. | hpa se segge þet he beo al him self pat best his smerte |
| Jesus | 114. | For so seȝþ þat vnhol is. him seolue hwat him smeorteþ. |
| McClean | 106. | Pe man þat saiþ þat he is lame himself he pot þe smerte |

These lines in M (Ω118 and Ω119) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS before those now at Ω114–Ω117 and followed those at Ω120 and Ω121.

- T, L, E² and E¹ begin the line with the *pron.* **hwo se** (T), or a variant thereof. D, however, begins the line with the *cj.* **þeḡh** and the *pron.* **ȝpo**; a reading not found in any of the other MSS. J begins the line with the *cj.* **for** and the *adv.* **so**. Whereas, M also has the alternative reading, **þe man þat**.
- D, E² and E¹ agree on the *sbj.* form of the *v. pr.* 3^d *sg.* in **sigge/segge** where it takes the *ind.* form **seið** (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS.
- The reading in J is different from the remainder of the MSS. J writes the *adj.* **vnhol** where all the other MSS have the opposite with the *adj.* **hol** (T), or a variant thereof, except for M which has the *adj.* **lame**.
- The second half-line is also different in J, as a result of the differences in the first half-line, the *v.* **pot** (T), or variant thereof, is not present in J, with the *pron.* **hwat** written instead. In addition, the *n.* **smierte** (T), or variant thereof, is not present in J, where the *v.* **smeorteþ** is written, with the meaning of the line retained.
- D and M agree on the *pron.* 3^d *sg.* **he**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- L has the *adv.* **best**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any other MSS.
- M includes the *def. art.* **þe** before the *n.* **smerte**, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω120

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 115. | Elch man sal him selfen demen to deaðe oðer to liue. |
| Lambeth | 114. | Ech .Mon. scal him solf demen to deðe oðer to liue. |
| Digby | 107. | Eurich man him demen sel to deðe oþer to life |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 115. | Elc man sceal him sulf demen. to dieðe. oðer to liue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 115. | Elc man scal him suelf demen. to deþe oþer to liue |
| Jesus | 115. | Vȝch mon schal him seolue deme. to deþe oþer to lȝue. |
| McClean | 103. | Euerich man him selue scal deme to diaþe oþer to liue |

These lines in M (Ω121 and Ω122) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS before those now at Ω118–Ω119 and followed those at Ω112 and Ω113.

- D and M agree on the *adj.* **eurich/euerich** where all the other texts have the *adj.* **elch** (T), or a variant thereof.
- D writes **him** for the *reflex. pron.* 3^d *sg.* without **selfen** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.

Ω121

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 116. | Ʒe pitnesse of his oȝen perc to oðer þan hine sal driue. |
| Lambeth | 115. | þa pitnesse of his aȝen perch ⁊ hine þer to scal driue. |
| Digby | 108. | se pitnesse his selue porkes to aider hine sel driue |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 116. | þe pitnesse of his peorc. to oðer ðis. him sceal driue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 116. | þe pitnesse of his ope perc to oþer ðis him scal driue |
| Jesus | 116. | Ʒe witnesse of his owe werk. þer to him schal dryue. |
| McClean | 104. | Ʒe pitnesse of his porkes to oþer þan him scal driue |

These lines in M (Ω121 and Ω122) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS before those now at Ω118-Ω119 and followed those at Ω112 and Ω113.

- D omits the *prep.* **of** found in all the other MSS.
 - M omits the *adj.* **oȝen** (T), or variant thereof, found in all the other MSS except for D where it is the *poss. pl. adj.* **selue**. Something of the meaning is lost in M.
 - Both D and M use the *pl.* form of the *n.* **porkes** where it is *sg.* in all the other MSS.
 - There are minor variations in vocabulary and *word-order* in the phrase **oðer þan hine sal** (T), or variants thereof, which do not affect the meaning of the line.
-

Ω122

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 117. | Al þat afri man haueð idon seðen he cam to manne |
| Lambeth | 116. | Al þet ech. mon haueð idon soððen he com to monne |
| Digby | 109. | Al þet ech man haueð idon seðe he com to manne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 117. | Eal ðet eure elc man hafð ido. suððe he com to manne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 117. | Eal þat eure ilc man haueð i do suþþe he come to manne |
| Jesus | 117. | ⁊ al þat euermon hafþ idon. seþþen heo com to monne. |

Lines Ω122 and Ω123 are not present in M.

- J begins the line with the *cj.* **⁊**, a reading not found in any other MSS.
- In the first half-line, T writes *adj.* **afri**; E² and E¹ write *adj.* **eure elc/eure ilc**; L and D agree on the *adj.* **ech** and J writes the *adv.* **euer**.

Ω123

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 118. spo he hit iseie aboc iprite he sal hit þenche þanne. |
| Lambeth | 117. sculde he hit sechen o boke ipriten he scal iþenchen þenne. |
| Digby | 110. spich hit pere on boc iprite isien he sel hit þanne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 118. spilc hit si aboc ipriten. he sceal iðenche ðenne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 118. spilc hit seie on boc ipriten. he scal it þenche þanne |
| Jesus | 118. Al so he hit iseye on boke iwryten. hit schal him þinche þenne. |

Lines Ω122 and Ω123 are not present in M.

- L begins the line with the *v. pa. 3^d sg.* **sculde** which is not present in any other MSS at this point; D, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **spich/spilc**; T writes the *cf.* **spo** where J has the *adv.* **al so**.
- T, L and J have the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the MSS.
- L writes the *inf. v.* **sechen** in the first half-line where the remainder of the MSS have the *pa. sbj. 3rd sg.* **iseie** (T), or a variant thereof, except for D where it is the *v. pa. sbj. 3rd sg.* **pere** (cf. following note) and E² which writes the *sbj. pr. 3rd sg.* **si** (ModE be).
- D has a different reading to all the other MSS in this line with the *v. pa. sbj. 3^d sg.* **pere** written where most other (cf. previous note) MSS have the *v. pa. sbj. 3^d sg.* **iseie** (T), or a variant thereof. D then has the *inf. v.* **isien** in the second half-line and omits the *v. inf.* **þenche** (T) or a variant thereof. Although the emphasis in the second half-line of D is on 'seeing' rather than the act of 'thinking' or 'knowing', the suggestion is that of a state of revelation rather than the sins actually being written down. The meaning is similar throughout the texts.
- There is minor variation in vocabulary and *word-order* between the texts in the phrase **he sal hit þenche** (T), or variants thereof (see also the note above for D); L and E² do not include the *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit**, found in all of the other MSS; the *word-order* is different in J and the *pron. 3^d sg.* **him** is found where the other MSS have **he**.

Ω124

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 119. Ac drihte ne demeð noman after his biginninge |
| Lambeth | 118. Ah drihten ne demeð nenne. mon. efter his biginnigge. |
| Digby | 111. Drihte ne demeð nenne man bi his biginninge |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 119. Ac drihte ne demð nanne man. æfter his bi ginnige |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 119. Ac drithte ne demed nanne man after his bi ginninge |
| Jesus | 119. Ne schal nomon beon ydemed. after his bigynnynge. |
| McClean | 111. Ac crist ne demeþ nanne man after his ginnigge |

- J has an alternative reading to all the other MSS in the first half-line, stating that **ne schal nomon beon ydemed**, and does not say that it will be the **drihte** (M reads **crist**), present in all the other MSS, who will judge no man by the beginning of his life (although this is might be assumed from the context). The meaning of the line is, however, retained in J.
- D omits the *cf.* **ac/ah** present in all the other MSS, except J (cf. note above).
- D writes *pr.* **bi** where all the other MSS have the *pr.* **after** (T) or a variant thereof.
- M writes **ginnigge** where it is prefixed **bi-** in all the other MSS.

Ω125

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 120. | Ac al his lif sal ben teald after his endinge. |
| Lambeth | 119. | Ah al his lif scal bon suilch boð his endinge. |
| Digby | 112. | al his lif sel ben iteald bi his endinge. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 120. | ac al his lif sceal beo spich. se buð his endinge |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 120. | ac his lif scal beo spulc se bued his endinge |
| Jesus | 120. | Ah dom schal þolyen vȝch mon. after his endinge. |
| McClean | 112. | Ac al scal beo his lif iteld suich is his endigge |

- The reading in J is different from all the other MSS, with an emphasis being placed on the Judgement (mentioned specifically) and on the suffering that will take place based on the actions at the end of his life. The stress is still on the possibility of redemption, but the idea of what will be undergone is foregrounded as opposed to the narrative of telling.
- All texts begin the line with the *cj.* **ac/ah** except for D.
- E¹ omits the *adj.* **al** found in all the other MSS except for J (cf. earlier note).
- The *word-order* of **scal beo his life**, in the first half-line of M is different to all of the other MSS.
- T, D and M agree on the *v. pp.* **teald/iteald/iteld** where L has the *adj.* **suilch** and E² and E¹ have the *adv.* **spich/spulc** with **se** (M also has **suich** (*adv.*) in addition to **iteld**)
- T and J agree on the *prep.* **after** in the second half-line where it is *v. pr.* **3rd sg. boð/buð/bued** in L, E² and E¹; *prep.* **bi** in D and *v. pr.* **3rd sg. is** in M.

Ω126

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 121. | Ȝief þe endinge is god al hit is god. 7 euel ȝief euel is þe ende. |
| Lambeth | 120. | ȝef þet his uuel al hit is uuel 7 God ȝefe god his ende. |
| Digby | 113. | Ef se ende is euel hit is al euel 7 god ef is se ende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 121. | ac ȝif þe ende is uuel. eal hit is uuel. 7 god ȝif god is þenne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 121. | Ac ȝif þe ende is euel al it is uuel 7. al god ȝif god is ende. |
| Jesus | 121. | If þe ende is vuel. al hit is vuel. god ȝef vs god ende. |
| McClean | 113. | ȝef his ende is euel al hit is euel 7 god ȝef god beoþ his ende |

- E² and E¹ agree on the inclusion of the *cj.* **ac**, at the beginning of the line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- L writes the *dem. pron.* **þat** for **endinge**, with the subject assumed from the previous line, where it is written again as **endinge** in T and **ende** in all the other MSS.
- M has the *3rd sg. poss. pron* **his** in the first half-line where all the other texts, except L (cf. note above), have the *def. art.* **þe/se**.
- T writes the *adj.* **god** in the first half-line and the *adj.* **euel** in the second, where it is the inverse for all the other MSS.
- All of the MSS begin the second half-line with the *cj.* **7**, except for J.
- E¹ includes the *adj.* **al** in the second half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- J includes the *pron 1st pl.* **vs**, in the second half-line, where it is not found in the other MSS.
- T and D agree on the *v. pr.* **3rd sg. ind. is** + *def art.* **þe** in the second half-line, where L has the *pron. 3rd sg.* **his**, E² and E¹ do not include the *def. art.*, neither word is present in J, and M has the *pr. 3rd sg. ind.* **beoþ** + *pron. 3rd sg.* **his**.
- E² writes the *adv.* **þenne** in end-line position where it is the *n.* **ende** in all the other MSS.

Ω127

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 122. God ȝieue þat ure ende be god 7 ȝieue þat he us lende. |
| Lambeth | 121. God ȝeue þet ure ende bo god. 7 pite þet he us lende. |
| Digby | 114. god ȝeue þet ure ende bi god 7 pite hpet he us lende. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 122. god ȝyue þet ure ende beo god. 7 pit þet he us lenne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 122. god ȝuue þat ure ende beo god. 7 pite þet he us lende |
| Jesus | 122. God ȝef vs vre ende god. hwider þat he vs lende. |
| McClean | 114. Iesu crist leue þat ure ende beo god 7 pitie þat he us lende |

- M begins the line differently to all the other MSS writing **iesu crist** where the other texts have **god**. M writes *v. pr. sbj. 3^d sg* (OE *lēfan*) **leue** where it is *v. pr. sbj. 3^d sg. ȝieue* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *pron. 1st pl. vs* where all the other MSS have the *cj. þat/þet* and omits the *v. sbj. pr. 3^d sg. be/bo/bi/beo* found in all the other MSS.
- J begins the second half-line with the *adv. hwider* where all the other MSS agree on the *Tironian nota* followed by the *v. sbj. 3^d sg. pite* (L), or a variant thereof, except for T which has *v. sbj. 3^d sg. ȝieue*.
- D has the *pron. hpet*, where it is the *cj. þat* in all of the other MSS
- E² has the *v. pr. 3^d sg. sbj. lenne*, where it is the *v. pr. 3^d sg. sbj. lende* in all of the other MSS.

Ω128

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 123. Se man þe nafre nele don god ne nafre god lif lade. |
| Lambeth | 122. þe .Mon. þet uuel don na god. ne neure god lif leden. |
| Digby | 115. Se man þet neure nele don god ne neure god lif leden |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 123. Þe man þe nele do na god. ne neure god lif læden |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 123. Þe man þe nele do no god ne neure god lif leden |
| Jesus | 123. Þe mon þat neuer nule do god. ne neuer god lif lede. |
| McClean | 115. Ac þe þat nele neuere no god do ne god lif her lede |

- M begins with the *cj. ac* a reading that does not occur in any of the other MSS.
- M omits the *n. man/mon* and writes the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel. þe þat* (he who).
- L, E² and E¹ omit the *adv. nafre* (T), or a variant thereof, and have the *adj. na/no* later in the first half-line, where it is not present in T, D or J. M includes both the *adv. neuere* and the *adj. no*.
- L miswrites **uuel** for **nule** in this first half-line.
- M omits the *adv. nafre* (T), or variant thereof, in the second half-line and writes the *adv. her* later in the line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω129

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 124. Are deað 7 dom cumeð to his dure he maig him sore adrade |
| Lambeth | 123. er deð 7 dom come to his dure he mei him sare adreden. |
| Digby | 116. er deð 7 dom come to his dure he mai him sore adreden. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 124. ær dieð 7 dom cume. æt his dure. he mei sare adreden |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 124. aer ded 7 dom come to his dure he mai sore a dreden |
| Jesus | 124. þat deþ cume to his dure. he maȝ sore adrede. |
| McClean | 116. Ere deþ 7 dome come to his dore sore he mai adrede |

- M begins the line with the *cj. þat* where it is *cj. are* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- M does not write the *n. dom* and the *Tironian nota* that precedes it in the first half-line of all the other MSS.
- E² writes *prep. æt* where all the other MSS write *prep. to*.
- T, L and D have the *reflex. pron. 3^d sg. him*, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *word-order* of M in **sore he mai** is different to all of the other MSS.

Ω130

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 125. | Þat he ne muge þanne bidden ore for þat itit ilome. |
| Lambeth | 124. | þet he ne muge þenne biden are. for þet itit ilome |
| Digby | 117. | þet he þanne ore bidde ne mugen vor þet bilimpeð ilome |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 125. | Þet he ne muge ðenne bidde are for hit itit ilome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 125. | Þat he ne mupe þenne bidde ore. for it itit ilome |
| Jesus | 125. | þat he ne Muwe bidden ore. for þat ityt ilome. |
| McClean | 117. | Þat he ne muze þanne bidde ore uor þat itit ilome |

- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of D.
- J omits the *adv.* **þanne**, present in all the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ include the *pron 3^d sg.* **hit/it** which is not present in any other MSS.
- D writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* (OE *belimpan*) **bilimpeð** where all of the other MSS have the *cont. form of the v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* (OE *tīdan*) **itit** (T), or variant thereof.

Ω131

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 126. | For þi he pis þe bit 7 bigiet 7 bet bfore dome. |
| Lambeth | 125. | For þi he is pis þe biet 7 bit 7 bet bi fore dome. |
| Digby | 118. | he is pis þet bit 7 bete 7 bet biuoren dome |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 126. | ði he is pis ðe beot 7 beat. 7 bit be foren dome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 126. | þi he is pis þe bit. 7 be git. 7 bet be fore dome |
| Jesus | 126. | vor þi is wis þat bit ore. and bet. bi vore þe dome. |
| McClean | 118. | Vor þi he is pis þat ore bit 7 bet biuore dome |

- The *cj. for þi* (T), or a variant thereof (**ði/þi** in E² and E¹), present in all the other MSS, is not found in D.
- The *v. pr. 3^d sg.* **is**, present in the first half-line of all the other MSS, is not found in T.
- The *pron. 3^d sg.* **he**, present in the first half-line of all the other MSS, is not found in J.
- J and M agree on the *n.* (OE *ār*) **ore** which is found in no other MSS.
- There is some variation in vocabulary in this line: all texts agree on the *cont. form of the v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *biddan*) **bit** and the *cont. form of the v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *bētan*) **bet/beot**. However, T and E¹ have the *cont. form of the v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *begitan*) **bigiet/be git** where L, D and E² have the *cont. form of the v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* **biet/bete/beat** (this reading is problematic and does not make complete sense in the context), and J and M do not have either reading.
- J writes the *def. art.* **þe** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω132

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 127. | Þanne þe deað is ate dure þel late he biddeð ore. |
| Lambeth | 126. | penne deð is attere dure þel late he biddeþ are. |
| Digby | 119. | þanne deað is at þare dore to late he biddeð ore |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 127. | Penne deað is æt his dure. þel late he biddeð are |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 127. | Penne ded is ate dure. þel late he biddet ore. |
| Jesus | 127. | hwenne deþ is at þe dure. wel late he bit ore. |
| McClean | 119. | Vor phanne deþ 7 dome comeþ to his dore to late he biddeþ ore |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **vor** which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T has the *def. art.* **þe** in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes: **þanne deþ 7 dome comeþ to his dore** in the first half-line. A reading that is not found in any of the other MSS.
- T, L and E¹ write the *prep.* **at** and the *def. art.* **þe** (or variant thereof) as one word in **ate/attere**. The letter form **þ** has been assimilated in these examples and written as **t**. D and J keep the words separate in **at þare** (D) and **at þe** (J) and E² writes the *poss. pron. 3^d sg.* for the *def. art.* in **æt his**.
- D and M write the *adv.* **to** where it is **pel/wel** in all the other MSS.

Ω133

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 128. | Þel late he lateð euel perc þan he hit ne mai don nomore. |
| Lambeth | 127. | pel late he lathed uuel perc ˆ þe ne mei hit don ne mare. |
| Digby | 120. | to late uorlet þet euele porc þet hit ne mai don nammore |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 128. | pel late he leteð uuel peorc. þe hit ne mei don na mare |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 128. | pel late he leted vuel peorc. þe hit ne mai do na mare |
| Jesus | 128. | wel late he leteþ þat vuel. þenne he ne maȝ do na more. |
| McClean | 120. | To late he leteþ euele porkes þat ne maȝ hi do namore |

- D and M agree on the *adv.* **to** where all of the other MSS read **pel/wel**.
- D has the *v. pr. 3^d sg. ind.* (OE *forlætan*) **uorlet** and the *dem. adj.* **þet** where all of the other MSS read *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** and *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* (OE *lætan*) **lateð** (T), or a variant thereof.
- J writes the *dem. adj.* **þat** and the *n.* **vuel** where all of the other MSS have the *adj.* **euel** and *n.* **perc** (T), or variants thereof; M writes the *pl.* form of the *n.* in **porkes**.
- T and J agree on the *cj.* **þan/þenne** and *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** where the other MSS have the *rel. pron.* **þe/þet/þat** with the *pron. 3^d sg.* **hit** (also present in T) – except for M where the *pron.* is *3^d sg.* **hi**, and is found after **maȝ**.
- The *word-order* of L in **ne nei hit** is different to all of the other MSS.

Ω134

| | |
|------------|---|
| Trinity | 129. Senne lat þe 7 þu nah him þan þu hit ne miht do no more. |
| Digby | 121. senne let þe 7 þu nah hoe þanne þu ne miht hi do more |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 129. Sunne let þe 7 þu naht hire þanne þus ne miht do no more |
| Jesus | 129. Bilef sunne hwil þu myht. and do bi godes lore. |
| McClean | 121. þhane senne let þe 7 þu nazt hi 7 þu ne mizt do namore |

Lines Ω134 and Ω135 are not present in L.

Lines Ω134 and Ω 135 are not present in E². The lines were, however, added to the bottom margin of f. 66v in the scribes hand (partly erased); they are not included in this edition but are present in the transcription.

Lines Ω134 and Ω135 in J are very different from those found in the other MSS. Comparison is, therefore, very difficult.

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **phane** which is not present in any of the other MSS.
 - M begins the second half-line with the *Tironian nota* where all the other MSS have the *cj.* **þan/þanne**.
 - E¹ combines the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* **þu** with the *pron.* 3rd *sg.* in **þus** where it is **þu hit** in T and **þuhi** in D; M has **þu** but omits the *pron.* 3rd *sg.*
 - D does not have the *pref.* **no/na** before the *adv.* **more**.
-

Ω135

| | |
|------------|--|
| Trinity | 130. For þi he is sot þe spo abit to habben goddes ore. |
| Digby | 122. he sot þet spo abit to habben godes ore |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 130. for þi he is sot þe spa abit to habbe godes hore |
| Jesus | 130. and do to gode hwat þu myht. if þu wilt habben ore. |
| McClean | 122. To longe he abit þat suo abit to bidde cristes ore |

Lines Ω134 and Ω135 are not present in the L.

Lines Ω134 and Ω 135 are not present in E². The lines were, however, added to the bottom margin of f.66v in the scribes hand (partly erased); they are not included in this edition but are present in the transcription.

Lines Ω134 and Ω135 in J are very different from those found in the other MSS. Comparison is, therefore, very difficult.

Similarly, the line from M varies greatly from all other MSS.

- T and E¹ agree throughout this line with only minor orthographical differences.
- D does not include the *cj.* **for þi** and the *v. pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **is** where it is present, and necessary for meaning, in both T and E¹.

Ω136

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 131. Ðeih hpeðere pe hit leueð pel for drihte self hit sade. |
| Lambeth | 128. þet achten pe to leuen pel. For ure drihten solf hit seide. |
| Digby | 123. Spo ileuen pe hit mugen vor drihten self hit sede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 129. Ðeh pheðer pe hit ileueð pel. for drihte sulf hit sede. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 131. Ðeh hpeðer pe it iluuet pel. for drihte sulf hit sede |
| Jesus | 131. For we hit ileueþ wel. and dryhten seolf hit seýde. |
| McClean | 123. Ac napeles pe hit ileueþ uor drizten self hit sede. |

- Although there is variation between the texts in the first half-line, the sense of the line remains the same in all MSS: *that we should believe it because God himself has said it.*
- T, E² and E¹ agree throughout the line and begin Ω136 with the *cj.* **þeih-hpeðere**, or a variant thereof. J, however, which agrees in all other parts, begins the line with *cj.* **for** and begins the second half-line with the *cj.* **and** (which is the *cj.* **for** in all the other MSS).
- L begins the line with the *dem. pron.* **þet** and the *v. pr. ind. 1st pl.* (OE *aġan*) **achten**, not present in any of the other MSS.
- L has the *inf.* form of the *v.* (OE *geliefan*) **leuen** (with the *inf. mark.* **to**) where all the other MSS, except D (cf. following note) have *v. pr. ind. 1st pl.* **leueð** (T), or a variant thereof.
- D begins the line with the *adv.* **spo** and also has the *inf.* form of the *v.* (OE *geliefan*) **ileuen** as did L (cf. note above), where all the other MSS write the *pr. ind. 1st sg.* form, but in a different position within the line and without the *inf. mark.* **to**. D then has the *v. pr. ind. 1st pl.* **mugen** which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ac** and then writes the *adv.* **napeles**, a reading that is found in none of the other MSS.
- M continues with a reading that is similar to the other MSS, although the *adv.* **pel**, which concludes the first half-line of all of the other MSS apart from D, is not present.

Ω137

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 132. Elche time sal þe man of þunche his misdade |
| Lambeth | 129. A hpilke time se eure .Mon. of þingchþ his mis dede. |
| Digby | 124. on hpiche time se þe man ofþencheð his misdede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 130. a philce time se eure ðe man of ðinchet his mis dede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 132. a pulche time so eure þe man of þinchet his mis dede |
| Jesus | 132. on hwiche týme so euer þe mon. of þincheþ his mýsdede. |
| McClean | 124. Of phiche time þat man of þincþ his misdede |

- L, E² and E¹ agree on the *prep.* **a** at the beginning of the line, D and J write **on** and M writes **of**; the *prep.* is not present in T.
- T writes *adj.* **elche** with the *n.* **time** as part of the *adv.ial ph.* **elche time** where all of the other MSS have the *adj.* **hpilke** (L), or a variant thereof, with the *n.* **time/týme**.
- T has the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sal** where it is not present in any other MSS.
- The *adv.* **se-eure** (L), or a variant thereof, is present in all MSS apart from T, D and M.
- The *def.art.* **þe/ðe** is found in all the MSS before **man/mon**, except for L and M (M has the *cj.* **þat**).
- T writes the *v. inf.* **of þunche** where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **of þingchþ** (L), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω138

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 133. Oðer raðer oðer later milce he sal imete. |
| Lambeth | 130. Oþer raþer oðer later ʃ milce he scal imeten. |
| Digby | 125. Oþer raðer oþer later milce he sel imeten |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 131. Oðer later oðer raðe milce he sceal imeten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 133. Oþer later oþer raþer milce he scal i meten |
| Jesus | 133. oþer raþer oþer later. Milce he schal y mete. |
| McClean | 125. Oþer raþer oþer later milse he scal ymete |

- E² and E¹ agree on the alternative *word-order* in the first half-line. They write: **later oðer raðe** (E²) where it is **raðer oðer later** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω139

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 134. Ac þe þe her naueð ibet muchel he haued to bete |
| Lambeth | 131. Ac þe þet þer naf nocht ibet ʃ pel muchel he haued to beten. |
| Digby | 126. ac se þet naueð hier naht ibet muchel he haued to beten. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 132. ac ðe þe nafð naht ibet. pel muchel he sceal beten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 134. ac þe þe nout naued ibet pel muchel he scal beten |
| Jesus | 134. Ah he þat nouht naueþ ibet. muchel he hauēþ to bete. |
| McClean | 126. Ac pho so noþing her naueþ ibet muchel he hauēþ to bete |

- L writes the *1st pl. pron.* **þe** mistakenly for **þe** in the *dem. pron. + rel.* combination found in most other MSS; J has the *pron.* **3rd sg. he** + the *rel.* **þat**; M writes the *pron.* **pho-so**.
- M writes **pho so noþing her naueþ**, a reading that is unique to this MS.
- T includes the *adv.* **her**, a reading which is not found in any of the other MSS except for M (see above) and D, but does not include the *neg. adv.* **nocht** (L), or variant thereof.
- L, E² and E¹ agree on the *adv.* **pel** in the second half-line.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sceal/scal** where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **haued** (T), or a variant thereof.
- All of the texts with the exception of E² and E¹ have the *inf. mark.* **to** preceding the *inf. v.* **bete/beten**.

Ω140

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 135. Maniman seið hpo reche pine þe sal habben ende |
| Lambeth | 132. moni mon seit hpa rechð of piþne þe scal habben hende. |
| Digby | 127. sum man saið hpo regh of pine þet sel habben ende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 133. Mani man seið. hpa recþ of pine. ðe sceal habbe ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 135. Mani man seid po recke of pine þe scal habben ende |
| Jesus | 135. Mony mon seýþ hwo rekþ of pýne. þat schal habben ende. |
| McClean | 127. Ac mani man saiþ pho recþ of pine þat scal habbe ende |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ac** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D writes the *adj.* **sum** where all of the other MSS write **mani/moni**.
- T and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. subj. 3rd sg.* **reche** (T)/**recke** (E²), where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **rechð** (L), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.
- The *prep.* **of** is present in all the MSS before the *n.* **pine/pýne** except for in T.

Ω141

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 136. Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich aledes a domesdai of bende. |
| Lambeth | 133. Ne bidde ich na bet bo aledes a domes dei of bende. |
| Digby | 128. ne recche ic bote bi ic aleds on domes dai of bende. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 134. ne bidde ich na bet beo ilusd. a domesdei of bende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 136. ne bidde ic no bet beo a lused a domesdai of bende |
| Jesus | 136. Ne bidde ich no bet. bute ich beo. ileled a domes day of bende. |
| McClean | 128. Ne recche ich beo ich a domesdai ileled ut of bende |

- M and D agree on the *v. pr. ind. fst sg.* (OE *reccan*) **recche**, where all the other MSS write the *v. pr. ind. fst sg.* **bidde**.
- The *adv.* **no/na** and the *adv.* **bet** are not present in D and M; D writes the *cj.* **bote** instead, which is also present (**bute**) in J in addition to the *adv.* **bet**.
- The *word-order* is **ich beo** in J, where it is the reverse in T, D and M; the *pron. fst sg.* **ich/ic** is not present in L, E² and E¹.
- The *word-order* is **a domesdai ileled** in M, where it the reverse in the other MSS.
- M writes the *prep.* **ut of** where all the other MSS have **of** only

Ω142

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 137. Litel pot he hpat is pine 7 litel he cnopeð |
| Lambeth | 134. lutel he pat pet is pine. 7 lutel he hit scapeð |
| Digby | 129. litel he pot hpet pine is. 7 litel hi iknopeð |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 135. Lutel pat he hpet is pine. 7 litel he icnaped |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 137. Lutel pat he hpat is pine 7 lutel he it icpoed |
| Jesus | 137. Lutel wot he hwat is pyne. 7 lutel he hit iknowep. |
| McClean | 129. O. lite pot he phat is pine 7 lite pine he knopep |

- M begins the line with the *int.* **O**, which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M uses the *indeclinable* form of the *adv.* (OE *lȳt*) **lite** at the beginning of both half-lines where all the other MSS use the *adv.* (OE *lȳtel*) **litel** (T), or a variant thereof.
- The *word-order* is **he pat/he pot** in L and D, where it is the reverse in the other MSS.
- The *word-order* is **pine is** in D, where it is the reverse in the other MSS.
- M repeats the *n.* (OE *pīn*) **pine** in the second half-line where it is implied by context in all of the other MSS.
- E¹ and J include the *pron. 3rd sg.* (*inan*), in the second half-line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- All of the texts agree on the *v. ind. 3rd sg.* (OE *cnawan*) **cnopeð** (T), or a variant thereof (E¹ writes **icpoed** which is likely to be a scribal error for **icnopeð**), except for L which has *v. ind. 3rd sg.* (OE *scēawian*) **scapeð**.

Ω143

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 138. Hpilch hit is þar sope punieð hpu biter pind þar blopeð. |
| Lambeth | 135. hpice helte is þer þa saule puneð hu biter pind þer blapeð. |
| Digby | 130. hpich hete is þer þe saule poneð hu biter pind þer blopeð. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 136. hpilc hete is ðer saule puneð. hu biter pinde þer blapeð |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 138. pilc hete is þer soule punet hu biter pind her bloupet |
| Jesus | 138. hwich hete is þar þe soule wunep. hw bitter wýnd þer blowep. |
| McClean | 130. Huiche pine þe soule þolep hu biter pind þar blopep |

- T writes the *pron. 3rd sg.* **hit** where all the other MSS, except M (cf. following note), have the *n.* **hete**.
- M writes the *n.* **pine** where all of the other MSS, except T (cf. note above), have the *n.* **hete**.
- M omits the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **is** and the *adv.* **þar/þer**, found in all the other MSS.
- L, D, J and M agree on the *def. art.* **þa/þe** where it is not present in the other MSS.
- M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* (OE *þolian*) **þolep** where all of the other MSS have *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* (OE *wunian*) **punieð** (T), or a variant thereof.
- E¹ has the *adv.* **her** in the second half-line, where it is the *adv.* **þar/þer** in all of the other MSS.

Ω144

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 139. Hadde he ben þar on oðer tpo bare tiden. |
| Lambeth | 136. hefde he bon þer enne dei oðer tpa bare tide ⁊ |
| Digby | 131. Ef he hedde þer ibie. on oþer tpo itide |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 137. Hedde he ibeon ðer anne dei. oðer tpa bare tide |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 139. Hadde he ibeon þer anne dai. oþer tpa bare tide |
| Jesus | 139. hedde he iwuned þer enne daȳ. oþer vnneþe one tȳde. |
| McClean | 131. Vor hadde he þar ibeo tuo bare tide |

- There is some variation in the *word-order* of the first half-line of D although the meaning is retained. D writes: **Ef he hedde þer ibie**; the beginning of the line, with the *cj. if*, and the *word-order* which follows is a reading found in no other MSS.
- M begins the line with the *cj. vor*, a reading which is not found in any of the other MSS.
- J has the *v. pp.* (OE *wunian*) **iwuned** where it is *v. pp.* (OE *bēon*) **ben** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- L, E², E¹ and J all agree on the *n. dei/dai/daȳ* functioning as an *adv.* with the *cardinal quant.*, demonstrating inflection, as *adv.* in **enne/anne** where the *n.* is not present in T and D and the *adv.* is uninflected; neither are present in M.
- J has the *adv. vnneþe* with the *card. quant. one* where all the other MSS have the *card. quant. tpo/tpa/tuo*.
- Both D and M omit the *pl. adj.* (OE *bær*) **bare** found in all the other MSS.

Ω145

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 140. Nolde he for al middeneard þe þridde þar abiden. |
| Lambeth | 137. nolde he for al middenerd þe þerdde þer abiden. |
| Digby | 132. nolde he uor al middeneard þo þridde þer abiden. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 138. nolde he for æl middan eard. ðe ðridde þere abide |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 140. nolde he for al middan eard. þe þridde þer abide |
| Jesus | 140. Nolde he for al þe Middelerd. an oþer þer abyde. |
| McClean | 132. Vor al þat gold of midelerd þe þridde he nolde abide |

- The reading and *word-order* in M is different from all the other MSS in this line. M claims that *he would not abide there a third hour for all the gold of middle earth*, where none of the other MSS explicitly make a reference to money. However, the overall meaning of the line is retained in M.
- J includes the *def. art. þe* before **middelerd** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J begins the second half-line with the *adj. an-oþer* where it is the *def. art. þe* and the *ord. quant. þridde* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω146

| | |
|-------|--|
| Jesus | 141. Swiþe grimlých stench þer is. 7 wurþ wȳþ vten ende. |
|-------|--|

This line from J is found in no other MS.

Ω147

| | |
|-------|--|
| Jesus | 142. 7 hwo þe enes cumeþ þer. vt maȳ he neuer þenne wende. |
|-------|--|

This line from J is found in no other MS.

These lines are followed in J by two lines that occur much later in all the other MSS. For the purpose of comparison they have been transposed to Ω232 and Ω233.

Ω148

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 141. | Ʒat habbed isaid Ʒe come Ʒanne Ʒit piste mid ipisse. |
| Lambeth | 138. | Ʒet habbeð iseid Ʒet comen Ʒonen Ʒa hit pisten mid ipissen. |
| Digby | 133. | Ʒet seden Ʒo Ʒet comen Ʒannes Ʒet hit pisten mid ipisse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 139. | Ʒet habbet ised Ʒe come ðanne. Ʒet piste mid ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 141. | Ʒat habbet ised Ʒat comen Ʒanne Ʒit puste mid ipisse |
| Jesus | 145. | Ʒat seýden Ʒeo Ʒat weren Ʒer. heo hit wisten mýd iwisse. |
| McClean | 133. | Ʒat siggeƷ Ʒe Ʒat pere Ʒar 7 pite hit mid ipisse |

- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. habbed* (T), or a variant thereof, in combination with the *v. pp. isaid* (T), or a variant thereof, where D and J have *v. pa. 3rd pl. seden/seýden*. M has the *pr.* form of the same *v.* used in D and J in the *3rd pl. siggeƷ*.
- TLE²E¹ agree on the *relative pron. pl. Ʒe/Ʒet/Ʒat*, where in D, J and M it is the combination of *dem. pron. pl* and *rel. pron. pl* in Ʒo Ʒet/Ʒeo Ʒat/Ʒe Ʒat.
- J and M agree on the combination *v. pa. 3rd pl. + adv. weren Ʒer/pere Ʒar* where all of the other texts write the combination *v. pa. 3rd pl. + adv. come Ʒanne* (T), or a variant thereof.
- M begins the second half-line with the *cj. 7* where this reading is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T, E² and E¹ combine the *rel. pron. pl. + pron 3rd sg. Ʒit/Ʒet/Ʒit* where it is separate in Ʒa hit (L) and Ʒet hit (D); J has the *pron. 3rd pl. heo + pron. 3rd sg. hit* and M has only the *pron 3rd sg. hit*.

Ω149

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 142. | Ʒo purðe sorege seue gier for seuenihte blisse. |
| Lambeth | 139. | Ʒa purð sorge selue ger. for souenihte blisse. |
| Digby | 134. | Ʒer purh sorge seue gier vor seuenihte blisce. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 140. | uuel is pinie seoue ger. for seoue nihtes blisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 142. | uuel is pine seoue ger for seoue nihtes blisse |
| Jesus | 146. | Ʒer Ʒurh seorewe of seoue ýer. for soue nýhtes blýsee. |
| McClean | 134. | Ʒo ƷrƷe Ʒe sorze of seue zer uor ore nizte blisse |

- T and L agree with each other throughout on their reading of this line, as do E² and E¹.
- T, L and M begin the line with the *adj. po/Ʒa* + the *v. sbj. pr. ind. 3rd sg. purðe/purð/ƷrƷe*; E² and E¹ have different readings to the other MSS and begin the line with the *adj. uuel* + *v. pr. 3rd sg. is* + *n. pine* (E² writes **pinie** (sic)); D and J both begin the line with the *adv. Ʒer* followed by the *cont.* form of the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. purh* (this is *sbj.* in T, L and M) in D and the *prep. Ʒurh* in J.
- J and M include the *prep. of* in the first half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- In the second half-line the reading is different in M where the text has the *indef. art. ore* where all of the other texts have the *quant. card. seue* (T), or a variant thereof. This gives a very different reading in M.

Ω150

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 143. | 7 ure blisse þe ende haueð for ende lease pine |
| Lambeth | 140. | In hure blisse þe þe ende haueð. for endelesse pine. |
| Digby | 135. | Vre blisce þet ende haueð vor endelese pine |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 141. | And ure blisse þe ende hafð. for endeliese pine |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 143. | And ure blisse þe ende hafh. for endeliese pine |
| Jesus | 147. | 7 for þe blýsse þat ende haueþ: endeles is þe pyne. |
| McClean | 135. | Vor ore blisse þat ende haueþ endeles pine |

- L mistakenly writes **in** for **7/and**.
- The *cj. 7/and* is not present in D and M where it is present in all the other MSS apart from L (cf. previous note).
- J writes the *prep. for* + *def. art. þe* where all the other texts, except M (cf. note below), have the *poss. pron. 1st pl. ure/hure/ore*.
- M begins the line with the *prep. vor* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *prep. for/vor* does, however, begin the second half-line of most MSS except M and J.
- In the second half-line J includes the *v. pr. 3rd sg. is* + the *def. art. þe* which is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω151

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 144. | Betere is pori pater þan atter imengd mid pine. |
| Lambeth | 141. | betere is polri pater drunch 7 þen atter meind mid pine. |
| Digby | 136. | betere pere drinke pori peter þanne atter imaingd mid pine. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 142. | betere is pori peter idrunke. þene atter imeng mid pine |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 144. | betre is pori pater to drinke þenne atter i meng mid pine |
| Jesus | 148. | Beter is porie wateres drung. þane atter meýnd mýd wýne. |
| McClean | 136. | Betere is pori pateres drinch þane atler imengd mid pine |

- D writes the *v. subj. pa. 3rd sg. pere* where all the other MSS have *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is*.
- In D and E¹ **drinke** is a *v. inf.*, with the *inf. mark. to* in E¹; E² has the *pp.* form of the *v.* in **idrunke**; T does not have a form of the word at all; the other MSS have it as a *n.* in **drunch** (L), **drung** (J) and **drinch** (M).

Ω152

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 145. | Spines brade is pel spete spo is of pilde diere. |
| Lambeth | 142. | Spines brede is spiðe spete. spa is of pilde dore. |
| Digby | 137. | Spines brede is spiþe spete spo is of pilde diere |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 143. | Spunes brede is spuðe spete. spa is of pilde deore |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 145. | Spunes brede is spuþe spete so is of wilde dere |
| Jesus | 149. | Swýnes brede is swete. so is of þe wilde deore. |
| McClean | 137. | Suines brede beþ pel suete 7 so hi beþ of þe dere |

- M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. beþ* where it reads **is** in all the other MSS.
- M and T agree on the *adv. pel*, where it is *adv. spiðe* (L), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS apart from J where neither is present.
- M begins the second half-line with the *cj. 7*, a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The line in M concludes **so hi beþ of þe dere**, a reading only found in M with all the other MSS agreeing on **spo is of pilde diere** (T), or a variant thereof – with J including the *def. art. þe* before **wilde deore**.

Ω153

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 146. | Ac al to diere he hit abuið þe ȝiefð þar for his spiere. |
| Lambeth | 143. | alto dore he is abuh ȝ þe ȝefð þer fore his spore. |
| Digby | 138. | al to diere he hi beið þet ȝief þeruore his spiere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 144. | ac al to dure he hi biȝð. ðe ȝifð þer fore is speore |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 146. | ac al to duere he i bughed. þat ȝiued þere fore his spere |
| Jesus | 150. | Al to deore he hit buþ. þat ȝeueþ þar vore his sweore. |
| McClean | 138. | Al to dere he hi beiþ þat ȝefþ þar uore his suere |

- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *cj. ac* at the beginning of the line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω154

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 147. | Ful pombe mai lihtliche speken of hunger 7 of fasten |
| Lambeth | 144. | Ful pombe mei lihtliche speken of hun ger. 7 of festen ȝ |
| Digby | 139. | Lihtliche mai ful pombe speke of hungre 7 of þurste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 145. | Ful pambe mei liht liche speken. of hunger 7 festen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 147. | Ful pombe mai liht liche speken of hunger 7 of fasten |
| Jesus | 151. | ful wombe maȝ lihtliche speken. of hunger. and of festen. |
| McClean | 139. | Vul pombe mai liȝtliche speke of hunger 7 of uaste |

- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of D.
- D writes the *n. þurste* where all the other MSS have the *n. fasten* (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω155

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 148. | Spo mai of pine þe not hpat is pine þe sal ilasten. |
| Lambeth | 145. | spa mei of pine þe ne cnaļuð þe scal a ilesten. |
| Digby | 140. | spo mai of pine þet not pat is pine. þet eure mo sel leste. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 146. | spa mei of pine þe naht nat. hú pine sceal alesten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 148. | spa mai of pine þe naht not. hu hi scullen ilesten |
| Jesus | 152. | so maȝ of pȳne. þat not hwat hit is. þat euer mo schal lesten. |
| McClean | 140. | Suo mai of pine þat not phat hie is þat euere scal ilaste |

- There is variation between all of the MSS in this line although the meaning of the text remains the same throughout all MSS.
- T, D, J and M agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. not + pron. hpat* (T), or a variant thereof. This is followed in J and M by the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit/hie* before the *v. 3rd sg. is*; T and D include the *v. is* but the *pron. hit/hie* is not present in either.
- L writes the *neg. ne + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. cnaļuð* at the same point as the above, a reading only found in this text.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *neg. naht + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nat/not* where the others have the above.
- Both T and D rewrite the *n. pine* (as does E²: cf. following note) at the beginning of the second half-line. This is not present in L, E¹, J and M.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *adv. hu*, at the beginning of the second half-line, with E² then repeating the *n. pine* where E¹ has the *pron. 3rd pl. (inan.) hi* in place of the subject (*pine*).
- D and J agree on the inclusion of the *adv. eure mo/euer mo* where it is *euere* in M and not present in the other MSS.

Ω156

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 149. Hadde fonded sume stunde he polde seggen oðer |
| Lambeth | 146. Hefð he ifonded summe stunde ⁊ he polde al seggen oðer. |
| Digby | 141. Hauede he uonded sume stunde he polde siggen al oþer |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 147. Hedde his a fanded sume stunde. he polde eale segge oðer |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 149. Hadde he ifonded sume hpile. he polde al seggen oþer |
| Jesus | 153. hedde he ifonded summe stunde. he wolde seggen al oþer. |
| McClean | 141. Hadde he yfonded one stunde he polde sigge anoþer |

- The *pron. 3^d sg. he* following the *v. pa. 3^d sg. hadde* is not present in T, where it is written in all the other MSS.
- L miswrites **hefð** for the *v. pa. 3^d sg. hefde*.
- In E² the *pron 3^d sg. (masc)* is combined with the *pron 3^d sg. (inan.)* in **his** – this is the only text where this is found.
- M writes the *quant. card. one* where all the other MSS have the *adj. pl. summe*.
- E¹ has the *n. hpile* where it is *n. (OE stund) stunde* in all the other MSS.
- T and M omit the *adv. al* found in all the other MSS.
- M writes *pron. indef. anoþer* where it is the *adv. oðer/oþer* in all the other MSS.

Ω157

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 150. Eðlate him pare pif 7 child suster 7 fader 7 broðer. |
| Lambeth | 147. Et lete him pere pif. child. suster. feder 7 broðer. |
| Digby | 142. eðlete him pere pif 7 child suster. vader. moder 7 broðer. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 148. eð lete him pere pif 7 child. suster. 7 feder 7 broðer |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 150. eð late him pere pif. 7 child. suster. 7 fader. 7 broþer |
| Jesus | 154. 7 lete for crist. beo wif 7 child. fader. suster. and broþer |
| McClean | 142. zeþ lete him pere pif 7 child. suster. vader 7 broþer |

- The beginning of the line in J is different from all other MSS: **7 lete for crist. beo** rather than **eðlate him pare** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. The remainder of the line reads the same in all MSS except for some slight differences in *word-order* and some variation in the use of the *cj. 7* within the list of family members.
- D includes the *n. moder* in the second half-line where it is not found in the other MSS.

Ω158

| | |
|------------|---|
| Trinity | 151. Al he polde oðerluker don 7 oðerluker þenche |
| Lambeth | 148. Al he palde 7 oðerlucker don 7 oðerlucker þenchen. |
| Digby | 143. Al he polde oþer don 7 oþerlaker þenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 151. Al he polde oþerluker don 7 oþerluker þenche |
| Jesus | 155. Al he wolde oþer don. 7 oþerluker þenche |

Lines Ω158 and Ω159 are not present in Eg. 64r-70v and M.

- L includes the *cj. 7* in the first half-line, where it is not found in the other MSS.
- D and J agree on the *adv. oþer* where all of the other manuscripts have the *comp.* variant of the *adv.* in **oðerluker/oðerlucker/oþerluker**.

Ω159

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 152. | Þan he biðohte an helle fur þat no piht ne mai quenche. |
| Lambeth | 149. | penne he bi þohte on helle fur þe napiht ne mei quenchen. |
| Digby | 144. | þanne he þohte of helle ver þet noþing ne mai quenche. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 152. | ḡanne he bi þouhte on helle fur þe nopiht ne mai aquenche |
| Jesus | 156. | hwenne he biþouhte on helle fur. þat noþing ne maȝ quenche. |

Lines Ω158 and Ω159 are not present in Eg. 64r-70v and M.

- D has the *prep.* **of** where all of the other MSS have the *prep.* **an/on**.
- D and J agree on the *n.* **noþing** where all the other MSS have the *n.* **no-piht/napiht/nopiht**.

Ω160

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 153. | Afre he polde her in po 7 in pane punien |
| Lambeth | 150. | Eure he palde her inne pape 7 ine pene punien ✓ |
| Digby | 145. | Eft he polde her on po 7 on pope punie |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 149. | Eure he polde inne pa her. 7 inne pape punien |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 153. | Eure he polde inne pa her. 7 inne pine punien |
| Jesus | 157. | Eure he wolde in bonen beon. 7 in godnesse wunȝe. |
| McClean | 143. | Eueremore her in po 7 in pine ponie |

- D writes the *adv.* **eft** and M the *adv.* **eueremore** where all the the other MSS have the *adv.* **eure**.
- The *pron.* 3rd *sg.* **he** + *v. pa.* 3rd *sg.* **polde/palde/wolde**, found in all the other MSS, are not present in M.
- J reads *prep.* **in** + *n. pl.* **bonen** + *v. inf.* **beon**; a reading only found in this MS and which gives a different meaning to the line. Similarly, the second half-line demonstrates the result of the positive outcome of a life of penitence (established in the opening of the line) where the other MSS focus on the negative connotations of not heeding the preacher's advice.
- There is significant variation in the second half-line: T and L agree on the *n.* (from OE *wēa*) **pane/pene**; E¹ and M agree on the *n.* (OE *pīne*) **pine**; D has the *n.* (OE *pōp*) **pope**; E² has *n.* (OE *wā*) **pape**; and J writes the *n.* **godnesse** (cf. previous note).

Ω161

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 154. | Þið þan he mihte helle fur biflen 7 bisunien. |
| Lambeth | 151. | Þið þet þe mihte helle pine bi flien 7 bi sunien |
| Digby | 146. | pið þet he moste helle uer biflien 7 bisunie. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 150. | pið ðan þe mihte helle pine bi fleon 7 bi scunien |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 154. | pid þan þe mihte helle pine bi fluen 7 bi scunien |
| Jesus | 158. | wiþ þat he mȝhte helle fur. euer fleon and schonȝe. |
| McClean | 144. | Þiþ þan þe he miȝte helle pine ule 7 ȝsconie |

The couplet that follows this one in M has been transposed to Ω302 and Ω303 for the purpose of comparison. The equivalent lines in the other MSS occur much later.

- T, D and J agree on the *cj.* **pið þan** (T), or a variant thereof, where L, E², E¹ and M have **pið þet þe**.
- T, D, J and M agree on the *pron.* 3rd *sg.* **he** in the first half-line, where it is not present in L, E² and E¹.
- T, D and J agree on the *n.* **fur/uer** where all of the other MSS have the *n.* **pine**.
- J writes the *adv.* **euer** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pref.* **bi** in the *v. inf.* **biflen** (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in J (**fleon**) and M (**ule**).

Ω162

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 155. Eðlate him pare al pele 7 erðeliche blisse |
| Lambeth | 152. Et lete him pelre al porld pele 7 orðliche blisse. |
| Digby | 147. Eðlete ham pere al perldes pele 7 perldliche blisce |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 151. Eð lete him pere eal poruld pele. 7 eal eordliche blisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 155. Eð lete him pere al poruldes pele. 7 al eordliche |
| Jesus | 159. 7 lete sker al þes worldes weole. 7 þes worldes blýsse. |

Lines Ω162 and Ω163 are not present in M.

- There is some variation in the text of J but the meaning of the line is still retained.
- J begins the line with the *cj.* 7, where it is not present in any other MSS, and then has the *v. inf.* **lete** where it is a *pl. adj.* in **eðlate** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS; J then writes the *adv.* (ON *skærr*) **sker**, where it is not present in any other MSS, before the *adj.* **al** + *poss. dem. adj.* **þes** and the *n.s.* **worldes weole**.
- The *n.* **porld** (L), or variant thereof, is not present in T.
- In the second half-line E² and E¹ agree on the inclusion of the *adj.* **eal/al** where it is not present in any other MSS.
- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **erðeliche** (T), or a variant thereof; D has the *adj.* **perldliche** and J has the *poss. dem. adj.* **þes** + *poss. n.* **worldes**.
- The *n.* **blisse** (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in E¹ at the end of the line.

Ω163

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 156. For to þe muchele blisse cume þis murie mid ipisse. |
| Lambeth | 153. for to þet much ele blisse cumen is murþe mid ipisse. |
| Digby | 148. for to þare muchele merhðe come þet is merhðe mid ipisse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 152. for to ðe muchele murcðe cume. ðis murhðe mid ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 156. for to þe muchele murcð cume þat is heueniche |
| Jesus | 160. wiþ þat he mýhte to heouene cumen. 7 beo þer mýd iwisse. |

Lines Ω162 and Ω163 are not present in M.

- The reading in J shows variation. All the other MSS state that the individual will come to **muchele blisse** (T); the heavenly abode is implied in these lines, although there is not much doubt as to the place of which the narrator is talking, where it is named (**heouene**) directly in J. J begins the line with the *cj.* **wiþ þat** indicating that achievement of this **mýd iwisse** is a result of the actions of the previous line. There is a more direct exhortation to reject the earthly in both this and the previous line. However, **for**, which is found at the beginning of all other lines, has an unusual usage here and should be translated as ‘in order that he’.
- L has the *dem. adj.* **þet** where all of the other MSS (excluding J) have the *def. art.* **þe/pare**.
- T and L agree on the *n.* **blisse** where D, E² and E¹ have the *n.* **merhðe/murcðe/murcð**.
- L and J have the *inf.* form of the *v.* **cumen** where it is the *v. sbj. pr.* 3^d *sg.* **cume/come** in all of the other MSS.
- T and E² combine the *rel. pron.* **þe/ðe** with the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **is** in **þis/ðis** where they remain separate in D and E¹; L has the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **is** only; the reading is not present in J.
- T has the *adj.* **murie** where the other texts (excluding J) write the *n.* **merhðe** apart from E¹ where the text has the *n.* **heuenriche**.
- The *prep.* **mid** + *n.* **ipisse** (T), or variants thereof, are not found in E¹

Ω164

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 157. Ich pulle nu cumen eft to þe dome þe ich eop ar of sade. |
| Lambeth | 154. I pule nu cumen eft to þe dome þet ich er op of sede |
| Digby | 149. Ic pille nu come to þon dome þet ic ȝeu of er sede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 153. Ich pulle nu cumen eft to ðe dome. þe ich eop of sede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 157. I pulle nu comen eft to þe dome þat ic eop er of sede |
| Jesus | 161. Ich wile eu seggen of þe dome. as ich eu er seýde. |
| McClean | 147. Of þe dome þe pilleþ speke of phan ich zo er seide. |

- J and M demonstrate significant variation from each other and the other MSS although the overall meaning is retained in all. In view of their substantive differences, the notes on J and M will not highlight all the differences.
- M uses the more inclusive *pron. 1st pl. þe* where all the other MSS have the *sg. ich/i* in the first half-line.
- There is variation in the *v. inf.* used in this first half-line with J writing **seggen** from OE *secgan*; M writes **speke** from OE *sprecan* and all of the other MSS write **cumen** (T), or a variant thereof, from the OE *cuman*. The meaning is similar in each 'to speak of', although in all MSS other than J and M the act itself is implied.
- The *adv. eft*, found in the first half-line of all of the MSS except for J and M (see first note), is not found in D.
- The *adv. ar/er* is present in all MSS apart from E².
- The *word-order of er* in D is the reverse in all of the other MSS, except E² (see previous note) and J and M which demonstrate significant variation (see first note)

Ω165

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 158. On þe daie 7 on þe dome us helpe crist 7 rade |
| Lambeth | 155. A þa dei 7 at ta dome us helpe crist 7 rede. |
| Digby | 150. on þan deie 7 on þan dome vs helpe crist 7 rede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 154. on þe deie 7 æt þe dome. us helpe crist 7 rede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 158. on þat dai 7 at þe dome. us helpe crist 7 rede |
| Jesus | 162. on þe daȝ and on þe dome. vs helpe crȳst and rede. |
| McClean | 148. At þan daie 7 þan dome crist us helpe 7 rede |

- M writes the *prep. at* where all the other texts have the *prep. on* (the **a** in L is dialectal with the meaning still being 'on').
- E¹ writes the *dem. adj. þat* where all the other MSS have the *def. art. þe/þa/þan*.
- Following 7, T, D and J agree on the *prep. on* where L, E² and E¹ have the *prep. at/æt*; the reading is not present at all in M.
- There is some variation in *word-order* in M in the second half-line.

Ω166

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 159. Þar þe mugen ben sore offerd 7 harde us ofdrade |
| Lambeth | 156. þer þe mugen bon eþe offered 7 herde us adreden. |
| Digby | 151. Þe mugen eaðe ben ofherd 7 harde vs mai ondrede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 155. Þer þe magen beon eðe of dredde. 7 herde us adrede. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 159. Þþer þe magen beon eðe of drad 7 harde us adrade |
| Jesus | 163. þer we Muwen beon aferd. and sore vs of drede. |
| McClean | 149. Þar þe muze beo afered 7 harde us adrede. |

- The *adv. þar* is present at the beginning of the line in all MSS apart from D.
- T writes the *adv. sore* where L, D, E² and E¹ include the *adv.* (OE *ēaðe*) **eþe** – neither reading is found in either J or M.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pp. pl. of dredde/of drad* where it is the *v. pp. pl. offerd* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. The writing of **ofherd** in D is most likely a mistake for **offerd**.
- J has the *adv. sore* where it is the *adv. harde/herde* in all the other MSS.
- D includes the *v. pa. 3rd sg. mai*, a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and J agree on the *prep. pref. of* in **ofdrade/of drede**; L, M, E² and E¹ have the *prep. pref. a* in **adreden/adrede/adrade**; D writes the *prep. pref. on* in **ondrede**.

Ω167

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 160. | ƿar elch sal al isien him biforen his pord 7 ec his dade. |
| Lambeth | 157. | ƿer he scal al son him biforen his pord 7 ec his deden. |
| Digby | 152. | ƿer ech sel him biuoren sien his perkes 7 his dede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 156. | ƿer elch sceal seon him bi foren. his pord 7 ec his dede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 160. | ƿer elc sceal i seo bi foren him. his pord 7 ec his dede |
| Jesus | 164. | ƿer vȳch schal seon him bi fore. his word and ek his dede. |
| McClean | 150. | ƿar eueriche man ȳsicƿ biuore his porkes 7 his dede |

- The main variations in this line occur in M which writes the *adj.* **eueriche** + *n.* **man** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **elch** (T), or a variant thereof, except for L which writes *pron.* *3^d sg.* **he**.
- M has the *pr. ind. 3^d sg.* form of the *v.* in **ȳsicƿ** where all the other MSS have *inf.* **isein** (T), or a variant thereof.
- The *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sal** (T), or variants thereof, the *adj.* **al**, functioning as a *n.* (found only in T and L), and the *pron. 3^d sg.* **him**, present in all the other MSS, are not present in M.
- Both D and M agree on *n. pl.* **perkes/porkes** where it is the *n. pl.* **pord** in all the other MSS.
- The *adv.* **ec/ek** is found in all MSS apart from D and M.

Ω168

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 161. | Al sal ƿar ben ƿanne cuð ƿat men lugen her 7 halen. |
| Lambeth | 158. | Al scal ƿer bon ƿenne cud ƿer men lugen her ent stelen. |
| Digby | 153. | Al sel ƿanne bi ƿer cuð ƿet men hier lugen 7 stelen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 157. | Eal sceal beon ðer ðenne cuð. ƿet man lugen her 7 stelen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 161. | Eal scal ben ƿanne cud. ƿet man lugen her 7 stelen |
| Jesus | 165. | Al schal beon ƿer ƿeonne ikud. ƿat er men lowen and stelen |
| McClean | 151. | Al scal beo ƿar vnhed her ƿat pe hele |

- M writes a much shorter line here than all of the other MSS. The overall meaning of the line is retained, but the specific crimes of lying and stealing are not given and a more general idea of concealment of sin is stated.
- There is variation in the *word-order* of **ƿer ben ƿanne** (T), or variants thereof, in many of the MSS; in addition, the *adv.* **ƿar** (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in E¹ and the *adv.* **ƿanne** (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in M.
- M writes the *v. pp.* (OE *un + hȳdan*) **vnhed** where all the other texts read *adj.* (OE *cūð*) **cuð** apart from J, which writes the *v. pp.* **ikud**. After this point the line in M is different from all the other MSS and ends abruptly.
- L writes the *cj.* **ƿer** where all the other MSS have the *rel. pron.* **ƿat/ƿet**.
- T agrees with M and concludes the line with the *v. pa. 3^d pl.* (OE *helan*) **halen/hele** (cf. ending of the following line).

Ω169

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 162. | Al sal þar ben þanne unprien þat men her hudden 7 stalen. |
| Lambeth | 159. | Al scal þer bon þanne unpron : þet men prugen her 7 helen. |
| Digby | 154. | al sel þanne ben vnproge þet men her hidden 7 helen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 158. | eal sceal beon ðer unpriegen. þet men priegen her 7 helen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 162. | Al scal ben þer vnþrien. þat men prugen her 7 helen |
| Jesus | 166. | Al schal beon þer þeonne vnwrien. þat men her wrien 7 helen. |
| McClean | 152. | Al scal beo þar unprize her þat man luze 7 stele |

- The *adv.* **þar/þer**, in the first half-line, is present in all MSS except D.
- The *word-order* of **þer ben/þer bon** in T and L is the reverse of E², E¹, J and M.
- The *word-order* of **þanne ben** in D is the reverse of T and L (see also the previous note).
- The *adv.* **þanne/þeonne**, in the first half-line of most MSS, is not present in E², E¹ and M.
- Most of the variation in this line is found at the end of the line and is as a result of the ending of the previous line: T writes *adv.* **her** + *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **hudden** + *cj. 7* + *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **stalen**, a reading not present in any of the other MSS; D writes *adv.* **her** + *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **hidden** + *cj. 7* + *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **helen**, a reading not present in any of the other MSS – although the majority of the texts end on **helen**; M writes *v. pa.* 3^d *sg.* **luze** + *cj. 7* + *v. pa.* 3^d *sg.* **stele** (with the *adv.* **her** found earlier in the line); the other texts end with *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **prugen** + *adv.* **her** + *cj. 7* + *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **helen** (L), or variants thereof – there is some variation in *word-order* in J.

Ω170

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 163. | Þe sullen alre manne lif icnopen alse ure oȝen |
| Lambeth | 160. | pe sculen alre monne lif iknaupen al se ure ahen. |
| Digby | 155. | Þe sullen alre manne lif iknapen spo ure hoȝen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 159. | Þe sculen ealre manne lif icnape. eal spa ure aȝen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 163. | Þe scullen alre manne lif icnape þer al so vre oȝe |
| Jesus | 167. | Vve schulleþ alre monne lýf. iknowe al so vre owe. |
| McClean | 153. | Par we sculle aches mannes lif iknope ase ure oȝe |

- M begins the line with the *adv.* **þar** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes the *adj.* **aches** + the *possess. n.* **mannes** where all of the other MSS have the *adj. pl.* **alre** + the *pl. n.* **manne** (T) or a variant thereof.
- E¹ includes the *adv.* **þer**, where it is not present in any other MS.

Ω171

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 164. | Þar sullen efninges ben to þe heie 7 to þe loȝe. |
| Lambeth | 161. | þer sculen eueningges bon þe riche 7 þe laȝe. |
| Digby | 156. | þer sullen eueninges ben þo heȝe 7 þo loȝe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 160. | ðer sculen eueninges beon þe heȝe 7 laȝen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 164. | þer sculle heueninges ben þe heige 7 þe louȝe |
| Jesus | 168. | þer schulle beon euenýnges. þe riche and ek þe lowe. |
| McClean | 154. | Par sculle euenigges beo þe heȝe 7 þe loȝe |

- T includes the *prep.* **to** before the *pl. def. art.* **þe** on two occasions in this line where they do not occur in any of the other MSS.
- L and J agree on the *pl. adj.* **riche** where all of the other MSS have the *pl. adj.* **heie** (T) or a variant thereof.
- J includes the *adv.* **ek** where it is not present in any other MSS.

Ω172

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 165. Ne sal þeih no man samie þiar ne þarf he him adrade. |
| Lambeth | 162. Ne scal na mon smakie þer ne þerf he him adreden. |
| Digby | 157. Ne sel þeð no man samien þer ne darf he him ondrede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 161. Ne sceal þeh nan scamian ðer. ne ðearf he him adrede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 165. Ne scal þei noman scamien þer. ne þerf he him adrede |
| McClean | 155. Ne scal him naȝt scamie þar ne darf he him adrede |

Lines Ω172 to Ω175 are not present in J.

- The *adv.* **þeih** (T) or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS, is not present in L and M.
- M writes the *pron.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *sg.* **him** + *neg. adv.* **naȝt** where all the other MSS write the *n.* **no man** (T), or a variant thereof, except for E² where it is *pron.* **nan**.
- All of the texts agree on the *v. inf.* **samie** (T) or a variant thereof, except for L where it is written **smakie**. The meaning of this is unclear: OE *smacian* does not make sense in these contexts and it is possible that the reading should be taken as a variant of OE *smaeccan*. (LAEME)
- D writes the *pref.* **on** as part of the *inf. v.* **ondrede** where it is **a+drade/drede** in the other manuscripts.

Ω173

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 166. Ġief him her ofþincheð his gult 7 bet his misdade. |
| Lambeth | 163. Ġif him her of þincþ his gult 7 bet his misdede. |
| Digby | 158. ef him her ofþencheð his gelt 7 beteð his misdede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 162. ġif him her of þincð his gult. 7 bet his misdede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 166. ġif him here of þinched his gult. 7 beted his misdede |
| McClean | 156. He þe ofþuȝte her his gult 7 bette his misdede |

Lines Ω172 to Ω175 are not present in J.

- The reading and *word-order* is different in the first half-line of M although the meaning is still similar.

Ω174

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 167. For hem ne sameð ne ne grameð þe sulle ben iboreȝe |
| Lambeth | 164. For him ne scameþ ne ne gromeð þe sculen bon iborgen. |
| Digby | 159. Ham ne schameð ne ne grameð þet sullen ben iborge |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 163. For heom ne scamet ne gramet. ðe scule beon iboreȝe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 167. For heom ne scamet ne ne gramet þe sculle beon iborupene |
| McClean | 157. Him ne scameþ ne him ne grameþ þat scal beo iboreȝe |

Lines Ω172 to Ω175 are not present in J.

- The *cj.* **for** at the beginning of the line in all the other MSS is not present in D and M.
- M has the *pron.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *sg.* **him**, in the first half-line, where all the other MSS have the *pron.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *pl.* **hem** (T), or a variant thereof.
- All MSS read *cj.* **ne** + *adv. neg.* **ne** + *v. pr. ind.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *sg.* **grameð** (T), or a variant thereof, except for E² where the *adv. neg.* **ne** is not present and M where the *pron.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *sg.* **him** splits the *cj.* **ne** and the *adv. neg.* **ne** and reads: **ne him ne grameþ** – a reading found in no other MSS.

Ω175

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 168. | Ac þoðre habbeð same 7 grame 7 oðer fele sorege. |
| Lambeth | 165. | Ach þoþre habbeþ scome 7 grome 7 oft fele sorge. |
| Digby | 160. | þoðre habbeð same 7 grame 7 fele oþre sorge. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 164. | ac þe oðre habbet scame 7 grame 7 oðer fele sorge |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 168. | ac þe oþre habbet scame 7 grame þat sculle beon forlorene |
| McClean | 158. | Ac þe oþre habbeþ scame 7 grame 7 oþre fele soreze |

Lines Ω172 to Ω175 are not present in J.

The couplet that follows this line in M has been transposed to Ω182 and Ω183 for the purpose of comparison.

- The *cj.* **ac/ach**, written in all the other MSS at the beginning of the line, is not present in D.
- L writes the *adv.* **oft** where it is the *pl. adj.* **oðer** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS (except for E¹: cf. note below).
- E¹ has a different reading to all other MSS in the second half-line which concludes: **þat sculle beon forlorene**.

Ω176

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 169. | þe dom þal ben sone idon ne last hit no piht longe |
| Lambeth | 166. | þe dom scal sone bon idon ne lest he napiht lon ge. |
| Digby | 161. | Se dom sal ben sone idon ne lesteð he noht longe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 165. | þe dom sceal sone beon idon. ni lest he napiht lange |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 169. | þe dom scal sone ben idon. ne last he nopit longe |
| Jesus | 169. | þe dom schal beon sone idon. ne lest he nowhiht longe. |

Lines Ω176 and Ω177 are not present in M.

- T writes **þal** by mistake for *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sal**.
- D has the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **lesteð** where all of the other MSS have the *cont.* form in **last/lest**.

Ω177

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 170. | Ne sal him noman mene þar of strencoðe ne of pronge |
| Lambeth | 167. | ne scal him na mon mene þer of strengþe ne of pronge. |
| Digby | 162. | ne sal non him bimene þer of strenhðe ne of pronge. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 166. | ne sceal him nanme mene ðer of strencoðe ne of prange |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 170. | ne scal him noman mene þer of strengþe ne of prange |
| Jesus | 170. | Ne schal him nomon menen þer. of strengþe. ne of wronge. |

Lines Ω176 and Ω177 are not present in M.

- The D writes the *pron.* **non** where all the other texts have the *n.* **noman** (T), or a variant thereof.
- D also includes the *pref.* **bi** before the *v. inf.* **mene** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω178

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 171. | þo sulle habben hardne dom þe here paren hardde |
| Lambeth | 168. | þe sculen habbe herdne dom þa her peren herde. |
| Digby | 163. | þo sullen habbe hardne dom þet her peren harde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 167. | þa sculen habbe herdne dom. þe here pere hearde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 171. | þo scullen habbe hardne dom. þe here peren herde |
| Jesus | 171. | þeo schullen habbe harde dom. þat er weren harde. |
| McClean | 161. | Hi sculle habbe hardne dom þat here pere harde |

Lines Ω178 – Ω181 in M occurred in the MS after those lines now found at Ω182 and Ω183 which have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins this line with the *pron. 3rd pl.* **he** where it is the *dem. pron* **þo/þe/þeo** in the rest of the MSS.

Ω179

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 172. | þo þe euel hielden preche men 7 euel laȝe arerde. |
| Lambeth | 169. | þa þe uuele hollden preche men 7 uuele laȝe redde. |
| Digby | 164. | þet euele hielden wrecche men 7 euele laȝen arerde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 168. | þe uuele heolde precche men. 7 uuele laȝhe arerde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 172. | þa þe euele heolden preche men 7 vuele laȝes rerde |
| Jesus | 172. | þeo þat vuele heolde wrecche men. and vuele lawe arerde. |
| McClean | 162. | þe euele helde poure men 7 euele laȝe arerde. |

Lines Ω178 – Ω181 in M occur in the MS after those lines now found at Ω182 and Ω183 which have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T, L, E¹ and J begin the line with the combination of *dem. pron.* + *rel.* in **þo þe** 'those who/that' where the other MSS have only the *rel. pron.* **þet/þe**.
- M writes the *pl. adj.* **poure** where all the other MSS have the *pl. adj.* **preche** (T), or a variant thereof.
- L writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **redde** where it is the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **arerde** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. This is most likely a mistake as the *v.* should rhyme with *adj. pl.* **herde** in the previous line.

Ω180

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 173. | Elch after þat he haueð idon sal þar ben þanne idemð |
| Lambeth | 170. | Ec efter þet he efþ idon sal þer þenne idemet. |
| Digby | 165. | Ech efter þet he haueð idon sal þanne ben idemeð |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 169. | End efter þet he hauet idon. scal ðer beon idemed |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 173. | Ac after þan þe he haueð idon. he scal þer beon idemed |
| McClean | 163. | Euerich after þan þe he haueþ ido he scal þar beo ýdemed |

Lines Ω178 – Ω181 in M occur in the MS after those lines now found at Ω182 and Ω183 which have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

Lines Ω180 and Ω181 are not present in J.

- There is variation at the beginning of the line: T and D agree on the *pron.* **elch/ech**; L has the *adv.* (OE eke) **ec**; E² has the *cj.* **end** whilst E¹ has the *cj.* **ac** and M writes the *pron.* **euerich**.
- E¹ and M agree on **þan þe** in the *adv. ph.* **after þan þe** where all of the other MSS write **after þat** (T), or a variant thereof.
- E¹ and M agree on the inclusion of the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** before the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sal/scal** in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D omits the *adv.* **þer/þar**, in the second half-line, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- L omits the *inf. v.* **be**, in the second half-line, where it is present in all the other MSS. It is likely that this omission was made by mistake as it is necessary for the sense of the line.
- The *adv.* **þanne**, found in T, L and D, is not found in E², E¹ and M.
- The *word-order* of **þanne ben** is the reverse of that found in T, the only other MS that has both words.

Ω181

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 174. | Bliðe mai he þanne ben þe god haueð þel iquemd. |
| Digby | 166. | blþe mai he þanne ben þet gode haueð iquemed |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 170. | bliðe mei he ðenne beon. þe god hafð þel icpemed |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 174. | bliþe mai he þanne buen. þe god haueð iquemed |
| McClean | 164. | þelle bliþe mai he beo þat gode her haueþ iquemed |

Lines Ω178 – Ω181 in M occur in the MS after those lines now found at Ω182 and Ω183 which have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

Line Ω181 is not present in L.

Lines Ω180 and Ω181 are not present in J.

- M has the *adv.* **pelle** at the beginning of the line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *adv.* **þanne/ðenne**, in the first half-line, is not written in M, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- M includes the *adv.* **her**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and E² include the *adv.* **þel** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω182

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 175. Alle þo þe sprunge beð of adam 7 of eue. |
| Lambeth | 171. Alle þa þi sprunge boþ of adam 7 of eue. |
| Digby | 167. Alle þo þet asprungen bieð of adame 7 of euen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 171. Eælle ða þe isprungen beoð of adam 7 of eue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 175. Alle þo þat isprunge beð of adam 7 of eue |
| Jesus | 173. Alle þeo þat beoþ icumen. of adam and of eve. |
| McClean | 159. Al þat euere ýsprungen is of adam 7 of eue |

Lines Ω182 and Ω183 occur in the MS of M after Ω175 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *dem. pron.* **þo/þa/ða/þeo** is not present in M where it is common to all the other MSS in the first half-line.
- M includes the *adv.* **euere** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J has the *v. pp.* **icumen** where all of the other MSS have the *v. pl. pp.* **sprunge** (T), or a variant thereof. The *word-order* at this point is also different with **icumen** after **beoþ**.
- M has the *v. pr. ind.* **3rd sg. is** where all of the other MSS write the *v. pr. ind.* **3rd pl. beð** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω183

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 176. Alle hie sulle þider cume for soðe pe hit ileued. |
| Lambeth | 172. Alle hi sculen cumen þider for soðe pe hit ileueð. |
| Digby | 168. alle hi sullen þider cumen to soþe ge mugen ileuen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 172. ealle hi sculen ðuder cume. for soðe pe hit ileue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 176. Ealle he sculle þuder come. for soþe pe it ileued |
| Jesus | 174. Alle heo schule þider cumen. and so we owen hit ileue. |
| McClean | 160. To þe dome hi sculle come forsop ze hit yleue |

Lines Ω182 and Ω183 occur in the MS of M after Ω175 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The reading in M is different from all of the others in the first half-line. It states: **to þe dome hi sculle come** where, in the other MSS, the location and/or event is not stated explicitly, although it is known from the previous lines that **alle hie sulle þider cume** is a reference to the moment of Judgement.
- The *word-order* of **cumen þider** in L is the reverse of all of the other MS, except for M where the reading is different.
- D writes the *prep.* **to** + *n.* **soþe** at the beginning of the second half-line; J has the *cj.* **and** + *adv.* **so**; the other MSS have the *adv.* **for-soðe**.
- D and M agree on the *pron.* **2nd pl. ge/ze** where it is the *pron.* **1st pl. pe/we** in all the other MSS.
- D includes the *v. pr. ind. sg.* **2nd pl. mugen** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *v. pr. ind.* **1st pl. owen** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω184

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 177. | Ʒo Ʒe habbed Ʒel idon after here mihte |
| Lambeth | 173. | Ʒa Ʒe habbeð Ʒel idon efter hore mihte. |
| Digby | 169. | Ʒo Ʒet habbeð Ʒel idon efter hire mihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 173. | Ʒa ðe habbeð Ʒel idon. efter heore mihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 177. | Ʒo Ʒe habbed Ʒel idon. after heore mihte |
| Jesus | 175. | Ʒeo Ʒat habbeþ wel idon. after heore Mihte. |
| McClean | 165. | Ʒo Ʒat gode iserued habbeð after hare mizte |

- All of the MSS are in agreement in this line except for M which writes the *n. gode* + *v. pp. iserued* and places the *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. habbeð* after the *subject*, where all the other MSS write the *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. habbed* + *adv. Ʒel* + *v. pp. idon* (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω185

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 178. | To heueriche hie sulle fare forð mid ure drihte. |
| Lambeth | 174. | to houene riche hi sculen faren forð mid ure drihte. |
| Digby | 170. | to heueneriche hi sullen vare vorð mid ure drihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 174. | to heuenriche scule faren forð mid ure drihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 178. | to heuenriche he scullen. ford mid ure drihte |
| Jesus | 176. | To heoueriche heo schulle vare. forþ myð vre dryhte. |
| McClean | 166. | Hi sculle to heueneriche fare uorþ mid ure drizte |

- The *word-order* in M is different from the other MSS although the meaning is retained.
- The *pron. 3rd pl. hie/hi/he/heo*, found in all the other MSS, is not present in E².
- E¹ omits the *v. inf. fare/faren/vare* where it is present in all the other MSS.

Ω186

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 179. | Ʒo Ʒe deueles perkes habeð idon 7 Ʒar inne beð ifunde |
| Lambeth | 175. | Ʒa Ʒe habbeð doules Ʒerc idon. 7 Ʒer inne bo ifunde. |
| Digby | 171. | Ʒo Ʒet prohten dofles Ʒerc 7 peren Ʒer inne iuonde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 175. | Ʒa ðe nabbeð god idon. 7 ðer inne beoð ifunde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 179. | Ʒo Ʒe nabbeð god idon. 7 Ʒer inne beð ifunde |
| Jesus | 177. | Ʒeo Ʒat habbeþ feondes werk idon. 7 Ʒer in beoþ ifunde. |
| McClean | 167. | Ʒe oþre Ʒat Ʒe deueles Ʒorc habbeþ ido 7 Ʒar inne beoþ ifunde |

- There is significant variation between the texts in this line. However, the overall meaning of the text is kept the same in all MSS. See below:
- M has the *pron. oþre* at the beginning of the line – a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- D writes *v. pa. 3rd pl. prohten* + *poss. n. doules* + *n. Ʒerc* – a reading that does not occur in any of the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ agree on the reading *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. nabbeð* + *n. god* + *v. pp. idon* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J writes the *poss. n. feondes* where the other MSS (excluding E² and E¹, cf. note above) have the *poss. n. deueles* (T) or a variant thereof.
- D writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl. peren* in the second half-line where it is the *pr. form* in *beð* (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω187

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 180. | Hie sulle fare forð mid hem in to helle grunde. |
| Lambeth | 176. | hi sculen faren forð mid him in to helle grunde. |
| Digby | 172. | þo sullen vare vorð mid him into helle grunde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 176. | hi sculen falle spiðe raðe in to helle grunde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 180. | he sculle falle spiþe raþe in to helle grunde |
| Jesus | 178. | heo schulle fare forþ myð him: in to helle grunde. |
| McClean | 168. | Hi sculle falle adun mid him into hele grunde |

- D begins the line with the *dem. pron.* **þo** where it is the *pron 3^d pl.* **hie** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ agree on the alternative reading: *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **sculen** + *v. inf.* **falle** + *adv.* **spiðe** + *adv.* **raðe** (E²), or the equivalent in E¹, where this reading does not occur in any of the other MSS.
- M writes *v. inf.* **falle** + *adv.* **adun** where all the other MSS, except in E² and E¹ (cf. note above), write the *v. inf.* **fare** + *adv.* **forð** (T), or a variant thereof.
- M mistakenly writes **hele** for the *poss. n.* **helle**.

Ω188

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 181. | Par hie sulle punien abuten ore 7 ende. |
| Lambeth | 177. | þer hi sculen punien a buten are 7 ende. |
| Digby | 173. | þer hi sullen ponien ai buten ore 7 ende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 177. | þer hi punie sculen a 7 buten ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 181. | þar inne he scullen punie buten ore 7 ende |
| Jesus | 179. | þer ho schulle wunȳen .o. buten ore and ende. |
| McClean | 169. | 7 þare hi sculle ponie euermore bute ende |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **7** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E¹ includes the *prep.* **inne** as part of the *adv.* **þar inne** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *word-order* **punie sculen** in E² is the reverse of all of the other MSS.
- D includes the *adv.* **ai** which is cognate with OE *ā* found in E² as **a** and J as **.o.**, which is not present any of the other MSS. M has the *adv.* **euermore**, which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E² includes the *cj.* **7** between the two half-lines where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *n.* (OE *ār*) **ore/are**, present in all the other MSS, is not found in E² and M (as a result the final *cj.* **7/and** is not present in either MSS).

Ω189

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 182. | Brecð nafre eft crist helle dure for lesen hem of bende. |
| Lambeth | 178. | Ne brekeþ ne ure drihte helle gate for lesen hi of bende. |
| Digby | 174. | ne brekeð neure eft crist helle dure to alesen hi of bende. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 178. | ne brecð neure eft crist helle dure. for lese hi of bende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 182. | ne brecð neuereuft crist helle dure to lese hem of bende |
| Jesus | 180. | Ne brekeþ nought crist eft helle dure. to lesen heom of bende. |
| McClean | 170. | Ne brecþ neuere eft iewes helle for ham to bringe ham ut of bende |

- There is variation between the texts of the *Conduct of Life* within this line:
- The *neg. adv. ne*, found in all the other MSS at the beginning of this line, is not present in T.
- All of the texts agree on the reading *adv. nafre* (T), or a variant thereof, except for J which writes the *neg. adv. nought*.
- The *adv. eft/uft*, found in all the other MSS in the first half-line, is not present in L.
- Most texts agree on the *n. crist* except for L which writes *n. drihte* and M which writes *n. iewes*.
- The *word-order crist eft* in J is the reverse of that found in TDE²E¹ and M (M writes *iewes* for *crist*: see previous note); the reading in L is different (see earlier note).
- Most texts agree on the *poss. n. helle* + *n. dure* except for L where it is *helle* + *gate* and M where the *n. helle* stands alone.
- The remainder of the line in M is different from all the other MSS although the overall meaning is retained: M writes *v. inf. bringe* where all the other MSS write the *v. inf. lesen* (T), or a variant thereof. M also writes the *prep. ph. ut of*, before the *pl. n. bende*, where all of the other MSS just have the *prep. of* – this is necessary in M to retain the meaning as a result of the changes earlier in the line. Although the meaning is retained in M the reading is somewhat awkward, the rhythm is stilted, and some of the clarity is lost.
- T, L, E² and M agree on the *inf. mark. for* before the *v. lesen/lese* (*bringe* in M), where it is *to* in the other MSS.

Ω190

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 183. | Nis no sellich þeih hem be po 7 þeih hem be uneaðe |
| Lambeth | 179. | Nis na sullic þech hom bo pa 7 hom bo unleade. |
| Digby | 175. | Is hit ponder þağh hem bi po ne þağh hem bi vnnede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 179. | Nis na sellich ðeh heom beo pa. 7 heom beo un ieðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 183. | Nis no sellic þei heom beo po. 7 hem beo vneþe |
| Jesus | 181. | Nýs no seollich þeh heom beo wo. he mawe wunýe eþe |

Lines Ω190 and Ω191 are not present in M.

- D begins the line with *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is* + *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit* + *n. ponder* where all of the other MSS have *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nis* + *adj. no* + *n. (OE seldic) sellich* (T) or variants thereof. The meaning is retained in D with the rhetorical question serving the same purpose as the negative statement.
- D includes the *cj. ne* at the beginning of the second half-line where all the other MSS (except J: cf. note below) have the *cj. 7*.
- T and D agree on the *cj. þeih/þağh* which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The reading in J is different from all the other MSS in the second half-line where it reads *he mawe wunýe eþe*. which appears to be a strange choice of words in relation to the *wo* described in the first part of the line.

Ω191

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 184. | Ne sal nafre eft crist þolien deað for lesen hem of deaðe. |
| Lambeth | 180. | Ne scal neure eft crist þolie deþ for lesen hom of deape. |
| Digby | 176. | ne þoleð neure eft drihten ded to lesen hi of deade |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 180. | sceal neure crist ðolie dieð. for lese heom of dieðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 184. | nele neuerit crist þolie deð. for lesen heom of dieþe |
| Jesus | 182. | Nul neuer eft crist þolye deþ. to lesen heom of deþe. |

Lines Ω190 and Ω191 are not present in M.

- T, L and D agree on the *neg. adv.* **ne** at the beginning of the line where E¹ and J have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **nele/nul**, and where neither of these readings are present in E².
- T, L and E² include the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sal/scal/sceal** where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The *adv.* **eft** is not present in E² and E¹, where it is found in all of the other MSS.
- In D the *v. þoleð* is the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* and is found earlier in the line than in the other MSS where it takes the *inf.* form of the *v.* in **þolien** (T), or a variant thereof.
- D writes the *n.* **drihten** where all of the other MSS have the *n.* **crist**.
- The *inf. mark.*, preceding the *inf. v.* **lesen/lese**, is **for** in L, T, E² and E¹ but it is **to** in D and J.

Ω192

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 185. | Ænes drihten helle brac his frend he ut brohte |
| Lambeth | 181. | Enes drihten helle brec his frond he ut brochte. |
| Digby | 177. | Ones drihten helle brec 7 his frend hut brohte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 181. | Enes drihte helle brec. his frund he ut brohte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 185. | Enes drihte helle brac. his frend he ut broutte |
| Jesus | 183. | Enes drihte helle brek. his freond he vt brouhte. |
| McClean | 171. | Enes ure loured helle brac his frend he ut brozte |

- M writes the *pron. poss. 1st pl.* **ure** + *n.* **loured** where all the other MSS write the *n.* **drihten/drihte**.
- D includes the *cj.* **7**, at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** in the second half-line is present in all MSS except D.

Ω193

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 186. | Him self he þolede deað for hem pel diere he hes bohte. |
| Lambeth | 182. | him solf he þolede deð for him. pel dore he hom bohte. |
| Digby | 178. | him self þolede deð for ham pel diere he hi bohte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 182. | him sulf he þolede dieð for heom. pel deore he us bohte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 186. | him self he þolede dieð for hom. pel dore he us bouhte |
| Jesus | 184. | him seolue he þolede deþ for vs. wel deore he vs abouhte. |
| McClean | 172. | Himself he þolede deþ for us pel dere he us bozte |

- The *pron. 3rd sg.* **he**, in the first half-line, is present in all the MSS except D.
- J and M agree on the *pron. 1st pl.* **vs/us** where it is the *pron. 3rd pl.* **hem** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- T, L and D agree on the use of the *pron. 3rd pl.* **hes/hom/hi** in the second half-line where all of the other MSS have the *pron. 1st pl.* **us/vs**.

Ω194

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 187. | Nolde hit moġe don for mai ne suster broðer |
| Lambeth | 183. | Nalde hit mei do for mei. ne suster for broðer. |
| Digby | 179. | Nolde hit moġe do vor meie Ne suster vor broþer |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 183. | Nolde hit maġhe do for mei. ne suster for broðer |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 187. | Nolde it moupe don for meÿ. ne suster for broþer |
| Jesus | 185. | Nolde hit nomon do for me. ne suster for broþer. |
| McClean | 173. | Nolde hit fader do for þe sune ne suster uor þe broþer |

- There is variation between the texts in the first half-line with significant variation in J and M.
- The *n.s* **moġe** and **mai** in T should be translated as a 'female relative', 'cousin (female)' or 'kinswoman' and a 'male relative', 'cousin (male)' or 'kinsman'. Considering the second half of the line, 'kinswoman' and 'kinsman' might better serve the meaning. D, E² and E¹ have the same reading; L, however has a reading that should be translated as 'kinsman' or 'male relative/cousin' in both instances as the male form of the word is repeated.
- The readings are different in both the J and M: J writes **nomon do for me** and M writes **fader do for þe sune**. Both of these readings, or variant forms of, are found in the following line of the other MSS – suggesting that there might have been some confusion, especially in the case of M, between the two lines.
- The *prep.* **for** is written between the *n.s* in the second half-line of all the MSS, except T.
- M writes the *def. art.* **þe** before the *n.* **broþer** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω195

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 188. | Nolde sune don for fader ne no man for oðer. |
| Lambeth | 184. | nalde hit sune do for fader. ne na mon for oðer. |
| Digby | 180. | nolde hit sune do vor vader ne no man vor oþer. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 184. | nolde hit sune do for feder. naman for oðer |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 188. | nolde it sune don for fader. ne noman for oþer |
| Jesus | 186. | Nolde hit sone do for vader. ne nomon for oþer. |
| McClean | 174. | Ne hit moze uor þe mei ne noman uor oþer |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ne** where all the other MSS have the *v. pa. 3^d sg.* **nolde**.
- The *pron. 3^d sg.* **hit** is present in all of the MSS, except T.
- M differs from the other MSS in the first half-line by writing **moze uor þe mei**, a reading which is almost identical to that which was written by the other MSS in the previous line (cf. notes to line Ω194).
- The *cj.* **ne** found in all of the other MSS at the beginning of the second half-line is not present in E².

Ω196

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 189. | Vre alre louerd for his þralles ipined he pas a rode |
| Lambeth | 185. | vre alre lauerd for his þrelles ipined pes a rode. |
| Digby | 181. | Vre louerd vor his piales ipines pes on þo rode |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 185. | Vre ealre hlauerd for his ðreles. ipined pes a rode |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 189. | Ure lauerd for his þreles. ipined pas on rode |
| Jesus | 187. | Vre alre louerd for vs þrelles. ipýned wes on rode. |
| McClean | 177. | Vre loured uor his þreles ipined pas on þe rode |

These lines in M (Ω196 and Ω197) occur in the MS after those at Ω198 and Ω199 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D, E¹ and M omit the *pl. adj.* **alre/ealre** where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- J writes the *pron. f^l pl.* **vs** where all of the other MSS have the *pron. 3^d sg. poss.* **his**.
- D writes the *n. pl.* **piales** where it is the *n. pl.* **þralles** (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- D writes **ipines** for the *v. pp.* **ipined**.
- T includes the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D and M agree on the inclusion of the *def. art.* **þo/þe** preceding **rode** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω197

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 190. | Ure bendes he unbond 7 bohte us mid his blode. |
| Lambeth | 186. | vre bendes he unbon 7 bohte us mid his blode. |
| Digby | 182. | vre bendes he vnband he bohte us mid his blode. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 186. | ure bendes he unband. 7 bohte us mid his blode |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 190. | ure bends he unbond. 7 bouht us mid his blode |
| Jesus | 188. | Vre bendes he vnbond. 7 bouhte vs mȳd his blode. |
| McClean | 178. | Vre bendes he unbond 7 boȝte us mid his blode |

These lines in M (Ω196 and Ω197) occur in the MS after those at Ω198 and Ω199 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D writes the *pron. 3^d sg. he* where all of the other MSS write the *cj. 7*.

Ω198

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 191. | ƿe ȝieueð uneaðe for his luue a steche of ure breade |
| Lambeth | 187. | pe ȝeueð uneðe for his luue a stuche of ure brede. |
| Digby | 183. | ƿe ȝeueð unneaðe uor his loue a stecche of ure breade |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 187. | ƿe ȝieueð uneðe fo his luue. a sticche of vre briede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 191. | ƿe ȝieueð vneƿe for his luue asticche of vre brede |
| Jesus | 189. | And we ȝeueþ vnneþe. a stucche of vre brede. |
| McClean | 175. | Vnneþe pe ȝeueþ for his loue a stecche of ure brede |

These lines in M (Ω198 and Ω199) occur in the MS before those at Ω196 and Ω197 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- J begins the line with the *cj. and* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *word-order vnneþe pe ȝeueþ* in the first half-line of M is different to all of the other MSS.
- The phrase **for his luue** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS, is not present in J.
- E² writes **fo** (sic) for the *prep. for*.

Ω199

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 192. | Ne þenche pe naht þar þat sal deme þa quica 7 þe deade. |
| Lambeth | 188. | Ne þen ke pe noht þet he scal deme þa quike 7 þa dede. |
| Digby | 184. | ne þenche pe naht þet he sel demen quike 7 deade. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 188. | ne ðenche pe naht þet he sceal deme quike 7 diede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 192. | ne þenche pe nout þat he scal deme þo quike 7 to dede |
| Jesus | 190. | we ne þencheþ nouht þat he schal deme. þe quȳke 7 ek þe dede. |
| McClean | 176. | Lite pe þencheþ þat he scal deme þe quikepe 7 þe dede |

These lines in M (Ω198 and Ω199) occur in the MS before those at Ω196 and Ω197 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins the line with the *adv. lite*, a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS, where all the other MSS have the *neg. ne*.
- The *pron. 1st pl. we* is found before the *v. þencheþ* in both J and M where it is situated after the *v.* in all the other MSS and as a result **þ** is dropped before **w/p**.
- The *neg. naht* (T), or a variant thereof, is found in the first half-line of all the MSS, except M.
- T includes the *adv. þar* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pron. 3^d sg. he* is present in all of the MSS except T.
- M writes **quikepe** (sic).
- J writes the *adv. ek* in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pl. def. art. þe/þa* is present in all MSS before **quica** (T), or a variant thereof, and before **deade** (T), or a variant thereof, except for D and E².

Ω200

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 193. | Muchel luue he us kedde polde pe hit understonde. |
| Lambeth | 189. | mulchele luue he us cudde. palde pe hit understonde |
| Digby | 185. | Muchel loue he kedde us polde pe hit unstonde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 189. | Muchele luue he us cudde. polde pe þet understande |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 193. | Muchele luue he us cudde. polde pe it understonde |
| Jesus | 191. | Muchel luue he vs cudde. wolde we hit vnderstonde. |
| McClean | 179. | Muchel he dude for ure loue zef pe hit polde understonde |

- The reading in the first half-line of M is different from all the other MSS. The *n. loue* in M refers to humanity's devotion as a result of God's actions, whereas in the other MSS the *n.* refers to the **luue** (T) that God has shown humanity.
- E² writes the *dem. pron.* **þet** where all the other MSS have the *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit/it**.

Ω201

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 194. | þat ure elderne misduden pe habeð euel an honde. |
| Lambeth | 190. | þet ure eldre misduden ꝥ pe habbeð uuele on honde. |
| Digby | 186. | þet ure eldren misdeden harde pe habbeð on honde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 190. | þet ure ældrene mis dude. pe habbet uuel en hande |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 194. | þat vre eldrene mis duden pe habbet vuele an honde |
| Jesus | 192. | þat vre elderne mȳs duden. we habbeþ harde on honde |
| McClean | 180. | Ac þat þe ure eldringes misdede pe hit habbeþ pel harde on honde |

Line Ω201 in M is followed in the MS by the couplet now found at Ω212 and Ω213 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **ac**, a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes **þat þe**, the *dem. pron.* acting as *pron. antecedent* to the *rel.* In all the other MSS **þat/þet**, which begins the line, is a *cj.*
- The *word-order* in the second half-line is different in D where the *n. harde* precedes the *v. habbeð*; the *v.* precedes the *n.* in all of the other MSS, although there is some variation as to what the *n.* is (cf. following note).
- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *n. euel* (T) or a variant thereof, where the other MSS (D, J and M) have the *n. harde*.
- In the second half-line M has the *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit** and the *adv.* **pel** where neither of these readings are present in any of the other MSS.
- E² mistakenly writes **en** for *prep.* **on**.

Ω202

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 195. | Deað cam in þis middenærd þurh ealde deueles onde |
| Lambeth | 191. | Deþ com in þis middenerde þurh þes doules honde. |
| Digby | 187. | Deað com on þis midelard þurð þes defles onde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 191. | Dieð com on þis middeleard. ðurh þe ealde deofles ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 195. | Dieð com in þis middenerd. þurh þe ealde deofles onde. |
| Jesus | 193. | Deþ com i þis Middelerd. þurh þe deofles onde. |
| McClean | 183. | Deþ com in þis midelerd þurȝ þes deueles onde |

- The *def. art.* **þe/þes** is present in the second half-line of all the MSS except T.
- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **ealde**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω203

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 196. | 7 senne 7 sorege 7 ispinch apatere 7 londe. |
| Lambeth | 192. | 7 sake 7 sorge 7 spinc a patere 7 a londe. |
| Digby | 188. | 7 senne 7 sorge 7 ispinch on se 7 on londe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 192. | 7 sunne. 7 sorge. 7 ispinch. apetere 7 alande |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 196. | 7 sȳnne 7 sorge 7 ge spinch. a patere 7 ec alonde |
| Jesus | 194. | 7 sunne. 7 sorewe. 7 muchel swȳnk. a water. 7 a londe. |
| McClean | 184. | Sunne 7 soreze 7 in suinch a patere 7 a londe |

- All of the MSS begin the line with the *cj.* 7 except for M.
- L writes the *n. sake* where all the other MSS have the *n. senne* (T) or a variant thereof.
- M includes the *prep. in* before the *n. suinch*, where it is not found in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *adj. muchel* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D has the *n. se* where it is the *n. patere/water* in all of the other MSS.
- E¹ includes the *adv. ec* in the second half-line, where it is not found in any of the other MSS.

Ω204

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 197. | Vre foremes faderes gult pe abugeð alle |
| Lambeth | 193. | vre forme fader gult. pe abulgeð alle. |
| Digby | 189. | Vres uormes uader gelt pe abeggeð alle. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 193. | Vres formes federes gult. pe abigget alle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 197. | Vres formes faderes gult. pe abigget alle |
| Jesus | 195. | Vre forme faderes gult. we abuggeþ alle. |

Lines Ω204 and Ω205 are not present in M.

Ω205

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 198. | Al his ofsprung after him in harem is biualle |
| Digby | 190. | 7 his ospring efer him on harme bieð biualle. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 194. | eal his of sprung efter him. en hearne is bi fealle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 198. | al his of sprung after hȳm in herme is bi falle |
| Jesus | 196. | Al his ofsprung after him. in harme is ifalle. |

Lines Ω204 and Ω205 are not present in M.

Line Ω205 is not present in L.

- D begins the line with the *cj.* 7 where it is the *adj. al/eal* in all the other MSS.
- D writes *efer* for *etter*.
- D writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. bieð* where all of the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is*.
- J writes the *v. pp. ifalle* where the other MSS have the *v. pp. biualle* (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω206

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 199. | Þurst 7 hunger. chele 7 hete 7 alle unhalðe. |
| Lambeth | 194. | þurst 7 hunger. chele 7 hete. helde 7 unhelðe. |
| Digby | 191. | Huger 7 þurst hete 7 chele ecðe 7 al unhelðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 195. | þurst. 7 hunger chule. 7 hete. eche. 7 eal unhelðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 199. | Þurst. 7 hunger. chule. 7 hete. eche. 7 al unelþe |
| Jesus | 197. | Þurst and hunger. chele. and hete. ache and vnhelþe |
| McClean | 185. | Þurst 7 hunger. chele. 7 hete. eche. 7 unhelþe |

- D writes **huger** for **hunger**.
- The *word-order* of the listed *n.s* is different in D from all the other MSS.
- E², E¹, J and M agree on the *n. ache* in the second half-line; L has the *n. (OE ield) helde*; D has the *n. ecðe* (this is probably from the OE *gicða*) and T does not have any of these readings.
- The *adj. alle/al/eal*, present in most MSS, is not present in L, J and M.

Ω207

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 200. | Þurh deað cam in þis middeneard 7 oðer unisalðe. |
| Lambeth | 195. | þurh him deð com in þis midde nerd 7 oðer uniselðe. |
| Digby | 192. | þurh deað com on þis midelard 7 oþer vniselðe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 196. | ðurh dieð com in ðis middeneard. 7 oðer uniselðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 200. | þurh dieð com in þis middenerd. 7 oþer vnisalþe |
| Jesus | 198. | þurh him com in þis mýddelerd. 7 oþe vnýselyþe. |
| McClean | 186. | Þurȝ deþ com in þis midelerd 7 manie oþre unselþe |

- L and J include the *pron. 3rd sg. him* where it is not present in the other MSS. L probably has the clearest meaning through this inclusion; **him** is a reference to Adam.
- The *n. (OE ðeap) deað* (T) or a variant thereof, is not present in J, where it is found in all of the other MSS. As a result, the line in J loses some clarity of meaning.
- M includes the *pl. adj. manie* in the second half-line – a reading unique to this MS.

Ω208

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 201. | Nare noman elles dead ne sic ne unsele |
| Lambeth | 198. | Nere namon elles ded ne sec ne nan unsele. |
| Digby | 193. | Nere no man elles dead ne siec ne vnvele |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 197. | Nere man elles died. ne sic. ne nan un sele |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 201. | Niere no man elles died. ne sic. ne non vn ýsele |
| Jesus | 199. | Nere nomon elles ded ne sek. ne non vnhele. |
| McClean | 187. | Elles nere noman died ne sike ne unsele |

- The *word-order* in M is different from all the other MSS in the first half-line – the meaning, however, is retained.
- E² omits the *adj. no* in the *n. noman* (T).
- M omits the *adv. elles* found in all the other MSS.
- The *pron. nan/non* is not found in T, D and M where it is present in all the other MSS.
- All of the texts conclude the line with variants of the *adj. (OE unsælp) unsele* (T), except for D which writes (OE *unfæle*) **vnvele** and J which writes (OE *unhælu*) **vnhele**.

Ω209

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 202. | Ac mihte libbe afremo a blisse 7 an hale. |
| Lambeth | 197. | ac mihten lib ben eure ma a blisse 7 a hele. |
| Digby | 194. | ac mihte libben euer mo on blisce 7 on hele. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 198. | ac mihten libben æure ma. a blisse 7 on hele |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 202. | ac mihten libbe eure mo a blisse 7 on hele |
| Jesus | 200. | Ah mȳhten libben euer mo. mȳd blȳsse and mȳd wele. |
| McClean | 188. | Ac mizte libbe euermore in blisse 7 in hele |

- J writes the *prep.* **mȳd** where all the other MSS have **a/on/in** (*Mod. E in*).
 - J has the *n.* (*OE wela*) **wele** where all the other MSS write the *n.* (*OE hælu*) **hale/hele**
-

Ω210

| | | |
|---------|------|---|
| Trinity | 203. | Litel lac is gode lief þe cumeð of gode pille |
|---------|------|---|

This line in Trinity repeats that found at Ω74. I have reprinted all the MSS of this line below for comparison. Trinity is the only MS which repeats this line.

Ω74

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|--|
| <i>Trinity</i> | <i>73.</i> | <i>Litel loc is gode lef þe cumeð of gode pille</i> |
| <i>Lambeth</i> | <i>73.</i> | <i>lu/tel lac is gode lof : 7 þet kumeð of gode pille.</i> |
| <i>Digby</i> | <i>69.</i> | <i>Litel loc is gode lief / þet cumð of gode ipille</i> |
| <i>Eg. 64r-70v</i> | <i>73.</i> | <i>Lite lac is gode leof. ðe cumeð of gode ipille</i> |
| <i>Eg. 7r-12v</i> | <i>73.</i> | <i>Lutel loc is gode lef þat comeð of gode pille</i> |
| <i>Jesus</i> | <i>72.</i> | <i>Lvtel lok is gode leof. þat cumeþ of gode wille.</i> |
| <i>McClean</i> | <i>67.</i> | <i>Litel loc is gode lef þat cumþ of gode pille</i> |

Ω211

| | | |
|---------|------|---|
| Trinity | 204. | 7 eðlate muchel gieue þan his herte is ille |
|---------|------|---|

This line in Trinity repeats that found at Ω75. I have reprinted all the MSS of this line below for comparison. Trinity is the only MS which repeats this line.

Ω75

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|--|
| <i>Trinity</i> | <i>74.</i> | <i>7 eðlate muchel gieue þan his herte is ille.</i> |
| <i>Lambeth</i> | <i>74.</i> | <i>7 eclelte muchel geue of þan þe herte is ille.</i> |
| <i>Digby</i> | <i>70.</i> | <i>7 eðlete mutchel iȝeue / þanne si hierte is ille.</i> |
| <i>Eg. 64r-70v</i> | <i>74.</i> | <i>7 eð lete muchel giue ðenne ðe heorte is ille</i> |
| <i>Eg. 7r-12v</i> | <i>74.</i> | <i>7 eð lete muchel ȝȳue ðenne ðe heorte is ille</i> |
| <i>Jesus</i> | <i>73.</i> | <i>7 lutel he let on muchel wowe. þer þe heorte is ille.</i> |
| <i>McClean</i> | <i>68.</i> | <i>7 zeþ lete muchel zeue of him þat his herte is ille</i> |

Ω212

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 205. | Litel hit þunched maniman ac muchel pas þe senne |
| Lambeth | 198. | lutel hit þuncheð moni mon. ac muchel pes þa sunne. |
| Digby | 195. | Litel hit þenched manie men al muchel pes si senne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 199. | Lutel iðencð mani man. hu muchel pes þe sunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 203. | Lutel iþenchð mani man hu muchel pes þe sýnne |
| Jesus | 201. | Lutel hit þincheþ monýmon. ah muchel wes þe sunne. |
| McClean | 181. | 7 lite þencheþ ani man hu lite pas þe sunne |

These lines in M (Ω212 and Ω213) occur in the MS after those at Ω200 and Ω201 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There are several variations that are unique only to M in this line: M begins with the *cj.* 7 where it is not present in any of the other MSS; M writes the *n.* **ani+man** where all the other texts have the *n.* **maniman** (T), or a variant thereof; M writes the *adv.* **lite**, in the second half-line, where it is the *adj.* **muchel** in all of the other MSS: this final example gives a very different and doubtful interpretation especially when compared to the others.
- The *pron.* 3^d *sg.* (*inan.*) **hit** is not found in either of E² and E¹, where it is present in the other MSS (except for M which has considerable variation in this line; cf. previous note).
- T, L and J agree on the *cj.* **ac/ah**, at the beginning of the second half-line; both E², E¹ and M write the *adv.* **hu** and D writes the *adv.* **al** – a reading unique to this MS.

Ω213

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 206. | For hpan alle þolieð deað þe comen of here kenne |
| Lambeth | 199. | for hþam all þolieð deð þe comen of hore cunne. |
| Digby | 196. | vor hþi þolieð alle dead þet comen of þo kenne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 200. | for hþan ealle ðolieð dieð. þe comen of þe cunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 204. | for þan þolieð alle died þe comen of here cunne |
| Jesus | 202. | for whon alle þolieþ deþ. þat comen of heore kunne. |
| McClean | 182. | Þur3 phan pe þolieþ alle deþ þe come of adammes kunne |

These lines in M (Ω212 and Ω213) occur in the MS after those at Ω200 and Ω201 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins the line with the *prep.* **þur3** where all other text have the *prep.* **for/vor**.
- M inserts the *pron.* 1st *pl.* **þe** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- There is some variation between the MSS in the *word-order* of the *pl. adj.* **alle** (T) and the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **þolieð** (T), or variants thereof.
- D and E² agree on the *def. art.* **þo/þe** in the second half-line; M writes **adammes**, a reading unique to this MS, and all other MSS have the *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **here** (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω214

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 207. | Here senne 7 ec ure oȝen us muge sore of þunche |
| Lambeth | 200. | Hore sunne 7 ec ure aȝen sare us mei of þinche. |
| Digby | 197. | Here senne 7 ec vre sore us mai ofþenche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 201. | Heore sunne 7 ure aȝen sare us mei of ðinche. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 205. | Here sýnne 7 ec vre open. sore us mai of þinche |
| Jesus | 203. | Vre sunne and vre sor. vs may sore of þunche. |

Lines Ω214 and Ω215 are not present M.

- J begins the line with the *pron.* 1st *pl.* **vre** where it is the *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **here/hore/heore** in all the other MSS.
- The *adv.* **ec**, in the first half-line, is not found in E² and J, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *n.* **sor** at the conclusion of the first half-line where all of the other texts have the *adj.* **oȝen** (T) or a variant thereof, except for D which does not include the *adj.* but maintains the same meaning.
- T writes the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **muge** where all of the other MSS use the *sg.* form in **mei/mai/may**.

Ω215

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 208. | For senne pe libeð alle her in sorege 7 in spunche. |
| Lambeth | 201. | þurh sunne pe libbeð alle in sorȝe 7 in spinke. |
| Digby | 198. | for senne pe alle hier in sorȝe bieð 7 in spinche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 202. | for sunne pe libbeð alle her. a sorȝen 7 a spinche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 206. | for in sȳnne pe libbet alle in sorepen 7 in spinche |
| Jesus | 204. | In sunnen we libbeþ alle. 7 seorewe. and in swȳnke. |

Lines Ω214 and Ω215 are not present M.

- L begins the line with the *prep.* **þurh**, a reading found in no other MSS, where T, D, E² and E¹ begin with the *prep.* **for**; J begins the line with the *prep.* **in**, with which E¹ agrees but has as the second word in the line of that text – this reading appears in no other MSS. The use of the *prep.* **in** in J alters the meaning to a factual statement of condition, where the other texts suggest that the later states exist because of our sin. J varies from the other MSS later in the line when it writes **7** where all the others write **in/a** – this again suggests a list of conditions rather than the development of an argument that one state is caused by another.
 - D not only has a considerably different *word-order* to the other MSS but also writes the *v. pr. ind. 1st pl.* **bieð** where it is the *v. pr. ind. 1st pl.* **libeð** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. Neither the *word-order* nor the different vocabulary seriously affects the meaning of the line.
 - T, D and E² agree on the *adv.* **her/hier** which does not occur in the other MSS.
-

Ω216

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 209. | Seðen god nam spo mukel prache for one misdede |
| Lambeth | 202. | Suððen God nom spa muchele prake for are misdede ✓ |
| Digby | 199. | Seðe God spo muchele preche dede vor one misdede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 203. | Siððe god nam sa michele preche for ane misdede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 207. | Suðþe god nam spa muchele preche for ane misdede |
| Jesus | 205. | hwenne god nom so muche wreche. for one mȳsdede. |
| McClean | 191. | 7 supþe god dude so muchel preche uor ore misdede |

These lines in M (Ω216 and Ω217) occur in the MS after those at Ω218 and Ω219 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **7** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
 - J writes the *cj.* **hwenne** where all the other MSS have the *cj.* **seðen** (T) or a variant thereof.
 - All MSS write the *v. pa. 3rd sg.* (OE *niman*) **nam/nom** except for D and M which agree on the *v. pa. 3rd sg.* **dede/dude** (the *word-order* in D is different from all the other MSS).
-

Ω217

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 210. | pe þe spo ofte misdoð pe muġen us eaðe ofdrade. |
| Lambeth | 203. | pe þe spa muchele 7 spa ofte mis doð. pe muġen eðe us adrede. |
| Digby | 200. | pe þet gelteð ofte 7 muchel hpat sal us to rede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 204. | pe þe spa muchel 7 oft mis doð. muġen us eaðe adrede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 208. | pe þat so muchel 7 spa oft mis doð muġen vs sore adrede |
| Jesus | 206. | we þat ofte mȳs doþ. we mowen vs sore adrede. |
| McClean | 192. | pe þat so ylome 7 ofte agulteþ her pel sore pe maie a drede |

These lines in M (Ω216 and Ω217) occur in the MS after those at Ω218 and Ω219 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There is considerable variation between the MSS in this line.
- L and E² have a similar reading in this line. L repeats the *adv.* **spa** in the first half-line and the *pron.* *I^t pl.* **pe** in the second half line, which are not present in E².
- E¹ is similar to L and E² except that it writes the *adv.* **sore**, in the second half-line, where the other two texts have the *adv.* (OE *ēaþe*) **eðe/eaðe**.
- T agrees with L and E² but does not write the *adv.* **spa** + *adv.* **muchele** + *cj.* 7 (L), or a variant thereof, in the first half-line.
- J agrees with T but writes the *adv.* **sore**, in the second half-line, where T, like L and E², have the *adv.* (OE *ēaþe*) **eaðe** (T), or a variant thereof.
- D and M agree on the *v. pr. ind. I^t pl.* **gelteð/agulteþ** where it is **misdoð** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS, but M writes the *adv.* (OE *gelōme*) where D, in agreement with L, E² and E¹, has the *adv.* **muchel**.
- M includes the *adv.* **her** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The second half-line is different in D from any of the other MSS and reads: *pron.* **hpat** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sal** + *pron. I^t pl.* **us** + *prep. to* + *n.* (OE *ræd*) **rede**. The most accurate translation for **rede**, in this context, is 'gain' or 'profit'. The meaning, although it is still one of hopelessness and fear, is very different from that of the other MSS.

Ω218

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 211. | Adam 7 al his ofsprenġ for one bare senne. |
| Lambeth | 204. | Adam and his of sprung for are þare sunne. |
| Digby | 201. | Adam 7 his ofsprenġ al vor one bare senne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 205. | Adam 7 his of spring. for ane bare sunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 209. | Adam 7 his of spring for one bare sunne |
| Jesus | 207. | Adam 7 his ofsprung. for ore bare sunne. |
| McClean | 189. | Adam 7 his ofsprenġ uor ore bare sunne |

These lines in M (Ω218 and Ω219) occur in the MS after those at Ω208 and Ω209 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T writes the *adj.* **al**, in the first half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D begins the second half-line with the *adj.* **al** – a reading unique to this MS.
- L mistakenly writes **þare** for the *adj.* **bare**.

Ω219

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 212. | ƿas fele hundred pintre an helle a pine 7 unpenne. |
| Lambeth | 205. | pes fele undret pintre an hellle pine 7 an unpunne. |
| Digby | 202. | peren vele hundred ƿer on helle 7 on unpenne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 206. | pes fele hundred pintre. an helle pine. 7 a unpunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 210. | pas fele hundred pintre in helle in pine 7 in vnpunne |
| Jesus | 208. | weren feole hundred wýnter in pyne. 7 on vnwunne. |
| McClean | 190. | ƿere uele hundred pintre in helle pine 7 in unpenne |

These lines in M (Ω218 and Ω219) occur in the MS after those at Ω208 and Ω209 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D, J and M begin the line with the *v. pa. 3^d pl.* **peren/weren/ƿere**, where all the other MSS have the *v. pa. 3^d sg.* **pas/pes**.
- D writes the *pl. n.* **ƿer** where all of the other MSS have the *pl. n.* **pintre/wýnter** (the meaning is the same).
- The *prep. an* + *n.* **helle**, in the second half-line, is not present in J.
- T, E¹ and J include the *prep. a/in* before the *n.* **pine/pyne**.
- The *n.* **pine/pyne**, in the second half-line, is not present in D.
- The *prep. an/on/a/in* before the *n.* **unpunne** (L), or a variant thereof, is not present in T, where it is found in all of the other MSS

Ω220

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 213. | ƿo ƿe ladeð here lif mid unrihte 7 mid pronge |
| Lambeth | 206. | ƿa ƿe ledden hore lif mid unriht 7 mid prange. |
| Digby | 203. | ƿo ƿet ledeð here lif mid unrihte 7 mid pronge |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 207. | And ƿa ðe ledeð heore lif. mid un riht 7 prange |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 211. | And ƿo ƿe leded here lif mid vnriht 7 mid pronge |
| Jesus | 209. | And ƿeo ƿat ledeþ heore lif. mýd vnriht 7 mýd wronge. |
| McClean | 193. | 7 ƿe ƿat ledeþ hare lif mid ƿerre 7 mid ýpronge |

- J, M, E² and E¹ agree on the *cj.* **And/7** at the beginning of the line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- L uses the *pa.* form of the *v. 3^d pl.* **ledde** where all of the other MSS use the *pr.* form in **ladeð** (T) or a variant thereof.
- M has the *n.* (OE *wyrre*) **ƿerre**, where it is the *n.* **unrihte** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω221

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 214. | Bute hit godes milce do hie sulle ƿunie ƿar longe. |
| Lambeth | 207. | buten hit godes milce do ho sculen bon ƿer ƿel longe. |
| Digby | 204. | bute hit godes milce do hi sulle bi ƿer ƿel longe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 208. | buten hit godes milce do scule beo ðer ƿel lange |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 212. | bute it godes milce do sculle beo ƿer ƿel longe |
| Jesus | 210. | Bute hit godes mýlce beo. he beoþ ƿar wel longe. |
| McClean | 194. | Bute hit godes milse do hi sculle beo ƿar ƿel longe |

- J writes the *v. sbj. pr. 3^d sg.* **beo** where all the other MSS have the *v. sbj. pr. 3^d sg.* **do**.
- The *pron. 3^d pl.* **hie** is not present in E² and E¹, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- The *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sulle** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS, is not present in J.
- J includes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **beoþ** (cf. note above), where all other texts except T (cf. note below) have the *inf.* form of the *v.* in **bon/bi/beo**.
- T writes the *v. inf.* (OE *ƿunian*) **ƿunie** in place of the example from the previous line.
- The *adv.* **ƿel/wel**, present in all the other MSS before the *adv.* **longe**, is not present in T.

Ω222

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 215. | Godes pisdom is pel mulchel 7 alsse is his mihte |
| Lambeth | 208. | Godes pisdom is pel muchel 7 alspe is his mihte |
| Digby | 205. | Godes milce is spo muchel 7 al spo is his mihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 209. | Godes pisdom is pel muchel. 7 eal spa is his mihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 213. | Godes pisdom is pel muchel. 7 al spa is his mihte |
| Jesus | 211. | Godes wisdom is wel muchel. 7 al so is his mýhte. |
| McClean | 195. | Godes pisdom is pel muchel 7 so beþ his mizte. |

- D writes the *n.* **milce** where all the other MSS write the *n.* **pisdom/wisdom**.
- D writes the *adv.* **spo** where all the other MSS write the *adv.* **pel**.
- M writes the *adv.* **so** where it is *adv.* **alsse** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d **sg.** **beþ** where it is the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d **sg.** **is** in all the other MSS.

Ω223

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 216. | Ac nis his mihte nopiht lasse ac bi ðer ilke pihte. |
| Lambeth | 209. | 7 nis his milce naut lesse. ac bi þan ilke ipichte. |
| Digby | 206. | nis him no þing litlende ac bi emliche pihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 210. | 7 nis his milce naphiht lesse. ac bi ðes ilke pihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 214. | 7 nis his milce naphiht lasse. ac bi ðes ilke pihte |
| Jesus | 212. | Nis his mýlce nowiht lasse. ah al bý one wýhte. |
| McClean | 196. | Nis his mizte no lasse þane pas þo bi þan ilke pizte |

- L, E² and E¹ begin the line with the *cj.* 7. T writes the *cj.* **ac** whilst neither of these readings is present in the other MSS.
- D writes the *pron.* 3^d **sg.** (as the *ind. obj.*) **him** where it is the *poss.* form in **his** in all the other MSS.
- T and M agree on the *n.* **mihthe/mizte**; L, J, E² and E¹ agree on the *n.* **milce/mýlce**; D has a different reading from all the other MSS, as elsewhere in this line, and writes the *n.* **no-þing** (giving a more encompassing idea of God and not specifying particular attributes).
- The *v.* **litlende** is functioning as an *adj.* in D and provides a variant reading to all the other MSS which have combinations of the *neg. adv.* **nopiht** (T), or a variant thereof (**naut** in L and the *adv.* **no** in M), with the *adj.* **lasse/lesse**.
- M writes the *cj.* **þane** where all the other MSS have the *cj.* **ac/ah**; the text then has the *v. pa.* 3^d **sg.** **pas** + *dem. pron.* **þo**: a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *adv.* **al**, a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pron.* (OE *ilca*) **ilke** is written in all texts apart from D which writes the *adj.* **emliche** and J which writes the *quant. card.* **one**.

Ω224

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 217. | More he one maig forgieue þan alle folc gulte kunne |
| Lambeth | 210. | Mare he ane mei for geuen. þen al folc gulte kunne. |
| Digby | 207. | He one mai more vorgeue þanne al uolc gelte kunne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 211. | Mare he ane mei for giuen. ðenne eal folc gulte kunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 215. | More he one mai for giuen. þenne alfolc gulte kunne |
| Jesus | 213. | More he one maý for yeue. þan al volc agulte kunne. |
| McClean | 197. | More he one mai uorzeue þane al uolk gulte kunne |

- The *word-order* is slightly different in the first line of D where the *adj.* **more** is written later later in the clause.

Ω225

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 218. | Self deuel mihte habben milce ȝief he hit bigunne. |
| Lambeth | 211. | Sulf douel mihte habben milce. ȝif he hit bigunne. |
| Digby | 208. | se deuel self mihte habbe milce ef he hit bigunne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 212. | deofel mihte habbe milce. ȝif he hit bigunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 216. | Deofel suelf mihte habbe milce. ȝif he it bidde gunne |
| Jesus | 214. | þeȝh seolf deouel mȝhte habbe mȝlce. If he hit bi gunne. |
| McClean | 198. | Pe selue deuel mizte habbe milse ȝef he hit hadde bigunne |

- There is significant variation in the *word-order* in the first half-line of all texts in line Ω225.
- D and M agree on the *def. art.* **se/ þe** at the beginning of the line where J writes the *cj.* **þeȝh**; neither of these readings is present in the other MSS.
- E¹ concludes the line with the *v. inf.* **bidde** + *v. sbj. pa. 3rd sg.* **gunne**, where all of the other texts write the *v. sbj. pa. 3rd sg.* **bigunne**

Ω226

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 219. | Þeþe godes milche secð ipis he mai hes finden |
| Lambeth | 212. | þa þe godes milce secheð ⁊ he ipis mei ha ifinden. |
| Digby | 209. | Hpo spo godes milce secð ipis he hi mai vinde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 213. | Þe ðe godes milce sechð. ipis he mei his finde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 217. | Þe ðe godes milce sechð. ipis he mai is finde |
| Jesus | 215. | Þe þat godes mȝlce sekþ. iwis he hit maȝ fynde. |
| McClean | 199. | Þe man þe godes milse isecþ ipis he hit scal finde |

- D begins the line with the *pron.* **hpo so**; M has the *def. art.* **þe** + *n.* **man** + *rel. pron.* **þe**; all of the other texts have the *art.* as a *pron* antecedent to the *rel.* ('he who') in **þeþe** (T), or a variant thereof.
- The *word-order* **he ipis**, in the second half-line of L, is the reverse of all of the other MSS.
- In the second half-line M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **scal** where all of the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **mai/mei/maȝ**.
- The *word-order* **hit maȝ**, in the second half-line of J, is the reverse of all of the other MSS (M has **scal** for **maȝ**: see previous note)

Ω227

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 220. | Ac helle king is oreleas pið þo þe he mai binden. |
| Lambeth | 213. | Ac helle king is areles pith þa þe he mai binden. |
| Digby | 210. | ac helle king is spiþe hard pið þo þet he mai binde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 214. | ac helle king is arelies. pið ða þe he mei binde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 218. | ac helle king is oreles. pið þa þe he mai binde |
| Jesus | 216. | Ah helle kȝng. is ore les. wiþ þon þat he maȝ bȝnde. |
| McClean | 200. | Ac helle king is oreles piþ þan þat he mai binde |

- D writes *adv.* (OE *swiðe*) **spiþe** + *adj.* **hard** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* (OE *ārleās*) **oreleas** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω228

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 221. Se deð his pille mast he sal habbe perest mede |
| Lambeth | 214. þe þe deþ is pille mest ⁊ he haueð purst mede. |
| Digby | 211. Se þet eure deð his pille mest he sal him perse mede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 215. Ðe ðe deð his pille mest (he) haueð (perse) m(ede) |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 219. Ðe ðe deð his pille mest. he haueð purst mede |
| Jesus | 217. þe þat doþ his wille mest. he schal habbe wrst mede. |
| McClean | 201. Ðe þat deþ his pille best prst he haueþ mede |

This line in J is found in the MS after the one at Ω229 but has been transposed, as was the intention of the scribe, to reflect the correct order of the text. An ·a· in the margin preceding the text indicates that this line should be read first.

The line in Eg. 64r-70v has been squeezed into the right margin and has suffered from cropping (see diplomatic edition of the text). It has been reconstructed here.

- T writes the *rel. pron. se* ('he who') where this is formed in all the other MSS through the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel.* in **þe þe** (L) or variants thereof.
- D includes the *adv. eure* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes the *adv. best* where all the other MSS write the *adv. mast/mest*.
- T, D and J agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. sal/schal* where it is not present in the other MSS.
- T and J agree on the *v. inf. habbe* in conjunction with the *v. sal/schal* (cf. note above) where L, M, E² and E¹ have the *pr. ind. 3^d sg.* form in **haueð/haueþ**; D does not have either reading but includes the *pron. 3^d sg. him* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *word-order prst he haueþ* in the second half-line of M is different to all of the other MSS.

Ω229

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 222. His bað sal be pallinde pich his bed barnende glede. |
| Lambeth | 215. his baþ scal bon pallinde. his bað scab bon berninde glede. |
| Digby | 212. his behð sal bi pallinde pich. his bed berninde glede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 216. his bæð sceal beo peallende pich. his bed. burnende glede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 220. his beað scal beo pallinde pich. his bed berninde glede |
| Jesus | 218. His baþ schal beo wallýnde pich. his bed bernýnde glede. |
| McClean | 202. His baþ scal beo pallinde pich his bed berninde glede |

This line in J is found in the MS before the one at Ω228 but has been transposed, as was the intention of the scribe, to reflect the correct order of the text. A ·b· in the margin preceding the text indicates that this line should be read second.

- The *n. pich* is not present in the L; this appears to be a mistake by the scribe.
- L writes the *n. bað* where all the other MSS write the *n. bed*. This would appear, once again, to be a mistake by the scribe. Probably an eye-skip as the scribe repeats a section of the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS. The L scribe goes on to mistakenly write **scab** for the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. scal*; this and the *v. inf. bon* are not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω230

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 223. | Þerse he doð his gode pines þan his fiendes |
| Lambeth | 216. | Þurst he deþ his gode frond ⁊ þenne his fulle fond. |
| Digby | 213. | Þers he doð his gode pine þanne his loðe viende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 217. | Þurse he deð his gode pines. þenne his fulle feonde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 221. | Þurs he deð his gode pines. þene his fulle feonde |
| McClean | 203. | Þrst he deþ he deþ his godepines þane his fulle uende |

Lines Ω230 and Ω231 are not present in J.

- M repeats **he deþ** mistakenly (dittography).
- L writes the *n. pl.* **frond** where all the other MSS have the *n. pl.* (OE *wine*) **pines/pine**.
- T does not have the *pl. adj.* **fulle** (L) found in all the other MSS except D which has the *pl. adj.* **loðe**, as an alternative reading.

Ω231

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 224. | God silde alle godes friend pið spo euele friende. |
| Lambeth | 217. | God scilde alle godes frond. a pih spilche freonde. |
| Digby | 214. | isilde us eure drihte crist pið spiche loðe frende. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 218. | god sculde ealle godes frund. a pið spiche freonde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 222. | god sculde alle godes frend a piht scuche freonde |
| McClean | 204. | Iesu crist us isilde alle fram suiche euele frende |

Lines Ω230 and Ω231 are not present in J.

- There is considerable variation in D and M, including the *word-order*. However, the meaning of the line, a prayer to God to shield the audience from the devils found in hell, is maintained in all the MSS.
- T, L, E² and E¹ use the *n. god* where D writes **drihte crist** and M writes **iesu crist** in reference to the deity.
- T, L, E² and E¹ have the *poss. n. godes* + *pl. n. friend* (T), or a variant thereof, where both D and M write the *pron. 1st pl. us*.
- D includes the *adv. eure* in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- L, E² and E¹ include the *adv. a* before the *prep. pih/pið/piht*, where it is not found in any of the other MSS.
- All of the MSS agree on the *prep. pið/pih/piht* except for M which writes *prep. fram*.
- All MSS agree on the *pl. adj. spilche* (L), or a variant thereof, apart from T which writes the *adv. spo*.
- T and M agree on the *pl. adj. euele* preceding the *pl. n. friende/frende*; D has the *pl. adj. loðe*; the other MSS have neither reading.

Ω232

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 225. | Nafre an helle ine cam ne cumen ich þar ne reche |
| Lambeth | 218. | Neure in helle hi com. ne þer ne come reche. |
| Digby | 215. | Neure ich on helle ne com ne comen ic þer ne recche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 219. | Neure an helle ic ne com. ne cume ic ðer ne recche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 223. | Neure on helle ic ne com ne comen ic þer ne reche |
| Jesus | 143. | Neuer ich in helle ne com. ne þer to cume ne recche. |
| McClellan | 205. | Neuere in helle ich ne com ne neuere come ne recche |

These lines in J (Ω232 and Ω233) occur much earlier in the MS but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. See the note following Ω147

- There are many differences in the *word-order* between the MSS, which will not be highlighted individually, but none that affect the meaning of the line
- The *neg. adv. ne*, in the first half-line, is present in all the other MSS except L.
- The *pron. 1st sg. ich/ic*, in the second half-line, is not present in L, M and J, where it is written in the other MSS; this absence does not affect the reading as the subject is established in the first half-line.
- M writes the *adv. neuere* in the second half-line where it does not occur in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *inf. mark. to* before the *inf. v. cume* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω233

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 226. | Þeih ich aches poreldes pele þare mihte feche. |
| Lambeth | 219. | þach ich elches porldes pele. þer me mahte feche |
| Digby | 216. | þeh ich alle perldes pele þer inne pende vecche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 220. | ðeh ich æches poruld pele. ðer inne mihte fecche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 224. | ðeh ich elches purldes pele. þer inne mihte fecche |
| Jesus | 144. | þah ich al þes worldes weole. þer wende to vecche. |
| McClellan | 206. | Þaz ich al þes porldes pele þar inne pende uecche |

These lines in J (Ω232 and Ω233) occur much earlier in the MS but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. See the note following Ω147.

- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *poss. adj. aches* (T), or a variant thereof, where the other MSS have the *adj. alle/al*.
- J and M agree on the *poss. dem. adj. þes*, a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ agree in the second half-line where there is variation in all the other MSS.
- T agrees with E² and E¹ but without the *prep. inne* as part of the *adv. ph. þer inne* (E²).
- L, similarly, does not have the *prep. inne* writing instead the *reflex. pron. 1st sg. me*, a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- J does not have the *prep. inne* and writes the *v. pa. 1st sg. wende*, where the other MSS, apart from D and M (cf. note below), write the *v. pa. 1st sg. mihte* (T), or a variant thereof. J includes the *inf. mark. to* before the *inf. v. vecche*; the marker is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D and M agree with J on the *v. pa. 1st ag. pende* (cf. note above) but also include the *prep. inne* as part of the *adv. ph. þer inne* (D) absent from J but present in E² and E¹.

Ω234

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 227. Þeih ich pille seggen eop þat pise men us saden |
| Lambeth | 220. þet his pulle seggen on. þat pise men us seiden. |
| Digby | 217. Ich pille þeð siggen ȝeu þet pismen us sede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 221. Þeh ich pulle seggen eop. þet pise men us sede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 225. Þeh ic pulle seggen eop þet pise men us sede |
| Jesus | 219. Also ich hit telle as wýse men vs seýden. |
| McClean | 207. Ac þez ich plle zo telle ase pise men me seide |

- There is variation between the MSS in this line (especially J) but the overall meaning is retained.
- The first half-line of J is different from all the other MSS stating: **also ich hit telle**.
- M agrees with J on the *v. telle*, although it is the *1st sg.* in J and the *inf.* in M. M, however, apart from a slightly different *word-order* and the inclusion of the *cj. ac* at the beginning of the line, finds more agreement with the other texts than with J.
- D has a different *word-order* to most of the texts in the first half-line.
- L writes **þet his** where it is **þeih ich** (T), in most other MSS, and **on** where it is **eop** (T); these should probably be considered corruptions in the text or mistakes in transmission as the sense is defective in L.
- J and M agree on the *adv. as* where all the other MSS write *rel. pron. þat/þet*.
- M writes the *pron. 1st sg. me* where all the other MSS write the *pron. 1st pl. us*.

Ω235

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 228. 7 boc hit is prite þar me hit mai rade. |
| Lambeth | 221. 7 aboken hit priten þer mei hit reden. |
| Digby | 218. 7 on boc hit stant iprite 7 alle pe mugen hit rede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 222. 7 aboke hi hit prite. þer me mei hit rede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 226. and aboke it is i prite. þer me mai it rede |
| Jesus | 220. And on heore boke. hit iwrýten is. þat me may hit reden. |
| McClean | 208. 7 on boc hit is iprite 7 ze hit habbeþ ihurd rede |

- There is variation between the texts in this line which all maintain the overall meaning of the line, except that the variation in M suggests that the audience has already heard (use of *pp.* in **ihurd** and **rede**) the contents, where a knowledge is supposed in the other MSS through the possibility of reading but not listening.
- The *prep. a/on* in the first half-line is not present in T. This is probably a mistake in transmission as the *prep.* is necessary to the meaning of the sentence.
- The *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is*, found in T, E¹, J and M, is not present in L and E¹; as a consequence both of these texts have the *pa. 3rd pl.* form of the *v. priten/prite* where all of the other MSS have the *pp. prite/iprite/iwrýten*.
- D has the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. stant* where most of the other MSS write **is** (cf. note above).
- E¹ includes the *pron. 3rd pl. hi* where it is not present in any of the other MSS in the first half-line.
- J has the *poss.* form of the *pron 3rd pl.* in **heore boke**, a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- J writes the *cj. þat* where T, L, E² and E¹ have the *rel. pron. þar/þer*. The reading is different in the second half-line of M (cf. first note) and in D (cf. note below).
- The reading in D is different from all the other MSS in the second half-line where it writes: **7 alle pe mugen hit rede**. The overarching meaning of the line is, however, the same as in all the other MSS, the main difference being the writing of the *adj. pl. alle* + *pron. 1st pl. pe* where all the other texts, except M (cf. previous notes) and L (absent), write the *indef. pron. me*. In both instances, however, the reference is to an idea of mankind in general.

Ω236

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 229. Ic pille seggen hit þo þe hit hem self nesten |
| Lambeth | 222. Ich hit pille seggen þan þe hit hom solf nusten. |
| Digby | 219. Ich hit pille siggen þan þet hit ham selue nesten |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 223. Ich hit pulle segge þam. þe him sulf hit nusten. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 227. Ic it pulle segge heom þe hem self it nusten |
| Jesus | 221. Ich hit segge for heom. þat er þis hit nusten |
| McClean | 209. 7 ich hit plle telle us þat hit er neste |

- The *word-order* in T is different from all of the other MSS.
- M begins the line with the *cj. 7* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *v. pr. ind. 1st sg. pille/pulle/plle* is present in the first half-line of all the MSS apart from J.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 1st sg. segge* (cf. previous note) where it is the *inf. form seggen/segge* in all the other MSS except for M which writes the *v. inf. telle*.
- J includes the *prep. for* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T, L, D and E² have a combination of the *dem. pron. + rel. þo þe* (T), or a variant thereof, in the formation of ‘those who’; E¹ and J agree on the *pron. 3rd pl. heom*; M has the *pron. 1st pl. us*.
- The *pron. 3rd pl. reflex. hem self* (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in J and M, with both MSS also agreeing on the *prep. er*, which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *dem. pron. þis* which is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω237

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 230. 7 parnin hem pið here unfreme ȝief hie me pilleð hlesten. |
| Lambeth | 223. parni hom pið hore unfrome. ȝif ho me pulleð lusten. |
| Digby | 220. 7 parni hi pið here vnþines ef hi me pilleð hlesten. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 224. 7 parnie heom pið heora unfreme. ȝif hi me pulle hlusten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 228. 7 parnen heom pit heore hearme. ȝif hi me pulled lusten |
| Jesus | 222. And warnȝ heom wiþ harme. if heo me wulleþ lusten. |
| McClean | 210. 7 parni us piþ unureme ȝef ȝe me plleþ ileste |

- The *cj. 7* at the beginning of the line is present in all the MSS, except L.
- M writes the *pron. 1st pl. us* where all of the other MSS write the *pron. 3rd pl. hem/hom/hi/heom*.
- The *poss. pron. 3rd pl. here* (T), or a variant thereof, is present in the MSS except for J and M.
- T, L, M and E² agree on the *n.* (OE *unfremu*) *unfreme* (T), or a variant thereof; D writes the *n. vnwines*, and E¹ and J have the *n. hearme/harme*.
- M has the *pron. 2nd pl. ȝe* where all the other MSS have the *pron. 3rd pl. hie/ho/hi/heo*.

Ω238

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 231. Vnderstandeð nu to meward eadimen 7 arme |
| Lambeth | 224. vnderston deð nu to me edi men 7 arme. |
| Digby | 221. Vnderstondeð nu to me eadi men 7 arme |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 225. Under standeð nu to me. ȝedi men 7 earne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 229. Vunderstondet nu to me. æidi men 7 earne |
| Jesus | 223. Vnderstondeþ nv to me. edýe men and arme. |
| McClean | 211. Vnderstondeþ nu to me ȝedi men 7 areȝe |

- T has the *suffix* **ward** in the *pron.* **meward** (in combination with the *prep.* **to**) which is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes the *adj.* (OE *earh*) **areȝe** where all the other MSS have (OE *earn*) **arme** (T) or a variant thereof. The writing of **areȝe** in M makes for an imperfect rhyme in the next line.

Ω239

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 232. Ich pille tellen eop of helle pine 7 parnin eop pið harme. |
| Lambeth | 225. Ich pulle tellen of helle pin ȝ 7 pernyn op pið herme. |
| Digby | 222. ich pille of helle pine parni ȝeu 7 fram harme. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 226. Ich pule telle of helle pine. 7 parine eop pið hearne. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 230. ic pulle telle of helle pine. 7 parnie op pið herme |
| Jesus | 224. Ich wille ou telle of helle pýne. and warný of harme. |
| McClean | 212. 7 ich ou pille telle of helle pine 7 parni us piþ harme |

- The *word-order* is different in many of the MSS in this line, especially in D. As there is so many cases, this will not be expounded in the notes below.
- M begins with the *cj.* **7** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D writes the *v. inf.* **parni** where all the other MSS have the *v. inf.* **tellen/telle**.
- The remainder of the line in D is different from the other MSS, as it does not write the *v. inf.* **parnin/parnie/warný/parni**, which it has already included as a variant in the previous clause.
- The *pron.* 2nd *pl.* **eop/ou** is present in T, J and M in the first half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS; it is present after the *v. inf.* **parnin** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the MSS in the second half-line except J and M (M writes the *pron.* 1st *pl.* **us** as an alternative).
- Most texts agree on the *prep.* **pið/piþ** before the *n.* **harme/herme/hearne** apart from D which writes the *prep.* **fram** and J which writes the *prep.* **of**.

Ω240

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 233. An helle hunger 7 þurst euel tpo iferen. |
| Lambeth | 226. In helle his hunger 7 þurst ȝ tpa uuele iuere. |
| Digby | 223. In helle is hunger 7 þurst euele tpo iueren |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 227. On helle is hunger 7 ðurst. uuele tpa ifere |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 231. On helle is vnger 7 þerst. vuele tuo ifere |
| Jesus | 225. þar is hunger and þurst. vuele tweýe ivere. |
| McClean | 213. In helle is hunger 7 þurst pel euele tuo iuere |

- J writes the *adv.* **þar** where all the other MSS write the *prep.* **an** + *n.* **helle** (T), or a variant thereof; the place of hell is implied in J from the context and the previous lines.
- The *v. pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **his/is**, which is present in all of the other MSS, is not present in T.
- M includes the *adv.* **pel**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *word-order* **tpa uuele**, in the second half-line of L, is the reverse of all of the other MSS.

Ω241

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 234. | Pos pine þolieð þo þe þare meteniðinges here. |
| Lambeth | 227. | þas þolieð þa þeren maket niþin ges here. |
| Digby | 224. | þos pine þolieð þo þet þeren meteniþinges hiere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 228. | þas pine ðolieð þa þe þere mete niðinges here |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 232. | þos pine þolieð þo. þe þere mete niþinges here |
| Jesus | 226. | þeos pýne þolieþ þer. þat were mete nýþinges here. |
| McClean | 214. | Pos pine sculle þolie þar þat þere niþinges here |

- The *pl. n. pine/pýne*, present in all the other MSS, is not present in L.
- M includes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl. sculle*, a reading not present in any of the other MSS. As a result, this is followed in the text by the *inf.* form of the *v. þolie* where it is **þolieð** (T), or a variant thereof, the *pr. ind. 3^d pl.* form of the *v.* in all of the other MSS.
- J and M agree on the *adv. þer* + *rel. pron. pl. þat*; T, D, E² and E¹ write the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel.* in **þo þe** (T) (those who), or variants thereof; L has the *pl. rel. pron. þa*.
- L writes the *v. pl. pp. maket* where all of the other MSS (except M: cf. note below) have the *n. mete*. It is possible that this is a mistake in transmission on the part of the L scribe who miswrote **maket** for **mate**.
- The *n. mete* found in all of the other MSS in the second half-line (except L: cf. previous note), is not present in M.

Ω242

| | | |
|---------|------|---|
| McClean | 215. | Þe hadde þis þorlde ezte 7 faste gunne hielde |
|---------|------|---|

This line from M is found in no other known MS.

Ω243

| | | |
|---------|------|---|
| McClean | 216. | 7 hi nolde helpe þar of þe hungry ne þe chielde |
|---------|------|---|

This line from M is found in no other known MS.

Ω244

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 235. | Þar is poning 7 pop after ache strate |
| Lambeth | 228. | þer is paning and pop. efter eche streche. |
| Digby | 225. | Þer is sorinesse 7 pop efter eche strete |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 229. | Þer is þanunge 7 pop. efter eche strete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 233. | þor is poning 7 pop after eche strete |
| Jesus | 227. | þar is wonýing and wop. after vlche strete. |
| McClean | 217. | Þar is poning 7 pop in eueriche strete |

- D writes the *n. sorinesse* where it is the *v.al n. poning* (T), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.
- L writes the *n. pop* where all the others have the *n.* (OE *wōp*) **pop**.
- M writes *prep. in* + *adj. eueriche* where all the others have the *prep. after* + *adj. ache*, or variants thereof.
- L writes the *n. streche* where all the others write the *n. strate* (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω245

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 236. | Hie fareð fram hate chele fram chele to hate. |
| Lambeth | 229. | ho fareð from hete to hete. 7 hech to frure þe preche. |
| Digby | 226. | hi uareð vram hete in to chele 7 fram chele in to hete. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 230. | hi fareð fram hete to chele. fram chele to hete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 234. | hi fared fram hete to þe chele. fram chele to þe hete |
| Jesus | 228. | ho vareþ from hete to chele. from chele to þar hete |
| McClean | 218. | Hi uareþ uram hete to þe chele uram chele to þe hete |

- The *prep.* **to**, found in all the other MSS, is not present in T. This is likely to be a scribal error as it is necessary for the meaning of the text.
- D includes the *prep.* **in** in the first half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E¹ and M agree on the inclusion of the *def. art.* **þe**, in the first half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- L writes the *n.* **hete** (repetition of earlier occurrence) where all of the other MSS have the *n.* **chele**.
- The reading in the second half-line of L is different from all of the other MSS, where the second half-line is the inverse of the first; a furtherance of this idea of continuous movement between heat and cold. L departs from this movement and the second half-line acts as a comment on the first half-line, stating: **7 hech to frure þe preche**.
- D includes the *cj.* **7** found in no other MSS, apart from L which has a different reading (cf. note above).
- D includes the *prep.* **in** in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E¹, J and M agree on the inclusion of the *def. art.* **þe/þar** before the *n.* **hete**, at the conclusion of the line, where it is not present in the other MSS.

Ω246

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 237. | Þan hie beð in þe hate chele hem þuncheð blisse |
| Lambeth | 230. | þenne hi bið in þere helte ⁊ þe chele him þunchet blisse. |
| Digby | 227. | Þanne hi in þare hete bieð se chele ham þencheð blisce |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 231. | Þenne hi beoð in ðe hete. þe chelecheð blisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 235. | Þanne hi beod in þe hete. þe chele ðinchet blisse |
| Jesus | 229. | Hwenne heo cumeþ in hete. þe chele heom þincheþ lÿsse. |
| McClean | 219. | Þhane hi beoþ in hete þe chele ham þincheþ blisse |

- J writes the *v. pr. ind.* **3^d pl. cumeþ** where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind.* **3^d pl. beð** (T) or a variant thereof.
- D has an alternative *word-order* in the first half-line.
- The *def. art.* **þe/þere/þare**, found in all of the other MSS, is not present in J and M.
- The *def. art.* **þe/se** before the *n.* **chele** is present in all of the MSS except T.
- E² writes **chelecheð**. This is most likely a mistake for **chele þincheð**.
- The *pron.* **3^d pl. hem/him/ham/heom** is present in all of the MSS except for E² and E¹.
- J writes the *n.* **lÿsse** where all of the other MSS write the *n.* **blisse/blisce**.

Ω247

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 238. | Þan hie cumeð eft to chele of hate hie habbeð misse. |
| Lambeth | 231. | þenne hi cumeð eft to þe chele ⁊ of hete hi habbeð misse. |
| Digby | 228. | þanne hi to chele cumeð of hete hi habbeð misse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 232. | þenne hi cumeð eft to chele. of hete hi habbeð misse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 236. | þenne hi comeð eft to chele. of hete hi habbed misse |
| Jesus | 230. | þenne heo cumeþ eft to chele. of hete heo habbeþ mýsse. |
| McClean | 220. | Þhane hi beoþ in þe chele of þar hete hi habbeþ misse |

- D has an alternative *word-order* in the first half-line.
- M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl. beoþ* where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl. cumeð/comeð/cumeþ*.
- All of the MSS agree on the *adv. eft* apart from D and M where it is not present.
- All of the MSS write the *prep. to* apart from M which writes the *prep. in*.
- L and M write the *def. art. þe* before the *n. chele*; M also writes the *def art. þar* before the *n. hete*; these readings are not present in the other MSS.

Ω248

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 239. | Eiðer doð hem po inoh nabbeð none lisse. |
| Lambeth | 232. | hi hem deð þa inoch nabbeð hi nane blisse. |
| Digby | 229. | Eiðer ham deð po inoh nabbeð hi none blisce |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 233. | Aiðer heom dieð þa inoh. nabbet hý nane lisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 237. | Aiþer hem deð þa inou. nabbet hi none lisse |
| Jesus | 231. | Eýþer heom doþ wo ý nouh. nabbeþ heo none lisse. |
| McClean | 222. | Aiþer ham doþ po inoz ne habbeþ hi none lisse |

This line in M is found in the MS after the one at Ω249 but has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There is some variation in *word-order* in the first half-line.
- All of the MSS agree on the *pron. eiðer* except for L which writes the *pron. 3^d pl. hi*.
- McClean has the *neg. ne* + *v. pr. 3^d pl. ind. habbeþ*, where the *v.* is written as **nabbeð** (T), or variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- The *pron. 3^d pl. hi/hý/heo* is present in the second half-line of all the MSS except for T.
- L and D agree on the *n. blisse/blisce* at the line end where all the other MSS write the *n. lisse*.

Ω249

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 240. | Niten hpeðer hem doð pers to nafre non pisse. |
| Lambeth | 233. | Nute hi hpeþer hom deþ purs mid neure nane pisse. |
| Digby | 230. | niteð hi hper hi ponieð mest mid neure none ipisse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 234. | nuten pheðer him deð purs mid nane ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 238. | nuten hi peþer heom ded purst. mid neure non ipisse |
| Jesus | 232. | heo nuten hweþer heom doþ wurse. mýd neuer none iwisse. |
| McClean | 221. | Neteþ hi neure phaþer ham doþ prs to neuere non ýpisse |

This line in M is found in the MS before the one at Ω248 but has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There is some variation in *word-order* in the first half-line.
- The *pron. 3^d pl. hi/heo*, found in all the other MSS in the first half-line, is not present in T and E².
- The first half-line in D has an alternative reading to the remainder: **niteð hi hper hi ponieð mest**, which focuses on the act of decrying the two places of punishment rather than stating the uncertainty of knowing which place is worse. The general meaning, however, is retained.
- M includes the *adv. neure* in both the first and second half-lines where it is not present in the first half-line in any of the other MSS.
- M and T include the *prep. to*, in the second half-line, where all of the other MSS write the *prep. mid*.

Ω250

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 241. | Hie palkeð afre 7 secheð reste ac hie hes ne muġen imeten. |
| Lambeth | 234. | hi palkeð eure 7 secheð reste ac ho ne muġen imeten. |
| Digby | 231. | hi palkeð eure 7 reste secheð ac hi ne muġen imeten |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 235. | Hi palkeð eure 7 secheð reste. ac hi ne muġen imete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 239. | Hi palked eure 7 sechet reste. ac hi ne muġen imeten |
| Jesus | 233. | heo walkeþ euer and secheþ reste. ah heo hit ne muwe imete |
| McClean | 223. | Hi palkeþ euere 7 secheþ reste ac hi ne muze ýmete |

- D writes the *n. reste* + *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. secheð* where it is the inverse in all of the other MSS.
- T and J write the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hes/hit* which is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω251

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 242. | For þi þe hie nolde þe hpile hie mihten here senne beten. |
| Lambeth | 235. | For þi þe ho nolden þe hpile þet ho mihten here sunne beten. |
| Digby | 232. | vor hi nolden þo hi mihte hire sennen ibeten |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 236. | for þi ði nolden hpile hi mihten heore sunne bete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 240. | for þi hi nolden þo pile hi mithten here sunne beten |
| Jesus | 234. | for heo nolde hwile heo mýhten. heore sunnen ibete. |
| McClean | 224. | Vor þan þe hi nolde þe huile hi mizte hure sennes bete |

- There is some variation in the *cj.* which begins the line. T, L and E² write **for þi þe/for þi ði**; E¹ writes **for þi**; M writes **vor þan þe**; D and J write **for**.
- E² omits the *pron. hie/ho/hi/heo* found in all the other MSS.
- E² and J agree on the *cj. hpile/hwile*, in the first half-line, where it is *cj. þo* in D, **þe hpile/þo wile/þe huile** in T, E¹ and M, and **þe hwile þet** in L.
- D, J and M agree on the *pl.* form of the *n. sennen/sunnen/sennes* where it is *sg.* in all the other MSS.

Ω252

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 243. | Hie secheð reste þar non nis ac hie hies ne muġen ifinden. |
| Lambeth | 236. | ho secheð reste þer nis nan. for þi ne muġen hi es fin den. |
| Digby | 233. | hi secheð reste þer non nis. For hi ne muġen iuinde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 237. | Hi secheð reste ðer nan nis. þi ne muġen hi finde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 241. | Hi seched reste þer non nis. ac þi ne muġen ifinde |
| Jesus | 235. | Heo schecheþ reste þer non nýs. for þi ne muwen hi finde. |
| McClean | 225. | Hi secheþ reste þar non nis 7 hi ne muze non þar finde |

- The *word-order nis nan* in L is the reverse in all of the other MSS.
- There is some variation between the MSS at the beginning of the second half-line: T writes the *cj. ac*; L and J write the *cj. for þi*; D writes the *cj. for*; E² writes the *cj. þi*; E¹ writes the *cj. ac* + *adv. þi*; M writes the *cj. 7*.
- T and L include the *pron. 3rd sg. hies/es* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pron. 3rd pl. hie/hi*, found in all the other MSS, is not present in E¹.
- There is variation between the *word-order* of the MSS in the second half-line.
- M includes the *adv. þar* in the second half-line where it is not found in any of the other MSS.

Ω253

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 244. | Ac palkeð peri up 7 dun se pater doð mid pinde |
| Lambeth | 237. | Ac palkeð peri up 7 dun ȝ se pater deþ mid pinde. |
| Digby | 234. | ac palkeð peri up 7 dun spo pater doð mid pinde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 238. | ac palkeð peri up 7 dun. se peter deð mid pinde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 242. | ac palked peri up 7 dun. al se pater deð mid pinde |
| Jesus | 236. | Ah walkeþ þar boþe vp and dun. so water doþ mȳd winde. |
| McClean | 226. | Ac palkeþ peri vp 7 dun suo pater doþ mid þe pinde |

- J writes the *adv.* **þar** + *adv.* **boþe** where the other texts write the *pl. adj.* **peri**.
- M includes the *def. art.* **þe** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω254

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 245. | Þat beð þo þe paren her an þanc unstedefaste |
| Lambeth | 238. | þo boð þa þe peren her a þanke unstedefeste. |
| Digby | 235. | Þet seden þo þet pere her on þonke unstedeuaste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 239. | þis beoð þa ðe pere her. aðanke unstedefeste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 243. | Þis beod þo þe peren her. on þonke vn stedefaste |
| Jesus | 237. | þis beoþ þe þat weren her Mid hwom me heold feste. |
| McClean | 227. | Þos beoþ þe þat pere her of þonke unstedeuaste |

- There is some variation between the MSS in the *dem. pron.* that begins the line, although the meaning is the same in all.
- D writes the *v. pa. 3^d pl.* **seden** where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **beð** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- The reading in J is very different in the second half-line from any of the other MSS. The emphasis in J is on those who indulged in feasting as opposed to those who had unsteadfast thoughts. Although ideas of gluttony and the transience of life are present throughout the *Conduct* no other MS focuses on the corporeal sin in this line, preferring to focus on the danger of sinful thought.
- M has the *prep.* **of** at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is **an/a/on** in all of the other MSS, except for J where the reading is different (see note above).

Ω255

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 246. | 7 þo þe gode biheten aihte 7 hit him ilaste. |
| Lambeth | 239. | 7 þa þe gode biheten heste 7 nolden hit ileste. |
| Digby | 236. | 7 þo þet biheten gode 7 nolden hit ileste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 240. | 7 to gode be heten aht. 7 nolde hit ileste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 244. | 7 þo god bi heten auht. 7 nolden it ilaste |
| Jesus | 238. | And þeo þat gode bi heȳhte wel. and nolden hit ileste. |
| McClean | 228. | Þe þe bihete iesu crist 7 nolde him ȳlaste |

- M omits the *cj.* **7** present in all the other MSS. The *Tironian nota* is not physically present in T but it is likely that it is this sign that has been cut away by cropping.
- E² writes the *prep.* **to** where all the other MSS have the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel. pl.* in **þo þe** (T), or variants thereof, except for E¹ which writes the *rel. pron. pl.* **þo** only.
- M writes the *n.* **iesu crist** where all the other MSS have the *n.* **gode**.
- The *word-order* **biheten gode** in D and **bihete iesu crist** in M (see also the note above) is the reverse in all of the other MSS.
- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *n.* (OE *æht*) **aihte**; L writes the *n.* **heste**, a reading not present in any of the other MSS; J writes the *adv.* **wel**; D and M have none of the previous readings.
- The *v. pa. 3^d pl.* **nolden/nolde**, found in all the other MSS in the second half-line, is not present in T.
- T writes the *pron. 3^d sg.* **him** as well as the *pron 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit** where all the other MSS write **hit** only, except for M which writes **him** only.
- **ilaste** in T is the *v. pa. 3^d pl.* where it is the *inf.* **ileste** (L), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω256

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 247. | 7 þo þe god perc bigunnen 7 ful endin hit nolden. |
| Lambeth | 240. | þa þe god perc bigunnen 7 ful enden hit nolden. |
| Digby | 237. | Þo þet agunne godes perc 7 hit fulendi nolde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 241. | Þa þe god peorc bigunne. 7 ful endien hit nolde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 245. | Þo ðe god peorc bi gunne. 7 ful enden hit nolden |
| Jesus | 239. | And þeo þat god were by gunne and ful endy hit nolden. |
| McClean | 229. | Þe þat god prc bigunne 7 fulendi hit nolde |

- T and J begin the line with the *cj.* 7/**and**, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The reading in J is different from all the other MSS. The text has the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **were** + *v. pp. pl.* **by gunne** where all the other MSS have the *n. poss.* **godes** (ModE God's), where it is the *adj.* **god** (ModE good).
- D has the *n. poss.* **godes** (ModE God's), where it is the *adj.* **god** (ModE good).
- D shows variation in *word-order*, in both the first and the second half-lines, to all of the other MSS.

Ω257

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 248. | Nu paren her 7 nu þar 7 nesten hpat he polden |
| Lambeth | 241. | Nu piten her. 7 nuðe þer. 7 nu sten. hpat hi polden. |
| Digby | 238. | nu peren hier 7 nu þer 7 deden þet hi polde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 242. | nu peren her. 7 nuðe ðer. 7 nuste hpet ho polde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 246. | þe peren her 7 nuþe þer. 7 nusten pet he polden |
| Jesus | 240. | Nv were her. nv were þer. heo nuste hwat heo wolden. |
| McClean | 230. | 7 pere her 7 phile þar 7 neste huat hi polde |

- T, L, D, E² and J begin the line with the *adv.* **nu**; E¹ has the *rel. pron.* **þe**; M begins the line with the *cj.* 7.
- L writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **piten** where all the other MSS write the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **peren** (T), or a variant thereof.
- The *cj.* 7, present in all the other MSS, is not found in J.
- M writes the *adv.* **phile** where all the other MSS write the *adv.* **nu/nuðe/nuþe**.
- J writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **were**, for a second time, after the *adv.* **nu** – a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- J begins the second half-line with the *pron. 3rd pl.* **heo** where all of the other MSS have the *cj.* 7.
- D writes 7 + *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **deden** + *rel. pron.* **þet** where all the other MSS have the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **nesten** + *pron.* **hpat** (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω258

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 249. | ƿar is pich ƿat afre ƿalleð ƿar sulle ƿunien inne. |
| Lambeth | 242. | ƿer is bernunde pich hore saule to baƿien inne. |
| Digby | 239. | ƿer is pich ƿet eure ƿalð ƿet sullen baƿien inne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 243. | ƿere is pich ðe æure ƿealð. ƿer scule baðie inne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 247. | ƿere is pich ƿat eure ƿealð. ƿat sculle baƿien inne |
| Jesus | 241. | ƿet ich ƿych. ƿat euer walleþ. ƿat heo schulle habbe ƿere. |
| McClean | 231. | ƿar is ƿat pich ƿat euere ƿalþ ƿat sculle þe beo inne |

- J writes *dem. adj.* **ƿet** + *pron. 1st sg.* **ich** where all the other MSS have *adv.* **ƿar** *v. pr. ind 1st sg.* **is** (T), or a variant thereof. This is likely to be an error in J as the reading does not make sense in the context of this line, supported by all the other MSS agreeing against this reading.
- M includes the *dem. adj.* **ƿat** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The reading is different in L from any of the other MSS in the first half-line: L has the *v. pr. part.* **bernunde** functioning as an *adj.* in the description of the *n.* **pich** where all the other MSS exclude this *adj.* and describe the **pich** as *rel.* **ƿat** + *adv.* **afre** + *v. pr.* *ind. 3rd sg.* **ƿalleð** (T) or a variant thereof.
- L also begins the second half-line differently from the other MSS with the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **hore** + *pl. n.* **saule** where T and E² agree on the *adv.* **ƿar/ƿer** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **sulle/scule**; J has the *rel. pron.* **ƿat** + *pron. 3rd pl.* **heo** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **schulle**; the other MSS agree with the J text but without the *pron. 3rd pl.* **heo**.
- There is variation in the line endings: L, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. inf.* **baƿien/baðie** – only L includes the *inf. mark.* **to** before the *v.*; T writes the *v. inf.* **ƿunien** – a reading unique to this MS; M writes the *dem. pron.* **þe** + *v. inf.* **beo** – a reading unique to M; J has the *v. inf.* **habbe** + *adv.* **ƿere** where all the other MSS have the *prep.* **inne**.

Ω259

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 250. | ƿo þe ladeð here lif on perre 7 an unpinne. |
| Lambeth | 243. | þa þe ledden here lif in perre 7 in pinne. |
| Digby | 240. | þo ƿet ledden here lif in pele 7 in senne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 244. | þa þe ledde úuel lif. in feoht end in iginne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 248. | þo þe ladde vuel lif. in feoh end in iginne |
| Jesus | 242. | þeo ƿat ledeþ heore lýf vnwreste. and eke false were. |
| McClean | 232. | þe ƿat ladde hure lif mid perre 7 mid ypinne |

- T and J agree on the *pr.* form of the *v. ind. 3rd pl.* **ladeð/ledeþ** where the other MSS have the *pa.* form in **ledden/ledde/ladde**.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **úuel/vuel** where all of the other MSS have the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **here/heore/hure**.
- J includes the *adv.* **vnwreste** before the end of the clause, a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
- There is significant variation between the texts in the second half-line:
- T, L and M have similar readings with agreement on the *n.* **perre** and the *n.* **pinne** (**unpinne** in T), M writes the *prep.* **mid** where T has **on/an** and L has **in**.
- D writes the *n.* **pele** and the *n.* **senne**: readings that are unique to this MS.
- E² and E¹ agree, in the main, on their reading in the second half-line, however, E² writes the *n.* **feoht** where E¹ has the *n.* **feoh**. It is possible that **feoh** is a form of **feoht** or it might well be that **feoh** is from OE *feoh* and that the scribe of E² changed the word to **feoht** when copying.
- E² and E¹ have the *n.* **iginne** at the end of the line – this reading is not found in any of the other MSS.
- J concludes with the words **and eke false were** – a reading that is unique to this MS.

Ω260

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 251. | Ʒar is fur Ʒis hundredfeald hatere Ʒan be ure |
| Lambeth | 244. | Ʒer is fur Ʒet is undrlet fald hattre. Ʒene bo ure. |
| Digby | 241. | Ʒer is ver Ʒet is hudred fealde hotter Ʒanne is vre |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 245. | Ʒer is fur ðe is hundred fealde hattre ðen ure |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 251. | Ʒer is fur Ʒat is undredfelde hatere Ʒanne beo vre |
| Jesus | 243. | Ʒar is fur an hundred folde. hatture Ʒan be vre. |
| McClean | 233. | Ʒar is Ʒat fur Ʒat is hundredfelde hatter Ʒane vre |

These lines in E¹ (Ω260 and Ω261) occur in the MS after the couplet now found at Ω262 and Ω263 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M includes the *dem. adj.* **Ʒat** where it is not present in any of the other MSS in the first half-line.
- L, D, M, E² and E¹ write the *rel. pron.* **Ʒet** + *v. pr. ind 3^d sg.* **is** (L), or a variant thereof; T combines the *rel.* and the *v.* in **Ʒis**; J writes the *indef. art.* **an** – a reading unique to this MS.
- T, L and J include the *v. pr. subj. 3^d sg.* **be/bo**, a reading not present in any of the other MSS; D has the *v. pr. ind 3^d sg.* **is**; the other MSS do not have either of the previous readings.

Ω261

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 252. | Ne mai hit quenche salt pater ne auene stream ne sture. |
| Lambeth | 245. | Ne mai quenchen salt peter ne uersc of Ʒe burne. |
| Digby | 242. | ne mai hit kuenche no peter hauene. stream. ne sture. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 246. | ne mei hit cpenche salt peter. nauene striem ne sture |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 252. | ne mai it quenchen salt pater. nauene strien ne sture |
| Jesus | 244. | Ne may hit quenche no salt water. ne auene strem. ne sture. |
| McClean | 234. | Mot hit noƷer aquenche auene strem ne sture |

These lines in E¹ (Ω260 and Ω261) occur in the MS after the couplet now found at Ω262 and Ω263 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The first half-line in M is different from all the other MSS where it reads: **mot hit noƷer aquenche** – although the word choice is different (**mot** is from OE *mot*) the meaning is similar.
- Both D and J include the *adj.* **no** where it is not present in the other MSS.
- D omits the *adj.* **salt** present in all the other MSS apart from M (cf. first note).
- E² and E¹ combine the *cj.* **ne** with the *n.* **auene** in **nauene**; the *cj.* is **ne** in all the other MSS apart from D and M where it is not present.
- The second half-line in L is different from all the other MSS and can be translated as ‘nor fresh water from the stream’ as opposed to ‘nor Avon stream nor Stour’.

Ω262

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 253. | Þis is þat fur þat afre barneð ne mai no piht quenche. |
| Lambeth | 246. | þis is þet fur þet efre bernd ne mei napiht hit quen chen. |
| Digby | 243. | Þer is ver þet eure brenneð ne mai hit no þing quenchen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 247. | Þis is þet fur ðe eure burnð. ne mei hit naphit cpenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 249. | Þer is fur þat eure barnð. ne mai hit napiht quenche |
| Jesus | 245. | þat is þet fur þat euer barnþ. ne maȝ hit nomon quenche. |
| McClean | 235. | Pat is Þat fur Þat euere barnþ þat noþing ne mot aquenche |

These lines in E¹ (Ω262 and Ω263) occur in the MS before the couplet now found at Ω260 and Ω261 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T, L and E² begin the line with the *dem. pron.* **þis**; J and M have the *dem. pron.* **þat**; D and E¹ have the *adv.* **þer**.
- The *def. art.* **þat/þet**, found in most MSS before the *n.* **fur**, is not present in D and E¹.
- In the second half-line the scribe of M writes **þat noþing ne mot aquenche**: a reading unique to this MS.
- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *n.* **no-piht** (T), or a variant thereof; D writes the *n.* **no-þing** which finds agreement in M but the remainder of the line in D is much closer to the other MSS than to M (cf. note above).
- J writes the *n.* **nomon** – a reading unique to this MS.
- The *pron.* **3^d sg. hit**, present in all the other MSS except M (see notes above), is not found in T.

Ω263

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 254. | Þar inne beð þe pas to lef preche men to spenche. |
| Lambeth | 247. | Per inne boð þa þe pas to lof preche men to spenchen. |
| Digby | 244. | þer inne sendeð þo þet loueden precche men to spenchen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 248. | her inne beoð þe pes to leof. precche men to spenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 250. | her inne beod þe pes to lef. precche men to spenche |
| Jesus | 246. | þar inne beoþ þeo. þat her wes leof. poure men to swenche. |
| McClean | 236. | Þe sculle beo inne þe pere lef poure men to suenche |

These lines in E¹ (Ω262 and Ω263) occur in the MS before the couplet now found at Ω260 and Ω261 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The first half-line of M is different from all the other MSS, although the meaning remains the same. Similarly, variation is found in the first half-line of D.
- T, L, D and J agree on the *compound adv.* **þar-inne** (T), or a variant thereof, at the beginning of the line where E² and E¹ agree on the *compound adv.* **her-inne**. M has the *adv.* **inne** later in the clause and begins the line with *dem. pron.* **þe** + *v. pr.* **3^d pl. sculle**.
- T, L, J, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **beð** (T), or a variant thereof; the form **beo** found in M is the *inf.* as a result of the *v.* **sculle** which precedes it (cf. note above); D has an alternative reading with the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **sendeð**.
- In both L and D the *art.* is used as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel.* ('those who'/'those that') in **þa þe** (L) and **þo þet** (D); J has the *dem. pron.* **þeo** followed by the *rel. pron.* **þat** but separated by the punctus; the other MSS have only the *pl. rel. pron.* in **þe** (T), or a variant thereof.
- J includes the *adv.* **her** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D writes the *v. pa. 3^d pl.* **loueden** which is a reading unique to this MS.
- All the other MSS, apart from D (cf. previous notes) agree on the *v. pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **pas/pes/wes** apart from M which has the *sbj.* form in **pere**.
- The *adv.* **to** following the *v.* **wes/pere**, present in all of the other MSS, is not found in J and M.
- J and M agree on the *pl. adj.* **poure** where all the other MSS write **preche/precche**.

Ω264

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 255. | Ʒo Ʒe spikele men 7 ful of euele prennen. |
| Lambeth | 248. | Ʒa Ʒe peren spikelemen 7 ful of uuel prennen. |
| Digby | 245. | 7 Ʒo Ʒet pere spikele men 7 ful of euele prennen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 249. | Ʒa ðe pere spichele men. 7 ful of uuele prenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 253. | Ʒo Ʒe pere spikele men. 7 fulle of vuele prenche |
| Jesus | 247. | Ʒeo Ʒat were swikelemen. and ful of vuele wrenche. |

Lines Ω264 and Ω265 are not present in M.

- The *v. pa. 3^d pl.* **peren/perewere** is not present in T.
 - D begins the line with the *cj. 7*, a reading not present in any of the other MSS.
-

Ω265

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 256. | 7 Ʒo Ʒe mihten euel don 7 lief hit Ʒas to Ʒennen. |
| Lambeth | 249. | Ʒa Ʒe mihten uuel don. Ʒe Ʒe lef hit Ʒes to Ʒennen. |
| Digby | 246. | 7 Ʒo Ʒet mihte vnriht do 7 lief hit hem Ʒes to Ʒenne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 250. | Ʒa ðe ne mihte uuel don. 7 leof Ʒes to ðenne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 254. | Ʒo Ʒe ne mihte euel don. 7 lef Ʒas it to Ʒenne |
| Jesus | 248. | And Ʒeo Ʒat ne mȳhte vuele do. 7 was hit leof to Ʒenne. |

Lines Ω264 and Ω265 are not present in M.

- T, D and J agree on the *cj. 7* and at the beginning of the line.
 - J, E² and E¹ include the *neg. adv. ne* where it is not present in the other MSS.
 - D writes the *n. vnriht* where all the other MSS have the *n. euel* (T), or a variant thereof.
 - L has the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel.* in **Ʒe Ʒe** at the beginning of the second half-line. This reading is unique to L; all of the other MSS have the *cj. 7*.
 - The *word-order* **lief hit Ʒas** (T), or variants thereof, shows variation throughout the MSS.
 - The *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.)* **hit/it**, present in all the other MSS, is not found in E².
 - D includes the *pron. 3^d pl.* **hem** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
-

Ω266

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 257. | Ʒe luueden rauing 7 stale hordom 7 druken |
| Lambeth | 250. | Ʒe luueiden tening 7 stale. hordom 7 drunken |
| Digby | 247. | Ʒo Ʒet louede hordom 7 stale 7 reauinge 7 drunke |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 251. | Ʒe luuede reauing 7 stale. hordom 7 drunke |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 255. | Ʒo Ʒe luueden reuing 7 stale. hordom. 7 drunke |
| Jesus | 249. | Ʒeo Ʒat luued reuing. and stale. 7 hordom. 7 drunken. |
| McClean | 237. | 7 Ʒe Ʒe louede reuing 7 stale 7 unmetliche drunke |

- M begins the line with the *cj. 7* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T, L and E² agree on the *rel. pron. pl.* **Ʒe** ('they who'/'those who') where the other MSS form the construction with the *dem. pron. + rel. pron. pl.* **Ʒo Ʒet** (D), or a variant thereof.
- There is some variation in the *word-order* of the list of *n.s.* corresponding to sins, in the line and the use of *cj. 7* between words but there is little variation in vocabulary: the exceptions are in L which includes the *n. (OE tēonian)* **tening** where all the other MSS have (OE *rēafian*) **rauing** (T) or a variant thereof, and in M which omits the *n. hordom* and instead writes the *adv. (OE ungemetlice)* **unmetliche**.

Ω267

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 258. | 7 an defles perkes bliðeliche spunken. |
| Lambeth | 251. | 7 a doules perche bliþeliche spunken. |
| Digby | 248. | 7 on þos loþes diefle perkes to bleðeliche spunkte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 252. | 7 a. on ðes deofles peorc. bliðeliche spunche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 256. | 7 þe on þes deofles peorkes bliþeliche spunkte |
| Jesus | 250. | And on deoules werke. bluþeliche swunken. |
| McClean | 238. | 7 ec in þes deueles pork suo bleþeliche sponke |

- E² includes the *adv.* **a.** and M the *adv.* **ec** where neither are present in any of the other MSS.
- E¹ includes the *pl. rel. pron.* **þe** where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The *poss. def. art.* **þos/ðes/þes**, present in D, E², E¹ and J before the *poss. n.* **deofles/deueles** (**loþes diefle** in D), is not found in T, L and J.
- E² and M agree on the *n.* **peorc/pork** where it is the *pl.* form **perkes/perche/peorkes/werke** in the other MSS.
- D includes the *adj.* **loþes** in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D includes the *adv.* **to** and M the *adv.* **suo** before the *adv.* **bleðeliche/bleþeliche** in the second half-line. Neither of these readings is present in any of the other MSS.

Ω268

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 259. | Þo þe paren spo lease men þat mes ne mihte leuen |
| Lambeth | 252. | þa þe peren spa lele þet me hom ne mihte ileuen. |
| Digby | 249. | Þo þet peren lease men ne mihte me hem ileuen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 253. | Þa ðe pere spa lease. þet me hi ne mihte ileue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 257. | Þo þe pere so lease. þat me hi ne mihte ileuen |
| Jesus | 251. | þeo þat were so lese. þat me heom ne mýhte ileuen. |
| McClean | 239. | Þe þe pere so lese þat me ne mizte ham ýleue |

- The *adv.* **spo** is present in the MSS except D.
- L writes the *adj. pl.* **lele** where all the other MSS write the *adj. pl.* (OE *lēas*) **lease/lese**. It is likely from the context and a comparison with the other MSS that L writes **lele** for **lese** by mistake.
- T and D agree on the *n. pl.* **men** at the end of the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *cj.* **þat/þet** is found in all of the MSS, except for D where it is not present.
- T combines the *indef+ pron. 3^d pl.* in **mes**. All the other MSS keep these readings separate.
- The *word-order* in both D and M differs from the other MSS in the second half of the line.

Ω269

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 260. | Medgierne domes men 7 prongpise reuen. |
| Lambeth | 253. | Med ierne domes men. 7 prongpise reuen. |
| Digby | 250. | 7 medegierne domesmen 7 prangpise ireuen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 254. | med georne domes men. 7 pranc pise ireue |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 258. | med georne domes men. 7 prancpise reuen |
| Jesus | 252. | Med yorne domes men. and wrongwise reuen. |
| McClean | 240. | Medzerne domesman 7 prongepise reue |

- D begins with the *cj.* **7** a reading unique to this MS.

Ω270

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 261. | Ʒo Ʒe oðer mannes Ʒif Ʒas lief her oȝen eðlate |
| Lambeth | 254. | Ʒet oðer monnes Ʒif lof. his aȝen et lete. |
| Digby | 251. | Ʒo Ʒet oƷres Ʒif haueden lief 7 here oȝen eðlete |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 255. | Ʒe oðres mannes Ʒif Ʒes lief. his aȝen eð lete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 259. | Ʒe oƷre mannes Ʒif Ʒes lif. his apene eð lete |
| Jesus | 253. | Ʒe Ʒat wes leof oƷer mannes wif. 7 his owe leten |
| McClean | 241. | Ʒe Ʒe Ʒas oƷre mannes Ʒiues lef his oȝen ȝeƷ lete |

- The *word-order* throughout this line varies from MS to MS.
- T, D, J and M write the *art.* as a *pron.* antecedent to the *rel.* in ('they who'/'those who') **Ʒo Ʒe** (T), or variants thereof; the other MSS have the *rel.* **Ʒet/Ʒe** only.
- In D **oƷres** is a *poss. pron.* where **oðer** (T), or variants thereof, is a *poss. adj.* The use of **oƷres** in this form in D negates the need for the *poss. n.* **mannes** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
- M has the *pl.* form of the *n. poss.* **mannes** + *n.* **Ʒiues**, where it is *sg.* in all of the other MSS.
- L omits the *v. pa. 3rd sg.* **Ʒas/Ʒes/wes**, probably a scribal error, found in all the other MSS apart from D which writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **haueden**.
- D and J agree on the inclusion of the *cj.* **7** in the second half of the line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *pref.* **eð/ ȝeƷ** before **leten**, found in all the other MSS, is not present in J.

Ω271

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 262. | 7 Ʒo Ʒe sunegeden muchel on druken 7 on ate. |
| Lambeth | 255. | Ʒo Ʒe sungede muchel ȝa drunke 7 an ete. |
| Digby | 252. | 7 Ʒo Ʒet spiƷe senegeden on drunke 7 on hete. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 256. | Ʒe ðe sunegude muchel a drunken 7 en ete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 260. | 7 Ʒo Ʒe sunegede muchel. on drunke 7 on ete |
| Jesus | 254. | And Ʒe Ʒat sunegeƷ ofte. on drunken. and on mete |
| McClean | 242. | 7 senezede blƷeliche on drunke 7 on ete |

- All of the MSS begin with the *cj.* **7/and** except for L and E².
- There is some variation in tense and person at the beginning of the line: T, D and E¹ have the *pa. pl.* **Ʒo Ʒe sunegeden** (T), **Ʒo Ʒet spiƷe senegeden** (D) and **Ʒo Ʒe sunegede** (E¹); L, E² and have the *pa. sg.* **Ʒo Ʒe sungede** (L), **Ʒe ðe sunegede** (E²), **7 senezede** (M); whereas, J has the *pr. sg.* in **and Ʒe Ʒat sunegeƷ**.
- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *adv.* **muchel**; D writes the *adv.* **spiƷe**; J writes the *adv.* **ofte** and M writes the *adv.* **blƷeliche**.
- J ends with the *n.* **mete**: a reading unique to this MS with all the other MSS having the *n.* **ate/ete/hete**.

Ω272

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 263. | Þe preche men binomen here aihte 7 leide his on horde. |
| Lambeth | 256. | þe preche mon binom his ehte. 7 leide his on horde. |
| Digby | 253. | Þe precche man binam his god 7 leide hit on horde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 257. | Þe precche be nam his ehte. 7 leide hes en horde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 261. | Þe precchen bi nemen hure ehte. 7 leiden huere on horde |
| Jesus | 255. | þeo þat wrecche men bȳnȳmeþ. his eyhte. 7 hit leyþ an horde. |
| McClean | 243. | Þe þat poureman binome 7 leide in hare horde |

- J and M agree on the construction *dem. pron. + rel. pron.* **þeo þat/þe þat** (*pl.* in M) where all of the other MSS have the *rel. pron.* **þe** (*pl.* in T, E¹).
- In E² and E¹ **precche/precchen** is a *n.* where it is an *adj. pl.* **preche** (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS except for M which reads *adj. pl.* **poure** + *n. pl.* **man** instead. E² and E¹ omit the *n.* **men/mon/man**.
- J uses the *pr. tse.* in the *v.s. 3rd sg.* **bȳnȳmeþ** and **leyþ** where they are *pa. 3rd sg.* in L, D and E² and *pa. 3rd pl.* in T, E¹ and M.
- T and E¹ have the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **here/hure** where it is *sg. his* in the other MSS, except for M where the reading is not present.
- All MSS apart from D and M agree on the *n.* **aihte** (T), or a variant thereof; D has the *n.* **god**; the reading is not present in M.
- E¹ writes the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **huere** where all the other MSS apart from M have the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **his/hit/hes**. The reading in E¹ (the *poss.*) does not make sense here and is probably a scribal error. M has the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **hare** following the *prep.* and in a context that does make sense. (cf. previous note on the admission of the *poss. pron.* earlier in the line).

Ω273

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 264. | Þe litel lete of godes bode 7 of godes porde. |
| Lambeth | 257. | þet lutel let of godes borde. 7 godes porlde. |
| Digby | 254. | þe litel let of godes bode 7 of his spete porde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 258. | þe lute let of godes bibode. 7 of godes porde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 262. | þe lutel leten of godes bode. 7 of godes porde |
| Jesus | 256. | And lutel let on godes bode. and of godes worde. |
| McClean | 244. | 7 litel lete of godes hest 7 of godes porde |

This line in M is followed by two lines which have been transposed to Ω282 and Ω283 for the purpose of comparison.

- J and M agree on the *cj.* **and/7** where all the other MSS write the *rel. pron.* **þe/þet**.
- J writes the *prep.* **on** where all the other MSS have the *prep.* **of**.
- Most texts agree on the *n.* **bode**, however, L has the *n.* **borde**, E² includes the *pref.* **bi+bode** and M writes the *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **hest**.
- The *prep.* **of** is found in the second half-line of all MSS, except for L.
- D writes the *poss. pron. 3rd sg.* **his** + *adj.* **spete** where all the other MSS write the *poss. n.* **godes**.
- All MSS agree on the *adv.* **litel** (T), or a variant thereof; E², however, has the *indeclinable* form in **lute**.

Ω274

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 265. | 7 þe his ogen nolde ȝieue þar he iseih þe niede |
| Lambeth | 258. | 7 þo þe his aȝen nalde ȝeuen þer he isech þe node. |
| Digby | 255. | 7 se þet his ogen nolde ȝeuen þer he isegh þo niede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 259. | End te his aȝen nolde ȝiuen. þer he iseh þe neode |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 263. | 7 of his open nold ȝiuen. þer he sei þe nede |
| Jesus | 257. | þeo þat almes nolde ȝeue þere he iseyh þe neode. |

Lines Ω274-Ω276 are not present in M.

- The *cj.* 7/end at the beginning of the line is present in all the MSS except J.
- L, D and J agree on the construction **þo þe/se þet/þeo þat** (*dem. + rel.*); T and E² have the *rel.* **þe/te** only – (**te** in E² follows the *dental* in **end**); E¹ has the *prep.* **of**.
- J writes the *n.* **almes** where all the other MSS have the *poss. pron.* 3rd *sg.* **his +adj. ogen**.

Ω275

| | | |
|-------|------|---|
| Jesus | 258. | Ne his poure kunesmen. at him ne mȝhte nouht spede. |
|-------|------|---|

This line from J is found in no other known MS. As a result of this line, the couplets in J at Ω275-Ω281 do not match with the remainder of the MSS, the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

Ω276

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 266. | Ne nolde ihere godes men þan he sat at his biede. |
| Lambeth | 259. | Ne nalde iheren godes sonde. þen ne he hit herde bode. |
| Digby | 256. | ne nolde ihiere godes men þer he set at his biede. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 260. | ne nolde ihuren godes sande. þer he sette his beode |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 264. | ne nolde ihuren godes sonde þer he sette his beode |
| Jesus | 259. | Þe þat nolde here godes sonde. þar he sat. at his borde. |

Lines Ω274 and Ω276 are not present in M.

As a result of the additional line at Ω275, the couplets in J at Ω275-Ω281 do not match with the remainder of the MSS, the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

- There is significant variation between the MSS in this line, especially in the second half-line (cf. notes below).
- J begins the line with the construction ‘those who’ **þe þat** (*dem. + rel.*) where all the other MSS begin with the *cj.* **ne**.
- T and D agree with each other on the *n. pl.* **men** where all the other MSS have the *n.* (OE *sond*) **sonde/sande**. The difference between God’s message and God’s men is significant here. The emphasis in T and D is on those who are delivering the message; this is an important distinction considering the likelihood that the early MSS were intended as texts for preaching.
- T and L begin the second half-line with the *cj.* **þan/þenne** where it is **þer/þar** in all the other MSS.
- The reading in the second half-line of L is different from all the other MSS: **þenne he hit herde bode** ‘when he heard it announced/proclaimed’.
- The other MSS agree on the *v. pa* 3rd *sg.* **sat/set/sette**.
- T, D and M agree on the *prep.* **at** where it is not present in E² and E¹.
- All of the MSS, excluding L (cf. notes above), have the *n.* (OE *bēod*) **biede/beode** except for J which writes the *n.* **borde**. The meaning, however, remains very similar.

Ω277

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 267. | Po þe pas oðer mannes þing leuere þan hit solde. |
| Lambeth | 260. | þe þet is oðers monnes þing. loure þene hit schulde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 261. | Þa ðe pes oðres mannes ðing. leoure þenne hit scolde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 265. | Po þe peren oþeres mannes þinc. leure þanne it scolde |
| Jesus | 260. | 7 was leof oþer mannes þing. leuere þan beon schulde |
| McClean | 247. | Þe þe pas opre mannes god leuere þan him scolde |

Lines Ω277-Ω280 are not present in Digby.

As a result of the additional line at Ω275, the couplets in J at Ω275-Ω281 do not match with the remainder of the MSS: the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

- J begins with the *cj.* 7 where it is the construction 'those who' **þo þe** – *dem. + rel. –* (T) or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- L writes the *pr.* form of the *v. pr.* 3^d *sg.* **is** where it takes the *pa. tse.* in all the other MSS.
- J includes the *adj.* **leof** in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- All of the MSS agree on the *n.* **þing/ðing/þinc** except for M which has the *n.* **god**.
- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the *pron.* 3^d *sg.* (*inan.*) **hit/it** whereas J writes the *v. inf.* **beon** and M writes the *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **him**.

Ω278

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 268. | 7 paren alto gradi of silver 7 of golde. |
| Lambeth | 261. | 7 peren to gredi of solure 7 of golde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 262. | 7 peren eal to gredi of seoluer end of golde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 266. | 7 peren al to gredi. of suelfer 7 of golde |
| Jesus | 261. | 7 weren al to gredi. of seoluer. and of golde. |
| McClean | 248. | 7 pere al to gredi of selure 7 of golde |

Lines Ω277-Ω280 are not present in Digby.

As a result of the additional line at Ω275, the couplets in J at Ω275-Ω281 do not match with the remainder of the MSS: the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

- L writes the *adv.* **to** where it is **alto** (T) or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω279

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 269. | Po þe untrepnesse deden þan þe he solden ben holde. |
| Lambeth | 262. | 7 þa þe untroþnesse duden þon þe ho sculden bon holde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 263. | End þa ðe untrupnesse dude þam ðe hi ahte beon holde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 267. | And þo þe vntreunesse deden. ȝam hi ahte ben holde |
| Jesus | 262. | 7 luueden vntrewnesse. þat heo schulden beon holde. |
| McClean | 249. | 7 vnriȝpisnesse dude þar hi scolde beo holde |

Lines Ω277-Ω280 are not present in Digby.

As a result of the additional line at Ω275, the couplets in J at Ω275-Ω281 do not match with the remainder of the MSS: the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

- T omits the *cj.* 7/end/and where it is present in all the other MSS at the beginning of the line.
- The construction **þo þe** 'they who'/'those who' (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in J and M.
- All of the MSS agree on the *n.* **untrepnesse** except for M which has the *n.* **vnriȝpisnesse**.
- All of the MSS agree on the *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **deden/duden/dude** apart from J which has the *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* **luueden**.
- T, L and E² write the combination *dem. + rel. pl.* **þan þe/þon þe/þam ðe**; E¹ has the *rel. pl.* **ȝam**; J has the *cj.* **þat** and M the *cj.* **þar**.
- In the the second half-line E² and E¹ write the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **ahte** where it is the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **solden** (T) or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω280

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 270. | 7 leten al þat hie solden don 7 deden þat hie polden. |
| Lambeth | 263. | 7 leten þet ho sculden don. 7 duden þet ho pol den. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 264. | 7 leten ðet hi scolden don. 7 dude þet hi polde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 268. | 7 leten þat hi scolde don. 7 duden þet hi polde |
| Jesus | 263. | 7 leten þat hi scolden do. and duden þat heo ne scholden. |
| McClean | 250. | Lete phat hi scolde do 7 dude þat hi ne scolde |

Lines **Ω277-Ω280** are not present in Digby.

As a result of the additional line at **Ω275**, the couplets in J at **Ω275-Ω281** do not match with the remainder of the MSS: the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

- The *cj. 7*, found in all the other MSS at the beginning of the line, is not present in M.
- T includes the *adj. al* where it is not present in any of the other MSS in the first half-line.
- J and M agree on the *neg. adv. ne + v. pa. 3rd pl. scholden* where the other MSS write the *v. pa. 3rd pl. polden/polde*.

Ω281

| | | |
|-------|------|---|
| Jesus | 264. | heo schulleþ wunȳen in helle. þe ueondes onwolde. |
|-------|------|---|

This line from J is found in no other known MS.

As a result of the additional line at **Ω275**, the couplets in J at **Ω275-Ω281** do not match with the remainder of the MSS: the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual.

Ω282

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 271. | Þo þe paren ȝietceres of þis pereldes aihte |
| Lambeth | 264. | Þa þe peren eure abuten þisse porl des echte. |
| Digby | 257. | 7 þo þet peren ȝetseres of þise porldes eȝhte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 265. | Þa ðe pitteres of ðis poruldes ehte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 269. | Þo þe ȝȳsceres peren of þis poruldes ehte |
| Jesus | 265. | Þe þat were gaderares. of þisse worldes aȳhte. |
| McClean | 245. | Þe þe pere zeseres of þisse porld este |

These lines in M (**Ω282** and **Ω283**) occur in the MS after the couplet found at **Ω272** and **Ω273** but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D writes the *cj. 7* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- There is significant variation between the texts within this line: T, D, M and E¹ agree on the *pl. n.* (OE *ȝitsere*) **ȝietceres** (T), or a variant thereof; L writes the *adv. eure + prep. abuten*; E² writes the *n. pl. pitteres* – it is possible that this comes from OE *witian* or it could be a scribal error for **ȝitseres** as is suggested by the other MSS; J has the *n. pl. gaderares*. The overall meaning of the line, however, is the same in all variants.

Ω283

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 272. | 7 dude al þat þe loðe gost hem tihte to 7 taihte. |
| Lambeth | 265. | 7 duden al þet þe laþe gast hechte to 7 tachte. |
| Digby | 258. | 7 deden al þet se loþe gost ham tichede to 7 taðte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 266. | 7 dude þet te laðe gast heom tihte 7 to tehte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 270. | 7 dude þat þe loþe gost. hem tihte 7 ec tauhte |
| Jesus | 266. | And duden þat þe loþe gost heom tȳcede and tahte. |
| McClean | 246. | 7 dude al þat þe loþe gost hem tizte to 7 tezte |

These lines in M (Ω282 and Ω283) occur in the MS after the couplet found at Ω272 and Ω273 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T, L, D and M agree on the *adj.* **al** in the first half-line of the text where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **hem/ham/heom** is present in all the MSS except L.
- L writes the *v. pa.* 3^d *sg.* (OE *hātan*) **hechte** where all of the other MSS have the *v. pa.* 3^d *sg.* (OE *tyhtan*) **tihte** (T), or a variant thereof.
- T, L, D, E² and M have the *prep.* **to** with the *conj.* **7** in the second half-line; E¹ has the *conj.* **7** + the *adv.* **ec**; J does not have the *prep.* **to**.

Ω284

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 273. | 7 al þo þe ani pise deuel iquemde |
| Lambeth | 266. | 7 alle þe þen anige pise doulen iquende. |
| Digby | 259. | 7 alle þo þet anie pise þo diefle er iquemde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 267. | End ealle þa ðen eni pise deoflen her iquemde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 271. | And alle þo ðen eni pise. deoflen her iquemde |
| Jesus | 267. | And alle þeo þe mȳd dusȳe wise. deoueþe her iquemþ. |
| McClean | 251. | Pe þat in alle pise þe deuele her iquemde |

- The *conj.* **7**/**end/and** + the *adj.* **al/alle**, which begins the line in all the other MSS, is not present in M.
- T, L, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **ani** + *n.* **pise** (T), or a variant thereof; J writes *prep.* **mȳd** + *adj.* **dusȳe** + *n.* **wise**; and M writes the *prep.* **in** + *pl. adj.* **alle** + *pl. n.* **pise**.
- M and D agree on the *def. art.* **þo/þe** before the *n.* **diefle/deuele** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J, M, E² and E¹ agree on the *adv.* **her**; D writes **er**; the *adv.* is not present in T and L.
- L writes **iquende** for the *v. pa.* 3^d *pl.* where it should be **iquemde**: this is a probable scribal error.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **iquemeþ**, where it is the *v. pa. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **iquemde** (T), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.

Ω285

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 274. | Þo beð mid hem in helle fordon 7 demde. |
| Lambeth | 267. | þa boð nu mid him in helle fordon 7 fordemet. |
| Digby | 260. | þo sullen ben voð mid him vordon 7 vordemde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 268. | þa beoð nu mid him an helle fordon 7 fordemde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 272. | þo beoð nu mid him an helle for don 7 for dempden |
| Jesus | 268. | Þeo beoþ nv in helle wiþ him. fordon. and for demde. |
| McClean | 252. | Po beoþ in helle mid him uor done 7 uor demde |

This is the final line in L.

- D has an alternate reading to all the other MSS: D writes the *v. pr.* 3^d *sg.* **sullen** where all the other MSS have the *v. pr.* 3^d *pl.* **beð/boð/beoð/beoþ**; it is then followed in the text by the *inf. v.* **ben** and the *adv.* **voð** – a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS. The *prep.* **in/an** and the *n.* **helle**, present in all the other MSS, are not found in D.
- There is variation in the *word-order* of the other MSS – especially in J and M.
- The *adv.* **nu/nv**, present in all the other MSS (except D: cf. previous notes), is not found in T and M.
- J writes the *prep.* **wiþ** where all the other MSS have the *prep.* **mid**.
- The *pref.* **for/vor** before the *v. pp.* **demde**, present in all the other MSS, is not found in T.

Ω286

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 275. Bute þo þe ofðuhte sore here misdade |
| Digby | 261. Bute þo þet vor þuhte ham here sennen 7 here misdeden |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 269. Bute þa þe of ðufte sare heore mis dede |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 273. Bute þo þe ofþouhte sore. her here mis deden |
| Jesus | 269. Bute þeo þat of þincheþ her. sore heore mýsdede. |
| McClean | 253. Bute þe þat osþuhte sore hure misdede |

- M writes **s** for **f** in **osþuhte**.
 - D writes the *pref.* **vor** in the *v. pa. 3rd sg.* **vor þuhte** where all the other MSS have **of** – except for M (cf. note above).
 - J has the *pr. 3rd pl.* form of the *v.* in **of þincheþ** where all the other MSS have the *pa. 3rd sg.* form in **ofðuhte** (T), or a variant thereof.
 - D includes the *pron. 3rd pl. (inan.)* **ham** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
 - There is variation between the texts in the *word-order* of the second half-line.
 - E¹ and J agree on the *adv.* **her** not present in any of the other MSS.
 - D includes the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **here** + *pl. n.* **sennen**, found in no other MS, in addition to the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **here** + *pl. n.* **misdeden** – found in all the other MSS.
-

Ω287

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 276. 7 Gunne here gultes bete 7 betere lif lade. |
| Digby | 262. 7 gunnen here sennes beten 7 betere lif leden. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 270. 7 gunne heore gultes beten 7 betere lif læde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 274. 7 gunnen hure gultes beten. 7 betere lif leden |
| Jesus | 270. 7 heore gultes gunnen lete. and betere lif to lede. |
| McClean | 254. 7 hure gultes gunne bete 7 betere lif lede |

- There is variation in the *word-order* between the texts in the first half-line.
 - D writes the *pl. n.* **sennes**, in the first half-line, where it is the *pl. n.* **gultes** in all the other MSS.
 - All of the texts agree on the *v. inf.* **bete/beten** except for J where it is the *v. inf.* **lete**.
 - J includes the *inf. mark.* **to** before the *inf. v.* **lede** where it is absent in all the other MSS.
-

Ω288

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 277. Þar beð naddren 7 snaken. eueten 7 fruden |
| Digby | 263. Þer bieð naddren 7 snaken eueten 7 ec fruden |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 271. Þer beoð neddren 7 snaken. euete 7 frute |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 275. Þeor beð naddren 7 snaken. eueten 7 frude |
| Jesus | 271. Þer beoþ neddren. 7 snaken. euethen and fruden. |

Lines Ω288 and Ω289 are not present in M.

- D includes the *adv. ec*, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω289

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 278. | Þe tereð 7 freteð þo euele spiken þe niðfule and þe prude |
| Digby | 264. | þo tereð 7 freteð þo þet euel spekeð þo ondfulle 7 þo prude. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 272. | þa tereð. 7 freteð. þe uuele speke. þe nið fulle. 7 te prute |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 276. | þa tered 7 freteð þe uuele speken. þe nihtfulle 7 þe prute |
| Jesus | 272. | þer tereþ and freteþ. þat vuele spekeþ. þe nýþfule 7 þe prude. |

Lines Ω288 and Ω289 are not present in M.

- J writes the *adv.* **þer** where it is the *pl. rel. pron.* **þe/þo/þa** in all of the other MSS.
- D has the construction **þo þet** (*dem. pron.* + *pl. rel.*) where all of the other MSS have the *pl. rel.* **þo/þe/þat**.
- T writes the *n. pl.* **spiken** where E² and E¹ have the *sbj.* form of the *v. 3rd pl.* **speke/speken** and D and J have the *pr. ind.* form of the *v. 3rd pl.* **spekeð/spekeþ**.
- D includes the *pl. adj.* (OE *anda+ful*) **ondfulle** where it is the *pl. adj.* (OE *nīð+ful*) **niðfule** (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω290

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 279. | Nafre sunne þar ne sined ne mone ne storre. |
| Digby | 265. | Neure sunne þer ne sinð ne mone ne no sterre |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 273. | Neure sunne ðer ne scinð. ne mone ne steorre |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 277. | Neure sunne þer ne scinð. ne mone ne steorre |
| Jesus | 273. | Neuer sunne þer ne schineþ. ne Mone. ne steorre. |
| McClean | 259. | Neuere sunne þar ne scinþ ne mone ne sturre |

Lines Ω290-Ω293 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω296 and Ω297 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D includes the *adj.* **no** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω291

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 280. | Þar is muchel godes hete 7 muchel godes oerre. |
| Digby | 266. | þer is muchel godes hete 7 muchel godes herre. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 274. | þer is muchel godes hate. 7 muchel godes eorre |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 278. | þer is muchel godes hete. 7 muchel godes georre |
| Jesus | 274. | þer is muchel godes hete. 7 muchel godes eorre. |
| McClean | 260. | Fuere þar is muchel godes hate 7 muchel godes erre |

Lines Ω290-Ω293 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω296 and Ω297 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M includes the *adv.* **euere** at the beginning of the line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω292

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 281. | Afre þar is euel smeč þiesterneſse 7 eie |
| Digby | 267. | Eure þer is euel smac þiersterneſse 7 egie |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 275. | Æure ðer is uuel smeč. ðuſterneſse 7 eie |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 279. | Eure þer is vuel smeč. þuſterneſse 7 eie |
| Jesus | 275. | Euer þar is muchel smeč. þeoſterneſſe and eýe. |
| McClean | 261. | Euere þar is muchel smich 7 þuſterneſse 7 eie |

Lines Ω290-Ω293 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω296 and Ω297 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- J and M agree on the *adj.* **muchel** where it is the *adj.* **euel/uuel/vuel** in all of the other MSS.
- M includes the *cj.* 7 in the second half-line, where it is not found in any of the other MSS.

Ω293

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 282. | Nis þar nafre oðer liht þan þe ſparte leie. |
| Digby | 268. | nis þer neure oþer liht þanne þieſter leie. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 276. | nis ðer neure oðer liht. ðene þe ſpierte leie |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 280. | nis þer neure oþer liht. þanne þe ſparte leie |
| Jesus | 276. | Nis þer neuer oþer lýht. bute þe ſwarte leýe. |
| McClean | 262. | Ne com þar neuere oþer lýzt þane of þe ſuarte leýe |

Lines Ω290-Ω293 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω296 and Ω297 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M writes the *neg. adv.* **ne** + *v. pa. 3rd sg.* **com**, at the beginning of the line, where it is the *v. pr. 3rd sg.* **nis** in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *prep.* (OE *būtan*) **bute**, at the beginning of the second half-line, where all the other MSS write the *cj.* **þan** (T), or a variant thereof.
- M includes the *prep.* **of**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other manuscripts.
- D omits the *def. art.* **þe** + *adj.* **ſparte** (T), or a variant thereof, and writes the *adj.* (OE *þēoster*) **þieſter** instead.

Ω294

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 283. | Þar ligeð ateliche fiend in ſtronge raketeie |
| Digby | 269. | Þer liggeð attliche feond in ſtronge raketege |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 277. | Þer ligget ladliche fund. in ſtrange raketege |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 281. | þer ligget laðliche fend. in ſtronge raketeie |
| Jesus | 277. | Þer lýþ þe lodliche ueond. in ſtronge raketeýe |
| McClean | 255. | Þar beoþ lodlich fend in ſtronge raketeze |

- J writes the *3rd sg.* form of the *v. pr. ind.* **lýþ** where it is *3rd pl.* **ligeð** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS except for M which writes the *v. pr. ind 3rd pl.* **beoþ**.
- J includes the *def. art.* **þe**, not present in any of the other MSS, before the *adj.* **lodliche** and the *sg. n.* **ueond**. It is probable, through the *def. art* and the *sg. n.*, that this is a reference to Satan himself where the *pl.* form in all the other MSS suggests lesser demons or devils.
- T and D agree on the *adj.* **ateliche/attliche** where it is **ladliche** (E²) in all the other MSS.

Ω295

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 284. | ƿat beð þo þe ƿaren mid god angles spiðe heie. |
| Digby | 270. | þet bieð þo þet ƿeren mid gode engles spiþe hege. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 278. | þet beoð þa ðe ƿere mid gode on heuene ƿel hege |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 282. | þet buð þe þe ƿere mid gode. on heuene ƿel heie |
| Jesus | 278. | þat is þe þat wes mȳd god. in heouene swiþe heȳe. |
| McClean | 256. | ƿos beoþ þe þat ƿere mid gode in heuene spiþe heze |

- M writes the *dem. pron.* **þos** where all the others have the *dem. pron pl.* **þat/þet**.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **is** where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **beð** (T), or a variant thereof.
- J writes the *v. pa. 3^d sg.* **wes** where all other MSS have the *pl.* form in **paren/peren/ƿere** (cf. note above).
- The second half-line has more significant variation (cf. below):
- T and D agree on the *pl. n.* **angles/engles** + the *adv.* **spiðe/spiþe**; E², E¹, J and M agree on the *prep.* **on/in** + *n.* **heuene/heouene**, but J and M find agreement with T and D in the *adv.* **swiþe/spiþe** where E² and E¹ have the *adv.* **pel**.

Ω296

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 285. | ƿat beð ateliche fiend 7 eiseliche pihten |
| Digby | 271. | ƿer bieð atteliche vend 7 eiliche pihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 279. | ƿer beoð ateliche fund. 7 eisliche pihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 283. | ƿer buð ateliche fend. 7 eisliche pihte |
| Jesus | 279. | þer beoþ ateliche ueondes. 7 grȳsliche wȳhtes. |
| McClean | 257. | ƿar beoþ grisliche fend 7 aterliche pihte |

- All of the MSS begin the line with the *adv.* **þer/par** except for T which has the *pl. dem. pron.* **þat**.
- M writes the *pl. adj.* **grisliche** where all of the other MSS write the *adj. pl.* **ateliche** (T), or a variant thereof; this *adj.*, however, does occur in J in the second half-line.
- T, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj. pl.* **eiseliche** (T), or a variant thereof; J writes the *adj. pl.* **grȳsliche** – an *adj.* which is found in the first half-line of M; M writes the *adj. pl.* **aterliche** – an *adj.* which is found in all of the other MSS in the first half-line.

Ω297

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 286. | ƿo sulle ƿe preche sople isien ƿe sinegeden ƿurh sihte |
| Digby | 272. | ƿo sulle ƿo arme saule iseon ƿet gelten ƿurh isihðe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 280. | ƿas scule ƿa precche i fon. ƿe sunnegede ðurh sihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 284. | ƿos sculle ƿa precchen i son. ƿe sunege ƿurð sihte |
| Jesus | 280. | ƿer schule ƿe wrecche soulen iseon. ƿat sunegeden bi sihtes. |
| McClean | 258. | ƿe sculle ƿe precche saule iseo ƿat senezede mid isizte |

This line in M is followed in the MS by the quatrain now found at Ω290-Ω293. These lines have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T, D and E¹ begin the line with the *dem. pron.* **ƿo/ƿos**; E² writes the *dem. pron.* **ƿas**; J begins the line with the *adv.* **ƿer**; M writes the *pl. rel. pron.* **ƿe**.
- D writes the *adj. pl.* (OE *earn*) **arme** where it is the *adj. pl.* **preche** (T), or a variant thereof. The meaning is the same, however.
- The *n. pl.* **sople** (T), or a variant thereof, is not found in E² and E¹, where it is present in the other MSS.
- E² has the *v. inf.* (OE *fōn*) **i-fon** where it is **isien** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS. Although this variant gives a reading that makes sense, it is possible that this is a scribal error for **i-son**, especially as this is the reading found in all the other MSS including E¹; the further reference to 'sight' at the line-end strengthens this argument.
- D writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **gelten** where all the other MSS write the *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **sinegeden** (T), or a variant thereof. The meaning is the same in D.
- T, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *prep.* **ƿurh/ðurh/ƿurð**, whereas J writes the *prep.* **bi** and M writes the *prep.* **mid**.

Ω298

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 287. | ƿar is se loðe sathanas 7 belzebub se ealde |
| Digby | 273. | ƿer is se loðe sathanas 7 belzebub se alde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 281. | ƿer is ðe laðe sathanas. 7 belzebud se ealde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 285. | ƿer is ƿe lope sathanas. 7 belsebuc ƿe ealde |
| Jesus | 281. | ƿer is ƿe lope sathanas. 7 beelzebub ƿe olde. |
| McClean | 263. | ƿar is ƿe lope sathanas 7 belzebuc ƿe zelde |

Ω299

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 288. | Eaðe he muġen ben sore ofdrad ƿe sullen hes bihealde. |
| Digby | 274. | eaðe hi muġen bi ofherd ƿet sullen hine bihialde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 282. | eaðe hi muġen beo of dred. ƿe hine scule bi healde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 286. | Iepe he mupen ben of drard. ƿe hine sculled bi helde |
| Jesus | 282. | Epe heo mwue beon adred. ƿat heom schulde biholde. |
| McClean | 264. | ƿelle sore hi muze ben afered ƿat suiche sculle bihielde |

- M has the *adv.* **pelle** + *adv.* **sore** at the beginning of the line, where it is the *adv.* **eaðe** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- T includes the *adv.* **sore** where it is not present in any of the other MSS, except for M (see previous note) where it is found earlier in the line.
- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pa. part. pl.* **ofdrad/of-dred/of-drard**; J writes the *v. pa. part. pl.* **adred**; M writes the *v. pa. part. pl.* **afered**; D has the *v. pa. part. pl.* **ofherd** – this is most probably miswritten for **of-fered/afered** (or a variant form of).
- There is some small differences in the *word-order* in the second half-line, especially in T and D.
- T has the *pron. 3rd pl.* **hes** as does J in **heom**; D, E² and E¹ agree on the *pron. 3rd sg.* **hine**; M has a different reading with the *adj. pl.* **suiche** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **sculle**.

Ω300

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 289. | Ne mai non herte hit þenche ne tunge hit ne mai telle |
| Digby | 275. | Ne mai non herte hit iþenche ne no tunge telle |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 283. | Ne mei nan heorte hit iðenche. ne tunge ne can telle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 287. | Ne mai non heorte it þenche. ne no tunge ne can telle |
| Jesus | 283. | Ne maý non heorte hit þenche. ne no tunge telle. |

Lines Ω300 and Ω301 are not present in M.

- D, E¹ and J agree on the inclusion of the *adj.* **no** before the *n.* **tunge**, not present in T and E².
- T includes the *pron.* 3^d *sg.* (*inan.*) **hit** – a reading unique to this MS.
- T, E² and E¹ include the *neg. adv.* **ne** before the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **mai** (T) and *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **can** (E² and E¹); neither of these readings are present in D and J.

Ω301

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 290. | Hpu muchele pine ne hpu fele senden in helle |
| Digby | 276. | hu muchele pinen 7 hu uele bieð inne helle. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 284. | hu muchel pine na hu uele sunden inne helle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 288. | hu muchele pine. 7 hu vele. senden inne helle |
| Jesus | 284. | hw muche pýne. hw ueole ueondes. beoþ in þeostre helle. |

Lines Ω300 and Ω301 are not present in M.

- T and E² agree on the *cj.* **ne/na** where D and E¹ have the *cj* 7; neither reading is present in J.
- J includes the *pl. n.* **ueondes**: a reading unique to this MS.
- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **senden/sunden**, where D and J write the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **bieð/beoþ**: the meaning is the same in both variants.
- J includes the *adj.* (OE *þēoster*) **þeostre** preceding the *n.* **helle**: a reading unique to this MS.

Ω302

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 291. | Of þo pine þe þar bieð nelle ich eop naht lie |
| Digby | 277. | Þið þo pinen þet þer bieð nelle ich ȝeu noht lieȝen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 285. | Þið þa pine ðe þer beoð. nelle ich eop naht leoȝen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 289. | Of þo pine þe þere bued. nelle ic hou nout leiȝen |
| Jesus | 285. | for al þe pýne þat her is. nulle ich eu nouht lýe. |
| McClean | 145. | Vor of þar pine þat þar beoþ nelle ich 3o noþing leze |

Lines Ω302 and Ω303 occur much earlier in the MS of M (after Ω160 and Ω161) but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- T and E¹ agree on the *prep.* **of** at the beginning of the line (cf. note on M below); D and E² agree on the *prep.* **pið**; J and M have the *cj.* **for/vor**.
- M has the *prep.* **of** as the second word of the line – agreeing with T and E¹ after the initial *cj.*
- J includes the *adj.* **al** in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *adv.* **her** in the first half-line, where it is the *adv.* **þar/þer/þere** in all of the other MSS.
- J has the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **is**, where it is **bieð** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *n.* **noþing** where all the other MSS have the *neg. adv.* **naht** (Trintiy), or a variant thereof.

Ω303

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 292. | Nis hit bute gamen 7 glie of þat man mai here drie. |
| Digby | 278. | nis hit bute gamen 7 glie al þet man her mai driegen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 286. | nis hit bute gamen 7 gleo. eal þet man mei her dreogen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 290. | nis it bute gamen 7 gleo. al þat man mai here dreogen |
| Jesus | 286. | Nis hit bute gome and gleo. al þat mon maȝ her dreȝe. |
| McClean | 146. | Nis hit bute game 7 gleo her þat þat flesh mai dreze |

Lines Ω302 and Ω303 occur much earlier in the MS of M (after Ω160 and Ω161) but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D, J, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **al/cal** at the beginning of the second half-line; T writes the *prep.* **of** and M writes the *adv.* **her**.
- M writes the combination *cj.* **þat** + *def. art.* **þat** where all the other MSS have **þat/þet** functioning as a *rel. pron.* (*inan.*).
- There is variation in the *word-order* of the *adv.* **her** + *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **mai** in D in comparison with the other MSS.
- M writes the *n.* **flesh** where all of the other MSS have the *n.* **man/mon**.
- The *adv.* **here/her** is not present in M.

Ω304

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 293. | 7 ȝiet ne doð hem naht else þo in þe loðe bende |
| Digby | 279. | Ne doð ham noþing spo þo on þo loðe bende |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 287. | End ȝut ne deð heom naht sa þa. in ða laðe bende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 291. | Ac ȝet ne deð heom nout so þo. in þo loþe biende |
| Jesus | 287. | 7 ȝet ne doþ heom noþing so wo. in þe loþe bende. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- E¹ writes the *cj.* **ac** + *cj.* **ȝet**, where T, E² and J have 7/**end** + *cj.* **ȝiet/ȝut/ȝet**; neither reading is found in D.
- D and J agree on the *n.* **noþing** where it is the *n.* **naht/nout** in T, E² and E¹.
- T writes the *adv.* **else** where all the other MSS have the *adv.* **spo/sa/so**.

Ω305

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 294. | Spo þat he piten þat here pine sal nafre habben ende |
| Digby | 280. | spo þet hi niten þet here pine ne sal habben ende. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 288. | þet hi piteð þet heore pine sceal neure habbe ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 292. | bute þat hi piteð þet heore pine. ne scal neure habben ende |
| Jesus | 288. | Ase þat witen heore pȝne. ne schal habbe non ende. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- T and D agree on the *cj.* **spo**; E¹ has the *adv.* **bute**; J has the *cj.* **ase**; the reading is not present in E².
- J omits the *pron.* 3^d *pl.* **he/hi** present in all the other MSS in the first half-line.
- D writes the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *pl.* **niten** (*neg.*), where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind.* 3^d *sg.* **pitene/piteð/witen**.
- The second occurrence of the *cj.* **þat/þet**, found in all the other MSS in the first half-line, is not present in J.
- T and E² agree on the second half-line: **sal nafre habben ende/sceal neure habbe ende**. All of the other MSS include the *neg. adv.* **ne** at the beginning of the second half-line.
- The *adv.* **nafre/neure**, found in the other MSS, is not present in D or J.
- J includes the *adj.* **non** before the *n.* **end** – a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω306

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 295. | ƿar beð þe haðene men þe paren lage lease |
| Digby | 281. | ƿer bieð þo heþene men þet peren lagelease |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 289. | ƿar beoð þa heðene men. þe pære lage liese |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 292. | ƿer buð þo heþenemen. þe pere lape lese |
| Jesus | 289. | ƿar beoþ þe heþene men. þat were lawe leve. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- The scribe of J mistakenly writes *pl. adj.* **lawe leve** where it should be **lawe lese**. A later hand writes the letter 's' above **leve**.

Ω307

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 296. | ƿe nes naht of godes bode ne of godes hease. |
| Digby | 282. | ƿer naht of godes bode ne of godes hesne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 290. | ƿe nes naht of godes bi bode. ne of godes hese |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 294. | ƿe heom nas nout of godes bode. ne of godes hese |
| Jesus | 290. | þet nes nouht of godes forbode. ne of godes hese. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- The opening to the D line is incomplete: D writes the *adv.* **ƿer** where all the other MSS have the *pl. rel. pron.* **þe/þet**. The *v. pa. 3rd sg.* **nes/nes** present in all the other MSS is not found in D: it is probable that this is a textual corruption.
- E¹ includes the *pron. 3rd pl.* **heom** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E² writes the *n. pl.* **bi-bode** and J the *n. pl.* **forbode** where all the other MSS have the *n. pl.* **bode**; the meaning is retained in both of these texts although in J the command is more forcefully *negative*; one of *prohibition*.

Ω308

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 297. | Euele cristene men hie beð here iferen |
| Digby | 283. | Euele christene men hi bieð here iuere |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 291. | Vuele cristene men. hi beoð heore ifere |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 295. | Vuele cristenemen. hi bud here i vere |
| Jesus | 291. | Vuele cristenemen. beoþ þer heorure nere. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- The reading is different in J to all the other MSS in the second half-line where the scribe writes: **beoþ þer heorure nere**. The slightly odd syntax and the difference between the reading in this text and all the other MSS suggest that there was some corruption in the transcription process especially in the *adj. pl.* **heorure** (possibly from OE *ierre*) + *adj. pl.* **nere** where all the other MSS write the *poss. pron 3rd pl.* **here** + *n. pl.* (OE *gefēran*) **iferen** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω309

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 298. | þo þe here cristendom euele hielden here. |
| Digby | 284. | þo þet here christendom euele hielden hiere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 292. | þa ðe heore cristen dom. uuele heolde here |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 296. | þo þe heore cristen dom. vuele heolden here |
| Jesus | 292. | þeo þat heore cristendom. vuele heolden here. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

Ω310

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 299. | 7 ȝiet he beð aperse stede aniðer helle grunde |
| Digby | 285. | 7 ȝet hi bieð on perse stede in niþer helle grunde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 293. | ȝut hi beoð a purse stede. on ðere helle grund |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 297. | ȝut hi bud a purse stede. on þere helle grunde |
| Jesus | 293. | ȝet heo beoþ a wrse stude. anȝþe helle grunde. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- T and D agree on the *cj.* **7** at the beginning of the line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *prep.* **on** + *def. art.* **ðere/þere** where all the other MSS have the *prep.* + *adj.* in **aniðer** (T) or a variant thereof. The meaning is similar in all the MSS.

Ω311

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 300. | Ne sullen nafre cumen út for peni ne for punde. |
| Digby | 286. | ne sulle hi neure comen ut vor marke ne vor punde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 294. | ne scullen hi neure cumen út. for marke ne for punde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 298. | ne sculle hi neure comen vp. for marke ne for punde |
| Jesus | 294. | Ne schullen heo neuer cumen up. for marke. ne for punde. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- The *pron.* 3rd *pl.* **hi/heo** in the first half-line is present in all the MSS, except T.
- T, D and E² agree on the *adv.* **ut** where E¹ and J have the *adv.* **vp/up**.
- T writes the *n.* **peni** where all the other MSS have the *n.* **marke**: the meaning remains the same.

Ω312

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 301. | Ne mai hem noðer helpe þar ibede ne almesse |
| Digby | 287. | Ne mai ham noþer helpe þer bene ne elmesse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 295. | Ne mei heom naðer helpen þer. ibede ne elmesse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 299. | Ne mai heom noþer helpen þer. i bede ne almesse |
| Jesus | 295. | Ne maȝ helpe þer. nouþer beode ne almesse. |

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- The *pron.* 3rd *pl.* **hem/ham/heom** is found in all the MSS, except J which also has a slightly different *word-order*. The meaning, however, is the same in J as the other MSS.
- D writes the *n.* (OE *bēn*) **bene** where it is the *n. pl.* (OE *bed*) **ibede** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS; the meaning of the words is the same in this instance.

Ω313

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 302. | For naht solden bidde þar ore ne forgiuenesse. |
| Digby | 288. | vor naht hi solden bidde þer ore ne geuenesse. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 296. | for nis naðer inne helle. are ne forgiuenesse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 300. | for nis noþer inne helle. ore ne forgiuenesse |
| Jesus | 296. | for nys noþer in helle. ore ne yeuenesse. |

Lines Ω304–Ω313 are not present in M.

- There is significant variation between the texts in this line: T and D agree with each other throughout, except on one occasion (cf. following note) and J agrees with E² and E¹. There is a repetition in T and D of the ineffectual power of prayer in hell where the other texts carry this meaning into this line from the previous. Both variants, however, focus on the lack of mercy and forgiveness; the message is the same in all the texts although the emphasis is slightly different.
- The *pron. 3rd pl. hi* (D) is not present in T; it is probable that this is a scribal error or one of transmission as the sense of the line requires the *pron.*

Ω314

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 303. | Silde him elch man þe phile he mai pið þos helle pine. |
| Digby | 289. | Shilde him ech þe hpile he mai pið þo helle pine |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 297. | Sculde him ech man ðe hpile he muge of ðas helle pine |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 301. | Sculde him elc man þe pile he mai. of þos helle pine |
| Jesus | 297. | Nu schilde him vȳch mon hwile he may. wiþ þe ilke pȳne. |
| McClean | 265. | Scilde him euerich man piþ þe helle pine |

- J begins the line with the *adv. nu* – a reading unique to this MS.
- M writes the *adj. euerich* where all the other MSS (except D) have the *adj. elch* (T) or a variant thereof; *ech* in D is a *pron.* with the omission of the *n. man/mon* which is found in all the other MSS.
- The clause: *þe phile he mai* (T), or a variant thereof (see following note on J), found in all the other MSS, is not present in M.
- The *def. art. þe* as part of the *cj. þe-phile* (T), or a variant thereof, is not found in J.
- T, D and J agree on the *prep. pið/wiþ* where M, E² and E¹ have the *prep. of*.
- D and M agree on the *pl. def. art. þo/þe*, before the *n. helle*, in the second half-line; T, E² and E¹ write the *dem. pron. þos/ðas* before the *n. helle*; J, however, writes the *dem. pron. þe-ilke* and does not have the *n. helle*.

Ω315

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 304. | 7 parnie his frend þar pið spo ich habbe ido mine. |
| Digby | 290. | 7 parni ech his frend þer pið spo ich pille mine. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 298. | 7 perni ech his freond þer pið spa ich habbe mine |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 302. | And parnie æc his frend þer pid. so ic pulle habbe mine |
| Jesus | 298. | And warnȳ vich his freond. so ich habbe mȳne. |
| McClean | 266. | Þarni euerich man his frend 7 suo ich pulle do mine |

- The *cj. 7/and* is present in all the MSS at the beginning of this line, except for M.
- D, E¹, E² and J agree on the *pron. ech/æc/vich* before **his**; this reading is not found in T and M writes the *adj. euerich* + *n. man* instead of the *pron.* The overall meaning of the line is not altered by either variation.
- M includes the *cj. 7* at the beginning of the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *adv. þar-pið* (T), or a variant thereof, is found in all of the MSS at the beginning of the second half-line, except for J and M.
- D, E¹ and M agree on the *v. pr. ind. 1st sg. pille/pulle* in the second half-line, however, this *v.* is crossed through in E¹ and the *v. pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe* is interlined above; all of the other MSS agree on the *v. pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe*. The crossed through version, present in E¹, has been left in this edition because it gains authority from the other MSS (D and M) which agree with it.
- T includes the *v. pa. part. ido* and M includes the *v. inf. do* in the second half-line; neither of these readings are present in any of the other MSS.

Ω316

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 305. | Þo þe silde hem ne cunnen ich hem pille tache |
| Digby | 291. | Þo þet silden hem ne cunne ich ham pille teche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 299. | þa ðe sculden heom ne cunne. ich heom pulle teche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 303. | þo þe scilden heom ne cunnen. ic heom pulle teache |
| Jesus | 299. | þeo þat schilde heom ne kunnen. ich heom wille teche. |
| McClean | 267. | 7 þe þat scilde ham ne cunne þis ham pile teche |

- M begins the line with the *cj. 7*, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M writes the *dem. pron. þis* where all of the other MSS write the *pron. 1st sg. ich*.

Ω317

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 306. | Ich can ben aiðer ġief isal lichame 7 sople lache. |
| Digby | 292. | ich kan bien aider ef ich sal lichames 7 saule leche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 300. | ich kan beon ġief ich sceal. lichame 7 saple leche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 304. | Ich kan beo ġif i scal. lichame 7 soule liache |
| Jesus | 300. | Ich con beon eȳþer if ich schal. lȳcome and soule leche. |
| McClean | 268. | Þis pord maȳ aiþer zef hi sculle beo lichames 7 saule leche |

- M has a different reading from all of the other MSS in the first half-line writing: **þis pord maȳ beo** rather than **Ich can ben** (T), or a variant thereof, suggesting that it is the ministry, or words on the page, rather than the preacher himself that is salvation. It is a much more open reading but the implications are the same.
- The *adv. aiðer* (T), or variant thereof, found in all the other MSS, is not present in E² and E¹.
- M writes the *pron. 3rd pl. hi* where it is *pron. 1st sg. i-/ich/i*; the *pron.* in this clause is a reference to the audience: 'if they shall allow it' (cf. first note).

Ω318

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 307. Late pe þat god forbet alle mankenne |
| Digby | 293. Lete pe þet god vorbiet alle mankenne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 301. Lete pe þet god for but. ealle manne cunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 305. Lete pe þat god for bet. alle mancunne |
| Jesus | 301. Lete we þat god forbed. alle mon kunne. |
| McClean | 269. Lete pe þat god forbet alle mankinne |

The second half-line of Ω318, **alle mankenne**, and the first half-line of Ω319, **7 do pel spo he us hot**, in D have been transposed, as was the intention of the scribe, to reflect the correct order of the text. An ·a· in the margin preceding the text indicates that this half-line should be read first.

Ω319

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 308. 7 do pe þat he us hat 7 silde pe us pid senne. |
| Digby | 294. 7 do pel spo he us hot 7 parin us pið senne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 302. 7 do pe þet he us het. 7 sculde pe us pið sunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 306. 7 do pe þat he us hat. 7 scilde pe us pid sunne |
| Jesus | 302. And do we þat he vs hat. 7 schilde we vs wiþ sunne. |
| McClean | 270. Do pe þat god us het 7 perie us piþ senne |

The second half-line of Ω318, **alle mankenne**, and the first half-line of Ω319, **7 do pel spo he us hot**, in D have been transposed, as was the intention of the scribe, to reflect the correct order of the text. A ·b· in the margin preceding the text indicates that this half-line should be read second.

- The *cj. 7/and*, which begins the line in all of the other MSS, is not present in M.
- D writes the *adv. pel* + *adv. spo* where all the other MSS write the *pron. 1st pl. pe* + *rel. þat* (T), or variants thereof.
- M writes the *n. god* where all the other MSS have the *pron. 3rd sg. he*.
- D and M agree on the *v. pr. sbj. 1st pl. parin/perie* where all the other MSS write the *v. pr. sbj. 1st pl. silde* (T) or a variant thereof – this is followed by the *pron. 1st pl. pe* which is not present in either D or M.

Ω320

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 309. Luue pe god mid ure herte 7 mid al ure mihte |
| Digby | 295. Louie god mid ure hierte 7 mid al ure mihte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 303. Luuie pe god mid ure heorte. 7 mid al ure mihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 307. Luuie pe god mid vre heorte. 7 mid al vre mihte |
| Jesus | 303. Luuýe we god mýd vre heorte. 7 mýd alle vre mýhte. |
| McClean | 271. Louie god mid herte 7 mid al ure mizte |

- The *pron. 1st pl. pe/we* is not present in D and M, where it is found in all the other MSS in the first half-line.
- The *poss. pron. 1st pl. ure/vre*, is not present in M, where it is found in all the other MSS in the first half-line.

Ω321

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 310. | 7 ure emcristen alse us self spo us tached drihte. |
| Digby | 296. | 7 ure emcristene spo us self spo us lereð drihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 304. | 7 ure emcristen eal us sulf. spa us lerre drihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 308. | 7 ure emcristene alse us suelf. spa us lerre drihte |
| Jesus | 304. | Vre euen cristen. as vs seolf. for so vs lerede dryhte. |
| McClean | 272. | 7 ure nexte al suo us self suo us het ure drizte |

- The *cj. 7* begins the line in all the MSS except for J.
- M writes the *n. nexte* where it is *n. emcristen/emcristene/euen cristen* in all the other MSS.
- T, E¹ and J agree on the *adv. alse/alse/as*; D writes the *adv. spo*; M writes the *adv. al-suo*; E² mistakenly writes the *adv. eal*.
- J includes the *cj. for*, at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T writes the *v. pr. 3rd sg. tached* where J, E² and E¹ write the *v. pa. 3rd sg. lerre/lerede*; D writes the *pr. 3rd sg.* form of the same *v.* in *lereð*; M, however, has the *pa.* form of the *v. pr. 3rd sg. het* + *possess. pron. 1st sg. ure* – a reading not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω322

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 311. | Al þat me radeð 7 singed bfore godes borde |
| Digby | 297. | Al þet men ret 7 singð biuoren godes borde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 305. | Eal þet me ræt 7 eal þet me singð. bi fore godes borde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 309. | Al þat me rat 7 singð. be fore godes borde |
| Jesus | 305. | Al þat me redeþ and sýngeþ. bi voren godes borde. |
| McClean | 273. | Al þat me redeþ 7 sincþ biuore godes borde |

- D, E² and E¹ agree on the *cont.* form of the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. ret/ræt/rat* where it is *radeð/redeþ* in the other MSS.
- E² repeats the phrase *eal þet me* before the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. singð* where it is not repeated in the other MSS.

Ω323

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 312. | Al hit hanged 7 halt bi þese tþam porde |
| Digby | 298. | al hit hongeð 7 halt bi þise tþam porde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 306. | Eeal hit hanget 7 bi halt. bi ðisse tþam porde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 310. | Al it hanged 7 bi halt. bi þisse tþam porde |
| Jesus | 306. | Al hit hongeþ and hald. bi þisse twam worde. |
| McClean | 274. | Al hit hongeþ 7 halt bi þe ilke tuam porde |

- E² and E¹ include the *pref. bi* in the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-halt* where it is *halt/hald* in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *dem. adj. þe-ilke* where it is the *dem. adj. þese/þise/ðisse* in all the other MSS.

Ω324

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 313. | Alle godel laȝes hie fulleð þe nepe 7 þe ealde |
| Digby | 299. | Godes laȝe he uoluelð þo niepe 7 þo ealde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 307. | alle godes laȝe he fulð. ðe nipe 7 ða ealde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 311. | Alle godes lape he fulð. þe nepe 7 þe ealde |
| Jesus | 307. | Alle godes lawe he fulleþ. þe newe. 7 ek þe olde. |
| McClean | 275. | 7 alle godes laȝe he felþ þe nipe laȝe 7 þe zelde |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* 7 where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *adj. pl.* **alle** is present in the first half-line of all the MSS except D.
- The scribe of T mistakenly writes **godel** for the *poss. n.* **godes**.
- M repeats the *pl. n.* **laȝe** in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J includes the *adv.* **ek**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω325

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 314. | Þeþe þos tpo luues halt 7 pile hes pel healde. |
| Digby | 300. | þet þos tpo loue haueð 7 pel hi pile healde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 308. | þe ðe ðas tpa luue hafð. 7 pel hi pule healde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 312. | he þe þos tpa luue haueð. 7 pel hi pule healde |
| Jesus | 308. | þat haueþ þeos ilke two luuen. 7 wel heom wile atholde. |
| McClean | 276. | Þe þis laȝe uelleþ 7 can hi pel ýhelde |

- There are differences in the *word-order* in T, M and significant differences in J.
- T, E² and E¹ begin the line with a combination of the *dem. pron.* **þe** + *rel. pron.* **þe/ðe**; D, J and M texts just have the *rel. pron.* **þet/þat/þe**; E¹ begins the line with the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** + *rel. pron.* **þe**. In all of these variants the translation remains 'who hath' or 'he who hath'.
- J writes the *dem. pron.* **þeos-ilke** where all of the other MSS do not write the *pron.* (OE *ilca*) **ilke** and simply write the *dem. pron.* **þos/ðas/þis**.
- M has a different reading in the first half-line: the scribe writes the *pl. n.* **laȝe** + the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **uelleþ**. The 'laws', being referred to here are the same as the 'two loves' found in the other MSS and are a reference to the 'old' and 'new' laws in the previous line. The meaning is, therefore, maintained in M.
- T writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **halt** where it is **haueð** (D), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS (the *word-order* is different in J) except for M which has an alternative reading (cf. note above).
- M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **can** where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pile** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS (the *word-order* is different in the second half-line of T).

Ω326

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 315. | Ac hie bieð pel arefeð heald spo ofte pe gulteð alle |
| Digby | 301. | Ac hi bieð harue ihialde pel spo ofte pe gelteð alle |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 309. | Ac hi beoð punder earueð healde. spa ofte gulteð ealle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 313. | Ac hi buð punder erued helde. spa ofte pe gulted alle |
| Jesus | 309. | Ah soþ ich hit eu segge. ofte we agulteþ alle. |
| McClean | 277. | Ac strong hie is to ýhelde so ofte pe agelteþ alle |

- There is significant variation between the MSS in the first half-line.
- E² and E¹ agree in their reading: *pron. 3rd pl.* **hi** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **beoð/buð** + *adv.* **punder** + *pl. adj.* **earueð-healde/erued-helde** (from OE *eorfoðe+healdan*); the reading in T is similar but the *adv.* **pel** has been written where E² and E¹ have **punder** (the meaning is similar); the meaning is the same in D but the *word-order* is different which, therefore, affects the construction and form: *adj. pl.* (OE *eorfoðe*) **harue** + *v. inf.* **ihialde** + *adv.* **pel**; M has a very similar interpretation with the half-line: *adj.* **strong** + *pron. 3rd sg.* **hie** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **is** + *inf. mark.* **to** + *v. inf.* **ýhelde**; the reading in J has a different translation: *adv.* **soþ** + *pron. 1st sg.* **ich** + *pron. 3rd sg.* (*inan.*) **hit** + *pron. 2nd pl.* **eu** + *v. pr. ind. 1st sg.* **segge** (ModE 'truthfully, I say it to you')
- The *adv.* **spo/spa/so** is not present in the second half-line of J where it is found in all of the other MSS.
- The *pron. 1st pl.* **pe/we** is not present in the second half-line of E², where it is found in all the other MSS.

Ω327

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 316. | For hit is strong te stonde longe 7 liht hit is to falle. |
| Digby | 302. | vor hit is strang to stonden veste 7 liht hit is to ualle. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 310. | For hit is strang to strande lange. 7 liht is to fealle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 314. | for it is strong to stonde longe. 7 liht it is to falle |
| Jesus | 310. | for strong hit is to stonde longe. 7 lȳht hit is to falle. |
| McClean | 278. | Strong hit is to stonde longe 7 lizt hit is to falle |

- The *cj. for* is present at the beginning of the line in all the MSS except M.
- The *word-order* in J and M differs from all the other MSS in the first half-line.
- D writes the *adv. veste* where all the other MSS have the *adv. longe*.
- The *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.) hit/it*, found in the second half-line of all the other MSS, is not present in E².

Ω328

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 317. | Ac drihte crist ȝeue us strengðe stonde þat pe moten |
| Digby | 303. | Drihte christ us iȝieue stonde þet pe mote |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 311. | Aac drihte crist he ȝiue us strengðe. stande þet pe mote |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 315. | Ac drihte crist he ȝiue us strenȝe. stonde þat pe mote |
| Jesus | 311. | Ah drȳhten crist vs ȳeue strengþe. stonde þat we mote. |
| McClean | 279. | Ac crist us zeue his miȝte stonde þat pe mote |

- All of the MSS begin with the *cj. ac/acc/ac/ah*, except for D where it is not present.
- The *n. drihte* (T), or a variant thereof, is found in all of the other MSS preceding the *n. crist* (T), or variant thereof, except for M where it is not present.
- E² and E¹ agree on the inclusion of the *pron. 3^d sg. he* in the first half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *n. strengðe* (T), or a variant thereof, is found in all of the MSS except for D and M; M has the alternative reading; *poss. pron. 3^d sg. his + n. miȝte*.

Ω329

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 318. | 7 of alle ure gultes ȝieue us cume bote. |
| Digby | 304. | 7 of alle ure vallen he one us come to bote. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 312. | 7 of ealle ure gultes unne us cume to bote |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 316. | 7 of alle vre gultes unne us come bote |
| Jesus | 312. | And of alle vre sunnen. vs lete cume to bote. |
| McClean | 280. | 7 of alle ure sunne leue us come to bote |

- T, E² and E¹ agree on the *pl. n. gultes* where J and M agree on the *pl. n. sunnen/sunne* and D writes the *pl. n. vallen*.
- There is a lot of variation between the MSS at the beginning of the second half-line: E² and E¹ agree with D on the *v. pr. sbj. 3^d sg. (OE unnan) one/unne*, although this is preceded in D by the *pron. 3^d sg. he* – a reading unique to this MS; T writes the *v. pr. sbj. 3^d sg. ȝieue*; J writes the *v. pr. sbj. 3^d sg. (OE lætan)* and M has the *v. pr. sbj. 3^d sg. (OE līefan) leue*. The meaning in all is similar.
- T and E¹ omit the *prep. to* before the *n. (OE bōt) bote*.

Ω330

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 319. | ƿe pilnieð after ƿereldes ƿele ƿe longe ne mai ileste |
| Digby | 305. | ƿe pilneð efter ƿerldes ƿele ƿet longe nele ileste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 313. | ƿe pilnieð efter ƿoruld ƿele. ðe lange ne mei leste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 317. | ƿe pilnieð efter ƿorlde ƿele. ƿe longe ne mai ileste |
| Jesus | 313. | Vve wilneþ after worlde ȝhte. þat longe ne maȝ ileste. |
| McClean | 281. | ƿe pilnieþ after ƿorlde ƿel þat lange nele ileste |

- J writes the *n.* (OE *æht*) **ȝhte** where all the other MSS write the *n.* **pele**.
- D and M agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **nele** where all the other MSS write the *neg. adv.* **ne** + *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **mai/mei/maȝ**.

Ω331

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 320. | 7 legeð mast al ure spinc on þing unstedefast. |
| Digby | 306. | 7 leggeð almest ure ispinch on þinge vnstedeueste |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 314. | 7 leggeð eal ure ispinch. on ðinge unstedefeste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 318. | 7 leggeð al ure ispinch. on þinge un stede faste |
| Jesus | 314. | And mest leggeþ vre swȳnk. on þing vnstudeueste. |
| McClean | 282. | 7 leggeþ muchel ure suinch in þing unstedeuaste |

- E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **eal/al** in the first half-line; T writes the *adj.* **mast** + *adj.* **al** where it is the *adj.* **almest** in D and the *adj.* **mest** in J (cf. the difference in *word-order*); M writes the *adv.* **muchel** in place of the previous examples.

Ω332

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 321. | Spunke for godes luue half þat ƿe doð for eihte. |
| Digby | 307. | spngke ƿe vor godes loue spo ƿe doð vor eȝte |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 315. | Spunche ƿe for godes luue. healf þet ƿe doð for æhte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 319. | Sspunch ƿe for godes luue. half þet ƿe doð for ehte |
| Jesus | 315. | If þat we swunken for gode. half. þat we doþ for eȝhte. |
| McClean | 283. | Suonke ƿe uor godes loue also ƿe doþ uor eȝte |

- The reading in the first half-line of J is a variation on the other MSS, although the meaning remains the same: J includes the *cj.* **if-þat** where it is not present in any of the other MSS. J writes the *n.* **god**, where it is the *poss.* form **godes** in all the other MSS, and the *n.* **luue/loue**, found in all the other MSS, is not present.
- The *pron. fth pl.* **pe**, in the first half-line, is not present in T, where it is found in all the other MSS.
- T, J, E² and E¹ agree on the *adv.* **half** + the *rel. pron.* **þat/þet** at the beginning of the second half-line; D writes the *adv.* **spo** and M has the *adv.* **also**.

Ω333

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 322. | Nare pe naht spo ofte bicherd ne spo euele bikeihte |
| Digby | 308. | nere pe so ofte bicherd ne spo euele bikagte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 316. | ne beo pe naht spa of bicherd. ne sa uuele bi kehte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 320. | ne pere pe nout spa bi cherd. ne spa vuele bi cauhte |
| Jesus | 316. | Nere we nouht so ofte bi cherd. ne so vuele by þouhte. |
| McClean | 284. | Nere pe noþing suo ofte forgelt ne bipezte |

- T, D, J and M agree on the *v. pa. ind. 1st pl. nare/nere* where E² has the *neg. adv. ne* + *v. pr. sbj. 1st pl. beo* and E¹ has the *adv. ne* + *v. pa. ind. 1st pl. pere*.
- The *neg. adv. naht* (T), or variant thereof, is not found in D, where it is present in all the other texts except for M, which writes the *adv. noþing*.
- The *adv. ofte/of* is present in all of the MSS except for E¹.
- M writes the *v. pp. pl. forgelt* where all the other MSS have the *v. pp. pl. (OE becierran) bicherd* (T) or a variant thereof.
- The *adv. spo* + *adv. euele* (T), or variants thereof, is not found in M
- T, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. pp. pl. bikeihte* (T) or a variant thereof; J writes the *v. pp. pl. by-þouhte* and M the *v. pp. pl. (OE beþācan) bipezte*.

Ω334

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 323. | Ȝief pe serueden god half þat pe doð for erminges |
| Digby | 309. | Ef pe polden herie gode spo pe doð arminges |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 317. | Ȝif pe serueden gode spa pe doð erminges |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 321. | Gif pe serueden god. so pe doð erninges |
| Jesus | 317. | ȝef we seruede god. so we doþ earmýnges. |
| McClean | 285. | ȝef pe seruede gode alsuo pe doþ ermiggas |

- M begins with the *cj. 7* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D writes the *v. pa. 3rd pl. polden* + *v. inf. (OE herian) herie* where all the other MSS have the *v. pa. 1st pl. serueden/seruede*. The emphasis in D is on 'praise', rather than servitude, but the misplacement of loyalty and values is still the main emphasis in the lines.
- T differs from all the other MSS at the beginning of the second half-line in writing the *adv. half* + *rel. pron. þat* where all the other MSS write the *adv. spo/spa/so/alsuo*. The reading in T emphasises more definitely the short-fall in the audience's choices.
- As a result of the variation in T (cf. previous note) the scribe includes *prep. for*, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E¹ writes the *v. al n. pl. erninges* where it is the *n. pl. erminges* (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

Ω335

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 324. | ƿe mihten habben more an heuene ƿa ȝierles 7 kinges |
| Digby | 310. | pe mihten richer bi mid him ƿanne eorles oƿer kinges. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 318. | mare pe hedden en heuene. ðenne eorles her 7 kinges |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 322. | more pe haueden of heuene. ƿanne eorles oƿer kinges |
| Jesus | 318. | we Mihte habbe more of heouene. ƿan eorles oƿer kȳnges. |
| McClean | 286. | ƿe mizte in heuene habbe al so muche ase erles oƿer kinges |

- There is significant variation between the MSS in the first half-line, although the meaning is largely the same:
- E² and E¹ mostly agree with each other in the first half-line – the only difference being that E² writes the *prep.* **en** where E¹ writes the *prep.* **of**.
- All the other MSS agree on the *v. pa. 1st pl.* **mihten/mihte/mizte** where the reading is different in E² and E¹ (cf. above); this is followed in T and J by the *v. inf.* **habbe**; M also has this reading but the *word-order* is different and, therefore, the *inf. v.* **habbe** is found later in the clause; D, however, has the *pl. adj.* **richer**. This is followed in D by the *v. inf.* **bi** + *prep.* **mid** + *pron. 3rd sg.* **him**: this is a reading that does not occur in any of the other MSS. The *pron.* **him** is, of course, in reference to God and juxtaposes, as do all of the other MSS, the rewards of heaven with those of this life. It does, however, suggest a more immediate relationship with God. M, which has a different *word-order* from the other MSS, writes the *adv.* **al-so** + *n.* **muche** where the other texts, apart from D (cf. previous), write the *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **more/mare**.
- M writes the *cj.* **ase**, at the beginning of the second half-line, where all the other MSS have the *cj.* **ƿa/ƿanne/ðenne/ƿan**.
- E² includes the *adv.* **her**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and E² agree on the *cj.* **7** between the *n.s.* **ȝierles** and **kinges** (T) – **eorles her 7 kinges** in E² (cf. note above), where it is the *cj.* **oƿer** in all of the other MSS.

Ω336

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 325. | Ne muge pe perien naðer ne pið þurst ne pið hunger |
| Digby | 311. | Ne mugen pe us biperien her pið þurste ne pið hungre |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 319. | Ne mugen hi perien heom pið chele. pið þurste ne pið hunger |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 323. | Ne mupen hi her perien heom pid chele. pid þurst. ne pid hunger |
| Jesus | 319. | Ne mowe nought weryen heom. wiþ chele ne wiþ hunger. |

Lines Ω336–Ω339 are not present in M.

- T and D agree on the *pron. 1st pl.* **pe**, in the first half-line, where E² and E¹ have the *pron. 3rd pl.* **hi**; J does not have either *pron.* at this point and writes the *neg. adv.* **nought**.
- D includes the *reflex pron 1st pl.* **us** after **pe** – a reading unique to this MS.
- E¹ includes the *adv.* **her**, a reading that it shares with D, although, the *adv.* in D is found later in the first half-line.
- E² and E¹ and J agree on the *reflex. pron. 3rd pl.* **heom** at the end of the first half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- T writes the *cj.* **naðer-ne**, at the end of the first half-line, a reading that is not present in any of the other manuscripts.
- There is some variation between the texts in the list of ‘ailments’/‘suffering’ in the second half-line: E², E¹ and J agree on the *n.* **chele**, where this is not present in either T or D; J omits the *n.* **þurst/þurste** where it is present in all the other MSS; all of the texts include the *n.* **hunger** which is found in the end-line position.

Ω337

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 326. | Ne pið elde ne pið elde ne pið deað þe elder ne þe ʒeunger |
| Digby | 312. | ne pið elde ne pið deað se eldre ne se ʒungre. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 320. | ne pið ulde. ne pið deaðe. þe uldre ne ðe ʒeonger |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 324. | ne pið elde ne pið deð. þe eldre ne þe ʒeonger |
| Jesus | 320. | Ne wiþ elde ne wiþ deþe. þe eldure ne þe yonge. |

Lines Ω336–Ω339 are not present in M.

- T repeats the phrase **ne pið elde**: this is a scribal error (*dittography*)
 - J writes the *adj.* **yonge** in end-line position. This appears to be a scribal error for the *cpv. adj.* ModE ‘younger’ – found in all the other MSS.
-

Ω338

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 327. | Ac þar nis hunger ne þurst. deað ne unhalðe ne elde. |
| Digby | 313. | þer nis hunger ne þurst deað hunhelðe ne elde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 321. | Ac ðer nis hunger ne ðurst. ne dieð. ne unhelðe ne elde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 325. | Ac þer nis hunger ne þurst ne deð. ne unhelþe ne elde |
| Jesus | 321. | Ah þer nys hunger ne þurst. ne deþ. ne vnhelþe ne elde. |

Lines Ω336–Ω339 are not present in M.

- The *cj.* **ac** at the beginning of the line is present in all of the MSS, except D.
 - There is some variation in the usage of the *cj.* **ne** in the second half-line: it is not present in T and D before the *n.* **deað**, where it is found in all the other MSS; it is not present in D before the *n.* **hunhelðe**, where it is found in all the other MSS.
-

Ω339

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 328. | Of þesse riche þe þencheð to ofte of þare alto selde. |
| Digby | 314. | to ofte man bicareð þis lif 7 þet al to selde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 322. | of þisse riche þe ðencheð ofte. 7 of þere to selde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 326. | of þisse riche þe þenchet oft. 7 of þere to selde |
| Jesus | 322. | Of þis world we þencheþ ofte. and þer of al to selde. |

Lines Ω336–Ω339 are not present in M.

- The reading in D differs from all the others in the first half-line of Ω339: the emphasis on the transience of this life and of worldly goods is evoked in both variations, as is man’s unwillingness to consider the afterlife when faced with the immediate enticements of this one. D, however, focuses on demonstrating that man cares too much for this life, where all the other MSS state that man thinks too much on this world/kingdom/riches (cf. note below) and does not consider the afterlife.
- J writes the *n.* **world** and D the *n.* **lif** where the other MSS agree on the *n.* **riche**. The *n.* **riche** in T, E² and E¹ can be interpreted as ModE ‘kingdom’ as well as ‘riches’, giving a much closer reading between all of the texts than if it were purely financial.
- T includes the *adv.* **to** before the *adv.* **ofte** where the only other MS to have such a reading is in D (which has a different *word-order* and variation in meaning – cf. notes above).

Ω340

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 329. | ƿe solden biþenchen us ƿel ofte 7 ilomo |
| Digby | 315. | ƿe solden us biþenche bet ofte 7 ƿel ilome |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 323. | ƿe scolden ealle us biðenche ofte. 7 ƿel ilome |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 327. | ƿe scolden alle us bi þenche oft 7 ƿel ilome |
| Jesus | 323. | Vve schulde vs bi þenche. wel ofte and wel ilome. |
| McClean | 291. | ƿe scolde us biþenche ofte 7 ƿel ylome |

Lines Ω340-Ω341 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω350 and Ω351 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There are some differences in the *word-order* in T.
- E² and E¹ include the *pl. adj. ealle/alle* before the *reflex. pron. us* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D includes the *adv. bet* at the end of the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and J include the *adv. ƿel* before the *adv. ofte* where it does not occur in any of the other MSS. However, the same *adv.* does occur in all the other MSS before the *adv. ilome/ylome* (in end-line position) – this *adv.* is repeated in J but not in T.
- The scribe of T writes **ilomo** for the *adv. ilome* (OE *gelōme*) by mistake.

Ω341

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 330. | Hpat pe beð to hpan pe sullen 7 of hpan pe come. |
| Digby | 316. | hpet pe bieð. to hþam pe sulle 7 of hþam pe come. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 324. | hpet pe beoð to phan pe scule. 7 of hpan pe come. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 328. | hpet pe beð. 7 to pan pe sculle. 7 of pan pe come |
| Jesus | 324. | hwat we beoþ. to hwan we schulen. 7 of hwan we comen. |
| McClean | 292. | þhat pe beþ to phan pe sculle 7 phar of pe come |

Lines Ω340-Ω341 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω350 and Ω351 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M writes the *adv. þhar-of*, in the second half-line, where it is the *prep. of* + *pron. þhan* (T), or variants thereof, in all other MSS – the meaning, however, remains the same.

Ω342

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 331. | Hþu litle hpile pe bieð her hþu longe elles hpare |
| Digby | 317. | Hu litle hpile pe bieð hier hu longe elles hwere |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 325. | Hú litle hpile pe beoð her. hú lange elles hpare |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 329. | Hu lutel pile pe beð her. hu longe elles pare |
| Jesus | 325. | hw lutle hwile we beoþ here. hw longe elles hware. |

Lines Ω342 and Ω343 are not present in M.

Ω343

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 332. | Hpat pe mugen hebben her 7 hpat pe findeð þare. |
| Digby | 318. | hwet we muger hebben hier 7 hpet vinden þere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 326. | hpet pe muge hebben her. 7 hpet finde þere |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 330. | hpat pe mugen hebben her. 7 hpet elles hpare |

Lines Ω342 and Ω343 are not present in M.

Line Ω343 is not present in J (cf. Ω344).

- D writes **muger** for the *v. pr. ind. 1st pl. mugen* – this is likely to be a scribal error.
- T writes the *pron. 1st pl. þe* (a reading not present in any of the other MSS) + the *v. pr. ind. 1st pl. findeð* where it is the *inf.* form of the *v.* in **vinden** (D) and **finde** (E²); E¹ has the *adv.* **elles-hpare** as an alternative reading.

Ω344

| | | |
|-------|------|--|
| Jesus | 326. | 7 after gode wel wurchen. þenne ne þuruue noht kare. |
|-------|------|--|

Although this line is the second half of the couplet attached to line Ω342, it has been given its own line as it does not occur in any of the other MSS.

Ω345

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 333. | Gief paren pise men þus pe solden þenchen |
| Digby | 319. | Ef pere pise men þus pe solden þenche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 327. | gief pe pere pise men. ðis pe scolde ðenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 331. | Gif pe pere pise men. þis pe scolden iþenche |
| Jesus | 327. | If we were wýse men. þus we schulde þenche. |
| McClean | 293. | zef pere piseman þus pe scolde þenche |

Lines Ω345–Ω348 in M have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. They occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω340 and Ω341 which has also been transposed.

- The *pron. 1st pl. þe/we*, found in the first half-line of all the other MSS, is not present in T, D and M, where its placement is necessary to the meaning of the clause.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *dem. pron.* **ðis/þis** where the other MSS have the *adv.* **þus**.

Ω346

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 334. | Bute pe purðen us ipar þis pereld us pile drenchen |
| Digby | 320. | bute pe purðe us iper þis porld us pile adrenche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 328. | bute pe purðe us iper. ðeos poruld pule us for drenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 332. | bute pe purþe us ipar. þes porld us pule for drenche |
| Jesus | 328. | Bute we wurþe vs iwar. þes world vs wile for drenche. |
| McClean | 294. | 7 bute pe prþe us ipar þe uorld us ple adrenche |

Lines Ω345–Ω348 in M have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. They occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω340 and Ω341 which has also been transposed.

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **7** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M has the *def. art.* **þe** where it is the *dem. adj.* **þis/ðeos/þes** in all of the other MSS.
- The *word order* **pule us** in E² is the reverse in all of the other MSS.
- T writes the *v. inf.* **drenchen** in end-line position; D and M agree on the *v. inf.* **adrenche**; E², E¹ and J have the *v. inf.* **for-drenche**.

Ω347

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 335. | Mest alle men hit ȝieueð drinken of on euele senche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 329. | Mest ealle men he ȝieueð drinche. of ane deofles scenche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 333. | Mest alle men he ȝiued drinke. of one deofles scenche |
| Jesus | 329. | Mest alle men he ȝeueþ drȳnke. of one deofles [senche] |
| McClean | 295. | Mest manne hie zeueþ drinch of one duole scenche |

Lines Ω345–Ω348 in M have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. They occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω340 and Ω341 which has also been transposed.

Lines Ω347 and Ω348 are not present in Digby.

- The *adj.* **alle/ealle**, found in the first half-line of all the other MSS, is not present in M.
- T and M agree on the *inan.* form of the *pron.* 3rd *sg.* **hit/hie** where the other texts have the *pron.* 3rd *sg.* **he** with *masc.* reference (not grammatical).
- T writes the *adj.* **euele** and M writes the *adj.* (OE *do*) **duole** where J, E² and E¹ have the *poss. n.* **deofles**.
- The *n.* **senche** (T) or variant thereof, is not present in J, where it is found in all the other MSS – it has been added to J after the line-end in a later hand.

Ω348

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 336. | He sal him cunnen silde wel ȝief hit him nele screnche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 330. | he sceal him cunne sculde þel. ȝif he hine nele screnche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 334. | he sceal him cunne sculde þel. ȝif he him nele screnche |
| Jesus | 330. | he schal him cunne schilde wel. ȝef he him [wile bi þenche] |
| McClean | 296. | He scal him cunne scilde þel ȝef hie him nele screnche |

Lines Ω345–Ω348 in M have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. They occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω340 and Ω341 which has also been transposed.

Lines Ω347 and Ω348 are not present in D.

- T and M agree on the *inan.* form of the *pron.* 3rd *sg.* **hit/hie**, where the other texts have the *pron.* 3rd *sg.* **he** with *masc.* reference (not grammatical), in the second half-line.
- The line in J concludes after the *reflex. pron.* 3rd *sg.* **him**. The words **wile bi þenche** have been added after the end of the line in the same hand that completes the previous line in J.

Ω349

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 337. | Mid al mihtin godes luue úte pe us biperien |
| Digby | 321. | Vor almihti godes luue ute pe us biperien |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 331. | Mid ealmihtiges godes luue. ute pe us bi perien |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 335. | Mid ealmihtes godes luue. vte pe us bi perien |
| Jesus | 331. | Mid almýhtýes godes luue. vte we vs werie. |
| McClean | 287. | Vor almižti godes loue pute pe us perie |

Lines Ω349-Ω352 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω334 and Ω335 and preceded those, from the same MS, that begin at Ω340 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D and M agree on the *prep.* **vor** where all the other MSS have the *prep.* **mid**
- The *pref.* **bi-** before the *inf. v.* **werie/perie** is not present in J and M, where it is found in all of the other MSS.

Ω350

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 338. | ƿið þesses preches poreldes luue þat hit ne muȝe us derien. |
| Digby | 322. | þises precches ƿerldes loue þet hi ne muȝen us derien. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 332. | ƿið ðises precches poreldes luue. þet he maȝe us derien |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 336. | ƿid þes precches ƿorldes luue. þat he ne maȝe us derien |
| Jesus | 332. | wiþ þeos wrecche worldes luue. þe heo vs ne derýe. |
| McClean | 288. | ƿiþ þe precche ƿorldes pele þat hie us ne derie |

Lines Ω349-Ω352 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω334 and Ω335 and preceded those, from the same MS, that begin at Ω340 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *prep.* **ƿið/ƿid/wiþ/ƿiþ** begins the line in every MS, except for D.
- All of the texts agree on the *poss. dem. adj.* **þesses/þises/ðises/þes/þeos**, except for M which has the *poss. def. art.* **þe**.
- M writes the *n.* **pele** where all the other MSS have the *n.* **luue**.
- The *neg.* **ne** is not found in E², where it is present in the second half-line of all of the other MSS.
- The *v. pr. 3rd pl.* **muȝe** (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS in the second half-line, is not present in J and M; instead, both of these MSS write the *v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **derýe/derie** (in end-line position) where all the other MSS have the *inf.* form of the *v.*, **derien**, following the previous *v.*.

Ω351

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 339. | Mid almesse. mid fasten 7 mid ibeden perie pe us ƿid senne. |
| Digby | 323. | Mid uastinge elmesse 7 mid ibede perie pe us ƿið senne |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 333. | Mid festen ælmes 7 ibede. perie pe us ƿið sunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 337. | Mid fasten. 7 almesse. 7 ibede perie pe us ƿid sunne |
| Jesus | 333. | Mid festen. and almesse and beoden. were we vs wiþ sunne. |
| McClean | 289. | Mid almesse mid ibede perie us ƿiþ senne |

Lines Ω349-Ω352 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω334 and Ω335 and preceded those, from the same MS, that begin at Ω340 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There is some variation between the *word-order* of the MSS in the first half-line of Ω351: the *n.s.* **almesse**, **fasten** and **ibeden** (T), or variants thereof, are listed as ways to fortify the soul but the order of this list differs between the MSS and M does not include the *n.* **fasten**, found in all of the other MSS.
- D writes the *v.* form **uastinge** as a *n.* where all others have the *n.* **fasten/festen**.
- The list of 'qualities' that could lead to salvation vary in their use of combinations of the *cj.* **mid**, **7**, **and**, and the absence of the *cj.* in: **uastinge elmesse** (D).
- The *pron. 1st pl.* **pe/we**, is not present in M, where it is found in all the other MSS before the *reflex. pron. 1st pl.* **us/vs**.

Ω352

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 340. | Mid þo papne þe god haued ȝieue alle man kenne. |
| Digby | 324. | mid þo pepnen þet god haued iȝeuen al mankenne. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 334. | Mid ða pepne ðe god haued. biȝiten man cunne |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 338. | mid þo pepnen þe god haued ȝiuen alle mancunne |
| Jesus | 334. | Mid þe wepnen þat god haued ȝeuen. to alle mon kunne. |
| McClean | 290. | Mid þe pepne þat god almizti bitezte alle mankenne |

Lines Ω349-Ω352 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω334 and Ω335 and preceded those, from the same MS, that begin at Ω340 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M includes the *adj.* **almizti** after the *n.* **god** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T, D E¹ and J agree on the *v. pp.* **ȝieue** (T), or a variant thereof, following the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **haued** (T), or variant thereof, where E² has the *v. pp.* (OE *begietan*) **biȝiten** and M, which does not include the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **haued** (T), or a variant thereof, has the *v. pa. 3^d sg.* (OE *betæcan*) **bitezte**.
- J includes the *prep.* **to** before the *adj.* **all** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The *adj.* **alle/al** (cf. note above) is present in the second half-line of all the MSS except E².

Ω353

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 341. | Lete pe þe brode strate 7 þane peȝ bene |
| Digby | 325. | Lete pe þo brode strete 7 þane pei bene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 335. | Lete pe þe brade stret. 7 ðene pei bene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 339. | Lete pe þe brode stret. 7 pe pei bene |
| Jesus | 335. | Lete we þeo brode stret. and þene weȝ grene. |
| McClean | 297. | Lete pe þe brode strete 7 þane pei bene |

- M writes the *adj.* **grene** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* (OE *bēne*) **bene**.

Ω354

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 342. | Þe lat þe nieðe dal to helle of manne me mai pene. |
| Digby | 326. | þet ledeð þo niȝende del to helle of men 7 mo ich pene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 336. | þe let þet niȝeðe del to helle of manne. 7 ma ich pene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 340. | þe lat þe niȝeðe del to helle of manne. 7 mo ic pene |
| Jesus | 336. | þat lat þe nȝeþe to helle. of folke. and mo ich wene. |
| McClean | 298. | þat let þat nizende del to helle of mankenne 7 mor þast ich pene |

- D writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **ledeð** where all the other MSS have the *cont.* form in **lat/let**.
- The *n.* **dal/del** is present in all of the MSS except for J.
- T, D, E² and E¹ agree on the *n. pl.* **manne/men** where J writes the *n.* **folke** and M writes the *n.* **mankenne**.
- The *cj.* **7/and**, in the second half-line, is present in all of the MSS except for T.
- T writes the *indef. pron.* **me** + the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **mai** where D, J, E² and E¹ agree on the *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **mo/ma** + *pron. 1st sg.* **ich/ic**; the reading in M is a little unclear: the scribe writes the *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **more** but then writes **þast**: Paues amends this to **as** but Margaret Laing (LAEME) suggests that this should be read as a possible spelling for **þaes-þe** citing another example in the Trinity Homilies.

Ω355

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 343. | Go þe þane narepe pað 7 þene þei grene |
| Digby | 327. | Go þe þane narepe þei 7 þane þei grene |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 337. | Ga þe ðene nærepne þei. 7 ðene þei grene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 341. | Go þe þene narepe þei. 7 þene þei grene |
| Jesus | 337. | Go we þene narewe weȝ. þene weȝ so schene. |
| McClean | 299. | Nime þe þane narepe paþ 7 þane þeȝ grene |

- M begins the line with the *v. subj. pr. ind. 1st pl. nime* where all the other MSS begin with the *v. subj. pr. ind. 1st pl. go/ga*.
- T and M agree on the *n. pað/paþ* where all the other MSS write the *n. þei/weȝ*.
- All of the MSS include the *cj. 7* at the beginning of the second half-line, except for J where it is not found.
- J writes the *adv. so + adj. (OE sciēne) schene* where all the other MSS have the *adj. grene*.

Ω356

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 344. | Par forð fareð pel litel folc 7 eche is fair 7 isene |
| Digby | 328. | þer uorð vareð litel volc ac þet is vair 7 scene. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 338. | ðer forð fareð litel folc. ac hit is feir 7 scene |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 342. | þer forð fareð lutel folc. ac it is feir 7 scene |
| Jesus | 338. | þer forþ fareþ lutel folk. and þat is wel eþ sene. |
| McClean | 300. | Par forþ farþ pel litel folc 7 þat is þe porlde on sene |

- T and M agree on the *adv. pel* after the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. fareð/farþ* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D, E² and E¹ agree on the *cj. ac* where T, J and M have *7/and* at the beginning of the second half-line.
- D, J and M agree on the *dem. pron. þet/þat* where E² and E¹ write the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit/it* and T writes the *pron. eche*.
- T, D, E² and E¹ agree on how the line ends, writing: *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is + adj. fair + cj. 7 + adj. (OE gesēne) isene* (T), or variants thereof. The J and M texts have different readings: J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is + adv. wel + adj. eþ-sene*; M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is + def. art. þe + n. porlde + adj. on-sene*.

Ω357

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 345. | þe brode strate is ure pil. þe is loð te læte |
| Digby | 329. | Si brode strete is ure ipil þet us is loð to lete |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 339. | Þe brade stret is ure ipill. ðe is us lað to forlæte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 343. | þe brode stret is vre ipil ðe is us lod for to leten |
| Jesus | 339. | þe brode stret is vre wil. þat is vs loþ to lete. |
| McClean | 301. | Þe brode stret is ure pil he is us loþ to lete |

- M writes the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) he* where all the other MSS write the *rel. pron. þe/þet*.
- The *pron. 1st pl. us/vs* is present in the second half-line of all the MSS except for T.
- E¹ writes the *inf. mark. for-to* where all the other MSS have the *inf. mark. te/to*.
- E² writes the *v. inf. (OE forlætan) forlæte* where all the other MSS have the *v. inf. (OE lætan) læte/lete/leten*.

Ω358

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 346. | ƿo ƿe folgeð here ipil hie fareð bi ƿare strate. |
| Digby | 330. | ƿo ƿet al volgeð hire hipil hi vareð ƿo brode strete. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 340. | ƿa ðe eal folgeð his ipill. fareð bi ðusse strete |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 344. | ƿe ðe al foleped his pil. fared bi ƿusse strete |
| Jesus | 340. | ƿe ƿat al felewep his wil. he farep ƿe brode strete. |
| McClean | 302. | ƿe ƿat folzep al hare pil hi farep mid ƿe ilke strete |

- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of M to the remainder of the MSS.
- The *adv.* **al/eal**, in the first half-line, is present in all of the MSS except for T.
- E², E¹ and J agree on the *sg.* form throughout the line i.e. *poss. pron. 3rd sg. his* and *pron. 3rd sg. he* (J only) where all the other MSS write the *pl.* form in **here** (T), or variants thereof, and **hie** (T), or variants thereof. The translation in E², E¹ and J should, therefore, be 'he who completely follows his will, he ...' as opposed to 'they who completely follow their will, they'
- There is variation between the MSS at the line-end: D and J agree on the reading: *def. art. ƿo/ƿe + adj. brode + n. strete*; E² and E¹ agree on the reading: *prep. bi + dem. adj. ðusse/ƿusse + n. strete*; T agrees with E² and E¹ at the end-line but writes the *dem. adj. ƿare* where the other two have *ðusse/ƿusse*; M writes the *prep. mid + dem. adj. ƿe-ilke + n. strete*.

Ω359

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 347. | Hie muġen lihtliche cumen mid ƿare niðer helde |
| Digby | 331. | Hi muġen lihtliche vare mid ƿare niþerhelde |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 341. | Hi muġen lihtliche gan mid ðere under hulde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 345. | Hi mupen lihtliche gon. mid ðere nuðer hulde |
| McClean | 303. | Hi muze liztliche go mid ƿar niþer helde |

Lines Ω359 and Ω360 are not present in J.

- M, E² and E¹ agree on the *v. inf. gan/gon/go*; T has the *v. inf. cumen* and D has the *v. inf. vare*.
- E² writes the *adj. under*, before the *n.* (OE *hilde*) **hulde**, where all the other MSS have the *adj. niðer/niþer/nuðer*.

Ω360

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 348. | ƿurh one godelease pude to one bare felde |
| Digby | 332. | ƿurð one gutlease pode in to one brode velde. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 342. | ðurh ane godliese pode into ane bare felde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 346. | ðurh ane godliese pude. in to ane bare felde |
| McClean | 304. | ƿurȝut ƿe godlese wode in to ƿe bare felde |

Lines Ω359 and Ω360 are not present in J.

- M begins the line with the *adv. ƿurȝut* + *def. art. ƿe* where all of the other MSS have the *prep. ƿurh* + *indef. art. one/ane*.
- The *prep. in* is not present in T, where it is found in all the other MSS at the beginning of the second-half-line.
- In the second half-line M writes the *def. art. ƿe* where all of the other MSS have the *indef. art. one/ane*.

Ω361

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 349. | Ʒa narepe pað is godes has. þar forð fareð pel feape |
| Digby | 333. | Se narepe pei is godes hesne þer vorð vareð pel viape |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 343. | Ʒe nærepei is godes hese. ðer forð fareð pel fiepe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 347. | Ʒe narepei is godes hes þer forð farð pel feupe |
| Jesus | 341. | Ʒe narewe wey is godes heste. þat forþ fareþ wel fawe. |
| McClean | 305. | Ʒe narepe paþ is godes heste ac þare uorþ uareþ pel uepe |

- T and M agree on the *n.* **pað/paþ** where all of the other MSS have the *n.* **pei/wey** (cf. line Ω355 where it is the same).
- M includes the *cj.* **ac** at the beginning of the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- All of the texts agree on the *adv.* **þar/þer/ðer/þare** apart from J which has the *dem. pron.* **þat**.

Ω362

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 350. | Ʒat beð þo þe hem sildeð ȝierne pið achen unðeape. |
| Digby | 334. | þet bieð þo þet hier ham silten pið echen vnþeape. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 344. | þet beoð ða ðe heom sculdeð ȝeorne pið æche un ðeape |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 348. | þet buð ða þe heom sculdeð ȝeorne. pid elche un ðeape |
| Jesus | 342. | þat beoþ þeo. þe heom scheldeþ wel. wiþ vȝch vnþewe. |
| McClean | 306. | 7 þis beoþ þe þat scildeþ ham her piþ euerich unþepe |

- M begins the line with the *cj.* **7** + *dem. pron.* **þis** where all the other MSS have the *dem. pron. pl.* **þat/þet**.
- D and M agree on the *adv.* **hier/her**, although the *word-order* is different in M, where the reading is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D writes the *pa. indicative* form of the *v.* **3^d pl.** in **silten** where all the other MSS have the *pr. indicative* **sildeð** (T) or a variant thereof.
- J writes the *adv.* **wel** where the T, E² and E¹ agree on the *adv.* (OE *georne*) **ȝierne/ȝeorne**; neither reading is found in D or M.
- M writes the *adj.* **euerich** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **achen** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω363

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 351. | Ʒos goð uneaðe aȝien þe cliue 7 aȝien þe heie hulle |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 345. | Ʒas gað unieðe ȝeanes ðe cliue aȝean þe heage hulle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 349. | Ʒos goð un iepe to ȝeanes þe cliue aȝean þe hege hulle |
| Jesus | 343. | þeos goþ vnneþe aȝeȝn þe cleo. aȝeȝn þe heȝe hulle. |
| McClean | 307. | Ʒos goþ azenes þe heze clif azenes þe heze hulle |

Lines Ω363 and Ω364 are not present in Digby.

- The *adv.* **uneaðe** (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in the first half-line of M, where it is found in all the other MSS.
- E¹ includes the *prep.* **to** before the *prep.* (OE *ongegn*) **ȝeanes** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M includes the *adj.* **heze** in the first half-line where it is not present in any other MSS. The *adj.* is repeated in the second half-line where it is present in the other MSS.

Ω364

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 352. | Pos leten al here ipil for godes luue to fulle. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 346. | ðas leteð eal heore aȝen pill. for godes hese to fulle |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 350. | þos leteð al here aȝen pil. for godes hese to fulle |
| Jesus | 344. | þeos leteþ awei al heore wil. for godes hestes to fullen. |
| McClean | 308. | Hi leteþ al hure oȝe pil godes hesne to felle |

Lines Ω363 and Ω364 are not present in Digby.

- M writes the *pron. 3^d pl. hi* where it is the *dem. pron. þos/ðas/þeos* in all of the other MSS.
- T has the *pa. ind. form* of the *v. 3^d pl. (OE lætan) leten* where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3^d pl. form leteð/leteþ* in all the other MSS.
- J includes the *adv. awei* in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M, E² and E¹ agree on the inclusion of the *adj. aȝen/oȝe* before the *n. ipil/pill/pil/wil* (found in all the MSS) where it is not present in either T or J.
- The *prep. for*, at the beginning of the second half-line, is present in all the MSS, except M.
- T writes the *n. luue*, in the second half-line, where it is the *n. hese* in E² and E¹ and the *pl. form* of the same *n.* in *hestes/hesne* in J and M.

Ω365

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 353. | Go þe alle þane þei for he us pile bringe |
| Digby | 335. | Go þe alle þane þei he us pile bringe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 347. | Ga þe alle þene þei. for he us pule bringe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 351. | Go þe alle þene þei. for he us pulle bringe |
| Jesus | 345. | Go we alle þene wei. for he vs wile brýnge. |
| McClean | 309. | Go þe alle in þilke paþ 7 he us pule bringe |

- M writes the *prep. in + dem. adj. þilke + n. paþ* where all the other MSS have the *dem. adj. þane/þene + n. þei/wei*. The meaning remains the same in the variation from M.
- M writes the *cj. 7*, at the beginning of the second half-line, where all the other MSS have the *cj. for*, apart from D which does not have either reading.

Ω366

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 354. | Mid þo feape faire men bfore þe heuen kinge |
| Digby | 336. | mid þo veape vaire men bforen heuenkinge. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 348. | mid te feape feire men. be foren heuen kinge |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 352. | mid þo faire fepe men. be foren heuene kinge |
| Jesus | 346. | Mid þe fewe feýremen býuoren heouene kinge. |
| McClean | 310. | Mid þe uepe uaire men biuore þe heuenkinge |

- The *word-order* of the *adj. faire + adj. fepe* is different in E¹ to all the other MSS.
- T and M agree on the *def. art. þe* in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω367

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 355. | Ʒar is alre blisse mast mid angles songe. |
| Digby | 337. | Ʒer is alƷer merƷƷe mest mid englene songe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 349. | Ʒer is ealre murhðe mest. mid englene sange |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 353. | Ʒer is alre meruƷe mest. mid englene songe |
| Jesus | 347. | Ʒer is alre MurehƷe mest. mȳd englene songe. |
| McClean | 311. | Ʒar is blissene mest mid anglene songe |

- The *pl. adj.* **alre** (T), or a variant thereof, is present in the first half-line of all the MSS, except M.
- T and M agree on the *pl. n.* **blisse/blissene** where it is the *pl. n.* **merƷƷe** (D), or a variation thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω368

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 356. | Ʒe is a Ʒusend pintre Ʒar ne Ʒuncheð hit him naht longe. |
| Digby | 338. | se Ʒet is a Ʒusend pintre Ʒer ne Ʒingð hit him naht longe. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 350. | ðe is aƷusend pintre ðer. ne ðincð him naht to lange |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 354. | Ʒe Ʒis a Ʒusent pintre Ʒer. ne Ʒincð him noht to longe |
| McClean | 312. | Ʒe Ʒat is uele hundred pintre Ʒar ne ƷincƷ hit hi nazt longe |

Line Ω368 is not present in J (cf. Ω369).

- T and E² agree on the *rel. pron.* **Ʒe** ('he who') where the other MSS form the construction with the *dem. pron + rel. pron. pl.* **se Ʒet** (D), or a variant thereof.
- E¹ combines the *rel. pron* with the *v. pr. 3rd sg. ind.* in **Ʒis** – where it is written separately in all of the other MSS.
- M offers a different reading in the first half-line where it reads: *pl. adj.* **uele** + *quant. card.* **hundred** where all of the other MSS agree on the *quant. card.* **Ʒusend**.
- T, D and M agree on the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **hit/it** in the second half-line where it is not present in E² and E¹.
- E² and E¹ include the *adv.* **to** before the *adv.* **lange/longe** where it is not present in the other MSS.

Ω369

| | | |
|-------|------|---|
| Jesus | 348. | wel edȳ wurƷ Ʒilke mon. Ʒat Ʒer bȳƷ vnderuonge. |
|-------|------|---|

Although this line is the second half of the couplet attached to line Ω367, it has been given its own line as it does not occur in any of the other MSS.

Ω370

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 357. | Ʒe last haueð blisse he haueð spo muchel Ʒat he ne bit no more |
| Digby | 339. | Se Ʒet lest haueð blisce he heð spo multe ne biddeð he no more |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 351. | Ʒe ðe lest haueð hafð spa michel Ʒet he ne bit namare |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 355. | Ʒe Ʒe lest haueð. haueð so muchel Ʒat he ne bit no more |
| Jesus | 349. | Ʒe lest haueþ murehþe. he haueþ so multe. ne bit he namore. |
| McClean | 317. | 7 Ʒe Ʒat haueþ lest he haueþ suo multe Ʒat he ne bit namore |

Lines Ω370-Ω371 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω374 and Ω375 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins the line with the *cj.* 7 where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and J agree on the *rel. pron.* **Ʒe** ('he who') where the other MSS form the construction with the *dem. pron. + rel. pron. pl.* **se Ʒet** (D), or a variant thereof.
- The *word-order* in the opening to M is different from all the other MSS. M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **haueþ** + *n.* **lest** where it is the inverse in all of the other MSS.
- In M, E² and E¹ **lest** functions as a *n.* where it is an *adv.* in all the other MSS with the addition of the *n.* **blisse/blisce** in T and D and the *n.* **murehþe** in J.
- The *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** is not present in the first half-line of E² and E¹, where it is found in all of the other MSS.
- T, M, E² and E¹ agree on the *cj.* **Ʒat/Ʒet** + *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** at the beginning of the second half-line where it is not present in D and J; J does, however, include the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** later in the line.
- D writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddeð** where all the other MSS have the *cont.* form in **bit**.

Ω371

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 358. | Ʒe Ʒat blisse forgoð hit sal him repen sore. |
| Digby | 340. | se Ʒet Ʒo blisce let vor Ʒos hit him sel repen sore. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 352. | Ʒe ða blisse. for ðas forlet hit him mei reope sare |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 356. | Ʒe ðe blisse for ðos for lat. it him mai reupe sore |
| Jesus | 350. | hwo so Ʒeo blisse for Ʒisse forȳet. hit maȳ him rewe sore. |
| McClean | 318. | Hpo se let Ʒe blisse uor Ʒes hit scal him repe sore |

Lines Ω370-Ω371 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω374 and Ω375 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The J and M agree on the *pron.* **hwo-so/hpo-se** where it is the *dem. pron. + rel. pron. pl.* **Ʒe Ʒet** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- The *word-order* is different in the first half-line of M: the text writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.)* **let** before the *def. art.* **Ʒe** + *n.* **blisse**, where it is found after the *n.* in D and later in the line of E² and E¹ – where it is **forlet/for-lat**.
- The *def. art.* **Ʒo/Ʒeo/Ʒe**, before the *n.* **blisse**, is found in D, J and M.
- The *prep.* **for/vor/uor** + *dem. pron.* **Ʒos/ðas/ðos/Ʒisse/Ʒes**, is present in all of the MSS, except T.
- T writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **forgoð** where D and M have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.)* **let**, E² and E¹ have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.)* **forlet/for-lat** and M has the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **forȳet**. The *word-order* in this line differs between MSS.
- T, D and M agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sal/sel/scal** where J, E² and E¹ have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **mei/mai/maȳ**, in the second half-line. The positioning of the *v.* within the line is different in the MSS.
- Although there are numerous variations within this line, the meaning is similar throughout all of the MSS. T, however, through the absence of **vor Ʒos** (D), loses a little clarity in the message that the choice is between the heavenly bliss and this world's rewards.

Ω372

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Trinity | 359. Ne mai non euel ne non pane ben in godes riche |
| Digby | 341. Ne mai non euel ne no pane bi in heueriche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 353. Ne mei nan uuel ne napane beon inne godes riche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 357. Ne mai non vuel ne non pane. beon inne godes riche |
| Jesus | 351. Ne maȳ no pȳne ne no wone beon in heouene riche. |
| McClean | 313. Mai non hunger ne no pane beo in godesriche |

Lines Ω372-Ω375 in M occur in the MS before the couplet at Ω370 and Ω371 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *neg. adj.* **ne**, at the beginning of the line, is not present in M, where it is found in all the other MSS
- J writes the *n.* **pȳne** and M the *n.* **hunger** where it is the *n.* **euel/uuel/vuel** in all of the other MSS.
- D writes the *n.* **heueriche** and J the *poss. n.* **heouene** + *n.* **riche** where all of the other MSS have the *n.* **godes riche** (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω373

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 360. Þeih þar ben puniinges fele elch oðer uniliche |
| Digby | 342. þeȝ þer bi poniinge vele ech oþer vnliche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 354. ðeh þer beoð pununges fele. æch oðer uniliche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 358. ðeh þer beð punienges fele. elc oþer vn iliche |
| Jesus | 352. þah þer beon wonȳnges feole. and oþer vnȳliche. |
| McClean | 314. Þar beoþ ponieggas fele 7 ech oþer unliche |

Lines Ω372-Ω375 in M occur in the MS before the couplet at Ω370 and Ω371 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *cj.* **þeih** (T), or a variant thereof, is present at the beginning of the line in all MSS, except M.
- T, D and J agree on the *sbj.* form of the *v. pr.* 3rd *pl.* **ben/bi/beon** where it is the *ind.* form of the *v. pr.* 3rd *pl.* **beoð/beð/beoþ** in E², E¹ and M.
- The *pron.* **elch** (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in the second half-line of J.
- The *cj.* **7/and**, at the beginning of the second half-line of M and J, is not found in any of the other MSS.

Ω374

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Trinity | 361. Sume þar habbeð lasse blisse 7 sume þar habbeð more |
| Digby | 343. Sume þer habbeð lesse mergþe 7 sume þer habbeð more |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 355. Sume ðer habbeð lesse murhðe. 7 sume habbeð mare |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 359. Sume þer habbet lasse murhðe. 7 sume habbed more |
| Jesus | 353. Summe habbeþ lasse Murehþe. 7 summe habbeþ more. |
| McClean | 315. Sum þar haueþ lasse murcþe 7 sum þar haueþ more |

Lines Ω372-Ω375 in M occur in the MS before the couplet at Ω370 and Ω371 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *adv.* **þar** is present in the first half-line of all of the MSS, except J.
- T writes the *n.* **blisse** where all the other MSS have the *n.* **mergþe** (D), or a variant thereof, at the end of the first half-line.
- T, D and M agree on the *adv.* **þar/þer**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.

Ω375

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 362. | Elch after þat he dude her after þane þe spanc sore |
| Digby | 344. | ech efter þan þet he dede efter þet he spanc sore. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 356. | æfter ðan þe dude her. efter ðan þet he spanc sare |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 360. | after þan þe hi dude her. after þan þe hi sponke sore |
| Jesus | 354. | vých after þat he dude her. 7 after þat heo swunken sore. |
| McClean | 316. | Euere after þat þat he dude her of þat þe he bisuanc sore |

Lines Ω372-Ω375 in M occur in the MS before the couplet at Ω370 and Ω371 but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The *pron.* **elch/ech/vých** found at the beginning of the line in T, D and J, is not present in E² and E¹; M writes the *adv* **euere**.
- There is some variation in the *adv.* (pronominal phrase) which forms the ModE construction ‘after that’, ‘according to’, ‘according as’ which is found twice in this line in all MSS: T writes: **after-þat** and **after-þane-þe**; D writes: **after-þan-þet** and **after-þet**; E² writes **æfter-ðan-þe** and **æfter-ðan-þet**; E¹ writes **after-þan-þe** and **after-þan-þe**; J writes **after-þat** and **after þat** and M writes **after-þat-þat** and **of-þat-þe**. The meaning in all MSS is, however, the same.
- T, D, J and M agree on the 3rd *sg.* form of the *pron.* **he** + *v.* **dude/dude** (the *pron.* is absent in E² in the first half-line but the *sg.* can be inferred from the *pron.* **he** in the second half-line) where E¹ has the 3rd *pl.* form of the *pron.* **hi** + *v.* **dude**.
- The *adv.* **her** is present in all MSS after the *v. pa. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **dude/dede**, except for D.
- J includes the *cj.* **7** at the beginning of the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- In the second half-line D, E² and M agree on the 3rd *sg.* form of the *pron.* **he** + *v.* **spanc/bisuanc** (the *pron.* is absent in T in the second half-line but the *sg.* form can be inferred from the first half-line) but both E¹ and J (*sg.* in the first half-line) write the 3rd *pl.* form of the *pron.* **hi/heo** + *v.* **sponke/swunken**.

Ω376

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 363. | Ne sal þar ben bread ne pin ne oðer kennes este |
| Digby | 345. | Ne sel þer bi bred ne pin ne oþer kennes este |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 357. | Ne sceal ðer beon ne bried ne pin. ne oðer cunnes este |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 361. | Ne scal þer ben bred ne pin. ne oþer cunnes este |
| Jesus | 355. | Ne wrþ þer bred ne wýn. ne nones kunnes este. |
| McClean | 319. | Ne scal þar beo noþer bred ne pin ne oþre kenne este |

- J writes the *v. pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* (*cont.*) **wrþ** where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **sal/sel/sceal/scal**.
- The *v. inf.* **ben/bi/beon/beo**, is not present in J, where it is found in the first half-line of all the other MSS.
- E² includes the *cj.* **ne** before the *n.* **bried** and M includes the *cj.* **noþer**; neither of these readings are present in any of the other MSS.
- J writes the *adj.* **nones** before the *poss. n.* **kunnes** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **oðer/oþer/oþre** (*pl.* form in M) before the *poss. n.* **kennes/cunnes/kenne** (*pl.* form in M).

Ω377

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 364. | God one sal ben ache lif 7 blisse 7 ache reste. |
| Digby | 346. | god one sel bi eches lif 7 blisce 7 eche reste. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 358. | god ane sceal beo eche lif. 7 blisse. 7 eche reste |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 362. | god one scal beo eche lif. 7 blisse. 7 eche reste |
| Jesus | 356. | God one schal beon eche lif. 7 blisse eche reste. |
| McClean | 320. | God scal beo eueriches lif blisse 7 eke reste |

- The *adj.* **one/ane** is not found in M, where it is present, in the first half-line, of all the other MSS.
- M writes the *pron.* **eueriches** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **ache/eche(s)**.
- The *cj.* **7**, is not found in M, where it is present, at the beginning of the second half-line, in all the other MSS.
- The *cj.* **7** before the *adj.* (OE *ēce*) **eche**, is not found in J, in the second half-line, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *adv.* **eke** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* **ache/eche**.

Ω378

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 365. | Ne sal þar ben foh ne grai ne cunin ne ermine |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 359. | Ne sceal ðer beo fah ne græi. ne kuning ne ermine |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 363. | Ne scal þer beo fou ne grei. ne cunig ne ermine |
| Jesus | 357. | Þer nȳs nouþer fou ne greȳ. ne konȳng. ne hermȳne. |
| McClean | 321. | Ne scal þar beo noþer foȝ ne grei cunig ne ermine |

Lines Ω378 and Ω379 are not present in Digby.

- J begins the line with the *adv.* **þer** + *v. pr. ind.* *3rd sg.* **nȳs** + *cj.* **nouþer** where all the other MSS have the *neg. adv.* **ne** + *v. pr. ind.* *3rd sg.* **sal** + *adv.* **þar** + *v. inf.* **ben**; M agrees with J on the inclusion of the *cj.* **noþer** but agrees in all other parts with the opening of the other MSS.
- The *cj.* **ne**, is not found in M, before the *n.* **cunig**, where it is present in all the other MSS.

Ω379

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 366. | Ne aquerne ne metheschele ne beuer ne sabeline. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 360. | ne aquerne. ne martes cheole. ne beuer ne sabeline |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 364. | ne ocquerne ne martes cheole. ne beuer ne sabeline |
| Jesus | 358. | Ne oter. ne acquerne. Beuveȳr ne sablȳne. |
| McClean | 322. | Okerne ne martrin beuer ne sabeline |

Lines Ω378 and Ω379 are not present in Digby.

- There is some variation within this list of *n.s* in this line and the *word-order* in which they occur.
- The *cj.* **ne**, is not found in M, where it is present at the beginning of the line in all the other MSS.
- J has the *n.* **oter** at the beginning of the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other manuscripts.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *poss. n.* **martes** + (OF *go(u)le*) **cheole**; M agrees on the *n.* **martrin** but omits **cheole**; the reading in T is less clear: it is probable that **methes** should be read as OE *meard* + **chele** i.e. 'the red fur of the marten'. **methes** might, therefore, be read as a variation or a miswriting of the animal of the genus *martes*. J does not have any of the previous readings (cf. previous note).
- The *cj.* **ne** before the *n.* **beuveȳr/beuer**, is not found in M and J, where it is present in all the other texts.

Ω380

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 367. | Ne sal þar ben naðer scat ne srud ne pereldes pele none. |
| Digby | 347. | Ne sal þer bi scete ne scrud ne porldes pele none |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 361. | Ne sceal ðer beo sciet ne scrud. ne poruld pele nane |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 365. | Ne scal þer beo sced ne scrud. ne poruld pele none. |
| Jesus | 359. | Ne þer ne wurþ ful iwis. worldes wele none. |
| McClean | 323. | Ne scal þar beo noþer schat ne scrud ne porldes pele none |

- The reading in J differs from all of the other MSS in the first half-line. J writes the *cj. ne + adv. þer + neg. adv. ne + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.) wurþ + adv. ful-iwis*: this is in reference to the *poss. n. worldes + n. wele* of the second half-line. All the other MSS, however, write *neg. adv. ne + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. sal + adv. þar + cj. naðer* (only in T and M) + *n. scat + cj. nor + n. srud* (T), or variants thereof, before the *cj. ne* (not present in J) + *poss. n. wereldes + n. wele* (T), or variants thereof.

Ω381

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 368. | Al þe blisse þe me us bihat al hit sal ben god one |
| Digby | 348. | ac si merȝþe þet men us bihat al sal ben god one. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 362. | eal þe murhðe þe me us bi hat. al hit sceal beo god ane |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 366. | al þe murhðe þe me us bi hat. al it scal beo god one |
| Jesus | 360. | Al þe Murehþe þat me vs bihat. al hit is god one. |
| McClean | 324. | Al þe blisse þat me us bihot al hit scal beo god one |

This line in M is followed in the MS by the line now found at Ω406. This line has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D writes the *cj. ac* where all of the other MSS have the *adj. al*.
- T and M agree on the *n. blisse* where all of the other MSS have the *n. merȝþe*.
- The *pron. 3^d sg. (inan.) hit/it* is not found in the second half-line of D.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. is* where all of the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. sal + v. inf. ben* (T), or a variant thereof.

Ω382

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 369. | Ne mai no blisse ben also muchel se is godes sihte. |
| Digby | 349. | Ne mai no merȝþe bi spo muchel spo is godes isihþe |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 363. | Ne mei na murhðe. beo spa muchel. se is godes sihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 367. | Ne mai non murhðe beo so muchel. so is godes sihte |
| Jesus | 361. | Nis þer no Murehþe so muchel. so is godes sýhte. |

Line Ω382 is not present in M.

- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. nis + adv. þer*, at the beginning of the first half-line, where all the other MSS write the *neg. adv. ne + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. mai/mei*.
- T writes the *n. blisse* where all of the other MSS have the *n. merȝþe* (D), or a variant thereof.
- The *v. inf. ben/bi/beo* is not found in J, where it is present in all the other MSS later in the first half-line.
- T writes the *adv. also* where all of the other MSS have the *adv. spo* in the first half-line.

Ω383

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 370. | He is soð sunne 7 briht 7 dai abute nihte. |
| Digby | 350. | hi is soð sune 7 briht 7 dai bute nihte. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 364. | he is soð sunne 7 briht. 7 dei abuten nihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 368. | he is soð sunne 7 briht. 7 dai a buten nihte |
| Jesus | 362. | he is soþ sunne. and briht. and daȝ bute nȝhte. |

Line Ω383 is not present in M.

Ω384

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 371. | He is aches godes ful nis him no piht uten. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 365. | He is ælches godes ful. nis him na pið uten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 369. | He is elches godes ful. nis him noþing ȝit vten |
| Jesus | 363. | He is vȝche godes ful. nȝs him nowiht wiþ vte. |

Line Ω384 is not present in M.

Lines Ω384 and Ω385 are not present in Digby.

- There is minor variation between the texts in the second half-line: T writes the *n.* **no-piht** + *prep.* **uten**; J agrees with T on the *n.* **nowiht** but writes the *prep.* **wiþ-vte** in end-line position; E² and E¹ agree with J on the *prep.* **pið-uten/ȝit-vten** in end-line position but it is preceded in E¹ by the *n.* **noþing** and in E² by **na** (sic); it is probable that **na** is meant for the ModE *n.* 'naught' and, as is suggested by Laing (LAEME), this is a case of haplography – where the **pið** of **pið-uten** is also a necessary part of **napið**.
-

Ω385

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 372. | Nones godes hem nis pane þe punieð him abuten. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 366. | na god nis him pane þe punieð him abuten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 370. | no god nis him pane. þe punied him abuten |
| Jesus | 364. | Nis heom nones godes wone: þat wuneþ hȝm abute. |

Line Ω385 is not present in M.

Lines Ω384 and Ω385 are not present in D.

- The *word-order* in the first half-line of J is different from all of the other MSS.
- E² and E¹ agree on the *pron.* 3^d *sg.* **him** where it is the *pl.* form **hem/heom** in T and J.
- The T and J texts have the *poss. adj.* **nones** with the *poss. sg. n.* **godes** where it is **na/no** and **god** in E² and E¹.
- T and J have the *pl.* form of the *rel. pron.* **þe/þat** where it is *sg.* **þe** in E² and E¹.

Ω386

| | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 373. | Ʒar is pele abuten pane 7 reste abuten spunche. |
| Digby | 351. | Ʒer is pele bute pane 7 reste buten ispinche |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 367. | Ʒer is pele abute gane. 7 reste abuten spunche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 371. | Ʒer is pele abute grame. 7 reste abuten spinche |
| Jesus | 365. | Ʒer is weole bute wone. and reste bute swýnke. |

Line Ω386 is not present in M.

- E² writes the *n.* **gane** and E¹ the *n.* **grame** where all of the other MSS write the *n.* **pane/wone**. The meaning is unclear in E¹ and it is possible that the scribe writes **gane** for **pane**. However, the close relation between E² and E¹ suggests that there was a lack of clarity in the exemplar at this point and, as Laing suggests (LAEME), it is possible that the scribe of E¹ writes **grame** in an attempt to make sense of miswritten **gane**. The meaning of the *n.* **pane/wone** is, itself, disputed by Laing (LAEME) who believes that semantically it is more likely to be from OE *wana* rather than *wāne* as given by Hall and the MED.

Ω387

| | | |
|-------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 374. | Ʒe mugen 7 nelleð Ʒider cume hit hem mai ofƷunche. |
| Digby | 352. | se Ʒet mai 7 nele Ʒider come sore hit hit sel vorƷenche. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 368. | Ʒe mei 7 nele ðider cume. sare hit him sceal of ðinche |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 372. | Ʒe mai 7 nele Ʒider come. sore it him scal ofƷinche |
| Jesus | 366. | hwo maý Ʒider cume and nule. hit schal hým sore of Ʒinche. |

Line Ω387 is not present in M.

Line Ω387 is the final line of E² as the remainder of the text is missing (see diplomatic edition of E²).

- J writes the *pron.* **hwo** where T, E² and E¹ have the *rel.* **Ʒe** (*pl.* in T) and D has the construction: *dem. pron.* **se** + *rel. pron.* **Ʒet** for 'he who' ('they who' in T).
- The *word-order* in the remainder of the first half-line of J is different from all of the other MSS but the meaning is the same as in D, E² and E¹.
- T writes the *3rd pl.* form of the *v. ind. pr.* **mugen** where it is the *sg.* **mai/mei/maý** in all of the other MSS. The *v.* **nelleð** (T) and the *pron.* **hem** (T) both agree with this in *num.*, where the remainder of the texts write **nele/nule** and **him/hým** (the *pron. 3rd sg.* does not appear in the second half-line of D – cf. following note).
- The *adv.* **sore**, is not found in T, where it is present in the second half-line of all the other MSS.
- T writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **mai**, in the second half-line, where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sel/sceal/scal/schal** in all the other MSS.
- D writes the *pron. 3rd sg. (inan.)* **hit** twice, where all of the other MSS have the *pron. 3rd sg.* **him**, apart from T where it is the *pl.* form in **hem** (cf. previous note). This is probably an example of dittography.
- All of the MSS agree on the *v. inf.* **ofƷunche** (T), or a variant thereof, except for D where it is **vorƷenche**.

Ω388

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 375. | Ʒar is blisse abuten treige 7 lif abuten deaðe |
| Digby | 353. | Ʒer is blisce buten trege 7 lif buten deaðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 373. | Ʒer is blisse abuten trege. 7 lif abuten deaƷe |
| Jesus | 367. | Ʒer is blýsse bute teone. and lif wiƷ vte deƷe. |

Line Ω388 is not present in M.

- J writes the *n.* (OE *tēona*) **teone** where it is the *n.* (OE *trega*) **treige/trege** in the other MSS: the meaning is similar in both variations.
- J writes the *prep.* **wiƷ vte** where all the other MSS have the *prep.* (a)**buten**.

Ω389

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 376. | ƿo ƿe afre sulle punie ƿar bliðe hie muȝe ben eaðe. |
| Digby | 354. | ƿet eure sullen punie ƿer bliðe hi bieð 7 eade. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 374. | ƿe eure scullen punien ƿer. bliƿe mupen ben eƿe |
| Jesus | 368. | ƿeo ƿat schulle wunȝe ƿer. bliƿe mvwen heo beon eƿe. |

Line Ω389 is not present in M.

- D and E¹ have the *pl. rel.* **ƿet/ƿe** where T and J have the construction: *pl. dem. pron.* **ƿo/ƿeo** + *pl. rel. pron.* **ƿe/ƿat** for ‘they who’.
- The *adv.* **afre/eure**, is not found in J, where it is present in the first half-line of the other MSS.
- The *pron.* **3^d pl. hie/hi/heo**, is not found in E¹, where it is found in the second half-line of the other MSS.
- The reading in the second half-line of D is different from all the other MSS: D does not have the *v. pr.* **3^d pl. muȝe/mupen/mvwen**, found in all the other MSS, and writes instead the *v. pr. ind.* **3^d sg. bieð** where all the other MSS have the *inf.* form of the *v.* **ben/beon**. D then goes on to write the *cj.* **7** and the *adj. pl.* (OE *ēadig*) **eade** where all the other MSS have the *adv.* (OE *ēape*) **eaðe**. The D reading uses the financial language of this world in the description of heaven as a place of ‘happiness’ and ‘prosperity’ – a reading not present in the other MSS.

Ω390

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 377. | ƿar is ȝieuð abuten elde 7 hale abuten unhalðe |
| Digby | 355. | ƿer is ȝeugeƿe buten elde 7 elde buten vnhelðe |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 375. | ƿer is ȝeogeðe bute ulde. 7 hele abuten vn helðe |
| Jesus | 369. | ƿer is ȝonghede buten ealde. and hele buten vnhelƿe. |

Line Ω390 is not present in M.

- D repeats the *n.* (OE *ield*) **elde** in the second half-line where it is the *n.* (OE *hælu*) **hale/hele** in all of the other MSS present in this line.

Ω391

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 378. | Nis ƿar sareȝe ne sor non ne nafre unisalðe. |
| Digby | 356. | nis ƿer sorȝe ne sor non ne non vniselƿe. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 376. | nis ƿer soreƿe ne sor. ne neure nan vn sealƿe |
| Jesus | 370. | ƿer nȝs seorewe ne no sor. neuer non vnhelƿe. |

Line Ω391 is not present in M.

- The *word-order* at the beginning of this line in J is different from that of all the other MSS: J writes the *adv.* **ƿer** + *v. pr. ind.* **3^d sg. nȝs** where all the other MSS begin the line with *v. pr. ind.* **3^d sg. nis** + *adv.* **ƿar/ƿer**.
- Later in the line J, once again, has an altered *word-order*: J writes the *cj.* **ne** + *adj.* **no** + *n.* **sor** where T and D write the *cj.* **ne** + *n.* **sor** + *adj.* **non** – E¹ does not include the *adj.* **non/no** at this point.
- The *cj.* **ne**, at the beginning of the second half-line, is not found in J, where it is present in the other MSS.
- All of the MSS repeat the *adj.* **non/nan** (for the first time in E¹: see previous note) in the second half-line, except for T where it is not found.
- The *adv.* **nafre/neure/neuer**, is not found in D, where it is present in the second half-line of the other MSS.
- J writes the *n.* **vnhelƿe** where all the other MSS write the (OE *unsælp*) **unisalðe** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω392

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 379. | Ʒar me drihte self isien spo se is mid ipisse |
| Digby | 357. | Ʒer me sel drihten isen spo ase he is mid ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 377. | Ʒer me scal drihte sulf i seon. spa he is mid ipisse |
| Jesus | 371. | SeoƷpe me dryhten iseo. so he is myd iwise. |

Line Ω392 is not present in M.

- J begins the line with the *adv.* **seoƷpe** where it is the *adv.* **Ʒar/Ʒer** in all the other MSS.
- D and E¹ agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sel/scal** where it is not present in T and J.
- T and E¹ agree on the *adj.* **slef/sulf** where it is not present in D and J.
- E¹ and J agree on the *adv.* **spa/so** where T and D have the *cj.* **spo-se/spo-ase**.
- The *pron 3rd sg.* **he**, is not found in T, where it is present in the other MSS.

Ω393

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 380. | He one mai 7 sal al ben angles 7 manne blisse. |
| Digby | 358. | he one mai 7 sel al bien engles 7 mannes blisse. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 378. | he one mai 7 scal al beo. engle 7 manne blisse |
| Jesus | 372. | he one may beon and schal. englene and monne blisse. |
| McClean | 326. | Ʒat he mai 7 pule beo anglene blisse |

- M writes the *cj.* **Ʒat** at the beginning of the line where it is not found in the other MSS.
- The *adj.* **one**, is not found in M, where it is present in the other MSS.
- The *word-order* in J is different from all the other MSS: J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **may** + *v. inf.* **beon** + *cj.* **and** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **schal**, where T, D and E¹ have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **mai** + *cj.* **7** + *v. ind. 3rd sg.* **sal** + *adv.* **al** (not present in J and M) + *v. inf.* **ben** (T), or a variant thereof.
- M writes the *v. ind. 3rd sg.* **pule** where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **sal** (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- The *cj.* **7** and *poss. pl. n.* **manne** (T), or variant thereof, are not found in M, where they are present in the second half-line of all of the other MSS.

Ω394

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 381. | 7 Ʒeih ne bed here eien naht alle iliche brihte |
| Digby | 359. | Ʒah ne bi here eagen naht al iliche brihte. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 379. | And ðeh ne beod heore ege naht. alle iliche brihte |
| McClean | 327. | Ac Ʒez ne beoƷ ure ezene alle iliche brizte |

Line Ω394 is not present in J.

- M writes the *cj.* **ac** where T and E¹ have **7/and**; neither reading is present in D.
- D writes the *sbj.* form of the *v. pr. 3rd pl.* **bi** where it is the *ind.* form **bed/beod/beoƷ** in all the other MSS.
- M writes the *poss. pron. 1st pl.* **ure** where all the other MSS have the *poss. pron. 3rd pl.* **here/here/heore**.
- M omits The *neg. adv.* **naht**, is not present in M, where it is found in the second half-line of the other MSS.

Ω395

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 382. | Hi nabbeð naht iliche muchel alle of godes lihte |
| Digby | 360. | nabbeð hi naht iliche muchel alle of godes lihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 380. | ði nabbed hi nouht iliche. alle of godes lihte |

Line Ω395 is not present in J and M.

- E¹ begins the line with the *cj. ði* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- There is some variation between the texts at the beginning of the line: T writes *pron. 3rd pl. hi* + *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nabbeð* where the order is the inverse in both D and E¹.
- T and D end the first half-line with the *n. muchel*, a reading which is not present in E¹.

Ω396

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 383. | On þesse liue he naren naht alle of ore mihte |
| Digby | 361. | On þise liue pe nere noht alle of one mihte |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 381. | On þisse liue hi neren nout. alle of one mihte |
| McClean | 328. | Ne in þis porlde nere nazt alle of one mizte |

Line Ω396 is not present in J.

- M begins the line with the *cj. ne* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T, D and E¹ agree on the *n. liue* where it is the *n. porlde* in M
- D writes the *pron. 1st pl. pe* where it is the *3rd pl. he* in T and E¹ and does not occur in M.

Ω397

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 384. | Ne þar ne sullen habben god. alle bi one pihte. |
| Digby | 362. | ne þer ne sullen hi habben gode alle bi one rihte. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 382. | ne þer ne scullen hi habben god. alle bi ore gihte |
| McClean | 329. | Þar ne sculle nazt habbe god al mid one pizte |

Line Ω397 is not present in J.

- T, D and E¹ begin the line with the *cj. ne*; the reading is not present in M.
- M writes the *neg. adv. nazt* in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS (the *neg. adv. ne* is present, however, in all the MSS, including M, earlier in the line).
- D and E¹ agree on the *pron 3rd pl. hi* in the first half-line, where it is not present in T and M.
- All of the texts agree on the *prep. bi* apart from M which writes the *prep. mid*.

Ω398

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 385. | Þo sullen more of him isien þe luueden hine more |
| Digby | 363. | Þo sullen more of him iseon þet hine luuede more |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 383. | Þo scullen more of him seon. þe luuede him her more |
| Jesus | 373. | Þeo schulen of him more iseon. þat her him luuede more. |
| McClean | 330. | Hi sculle more of him pite þe louede hine more |

- M writes the *pron. 3rd pl. hi* where all the other MSS have the *dem. pron. þeo*.
- There is some difference in the *word-order* in the first half-line of J; there is variation between all the texts in the second half-line.
- M writes the *v. inf. pite* where it is the *v. inf. isien* (T), or a variant thereof.
- J and E¹ include the *adv. her* in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS
- There are differences in *word-order* between the MSS in the second half-line.

Ω399

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 386. | 7 more icnopen 7 ec piten his mihte 7 his ore |
| Digby | 364. | 7 more iknopen 7 isien his mihte 7 his ore. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 384. | 7 more icnapen 7 ipiten. his mihte 7 his ore |
| Jesus | 374. | And more iseon and iwyten. his Milce and his ore. |
| McClean | 331. | 7 biknope 7 ýseo his milse 7 his ore |

- The *adv.* **more** is not present in M, where it is found in the first half-line of all the other MSS.
- There is some variation between the *inf. v.s* and the *word-order* of the *v.s* in the first half-line: T and E¹ agree on **icnopen 7 ec piten/icnapen 7 ipiten** (T includes the *adv.* **ec** – a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS); D and M agree on **iknopen 7 isien/biknope 7 ýseo** (M includes the *pref.* **bi** where it is not present in any of the other MSS); J has **iseon and iwyten** – the *v. inf.* **iseon** is shared with D and M (although the order of the *v.s* is different) but the *v. inf.* **ipiten** is unique to J.
- T, D and E¹ agree on the *n.* **mihte** where J and M have the *n.* **milce/milse**. The different word choice in this example conveys a very different idea of God's nature.

Ω400

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 387. | On him hie sulle finden al þat man mai to hleste |
| Digby | 365. | On him hi sullen vinden al þet man mei þer to lesten |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 385. | On him hi scullen finden al þat man mai to lesten |
| Jesus | 375. | On him heo schullen fynden. al þat mon may luste. |

Line Ω400 is not present in M.

- D includes the *adv.* **þer**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J writes the *v. inf.* (OE *lystan*) **luste** where all of the other MSS have the *inf. mark.* **to + hleste/lesten**.

Ω401

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 388. | On him he sullen ec isien al þat hie ar nesten. |
| Digby | 366. | in liue boc hi sullen isien þet her hi ne pisten. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 386. | in hali boc hi sculle iseon. al þat hi her nusten |
| Jesus | 376. | 7 on lýves bec iseon. al þat heo her nusten. |

Line Ω401 is not present in M.

- There is variation between all the texts at the beginning of this line:
- J begins the text with the *cj.* **7** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D and J agree on the *prep.* **in/on** + *poss. n.* **liue/lýves** + *n.* **boc/bec**; E¹ agrees with this reading but writes the *adj.* **hali** instead of **liue/lýves**; T has a different reading and begins the line with the *prep.* **on** + *pron. 3rd sg.* **him** (as did the previous line: anaphora).
- The *pron. 3rd pl.* **he** + *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **sullen/sculle** is not present in J, where it is found in the first half-line of the other MSS.
- T includes the *adv.* **ec** before the *inf. v.* **isien** where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **al**, is not present in D at the beginning of the second half-line, where it is present in the other MSS.
- T writes the *adv.* **ar**, in the second half-line, where it is the *adv.* **her** in the other MSS.
- T E¹ and J agree on the *v. pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nesten/nusten** where D writes the *neg. adv.* **ne** + *v. pa. 3rd pl.* **pisten**. The meaning in both variations is the same.

Ω402

| | |
|------------|--|
| Trinity | 389. Crist sal one bien inozh alle his derlinges. |
| Digby | 367. Crist one sel ben inoh alle his deorlinges |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 387. Crist scal one beon inou. alle his durlinges |
| Jesus | 377. Crist seolf on schal beon. i nouh to alle derlinges |

Line Ω402 is not present in M.

- There is some difference in *word-order* in the first half-line: T and E¹ agree on *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. sal/scal + adj. one* where D and J have *one/on + sel/schal*.
- J includes the *adj. seolf* in the first half-line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- J includes the *prep. to* in the second half-line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The *poss. pron. 3^d sg. his* is not present in the second half-line of J, where it is found in the other MSS.

Ω403

| | |
|------------|--|
| Trinity | 390. Pe one is muche more 7 betere þan alle oðer þinges. |
| Digby | 368. he one is muchele more 7 betere þanne alle oþre þinges. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 388. he one is muchele mare 7 betere. þanne alle oþer þinges |
| Jesus | 378. He one is more and betere. þan alle wordliche þinges. |

Line Ω403 is not present in M.

- T begins the line with the *rel. pron. þe*, where it is the *pron. 3^d sg. he* in the other MSS.
- The *adv. muche/muchele* is not present in the first half-line of J, where it is present in the other MSS.
- J writes the *pl. adj. wordliche* where the other MSS have the *pl. adj. oðer/oþre/oþer*.

Ω404

| | |
|------------|---|
| Trinity | 391. Inoh he haueð þe hine haueð þe alle þing pealdeð. |
| Digby | 369. Inoh he haueð þet hine haueð þet alle þing haueð on pealde |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 389. Inoh he haueð þe hine haueð. þe alle þing pealdeo |
| Jesus | 379. Inouh hi habbeþ þat hyne habbeþ. þat alle þinges weldeþ. |

Line Ω404 is not present in M.

- J uses the *3^d pl.* throughout the line in *hi habbeþ* and *habbeþ* where it is *sg. he haueð* and *haueð* in the other MSS.
- The reading is different in the second half-line of D: T, E¹ and J conclude the line with the *adv. alle + pl. n. þing + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. pealdeð* (T), or variants thereof, where D writes the *adv. alle + pl. n. þing + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. haueð + prep. on + n. pealde*.

Ω405

| | |
|------------|--|
| Trinity | 392. Of him to isiene nis non sæd spo fair he is to bihelden |
| Digby | 370. of him to isien nis non sed spo vair he is to bihialde. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 390. of him to sene nis no sed. pel hem is þe hine bi healdeð |
| Jesus | 380. him to seonne murie hit is. so faȳr he is to biholde. |

Line Ω405 is not present in M.

- The *prep. of* begins the line in T, D and E¹ but is not present in J.
- J writes the *adj. murie + pron. 3^d sg. (inan) hit + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. is* where it is the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. nis + adj. non/no + n. sæd/sed* in all the other MSS. The overall meaning of the first half-line is the same in all the variants, but J expresses the experience of seeing God in positive vocabulary rather than stating what it is not.
- E¹ has a different reading from the other MSS in the second half-line: E¹ writes the *adv. pel + pron. 3^d pl. hem + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. is + pl. rel. pron. þe + pron. 3^d sg. hine + v. pr. ind. 3^d pl. bi-healdeð* where it is the *adv. spo + adj. fair + pron. 3^d sg. he + v. pr. ind. 3^d sg. is + inf. mark. to + v. inf. bihelden* (T), or variants thereof. E¹ concentrates, in the second half-line, on the benefits of seeing God whereas the other texts contain a 'description' of him.

Ω406

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 393. | God is spo mere 7 spo muchel in his godcunnesse |
| Digby | 371. | God is spo mere 7 spo muchel in his godcunnesse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 391. | God is so mere 7 spa muchel. in his godcunnesse |
| Jesus | 381. | God is so swete 7 so muchel. in his godnesse. |
| McClean | 325. | God is suo mer 7 suo muchel in his godnesse |

Line Ω406 in M is found in the MS after the couplet at Ω380 and Ω381 but has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- J writes the *adj.* **swete** where all the other MSS have the *adj.* (OE *mære*) **mere/mer**.
 - J and M agree on the *adj.* **godnesse** where the other texts have the *adj.* (OE *godcundnes*) **godcunnesse**.
-

Ω407

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 394. | Ʒat al Ʒat elles pas 7 is is fele perse 7 lasse. |
| Digby | 372. | Ʒet al Ʒet he pes 7 is is vele perse 7 lesse. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 392. | Ʒet al Ʒet is 7 al Ʒat pes is purse. Ʒenne he 7 lesse |
| Jesus | 382. | Al Ʒat wes 7 is. is wel wurse and lasse. |

Line Ω407 is not present in M.

- There is significant variation in this line although the overall meaning remains the same.
 - The two *v.s.*: *pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **pas/pes/wes** and *pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **is** are present in all of the MSS but the *word-order* in the first half-line differs between the MSS: T, D and J agree on **al Ʒat ... pas 7 is** (T), or a variant thereof, where E¹ has **al Ʒat is 7 al Ʒat pes**.
 - T includes the *adv.* **elles** before the *v. pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **pas** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
 - D includes the *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** before the *v. pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **pes** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
 - E¹ repeats the *adj.* functioning as a *n.* **al** + the *rel. pron.* **Ʒat** before the *v. pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **pes** where it is not repeated in any of the other MSS.
 - T and D agree on the *adv.* **fele/vele**, in the second half-line, where it is the *adv.* **wel** in J and does not occur in E¹.
 - E¹ includes the *cj.* **Ʒenne** + *pron. 3^d sg.* **he** after the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **is** + *adj.* **perse** where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
-

Ω408

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 395. | Ne mai hit nafre noman oðer seggen mid ipisse |
| Digby | 373. | Ne mai hit no man oþre siggen mid ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 393. | Ne mai it neure no man oþer segge mid ipisse |
| Jesus | 383. | Ne maȳ nomon hit segge. ne wȳten mȳd iwisse. |

Line Ω408 is not present in M.

- T and E¹ agree throughout the line.
- T and E¹ agree on the *adv.* **nafre/neure**, where it is not present in D and J. Other than this difference D agrees with T and E¹.
- J differs from all the other MSS in this line and varies the *word-order*: The *pron.* **oðer/oþer**, present in the first half-line of the other MSS, is not found in J which writes the *cj.* **ne** + *v. inf.* **wȳten** in the second half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.

Ω409

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 396. | Hƿu muchele murihðe habbeð þo þe beð in godes blisse |
| Digby | 374. | hu muchele mergþe habbeð þo þet bieð in godes blisce |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 394. | hu muchele murhðe habbet þo. þe beod inne godes blisse |
| Jesus | 384. | Hu muchele Murehþe habbeþ heo. þat beoþ in heuene blisse. |

Line Ω409 is not present in M.

- J writes the *pron. 3^d pl.* **heo** where all the other MSS have the *dem. pron.* **þo**.
 - J writes the *poss. n.* **heuene** where all the other MSS have the *poss. n.* **godes**.
-

Ω410

| | | |
|-------|------|---|
| Digby | 375. | Vten eftin þiderpard mid aldre ġernuolnesse |
|-------|------|---|

Ω411

| | | |
|-------|------|--|
| Digby | 376. | 7 vorsen þisne midelard mid his pouernesse |
|-------|------|--|

Ω412

| | | |
|-------|------|--|
| Digby | 377. | Ef pe vorsieð þis loþe lif vor heuenriche blisce |
|-------|------|--|

Ω413

| | | |
|-------|------|---|
| Digby | 378. | þanne selð us crist þet eche lif to medes on ecnesse. |
|-------|------|---|

Lines 375-378 of D (Ω410-413) are not present in any other known MS.

Ω414

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 397. | To þare blisse us bringe god þe rixleð abuten ende. |
| Digby | 379. | To þare blisce us bringe god þet rixeð buten ende. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 395. | To þere blisse us bringe god. þe rixlet abuten ende |
| Jesus | 385. | To þare blisse bringe vs god. þat lesteþ buten ende. |
| McClean | 332. | To þare blisse us bringe god þat ricscleþ aȝ bute ende |

- J writes the *v. subj. pr. 3^d sg.* **bringe** + *pron. 1st pl.* **vs** where all of the other MSS have the *word-order* **us bringe**.
 - J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **lesteþ** where all of the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **rixleð/rixlet/ricsleþ**.
 - M includes the *adv.* **aȝ** in the second half-line where it is not present in the other manuscripts.
-

Ω415

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 398. | Þane he ure sowle unbint of lichamliche bende |
| Digby | 380. | þanne he ure saule vnbint of lichamlice bende. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 396. | þenne he vre soule vnbint. of licames bende |
| Jesus | 386. | hwenne he vre saule vn bind. of lichomliche bende. |
| McClean | 333. | þhane he ure saule unbint of lichamliche bende |

- E¹ writes the *poss. n.* **licames** where all the other MSS have the *adj. pl.* **lichamliche** (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω416

| | | |
|------------|------|---|
| Trinity | 399. | Crist ȝieue us laden her spilch lif 7 habben her spilch ende. |
| Digby | 381. | Crist ȝeue us lede spich lif 7 habbe spichne ende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 397. | Crist ȝȳue us leden her spilc lif. 7 habben her spilc ende |
| Jesus | 387. | Crist vs lete such lif lede. 7 habbe her such ende. |
| McClean | 334. | Crist us leue lede suich lif 7 habbe suicchne end |

- The *word-order* is the same in T, D and E¹, although there are some differences in vocabulary – which will be expanded below, but the *word-order* in the first half-line of J and M differs from the other MSS – as does the vocabulary.
- J writes the *v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* (OE *lætan*) **lete** and M the *v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* (OE *liefan*) **leue** where it is the *v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **ȝieue/ȝeue/ȝȳue** in all of the other MSS.
- T and E¹ agree on the *adv.* **her**, in the first half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- T, E¹ and J include the *adv.* **her**, in the second half-line, where it is not present in D and M.

Ω417

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Trinity | 400. | Pat pe moten ȝider cumen ȝane pe henne pende. |
| Digby | 382. | ȝet pe moten ȝider cumen ȝanne pe hennes pende |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 398. | ȝat pe moten ȝuder come. ȝanne pe henne pende. Amen. |
| Jesus | 388. | Pat we mote to him cume. hwenne we heonne wendeȝ Amen. |
| McClean | 335. | ȝat pe mote to him come ȝhane pe henne pende Amen |

- J and M agree on the *prep.* **to** + *pron. 3rd sg.* **him** where the other MSS have the *adv.* **ȝider/ȝuder**.

Ω418

| | | |
|---------|------|---------|
| Trinity | 401. | AMEN |
| Digby | 383. | A-M-E-N |

E¹, J and M do not have a separate line for a capitalized, flourished AMEN. The word is attached to the end of the previous line.

Ω419

| | | |
|-------|------|--|
| Jesus | 389. | Bidde nu we leoue freond. ȳonge and ek olde. |
|-------|------|--|

Ω420

| | | |
|-------|------|--|
| Jesus | 390. | ȝat he ȝat ȝis wryt wrot. his saule beo ȝer atholde. Amen. |
|-------|------|--|

Lines Ω419 and Ω420 of J are not present in any other known MS.

Notes on Phonology and Dialects

References in the following will be placed within the main body of the text and will be to the following guides to grammar dialects and phonology:

J. Wright and E.M. Wright, *Old English Grammar* (London, 1914)

R. Jordan, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar Phonology* (translated and revised by Crook E.J.) (The Hague, 1974)

A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1991)

F. Mossé, *A Handbook of Middle English* (translated by Walker J.A.) (London, 1991)

Alphabet:

Initially, in the period following the Norman Conquest, the alphabet remained unchanged from what had preceded – although, ȝ (*insular g*) and g (*Carolingian g*) are slowly distinguished, a transition that begins during the OE period and is established by the end of the twelfth century.

§ 1. The runic letter <þ> (*þorn*) and its variant <ð> (*eth*)

The runic letter <þ> (*þorn*) and <ð> (*eth*), modified from Latin *d* with a cross-stroke, were retained in the early post-Conquest period and continued to be used interchangeably to represent the *dental fricatives* [θ] and [ð]; both of these letters were gradually replaced by <th> (<ð> by the end of the thirteenth century and <þ> after about 1400).

§ 2. <þ> in initial position

In all of the variants of *CL* it is usual to find <þ> in initial position (examples are given from lines Ω1-Ω25, Ω101-Ω105, Ω201-Ω205, Ω301-Ω305 and Ω401-Ω405):

§ 2.1 Examples from T:

Lines Ω1-Ω25: þan (Ω1, Ω2), þeih (Ω4), þincheð (Ω5) etc.

Lines Ω101-Ω105: þat (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), þare (Ω102), þe (Ω103), þeih (Ω105) etc.

Lines Ω201-Ω205: þat (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þurh (Ω202) etc.

Lines Ω301-Ω305: þo (Ω302), þe (Ω302 and Ω304), þar (Ω302), þat (Ω303 and Ω305^{x2}) etc.

Lines Ω401-Ω405: þat (Ω401), þan (Ω403), þing/þinges (Ω403 and Ω404), þe (Ω404^{x2}) etc.

§ 2.2 Examples from L:

Lines Ω1-Ω25: þene (Ω1 and Ω2), þah (Ω4), þingþ (Ω5) etc.

Lines Ω101-Ω105: þet (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), þere (Ω102), þer (Ω103), þach (Ω105) etc.

Lines Ω201-Ω205: þet (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þurh (Ω202), þes (Ω202) etc.

§ 2.3 Examples from D:

Lines Ω1-Ω5: þanne (Ω1 and Ω2), þegh (Ω4), þingh (Ω5) etc.
Lines Ω101-Ω105: þet (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), þere (Ω102), þegh (Ω105) etc.
Lines Ω201-Ω205: þet (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þurð (Ω202), þes (Ω202) etc.
Lines Ω301-Ω305: þo (Ω302 and Ω304), þet (Ω302, Ω303 and Ω305^{x2}),
þer (Ω302) etc.
Lines Ω401-Ω405: þet (Ω401 and Ω404^{x2}), þanne (Ω403),
þing/þinges (Ω403 and Ω404) etc.

§ 2.4 Examples from E2:

Lines Ω1-Ω5: þen (Ω1), þanne (Ω2), þeh (Ω4), þincð (Ω5) etc.
Lines Ω101-Ω105: þet (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), þære (Ω102), þeh (Ω105) etc.
Lines Ω201-Ω205: þet (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þe (Ω202) etc.
Lines Ω301-Ω305: þa (Ω302), þer (Ω302), þet (Ω303 and Ω305^{x2}) etc.

§ 2.5 Examples from E1:

Lines Ω1-Ω5: þænne (Ω1), þanne (Ω2), þech (Ω4), þinh (Ω5) etc.
Lines Ω101-Ω105: þet (Ω101), þat (Ω102, Ω104), þere (Ω102), þe (Ω103), þei (Ω105)
etc.
Lines Ω201-Ω205: þat (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þurh (Ω202), þe (Ω202) etc.
Lines Ω301-Ω305: þo (Ω302 and Ω304), þe (Ω302), þere (Ω302), þat (Ω303 and Ω
305), þet (Ω305) etc.
Lines Ω401-Ω405: þat (Ω401), þanne (Ω403), þing/þinges (Ω403 and Ω404),
þe (Ω404^{x2} and Ω405) etc.

§ 2.6 Examples from J:

Lines Ω1-Ω5: þan (Ω1 and Ω2), þah (Ω4), þinkþ (Ω5) etc.
Lines Ω101-Ω105: þat (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), þere (Ω102), þe (Ω103), þah (Ω105)
etc.
Lines Ω201-Ω205: þat (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þurh (Ω202), þe (Ω202) etc.
Lines Ω301-Ω305: þeostre (Ω301), þe (Ω302 and Ω304), þat (Ω302, Ω303 and Ω305)
etc.
Lines Ω401-Ω405: þat (Ω401, Ω404^{x2}), þan (Ω403), þinges (Ω403 and Ω404) etc.

§ 2.7 Examples from M:

Lines Ω1-Ω5: þane (Ω1), þan (Ω2), þe (Ω2), þez (Ω4), þincþ (Ω5) etc.
Lines Ω101-Ω105: þat (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω103, Ω104), þare (Ω102), þe (Ω103),
þez (Ω105) etc.
Lines Ω201-Ω205: þat (Ω201), þe (Ω201), þis (Ω202), þurz (Ω202), þes (Ω202) etc.
Lines Ω301-Ω305: þar (Ω302^{x2}), þat (Ω302 and Ω303^{x2}) etc.

§ 3. Writing of <ð> in initial position

The writing of <ð> in initial position had stopped in almost all of the texts by this time except for in the two texts which come from the Egerton MS:

- § 3.1 In E2 <ð> frequently occurs in initial position (all occurrences noted):
ði (Ω30, Ω131 and Ω251), ðe (Ω31, Ω40, Ω45^{x2} etc.), ðer (Ω44, Ω55, Ω96 etc.), ðierf (Ω44), ðere (Ω51, Ω310 and Ω359), ðinche (Ω63 and Ω387), ðan (Ω72 and Ω375^{x2}), ðenne (Ω75 and Ω335), ðenchet (Ω80), ðing (Ω86), ðurh (Ω92, Ω202 and Ω207) ðanc (Ω92), ða (Ω95, Ω182, Ω227 etc.), ðis (Ω121, Ω163, Ω207 etc.), ðenne (Ω123, Ω130, Ω181 and Ω224), ðinchet (Ω137), ðridde (Ω145), ðanne (Ω148), ðearf (Ω172), ðeh (Ω190 and Ω233), ðolie (Ω191), ðreles (Ω196), ðenche (Ω199 and Ω345), ðolieð (Ω213), ðes (Ω223 and Ω267), ðurst (Ω240 and Ω338), ðen (Ω260), ðenche (Ω265), ðing (Ω277), ðet (Ω280), ðen (Ω284), ðusternesne (Ω292), ðene (Ω293, Ω353 and Ω355^{x2}), ðurh (Ω297 and Ω360), ðas (Ω314, Ω325 and Ω371), ðisse (Ω323), ðinge (Ω331), ðencheð (Ω339), ðeos (Ω346), ðises (Ω350), ðurh (Ω360), ðeape (Ω362), ðas (Ω364), ðincð (Ω368), ðeh (Ω373) and ðinche (Ω387).
-

- § 3.2 In E1 <ð> is occasionally used in initial position (all occurrences noted):
ðan (Ω72), ðenne (Ω75), ðe (Ω75, Ω90, Ω226 etc.), ðis (Ω121), ðes (Ω223), ðeh (Ω233), ðinchet (Ω246), ðen (Ω284), ðere (Ω359), ðurh (Ω360), ða (Ω362), ðeape (Ω362), ðos (Ω371) and ðeh (Ω373 and Ω394).
-

- § 3.3 In the remaining MSS the occurrences of <ð> in initial position are infrequent and are as follows (all occurrences noted):
T: ðer (Ω223); L: ðe (Ω70); D: ðarf (Ω44); M: ðarf (Ω44); in J there are no instances of <ð> in initial position.
-

§ 4. The writing of <ð> and <þ> in medial and final position

In medial and final position <ð> is interchangeable with <þ> in most texts:

The examples that follow do take into account the word division within the MS and, therefore, initial, medial and final positioning is fixed to how the scribe has written the word, for example: in **ofðinkeð** (T: Ω10) the <ð> is said to be in medial position rather than initial as there is no division within the compound. However, in **of þunche** (T: Ω137), where there is division between the words, the <þ> is said to be in initial position.

When a MS has a dominant reading, eg. mostly writes <ð> in medial position, then examples are only taken from the first 100 lines. However, all instances that are an exception to this are noted:

§ 4.1 T mostly writes <ð> in both medial and final position:

Medial position: **biðenche** (Ω6), **cuðe** (Ω9), **seðen** (Ω9), **ofðinkeð** (Ω10), **nuðe** (Ω10), **iselðe** (Ω16), **unhalðe** (Ω17), **oðer** (Ω26, Ω31, Ω94 and Ω96), **biðencheð** (Ω34), **loðe** (Ω45), **tilðe** (Ω58), **eiðer** (Ω63), **boðe** (Ω63 and Ω67), **eðlate** (Ω75), **erðe** (Ω76 and Ω83), **bineðen** (Ω89) etc.

Final position: **þincheð** (Ω5), **ofðinkeð** (Ω10), **mislicað** (Ω13), **bispicað** (Ω14), **beð** (Ω20), **stondeð** (Ω21), **beð** (Ω24 and Ω33), **biðencheð** (Ω34), **pilleð** (Ω35), **doð** (Ω36, Ω54, Ω57, Ω61, Ω62, Ω84 and Ω90), **habbeð** (Ω37), **bihoteð** (Ω39), **forðieteð** (Ω39), **haueð** (Ω41), **peneð** (Ω42), **deð** (Ω43), **sendeð** (Ω47), **bereð** (Ω47), **habbeð** (Ω52), **gieueð** (Ω59), **haueð** (Ω66 and Ω67), **gieueð** (Ω72), **cumeð** (Ω74), **sihð** (Ω76), **beð** (Ω76), **beð** (Ω76), **þencheð** (Ω80), **doð** (Ω80), **Boðe** (Ω82), **giemeð** (Ω82), **madeð** (Ω85), **pealdeð** (Ω86), **hereð** (Ω91), **sihð** (Ω92), **þurh-sihð** (Ω92) **brekeð** (Ω93), **gulteð** (Ω93), **beð** (Ω96), **pilleð** (Ω100) etc.

However, <þ> is written in medial position in **biþohte** (Ω8), **oþer** (Ω68), **ofþincheð** (Ω173), **þeþe** (Ω226 and Ω325)⁸⁶¹, **biþenchen** (Ω340), **ofþunche** (Ω387) and is written finally in **deþ** (Ω22).

§ 4.2 L mostly writes <ð> in medial position:

iqueðen (Ω9), **soððen** (Ω9), **kuðe** (Ω9), **nuðe** (Ω10), **oðers** (Ω31), **laðe** (Ω62), **eiðer** (Ω63), **oðer** (Ω68, Ω94 and Ω96), **eðlete** (Ω75), **orðe** (Ω83) etc.

However, <þ> is written in medial position (often before *final -e*) in **iselþe** (Ω16), **un-helþe** (Ω17), **tilþe** (Ω58), **baþe** (Ω63 and Ω67), **horþe** (Ω76), **binopen** (Ω89), **naþing** (Ω101), **deþe** (Ω111), **oþer** (Ω138), **murþe** (Ω163), **eþe** (Ω166), **þopre** (Ω175), **strengþe** (Ω177), **deaþe** (Ω191), **niþinges** (Ω241), **hpeþer** (Ω249) and **baþien** (Ω258) and **laþe** (Ω283).

L mostly writes <ð> in final position:

mislekeð (Ω13), **fulieð** (Ω14), **bispikeð** (Ω14), **beoð** (Ω20), **stondeð** (Ω21), **doð** (Ω22 and Ω54), **sendeð** (Ω28), **boð** (Ω29), **deð** (Ω36, Ω43, Ω84 and Ω90), **habbeð** (Ω37), **bihateð** (Ω39), **forðeteð** (Ω39), **haueð** (Ω41 and Ω71), **peneð** (Ω42), **laðe** (Ω45), **bereð** (Ω47), **doð** (Ω59, Ω62 and Ω80), **mið** (Ω68), **gieueð** (Ω72), **kumeð** (Ω74), **boð** (Ω76, Ω77 and Ω78), **þenkeð** (Ω80), **paldeð** (Ω86), **iherð** (Ω91), **brokeð** (Ω93), **gulteð** (Ω93), **pulleð** (Ω100) etc.

However, <þ> is written in final position in **þingþ** (Ω5), **deþ** (Ω57), **dop** (Ω61), **haueþ** (Ω67), **biseiþ** (Ω117), **biddeþ** (Ω132), **þingchþ** (Ω137), **þincþ** (Ω173), **scameþ** (Ω174), **habbeþ** (Ω175), **efþ** (Ω180), **boþ** (Ω182), **brekeþ** (Ω189), **deþ** (Ω191, Ω202, Ω228, Ω249 and Ω253), **baþ** (Ω229: **bað** in the same line) and **deþ** (Ω330).

⁸⁶¹ Note that this is more often written separately as in **þe þe** (Ω226).

§ 4.3 In D <þ> and <ð> occur in medial position a comparable amount of times:
The letter <þ> is written in **biþenche** (Ω6), **biþogt** (Ω8), **ofþencheð** (Ω10), **oþer** (Ω26), **biþencheð** (Ω34), **sleuhþen** (Ω38), **loþe** (Ω45), **oþer** (Ω68), **noþing** (Ω79), **bineþen** (Ω89) etc.

However, <ð> is found (often before *final -e*) in **chilðe** (Ω7), **iueðe** (Ω9), **cuðe** (Ω9), **nuðe** (Ω10), **iselðe** (Ω16), **unhelðe** (Ω17), **itilðe** (Ω58), **loðe** (Ω62), **boðe** (Ω63), **erðe** (Ω76 and Ω83), **eðlete** (Ω75), **oðer** (Ω94) etc.

In final position D always writes <ð>:

ofþencheð (Ω10), **mislikeð** (Ω13), **volgeð** (Ω14), **bispiked** (Ω14), **bieð** (Ω20), **stondeð** (Ω21), **doð** (Ω21, Ω22), **bieð** (Ω24, Ω33, Ω77 and Ω78), **biþencheð** (Ω34), **pilleð** (Ω35), **deð** (Ω36, Ω43, Ω54, Ω57, Ω62 and Ω90), **habbeð** (Ω37), **bihoteð** (Ω39), **haueð** (Ω41, Ω66, Ω71), **weneð** (Ω42), **sendeð** (Ω47), **bereð** (Ω47), **hogeð** (Ω52), **doð** (Ω59, Ω61 and Ω80), **giefð** (Ω72), **cumð** (Ω74), **ouersieð** (Ω76), **beð** (Ω76), **þencheð** (Ω80), **deð** (Ω84), **piteð** (Ω86), **pialdeð** (Ω86), **iherð** (Ω91), **þurhsigð** (Ω92), **brekeð** (Ω93), **gelteð** (Ω93), **willeð** (Ω100) etc.

§4.4 E2 has mostly <ð> in both medial and final position:

Medial position: **iqueðen** (Ω9), **sýððen** (Ω9), **oðer** (Ω26, Ω68, Ω94 and Ω96), **oðres** (Ω31), **laðe** (Ω45 and Ω62), **tilðe** (Ω58), **baðe** (Ω63 and Ω67), **eðlete** (Ω75), **eorðe** (Ω76 and Ω83), **bi-neoðen** (Ω89), **eiðer** (Ω90) etc.

Final position: **þincð** (Ω5), **bispiked** (Ω14), **buð** (Ω24), **bi-þencð** (Ω34), **pulleð** (Ω35), **deð** (Ω36), **habbeð** (Ω37), **bi-hateð** (Ω39), **haueð** (Ω41), **peneð** (Ω42), **deð** (Ω43, Ω54, Ω47, Ω80 and Ω90), **bereð** (Ω47), **doð** (Ω59 and Ω61), **haueð** (Ω66 and Ω71), **hafð** (Ω67), **cumeð** (Ω74), **ouersihð** (Ω76), **beoð** (Ω76), **bið** (Ω77, Ω78,), **deð** (Ω84), **pealdeð** (Ω86), **ihurð** (Ω91), **ðurh-sihð** (Ω92), **brekeð** (Ω93), **pulleð** (Ω100) etc.

However, <þ> is found in medial position in **naþing** (Ω101), **cuþe** (Ω9), **nuþe** (Ω10), **ý-selþe** (Ω16) and **unhelþe** (Ω17) and in final position in **folgeþ** (Ω14), **beoþ** (Ω20), **deþ** (Ω22) and **recþ** (Ω140).

§ 4.5 E1 has <þ> more often in medial position (often before *final -e*):
iqueþen (Ω9), **cuþe** (Ω9), **nuþe** (Ω10), **ȳ-selþe** (Ω16), **un-helþe** (Ω17), **oþer** (Ω26, Ω31, Ω68, Ω94 and Ω96), **loþe** (Ω45), **boþe** (Ω67), **erþe** (Ω76), **herþe** (Ω83), **bi-neþen** (Ω89), **oþer** (Ω94, Ω96) etc.

However, it is <ð> in **sýðen** (Ω9), **laðe** (Ω62), **baðe** (Ω63), **eðlete** (Ω75), **eiðer** (Ω90), **hpeðer** (Ω136), **suðþe** (Ω216) and **laðliche** (Ω294).

In final position it is mostly <ð> (see also note § 7.4 <d> written for <ð> in E1):
bispikedð (Ω14), **buð** (Ω24), **sendeð** (Ω47), **doð** (Ω61), **haueð** (Ω66, Ω67, Ω71), **comeð** (Ω74), **ouer-sihð** (Ω76), **beð** (Ω76), **þurð-sihð** (Ω92), **brekeð** (Ω93) etc.

However, it is <þ> in **folgeþ** (Ω14), **beoþ** (Ω20), **deþ** (Ω22 and Ω36) and **be-þenþ** (Ω34).

§ 4.6 The graph <ð> does not occur at all in J and only on three occasions in M and always in final position: **plleð** (Ω35), **peneð** (Ω42) and **habbeð** (Ω184). The letter <ð> does not occur in the list of Runic/Old English letters at the beginning of the text of M, where <þ> does; this is unlikely to be because <ð> was more familiar to this audience than <þ> but rather because of the infrequency of the occurrences in M.

§ 5 <th> written for <þ>/<ð>

There are very few occasions where <th> is written for <þ>/<ð>: all of the texts write <th> medially in **sathanas** (Ω298); T writes <th> initially in **thurh** (Ω42), medially in **lothe** (Ω62) and **methes** (Ω379); L writes <th> in finishing position in **pith** (Ω227) and medially in **lathed** (Ω133), where it represents <t> (from OE *lætan* rather than OE *læðan*); D, E2 and E1 have no occurrences of <th> for <þ>/<ð> other than the one shared by all manuscripts at Ω298; J writes <th> for medial <t> in **euethen** and M has <th> in final position in **repeth** (Ω10).

Remark: it is perhaps unsurprising that all texts share <th> in **sathanas** which is from Latin *satan* but also OF *sathanas*.

§ 6 <þ>/<ð> is written as <h>

D and E1 write <h> for <þ>/<ð> on two occasions:

§ 6.1 In D it is found in **þingh** (Ω5) and **purh** (Ω149: contracted form of the OE *verb weorþan*).

§ 6.2 In E1 it is present in **þinh** (Ω5), **hafh** (Ω150).

§ 6.3 Conversely, in L <þ> is written where <h> might normally be expected in **þurþ** (Ω92) and in E1 <ð> is written where <h> might normally be expected in **þurð** (Ω92). According to the OED, 'final *þ/ð*, is frequently a scribal error for *þ*'. However, it is also possible that it should be read as /θ/ and that this is a genuine variant form of this word.

§ 7 <d> written for <þ>/<ð>

§ 7.1 In T <þ>/<ð> is written as <d> in **folged** (Ω14), **haued** (Ω71 and Ω139), **bed** (Ω109) and **ileued** (Ω183).

§ 7.2 In L <þ>/<ð> is rarely written as <d> in: **cud** (Ω168), **uneade** (Ω190) and **bernd** (Ω260).

§ 7.3 In D <þ>/<ð> is written as <d> in **darf** (Ω44), **aider** (Ω63, Ω121 and Ω317), **vnnede** (Ω190), **ded** (Ω191), **deade** (Ω191), **dead** (Ω213) and **eade** (Ω389).

§ 7.4 In E1 <þ>/<ð> is written frequently as <d> in **mýs liked** (Ω13), **bi hoted** (Ω39), **haued** (Ω41, Ω122, Ω180, Ω181, Ω325, Ω352, Ω370 and Ω404), **pened** (Ω42), **ded** (Ω43, Ω84, Ω129, Ω132 and Ω249), **giued** (Ω72), **bud** (Ω77), **i hurd** (Ω91), **bed** (Ω96), **pulled** (Ω100 and Ω237), **beod** (Ω109^{x2} and Ω409), **demed** (Ω124), **bued** (Ω125), **leted** (Ω133), **naued** (Ω139), **seid** (Ω140), **i-bughed** (Ω153), **pid** (Ω161 Ω315, Ω319, Ω336 (x3), Ω337^{x2}, Ω351 and Ω362), **cud** (Ω168), **þinched** (Ω173), **beted** (Ω173), **ileued** (Ω183), **habbed** (Ω184, Ω247 and Ω374), **ford** (Ω185), **died** (Ω213), **leded** (Ω220), **þolied** (Ω241), **fared** (Ω245), **beod** (Ω246 and Ω254), **palked** (Ω250 and Ω253), **seched** (Ω252), **tered** (Ω289), **bued** (Ω302), **bud** (Ω309 and Ω310), **hanged** (Ω323), **erued** (Ω326), **pilnied** (Ω330), **giued** (Ω347), **lod** (Ω357), **foleped** (Ω358), **punied** (Ω385), **nabbed** (Ω394) and **pealded** (Ω404).

§ 7.5 In M <þ>/<ð> is only written twice as <d> in **darf** (Ω44) and **lodliche** (Ω294).

§ 7.6 In E2 <þ>/<ð> is only written once as <d> in **ladliche** (Ω294) and in J in **lodliche** (Ω294).

§ 7.7 Conversely, the L text, mistakenly, writes <ð> for <d> in **hefð** (Ω157).

§ 8 <þ>/<ð> written as <t>

Most of the following are examples where the scribe is spelling the dental fricative [ð] or [θ] with a dental stop /t/ in low-stress, final position. However, **attere** (L. § 8.1), **mid te** (E2.

§ 8.2) and **7 te** (J § 8.4) are examples of dental assimilation, brought about by the previous word.

- § 8.1 In L <þ>/<ð> is, on rare occasions, written as <t> in **þinchet** (Ω10), **hauet** (Ω266), **seit** (Ω140), **et lete** (Ω157, Ω162 and Ω270) and **þunchet** (Ω246) and in **attere** (Ω132) which demonstrates an assimilation of <þ> (compare with **at þare** (D) and see § 8).
- § 8.2 In E2 <þ>/<ð> is, occasionally, written as <t> in **þinchet** (Ω10), **mís lichet** (Ω13), **forǵitet** (Ω39), **sendet** (Ω47), **ǵíuet** (Ω72), **ðenchet** (Ω80), **gultet** (Ω93), **habbet** (Ω104, Ω148, Ω175 and Ω201), **ðinchet** (Ω137), **scamet** (Ω174), **gramet** (Ω174), **hauet** (Ω180), **abigget** (Ω204), **nabbet** (Ω248), **ligget** (Ω294), **hanget** (Ω323) and **mid te** (Ω366) which demonstrates an assimilation of <þ> (see § 8).
- § 8.3 In E1 <þ>/<ð> is, frequently, written as <t> in **þinchet** (Ω10 and Ω137), **det** (Ω21 and Ω54), **pillet** (Ω35), **habbet** (Ω37, Ω201 and Ω374), **forǵytet** (Ω39), **habbet** (Ω52, Ω104, Ω148, Ω175 and Ω201), **dot** (Ω59); **bet** (Ω78), **deht** (Ω80), **þenchet** (Ω80 and Ω339), **gultet** (Ω93), **nabbet** (Ω101), **pullet** (Ω102), **seit** (Ω117), **sutþe** (Ω122), **iluuet** (Ω136), **punet** (Ω143), **bloupet** (Ω143), **scamet** (Ω174), **gramet** (Ω174), **abigget** (Ω204), **libbet** (Ω215), **piht** (Ω231), **pit** (Ω237), **vunderstondet** (Ω238), **ðinchet** (Ω246), **nabbet** (Ω248), **sechet** (Ω250), **nihtfulle** (Ω289), **ligget** (Ω294) and **rixlet** (Ω414).
- § 8.4 In J <þ>/<ð> is written as <t> only once in **7 te** (Ω62) which demonstrates an assimilation of <þ> (see § 8). There are no occurrences of <þ>/<ð> written as <t> in T, D and M.

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- § 9.1 In L <þ>/<ð> has been replaced by <c> in **eclete** (Ω75); this is probably a scribal error, and is lost/replaced by <ch> in **ouer sich** (Ω76).
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§ 10 Simplification of the double fricative [ðð]

- § 10.1 In T [ðð] is simplified in **seðen** (Ω9, Ω122 and Ω216).
- § 10.2 In D [ðð] is simplified in **siþen** (Ω9), **seðe** (Ω122 and Ω216).
- § 10.3 In E1 [ðð] is simplified in **sýðen** (Ω122).
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§ 11 The runic letter <p> (wynn)

§ 11.1 From the twelfth century on the runic letter <p> (wynn) is replaced by continental <w> ('double-you'). (Jordan §16) All of the manuscripts of the *CL* retain OE <p> for <w> except for J which has the later letter form <w> in all cases apart from **porie** (Ω151).

The exceptions are noted here:

§ 11.2 T writes <w> for <p> in **mowe** (Ω30), **owen** (Ω31), **wif** (Ω32), **were** (Ω32^{x2}), **wiue** (Ω32), **drawen** (Ω48 and Ω50), **meward** (Ω238), **wel** (Ω348) and **sowle** (Ω415).

§ 11.3 L writes <w> for <p> once only in **swicen** (Ω108).

§ 11.4 D writes <w> for <p> in **wit** (Ω2), **hwile** (Ω41), **iwisse** (Ω41), **weneð** (Ω42) **wolde** (Ω50), **wealde** (Ω56), **workes** (Ω65), **swo** (Ω68), **willeð** (Ω100), **wrecche** (Ω179), **hwere** (Ω342), **hwet** (Ω343) and **we** (Ω343).

§ 11.5 E2 does not write <w> for <p> at any point in the text.

§ 11.6 E1 writes <w> for <p> once only in **wilde** (Ω152).

§ 11.7 M writes <w> for <p> in **yswinch** (Ω37), **we** (Ω170) and **wode** (Ω360).

§ 11.8 J writes <vv> for <w> in **Vve** (Ω170, Ω330 and Ω340).

§ 12 The Old English ligature <æ>

§ 12.1 The Old English ligature <æ> is regularly found in E2:
æm (Ω1), **pælde** (Ω2), **ilæd** (Ω5), **ær** (Ω13, Ω18, Ω23 and Ω129), **ærpe** (Ω20), **æie** (Ω21), **scæl** (Ω22), **þænne** (Ω23), **æch** (Ω28), **æfter** (Ω29, Ω124,), **mæi** (Ω30), **æurich** (Ω33), **þærf** (Ω46), **æiðer** (Ω63), **æfter** (Ω65), **æniman** (Ω69), **æure** (Ω69, Ω88, Ω209, Ω258 and Ω292,), **æt** (Ω94, Ω165, Ω129 and Ω132), **næure** (Ω99), **þære** (Ω102), **læden** (Ω128), **æl** (Ω145), **eælle** (Ω182), **ældrene** (Ω201), **bæð** (Ω229), **æches** (Ω233), **læde** (Ω287), **pære** (Ω306), **æc** (Ω315), **ræt** (Ω322), **æhte** (Ω332), **ælmes** (Ω351), **næreþne** (Ω355), **forlæte** (Ω357), **næreþei** (Ω361), **æche** (Ω362), **æfter** (Ω375), **græi** (Ω378) and **ælches** (Ω384).

§ 12.2 The Old English ligature <æ> is occasionally found in E1:
æm (Ω1), **þænne** (Ω1), **pæs** (Ω1), **pælde** (Ω2), **ær** (Ω13), **scæl** (Ω22), **sæl** (Ω27), **æfrech** (Ω33), **fræmden** (Ω35) and **æidi** (Ω238).

§ 12.3 The Old English ligature <æ> is rarely found in T:
mæi (Ω30), **ængles** (Ω96), **ænes** (Ω192), **middenærd** (Ω202), **læte** (Ω357) and **sæd** (Ω405).

§ 12.4 The Old English ligature <æ> is not present in any of the other four manuscript versions (L, D, J and M).

§ 13 Tironian nota <7>

- § 13.1 All of the texts continue to use the Tironian nota <7> more regularly and write **and** infrequently, except for J which mostly writes **and** (122 times) with the nota <7> written 68 times.

The exceptions in the remaining texts are noted here:

- § 13.2 T writes **and** in lines Ω72 and Ω289

- § 13.3 L writes **and** in lines Ω65, Ω218 and Ω244

- § 13.4 E2 writes **and** in lines Ω1, Ω7, Ω10, Ω70, Ω72, Ω84, Ω150 and Ω220.

- § 13.5 E1 writes **and** in lines Ω1, Ω7, Ω10, Ω35, Ω47^{x2}, Ω48, Ω70, Ω72, Ω150, Ω220, Ω235, Ω279, Ω284, Ω315 and Ω394.

- § 13.6 M writes **and** at line Ω55 only.

- § 13.7 D only uses the Tironian nota <7>.

§ 14 Old English ȝ (yogh)

- § 14.1 The Old English letter ȝ (yogh) is retained in all texts, in varying degrees, apart from J where the letter form is not present at all. In the remaining texts, insular ȝ/ȥ is found alongside Caroline *g*. OE ȝ continued to be used, in most of the texts, as a velar and palatal spirant; whereas, Caroline *g* replaced ȝ as a stop. This will be discussed in more detail in section (§ 42)
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The consonants:

§ 15 The writing of <k> for OE velar c

The allophonic differentiation of [k] and [tʃ] was established in the Old English period and the sounds in general remained unchanged during the Middle English period. (Jordan § 177) Limited writing of <k> for Old English velar c can be found during the Old English period so as to prevent confusion with [tʃ] with an increasing use of <k> occurring during the post-conquest period.

§ 16 The writing of <k> for OE velar c before front vowels

§ 16.1 This transition, present to varying degrees in all texts of the *CL*, is often found, during the Middle English period, in initial position before front vowels, so as not to be confused with French c (Jordan § 178), and so as not to have produced a succession of down strokes (minims) which might have been difficult to distinguish (Mosse § 9). This can be seen in all texts for the *noun* **king/kinge/kýng/kinges/kýnges** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81, Ω227 and Ω335: from OE *cýning*) and in (**heuen/heuene/heouene**) **kinge** (Ω366).

§ 16.2 In other instances this transformation is less consistently applied:
L and D agree on <k> for the *verb inf.* **kuðe/keðen** (Ω102), from the OE *cýþan*, where all of the other MSS have <c> in **cuðen/cuðe/cuþe**.
J writes <k> in the *verb pp.* **ikud** (Ω168), from the OE *cýþan* (this cannot be compared to the other readings, in the same line, as all the other MSS have the *adj.* **cuð/cud**, from the OE *cuþ*, and write <c>).
At Ω200 J, once more, writes <c> at the beginning of the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **cudde**. This reading finds agreement in all MSS except for T and D which write <k> in **kedde** and M where the reading is not present.

§ 16.3 For the ModE *noun* 'mankind' the two E texts retain <c> in (**manne**)-**cunne**/(**manne**)**cunne** (Ω318 and Ω352), from OE *cynn*, where it is written <k> in all other MSS in variations of (**man**)**kenne**/(**mon**)-**kunne**/(**man**)**kinne**/(**man**)-**kenne** (Ω318 and Ω352).

§ 16.4 The use of <k> for c in OE *cyn* is more regular with T, D, J and M agreeing on the initial letter in the *sg. noun* **kenne/kunne** (Ω213), the *poss. noun* **kennes**, found in T, J and M (Ω376), and the *pl. noun* **kenne**, found in M (Ω376), where L, E2 and E1 write <c> in **cunne** and **cunnes** (this reading, at Ω376, is not present in L); in addition to this, M has **kennes** (Ω86) and J has **kunesmen** (Ω275): readings individual to these manuscripts.

§ 17 The retention of <c> for OE velar *c* before back vowels

However, during this transitional period it would be inaccurate to state that before back vowels the *c* writing remained (Jordan §178) as the *CL* furnishes us with examples where this is not the case:

- § 17.1 E2 and J agree on <k> in initial position for the *noun* **kuning/konȳng** (Ω378), from OF *conin*, where T, E1 and M have <c> in **cunin/cunig** (this reading is not present in L and D).
- § 17.2 There is variation between the MSS of the *CL* and within the MS version of the same text, for example: L, D, E2 and E1 write <k> in the *noun* **kare** (Ω46), where readings with <k> do not support the normal contention that <k> is written before a front vowel (cf. § 15.2) and that <c> is retained before a back vowel (cf. § 15.5), from OE *caru*, where it is written <c> in **care** in T and M (the reading is not present in J).
- §. 17.3 L, E2 and M agree on <k> in the *verb pr. 3^d sg.* **kon/kan** (Ω72), from OE *cunnan*, *pr. can*, where it is **can/con** in all other texts. Both E1 and D write <k>, for the *1st sg.* form of the same *verb*, in **kan** (Ω317), where it had previously been written <c> in line Ω72; E2 also writes <k> (as previously), with T and J agreeing on <c> in **can/con**; the reading is not present in L or M. The *pr. 3^d pl.* form of the *verb* is present at line Ω224 with J and M agreeing on <k> initially in **kunne**, where all other MSS write **cunne**, and again at Ω316 where J alone has initial <k> in **kunnen**, where all other MSS, apart from L where the reading is not present, have <c> in **cunne(n)**. L writes <k> initially in the *pa. 1st sg.* form of the *verb* **kuðe** (Ω9), where it is **cuðe/cuþe** in all of the remaining texts.
- §.17.4 L writes <k> in initial position in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **kumeð** (Ω74), where it is **cumeð/cumēð/comeð/cumēþ/cumþ** in all the other MSS. Although the *verb* does not occur in this form again in L, it is written <c> in the *verb inf.* **cumen/come** (Ω27, Ω163, Ω164, Ω183 and Ω232: all the other texts that present this reading agree on <c>); the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **com** (Ω122, Ω202, Ω207: all texts present agree on <c>); the *verb sbj. 3^d pl.* **come** (Ω129: all texts agree on <c>: the form of the *verb* is not *sbj.* in T **cumeð**); the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **comen** (Ω148, Ω213: all texts with this reading write <c>); the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **com** (Ω232: all texts agree on <c>) and the *verb 3^d pl. ind.* **cumeð** (Ω247: all texts with this reading agree on <c>). After the conclusion of L, there are further examples of <c> being written in initial position for this *verb* group in the *verb inf.* **cumen/comen/come/cume** (Ω311, Ω318, Ω387 and Ω400); the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **come/comen** (Ω341) and in line Ω210, a line unique to T, where it is the *verb 3^d sg.* **cumeð**.
- §.17.5 A final example of <c> being written for /k/ before a back vowel can be seen in all MSS for the *verb. pp. pl. (i)* **corene** (Ω109).

§ 18 The writing of <k> for OE velar *c* before the consonant *n*

The writing of <k> for OE velar *c* when followed by the consonant *n* became prevalent during this period. This is evident in a number of texts and is applied with more consistency than the previous examples of <k> in initial position – texts do not switch between <c> before *n* and <k> before *n*.

L, D, J and M all write <k> in:

- § 18.1 Line Ω115 for the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **knauð/knopeð/knoweþ** (M has the alternative reading **his porkes**) where T, E2 and E1 have **cnopeð/cnapað/cnaped** and in line Ω142 **(i)knopeð/(i)knoweþ/knopeþ** (the L text has an alternative reading: **scapeð**) where T, E2 and E1 have **cnopeð/(i)cnaped/(i)cpopeð** (the reading in E1 is a probable mistake for **icnopeð**).
- § 18.2 Line Ω170 for the *verb inf.* is **(i)knaupen/(i)knapien/(i)knowe/(i)knope** where T, E2 and E1 have **(i)cnope/(i)cnape** and line Ω399 where D writes **(i)knopen**, M **(bi)knope**, whilst T and E1 have **icnopen/icnapen** (the J text has an alternate reading and the line does not exist in L and E2).

§ 19 The retention of <c> for OE velar *c* before consonants other than *n*

The writing of <c> is still retained, during this period, before consonants other than *n*, as is demonstrated, before *l*, in:

- § 19.1 The *verb pp. pl.* **(i)cleped(e)/(i)cluped** (Ω109) and the *inf.* **(bi)clepie(n)/(bi)clupien/(bi)clepiean/(bi)cleopien** (Ω112: all texts agree on <c> apart from M which has an alternative reading).
- § 19.2 The *noun* **cliue/cleo/clif** (Ω363).
- § 19.3 The *noun* **criste/crist/cryste/cristes** (Ω8: M only, Ω21, Ω81: cf. § 19.7 for D, Ω97: J only, Ω106: M only, Ω124: M only, Ω127: M only, Ω135: M only, Ω165, Ω189: L writes **drihte** and M writes **iesus**, Ω191: D writes **drihten** and the line is missing from M, Ω231: D only, Ω255: M only, Ω328: cf. § 19.7 for D; L has concluded, Ω402: L has concluded, missing in E2 and M, Ω413: D only, Ω416: L and E2 have concluded).
- § 19.4 The *adj. pl.* **cristene (men)** (Ω308: cf. § 15.20 for D; L has concluded, missing from M).
- § 19.5 The *noun* **cristendom** (Ω309: cf. § 15.20 for D; L has concluded; not present in M).
- § 19.6 The *noun* **(em)cristen(e)** (Ω321: L has concluded; not present in M).
- § 19.7 However, on four occasions the D text writes <ch> in initial position for the *noun* **christ** (Ω81 and Ω328), *adj.* **christene (men)** (Ω308) and the *noun* **christendom** (Ω309).

§ 20 OE *cw*

During the Middle English period OE *cw* was often replaced with <qu> under French influence (Jordan §178).

The writing of <qu> for OE *cw* is present in:

- § 20.1 The *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **queþeþ** (Ω80), which only occurs in M, and the *verb pp.* **iqueð en/iqueðe/iqueþen** (Ω9: T, J and M have a different reading).
- § 20.2 The *noun* **quike/quýke/quica/quikepe** (Ω80, Ω199), where all texts agree.
- § 20.3 The *verb inf.* (i)**queme/(i)quemen/ýqueme** (Ω98), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **iquemeþ** (Ω284: J only), the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iquemde** (Ω284: T, L, E2, E1 and M), and the *verb pp.* **iquemd/iquemed** (Ω181: not present in L and M). However, at line Ω98 and Ω181 E2 writes the OE form <cp> in **cpeman** and **icpemed** and at Ω284 D writes <k> in **ikuemde**.
- § 20.4 The *verb inf.* **quenche/quenchen/aquenche** (Ω159: not present in E2 and M; Ω261 and Ω262). However, at Ω261 D writes <ku> in **kuenche** but reverts to <qu> in **quenchen** at Ω262; E2 writes OE <cw> in **cpenche** in both Ω261 and Ω262.
- § 20.5 The *noun* **aquerne** (Ω379 in T and E2) but it is written <cqu> in **ocquerne/acquerne** (E1 and J) and <k> in **okerne** (M).

§ 21 <k> written in medial position for OE velar *c*

As the Middle English period progressed it was usual to find <k> written in medial position before *e* where the vowel is not accented (atonic). (Jordan § 178). The development of this early change is seen with much more regularity in the *CL* than the writing of <k> in initial position:

- § 21.1 The writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* in T is found in:
The *verb inf.* **speken** (Ω9 and Ω154) and the *verb pp.* **ispeken** (Ω9); the *noun* **perke** (Ω11); the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **likede** (Ω13); the *adj. (sg. and pl.)* **siker** (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl.* **perkes** (Ω64, Ω65, Ω73, etc.); the *noun* **īpanke** (Ω70); the *noun pl.* **manke** (Ω71); the *adj. pl.* **quike** (Ω80); the *verb pp.* **biloken** (Ω83); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **madeð** (Ω85); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **brekeð** (Ω93, cf. **brecð** § 22.1); the *pron.* **ilke** (Ω223); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **palleð** (Ω250 and Ω253); the *adj. pl.* **spikele** (Ω264); the *noun* **druken** (Ω266 and Ω271); the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **spunken** (Ω267); the *noun pl.* **snaken** (Ω288); the *noun pl.* **spiken** (Ω289); the *noun pl.* **raketeie** (Ω294); the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **spunke** (Ω332) and the *verb inf.* **drinken** (Ω347).

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **ofðinkeð** (Ω10), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.3.

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *adj.* **mukel** (Ω216), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.1 and § 29.1.

§ 21.2 The writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* in L is found in:
 The *verb inf.* **speke(n)** (Ω9 and Ω154); the *noun* **perke** (Ω11); the *verb pa.* 3rd *sg.* **likede** (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **mislekeð** (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **bispiked** (Ω14); the *adj. (sg. and pl.)* **siker/sikere** (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl.* **perkes** (Ω64, Ω73, Ω116 – for **perche** at Ω267 see § 25.2); the *noun* **þonke** (Ω70); the *noun pl.* **manke** (Ω71); the *adj. pl.* **quike** (Ω80); the *verb pp.* **biloken** (Ω83); the *verb pa.* 3rd *sg.* **makede** (Ω85); the *verb pr. ind.* 1st *pl.* **brokeð** (Ω93) and the *verb pr.* 3rd *sg.* **brekeþ** (Ω189); the *noun* **spinke** (Ω215, for <c> in (i)spinc cf. § 31.2); the *noun* **boke(n)** (Ω123 and Ω235); the *pl. adj.*, functioning as a *noun*, **quike** (Ω199); the *noun* **sake** (Ω203); the *pron.* **ilke** (Ω223); the *verb pl. pp.* **maket** (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **palkeð** (Ω250 and Ω253); the *noun* **þanke** (Ω254); the *adj. pl.* **spikele** (Ω264); the *noun* **drunke(n)** (Ω266 and Ω271) and the *verb pa.* 3rd *pl.* **spunken** (Ω267).

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *verb pr. ind.* 1st *pl.* **þenke** (Ω199) and the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **þenkeð/þenke** (Ω80 and Ω199), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ is expected, see § 32 and § 32.9.

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *noun* **smike** (Ω19) and the *adj.* **hpilke** (Ω137), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.2.

§ 21.3 The writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* in D is found in:
 The *verb inf.* **speke** (Ω9 and Ω154) and the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **spekeð** (Ω289); the *noun* **porke** (Ω11); the *verb pa.* 3rd *sg.* **likede** (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **mislikeð** (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **bispiked** (Ω14); the *adj. (sg. and pl.)* **siker/sikere** (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl.* **perkes/porkes/workes** (Ω64, Ω65, Ω73, etc.); the *noun* **þonke** (Ω70); the *noun pl.* **monke** (Ω71); the *pl. adj.* **quike** (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb pp.* **biloken** (Ω83); the *verb pr. ind.* 1st *pl.* **brekeð** (Ω93) and the *verb pr.* 3rd *sg.* **brekeð** (Ω189); the *adj.* **spikele** (Ω108) and *pl.* **spikele** (Ω264); the *verb inf.* **drinke** (Ω151); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **palkeð** (Ω250 and Ω253); the *noun* **þonke** (Ω254); the *noun* **drunke** (Ω266 and Ω271); the *verb pa.* 3rd *pl.* **spunke** (Ω267); the *noun pl.* **snaken** (Ω288); the *noun pl.* **raketege** (Ω294); the *noun* **marke** (Ω311) and the *verb pa.* 1st *pl.* **spngke** (Ω332 (where <g> is also written),

§ 21.4 The writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* in E2 is found in:
 The *verb inf.* **speke(n)** (Ω9 and Ω154) and the *verb sbj.* 3rd *pl.* **speke** (Ω289); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **bi-spikeð** (Ω14); the *adj. (sg. and pl.)* **siker/sikere** (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl.* **peorkes** (Ω64 and Ω73); the *noun* **iþanke** (Ω70); the *noun pl.* and *sg.* **marke** (Ω71 and Ω311); the *pl. adj.* **quike** (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb pp.* **bi-loken** (Ω83); the *verb pa.* 3rd *sg.* **makede** (Ω85); the *verb pr. ind.* 1st *pl.* **brekeð** (Ω93); the *pl. noun* **spikene** (Ω108); the *verb pp.* **idrunke** (Ω151); the *pron.* **ilke** (Ω223); the *noun* **boke** (Ω235); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **palkeð** (Ω250 and Ω253); the *noun* **ðanke** (Ω254); the *noun* **drunke(n)** (Ω266 and Ω271); the *noun pl.* **snaken** (Ω288); the *noun pl.* **raketege** (Ω294) and the *noun* **marke** (Ω311).

§ 21.5 The writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* in E1 is found in:
 The *verb inf. speke(n)* (Ω9 and Ω154) and the *verb sbj. 3^d pl. spoken* (Ω289); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. likede* (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. mȳs-liked* (13); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. bi-spikeð* (Ω14); the *verb inf. slakien* (Ω38); the *adj (sg. and pl.) siker/sikere* (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl. perkes/peorkes* (Ω64, Ω73 and Ω267); the *noun þanke* (Ω70: all texts agree); the *noun pl. monke* (Ω71); the *pl. adj. quike* (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb pp. be-loken* (Ω83); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. makede* (Ω85); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekeð* (Ω93); the *adj. spikele* (Ω108); the *verb inf. drinke* (Ω151); the *pron. ilke* (Ω223); the *noun boke* (Ω235); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl. palked* (Ω250 and Ω253); the *noun þonke* (Ω254); the *adj. pl. spikele* (Ω264); the *noun drunken* (Ω266 and Ω271); the *verb pa. 3^d pl. spunke* (Ω267); the *noun pl. snaken* (Ω288); the *noun pl. raketeie* (Ω294); the *noun marke* (Ω311); the *verb inf. drinke* (Ω347) and the *verb pa. 3^d pl. sponke* (Ω375).

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *noun smeke* (Ω19) and <ck> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3^d sg. recke* (Ω140), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.5.

§ 21.6 Of the MSS of the *CL* the writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* is most regularly found in J (where the writing of <c> is not found at all cf. §. 22.6):
 The *adv. eke* (OE *éaca*) (Ω3, Ω84 and Ω259 (cf. § 24.1 for *ek* (without final –e); the *noun werke* (Ω3); the *verb inf. speke(n)* (Ω9 and Ω154), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl. spekeþ* (Ω289) and the *verb pp. ispeke* (Ω9); the *noun sg. and pl. werke* (Ω11 and Ω267 cf. § 24.1 for *werk* (without final –e); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. likede* (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. mȳs-lýkeþ* (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. bi-swikeþ* (Ω14); the *verb inf. slakien* (Ω38); the *adj (sg. and pl.) siker/sýker* (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl. werke(s)* (Ω64, Ω73, Ω113 etc.); the *pl. adj. quýke* (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb pp. be-loken* (Ω83); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. makede* (Ω85); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekeþ* (Ω93) and the *verb pr. 3^d sg. brekeþ* (Ω189); the *pl. noun swiken* (Ω108); the *noun boke* (Ω123 and Ω235); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl. walkeþ* (Ω250 and Ω253); the *adj. pl. swikele* (Ω264); the *noun drunken* (Ω266 and Ω271); the *verb pa. 3^d pl. swunken* (Ω267 and Ω375) and the *verb pa. 1st pl. swunken* (Ω332); the *noun pl. snaken* (Ω288); the *noun pl. raketeýe* (Ω294); the *noun marke* (Ω311); the *pron. ilke* (Ω314 and Ω325); the *verb inf. drýnke* (Ω347); the *noun folke* (Ω354 cf. § 24.1 for *volk/folk* (without final –e) and the *dem. adj. þilke* (Ω369).

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. þinkþ* (Ω5) where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.22.

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. biþenkþ* (Ω34), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.24.

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the *noun smoke* (Ω19 cf. also the writing of <ch> in final position in *smech* (Ω292) at § 30.6), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. rekp* (Ω140) and the *noun (i)swýnk(e)* (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 and Ω214), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.6.

§ 21.7 The writing of <k> in medial position for OE velar *c* in M is found in:
 The *verb inf.* **speke** (Ω9, Ω154 and Ω164) and the *verb pp.* **ispeke** (Ω9); the *noun* **prke** (Ω11); the *verb inf.* **sclakie** (Ω38); the *adj. (sg. and pl.)* **siker/sikere** (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the *noun pl.* **purkes/porkes** (Ω64, Ω73, Ω113 etc.); the *noun* **ponke** (Ω70); the *noun pl.* **monke** (Ω71); the *pl. adj.* **quike/quikepe** (sic) (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **brekeþ** (Ω93); the *pl. noun* **suike** (Ω108); the *adv.* **eke** (Ω112); the *adj.* **sike** (Ω208); the *pron.* **ilke** (Ω223) and *adj.* **ilke** Ω323; the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **palkeþ** (Ω250 and Ω253); the *noun* **ponke** (Ω254); the *noun* **drunke** (Ω266 and Ω271); the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **sponke** (Ω267); the *noun pl.* **raketeze** (Ω294); the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **suonke** (Ω332); and the *adj.* **ilke** (Ω358) and **þilke** (Ω365).

§. 22 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c*

By the twelfth century the retention of <c> for OE velar *c* was greatly reduced in medial position, as is demonstrated by the *CL*. The older texts (such as T), and those that are more traditional in their writing (E2) still present a hand-full of instances where the feature is found. Whereas, in the more recently written texts, like J, the transition to <k> is complete.

§. 22.1 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* in T is present on five occasions:
 The *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **mislicað** (Ω13); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **bispicað** (Ω14); the *verb pr. 3rd sg.* **brecð** (Ω189 – cf. <k> in **brekeð** § 21.1); the *pl. adj.* **quica** (Ω199) and the *noun* **godcunnesse** (Ω406) – this is because it is a compound (**god** + **cunnesse**).

Comment: -it is more usual for <c> to be written in T if the vowel that follows is OE <a> rather than <e>.

§. 22.2 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* in L is present in the *pl. noun* **swicen** (Ω108).

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **of-þincþ** (Ω173), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.7.

§. 22.3 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* in D is only present in the *noun* **godcunnesse** (Ω406) – this is because it is a compound (**god** + **cunnesse**).

§. 22.4 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* in E2 is present in the *verb pr. 3^d sg. licede* (Ω13) and the *verb pr. 3^d sg. brecoð* (Ω189).

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. þincoð/ðincoð* (Ω5 and Ω368); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. of-þincoð* (Ω173) and the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. iðencoð* (Ω212), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.14.

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. bi-þencoð* (Ω34), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.16.

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. recþ* (Ω140), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.4.

§. 22.5 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* in E1 is present in the *verb pr. 3^d sg. brecoð* (Ω189) and the *noun godcunnesse* (Ω406) from the compound (*god* + *cunnesse*).

§. 22.6 There is not one occasion in the text of J where <c> is retained in medial position for OE velar *c*.

§. 22.7 The retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* in M is present in the *verb pr. 3^d sg. brecoþ* (Ω189).

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. þincoþ* (Ω5 and Ω368) and the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. of-þincoþ* (Ω137), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.26.

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. biþancoþ* (Ω34), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.28.

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. recþ* (Ω140), where palatal *c* /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.7.

§. 23 The retention of <c> in final position for OE velar c

Where the retention of <c> in medial position for OE velar *c* was almost obsolete in the *CL* (cf. §. 22) the writing of it in final position was extended much further in to the Middle English period, as is attested by its frequent use in the earlier texts, and retained longest in the AB dialect (Jordan p.165) but it is almost absent from the later texts, such as *J*.

§. 23.1 Retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in T:

The *cj. ac* (Ω17, Ω59, Ω124 etc.); the *noun* **þanc** /**þonc** (Ω72, Ω92, Ω113 and Ω254); the *noun* **loc** /**lac** (Ω74 and Ω210); the *noun* **perc** (Ω113, Ω121, Ω133 and Ω256); the *noun* **boc** (Ω123 and Ω235); the *adv. ec* (Ω47, Ω167, Ω214 etc.); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. brac* (Ω192); the *adj. sic* (Ω208); the *noun sg. and pl. folc* (Ω224 and Ω356) and the *verb pa. 3^d sg. spanc* (Ω375).

For the writing of <c> in the *noun* (i)**spinc** (Ω37 and Ω331) and the *adj. afric* (Ω33), both possibly representing /k/, see § 31.1.

§. 23.2 Retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in L:

The *noun* **þonc** (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the *noun* **lac** (Ω74); the *noun* **perc** (Ω133, Ω186 and Ω256); the *adv. ec* (Ω167, Ω180 and Ω214); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. brec* (Ω192); the *adj. sec* (Ω208); the *noun pl. folc* (Ω224); the *cj. ac* (Ω139, Ω209, Ω212 etc. this is the more frequent reading in L with seven occurrences but it is also written **ah** cf. § 26 and § 26.1 and also **ach** . § 25.2).

For the writing of <c> in the *noun* (i)**spinc** (Ω37, Ω58 and Ω203) and the *noun* **sullic** (Ω190), both possibly representing /k/, see § 31.2.

§. 23.3 Retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in D:

The *adv. ec* (Ω1, Ω78, Ω84 etc.); the *cj. ac* (Ω17, Ω59, Ω139 etc.); the *noun* (i)**þanc** (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the *noun* **loc** (Ω74); the *noun* **porc/perc** (Ω133, Ω186 and Ω256); the *noun* **boc** (Ω123, Ω235 and Ω401); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. brec* (Ω192); the *adj. siec* (Ω208); the *noun sg. and pl. uolc/volc* (Ω224 and Ω356) and the *verb pa. 3^d sg. spanc* (Ω375).

For the writing of <c> in the *noun* **smac** (Ω292), probably representing /k/, and the *noun* **ispinc** (Ω203), possibly representing /k/, see § 31.3.

§. 23.4 Retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in E2:

The *cj. ac* (Ω17, Ω59, Ω124 etc. and Ω328 (where it is written **aac**); the *adv. ec* (Ω11, Ω24, Ω167 and Ω214); the *noun* **þanc/ðanc/iðanc** (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the *noun* **lac** (Ω74); the *noun* **peorc** (Ω113, Ω121, Ω133 etc.); the *noun* **boc** (Ω123); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. brec* (Ω192); the *adj. sic* (Ω208); the *noun sg.* and *pl. folc* (Ω224 and Ω356) and the *verb pa. 3^d sg. spanc* (Ω375).

For the writing of <c> in the *adj. elc/eure-elc* (Ω66, Ω116, Ω120 and Ω122), the *adj. spilc* (Ω81), the *adj. hpilc* (Ω143) and the *noun sellic* (Ω190), all possibly representing /k/, see § 31.4.

§. 23.5 Retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in E1:

The *cj. ac* (Ω17, Ω59, Ω124 etc.); the *adv. ec* (Ω3, Ω11, Ω24 etc.); the *noun* **þanc/iþanc** (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the *noun* **loc** (Ω74); the *noun* **perc/peorc** (Ω113, Ω121, Ω133 and Ω256); the *noun* **boc** (Ω123 and Ω401); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. brac* (Ω192); the *adj. sic* (Ω208) and the *noun sg.* and *pl. folc* (Ω224 and Ω356).

For the writing of <c> in the *adj. elc/eure-ilc* (Ω66, Ω116, Ω120 and Ω122), the *adj. spilc* (Ω81² and Ω123), the *adv. spulc* (Ω125) and the *adj. pilc* (Ω143), all possibly representing /k/, see § 31.5.

§. 23.6 The retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in J occurs only once, in the *noun bec* (Ω401).

§. 23.7 Retention of <c> in final position for OE velar *c* in M:

The *cj. ac* (Ω40, Ω43, Ω66 etc.); the *noun* **þanc/þonc** (Ω72 and Ω92); the *noun* **loc** (Ω74); the *noun* **porc/prc** (Ω186 and Ω256); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. brac* (Ω192); the *noun* **boc** (Ω235); the *noun* **folc** (Ω356); the *verb pa. 3^d sg. bisuanc* (Ω375) and the *adv. ec* (Ω267).

§. 24 Subsequently, OE velar *c* is only written <k> in final position in J and M:

§. 24.1 In J it is written finally in:

The *adv.* **ek** (OE *éaca*) (Ω1, Ω112, Ω167 etc. cf. § 21.6 for **eke** (with final –e); the *noun* **werk** (Ω121 and Ω186) (cf. § 21.6 for **werke** (with final –e); the *noun* **ponk** (Ω72, Ω92, Ω115, Ω331 and Ω386); the *noun* **lok** (Ω74); the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **brek** (Ω192); the *adj.* **sek** (Ω208) and the *noun* **volk/folk** (Ω224 and Ω356 cf. § 21.6 for **folke** (with final –e).

§. 24.2 In M it is written finally in the *noun* **uolk** (Ω224) and the *noun* **pork** (Ω267).

§. 25 The writing of <ch> for OE velar *c*

There are limited occasions in T (once only), L, E2 and E1 (once only) where <ch> is written for OE velar *c* in either medial or final position. It is not clear from these examples whether the writing <ch> indicates the sound /k/ or whether it is palatized /tʃ/.

§. 25.1 The writing of <ch> in medial position for OE velar *c* in T is only present in the *pl. noun* **spichen** (Ω108).

§. 25.2 The writing of <ch> in medial position for OE velar *c* in L is present in the *noun pl.* **perche** (Ω267 cf. the *noun pl.* **perkes** § 21.2) and in final position in the *noun sg.* **perch** (Ω113 and Ω121). It is also found in the *the cj.* **ach** (Ω59 and Ω175) where the sound is likely to be /ax/ cf. § 26.1.

§. 25.3 The writing of <ch> in medial position for OE velar *c* in E2 is more frequent in the *noun* **peorche** (Ω11); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **mis-lichet** (Ω13); the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **Spunche** (Ω332) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **spunche** (Ω267); the *adj. pl.* **spichele** (Ω264) and in final position in the *adv.* **ech/ æch** (Ω3 and Ω28) and the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **Sspunch** (Ω332).

§. 25.4 The writing of <ch> in medial position for OE velar *c* in E1 is only present in the *noun* **perche** (Ω11).

§. 26 The writing of <h> [x] in final position for OE velar c

L and J, which are located within the geographical area of the AB dialect, exhibit a transition to the fricative in final position after an atonic vowel in the *cj. ah* (written *ac* in all other MSS) – a feature retained from, and associated with, the OE Anglian dialect:

§. 26.1 The writing of <h> in final position for OE velar c in L is found in the *cj. ah* (Ω17, Ω124 and Ω125, cf. §. 23.2, where it is more frequently *ac* and also . § 25.2 where it is *ach*).

§. 26.2 The writing of <h> in final position for OE velar c in J is found in the *cj. ah* (Ω43, Ω59, Ω125 etc.).

Old English palatal c /tʃ/

§. 27 The French writing <ch> for /tʃ/ became more frequent in the second half of the twelfth century (Jordan p.165), a sound that OE had but which Anglo Saxon scribes didn't distinguish from /k/ in writing. (Mosse p.11)

§. 28 The usual writing of Old English palatal c /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position:

§. 28.1 Palatal c /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in T:
The *noun child/childe* (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); the *noun chilce* (Ω7); the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) and the *verb pp. pl. (bi)cherd* (Ω333).

§. 28.2 Palatal c /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in L:
The *noun child/childe* (Ω3, Ω7, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); the *noun chep* (Ω69) and the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω246 and Ω247).

§. 28.3 Palatal c /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in D:
The *noun child/childe* (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); the *noun chilðe* (Ω7); the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) and the *verb pp. pl. (bi)cherd* (Ω333).

§. 28.4 Palatal c /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in E2:
The *noun child/childe* (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω46); the *noun chilce* (Ω7); the *noun chule/chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω247 and Ω336) and *chele(cheð)*: (Ω246: most likely a mistake for *chele þincheð*) and the *verb pp. pl. (bi)cherd* (Ω333).

§. 28.5 Palatal c /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in E1:
The *noun child/childe* (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26, Ω46 and Ω157); the *noun chilce* (Ω7); the *noun chule/chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246, Ω247 and Ω336) and the *verb pp. pl. (bi) cherd* (Ω333).

§. 28.6 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in J:
The *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); the *noun* **chilce** (Ω7); the *noun* **chele** (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246, Ω247 and Ω336) and the *verb pp. pl.* **(bi) cherd** (Ω333),

§. 28.7 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is <ch> in initial position in M:
The *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26, Ω157); the *noun* **chilse** (Ω7); the *noun* **chele** (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) and the *adj.* functioning as *pl. noun* **chielde** (Ω243);

§. 29 In medial position it is <ch> in:

§. 29.1 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in T:
The *adj.* (*sg.* and *pl.*) **muchel/muche** (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.) and **mulchel** (Ω222) but once written with <k>, probably /k/, in **mukel** (Ω216 see. § 33.1 and § 21.1), the *adv.* **muchel/muche** (Ω25, Ω61, Ω63 etc.) but **muhel** (Ω14), the *noun* **muchel** (Ω370 and Ω395); the *noun* **smeche** (Ω19: (cf. § 30.1 for <ch> in final position in **smech**); the *adj. pl.* **riche** (Ω42) and *noun* **riche** (Ω339 and Ω372); the *noun* **heueriche** (Ω43, Ω66 and Ω185); the *noun pl.* **dichen** (Ω42); the *adv.* **iliche** (Ω67, Ω394 and Ω395); the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); the *adj.* **eche/elche/ache(n)** (Ω88, Ω91 Ω137 etc. cf. §. 30.1 for <ch> in final position in **elch**), the *poss adj.* **elches/aches** (Ω92, Ω233 and Ω346) and the *pron.* **eche** (Ω356 cf. § 30.1 for <ch> in final position in **ech/elch**); the *adv.* **lihtliche** (Ω154 and Ω359); the *verb inf.* **quenche** (Ω159, Ω261 and Ω262); the *adj.* **erðeliche** (Ω162); the *noun* **steche** (Ω198); the *noun* **spunche** (Ω215 and Ω386 (cf. (i) **spinch** § 30.1 and (i) **spinc** § 31.1.)); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **reche** (Ω232) and the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **reche** (Ω140); the *verb inf.* **feche** (Ω233); the *verb inf.* **spenche** (Ω263); the *noun pl.* **preuchen** (Ω264); the *adv.* **bliðeliche** (Ω267); the *adj.* **ateliche** (Ω294 and Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **eiseliche** (Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **lichemliche** (Ω415), where <ch> is written twice; the *verb inf.* **tache** (Ω316) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **tached** (Ω321); the *noun* **lache** (Ω317); the *noun* **senche** (Ω347); the *verb inf.* **srenche** (Ω348) and the *verb inf.* **drenchen** (Ω346).

§. 29.2 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in L:
The *adj.* (*sg.* and *pl.*) **muchel/muche** (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.) and the *adv.* **muchel** (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); the *adj.* **helche/eche/ilche** (Ω88, Ω91, Ω244 etc. cf. § 30.2 for <ch> in final position in **ech**) and the *poss adj.* **uches/elches** (Ω92 and Ω233); the *adj. pl.* **riche** (Ω42) and the *adj.* functioning as a *pl. noun* **riche** (Ω171); the *noun pl.* **diche** (Ω42); the *noun* **heuenriche/houene riche** (Ω43, Ω66 and Ω185); the *adv.* **iliche** (Ω67 and Ω88); the *adj.* **houenliche** (Ω99); the *verb inf.* **sechen** (Ω123); the *verb inf.* **quenchen** (Ω159, Ω261 and Ω262); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **reche** (Ω232) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **rechð** (Ω140); the *adv.* **lihtliche** (Ω154); the *adj.* **orðliche** (Ω162); the *noun* **stuche** (Ω198); the *pl. adj.* **spilche** (Ω231); the *verb inf.* **feche** (Ω233); the *noun* **streche** (Ω244); the *verb inf.* **spenchen** (Ω263); the *noun pl.* **preuchen** (Ω264) and the *adv.* **bliþeliche** (Ω267).

§. 29.3 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in D:

The *adj.* (*sg.* and *pl.*) **muchel/muche**le (Ω12, Ω78, Ω75 etc.), the *adv.* **muchel/muche**le (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the *noun.* **muchel/muchel** (Ω2370 and Ω395); the *noun pl.* **diches** (Ω42); the *pl. adj.* **riche/riche**r (Ω42 and Ω335); the *adj.* **ponderliche**ste (Ω69); the *adj.* **heueriche/heueneriche/heuenriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185, Ω372 and Ω412); the *adv.* **iliche** (Ω67, Ω394 and Ω395); the *adj.* **eche(n)** (Ω88, Ω91^{x2}, Ω244 etc. cf. § 30.3 for <ch> in final position in **ech**) and the *pron poss.* **eches** (Ω92 and Ω377); the *adv.* **lihtliche** (Ω154 and Ω359); the *adj.* **perldliche** (Ω162); the *adj.* **emliche** (Ω223); the *adv.* **bleðeliche** (Ω267); the *adj.* **attliche/atteliche** (Ω294 and Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **eiliche** (Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **lichamlice** (Ω415); the *noun* **smeche** (Ω19: (cf. **smac** § 31.1); the *adj.* **hpich/hpiche** (Ω137 and Ω143); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **recche** (Ω141 and Ω232 (cf. § where it is **regh** in Ω140); the *verb inf.* **quenche(n)/ kuenche** (Ω159, Ω261 and Ω262); the *noun* **stecche** (Ω198); the *noun (i)spinche* (Ω215 and Ω386 (cf. § 30.3 for **ispinch** and § 31.3 for **ispinc**); the *pl. adj.* **spiche** (Ω231); the *verb inf.* **vecche** (Ω233); the *verb inf.* **spenchen** (Ω263); the *noun pl.* **prenchen** (Ω264); the *verb inf.* **teche** (Ω316); the *noun* **leche** (Ω317); the *verb inf.* **adrenche** (Ω346); the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377 and Ω413 ModE ‘everlasting’) and the *adj.* **spichne** (Ω416: cf. § 30.3 for **spich**).

§. 29.4 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in E2:

The *adj.* (*sg.* and *pl.*) **muchel(e)/michel(e)** (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.), the *adv.* **mýchel/muchel/michel** (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the *noun.* **michel** (Ω370); the *noun* **smeche** (Ω19: (cf. § 30.4, written <ch> in final position in **smech**); the *pl. adj.* **riche** (Ω42) and the *noun* **riche** (Ω339 and Ω372); the *noun pl.* **diche** (Ω42); the *adj.* **heueneriche/heueriche** (Ω43, Ω66 and Ω185); the *poss. noun* **spinches** (Ω65); the *adv.* **iliche** (Ω67); the *adj.* **elche/ eche/ æche** (Ω88, Ω91, Ω244 and Ω362, cf. § 30.4 for <ch> in final position in **elch/ech** and § 31.4 for <c> in final position in **elc**) and the *adj. poss.* **ealches/ æches/ ælches** (Ω92, Ω233 and Ω384); the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); the *adv.* **lihtliche** (Ω154, Ω359); the *adj.* **eordliche** (Ω162); the *noun* **sticche** (Ω198); the *noun* **eche** (Ω206); the *noun* **spinche** (Ω215 and Ω386, cf. § 30.4 for <ch> in final position in **ispinch**); the *pl. adj.* **spiche** (Ω231); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **recche** (Ω232 (cf. § 33.4 written **recþ** at Ω140); the *verb inf.* **fecche** (Ω233); the *verb inf.* **spenche** (Ω263); the *verb inf.* **quenchen/cpenche** (Ω261 and Ω262); the *noun pl.* **prenche** (Ω264); the *adv.* **bliðeliche** (Ω267); the *adj.* **ladliche** (Ω294); the *adj.* **ateliche** (Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **eisliche** (Ω296); the *verb inf.* **teche** (Ω316); the *noun* **leche** (Ω317); the *verb inf.* **drenche** (Ω346); the *verb inf.* **drinche** (Ω347); the *noun* **scenche** (Ω347), the *verb inf.* **srenche** (Ω348) and the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377^{x2} ModE ‘everlasting’).

§. 29.5 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in E1:

The *adj.* (*sg.* and *pl.*) **muchel/muchele** (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.), the *adv.* **muchel/muchele** (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the *noun.* **muchel** (Ω370); the *noun* **smeche** (Ω19, cf. § 30.5 written <ch> in final position in **smech**); the *pl. adj.* **riche** (Ω42) and the *noun* **riche** (Ω339 and Ω372); the *noun pl.* **diche** (Ω42); the *adj.* **heuene riche/heueriche/heuenriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 and Ω163); the *poss. noun* **spinches** (Ω65); the *adv.* **iliche** (Ω67, Ω394 and Ω395); the *adj.* **elche/eche** (Ω88, Ω91 Ω244 and Ω362, cf. § 30.5 for **elch** and § 31.5 for **elc**) and the *adj. poss.* **elches** (Ω92, Ω233 and Ω384); the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); the *adj.* **pulche** (Ω137); the *adv.* **lihtliche** (Ω154 and Ω356); the *verb inf.* **aquenche/quenche(n)** (Ω159, Ω261 and Ω262); the *adj.* **eordliche** (Ω162); the *noun* **sticche** (Ω198); the *noun* **eche** (Ω206); the *noun* **spinche** (Ω215 and Ω386, cf. §30.5 for (i)**spinch**); the *pl. adj.* **scuche** (Ω231); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **reche** (Ω232, cf. § 33.5 where it is **recke** in Ω140); the *verb inf.* **fecche** (Ω233); the *verb inf.* **spenche** (Ω263); the *noun pl.* **prenche** (Ω264); the *adv.* **blīpeliche** (Ω267); the *adj.* **laðliche** (Ω294); the *adj.* **ateliche** (Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **eisliche** (Ω296); the *verb inf.* **teache** (Ω316); the *noun* **liache** (Ω317); the *verb inf.* **drenche** (Ω346); the *noun* **scenche** (Ω347); the *verb inf.* **screnche** (Ω348) and the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377^{x2} ModE ‘everlasting’).

§. 29.6 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in J:

The *adj.* (*sg.* and *pl.*) **muchel/muchele** (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.), the *adv.* **muchel** (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the *noun.* **muche** (Ω370); the *pl. adj.* **riche** (Ω42); the *noun pl.* **diche** (Ω42); the *adj.* **heoue riche/heoueriche** (Ω43, Ω66 and Ω185) and the *noun* **heouene riche** (Ω372); the *adv.* **ilýche** (Ω67); the *adj. sup.* **wunderlicheste** (Ω69); the *adj.* **ewiche/vlche** (Ω88 and Ω244 cf. § 30.6 where it is <ch> in final position in **vých/ hvých/huých**) and the *adj. poss.* **výche** (Ω383); the *adj.* **heueneliche** (Ω99); the *adj.* **hwiche** (Ω137, cf. § 30.6 where it is <ch> in final position in **hwich**); the *adv.* **lihtliche** (Ω154); the *verb inf.* **quenche** (Ω159, Ω261 and Ω262); the *noun* **stucche** (Ω198); the *noun* **ache** (Ω206); the *pl. adj.* **suiche** (Ω231); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **recche** (Ω232 (cf. § 33.6 where it is **rekþ** in Ω140); the *verb inf.* **vecche** (Ω233); the *verb inf.* **swenche** (Ω263); the *noun pl.* **wrenche** (Ω264); the *adv.* **blūpeliche** (Ω267); the *adj.* **lodliche** (Ω294); the *adj.* **ateliche** (Ω296); the *adj. pl.* **grýliche** (Ω296); the *verb inf.* **teche** (Ω316); the *noun* **leche** (Ω317); the *verb inf.* **wurche** (Ω344); the *verb inf.* **drenche** (Ω346); the *adj. pl.* **wordliche** (Ω403); the *adj. pl.* **lichomliche** (Ω415).

§. 29.7 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in M:

The *verb inf.* **teche** (Ω316) and the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **teche** (Ωi); the *adj. (sg. and pl.)* **muchel** (Ω12, Ω75, Ω118 etc.), the *adv.* **muchel** (Ω11, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the *noun.* **muchel/muche** (Ω139, Ω200, Ω335 and Ω370); the *noun* **smiche** (Ω19: (cf. § 30.7 for <ch> in final position in **smich**); the *pl. adj.* **riche** (Ω42); the *noun pl.* **diche** (Ω42); the *adj.* **heueneriche** (Ω43 and Ω185); the *poss. noun* **suinches** (Ω65); the *noun* **godes riche** (Ω66); the *adv.* **iliche** (Ω67 and Ω394); the *adj.* **eueriche** (Ω88 and Ω244, cf. § 30.7 for <ch> in final position in **euerich**) the *adj.* **eche/ache** (Ω91^{x2}), the *poss. adj.* **aches** (Ω92 and Ω170); and the *pron. poss.* **eueriches** (Ω377, cf. § 30.7 for <ch> in final position in the *pron.* **euerich**); the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); the *verb inf.* **(bi)chipie** (Ω112: corruption?); the *adj.* **phiche** (Ω137); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **recche/reche** (Ω141 and Ω232 (cf. § 33.7 where it is **recþ** in Ω140); the *adj.* **huiche** (Ω143); the *adv.* **liztliche** (Ω154 and Ω359); the *poss. adj.* **aches** (Ω170); the *noun* **stecche** (Ω198); the *noun* **eche** (Ω206); the *adj. pl.* **suiche** (Ω231 and Ω299); the *verb inf.* **uecche** (Ω233); the *verb inf.* **aquenche** (Ω261 and Ω262); the *verb inf.* **suenche** (Ω263); the *adv.* **unmetliche** (Ω266); the *adv.* **bleþeliche/ blupeliche** (Ω267 and Ω271); the *adj. pl.* **grisliche** (Ω296); the *adj.* **aterliche** (Ω296); the *noun* **leche** (Ω317); the *verb inf.* **adrenche** (Ω346); the *noun* **scenche** (Ω347); the *verb inf.* **screnche** (Ω348); the *noun* **godesriche** (Ω372); the *adj. pl.* **lichemliche** (Ω415 <ch> written twice) and the *adj.* **suicchne** (Ω416: cf. § 30.7 for **suich**).

§ 30 In final position it is written <ch> in:

§ 30.1 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in T:

The *pron. 1st sg.* **ich** (this is almost always the form, except twice where it is **ic** (Ω12 and Ω236 cf. § 31.1) and also where it is written **i+** in combination with/elided with other words); the *pron.* **ech/elch** (Ω24, Ω167, Ω180, Ω370 and Ω375, cf. § 29.1 for <ch> in medial position in **eche**), the *adj.* **elch** (Ω112, Ω120 and Ω314 cf. § 29.1 where <ch> is written in medial position in **elche**); the *noun* **(i)spinch** (Ω58 and Ω203, cf. § 29.1 for <ch> written in medial position in the *noun* **spunche** and § 31.2 for <c> written in final position in the *noun* **(i)spinc**); the *adj.* **africh** (Ω66 cf. § 31.1 for <c> written in final position in the *adj.* **afric**); the *adj.* **spilch** (Ω81^{x2} and Ω416^{x2}); the *adj.* **hpilch** (Ω143); the *noun* **sellich** (Ω190); the *noun* **pich** (Ω229 and Ω258); the *noun* **smech** (Ω292, cf. § 29.1 for <ch> in medial position in **smeche**).

§ 30.2 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in L:

The *pron. 1st sg.* **ich** (this is always the form, except once where it is **hi** (Ω232) and twice where it is written **i+** in **ilede** (Ω5) and **ipule** (Ω164); the *adj.* **ech** (Ω33, Ω66, Ω112 etc. cf. § 29.2 for <ch> in medial position for the *adj.* **helche/eche/ilche**) and the *pron.* **hech** (Ω245); the *adj.* **spich** (part of *adv.* phrase)/**spuch/spuilch** (Ω81^{x2} and Ω125); the *noun* **drunch** (Ω151); the *noun* **pich** (Ω258).

§ 30.3 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in D:
 The *pron. f^t sg. ich* (the more regular form is *ic* in D, cf. § 31.3); the *adj. ech* (Ω112, Ω116 and Ω122 cf. § 29.3 for <ch> in medial position in the *adj. eche(n)*, the *adj. eurich* (Ω120) and the *pron. ech* (Ω24, Ω167, Ω180 etc.); the *noun sellich* (Ω190); the *noun pich* (Ω229 and Ω258); the *adj. eurich* (Ω33 and Ω66); the *noun ispinch* (Ω37, Ω58 and Ω331); the *adj. spich* (Ω81^{x2}, Ω123 and Ω416) and the *adj. hpich* (Ω143, cf. § 31.3 for <c> written in medial position in the *adj. hpilce*).

§ 30.4 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in E2:
 The *pron. f^t sg. ich* (this form occurs 17 times in this version whereas *ic* occurs 19, cf. § 31.3); the *noun smech* (Ω19 (cf. § 29.4 for <ch> in medial position in the *noun smeche*); the *adj. elch/ech* (Ω112^{x2} and Ω314 cf. § 29.4 for <ch> in medial position in *eche/æche* and cf. § 31.4 for <c> in final position in *elc*), the *adj. æurich* (Ω33) and the *pron. æch/ech* (Ω28, Ω167, Ω315 and Ω373); the *noun ispinch* (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 and Ω331); the *adj. spilch* (Ω81 but *spilc* in the same line cf. § 30.4); the *adv. spich* (Ω125) and the *noun pich* (Ω229 and Ω258).

§ 30.5 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in E1:
 The *pron. f^t sg. ich* (only occurs 3 times at Ω7, Ω233 and Ω317); the regular form is *ic* in this text: cf. § 31.5); the *adj. elch* (Ω112 cf. § 29.5 for <ch> in medial position in *elche/eche* and cf. § 31.5 for <c> in final position in *elc*) and the *adj. æfrech* (Ω33); the *noun ge spinch/ispinch* (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 and Ω331); the *noun pich* (Ω229 and Ω258) and the *noun smech* (Ω292).

§ 30.6 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in J:
 The *pron. f^t sg. ich* (only one occasion in J where this form is not used at Ω17 where it is written *i*); the *adj. such* (Ω81 and Ω416^{x2}); the *adj. vŷch/ hvŷch/huŷch* (Ω33, Ω91, Ω92 etc. cf. § 29.6 where <ch> is written in medial position in *ewiche/vlche*), the *adj. everuŷch* (Ω66), the *pron. vch/vich/vŷch* (Ω28, Ω167, Ω315 and Ω375); the *adj. hwich* (Ω143) cf. § 29.6 for <ch> in medial position in *hwiche*); the *adj. grimlŷch* (Ω146); the *noun stench* (Ω146); the *noun seollich* (Ω190); the *noun pich/pych* (Ω229 and Ω258) and the *noun smech* (Ω292).

§ 30.7 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in M:
 The *pron. f^t sg. ich* (this is always the form, including once within the description of the OE letters which precedes the main body of the text); the *adj. euerich* (Ω33, Ω66, Ω112 etc. cf. § 29.7 for <ch> in medial position in *eueriche*) and the *pron. euerich* (Ω180 cf. § 29.7 for <ch> in medial position for the *poss. form eueriches*); the *noun yswinch/suinch* (Ω37, Ω203 and Ω331); the *adj. suich* (Ω81, Ω125 and Ω416); the *noun drinch* (Ω151 and Ω347); the *noun pich* (Ω229 and Ω258); the *noun smich* (Ω292, cf. § 29.7 for <ch> in medial position in *smeche*) and the *adj. lodlich* (Ω294).

§ 31 In medial and final position it is written <c> in:

The writing of <c> in medial and final position where <ch> /tʃ/ might be expected is rare in all texts apart from in the *pron f^t sg. ic*. From the OE period final *c* became palatal when preceeded by a front vowel (Campbell § 428). Many of the examples that follow, share examples written <ch> (and are cross-referenced to those examples), however, it is conceivable, and in some instances likely, without being able to say for certain, that these represent variants in /k/.

§ 31.1 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <c> in medial and final position in T:

The *pron. f^t sg. ic* (only occurs twice at lines Ω12 and Ω236; the more regular reading is **ich**, cf. § 30.1); the *adj. afric* (Ω33, cf. **africh** § 30.1) and the *noun (i)spinc* (Ω37 and Ω331, cf. (i)**spinch** § 30.1).

Comment: the *noun (i)spinc* is conceivably a variant in /k/ and it is also possible that the *adj. afric* had /k/. See also § 23.1.

§ 31.2 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <c> in medial and final position in L:

The *noun (i)spinc* (Ω37, Ω58 and Ω203); the *adj. hpice* (Ω143) and the *noun sullic* (Ω190).

Comment: the *noun (i)spinc* is conceivably a variant in /k/ and it is also possible that the *noun sullic* had /k/. See also § 23.2.

§ 31.3 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <c> in medial and final position in D:

The *pron. f^t sg. ic* (this is the regular reading (28 times) but sometimes **ich** (11 times), cf. § 30.3); the *adj. philce* (Ω137); the *noun smac* (Ω292); the *noun ispic* (Ω203, cf. **ispinch** § 30.3) and the *adj. pl. lichamlice* (Ω415).

Comment: the *noun smac* is probably a variant in /k/ and it is also conceivable that the *noun ispic* had /k/. See also § 23.3.

§ 31.4 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <c> in medial and final position in E2:

The *pron f^t sg. ic* (this form occurs 19 times in this version whereas **ich** occurs 17, cf. § 30.4); the *adj. elc* (Ω116 and Ω120, cf. **elch/ech** § 30.4 and **eche/æche** § 29.4) and the *adj. eure-elc* (Ω66 and Ω122: both Egerton texts maintain the separation of the *adv.* (OE *æfre*) **eure** and the *adj.* (OE *ælc*) **elc/ilc**); the *adj. spilc* (Ω81 but **spilch** in the same line (cf. § 30.4), Ω123); the *adj. hpilc* (Ω143) and the *noun sellic* (Ω190).

Comment: it is possible that the *adj. elc/eure-elc*, the *adj. spilc*, the *adj. hpilc* and the *noun sellic* could be variants with /k/. See also § 23.4.

- § 31.5 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is written <c> in medial and final position in E1:
The *pron* *f^t* *sg.* *ic* (this is the usual form for E1, cf. *ich* § 30.5); the *adj.* *elc* (Ω116 and Ω120, cf. *elch/ech* § 30.5 and *elche/eche* § 29.5), the *adj.* *eure ilc* (Ω66 and Ω122: both Egerton texts maintain the separation of the *adv.* (OE *æfre*) *eure* and the *adj.* (OE *ælc*) *elc/ilc*) and the *pron.* *æc/elc* (Ω167, Ω315 and Ω373); the *adj.* *spilc* (Ω81^{x2} and Ω123); the *adv.* *spulc* (Ω125) and the *adj.* *pilc* (Ω143).

Comment: it is possible that the *adj.* *elc/eure-ilc*, the *adj.* *spilc*, the *adv.* *spulc* and the *adj.* *pilc* could variants with /k/. See also § 23.5.

- § 31.6 Palatal *c* /tʃ/ is not written as <c> in medial or final position in either J or M.

§ 32 The OE *verbs* *byncan* and *bencan*:

- § 32.1 In both of these *verbs*, which merged in most dialects during the ME period, assibilation has led to demonstrated palatalization through the writing of <ch>. However, often in the *2nd* and *3rd* *sg.* forms of these *verbs*, syncopation during the OE period resulted in the consonant <ð> or <þ> following the stem; under these conditions (before a consonant) assibilation did not take place and often reverted to [k] (Campbell § 435 and § 438). Later forms with <k> are likely to derive from these forms. Within the *CL* the writing of velar *k* or *c*, in the examples of *3rd* *sg. verbs*, in particular, where the *vowel* has been syncopated, might demonstrate this:

§ 32.2 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE *verb* *byncan* in T:

The *verb inf.* *þunche* (Ω63) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þincheð/þuncheð* (Ω5, Ω212, Ω246 and Ω368); the *verb inf.* *of-þunche/ofþunche* (Ω137, Ω214 and Ω387) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *ofþincheð* (Ω173).

- § 32.3 However, it is written as <k>, probably representing velar /k/ in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *ofðinkeð* (Ω10).

§ 32.4 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE *verb* *bencan* in T:

The *verb inf.* *þenche(n)* (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. f^t pl.* *þenche/þencheð* (Ω199 and Ω339) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* *þencheð* (Ω80); The *verb inf.* *biþenchen* (Ω340), the *verb pr. ind. f^t sg.* *biðenche* (Ω6) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *biðencheð* (Ω34).

§ 32.5 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þyncan* in L:

The *verb inf.* *þunchen* (Ω63) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þunched*/ *þunchet* (Ω212 and Ω246); the *verb inf.* *of-þinche* (Ω214) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *of þinchet* (Ω10).

§ 32.6 The *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þingþ* (Ω5) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *of þingchþ* (Ω137) demonstrate palatalization through <g> and <gch>.

§ 32.7 However, the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *of-þincþ* (Ω173) is likely to be velar <c> [k] (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncope and assibilation in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.*)

§ 32.8 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þencan* in L:

The *verb inf.* (i) *þenchen* (Ω123, Ω158 and Ω265) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þench* (Ω34: contracted form of OE *þencan*); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* *bi-þenche* (Ω6),

§ 32.9 L writes <k> [k] in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *þenke* (Ω199) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* *þenkeð*/ *þenke* (Ω80 and Ω199).

§ 32.10 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þyncan* in D:

The *verb inf.* *þenchen* (Ω63); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þencheð* (Ω212 and Ω246); the *verb inf.* *ofþenche* (Ω214); the *verb inf.* *vorþenche* (Ω387); the *verb inf.* *ofþenche* (Ω214) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *ofþencheð* (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173).

§ 32.11 The writing of <g> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þingh* (Ω5) and <g> the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þingð* (Ω368) are also likely to represent palatalization.

§ 32.12 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þencan* in D:

The *verb inf.* (i) *þenche(n)* (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *þenche* (Ω199) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* *þencheð* (Ω80); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* *biþenche* (Ω6 and Ω340) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *biþencheð* (Ω34).

§ 32.13 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þyncan* in E2:

The *verb inf.* *ðinche* (Ω63), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *chelecheð* (sic) (Ω246: written by mistake for *chele þincheð*); the *verb inf.* *of-ðinche* (Ω214 and Ω387) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *of þinchet*/ *of ðinchet* (Ω10 and Ω137).

§ 32.14 However, <c> is frequently written in E2 in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þincð*/ *ðincð* (Ω5 and Ω368); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *of-þincð* (Ω173) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *iðencð* (Ω212). It is likely that because of the following consonant <ð> in the 3rd sg. assibilation did not take place and <c> reverted to velar [k] (cf. § 32.1).

§ 32.15 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þencan* in E2:

The *verb inf.* (i) *ðenche* (Ω123, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *ðenche*/ *ðencheð* (Ω199 and Ω339), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* *ðenchet* (Ω80); the *verb inf.* *biðenche* (Ω340), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* *bi-þenche* (Ω6);

§ 32.16 However, <c> is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *bi-þencð* (Ω34). It is likely that because of the following consonant <ð> in the 3rd sg. assibilation did not take place and <c> reverted to velar [k] (cf. § 32.1).

§ 32.17 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þyncan* in E1:

The *verb inf.* *þinchen* (Ω63), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þinchēð/ðinchet* (Ω212 and Ω246); the *verb inf.* *of-þinche/ofþinche* (Ω214 and Ω387) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of* *þinched/of þinchet* (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173).

§ 32.18 E1 also writes the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þinh* (Ω5) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þincð* (Ω368, cf. § 32.1).

§ 32.19 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þencan* in E1:

The *verb inf.* (i) *þenche* (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *þenche/þenchet* (Ω199 and Ω339), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* *þenchet/þenche* (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb inf.* *bi-þenche* (Ω340) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* *bi-þanche* (Ω6).

§ 32.20 E1 also writes the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *be-þenþ* (Ω34).

§ 32.21 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þyncan* in J:

The *verb inf.* *þunchen/þinche* (Ω63, Ω123) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þincheþ* (Ω212 and Ω246) and the *verb inf.* *of-þunche/of-þinche* (Ω214 and Ω387) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of* *þincheþ* (Ω10 and Ω137).

§ 32.22 However in J the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þinkþ* (Ω5) demonstrate velar [k], written <k> (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncope and assibilation in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.*).

§ 32.23 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þencan* in J:

The *verb inf.* *þenche* (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *þencheþ* (Ω199 and Ω339), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* *þencheþ* (Ω80); the *verb inf.* *bi-þenche* (Ω340), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* *biþenche* (Ω6)

§ 32.24 However in J the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *biþenkþ* (Ω34) demonstrate velar [k], written <k> (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncope and assibilation in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.*).

§ 32.25 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þyncan* in M:

The *verb inf.* *þinche* (Ω63) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þincheþ* (Ω246).

§ 32.26 However, <c> is readily written before the consonant <þ> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þincþ* (Ω5 and Ω368) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of* *þincþ* (Ω137) (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncope and assibilation in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.*).

§ 32.27 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb *þencan* in M:

The *verb inf.* *þenche* (Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *þencheþ* (Ωii, Ω212), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *þencheþ* (Ω199); The *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* *biþenche* (Ω6 and Ω340)

§ 32.28 However, <c> is written before the consonant <þ> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *biþancþ* (Ω34) (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncope and assibilation in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.*).

§ 33 Further examples of velar sounds where palatalization might be expected

There are further examples in the *CL* of instances where palatalization might be expected and where <k> or <c>, probably representing velar /k/ is present in both medial and final position:

- § 33.1 In T <k> is written in medial position in the *adj.* **mukel** (Ω216 cf. § 21.1 and § 29.1).⁸⁶²
- § 33.2 In L <k> is written in medial position in the *noun* **smike** (Ω19, cf. 21.3) and the *adj.* **hpilke** (Ω137, cf. 21.3).
- § 33.3 In D <gh> is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **regh** (Ω140).
- § 33.4 In E2 <c> is written the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **recþ** (Ω140 cf. § 22.4).
- § 33.5 In E1 <k> is written in the *noun* **smeke** (Ω19, cf. §) and <ck> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **recke** (Ω140 cf. § 21.5 and § 29.5).
- § 33.6 In J <k> is written in the *noun* **smoke** (Ω19 (cf. § 30.6 for <ch> in final position in **smech**); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **rekþ** (Ω140); the *noun* (i)**swýnk(e)** (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 and Ω214) and <g> in final position in the *noun* **drung** (Ω151).
- § 33.7 In M <c> is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **recþ** (Ω140 cf. § 22.7).
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⁸⁶² "mickle, adj., pron. (and n.), and adv.". OED Online. December 2013. Oxford University Press. 3 March 2014 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/117883>>. "The medial consonant in Old English was an affricate (the ancestor of the modern *ch* forms) that had developed after palatalization and affrication of the original velar /k/ ; however, the pronunciation with the affricate did not extend to all parts of the paradigm: in syncopated forms, as *micla* , *miclan* , *miclum* , etc., (as opposed to *micela* , *micelan* , *micelum* , etc.) affrication did not take place, and the palatal consonant reverted to velar /k/ [...] The *ȝ*, *ð*, and *ε* forms have /k/ throughout the paradigm, and are chiefly northern and north- and east-midland; they are probably due to Scandinavian influence, but may also have developed by analogy from unaffricated syncopated Old English and early Middle English forms, although there is little evident continuity."

§ 34 Old English *sc* /f/

In ME about 1100 OE *sc* became /f/ by a process of monophonemization (Jordan §181). As in /tʃ/ the Anglo Norman scribes were uncertain on how to represent this sound. At first they used <s> or <ss>, then <sch>; finally <sh> was established (Mosse p.11). The *CL* demonstrates a range of representation with OE <sc> still present in the older texts, <s> written in others and <sch> dominant in J.

§ 35 Old English *sc* /f/ is written <sc> in initial position in:

§ 35.1 *sc* /f/ is written <sc> in initial position in T on only two occasions (the more regular reading is <s> cf. § 36.1):

The *verb inf.* **srenche** (Ω348) and the *noun* **scat** (Ω380).

§ 35.2 In L *sc* /f/ written <sc> in initial position is the more regular reading in:

The *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scal** (Ω27, Ω36, Ω38 etc. **scab** mistakenly written for **scal** in Ω229; cf. § 37.1 for <sch> in **schal** and § 36.3 for <s> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sal**), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **sculen/scule** (Ω48, Ω50, Ω59 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 2nd pl.* **sculen** (Ω23 and Ω48), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **sculen** (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **sculde** (Ω123 and Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **sculden** (Ω61, cf. § 36.2 for **solde**) and the *verb pa. ind. 3^d pl.* **sculden** (Ω279 and Ω280); the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **scop** (Ω86); the *noun pl.* **sceafte** (Ω86); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scapeð** (Ω142); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scameþ** (Ω174); the *noun* **scome** (Ω175); and the *verb pr. sbj. 3^d sg.* **scilde** (Ω231).

§ 35.3 In D *sc* /f/ is written <sc> in initial position on only four occasions:

The *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scal** (Ω27, where the regular form is <s>, cf. § 36.3 for **sel/sal**); the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **iscop** (Ω86); the *noun* **scete** (Ω380) and the *noun* **scrud** (Ω380).

§ 35.4 In E2 *sc* /f/ is always written as <sc> in initial position:

The *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **sceal** (Ω317), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scæl/sceal/scal** (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **scule(n)** (Ω59, Ω94, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **scule(n)** (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **scolde** (Ω38 and Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **scolde(n)** (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.) and the *verb pa. ind. 3^d pl.* **scolden** (Ω280); the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **scop** (Ω86); the *noun pl.* **sceafte** (Ω86); the *verb inf.* **(bi)-scunien** (Ω161); the *verb inf.* **scamian** (Ω172) and the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scamet** (Ω174); the *noun* **scame** (Ω175); the *verb inf.* **sculde(n)** (Ω316 and Ω348) and the *verb pr. sbj. 3^d sg.* **sculde** (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl.* **sculde** (Ω319) and the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **sculdeð** (Ω362); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **scinð** (Ω290); the *noun* **scenche** (Ω347); the *verb inf.* **srenche** (Ω348); the *noun* **sciet** (Ω380) and the *noun* **scrud** (Ω380).

§ 35.5 In E1 *sc* /f/ written as <sc> in initial position is the dominant reading:
 The *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. scal* (Ω317), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal/sceal/scæl* (Ω22, Ω36, Ω49 etc. cf. § 36.4 for <s> *sæl*), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sculle(n)* (Ω59, Ω98^{x2}, Ω170 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculen/sculle/scullen/sculled* (Ω23, Ω57, Ω59 etc. cf. § 36.4 for <s> in *sulle*), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scolde* (Ω277, cf. § 36.4 for <s> in *solde*), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. scolde(n)* (Ω50, Ω52, Ω61 etc. cf. § 36.4 for <s> in *solden* Ω48), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. scolde* (Ω280); the *noun scirreve* (Ω51); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. scop* (Ω86); the *noun pl. scefte* (Ω86); the *verb inf. (bi)-scunien* (Ω161); the *verb inf. scamien* (Ω172), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scamet* (Ω174) and the *noun scame* (Ω175); the *verb inf. scilden/sculde* (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. sculde* (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. sculde* (Ω319) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculdeð* (Ω362); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scinð* (Ω290); the *noun scenche* (Ω347); the *verb inf. screnche* (Ω348); the *noun sced* (Ω380) and the *noun scrud* (Ω380).

§ 35.6 J writes *sc* /f/ as <sc> in initial position on one only occasion, in the *verb pa. 3rd pl. scolden* (Ω280 cf. § 37.3 for *scholden* in the same line).

§ 35.7 In M *sc* /f/ written as <sc> in initial position is the dominant reading:
 The *verb inf. scilde* (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. (ȳ)scilde/(i)scilde* (Ωii, Ω107, Ω231 and Ω314) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. scildeþ* (Ω362); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal/scel* (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.) the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sculle* (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculle* (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scolde* (Ω38, Ω52 and Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. scolde* (Ω48, Ω61, Ω340 etc.), the *verb pa. 2nd pl. scolde* (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. scolde* (Ω279 and Ω280^{x2}); the *noun scerreue* (Ω51); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scuppeþ* (Ω85); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. scop* (Ω86); the *noun pl. scefte* (Ω86); the *verb inf. (ȳ)sonie* (Ω161); the *verb inf. scamie* (Ω172) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scameþ* (Ω174) and the *noun scame* (Ω175); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scinþ* (Ω290); the *noun scenche* (Ω347); the *verb inf. screnche* (Ω348) and the *noun scrud* (Ω380).

§ 36 Old English *sc* /f/ is written <s> in initial position in:

§ 36.1 In T *sc* /f/ written as <s> in initial position is the dominant reading:
 The *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sal* (Ω317), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sal* (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc. at Ω176 it is written *þal* by mistake), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sulen/sulle/sullen* (Ω59, Ω94, Ω96 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sulle(n)* (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. solde* (Ω38 and Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. solde(n)* (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. solden* (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω313); the *noun syrreue* (Ω51); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sop* (Ω86); the *noun pl. safte* (Ω86); the *verb inf. (bi)sunien* (Ω161); the *verb inf. samie* (Ω172) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sameð* (Ω174); the *noun same* (Ω175); the *verb inf. silde* (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. silde* (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. silde* (Ω319) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sildeð* (Ω362); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sineð* (Ω290); the *noun senche* (Ω347) and the *noun srud* (Ω380).

§ 36.2 In L *sc* /f/ written as <s> in initial position is only present on three occasions (the more regular reading is <sc> cf. § 35.2):
 The *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. solde* (Ω251 cf. § 35.2 for <sc> in *sculden*); the *verb inf. (bi) sunien* (Ω161) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sal* (Ω180, cf. § 37.1 for <sch> in *schal* and § 35.2 for <sc> in *scal*).

§ 36.3 In D *sc* /f/ written as <s> in initial position is the dominant reading:
 The *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sal* (Ω317), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sel/sal* (Ω222, Ω36, Ω55, cf. § 35.3 for <sc> in *scal*), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sollen/sullen* (Ω59, Ω94, Ω170 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sulle(n)* (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. solde* (Ω38), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. solde(n)* (Ω50, Ω52, Ω61 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. solden* (Ω313); the *noun serreue* (Ω51); the *noun pl. seafte* (Ω86); the *verb inf. (bi)sunie* (Ω161); the *verb inf. samien* (Ω172); the *noun same* (Ω175); the *verb inf. silden* (Ω316), the *verb pr. subj. 3rd sg. (i)silde* (Ω231) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. silten* (Ω362), and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sinð* (Ω290).

§ 36.4 In E1 *sc* /f/ is written as <s> in initial position on only four occasions (the more regular reading is <sc> cf. § 35.5):
 The *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sæl* (Ω27, cf. § 35.5 for <sc> in *scal/sceal/scael*), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sulle* (Ω94, cf. § 35.5 for <sc> in *sculen/sculle/scullen/sculled*) the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. solde* (Ω38, cf. § 35.5 for <sc> in *scolde*) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg. solden* (Ω48, cf. § 35.5 for <sc> in *scolden*).

§ 37 Old English *sc* /f/ is written <sch> in initial position in:

§ 37.1 In L *sc* /f/ is written as <sch> in initial position on only one occasion (the more regular reading is <sc> cf. § 35.2): in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. schal* (Ω22).

§ 37.2 In D *sc* /f/ is written as <sch> in initial position on only one occasion (the dominant reading is <s> cf. § 36.3) in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. schameð* (Ω174 cf. § 36.3 for the *verb inf. samien*) and as <sh> only once in the *verb pr. subj. 3rd sg. shilde* (Ω314 cf. § 36.3 for (i)silde).

§ 37.3 In J *sc* /f/ written as <sch> in initial position is the dominant reading (the only exception being **scolden** (Ω280) cf. § 35.6):
 The *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **schal** (Ω317), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **schal** (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **schulle/schulleþ/schulen** (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **schule/schulleþ/schulle(n)** (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the *verb pa ind. 1st pl.* **schulde(n)/scholde** (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the *verb pa ind. 3rd sg.* **sholde/schulde** (Ω38 and Ω277), the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **schulden/scholden** (Ω279 and Ω280, cf. § 35.6 for <sc> in **scolden** also written at Ω280); the *noun* **schirreue** (Ω51); the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **schop** (Ω86); the *noun pl.* **schafte** (Ω86); the *verb inf.* **schonȳe** (Ω161); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **schineþ** (Ω290); the *verb inf.* **schilde** (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **schilde** (Ω314), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl.* **schilde** (Ω319) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **scheldeþ** (Ω362), and the *adj.* **schene** (Ω355).

§ 37.4 In M *sc* /f/ is written as <sch> in initial position on only one occasion (the normal reading is <sc> cf. § 35.7): the *noun* **schat** (Ω380).

§ 38 Old English *sc* /f/ in medial position
 In medial position OE *sc* /f/ is written <ss> in the *noun pl.* **fisses** (Ω85) in T, L, E1 and **fýsses** in J; however, in E2 the OE form <sc> is retained in **fisces** (Ω85).

§ 39 Old English *sc* /f/ in final position
 In final position OE *sc* /f/ is written <s> in the *noun pl* **fis** (Ω85) in D; it is written <sh> in the *noun* **fish** (Ω85) in M and it is written <sc> in the *adj.* **uersc** (Ω261) in L.

§ 40 OE /sl/ :

OE /sl/ is written <sl> at line Ω38 in the *verb inf.* **slapen** (L), **sleuhþen** (D) and **slapen** (E2).
 OE /sl/ is also written <sl> at line Ω38 in the *verb inf.* **slakien** (J), where it is OE /sl/ is written <sl> in **sclakien** (E1) and in **sclakie** (M).

§41 OE [ts]

The letter *c* was only used, before the Norman Conquest, for the sound /k/, however, the Anglo-Norman scribes often used it before *e, i* with the value [ts] (Mosse p.11) as is demonstrated in the *CL* where dental t/d + s is written as <c> in the *noun* **milce/mýlce** (Ω8, Ω73, Ω138, Ω221, Ω225, Ω226 and Ω399) for all texts, apart from M which always writes <s> in **milse** and one occasion in T where it is written <ch> in **milche** (Ω226).

In the period following the Norman Conquest the letter *ȝ* (yogh) was replaced by *g* as a stop. However, it continued to be used throughout the Middle English period as a velar and palatal spirant. From 1300 it was gradually replaced initially by *y* and in other positions by *gh*. (Mosse p.8).

§ 42 OE Velar *ȝ*

OE /g/ in initial position was written using Frankish <g> from the first half of the twelfth century (Jordan § 184). This orthographical change can be seen as being established in all texts of the *CL*.

§ 42.1 Written <g> before a consonant in initial position in:

The *adj.* **grimlych** (Ω146: J only); the *verb pr. ind.* *ȝrd sg.* **grameð/gromeð/gramet/grameþ** (Ω174) and the *noun* **grame/grome** (Ω175); the *noun* **grund/grunde** (Ω187 and Ω310); the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); the *adj. pl.* **gradi/gredi** (Ω278); the *adj. pl.* **grȳsliche/grisliche** (Ω296: only in J and M); the *noun* **glie/gleo** (Ω303); the *adj.* **grene** (Ω355); the *adj.* **grai/græi/grei/greȳ** (Ω378) and the *noun* **grame** (Ω371: only in E1).

§ 42.2 Written <g> before the OE back-vowels *a*, *o*, *u* in initial position in:

The *possessive noun* (**holi**) **gostes** (Ωi: M only); the *noun* **God** and *poss. noun* **Godes** (Ω8, Ω26, Ω40 etc.); the *verb inf.* (**a**)**gulte/gelte** (Ω224), the *verb pr. ind.* *f^t pl.* **gulteð/gelteð/gultet/gulted/ (a)gulteþ/(a)gelteþ** (Ω93, Ω217: D and M only, and Ω326), the *verb pp.* (**i/a**)**gult/gelt** (Ω11 and Ω94: M only), the *verb pp. pl.* (**for**)**gelt** (Ω333: M only), the *verb pa.* *ȝrd pl.* **gelten** (Ω297: only in D), the *noun* **gult/gelt** (Ω173 and Ω204) and the *noun pl.* **gultes** (Ω287: only in T, E2 and E1, and Ω329); the *verb inf.* **go/gan/gon** (Ω15: J only, Ω359: only in M, E2 and E1), the *verb pr. ind.* *ȝrd sg.* (**for**)**goð** (Ω371: T only), the *verb pr. ind.* *ȝrd pl.* **goð/gað/gop** (Ω363), the *verb. sbj. f^t pl.* **go** (Ω355: T, D, E2, E1 and J; Ω365); the *noun* **god/gode** (Ω20, Ω23, Ω28 etc.) and the *noun* **godnesse** (Ω160: J only); the *noun* **goldes/golde/gold** (Ω71, Ω145: M only, Ω278); the *noun pl.* **gaderares** (Ω282: J only); the *noun* **gost/gast** (Ω283); the *noun* **gamen/gome/ game** (Ω303: all readings); the *adj.* **godelease/gutlease/godliese/godlese** (Ω360); the *noun* **godcunnesse** (Ω406: T, D and E1) and the *noun* **godnesse** (Ω406: J and M).

§ 42.3 The *verb pa.* *ȝrd pl.* **gunne/gunnen/(bi)gunnen/ (a)gunne/(bi)gunne/(bȳ)gunne** (Ω242: M only; Ω256 and Ω287) and the *verb sbj. pa.* *ȝrd sg.* (**bi**)**gunne** (Ω225) all have <g> in initial position, which is to be expected as these would have been plosive in the OE period in the *pa.* form. However, the *verb* acting as a *noun* (**bi**)**ginninge/(bi)ginnigge/(bi)ginnige/ (bi)gȳnnȳnge/ginningge** (Ω124) and the *noun* (**i**)**ginne** (Ω259: E2 and E1) also begin with <g> where palatal *ȝ* /j/ might be expected from the OE. It is likely that this is due to levelling in the late-OE/early-ME period. Levelling of forms also leads to <g> being written in the *noun* **gate** (Ω189: only in L). (Jordan § 189 and Campbell §426 and §427)

§ 43 From c. 1200, in medial position, after a tonic vowel and after /and r, the fricative /ɣ/ was labialized and vocalized to /ɣw/ > /w/ <w>.⁸⁶³ This happened initially in the South West Midlands (Worc.); somewhat later this spread to the North Midlands and the North. Finally, it can be seen in the writings of Kent from c. 1400. (Jordan §186)

The movement to /w/ <w> varies in the CL:

§ 43.1 T mostly retains <ɣ> in the *verb pr. ind 3rd sg. folged* (Ω14) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. folge ð* (Ω358: OE *folgað*); the *adj. oġen* (Ω113, Ω118, Ω121 etc.: OE *ágan* cf. § 43.2 *owen*); the *verb pa. 3rd pl. lügen* (Ω168: OE *lugin*); the *verb pp. in iboreġe* (Ω174: OE *borgen*); the *noun sg. and pl. laġe(s)* (Ω179 and Ω324: OE *lagu*) and the *adj. laġe-lease* (Ω306) and in the *noun moġe* (Ω194: OE *máge* cf. § 43.2 *mowe*).

§ 43.2 However, the movement to <w> is present in the *noun mowe* (Ω30: OE *máge* cf. § 43.1 *moġe*); the *adj. owen* (Ω31: OE *ágan* cf. § 43.1 *oġen*); the *verb inf. drawen* (Ω48 and Ω50: OE *dragan*). The first two examples (*mowe* and *owen*) were also written with <ɣ> elsewhere in the text – suggesting an adaptability on the part of the scribe or the possible influence of his exemplar.

§ 43.3 In the *noun pl. fueles* (Ω85: OE *fugel*) neither <ɣ> nor <w> are written.

§ 43.4 In L labialization/vocalization is not demonstrated at all through the writing of <w> in medial position for the fricative /ɣ/. The letter <ɣ> is always written in: the *noun maġe* (Ω30: OE *máge*); the *adj. aġen* (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.: OE *ágan*); the *verb inf. dragen* (Ω48 and Ω50: OE *dragan*); the *noun pl. fueles* (Ω85: OE *fugel*); the *verb pa. 3rd pl. lügen* (Ω168: OE *lugin*); the *verb pp. iborgen* (Ω174: OE *borgen*) and the *noun laġe* (Ω179: OE *lagu*).

§ 43.5 However, <ie> is written once in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. fulieð* (Ω14: OE *folgað*) and <h> is written in the *adj. ahen* (Ω170: OE *ágan* cf. § 43.4 for previous instances of this *adj.* where it is always *aġen*). It is likely that <h> in this example represents /ɣ/ – a feature of the AB dialect.

§ 43.6 The movement to <w> is not represented at all in D which retains <ɣ> throughout except in the *verb inf. draghen* (Ω50: OE *dragan*) where <ɣh> is still velar. This is not surprising considering the text's likely Kentish provenance; Kent preserved <ɣ> into the fourteenth century. (Jordan § 186). Therefore, <ɣ> is present in the *verb pr. ind 3rd sg. volġeð* (Ω14) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. volġeð* (Ω358: OE *folgað*); the *verb ind. 1st pl. hōġeð* (Ω52: OE *ágan*) and the *adj. oġen/hōġen* (Ω113, Ω118, Ω170 etc.); the *noun pl. fōġeles* (Ω85: OE *fugel*); the *verb pa. 3rd pl. lügen* (Ω168: OE *lugin*); the *verb pp. iborġe* (Ω174: OE *borgen*); the *noun sg. and pl. laġe* (Ω179 and Ω324: OE *lagu*) and the *adj. laġelease* (Ω306) and the *noun moġe* (Ω194: OE *máge*).

⁸⁶³ However, cases after an atonic vowel are rare (Jordan § 186).

§ 43.7 The movement to <w> is not represented at all in E2 which retains <ɣ> throughout, except in the *noun* **moghe** (Ω194: OE *máge* cf. **mage** (Ω30) – where <ɣh> would still be velar. E2 tends to be more conservative than the other MSS and has letter forms and linguistic features that are closer to that of the OE period. Therefore, <ɣ> is present in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **folgeþ** (Ω14) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **folgeð** (Ω358: OE *folgað*); the *noun* **mage** (Ω30: OE *máge*); the *adj.* **age(n)** (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc. OE *ágan*); the *verb inf.* **dragen/draan** (Ω48 and Ω50: OE *dragan*); the *noun pl.* **fugeles** (Ω85: OE *fugel*); the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **lugen** (Ω168: OE *lugin*); the *verb pp.* **iborege** (Ω174: OE *borgen*); the *noun pl.* **lage(s)** (Ω179 and Ω324: OE *lagu*) and the *adj.* **lage-liese** (Ω306).

§ 43.8 E1 retains ɣ in about half of the occurrences where it might be expected. In the other cases it is written <w>. This is significant because E1 and E2 would have been copied from the same exemplar. In E1 <ɣ> is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **folgeþ** (Ω14); the *noun* **moge** (Ω30: OE *máge* cf. § 43.9 **moupe**); the *adj.* **oge/age(n)** (Ω31, Ω113 and Ω364: OE *ágan* cf. § 43.9 **hope/ope(n)/apene**); the *noun pl.* **fugeles** (Ω85: OE *fugel*); the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **lugen** (Ω168: OE *lugin*) and the *noun pl.* **lages** (Ω179: OE *lagu* cf. § 43.9 **lape**).

§ 43.9 However, the movement to <w> is present in the *verb inf.* **drapen** (Ω48 and Ω50: OE *dragan*); the *adj.* **hope/ope(n)/apene** (Ω118, Ω121, Ω170 etc.: OE *ágan* cf. § 43.8 **oge/age(n)**); the *verb pp.* **iborupene** (Ω174: OE *borgen*); the *noun* **moupe** (Ω194: OE *máge* cf. § 43.8 **moge**); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **foleped** (Ω358: OE *folgað* cf. § 43.8 **folgeþ** in the *3rd sg.*); the *adj.* **lape-lese** (Ω306: OE *lagu*) and the *noun pl.* **lape** (Ω324 cf. § 43.8 **lages**).

§ 43.10 In medial position <ɣ> is not present at all in J. The movement to <w> has been completed as demonstrated in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **foleweþ** (Ω14) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **feleweþ** (Ω258: OE *folgað*); the *noun* **mowe** (Ω30: OE *máge*); the *adj.* **owe** (Ω31: OE *ágan*); the *verb inf.* **drawen** (Ω48 and Ω50: OE *dragan*); the *noun pl.* **fuweles** (Ω85: OE *fugel*); the *adj.* **owene/owe** (Ω113, Ω118, Ω121 etc.: OE *ágan*); the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **lowen** (Ω168: OE *lugin*); the *noun sg. and pl.* **lawe** (Ω179 and Ω324: OE *lagu*) and the *adj.* **lawe-leve** (Ω306).

§ 43.11 In medial position the scribe of M retains ɣ throughout the text in the *noun* **moze** (Ω30: OE *máge*); the *adj.* **oze(n)** (Ω31, Ω170 and Ω270: OE *ágan*); the *verb inf.* **draze** (Ω48: OE *dragan*); the *noun pl.* **fozel** (Ω85: OE *fugel*); the *verb pp.* **iboreze** (Ω174: OE *borgen*); the *noun sg. and pl.* **laze** (Ω179, Ω324^{x2} and Ω325: OE *lagu*); the *noun* **moze** (Ω195: OE *máge*) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **folzeþ** (Ω358: OE *folgað*).

§ 44 In final position the fricative already in OE had become voiceless and fallen together with WGmc *h*, see §.

OE Palatal ȝ /j/

§ 45 In initial position:

The writing of the period preserves <ȝ> for /j/ (alongside some instances of Frankish <g>) until around 1300 (Jordan §189) when <y> appears and is probably perceived to be more clear:

- § 45.1 During the OE period the palatal approximant <ȝ>, usually transcribed as /j/, is frequently replaced by <i> before /u/ as can be seen in the *adj.* **jung** (Ω4: T) (Hogg p.41). In all other texts, and all other comparable instances in T, except J, the OE palatal ȝ/ȥ is retained in initial position during this period, (**ȝung/ȝiung/ȝȳng/zung** in Ω4) although it is gradually replaced after 1300 by <y>, evidenced here by the J manuscript where it is completely absent and the replacement of ȝ (yogh) with ȳ has been accomplished – for example, **ȳong** (Ω4), discussed previously; the *adv.* **ȳet** (Ω5) where it is **ȝiet/ȝet/ȝȳet/ȝuet/zet** in the other MSS; the *adj. pl.* **ȳonge** (Ω10) where it is **ȝeunge/ȝunge/ȝuinge/zunge** in the other MSS (not in D); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **for-ȳet** (Ω26) where it is **forȝiet/forget/vorȝet/for ȝut/uorȝet** in the other MSS; the *noun* **ȳeuenesse** (Ω313) where it is **forȝieuenesse/ȝeuenesse/forȝieuenesse** in the other MSS etc. (This is not a list of all occurrences of <y>/<ȝ>/<ȥ> in initial position in the MSS of the CL, it can, however, be assumed that all other instances follow this rule if not stated otherwise).
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- § 45.2 L writes <g> in the *verb subj. 3rd sg.* **Giue** (Ω57) where it is **ȝieue/ȝieue/ȝieue/ȳeue/ zeue** in all other MSS (as described in § 45.1). All further variants of this *verb* conform to § 45.1, e.g. the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **ȝieueð** and **ȳeueþ** in Ω59 (T and J); the *verb inf.* **ȝieuen/ȝeuen/ȝieuen/ȝiuen/ȳeuen/zeue** (Ω65); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ȝieueð/ȝeueð/ȝiefð/ȝiuet/ȝiued/ȳueþ/zefþ** (Ω72) etc.

Comment: It is possible that the writing of <g> at this point in L is for plosive /g/, influenced by the ON cognate with /g/, however, its position at the beginning of the line and resulting capitalisation, alongside the utilisation of <ȝ> /j/ for all other occurrences, suggests that this might reflect a feature of scribal practice rather than an indication of phonology and might, therefore, be read as /j/. In many twelfth century MSS there is no separate capital *yogh*, with scribes using <G> instead. See also § 45.4 where this also appears to be evident in a further example from L.

- § 45.3 J writes the plosive /g/ <g> in the *verb pp.* **vn-vor-gulde** (Ω60) where it is <ȝ>/<ȥ> in all other MSS: **unforȝolden/unforȝolden/unforȝolde/un-for-ȝolde/vn-for-ȝolde/unȝulde**.

Comment: /g/ in the *pp.*, as seen in J, is the regular form in OE, where /j/ is by levelling across the paradigm.

§ 45.4 Initial *ȝ* was lost before *i* in the fourteenth century (Jordan § 189). The *CL* demonstrates considerable variance in regard to this process in the writing of ModE ‘if’/OE *gif*/*gyf*: T always retains <ȝ> in the *cj.* **ȝief** (Ω126^{x2}, Ω173, Ω225 etc.). In D <ȝ> is not present initially in any of the *cj.* **ef** (Ω126^{x2}, Ω173, Ω225 etc.). L retains <ȝ> in the *cj.* **ȝef**/**ȝefe**/**ȝif** (Ω126^{x2}, Ω225, Ω237 etc.) but writes <g> in **Gif** (Ω173). E2 always retains <ȝ> in the *cj.* **ȝif**/**ȝief** (Ω126^{x2}, Ω173, Ω225 etc.). E1 retains <ȝ> in the *cj.* **ȝif** (Ω126^{x2}, Ω173, Ω225 etc.) but writes velar <g> in **Gif** (Ω334 and Ω345). In J <ȝ> is usually omitted in the *cj.* **if** (Ω126, Ω225, Ω237 etc.) but is written <ȝ> in **ȝef** (Ω126, Ω334 and Ω348). M retains <ȝ> in the *cj.* **ȝef** (Ω16, Ω73 Ω126^{x2} etc.).

Comment: in L and E1 the writing of <g> in **Gif** is probably also for /j/. In many twelfth century MSS there is no separate capital *yogh*, with scribes using <G> instead. This is likely to be scribal practice rather than phonological.

§ 46 Palatal ȝ in final position

In early ME final position palatal ȝ merged with preceding vowels (a process started in the OE period) in the production of a new diphthong (Jordan p.174). This will be dealt with in some depth in the section on the Creation of New Diphthongs § 122ff.

§ 47 ȝ after a front vowel but before a back vowel

In medial position, ȝ after a front vowel but before a back vowel was velar in OE. The twelfth century tendency for weakening (beginning in the OE period) of the end syllable to *e* /ə/ resulted in a transition to a palatal in most cases (Jordan § 190). The MSS of the *CL* write:

§ 47.1 For the *noun pl.* OE *eágan* /*eayan*/ (Ω76) T and J write <i>/<y> in **eien**/**eȝen** where the other MSS retain <ȝ>/<ȝ> in **eȝen**/**eȝene** except for D which writes <ȝh> in **eȝhen**.

§ 47.2 For the *verb inf.* OE *wegan* /*weyan*/ (Ω64) L and J write <i>/<y> in **peien**/**weȝen** where the other MSS retain <ȝ>/<ȝ> in **peȝen**/**peȝe(n)**/**peȝe**.

§ 47.3 For the *verb inf.* OE *for-wrēgan* /*forwre:yan*/ (Ω100) all texts write <i>/<ȳ> in **forpreien** (T), **forpreien** (L), **vorpreien** (D), **for-preien** (E1), **for-wreȳe** (J), **forpreie** (M), except for E2 (the most conservative text) where <ƿ> is retained in **preƿen**. Note that this *verb* is in rhyming position with the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* OE *ge-ságon* (Ω101 (also *ge-sáwun* in OE) where *ȝ* is written <i>/<ȳ> in **iseien** (T) and **iseȳen** (J) whilst it is <ƿ>/<ȝ> in (i)**seƿen/ȳseȝe** (L, D, E2, E1 and M). In all instances, except E2, the rhyming of <i> with <ȝ>/<ƿ> suggests that a transition to a palatal had taken place even if it was not represented orthographically. The <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. pl.* **iseien** (Ω102) is repeated in Trinity. A similar reading is found in Ω105, with T and E1 writing <i> in the *verb pa. 1st pl. (neg)* **niseien/ne-i-seien** and the other MSS writing <ƿ>/<ȝ> in **niseƿen/ne-iseƿen/ni-seƿen/ne-iseȝe** (not in J).

§ 48 Palatal ȝ following a parasitic vowel

Where palatal ȝ was already separated by a parasitic vowel from the preceding consonant, Old English LWS and Kentish dialects already demonstrated the interchange of -iȝ with i (Campbell § 369 and § 266ff. and Jordan § 190); this movement (especially in final position) is further evidenced in the ME period: the *noun* **holi-gostes** (M Ωi) and **hali-boc** (E1 Ω401) *holi* <OE *halig*; the *adj.* **enȳ** (Ω16: J only) and **ani/eni/enȳ** (Ω54), **ani/eni/æni** (Ω69: T, L, D, E2 and E1), **ani/anie/eni** (Ω284) from OE *ænig* but **anige** in L; the *adj.* **mani/monȳ/moni** (Ω37: T, E1 and J, Ω39, Ω140: not D, etc.) and the *adj.* with *poss.* inflection **monies/manies** (Ω37: L, D, E1 and M) from OE *manig*; the *adj.* **eadi/edi/ȝedi** /**æidi/edȳe/ȝedi** (Ω238) from OE *eádig* and the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **hungri** (Ω243: M only) from OE *hungrig*.

§ 49 The loss of palatal ȝ /j/ before d

During the OE period palatal ȝ /j/ was lost before *d* and *n* with lengthening of the preceding vowel in the West Saxon and probably also Kentish areas (Jordan § 191).

In the *CL* the writing of <ȝ> is lost in some instances of the *pa.* form of the *OE* verb *secgan*:

- § 49.1 The writing of <ȝ> is lost in T in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sade* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. sade* (Ω164), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. saden*. However, T writes <i> in the *pp.* is *isaid* (Ω148), where OE *ȝ* has been vocalized to /i/.
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- § 49.2 The writing of <ȝ> is lost in L in the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164). However, this is the minority reading for this MS as OE ȝ /j/ is vocalized to /i/ in all other writings of the *pa.* form of this verb, i.e. the *verb pa. 3rd sg. seide* (Ω136), the *pp. iseid* (Ω148), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. seiden* (Ω234). The predominant <ei> writing in L is a probable Anglian feature, which is shared with J cf. § 49.6.
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- § 49.3 The writing of <ȝ> is lost in D in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. as sede* (Ω136) the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. sede(n)* (Ω148, Ω234 and Ω254).
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- § 49.4 The writing of <ȝ> is lost in E2 in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164), the *pp. ised* (Ω148) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. sede* (Ω234).
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- § 49.5 The writing of <ȝ> is lost in E1 in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164) the *pp. ised* (Ω148) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. sede* (Ω234).
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- § 49.6 In J OE ȝ /j/ is vocalized to /i/ in all the writings of the *pa.* form of this verb, i.e. the *verb pa. 3rd sg. seȳde* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. seide* (Ω164), and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. seȳden* (Ω148 and Ω234). The predominant <ei>/<eȳ> reading in J is a probable Anglian feature which is shared with L, cf. § 49.2.
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- § 49.7 The writing of <ȝ> is lost in M in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136). However, in the *verb pa. 1st sg. seide* (Ω164) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. seide* (Ω234) OE ȝ /j/ is vocalized to /i/; a feature shared with L (§ 49.2) and J (§ 49.6).
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- § 49.8 However, OE ȝ /j/ is vocalized to /i/ in all of the MSS (except L where it is not present) for the *verb pp. ileid/ȳ-leid/i-leȳd/i-leid* (Ω12).
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§ 50 OE palatal gg /dʒ/

Late OE /dʒ/, written <cz>, is written with Frankish <gg> by the twelfth century (§ 192). Example from *CL* are:

The *verb inf.* **bugge/bugge/buggen/beggen/bigge/biggen** (Ω66: OE *bicgan*) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **abeggeð/abigget/abuggeþ** (Ω204: D, E2, E1 and J: OE *a-byccað*) but **abugeð** (T), **abugeð** (L); the *verb inf.* **seggen/siggen/sigge/segge/** (Ω94; Ω96 not in D and M; Ω156 etc. OE *sicgan*), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **siggeþ** (Ω148: M only, OE *secg(e)að*) and the *verb pr. 1st sg.* **segge** (Ω326: J, OE *secge*); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **liggeð/ligget** (Ω294: D, E2 and E1, OE *licgað* (*inf.* *licgan*) but **ligeð** (T) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **leggeð/leggeþ** (Ω331: D, E2, E1, J and M, OE *lecgað* (*inf.* *lecgan*) but **legeð** (T).

§ 51 OE g in the group nʒ /ŋg/

OE ʒ was a plosive in the combination *ng* (= /ŋg/), this is retained through the ME period, in medial position, and up until the present day. (Jordan § 194). In final position the plosive in ME was still spoken as in OE with some devoicing probable to /ŋk/ or /ŋ/, especially before voiceless consonants. However if *nʒ* originally stood before *j*(i), then probably already in late OE assibilation to /ndʒ/ occurred (Jordan § 194, Campbell § 428 and Wright § 317) – there are, however, no occurrences of this in the *CL*.

§ 51.1 In medial position in T OE *g* in the group *nʒ* /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the *noun* **kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **erninge** (Ω65); the *noun pl.* **þinges** (Ω403); the *noun pl.* **ængles/angles** (Ω96 and Ω295) and the *pl. possessive* form **angles** (Ω367 and Ω393) the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **horlinges** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + suffix *-ling*); the *verbal noun* **biginninge** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*); the *verb pp.* **imengd** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*); the *noun* **hunger** (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hungor*); the *noun pl.* **efninges** (Ω171: OE *efning*); the *noun* **pronge** (Ω177 and Ω220); the *verb pp. pl.* (Ω182: OE *sprungen*); the *noun* **niðing** (Ω241: OE *niþing*); the *pl. verbal noun* **puniinges** (Ω373 cf. § 51.3 for the *sg.* form **poning**: OE *wánian*); the *adj. pl.* **stronge** (Ω294 OE *strang*); the *noun* **tunge** (Ω300: from OE *tunge*); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **singed** (Ω322: OE *singan*); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **hangeð** (Ω323: OE *hangað*); the *noun pl.* **erminges** (Ω334: OE *earming*); the *adj.* **geunger** (Ω337: OE *geongra*); the *verb inf.* **bringe** (Ω365) and the *pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **bringe** (Ω414: OE *bringan*); the *noun* **songe** (Ω367: OE *sang*) and the *pl. noun* **derlinges** (Ω402: OE *deór-ling*).

§ 51.2 However, T writes <ng> /ŋg/ in the *noun* **strengðe** (Ω328) but /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋk/, written <nc>, before <ð> in **strencðe** (Ω177).

§ 51.3 In final position in T OE *g* in the group *nʒ* /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **jung** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *adj.* **prongpise** (Ω49) but <g> is missing, devoiced to /ŋ/ before <p>, in **pronpise** (Ω269); the *noun* **king** (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **þing**, also with *neg no*, (Ω78, Ω86, Ω101 etc.); the *noun* **ofsprung/ofspreng** (Ω205 and Ω218: OE *of-spring*); the *verbal noun* **poning** (Ω244 cf. § 51.1 for the *pl.* form **puniinges** :

OE *wánian*) and the verbal noun **rauing** (Ω266: OE *reáfian*).

§ 51.4 In medial position in L OE *g* in the group *n*3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176 and Ω221: OE *lange*); the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **erninge** (Ω65); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) the movement to /dz/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **ordlinghes** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + suffix *-ling*); the verbal noun **endinge** (Ω125: OE *endung*); the *noun* **hunger** (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hungor*); the *noun pl.* **eueningges** (Ω171: note <gg>, OE *efning*); the *noun* **pronge/prange** (Ω177 and Ω220:); the *noun* **strengþe** (Ω177); the *verb pp. pl.* **sprunge** (Ω182: OE *sprungen*) and the *noun* **niþinges** (Ω241: OE *niþing*).

§ 51.5 However, in the *verb pp.* **meind** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*) /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋ/ before <d>.

§ 51.6 L also writes <gg> and omits <n> for OE /ŋg/ in the verbal noun **biginnigge** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*).

§ 51.7 In final position in L OE *g* in the group *n*3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **gung** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *adj.* **prangpise/ prongpise** (Ω49 and Ω269: OE *wrang*); the *noun* **king** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **þing**, also with *neg na*, (Ω86, Ω101, Ω277 etc.); the *noun* **of-sprung** (Ω218: OE *of-spring*); the verbal noun **paning** (Ω244: OE *wánian*); the verbal noun **tening** (Ω266 OE *teónian*) and the *adj. sg.* **strong** (Ω327: OE *strang*).

§ 51.8 In medial position in D OE *g* in the group *n*3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the *noun* **kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **earninge** (Ω65); the *noun pl.* **þinge(s)** (Ω331 and Ω403); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω295) and the *pl. possessive* form **englene/engles** (Ω367 and Ω393) the movement to /dz/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **horlinges** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + suffix *-ling*); the verbal noun **biginninge** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*); the verbal noun **endinge** (Ω125: OE *endung*); the *verb pp.* **imaingd** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*); the *noun* **hunger/hungre** (Ω154, Ω240, Ω336 etc.: OE *hungor*) but omits <n> in **huger** (Ω206); the *noun pl.* **eueninges** (Ω171 OE *efning*); the *noun* **pronge** (Ω177 and Ω220); the *verb pp. pl.* **asprungen** (Ω182: OE *sprungen*); the *noun* **niþinges** (Ω241: OE *niþing*); the *pl. verbal noun* **poniinge** (Ω373: OE *wánian*); the verbal noun **reauinge** (Ω266: OE *reáfian*); the *adj. pl.* **stronge** (Ω294: OE *strang*); the *noun* **tunge** (Ω300: from OE *tunge*); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **singð** (Ω322: OE *singan*); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **hongeð** (Ω323: OE *hangað*); the *noun pl.* **arminges** (Ω334: OE *earming*); the *adj.* **gungre** (Ω337: OE *geongra*); the *verb inf.* **bringe** (Ω365) and the *pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **bringe** (Ω414: OE *bringan*); the *noun* **songe** (Ω367: OE *sang*) and the *pl. noun* **deorlinges** (Ω402: OE *deór-ling*).

§ 51.9 However, /ŋg/ is written <n>, probably /x/, before <ð> in the *noun* **strenhðe** (Ω177).

§ 51.10 In final position in D OE *g* in the group *n*3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **giung** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *adj.* **prangpise** (Ω269: OE *wrang*); the *noun* **king** (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **þing**, often with *neg no*, (Ω78, Ω79, Ω86 etc.); the *noun* **ospring/ospreng** (Ω205 and Ω218: note: <f> missing in both readings, OE *of-spring*) and the *adj. sg.* **strang** (Ω327: OE *strang*).

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- § 51.11 In medial position in E2 OE *g* in the group *n*3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **lange** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the *noun* **kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **earninge** (Ω65); the *noun pl.* **ðinge** (Ω331); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* form **englene** (Ω367) the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **horlinges** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + suffix *-ling*); the *verbal noun* **endinge** (Ω125: OE *endung*); the *noun* **hunger** (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hungor*); the *noun pl.* **eueninges** (Ω171: OE *efning*); the *noun* **prange** (Ω177: and Ω220); the *verb pp. pl.* **isprungen** (Ω182: OE *sprungen*); the *noun* **niðinges** (Ω241: OE *niþing*); the *verbal noun pl.* **pununges** (Ω373: cf. § 51.14 for the *sg.* form **panunge**: OE *wánian*); the *adj. pl.* **strange** (Ω294: OE *strang*); the *noun* **tunge** (Ω300: from OE *tunge*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **singð** (Ω322: OE *singan*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **hanget** (Ω323: OE *hangað*); the *noun pl.* **erminges** (Ω334: OE *earming*); the *adj.* **geonger** (Ω337: OE *geongra*); the *verb inf.* **bringe** (Ω365 OE *bringan*); the *noun* **sange** (Ω367: OE *sang*).
- § 51.12 However, E2 writes <ng> /ŋg/ in the the *noun* **strengðe** (Ω328) but /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋk/, written <nc>, before <ð> in **strencðe** (Ω177).
- § 51.13 In E2 <n> is absent before <g> in the *verbal noun* **bi-ginnige** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*).
- § 51.14 In final position in E2 OE *g* in the group *n*3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **gyng** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *noun* **king** (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **ðing/þing**, also with *neg na*, (Ω86, Ω101, Ω277 etc.); the *verb pp.* **imeng** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*), where <g> is written; the *noun of-spring* (Ω205 and Ω218: OE *of-spring*); the *verbal noun* **panunge** (Ω244 cf. § 51.11 for the *pl.* form **pununges**: OE *wánian*); the *verbal noun* **reauing** (Ω266: OE *reáfian*) and the *adj. sg.* **strang** (Ω327: OE *strang*).
- § 51.15 However /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋk/ before <p>, in the *adj.* **prancpise/pranc-pise** (Ω49 and Ω269: OE *wrang*).
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§ 51.16 In medial position in E1 OE *g* in the group *n3* /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **lange/longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the *noun* **kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **erninge** (Ω65); the *noun pl.* **þinge(s)** (Ω331 and Ω403); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* form **englene/engle** (Ω367 and Ω393), the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **horlinges** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + suffix *-ling*); the *verbal noun* **bi-ginninge** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*); the *verbal noun* **endinge** (Ω125: OE *endung*); the *noun* **hunger/ vnger** (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hungor*); the *noun pl.* **heueninges** (Ω171: OE *efning*); the *noun* **prange/pronge** (Ω177 and Ω220); the *verb pp. pl.* **isprunge** (Ω182: OE *sprungen*); the *noun* **niþinges** (Ω241: OE *niþing*); the *adj. pl.* **stronge** (Ω294: OE *strang*); the *verbal noun pl.* **punienges** (Ω373: cf. § 51.18 for the *sg.* form **paninge** OE *wánian*); the *noun* **tunge** (Ω300: from OE *tunge*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **singð** (Ω322: OE *singan*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **hanged** (Ω323: OE *hangað*); the *verbal noun pl.* **erninges** (Ω334); the *adj.* **geonger** (Ω337: OE *geongra*); the *verb inf.* **bringe** (Ω365) and the *pr. sbj. 3^d sg.* **bringe** (Ω414: OE *bringan*); the *noun* **songe** (Ω367: OE *sang*) and the *pl. noun* **durlinges** (Ω402: OE *deór-ling*).

§ 51.17 However, E1 writes <ng> /ŋg/ in the *noun* **strengþe** (Ω177) but /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋk/, written <nc>, before <þ> in **strencþe** (Ω328).

§ 51.18 In final position in E1 OE *g* in the group *n3* /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **gung** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *adj.* **pronge** (Ω49) but devoiced to /ŋk/ before <p>, in **prancpiſe** (Ω269 OE *wrang*); the *noun* **king** (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **þing**, also with *neg no*, (Ω86, Ω101 Ω384 and Ω404) but devoiced to /ŋk/ in **þinc** (Ω277); the *verb pp* **imeng** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*); the *noun of-sprung/ of-spring* (Ω205 and Ω218: OE *of-spring*); the *verbal noun* **paninge** (Ω244: cf. § 51.16 for the *pl.* **punienges**: OE *wánian*) and the *verbal noun* **reuing** (Ω266: OE *reáfian*) and the *adj. sg.* **strong** (Ω327: OE *strang*).

§ 51.19 In medial position in J OE *g* in the group *n3* /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the *noun* **kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and *pl.* **kýnges** (Ω335); the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **earnýnge** (Ω65); the *noun pl.* **þinges** (Ω403 and Ω404); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* form **englene** (Ω367 and Ω393), the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **horlinges/ordlinghes** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + suffix *-ling*); the *verbal noun* **bigýnnýnge** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*); the *verbal noun* **endinge** (Ω125: OE *endung*); the *noun* **hunger** (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hungor*); the *noun pl.* **euenýnges** (Ω171: OE *efning*); the *noun* **wronge** (Ω177 and Ω220); the *noun* **strengþe** (Ω177 and Ω328); the *noun* **nýþinges** (Ω241: OE *niþing*); the *verbal noun pl.* **wonýnges** (Ω373 cf. § 51.21 for the *sg.* form in **wonýng**: OE *wánian*); the *adj. pl.* **stronge** (Ω294 OE *strang*); the *noun* **tunge** (Ω300: from OE *tunge*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sýngeþ** (Ω322: OE *singan*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **honge þ** (Ω323: OE *hangað*); the *noun pl.* **earnýnges** (Ω334: OE *earming*); the *adj.* **ýonge** (Ω337: OE *geongra*); the *verb inf.* **brýnge** (Ω365) and the *pr. sbj. 3^d sg.* **bringe** (Ω414 OE *bringan*); the *noun* **songe** (Ω367: OE *sang*); the *verb pp.* **vunderuonge** (Ω369: OE *under-fangen*) and the *pl. noun* **derlinges** (Ω402: OE *deór-ling*).

§ 51.20 However, in the *verb pp.* **meýnd** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*) /ŋg/ is simplified to /ŋ/ before <d> (/g/ is lost).

§ 51.21 In final position in J OE *g* in the group n3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **ȝong** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *adj.* **wrongwise** (Ω49 and Ω269: OE *wrang*); the *noun* **king/kȝng** (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **þing**, also with *neg* **no**, (Ω86, Ω87, Ω159 etc.); the *noun* **ofsprung** (Ω205 and Ω218: OE *of-spring*); the *verbal noun* **wonȝing** (Ω244: cf. § 51.19 for the *pl.* form in **wonȝnges**: OE *wánian*); the *verbal noun* **reving** (Ω266: OE *reáfian*) and the *adj. sg.* **strong** (Ω327: OE *strang*).

§ 51.22 In medial position in M OE *g* in the group n3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *adv.* **longe/lange** (Ω3, Ω122, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the *adj.* **pronge/prongepise** (Ω49 and Ω269: OE *wrang*) and the *noun* **ȝpronge** (Ω220); the *noun* **kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); the *noun pl.* **angles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* form **anglene** (Ω367 and Ω393), the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the *noun pl.* **horlinges** (Ω108: OE *noun hóre* + *suffix -ling*); the *verb pp.* **imengd** (Ω151: OE *ge-menged*); the *noun* **hunger** (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hungor*); the *verb pp. pl.* **ȝsprungen** (Ω182: OE *sprungen*); the *verb inf.* **bringe** (Ω189: OE *bringan*); the *noun pl.* **eldringes** (Ω202: M only) from OE *ildran*; the *noun* **niþing** (Ω241: OE *niþing*); the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **hungri** (Ω243: OE *hungrig*); the *adj. pl.* **stronge** (Ω294: OE *strang*); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **hongeþ** (Ω323: OE *hangað*); the *verb inf.* **bringe** (Ω365) and the *pr. sbj. 3^d sg.* **bringe** (Ω414: OE *bringan*); the *noun* **songe** (Ω367: OE *sang*).

§ 51.23 M writes <ng> the *verbal noun* **poninge** (Ω244) but writes <gg> and omits <n> in the *pl.* form **poniegg** (Ω373: OE *wánian*). This would appear to be a feature of M's writing as the scribe also writes <gg> for OE /ŋg/ in the *verb* acting as a *noun* in **ernigge** (Ω65); the *verbal noun* **ginningge** (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*); the *verbal noun* **endigge** (Ω125: OE *endung*); the *noun pl.* **euenigges** (Ω171: OE *efning*) and the *noun pl.* **ermigges** (Ω334: OE *earming*).

§ 51.24 In M /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋk/ before <þ> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **sincþ** (Ω322: OE *singan*).

§ 51.25 In final position in M OE *g* in the group n3 /ŋg/ is written <ng> in the *noun* **zung** (Ω4: OE *geong*); the *noun* **king** (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **þing**, also with *neg* **no**, (Ω86, Ω101, Ω139 etc.); the *noun* **ofspreng** (Ω218: OE *of-spring*); the *verbal noun* **reuing** (Ω266: OE *reáfian*) and the *adj. sg.* form in **strong** (Ω326 and Ω327: OE *strang*).

OE *h*: /h/ intially and /x/ medially and finally

§ 52 Initial position and before a vowel

- § 52.1 In initial position and before a vowel *h* remained aspirate as in OE, therefore it was sounded in accented syllables (Jordan § 195):

In the *CL* /h/ is retained and written <h> initially, for example, in the *noun* **holi-gostes** (Ωi: M only); the *verb pr. subj. 3rd sg.* **helpen** (Ωi: M only); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **habbe** (Ω5, Ω7, Ω9, Ω12, Ω16 etc.); the *suffix* in the *noun* (**child**)-**hade** (Ω7: L reading only) from OE suffix *-had*; the *verb pp.* (**i**)**hud** (Ω12: L only) from OE *gehyded*; the *noun* **horde** (Ω12); the *possessive pron. 3rd sg.* **his** (Ω14); the *pron. 3rd sg. reflex.* **him-selfen/hine-solf/himselfue/him-sulfne/him-seolue** (Ω14); the *pron. 3rd sg.* **he** (Ω14); the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **hadde/hefde/heuede** (Ω16) from OE *hæfde* etc. only exceptions to <h> for /h/ in initial position will be noted below.

- § 52.2 Often in unaccented syllables there was a tendency for silencing. This is clearly demonstrated in the period, according to Jordan (§ 195), by the weak neuter *pron.* 'hit'. The *CL*, in all MSS, retains <h> initially for the *pron. 3rd sg. inanimate* with the exception of E1 where the dominant reading is **it** (Ω13, Ω39, Ω40 etc.).

- § 52.3 Jordan attributes alternations in the writing of *h* to be from French influence, but acknowledges that early omission of the *h* (already in OE) could also rest on the fact that the writer did not consider the aspiration as a full valued sound. (Jordan § 195). Apart from the previous example in the *CL* (§) there are very few places where <h> is not written initially.

- § 52.4 L writes the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **abe** (Ω8) where all other texts write **habbe**, the *adv.* **er** (Ω54) where it is **her** in the other MSS and writes the *noun pl.* **ordlinghes** (Ω108) where all other texts have **horlinges**.

- § 52.5 E1 writes the *noun* **vnger** (Ω240) where it is **hunger** in the other MSS.

The addition of <h> initially:

- § 52.6 In D there is an addition of <h> in the *noun* **helde** (Ω17: OE *eldo/yldo*) where it is not present in any of the other MSS and is not repeated in D in Ω18; the letter <h> is written at the beginning of the *noun* **heghte** (Ω43); the *verb ind. 1st pl.* **hogeð** (Ω52: OE *ágan*) and the *adj.* **hogen** (Ω170: OE *ágan*) and the *noun* **herre** (Ω291: OE *eorre*).

- § 52.7 In L there is an addition of <h> in the *noun* **horþe** (Ω76: OE *eorþe*).

- § 52.8 In E1 there is an addition of <h> in the *noun pl.* **heueninges** (Ω171: OE *efning*) and the *adj.* **hope** (Ω118: OE *ágan*).

§ 53 Initial position and before the consonant *l, n* and *r*

In *hl*, *hn*, *hr* the *h* was mostly silent by around 1000. In the *CL*, for example, the OE *verb hreowan* is written **repe(n)/ropen/riepe/rupen/reowe** (Ω22) and **repe(n)/reope/reupe/rewe** (Ω371); the OE *noun hláford* is written **louerd/lauerd** (Ω81 and Ω196) in all texts apart from E2 (the most conservative of the texts) where <hl> is retained in **hlauord** (both occasions); the *adv. raðer/raþer/raðe* (Ω138); the OE *verb hlystan* is written **lusten/ileste** (Ω237) in L, E1, J and M but in T, D and E2 <hl> is written in **hlestē/hlusten**; the same *verb* is written **lesten/luste** (Ω400) in D, E1 and J when it is **hleste** in T.

§ 54 **Initial position and before the consonant *w***

The Norman language did not contain the sequence /hw/. As a result, Anglo-Norman speakers understood the English sound as a voiceless /w/. The <wh> was contrived to represent this peculiar kind of /w/. According to Jordan *hw* the aspiration silenced early in the South and SEML but was retained longer in Kent. (Jordan § 195).

§ 54.1 In T <hp> is retained throughout the text in the *cj. hpile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc. cf. §. 54.2 for <ph> in **phile**) and as an *adv.* (Ω342); the *pron. hpat* (Ω80^{x2}, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *adv. ai+hpare* (Ω90) and **elles-hpare** (Ω342); the *pron. hpan* (Ω98, Ω110, Ω213 and Ω341^{x2}); the *adv. hpi* (Ω110); the *pron. hpo-so* (Ω119); the *cj. hpeðere* (Ω136) and as a *pron.* (Ω249); the *pron. hpo* (Ω140) and the *adj. hpilch* (Ω143).

§ 54.2 In T <ph> is written once only in the *cj. phile* (Ω314).

§ 54.3 In L <hp> is retained in the *cj. hpile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.); the *pron. hpet/hpat* (Ω80: note that it is written <p> in **pet** earlier in the same line, Ω92, Ω94, Ω98, Ω108, Ω257); the *adv. hpi* (Ω109, Ω110,); the *pron. hpon* (Ω110); the *adj. hpilke* (Ω137); the *pron. hpa* (Ω140); the *adj. hpice* (Ω143); the *pron. hpam* (Ω213), although it is written without <p> in **hom** (Ω98) and the *pron. hpeþer* (Ω249). There are no occurrences of <ph> in the text.

§ 54.4 In L <h> is frequently omitted and the sound is represented by the written of <p> on its own in the *cj. penne* (Ω36, Ω132, Ω159,); the *pron. pet/pat* (Ω80: note that it is written <hp> in **hpet** later in the same line, Ω96, Ω142,); the *adv. u+per* (Ω90) and the *pron. pa-se* (Ω119).

§ 54.5 D writes <hp> in the *cj. hpile* (Ω34, Ω41, Ω56 etc.) and as an *adv.* (Ω342); the *pron. hpet/hpat/hwet* (Ω80^{x2}, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *adv. ai+hpar* (Ω90), **hper** (Ω249) and **elles-hwere** (Ω342); the *adv. hpi* (Ω110) and as a *pron.* (Ω110 and Ω213); the *adj. hpiche/hpich* (Ω137, Ω143); the *pron. hpo* (Ω140) and **hpo-so** (Ω226) the *pron. hpam* (Ω341^{x2}). The writing <ph> is not found at all in D.

§ 54.6 In D <h> is omitted and the sound is represented by the written of <p> on its own in the *cj. pile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the *pron. pat* (Ω155).

§ 54.7 In E2 <hp> is retained in the *cj. hpenne* (Ω36); the *cj. hpile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and as an *adv.* (Ω342); the *pron. hpet* (Ω80, Ω94, Ω96 etc.) the *pron. hpan* (Ω98, Ω110, Ω213 and Ω341 cf. §. 54.7 in the same line as Ω341 it is written **phan**); the *adv. hpi* (Ω110); the *pron. hpa-se* (Ω119); the *pron. hpa* (Ω140); the *adj. hpilc* (Ω143); the *adv. elles-hpare* (Ω342).

§ 54.8 It is written <ph> in the *pron.* **phet** (Ω92); the *cj.* **pheðer** (Ω136); the *adj.* **philce** (Ω137); the *pron.* **pheðer** (Ω249) and the *pron.* **phan** (Ω341: cf. §. 54.7 in the same line it is written **hpan**).

§ 54.9 E1 regularly writes <p> on its own in the *cj.* **pýle/pile** (Ω28, Ω33, Ω36 etc.) and as an *adv.* (Ω342); the *pron.* **pat/pet** (Ω80, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *adv.* **par** (Ω88); the *pron.* **pan** (Ω98, Ω110 and Ω341^{x2}); the *adj.* **pulche** (Ω137); the *pron.* **po** (Ω140); the *adj.* **pilc** (Ω143); the *pron.* **peþer** (Ω249); the *adv.* **pare** (Ω342) and the *cj.* **panne** (Ω417).

§ 54.10 However, <hp> is retained in the *cj.* **hpile** (Ω22, Ω24 and Ω34) and as a *noun* (Ω156); the *pron.* **hpat/hpet** (Ω98, Ω108, Ω142 etc.); the *adv.* **hpi** (Ω110); the *pron.* **hpa-se** (Ω119); the *cj.* **hpeðer** (Ω136) and the *adv.* **elles-hpare** (Ω343).

The combination <ph> is not found at all in E1.

§ 54.11 In J <hw> is retained in the *cj.* **hwenne** (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.); in the *cj.* **hwile** (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and in the *adv.* (Ω342); in the *pron.* **hwat** (Ω80^{x2}, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *adv.* **hwer** (Ω85); the *adv.* **ic+hwer** (Ω90); the *pron.* **hwan** (Ω98 and Ω341^{x2}); the *adv.* **hwi** (Ω110^{x2}); the *adv.* **hwider** (Ω127); the *cj.* **hwil** (Ω134); the *adj.* **hwiche/hwich** (Ω137 and Ω143); the *pron.* **hwo** (Ω140, Ω147 and Ω387) and **hwo-so** (Ω371); the *pron.* **hweþer** (Ω249); the *pron. pl.* **hwom** (Ω254) and the *adv.* **elles-hware** (Ω342).

§ 54.12 J writes <wh> only once in the *pron.* **whon** (Ω213).

§ 54.13 The reading in M is regularly <ph> in the *cj.* **phane/phanne** (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.); the *pron.* **phat** (Ω6, Ω80, Ω92 etc.) and as an *adv.* (Ω110^{x2}); the *cj.* **phile** (Ω22, Ω24, Ω33 etc.); the *adv.* **phider** (Ω88); the *pron.* **pham** (Ω98); the *adj.* **phiche** (Ω137); the *pron.* **pho-so** (Ω139); the *pron.* **pho** (Ω140) and the *pron.* **hpo-so** (Ω371); the *pron.* **phan** (Ω164, Ω213 and Ω341); the *pron.* **phaþer** (Ω249) and the *adv.* **phar-of** (Ω341).

§ 54.14 However, M writes <hu> in the *pron.* **huat** (Ω96) and the *adj.* **huiche** (Ω143).

§ 55 The writing of *h* in the combination *ht*

In medial position *h* had largely disappeared in OE between voiced sounds (especially between vowels). Medial *h* remains in ME in the group *ht* (= /xt/) as a velar fricative <ht> <ght> (Jordan § 196).

§ 55.1 In T OE *ht* is always retained, for example in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16) and the *verb pa. 1st pl. mihte* (Ω53: T) from OE *miht*; the *noun ahte* (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE *æht*; the *verb pp. unboht* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the *noun rihtpisenesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisness*; the *adj. pl. brihte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *noun mihte* (Ω78) from OE *meaht*; the *noun nihte* (Ω79 and Ω82) from the OE *niht*; the *noun pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun drihte* (Ω81) from the OE *dryhten*; the *noun unriht* (Ω95) from OE *un-riht* etc.

§ 55.2 L writes mostly <ht> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ahte* (Ω2) from OE *ahte* (see footnote 4); the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16) from OE *miht*; the *noun rihtpisenesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisness*; the *noun lihte* (Ω77) from the OE *leoht*; the *noun mihte* (Ω78) from OE *meaht*; the *noun noht* (Ω78) from OE *ná-wiht*; the *noun nihte* (Ω79) from the OE *niht*; the *noun pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun drihten* (Ω81) from the OE *dryhten*; the *noun unriht* (Ω95) from OE *un-riht* etc.

§ 55.3 However, it is a regular feature of L to find <cht> written in this position in the *verb pa. 1st sg. michte* (Ω19) and the *verb pa. 1st pl. michte* (Ω53) from OE *miht*; the *noun echte* (Ω43 and Ω56); the *adj. pl. brichte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *adv. (neg.) nocht* (Ω139), although once *naut* (Ω223), from the OE *nó-wiht*; the *verb pa. 3rd sg. ut-brochte* (Ω192) from the OE *brohte*; the *noun ipichte* (Ω223) from OE *ge-wiht*; the *noun echte* (Ω282) from OE *æht*; the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hecht* (Ω283) from OE *heht* and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. tachte* (Ω283) from OE *táhte*.

§ 55.4 D writes mostly <ht> in the *verb pp. vnboht* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the *noun rihtpisenesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisness*; the *adj. pl. brihte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *noun lihte* (Ω77) from the OE *leoht*; the *noun mihte* (Ω78) from OE *meaht*; the *noun nihte* (Ω79) from the OE *niht*; the *noun pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun drihte* (Ω81) from the OE *dryhten* etc.

§ 55.5 However, in D, the writing <ght> is found in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. oghte* (Ω2) from OE *ahte* (see footnote 4); the *noun heghte/eghte* (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE *æht* and the *noun eghte* (Ω282) from OE *æht*. D also writes <ch> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. tichede* (Ω283) from OE *tyhte*; <ðt> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. taðte* (Ω283) from OE *táhte* and <gt> in the *noun egte* (Ω332) from OE *æht*.

§ 55.6 D also writes <gt> in the *verb pp. bikagte* (Ω333) which comes from Old Northern French *cachier* which eventually replaced Old English *læccan*, Middle English *lachen*. Hence, the past tense is *cahte*, *cauhte*, *cauzte*, *caught*, like *lahte*, *lauhte*, *lauzte*, *laught*. (OED).

§ 55.7 D writes <hð> in the *noun isihðe* (Ω297) and *isihþe* (Ω382) where all remaining texts have <ht> or <zt>; this is from OE *sihþ* – (þ/ð has changed to <t>: Jordan § 198 *remark 2*).

§ 55.8 In E2 OE *ht* is always retained, for example in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16 and Ω19) and the *verb pa. 1st pl. mihte* (Ω53) from OE *miht*; the *noun ehte* (Ω56) from OE *æht*; the *verb pp. un-boht* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the *noun rihtwisnesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisness*; the *adj. pl. brihte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *noun lihte* (Ω77) from the OE *leoht*; the *noun mihte* (Ω78) from OE *meaht*; the *noun naht* (Ω78) from OE *ná-wiht*; the *noun nihte* (Ω79) from the OE *niht*; the *noun pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun drihte* (Ω81) from the OE *dryhten*; the *noun unriht* (Ω95) from OE *un-riht* etc.

§ 55.9 However it is written <ft> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. of-ðufte* (Ω286) from OE *þuhte*.

§ 55.10 E1 mostly writes <ht> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mýhte* (Ω16 and Ω19) from OE *miht*; the *noun ehte* (Ω56) from OE *æht*; the *noun mihte* (Ω78) from OE *meaht*; the *noun nihte* (Ω79) from the OE *niht*; the *noun pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun drihte* (Ω81: see Ω115 where it is written <tt> and Ω124 where it is <tht>) from the OE *dryhten*; the *noun vnriht* (Ω95) from OE *un-riht* etc.

§ 55.11 However, there is considerable variation in this text with the omission of <h> in the *adv. (neg) nout* (Ω49, Ω199, Ω302 and Ω396,) and *nopit* (Ω176) from OE *nó-wiht*; the *verb pp. vn-bout* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the *noun ritgifnesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisness*; the *adj. pl. britte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *noun nout* (Ω77, Ω304, Ω307); the *noun dritte* (Ω115 see Ω81 where it is written <ht> and Ω124 where it is <tht>) from the OE *dryhten*; the *noun drithte* (Ω124: <h> is added above the line; see also Ω115 where it is written <tt> and Ω81 where it is written <ht>) from the OE *dryhten*; the *verb pa. 3rd sg. ut-broutte* (Ω192) from the OE *brohte* and the addition of <t> before <ht> in the *noun lithte* (Ω77) from the OE *leoht* and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. mithten* (Ω251) from the OE *miht*. The writing of <ct> is also present in the the *noun eicte* (Ω43:) from OE *æht*.

§ 55.12 In J OE <ht> is always retained, for example in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mýhte* (Ω16) and the *verb pa. 1st pl. mýhte* (Ω53) from OE *miht*; the *noun aýhte* (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE *æht*; the *verb pp. vn-bouht* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the *noun rýhtwisnesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisness*; the *adj. pl. brihte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *noun lýhte* (Ω77); the *noun mýhte* (Ω78 and Ω97) from OE *meaht*; the *noun nowiht* (Ω78) from OE *ná-wiht*; the *noun nýhte* (Ω79) from the OE *niht*; the *noun pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun drýhte* (Ω81) from the OE *dryhten* and the *noun vnryht* (Ω95) from OE *un-riht* etc.

§ 55.13 However, a later stage development might be seen in the writing <ght> in the *adv. (neg.) nought* (Ω189 and Ω336) from OE *nó-wiht*.

§ 55.14 M always writes <zt> for OE *ht*, for example, in the *noun* **mizte** (Ωi: M only reading) from OE *meaht*; the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **dihte** from OE *dihtan*; the *noun* (un)**pizte** (Ωii) from OE *wiht*; the *noun* **nizte** (Ωii) from OE *neaht*; the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **azte** (Ω2) from OE *ahte*;⁸⁶⁴ the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **mizte** (Ω16) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **mizte** (Ω49, Ω51 and Ω53) from OE *miht*; the *noun* **ezte** (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE *æht*; the *verb pp.* **unbozt** (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the *noun* **riztpisnesse** (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwisnes*; the *adj. pl.* **brizte** (Ω76) from the OE *beohrt*; the *noun* **lizte** (Ω77) from the OE *leoht*; the *noun* **pizte** (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the *noun* **drihte** (Ω81) from the OE *dryhten*; the *noun* **almizti** (Ω83) from OE *æl-mihtig* etc.

§ 56 In final position the velar fricative [x] and the palatal fricative [ç] (allophones of /h/) generally remain unchanged. The writing of this sound as <gh>, Northern <ch> (for /x/), did not happen with any frequency until the fourteenth century. In the *CL* there is variation between the texts and within the same text when writing these features.

§ 56.1 In T <h> is written in final position for the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **oh** (Ω2: OE *ah* (*agan*) – cf. fn. 321); the *cj.* **beih** (Ω4, Ω105 and Ω190^{x2}: OE *beah*) and the *adv.* **beih** (Ω172: OE *þeah*); the *prep.* **thurh** (Ω42 cf. § 56.3 for <ch> in **purch**: OE *þurh*/*þurg*); the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **i-seih** (Ω274: OE *seah*) and the *noun* **i-noh** (Ω404 cf. § 56.2 **inoḡh**: OE *ge-nóg –nóh*).

§ 56.2 In T <ḡh> is written in final position in the *noun* **inoḡh** (Ω402 cf. § 56.1 **i-noh**: OE *ge-nóg –nóh*).

§ 56.3 In T <ch> is written in final position in the *prep.* **purch** (Ω42 cf. § 56.1 **thurh**: OE *þurh*/*þurg*).

§ 56.4 In T it is written, before final –e, without /ç/ in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **heie** (Ω295 and Ω363: OE *héah*) and functioning as a *plural noun* **heie** (Ω171).

§ 56.5 In L <h> is written in final position for the *cj.* **bah** (Ω4 cf. § **bach**/**bech**: OE *þeah*); the *prep.* **purh** (Ω42^{x2}: OE *þurh*/*þurg*);

§ 56.6 In L <ch> is written in final position for the *cj.* **bach**/**bech** (Ω105 and Ω190: cf. § **bah**: OE *þeah*) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **i-sech** (Ω274: OE *seah*).

⁸⁶⁴ This is the use of the OE *pa. (3rd sg.)* form in expression of *pr.* meaning; L and D share this reading (**ahte** and **oghte**) where it is the more regular OE form of **oh/ah/auh** used for the *pr. ind. 1st* and *3rd sg.* in the remaining manuscripts. (M writes **azte**)

- § 56.7 In D <h> is written in final position for the *prep.* **þurh** (Ω42 cf. § 56.8 for <ch> in **þuch**: OE *þurh/þurg*) and the *noun* **i-noh** (Ω402 and Ω404: OE *ge-nóg -nóh*). It is written <ǵ> (before final -e) in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **heage** (Ω94 and Ω295: OE *héah*) and when functioning as a *noun pl.* **hege** (Ω171).
- § 56.8 In D <ǵh> is written in final position in the *cj.* **þegh/þagh** (Ω4, Ω105, Ω119 and Ω190^{x2}: OE *þeah*) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **i-seǵh** (Ω274: OE *seah*).
- § 56.9 In D <ch> is written in final position in the the *prep.* **þuch** (Ω42 cf. § 56.7 for **þurh**: OE *þurh/þurg*).
- § 56.10 In D <ð> is written in final position in the *adv.* **þeð** (Ω177: OE *þéah*).
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- § 56.11 In E2 <h> is written in final position for *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ah** (Ω2: OE *ah (agan)* – cf. fn. 4); the *cj.* **þeh/ðeh** (Ω4, Ω105, Ω190 OE *þeah*) and the *adv.* **þeh** (Ω172: OE *þéah*); the *prep.* **þurh** (Ω42 cf. § 56.12 for <ch> in **þurch**: OE *þurh/þurg*) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **i-seh** (Ω274: OE *seah*).
- § 56.12 In E2 <ch> is written in final position in the the *prep.* **þurch** (Ω42 cf. § 56.11 for **þurh**: OE *þurh/þurg*).
- § 56.13 In E2 it is written as <ǵ>, before final -e, in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **heage/hege** (Ω295 and Ω363: OE *héah*) and when functioning as a *noun pl.* **hege** (Ω171).
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- § 56.14 In E1 <h> is written in final position for the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ah** (Ω2: OE *ah (agan)* – cf. fn. 321); the *prep.* **þurh** (Ω42^{x2}: OE *þurh/þurg*) and the *noun* **i-noh** (Ω404 cf. § 56.18 **inou**: OE *ge-nóg -nóh*).
- § 56.15 In E1 <ǵ> is written (with final -e) in the *noun* **poge** (Ω49: OE *wóh*) and the *adj.* **hege** (Ω363: OE *héah*).
- § 56.16 In E1 <ch> is written in final position for the *cj.* **þech** (Ω4 cf. § 56.17 **þei**: OE *þeah*).
- § 56.17 In E1 <i> is written in final position for the *cj.* **þei** (Ω105 and Ω190 cf. § 56.16 **þech**: OE *þeah*) and the *adv.* **þei** (Ω172: OE *þéah*), and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **sei** (Ω274 OE *seah*).
- § 56.18 In E1 <u> is written in final position in the *noun* **inou** (Ω402: OE *ge-nóg -nóh*).
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- § 56.19 In J <h> is written in final position for the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **auh** (Ω2: OE *ah (agan)* – cf. fn. 4); the *cj.* **þah/þeh** (Ω4, Ω105, Ω190: OE *þeah*); the *prep.* **þurh** (Ω42^{x2}: OE *þurh/þurg*); the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **i-seyh** (Ω274: OE *seah*) and the *noun* **i-nouh** (Ω402 and Ω404: OE *ge-nóg -nóh*).
- § 56.20 In J it is written without /ç/, before final -e, in the *adj.* **heye** (Ω363: OE *héah*).

§ 56.21 In M <ʒ> is written in final position for the *cj.* **þeʒ** (Ω4, Ω105, Ω234: OE *þeah*); the *prep.* **þurʒ** (Ω42 and Ω213: OE *þurh/burg*). It is written <ʒ> (before final -e) in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **heʒe** (Ω94, Ω295 and Ω363^{x2}: OE *heáh*) and when functioning as a *noun pl.* **heʒe** (Ω295).

§ 57 The OE Prefix *ge*

All versions of the text retain a prefix in **i/ȳ**, although its usage is irregular and can vary between texts and within the same text, which comes from the OE *ge* by way of the intermediary *gi* and which will be eliminated completely in the later period; however, the older form is still retained on four occasions in E1 in the *verb pp.* **ge-lad** (Ω5), the *noun* **ge-spȳnch** (Ω37) and **ge-spinch** (Ω203), the *adv.* **ge-lome** (Ω48) and twice in E2 in the *adv.* **ge-lome** (Ω48), the *noun pl.* **ge-sceafte** (Ω86).

§ 58 Voicing in f/v/u

In ME, as in OE, the labiodental *f* is voiceless in initial position but voiced [v] between vowels or other voiced sounds. A transition to voicing in initial position takes place in the South and SWML (Jordan § 215 and Mossé p.39) particularly in Kent; elsewhere the spelling does not always reflect this. The Anglo Norman scribes used the letter <v> for [v] where OE writing used <f> for [f] as well as [v].

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- § 58.1 T always writes OE unvoiced [f] as <f> in initial position, as in the *adj. pl.* **fele** (Ω9 and Ω10); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **folged** (Ω14); the *prep.* **for** (Ω17^{x2}, Ω19^{x2}, Ω26^{x2} etc.); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **forġiet** (Ω26); the *cj.* **for** (Ω29, Ω35); the *noun* **frend** (Ω31); the *verb inf.* **forġiete** (Ω35); the *adj.* acting as a *noun* **fremde** (Ω35) etc.
- § 58.2 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is also retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the *noun* **lif** (Ω5); in the *pref.* **of** (**ðinkeð**) (Ω10); the *prep.* **of** (Ω21^{x2}); the *reflex. pron. 2nd sg.* **þe-self** (Ω30); the *noun* **wif** (Ω32); the *reflex. pron. 3rd sg.* **him-self** (Ω33) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the *adv.* **ofte** (Ω22, Ω37, Ω48, Ω58 etc.); the *adv.* **after** (Ω29), **after-þat** (Ω180, Ω375), **after-þane-þe** (Ω375); the *adv.* **eft** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59, Ω164 etc.); the *prep* **after** (Ω65, Ω124, Ω125, Ω184 etc.); the *noun* **lofte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **safte** (Ω86) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ġiefð** (Ω153).
- § 58.3 However, when in medial position, and between two vowels (including final -e) or a vowel and a voiced consonant, it is usually <u>/<v>: the *noun* **juel** (Ω20); the *adj.* **aliue** (Ω24 and Ω33); the *noun* **piue** (Ω25), **pive** (Ω26) and **wiue** (Ω32: note that it is <f> earlier in the same line when in final position); the *reflex. pron. 3rd sg.* **him-selue** (Ω34); the *adj.* **euel** (Ω27); the *noun* **heuene** (Ω28); the *quant. card.* **seuene** (Ω29: rhyme); the *comp. adj.* **leuere** (Ω30) etc. except in the *reflex. pron. 3rd sg.* **him-selfen** (Ω14, Ω112) and the *reflex. pron. 3rd sg.* **him-selfe** (Ω26); the *prep* **bifore(n)** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω63 etc.) and the *adv.* **biforen** (Ω29) the *compound adj.* **afric** (Ω33), **africh** (Ω66), **afri** (Ω122); the *adv.* **afre** (Ω88, Ω160, Ω250, Ω258 etc.); the *adv.* **nafre** (Ω99, Ω128^{x2}, Ω189, Ω191 etc.); the *noun pl.* **deflen** (Ω100), the *possessive noun* **defles** (Ω267); the *adv.* **afremo** (Ω111, Ω209); the *noun pl.* **efninges** (Ω171) and the *adj. pl.* **arefeð-heald** (Ω326).
- § 58.4 <f> has disappeared before *d* (Jordan § 216) in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **hadde** (Ω16) from OE *hæfde* and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **hadde** (Ω144, Ω156) from OE *hæfde*.
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- § 58.5 L always writes OE unvoiced [f] as <f> in initial position, as in the *adv.* **ful** (Ω6); the *verb 3rd sg.* (**bi**) **fealt** (Ω7); the *adj. pl.* **fole** (Ω9 and Ω10); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **folieð** (Ω14); the *prep.* **for** (Ω17^{x2}, Ω19^{x2}, Ω26^{x2} etc.); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **forġet** (Ω26); the *cj.* **for** (Ω29); the *noun* **frend** (Ω31); the *cj.* **for** (Ω35); the *verb inf.* **forġiete** (Ω35); the *adj.* acting as a *noun* **fremde** (Ω35) etc. but <u> in the *noun pl.* (**i**)**uere** (Ω240); the *adj.* **uersc**.

- § 58.6 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is also retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the *noun* **lif** (Ω5); the *prep. pref.* **of** (**pinchet**) (Ω10); the *reflex pron.* 3rd *sg.* **hine solf** (Ω14); the *prep. of* (Ω21^{x2}); the *reflex pron.* 2nd *sg.* **þe-solf** (Ω30); the *noun* **pif** (Ω32) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the *adv.* **oft/ofte** (Ω22, Ω37, Ω48, Ω58 etc.), the *adv.* **efter** (Ω29, Ω124,) and **after-þet** (Ω180); the *adv.* **eft** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59, Ω63 etc.); the *prep.* **after** (Ω65, Ω184, Ω244, Ω330 etc.); the *noun* **lifte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **scefte** (Ω86); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **gefð** (Ω153); the *verb pa.* 3rd *sg.* **hefð** (Ω156) and the *verb pr.* 3rd *sg.* **efþ**.
- § 58.7 However, when in medial position, and between two vowels (including final -e) or a vowel and a voiced consonant, it is usually <u>: the *adj.* **aliue** (Ω24 and Ω33); the *noun* **piue** (Ω25, Ω26 and Ω32: note that it is <f> earlier in the same line when in final position); the *reflex pron.* 3rd *sg.* **him-solue** (Ω26, Ω33, Ω34); the *adj.* **uuel** (Ω27); the *noun* **houene** (Ω28: rhyming); the *quant. card.* **souene** (Ω29: rhyme); the *comp. adj.* **loure** (Ω30) etc. except in the *prep* **bifore(n)** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.), and the *adv.* **biforen** (Ω29); the *noun* **ufele/vfel** (Ω20, Ω60, Ω60) and the *adj.* **ufel** (Ω95); the *noun* **gefe** (Ω46); the *adv.* **efre** (Ω69 and Ω262); the *cj.* **gefe** (Ω126 – before final -e).
- § 58.8 In medial position and before the dental *d*: <f> in the *verb pa. ind.* 1st *sg.* **hefde** (Ω16); the *pa. ind* 1st *pl.* **hefden** (Ω52); the *verb pa.* 3rd *sg.* **hefde** (Ω144);
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- § 58.9 D demonstrates transition to voicing in initial position when followed by a voiced element and regularly writes <u> initially in the *adj. pl.* **vele** (Ω9 and Ω10); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **volged** (Ω14); the *prep.* **vor** and **uor** (Ω17^{x2} Ω19^{x2}, Ω26^{x2} etc.); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **vorget** (Ω26); the *cj.* **vor** (Ω35); the *verb inf.* **uorgiete** (Ω35) etc. however, although less numerous, <f> is also written throughout the text, for example, the *cj.* **for** (Ω29, Ω39, Ω51, Ω53 etc.); the *noun* **fremde** (Ω35); the *adv.* **(a)first** (Ω38); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **forget** (Ω39); the *noun* **fure** (Ω44); the *verb inf.* **finde** (Ω55); the *suffix* in **(hundred) fealde** (Ω55); the *prep.* **for** (Ω59) etc.
- § 58.10 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, in the *noun* **lif** (Ω5); in the *prep. of* (**þenched**) (Ω10); the *prep. of* (Ω21^{x2}); the *noun* **pif** (Ω32) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the *adv.* **ofte** (Ω22, Ω37, Ω58, Ω72 etc.); the *adv.* **efter** (Ω29), **after-þet** (Ω180, Ω372) and **after-þan-þet** (Ω375); the *adv.* **eft** (Ω53, Ω59, Ω63, Ω160 etc.); the *prep* **after** and **efer** (sic) (Ω65, Ω184, Ω205, Ω244 etc.); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *sg.* **giefð** (Ω72); the *noun* **lefte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **seafte** (Ω86); etc.

- § 58.11 In medial position and between two vowels (including final –e) or a vowel and a voiced consonant, it is usually <u>: in the *reflex pron.* 3rd sg. **himselue/him-selue** (Ω14 and Ω33) and **hine selue** (Ω26); the *prep* **biuore(n)** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and the *adv.* **biuore** (Ω29); the *noun* **euele** (Ω20 and Ω27); the *adj.* **aliue** (Ω24 and Ω33); the *verb sbj. pr.* 3rd sg. **leue** (Ω25); the *noun* **piue** (Ω25 and Ω26); **piue** (Ω32: note that it is <f> earlier in the same line when in final position); the *noun* **heuene** (Ω28); the *quant. card.* **seuene** (Ω29: rhyme); the *adj.* **eurich** (Ω33) the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **haueð** (Ω41); the *pron pl.* **selue** (Ω47) etc. but it is <f> in the *noun pl.* **deoflen** (Ω100) and the *possessive noun* **dofles** (Ω186), **defles** (Ω202), **diefle** (Ω267) and *noun* **diefle** (Ω284); the *noun* **life** (Ω120: note that it rhymes with **driue**) and the *verb inf.* **eftin** (Ω410: from OE *efestan*).
- § 58.12 <f> has disappeared before *d* (Jordan § 216) in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **hadde** (Ω16) from OE *hæfde*; the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **hedde** (Ω144) from OE *hæfde* but not in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **hauede** (Ω156).
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- § 58.13 E2 always writes OE unvoiced [f] as <f> in initial position, as in the *adj. pl.* **fele** (Ω9) and **fale** (Ω10); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **folgeb** (Ω14); the *prep.* **for** (Ω17^{x2}, Ω19^{x2}, Ω26^{x2} etc.); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **for-gut** (Ω26); the *noun* **freond** (Ω31); the *cj.* **for** (Ω35); the *verb inf.* **for-gite** (Ω35); the *adj.* acting as a *noun* **fremde** (Ω35) etc. but the *noun pl.* (i)uera (Ω105: possibly due to the influence of the *pref.*) and the *adj.* **uele** (Ω301).
- § 58.14 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is also retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the *noun* **lif** (Ω5); in the *pref.* **of** (**þinchet**) (Ω10); the *prep.* **of** (Ω21^{x2}); the *reflex. pron.* 2nd sg. **þe-sulf** (Ω30); the *noun* **pif** (Ω32) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the in the *reflex pron.* 3rd sg. **him-sulfne** (Ω14, Ω34); the *adv.* **oft** (Ω22, Ω37, Ω48, Ω58 etc.); the *adv.* **æfter** (Ω29 and Ω124), **etter-þet** (Ω180), **æfter-þan-þe** (Ω375) and **etter-ðan-þet**; the *adv.* **eft** (Ω53, Ω59, Ω63, Ω164 etc.); the *prep* **æfter/etter** (Ω65, Ω184, Ω204, Ω244 etc.); the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **hefð** /**hafð** (Ω67, Ω122, Ω150 etc.); the *noun* **lufte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **sceafte** (Ω86); the *verb pr.* 3rd sg. **nafð** (Ω139) and the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **gifð** (Ω153).
- § 58.15 However, when in medial position, and between two vowels (including final –e) or a vowel and a voiced consonant, it is often <u>/<v>: the *reflex. pron.* 3rd sg. **him-selue** (Ω26); in the *adj.* **uuele** (Ω27); the *noun* **heuene** (Ω28: rhyming); the *quant. card.* **seuene** (Ω29: rhyme); the *comp. adj.* **leoure** (Ω30); the *adj.* **æurich** (Ω33); the *reflex. pron.* 3rd sg. **him sulue** (Ω33); the *adj.* **aliue** (Ω33) etc. but it is written <f> in the the *prep* **be-fore(n)/bi-foren** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.), and the *adv.* **bi-fore** (Ω29); *adj.* **alife** (Ω24); the *noun* **pife/pyfe** (Ω25, Ω26, Ω32, Ω46); the *noun pl.* **deofles** (Ω100, Ω267), the *possessive noun* **deofles** (Ω202, Ω347) and the *noun* **deofel** (Ω225) and **deoflen** (Ω284).
- § 58.16 <f> has disappeared before *d* (Jordan § 216) in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **hadde** (Ω16) from OE *hæfde*, the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **hedde** (Ω52) from OE *hæfdedon* and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **hedde** (Ω144, Ω156) from OE *hæfde*.
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§ 58.17 E1 always writes OE unvoiced [f] as <f> in initial position, as in the *adj. pl.* **fele** (Ω9 and Ω10); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **folgeþ** (Ω14); the *prep.* **for** (Ω17^{x2}, Ω19^{x2}, Ω26^{x2} etc.); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **for-gut** (Ω26); the *cj.* **for** (Ω29, Ω31, Ω35); the *noun* **freond** (Ω31); the *verb inf.* **for-ȝyten** (Ω35); the *adj.* acting as a *noun* **fræmden** (Ω35) etc. except for in the *quant. card.* **vȳue** (Ω29); the *adj.* **vele** (Ω301) and the *noun pl(i)-vere*.

§ 58.18 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is also retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the *noun* **lyf** (Ω5); in the *prep. pref. of* (**þinchet**) (Ω10); the *prep. of* (Ω21^{x2}); the *reflex. pron. 2nd sg.* **þi-self** (Ω30); the *noun* **pif** (Ω32); the *reflex. pron. 3^d sg.* **him-sulf** (Ω34) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the *reflex. pron. 3^d sg.* **him-sulfne** (Ω14); the *adv.* **oft/ofte** (Ω22, Ω37, Ω48, Ω58 etc.); the *adv.* **after** (Ω29), **after-þan** (Ω180), **after-þan-þe** (Ω375^{x2}); the *adv.* **eft** (Ω53, Ω56, Ω59, Ω63 etc.); the *prep.* **after** (Ω65, Ω124, Ω184, Ω205 etc.); the *noun* **lofte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **scefte** (Ω86); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **hefh** (Ω150) etc.

§ 58.19 However, when in medial position, and between two vowels (including final -e) or a vowel and a voiced consonant, it is regularly <u>/<v>: the *reflex. pron. 3^d sg.* **him-selue** (Ω26, Ω33); the *adj.* **vuele** (Ω27); the *adj. pl.* **aliue** (Ω28); the *quant. card.* **vȳue** (Ω29); the *comp. adj.* **leure** (Ω30); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **haued** (Ω41); the *noun* **heuen-riche** (Ω43); the *noun* **þeve** Ω44; the *noun* **piue** (Ω46); the *noun* **suuel** (Ω47) etc. but it is written <f> in the the *prep* **be-fore(n)/bi-foren** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and the the *adv.* **before** (Ω29); *adj.* **a-life** (Ω24); the *noun* **pife/pȳfe** (Ω25, Ω26, Ω32); the *adj.* **alife** (Ω33); the *adj.* **æfrech** (Ω33); the *noun pl.* **deofles** (Ω100, Ω267), the *possessive noun* **deofles** (Ω202, Ω347) and the *noun* **deofel** (Ω225) and **deoflen** (Ω284); the *noun* **suelfer** (Ω278).

§ 58.20 <f> has disappeared before *d* (Jordan § 216) in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **hadde** (Ω16) from OE *hæfde* and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **hadde** (Ω144), Ω156 from OE *hæfde*.

§ 58.21 J mostly writes OE unvoiced [f] as <f> in initial position, as in the *adv.* **ful** (Ω6), the *adj. pl.* **feole** (Ω10: note that it had been written <v> in the previous line); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **foleweþ** (Ω14); the *adj.* **fol** (Ω15); the *prep.* **for** (Ω17^{x2}, Ω19^{x2}, Ω26^{x2} etc.); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **for-yet** (Ω26); the *noun* **freond** (Ω31); the *verb inf.* **for-ȳete** (Ω35); the *adj.* acting as a *noun* **fremede** (Ω35); the *suffix (hundred)* **folde** (Ω55) etc. but the text regularly demonstrates vocalisation, in initial position, by the writing of <v> in the *adj. pl.* **veole** (Ω9: note that it is written <f> in the following line); the *prep.* **vor** (Ω33), the *cj.* **vor** (Ω35, Ω39, Ω44, Ω51, Ω53 etc.); the *adv.* **virst** (Ω38); the *verb inf.* **vinden** (Ω53); the *verb inf.* **vȳnde** (Ω55); the *prefix vor* in the *verb pp.* **vn-vor-gulde** (Ω60) etc.

§ 58.22 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the *prep. of* (Ω4); in the *noun* **lif** (Ω5); in the *prep. pref. of* (**þincheþ**) (Ω10); the *prep. of* (Ω21^{x2}); the *reflex. pron. 2nd sg.* **þi-seolf** (Ω30); the *noun* **wif** (Ω32); the *verb sbj. pr. 3^d sg.* **ȳef** (Ω127: note:- all other texts have -e and are written <u>) (cf. Jordan § 217) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the *adv.* **eft** (Ω15, Ω53, Ω59, Ω189, Ω191 etc.); the *adv.* **after** (Ω29) and **after-þat**

(Ω375^{x2}); the *adv.* **ofte** (Ω37, Ω48, Ω72, Ω117 etc.); the *noun* **ȳefte** (Ω46) and the *noun pl.* **ȳeftes** (Ω73); the *prep* **after** (Ω65, Ω124, Ω125, Ω184 etc.); the *noun* **lufte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **schafte** (Ω86) and the *verb 3^d sg.* **hafþ** (Ω122) etc.

§ 58.23 However, when in medial position, and between two vowels (including final –e) or a vowel and a voiced consonant, it is normally <u>/<v> in the *reflex. pron 3^d sg.* **him-seolue** (Ω14 and Ω26, Ω33, Ω34); *verb pa. 1st sg.* **heuede** (Ω16: note that <f>/<v> has disappeared in all other texts before *d*); the *prep.* **bivoren** (Ω28) and the *adv.* **bi-uoren** (Ω29); the *adj.* **alȳue** (Ω24); the *noun* **wȳue/wiue** (Ω25, Ω26 and Ω32: note that it is <f> earlier in the same line when in final position); in the *adj.* **vuele** (Ω27), the *noun* **heouene** (Ω28); the *quant. card.* **seouene** (Ω29: rhyme); the *comp. adj.* **leouere** (Ω30); the *adj.* **alȳue** (Ω33) etc. except the and the *prep* **bi-fore** (Ω19) *possessive noun* **deofles** (Ω202 and Ω347).

§ 58.24 <f> has disappeared before *d* (Jordan § 216) in the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **hedde** (Ω144 and Ω156) from OE *hæfde*.

§ 58.25 M sometimes writes <f> in initial position and sometimes <u>/<v>, for example, the *prep.* **fram** (Ωii); the *adj. pl.* **fele** (Ω10: note that it was written <v> in the previous line); the *prep.* **for** (Ω17^{x2}, Ω19: note it is <u> later in the same line); the *noun* **frend** (Ω31); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **forzet**; the *verb pp.* **(a)fered** (Ω44); the *noun* **fure** (Ω44); the *adj.* **faireste** (Ω52); the *verb inf.* **finde** (Ω53, Ω55); the *suffix* **(hundred)felde** (Ω55) the *verb pp.* **(i)funde** (Ω69) etc. but <v>/<u> in the *adj. pl.* **vele** (Ω9: note that it is written <f> in the following line); in the *prep.* **uor** (Ω19: note that it is <f> earlier in the same line, Ω26^{x2} and Ω57); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **uorzet** (Ω26); the *prep.* **(bi)uore** (Ω33); the *cj.* **uor** (Ω34, Ω39, Ω44, Ω72,); the *verb inf.* **uorzete** (Ω35); the *adj.* acting as a *noun* **uremde** (Ω35); the *adv.* **(a)uirst** (Ω38); the *inf. marker* **uor** (Ω54); the *verb inf.* **(i)vȳnde** (Ω59); the *prep.* **(to) – uore** (Ω64) etc.

§ 58.26 The writing of <f>, for OE [f], is retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the *prep.* **of** (Ω1^{x2}, Ω3^{x2}, (Ω4^{x2}, Ω11^{x2} etc.); in the *noun* **lif** (Ω5); the *reflex. pron. 2nd sg.* **þi-self** (Ω30); the *noun* **pif** (Ω32) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the *adv.* **ofte** (Ω37, Ω48, Ω72, Ω117 etc.); the *adv.* **eft** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω189); the *prep.* **after** (Ω65, Ω124 and Ω184); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **zefþ** (Ω72 and Ω153); the *noun* **lefte** (Ω85); the *noun pl.* **scefte** (Ω86); the *adv.* **after-þan** (Ω180) and **after-þat-þat** (Ω375) etc.

§ 58.27 In medial position <u> is written in the *reflex. pron. 3^d sg.* **him-seolue** (Ω14); the *noun* **euel** (Ω20); the *adj.* **aliue** (Ω24, Ω28); the *noun* **piue** (Ω25, Ω26,); the *adj.* **euele** (Ω27); the *comp. adj.* **leuere** (Ω30); **piue** (Ω32: note that it is <f> earlier in the same line when in final position); the *adj.* **euerich** (Ω33); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **haueþ** (Ω41); the *noun* **heuenriche** (Ω43) etc. but <f> in the *prep* **bifore** (Ω19)

§ 58.28 <f> has disappeared before *d* (Jordan § 216) in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **hadde** (Ω16) from OE *hæfde* and the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **hadde** (Ω144, Ω156,) from OE *hæfde*.

The Vowels:

Short vowels:

§ 59 OE *a* (except before nasals):

Kept in all dialects: it is lengthened in open syllables.

OE *a* in open syllables remains <a> in all texts, for example, the *verb inf.* **habbe/habben** (Ω16, Ω40, Ω46 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **haueð/haued/haueþ/haueþ** (Ω41, Ω65, Ω71 etc.) from OE *hafab* and the *neg.* of the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **naueð/naued/naueþ** (Ω139: not in L which writes **nafe** and E2 which has **nafeð**: see section on æ § 63ff.), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **habbeð/habbet/ habbeþ/habeð** (Ω52: T, E1 and J and Ω201) and the *neg.* of the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **nabbeð/nabbet/nabbeþ** (Ω101 and Ω248 not in M which writes **ne habbeþ**, Ω395 T, D and E1 only);⁸⁶⁵ the *verb inf.* **fare/faren/vare** (Ω185: not in E1, Ω187: T, L, D and J),⁸⁶⁶ the *verb ind. 3^d pl.* **fareð/uareð/fared/vareþ/uareþ/ vareð/fareþ /farð** (Ω245, Ω358: not in L, Ω361: not in L);⁸⁶⁷ and the *verb inf.* **baþien/baðie** (Ω258: L, D, E2 and E1).

§ 60 OE *a* before a Nasal:

In late OE the back sound /ɔ/, written <o>, was characteristic for the Anglian dialect while in the (West) Saxon geographical area it was written <a>. The Anglian sound began to be confined in the Midlands to the West before the end of the OE period. In ME back /ɔ/ was retained only in the West Midland (with inclusion of Worcester) – before nasals, before lengthening groups and with lengthening in open syllables. The remaining territories, therefore the EML, South and North, have *a*. (Jordan § 30 and Mossé § 25). L and J clearly demonstrate examples of WML /ɔ/ (§ 60.2 and § 60.6) before nasals in their writing.

§ 60.1 T writes <a> in forms of the the *sg. noun* **man** (Ω21^{x2}, Ω28, Ω33 etc.), **noman** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **mani-man** (Ω39: note the *a* before *n* in **mani**) and **ani-man** (Ω69), the *possessive noun* **mannes** (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and **mani-mannes** (Ω37: note *a* before *n* in **mani**) etc.; the *noun* **iþanke** (Ω70) and **þanc** (Ω72, Ω92, Ω113 etc.); the *adv.* **þanne** (Ω41, Ω57, Ω123 etc.) and **þan** (Ω121); the *cj.* **þan** (Ω1, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE *than*) and the *cj.* **þan/þane/ þanne** (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.: ModE *when*) and the *pl. noun* **manke** (Ω71).

⁸⁶⁵ For the *1st sg.*, the *pa.* and *sbj.* forms of the *verb* and the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* where, in OE, it was not followed by a *back vowel* (subsequently, levelled to *e* in Middle English), see the section on OE æ § 5: for Prim. Gmc. *a* > *æ* in OE see Campbell §.131 and §.133 and for the restoration of *ā* before back vowels see Campbell §.157; for the complete paradigm of Class III weak verbs, including *habban*, see Baker p.78 or Wright §.538).

⁸⁶⁶ For the retention of Germanic *a* in the *verb inf.* of OE *faran* (*strong verb class 6*) see Wright §.57.

⁸⁶⁷ The *3^d sg. ind.* version of this verb found at Ω356, even though written <a> in ME, will be discussed in <æ> due to *i*-mutation during the OE period.

§ 60.2 L writes <o> in forms of the the *sg. noun* **mon** (Ω33, Ω40, Ω66 etc.), **na-mon** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **moni-mon** (Ω39: note *o* before *n* in **moni**), **eni-mon** (Ω69), the *possessive noun* **monnes** (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and **monies-mannes** (Ω37: note *o* before *n* in **monies**) and the *noun pl.* **monne** (Ω21) etc.; in the *noun* **ponke** (Ω70) and **ponc** (Ω72, Ω92, Ω113 etc.) but **panke** (Ω254); <a> in the *adv.* **panne** (Ω169); <a> in the *cj.* **panne** (Ω21: ModE *than*) and <a> in the *pl. noun* **manke** (Ω71).

§ 60.3 D writes <a> in forms of the the *sg. noun* **man** (Ω21^{x2}, Ω28, Ω33 etc.), **no-man/noman** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **mani-man** (Ω39: note the *a* before *n* in **mani**), **ani-man** (Ω69), the *possessive noun* **mannes** (Ω118) and **manies-mannes** (Ω37: note *a* before *n* in **mani**) etc. the *noun* (i)**panc** (Ω72, Ω92, Ω113 etc.) but it is <o> in the *noun* **ponke** (Ω70 and Ω254); <a> in the *adv.* **panne** (Ω41, Ω57, Ω121 etc.); the *cj.* **panne** (Ω1, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE *than*) and the *cj.* **panne** (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.: ModE *when*) and it is <o> in the *pl. noun* **monke** (Ω71).

§ 60.4 E2 writes <a> in forms of the *sg. noun* **man** (Ω21, Ω33, Ω40 etc.), **manne** (Ω21), **no-man/nanman/na-man** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **mani-man** (Ω39: note *a* before *n* in **mani**), **æniman** (Ω69), the *possessive noun* **mannes** (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and **manies-mannes** (Ω37: note *a* before *n* in **manies**) etc.; the *noun* **iþanke** (Ω70), **panc** (Ω72), **ðanc** (Ω92) and **aðanke** (Ω254); it is <a> in the *cj.* **panne** (Ω2, Ω21: ModE *than*) and the *cj.* **panne** (Ω6: ModE *when*).

§ 60.5 E1 writes <a> in forms of the *sg. noun* **man** (Ω21, Ω33, Ω40 etc.), **manne** (Ω21), **no-man/na-man** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **mani-man** (Ω39: note *a* before *n* in **mani**), **eni-man** (Ω69), the *possessive noun* **mannes** (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and **mani-mannes** (Ω37: note *a* before *n* in **mani**) etc.; the *noun* **panke** (Ω70) and **panc** (Ω72 and Ω92) but **ponke** (Ω254); the *adv.* **panne** (Ω41, Ω123, Ω168 etc.); <a> in the *cj.* **panne/þan** (Ω2, Ω21, Ω29 etc.: ModE *than*); <a> in the *cj.* **panne** (Ω6, Ω134, Ω246 : ModE *when*), **panne** (Ω36, Ω417: ModE *when*) and **ganne** (Ω159: ModE *when*) and <a> in the *pl. noun* **manke** (Ω71).

§ 60.6 J writes <o> in forms of the *sg. noun* **mon** (Ω15, Ω21^{x2}, Ω33 etc.), **no-mon/nomon** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **monȳ-mon** (Ω39: note *o* before *n* in **monȳ**), the *poss. noun* **monnes** (Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and **monȳ-mannes** (Ω37: note *o* before *n* in **monȳ**) but <a> in the *possessive noun* **mannes** (Ω31) etc.; <o> in the *noun* **ponk** (Ω72 and Ω92) and <a> in the *cj.* **pan/þane** (Ω1, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE *than*).

§ 60.7 M writes <a> in forms of the *sg. noun* **man** (Ω21^{x2}, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), **noman/no-man** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), **mani-man** (Ω39: note *a* before *n* in **mani**), the *possessive noun* **mannes** (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.), and **manies-mannes** (Ω37: note *a* before *n* in **manies**) etc. the *adv.* **panne** (Ω41, Ω57, Ω130 etc.) and **pan** (Ω121); the *cj.* **pan/þane** (Ω1, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE *than*) and the *cj.* **phane/phanne** (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.: ModE *when*); but writes <o> in the *noun* **ponke** (Ω70 and Ω254) and **ponc** (Ω72 and Ω92).

§ 61 OE *a* before lengthening group:

The WML dialect also had *o* before *nd* (**honde** in both L and J), however, since *a* (cf. § 69ff.) originating before lengthening groups in the South and the Midlands participated in the change from *a* > *o* /*ɔ*:/ the writing of **honde(n)** (T) was arrived at by another way (Jordan § 30 and Mossé § 25). The writing of <*o*> in the MSS of the *CL* (listed below) could be WML, M or S. Similarly, the characteristic of /*ɔ*:/ before *ng* might demonstrate a Midland or Southern form where it was retained as well as being /*ɔ*/ in the WML. The writing of <*a*> before *d* is predominantly a Northern form at the beginning of the period; with the short form gradually spreading South. Before *ng*, /*ɔ*:/ was maintained in the Midlands and the South in **long** etc. but *ǣ* in OE *hanzian*, borrowed from the North, prevailed (Jordan § 31 and Mossé § 25).

§ 61.1 T writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <*o*> for the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.); the *noun* **pronge** (Ω170 and Ω220) and the *adj.* **prongpise** (Ω49); the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **strong(e)** (Ω294 and Ω327) but <*a*> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **hangeð** (Ω323); and <*o*> before the group *nd* in the *noun pl.* **honden** (Ω83) and *sg.* **honde** (Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **fonded** (Ω156).

§ 61.2 L writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <*o*> for the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.); the *noun* **pronge** (Ω170) but **prange** (Ω220) and the *adj.* **prangpise** (Ω49); <*o*> before the group *nd* in the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **honde** (Ω83 and Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **ifonded** (Ω156).

§ 61.3 D writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <*o*> for the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.); the *noun* **pronge** (Ω170 and Ω220); the *adj. pl.* **stronge** (Ω294) but in the *sg.* **strang** (Ω327) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **hangeð** (Ω323); and before the group *nd* in the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **honde** (Ω83 and Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **uonded** (Ω156).

§ 61.4 E2 writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <*a*> for the *adv.* **lange** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.); the *noun* **prange** (Ω170 and Ω220) and the *adj.* **prancpise** (Ω49); the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **strang(e)** (Ω294 and Ω327) and the *verb ind. 3rd sg.* **hanget** (Ω323); and before the group *nd* in the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **hande** (Ω83 and Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **fanded** (Ω156).

§ 61.5 E1 writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <*o*> for the *adv.* **longe** (Ω176, Ω221, Ω327 etc.) but **lange** (Ω3); the *verb ind. 3rd sg.* **hanged** (Ω323) the *noun* **prange** (Ω170) but **pronge** (Ω49 and Ω220); the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **strong(e)** (Ω294 and Ω327); <*o*> before the group *nd* in the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **honde** (Ω83 and Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **ifonded** (Ω156).

§ 61.6 J writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <o> for the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.); the *noun* **wronge** (Ω170 and Ω220) and the *adj.* **wrongwise** (Ω49); the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **strong(e)** (Ω294 and Ω327) and the *verb ind. 3rd sg.* **hongeþ** (Ω323) and before the group *nd* in the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **honde** (Ω83 and Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **ifonded** (Ω156).

§ 61.7 M writes OE *a*, before lengthening group [ŋg], as <o> for the *adv.* **longe** (Ω3, Ω221, Ω327 etc.) but **lange** (Ω330), <o> in the *noun* **ȝpronge** (Ω220) and the *adj.* **pronge**; the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **strong(e)** (Ω294 and Ω327); the *verb ind. 3rd sg.* **hongeþ** (Ω323) and before the lengthening group *nd* in the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **honde** (Ω83 and Ω201) and the *verb pp.* **ȝfonded** (Ω156).

§ 62 For OE *a* before *g*, see formation of new diphthongs § 122ff.

§ 63 Old English æ

During the OE period OE *æ*, which came from West Germanic *a* by fronting, only occurred in closed syllables and in open syllables when followed by the front vowel *e*. The sound was retained in most areas during this period but in Mercian (or more specifically the WM) and in Kentish the vowel had already closed to *e*.

In the areas other than the WM and Kent *æ* was retracted to *a* from around 1100 although the writing <æ> (along with the Norman writing <e>) remained in the twelfth century. However, in the WML and Kent the more fronted sound (written <e> but sometimes <ea> in the WML) was retained for longer. Preceding *w* (semi-vowel) accelerated the transition to *a* in areas other than Kent which lacked this influence and indicated a yet narrower, more fronted quality of the Kentish sound. In the thirteenth century in the WML and in the fourteenth century in Kent the quality *a* is generalized. (Jordan § 32 and Mossé § 24)

This topographically and chronologically graduated transition to *a* is important for a study of the *CL*. T in most instances writes <a>, which is expected considering its other EML features. The two E texts, from SW Worcs., make an interesting comparison, with the older text E2 demonstrating many instances of <e> being written for OE *æ*, including after *p* in the *noun* **petere/peter**, where in E1, a slightly later text, these instances of <e> are more sporadic with a transition to <a> demonstratable in the *noun* **pater(e)**. Similarly, a comparison between L and J, which both exhibit features of the AB dialect, is worth while. L often writes <e> with a mixture of <a>. L writes the *noun* **pettre** (Ω84) and **peter** (Ω261) but **pater/patere** (Ω151, Ω203 and Ω253). However in J, a later text, the transition to *a*, written <a>, is almost complete and the *noun* **watere/wateres/water** (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.) is written. In D, which displays many Kentish features, there are mostly instances of <e> writings, including the *noun* **peter** (Ω151 and Ω261) but some <a> including **pater** (Ω253). M, which is the most recent text to be written, only has <a> for OE *æ*.

§ 63.1 In T OE æ is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. haben* (Ω103), the *verb pa. 1st sg. hadde* (Ω16), the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hadde* (Ω144 and Ω156); <a> in the *noun almesse* (Ω29 and Ω312); the *adv. after* (Ω29) and the *prep. after* (Ω65, Ω124, Ω125 etc.); the *noun pater/pater* (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the *pron. hpat* (Ω80^{x2}, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *noun fader* (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the *possessive noun faderes* (Ω204: as part of *foremes-faderes*); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brac* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); the *noun bað* (Ω229); but <e> in the *pron. hpeðer* (Ω249) and <æ> in the *noun sæd* (Ω405).

§ 63.2 In L OE æ is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe/abbe* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.) but <e> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. hefde* (Ω16), the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hefde* (Ω144) and *hefð* (Ω156: miswritten for *hefde?*); <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. efþ* (Ω180: where not followed by a front vowel in OE); <e> in the *noun elmesse* (Ω29); the *adv. efter* (Ω29) and the *prep. efter* (Ω65, Ω124, Ω184 etc.); the *noun pettre* (Ω84,) and *peter* (Ω261) but *pater/patere* (Ω151, Ω203 and Ω253); <e> in the *pron. pet/hpet* (Ω80^{x2}, Ω94, Ω96 etc.) but *hpat* (Ω92, Ω257); <e> in the *noun feder* (Ω157) but <a> in *fader* (Ω195) and in the *possessive noun fader* (Ω204: as part of *foreme-fader*); <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brec* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <a> in the *noun baþ* (Ω229) and <e> in the *pron. hpeþer* (Ω249).

§ 63.3 In D OE æ is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. habben* (Ω103), the *verb pa. 1st sg. hadde* (Ω16) but <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hedde* (Ω144) and <a> in *hauede* (Ω156); <e> in the *noun elmesse* (Ω29, Ω312); the *adv. efter* (Ω29) and the *prep. efter/efer* (sic) (Ω65, Ω184, Ω205 etc.); the *noun peter* (Ω151 and Ω261) but *pater* (Ω253); <e> in the *pron. hpet* (Ω80^{x2}, Ω94, Ω108 etc.) but *hpat* (Ω92); <a> in the *noun vader* (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the *possessive noun uader* (Ω204: as part of *uormes-uader*); <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brec* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); the *noun behð* (Ω229) and <e> in the *noun sed* (Ω405).

§ 63.4 In E2 OE æ is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe/habb* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. habbe* (Ω103), and <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hafð* (Ω122, Ω150 and Ω181) and in the *neg. nafð* (Ω139) but it is written <e> in the *hefð* (Ω67: from OE *hæfð*, where all other MSS write *haueð/haueþ* from OE *hafað*); <a> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. hadde* (Ω16) but <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hedde* (Ω144 and Ω156); <e> in the *noun elmesse* (Ω29 and Ω312); <e> in the *prep. efter* (Ω184, Ω205, Ω244 and Ω330) but <æ> in the *adv. æfter* (Ω29) and the *prep. æfter* (Ω65 and Ω124); <e> in the *noun petere/peter* (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the *pron. hpet/phet/pet* (Ω24, Ω80, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); <e> in the *noun feder* (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the *possessive noun federes* (Ω204: as part of *formes-federes*); <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brec* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <æ> in the *noun bæð* (Ω229) and <e> in the *pron. pheðer* (Ω249).

§ 63.5 In E1 OE *æ* is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the *verb pr. subj. 1st pl. habben* (Ω103), <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hafh* (Ω150), the *verb pa. 1st sg. hadde* (Ω16), the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hadde* (Ω144 and Ω156); <a> in the *noun almesse* (Ω29 and Ω312); the *adv. after* (Ω29) and the *prep. after* (Ω65, Ω124, Ω184 etc.) but *efter* (Ω330); <a> in the *noun patere/pater* (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the *pron. pat/hpat* (Ω80, Ω92, Ω96, Ω98, Ω142 and Ω343: *hpet* written in the same line) but *pet/hpet* (Ω24, Ω94, Ω103, Ω257, Ω341 and Ω343: *hpat* written in the same line); <a> in the *noun fader* (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the *possessive noun faderes* (Ω204: as part of *formes-faderes*); <a> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brac* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <ea> in the *noun beað* (Ω229: (after *æ*, *a* > *ea*) see Jordan p.54); <e> in the *pron. peþer* (Ω249) and <e> in the *noun sed* (Ω405).

§ 63.6 In J OE *æ* is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the *verb pr. subj. 1st pl. habben* (Ω103), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hafþ* (Ω122) but <e> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. heuede* (Ω16) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hedde* (Ω144 and Ω156); <a> in the *noun almes/almesse* (Ω29 and Ω312); the *adv. after* (Ω29) and the *prep. after* (Ω65, Ω124, Ω125 etc.); the *noun watere/wateres/water* (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the *pron. hwat* (Ω80^{x2}, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); <a> in the *noun fader/vader* (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the *possessive noun faderes* (Ω204: as part of *foreme-faderes*); <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brek* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <a> in the *noun baþ* (Ω229) and <e> in the *pron. hweþer* (Ω249).

§ 63.7 In M OE *æ* is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe* (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the *verb pr. subj. 1st pl. habbe* (Ω103), the *verb, pa., 1st sg. hadde* (Ω16), the *verb pa. 3rd sg. hadde* (Ω144 and Ω156), the *prep. after* (Ω65, Ω124, Ω184 etc.); the *noun patere/pateres* (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the *pron. phat* (Ω80, Ω92, Ω94 etc.) and *huat* (Ω96 and Ω257); <a> in the *noun vader* (Ω157); <a> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brac* (Ω192: OE *bræc* in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <a> in the *noun baþ* (Ω229) and the *pron. phaþer* (Ω249).

§ 64 OE e

§ 64.1 This remained mostly the same with Gmc. *e* and *e* resulting from umlaut having converged in a close /e/ sound during the OE period. However, lengthening continued before consonant groups to /e:/. /ε:/ in open syllables in the twelfth century presupposes the opening of the sound by the first half of the thirteenth century (Jordan § 33). The writing during this period remained almost always <e>.

§ 64.2 However, *e* resulting from the *i*-umlaut of *a* before a nasal often appears in East Saxon as ME *a* due to the preservation of the *æ* step.

§ 64.3 In closed syllables there was an increased tendency from about 1200 for *e* to go to *i* under influence of apical sounds, with preference of the North and withdrawal in the South. This change occurred before dentals; before covered *n* and before *palatals*. In Kent and East Anglia *i* appeared before /dʒ/ in *siggen* 'to say'. (Jordan § 34).

§ 64.4 In T OE *e* is <e> in the *verb inf.* **berēn** (Ω98) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **berēð** (Ω47); <e> in the *noun* **bed** (Ω229); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω30 etc.); the *verb inf.* **seggen** (Ω94, Ω96, Ω156 etc.); the *verb inf.* **þenche(n)** (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **þenche/þencheð** (Ω199 and Ω339) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **þencheð** (Ω80); the *verb inf.* **biþenchen** (Ω340), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **biþenche** (Ω6) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biþencheð** (Ω34); the *noun* **sellich** (Ω190); before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende** (Ω53, Ω87^{x2}, Ω126 etc.), the *noun* **endinge** (Ω126) and the *adj.* **ende-lease** (Ω150); <e> in the *noun pl.* **bende/bendes** (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197, Ω304 and Ω415); before lengthening group *ld* it is <e> in **felde** (Ω360); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *noun* **strencðe/strengðe** (Ω177 and Ω328) and the *verb pp.* **imengd** (Ω151); but <æ> the *noun pl.* **ængles** (Ω96) and <a> in **angles** (Ω295) and the *pl. possessive* **angles** (Ω367 and Ω393) – this is probably under the influence of OF *angele*, *angle*.

§ 64.5 In L OE *e* is <e> in the *verb inf.* **berēn** (Ω98) and in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **berēð** (Ω47); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω30 etc.) but **ni(hud)** (Ω78); the *verb inf.* **seggen** (Ω94, Ω95, Ω156 etc.) the *verb inf.* **(i)þenchen** (Ω123, Ω158 and Ω265); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þench** (Ω34: contracted form of OE *ðencan*), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **þenke** (Ω199) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **þenkeð/þenke** (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **biþenche** (Ω6) but it is written <u> in the *noun* **sullic** (Ω190: *WS syllic* with rounding to /y/); before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende** (Ω53, Ω87^{x2}, Ω126 etc.) and the *adj.* **endelesse** (Ω150); <e> in the *noun pl.* **bende/bendes** (Ω141, Ω189 and Ω197); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *noun* **strengþe** (Ω177) and in the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96 and Ω295) but <ei> in the *verb pp.* **meind** (Ω151).

§ 64.6 In D OE *e* is <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **berēð** (Ω47); <e> in the *noun* **bed** (Ω229); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω32 etc.); before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende** (Ω53, Ω87^{x2}, Ω126^{x2} etc.) and the *adj.* **endelese** (Ω150); the *verb inf.* **(i)þenche(n)** (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **þenche** (Ω199) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **þencheð** (Ω80); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **biþenche** (Ω6 and Ω340) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biþencheð** (Ω34); the *noun pl.* **bende/bendes** (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197, Ω304 and Ω415); the *verb inf.* **seggen** (Ω94) but **siggen** (Ω156, Ω234, Ω236 and Ω408: cf. § 64 (Kentish form)); before lengthening group *ld* it is <e> in **velde** (Ω360); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *noun* **strenhðe** (Ω177); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* **englene/engles** (Ω367 and Ω393) but <ai> in the *verb pp.* **imaingd** (Ω151).

§ 64.7 In E2 OE *e* is <e> in the *verb inf.* **beren** (Ω98) and in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **bereð** (Ω47); <e> in the *noun* **bed** (Ω229); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω30 etc.) but **ni** (Ω78); it is written <e> in the *verb inf.* **segge(n)** (Ω94, Ω96, Ω156 etc.); the *verb inf.* (i)ð**enche** (Ω123, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* ð**enche/ðencheð** (Ω199 and Ω339), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* ð**enchet** (Ω80); the *verb inf.* **bið enche** (Ω340), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bi-þenche** (Ω6) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **bi-þencð** (Ω34); the *noun* **sellich** (Ω190); before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende** (Ω53, Ω87^{x2}, Ω126 etc.) and the *adj.* **endeliese** (Ω150); <e> in the *noun pl.* **bende/bendes** (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197 and Ω304); before lengthening group *ld* it is <e> in **felde** (Ω360); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *noun* **strencðe/strengðe** (Ω177 and Ω328); the *verb pp.* **imeng** (Ω151) and in the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* **englene** (Ω367).

§ 64.8 In E1 OE *e* is <e> in the *verb inf.* **beren** (Ω98); <e> in the *noun* **bed** (Ω229); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω30 etc.) but **ni** (Ω78); it is written <e> in the *verb inf.* **segge(n)** (Ω94, Ω96, Ω156 etc.); the *verb inf.* (i)þ**enche** (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **be-þenþ** (Ω34), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* þ**enche/þenchet** (Ω199 and Ω339), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* þ**enchet/þenche** (Ω80 and Ω199); the *verb inf.* **bi-þenche** (Ω340) but <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bi-þanche** (Ω6 cf. § 64.2, usually an East Anglian form); <e> in the *noun* **sellic** (Ω190); before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende** (Ω53, Ω87^{x2}, Ω126^{x2} etc.) and the *adj.* **endeliese** (Ω150); <e> in the *noun pl.* **bende/bends** (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197 and Ω415) but <ie> in **biende** (Ω304); before lengthening group *ld* it is <e> in **felde** (Ω360); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *noun* **strengþe/strencþe** (Ω177 and Ω328) and the *verb pp.* **i-meng** (Ω151); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* **englene/engle** (Ω367 and Ω393).

§ 64.9 In J OE *e* is <e> in the *verb inf.* **beren** (Ω98) and in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **bereþ** (Ω47); <e> in the *noun* **bed** (Ω229); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω30 etc.); the *verb inf.* þ**enche** (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* þ**encheþ** (Ω199 and Ω339), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biþenkþ** (Ω34), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* þ**encheþ** (Ω80); the *verb inf.* **bi-þenche** (Ω340) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **biþenche** (Ω6); the *verb inf.* **seggen** (Ω94, Ω96, Ω156 etc.); but it is written <eo> in **seollich** (Ω190 *WS syllic*, with rounding to /y/) before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende** (Ω53, Ω87, Ω126^{x2} etc.) and the *adj.* **endeles** (Ω150); <e> in the *noun pl.* **bende/bendes** (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197, Ω304 and Ω415); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *noun* **strengþe** (Ω177 and Ω328); the *noun pl.* **engles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* **englene** (Ω367 and Ω393) but <ey> in the *verb pp.* **meýnd** (Ω151).

§ 64.10 In M OE *e* is <e> in the *verb inf.* **bere** (Ω98) and in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **bereþ** (Ω47); <e> in the *noun* **bed** (Ω229); <e> in the *adv* (*preverbal neg.*) **ne** (Ω17, Ω19, Ω22 etc.) and the *cj.* **ne** (Ω19, Ω25, Ω30 etc.) but <i> in the *verb inf.* **sigge** (Ω94 and Ω156: cf. § 64: usually Kentish or East Anglian form); the *verb inf.* **þenche** (Ω345), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þencheþ** (Ωii, Ω212), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **þencheþ** (Ω199); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **biþenche** (Ω6 and Ω340) but <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biþancþ** (Ω34) (cf. § 64.2, usually an East Anglian form); before lengthening group *nd* it is <e> in the *noun* **ende/end** (Ω53, Ω87^{x2}, Ω126^{x2} etc.) and the *adj.* **endeles** (Ω150); <e> in the *noun pl.* **bende/bendes** (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197 and Ω415); before lengthening group *ld* it is <e> in **felde** (Ω360); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the *verb pp.* **imengd** (Ω151); but <a> in the *noun pl.* **angles** (Ω96) and the *pl. possessive* **anglene** (Ω367 and Ω393) – this is probably under the influence of OF *angele, angle*.

§ 65 OE o

§ 65.1 Like *e*, this remained mostly the same as OE *o* with a close /o/ sound in closed syllables with lengthening to /o:/ before consonant groups and to /ɔ:/ in open syllables. (Jordan § 35).

§ 65.2 In OE there was a tendency for opening of *o* between labials and liquids which resulted in <a> being written in the Mercian dialect as well as that of Northumbria. This was carried into the ME period with *a* forms reaching from the middle of Worcester and Hereford (including the AB dialect) up into southern Lancashire but also in the North including Scotland (Jordan § 35). This is evident in the **palde** and **nalde** forms found in L (see § 65.4).

§ 65.3 In T OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **bifore/biforen** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and *adv.* **biforen** (Ω29); <o> in the *noun* **bode** (Ω273) and the *noun pl.* **bode** (Ω307); <o> in the *noun* **borde** (Ω322); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noalde** (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **noalde/nolden** (Ω251 and Ω256); <o> the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **polde** (Ω17), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **polde** (Ω36, Ω156, Ω158 and Ω160), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **polde** (Ω50), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **polde** (Ω200) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **polden** (Ω257 and Ω280); <o> in the *noun pl.* **sorege** (Ω175) and *noun sg.* **sorege** (Ω149, Ω203 and Ω215) but <a> in **sarege** (Ω391).

§ 65.4 In L OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **bi-fore/biforen/bi-foran** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and *adv.* **biforen** (Ω29); the *noun* **borde** (Ω273); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nolden** (Ω251 and Ω256) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noalde** (Ω145) but <a> in **nalde** (Ω194, Ω195, Ω274 and Ω276); <a> in the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **palde** (Ω17), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **palde** (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **palde** (Ω200), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **palde** (Ω36, Ω158 and Ω160: for these and previous examples cf. § 65.2) but <o> in **polde** (Ω156) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **polden** (Ω257 and Ω280: significantly, both of these occur in rhyming position and might reflect the writing of the exemplar); <o> in the *noun pl.* **sorge** (Ω175) and the *noun* **sorge** (Ω149, Ω203 and Ω215).

§ 65.5 In D OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **biuore/biuoren/biforen** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and *adv.* **biuore** (Ω29); the *noun* **bode** (Ω273) and the *noun pl.* **bode** (Ω307); the *noun* **borde** (Ω322); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noide** (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nolden/nolde** (Ω251 and Ω256); <o> the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **polde** (Ω17), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **polde** (Ω36, Ω156, Ω158 and Ω160), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **wolde** (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **polde** (Ω200) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **polde** (Ω257); <o> in the *noun* **sorȝe** (Ω149, Ω203, Ω215 and Ω391) and the *noun pl.* **sorȝe** (Ω175).

§ 65.6 In E2 OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **be-fore/bi-foren/be-foren/bi-fore** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and *adv.* **bi-fore** (Ω29); the *noun* **bibode** (Ω273) and the *noun pl.* **bi-bode** (Ω307); the *noun* **borde** (Ω311); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noide** (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nolden/nolde** (Ω251 and Ω256); <o> the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **polde** (Ω17), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **polde** (Ω36, Ω156 and Ω160), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **polde** (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **polde** (Ω200) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **polde** (Ω257 and Ω280); <o> in the *noun* **sorȝe/sorȝen** (Ω203 and Ω215) and the *noun pl.* **sorȝe** (Ω175).

§ 65.7 In E1 OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **be-fore/be-foren/bi-foren/be-foren** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and *adv.* **before** (Ω29); the *noun* **bode** (Ω273) and the *noun pl.* **bode** (Ω307); the *noun* **borde** (Ω311); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noide** (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nolde/nolden** (Ω251 and Ω256); <o> the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **polde** (Ω17), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **polde** (Ω36, Ω156, Ω158 and Ω160), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **polde** (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **polde** (Ω200) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **polden/polde** (Ω257 and Ω280); the *noun* **sorȝe/sorepen/sorepe** (Ω203, Ω215 and Ω391).

§ 65.8 In J OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **bi-fore/bivoren/bȳ-vore/bi-voren/bi-vore/bȳuoren** (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and *adv.* **bi-uoren** (Ω29); the *noun* **bode** (Ω273) and the *noun pl.* **forbode** (Ω307); the *noun* **borde** (Ω311); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noide** (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nolde/nolden** (Ω251 and Ω256); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **wolde** (Ω17), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **wolde** (Ω36, Ω156, Ω158 and Ω160), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **wolde** (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **wolde** (Ω200) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **wolden** (Ω257); it is <o> in the *noun* **sorewe** (Ω203) but <eo> in the *noun* **seorewe** (Ω149, Ω215 and Ω391: influence of OE *soerȝean* (Jordan § 35: Remark 3).

§ 65.9 In M OE *o* is <o> in the *prep.* **bifore/biuore** (Ω19, Ω89, Ω98 etc.) and the *prep.* **to-uore** (Ω64); the *noun* **borde** (Ω311); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **noide** (Ω194 and Ω195) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nolde** (Ω251 and Ω256); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 1st sg.* **polde** (Ω17) the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **polde** (Ω36 and Ω156), the *verb pa. ind. 2nd pl.* **polde** (Ω50) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **polde** (Ω200) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **polde** (Ω257); <o> in the *noun* **sorȝe/soreȝe** (Ω149 and Ω203) and the *noun pl.* **soreȝe** (Ω175).

§ 66 OE *i*

- § 66.1 The change of *y* > *i* (§ 67.2) meant that *i* and *y* had become equal in value in the main areas; from the second half of the thirteenth century <y> was often written for *i* for clarity, especially in the neighbourhood of <n, m, u, v>, and initially. (Jordan § 36)
- § 66.2 In closed syllables the sound is generally *ɪ* but *ī* before lengthening consonant groups except for before *ng* where the shortness prevails. In open syllables lengthening of *i* does not generally occur in the South and Midlands but a lengthening of [ɪ] > [e:] takes place in the North from the thirteenth century, written <e>.
- § 66.3 As well as this transition to *e* in the North in open syllables there is also a Southumbrian inclination for neutralizing to *ē* in closed syllables, particularly in the vicinity of labials, liquids, /f/ and /tʃ/. (Jordan § 36).
- § 66.4 Further neutralizing takes place under the influence of *w*. In late OE *wi*- often yielded *wy*-, these forms were continued into ME often written <u> as a result of /y/ > /u/ (Jordan § 36), thus **wulle** etc. below.

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- § 66.5 In T OE *i* is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bidden/bidde** (Ω130 and Ω303), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bidde** (Ω141), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddeð** (Ω132) and the *cont. form* **bit** (Ω131 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* it is <i> in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **finden/finde** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59 etc.) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **findeð** (Ω343); <i> in the *verb inf.* **binden** (Ω227); the *noun* (i)**pil/pille/pill** (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pīle** (Ω40, Ω56, Ω325 etc.); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **pīlēð** (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc.), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pīlle** (Ω234, Ω236, Ω239 etc.) but it is <u> in **pulle** (Ω164 cf. § 66.4); <i> in the *noun* **pit** (Ω2); <i> in the *verb inf.* **piten** (Ω399), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **pīten** (Ω305), the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **ipiste** (Ω18); <u> in the *noun* **ofsprung** (Ω205) but <e> in **ofspreng** (Ω218: § 66.3); <i> in the *noun* **ispinc/(i)spinch** (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.) but <u> in **spunche** (Ω215 and Ω386 cf. § 66.4); <i> in the *quant. ord.* **þridde** (Ω145); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis** (Ω69, Ω262: *sg. nom. neut.* OE **þis**, Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE **þisne**; Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE **þisse, þisre**); <e> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þese** (Ω323: *dat. pl.* OE **þissum**), **þesse** (Ω339 and Ω396: *sg. dat. neut.* OE **þissum**) and **þesses** (Ω350: T writes the *masc. sg. gen.* form, from OE **þisses**, for the *fem. sg. gen.*, from OE **þisse, þisre**).
- § 66.6 The *neg.* forms of OE *willan* and *witan* are being dealt with separately because in OE in all dialects at an early date the negative adverb *ni* contracted with a following accented *wi*- to produce *ny*-. According to Campbell (§ 265) in IW-S *ne*- was written for *ny*- with great frequency in forms of *nyllan* (*nelle, nellaþ, nele*). However, there was an absence of a similar development in forms in *nytan*, although this did occur in the Kentish dialect. In T <e> is written in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **nele** (Ω128, Ω348: *ne + will*: OE **npill** – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*), and in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **nelleð** (Ω387: *ne + will*: OE **npill** – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*), and in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **nelle** (Ω302: *ne + will*: OE **npill** – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*). It is also written <e> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nesten** (Ω236, Ω257 and Ω401: OE *witan + neg.*) but <i> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **niten** (Ω249: OE *witan + neg.*).
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§ 66.7 In L OE *i* is <i> the *verb inf.* **biden** (Ω130), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bidde** (Ω141), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddeþ** (Ω132) and the *cont.* form **bit** (Ω131); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* it is <i> in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **finden** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59 etc.); <i> in the *verb inf.* **binden** (Ω227); the *noun* **pil/pille** (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); it is <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pile** (Ω56) but <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pule** (Ω40: cf. § 66.4) and <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **pule/pulleð** (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc.: cf. § 66.4), <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pule/pulle** (Ω164, Ω234 and Ω239: cf. § 66.4) but <i> in **pille** (Ω236); <i> in the *noun* **pit** (Ω22); the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **piste** (Ω18), <u> in the *noun* **of-sprung** (Ω218 cf. § 66.1); <i> in the *noun* **ispinc/spinc/spinke** (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.); <e> in the *quant. ord.* **þerdde** (Ω145: cf. § 66.3 and a note on this occurrence in L in Jordan § 36); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis** (Ω262: *sg. nom. neut.* OE *þis*; Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE *þisne*) and **þisse** (Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*).

§ 66.8 See § 66.6 for OE *ui-* > *ny-*: In L <u> is written in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **nute** (Ω249: OE *witan + neg*) and in the *neg.* form of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nusten** (Ω236 and Ω257). The movement to <u> rather than <e> suggests a transition more specifically located in the AB dialect /y/ > /u/ (see § 66.1 and § 66.4).

§ 66.9 In D OE *i* is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bidde** (Ω130 and Ω303), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddeð** (Ω132 and Ω370) and the *cont.* form **bit** (Ω131); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* it is <i>, in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **finden/finde/vinde/uinde** (Ω53, Ω55 and Ω59 etc.); <i> in the *verb inf.* **binde** (Ω227); the *noun* (i)**pil/ipille/pille** (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); <i> in the *verb pr. 3rd sg.* **pile** (Ω40, Ω56, Ω325 etc.); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **pilleð** (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc.), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pille** (Ω164, Ω234, Ω236 etc.); <i> in the *noun* **wit** (Ω22); the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **ipiste** (Ω18), <i> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **ne pisten** (Ω401 cf. § 66.10: **nesten**); <i> in the *noun* **ospring** (Ω205: note that *i* has been corrected from *e*) but <e> in the *noun* **ospreng** (Ω218: § 66.3); <i> in the *noun* (i)**spinch/ispinc/ispinche** (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.); <i> in the *quant. ord.* **þridde** (Ω145); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis** (Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE *þisne*), <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þise** (Ω323: *dat. pl.* OE *þissum*; Ω396: *sg. dat. neut.* OE *þissum*; Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*), **þises** (Ω350: D uses the *masc. gen. sg.* form (OE *þisses*) for the *fem. gen. sg.* (OE *þisse, þisre*)).

§ 66.10 See § 66.6 for OE *ui-* > *ny-*: In D <e> is written in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. 3rd sg.* **nele** (Ω128 and Ω387: *ne + will*: OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) and in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **nelle** (Ω302: *ne + will*: OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*); <i> is written in the *neg.* form of the *verb ind. 3rd pl.* **niten/niteð** (Ω305: OE *witan + neg.*) but <e> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nesten** (Ω236).

§ 66.11 In E2 OE *i* is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bidde** (Ω130), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bidde** (Ω141), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddeð** (Ω132) and the *cont.* form **bit** (Ω131 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* it is <i> in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **finde/finden** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59 etc.); <i> in the *verb inf.* **binde** (Ω227); the *noun* **ȳ-pil/pille/pille/(i)pill** (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); it is written <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pule** (Ω40, Ω325, Ω346 etc. cf. § 66.4) but <i> in **pile** (Ω56) it is <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **pulleð/pulle** (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc. cf. § 66.4), <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pulle** (Ω164, Ω234, Ω236 etc. cf. § 66.4); <i> in the *noun* **pit** (Ω2); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **piteð** (Ω305) but <y> in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **a-pyste** (Ω18: cf. <y> is either written for /i/ here § 66.1 or it is through an earlier stage of neutralization before <u> writing § 66.4); <i> in the *noun* **of-spring** (Ω205, Ω218); <i> in the *noun* **(i)spinch** (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.); <i> in the *quant. ord.* **ðridde** (Ω145); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis/ðis** (Ω262: *sg. nom. neut.* OE *þis*, Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE *þisne*; Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE *þisse*, *þisre*); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **ðisse/þisse** (Ω323: *dat. pl.* OE *þissum*; Ω339, Ω396: *sg. dat. neut.* OE *þissum*), **ðises** (Ω350: E2 uses the *masc. gen. sg.* form (OE *þisses*) for the *fem. gen. sg.* (OE *þisse*, *þisre*)).

§ 66.12 See § 66.6 for OE *ui-* > *ny-*: In E2 <e> is written in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **nele** (Ω128, Ω348 and Ω387: *ne + will*: OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) and <e> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **nelle** (Ω302: *ne + will*: OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*); <u> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **nuten** (Ω249: OE *witan + neg.*) and the *neg.* form of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nusten/nuste** (Ω236 and Ω257).

§ 66.13 In E1 OE *i* is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bidde** (Ω130), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bidde** (Ω141), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddet** (Ω132) and the form *cont.* **bit** (Ω131 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* it is <i>, in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **finden** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59 etc.); <i> in the *verb inf.* **binde** (Ω227); the *noun* **ȳ-pil/pille/pilles/i-pille/(i)pil** (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pile** (Ω56) but <u> in **pule/pulle** (Ω40, Ω325, Ω346 etc. cf. § 66.4), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **pillet** (Ω35) but <u> in **pulled/pullet/pulled** (Ω100, Ω102 and Ω237 cf. § 66.4), <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pulle** (Ω164, Ω234, Ω236 etc. cf. § 66.4), <i> in the *noun* **pit** (Ω2); <i> in the *verb inf.* **ipiten** (Ω399), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **piteð** (Ω305), <u> in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **a-puste** (Ω18); <u> in the *noun* **of-sprung** (Ω205 cf. § 66.4) but <i> in **of-spring** (Ω218); <ȳ> in the *noun* **ge-spynch** (Ω37 cf. <ȳ> is either written for /i/ here § 66.1 or it is through an earlier stage of neutralization before <u> writing § 66.4) but <i> in **ispinch/ge-spinch/spinche** (Ω58, Ω203, Ω215 etc.); <i> in the *quant. ord.* **þridde** (Ω145); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis** (Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE *þisne*; Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE *þisse*, *þisre*); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þisse** (Ω323: *dat. pl.* OE *þissum*; Ω339: *sg. dat. neut.* OE *þissum*), <e> in **þes** (Ω350: this is most likely not dialectal but the use of the *masc. nom. sg.* for the *fem. gen. sg.*).

§ 66.14 See § 66.6 for OE *ui-* > *ny-*: In E1 <e> is written in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **nele** (Ω128, Ω348 and Ω387: *ne + will*: OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) and the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **nelle** (Ω302: *ne + will*: OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*); it is written <u> in the *neg.* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **nuten** (Ω249: OE *witan + neg.*) and the *neg.* form of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nusten** (Ω236, Ω257 and Ω401).

§ 66.15 In J OE *i* is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bidden** (Ω130), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **bidde** (Ω141), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. cont.* **bit** (Ω131, Ω132 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* it is <i> in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **vinden** (Ω53) and written <ȳ> in the *verb inf.* **(i)vȳnde/fȳnde** (Ω55, Ω59, Ω90 etc. cf. § 66.1); <ȳ> in the *verb inf.* **bȳnde** (Ω227 cf. § 66.1); the *noun* **wil/wille** (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **wile** (Ω40, Ω56, Ω325 etc.) the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **willeþ** (Ω35) but <u> in **wulleþ** (Ω100, Ω102 and Ω237 cf. § 66.4), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pile/wille** (Ω164, Ω239 and Ω316); <ȳ> in the *noun* **wȳt** (Ω2 cf. § 66.1); <ȳ> in the *verb inf.* **iwȳten** (Ω399 cf. § 66.1), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **witen** (Ω305), <i> in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **wiste** (Ω18); <u> in the *noun* **ofsprung** (Ω205 and Ω218 cf. § 66.1); <ȳ> in the *noun* **(i)swȳnk/swȳnke** (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc. cf. § 66.1); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis** (Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE *þisne*; Ω339: *sg. dat. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þisse** (Ω323: *dat. pl.* OE *þissum*; Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*) (at Line Ω350 J writes *þeos* the *nom. sg. fem.* form for what should be the *gen. sg. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*).

§ 66.16 See § 66.6 for OE *ui-* > *ny-*: In J <u> is written in the *neg. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **nule** (Ω128 and Ω387: *ne + will:* OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) in the *neg. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **nulle** (Ω302: *ne + will:* OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*); <u> in the *neg. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **nuten** (Ω249: OE *witan + neg.*) and in the *neg. form* of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **nusten/nuste** (Ω236, Ω257 and Ω401). The movement to <u> rather than <e> suggests a transition more specifically located in the AB dialect /y/ > /u/ (see § 66.1 and § 66.4).

§ 66.17 In M OE *i* is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bidde** (Ω130), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **biddeþ** (Ω132) and the *cont. form* in **bit** (Ω131 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group *ld* is <i> in the *noun* **child/childe** (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); <i> in the *verb inf.* **finde** (Ω53, Ω55, Ω90 etc.); <i> in the *verb inf.* **binde** (Ω227); the *noun* **pille/pil** (Ω74, Ω84, Ω90 etc.); <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pile** (Ω56), <u> in **pule** (Ω365 cf. § 66.4), the vowel is omitted in **ple** (Ω40 and Ω346), the vowel is omitted in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **plleþ** (Ω164), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **plle** (Ω234 and Ω236) but <i> in **pille** (Ω239 and Ω316), the vowel is omitted in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **plleð/plleþ** (Ω35 and Ω237) but <u> in **pulleþ** (Ω100 cf. § 66.4); <i> in the *noun* **pit** (Ω2); <i> in the *verb pa. 1st sg.* **piste** (Ω18); <e> in the *noun* **ofspreng** (Ω218 cf. § 66.3); <i> in the *noun* **yswinch/suinch** (Ω37, Ω203, Ω331 etc.); <i> in the *quant. ord.* **þridde** (Ω145); <i> in the *demonstrative adj.* **þis** (Ω69: *sg. nom. neut.* OE *þis*; Ω202, Ω207: *sg. ac. masc.* OE *þisne*; Ω396: *sg. dat. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*) and **þisse** (Ω282: *sg. gen. fem.* OE *þisse, þisre*).

§ 66.18 See § 66.6 for OE *ui-* > *ny-*: In M <e> is written in the *neg. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **nele** (Ω128, Ω348: *ne + will:* OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) and the *neg. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **nelle** (Ω302: *ne + will:* OE *npill* – often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*); M writes <u> in the *neg. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **nuten** (Ω249: OE *witan + neg.*) and <e> in the *neg. form* of the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **neste** (Ω236 and Ω257).

§ 67 OE \check{y}

In OE this sound was the i -mutation of u . In the ME period there resulted three geographical areas of gradation:

§ 67.1 **The South-East including Kent, where it was unrounded and lowered to \check{e} .**

In the OE period, about 900, \check{y} was unrounded and lowered to \check{e} in Kentish. According to the ME evidence as well as present dialects this change was extended to Sussex and Surrey, the SEML, especially Essex and Suffolk, and eventually the City of London by about the middle of the fourteenth century. The difficulty in interpreting forms with e outside of Kent is that \bar{i} (deriving from OE \check{y}) could have also given rise to e . (Jordan § 39 and § 40 and Mossé § 29)

§ 67.2 **The North and the East-Midlands where by unrounding it became \check{i} , written <i> or <y>.**

Instances of unrounding to i are found already in late OE in West Saxon subdialects and in Northumbrian. Unrounding in ME appears first in the NEML and in the North. In the Midlands i spreads gradually towards the West and probably already in the fourteenth century reaches the Western area. Toward the South the unrounding reaches London about 1300. (Jordan § 39 and § 41 and Mossé § 29)

§ 67.3 **The WML (excluding almost the whole of Lancashire) and the South-West where \check{y} was retained and was mostly written <u> but sometimes, when long <ui> or <uy>.**

The /y/ sound (written <u>) is retained in the WML until about 1300. Unrounding also reaches the West around the fourteenth century. (Jordan § 39 and § 42 and Mossé § 29)

§ 67.4 **Special developments before palatized consonants**

In the Southwest, unrounding of $y > i$ before palatals had already begun in OE and continues into the ME period, mainly in this geographical area. However, in what appears to be an opposing influence /y/ went over into /u/ before /tʃ/, /dʒ/ and /ʃ/ in the twelfth century (Jordan § 43 and Mossé § 29).

- § 67.5 In T OE *y* is <u> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind.* **dude** (Ω2: OE *dyde*), the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **dude** (Ω375), the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **duden** (Ω99), the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **dude** (Ω283) but <e> in **deden** (Ω279 and Ω280), <u> in the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **misduden** (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **misduden** (Ω201); <e> in the *adj. (vn)* **net** (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <u> in the *verb inf.* **punche** (Ω63) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **puncheð** (Ω212, Ω246 and Ω368) but <i> in **pincheð** (Ω5); <u> in the *verb inf.* **of-punche/ofpunche** (Ω137, Ω214 and Ω387) but <i> in the *verb 3rd sg. ind.* **ofðinkeð** (Ω10) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ofpincheð** (Ω173); <u> in the *verb inf.* **gulte** (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **gulteð** (Ω93 and Ω326), the *verb pp.* **igult** (Ω11); <u> in the *noun* **gult** (Ω173 and Ω204) and the *pl.* **gultes** (Ω287 and Ω329); <u> in the *adj.* **muchel/muchele/mukel/mulchel** (Ω12, Ω63, Ω74 etc.: in LW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell § 318) and *pl. muchele* (Ω301); <u> in the *adv.* **muhel/muchel/muche** (Ω14, Ω24, Ω61 etc.); the *noun* **muchel** (Ω370); OE *y* is <e> in the *noun* **euel** (Ω60, Ω61, Ω201 etc.) but <j>, *i*-longa, in **juel** (Ω20); <e> in the *adj.* (for the *sg.* & *pl.*) **euel/euele** (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126^{x2} etc.); <e> in the *adv.* **euel/euele** (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <u> in the *noun* **furst** (Ω38); <i> in the *noun* **king** and **heuen-kinge** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cyning*) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); <u> in the *verb inf.* **bugge** (Ω66); <i> in the *adj.* **spilch** (Ω81^{x2} and Ω416^{x2}); before *h* it is <i> in the *noun* **drihte/drihten** (Ω115, Ω124, Ω136 etc.); <e> in the *noun* **senne** (Ω134, Ω203, Ω212 etc.); <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **sunegeden** (Ω271 and Ω297); the *adj.* **hpilch** (Ω143); <u> in the *adj.* **murie** (Ω163); the *noun* **murihðe** (Ω409); <e> in the *noun* **steche** (Ω198); <e> in the *noun* **kenne/kennes** (Ω213 and Ω376) and **(man)kenne** (Ω318, Ω352); <e> in the *noun* **unpenne** (Ω219); <e> in the *verb inf.* **hlesten/hleste** (Ω237, Ω400); <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **tihte** (Ω283); <u> in the *verb inf.* **fulle** (Ω364) and the *verb 3rd sg.* **fulleð** (Ω324) and <u> in the *noun* **hulle** (Ω363).
- §.67.6 In T OE *y* is <i> in the *adj.* **litel/litle** (Ω12, Ω47, Ω62 etc.); <i> in the *adv.* **litel** (Ω142^{x2} and Ω273,); <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **hudden** (Ω169); <u> in the *noun* **fure/fur** (Ω44, Ω159, Ω161 etc. OE *fyr*); <e> in the *noun* **here** (Ω46: OE *hyr*); <u> in the *verb inf.* **cuðen** (Ω102) but <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **kedde** (Ω200) and <i> in the *adv.* **hpi** (Ω110).

- § 67.7 In L OE *y* is <e> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind. dede* (Ω2: OE *dyde*), the *verb pa. 1st pl. dude* (Ω99), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. duden* (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω283), <u> in the *verb pa. 1st pl. misduden* (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. misduden* (Ω201); <e> in the *adj. (vn)net* (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <u> in the *verb inf. þunchen* (Ω63) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þunched/þunchet* (Ω212 and Ω246) but <i> in *þingþ* (Ω5); <i> in the *verb inf. of-þinche* (Ω214), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-þingchþ* (Ω137) and the *verb 3rd sg. ind. of-þinchet* (Ω10); <u> in the *verb inf. gulte* (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. gulteð* (Ω93), the *verb pp. igult* (Ω11); <u> in the *noun gult* (Ω173 and Ω204); <u> in the *adj. muchel/muchele* (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in LW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell §318); <u> in the *adv. muchel* (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); <u> in the *noun ufele/ufel/vfel/uele/uuel* (Ω20, Ω60, Ω61 etc.); <u> in the *adj. (for the sg. & pl.) uuel/ufel/uele* (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126^{x2} etc.); <u> in the *adv. uele* (Ω179); <i> in the *adv. afirst* (Ω38); <i> in the *noun king* and *heuen-king* (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cyning*) and *pl. kinges* (Ω335); <u> in the *verb inf. buggen* (Ω66); <i> in the *adv. spich-se* (Ω81); <u> in the *adj. spuch* (Ω81: note *spich-se* as an *adv.* in the same line) and the *adj. pl. spilche* (Ω231); <i> in the *noun lifte* (Ω85); before *h* it is <i> in the *noun drihte/drihten* (Ω115, Ω124, Ω136 etc.); <u> in the *noun sunne* (Ω212, Ω214, Ω215 etc.); <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sungede* (Ω271); the *adj. hpice* (Ω143); <u> in the *noun murþe* (Ω163); <u> in the *noun stuche* (Ω198); <u> in the *noun cunne* (Ω213); <u> in the *noun unpunne* (Ω219) but <i> in *unpinne* (Ω259) and <u> in the *verb inf. lusten* (Ω237).
- § 67.8 In L OE *y* is <u> in the *adj. lutel* (Ω47, Ω62, Ω74 etc.) but <i> in *litel* (Ω12); <u> in the *adv. lutel* (Ω142^{x2} and Ω273); <u> in the *verb pp. ihud* (Ω12 and Ω78: OE *hydan*); <u> in the *noun fure/fur* (Ω44, Ω159, Ω260 etc.); <u> in the *verb inf. kuðe* (Ω102) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. cudde* (Ω200) and <i> in the *adv. hpi* (Ω110).
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§ 67.9 In D OE *y* is <e> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind.* **dede** (Ω2: OE *dyde*) the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **dede** (Ω375) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **deden** (Ω283); <e> in the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **misededen** (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **misededen** (Ω2201); <e> in the *adj.* (**vn**)**net** (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <e> in the *verb inf.* **þenchen** (Ω63) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þencheð** (Ω212 and Ω246) but <i> in **þingh/þingð** (Ω5 and Ω368); <e> in the *verb inf.* of **þenche** (Ω214), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* of **þencheð** (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173); <e> in the *verb inf.* **gelte** (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **gelteð** (Ω93 and Ω326), *verb pp.* **igelt** (Ω11); <e> in the *noun* **gelt** (Ω173 and Ω204); <u> in the *adj.* **muchel/muche/mutchel** (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in lW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell §318) and *pl.* **muche** (Ω301); <u> in the *adv.* **muchel/muche** (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); the *noun* **muche** (Ω370); <e> in the *noun* **euele/euel** (Ω20, Ω60, Ω61 etc.); <e> in the *adj.* (for the *sg.* & *pl.*) **euele/euel** (Ω27, Ω126^{x2} etc.); <e> in the *adv.* **euele** (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <i> in the *adv.* **afirst** (Ω38); <i> in the *noun* **king** and **heune-kinge/heuenkinge** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cýning*) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); <e> in the *verb inf.* **beggen** (Ω66); <i> in the *adj.* **spich** (Ω81^{x2}, Ω123, Ω416), **spichne** (Ω416) and the *adj. pl.* **spiche** (Ω231); <e> in the *noun* **lefte** (Ω85); before *h* it is <i> in the *noun* **drihte/drihten** (Ω115, Ω124, Ω136 etc.); <e> in the *noun* **senne** (Ω134, Ω203, Ω212 etc.); <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **sunegeden** (Ω271); the *adj.* **hpich** (Ω143); <e> in the *noun* **merhðe/mergþe** (Ω163^{x2} and Ω409); <e> in the *noun* **stecche** (Ω198); <e> in the *noun* **kenne/kennes** (Ω213, Ω376) and (**man**)**kenne** (Ω318 and Ω352); <e> in the *noun* **unpenne** (Ω219) but <i> in **pinne** (Ω259); <e> in the *verb inf.* **hlesten/lesten** (Ω237 and Ω400); <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **tichede** (Ω283) and <e> in the *verb 3rd sg.* **uoluelð** (Ω324).

§ 67.10 In D OE *y* is <i> in the *adj.* **litel/litle** (Ω12, Ω47, Ω62 etc.); <i> in the *adv.* **litel** (Ω142^{x2} and Ω273); <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **hidden** (Ω169); <e> in the *noun* **fere/ver** (Ω44, Ω159, Ω161 etc.); <u> in the *verb inf.* **keðen** (Ω102) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **kedde** (Ω200) and <i> in the *adv.* **hpi** (Ω110^{x2}).

§ 67.11 In E2 OE *y* is <u> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind.* **dude** (Ω2: OE *dyde*), the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **dude** (Ω375), the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **duden** (Ω99), the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **dude** (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω283), <u> in the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **misdude** (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **mis-dude** (Ω201); <u> in the *adj. (vn)-nut* (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <i> in the *verb inf.* **ðinche** (Ω63), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þincð/ðincð** (Ω5, Ω368) but <e> in **iðencð** (Ω212); <i> in the *verb inf. of-ðinche* (Ω214 and Ω387) the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-þincð* (Ω173) and *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-ðinchet/of-þinchet* (Ω10 and Ω137); <u> in the *verb inf. gulte* (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **gultet/gulteð** (Ω93 and Ω326), the *verb pp.* **a-gult** (Ω11); <u> in the *noun gult* (Ω173 and Ω204) and the *pl. gultes* (Ω287 and Ω329); <u> in the *adj. muchel/muchele* (Ω12, Ω75, Ω94 etc.: in LW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell §318) but <i> in **michel/michele** (Ω63, Ω78 and Ω216); <ȳ> in the *adv.* **mȳchel** (Ω14: retains older spelling) but <u> in **muchel** (Ω25, Ω61, Ω139 etc.); <i> in the *noun michel* (Ω370); <u> in the *noun uuel* (Ω60, Ω61, Ω201 etc.) but <ȳ> in **ȳfele** (Ω20); <u> in the *adj. (for the sg. & pl.) uuel/uuele* (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126^{x2} etc.); <u> in the *adv. uuele* (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <u> in the *adv. a-furst* (Ω38); <i> in the *noun king* and **heue-kinge/heuen-king** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cyning*) and *pl. kinges* (Ω335); <u> in the *verb inf. bigge* (Ω66); <i> in the *adv. spilc-se* (Ω81); <i> in the *adj. spilch/spilc* (Ω81 and Ω123); <u> in the *noun lufte* (Ω85); before *h* it is <i> in the *noun drihte* (Ω115, Ω124, Ω136 etc.); <u> in the *noun sunne* (Ω203, Ω212, Ω214 etc.); <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. sunegede* (Ω271) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. sunegede* (Ω297); the *adj. hpilc* (Ω143); <u> in the *noun murcðe/murhðe* (Ω163^{x2}); <i> in the *noun sticche* (Ω198); <u> in the *noun cunne/cunnes* (Ω213, Ω376); and **(man)-cunne** (Ω318 and Ω352); <e> in the *noun unpenne* (Ω219); <u> in the *verb inf. hlusten* (Ω237); <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. tihte* (Ω283); <u> in the *verb inf. fulle* (Ω364) and the *verb 3rd sg. fulð* (Ω324); <u> in the *noun hulle* (Ω363).

§ 67.12 In E2 OE *y* is <i> in the *adj. litel* (Ω12, Ω62, Ω342 etc.) but <u> in **lutel** (Ω212); the *adj. lite* (Ω74); <i> in the *noun lite* (Ω47); <u> in the *adv. lutel* (Ω142) but <i> in **litel** (Ω142: same line, previously <u>); <u> in the *adv. lute* (Ω273); <u> in the *verb pp. hud* (Ω78); <u> in the *noun fure/fur* (Ω44, Ω77, Ω260 etc.); <u> in the *verb inf. cuðe* (Ω102) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. cudde* (Ω200) and <i> in the *adv. hpi* (Ω110).

§ 67.13 In E1 OE *y* is <u> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind.* **dude** (Ω22: OE *dyde*), the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **dude** (Ω375), the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **duden** (Ω99), the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **dude** (Ω283) but <e> in **deden** (Ω279 and Ω280), <u> in the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **mis-duden** (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **mis-duden** (Ω201); <u> in the *adj.* **(vn)nvpt** (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <i> in the *verb inf.* **þinchen** (Ω63), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þinh/iþenchð/ðinchet/þincð** (Ω5, Ω212, Ω246, Ω368); <i> in the *verb inf.* **of-þinche/ofþinche** (Ω214 and Ω387) and the *verb ind. 3rd sg. of* **þinched/of-þinchet** (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173); <u> in the *verb inf.* **gulte** (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **gulteð/gulted** (Ω93 and Ω326), the *verb pp.* **a-gult** (Ω11); <u> in the *noun* **gult** (Ω173 and Ω204) and the *pl.* **gultes** (Ω287 and Ω329); <u> in the *adj.* **muchel/muchele** (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in LW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell §318) and *pl. muchele* (Ω301); <u> in the *adv.* **muchel/muchele** (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); <u> in the *noun* **muchel** (Ω370); <v> in the *noun* **vuele/vuel** (Ω20, Ω60, Ω71 etc.) but <e> in **euel** (Ω265); <u/v> in the *adj.* (for the *sg. & pl.*) **vuele/vuel** (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126) but <e> in **euel** (Ω126: <u> later in the same line); <e> in the *adv.* **euele** (Ω179) but <v> in **vuele** (Ω309 and Ω333); <e> in the *adv.* **a-ferst** (Ω38); <i> in the *noun* **king** and **heuene-kinge** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cyning*) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); <i> in the *verb inf.* **biggen** (Ω66); <i> in the *adv.* **spilc-se** (Ω81); <i> in the *adj.* **spilc** (Ω81, Ω123, and Ω416^{x2}) but <u> in the *adj. pl.* **scuche** (Ω231); before *h* it is <i> in the *noun* **dritte/drihte** (Ω115, Ω124, Ω136 etc.); <u> in the *noun* **sunne** (Ω134, Ω218, Ω251, Ω319 and Ω351) but <ȳ> in **sȳnne** (Ω203, Ω212, Ω214 and Ω215); <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **sunegede** (Ω271); the *adj.* **pilc** (Ω143); <u> in the *noun* **murcð/murhðe** (Ω163 and Ω409); <i> in the *noun* **sticche** (Ω198); <u> in the *noun* **cunne/cunnes** (Ω213, Ω376) and **(man)cunne** (Ω318, Ω352); <u> in the *noun* **vnþunne** (Ω219); <u> in the *verb inf.* **lusten** (Ω237) but <e> in **leste** (Ω400); <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **tihte** (Ω283); <u> in the *verb inf.* **fulle** (Ω364) and the *verb 3rd sg.* **fulð** (Ω324) and <u> in the *noun* **hulle** (Ω363).

§ 67.14 In E1 OE *y* is <i> in the *adj.* **litel** (Ω12) but <u> in **lutel** (Ω62, Ω74, Ω212 etc.); <u> in the *adv.* **lutel** (Ω47, Ω142^{x2}, Ω273 etc.); <u> in the *verb pp.* **hud** (Ω78); <u> in the *noun* **fure/fur** (Ω44, Ω77, Ω159 etc.); <u> in the *verb inf.* **cuþe** (Ω102) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **cudde** (Ω200) and <i> in the *adv.* **hpi** (Ω110).

§ 67.15 In J OE *y* is <u> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind. dūde* (Ω22: OE *dyde*), the *verb pa. 3rd sg. dūde* (Ω375), the *verb pa. 1st pl. dūden* (Ω99), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. dūden* (Ω280 and Ω283), <u> in the *verb pa. 1st pl. mȳsdūden* (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. mȳs-dūden* (Ω201); <u> in the *adj. (vn)ned* (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <u> in the *verb inf. þunchen* (Ω63) but <i> in *þinche* (Ω123), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þinkþ/þincheþ* (Ω5, Ω212 and Ω246); <u> in the *verb inf. of-þunche* (Ω214) but <i> in *of-þinche* (Ω387) and the *verb 3rd sg. ind. of-þincheþ* (Ω10 and Ω137); <u> in the *verb inf. agult* (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. (a)gultep* (Ω93 and Ω326), the *verb pp. agult* (Ω11); <u> in the *noun gult* (Ω173 and Ω204) and the *pl. gultes* (Ω287); <u> in the *adj. muchel/muchele/muche* (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in lW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell §318) and *pl. muche* (Ω301); <u> in the *adv. muchel* (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); <u> in the *noun muche* (Ω370); <u> in the *noun vuel* (Ω20, Ω60, Ω61 etc.); <v> in the *adj. (for the sg. & pl.) vuele/vuel* (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126^{x2} etc.); <v> in the *adv. vuele* (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <i> in the *adv. a-virst* (Ω38); <i> in the *noun king* and *heouene-kinge* (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cynning*) and <ȳ> in *kȳng* (Ω227: J regularly writes <ȳ> for <i>) and in *pl. kȳnges* (Ω335); <u> in the *verb inf. bugge* (Ω66); <u> in the *adj. such* (Ω81^{x2} and Ω416^{x2}); <u> in the *noun lufte* (Ω85); before *h* it is <ȳ> in the *noun drȳhte/drȳhten* (Ω115, Ω136, Ω185 etc.) but *drihte* (Ω192); <u> in the *noun sunne* (Ω134, Ω203, Ω212 etc.) and *pl. sunnen* (Ω215, Ω251); <u> in the *verb pr. 3rd sg. sunegeþ* (Ω271) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. sunegeden* (Ω297); the *adj. hpich* (Ω143); <u> in the *noun murehþe* (Ω409); <u> in the *noun stucche* (Ω198); <u> in the *noun kunne/kunnes* (Ω213, Ω376) and *(mon)-kunne* (Ω318 and Ω352); <u> in the *noun unwunne* (Ω219); <u> in the *verb inf. lusten/luste* (Ω237 and Ω400); <ȳ> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg. tȳcede* (Ω283); <u> in the *verb inf. fullen* (Ω364) and the *verb 3rd sg. fulleþ* (Ω324) and <u> in the *noun hulle* (Ω363).

§ 67.16 In J OE *y* is <u> in the *adj. lutel/lutle* (Ω12, Ω47, Ω62 etc.); <u> in the *adv. lutel* (Ω142^{x2} and Ω273,); <u> in the *verb pp. ihud* (Ω78); <u> in the *noun fure/fur* (Ω44, Ω77, Ω159 etc.); <u> in the *verb inf. cuþe* (Ω102) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. cudde* (Ω200) and <i> in the *adv. hwi* (Ω110^{x2}).

§ 67.17 In M OE *y* is <u> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. ind.* **dude** (Ω2: OE *dyde*) the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **dude** (Ω200 and Ω375), the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **dude** (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω283) but <e> in the *verb pa. 1st pl.* **misdede** (Ω104) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **misdede** (Ω201); <e> in the *adj.* (vn)**net** (Ω5: OE *un-nyt*); <i> in the *verb inf.* **þinche** (Ω63), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þincþ/þincheþ** (Ω5, Ω246 and Ω368) but <e> in **þencheþ** (Ω212); <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-þincþ* (Ω137); <u> in the *verb inf.* **gulte** (Ω224); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **gultþ** (Ω93) but <e> in **agelteþ** (Ω326), <u> in the *verb pp.* **a-gult** (Ω11); <u> in the *noun* **gult** (Ω173) and the *pl.* **gultes** (Ω287); <u> in the *adj.* **muchel** (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in lW-S *ī* often becomes *ȳ* in the neighbourhood of labials: *micel* > *mycel* (Cambell §318); <u> in the *adv.* **muchel** (Ω25 and Ω61); <u> in the *noun* **muchel** (Ω370); <e> in the *noun* **euel** (Ω20, Ω60, Ω71 etc.); <e> in the *adj.* (for the *sg.* & *pl.*) **euele/euel** (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126 etc.); <e> in the *adv.* **euele** (Ω179); <i> in the *adv.* **auiurst** (Ω38); <i> in the *noun* **king** and **heuenkinge** (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE *cýning*) and *pl.* **kinges** (Ω335); <u> in the *verb inf.* **bugge** (Ω66); <i> in the *adj.* **suich** (Ω81^{x2} and Ω416), **suicchne** (Ω416) and the *adj. pl.* **suiche** (Ω231); <e> in the *noun* **lefte** (Ω85); before *h* it is <i> in the *noun* **drizte/drizten** (Ω115, Ω136, Ω185 etc.); <u> in *sg.* **sunne** (Ω203, Ω212, Ω218 etc.) but <e> in the *noun* **senne** (Ω134, Ω319 and Ω351) and *pl.* **sennes** (Ω251); <e> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **sunezede** (Ω271) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **sunezede** (Ω297); the *adj.* **huiche** (Ω143); <e> in the *noun* **stecche** (Ω198); <u> in the *noun* **kunne** (Ω213), <i> in (man)**kinne** (Ω318) and <e> in (man)**kenne** (Ω352 and Ω354) and **kenne** (Ω376); <e> in the *noun* **unpenne** (Ω219); <e> in the *verb inf.* **ileste** (Ω237); <i> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **tihte** (Ω283); <e> in the *verb inf.* **felle** (Ω364) and the *verb 3rd sg.* **felþ/uelleþ** (Ω324 and Ω325) and <u> in the *noun* **hulle** (Ω363).

§ 67.18 In M OE *y* is <i> in the *adj.* **litel/litle** (Ω12, Ω47, Ω62 etc.) and the *adj.* **lite** (Ω212); the *adv.* **lite** (Ω142^{x2}) and the *adv.* **litel** (Ω273); <u> in the *noun* **fure/fur** (Ω44, Ω77, Ω260 etc.); <u> in the *verb inf.* **cuþe** (Ω102) and <e> in the *verb pp.* (vn)**hed** (Ω168).

§ 68 OE *u*

In OE *u* was probably already open [u]. The first examples of <u> written for *u* are found in the second half of the twelfth century with <u> still scattered until the second half of the thirteenth century when the graphical substitution was brought about in imitation of AN <u> and for clarity in the neighbourhood of similarly formed letters like <m, n, u, v, w>. (Jordan § 37).

§ 68.1 In T OE *u* is <u> in the *verb inf.* **cumen/cume** (Ω27, Ω164, Ω183 etc.), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **cumeð** (Ω74 and Ω210: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t), cymeð, cymþ* forms occur by i-umlaut), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **cumeð** (Ω129 and Ω247), <u> in the *pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. **cume** (Ω163); <u> in the *verb inf.* **punien/punie** (Ω160, Ω188, Ω221 etc.), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **punieð** (Ω143), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **punieð** (Ω385), the *verb pp.* **puned** (Ω58) and the *verb as a noun pl.* in **puniinges** (Ω373); <u> in the *noun grunde* (Ω187 and Ω310); <u> in the *noun sune* (Ω195); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **bigunnen** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **bigunne** (Ω225).

§ 68.2 In L OE *u* is <u> in the *verb inf.* **cumen** (Ω27, Ω163, Ω164 etc.) but <o> in **come** (Ω232), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **kumeð** (Ω74: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t), cymeð, cymþ* forms occur by i-umlaut), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd pl. **come** (Ω129), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **cumeð** (Ω247); <u> in the *verb inf.* **punien** (Ω160, Ω188), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **puneð** (Ω143), <o> in the *verb pp.* **iponed** (Ω58); <u> in the *noun grunde* (Ω187); <u> in the *noun sune* (Ω195); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **bigunnen** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **bigunne** (Ω225).

§ 68.3 In D OE *u* is <o> in the *verb inf.* **comen/come** (Ω27, Ω164, Ω232 etc.) but <u> in **cumen** (Ω183 and Ω417), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **cumð** (Ω74: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t), cymeð, cymþ* forms occur by i-umlaut), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd pl. **come** (Ω129), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **cumeð** (Ω247), <o> in the *pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. **come** (Ω163); <u> in the *verb inf.* **punie** (Ω160 and Ω389) but <o> in **ponien** (Ω188), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **poneð** (Ω143), the *verb pp.* **iponed** (Ω58), and the *verb as a noun pl.* in **poniinge** (Ω373); <u> in the *noun grunde* (Ω187 and Ω310); <u> in the *noun sune* (Ω195); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **agunne** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **bigunne** (Ω225).

§ 68.4 In E2 OE *u* is <u> in the *verb inf.* **cume/cumen** (Ω27, Ω164, Ω183 etc.), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **cumeð** (Ω74: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t), cymeð, cymþ* forms occur by i-umlaut), <u> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd pl. **cume** (Ω129), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **cumeð** (Ω247), <u> in the *pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. **cume** (Ω163); <u> in the *verb inf.* **punien/punie** (Ω160 and Ω188), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **puneð** (Ω143), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **punieð** (Ω385), the *verb pp.* **ipuned** (Ω58), and the *verb as a noun pl.* in **pununges** (Ω373); <u> in the *noun grunde* (Ω187 and Ω310); <u> in the *noun sune* (Ω195); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **bigunne** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **bigunne** (Ω225).

§ 68.5 In E1 OE *u* is <o> in the *verb inf.* **comen/come** (Ω27, Ω164, Ω183 etc.), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **comeð** (Ω74: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t)*, *cymedð*, *cymb* forms occur by i-umlaut), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd pl. **come** (Ω129), <o> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **comeð** (Ω247), <u> in the *pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. **cume** (Ω163); <u> in the *verb inf.* **punien/punie** (Ω160, Ω188 and Ω389), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **punet** (Ω143), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **punied** (Ω385), the *verb pp.* **ipunied** (Ω58), and the *verb* as a *noun pl.* in **punienges** (Ω373); <u> in the *noun* **grunde** (Ω187 and Ω310); <u> in the *noun* **sune** (Ω195); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **bi-gunne** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **gunne** (Ω225).

§ 68.6 In J OE *u* is <u> in the *verb inf.* **cumen/cume** (Ω27, Ω163, Ω183 etc.), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **cumedð** (Ω74: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t)*, *cymedð*, *cymb* forms occur by i-umlaut), <u> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd pl. **cume** (Ω129), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **cumep** (Ω247); <u> in the *verb inf.* **wunýe/wunýen** (Ω160, Ω188 and Ω389), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **wunep** (Ω143), the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd pl. **wunep** (Ω385), the *verb pp.* **iwuned** (Ω58) but <o> in the *verb* as a *noun pl.* in **wonýnges** (Ω373); <u> in the *noun* **grunde** (Ω187 and Ω310); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **bý-gunne** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **bi-gunne** (Ω225) but <o> in the *noun* **sone** (Ω195).

§ 68.7 In M OE *u* is <o> in the *verb inf.* **come** (Ω27, Ω183, Ω232 etc.), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd sg. **cumb** (Ω74: note: in OE *ind. pr.* 2nd and 3rd sg. *cymes(t)*, *cymedð*, *cymb* forms occur by i-umlaut), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd pl. **come** (Ω129); <o> in the *verb inf.* **ponie** (Ω160 and Ω188) and the *verb* as a *noun pl.* in **ponieggas** (Ω373); <u> in the *noun* **grunde** (Ω187); <u> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd pl. **bigunne** (Ω256) and the *sbj. pa.* 3rd sg. **bigunne** (Ω225).

Long vowels:

§ 69 OE *a*

§ 69.1 OE *a*, which according to evidence of very rare <ō> writings in late OE (*stan* became *stōn*) had a somewhat more back sound, in ME this became more neutralized to very open [ɑ:] in the South and ML whilst *a* remained in Northern English but was fronted and raised early in the thirteenth century.

§ 69.2 Neutralization began at the beginning of the twelfth century in the WS area, simultaneously probably in Kent. It spread in the second half of the twelfth century to almost the southern half of the Midlands, and almost the whole in the thirteenth century. During the thirteenth century it had reached most of the West. (Jordan § 44 and Mossé § 27)

§ 69.3 In the CL E2 still writes predominantly <a> where the somewhat more Northern but slightly later E1 has more evidence of <ō>. L preserves <a> (a feature of the AB dialect) where J, from the second half of the thirteenth century, which often shares AB features with L, writes mainly <ō> with sporadic <a>.

§ 69.4 In T OE *a* is <ō> in the *noun* **lore** (Ω1); it is <ō> in the *card. quant.* **on/one/ore** (Ω29, Ω68 (*pron.*), Ω144 etc.: OE *an*), the *adj.* **one** (Ω88, Ω115, Ω377 etc.: ModE *alone*), for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (Ω198)⁸⁶⁸ but **on** (Ω347 and Ω360^{x2}), the *adj.* **no/non/none/non/nones** (Ω51^{x2}, Ω60, Ω118 etc. OE *nan*), as part of the *noun* **noman/no-man** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), the *adj.* as *noun* in **no-more** (Ω370), the *adv.* **no** (Ω141) and **nomore/no-more** (Ω133 and Ω134), the *pron.* **non** (Ω115 and Ω252); <ō> in the *noun* **ore** (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the *adj.* **oreleas** (Ω227); <ō> in the *noun* **loc** (Ω74) but **lac** (Ω210: repetition of line Ω74); <ō> in the *adj.* **pori** (Ω151); <a> in the *noun* **aquerne** (Ω379); <ō> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bihoteð** (Ω39: *note that in the MSS it is written biha\o/teð*) but <a> in the *contracted form* **bihat** (Ω381); <a> in the *comp. adj.* **hatere** (Ω260) and <a> in the *contracted form* of the *verb. pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **hat** (Ω319).

§ 69.5 In L OE *a* is <a> in the *noun* **lare** (Ω1); it is <a> in the *card. quant.* **an/are/ane** (Ω29, Ω216, Ω218 etc.: OE *an*). The writing of **enne** at Ω144 is a result of *æ* *i*-umlaut of *a* in the *acc. masc.* cf. §.), the *adj.* **ane** (Ω88 and Ω115: ModE *alone*); for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (Ω198: see footnote 325); the *adj.* **nan/na/nane** (Ω60^{x2}, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE *nan*), as part of the *noun* **na-mon/namon** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), however, it is written **nenne. mon** (Ω124: *acc. masc.*), the *adv.* **na** (Ω141) but **ne-mare** (Ω133), <a> in the *pron.* **nan** (Ω115 and Ω252); <a> in the *noun* **are** (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132,) and the *adj.* **areleas** (Ω227); <a> in the *noun* **lac** (Ω74); <ō> in the *adj.* **pori** (Ω151); <a> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bihateð** (Ω39) and <a> in the *comp. adj.* **hatere** (Ω260).

⁸⁶⁸ OED, The word shows shortening of the long vowel of Old English *ān* when unstressed in proclitic use as indefinite article.

This probably occurred before 1150, and hence before the rounding of *ā* in southern and midland Middle English dialects in the 12th and thirteenth century took effect.

§ 69.6 In D OE *a* is <o> in the *noun* **lore** (Ω1); it is <o> in the *card. quant.* **on/one** (Ω29, Ω68 (*pron.*), Ω216 etc.: OE *an*), the *adj.* **one** (Ω88, Ω115, Ω377 etc.: ModE *alone*), for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (Ω198: see footnote 325) but **one** (Ω360^{x2}), the *adj.* **non/no/none** (Ω60^{x2}, Ω118, Ω248 etc. OE *nan*) and as part of the *noun* **no-man** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), however, it is written **nenne-mon** (Ω124: *acc. masc.*), <o> in the *adj.* as *noun* in **no-more** (Ω370), the *pron.* **non** (Ω115, Ω177 and Ω252), it is written <a> in the *adv.* **nammore** (Ω133); <o> in the *noun* **ore** (Ω54, Ω132, Ω135 etc.); <o> in the *noun* **loc** (Ω74); <o> in the *adj.* **pori** (Ω151); <o> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bihoteð** (Ω39) but <a> in the *contracted form* **bihat** (Ω381); <o> in the *comp. adj.* **hotter** (Ω260) and <o> in the *contracted form* of the *verb. pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **hot** (Ω319).

§ 69.7 In E2 OE *a* is <o> in the *noun* **lore** (Ω1); it is <a> in the *card. quant.* **an/anne/ane** (Ω29, Ω144, Ω216 etc.: OE *an*), the *adj.* **ane** (Ω88, Ω115, Ω377 etc.: ModE *alone*), for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (Ω198: see footnote 325) but **ane** (Ω347 and Ω360^{x2}); the *adj.* **nan/na/nane** (Ω60^{x2}, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE *nan*) and as part of the *noun* **no-man** (Ω25) but **nanman/na-man/nan-me/naman** (Ω38, Ω114, Ω117 etc.), and **nanne-mon** (Ω124: *acc. masc.*), the *adj.* as *noun* in **namore** (Ω370), the *adv.* **na** (Ω141) and **na-mare** (Ω133), the *pron.* **nan** (Ω115, Ω172 and Ω252); <a> in the *noun* **are** (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the *adj.* **arelies** (Ω227); <a> in the *noun* **lac** (Ω74); <o> in the *adj.* **pori** (Ω151); <a> in the *noun* **aquerne** (Ω379); <a> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bi-hateð** (Ω39) and in the *contracted form* **bi-hat** (Ω381); <a> in the *comp. adj.* **hattre** (Ω260); <e> in the *contracted form* of the *verb. pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **het** (Ω319: this is not *dialectal*. scribe uses the *pa.* form).

§ 69.8 In E1 OE *a* is <o> in the *noun* **lore** (Ω1); it is <o> in the *card. quant.* **on/one/ore** (Ω29, Ω218, Ω224, Ω396 and Ω397: OE *an*) but **anne/ane** (Ω144 and Ω216), for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (Ω198: see footnote 325) but **one** (Ω347) and **ane** (Ω360^{x2}), the *adj.* **one** (Ω88, Ω115, Ω377 etc.: ModE *alone*), the *adj.* **non/no/none** (Ω60^{x2}, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE *nan*) and as part of the *noun* **no-man/noman** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω172 etc.) but **na-man** (Ω114), and **nanne-mon** (Ω124: *acc. masc.*), the *adj.* as *noun* in **no-more** (Ω370), the *adv.* **no** (Ω141) but <a> in **na-mare** (Ω133) although it is **no-more** in the following line (Ω134), <a> in the *pron.* **nan** (Ω115) but **non** (Ω252); <o> in the *noun* **ore/hore** (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the *adj.* **oreles** (Ω227); <o> in the *noun* **loc** (Ω74); <o> in the *adj.* **pori** (Ω151); <o> in the *noun* **ocquerne** (Ω379); <o> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bi-hotet** (Ω39) but <a> in the *contracted form* **bi-hat** (Ω381); <a> in the *comp. adj.* **hatere** (Ω260) and <a> in the *contracted form* of the *verb. pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **hat** (Ω319).

§ 69.9 In J OE *a* is <o> in the *noun* **lore** (Ω1); it is <o> in the *card. quant.* **on/one/ore** (Ω29, Ω216, Ω218 etc.: OE *an*. The writing of **enne** at Ω144 is a result of *ǣ* *i*-umlaut of *a* in the *acc. masc.* cf. §.), the *adj.* **one/on** (Ω377, Ω381, Ω393 etc.: ModE *alone*), for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (198: see footnote) but **one** (Ω347); the *adj.* **non/no/none** (Ω60^{x2}, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE *nan*) and as part of the *noun* **nomon/no-mon** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), but <a> in the *adj.* as *noun* **namore** (Ω370), the *adv.* **no** (Ω141) but <a> in **na-more** (Ω133), <o> in the *pron.* **non** (Ω115 and Ω252); <o> in the *noun* **ore** (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the *adj.* **ore-les** (Ω227); <o> in the *noun* **lok** (Ω74); <o> in the *adj.* **porie** (Ω151); <a> in the *noun* **acquerne** (Ω379); <o> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bihoteþ** (Ω39) but <a> in the *contracted* form **bihat** (Ω381); <a> in the *comp. adj.* **hatture** (Ω260) and <a> in the *contracted* form of the *verb. pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **hat** (Ω319).

§ 69.10 In M OE *a* is <o> in the *noun* **lore** (Ω1); the *quant. card.* **ore/one** (Ω216, Ω218, Ω224 etc.), the *adj.* **one** (Ω88, :ModE *alone*), the *adj.* **one** (Ω381 etc.: ModE *alone*), for the *adj.* that corresponds to the ModE *indefinite article* we find **a** (Ω198: see footnote) but **one** (Ω347); the *adj.* **no/non/none** (Ω51, Ω60, Ω118 etc. OE *nan*) and as part of the *noun* **nomon/no-man** (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.) but **nanne-mon** (Ω124: *acc. masc.*), the *adj.* as *noun* **namore** (Ω370) and the *adv.* **namore** (Ω133 and Ω134), <o> in the *pron.* **non** (Ω115 and Ω252); <o> in the *noun* **ore** (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the *adj.* **oreles** (Ω227); <o> in the *noun* **loc** (Ω74); <o> in the *adj.* **pori** (Ω151); <o> in the *noun* **okerne** (Ω379); <o> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **bihoteþ** (Ω39) and in the *contracted* form **bihot** (Ω381); <a> in the *comp. adj.* **hatter** (Ω260) and <e> in the *contracted* form of the *verb. pr. ind.* 3^d sg. **het** (Ω319: this is not *dialectal*. The scribe uses the *pa.* form).

§ 70 OE *ǣ*

It is important to differentiate when dealing with *ǣ* whether the sound derives from the fronting of Prim. Gmc. *ǣ* from WGmc. **a*. (see Campbell §128) or is a product of the *i* or *j*-mutation of OE *a* deriving from WGmc. **ai* (see Campbell §197).

§ 71 OE *ǣ*₁ (Angl. Kent. <e> /e:/, WGmc. *a*)

OE *ǣ* prevails in the Saxon area and spreads northward into EML, while in Anglian and in Kentish /e:/ generally prevailed. It is difficult to establish the difference in ME between Saxon *ǣ* and Angl.-Kent <e> /e:/ because of the disappearance of the writing <ǣ>. WS *ǣ* (< WGmc *a*) developed into Southern ME /e:/, but Mercian *e* (< WGmc. *a*) developed into Midland ME /e:/ . Since ME /e:/ and /ɛ:/ are both spelled <e>, a valuable criterion is the shortening, since shortened *ǣ* yields *a* in Sax. *radde*, *dradde*, *naddre* against Angl.-Kent *redde*, *dredde*, *neddre*. OE *strǣt/stret* = ME *strat/stret*. (cf. Jordan § 49 for a fuller discussion of this and the geographical boundaries).

§ 72 OE \bar{a}_2 (<i or j- mutation of OE a (< WGmc $*ai$))

- § 72.1 OE \bar{a} prevails in the whole area except Kent and gives ME / ϵ /, written <e> beside the old < \bar{a} > sign. As a result of the change of $ea > \bar{a}$ / ϵ / the inverse writing <ea> also appears which, however, becomes very infrequent after the middle of the thirteenth century
- § 72.2 OE \bar{a} was narrowed to e in Kentish already in OE, and / ϵ /, written <e>, continued in ME for this dialect. (Jordan § 49 and Mossé § 28)

§ 73 East Saxon a out of \bar{a}_1 and \bar{a}_2

OE \bar{a} became a in a limited area of the SEML near London (comprising the counties of Essex, Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon and a part of the county of Cambridge). This occurred somewhat simultaneously with the more general narrowing to / ϵ / and / e / which took place in the other regions. The a sound penetrated also to London from the beginning of the thirteenth century and is still found in MSS of the fourteenth century before being supplanted by / ϵ / or Angl. e . (Jordan § 50 and Mossé § 28: Remark IV)

OE \bar{a} in the *CL*:

OE \bar{a}_1 (Angl. Kent. <e> / ϵ /, WGmc. a)

- § 74 In the following, OE \bar{a}_1 is written <e>, unless stated, in all texts apart from T. OE \bar{a}_1 in T will be dealt with separately (including where it is written <e>) in §.76.
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- § 74.1 The *noun* **dede** (Ω3, Ω91: D and M - *pl.* form in all other MSS), the *noun pl.* **dede/deden** (Ω10, Ω91: L, E2, E1 and J - *sg.* in D and M, and Ω160), the *noun* **misdede** (Ω216) and the *noun pl.* **mis-dede/ misdede/mýsdede/misdeden/mis-deden** (Ω137, Ω173: not in J and Ω286: not in L).
- § 74.2 The *noun* **rede** (Ω4, Ω92 and Ω127: D only), the *verb pr. subj.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *sg.* **rede** (Ω165) and the *verb pa.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *pl* **redde** (Ω179 (L only).⁸⁶⁹
- § 74.3 The *noun* **iselþe/iselðe/ý-selþe/selhþe/selþe** (Ω16), the *noun pl.* **uniselðe/vniselðe/ vnýselý þe/unselþe** (Ω207: <a> in E1 cf. § 75.1) and the *adj.* **unsele/un-sele/vn-ýsele** (Ω208 (not in D and J)).
- § 74.4 The *verb inf.* **adreden/adrede/a-drede/ondrede/of-drede** (Ω166: <a> in in **adrade** in E1 cf. § 75.1, Ω217: not in D), the *verb pr. ind.* $\mathfrak{1}^{st}$ *sg.* **adrede/a-drede** (Ω6), the *verb pp. pl.* **of-dred/ofdred/of-dredde/adred** (Ω44: <a> in E1 cf. § 75.1, Ω96: not in J, Ω166: <a> in E1 cf. § 75.1; not in J) and the *verb pr. subj.* $\mathfrak{3}^d$ *pl.* **drede** (Ω96: J only).
- § 74.5 The *verb pp. pl.* **afered/aferd** (Ω44: M only, Ω166: J and M only, Ω299: M only).
- § 74.6 The *noun* **strete/stret** (Ω244, Ω353, Ω357 and Ω358: none of these readings are found in L).
- § 74.7 The *noun* **neddren** (Ω288: E2 and J, <a> in D and E1 cf. § 75.2 and § 75.1, not in L).
- § 74.8 The *noun* **leche** (Ω317: <ia> in E1 cf. § 75.5; not in L).
- § 74.9 The *noun pl.* **pepnen/pepne/wepnen** (Ω352: not in L).

⁸⁶⁹ This assumes that this form derives from the weak form of the *verb* in OE, whereas, it is also possible that it descends from the strong form in the past tense (OE *redde*)

- § 74.10 The *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. leteð/leted/leteþ* (Ω133: <a> in L cf. § 75.3) and in the *cont. form let* (Ω134: not in E2 and J), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. lete* (Ω318, Ω353: <a> in E1 cf. § 75.1, neither reading in L), the *verb inf. lete/leten* (Ω357: <æ> in T and E2 cf. § 76 and § 75.2, not in L).
- § 74.11 The *adj. mere/mer* (Ω406: D, E1 and M).

§ 75 Exceptions to <e> written for OE æ₁ in L, D, E2, E1, J and M

The writing of <a> for OE æ₁:

- § 75.1 In E1 OE æ is <a> in the *noun pl. vnisalþe* (Ω207); <a> in the *verb inf. adrade* (Ω166) and in the *verb pp. pl. of-drad/of-drard* (Ω44, Ω166, Ω299: <e> in Ω96 cf. § 74.4); the *noun naddren* (Ω288) and the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. late* (Ω353: <e> in Ω318 cf. § 74.10).
- § 75.2 In D OE æ is <a> in the *noun naddren* (Ω288).
- § 75.3 In L OE æ is <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. latheð* (Ω133: <e> in the *cont. form* at Ω134 cf. § 74.10).
- § 75.4 The writing of <æ> for OE æ₁ occurs in E2, the MSS version with the most conservative writing, in the *verb inf. forlæte* (Ω357).
- § 75.5 The writing of <ia> for OE æ₁ is present in E1 in the *noun liache* (Ω317).
- § 75.6 The writing of <ea> for OE æ₁ is present in E1 in the *noun un-sealþe* (Ω391).

§ 76 OE æ₁ in T

OE æ₁ is mostly written <a> in T (cf. § and §), with exceptions noted:

In T OE æ is <a> in the *noun dade* (Ω3), the *noun pl. dade* (Ω10, Ω91 and Ω160) and the *noun pl. misdade* (Ω137, Ω173 and Ω286) but written <e> in the *sg. misdede* (Ω216); OE æ is <a> in the *noun rade* (Ω4 and Ω92) and the *verb pr. sbj. 3^d sg. rade* (Ω165); OE æ is <a> in the *nouns sg. and pl. unisalðe* (Ω207 and Ω391) but <e> in the *noun iselðe* (Ω16) and in the *adj. unsele* (Ω208); OE æ is <a> in the *verb inf. ofdrade* (Ω166 and Ω217), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. adrade* (Ω6) and the *verb pp. pl. ofdrad/ofdradde* (Ω44, Ω96 and Ω299); the *noun strate* (Ω244, Ω351, Ω357 and Ω358); the *noun naddren* (Ω288); the *noun lache* (Ω317); the *noun pl. papne* (Ω352); the *verb inf. laten* (Ω38) but <æ> in *læte* (Ω357), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. lateð* (Ω133) and in the *cont. form lat* (Ω134), the *verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. late* (Ω318 and Ω353); however, it is <e> in the *adj. mere* (Ω406).

§ 77 The *adv.* OE *þær*

The *adv.* OE *þær* has been dealt with separately here as there is considerable variation:

- § 77.1 T is nearly always <a> in *þar*/*þare* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *þar-fore* (Ω153), *þar-inne* (Ω186 and Ω263), *þar-on* (Ω6), *þar-pið* (Ω315) but <ia> in *þiar* (Ω172).
- § 77.2 L and D always write <e> in *þer*/*þere* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *þer-fore*/*þeruore* (Ω153), *þer-inne*/*þerinne* (Ω186, Ω233: not in L, and Ω263), *þer-to*, *þerwið* (Ω315: not in L) and the *cj.* *þer-hwile*/*þer-pile* (Ω22 and Ω41).
- § 77.3 E2 is nearly always <e> in *ðer*/*þer*/*þere*/*ðere* (Ω45, Ω49, Ω53 etc.), *þer-fore* (Ω153), *ðer-inne* (Ω186, Ω233), *þer-pið* (Ω315) but <a> in *þar* (Ω46 and Ω306) and <æ> in *þære* (Ω102: cf. §).
- § 77.4 E1 is nearly always <e> in *þer*/*þere*/*þþer* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *þere-fore* (Ω153), *þer-inne* (Ω186 and Ω233), *þer-pið* (Ω315) but <eo> in *þeor* (Ω288), <o> in *þor* (Ω244), <a> in *þar* (Ω112) and in *þar-inne* (Ω188).
- § 77.5 J is most often <e> in *þer* (Ω46, Ω49, Ω53 etc.), *þer-in* (Ω186), *þer-of* (Ω339) but occasionally (8 times) <a> in *þar* (Ω45, Ω143, Ω221 etc.), *þar-vore* (Ω153) and *þar-inne* (Ω263).
- § 77.6 M is always <a> in *þar*/*þare* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *þare-vore* (Ω153), *þar-inne*/*þarinne* (Ω186, Ω233), *þar-of* (Ω243) and *þar-to* (Ω113).

OE *æ̃*₂ (<*i* or *j*-mutation of OE *a* (< WGmc **ai*))

- § 78 In the following, OE *æ̃*₂ resulting from the *i*-mutation of OE *a*, is written <e>, unless stated, in all texts apart from T. OE *æ̃*₂ in T will be dealt with separately (including where it is written <e>).

- § 78.1 The *adj. sg.* and *pl. mest* (Ω7, Ω13: not in J and M, Ω62 etc.)⁸⁷⁰ and the *adv. mest* (Ω228).
- § 78.2 The *adv. er* (Ω13: <æ> in E2 and E1 cf. § 79.1 and § 79.2, not in D and M, Ω23: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1 cf. § 79.3, <ea> in J cf. § 79.8, not in D, Ω164: not in E2) and the *cj. er/ere* (Ω18: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1 cf. § 79.3, Ω129: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <ae> in E1 cf. § 79.2, not in J).
- § 78.3 The *noun sg.* and *pl. un-helþe/unhelðe/unhelþe/vnhelþe/hunhelðe/vnhelþe/vnhelðe/vn-helðe* (Ω17, Ω206, Ω338: not in L, etc.).
- § 78.4 The *adj.* (OE *æ̃fre æ̃lc*) *eurich/euerich/eure-elc/eure-ilc/everuȝch* (Ω33: D and M only - L and J write forms of OE *æ̃lc*, Ω66: not in L which writes *ech*, Ω122: E2 and E1 only), the *adv. eure/euer/euere/efre* (Ω88: L, D and E1, <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, Ω160: not in D, *eueremore* in M, Ω250 etc.) and *eure-ma/euer-mo/eure-ma/eure-mo/euer-more/eueremore* (Ω111, Ω160: M only, Ω209: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1).

⁸⁷⁰ OED: Old English *māst*, the normal Old English development of the Germanic form, is attested only in Northumbrian, but it is not certain whether it existed only in that region. The vowel quality of the usual Old English form (West Saxon *māst*, Kentish *mēst*) is unusual. It may have been formed by analogy with *lāst* (or perhaps by *i*-mutation from an earlier form in *ā*, although this presents phonological difficulties).

- § 78.5 The *noun* **lest/leste** (Ω62); the *noun sg.* and *pl.* **hese/hesne/hes/isest** (sic.)/**heste** (Ω93, Ω307: not in L and M, and Ω361: not in L); the *verb inf.* **mene/menen/bimene** (Ω177); the *verb pa. 3rd pl.* **arerde** (Ω179 (not in L which mistakenly writes **redde**. See §.)); the *adv.* **enes** (Ω192: D writes **ones**, see § 79.9); the *noun* **hete** (Ω206 (<e> in Trin. at Ω206), Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 etc.) and the *verb inf.* **teche** (Ω316: <ea> in E1 cf. § 79.8).
- § 78.6 The *verb pp.* **iled** (Ω5: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1, J and M, cf. § 79.3, § 79.4 and § 79.5); the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **lede** (Ω5); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **leden/ledde** (Ω95: <a> in E1 and M cf. § 79.3 and § 79.5, - J has the 3rd pl. form), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **ledeþ** (Ω95: J only, Ω220: L has the *pa.* form, Ω259: J only, all other MSS, apart from T, have *pa.* form), the *verb inf.* **leden/lede** (Ω128: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, Ω287: <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, Ω416: not in L and E2), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **ledden** (Ω220: L only – *pa.* form in all other MSS, Ω259: <a> in E1 cf. § 79.3 - J and T have the *pr.* form) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ledeð/let** (*cont.* form) (Ω354: <a> in E1 and J cf. § 79.3 and § 79.4, not in L).
- § 78.7 The *adj.* **eni/eny** (Ω54: <a> in D, E1 and M cf. § 79.6, § 79.3 and § 79.5, Ω284 <a> in L and D cf. § 79.7 and § 79.6, not in J and M) and as part of the *noun* **eni-mon/eni-man** (Ω68: <a> in D cf. § 79.6, <æ> in E2 cf. § 79.1, not in J and M).

§ 79 Exceptions to <e> written for OE \bar{a}_2 in L, D, E2, E1, J and M

The writing of <æ> for OE \bar{a}_2 :

- § 79.1 This is a regular feature of E2 (cf. § 72.1) which writes <æ> for \bar{a} in the *adv.* **ær** (Ω13 and Ω23) and *cj.* **ær** (Ω18 and Ω129); the *adj.* **æurich** (Ω33); the *adv.* **æure** (Ω88, Ω258, Ω292: <e> in Ω160 and Ω250 cf. § 78.4) and **æura-ma** (Ω209: <e> in Ω111 cf. § 78.4); the *verb pp.* **ilæd** (Ω5) and the *verb inf.* **læde/læden** (Ω128 and Ω287) (all other forms of this verb have <e> in E2 cf. § 78.6) and the *noun* **æniman** (Ω69: <e> in Ω54 cf. § 78.7).
- § 79.2 E1 writes <æ> (cf. § 72.1) for \bar{a} in the *adv.* **ær** (Ω13 <a> in Ω23 cf. § 79.3 and <e> in Ω164 cf. § 78.2) and the *adj.* **æfrech** (Ω33 <e> in Ω122 cf. § 78.4). E1 also writes <ae> for \bar{a} in the *cj.* **aer** (Ω129: <a> in Ω18 cf. § 79.3).

The writing of <a> (with shortening) for OE \bar{a}_2 :

- § 79.3 E1 writes <a> in the *adv.* **ar** (Ω23: <æ> in Ω13 cf. § 79.2 and <e> in Ω164 cf. § 78.2) and *cj.* **ar** (Ω18: <ae> in Ω129 cf. § 79.2). The writing of \bar{a}_2 as <a> also takes place in the *adj.* **ani** (Ω54). In E1, some <e> writings (cf. § 78.2) are present in the OE *verb* **lædan** but the more regular form is written with <a> in the *verb pp.* **ge-lad** (Ω5), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **ladde** (Ω95), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **ladde** (Ω259) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **lat** (*cont.* form) (Ω354).
- § 79.4 The more regular form for the OE *verb* **lædan** is written with <e> in J (cf. § 78.6) with <a> written in the *verb pp.* **ilad** (Ω5) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **lat** (*cont.* form) (Ω354).
- § 79.5 The more regular form for the OE *verb* **lædan** is written with <e> in M (cf. § 78.6) with <a> written in the *verb pp.* **ilad** (Ω5) and the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **ladde** (Ω95). The writing of \bar{a}_2 as <a> also takes place in the *adj.* **ani** (Ω54).
- § 79.6 In D the only place that <a> is written for \bar{a}_2 is in the *adj.* **ani/anie** (Ω54 and Ω284) and as part of the *noun* **ani-man** (Ω69).
- § 79.7 In L the only place that <a> is written for \bar{a}_2 is in the *adj.* **anige** (Ω284: <e> in Ω54 cf. § 78.7).

§ 79.8 The writing of <ea> (cf. § 72.1) for OE \bar{a}_2 is only present on two occasions in the MSS of the *CL*. E1 writes <ea> in the *verb inf.* **teache** (Ω316) and J writes <ea> for \bar{a} in the *adv.* **ear** (Ω23).

§ 79.9 The *adv.* **ones** in D:

D writes <o> in the *adv.* **ones** (Ω192) from OE $\bar{a}nes$; this was reshaped by analogy with ME **ones**, *sg. gen.* of **onnum.**, and common ME adverbs in -es (MED) and cannot be seen as representing a change from \bar{a}_2 .

§ 80 OE \bar{a}_2 in T

§ 80.1 In T OE \bar{a}_2 is mostly written <a> (cf. §) in:

The *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **mast** (Ω7, Ω13, Ω62 etc. cf. footnote 328) and the *adv.* **mast** (Ω228); the *adv.* **ar** (Ω13, Ω23, Ω164 etc.) and the *cj.* **ar/are** (Ω18, Ω129); the *noun* **unhalðe** (Ω17, Ω206, Ω338 etc.); the *adj.* **afric/africh/afri** (Ω33, Ω66, Ω122: the compound of OE $\bar{a}fre$ $\bar{a}lc$); the *adv.* **afre** (Ω88, Ω160, Ω250 etc.) and **afremo** (Ω111 and Ω209); the *noun* **last** (Ω62); the *verb pp.* **ilad** (Ω5), the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **lade** (Ω5), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **ladden** (Ω95), the *verb inf.* **lade** (Ω128, Ω287 and Ω416), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **laded** (Ω220 and Ω259), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **lat** (*cont. form*) (Ω354); the *adj.* **ani** (Ω54 and Ω284) and the *noun* **ani-man** (Ω69); the *noun* **has** (Ω93 and Ω361: <ea> in the *pl.* form Ω307 cf. § 80.2); <a> in the *noun* **hate** (Ω245^{x2}, Ω246, Ω247 etc. <e> in Ω206 cf. § 80.2) the *verb inf.* **tache** (Ω316) and the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **tached** (Ω321).

§ 80.2 T retains <æ> (cf. § 72.1) in the *adv.* **ænes** (Ω192) and writes <ea> (cf. § 72.1) in the *pl.* **hease** (Ω307: <a> in the *sg.* form cf. § 80.1) but <e> in the *verb inf.* **mene** (Ω177) and <e> in the *noun* **hete** (Ω206 more regularly <a> cf. § 80.1).

§ 81 $\bar{a}lc$, *elc* and *ylc*.

The *adj.* and *pron.* ModE *each* are dealt with separately because of the differences already present in OE. In this period the vowel was dialectally shortened, and appears as $\bar{a}lc$, *elc* and *ylc*.⁸⁷¹ The forms in the *CL* might be seen as reflecting this divergence:

§ 81.1 T writes <e> in the *pron* **ech/elche** (Ω24, Ω167, Ω180 etc.) but **achen** (Ω362); the *adj.* is written <e> in **eche/elche** (Ω88, Ω91, Ω112 etc.) but <a> in **aches** (Ω244), written <e> in the *possessive adj.* **elches** (Ω92) but <a> in **alches/aches** (Ω233 and Ω384).

§ 81.2 L writes <e> in the *adj.* **ech/eche** (Ω33, Ω66, Ω122 etc.) and **helche** (Ω91) but **iliche** (Ω88) and in the *possessive adj.* **uches** (Ω92: cf. footnote 328) but **elches** (Ω233), <e> in the *pron.* **ec** (Ω180).

§ 81.3 D writes <e> in the *adj.* **ech/eche** (Ω88, Ω122, Ω91 etc.), the *poss. adj.* **eches** (Ω92) and the *pron.* **ech** (Ω167, Ω180, Ω315 etc.).

⁸⁷¹ OED: The Old English $\bar{a}lc$ with long vowel is perhaps the ancestor of our modern form; but already in the Old English period the vowel was dialectally shortened, and appears as $\bar{a}lc$, *elc*, and *ylc*. The two former gave rise to such Middle English forms as *alc(h)*, *ache*, *elch*; the Old English *ylc* seems to be recorded only in the (Mercian) Vesp. Psalter, but must have been widely diffused, as it became in southern Middle English *ulch* (*ü*), *ilch*, in west midland *uch* (*ü*), *ich*, and in east midland and north. *ilk*, which still survives in northern dialect and in Scots (In *Havelok* the form *ilc*, *ilkis* occas. reduced to *il* before a cons.)

- § 81.4 E2 writes <e> in the *adj.* **elche/elc/eche/ech** (Ω88, Ω91, Ω112 etc.) but <ea> (cf. § 72.1) in the *possessive adj.* **ealches** (Ω92) and <æ> (cf. § 72.1) in **æches/ælches** (Ω233 and Ω384), the *pron.* **elch/ech** (Ω167, Ω315) but <æ> (cf. § 72.1) in **æche/æch** (Ω362 and Ω373).
- § 81.5 E1 writes <e> in the *adj.* **elche/elch/elc** (Ω88, Ω91, Ω112 etc.) and *possessive adj.* **elches** (Ω92, Ω233 and Ω384); written <e> in the *pron.* **elc/elche** (Ω167, Ω362, Ω373) but <æ> (cf. § 72.1) in **æc** (Ω315).
- § 81.6 J writes <vȳ> in the *adj.* **vȳch** (Ω33, Ω120 and Ω314), **hvȳch** (Ω91 and Ω112), **vlche** (Ω244) - cf. footnote 328 - and <ew> in **ewiche** (Ω88), <vȳ> in the *possessive adj.* **vȳch/vȳche** (Ω92 and Ω384); <vȳ> in the *pron.* **vȳch** (Ω167, Ω362, Ω375) and <vi> in **vich** (Ω315).
- § 81.7 M writes <e> in the *adj.* **eche** (Ω91) and the *pron.* **eche** (Ω373) but <a> in the *possessive adj.* **aches** (Ω92).

OE vowels *i, e, o, u*

The vowels *i, e, o* and *u* remained in ME:

§ 82 OE *e*

Within this group belong: *e* as *i*-umlaut of *o* (see **glede**); Gmc. narrow *e*; and WGmc. final lengthened *e* (in pronouns like **he**, etc.). The sound remains and is mostly written <e>, with <ee>, especially in closed syllables, from the middle of the fourteenth century (Jordan § 51). In the *CL* all MSS retain OE /e:/ written <e>:

- § 82.1 In T OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron.* **3^d sg. (nom. masc.) he** (Ω14, Ω22, Ω24^{x2} etc.: **hie** in Ω119 and Ω324 is the *pl.* form used for *sg.*); the *verb pr ind* **3^d sg. deþ/deð** (Ω22, Ω43 and Ω228: - T writes the historical *pl.* form **doð**, with the vowel now transferred to the *sg.* by analogy, on eleven occasions); <e> in the *verb inf.* **iqueme** (Ω98), the *verb pp.* **iquemd** (Ω181), the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iquemde** (Ω284); *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb pr ind. 3^d sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131, Ω173), the *verb inf.* **bete(n)** (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <e> in the *verb pp. pl.* **(i)demd** (Ω111, Ω285) and *sg.* **idemð** (Ω180), the *verb inf.* **deme(n)** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the *verb pr ind. 3^d sg.* **demeð** (Ω124); <e> in the *noun* **deme** (Ω99); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229) and <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376).*

- § 82.2 In L OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron.* **3^d sg. (nom. masc.) he** (Ω14, Ω24^{x2}, Ω27 etc.); the *verb pr ind 3^d sg.* **deð/deþ** (Ω36, Ω43, Ω57 etc.); <e> in the *verb inf.* **iquemen** (Ω98), the *verb pp.* **iquemed** (Ω181), the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iquende** (Ω284); <e> in *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb pr ind. 3^d sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131, Ω173), the *verb inf.* **beten** (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <e> in the *verb pp. pl.* **idemet** (Ω111), **fordemet** (Ω285) and *sg.* **idemet** (Ω180), the *verb inf.* **(bi)deme(n)** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the *verb pr ind. 3^d sg.* **demeð** (Ω124); <e> in the *noun* **deme** (Ω99); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); <e> in the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377^{x2}) and <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376).*

§ 82.3 In D OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron. 3^d sg. (nom. masc.)* **he** (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.: **hi** Ω142 and Ω383 *pl.* form used for *sg.*); the *verb pr ind 3^d sg.* **deð** (Ω36, Ω43, Ω54 etc. – D also often writes the historical *pl.* form **doð**, with the vowel now transferred to the *sg.* by analogy); <e> in the *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.)* **bet** (Ω131) and **beteð** (Ω173), the *verb inf.* **(i)beten** (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <e> in the *verb pp. pl.* **idemd** (Ω111), **vordemde** (Ω285) and *sg.* **idemeð** (Ω180), the *verb inf.* **deme(n)** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **demeð** (Ω124); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); <e> in the *adj.* **eche(s)** (Ω377^{x2}); <e> in the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **ikuemde** (Ω284) and <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376).

§ 82.4 In E2 OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron. 3^d sg. (nom. masc.)* **he** (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.); the *verb pr ind 3^d sg.* **deþ/deð** (Ω22, Ω36, Ω43 etc.) but <ie> in **dieð** (Ω248); <e> in the the *verb inf.* **cpeman** (Ω98), the *verb pp.* **icpemed** (Ω181), the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iquemde** (Ω284); <e> in *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb inf.* **bete(n)** (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.)* **bet** (Ω173); <e> in the *verb pp. pl.* **idemd** (Ω111), **fordemde** (Ω285) and *sg.* **idemed** (Ω180), the *verb inf.* **deme(n)** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **demeð** (Ω124); <e> in the *noun* **demen** (Ω99); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); <e> in the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377^{x2}); <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376); but <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.)* **beot** (Ω131: OE *bētan*).

§ 82.5 In E1 OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron. 3^d sg. (nom. masc.)* **he** (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.); the *verb pr ind 3^d sg.* **deþ/ded/det/deð** (Ω22, Ω36, Ω43 etc.); <e> in the *verb inf.* **i-queme** (Ω98), the *verb pp.* **iquemed** (Ω181), the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iquemde** (Ω284); the *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.)* **bet** (Ω131) and **beted** (Ω173), the *verb inf.* **beten** (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <e> in the *verb pp. pl.* **i-demd** (Ω111), **for-dempde** (Ω285) and *sg.* **idemed** (Ω180), the *verb inf.* **deme(n)** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **demed** (Ω124); <e> in the *noun* **demen** (Ω99); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); <e> in the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377^{x2}) and <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376).

§ 82.6 In J OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron. 3^d sg. (nom. masc.)* **he** (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.: **heo** Ω122 *fem.* written for *masc.*); the *verb inf.* **queme** (Ω98), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **iquemeþ** (Ω284); <e> in the *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.)* **bet** (Ω131), the *verb inf.* **(i)bete** (Ω139 and Ω251); <e> in the *verb pp. pl.* **idemed** (Ω111), **for-demde** (Ω285) and *sg.* **ydemed** (Ω124), the *verb inf.* **deme** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.); <e> in the *noun* **demeþ** (sic) (Ω99); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); <e> in the *adj.* **eche** (Ω377^{x2}) and <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376).

Note - J always writes the historical *pl.* form for the *sg.* in **dopþ**, rather than <e>, with the vowel transferred. by analogy (Ω22, Ω43, Ω54 etc.).

§ 82.7 In M OE *e* is written <e> in the *pron. 3^d sg. (nom. masc.)* **he** (Ω22, Ω27, Ω33 etc.); the *verb pr ind 3^d sg.* **deþ** (Ω22, Ω36, Ω43 etc.: M uses the historical *pl.* form **doð**, with the vowel now transferred to the *sg.* by analogy, on three occasions: Ω54, Ω249 and Ω253); <e> in the *verb inf.* **ȳqueme** (Ω98), the *verb pp.* **iquemed** (Ω181), the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iquemde** (Ω284); <e> in the *verb pp.* **ibet** (Ω103 and Ω139), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. (cont.)* **bet** (Ω131), the *verb inf.* **bete** (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287), the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **bette** (Ω173); <e> in the *verb inf.* **deme** (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **demeþ** (Ω124), the *verb pp.* **ȳdemed** (Ω180) and *pl.* **uor-demde** (Ω285); <e> in the *noun* **deme** (Ω99); <e> in the *noun* **glede** (Ω229); <e> in the *adj.* **grene** (Ω353) and <e> in the *noun* **este** (Ω376).

§ 83 OE *ī*

§ 83.1 OE *ī* remains the same but is often written <y>, especially in proximity to the minims <n, m, u, v>. The <y> writing tends to be used more in final position and more frequently with length rather than shortness – there is some inconsistent evidence of this in J, which normally writes <ȳ> for *ī* (long or short) but writes <i> in **þriste** and **hwile** (cf. § 83.8).

§ 83.2 Long *ī* demonstrates rounding to /y:/, written <u>, in the Southern areas since the late OE period. In the CL E2 and E1 demonstrate this in the *poss. noun* **spunes** (Ω152: cf. § 83.6 and § 83.7).

§ 83.3 In T OE *ī* is written <i> in the *pron. 1st sg. poss.* **mi** (Ω2) and the *pron. 1st sg. poss. (pron. pl.)* **mine** (Ω315); <i> in the *adj. pl.* **þriste** (Ω20); <i> in the *cj.* **hpile** (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the *noun as adv.* **hpile** (Ω342); <i> in the *verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **abit** (Ω135), the *verb inf.* **abiden** (Ω145); <i> in the *noun as adv.* **time** (Ω137); <i> in the *noun* **pin(e)** (Ω151 and Ω376) and the *noun pl.* **pines** (Ω230: *friends*); <i> in the *poss. noun* **spines** (Ω152) etc.

§ 83.4 In L OE *ī* is written <i> in the *pron. 1st sg. poss.* **mi** (Ω2); <i> in the *adj. pl.* **þriste** (Ω20); the *cj.* **hpile** (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.); <i> in the *noun as adv.* **time** (Ω137); <i> in the *verb inf.* **abiden** (Ω145); <i> in the *noun* **pine** (Ω151); <i> in the *poss. noun* **spines** (Ω152) etc.

§ 83.5 In D OE *ī* is written <i> in the the *pron. 1st sg. poss.* **mi** (Ω2) and the *pron. 1st sg. poss. (pron. pl.)* **mine** (Ω315); <i> in the *adj. pl.* **þriste** (Ω20); <i> in the *cj.* **pile/hpile** (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the *noun as adv.* **hpile** (Ω342); <i> in the *verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **abit** (Ω135), the *verb inf.* **abiden** (Ω145); <i> in the *noun as adv.* **time** (Ω137); <i> in the *noun* **pin(e)** (Ω151 and Ω376) and the *noun pl.* **pine** (Ω230: *friends*); <i> in the *poss. noun* **spines** (Ω152) etc.

§ 83.6 In E2 OE *ī* is written <i> in the *pron. f^t sg. poss. mi* (Ω2) and the *pron. f^t sg. poss. (pron. pl.) mine* (Ω315); <i> in the *cj. hpile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the *noun as adv. hpile* (Ω342); <i> in the *adj. pl. þriste* (Ω20); <i> in the *noun as adv. time* (Ω137); <i> in the *verb inf. abide* (Ω145); <i> in the *noun pin(e)* (Ω151 and Ω376) and the *noun pl. pines* (Ω230: *friends*); but <u> in the *poss. noun spunes* (Ω152 cf. § 83.2) etc.

§ 83.7 In E1 OE *ī* is written <i> in the *pron. f^t sg. poss. mi* (Ω2) and the *pron. f^t sg. poss. (pron. pl.) mine* (Ω315); <i> in the *cj. hpile/hpyle/pile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the *noun hpile* (Ω156) and the *noun as adv. pile* (Ω342); <i> in the *verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3^d sg. abit* (Ω135), the *verb inf. abiden* (Ω145); <i> in the *noun as adv. time* (Ω137); <i> in the *noun pin(e)* (Ω151 and Ω376) and the *noun pl. pines* (Ω230: *friends*); but <u> in the *poss. noun spunes* (Ω152 cf. § 83.2) and <i> in the *adj. pl. þriste* (Ω20) etc.

§ 83.8 In J OE *ī* is written <ȳ> in the *pron. f^t sg. poss. mȳ* (Ω2) and the *pron. f^t sg. poss. (pron. pl.) mȳne* (Ω315); <i> in the *adj. pl. þriste* (Ω20); <i> in the *cj. hwile/hwil* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the *noun as adv. hwile* (Ω342); <ȳ> in the *noun as adv. tȳme* (Ω137); <ȳ> in the *verb inf. abyde* (Ω145); <ȳ> in the *noun wȳn(e)* (Ω151 and Ω376); and <ȳ> in the *poss. noun swȳnes* (Ω152) etc.

§ 83.9 In M OE *ī* is written <i> in the *pron. f^t sg. poss. mi* (Ω2) and the *pron. f^t sg. poss. (pron. pl.) mine* (Ω315); <i> in the *adj. pl. þriste* (Ω20); <i> in the *cj. phile/huile/hpil* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω33 etc.); <i> in the *verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3^d sg. abit* (Ω135); <i> in the *noun as adv. time* (Ω137); <i> in the *verb inf. abiden* (Ω145); <i> in the *noun pine* (Ω151) and the *noun pl. pines* (Ω230: *friends*) and <i> in the *poss. noun suines* (Ω152) etc.

§ 84 OE o

OE *o* remains in general in Southumbrian with later writing <oo> (not present in the *CL*). For Northern writing of <u> for *o* see Jordan § 54 – not dialectally applicable to *CL*.

§ 84.1 In T OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc.) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc. *Note* it is written <e> in *te* (Ω327 and Ω357); the *noun dom(e)* (Ω49, Ω94, Ω129 etc.), the *noun domes-dei* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domes-men* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boc* (Ω123 and Ω235); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d pl. come(n)* (Ω148 and Ω213) and *pa. f^t pl. come* (Ω341: the writing of <a> in *cam*, other instances of the *verb pa. f^t sg.* and *3^d sg.*, at Ω232, Ω148 and Ω213 is almost certainly caused by analogy with strong verbs of other classes); <o> in the *noun mone* (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.2 In L OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc. *Note* it is <e> in *te* (Ω113) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω20, Ω38, Ω40 etc.); the *noun dom(e)* (Ω49, Ω94, Ω129 etc.), the *noun domes-dei* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domes-men* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boke(n)* (Ω123 and Ω235); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. com* (Ω122, Ω202 and

Ω207), the *verb pa. 3^d pl. comen* (Ω148, Ω213), the *verb pa. 1st sg. com* (Ω232) and *pa. 1st pl. come* (Ω341) etc.

§ 84.3 In D OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc.) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the *noun dom(e)* (Ω94, Ω129, Ω131 etc.), the *noun domes-dai* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domesmen* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boc* (Ω123, Ω235 and Ω401); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. com* (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the *verb pa. 3^d pl. comen* (Ω148, Ω213), the *verb pa. 1st sg. com* (Ω232) and *pa. 1st pl. come* (Ω341); <o> in the *noun mone* (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.4 In E2 OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc.) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the *noun dom(e)* (Ω49, Ω94, Ω129 etc.), the *noun domesdei* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domes-men* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boc/boke* (Ω123 and Ω235); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. com* (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the *verb pa. 3^d pl. comen* (Ω148, Ω213), the *verb pa. 1st sg. com* (Ω232) and *pa. 1st pl. come* (Ω341); <o> in the *noun mone* (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.5 In E1 OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc.) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the *noun dom(e)* (Ω94, Ω129, Ω131 etc.), the *noun domesdai* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domes-men* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boc/boke* (Ω123, Ω235 and Ω401); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. come/com* (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the *verb pa. 3^d pl. comen* (Ω148, Ω213), the *verb pa. 1st sg. com* (Ω232) and *pa. 1st pl. come* (Ω341); <o> in the *noun mone* (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.6 In J OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc.) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the *noun dome* (Ω49, Ω94, Ω131 etc.), the *noun domesd-day* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domes-men* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boke* (Ω123 and Ω235) but <e> in *bec* (Ω401); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. com* (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207) and the *verb pa. 3^d pl. comen* (Ω213), the *verb pa. 1st sg. com* (Ω232) and *pa. 1st pl. comen* (Ω341); <o> in the *noun mone* (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.7 In M OE *o* is written <o> in the *prep. to* (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25^{x2} etc.) and when functioning as the *inf. mark. to* (Ω20, Ω38, Ω40 etc.); the *noun dome* (Ω49, Ω94, Ω131 etc.), the *noun domesdai* (Ω141) and the *noun pl. domesmen* (Ω269); <o> in the *noun boc* (Ω235); <o> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. com* (Ω202 and Ω207) and the *verb pa. 3^d pl. come* (Ω213), the *verb pa. 1st sg. com* (Ω232) and *pa. 1st pl. come* (Ω341); <o> in the *noun mone* (Ω290) etc.

OE *u*

- § 85 In eME <u> remains as the written form for OE *u*. Around 1200 <ou> first appears - a writing which penetrated into Anglo-Norman from Central French. This becomes gradually more frequent in the 2nd half of the thirteenth century with <ow> prevailing in final position. (Jordan § 55). The *CL* retains <u> in all MSS.
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- § 85.1 In T OE *u* is written <u> in the *adv.* **nu** (Ω1, Ω13, Ω17 etc.); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre** (Ω58^{x2}, Ω64, Ω65^{x2} etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88 and Ω134^{x2}); the *adv.* **hpu** (Ω143, Ω301^{x2}, Ω342^{x2} and Ω409) etc.
-
- § 85.2 In L OE *u* is written <u> in the *adv.* **nu** (Ω1, Ω13, Ω17 etc.) and **nuðe** (Ω10 and Ω257); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre/hure** (Ω58^{x2}, Ω64, Ω65^{x2} etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88); the *adv.* **hu** (Ω143) etc.
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- § 85.3 In D OE *u* is written <u> in the *adv.* **nu** (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and **nuðe** (Ω10); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre** (Ω58^{x2}, Ω64, Ω65^{x2} etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88 and Ω134^{x2}); the *adv.* **hu** (Ω143, Ω301^{x2}, Ω342^{x2} and Ω409) etc.
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- § 85.4 In E2 OE *u* is written <u> in the *adv.* **nu** (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and **nuðe** (Ω10 and Ω257); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre** (Ω58^{x2}, Ω64, Ω65^{x2} etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88); the *adv.* **hu** (Ω143, Ω212, Ω301^{x2} and Ω342^{x2}) etc.
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- § 85.5 In E1 OE *u* is written <u> in the *adv.* **nu** (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and **nuþe** (Ω10 and Ω257); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre** (Ω58^{x2}, Ω64, Ω65^{x2} etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88 and Ω134); the *adv.* **hu** (Ω143, Ω212, Ω301^{x2} etc.) etc.
-
- § 85.6 In J OE *u* is written <u/v> in the *adv.* **nv/nu** (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and **nuþe** (Ω10); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre** (Ω58^{x2}, Ω64, Ω65^{x2} etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88 and Ω134); without the *vowel* in the *adv.* **hw** (Ω143, Ω301^{x2}, Ω342^{x2} and Ω409) etc.
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- § 85.7 In M OE *u* is written <u> in the *adv.* **nu** (Ω17 and Ω238) and **nuðe** (Ω10); the *poss. pron* *f^t pl.* **ure/vre** (Ω64, Ω65^{x2}, Ω81 etc.); the *pron.* 2nd *sg.* (*nominative*) **þu** (Ω88 and Ω134^{x2} and twice in the description of the letter forms at the beginning of the text); the *adv.* **hu** (Ω143 and Ω212) etc.
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§ 86 OE Short Diphthongs

The short diphthongs in OE (*ea*, *eo* and *īo*) originated in three different ways:

1. By *breaking* before *r*, *l*, and *h* combinations.
2. From velar umlaut before back vowels.
3. By influence of preceding palatals.

These were not realized uniformly in the dialects and will, therefore, be looked at separately. However, it is possible to say here that *ea* of every origin became *æ* in late OE and therefore takes place in the movement to *a* (cf. § 63), whereas, *eo* became a short close /*ø*/ sound in the eleventh century which unrounded, at varying pace depending on area, to *e* (*eo* > /*ø*/ > *e*). (Jordan § 56)

1. Breakings

§ 87 OE *ea*

In OE breaking to *ea* did not happen uniformly across all geographical regions.

- § 87.1 OE *æ* (< Prim. Gmc. *a*: see Campbell § 131 and fn 1 of § 139) was broken to *ea* before *r* followed by a consonant except in the North (Northumbria), where it was retracted to *a*, especially when a labial consonant preceded the vowel or followed *r*. (Campbell § 144)
- § 87.2 OE *æ* (< Prim. Gmc. *a*: see Campbell § 131 and fn 1 of § 139) was broken to *ea* before *l* followed by a consonant in Kent and WS but retracted in Anglian. In early Kentish and WS texts *a* is freely used. However in tenth century Kentish writings and those of l-WS *ea* is almost exclusive. In Anglian texts *a* predominated throughout the period. (Campbell § 143)
- § 87.3 OE *æ* (< Prim. Gmc. *a*: see Campbell § 131 and fn 1 of § 139) was practically always broken to *ea* before *h* [x]. (Campbell § 145) However, in Anglian *ea* was smoothed early to *æ*. (Campbell § 223)
- § 87.4 Where breaking to *ea* had taken place and was not already changed in OE by smoothing, it was simplified, around 1000, to *æ* (with occasional eleventh century <*æ*> writings found alongside traditional <*ea*>). From 1100 this *æ* was part of the transition to *a* (cf. § 63).
- § 87.5 The alternative spellings <*e*, *ea*, *ia*, *ie*, *i*> in Southern dialects, as opposed to the <*a*> spelling of the Midlands and the North, tend to show that OE *ea* had a higher quality in the South. (Jordan § 58: *Remark*)
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§ 88 OE *ea* before *r*-Combinations

When no lengthening groups follow:

§ 88.1 At the beginning of the eleventh century, <æ> writings appear alongside the more traditional <ea> writings. The transition æ > a then takes place as described in § 63.

§ 88.2 In T, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the *adj. pl.* **arge** (Ω20); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **parf** (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172); the *adj.* **arme** (Ω238); the *adj.* **sparte** (Ω293) and the *adj.* **narepe** (Ω355).

§ 88.3 In T, before *rd*, <ea> is written in the *noun* (**midden**)**eard** (Ω145 and Ω207) and <æ> in (**midden**)**ærd** (Ω202) and <a> in the *adv.* **harde** (Ω166) and the *adj.* **hardne** (Ω178) and *pl.* **hardde** (Ω178).

§ 88.4 In T, before *rn*, <e> is written in the *verbal noun* **erninge** (Ω65) and <a> in the *verb inf.* **parnin** (Ω237 and Ω239) and the *verb subj. 3^d sg.* **parnie** (Ω315).

§ 88.5 In L, when no lengthening group follows, <e> is written in the *adj. pl.* **erge** (Ω20) and the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **perf** (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172) but <a> in the *adj.* **arme** (Ω238).

§ 88.6 In L, before *rd*, <e> is written in the *noun* (**midden**)**erd**/**(midden)erde** (Ω145, Ω202 and Ω207) and <e> in the *adv.* **herde** (Ω166), the *adj.* **herdne** (Ω178) and *pl.* **herde** (Ω178).

§ 88.7 In L, before *rn*, <e> is written in the *verbal noun* **erninge** (Ω65) and the *verb inf.* **pernin** (Ω239) but <a> in **parni** (Ω237).

§ 88.8 In D, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the *adj. pl.* **arge** (Ω20); the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **darf** (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172); the *adj.* **arme** (Ω238) and the *adj.* **narepe** (Ω355).

§ 88.9 In D, before *rd*, <a> is written in the *adv.* **harde** (Ω166) and the *adj.* **hardne** (Ω178) and *pl.* **harde** (Ω178); the *noun* (**midel**)**ard** (Ω202 and Ω207) but <ea> in (**midden**)**eard** (Ω145).

§ 88.10 In D, before *rn*, <a> is written in *verb inf.* **parni** (Ω237 and Ω239) and the *verb subj. 3^d sg.* **parni** (Ω315) but <ea> in the *verbal noun* **earninge** (Ω65).

§ 88.11 In E2, when no lengthening group follows, <æ> is written in the *adj. pl.* **ærpe** (Ω20); <æ> in the *adj.* **nærepe** (Ω355); <æ> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þærþ** (Ω46) but <ie> in **ðierþ** (Ω44) and <ea> in **ðearþ** (Ω172); <ea> in the *adj.* **earme** (Ω238); and <ie> the *adj.* **spierte** (Ω293).

§ 88.12 In E2, before *rd*, <ea> is written in the *noun* (**middan**)-**eard**/(**middel**)**eard** (Ω145, Ω202 and Ω207); <ea> in the *adj. pl.* **hearde** (Ω178) but <a> in the *adj.* **hardne** (Ω178) and <e> in the *adv.* **herde** (Ω166).

§ 88.13 In E2, before *rn*, <ea> is written in the *verbal noun* **earnunge** (Ω65); <a> in the *verb inf.* **parnie/parine** (Ω237 and Ω239) but <e> the *verb sbj. 3rd sg.* **perni** (Ω315).

§ 88.14 In E1, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the *adj. pl.* **arge** (Ω20); the *adj.* **sparte** (Ω293); the *adj.* **narepe** (Ω355); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þarf** (Ω44) but <e> in **þerf** (Ω46 and Ω172) and <ea> in the *adj.* **earme** (Ω238).

§ 88.15 In E1, before *rd*, <a> is written in the *adv.* **harde** (Ω166), <e> in the *adj.* **herde** (Ω178) and in the *pl.* **herde** (Ω178); <e> in the *noun* (**midden**)**erd** (Ω202 and Ω207) but <ea> in (**midden**)-**eard** (Ω145).

§ 88.16 In E1, before *rn*, <a> is written in the *verb inf.* **parnen/parnie** (Ω237 and Ω239) and the *verb sbj. 3rd sg.* **parnie** (Ω315) but <e> in the *verbal noun* **erninge** (Ω65).

§ 88.17 In J, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **þarf** (Ω44 and Ω46); the *adj.* **arme** (Ω238); the *adj.* **swarte** (Ω293); the *adj.* **narewe** (Ω355) but <e> in the *adj. pl.* **erewe** (Ω20).

§ 88.18 In J, before *rd*, <e> is written in the *noun* (**middel**)**erd**/**mýddelerd** (Ω145, Ω202 and Ω207) and <a> in the *adj.* **harde** (Ω178) and *pl.* **harde** (Ω178).

§ 88.19 In J, before *rn*, <ea> is written in the *verbal noun* **earnýnge** (Ω65) and <a> in the *verb inf.* **warný** (Ω237 and Ω239) and the *verb sbj. 3rd sg.* **parný** (Ω315).

§ 88.20 In M, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the *adj. pl.* **ar3** (Ω20); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **darf** (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172); the *adj.* **suarte** (Ω293) and the *adj.* **narepe** (Ω355).

§ 88.21 In M, before *rd*, <e> is written in the *noun* (**middel**)**erd** (Ω145, Ω202 and Ω208) but <a> in the *adv.* **harde** (Ω166) and the *adj.* **hardne** (Ω178) and the *pl.* **harde** (Ω178).

§ 88.22 In M, before *rn*, <a> is written in the *verb inf.* **parni** (Ω237 and Ω239) and the *verb sbj. 3rd sg.* **parni** (Ω315) but <e> in the *verbal noun* **ernigge** (Ω65).

§ 89 i-Umlaut of *ea* before *r*-Combinations

- § 89.1 In all dialects of OE *ea* by breaking before *r* could be subject to *i*-umlaut (Campbell § 200 (2)). However, when retraction of *æ* to *a* took place (§ 87.1) OE writings of the North. and Merc. sometimes have the mutation of *a* in this position (Campbell 193.a).
- § 89.2 In OE it is possible to see WS *ie* (retained in some instances but which mostly becomes *y*) alongside *e* in the Anglian and Kentish dialects. In addition there is *æ* < unbroken *a* (Anglian).
- § 89.3 In ME WS /y/ (written <u>) became less common and *e* was mostly written alongside *a* forms from Anglian *æ*. (Jordan § 60) E2, which is the most conservative of the texts of the *CL*, writes <u> in *adv. durne* (Ω79 cf. §).

In the *CL*:

- § 89.4 T writes <e> for the *adv. derne* (Ω79) and the *noun pl. erming* (Ω334) but retains <ie> in the *noun smierte* (Ω119: MED: early SEM form; cf. § 89.2; see also *fn. 329*).
- § 89.5 L writes <e> in the *adv. derne* (Ω79) but <i> in the *noun smirte* (Ω119: MED: SWM form; cf. § 89.2; see also *fn. 329*).
- § 89.6 D writes <a> in the *noun pl. arminges* (Ω334); <e> in the *noun smerte* (Ω119) and <ie> in the *adv. dierne* (Ω79).
- § 89.7 E2 writes <e> the *noun pl. erminges* (Ω334) but <u> in the *adv. durne* (Ω79 cf. §); <eo> in the *noun smeorte* (Ω119 MED: SW form).⁸⁷²
- § 89.8 E1 writes <e> in the *adv. derne* (Ω79) and the *noun smerte* (Ω119).
- § 89.9 J writes OE <e> in J for the *adv. derne* (Ω79) and <ea> in the *noun pl. earmýnges* (Ω334).
- § 89.10 M writes <e> in the *noun smerte* (Ω119) and in the *noun pl. ermiggas* (Ω334).

⁸⁷² OED: The early Middle English forms *smirte* and *smierte* suggest that their unattested Old English antecedent showed *i*-mutation. The Old English word was perhaps an abstract formation from the (*o*-grade) base of SMART *adj.* of the same derivational pattern as *ieldu* ELD (from *eald* OLD *adj.*); the expected forms (showing breaking and subsequent *i*-mutation) would be early West Saxon **smiertu*, Anglian **smertu*. However, the rare early Middle English form *smeorte* appears to show the reflex of Old English **smeort-*, so it remains possible that the word instead derives from the (*e*-grade) base of (the present stem of) SMART, which (after *i*-mutation) would yield Mercian **smeort-* (beside West Saxon **smiert-*, Northumbrian **smiort-*). (Although this derivation would allow the Old English word to share the same ablaut grade of the base as its continental Germanic cognates, none of them shows any evidence of the *i* or *j* suffix required for *i*-mutation.) Furthermore, it is also entirely possible that the form *smeorte* may simply show later analogical influence of the (unmutated) present stem of the verb.

§ 90 OE *ea* before *l*-combinations

§ 90.1 OE *ea* by breaking before *l* (including *ll*) took place only in the Saxon and Kentish dialects, while the Anglian dialect preserved *a* (Campbell § 143). However, already in the OE period, unbroken Anglian *a* moved southwards into the living speech of Worc. and Glouc. (Jordan § 61)

§ 90.2 When no lengthening groups follow, *ea* went to *æ* around 1000 and from 1100 to *a*. Since *a* < *ea* falls together with unbroken Ang. *a*, the writing is generally the same in the whole area.

§ 90.3 The <ea> and <e> writings of the *CL* (E1 and E2 – two of the more conservative versions of the text – and L) might point to the more fronted sound of the original. (Jordan § 61 *Remark*)

§ 90.4 T writes <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω52, Ω117, Ω125 etc.) and *pl.* **alle** (Ω23, Ω80, Ω86^{x2} etc.), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **al** (Ω7, Ω13, Ω24 etc.), the *adv.* **al** (Ω158 and Ω393) and **alto/al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the *possess. adj.* **al-(mihtin)** (Ω349) and *possess. adj. pl.* **alre** (Ω170, Ω196); the *verb inf.* **falle** (Ω327) and the *verb pp.* **(bi)ualle** (Ω205); the *noun pl.* **pallen** (Ω42); the *adj.* **salt** (Ω261); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **palleð** (Ω258) and the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **pallinde** (Ω229).

§ 90.5 L writes <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω52, Ω117, Ω125 etc.) and *pl.* **alle** (Ω80, Ω86^{x2} etc.), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **al** (Ω7, Ω13, Ω55 etc.), the *adv.* **al** (Ω156, Ω158) and **alto/al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the *possess. adj. pl.* **alre** (Ω170, Ω196); <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **(bi)-fealt** (Ω7); <a> in the *noun pl.* **palle** (Ω42); the *adj.* **salt** (Ω261) and the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **pallinde** (Ω229).

§ 90.6 D writes <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω117, Ω125, Ω145 etc.) and *pl.* **alle** (Ω80, Ω86^{x2} etc.), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **al/alle** (Ω7, Ω55, Ω59 etc.), the *adv.* **al** (Ω156, Ω158, Ω358 etc.) and **alto/al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the *possess. adj.* **al(mihti)** (Ω349) and *possess. adj. pl.* **alre** (Ω170); <a> in the *verb inf.* **ualle** (Ω327) and the *pp.* **(bi)ualle** (Ω205); <a> in the *noun pl.* **palles** (Ω42); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pallð** (Ω258) and the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **pallinde** (Ω229).

§ 90.7 E2 writes <ea> in the *adj.* **eal** (Ω117, Ω126, Ω162) but <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω125, Ω320 and Ω381) and <æ> in **æl** (Ω145), <ea> in the *pl.* **ealle** (Ω80, Ω86^{x2} etc.) and <æ> in **ealle** (Ω182) but <a> in **all/alle** (Ω204, Ω215, Ω324 and Ω365), <ea> the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **eal** (Ω55, Ω73, Ω83 etc.) but <a> in **al** (Ω7 and Ω13), <ea> in the *adv.* **eale** (Ω156 and Ω358) and **eal-to** (Ω61 and Ω278) but **al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), <ea> in the *possess. adj.* **eal(mihtiges)** (Ω349) and *possess. adj. pl.* **ealre** (Ω170, Ω196); <ea> in the *verb inf.* **fealle** (Ω327) and the *pp.* **(bi)-fealle** (Ω205); <a> in the *noun pl.* **palle** (Ω42) and the *adj.* **salt** (Ω261) but <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pealð** (Ω258) and the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **peallende** (Ω229).

§ 90.8 E1 writes <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω52, Ω126, Ω145 etc.) and *pl.* **alle** (Ω80 and Ω86^{x2}) but <ea> in **ealle** (Ω176), <a> in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **al** (Ω7, Ω13, Ω55 etc.) but <ea> in **eal** (Ω122 and Ω161), <a> in the *possess. adj. pl.* **alre** (Ω170) but <ea> in the *possess. adj.* **eal(mihtes)** (Ω349), <a> in the *adv.* **al** (Ω156, Ω158, Ω358 etc.) and **al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.); <a> in the *verb inf.* **falle** (Ω327) and the *pp.* **(bi)-falle** (Ω205); <a> in the *noun pl.* **palles** (Ω42); the *adj.* **salt** (Ω261); <a> in the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **pallinde** (Ω229) but <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pealð** (Ω258).

§ 90.9 J writes <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω52, Ω117, Ω145 etc.) and *pl.* **alle/all** (Ω23, Ω80, Ω86^{x2} etc.), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **al/alle** (Ω7, Ω13, Ω55 etc.), the *adv.* **al** (Ω156, Ω158 and Ω358) and **al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the *possess. adj.* **al(mýhtýes)** (Ω349) and *possess. adj. pl.* **alre** (Ω170 and Ω196); <a> in the *verb inf.* **falle** (Ω327) and the *pp.* **ifalle** (Ω205); <a> in the *noun pl.* **walles** (Ω42); the *adj.* **salt** (Ω261); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **walleþ** (Ω258) and the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **wallýnde** (Ω229).

§ 90.10 M writes <a> in the *adj.* **al** (Ω52, Ω117, Ω125 etc.) and *pl.* **alle** (Ω80, Ω86^{x2}, Ω106 etc.), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **al** (Ω7, Ω24, Ω83 etc.), the *adv.* **al** (Ω358) and **al-to** (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the *adj.* **al(mihti)** (Ω83, Ω349 and Ω352); <a> in the *verb inf.* **falle** (Ω327); <a> in the *noun pl.* **palles** (Ω42); <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **palþ** (Ω258) and the *verb pr. part. as adj.* **pallinde** (Ω229).

§ 91.1 When the lengthening group *ld* follows then the Saxon *ea* becomes *æ̃* = ME *e/ε:/* in the course of the eleventh century. However, Anglian *a* in the Midlands undergoes the change to *o/ɔ:/* while the North retains *a*. In Kent *ea* shows special development, initial */je:/* occurs with the writing <ya> and <ia> written beside <yea> and <ea>. Lengthening only occurred in Kentish before intervocalic, and not final *ld*, with <a> often being written in these instances. (Jordan § 61 and § 82).

§ 91.2 The Southern versions of the *CL* demonstrate */ε:/* <ea> through <ea, e> writings with */ε:/* shown into the fifteenth century in East Saxon (or London, Essex). While advancing Anglian */ɔ:/* is found in both Worc. and Glouc. the AB dialect consistently writes *a*. (Jordan § 61: *Remark*.) Initial */je:/* was not only found in Kentish writings following this period (cf. §) with examples, in initial position where the sound was most stable, also found in M, written <je> (Jordan § 82).

§ 91.3 T writes <ea> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* **pealde** (Ω2), the *verb inf.* **pealden** (Ω56), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **pealdeð** (Ω86 and Ω404); <ea> in the *adj.* **eald/ealde** (Ω4, Ω202, Ω298) and *pl.* **ealde** (Ω324); <ea> in the *suffix* **-fealde/feald** (Ω55 and Ω260); the *verb inf.* **ihealden/healde** (Ω57, Ω325) and **bihealde** (Ω299) but <e> in **bihelden** (Ω405) and <o> in **holde** (Ω56: originally written **halde**, with **a** subpuncted and **o** written above) and <a> in the *cont. form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **halt** (Ω323 and Ω325).

§ 91.4 L writes <e> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pælde* (Ω2), the *verb inf. pelden* (Ω56) but <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pældeð* (Ω86); <a> in the *adj. ald* (Ω4); <a> in the *suffix –falde* (Ω55 and Ω260) and <a> in the *verb inf. ihalden/halden* (Ω56 and Ω57).

§ 91.5 D writes <ea> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb inf. wealden* (Ω56) and the *noun pealde* (Ω404) and <ia> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pialdeð* (Ω86 cf. § 91.1); <ea> in the *adj. eald* (Ω4) but <a> in *alde* (Ω298), <ea> in the *pl. ealde* (Ω324); <ea> in the *suffix –fealde* (Ω55 and Ω260); <ea> in the *verb inf. healde* (Ω325) and <ia> in the *verb inf. hialde/ihialde* (Ω56 and Ω57 cf. § 91.1) and *bihialde* (Ω299 and Ω405 cf. § 91.1) but <a> in the *contracted* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. halt* (Ω323).

§ 91.6 E2 writes <æ> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pælde* (Ω2) and <ea> in the *verb inf. pealden* (Ω56) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pealdeð* (Ω86); <ea> in the *adj. eald/ealde* (Ω4, Ω202, Ω298) and in the *pl. ealde* (Ω324); <ea> in the *suffix –fealde* (Ω55 and Ω260); the *verb inf. healden/ihealden/healde* (Ω56, Ω57 and Ω325) and *bi-healde* (Ω299) but <a> in the *contracted* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. halt* (Ω323).

§ 91.7 E1 writes <æ> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pælde* (Ω2), <e> in the *verb inf. pelden* (Ω56), <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pealded* (Ω404) but <a> in the *cont. form palt* (Ω86); <ea> in the *adj. eald/ealde* (Ω4, Ω202, Ω298) and in the *pl. ealde* (Ω324); <e> in the *suffix –felde* (Ω55 and Ω260); <ea> in the *verb inf. healden/healde* (Ω56, Ω325) but <e> in *bi-helde* (Ω299), <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. bi-healdeð* (Ω405) but <a> in the *cont. form* of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. halt* (Ω323).

§ 91.8 J writes <o> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb inf. wolde* (Ω56) but <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. welde* (Ω2) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. weldeþ* (Ω404) and <a> in the *cont. form palt* (Ω86: *contracted form*); <o> in the *adj. old* (Ω4 and Ω298) and in the *pl. olde* (Ω324); <o> in the *suffix –folde* (Ω55 and Ω260); <o> in the *verb inf. holde* (Ω325) and *biholde* (Ω299 and Ω405) but <a> in the *contracted* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hald* (Ω323).

§ 91.9 M writes <e> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb inf. pelden* (Ω56); <e> in the *adj. eld* (Ω4), *zelde* (Ω298 cf. § 91.2) and *pl. zelde* (Ω324 cf. § 91.2); <e> in the *suffix –felde* (Ω55 and Ω260); the *verb inf. ihelde/ýhelde* (Ω57, Ω325) but <ie> in *bihielde* (Ω299), <a> in the *contracted* form of the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. halt* (Ω323).

§ 92 *i*-umlaut of OE *ea* before *l*-combinations

- § 92.1 OE *ea* before *l* occurred and could be subject to *i*-umlaut in WS and Kent where Angl. dialects had the mutation of *a* in the same position. (Campbell § 200 (1)).
- § 92.2 In OE we find WS *ie* (later *i* and more frequently *y*), Anglian *æ* < unbroken *a*. in Mercian-West Midland dialects (also penetrating into Glouc. and Worc.), and *e* in the North, EML and Kent. (Joran § 62)
- § 92.3 In ME the Southwestern /y/ was often written <u> (cf. § 92.7 E2 **uldre**) with *i* current in Dev. and Som. West Midland *a* resulted from Anglian *æ* (cf. § 92.5 L: **alder**) with lengthend *ǣ*/ɛ:/ written <e> (cf. § 92.5 L: **elde**). In the East Midland, Kentish and Northern Dialects *e* was retained.
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In the *CL*:

- § 92.4 T writes <e> in the *comp. adj.* **elder** (Ω1 and Ω337) and <e> in the *noun* **elde** (Ω17, Ω18, Ω337^{x2}, Ω338 and Ω390).
- § 92.5 L writes <a> in the *comp. adj.* **alder** (Ω1) and <e> in the *noun* **elde** (Ω17 and Ω18).
- § 92.6 D writes <e> in the *comp. adj.* **elder/eldre** (Ω1, Ω337) and <e> in the *noun* **helde/elde** (Ω17, Ω18, Ω337, Ω338 and Ω390).
- § 92.7 E2 writes <e> in the *adj.* **elder** (Ω1) but <u> in **uldre** (Ω337 cf. § 92.3); <e> in the *noun* **elde** (Ω17 and Ω338) but <y> in **ylde** (Ω18 cf. § 92.3, early form) and <u> in **ulde** (Ω337 cf. § 92.3).
- § 92.8 E1 writes <e> in *comp. adj.* **elder/eldre** (Ω1 and Ω337); <e> in the *noun* **elde** (Ω17, Ω18, Ω337 and Ω338) but <u> in **ulde** (Ω390 cf. § 92.3)
- § 92.9 J writes <e> in the *comp. adj.* **eldre/eldure** (Ω1 and Ω337); <e> in the *noun* **elde** (Ω17, Ω18, Ω337 and Ω338) and <ea> in **ealde** (Ω390).
- § 92.10 M writes <e> in the *comp. adj.* **elder** (Ω1) and <e> in the *noun* **elde** (Ω17 and Ω18).
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§ 93 OE *ea* before *h*-combinations

- § 93.1 OE *ea* before *h*-combinations was smoothed early to *æ* in Anglian; in Kent and the Saxon area it was smoothed to *e* from about 900.
- § 93.2 In ME Anglian *æ* becomes *a* (cf. § 63) with a back-glide *u* developing in the second half of the thirteenth century In the Saxon region *e* is present in a limited area in the twelfth century and more generally from the thirteenth century followed by the front glide *i* (>*ei*). However, this transitional sound is lacking in the Kentish dialect. (Jordan § 63)
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- § 93.3 T demonstrates the glide *ei* in the writing <ei> of the *adj.* **heie** (Ω363), the *pl.* **heie** (Ω295), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* in **heie** (Ω171) and in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **iseih** (Ω274).
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§ 93.4 L writes <e> before *ch* in <e> in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. isech* (Ω274).

§ 93.5 D writes as <e> before <ɣ> (cf. § and Jordan § 63) in the *adj. pl. hege* (Ω295), in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun hege* (Ω171) and in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. isegh* (Ω274).

§ 93.6 E2 retains <ea> in the *adj. heage* (Ω363) and shows development to <e> in the *adj. pl. hege* (Ω295), the *adj.* functioning as a *noun hege* (Ω171) and in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. iseh* (Ω274).

§ 93.7 E1 writes <e> in the *adj. hege* (Ω363) but shows transition to the glide sound, written <ei> in the *adj. pl. heie* (Ω295) the *adj.* as *noun pl. heige* (Ω171) and the *verb pa. 3^d sg. sei* (Ω274).

§ 93.8 J demonstrates transition to the glide sound through the writing of <ey> (cf. §) in the *adj. heye* (Ω363), the *adj. pl. heye* (Ω295) and in the *verb pa. 3^d sg. iseyh* (Ω274).

§ 93.9 M writes <e> in the *adj. heze* (Ω363), the *adj. pl. heze* (Ω295) and as a *noun* in *heze* (Ω171).

§ 94 *i*-umlaut of OE *ea* before *h*-combinations

§ 94.1 The *i*-forms dominate in *miht* and *niht* etc. in ME with Anglian *meht* yielding *miht* from the ending of the OE period. However, there are some instances of the unumlauted form still found in the period: *mæht*, *næht* = *ma(u)ght*, *na(u)ght*. (Jordan § 64)

Comment: the writing of the *verb* ME **mihte** (written throughout the *CL* – see below) is not the etymologically regular form in OE (which was OE *meahte*) but was probably influenced by the form of the *noun* *miht*, which was subject to *i*-umlaut (cf. Campbell § 200 and Wright § 68). The writing of **mahte** in L (see § 94.3) demonstrates a form of the *verb pa. 1st sg.* without *i*-umlaut.

§ 94.2 T writes <i> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16 and Ω233), the *verb pa. 1st pl. mihte(n)* (Ω53 and Ω335), the *pa. 3^d sg. mihte* (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the *pa. 3^d pl. mihten* (Ω251 and Ω265); <i> in the *noun nihte* (Ω79, Ω82 and Ω383) and *pl. possess. nihte* (Ω149).

§ 94.3 L writess <i> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16) and before *ch* in **michte** (Ω53) but <a> in **mahte** (Ω233; see § 94.1 *Comment*), <i> in the *pa. 3^d sg. mihte(n)* (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the *pa. 3^d pl. mihten* (Ω251 and Ω265); <i> in the *noun nihte* (Ω79) and *pl. possess. nihte* (Ω149).

§ 94.4 D writes <i> before *g* in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16), before *h* in *mihte* (Ω233), the *verb pa. 3rd sg. mihte* (Ω209, Ω225 and Ω268), the *pa. 3rd pl. mihte* (Ω251 and Ω265) and the *pa. 1st pl. mihten* (Ω335); <i> in the *noun nihte* (Ω79 and Ω383) and *pl. possess. nihte* (Ω149).

§ 94.5 E2 writes <i> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16 and Ω233), the *pa. 1st pl. mihte* (Ω53), the *pa. 3rd sg. mihte(n)* (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.), and the *pa. 3rd pl. mihte(n)* (Ω251 and Ω265); <i> in the *noun nihte* (Ω79 and Ω383) and *pl. possess. nihtes* (Ω149).

§ 94.6 E1 writes <y> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mýhte* (Ω16), <i> in the *pa. 3rd sg. mihte(n)* (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the *pa. 3rd pl. mihte(n)* (Ω251 and Ω265); <i> in the *noun nihte* (Ω79 and Ω383) and *pl. possess. nihtes* (Ω149).

§ 94.7 J writes <y> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mýhte* (Ω16), the *pa. 1st pl. mýhte/mihte* (Ω53 and Ω335), the *pa. 3rd sg. mýhte(n)* (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the *pa. 3rd pl. mýhte(n)* (Ω251); <y> in the *noun nýhte* (Ω79 and Ω383) and *pl. possess. nýhtes* (Ω149).

§ 94.8 M writes <i> before *z* in the *verb pa. 1st sg. mihte* (Ω16), the *pa. 1st pl. mihte* (Ω53 and Ω335), the *pa. 3rd sg. mihte* (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the *pa. 3rd pl. mihte* (Ω251); <i> in the *pl. possess. noun nihte* (Ω149).

§ 95 OE eo

In OE breaking to *eo* from *e* occurred regularly before [u] and [x], and before [x] and [r] when a consonant follows. Retraction of *e* to *o* is found in the North only and only between [u] and [r] followed by a consonant. (Campbell § 146 and § 147)

In the eleventh century OE *eo* yielded a close /ø/ sound (unless it had not already been changed to /e/ by smoothing). In the twelfth century this was unrounded to *e* in EML and the North. The /ø/ sound was preserved longer in the WML and part of the South, written <eo>. (Jordan § 65)

§ 96 OE eo before r-combinations – *eo + r + lengthening groups* will be looked at under *eo*.

§ 96.1 In eME the sound /ø/ was represented by the writing <eo> and Anglo-French <o>. In the WML and parts of the South this sound was retained until around 1300. In the EML, Kent and probably also the North, unrounding to *e* began in the twelfth century. However, the smoothed forms of the Anglian dialect had *e* from the late OE period. (Jordan § 65)

§ 96.2 In the CL the writing of <eo> in the *noun peorche/peorc/peorch* (Ω11, Ω113, Ω116 etc.) in E2 cf. § 96.6 and <e> in the *noun perke/perch/perc* (Ω11, Ω113, Ω121 etc.) in L demonstrates the continued differentiation between Sax. *work* /wørk/ < *weorc* and Angl. smoothed *werk* (Jordan § 65 Remark 1.)

§ 96.3 T writes <e> in the *noun* **perke/perc** (Ω11, Ω113, Ω121 etc.) and *pl.* **perkes** (Ω64, Ω65, Ω73 etc.); <e> in the *noun* **herte** (Ω75, Ω211, Ω300 and Ω320) but <ie> in **hierte** (Ω118) and <o> in the *noun* **storre** (Ω290).

§ 96.4 L writes <e> in the *noun* **perke/perch/perc** (Ω11, Ω113, Ω121 etc.) and *pl.* **perkes** (Ω64, Ω73, Ω116 etc.); <e> in the *noun* **herte** (Ω75) but <o> in **horte** (Ω118).

§ 96.5 D writes <o> in the *noun* **porke/porc** (Ω11 and Ω133) and in the *pl.* **workes/porkes** (Ω65, Ω73, Ω116 etc.) but <e> in the *noun* **perc** (Ω113 and Ω256) and *pl.* **perkes** (Ω64 and Ω267); <e> in the *noun* **sterre** (Ω290); <e> in **herte** (Ω300) but <ie> in **hierte** (Ω75, Ω118 and Ω320).

§ 96.6 E2 writes <eo> in the the *noun* **peorche/peorc/peorch** (Ω11, Ω113, Ω116 etc.), *pl.* **peorkes** (Ω64 and Ω73); <eo> in the *noun* **heorte** (Ω75, Ω118, Ω300 and Ω320) and <eo> in the *noun* **steorre** (Ω290).

§ 96.7 E1 writes <e> in the *noun* **perche/perc** (Ω11, Ω113, Ω116 etc.) but <eo> in **peorc** (Ω133 and Ω256), <e> in the *pl.* **perkes** (Ω64 and Ω73) but **peorkes** (Ω267); <eo> in the *noun* **heorte** (Ω75, Ω118, Ω300 and Ω320) and <eo> in the *noun* **steorre** (Ω290).

§ 96.8 J writes <e> in the *noun* **werke/werke** (Ω11, Ω121, Ω186 etc.) and *pl.* **werkes** (Ω64, Ω108, Ω116 etc.); <eo> in the *noun* **heorte** (Ω75, Ω118, Ω300 and Ω320) and <eo> in the *noun* **steorre** (Ω290).

§ 96.9 M writes <u> in the *noun pl.* **purkes** (Ω64), <o> in the *noun pl.* **porkes** (Ω73, Ω113, Ω116 etc.), <o> in the *sg.* **porc /pork** (Ω186 and Ω267) but the vowel is missing in **prke/prc** (Ω11 and Ω256); <e> in the *noun* **herte** (Ω75, Ω118 and Ω320) and <u> in the *noun* **sturre** (Ω290).

§ 97 The *wur* group

§ 97.1 In WS texts an increasing tendency is seen to allow groups consisting of *w* + short vowel + *r* to fall together in *wur*. (Campbell § 320)

§ 97.2 *wur* < *weor* appears in ME in the South and generally in the Midlands where it is *wor*- in the North. (Jordan §66. Remark 3)

In the *CL*:

- § 97.3 T writes <u> for OE *eo* in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **purðe** (Ω149) and the *verb sbj. 1st pl.* **purðen** (Ω346) but for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* (cf. § 100) it is <e> (cf. 100.2) in the *adj.* **perest** (Ω228), **perse** (Ω310 and Ω407) and the *adv.* **perse/pers** (Ω230 and Ω249).
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- § 97.4 L writes <u> for OE *eo* in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **purð** (Ω149) and the *verb sbj. 1st pl.* **purðe** (Ω346); for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* it is also <u> (cf. § 100) in the *adj.* **purst** (Ω228), the *adv.* **purst** (Ω230) and **purs** (Ω249).

The writing of <u> in the above examples for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* (**purst** and **purs**) could be as a result of *weor* > *wur* (§ 97.1 and § 97.2) or as a result of *i*-umlaut giving *ie* > *y*, *i* in WS (cf. § 100.1 and § 100.2).

- § 97.5 D writes <u> for OE *eo* in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **purðe** (Ω149) but for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* (cf. § 100) it is <e> (cf. 100.2) in the *adj.* **perse** (Ω228, Ω310 and Ω407) and the *adv.* **pers** (Ω230).
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- § 97.6 E2 writes <u> for OE *eo* in the *verb sbj. 1st pl.* **purðe** (Ω346) and for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* it is <u> (cf. § 100) in the *adv.* **purse/purs** (Ω230 and Ω249) and the *adj.* **purse** (Ω310).

The writing of <u> in the above examples for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* (**purse** and **purs**) could be as a result of *weor* > *wur* (§ 97.1 and § 97.2) or as a result of *i*-umlaut giving *ie* > *y*, *i* in WS (cf. § 100.1 and § 100.2).

- § 97.7 E1 writes <u> for OE *eo* in the *verb sbj. 1st pl.* **purþe** (Ω346) and for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* it is <u> (cf. § 100) in the *adj.* **purst** (Ω228), **purse** (Ω310 and Ω407) and in the *adv.* **purs** (Ω230) and **purst** (Ω249).

The writing of <u> in the above examples for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* (**purst/purse/purs**) could be as a result of *weor* > *wur* (§ 97.1 and § 97.2) or as a result of *i*-umlaut giving *ie* > *y*, *i* in WS (cf. § 100.1 and § 100.2).

- § 97.8 J writes <u> for OE *eo* in the *verb sbj. 1st pl.* **wurþe** (Ω346) and for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* it is <u> (cf. § 100) in the *adv.* **wurse** (Ω249) and the *adj.* **wurse** (Ω407) but the vowel is absent in **wrst** (Ω228) and **wrse** (Ω310).

The writing of <u> in the eabove examples for the *i*-umlaut of *eo* (**wurse**) could be as a result of *weor* > *wur* (§ 97.1 and § 97.2) or as a result of *i*-umlaut giving *ie* > *y*, *i* in WS (cf. § 100.1 and § 100.2).

§ 97.9 M omits the vowel in the *verb sbj. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **prþe** (Ω149) and the *verb sbj. 1st pl.* **prþe** (Ω346); the vowel is also absent in the *i*-umlaut of *eo* in the *adj.* **prst** (Ω228) and the *adv.* **prst** (Ω230) and **prs** (Ω249); cf. also § 96.9 where M writes **purkes** (Ω64).

§ 98 eo before l-combinations

§ 98.1 Breaking of *e* was regular only when [x] follows: *eolh*, *seolh* etc. and with the loss of [x], the inflected forms of these words (e.g. *seoles*). (Campbell § 146). This is smoothed to *e* in Anglian. (Jordan § 68). Less regularly, other instances do occur such as before *lc*, but only when *s* precedes it e.g. *asceolcan* but not *melcan*. (Campbell § 146). Angl. *eo* appears in *seolf* with late WS *syllf*, *silf*. (Jordan § 68)

§ 98.2 In ME we find in the *CL* Southwestern *sulf*/*syllf*/ is found in E2 (less regularly in E1). The writing of <i> in *silf* (E1, alongside <u> and <e>) rests on the development from *e*, according to the process described in § 64.3, and is more prominent in the North.

§ 98.3 Angl. /sølf/ (written <seolf, solf>) is found in L and J. The writing *self* < OE *self* is found in Kent (D) but also EML (T) – it is this form that becomes prevalent. (Jordan § 68)

§ 98.4 T writes <e> (cf 98.3) in the *pron. 3rd sg. reflex.* (**him**)-**selfen**/**selfe**/**selue**/**self**/**selfen** (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the *2nd sg. reflex* (**þe**)-**self** (Ω30), the *3rd pl. reflex.* (**hem**)-**self** (Ω236), the *1st pl. reflex.* (**us**)-**self** (Ω321).

§ 98.5 L writes <o> (cf 98.3) in the *pron. 3rd sg. reflex.* (**hine**/**him**/**hm**)-**solf** /**solue** (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the *2nd sg. reflex* (**þe**)-**solf** (Ω30) and the *3rd pl. reflex.* (**hom**)-**solf** (Ω236).

§ 98.6 D writes <e> (cf 98.3) in the *pron. 3rd sg. reflex.* (**him**/**hine**)-**selue**/**self** (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the *3rd pl. reflex.* (**ham**)-**selue** (Ω236) and the *1st pl. reflex.* (**us**)-**self** (Ω321).

§ 98.7 E2 writes <u> (cf 98.2) in the *pron. 3rd sg. reflex.* (**him**)-**sulfne**/**sulue**/**sulf** (Ω14, Ω33, Ω34 etc.) but <e> in (**him**)-**selue**/**self** (Ω26 and Ω119); <u> in the *2nd sg. reflex* (**þe**)-**sulf** (Ω30), the *3rd pl. reflex.* (**him**)-**sulf** (Ω236) and the *1st pl. reflex.* (**us**)-**sulf** (Ω321).

§ 98.8 E1 writes <u> (cf 98.2) in the *pron. 3rd sg. reflex.* (**him**)-**sulfne**/**sulne** (Ω14, Ω34, Ω112 and Ω116) but <e> in (**him**)-**selue**/**self** (Ω26, Ω33, Ω119 and Ω193), the *2nd sg. reflex* (**þi**)-**self** (Ω30) and the *1st pl. reflex.* (**us**)-**suelf** (Ω321), the *3rd pl. reflex.* (**hem**)-**self** (Ω236) and (**him**)-**suelf** (Ω120) but <i> in (**him**)-**silf** (Ω41).

§ 98.9 J writes <eo> (cf 98.3) in the *pron. 3^d sg. reflex.* (**him**)-seolue/seolf (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the *2nd sg. reflex* (**þi**)-seolf (Ω30) and the *1st pl. reflex.* (**vs**)-seolf (Ω321).

§ 98.10 M writes <e> in the the *pron. 3^d sg. reflex.* (**hine/him**)-selue/self (Ω26, Ω41, Ω112 etc.), the *2nd sg. reflex* (**þi**)-self (Ω30) and the *1st pl. reflex.* (**us**)-self (Ω321).

§ 99 eo before h and h-Combinations

§ 99.1 OE *eo* before *ht* was retained in the Saxon area only and only when followed by a back vowel: *feohtan*. The Anglian smoothed form was *fehthan*. The remaining areas yielded *eht* to *iht* toward the end of the OE period (earlier in the South). In ME the *i* form remained with some admixture of *e* (forming a glide sound with *h*) in some areas including instances of within the AB dialect. (Jordan § 69)

All of the texts of the *CL* write <i>:

§ 99.2 T writes <i> before *h* in the *noun* **rihtpinesse** (Ω73), the *noun* **unriht** (Ω95 and Ω220) and the *adv.* **rihte** (Ω114); <i> in the *adj.* **briht** (Ω383) and *pl.* **brihte** (Ω76).

§ 99.3 L writes <i> in the *noun* **rihtpinesse** (Ω73), the *noun* **unriht** (Ω95 and Ω220) and the *adv.* **rihte** (Ω114) and <i> in the *adj. pl.* **brihte** (Ω76).

§ 99.4 D writes <i> in the *noun* **rihtpinesse** (Ω73), the *noun* **unrihte** (Ω220) and the *adv.* **rihte** (Ω114); <i> in the *adj.* **briht** (Ω383) and *pl.* **fulbrihte** (Ω76).

§ 99.5 E2 OE *eo* before *h* is written as <i> in the *noun* **rihtpinesse** (Ω73), the *noun* **unriht/un-riht** (Ω95 and Ω220) and the *adv.* **rihte** (Ω114); <i> in the *adj.* **briht** (Ω383) and *pl.* **brihte** (Ω76).

§ 99.6 E1 writes <i> in the *noun* **rihtgifnesse** (sic) (Ω73), the *noun* **vnriht** (Ω95 and Ω220) and the *adv.* **rihte** (Ω114); <i> in the *adj.* **briht** (Ω383) and the *pl.* **britte** (Ω76).

§ 99.7 J writes <ȳ, i> in the *noun* **rȳhtwisnesse** (Ω73), the *noun* **vnȳht/vnriht** (Ω95 and Ω220) and the *adv.* **rȳte** (Ω114); <i> in the *adj.* **briht** (Ω383) and the *pl.* **brihte** (Ω76).

§ 99.8 M writes <i> in the *noun* **riȝtpisesse** (Ω73) and the *adv.* **riȝte** (Ω114) and <i> in the *adj. pl.* **brigte** (Ω76).

§ 100 The *i*-umlaut of *eo* (Primitive English *iu* + *i*-umlaut)

- § 100.1 Prim. Gmc. *i* before *u* was broken to *io* (later *eo* in most dialects) with great regularity (Campbell § 148). *io* was then subject to *i*-umlaut in WS only, giving *ie* > *y*, *i*. (Campbell § 201 and Jordan § 70). Outside of WS *io* went over to *eo* in the southern part of the Midlands (including East Saxon) and Kent.
- § 100.2 As a result, in ME evidence of Southwestern /y/ is exhibited; SML and Kentish /ø/ or *e* are also found and in the North and NML *i* is present as a reflex of *io*. (Jordan § 70)
- § 100.3 In the *CL* the *i*-umlaut of *eo* is only present in the following examples, before *h* (cf. 99), where it is written <i> in all texts, and in § 97 as part of the *wur* group.

In the *CL*:

- § 100.4 Before *h* (cf. § 99) T writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouer-sihð* (Ω76) and *þurh-sihð* (Ω92).
- § 100.5 Before *h* (cf. § 99) L writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouer-sich* (Ω76) and *þurþ sichð* (Ω92).
- § 100.6 Before *h* (cf. § 99) D writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouer-sieð* (Ω76) and *þurhsigð* (Ω92).
- § 100.7 Before *h* (cf. § 99) E2 writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouersihð* (Ω76) and *ðurh-sihð* (Ω92).
- § 100.8 Before *h* (cf. § 99) E1 writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouer-sihð* (Ω76) and *þurð-sihð* (Ω92).
- § 100.9 Before *h* (cf. § 99) J writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouer-sýhþ* (Ω76) and *þurh-sýhþ* (Ω92).
- § 100.10 Before *h* (cf. § 99) J writes <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg. ouersicþ* (Ω76) and *þurzsicþ* (Ω92).
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§ 101 The *verb* OE *eom*, *eam*, *am*

For the *irreg. verb pr. ind. 1st sg.* (OE -WS *eom*) T, D, J and M write OE *eo* as <a> in **am** (Ω1 and Ω4); L writes OE *eo* as <e> in **em** (Ω1 and Ω4); The E MSS writes OE *eo* as <æ> in **æm** (Ω1) but <eo> in **eom** (Ω4). The shortening of the OE diphthong in *eom* might well have resulted in ME **am**, **em** and **æm** – although it is probable that ME **am** is a continuation of the chiefly Anglian form **eam**, found also in non-Anglian texts. Although reflexes of the **eam** form are often also found in the Southwest the reflex of **eom** (which would be expected to predominate) found in the L text (**em**) and both of the Egerton texts (**æm**) can be seen as geographical markers. The writing of **eom** in the second writing of the verb in the E2 and E1 texts strengthens a Southwest localisation of these texts.

§ 102 OE *eo* from Back Mutation

§ 102.1 Back Umlaut or mutation (or velar umlaut) is a term used to describe both *u*-umlaut and *a*-umlaut.

§ 102.2 Back mutation produced the diphthongs *ea* (= *æa*), *eo*, *io* from the short front vowels *æ*, *e*, *i*, when a back vowel stood in the following syllable. (see § 205 Campbell for the conditions this occurred under). While breaking was mostly found in the Saxon area, back mutation occurred more often in Anglian and Kentish. (Jordan § 71)

§ 102.3 OE *eo* was common as *u*-umlaut, at least before liquids and labials, and as *o*/*a*-umlaut only in Angl. and Kent. Initially in ME it yields, like *eo* of breaking, the /ø/ sound written <eo, o> (cf. § 95). In the course of the twelfth century this was unrounded to *e* in EML – so far as *eo* was present at all – and the North (Jordan § 73). However, in the WML and parts of the South where /ø/ was retained longer (as discussed in § 95) it was lengthened to /ø:/ written <eo>.

§ 103 OE *eo* (*a*-umlaut of *e*)

In the *CL*:

§ 103.1 T writes <e> in the *adj. pl. fele* (Ω9, Ω10, Ω100 etc.), the *pron. pl. fele* (Ω71, Ω109) and in the *adv. fele* (Ω407); <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekeð* (Ω93); <e> in the *noun pele* (Ω162, Ω233, Ω330 etc.) and the *noun unfremu* (Ω237).

§ 103.2 L writes <o> in the *adj. pl. fole* (Ω9, Ω10, Ω100 etc. cf. § 102.3) but <e> in *fele* (Ω175, Ω219), <o> in the *pron. pl. fole* (Ω109, cf. §102.3) but <e> in *fele* (Ω71); <o> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brokeð* (Ω93); <e> in the *noun pele* (Ω162 and Ω233) and <o> in the *noun unfrome* (Ω237, cf. § 102.3).

§ 103.3 D writes <e> in the *adj. pl. vele/uele/fele* (Ω9, Ω10, Ω100 etc.), the *pron. pl. fele/uele* (Ω71, Ω109) and the *adv. vele* (Ω407); <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekeð* (Ω93) and <e> in the *noun pele* (Ω162, Ω233, Ω330 etc.).

§ 103.4 E2 writes <e> in the *adj. pl. fele/uele* (Ω9, Ω100, Ω175 etc.) but <a> in *fale* (Ω10 < *feala* by association with the antonym *feawe*,⁸⁷³ <e> in the *pl. pron. fele* (Ω109) but <ea> in *feale* (Ω71); <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekeð* (Ω93) <e> in the *noun pele* (Ω162, Ω233, Ω330 etc.); the *noun unfreme* (Ω237).

§ 103.5 E1 writes <e> in the *adj. pl. fele/vele* (Ω9, Ω10, Ω100 etc.) and in the *pron pl. fele* (Ω109) but <ea> in *feale* (Ω71: by association with the antonym *feawe*. (see *fn.* 330); <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekeð* (Ω93) and <e> in the *noun pele* (Ω162, Ω233, Ω330 etc.).

⁸⁷³ Expounded by Jordan § 73 *Remark 2*.

§ 103.6 J writes <eo> in the *adj. pl.* **veole/ueole/feole** (Ω9, Ω10, Ω100 etc. cf. § 102.3) and in the *pron. pl.* **veole** (Ω109, cf. § 102.3); <eo> in the *noun* **weole** (Ω162, Ω233 and Ω386, cf. § 102.3) but <e> in **wele** (Ω380) and <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **brekeð** (Ω93).

§ 103.7 M writes <e> in the *adj. pl.* **vele/uele/fele** (Ω9, Ω10, Ω100 etc.) and in the *pron. pl.* **fele** (Ω71 and Ω109); <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **brekeð** (Ω93); <e> in the *noun* **pele/pel** (Ω233, Ω330 and Ω380) and the *noun* **unureme** (Ω237).

§ 104 OE eo u-umlaut of e

In the *CL*:

§ 104.1 T writes <e> in the *noun* **heuene** (Ω28, Ω76, Ω83 etc.), **heueriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.) and **heuen-king** (Ω64 and Ω366), the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); the *noun* **perldes** (*poss.*) and **pereld** (Ω282, Ω330, Ω346 etc.); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52) and in the *noun* **pude** (Ω360).

§ 104.2 L writes <o> (cf. § 102.3) in the *noun* **houene** (Ω28, Ω76, Ω83 etc.), **houene-riche** (Ω66 and Ω185) and the *adj.* **houenliche** but <e> in the *noun* **heuenriche** (Ω43) and **heuen-king** (Ω64); <o> in the *noun* **porld-pele** (Ω162) and **porldes** (*poss.*) (Ω282); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52).

§ 104.3 D writes <e> in the *noun* **heuene** (Ω28, Ω76, Ω83 etc.) and the *noun* **heueriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.) and **heuene-king/heuenkinge** (Ω64 and Ω366); <e> in the *noun* **perldes** (*poss.*) (Ω162, Ω330, Ω350) and the *adj.* **perldliche** (Ω162) but <o> in **porld/poruld** and **porldes** (*poss.*) (Ω282, Ω346, Ω380); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194 for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52) but <o> in the *noun* **pode** (Ω360).

§ 104.4 E2 writes <e> in the *noun* **heuene** (Ω28 and Ω76) but <eo> (cf. § 81.3) in **heouene** (Ω83), <e> in **heuenneriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.), **heue-kinge/heuen-kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); <o> (cf. § 81.3) in the *noun* **poruld-pele/pule** (Ω162, Ω330, Ω346) and in **poruld** and **poruldes/poreldes** (*poss.*) (Ω282, Ω350, Ω380); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52) but <o> in the *noun* **pode** (Ω360).

§ 104.5 E1 writes <e> in the *noun* **heuene** (Ω76 and Ω83), the *noun* **heuene-riche/heueriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.), **heuene-kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); <o> (cf.

§ 81.3) in the *noun* **porld** and **poruldes/porldes** (*poss.*) (Ω162, Ω282, Ω330 etc.); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52) and in the *noun* **pude** (Ω360).

§ 104.6 J writes <eo> (cf. § 81.3) in the *noun* **heouene** (Ω28, Ω76, Ω83 etc.), **heoue-riche/heoueriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.) and **heouene-kinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) but <e> in the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); <o> in the *noun* **world** and **worldes** (*poss.*) (Ω162^{x2}, Ω282, Ω330 etc.); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52).

§ 104.7 M writes <e> in M for the *noun* **heuene** (Ω76 and Ω83), **heuenneriche** (Ω43 and Ω185), **heuenkinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and the *adj.* **heuenliche** (Ω99); the *noun* **porld/uorld** and **porldes** (*poss.*) (Ω282, Ω330, Ω346 etc.); under the influence of *w* it is <u> in the *noun* **suster** (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *w* see Wright § 52) but <o> in the *noun* **pode** (Ω360).

The velar umlaut *io* of *i*

§ 105.1 The velar umlaut *io* of *i* probably went to *eo* everywhere in Old English. In ME /ø/ results with unrounding to *e* - with lengthening in open syllables.

§ 105.2 OE *eo* was retained as a front round vowel /ø/ spelled <eo, o, oe, u, ue> in the West Midlands and Southwest.

§ 105.3 In the Southwest there was a lack of umlaut before a dental (*syððen*, *suððe* (cf. E2 § 105.7) < late WS *syððan*). (Jordan § 74)

§ 105.4 T writes <e> (§ 105.1) in the *cj.* **seðen** (Ω9, Ω122 and Ω216); the *quant. card.* **seuene/seue** (Ω29 and Ω149); <e> (§ 105.1) in the *prep.* **bineðen** (Ω89); <e> in the *possess. pron* 3^d *pl.* **here** (Ω104, Ω184, Ω213 etc.); <e> in the *verb pp.* **icleped** (Ω109) and the *verb inf.* **biclepien** (Ω112); <e> in the *adv.* **henne** (Ω417) and <i> in the *verb inf.* **(be)nime** (Ω45); <i> in the *adj.* **quike** (Ω80) and the *adj.* functioning as *pl. noun* in **quica** (Ω199); <i> in the *noun* **silver** (Ω278) and <i> in the *adj.* **niðer** (Ω310 and Ω359).

§ 105.5 L writes <o> (§ 105.2) in the *cj.* **soððen** (Ω9, Ω122) but <u> (§ 105.3) in **suððen** (Ω216); <o> (§ 105.2) in the *quant. card.* **souene/soue** (Ω29 and Ω149); <o> (§ 105.2) in the *noun* **solure** (Ω278); <o> (§ 105.2) in the *prep.* **binopen** (Ω89); <o> (§ 105.2) in the *possess. pron* 3^d *pl.* **hore** (Ω104, Ω184, Ω213 etc.) but **here** (Ω2251 and Ω2259); <e> in the *verb pp.* **iclepede** (Ω109) and the *verb inf.* **biclepie** (Ω112) and <i> in the *verb inf.* **(be)nimen** (Ω45); <i> in the *adj.* **quike** (Ω80) and the *adj.* functioning as *pl. noun* in **quike** (Ω199).

§ 105.6 D writes <e> (§ 105.1) in *seðe* (Ω122 and Ω216); <e> in the *quant. card. seouene/seue* (Ω229 and Ω149); <e> in the *prep. bineþen* (Ω89); <e> in the *verb pp. icleped* (Ω109) and the *verb inf. biclepien* (Ω112); <e> in the *adv. hennes* (Ω417); <e> in the *possess. pron 3^d pl. her/here* (Ω104, Ω214, Ω220 etc.) but <i> in *hire* (Ω184, Ω251 and Ω358); <i> in the *verb inf. (be)nime* (Ω45); <i> in the *adj. quike* (Ω80) and the *adj. functioning as pl. noun in quike* (Ω199); <i> in the *adj. niþer* (Ω310 and Ω359) and <i> in the *cj. siþen* (Ω9).

§ 105.7 E2 writes <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *quant. card. seouene/seoue* (Ω229 and Ω149); <eo> in the *prep. bi-neoðen* (Ω89); <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *possess. pron 3^d pl. heore/heora* (Ω104, Ω184, Ω214 etc.) and <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *noun seoluer* (Ω2278); <u> in the *verb pp. icluped* (Ω109) and the *verb inf. bi-clupien* (Ω112); <u> (§ 105.3) in the *cj. suððe* (Ω122); <y> (§ 105.3) in the *cj. sýððen* (Ω9) but <i> in *siððe* (Ω216); <i> in the *verb inf. (be)-nime* (Ω45); <i> in the *adj. quike* (Ω80) and the *adj. functioning as pl. noun in quike* (Ω199).

§ 105.8 E1 writes <e> in the *prep. bi-neþen* (Ω89); <e> in the *verb pp. i-cleped* (Ω109) and the *verb inf. bi-clepien* (Ω112); <e> in the *noun suefer* (Ω2278); <e> in the *adv. henne* (Ω417); <e> in the *possess. pron 3^d pl. here* (Ω104, Ω213, Ω214 etc.) (8); <eo> in *heore* (Ω184, Ω237, Ω302 etc.) (5) and <u> in *hure* (Ω272 and Ω287); <y> (§ 105.3) in the *cj. sýðen* (Ω9) and <u> (§ 105.3) in *sutþe/suðþe* (Ω122 and Ω216); <u> in the *adj. nuðer* (Ω359); <eo> in the *quant. card. seouene/seoue* (Ω229 and Ω149); <i> in the *verb inf. (be)-nimen* (Ω45); <i> in the *adj. quike* (Ω80) and the *adj. functioning as pl. noun in quike* (Ω199).

§ 105.9 J writes <e> in the *prep. bi-neþen* (Ω89); <e> in the *verb pp. icleped* (Ω109) but <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *verb inf. bi-cleopien* (Ω112); <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *quant. card. seoue* (Ω149); <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *possess. pron 3^d pl. heore* (Ω104, Ω184, Ω213 etc.); <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *noun seoluer* (Ω2278); <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *adv. heonne* (Ω417); <eo> (§ 105.2) in the *cj. seopþe* (Ω9) but <e> in *seþþen* (Ω122); <y> in the *verb inf. (by)nyme* (Ω45); <y> in the *adj. quýke* (Ω80) and the *adj. functioning as pl. noun in quýke* (Ω199) and <y> in the *adj. nýþe* (Ω310).

§ 105.10 M writes <i> in the *adj. quike* (Ω80) and the *adj. functioning as pl. noun in quikepe* (Ω199); <i> in the *adj. niþer* (Ω359); <i> in the *verb inf. (bi)nime* (Ω45); <i> in the *cj. siþþe* (Ω9) but <u> in *supþe* (Ω216); <u> in the *verb pp. icluped* (Ω109); <u> in the *possess. pron 3^d pl. hure* (Ω104, Ω251, Ω259 etc.) (6) but <a> in *hare* (Ω184, Ω220, Ω272 and Ω358); <e> in the *quant. card. seue* (Ω149); <e> in the *prep. bineþe* (Ω89); <e> in the *noun selure* (Ω2278) and <e> in the *adv. henne* (Ω417).

OE Long Diphthongs

§ 106 OE ea

§ 106.1 The diphthong *ea* /æ:a/, follows a parallel movement to that of short *ea* (cf. § 87) and was monophthongized to *æ* around 1000 in most places. However, where *æ* (<*ea*>) went to *a*, there resulted from open /æ:/, probably already in the twelfth century, /ɛ:/, usually written <*e*> from the middle of the 13th cent (especially in open syllables). (Jordan § 81)

§ 106.2 The Kentish dialect shows a special development in relation to *ea*, and to a lesser extent *ea* (cf. § 91.2), which exerts an influence on other writings from the eleventh century. The writing of *ie* occurs and points to a strong narrowing of the first component. From the lessening of sonority in this first component there is often a transfer of accent to /jɛ:/. These remained more often in initial position where the sound was more stable and not just in the writings of Kent; examples of this can be found in E2 (*Ʒedi*) and M (*Ʒedi* and *Ʒeþ*). The writing <*ya*> and <*ia*> occurring beside <*yea*, *ea*> can be seen as a continuation of the already OKent. *ya*. In medial position /j/ was retained only after certain consonants, such as dentals, which favoured it, therefore the frequent writing <*dyea*d, *dyad*, *diad*, *dyeaþ*> etc. (Jordan § 82).

§ 106.3 T writes <*e*> in the *adv.* *ec* (Ω47, Ω112, Ω167 etc.); <*e*> in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* *eðlate* (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.) but <*ea*> in the *adv.* *eaðe* (Ω217, Ω299 and Ω389) and in the *adv.* *uneaðe* (Ω190, Ω198 and Ω363); <*ea*> in the *noun* *deaðe* (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.); <*ea*> in the *adj.* *eadi* (Ω238); <*ea*> in the *noun* *lean* (Ω65); <*ea*> in the *noun* *breade* (Ω198, Ω376) but <*a*> in *brade* (Ω152); <*a*> in the *verbal noun* *rauing* (Ω266).

§ 106.4 L writes <*e*> in the *adv.* *ec* (Ω167, Ω180 and Ω214); <*e*> in the *noun* *chep* (Ω69); <*e*> in the *adj.* *edi* (Ω238); <*e*> in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* *eclate/et-lete* (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.) and in the *adv.* *eðe* (Ω217), <*e*> in *uneðe* (Ω198) but <*ea*> in *uneade* (Ω190: rh); <*e*> in the *noun* *deþe/deðe/deð* (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.) but <*ea*> in *deape* (Ω191: rh); <*ea*> in the *noun* *brede* (Ω152 and Ω198).

§ 106.5 D writes <*e*> in the *adv.* *ec/ech* (Ω1, Ω24, Ω84 etc.); <*ea*> in the *noun* *lean* (Ω65); <*e*> in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* *eðlete* (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.) but <*ea*> in the *adv.* *eaðe/eade* (Ω299 and Ω389) and in the *adv.* *unneaðe* (Ω198) but <*e*> in *vnneðe* (Ω190); <*ea*> in the *noun* *deaðe/deade* (Ω111, Ω132, Ω191 etc. (10) but <*e*> in *deðe/deð* (Ω120, Ω129, Ω193 etc. (4); <*e*> in the *noun* *bred/brede* (Ω152 and Ω376) but <*ea*> in the *noun* *breade* (Ω198) and <*ea*> in the *adj.* *eadi* (Ω238).

§ 106.6 E2 writes <e> in the *adv.* **ech/ec** (Ω3, Ω11, Ω24 etc.); <e> in the *adj.* **eð-lete** (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.), <ea> in the *adv.* **eaðe** (Ω217) but <ie> in **ieþe** (Ω299 cf. § 106.2) and in the *adv.* **un-ieðe/unieþe** (Ω190 and Ω363) but <e> in **uneðe** (Ω198); <ie> in the *noun* **dieðe/dieð** (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc. cf. § 106.2) but <ea> in **deað** (Ω132); <ie> in the *noun* **lien** (Ω65 cf. § 106.2); <ie> in the *noun* **briede** (Ω198 and Ω376) but <e> in **brede** (Ω152); <ge> in the *adj.* **gedi** (Ω238 cf. § 106.2) and <ea> in the *verbal noun* **reuing** (Ω266).

§ 106.7 E1 writes <e> in the *adv.* **ec** (Ω3, Ω11, Ω24 etc.); <ýe> in the *noun* **lýen** (Ω65 cf. § 106.2); <e> in the *adj.* **eð-lete** (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.), the *adv.* **eþe** (Ω299 and Ω389) and <e> in the *adv.* **vneþe** (Ω190, Ω198) but <ie> in **un-ieþe** (Ω363 cf. § 106.2); <e> in the *noun* **deþe/ded** (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.(7) but <ie> in **dieþe/dieð** (Ω191, Ω193, Ω202 etc. (5) and <ea> in **deaþe** (Ω388); <e> in the *noun* **brede/bred** (Ω152, Ω198 and Ω376); <æi> in the *adj.* **æidi** (Ω238) and <e> in the *verbal noun* **reuing** (Ω266).

§ 106.8 J writes <e> in the *adv.* **ek/eke** (Ω1, Ω3, Ω84 etc.); <e> in the *adv.* **eþe** (Ω190 and Ω389) and the *adv.* **vneþe** (Ω198, Ω363); <e> in the *noun* **deþe/deþ** (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.); <e> in the *noun* **brede/bred** (Ω152, Ω198 and Ω376); <e> in the *adj.* **edy** (Ω238); <e> in the *verbal noun* **reving** (Ω266) but <ea> in the *noun* **lean** (Ω65).

§ 106.9 M writes <e> in the *adv.* **eke/ec** (Ω112, Ω267, Ω377 etc.); <ie> in the *noun* **lien** (Ω65); <ze> in the *adj.* **zeþ-lete** (Ω75, Ω157 and Ω270: cf. § 106.2), <e> in the *adv.* **vneþe** (Ω198); <e> in the *noun* **deþe** (Ω111, Ω129, Ω132 etc.) but <ia> in **diaþe** (Ω120 cf. § 106.2); <e> in the *noun* **brede/bred** (Ω152 and Ω198, Ω376); <ze> in the *adj.* **zedi** (Ω238 cf. § 106.2) and <e> in the *verbal noun* **reuing** (Ω266).

§ 107 The *i*-umlaut of *ea*

§ 107.1 In the Southwest *u* /*y*:/ is characteristic (cf. *i*-umlaut of short *ea* cf. § 89). However, the /*y*:/ sound was repressed early (probably before the end of the OE period in living speech) and, aside from the remains of Southwestern *u* /*y*:/ – demonstrated in E2 and E1 of the *CL* – Anglian *e* prevails in the rest of the area. The less frequent writing of <e> in E2 and E1 occur in rhyming position and are more likely to reflect the exemplar from which the texts are copied. (Jordan § 83)

§ 107.2 T writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **ileuen** (Ω50) and the *verb *f*^t pl.* **leueð/ileued** (Ω136 and Ω183); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **hereð** (Ω91) and in the *verb inf.* **ihere** (Ω276); the *verb inf.* **temen** (Ω113 rh); the *verb pp.* **alesed** (Ω141) but it is <ie> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **giemeð** (Ω82).

§ 107.3 L writes <e> throughout, in the *verb inf.* **ileue/leuen** (Ω250 rh, Ω136), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **ileueð** (Ω183); the *verb pp.* **alesed** (Ω141); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ihērð** (Ω91) and the *verb inf.* **iheren** (Ω276).

§ 107.4 D writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **ileuen** (Ω250, Ω136, Ω183 etc.); the *verb inf.* **teme** (Ω113 rh); the *verb pp.* **alesd** (Ω141); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ihērð** (Ω91) but <ie> in **ihiere** (Ω276).

§ 107.5 E2 writes <u> (cf. § 107.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ihurð** (Ω91) and in the *verb inf.* **ihuren** (Ω276) the *verb pp.* **ilud** (Ω141) but <e> (cf. § 107.1) in the *verb inf.* **ileue** (Ω250 in rhyming position), the *verb 1st pl.* **leueð/ileue** (Ω136, and Ω183 in rhyming position) and the *verb inf.* **temen** (Ω113 in rhyming position).

§ 107.6 E1 writes <u> (cf. § 107.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **i-hurd** (Ω91) and in the *verb inf.* **ihuren** (Ω276); the *verb pp.* **a-lused** (Ω141); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **iluuēt** (Ω136) but <e> (cf. § 107.1) in **ileued** (Ω183 in rhyming position); the *verb inf.* **ileue** (Ω250 in rhyming position) and the *verb inf.* **temen** (Ω113 in rhyming position).

§ 107.7 J writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **ileue** (Ω250), the *verb 1st pl.* **leueþ/ileue** (Ω136, Ω183); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ihērþ** (Ω91) and in the *verb inf.* **here** (Ω276); the *verb inf.* **teme** (Ω113) and the *verb pp.* **ilesed** (Ω141).

§ 107.8 M writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **yleue** (Ω250 rh.), the *verb 1st pl.* **leueþ** (Ω136) and the *verb pr. subj. 2nd pl.* **yleue** (Ω183); the *verb inf.* **teme** (Ω113 rh); the *verb pp.* **ilesed** (Ω141) but <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **ihurþ** (Ω91).

§ 108 OE eo (Kentish īo)

§ 108.1 The development of OE *eo* is similar to that of *eo* > /ø/ (cf. § 95), with a special development taking place in Kent (cf. §). OE *eo* yields long /ø:/, which in some areas of the WML and the South gives longer resistance to unrounding than in short *eo* and is retained up into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the EML and the North this was unrounded to /e:/, beginning in the twelfth century. The /ø:/ sound is indicated by <eo, o, (ue, eu), u>. (Jordan § 84).

§ 108.2 In Kent *eo* had already gone to īo in OE. In early ME this became īe (cf. § 108.5) and with accent shifting /je:/. In medial position /j/ was retained only after dentals (cf. § 108.5) but with the writings <ie, ye> transferred to other cases (possibly under the influence of the AN writing <ie (ye)> for /e:/). However, in final position the accent remained on the first component and as a result the second disappeared, therefore, in the *CL* we find **bt** in D (cf. § 108.5).

§ 108.3 T writes a mixture <e> and <ie>. It is written <e> in the *verb inf.* **be/ben** (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc.) but <ie> in **bien** (Ω402), <e> in the *verb pp.* **iben/ben** (Ω3 and Ω144), <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **beð** (Ω20 and Ω341) but <ie> in **bieð** (Ω342), <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **beð** (Ω76, Ω96, Ω109^{x2} etc.) but <ie> in **bieð** (Ω302), <ie> in the *verb pr. sbj. 1st sg.* **bie** (Ω4 and Ω141), <e> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **be** (Ω27, Ω33, Ω127 etc.) but <ie> in **bie** (Ω30 and Ω79), <e> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl.* **ben** (Ω29 and Ω373) but <ie> in **bien** (Ω82).

It is written <ie> in the *verb inf.* **isien/isiene** (Ω19, Ω167, Ω297 etc.); <e> in the *adj.* **leuere** (*comp.*) and **lef** (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) but <ie> in **lief** (Ω210 (repeat of Ω74), Ω265 and Ω270) and <ie> in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **lieue** (Ω45); <e> in the *noun sg.* **frend** (Ω31) but <ie> in the *noun pl.* (OE *dat.*) **friende** (Ω231); <ie> in the *pl. noun* (OE *dat.*) **fiendes** (Ω230); <ie> in the *noun* **pieue** (Ω44); <e> in the *noun* **deuel** (Ω225 and Ω284), the *possess. noun* **deueles/defles** (Ω186, Ω202 and Ω267) and the *noun pl.* **deflen** (Ω100); <ie> in the *noun* **diere** (Ω152 rh); <ie> in the *noun* **spiere** (Ω153 rh); <e> in the *verb inf.* **biflen** (Ω161); <ie> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **hielden** (Ω179) but <i> in the *adj.* **sic** (Ω208).

§ 108.4 L writes mostly <o> (cf. §) in the *verb inf.* **bon/bo** (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc.), <o> in the *verb pp.* **ibon/bon** (Ω3 and Ω144), <o> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **boð/boþ** (Ω29, Ω76, Ω77 etc.) but <i> in **bið** (Ω246), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl.* **bon/bo** (Ω96 and Ω141), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj. 1st sg.* **bo** (Ω4), <o> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **bo** (Ω27, Ω33, Ω127 etc.) but <eo> in **beo** (Ω30) and <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **beoð** (Ω20).

It is <eo> in the *verb inf.* **seon** (Ω19) but <o> in **son** (Ω167); <o> in the *adj.* **loure** (*comp.*) and **lof** (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **loue** (Ω45); <o> in the *noun sg.* **frond** (Ω31) and the *noun pl.* (OE *dat.*) **frond** (Ω230) but **frend** (Ω231); <o> in the *pl. noun* (OE *dat.*) **fond** (Ω230); <o> in the *noun* **poue** (Ω44); <o> in the *noun* **douel/doulen** (Ω225 and Ω284), the *possess. noun* **doules** (Ω186, Ω202 and Ω267) and the *noun pl.* **doule** (Ω100); <o> in the *noun* **dore** (Ω152); <o> in the *noun* **spore** (Ω153); <ie> in the *verb inf.* **bi-flien** (Ω161); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **holden** (Ω179) but <e> in the *adj.* **sec** (Ω208) and <e> in the *noun* **tening** (Ω266).

§ 108.5 D writes a mixture of Kentish <i> and <ie> (cf. §) alongside <e>. It is <i> in the *verb inf.* **bi** (Ω2, Ω27, Ω100 etc. (13), <ie> in **bien** (Ω40, Ω42, Ω60 etc. (5) and <e> in **ben** (Ω44, Ω111, Ω166 etc. (8), there are a further 5 occasions where the text reads **bn** (Ω125, Ω176, Ω180 etc.) indicating an abbreviation probably reading **e**; <ie> in the *verb pp.* **ibien/ibie** (Ω3, Ω144), <ie> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **bieð** (Ω20, Ω341 and Ω342), <ie> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **bieð** (Ω77, Ω78, Ω182 etc.) but <e> in **beð** (Ω76 and Ω109), <i> in the *verb pr. sbj. 1st sg.* **bi** (Ω4 and Ω141), <i> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **bi** (Ω27, Ω33, Ω127 etc.), <e> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl.* **ben** (Ω29) but <i> in **bi** (Ω373 and Ω394 cf. §).

It is written <ie> in the *verb inf.* **isien/sien** (Ω19, Ω167, Ω401 etc.) but <eo> in **iseon** (Ω297, Ω398) and <e> in **isen** (Ω392); <ie> in the *adj.* **lief** (Ω74, Ω265 and Ω270) and in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **lieue** (Ω45); <e> in the *noun pl.* (OE *dat.*) **frende** (Ω231); <ie> in the *pl. noun* (OE *dat.*) **viende** (Ω230); <ie> in the *noun* **pieue** (Ω44); <e> in the *noun* **deuel** (Ω225) but <ie> in **diefle** (Ω284), <o> in the *possess. noun* **dofles** (Ω186) but <e> in **defles** (Ω202), <ie> in **diefle** (Ω267) and <eo> in the *noun pl.* **deoflen** (Ω100); <ie> in the *noun* **diere** (Ω152); <ie> in the *noun* **spiere** (Ω153 rh); <ie> in the *verb inf.* **biflien** (Ω161); <ie> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **hielden** (Ω179) and <ie> in the *adj.* **siec** (Ω208).

- § 108.6 E2 writes mostly <eo> (cf. §) in the *verb inf.* **beon/beo** (Ω40, Ω42, Ω44 etc.) but <e> in **ben** (Ω2), <eo> in the *verb pp.* **ibeaon** (Ω3 and Ω144), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind.* 1st *pl.* **beoþ/beoð** (Ω20, Ω341 and Ω342), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **beoð** (Ω76, Ω96, Ω109^{x2} etc.) but **bið** (Ω77, Ω78), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 2nd *pl.* **buð** (Ω24), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 1st *sg.* **beo** (Ω4), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd *sg.* **beo** (Ω27, Ω30, Ω33 etc.), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd *pl.* **beon** (Ω29) and <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 1st *pl.* **beo** (Ω333).

It is written <eo> in the *verb inf.* **iseon/seon** (Ω19 and Ω167); <eo> in the *adj.* **leoure** (*comp.*) and **leof** (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **leoue** (Ω45) but <ie> in the *adj.* **lief** (Ω270); <eo> in the *noun sg.* **freond** (Ω31) and *pl. noun* (OE *dat.*) **freonde** (Ω231); <eo> in the *pl. noun* (OE *dat.*) **feonde** (Ω230); <eo> in the *noun* **peoue** (Ω44); <eo> in the *noun* **deofel/deoflen** (Ω225 and Ω284), the *poss. noun* **deofles** (Ω202 and Ω267) and the *noun pl.* **deofles** (Ω100); <eo> in the *noun* **deore** (Ω152 rh); <eo> in the *noun* **speore** (Ω153 rh); <eo> in the *verb inf.* **bi-fleon** (Ω161); <eo> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **heolde** (Ω179) and <i> in the *adj.* **sic** (Ω208).

- § 108.7 E1 retains <eo, o, ue and u>, forms associated with the South and WML, alongside unrounded <e>. It is written <e> in the *verb inf.* **ben/be** (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc. (15) but <eo> in **beo/beon** (Ω125, Ω141, Ω166 etc. (17) and <ue> in **buen** (Ω181), <e> in the *verb pp.* **iben** (Ω3) but <eo> in **ibeaon** (Ω144), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind.* 1st *pl.* **beoþ** (Ω20) but <e> in **beð** (Ω341 and Ω342), <e> in the *verb pr. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **beð/bet/bed** (Ω76, Ω78, Ω96 etc. (7) but **beod/beoð** (Ω109^{x2}, Ω246, Ω254 etc. (8), **bud/buð** (Ω77, Ω295, Ω296 etc. (8) and **bued** (Ω302), <u> in the *verb pr. ind.* 2nd *pl.* **buð** (Ω24), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 1st *sg.* **beo** (Ω4), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd *sg.* **beo** (Ω30, Ω127, Ω190 etc.) but <e> in **be** (Ω27), <ue> in **bue** (Ω33) and <o> in **bo** (Ω33), <e> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd *pl.* **ben** (Ω29), <e> in the *verb pr. sbj.* 2nd *pl.* **ben** (Ω28).

It is written <e> in the *verb inf.* **isen** (Ω19) but <eo> in **i-seo/i-seon/seon** (Ω167, Ω392, Ω398 etc.) but <o> in **i-son** (Ω297) and <e> in **sene** (Ω405); <e> in the *adj.* **leure** (*comp.*) and **lef** (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **leue** (Ω45) but <i> in **lif** (Ω270); <o> in the *noun* **frond** (Ω31) but <eo> in the *noun pl.* (OE *dat.*) **freonde** (Ω231); <eo> in the *pl. noun* (OE *dat.*) **feonde** (Ω230); <e> in the *noun* **peve** (Ω44); <eo> in the *noun* **deofel/deoflen** (Ω225 and Ω284), the *possess. noun* **deofles** (Ω202 and Ω267) and the *noun pl.* **deofles** (Ω100); <e> in the *noun* **dere** (Ω152 rh); <e> in the *noun* **spere** (Ω153 rh); <ue> in the *verb inf.* **bifluen** (Ω161); <eo> in the *verb pa. ind.* 3rd *pl.* **heolden** (Ω179) and <i> in the *adj.* **sic** (Ω208).

§ 108.8 J writes mostly <eo> alongside occasional <e>. It is written <eo> in the *verb inf.* **beo/beon** (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc.), <eo> in the *verb pp.* **ibeo** (Ω3), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **beoþ** (Ω20, Ω341 and Ω342), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **beoþ** (Ω29, Ω76, Ω77 etc.), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 2nd pl.* **beoþ** (Ω24), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj. 1st sg.* **beo** (Ω4 and Ω141), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **beo** (Ω27, Ω30, Ω33 etc.) but <e> in **be** (Ω260), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl.* **beon** (Ω373).

It is written <eo> in the *verb inf.* **bi-seo** (Ω19) and **seon/i-seon/i-seo/iseon/seonne** (Ω167, Ω297, Ω392 etc.); <eo> in the *adj.* **leouere** (*comp.*) and **leof** (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **leoue** (Ω45) but <e> in the *adj. (comp.)* **leuere** (Ω277); <eo> in the *noun sg.* **freond** (Ω31); <e> in the *noun* **þeue** (Ω44); <eo> in the *noun* **deouel/deouele** (Ω225 and Ω284), the *possess. noun* **deofles/deoules** (Ω202 and Ω267) and the *noun pl.* **deoulen** (Ω100); <eo> in the *noun* **deore** (Ω152 rh); <eo> in the *noun* **sweore** (Ω153); <eo> in the *verb inf.* **fleon** (Ω161); <eo> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **heolde** (Ω179) but <e> in the *adj.* **sek** (Ω208).

§ 108.9 M writes mostly <e> with some <eo>. It is written <eo> in the *verb inf.* **beo** (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc.) but **ben** (Ω44 and Ω299), <eo> in the *verb pp.* **ibeo** (Ω3 and Ω144), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* **beoþ** (Ω20 and Ω341), <eo> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl.* **beoþ** (Ω109^{x2}, Ω186, Ω246 etc.) but <e> in **beþ** (Ω76 and Ω96), <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 2nd pl.* **beþ** (Ω24), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj. 1st sg.* **beo** (Ω4, Ω141), <eo> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* **beo** (Ω27, Ω30 and Ω127).

It is written <eo> in the *verb inf.* **iseo** (Ω19 and Ω297); <e> in the *adj.* **leuere** (*comp.*) and **lef** (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the *adj.* functioning as a *noun* **leue** (Ω45); <e> in the *noun sg.* **frend** (Ω31) and the *noun pl. (OE dat.)* **frend** (Ω231); <e> in the *pl. noun (OE dat.)* **uende** (Ω230); <e> in the *noun* **þeue** (Ω44); <e> in the *noun* **deuel/deuele** (Ω225 and Ω284), the *possess. noun* **deueles** (Ω186, Ω202 and Ω267) and the *noun pl.* **deueles** (Ω100); <e> in the *noun* **dere** (Ω152 rh); <e> in the *noun* **suere** (Ω153); <e> in the *verb inf.* **ule** (Ω161); <e> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **helde** (Ω179); <i> in the *adj.* **sike** (Ω208).

§ 109 The *i*-umlaut of *eo* (Primitive English *īu* + *i, j*)

§ 109.1 As in the short *i*-umlaut of *eo* (§ 100.1), *īo* was subject to *i*-umlaut in WS giving *y* (and later *ī*) < *īe*. (Campbell § 201). In the Midland *īo* went over into *eo*, in Northumbrian this must have occurred in the eleventh century, in Kent *īo* was preserved.

§ 109.2 In ME in dialects of the Southwest traces of the WS *y* are found. The otherwise predominating *eo* and Kent. *īo* developed like the same sounds without umlaut (cf, § 108). (Jordan § 86)

§ 109.3 For the *nouns* OE WS *frēond* and *feond*, *i*-umlaut only took place in the *pl. nom* and *pl. acc.*

§ 109.4 T writes <e> in the *noun pl.* (OE *acc.*) **frend** (Ω192 and Ω315) but <ie> in **friend** (Ω231); <ie> in the *noun pl.* (*nom.*) **fiend** (Ω294); <ie> in the *noun* **þiesterneſse** (292) but <u> in the *adj.* **þuſter** (Ω79); <e> in the *noun pl.* **derlinges** (Ω402) and <ie> in the *adv.* **diere** (Ω153 and Ω193); <ie> in the *noun* **niede** (Ω274).

§ 109.5 L writes mostly <o> in the *noun pl.* (*acc.*) **frond** (Ω192 and Ω231); <o> in the *adv.* **dore** (Ω153 and Ω193); <o> in the *noun* **node** (Ω274); <o> in the *adj.* **poſtre** (Ω79) but <e> in the *pl.* **peſtre** (Ω77).

§ 109.6 D has mostly <ie> in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **þieſtre** (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the *noun* **þieſterneſse** (292); the *noun* **niede** (Ω274); <ie> in the *adv.* **diere** (Ω153 and Ω193); with <eo> in the *noun pl.* **deorlinges** (Ω402); <eo> in the *noun pl.* (*nom.*) **feond** (Ω294) and <e> in the *noun pl.* (OE *acc.*) **frend** (Ω192 and Ω315).

§ 109.7 E2 has Southwestern <u> (cf. § 109.2) in the *noun pl.* (OE *acc.*, cf. § 109.3) **frund** (Ω192 and Ω231) but <eo> in the *noun pl.* (OE *acc.*) **freond** (Ω315); <u> in the *noun pl.* (OE *nom.* cf. § 109.3) **fund** (Ω294); <u> in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **þuſtre** (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the *noun* **þuſterneſse** (Ω292); <u> in the *adv.* **dure** (Ω153) but <eo> in **deore** (Ω193) and <eo> in the *noun* **neode** (Ω274).

§ 109.8 E1 writes <e> in the *noun pl.* (OE *acc.*) **frend** (Ω192, Ω231 and Ω315); <e> in the *noun pl.* (OE *nom.*) **fend** (Ω294); <u> (cf. § 109.2) in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **þuſtre** (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the *noun* **þuſterneſse** (Ω292); <u> in the *noun pl.* **durlinges** (Ω402); <ue> in the *adv.* **duere** (Ω153) but <o> in **dore** (Ω193) and <e> in the *noun* **nede** (Ω274).

§ 109.9 J always writes unrounded <eo> (cf. § 109.1 and § 109.2) in the *noun pl.* **freond** (Ω192 and Ω315); <eo> in the *noun pl.* (*nom.*) **feond** (Ω294); <eo> in the *adj. sg.* and *pl.* **þeoſtre** (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the *noun* **þeoſterneſse** (292); <eo> in the *adv.* **deore** (Ω153 and Ω193); <eo> in the *noun* **neode** (Ω274) but <e> in the *noun pl.* **derlinges** (Ω402).

§ 109.10 M always writes <e> in the *noun pl.* (OE *acc.*) **frend** (Ω192 and Ω315); <e> in the *noun pl.* (*nom.*) **fend** (Ω294); <e> in the *adv.* **dere** (Ω153 and Ω193); <e> in the *pl. adj.* **peſtre** but Southwestern <u> (cf. § 109.2) in the *noun* **þuſterneſse** (292).

Palatal Diphthongs

- § 110 Diphthongization caused by preceding palatals is divided between the diphthongizing of front vowels and the later diphthongizing of back vowels. Both are found generally in Sax. and Northum. (Jordan § 75)
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Diphthongs from front vowels caused by preceding palatals:

- § 111 The front vowels *æ* and Sax. *ǣ* (cf. § 71ff. for *ǣ*) and *e* yielded the diphthongs *ea*, *ea*, *ie* and *ī* *e* < *e*. From about 900 Sax. *ie* was simplified to *i* or *y*; *ea* and *ea* were ‘smoothed’ in some areas to *e* or *e*, however, many Sax. dialects retained *ea* and *ea*. (Jordan § 75)
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- § 112 OE *ea*

- § 112.1 As can be demonstrated from the *CL*, there is limited evidence of smoothing in the Saxon territory. OE *ea* is simplified to *æ* (cf. § 112.5 and § 112.6: *scæl*) and then takes part in the transition to *a*.

- § 112.2 T writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sal* (Ω317) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sal/þal* (sic) (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.); <a> in the *verb inf. samie* (Ω172), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sameð* (Ω174); <a> in the *noun same* (Ω175); <a> in the *noun pl. safte* (Ω86) and the *noun scat* (Ω380).
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- § 112.3 Lambeth writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. schal/scal* (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.); <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scameþ* (Ω174) but <e> in the *noun pl. scefte* (Ω86) and <o> in the *noun scome* (Ω175); with <e> in the *adv. gere* (Ω115).
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- § 112.4 Digby writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sal* (Ω317) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal/sal* (Ω27, Ω36, Ω63 etc. ⁽¹³⁾) but <e> in *sel* (Ω22, Ω55, Ω60 etc. ⁽²⁴⁾); <a> in the *verb inf. samien* (Ω172) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. schameð* (Ω174); <a> in the *noun same* (Ω175); <ea> in the *noun pl. seafte* (Ω86) but <e> in the *noun scete* (Ω380: <e> might be explained by its position between palatal and dental consonants).
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- § 112.5 E2 writes <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sceal* (Ω317) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sceal* (Ω27, Ω36, Ω49 etc.); <æ> in *scæl* (Ω22) and <a> in *scal* (Ω180); <a> in the *verb inf. scamian* (Ω172) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scamet* (Ω174); <a> in the *noun scame* (Ω175); <ea> in the *noun pl. seafte* (Ω86) but <ie> in the *noun sciete* (Ω380: *i*-umlaut of *ea*?).
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§ 112.6 E1 writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. scal* (Ω317) and in the *pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal* (Ω36, Ω49, Ω55 etc.) but <æ> in *scæl/sæl* (Ω22, Ω27) and <ea> in *sceal* (Ω167, Ω348); <a> in the *verb inf. scamien* (Ω172) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scamet* (Ω174); <a> in the *noun scame* (Ω175) but <e> in the *noun pl. scefte* (Ω86) and in the *noun sced* (Ω380: <e> might be explained by its position between palatal and dental consonants).

§ 112.7 J writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. schal* (Ω317) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal* (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.) and <a> in the *noun pl. schafte* (Ω86).

§ 112.8 M writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal* (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.); <a> in the *verb inf. scamie* (Ω172) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scameþ* (Ω174); <a> in the *noun same* (Ω175); <a> in the *noun schat* (Ω380); <e> in the *noun pl. scefte* (Ω86).

§ 113 The *i*-umaut of OE *ea*

§ 113.1 E2 and E1 demonstrate the /y/ reflex of unstable *i*, *y* < *ie* as *i*-umlaut of *ea* diphthongized by a palatal, found in scattered instances in the Southwest; *e* in the remaining readings is OE *e* without diphthongizing:

§ 113.2 T writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) and in the *verb pp. bicherd* (Ω333).

§ 113.3 L writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω246 and Ω247).

§ 113.4 D writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) and <e> in the *verb pp. bicherd* (Ω333).

§ 113.5 E2 writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) but <u> in *chule* (Ω206 cf. 113.1) and <e> in the *verb pp. bicherd* (Ω333).

§ 113.6 E1 writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) but <u> in *chule* (Ω206 cf. 113.1); <e> in the *verb pp. bi-cherd* (Ω333).

§ 113.7 J writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247) and <e> in the *verb pp. bi-cherd* (Ω333).

§ 113.8 M writes <e> in the *noun chele* (Ω206, Ω245^{x2}, Ω246 and Ω247).

§ 114 OE *ea*

- § 114.1 Palatal diphthongization of *ǣ*₁ gives *ea* in WS *gear* whilst at the same time Anglian *e* remains in *ger* (cf. §71). It is difficult to determine from ME variants with <e> whether /e:/ is a result of smoothing of *ea* or the expected Anglian writing of *e*.

In the *CL*:

- § 114.2 T and D write <ie> in the *poss. noun pl.* *ġier* (Ω149) where it is written <e> in L, E2, E1, J and M in *ġer/ȳer/ȝer*.
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§ 115 Saxon *ie, i, y*

- § 115.1 OE *e* became *ie* (later *i, y*) after palatal *c, g,* and *sc* in WS., but remained *e* in Anglian and Kent. (Wright § 91). Reflexes of the OE *ie* or unstable *i, y* are found in the Southwest and in East Saxon, where the remaining regions have *e*.
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In the *CL*:

§ 116 OE *ie* after *g*

- § 116.1 T writes <ie> throughout with the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *forġiet* (cont.)/*forġieted* (Ω26, Ω39), the *verb inf.* *forġiete* (Ω35), the *verb pp.* *forġieten* (Ω101); <ie> in the *noun* *ġielde* (Ω46); <ie> in the *noun* *ġieue* (Ω75 and Ω211); <ie> in the *verb sbj. 3rd sg.* *ġieue/ġieue* (Ω57, Ω127^{x2}, Ω329 and Ω416) but <e> in *ġeue* (Ω328), <ie> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *ġieued* (Ω59 and Ω198), the *verb inf.* *ġieue(n)* (Ω65 and Ω274), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *ġieued/ġiefd* (Ω72, Ω153 and Ω347) and the *verb pp.* *ġieue* (Ω352); <ie> in the *verb inf.* *forġieue* (Ω224); <ie> in the *noun* *forġieuenesse* (Ω313); <ie> in the *verb pp.* *biġiete* (Ω110) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.)* *biġiet* (Ω131).
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- § 116.2 L writes <e> throughout with the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *forġet* (cont.)/*forġeted* (Ω26 and Ω39), the *verb inf.* *forġeten* (Ω35), the *verb pp.* *forġeten* (Ω101); <e> in the *noun* *ġefe/ġeue* (Ω46 and Ω75); <e> in the *noun* *ġelde* (Ω46); <e> in the *verb inf.* *ġeuen* (Ω65 and Ω265), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *ġeued/ġefd* (Ω72 and Ω153), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *ġeued* (Ω198), the *verb sbj. 3rd sg.* *ġeue* (Ω127) but <i> in *ġieue* (Ω57); <e> in the *verb inf.* *for-ġeuen* (Ω224); <e> in the *verb pp.* *biġeten* (Ω110).
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- § 116.3 Digby writes <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *vorġet* (cont.)/*forġet* (cont.) (Ω26 and Ω39), the *verb pp.* *uorġete* (Ω101), but <ie> in the *verb inf.* *uorġiete* (Ω35); <ie> in the *noun* *ġieue* (Ω46) but <e> in *iġeue* (Ω75); <ie> in the *noun* *ġielde* (Ω46); <ie> in the *verb inf.* *ġieuen* (Ω65) but <e> in *ġeuen* (Ω274), <ie> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *ġiefd/ġief* (Ω72 and Ω153), the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg.* (i)*ġieue* (Ω57 and Ω328) but <e> in *ġeue* (Ω127 and Ω416) and <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl.* *ġeued* (Ω198) and the *verb pp.* *iġeuen* (Ω352); <e> in the *verb inf.* *vorġeue* (Ω224); <e> in the *noun* *ġeuenesse* (Ω313); <e> in the *verb pp.* *biġete* (Ω110).
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§ 116.4 E2 writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-ġut* (cont.) (Ω26) but <i> in *forġitet* (Ω39), the *verb inf. for- ġite* (Ω35) and <ȳ> in the *verb pp. for- ġȳte* (Ω101); <i> in the *noun ġiue* (Ω75); <i> in the *verb sbj. 3rd sg. ġiue* (Ω57 and Ω328) but <ȳ> in *ġȳue* (Ω127 and Ω416), <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ġiuet/ġifð/ġiueð* (Ω72, Ω153 and Ω357), <ie> in the *verb inf. ġieuen* (Ω65) but <i> in *ġiuen* (Ω274) and <i> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ġiueð* (Ω198); <i> in the *verb inf. for-ġiuen* (Ω224); <i> in the *noun forġiueneſſe* (Ω313); <i> in the *verb pp. bi- ġite* (Ω110).

§ 116.5 E1 writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-ġut* (cont.) (Ω26) but <ȳ> in *forġȳtet* (Ω39), the *verb inf. for- ġȳten* (Ω35), the *verb pp. for-ġȳte* (Ω101); <ȳ> in the *noun ġȳue* (Ω75); <i> in the *verb inf. ġiuen* (Ω65, Ω274), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ġiued* (Ω72, Ω153 and Ω347), the *verb sbj. 3rd sg. ġiue* (Ω57, Ω328) but <u> in *ġuue* (Ω127) and <ie> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ġiueð* (Ω198) and the *verb pp. ġiuen* (Ω352); <i> in the *verb inf. for-ġiuen* (Ω224); <i> in the *noun forġiueneſſe* (Ω313); <i> in the *verb pp. bi-ġite* (Ω110) and the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) be- ġit* (Ω131).

§ 116.6 J writes <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-ȳet* (cont.)/*for-ȳetep* (Ω26 and Ω39), the *verb inf. for-ȳete* (Ω35), the *verb pp. for-ȳete* (Ω101), <e> in the *noun ȳefte* (Ω46); <e> in the *noun yelde* (Ω46); <e> in the *verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. ȳeue/ȳef* (Ω57, Ω127 and Ω328), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ȳeuep* (Ω59), the *verb inf. ȳeue(n)* (Ω65 and Ω274), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ȳeuep* (Ω198), the *verb pp. ȳeuen* (Ω352), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ȳeuep* (Ω153 and Ω347) but *ȳuep* (Ω72); <e> in the *verb inf. for-ȳeue* (Ω224); <e> in the *noun ȳeueſſe* (Ω313); <e> in the *verb pp. bi-ȳete* (Ω110).

§ 116.7 M writes <e> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. uorȳet* (cont.)/*forȳet* (Ω26, Ω39), the *verb inf. uorȳete* (Ω35), the *verb pp. forȳete* (Ω101); <e> in the *noun ȳeue* (Ω75); <e> in the *verb sbj. 3rd sg. ȳeue* (Ω57 and Ω328), the *verb inf. ȳeue* (Ω65), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ȳefp* (Ω72 and Ω153), the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ȳeuep* (Ω198 and Ω347); <e> in the *verb inf. uorȳeue* (Ω224); <e> in the *verb pp. biȳete* (Ω110).

§ 117 OE *īe* after *g*

§ 117.1 In the *CL* the forms of WS *ġīet* (*gyt*), with diphthongization, and Anglian *ġet*, without diphthongization, from OE *e* exhibit the same development as *ġ*. The writing of SW <u> in E2 and E1 demonstrate the reflex of /y/.

In the *CL*:

§ 117.2 T writes <ie> in the *adv.* **ġiet** (Ω5) and the *cj.* **ġiet** (Ω304 and Ω310).

L writes <e> in the *adv.* **ġet** (Ω5).

D writes <ie> in the *adv.* **ġiet** (Ω5) but <e> in the *cj.* **ġet** (Ω310).

E2 writes <ȳe> in the *adv.* **ġȳet** (Ω5) and <u> (cf. § 117.1) in the *cj.* **ġut** (Ω304 and Ω310).

E1 writes <ue> in the *adv.* **ġuet** (Ω5) but <u> (cf. § 117.1) in the *cj.* **ġut** (Ω310) but <e> in **ġet** (Ω304).

J writes <e> in the *adv.* **ȳet** (Ω5) and the *cj.* **ȳet** (Ω304 and Ω310).

M writes <e> in the *adv.* **ȳet** (Ω5).

§ 118 OE *ie* after *sc*

§ 118.1 Most MSS of the *CL* agree on <i> in the following readings with early SW <u> writings in both E2 and E1.

§ 118.2 T writes <i> in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. silde** (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb inf.* **silde** (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj.* **1st pl. silde** (Ω319) and the *verb pr. ind.* **3^d pl. sildeð** (Ω362).

§ 118.2 L writes <i> in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. scilde** (Ω231).

§ 118.3 D writes <i> in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. isilde/shilde** (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb inf.* **silden** (Ω316) and the *verb pr. ind.* **3^d pl. silten** (Ω362 Kentish form: MED).

§ 118.4 E2 writes <u> (§ 118.1) in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. sculde** (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb inf.* **sculde(n)** (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj.* **1st pl. sculde** (Ω319), the *verb pr. ind.* **3^d pl. sculdeð** (Ω362).

§ 118.5 E1 writes <u> (§ 118.1) in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. sculde** (Ω231, Ω314), the *verb pr. ind.* **3^d pl. sculdeð** (Ω362), the *verb inf.* **sculde** (Ω348) but <i> in **scilden** (Ω316) and the *verb pr. sbj.* **1st pl. scilde** (Ω319).

§ 118.6 J writes <i> in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. schilde** (Ω314), the *verb inf.* **schilde** (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. sbj.* **1st pl. schilde** (Ω319) but <e> in the *verb pr. ind.* **3^d pl. scheldeþ** (Ω362).

§ 118.7 In M OE *ie* after *sc* is <i> in the *verb pr. sbj.* **3^d sg. (i)scilde** (Ω231 and Ω314), the *verb inf.* **scilde** (Ω316 and Ω348), the *verb pr. ind.* **3^d pl. scildeþ** (Ω362).

§ 119 Diphthongizing of back vowels after preceding palatals

§ 119.1 In ME the glide sound found in eOE (see Campbell § 172) disappeared, if it had not already in late OE, with the development of the back vowel (which was always subject to the main accent). Writings that retain the diphthong (including the AB dialect) are thought to be historical. Therefore, a writing such as **geonger** in E2 and E1 would have probably stood for /jungər/, which is corroborated by it rhyming in the text with **hunger**. However, the Kentish dialect preserves <e> spellings that suggest an OE falling diphthong and in the North <i> -as well as some instances of <i> and <ie> in eWS. (Campbell §176 and Jordan § 80)

§ 120 OE eo after g

- § 120.1 T writes <u> in the *adj.* **jung** (Ω4), <eu> in the *adj. pl.* **geunge** (Ω10) and the *adj. (comp.)* **geunger** (Ω337); with <ieu> in the *noun* **gieuð** (Ω390).
- § 120.2 L writes <u> in the *adj.* **gung** (Ω4) and the *adj. pl.* **gunge** (Ω10).
- § 120.3 D OE writes <iu> in the *adj.* **giung** (Ω4), <u> in the *adj. (comp.)* **gungre** (Ω337) and <eu> in the *noun* **geugeþe** (Ω390).
- § 120.4 E2 writes <ý> in the *adj.* **gyng** (Ω4), <u> in the *adj. pl.* **gunge** (Ω10), <eo> (§ 119.1) in the *adj. (comp.)* **geonger** (Ω337) and <eu> in the *noun* **geugeþe** (Ω390).
- § 120.5 E1 writes <u> in the *adj.* **gung** (Ω4), <ui> in the *adj. pl.* **guinge** (Ω10), <eo> (§ 119.1) in the *adj. (comp.)* **geonger** (Ω337) and in the *noun* **geogede** (Ω390).
- § 120.6 J OE writes <o> in the *adj.* **yong** (Ω4), the *adj. pl.* **yonge** (Ω10), the *adj. (comp.)* **yonge** (Ω337) and in the *noun* **yonghede** (Ω390).
- § 120.7 M writes <u> in the *adj.* **zung** (Ω4), the *adj. pl.* **zunge** (Ω10).
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§ 121 OE eo after sc

- § 121.1 T writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. f^t pl.* **sulen/sulle/sullen** (Ω59, Ω94, Ω96 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **sulle(n)** (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.) and <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **solde** (Ω38, Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. f^t pl.* **solde(n)** (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3^d pl.* **solden** (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω313) and the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **sop** (Ω86).
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- § 121.2 L writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. f^t pl.* **sculen/scule** (Ω48, Ω50, Ω59 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **sculen** (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 2nd pl.* **sculen** (Ω23 and Ω48), the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **sculde** (Ω277), <u> in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d pl.* **sculden** (Ω279 and Ω280); <u> in the *verb pa. ind. f^t pl.* in **sculden** (Ω61) and <o> the *verb pa. ind. f^t pl.* **solde** (Ω52) and the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **scop** (Ω86).
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- § 121.3 D OE writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d pl.* **sulle(n)** (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), <u> in the *verb pr. ind. f^t pl.* **sulle/sullen** (Ω94, Ω170 and Ω341) and <o> in **sollen** (Ω59), <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **solde** (Ω38), the *verb pa. ind. f^t pl.* **solde(n)** (Ω50, Ω52, Ω61 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3^d pl.* **solden** (Ω313) and the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **iscop** (Ω86).
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§ 121.4 E2 writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sculen/scule* (Ω59, Ω94, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. scule(n)* (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), but <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scolde* (Ω38, Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. scolde(n)* (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. scolden* (Ω280) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. sop* (Ω86).

§ 121.5 E1 writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. scullen/sulle/sculle* (Ω59, Ω94, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculen/sculle/scullen/sulle/sculled* (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.) and <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. solde/scolde* (Ω38 and Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. solden/scolde(n)* (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. scolde* (Ω280) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scop* (Ω86).

§ 121.6 J OE writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. schulle/schulleþ/schulen* (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. schule/schulleþ/schulle(n)* (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. schulde(n)* (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.) and <o> in *scholde* (Ω61), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. schulde* (Ω277) and <o> in *scholde* (Ω38), <u> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl. schulden* (Ω279) and <o> in *scolden/scholden* (Ω280^{x2}) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. schop* (Ω86).

§ 121.7 M writes <u> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sculle* (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98^{x2} etc.), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculle* (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), and <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scolde* (Ω38, Ω52 and Ω277), the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. scolde* (Ω48, Ω61, Ω340 etc.), the *verb pa. 2nd pl. scolde* (Ω50), the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. scolde* (Ω279 and Ω280^{x2}) and the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scop* (Ω86).

Creation of New Diphthongs:

Although OE diphthongs disappeared, in ME there occurs the creation of many new diphthongs which can be categorised thus:

1. Vocalisation of palatal *ǰ* after *æ, e, i*.

§ 122 OE *æ + ǰ /j/*

§ 122.1 Already in the OE period in some instances *æǰ* had become *æi*. With the change of *æ > a* this gave rise to the diphthong *ai*, later *ay* (especially in final position). However, in some dialects (the WM and Kent particularly) the movement from *æ > a* was not immediate and <e> writings are prominent <dei, mei> but <dai, day> and <mai, may> with the later change of /ei/ > ai. (Jordan § 93)

§ 122.2 T writes <ai> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. mai* (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mai* (Ω22, Ω28, Ω35 etc.) and *maig* (Ω90, Ω129 and Ω224); <ai> in the *noun dai* (Ω383), (*domes*)*dai* (Ω141) and *daie* (Ω82, Ω165); but <ei> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. seið* (Ω117, Ω119 and Ω140).

§ 122.3 L writes mostly <ei> (cf. § 122.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. mei* (Ω17) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mei* (Ω51, Ω66, Ω90 etc.(16) but <ai> in *mai* (Ω36, Ω41 and Ω70); <ei> (§ 122.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. seið/seit* (Ω119 and Ω140) and *biseiþ* (Ω117); <ei> (§ 122.1) in the *noun dei* (Ω165) and (*domes*)-*dei* (Ω141).

§ 122.4 D writes mostly <ai> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. mai* (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mai* (Ω36, Ω41, Ω45 etc.) but <ei> (§ 122.1) in *mei* (Ω400); <ai> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. saið* (Ω140) but <ei> in *seið* (Ω117); <ai> in the *noun dai* (Ω383) and (*domes*)-*dai* (Ω141) but <ei> (§ 122.1) in *deie* (Ω165).

§ 122.5 E2 writes mostly <ei> (§ 122.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. mei* (Ω17) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mei* (Ω22, Ω28, Ω36 etc.); <ei> (§ 122.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. seið* (Ω117) but <ai> in *saið* (Ω140); <ei> (§ 122.1) in the *noun dei* (Ω383), (*domes*)-*dei* (Ω141) and *deie* (Ω165).

§ 122.6 E1 writes mostly <ai> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. mai* (Ω17) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mai* (Ω36, Ω41 and Ω45) but <ei> (§ 122.1) in *mei* (Ω22); <ei> (§ 122.1) in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. seit/seid* (Ω117 and Ω140); <ai> in the *noun dai* (Ω165 and Ω383) and (*domes*)-*dai* (Ω141).

§ 122.7 J writes mostly <aý> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. maý* (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. maý* (Ω22, Ω28, Ω36 etc.); <ai> in the *noun daý* (Ω165 and Ω363) and (*domes*)-*daý* (Ω141) but <ey> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. seýþ* (Ω117, Ω119 and Ω140).

§ 122.8 M writes mostly <ai> in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. mai* (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mai* (Ω22, Ω36, Ω41 etc.) with <ay> in *may* (Ω133 and Ω317); <ai> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. saiþ* (Ω117, Ω119 and Ω140); <ai> in the *noun (domes)dai* (Ω141) and *daie* (Ω165).

§ 123 Deserving special attention is the *pa.* form Old English *secgan* (past tense *sægde*). In the Saxon (and probably Kentish) area OE *ȝ* often disappeared after palatal vowels before a following dental or consonantal *n* with lengthening of the preceding vowel (Wright § 321 and Jordan §191); hence, in OE, LWS *sæde* is found alongside *sægde*, in the *CL* this is represented as follows:

§ 123.1 T writes <a> in the *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. sade* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. is saden* (Ω234) and the *verb pa. 1st sg. sade* (Ω164) but <ai> in the *verb pp. isaid* (Ω148).

§ 123.2 L writes <ei> in the *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. seide* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. seiden* (Ω234) and the *verb pp. iseid* (Ω148) but <e> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164).

§ 123.3 D writes <e> in the *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. isede(n)* (Ω148 and Ω234).

§ 123.4 E2 writes <e> in the *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. isede* (Ω234) and the *verb pp. ised* (Ω148).

§ 123.5 E1 writes <e> in *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136), the *verb pa. 1st sg. sede* (Ω164), the *verb pa. 3rd pl. isede* (Ω234), and the *verb pp. ised* (Ω148).

§ 123.6 J writes <ey> in the *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. seýde* (Ω136) the *verb pa. 1st sg. seýde* (Ω164) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. seýden* (Ω148 and Ω234).

§ 123.7 M writes <e> in the *verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. sede* (Ω136) but <ei> in the *verb pa. 1st sg. seide* (Ω164) and the *verb pa. 3rd pl. seide* (Ω234).

§124 æ+ɜ/j/

§ 124.1 In late OE æ+ɜ yielded /ɛ:i/ which shortened to /ei/ around 1200 and then took part in the development of /ei/ > *ai* in the second half of the thirteenth century. (Jordan § 94)

§ 125 OE æ₁ (Angl. Kent. <e> /e:/, WGmc. *a*):

§ 125.1 T writes <æi> in the *noun mæi* (Ω30) and <ai> in *mai* (Ω194); <ai> in the *adj. grai* (Ω378) but <ei> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl. iseien* (Ω101 and Ω102), the *verb pa. sbj. 3rd sg. iseie* (Ω123) and in the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. niseien* (Ω105).

§ 125.2 L writes <ei> in the *noun mei* (Ω30 and Ω194^{x2}); <eg> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl. isegen* (Ω101) and in the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. nisegen* (Ω105).

§ 125.3 D writes <eie> in the *noun meie* (Ω194); <eg> in the *verb pa. 3rd pl. isegen* (Ω101) and in the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl. ne-isegen* (Ω105) but <ie> in the *verb pa. sbj. 3rd sg. isien* (Ω123).

- § 125.4 E2 writes <æi> in the *noun* **mæi** (Ω30) but <ei> in **meie** (Ω194); <eǵ> in the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **iseǵen** (Ω101) and in the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **seǵen** (Ω105) and <æi> in the *adj.* **græi** (Ω378).
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- § 125.5 E1 writes <ei> in the *noun* **mei** (Ω30) and <ey> in **meÿ** (Ω194); <ei> in the *adj.* **grei** (Ω378); <ei> in the *verb pa. sbj. 3rd sg.* **seie** (Ω123) and <eǵ> in the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **seǵen** (Ω101).
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- § 125.6 J OE writes <ey> in the *noun* **meÿ** (Ω30); <ey> in the *adj.* **greÿ** (Ω378); <ey> in the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **seyen** (Ω101) and <ey> in the *verb pa. sbj. 3rd sg.* **iseÿe** (Ω123).
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- § 125.7 M writes <ei> in the *noun* **mei** (Ω30); <ei> in the *adj.* **grei** (Ω378); <ez> in the *verb pa. 3^d pl.* **ÿseze** (Ω101) and the *verb pa. ind. 1st pl.* **iseze** (Ω105).
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- § 126 OE æ̃₂ (<i or j- mutation of OE a (< WGmc *ai):
- § 126.1 T writes <ei> in the *adv.* **eiðer** (Ω63) but <ai> **aiðer** (Ω317), the *vowel* which begins the line is omitted in the *pron.* **[]iðer** (Ω248).
- § 126.2 L writes <ei> in the *adv.* **eiðer** (Ω63).
- § 126.3 D writes <ai> in the *adv.* **aiðer/aider** (Ω63 and Ω317) but <ei> in the *pron.* **eiðer** (Ω248).
- § 126.4 E2 writes <æi> in the *adv.* **æiðer** (Ω63) but <ai> in **aiðer** (Ω248).
- § 126.5 E1 writes <ay> in the *adv.* **ayþer** (Ω63) and <ai> in **aiþer** (Ω248).
- § 126.6 J writes <ey> in the *adv.* **eyþer** (Ω63, Ω317) and the *pron.* **eyþer** (Ω248).
- § 126.7 M writes <ai> in the *adv.* **aiþer** (Ω63, Ω317) and in the *pron.* **aiþer** (Ω248).
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- § 127 e + ʒ /j/
- § 127.1 ME *ei* < eʒ /ej/ appeared in the twelfth century in all positions as /ei/ (cf. § for opening of e).
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- § 127.2 T writes <ei> in the *noun* **eie** (Ω21, Ω292) and in the *adj. pl.* **eiseliche** (Ω296); <eiǵ> in the *verb inf.* **peigen** (Ω64); <ei> in the *noun* **pei** (Ω355 and Ω365) but <eǵ> in **peǵ** (Ω353) <ei> in the *pl. possess* **peies** (Ω73) and <ei> in the *noun* **treige** (Ω388).
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- § 127.3 L writes <ei> in the *noun* **eie** (Ω21); <ei> in the *verb inf.* **peien** (Ω64) and <eǵ> in the *noun pl. possess* **peges** (Ω73).
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§ 127.4 D writes <ei> in the *noun* **eie** (Ω21) but <eȝ> in **eȝie** (Ω292), <ei> in the *adj. pl.* **eiliche** (Ω296); <ei> in the *noun* **pei** (Ω353, Ω355 and Ω365) but <eȝ> in the *noun pl. possess* **peȝes** (Ω73); <eȝ> in the *verb inf.* **peȝe** (Ω64) and <eȝ> in the *noun* **treȝe** (Ω388).

§ 127.5 E2 writes <æi> in the *noun* **æie** (Ω21) but <ei> in **eie** (Ω292) and the *adj. pl.* **eisliche** (Ω296); <eȝ> in the *verb inf.* **peȝen** (Ω64); <ei> in the *noun* **pei** (Ω353, Ω355 and Ω365) and the *pl. possess* **peies** (Ω73).

§ 127.6 E1 writes <ei> in the *noun* **eie** (Ω21, Ω292) and the *adj. pl.* **eisliche** (Ω296); <ei> in the *noun* **pei** (Ω353, Ω355 and Ω365) and the *pl. possess* **peies** (Ω73); <eȝ> in the *verb inf.* **peȝen** (Ω64) and <eȝ> in the *noun* **treȝe** (Ω388).

§ 127.7 J writes <ey> in the *noun* **eȝe** (Ω21, Ω292); <ey> in the *verb inf.* **weȝe** (Ω64); <ey> in the *noun* **weȝ** (Ω353, Ω355) and <ei> in **wei** (Ω365).

§ 127.8 M writes <ei> in the *noun* **eie** (Ω21 and Ω292); <eȝ> in the *verb inf.* **peȝe** (Ω64); <ei> in the *noun* **pei** (Ω353) but <ey> in **peȝ** (Ω355) and <eȝ> in the *pl. possess.* **peȝes** (Ω73).

§ 128 e + ȝ /j/

§ 128.1 This section contains OE *e* /e:/ but also those words with original *ea* which had mostly gone to a not so entirely close *e* (Jordan § 97). In final position (syllable and word) ȝ already in late OE was vocalized; the /e:i/ so originating was shortened and widened so early to /ei/ that it joined the change of *ei* > *ai*.

§ 128.2 However, if ȝ stood after *e* in syllable initial position between vowels, then *ȣ* originated out of /e:-je/; the *ȣ* step was in part already reached in the first half of the thirteenth century *ei* out of short OE *e + ȝ* had already previously become /ei/ and further yielded *ai*. (Jordan § 97)

§ 129 OE *e + ȝ /j/* in the *CL*:

§ 129.1 T writes <ei> in the *verb inf.* **forpreien** (Ω100) and <ei> in the *noun* **leie** (Ω293).

§ 129.2 L writes <ei> in the *verb inf.* **forpreien** (Ω100).

§ 129.3 D writes <ei> in the *verb inf.* **vorpreien** (Ω100) and <ei> in the *noun* **leie** (Ω293).

§ 129.4 E2 writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **for-preȝen** (Ω100) and <ei> in the *noun* **leie** (Ω293).

§ 129.5 E1 writes <ei> in the *verb inf.* **for-preien** (Ω100) and <ei> in the *noun* **leie** (Ω293).

§ 129.6 J writes <ey> in the *verb inf.* **for-preȝe** (Ω100) and <ey> in the *noun* **leȝe** (Ω293).

§ 129.7 M writes <ei> in the *verb inf.* **forpreie** (Ω100) and <ey> in the *noun* **leȝe** (Ω293).

§ 130 OE *ea* + *ɜ* /*j*/

§ 130.1 T writes <ei> in the *noun pl.* **eien** (Ω76 and Ω394) and <ei> in the *noun pl.* **raketeie** (Ω294).

§ 130.2 L writes <eɣ> in the *noun pl.* **eɣen** (Ω76).

§ 130.3 D writes <eɣ> in the *noun pl.* **eɣen** (Ω76) but <eaɣ> in **eaɣen** (Ω394) and <eɣ> in the *noun pl.* **raketeɣe** (Ω294).

§ 130.4 E2 writes <eɣ> in the *noun pl.* **eɣhen/eɣe** (Ω76 and Ω394) and <eɣ> in the *noun pl.* **raketeɣe** (Ω294).

§ 130.5 E1 writes <eɣ> in the *noun pl.* **eɣen** (Ω76) and <ei> in the *noun pl.* **raketeie** (Ω294).

§ 130.6 J writes <eý> in the *noun pl.* **eýen** (Ω76) and <eý> in the *noun pl.* **raketeýe** (Ω294).

§ 130.7 M writes <eɜ> in the *noun pl.* **eɜen/eɜene** (Ω76 and Ω394) and <eɜ> in the *noun pl.* **raketeɜe** (Ω294).

2. Vowels before voiceless velar fricatives

§ 131 Development of a *u*-glide before /*x*/ and *i*-glide before /*ç*/ resulting in the diphthongs *au*, *ou*, *ei*.

§ 131.1 The diphthongs before back *h* appeared later than before a front one. They are regular in Southumbrian MSS only since 1300 and are rarely found in the *CL*.

§ 132 *a* before *h*

§ 132.1 In ME *a* + *h* (g) results in *auh*, especially in the shortened group *ǣht* (Jordan § 122). See also OE *ǣ₂* + *h*.

§ 132.2 In the *CL* the *adj.* (OE *fah*) at line Ω378 is **foh** (T), **fah** (E2) and **faɜ** (M) but is written with <ou> in **fou** (E1 and J). Once again a glide sound /*u*/ is present in J at line Ω2 in the *verb pr. ind. 3^d sg.* **auh** where it is not present in the other MSS (**oh**: T; **ah**: E2 and E1; **aɜte** M; **ahte**: L, which also writes **achten** at Ω136).

§ 133 OE *ǣ₂* + *h*

§ 133.1 T writes <ai> in the *noun* **aihte** (Ω43, Ω56 and Ω255) and <ai> in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **taihte** (Ω283).

§ 133.2 L writes <e> before *ch* in the *noun* **echte** (Ω43 and Ω56) but <a> before *ch* in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **tachte** (Ω283).

§ 133.3 D writes <e> before *gh* in the *noun* **heghhte** (Ω43 and Ω56) and <a> before *ð* in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **taðhte** (Ω283).

§ 133.4 E2 writes <e> in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **tehte** (Ω283) and in the *noun* **ehhte** (Ω56) but <a> in **ahte** (Ω255).

§ 133.5 E1 writes <ei> before *c* in the *noun* **eicte** (Ω43) and <e> in **ehhte** (Ω56); the glide sound <au> is represented (cf. § 132.1) in **auht** (Ω255) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3^d sg.* **tauhte** (Ω283).

- § 133.6 J writes <ay> in the *noun* **ayhte** (Ω43 and Ω56) and <a> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **tahte** (Ω283).
- § 133.7 M writes <e> before <3> in the *noun* **e3te** (Ω43 and Ω56) and in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd sg.* **tez te** (Ω283)
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§ 134 o + h

- § 134.1 This yielded *ouh* later in the ME period but is irregularly found in the *CL*.
- § 134.2 T writes <o> in the *verb pp.* **unboht** (Ω60) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **bohte** (Ω193 and Ω197); <o> in the *verb pp.* **biþoht** (Ω8) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **biðohte** (Ω159); <o> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **brohte** (Ω192); <o> before <ɣ> in the *noun* **inogh** (Ω402) and before <h> in **inoh** (Ω404) and in the *adj.* **inoh** (Ω248).
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- § 134.3 L writes <o> before *ch* in the *verb pp.* **unbocht** (Ω60) and before *h* in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **bohte** (Ω193 and Ω197); <o> before *ch* in the *verb pp.* **biþocht** (Ω8) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **biþohte** (Ω159); <o> before *ch* in the *adj.* **inoch** (Ω248) and in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **brochte** (Ω192).
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- § 134.4 D writes <o> in the *verb pp.* **vnboht** (Ω60) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **bohte** (Ω193 and Ω197); <o> before <ɣ> in the *verb pp.* **biþogt** (Ω8) and <o> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **þohte** (Ω159); <o> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **brohte** (Ω192) and <o> in the *noun* **inoh** (Ω402 and Ω404) and in the *adj.* **inoh** (Ω248).
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- § 134.5 E2 writes <o> in the *verb pp.* **un-boht** (Ω60) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **bohte** (Ω193 and Ω197) and <o> in the *verb pp.* **biþoht** (Ω8); <o> in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **brohte** (Ω192) and <o> in the *adj.* **inoh** (Ω248).
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- § 134.6 E1, a glide sound is demonstrated in the <ou> (§ 134.1) writing in the *verb pp.* **vn-bout** (Ω60) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **bouht(e)** (Ω193 and Ω197); the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **biþouhte** (Ω159) but <o> before <h> is written in the *verb pp.* **biþoht** (Ω8); a glide sound is demonstrated in the <ou> (§ 134.1) writing in the the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **broutte** (Ω192); the *adj.* **inou** (Ω248) and the *noun* **inou** (Ω402), but <o> is written before <h> in **inoh** (Ω404).
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- § 134.7 In J a glide sound is demonstrated in the <ou> (§ 134.1) writing in the *verb pp.* **vn-bouht** (Ω60) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **bouhte** (Ω193 and Ω197); <ou> in the *verb pp.* **biþouht** (Ω8) and in the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **biþouhte** (Ω159); <ou> is written in the *noun* **i-nou/inouh** (Ω402 and Ω404), in the *adj.* **ȳ-nou** (Ω248) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg.* **brouhte** (Ω192).
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§ 134.8 M writes <o> before <ʒ> in the *verb pp.* **unboʒt** (Ω60), the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **boʒte** (Ω193 and Ω197) and in the *verb pp.* **bi-boʒt** (Ω8); <oʒ> is written in the *adj.* **inoʒ** (Ω248) and in the *verb pa. 3^d sg.* **broʒte** (Ω192).

3. Vowels before Voiced Velar Fricatives

§ 135 From 1200 the voiced velar fricative was labialized and vocalised to <w> /u/ (cf. § 43) after *a*, *o*, *u* in the middle of a word, resulting in the formation of a new diphthong.

§ 136 a + /ʍ/

§ 136.1 In ME *a + /ʍ/* > /au/ written <aw> especially before vowels.

§ 136.2 T writes <aw> in the *verb inf.* **drawen** (Ω48 and Ω50) but <aʒ> in the *noun pl.* **laʒe/lages** (Ω179 and Ω324) and <aʒ> in the *adj. pl.* **laʒe-lease** (Ω306).

§ 136.3 L writes <aʒ> in the *verb inf.* **dragen** (Ω48, Ω50) and <aʒ> in the *noun pl.* **laʒe** (Ω179).

§ 136.4 D writes <a> before <ʒh> in the *verb inf.* **draghen** (Ω50); <aʒ> in the *noun pl.* **laʒen/laʒe** (Ω179 and Ω324) and <aʒ> in the *adj. pl.* **laʒelease** (Ω306).

§ 136.5 E2 writes <aʒ> in the *verb inf.* **dragan/dragen** (Ω48 and Ω50); <a> before <ʒh> in the *noun pl.* **laʒhe** (Ω179), <aʒ> in **laʒe** (Ω324) and in the *adj. pl.* **laʒe-liese** (Ω306).

§ 136.6 E1 writes <ap> in the *verb inf.* **drapen** (Ω48, Ω50); <ap> in the *adj. pl.* **laʒe-lese** (Ω306) and in the *noun pl.* **laʒe** (Ω324) but <aʒ> in the *noun pl.* **laʒes** (Ω179).

§ 136.7 J writes <aw> in the *verb inf.* **drawen** (Ω48 and Ω50); <aw> in the *noun pl.* **lawes** (Ω179) and in the *adj. pl.* **lawe-leve** (sic) (Ω306).

§ 136.8 M writes <aʒ> in the *verb inf.* **draʒe** (Ω48) and in the *noun pl.* **laʒe** (Ω179, Ω324^{x2}).

§ 137 a + /ʍ/

§ 137.1 Around 1200 in the Southumbrian dialect *a + /ʍ/* was already more often /ɔ:ʍ/ (cf 69) from which came /ɔu/ written <ow>. E2 the earlier of the two E texts retains <a> (cf.69.3) in every instance, with E1 also providing occasional writings. L also writes <a> (cf.69.3) where it is a feature of the AB dialect (Jordan § 113).

§ 137.2 T writes <ow> in the *noun* **mowe** (Ω30) but <oʒ> in **moge** (Ω194); <oʒ> in the *adj.* **ogen** (Ω113, Ω118, Ω121 etc.) but <ow> in **owen** (Ω31).

§ 137.3 L writes <a> (cf. § 137.1) before <ʒ> in the *noun* **mage** (Ω30); the *adj.* **agen** (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.) and before <h> in **ahen** (Ω170).

§ 137.4 D writes <oʒ> in the *noun* **moge** (Ω194) and in the *adj.* **ogen/hogen** (Ω113, Ω118, Ω170 etc.).

§ 137.5 E2 writes <a> (cf. § 137.1) before <ʒ> in the *noun* **mage** (Ω30) and <a> before <ʒh> in **maghe** (Ω194); <aʒ> in the *adj.* **age/agen** (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.).

§ 137.6 E1 writes <oʒ> in the *noun* **moge** (Ω30) and the glide <ou> before <p> in **moupe** (Ω194); <oʒ> in the *adj.* **oge** (Ω31) and <op> in **hope/ope/open** (Ω118, Ω121, Ω170 rh etc.) but <a> (cf.

§ 137.1) before <ʒ> in **age** (Ω113) and <ap> in **apene** (Ω270).

§ 137.7 J writess <ow> in the *noun* **mowe** (Ω30) and in the *adj.* **owe/owene** (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.).
 § 137.8 M writes is <oʒ> in the *noun* **moʒe** (Ω30) and in the *adj.* **oʒe/oʒen** (Ω31, Ω170, Ω270).

4. Fusion of vowel with *w* in the same syllable.

§ 138 *a + w*

§ 138.1 In most of the Southumbrian dialects *a + w* went to /ɔ:/ (cf. § 69) as *a* was neutralised to /ɔ:/ before the merger with *w*. However, in some areas of the WML (AB dialect) <a> writings predominated and furthermore in many dialects (including Kent and East Saxon) /ɔu/ or [au] was widened to /au/ so the first component reverted to the /a/ quality. (Jordan § 105)

§ 138.2 T writes <o> in the *verb inf.* **icnopen** (Ω170, Ω399) and the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **cnopeð** (Ω115, Ω142); <o> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **blopeð** (Ω143); <o> in the *noun* **sople** (Ω143, Ω317 *poss.*) and the *pl.* **sople/sowle** (Ω297 and Ω415).

§ 138.3 L writes <a> (§ 138.1) in the *verb inf.* **mapen** (Ω23); <au> (§ 138.1) in the *verb inf.* **iknaupen** (Ω170) and <au> in the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **knauð/cnauð** (Ω115 and Ω155); <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **blapeð** (Ω143) and <au> in the *noun* **saule** (Ω143).

§ 138.4 D writes <ou> in the *verb inf.* **moupe** (Ω23); <o> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **(i)knopeð** (Ω115 and Ω142) and the *verb inf.* **iknopen** (Ω399) but <a> in **iknapen** (Ω170); <o> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **blopeð** (Ω143); <au> in the *noun* **saule** (Ω143, Ω317 *possessive*) and the *pl.* **saule** (Ω297 and Ω415).

§ 138.5 E2 writes <o> in the *verb inf.* **mopen** (Ω23); <a> (§ 138.1) in the *verb inf.* **icnape** (Ω170) and the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **cnapeð/icnapeð** (Ω115 and Ω142); <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **blapeð** (Ω143); <au> in the *noun* **saule** (Ω143) and <a> in **saple** (Ω317 *possessive*).

§ 138.6 E1 writes <o> in the *verb inf.* **mopen** (Ω23); <a> in the *verb inf.* **icnape/icnapen** (Ω170 and Ω399) and the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **cnaped** (Ω115) but <o> in **icpopeð** (sic) (Ω142); <ou> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **bloupet** (Ω143); <ou> in the *noun* **soule** (Ω143, Ω317 *possessive*) and in the *pl.* **soule** (Ω415).

§ 138.7 J writes <ow> in the *verb inf.* **iknowe** (Ω170) and the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **(i)knoweþ** (Ω115 and Ω142); <ow> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **bloweþ** (Ω143); <ou> in the *noun* **soule** (Ω143 and Ω317 *possessive*) and the *pl.* **soulen** (Ω297) but <au> in **saule** (Ω415).

§ 138.8 M writes <o> in the *verb inf.* **mopen** (Ω223); <o> in the *verb inf.* **iknope** (Ω170) and **biknope** (Ω399) and in the *pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **knopeþ** (Ω142); <o> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **blopeþ** (Ω143); <ou> in the *noun* **soule** (Ω143) but <au> in **saule** (Ω317 *possessive*) and the *pl.* **saule** (Ω297 and Ω415).

§ 139 eo + w

§ 139.1 *eo + w* produced an /eu/ diphthong. This yielded first /ø:u/ whose /ø:/ in Western and Southwestern areas was retained into the fourteenth century In other dialects it went over into /ø:u/ > /eu/ (written <ew>) during the twelfth century

§ 139.2 T writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **repen** (Ω22, Ω214 (del. by underlining) and Ω371); <e> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **sepen** (Ω23); the *i*-umlaut of *eo* before *w* is <e> in **untrepnesse** (Ω279).

§ 139.3 L writes <o> (§ 139.1) in the *verb inf.* **ropen** (Ω22); <o> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **sopen** (Ω23); the *i*-umlaut of *eo* before *w* is <o> in **untropnesse** (Ω279).

§ 139.4 D writes <ie> in the *verb inf.* **riepen** (Ω22) but <e> in **repen** (Ω371); <ie> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **siepe** (Ω23).

§ 139.5 E2 writes <u> in the *verb inf.* **rupen** (Ω22) but <eo> in **reope** (Ω371); <eo> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **seopen** (Ω23); the *i*-umlaut of *eo* before *w* is <u> in **untrupnesse** (Ω279).

§ 139.6 E1 writes <u> in the *verb inf.* **rupen** (Ω22) but <eu> in **reupe** (Ω371); <eo> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **seopen** (Ω23); the *i*-umlaut of *eo* before *w* is <eu> in **untreunesse** (Ω279).

§ 139.7 J writes <eo> in the *verb inf.* **reowe** (Ω22) but <e> in **rewe** (Ω371); <eo> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **seowe** (Ω23); the *i*-umlaut for *eo* before *w* is <e> in **untrewnesse** (Ω279).

§ 139.8 M writes <e> in the *verb inf.* **repe** (Ω22 and Ω371) and <e> in the *verb pa. ind. 3rd pl.* **sepe** (Ω23).

§ 140 OE \bar{a} and $ea + w$

§ 140.1 Both yielded an /eu/ diphthong. In Kent /jeu/ was yielded first.

§ 140.2 T writes <e> in the *pron. pl.* **fepe** (Ω109) but <ea> in **feape** (Ω361) and the *adj. pl.* **feape** (Ω366).

§ 140.3 L writes <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.* **scapeð** (Ω142).

§ 140.4 D writes <ia> in the *pron. pl.* **viape** (Ω109, Ω361) but <ea> in the *adj. pl.* **veape** (Ω366).

§ 140.5 E2 writes <e> in the *pron. pl.* **fepe** (Ω109) but <ie> in **fiepe** (Ω361) and <ea> in the *adj. pl.* **feape** (Ω366).

§ 140.6 E1 writes <eu> in the *pron. pl.* **feupe** (Ω109 and Ω361) but <e> in the *adj. pl.* **fepe** (Ω366).

§ 140.7 J writes <e> in the *adj. pl.* **fewe** (Ω366); <e> in the *pron pl.* **fewe** (Ω109) but <a> in **fawe** (Ω361).

§ 140.8 M writess <e> in the *pron. pl.* **uepe** (Ω109 and Ω361) and in the *adj. pl.* **uepe** (Ω366).
