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

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>adj.</th>
<th>adv.</th>
<th>art.</th>
<th>card.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first person</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>adverb(ial)</td>
<td>article</td>
<td>cardinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indec.</td>
<td>indef.</td>
<td>inf.</td>
<td>int.</td>
<td>irreg.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>mark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indeclinable</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>irregular</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>pref.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>pres.</td>
<td>pron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefix</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>past participle</td>
<td>preposition</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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\(^{856}\) 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.
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.

The following is a list of the line variation within the Conduct of Life and keyed to the
Combined Parallel Texts edition that follows. 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), Ω221-Ω221 (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-
Variant order 3iii: Ω44-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,

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

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

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

Ωi

McClean i. Þe holi gostes miȝte us alle helpe 7 diȝte us pissie 7 us teche

Ωii

McClean ii. Ý scilde us fram þe unpiȝte bi daie 7 bi niȝte þat þencheþ us bipeche

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.: aptre.

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 þealde more þan idude mi pit oh to be more
Lambeth 2. Ich pelde mare þene ich dede mi | pit ah te bon mare.
Digby 2. ic ealdi more þanne ic dede | mi wit oȝhte to bi more
Eg. 64r-70v 2. Ic þælde more þanne ic dude. mi pit ah to ben more
Eg. 7r-12v 2. ic þælde more þanne ic dude. mi pit ah to ben more
Jesus 2. Ich welde more þan ich dide. my wyt auh to beo more.
McClean 2. Ich eldi more þan ich dude mi pit æȝte 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) þealde in T, pelde/welde in L and J, and þealde in E² and E³.

L and M omit the inf. marker to found before the inf. v. be/bon/ben/beo in all the other MSS.

Only M has the dem. adj. þe with the comp. more.

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860 Morris, An Old English Miscellany, pp. 58-71
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity 4</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>To longe ich habbe child iben a porde 7 a dade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth 4</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>þel longe ich habbe child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby 4</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>þel longe ic habbe child ibien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>þel lange ic habbe child ibeon. a peorde 7 ech a dade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>þel lange ic habbe child iben. a porde 7 ec a dade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus 4</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>wel longe ich habbe child ibeo. a werke and eke on dede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean 4</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>To longe ich habbe child ibeo of porde 7 of dede.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M agrees with T against the other MSS by reading *adv. to + adv. longe* as opposed to *adv. þel + adv. lange/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. ecb/ece* 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.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity 5</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>þeih ibie a pinter eald to jung ich am on rade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth 5</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>þah ich bo a pintre ald to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby 5</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>þegh ic bi on pintren eald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>þeh ic beo apintre eald. tu þynge i eom a rede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>þech ic beo a pintre eald. to þung ic eom at rede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus 5</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>þah ic beo of wynter old. to þong ich am on rede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean 5</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Þæg ic beo of pintres eald to þung ich am of rede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.
Trinity 6. Þan iðenche me þar on þel sore ime adrade.
Lambeth 6. þenne ich me bi þelc þel ful sare ich me adrede.
Digby 6. þanne ic me biþenche þel þel sore ic me adrede
Eg. 64r-70v 6. þanne ic me bi þenche. þel sore ic me adrede
Eg. 7r-12v 6. þanne ic me bi þenche. þel sore ic me adrede
Jesus 6. hwenne ich me biþenche. þul sore ic me adrede.
McClean 6. Þane ich me biþench þel sore ich me a drede.

- The word-order is different in T which writes the v. pr. ind. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. biþenche + reflex. pron. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. me where it is the reverse in all the other MSS.
- T concludes the first half-line with the adv. þar ox where L and D have the adv. þel and all the other MSS omit either reading.
- All of the texts begin the second half-line with the adv. þel except for L and J which have the adv. Þul.

Trinity 7. Mast al ich habbe idon is idelnesse 7 chilce.
Lambeth 7. mest al þet ich halbhe idon bi fealt to child hade.
Digby 7. Þest al þet ic habbe idon | is idelnesse 7 childe
Eg. 64r-70v 7. Þest al þat ic habbe ýdon. ýs idelnesse and chilce.
Eg. 7r-12v 7. Þest al þat ic habbe ýdon ýs idelnesse and chilce
Jesus 7. Þest al þat ich habbe idon. is idelnesse and chilce.
McClean 7. Þest þat þat ich habbe ido is idelnes 7 chilse

- All texts use the rel. pron. þat/bet 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 þat + 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.

Trinity 8. þel late ich habbe me biþohte bute me god do milce.
Lambeth 8. þel late ich abbe | me bi þoht þate bute God me nu rede.
Digby 8. to late ic habbe me biþogþt | bute god me don milce.
Eg. 64r-70v 8. þel late ic habbe me bi þoht. me do god do milce.
Eg. 7r-12v 8. þel late ic habbe me bi þoht. me god do milce
Jesus 8. wel late ich habbe me bi þouht. bute god do me þylce.
McClean 8. To late ich habbe me biþogþt 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. þel.
- 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. sbj. (OE xeðan) rede where all the other texts have the v. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. sbj. do/þon + n. milce/mylice/milse. However, a similar idea of God’s mercy/understanding is present in both different versions of the line.
\omega 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>9. Vele idel pord ic habbe iqueðe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>9. Fele ýdele pord ich habbe iqueðen. sýððen ic speke cuþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>9. Fele ýdele pord ic habbe i queðen sýððen ic speke cuþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>9. veole idel word ich habbe ispeke. seofþe ich speke cuþe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>9. Vele idele pordes ic habbe ispeke siþþe ich speke cuþe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* T, J and M agree on the *v. pp* (OE *sprecan*) *ispeken/ispeke* where it is the *v. pp* (OE *cweðan*) *iqueðen/i queðen* in L, D E\textsuperscript{2} and E\textsuperscript{3}.

\omega 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>10. 7 fele geunge dade idon þe me ofþinkeð nuþe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>10. Fole þunlge dede idon þe me of þinchet nuþe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>10. 7 vele euële deden idon þet me ofþencbeð nuþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>10. And fale þunge dade ido. þe me of þinchet nuþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>10. and fele þunge deden i do þat me of þinchet nuþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>10. and feole þyngge deden ido. þat me of þincheþ nuþe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>10. 7 fele þunge dede ido 7 þat me repeth nuþe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* 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. euële* 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. ofþinkeð* (T), or a variant thereof.

\omega 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>11. Alto lome ich habbe igult a perce 7 a porde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>27. Alto lome ich habbe igult a perce 7 o porde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>11. Alto lome ic habbe igelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>11. Al to lome ic habbe a gult. a peorcume 7 ec a porde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>11. Al to lome ic habbe a gult a perce 7 ec a porde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>11. Al to lome ich habbe agult. on werke and on worde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>11. Al to muchel ich habbe a gult of prke 7 of porde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/on* in all the other MSS.
\* E\textsuperscript{2} and E\textsuperscript{3} 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.
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 ispent. to litel | ihud in horde.
Jesus 12. Al to muchel ich habbe i spend. to lutel i leyd an horde.
McLean 12. Al to muchel ic 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 hȳdan) 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 z̄ hit me mislekeð
Digby 13. Mest al þet me likede þo | nu hit me misliked
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 mŷs liked
Jesus 13. Best al þat me likede er. nu hit me mŷs lykeþ.

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 þe) þo where it is the adv. (OE æ̅r) ær/er/ær in all the other MSS.

Ω14

Trinity 14. þe muhel folgæd his ipil him selfen he bisþicað.
Lambeth 12. þa muchel | fulseð his pil þe hine solf he bisþikeð.
Digby 14. se þe muchel volgæð his ipil | himselfe he bisþikeð.
Eg. 64r-70v 14. þe mŷchel folgeþ his þil. him sulfne he bi spikeþd
Eg. 7r-12v 14. þe muchel folgeþ his þil. him sulfne he bi spikeþd
Jesus 14. þe muchel folweþ 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 grammatical 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.
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. ʒef, 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. ʃ. sg. hadde where it is the reverse in all the other MSS.
E² has the adv. þer and J the adj. ený where it is the def. art. þoþe in all the other MSS.

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

The word-order is different in the first half-line of J which has the v. pr. ind. ʒ. sg. ʃis + pron. ʃ. 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. pr. 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-ʃan/erþan where it is the cj. ær/er/ær in all the other MSS.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ω219</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M begins the line with the cj. \textit{hat}: 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. 1'sg. \textit{michte/mihte/myht} in L, E² and E³.
- J writes the v. \textit{inf. bi-seo} where it is \textit{isien} (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ω220</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 the n. euel where it is the prep. to in all of the other MSS, except for J where neither variant is present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ω221</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- E² and E³ agree on the cont. form of the v. pr. ind. 3'sg. stent/stont where all the other texts have stondeô/stondeô.
- L has the pl. form of the n. men and monne and, therefore, the pron. 3'sg. pl. hom where the sg. form is used in all the other MSS.
- J writes the prep. to before the n. cryste where all the other texts have the v. sbj. 3'sg. do + prep. of.
D and L agree on the 3rd pl. form throughout this line where it is 3rd 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. þe þet - in a construction that combines the demo. pron. with the rel. – and L where þe is pl.

T, J, M, E² and E¹ agree on the v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. (OE ðan) or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. Although there is variation between the texts in the second half-line, the meaning of the reading is not significantly different.

The readings differ in the first half-line. Both T and J have the adj. alle with pl. a. men where the other texts use the 3rd pl. pron. hi/hy in combinations with the inf. mouþ/mopen/mope and the v. 3rd pl. ind. sulþ/sulen/sucle (M inverts the word-order of the inf. and the v. against the reading in the majority of the other MSS) except for L which has the 2nd pl. pron. ge with the inf. mapen and the v. 2nd pl. ind. sulcen.

The v. inf. mapen/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 þat in all the other MSS; E¹ follows this with the rel. pron. þe where E² does not.

D writes the adv. herþan where it is ær/ær/ær/ear in all the other MSS.
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. subj. (OE. do) do where the other texts have the pr. 2nd pl. imp. do (E2 and E3), dod (J) and doþ (M).

Both T and M read al (adj. to gote) where E2 and E3 have the reading ec (adv.) to gote 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 E3, as the reading in D is the sg. indef. pron from OE. ec, where L reads pron. sg. masc. he. J does not include the pron., adj. or adv. and reads dod to gote.

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. ge ye ge.

The v. from OE bеoо differs between the MSS of the Conduct of Life in this line. It takes the form beо (pr. 3rd sg. ind.) in T; bo and beо (pr. 3rd sg. subj.) in L and M respectively; bied (pr. 3rd pl. ind.) in D, with buо (E2 and E3) and beо (J) taking the pr. 2nd pl.

There is significant variation in the v. pres. 3rd sg. subj. at the beginning of this line. T, L and J agree on lipne/ lipnie where E2 and E3 read hopie, D reads leue, and M trust. The remainder of the line is the same apart from dialectal/orthographical differences.

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.
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.

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.* *sended*. 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. E also switches to the 2nd person from the 3rd person after the caesura.
- E1 and E2 have the *adv. ech/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 pyle ge ben aliue*.
- L writes the the *v. pr. 2nd pl. ind. mügen* where it is 3rd sg. ind. *mai/mei/may* in T, E2 and J (the reading does not occur in D and E1).

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 *beon*) *boð/beop*, in the second half-line, where the other texts have the *sbj. form* in *ben/beon*.
- E3 has the *quant. card. výue*, 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/seouene*.  

---

Ω27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>He sal cumen on euel stede bute him god be milde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>he sal cumen in uuel stude bute him God bo milde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>he scal comen on euele stede. bute god him bi milde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>he scal cume an uelle stede bute him god bo milde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>he sæl comen on vuele stede bute him God bo milde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>he schal cumen on vuele stude. bute god him bo Milde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>He scal come in euele stede bute god him bo milde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Sende god biforen him man þe hpile he mai to heuene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Sended sum god biforen eop. þe hpile þet ge mügen to houene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Sende sum god biuoren him l man þet pile to heuene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Send ech sum god bi foren him. þe hpile he mei to heuene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Sende ec sum god be foren hým þe pyle ge ben aliue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Sende vch sum god bivoren him. þe hwile he maÝ to heouene.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.* *sended*. 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. E also switches to the 2nd person from the 3rd person after the caesura.
- E1 and E2 have the *adv. ech/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 pyle ge ben aliue*.
- L writes the the *v. pr. 2nd pl. ind. mügen* where it is 3rd sg. ind. *mai/mei/may* in T, E2 and J (the reading does not occur in D and E1)
Ω30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Line References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>29. Ne bie þe leuere þan þe self ne þi mei ne þi mowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>29. Ne beo þe loure þene þe soulf. þe þin mei. ne þin mage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>29. Ne beo þe leoure þene þe sulf. þi mei ne þi mage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>29. Ne beo þe leoure þan þi self þi mei ne þi mowe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>30. Ne beo þe leouere þan þi seolf. þi mey ne þi mowe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>25. Ne beo þe leuere þane þi self þi mei ne þi moze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line Ω30 is not present in D.
- T and L begin the second half-line with the *cf.* *ne* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Line References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>30. Sot is þe is oðer mannnes frend betere þan his owen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>30. soht is þet is oðers þmonnes frond betre þen his ægen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>30. sot is þe is oðres mannnes freond. betere þene his æge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>30. for sot þys þat þys oðer mannnes frond betre þan his øge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>31. Sot is þat is oðer mannnes freond. more þan his owen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>26. Sot is þat is oðre mannnes frend betere þane his øge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line Ω31 is not present in D.
- E1 writes the *cf.* *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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Line References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>31. Ne hopie wif to hire were ne were to his wiue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>31. Ne lipnie þpif to hire pere. ne pere to his wiue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>29. Ne hopie þpif to hire pere þne pere to his wiue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>31. Ne hopie þpif to hire pere. ne per to his pife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>31. Ne hopie þpif to hyyre pere ne pere to his pife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>32. Ne lipne no wif to hire were. ne were to his wýue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>27. Ne trust þpif to hire pere ne pere to his puye.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- L and J agree on the *v. pr. subj. 3rd sg.* *lipnie/lipne* where M has the *v. pres. subj. 3rd sg.* *trust* and the other MSS have the *v. pr. subj. 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.
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. sbj. pr. 3rd 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. sbj. pr. 3rd sg. do + adv. pel where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The majority of texts write the compound form of OE biuore æorí in the adj. afric (T), eurich (D), æurich (E²), æfrech (E¹) and euerich (M) except for L and E which write (OE æorí) ceb/ycg.
- The texts vary towards the end of the line with their treatment of OE hi. T and J have irreg. v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. bihæ/becgæ L, E² and E¹ have the sbj. form of the pr. 3rd sg. bo (L and E¹) and beo (E²); D has the pl. form of the ind. in bihæ, preceded by the pl. form of the pron. 3rd hi – where it is he in all other manuscripts - and M has the irreg. v. pr 3rd sg. ind. is as an alternative reading.

Ω33

Trinity 32. Be for him self afric man þe hpile he beð alieue.
Lambeth 32. bo for | him solue ech. mon. þe hpile þet he bo alieue.
Digby 30. bi for him selue eurich man þer pile hi beð alieue.
Eg. 64r–70v 32. beo for him sulue æurich man. þe hpile he beo alieue
Eg. 7r–12v 32. bue for him selue æfrech man þe þyle he bo alife
Jesus 33. Beo vor him seolue vycz mon. þe hwhile he boþ alïue
McClean 28. Biuore him do pe l euerech man þe phile he is alieue

- The scribe of J writes pis for pis. 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. 3rd sg. is not found in T, where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- M has an alternative first half-line reading: vor he is pis þat hine biþancþ þe phile þat he mot libbe
- 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. 3rd sg. ind. (OE ðencan) in þencþ where all the other MSS have a form of OE biðencæ in biþenchef (T) or a variant thereof.
- LDE&M 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. 3rd pl. he, in the second half-line; this is likely to be a scribal error as the clause fails to function without it.

Ω34

Trinity 33. Pis þe him selue biþencþ þe hpile he mot libben
Lambeth 33. Pis is þe to him solue þench þe hpile þe | mot libben.
Digby 31. Pis is þet hine biþencþ. þo hpile þet he mot libbe
Eg. 64r–70v 33. Pis is þe him sulfe þi þencþ. þe hpile he mote libbe.
Eg. 7r–12v 33. Pis is þe him sulþ þe þencþ þa hpile þe he mot libbe
Jesus 34. Pis is þat him selue þiþencþþ þe hwhile he mot libbe.
McClean 29. Uor he is pis þat hine biþancþ þe phile þat he mot libbe.

- The scribe of J writes pis for pis. 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. 3rd sg. is not found in T, where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- M has an alternative first half-line reading: vor 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. 3rd sg. ind. (OE ðencan) in þencþ where all the other MSS have a form of OE biðencæ in biþenchef (T) or a variant thereof.
- LDE&M 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. 3rd pl. 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 forgiête þe fremde 7 þe sibbe.
Lambeth 34. for sone pule hine forgeten þe | fremede 7 þe sibbe.
Digby 32. vor hine pilleð sone uorgiête | þo fremde 7 þo sibbe
Eg, 64r-70v 34. for sone pilleð hine for giête ðe fremede 7 þe sibbe
Eg, 7r-12v 34. for sone pille him for giȝten þe fremden and þo sibbe
Jesus 35. vor sone willeþ him for yete þe fremede and þe sibbe.
McClean 30. So sone pilleð hine uorgiête 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. 3rd sg. hine are trs.

Ω36

Trinity 35. þe pel ne dÔ ðe hpile he mai ne sal he þan he polde.
Lambeth 35. þe pel ne dÔ ðe hpile | he mai þe scal þenne he polde.
Digby 33. Se þet pel ne deÔ ðe pile he mai | ne sal he þanne he polde
Eg, 64r-70v 35. þe pel ne deÔ ðe hpile he mei. ne scal hþenne he polde.
Eg, 7r-12v 35. þe pel ne deþ þe pile he mai ne scal þe þanne he þolde
Jesus 36. þe wel nule do hwile he may. þe schal þe hwenne he þolde.
McClean 31. þe pel ne deþ þe þhil he mai ne scal þe þhane he þolde.

- 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. 3rd sg. ind. (OE dÔn) dÔd/dÔð/þeþ apart from J which uses the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nule (ModE will not) in combination with the int. do.
- L omits the pron. 3rd sg. he, before the cj. þenne, where it is present in all the other MSS.

Ω37

Trinity 36. For mani mannes sore isþinc habbeð ofte unholde.
Lambeth 36. Monies | monnes sare isþinc habbeð oft unholde.
Digby 34. vor manies mannes sore isþinc | habbeð ofte unholde
Eg, 64r-70v 36. manies mannes sare isþinc. habbeð oft unholde
Eg, 7r-12v 36. mani mannes sor þe spþynch habbet ofte alle vn holde
Jesus 37. Mony monnes sore isþýnk. ofte habbeþ vnholde.
McClean 32. Manies mannes sor yþwinch 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. 3rd pl. habbeþ reversing the order in the other MSS.
- E⁵ includes the adj. pl. alle in the second half-line where it is not present in any other MSS.
In the first half-line L writes the pr. ind. form of the v. 3rd sg. solde (T), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.

T writes 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 lǽtan) laten; L, E² and D have the v. inf. (OE sleþian) slaƿen/sleuhþe; E¹, J and M have the v. inf. (OE sleacian) sclakien/sclakien/sclakie.

All of the texts begin the second half-line with the rel. pron. þat/þe/pet except for E¹ which has the pron. 3rd sg. he and M which has the cj. 7.

D and M agree on the cont. form of the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. forget/forget + adv. pel where it is the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. forgieted (T), or a variant thereof, and the adv. is not present in any other MSS.

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 adv. siker + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. pule + v. inf. beon and in M which writes pule + beon + siker, where all of the other MSS have pule + siker + ben (T) or a variant thereof.
Ω41

Trinity 40. Do pel him self þe hpile he mai þanne haued ðes mid ipisse.
Lambeth 40. do pel him solf ðe hpile þet | he mai þenne haued he his mid ipisse.
Digby 38. do eure god þer hwile he mai | þanne haued he hit to iwisse.
Eg. 64r-70v 40. do pel himself þe hpile he mei. þenne haued he hit mайд iwisse.
Eg. 7r-12v 40. do pel him self þe hpile he mai þenne haued he hit mайд iwisse.
Jesus 41. Do wel him solf þe hwile he mai þenne haued he hit mайд iwisse.
McClean 36. Do pel himself þe hpile he mai þanne haued he mid ñisse

D begins the line with **do eure god þer hwile** where all the other MSS read **do pel him self þe hpile** (T) or a variant thereof. The meaning in both variants is very similar.

L writes the cj. **þer hwile** where it is **hpile** (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

T combines the pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) to form **hes** where it is separate in **he his** (L). **he hit** (D and J). **he it** (E). Both E and M write the pron. 3rd sg. (ma. sc.) **he**

Ω42

Trinity 41. Þe riche men þene siker ben þurch fallen 7 thurh dichern.
Lambeth 41. þes | riche. Men. þene siker þurh palle 7 þurh dichen.
Digby 39. Þo Riche wene siker bien | þuch palle þurh diche
Eg. 64r-70v 41. þes riche men þene siker. þurh palle end þurh diche
Eg. 7r-12v 41. þos Riche men þened ben sikere þurh palle þurh diche
Jesus 42. þos riche men wenęþ to beon sýker. þurh walles þurh diche
McClean 37. þis riche men þened þeo siker þur3 palle þur3 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 E), **þos** (E), **þeo** (J) and **þis** (M).

D omits the *pl. men* found in the first half-line of all the other MSS; **riche** in D functions as a *a* 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.
\Omega 43

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>42. He deð his aihte an siker stede þe hit sent to heueriche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>42. þe deð his echte on sikere stude he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>40. se deð his heghte on sikere stede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>42. he deð his a sikere stede. þe sent to heueneriche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>42. he deð his eichte on sikere stede þe hit sent to heuene riche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>43. Ah heo doð heore aȝhte in siker stude. þat sendeþ hit to heoue riche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>38. Ac þe deþ his eȝte in sikere stede he hit sent to heueneriche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This line in J is found in the MS before the one at \Omega 42 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, E\textsuperscript{3} and E\textsuperscript{1} begin with the pron 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. \textit{he} in combination with v. deð/ded. L begins with dem. pron. 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\textsuperscript{rd} pl. heo followed be the v. doþ where M agrees with L and writes þe deþ.
- J writes the poss. pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. heore where all the other MSS have the poss. pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. his.
- E\textsuperscript{3} omits the n. aihite (T), or a variant thereof, where it is is present in all the other MSS.
- L and M agree on the pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. \textit{he} where it is the rel. pron. þe þet þat in all the other MSS.
- E\textsuperscript{3} omits the pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. (inan.) hit/hu found in all the other MSS.
- J writes the v. pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. sendeþ where all the other texts have the cont. form in sent/send.

\Omega 44

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>43. For þarf he ben ofdrad of fure ne of þieue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>43. For þer ne þerf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>43. Þer ne darf man ben ofdred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>43. For ðer ne ðerf beon of dred. of fure ne of þeoue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>43. For þer ne þarf he ben of drad of fure ne of þeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>44. vor þer ne þarf. he beon adred. of fure ne of þeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>39. Vor þar ne darf he ben afered of fure ne of þeue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
- E\textsuperscript{3} omits the pron 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. \textit{he} present in all the other MSS in the first half-line, except for D which writes the n. man.
- T, L, D and E\textsuperscript{1} write the v. pa. part. (OE ofdrætan) is ofdrad/ ofdred/ ofdred/ of drad. However, it is v. pa. part (OE andrædan) adred in J and v. pa. part (OE æ-lætan) afered in M.
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. 3rd sg. perf + pron. 3rd sg. he where all the other MSS, except for D (see following note), have the v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. (OE magan) man + pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit (T), or variants thereof.
- D omits the pron. 3rd sg. hit (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
- E² and J omit the pron. 3rd sg. him where it is present in the first half-line of all the other MSS.

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. been + v. prp. ofdred where all the other MSS have the v. inf. haben + 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 giefu) gefe (L), or a variant thereof, with the n. (OE gield) gilde (L), or variants thereof; T agrees with the second of these n.s. (at the line end) but not the first, where it has the n. (OE hipe, hyr) here. E² and E¹ agree with each other but have very different readings from all the other texts with the n. pyfe/piue and the n. childe; M writes the adj. (OE geong) zunge with the adj. (OE eald) gilde at the line end.

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. 3rd sg. (OE sendan, besenda) in sent following the pron. 3rd sg. he where all the other MSS have sende (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. sende.
- 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.
\section*{Ω48}

Trinity 48. Þider pe solden drawen 7 don pel ofte 7 ilome.
Lambeth 48. Þider pe sculen draȝen 7 don pel | ofte 7 ilome.
Eg. 64r-70v 47. Þider pe scolden draȝan 7 don. pel oft 7 pel ge lome
Eg. 7r-12v 47. Þider pe solden drapan 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 draȝe ofte 7 pel ýlome

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 \textit{v. pr. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. ind.} (OE \textit{sceall}) sculen, in the first half-line, where all the other MSS have the \textit{pa. form of the v.} in solden (T) or a variant thereof.
- The reading in M is different where M writes the \textit{v. inf. bere + cj. 7 + v. inf. draȝe + adv. ofte + cj. 7}, where it is \textit{v. inf. drawn + cj. 7 + v. inf. don + adv. pel + adv. ofte} (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- E\textsuperscript{2}, E\textsuperscript{1} and M have the \textit{adv. pel} before the \textit{adv. ge lome} (E\textsuperscript{2}), or a variant thereof, at the end of the line, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

\section*{Ω49}

Trinity 48. For þær ne sal me us naht binime mid prongƿise dome.
Lambeth 48. for þær ne scal me us naut | binimen mid prangƿise dome.
Eg. 64r-70v 48. For þær ne sceal me us naht bi nime. mid prangƿise dome
Eg. 7r-12v 48. for þær ne scal me us nout binimen mid pronge ne mid pŏge
Jesus 49. Ne maẏ þær non hit vs bŷnȳmen. mẏd wrongƿise dome.
McClean 46. Par ne miȝte 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 \textit{word-order} and \textit{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 \textit{adj. none} + \textit{adj. pronge} where it is the \textit{adj. prongƿise} (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS, except for E\textsuperscript{1} (see note below).
- E\textsuperscript{1} ends the line \textit{mid pronge mid pŏge} which finds no agreement among the other texts and spoils the rhyme with the previous line \textit{ge lome}.
Lines $\Omega^50$ and $\Omega^51$ in M occur in the MS before those now found at $\Omega^48$ and $\Omega^49$ but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- L and M agree on the $\text{pron.} \overset{1}{\text{st}} \text{pl. ge/ge}$ where all the other texts have the $\text{pron.} \overset{1}{\text{st}} \text{pl. pe}$.
- L writes the $\text{v. pr. ind.} \overset{2}{\text{nd}} \text{pl. (OE sceall)}$ sculen where it is $\text{pa.} \overset{1}{\text{st}} \text{pl. solde}$ (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other texts, except for M where it is the $\text{pa.} \overset{2}{\text{nd}} \text{pl. solde}$.
- M writes the $\text{adj. pl. alle + v. inf.} \text{don}$, and D writes the $\text{adj. pl. alle + v. inf. draȝen}$, where all the other texts write the $\text{adv. gierne}$ (except J where it is not present) + $\text{v. inf. drawn}$ (T), or variants thereof.
- E$^1$ and J include the $\text{cj.} \overset{2}{\text{nd}} \text{pl.} \text{don}$, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The $\text{pron.} \overset{1}{\text{st}} \text{sg. acc. me}$ is missing from the second half-line of L and the $\text{n. god}$ is written instead.

### $\Omega^51$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>For ne mai hit us binime no king ne no syreue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>For ne mei þet hit ou binimen king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>for þer mai hit us binime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r–70v</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>for þere ne mei hit bi nimen eop þe king ne se ireue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r–12v</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>for þer ne mai hit ou bi nimen þe king ne þe scirreue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>vor þer ne mey hit vs bý nýme, þe king, ne þe scirreue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Par ne miȝte me hit us binime king ne no scerreue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines $\Omega^50$ and $\Omega^51$ in M occur in the MS before those now found at $\Omega^48$ and $\Omega^49$ but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M omits the $\text{cj. for}$ (T), or a variant thereof, found in all of the other MSS at the beginning of the first half-line.
- All texts have the $\text{adv. ðere þer þar þar}$ in the first half-line except for L and T.
- The $\text{neg. ne}$ is not present in the first half-line of D where it is present in the other MSS.
- L includes the $\text{dem. pron. þet}$ where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E$^1$, E$^2$ and L agree on the $\text{pron.} \overset{2}{\text{nd}} \text{pl. ou/eop}$ where all of the other MSS read $\text{pron.} \overset{1}{\text{st}} \text{pl. us/vs}$; the $\text{word-order}$ is also different in E$^2$, which has the $\text{pron.}$ following the $\text{v. inf. bi nimen}$, where it precedes the $\text{v.}$ in all of the other MSS.
- T and D include the $\text{adj. no}$ before the $\text{n. king}$, where it is the $\text{def. art. þe}$ in E$^1$, E$^2$ and J, and where neither is present in L and M.
- T and M include the $\text{adj. no}$ before the $\text{n. syreue}$ (T), or a variant thereof; D has the $\text{pron.} \text{3rd} \text{sg. poss. his}$ and E$^2$ writes the OE $\text{masc. form}$ of the $\text{def. art. se}$ where it is the modernised version $\text{þe}$ in E$^1$ and J; none of these readings are present in L.
- L and E$^2$ agree on the $\text{cont. form}$ of the $\text{n. reue/ireue}$ (OE gerefa) where all of the other MSS use the compound from OE sceotergerefa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Al þat beste þat pe habbëð her þider pe solde sende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Al þat beste þet pe hefden þider pe hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>47.</td>
<td>þet beste þet pe hoðed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>þet betste þet pe hedde. þider pe scolde sende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Al þat beste þat pe habbet þider pe scolde sende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Al þe beste þat we habbeþ. þider we schulde sende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Al þat faireste þat man hauþ to gode he hit scolde sende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The adj. al is not present in D and E.
- M, in the first half-line, writes the adj. faireste, where it is beste/beteste 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. F² pl. habbed (T), habbet (E¹) and habbëþ (J), but it is pa. F¹ pl. in hefden (L) and hedde (E²), and it is pr. 3.sg. in hauþ (M); D has the alternative reading of v. pr. F¹ pl. (OE. agen) hoðed.
- M specifies that it is to gode where earthly possessions should be sent where all the other texts use the adv. þider/puder.
- T includes the adv. her following hauþ: this is not present in any other MSS.
- L and M both include the 3.sg. pron. hit in the second half of the line where it is not present in any other MSS.
- M writes the pron 3.sg. he with the v. pa. 3.sg. scolde where it is the pron F² pl. pe + the v. pa. F¹ pl. solde (T), or variant thereof, in all other MSS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>For þar pe mihte vinden eft 7 haben abuten ende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>For þer pe hit michte vinden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>48.</td>
<td>For þer pe mumen hit vinden eft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>For þer pe hit mihste finde eft. 7 habbe bute ende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>For þer pe it mumen vinden eft 7 haben abuten ende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>vor þer we hit miȝhte vinden eft. 7 haben • o • buten ende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Þar he hit miȝte finde eft 7 habbe euere bute ende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The cj. for/vor is not present in M.
- M has the pron. 3.sg. he where all the other texts have the pron. F² pl. pe.
- T and D do not have the pron. 3.sg. hit/it, after pe, where all the other MSS do.
- The irreg. v. (OE. meahte) is pa. F² pl. miȝhte (T and E²), michte (L), miȝhte (J) but is is pa. 3.sg. miȝte (M) and pr. F¹ pl. mumen (D) and mumen (E²).
- 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 à.
### \( \Omega^{54} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Se þe her doð ani god for to haben godes ore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>þo þe er doð eni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Se þe her deð ani god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>þe þe her deð eni god. for habbe godes are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>þe þe her det ani god for to habben godes ore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>He þat her dop ený god. to habbe godes ore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Þe man þat ani god dop her uor habbe godes ore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \( \Omega^{54} \) and \( \Omega^{55} \) in M occur in the MS after those now found at \( \Omega^{56} \) and \( \Omega^{57} \) 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 *be* (E') but retained in some instances as late as the thirteenth century.
- L begins with the *pl.* form of the *dem. pron.* + *rel.* in *bo 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 MSS: M writes *ani god dop 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.

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### \( \Omega^{55} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Al he hit sal eft finde þar 7 hundredfealde more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>al he hit scal finde þer 7 hundred fald mare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>50.</td>
<td>al he hit sel finde þer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>eal he hit sceal finde þer. 7 hundred fealde more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>al he it scl finde þer. 7 hundred felde more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Al he schal výnde þer. an hundred folde more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Par he hit scl finde eft and hundredfelde more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \( \Omega^{54} \) and \( \Omega^{55} \) in M occur in the MS after those now found at \( \Omega^{56} \) and \( \Omega^{57} \) 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/esal* 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. þand* in all the other MSS.
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. holden (T and J), holden (L), hialde (D), healden (E¹ and E²).
- Both T and L use the subj. form of the v. pr. 3rd sg. (OE māgan) muge where it is ind. mei/may/māi 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.

### Ω56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>55. Se þe aihte pile holde pel þe hpile hes muge pealden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>55. þe þet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>51. Se þet ðihte pile hialde pel þe hpile þe hi mot wealde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>55. þe ðe ehte pile healden pel þe hpile he mei his pealden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>55. þe þe ehte pile healden pel þe pile he mai his pelden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>56. þe þat aýhte wile holde wel, þe hwile he mai him wolde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>49. ðe man þe his ðgte pel pile pite þe phile he mai pelde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, E¹ and E² 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.) he 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; E² has a different reading (see preceding note).
- M has v. pr. 3rd sg. ind.(OE bēton) bēp where all the other MSS (apart from E¹; see note above) read v. pr. 3rd sg. ind.(OE dōn) doð/deð/deð/dōp.
Line Ω58 is not present in M.

- The cj. for is present in T but not any of the other MSS.
- The adv. oft is not present in J.
- The val. pref. (OE ge) is in ipuned but is not present in T.

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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. giueð/yueþ, against all the other MSS which have v. pr. lst pl. doð/dot except in nun. where it is I pl. in T but 3 pl. in J and preceded by the 3 rd pl. pron. heo where it is I 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. I pl. pe + pron. 3 rd sg. (inan.) hit + v. pr. I pl. ind. (OE sceall) sulen + adv. eft + v. inf. vinden: 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. 3 rd 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. 3 rd sg. (inan.) + the v. pr. 3 rd pl. ind. (OE magan) mowen, where it is the v. pr. I pl. ind. (OE sceall) sulen/scalen/sollen/scallen in all of the other MSS + v. inf. ivynde.

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Line Ω60 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. ungolde without the pref. for/vor as found in all the other variants.
\Omega 61

Trinity 60. Euel pe doð al to muchel 7 god lasse þan pe solden.
Lambeth 60. vfel pe dop al to muchel. 7 god lesse þenne pe sculden.
Digby 56. pe doð al to muchel | god lesse þanne pe solde.
Eg. 64r-70v 60. uuel þe 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 dop al to muchel. god; lasse þane we scholde.
McClean 58. Euel pe dop al to muchel god lasse þane pe scolde

Lines \Omega 60 and \Omega 61 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at \Omega 64 and \Omega 65 but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

\Omega 62

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 doð nu to gode | 7 se þet lest to laðe
Eg. 64r-70v 61. Þe þe mest doð nu to gode. 7 þe þe lest to laðe
Eg. 7r-12v 61. þe þe mest doð nu to gode 7 þe þe lest to laðe
Jesus 62. þe þat mest dop n̄v to gode. 7 te þe lest to laþe.
McClean 53. þe man þat dep her mest to gode 7 alpre lest to loþe

- The art. is often used as a pron. antecedent to relatives as in Se þe (see the notes to Line \Omega 54 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. indl. dep + adv. her + n. mest, where the adv. is nu and the word-order is different in all of the other MSS.
- In D, E, E' 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. alþe where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

\Omega 63

Trinity 62. Eidēr to lītel 7 to muchel hem sal þunchen boðe.
Lambeth 62. Eidēr to lulet 7 to muchel | scal þunchen eft hom baþe.
Digby 58. aidēr to lītel 7 to muchel | sal þenchun eft hem boðe.
Eg. 64r-70v 62. aidēr to lītel 7 to muchel scal þunchen eft him baþe
Eg. 7r-12v 62. aþþe to lulet 7 to muchel scal þunchen eft hīm baþe
Jesus 63. Eyþer to lulet and to muchel. schal þunchen heom ef to baþe.
McClean 54. Aþer to lītel 7 to muchel hit scal him þinch 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 þeigen bifo re þan heuene kinge. |
| Lambeth | 63. þer me scal ure | perkes þeien bi foran þe heuene king. |
| Digby | 59. þer me sal ure perkes þeigen bifo re þe heuene kinge |
| Eg. 64r–70v | 63. þer meiscal ure perkes þeigen. be foren heuene kinge |
| Eg. 7r–12v | 63. þer meiscal ure perkes þeigen bi foren þen heuene kinge |
| Jesus | 64. þer me schal ure werkes weyen by vore heuene kinge. |
| McClean | 55. þhane me scal ure purkes þeigen. to uore þe heuenkinge |

- M has the cj. phase where all the other texts begin the line with the adv. þer/þer.
- M forms the prep. to ure where it is bifo re (T) or a variation of this in all the other MSS.
- Neither E2 and J write the def. art. preceding the n. heuene kinge/heuene kinge.

Ω65

| Trinity | 64. 7 geuuen us ure perkes lean after ure erninge. |
| Lambeth | 64. and | geuuen us ure spinkes lan after ure erninge. |
| Digby | 60. 7 geuuen us ure workes lean | after ure erninge. |
| Eg. 64r–70v | 64. 7 geuuen us ure spinches lien æfter ure erninge |
| Eg. 7r–12v | 64. 7 geuuen us ure spinches lyen after vre erninge |
| Jesus | 65. And ýeuen vs vre swýnkes lean. after vre earnýnge. |
| McClean | 56. 7 geue 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. Êeverúych mon myð þat he hauep. maþ bugge heoueriche. |
| McClean | 59. Ac euerich man mid þan þe he hauep 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 æfræ) eure and the adj. (OE ælæ) elc/ile in the adj. ph. eure elc/eure ilc. The words are compounded in T (africh), D and M (eurich) and J (everúych). 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.
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 he he (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. he.

D writes the adj. more 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 lesse (T) or variants of. The v. haue is no longer required (also absent from D) and the adv. bope 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.

The adv. else (T), or a variant thereof, found in T, L, D, E¹ and M, is preceeded 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 he cj. se/swo, where it is the cj. else in L and M and is not present in J (see previous note).

E¹, E² and M include the def. art. þe þe before the pron. oðer/þer, where the def. art. is not found in T, L and D; the reading in J is different at this point (see previous notes).
\(\Omega 69\)

- T and M agree on the *dem. pron.* *þis* where it is *þet* 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.* *punderlukest* (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- L writes *n. (OE cæp) chep* where it is *n. (OE ware) pare/ware* in all the other MSS except for E\(^1\) where it is written *gare.* The use of the word *chep* possibly emphasises the idea of a bargain more accurately than the other MSS.
- L, D, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the *n. *eni* *mon* *+ adv. efre* (L), or 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* 5th *sg.* *was/pas* instead of the *n. + adv.*

\(\Omega 70\)

- The *art.* is used as a *pron. antecedent* to relatives in *se þe* (he who) (T), or variant thereof (see note to line 535)
- M has the *adv. 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.
- E\(^1\) has the *adv. (OE hittan) bute* which is found in no other MSS.

\(\Omega 71\)

- 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, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) have only the *relative þe þe* and M has the *pron. 3rd* *sg.* *he + relative þat.*
- E\(^2\) 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 E\(^2\), is therefore spoiled with the previous line ending *ipanke.*
\Ω72

Trinity 71. And ofte god can more þanc þan þe him þiueð lasse.
Lambeth 71. 7 | oft god kon mare þonc þen þe him þiueð lese.
Digby 67. 7 ofte god can more þanc | þan þe him þiefð þet lese
Eg. 64r-70v 71. And oft god kan mare þanc ðan ðe him ðiuet lese
Eg. 7r-12v 71. | And god can more þanc ðan þe him ðiueð lese
Jesus 70. ȝ ofte god con more þonk. ȝe þat ÿueþ him lasse.
McLean 65. Vor ofte god kan more þonc him þat ȝeþ lasse

- M writes vor where all the other MSS have and/7.
- The adv. ofte/oft is not found in E\textsuperscript{1}, 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 (E\textsuperscript{2}) and ðan þe (E\textsuperscript{3}). However, M writes him þat and J writes ye þat. All lines are 3rd sg. in the second half-line except in J where is it 2nd pl.
- The word-order of the v. pr. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. þonk. * pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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 þeþes his milce. 7 rihtpinesse.
Digby 68. alle his porkes 7 alle his þeþes | is mihte 7 rihtpinesse
Eg. 64r-70v 72. eal his porkes 7 his peies is milce 7 rihtpinesse
Eg. 7r-12v 72. al his perkes 7 his peies is milce 7 rihtginesse
Jesus 71. Alle his werkes. 7 his ÿeþes. is in ryhtwinesse.
McLean 66. ȝeþ his porkes 7 his þeþes is milse 7 rihtpinesse

- M begins the line with the cj. ȝeþ and L with the cj. 7, where all the other MSS begin with the adj. al/alle/eal/alle functioning as a a.
- D writes 7 alle his þeþes; 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. ÿeþes 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 ryhtwinesse where the reading is is milce 7 rihtpinesse (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- E\textsuperscript{1} writes rihtginesse (sic) which is probably an error in transcription.

\Ω74

Trinity 73. Litel loc is gode lef þe cumeð of gode pille
Lambeth 73. lulitel lac is gode lof þet kumeð of gode pille.
Digby 69. Litel loc is gode lief þet cumð of gode iπille
Eg. 64r-70v 73. Lite lac is gode leof. ðe cumeð of gode iπille
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.
McLean 67. Litel loc is gode lef þat cump of gode pill
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Ω75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>74. 7 eðlate muchel ȝeue ʒan his herte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>74. 7 eclele muchel ȝeue of ʒan þe herte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>70. 7 eðle te muchel ȝeue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>74. 7 eð lete muchel ȝiue ʒenne ðe heorte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>74. 7 eð lete muchel ȝiue ʒenne ðe heorte is ille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>73. 7 lutel he let on muchel wowe. þer þe heorte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>68. 7 þep lete muchel ȝeue of him þat his herte is ille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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. ðƿ 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. ðƿ sg. his, where it is def. art. þe (L), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Ω76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>75. Heuene 7 erðe he ouer síhð his eïn þeð ful brihte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>75. Houene 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>71. Heuene 7 erðe he ouersið</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>75. Heuene 7 eorðe he ouersíhð. his eïgën boð spo brihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>75. Heuene 7 erþe he ouer síhð. his eïgën boð so britte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>74. Heuene 7 eorþe he ouer síþþþ. his eïþþ þo brihte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>69. Heuene 7 erþe he ouersícþ his eïzene boþ þel briþþte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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. pel, where all of the other MSS read adv. spā/spo/so.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Ω77</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>76. sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>72. sunþe 7 mone 7 alle sterren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>76. Sunne. mone. dei. 7 fur. bið þiþtre to ðeanes his lihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>76. Sunne. mone. dai. 7 fur buþ þiþtre to ðënes his lihtþte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>75. Sunne. 7 mone. heuene. 7 fur. boþ þeþtre aþeþn his liþþte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>70. Sonne. 7 mone. sterre. 7 fur. is þeþtre to ðënes his liþþte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line Ω77 is not present in Trinity.

- There is some variation in this line as to the list of ns 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 E3 agree on dei/dai and fur. The meaning of the line is not lost in the variation.
\(\Omega78\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>76. Nis him no þing forholen spo muchel is his mihte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>77. Nis him noht forholen nihud. spa muchele þoð his mihte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>73. Nis him ec noþing uorhole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>77. Nis him naht for hole. ni húd. spa michel Þoð his mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>77. Nis him nout for hole ni hud so muchel bet his mihte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line \(\Omega78\) is not present in M.

- L, J, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) include the v. prep. forholen (L), or a variation thereof, not found in T and D, as well as the v. prep. forholen (L), or a variation thereof, which is found in T and D.
- T and D agree on the a. no þing/noþing where the other MSS have a. noht (L), or a variation thereof.
- The a. noþing in D is preceded by the adv. ec which is not present in T.
- J writes the v. for hole before the a. nowiht; this word-order is the reverse of that which is found in all the other MSS.
- T writes the v. pr. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. is where all the other MSS have the v. pr. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. boð (L), or a variant thereof.

\(\Omega79\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>77. Ne bie hit no spo derne idon ne on spo þuster nihte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>78. nis hit ne spa derne ne spa þostre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>74. nis noþing spo derne idon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>78. nis hit na spa durne idon. ne aspa þuster nihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>78. nis it no so derne i don. ne a spa þuste nihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>77. Nis no so derne dede idon. in so þeostre nihtes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line \(\Omega79\) is not present in M.

- T forms the agg. through ne + v. subj. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. bie where it is v. pr. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. nis in all the other MSS.
- Both D and J are without the pron. 3\(^{rd}\) 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. prep. 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.

\(\Omega80\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>78. He pot hpat þencheð 7 hpat doð alle quike pihfte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>79. he pot pet þenkeð 7 hpet doð alle quike pihfte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>75. He pot hpet þencheð 7 hpet doð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>79. He pot hpet doð. 7 þenchet. ealle quike pihfte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>79. He pot pet deht 7 þenchet alle quike pihfte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>78. he wot hwat þencep. 7 hwat dop. alle quyke wyhte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>71. He pot 7 palt phat dop 7 queþep alle quike pihfte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- There is some variation between M and the other MSS in this line: The inclusion of the cont. form of the v. 3\(^{rd}\) 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.
- E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on an alternative word-order to the other MSS; He pot hpet deð. 7 þenchet (E\(^1\)) as opposed to He pot hpat þencheð 7 hpet 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>79. Nis louerd spilch is crist ne king spilch ure drihte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>80. Nis na lauerd spich se is crist. ne king spuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>76. nis no louerd spich is christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>80. nis na hlauord spilc se is crist. na king spilch ure drihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>80. nis no louerd spilc se is crist. na king spilc vre drihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>79. Nis no louerd such is crist. ne king, such vre drýhte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>72. Nis no louerd such is crist no king suich is ure driʒte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- T does not contain the adj na/no in the first half-line where it is present in all the other MSS.
- L, E and E 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 both the ʒ ne and the adj no preceding the n. king where it is only ʒ ne in T, L and J and adj na/no in E, E and M.
- D has the v. pr. ʒ 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 driʒte.
- The –en ending in drihten (L) makes for an imperfect rhyme.

Ω82

| Trinity | 80. Bode ʒiemed 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>81. Heuene 7 erðe 7 al þat is biloken is in his honde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>81. Heuene 7 orðe 7 al þet is biloken is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>77. Heuene 7 erðe 7 al þat is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>81. Heouene 7 eorðe. 7 eal þet is, bi loken in his hande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>81. heuene 7 herþe 7 al þat is be loken in his honde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>80. Heuene 7 eorþe. and al þat is. biloken is. in his honde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>73. Heuene 7 erþe god almíghti halt al in his honde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ω84

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>82. He deð al þat his pill is apatere 7 alonde.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>82. He deð al þet his pil is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>78. he deð al þat his pille is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>82. he deð eal þet his pille is. apetere and a lande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>82. he deð al þat his pilles is a patere 7 a londe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>81. he deð al þat his wille is. a watere. and eke on londe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>74. He deð al þat his pille is a patere 7 a londe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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/ek where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
The couplet 79 and 80 in D has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- D writes v. pr. 3rd sg. *prohte* (OE *wyrstan*) and M writes v. pr. 3rd sg. *scuppel* (OE *scieppan*) where all of the other MSS have the v. pr. 3rd sg. *makede* (OE *mecian*), except for T which has the pr. form of the v. in *madea*.
- T and M have the def. art. *þe* before *fisses*/*fish* and before *fueles*/*fogel*, where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M uses the sg. form of the *n.s* in *fish* and *fogel* 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*/*scop*.
- T and E 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.
- E retains an Old English form in writing *ge scop* (OE *gescopf*) where the prep. is not present in any of the other MSS.

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 *pited*.
- M has the adj. *palt* + n. *kennes*, in the first half-line, where it is the cj. 7/and + the v. pr. 3rd sg. *(OE *wealdan*/*palded* (T), or a variant thereof, in the other MSS (in E and J the cont. form of the v. *palt*/*wald* is found).
- T, E, and E 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.
- E retains an Old English form in writing *ge scop* (OE *gescopf*) where the prep. is not present in any of the other MSS.

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.
The present.

The M and D agree in

The other MSS. The other MSS have a variant of the

E

in the Middle English period but not in D.

with the construction:

However, L, E

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, E', E'' 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 ðed godes pille in L is different to all of the other MSS.

E' writes ðe (sic) for ðed. There is significant variation in the second half-line in word-order and vocabulary.

E'' and E' agree on the pron. eider 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. aiþpare (T).

The pron 3° 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° sg. where it is him in all the other MSS.

The adv. aiþpare is found after the pron. acc. 3° 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>86.</td>
<td>He is one afre on eche stede þar þu pende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>86.</td>
<td>He ane is eurin ilche stede þer þu pende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>82.</td>
<td>He one is eurin eche stede þar þu pende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>86.</td>
<td>He ane is æure in elche stede. þone þar þu pende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>86.</td>
<td>He one is eurin elche stede þar þu pende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>85.</td>
<td>He is on ewiche stede. wende hwyr þu wende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>78.</td>
<td>He is one in eueriche stede þone þer þu pende.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- J omits the adv. one (T), or variant thereof, and adv. afre (T), or variant thereof, in the first half-line.
- M writes the adv. eueriche as one word where they are written separately in all other MSS (see note above).
- E' 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>He is buuen us 7 bineðen biforen 7 bihindre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>He is buuen us 7 binoþen. biforen 7 bihindren.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>83.</td>
<td>He is buuen us 7 bineþen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>He is buuen us 7 bi neoðen. bi foren 7 bi hinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>He is buuen us 7 bi neþen bi foren 7 bi hinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>86.</td>
<td>He is buuen and bi neþen. bi voren vs and bi hinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>79.</td>
<td>He is boue 7 he is bineþe biuore 7 bihindre.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- There are few variations between the MSS in this line.
- The pron. 1° 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° sg. he + v. pr. 3° sg. ind. is before bineþe, where it is not found in the other MSS.
- boue. bineþe. biuore and bihindre are adv. in M where they are prep. buuen. bineðen. biforen and bihindre (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>88.</td>
<td>þe godes pille doþ aihþare he maiþ him finde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>88.</td>
<td>þe þe doþ godes pille uþer he mei him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>84.</td>
<td>se man þet godes pille doþ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>88.</td>
<td>þe þe þes godes pille eider he mei him finde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>88.</td>
<td>þe þe þes godes pille eider he mai him finde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>þe þat godes wille dop. ichwer maþ him fynde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>80.</td>
<td>þe man þat godespille doþ oueral he hine mai finde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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, E', E'' 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 doþ godes pille in L is different to all of the other MSS.
- E' writes ðe (sic) for ðed. There is significant variation in the second half-line in word-order and vocabulary.
- E' and E'' agree on the pron. eider 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. aiþpare (T).
- The pron 3° 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° sg. where it is him in all the other MSS.
- The adv. aiþpare is found after the pron. acc. 3° 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.
\(\Omega 91\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>89. Elche rune he hereð 7 he pot alle dade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>89. Helche rune he iherð 7 pat alle deden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>85. Eche rune he iherð 7 pot eche dede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>89. Elche rune he i hurð. 7 he pat ealle dede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>89. Elche rune he i hur 7 he pot alle dede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>88. Hvých rune he iherð. þe wot alle dede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>81. Eche rune god i hurð god pot ache dede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M writes the *n. god* where all the other MSS have the *pron. sg. he*.
- All MSS except J and M begin the second half-line with the *Tironian nota*.
- T, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the *pron. 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*.

\(\Omega 92\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>90. He þurð sihð elches mannes þanc þi hpat sal us to rade.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>90. he þurþ sicheþ uches monnes þonc. þi hpat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>86. he þurhþiðði elches ði þanc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>90. he þurh sihð elches mannes ðanc. þet scal us to rade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>90. he þurð sihð elches mannes þanc þat scal us to rade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>89. he þurh syþþ. vých monnes þonk. wý hwat schal vs to rade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>82. He þurþiþþ elches mannes þonc þat scal us to rade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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/\(\Omega\)ý (OE \(\|\)) which is not present in the other MSS.

\(\Omega 93\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>91. þe þe brekeð godes has 7 gultedþ spo ilome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>91. þe þet brokeð godes hese 7 gultedþ spa ilome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>87. þe þet godes hesne brekeð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>91. þe þe brekeð godes hese 7 gultet spa ilome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>91. þo þe brekeþ godes hese 7 gultet spo ilome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>90. þe þat brekeþ godes hes. and gultþþ so ilome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>85. þe þat brekeþ godes isest 7 gultþþ suo ýlome</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- E\(^1\) 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. I. pl. + rel. pl. pron. þe þe þet/pe þe þat*.
- D has a slightly different *word-order in the first half-line and writes n. pl. (OE hēs) hesne where all the other texts have the sg. form, except M which writes *isest* for *ihest* (scribal error).
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 pa be (L) (we who) and other variants thereof, but not in T and M which begin the line with the pron. fī pl. pe followed by the rel. pl. bepat. 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. 3rd pl. in luueb where the other MSS have pa pl. luueden (1st person in T and 3rd person in the other MSS). M has the alternative reading her habbe 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. 3rd pl. heore in J and the adv. her in M; neither of these readings are present in the other MSS.
- J has the 3rd pl. ind. form of the v. ledeb where it is fī pl. ladden (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

This line is not present in Digby.

- Both T and M agree on the pron. fī pl. pe + v. pr. ind. fī pl. sulle/sculle, where it is pron. 3rd pl. ho/hi/he + v. pr. ind. 3rd 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 cī + pl. def. art. ben pe at the beginning of the second half-line where the other texts have cī bar (T) or a variant thereof.
- L has the subj. form of the v. pr. 3rd 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. 3rd pl. heom. The meaning is retained in these MSS. (drede in J is the 3rd pl. subj. where it is pp. in the other texts)

Line Ω96 is not present in Digby.
Jesus 95. Crist for his muchele myhte. hus helpe þenne and rede.

This line from J is found in no other MS.

Trinity 95. Hpat sulle þe beren us biforen mid hpan sulle þe iqueme
Lambeth 95. hpet sculen þe beren | biforen us mid hom scule þe iquemen.
Eg. 64r-70v 95. Hpet scule þe beren bi foren. mid hpan scule þe çpeman
Eg. 7r-12v 95. Hpat sculle þe beren us mid ðan sculle þe him i queme
Jesus 96. Hwat scullere we beren vs biforen. Mid hwan sculle we queme.
McClean 87. Þat sculle þe bere us biuore mid ðan sculle þe ýqueme

Line Ω98 is not present in Digby.

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

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

This line in J is out of order as has been indicated by this line being transposed for comparison.

- 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. þe þe we followed by the rel. pl. 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 þodo þe þe hunenliche demeþ.
- 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.

- 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.
M101

| Trinity | 98. Nabbed hie no þing forgieten of þat hie her iseien. |
| Lambeth | 98. 7 nabbed hie naþing forgeten of al þet l ho iseegen. |
| Digby | 90. nabbed hie no þing uorfete | of þan þet hi iseegen. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 98. nabbed hie naþing for gyte. of eal þet hi iseegen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 98. nabbet hie noþing for gyte of al þat hi ere segen |
| Jesus | 98. Nabbeþ heo nowiht for ýete. of al þat heo iseýen. |
| McClean | 90. Ne habbeþ hie noþing forzte hie 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 adv. 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.

M102

| Trinity | 99. Al þat hie iseien her hie pilled cuðen þare |
| Lambeth | 99. Al þet pe misduden her þe ho hit pilled kuðe þere. |
| Digby | 91. Al þet pe misduden hier | hi pilled keden þere. |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 99. Eal þet pe misduden her. hit pilled cuðe þere |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 99. Al þat pe mis duden her hit pullet cuþe þere |
| Jesus | 99. Al þat we myisduden here. heo hit wulþe cuþe þere. |
| McClean | 91. Ne þat pe misdude her hie hi us pilleþ cuþe þere |

- 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 þeþ pe misduden her (L), or a variant thereof. The pron. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. hit present in all the other MSS except T (cf. previous note).
- Neither E' and E'1 include the pron. 3rd pl. ho (L), or a variant thereof, found in the the other MSS.
- M includes the pron. 3rd pl. us in the second half-line which is not present in any of the other MSS.

M103

| 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. þe 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 M103 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 when 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 habbed on here prite þat pe misduden here.
- **Lambeth** 100. Al ho habbed in hore prite þet pe | misduden here.
- **Digby** 93. Al hi habbed on her prite | þet pe misdeden hier.
- **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 wrýt þat we myþduden here.
- **McClean** 93. Al hi habbeþ in hure prite þat pe misdeþe here

**Ω105**

- **Trinity** 102. þeih pe hes ne niseien hie paren ure iferen.
- **Lambeth** 101. þach pe nusten ne nisegen | ho peren ure ifere.
- **Digby** 94. þegh pe hi nisten ne isege ði peren vre iueren.
- **Eg. 64r-70v** 102. þeh pe hi nisten ne ise | gen | hi peren vre 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. þeþ pe hi neste ne ne isege hi perse yfere

- There is some variation between the MSS in the first half-line.
- J and E agree on the pron. 3rd sg. *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 seþon*) (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.
\[ \Omega_{108} \]

Trinity 103. Ḥpat sullen horlinges don þe spichen 7 þe forsclone
Lambeth 102. Ḥpet sculen ordlinghes | don. þa swicen 7 ta fors sola
Digby 95. Ḥpet sulle þo horlinges don | þo siskele 7 þo vorspone
Eg. 64r-70v 103. Ḥpet sculen horlinges do. þe spiken þe for sponora
Eg. 7r-12v 103. Ḥpet scullen horlinges do. þe spikele þe for sponora
Jesus 103. Ḥwat shulçþþ horlinges don. þe swiken. and þe forscworene.
McClean 97. Phat sculle horlinges do þe suike 7 þe forscworene

- 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 E\(^{1}\) use the adj. form for the n. (OE swicel) in siskele where it is n. spichen (T), or variants thereof, in all the other MSS.
- Neither E\(^{1}\) and E\(^{2}\) have the cj. 7 or and in the second half-line where it is present in all the other MSS.

\[ \Omega_{109} \]

Trinity 104. þi spo fele beð icleped spo fepe bed icorene
Lambeth 103. hpi boð folæ | iclepede. 7 spa lut icorene.
Digby 96. a ðe spo ule beð icleped | 7 spo vipe icorene
Eg. 64r-70v 104. þi spo fele beðo icluped. spo fepe beð icorene
Eg. 7r-12v 104. þi spo fele beð i icleped sa fepe beo i corene
Jesus 104. Swiþe veole beþ icleped. and fewe beþ icorene.
McClean 98. Api so fele beþ icluped so use þe boþ icorene.

- J has the adv. (OE swicel) swiþe where all the other MSS have the int. pron. pi (T) or a variant thereof.
- L omits the adv. spo/spo/so, present in all the other MSS except for J.
- L has v. pr. ści pl. ind. boð = pron pl. fele, where the word-order is the reverse in the other MSS.
- L, D and J agree on the cj. 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. ści 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 /fr/) where it is the pron. pl. fele (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

\[ \Omega_{110} \]

Trinity 105. þi hpi ƿaren hie biþete to hpan ƿaren hie borene.
Lambeth 104. pi hpi peren ho | biþeten to hpon peren ho boirene.
Digby 97. ƿe hpi peren hi biþete | 7 to hpi boirene
Eg. 64r-70v 105. ði hpi pere hi bi þite. to hpan pere hi boirene
Eg. 7r-12v 105. ði hpi pere he bi þite to pan pere hi i boirene
Jesus 105. waþ hwi were heo bi þete. hwı were heo boirene.
McClean 99. A þi phat scolde hi biþete phat scolde hi þyborene

- 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. ści pl. scolde in both the first and second half-line where hpi (T) better serves the v. pp. pl. biþete 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 cj. 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. ści pl. paren (T) and pron. ści pl. hie (T), or variants thereof, in the second half-line.
\[\Omega 111\]

Trinity 106. Þe sullē ben to deāde idemd 7 afremo forlorene.
Lambeth 105. Þet sculen | bon to deþe idemet. 7 eure ma forlorene.
Digby 98. Þet sullen ben to deāde idemd | 7 euer mo vorlorene.

Ωr-70v 106. Þe scule beon to dieðe idemd. 7 eure ma for lorene

Ω 7r-12v 106. Þe sculle ben to deþe idemde. and euer more forlorene.
Jesus 106. Þat sculle beo to deþe idemde. and euer more uorlorene.

McClean 100. Þat sculle beo to deþo ýdo 7 euermore uorlorene

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

\[\Omega 112\]

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

Ωr-70v 107. Elch man sceal him ðer bi clupien. 7 ech sceal hym demen

Ω 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. 3rd sg. where it is him * selfen (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS. E² repeats the reflex. pron 3rd 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. 3rd 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 biclipie?.
- 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 ọgen perc 7 his þanc to pitiesse he sal temen.
Lambeth 107. his ọgen perch 7 his þonc te pitiesse he scal | demen.
Digby 100. his ọgen perc 7 his þanc to pitiesse teme.
Eg. 64r–70v 108. his age þorc 7 his ðanc. to pitiesse he scal temen
Eg. 7r–12v 108. his age þorc 7 his þanc to pitiesse he scal temen
Jesus 108. his owene werkes and his þouht. to witnesse hit schal teme.
McClean 102. Al his þorke 7 his þoht ðar 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. ọgen (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
• J and M agree on the pl. form of the n. werkes/þorke, where it is sg. þorc (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
• J and M agree on the n. þouht/þoht where it is the n. þane (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
• M writes the adv. þar to, where it is prep. to + n. pitiesse (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. intr. 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 als þell demen ne als rihte
Lambeth 108. ne mei him na. mon. als þe demen | ne alsþe rihte
Digby 101. Ne mai him no man al spo þel | demen ne spo rihte
Eg. 64r–70v 109. Ne mei him na man eal þa þel demen ne eal rihte
Eg. 7r–12v 109. Ne mai þym na man al þa þel demen ne al sa rihte
Jesus 109. Ne maþ him nomon deme so wel. iwis. ne al so rþe.
McClean 107. Ne mai no man deme þane man also riþte

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/þym found in all the other MSS in the first half-line.
• The word order of als þell 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.
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. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. ind. cnoƿe M has pron. 3rd sg. his + n. pl. porkes.
- J omits the 3rd sg. pron. hine/him (as does M, although much of the line is different in M: see first note) in cnoƿe hine alse pel (T) and writes instead: knowe so wel his bonk. The overall meaning of the line is, however, retained.
- L writes adv. gere where all the other MSS have the adv. pel/wel.
- T and L agree on the adv. ase/alse, where the other MSS have the adv. so.
- M has the cj. so + v. pr. 3rd 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 adv. one/ane in the other MSS. D has both the adv. one and the pron. ure.

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/ele/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.
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 cf. 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 (E') and þe þat (M). E' 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 hit (se þhit) where D has þet. E', E' and M also have the art. as a pron. antecedent to the rel. in ðe þe þe 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: 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. þisþeþþ where all of the other MSS have þeiþðþ (T), or a variant thereof.
- T, E' and J have the pron. 3rd sg. þe 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. þe * v. pr. 3rd sg. * ind. pot. (T), or a variant thereof, in the second half-line, where the word-order is reversed in E', and the the adj. þe (T), or variant thereof, is not present in E'.

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. þannes * adj. þogen (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. þannes.
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. þegþ and the pron. þegþ, 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 subj. form of the v. pr. 3rd sg. in sigge/segge where it takes the ind. form seid(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. þot(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. smeortþ is written, with the meaning of the line retained.
- D and M agree on the pron. 3rd 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.

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. 3rd sg. without selfen(T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
\(\Omega^{121}\)

Trinity 116. De pitesse of his o\(\ddot{\text{o}}\)gen perg to o\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)r \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)an \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)ine sal driue.
Lambeth 115. \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)an pitesnes of his a\(\ddot{\text{g}}\)en \(\ddot{\text{r}}\) perch \(\ddot{\text{r}}\) \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)ine \(\ddot{\text{r}}\)er to scal driue.
Digby 108. se pitesness his selue pörkes \(\ddot{\text{r}}\) to aider \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)ine sel driue
Eg. 64r-70v 116. \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)e pitesnes of his peorc. to o\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)r di\(\ddot{\text{r}}\)is him scéal driue
Eg. 7r-12v 116. \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)e pitesnes of his ope perg to o\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)r di\(\ddot{\text{r}}\)is him scéal driue
Jesus 116. De witnesse of his owen werk. \(\ddot{\text{r}}\)er to him schal dryue.
McClean 104. \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)e pitesnes of his pörkes to o\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)r \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)an him scéal driue

These lines in M (\(\Omega^{121}\) and \(\Omega^{122}\)) have been transposed for comparative reasons. These lines occur in the MS before those now at \(\Omega^{118}\)-\(\Omega^{119}\) and followed those at \(\Omega^{112}\) and \(\Omega^{113}\).

- D omits the prep. of found in all the other MSS.
- M omits the adj. o\(\ddot{\text{g}}\)en (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. pörkes where it is sg. in all the other MSS.
- There are minor variations in vocabulary and word-order in the phrase o\(\ddot{\text{e}}\)r \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)an \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)ine sal (T), or variants thereof, which do not affect the meaning of the line.

\(\Omega^{122}\)

Trinity 117. Al \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)at afri man haued idon seðen he cam to manne
Lambeth 116. Al \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)et ech. mon \(\ddot{\text{r}}\) haued idon soððen he com to monne
Digby 109. Al \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)et ech man haued idon \(\ddot{\text{r}}\) seðe he com to manne.
Eg. 64r-70v 117. Eal \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)et eure elc man hafð idon. suððe he com to manne
Eg. 7r-12v 117. Eal \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)at eure ilc man haued i do sutþe he come to manne
Jesus 117. 7 al \(\ddot{\text{h}}\)at euermon hafþ idon. seþþen heo com to monne.

Lines \(\Omega^{122}\) and \(\Omega^{123}\) are not present in M.

- J begins the line with the cj. 7, a reading not found in any other MSS.
- In the first half-line, T writes adj. afri; E' and E 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 ipritten he scal þenchen | þenne. |
| Digby | 110. spich hit pere on poc iprite | isien he sel hit þannte. |
| Eg. 64r–70v | 118. spilc hit si aboc ipritten. he sceal iðenche þenne |
| Eg. 7r–12v | 118. spilc hit seie on poc ipritten. he scal it þenche þanne |
| Jesus | 118. Al so he hit iseie on boke iwrytten. hit schal him þinche þenne. |

Lines Ω122 and Ω123 are not present in M.

- L begins the line with the v. pa. 3rd 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 cj. spo where J has the adv. al so.
- T, L and J have the pron. 3rd 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. subj. þisie (T), or a variant thereof, except for D where it is the v. subj. þisie (cf. following note) and E² which writes the subj. pr. þisie si (ModE be).
- D has a different reading to all the other MSS in this line with the v. subj. 3rd sg. þisie written where most other (cf. previous note) MSS have the v. subj. 3rd sg. þisie (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 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. 3rd sg. he in all of the other MSS; the word-order is different in J and the pron 3rd 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. after | his biginnigge. |
| Digby | 111. Drihte ne demeð nenne man | bi his biginninge |
| Eg. 64r–70v | 119. Ac drihte ne demeð nanne man | after his bi ginnige |
| Eg. 7r–12v | 119. Ac drihtie ne demed nanne man after his bi ginninge |
| Jesus | 119. | Ne schal nonon beon ýdemed. after his bigynnyng. |
| McClean | 111. | Ac crist ne demeþ nanne man after his ginnige |

- J has an alternative reading to all the other MSS in the first half-line, stating that ne schal nonon beon ýdemed, 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 cj. 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 þolýen vých mon. after his endinge. |
| McClean   | 112. Ac al scal beo his lif iteald suich is his endinge |

- 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* 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/iteald* where L has the *adj. suilch* and E2 and E3 have the *adv. spich/spulc* with *se* (M also has *suich (adv.) in addition to *iteald*).
- T and J agree on the *prep. after* in the second half-line where it is *v. pr. ʒe* *boð/buð/bued* in L, E2 and E3: *prep. bi* in D and *v. pr. ʒe* *is* in M.

**Ω126**

| Trinity   | 121. ʒief þe endinge is god al hit is god. 7 euel ʒief euel is þe ende. |
| Lambeth   | 120. ʒief þet his uuel al hit is | uuel 7 God ʒefe 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 ʒif þe ende is uuel. eal hit is uuel. 7 god ʒif god is þenne |
| Eg, 7r-12v | 121. Ac ʒif þe ende is euel al it is uuel 7. al god ʒif god is ende. |
| Jesus     | 121. If þe ende is euel. al hit is euel. god ʒef vs god ende. |
| McClean   | 113. ʒef his ende is euel al hit is euel 7 god ʒef god boþp his ende |

- E2 and E3 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 *ʒe* *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. þi*, except for J.
- E3 includes the *adj. al* in the second half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
- J includes the *pron ʒe* *pl. vs* in the second half-line, where it is not found in the other MSS.
- T and D agree on the *v. pr. ʒe* *sg. ind. is* *v def art. þe* in the second half-line, where L has the *pron. ʒe* *sg. his*. E3 and E1 do not include the *def. art.*; neither word is present in J, and M has the *pr. ʒe* *sg. boþ* *v pron. ʒe* *sg. his*.
- E2 writes the *adv. þenne* in end-line position where it is the *n. ende* in all the other MSS.
M begins the line differently to all the other MSS writing *Iesu crist* where the other texts have *god*. M writes *v. pr. sibj. 3rd sg. Tironian nota* *leue* where it is *v. pr. sibj. 3rd sg. gieue* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

J writes the *pron. f. pl. vs* where all the other MSS have the *cj. bat* and omits the *v. sibj. pr. 3rd sg. be/bo/bi/beo* found in all the other MSS.

D has the *pron. hpet* where it is the *cj. bat* in all of the other MSS

E₂ has the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sibj. lenne* where it is the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sibj. lende* in all of the other MSS.

**Ω127**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>122. God gieue þat ure ende be god 7 gieue þat he us lende.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>121. God gieue þet ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>114. god gieue þet ure ende bi god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>122. god gieue þet ure ende bo god. 7 pite þet he us lende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>122. god gieue þet ure ende bo god. 7 pite þet he us lende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>122. God þef vs vre ende god. hwider þat he vs lende.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>114. Iesu crist leue þat ure ende bo god 7 pitie þat he us lende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M begins the line differently to all the other MSS writing *Iesu crist* where the other texts have *god*. M writes *v. pr. sibj. 3rd sg. Tironian nota* *leue* where it is *v. pr. sibj. 3rd sg. gieue* (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- J writes the *pron. f. pl. vs* where all the other MSS have the *cj. bat* and omits the *v. sibj. pr. 3rd sg. be/bo/bi/beo* found in all the other MSS.
- D has the *pron. hpet* where it is the *cj. bat* in all of the other MSS
- E₂ has the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sibj. lenne* where it is the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sibj. lende* in all of the other MSS.

**Ω128**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>123. Se man þe nafre nele don god ne nafre god lif lade.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>122. þe .Mon. þet uuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>115. Se man þet neure nele don god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>123. þe man þe nele do na god. ne neure god lif leden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>123. þe man þe nele do no god ne neure god lif leden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>123. þe mon þat neuer nule do god. ne neuer god lif lede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>115. Ac þe þat nele neuere no god do ne god lif her lede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 E omit the *adv. nafre* (T), or a variant thereof, and have the *adv. na/no* later in the first half-line, where it is not present in T, D or J. M includes both the *adv. neure* and the *adv. 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>124. Are deð 7 dom cumeð to his dure he maiþ him sore adrade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>123. er deð 7 dom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>116. er deð 7 dom come to his dure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>124. ær dieð 7 dom cume, æt his dure. he mei sare adreden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>124. aer deð 7 dom come to his dure he mai sore a dreden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>124. þat deþ cume to his dure. he may sore adrede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>116. Ere deþ 7 dome come to his dore sore he mai adrede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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. 3rd 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. ṭat he ne muȝe þanne bidden ore for þat itit ilome.
Lambeth 124. ṭet he ne muȝe þenne biden are. for þet itit ilome
Digby 117. ṭet he þanne ore bidde ne muȝen | vor þet bilimpeð ilome
Eg. 64r–70v 125. ṭet he ne muȝe ðenne bidde are for hit itit ilome
Eg. 7r–12v 125. ṭat he ne mupe þenne biden ore. for it itit ilome
Jesus 125. þat he ne Muwe bidden ore. for þat itýt ilome.
McClean 117. ṭat he ne muȝe 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 ₃rd sg. hit/it which is not present in any other MSS.
• D writes the v. pr. ind. ₃rd sg. (OE belimpan) bilimpeð where all of the other MSS have the cont. form of the v. pr. ind. ₃rd sg. (OE tidan) itit (T), or variant thereof.

Ω131

Trinity 126. For þi he pis þe bit 7 bigjet 7 bet bifoore dome.
Lambeth 125. For þi he is pis þe biet 7 bit 7 bet bi foore 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 ðit. 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 (þi in E² and E¹), present in all the other MSS, is not found in D.
• The v. pr. ₃rd sg. is, present in the first half-line of all the other MSS, is not found in T.
• The pron. ₃rd 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 æþre) 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. ₃rd sg. ind. (OE biddan) bit and the cont. form of the v. pr. ₃rd sg. ind. (OE bitan) bet/bete. However, T and E¹ have the cont. form of the v. pr. ₃rd sg. ind. (OE begitan) bigjet/bet ðit where L, D and E² have the cont. form of the v. pr. ₃rd 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 æte ðure þel late he biddeð ore.
Lambeth 126. þenne deó is attære ðure þel late he biddeþ ð are.
Digby 119. þanne deað is at þare ðore | to late he biddeð ore
Eg. 64r-70v 127. Þenne deað is æt his ðure. þel late he biddeþ ore
Eg. 7r-12v 127. Þenne dæð is æte ðure. þel late he ðiddet ore.
Jesus 127. Þenne deað is æt ðis dure. þel late he biddeþ ore
McClean 119. Vor þhanne deþ 7 dome comeþ to his ðore 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 ðore in the first half-line. A reading that is not found in any of the other MSS.
▪ T, L and E write the prep. at and the def. art. þe (or variant thereof) as one word in æte/attære. The letter form þ has been assimilated in these examples and written as þ. D and J keep the words separate in at þare (D) and at þ (J) and E² writes the pos. pron. 3rd 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 þer þan he hit ne mai don nomore.
Lambeth 127. þel late he lateð ðuuel þer þe ne mei | hit don ne mare.
Digby 120. to late uorlet þet euele þorc þet hit ne mai don nammore
Eg. 64r-70v 128. þel late he leted uuel þorc þe hit ne mei don na mare
Eg. 7r-12v 128. þel late he leted vwei þorc þe hit ne mai do na mare
Jesus 128. wel late he letþ þat vuel. þenne he ne mayþ do na more.
McClean 120. To late he letþ euele þorkes þat ne mayþ 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. 3rd sg. ind. (OE forlætan) uorlet and the dem. adj. þet where all of the other MSS read pron. 3rd sg. he and v. pr. ind. 3rd 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 þorkes.
▪ T and J agree on the cj. þan þenne and pron. 3rd sg. he where the other MSS have the rel. pron. þe/þet/þat with the pron. 3rd sg. hit (also present in T) – except for M where the pron. is 3rd sg. hi, and is found after mayþ.
▪ The word-order of L in ne nei hit is different to all of the other MSS.
Lines Ω134 and Ω135 are not present in L.
Lines Ω134 and Ω135 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. ban/banne.
- E1 combines the pron. 2ndsg. þu with the pron. 3rdsg. in þus where it is þu hit in T and þu ... hi in D; M has þu but omits the pron. 3rdsg.
- D does not have the pref. no/na before the adv. more.

Lines Ω134 and Ω135 are not present in the L.
Lines Ω134 and Ω135 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 E agree throughout this line with only minor orthographical differences.
- D does not include the cj. for þi and the v. pr. ind. 3rdsg. is where it is present, and necessary for meaning, in both T and E.
The variant thereof, with the \(\text{pr. ind. 1 v.} \\text{pl.} \text{leuēn} \text{, or a variant thereof.} \)

\begin{itemize}
\item Although there is variation between the texts in the first half-line, the sense of the line remains the same in all MSS: \textit{that we should believe it because God himself has said it.}
\item T, E\(^2\) and E\(^3\) agree throughout the line and begin \(\Omega316\) with the \textit{cj. peih-hepēdere}, or a variant thereof. J, however, which agrees in all other parts, begins the line with \textit{cj. for} and begins the second half-line with the \textit{cj. and} (which is the \textit{cj. for} in all the other MSS).
\item L begins the line with the \textit{dem. pron. þet} and the \textit{v. pr. ind. 1º pl. (OE ægân) achtan}, not present in any of the other MSS.
\item L has the \textit{inf. form} of the v. (OE gelifan) \textit{leuēn} (with the \textit{inf. mark. to}) where all the other MSS, except D (\textit{cf. following note}) have \textit{v. pr. ind. 1º pl. leuēð} (T), or a variant thereof.
\item D begins the line with the \textit{adv. spo} and also has the \textit{inf. form} of the v. (OE gelifan) \textit{ileuēn} as did L (\textit{cf. note above}), where all the other MSS write the \textit{pr. ind. 1º sg.} form, but in a different position within the line and without the \textit{inf. mark. to}. D then has the \textit{v. pr. ind. 1º pl. muȝen} which is not present in any of the other MSS.
\item M begins the line with the \textit{cj. æc} and then writes the \textit{adv. naþeles}, a reading that is found in none of the other MSS.
\item M continues with a reading that is the similar to the other MSS, although the \textit{adv. pel}, which concludes the first half-line of all of the other MSS apart from D, is not present.
\end{itemize}

\(\Omega317\)

\begin{itemize}
\item L, E\(^2\) and E\(^3\) agree on the \textit{prep. a} at the beginning of the line, D and J write \textit{on} and M writes \textit{of}; the \textit{prep.} is not present in T.
\item T writes \textit{adj. elche} with the \textit{n. time} as part of the \textit{adv.ial ph. elche time} where all of the other MSS have the \textit{adj. hþilke} (L), or a variant thereof, with the \textit{n. time\,týme}.
\item T has the \textit{v. pr. ind. 3º sg. sal} where it is not present in any other MSS.
\item The \textit{adv. se-eure} (L), or a variant thereof, is present in all MSS apart from T, D and M.
\item The \textit{defart. þe þe} is found in all the MSS before \textit{man/mon}, except for L and M (M has the \textit{cj. þat}).
\item T writes the \textit{v. inf. of þunche} where it is the \textit{v. pr. ind. 3º sg. of þingchþ} (L), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
\end{itemize}
\Ω138

Trinity 133. Òder raðer òder later milce he sal imete.
Lambeth 130. Òper raþer òder later ƿ. milce he scal imetan.
Digby 125. Òper raðer òper later | milce he sel imeten
Eg. 64r–70v 131. Òder later òder raðe milce he sceal imeten
Eg. 7r–12v 133. Òper later òper raþer milce he scal i meten
Jesus 133. òper raþer òper later. Milce he schal ý mete.
McClean 125. Òper raþer òper later milse he scal ýmete

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

\Ω139

Trinity 134. Ac þe þe her nauð iabet muchel he haue to bete
Lambeth 131. Ac þe | þet þer naf nocht iabet ƿ. pel muchel he haued | to beten.
Digby 126. ac se þet nauð hier naht iabet | muchel he haueð to beten.
Eg. 64r–70v 132. ac ðe þe nað naht iabet. pel muchel he sceal beten
Eg. 7r–12v 134. ac þe þe nout nauð iabet pel muchel he scal beten
Jesus 134. Ah he þat nout nauð iabet. muchel he haueð to bete.
McClean 126. Ac þho so nóþing her nauþ iabet muchel he haueþ to bete

- L writes the \emph{f. pl. pron. þe} mistakenly for þe in the \emph{dem. pron. + rel.} combination found in most other MSS; J has the \emph{pron. 3rd sg. þe} + the \emph{rel. þat}; M writes the \emph{pron. þho-so}.
- M writes \emph{þho so nóþing her nauþ}, a reading that is unique to this MS.
- T includes the \emph{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 \emph{neg. adv. nocht} (L), or variant thereof.
- L, E² and E¹ agree on the \emph{adv. pel} in the second half-line.
- E² and E¹ agree on the \emph{v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. sceal/sacl} where all the other MSS have the \emph{v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. haued} (T), or a variant thereof.
- All of the texts with the exception of E² and E¹ have the \emph{int. mark. to} preceding the \emph{inf. v. bete/beten}.

\Ω140

Trinity 135. Maniman seid þpo reche pine þe sal habben ende
Lambeth 132. moni mon seít þpa rechað of pilne þe scal habben ſende.
Digby 127. sum man said þpo rech of pine | þet sel habben ende
Eg. 64r–70v 133. Mani man seid. þpa racp of pine. ðe sceal habbe ende
Eg. 7r–12v 135. Mani man seido recke of pine þe scal habben ende
Jesus 135. Moný mon seþþ hwo rekþ of pynþe. þat schal habiben ende.
McClean 127. Ac mani man saiþ þpo recþ of pine þat scal habbe ende

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

557
\( \Omega \)41

Trinity 136. Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich alesed a domesdai of bende.
Lambeth 133. Ne bidde ich na | bet bo alesed a domes dei of bende.
Digby 128. ne recche ic bote bi ic alesed | 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 fused a domesdai of bende
McClean 128. Ne recche ic beo ic a domesdai ilesed ut of bende

\( \Omega \)42

Trinity 137. Litel pot he hpat is pine 7 litel he cnoƿeð
Lambeth 134. lutel he | pat pet is pine. 7 lutel he hit scapeð
Digby 129. litel he pot hpet pine is, | 7 litel hi icnoƿeð
Eg. 64r-70v 135. Lutel pat he hpet is pine. 7 litel he icnapeð
Eg. 7r-12v 137. Lutel pat he hpet is pine 7 lutel he it iccopeð
Jesus 137. Lutel wol he hwat is pûne. 7 lutel he hit iknoweþ.
McClean 129. O. lite pot he phat is pine 7 lite pine he knoƿeþ

\( \Omega \)43

Trinity 138. Hphilc hit is þar sople þunieð hpu biter pind þar blopeð.
Lambeth 135. hpice helte is þer þa saule puned hu biter pind þer | blopeð.
Digby 130. hpich hete is þer þe saule poneð | hu biter pind þer blopeð.
Eg. 64r-70v 136. hpilc hete is ðer saule puned, hu biter pinde þer blopeð
Eg. 7r-12v 138. pilc hete is þer soule pune þu biter pind her bloupet
Jesus 138. hwich hete is þar þe soule wuneþ. hw hwit wynd þer bloweþ.
McClean 130. Huicke pine þe soule þoleþ hu biter pind þar blopeþ

\( \Omega \)44

Trinity 136. Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich alesed a domesdai of bende.
Lambeth 133. Ne bidde ich na | bet bo alesed a domes dei of bende.
Digby 128. ne recche ic bote bi ic alesed | 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 fused a domesdai of bende
McClean 128. Ne recche ic beo ic a domesdai ilesed ut of bende

\( \Omega \)45

Trinity 137. Litel pot he hpat is pine 7 litel he cnoƿeð
Lambeth 134. lutel he | pat pet is pine. 7 lutel he hit scapeð
Digby 129. litel he pot hpet pine is, | 7 litel hi icnoƿeð
Eg. 64r-70v 135. Lutel pat he hpet is pine. 7 litel he icnapeð
Eg. 7r-12v 137. Lutel pat he hpet is pine 7 lutel he it iccopeð
Jesus 137. Lutel wol he hwat is pûne. 7 lutel he hit iknoweþ.
McClean 129. O. lite pot he phat is pine 7 lite pine he knoƿeþ

\( \Omega \)46

Trinity 138. Hphilc hit is þar sople þunieð hpu biter pind þar blopeð.
Lambeth 135. hpice helte is þer þa saule puned hu biter pind þer | blopeð.
Digby 130. hpich hete is þer þe saule poneð | hu biter pind þer blopeð.
Eg. 64r-70v 136. hpilc hete is ðer saule puned, hu biter pinde þer blopeð
Eg. 7r-12v 138. pilc hete is þer soule pune þu biter pind her bloupet
Jesus 138. hwich hete is þar þe soule wuneþ. hw hwit wynd þer bloweþ.
McClean 130. Huicke pine þe soule þoleþ hu biter pind þar blopeþ

\( \Omega \)47

Trinity 136. Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich alesed a domesdai of bende.
Lambeth 133. Ne bidde ich na | bet bo alesed a domes dei of bende.
Digby 128. ne recche ic bote bi ic alesed | 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 fused a domesdai of bende
McClean 128. Ne recche ic beo ic a domesdai ilesed ut of bende
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/day functioning as an adv. with the cardinal quant., demonstrating inflection, as adv. in enne/anne/þe 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. tþo/tþa/tuo.

Both D and M omit the pl. adj. (OE bare) bare found in all the other MSS.

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 adv. an-oþer where it is the def. art. þe and the ord. quant. þridde (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

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. Ṛat habbed isaid þe come þanne þit piste mid ipisse.
Lambeth 138. þet habbed iseid þet come þonen þa hit pisten mid ipissen.
Digby 133. þet seden þo þet komen þannes þet hit pisten mid ipisse
Eg. 64r–70v 139. þet habbet ised þe come þanne, þet piste mid ipisse
Eg. 7r–12v 141. þat habbet ised þat komen þanne þat puste mid ipisse
Jesus 145. þat seýden þeo þat weren þer. heo hit wisten myð iwisse.
McClean 133. þat siggeþ þe þat pere þar 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. siggeþ.
- TLE'E agree on the relative pron. pl. þe|þet|þat where in D, J and M it is the combination of dem. pron. pl. and rel. pron. pl. in þo þet/þeo þat/þe þat.
- J and M agree on the combination v. pa. 3rd pl. + adv. weren þer|pere þar where all of the other texts write the combination v. pa. 3rd pl. + adv. come þanne (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. hit|þet|þit where it is separate in þa hit (L) and þet hit (D); J has the pron. 3rd pl. þeo + pron. 3rd sg. hit and M has only the pron. 3rd sg. hit.

Ω149

Trinity 142. þo purðe sorège seue þier for seuenihne blisse.
Lambeth 139. þa purð sorège seue þer for seuenihne blisse.
Digby 133. þer purh sorège seue þier l vor seuenihne blisce.
Eg. 64r–70v 140. uuuel is pinie seoue þeer. for seoue nihtes blisse
Eg. 7r–12v 142. uuuel is pine seoue þeer for seoue nihtes blisse
Jesus 146. þer þurh seorewe of seoue þer. for soue nýhtes blýsee.
McClean 134. þo þre þe sorège of seue þer uor ore nýgte 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. þroþa + the v. sby. pr. ind. 3rd sg. purðe|purð|þreþa. E2 and E1 have different readings to the other MSS and begin the line with the adj. uuuel + v. pr. 3rd sg. is + n. pinie (E2 writes pinie (sic)); D and J both begin the line with the adv. þer followed by the cont. form of the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. purh (this is sby. in T, L and M) in D and the prep. þurh 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.
Ô150

Trinity 143. 7 ure blisse þe ende haueð for ende hauel for ende haueð for ende hauel
Lambeth 140. In hure blisse þe | þe ende haueð. for endelesse pine.
Digby 135. Vre blisse þet ende haueð | vor endelesse pine
Eg, 64r-70v 141. And ure blisse þe ende hauf. for endelesse pine
Eg, 7r-12v 143. And ure blisse þe ende hauf. for endelesse pine
Jesus 147. 7 for þe blyse 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/or. 
- 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.

Ô151

Trinity 144. Betere is pori pater þan atter imengd mid pine.
Lambeth 141. betere is polri pater drunch þen atter meind mid pine.
Digby 136. betere pere drinke pori peter l þanne atter imaiengd mid pine.
Eg, 64r-70v 142. betere is pori peter idrunke. þene atter imenmid pide
Eg, 7r-12v 144. betere is pori pater to drinke þenne atter i meng mid pine
Jesus 148. Beter is porie wateres drung. þane atter meynþyd wyþne.
McCLean 136. Betere is pori pateres drinch þane atter imengd mid pine

- D writes the v. subj. pa. 3rd sg. þere where all the other MSS have v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is.
- In D and E, drinke is a v. inf., with the inf. mark. to in E; 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).

Ô152

Trinity 145. Spines brede 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 spoþe spete | spo is of pilde diere
Eg, 64r-70v 143. Spunes brede is spude 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. spîðe (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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>146. Ac al to dier e hit abuið þe Ƿifð þar for his sƿire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>143. Alto dore he is abuh þe Ƿifð þer fore his Ƿ spore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>138. Al to dier he hi beĩð þet Ƿifð þeruore his sƿire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>144. ac al to dure he hi biȝð. þe Ƿifð þer fore is spore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>146. ac al to duere he i buȝd. þat Ƿifd þere fore his sƿere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>150. Al to deore he hit buþ. þat Ƿyeuþ þar vore his sweore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>138. Al to dere he hi beĩþ þat Ƿifþ þar uore his suere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Ω154**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>147. Ful pombe mai lihtliche speken of hunger 7 of fasten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>144. Ful pombe mei lihtliche speken of hunģer. 7 of festen ƿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>139. Lihtliche mai ful pombe speke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>145. Ful þambe mei liht liche speken. of hunger 7 festen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>147. Ful pombe mai liht liche speken of hunger 7 of fasten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>151. Ful wombë may lihtliche speken. of hunger. and of festen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>139. Vul þombe mai liȝtliche speke of hunger 7 of uaste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Ω155**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>148. Spo mai of pine þe not hþat is pine þe sal ilasten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>145. spa mei of pine þe ne cnauȝ þe scal a ilesten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>139. spa mai of pine þet not þat is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>146. spa mei of pine þe naht nat. hþu pine sceal alesten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>148. spa mai of pine þe naht not. hu hi scullen ilesten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>152. so møy of þyne. þat not hwat hit is. þat euer mo schal lesten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>140. Suo mai of pine þat not hþat is þat eure scal ilaste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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. 3sg. not þ pron. hþat (T), or a variant thereof. This is followed in J and M by the pron. 3sg. (inan.) hit/hie before the v. 3sg. is. T and D include the v. is but the pron. hit/hie is not present in either.
- L writes the neg. ne þ v. pr. ind. 3sg. cnauȝ at the same point as the above, a reading only found in this text.
- E² and E¹ agree on the neg. naht þ v. pr. ind. 3sg. 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. 3pl. (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 eure in M and not present in the other MSS.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ω156</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>149. Hadde foned sume stunde he polde seggen ōðer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>146. Hefð he ifondon summe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>141. Hauede he uondon sume stunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>147. Hedde his a fanded sume stunde. he polde eale segge ōðer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>149. Hadde he ifondon sume hpile. he polde al seggen ōfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>153. hedde he ifondon summe stunde. he wolde seggen al ōfer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>141. Hadde he ýfondon one stunde he polde sigge anofer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The pron. 3rd sg. he following the v. pa. 3rd sg. hadde is not present in T, where it is written in all the other MSS.
- L miswrites hefð for the v. pa. 3rd sg. hefde.
- In E the pron 3rd sg. (masc) is combined with the pron 3rd sg. (masc) 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.
- E has the n. hƿile 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. anofer where it is the adv. ōfer/ōfer in all the other MSS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ω157</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>150. Eðlate him pare pif 7 child suster 7 fader 7 broðer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>147. Et lete him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>142. eðlete him pere pif 7 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>148. eð lete him pere pif 7 child. suster. 7 feder 7 broðer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>150. eð late him pere pif. 7 child. suster. 7 fader. 7 brofer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>154. 7 lete for crist. beo wif 7 child. fader. suster. and brofer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>142. þeþ lete him pere pif 7 child. suster. vader 7 broþer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 cy. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ω158</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>151. Al he polde oðeluker don 7 oðeluker þenche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>148. Al he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>143. Al he polde ōfer don</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>151. Al he polde ōferluker don 7 ōferlaker þenche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>155. Al he wolde ōfer don. 7 ōferluker þenche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. ōfer where all of the other manuscripts have the comp. variant of the adv. in oðeluker/oðeluker/ōferluker.
\[\Omega 159\]

Trinity 152. Than he biðohte an helle fur þat no piht ne mai quenche.
Lambeth 149. penne he bi þohte on helle fur þe napht | ne mei quenchen.
Digby 144. Þan he þohte of helle ver | þet noþing ne mai quenche.
Eg. 7r-12v 152. Þanne he bi þouhte on helle fur þe nophit ne mai aqenche
Jesus 156. hwenne he biþouhte on helle fur. þat noþing ne mai þenche.

Lines \[\Omega 158\] and \[\Omega 159\] 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/napht/nophti.

\[\Omega 160\]

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 wunye.
McClean 143. Euremore her in po 7 in pine ponie

- D writes the adv. eft and M the adv. euermore where all the the other MSS have the adv. eure.
- The pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. he + v. pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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: E\textsuperscript{2} and M agree on the n. (OE pēþa) pine; D has the n. (OE pēþa) pope; E\textsuperscript{2} has n. (OE wēa) pape; and J writes the n. godnesse (cf. previous note).

\[\Omega 161\]

Trinity 154. Pido þan he mihte helle fur biflen 7 bisunien.
Lambeth 151. Pido þet þe mihte | helle pine bi flien 7 bi sunien
Digby 146. Pido þet he moste helle uer | biflen 7 bisunie.
Eg. 64r-70v 150. pido ðan þe mihte helle pine bi fleon 7 bi scunien
Eg. 7r-12v 154. þan þe mihte helle pine bi fluen 7 bi scunien
Jesus 158. wiþ þat he myþte helle fur. euer fleon and schonye.
McClean 144. Pibo þan þe miȝte helle pine ule 7 ysonie

The equivalent lines in the other MSS occur much later.
- T, D and J agree on the cj. pido þan (T), or a variant thereof, where L,E\textsuperscript{2}, E\textsuperscript{1} and M have pido þet þe.
- T, D, J and M agree on the pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. he in the first half-line, where it is not present in L, E\textsuperscript{2} and E\textsuperscript{1}.
- 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 prep. bi in the v. inf. biflen (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in J (fleon) and M (ule).
The T has the T and E L and J have the T and L agree on the L has the that he'. However, the actions of the previous line. There is a more direct exhortation to reject the earthly in both this and the previous line named (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 read 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 myd 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. þeþare.

T and L agree on the n. blisse where D, E² and E¹ have the n. merhðe/murcðe/murcð.

L and J have the int. form of the v. cumen where it is the v. subj. pr. 3rd sg. cume/come in all of the other MSS.

T and E² combine the rel. pron. þeþe with the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is þisþis where they remain separate in D and E¹; L has the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is only; the reading is not present in J.

T has the adj. murcie where the other texts (excluding J) write the n. merhðe apart from E¹ where the text has the n. heueneriche.

The prep. mid + n. ipisse (T), or variants thereof, are not found in E¹
\[\Omega 164\]

| Trinity | 157. Ich pule nu cumen eft to þe dome þe ich eop ar of sade. |
| Lambeth | 154. I pule ǀ nu cumen eft to þe dome þet ich er op of sede |
| Digby  | 149. Ic pille nu come to þon dome | þet ic ȝeou 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 pule nu comen eft to þe dome þat ic eop er of sade |
| Jesus  | 161. Ich wile eu seggen of þe dome, as ic eu er seeðe. |

- 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. t. pl. þe where all the other MSS have the sg. ich in the first half-line.
- There is variation in the v. int. used in this first half-line with J writing segen from OE secgan; M writes speke from OE sprecau 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. at er is present in all MSS apart from E\(^2\).
- The word-order of er in D is the reverse in all of the other MSS, except E\(^2\) (see previous note) and J and M which demonstrate significant variation (see first note).

\[\Omega 165\]

| 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 daie 7 on þan dome | vs helpe crist 7 rede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 154. on þe daie 7 at 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 daý and on þe dome. vs helpe cryst 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’).
- E\(^2\) writes the dem. adv. þat where all the other MSS have the def. art. þe/pa/þan.
- Following 7, T, D and J agree on the prep. on where L, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) 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.

\[\Omega 166\]

| Trinity | 159. Par þe muþen ben sore offerd 7 harde us ofdrade |
| Lambeth | 156. þer | pe muþen ben eþe offered 7 herde us adreden. |
| Digby | 151. þe muþen eaðe ben ofherd | 7 harde vs mai ondrede |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 155. þer pe muþen beon eðe of drede. 7 herde us adrede. |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 159. þer pe muþen beon eðe of drede 7 harde us adrade |
| Jesus | 163. þer we Muwen beon aferd. and sore vs of drede. |
| McClean | 149. Par þe muþe beo aferd 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, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) include the adv. (OE eþe) eþe – neither reading is found in either J or M.
- E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the v. pp. pl. of drede/of drede 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. ȝeou sg. mai, a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and J agree on the prep. pref. in ofdraðe/of drede; L, M, E\(^1\) and E\(^2\) have the prep. pref. a in adreden/adrede/adrade; D writes the prep. pref. on in ondrede.
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. 3rd sg. he*.

M has the *pr. ind. 3rd sg. seine* where all the other MSS have *inf. sein* (T), or a variant thereof.

The *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. sal* (T), or variants thereof, the *adj. al*, functioning as a *n.* (found only in T and L), and the *pron. 3rd sg. him*, present in all the other MSS, are not present in M.

Both D and M agree on *n. pl. þerkes/porkes* where it is the *n. pl. þord* in all the other MSS.

The *adv. ec/ek* is found in all MSS apart from D and M.

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**Ω168**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>161. Al sal þar þen þanne cuð þat men luðen her 7 halen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>158. Al scal þer bon þenne cuð þer men luðen her ent stelen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>153. Al sel þan þe þer cuð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 64r-70v</td>
<td>157. Eal sceal beon þer þenne cuð. þet man luðen her 7 stelen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg, 7r-12v</td>
<td>161. Eal scal þen þanne cuð. þet man luðen her 7 stelen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>165. Al schal beon þer þenne ikud. þat er men lowen and stelen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>151. Al scal beo þar vnhed her þat þe hele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 *þer ben þanne* (T), or variants thereof, in many of the MSS; in addition, the *adv. þar* (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in E and the *adv. þanne* (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in M.
- M writes the *v. pp. (OE un + hyðan) vnhed* where all the other texts read *adj. (OE cuð) 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. þer* where all the other MSS have the *rel. pron. þat/bet*.
- T agrees with M and concludes the line with the *v. pa. 3rd pl. (OE helian) 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 prügen her 7 helen.
Digby 154. al sel þanne ben vpnyrge | þet men her hidden 7 helen.
Eg. 64r–70v 158. eal sceal beon þer unprigen. þet men prügen her 7 helen
Eg. 7r–12v 162. Al scal ben þer vnpriyen. þat men prügen her 7 helen
Jesus 166. Al schal beon þer þonne vnwrien. þat men her wrien 7 helen.
McClean 152. Al scal beo þar unpryʒe her þat man luʒe 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 þonne in D is the reverse of T and L (see also the previous note).
- The adv. þanneþonne, 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. ʒ pl. hidden + cj. 7 + v. pa. ʒ̣ pl. stalen, a reading not present in any of the other MSS; D writes adv. her + v. pa. ʒ̣ pl. hidden + cj. 7 + v. pa. ʒ̣ 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. ʒ̣ sg. luʒe + cj. 7 + v. pa. ʒ̣ sg. stele (with the adv. her found earlier in the line); the other texts end with v. pa. ʒ̣ pl. prugen + adv. her + cj. 7 + v. pa. ʒ̣ pl. helen (L), or variants thereof – there is some variation in word-order in J.

Ω170

Trinity 163. þe sullen alre manne lif iకован alse ure ০েgenres
Lambeth 160. þe sc|ulen alre monne lif iknaƿen al se ure | ahen.
Digby 155. þe sullen alre manne lif | iknapen spo ure hogebn
Eg. 64r–70v 159. þe sculen ealre manne lif icnape. eal spa ure əgeın
Eg. 7r–12v 163. þe scullen alre manne lif icnape þer al so vre ope
Jesus 167. þe scullen alre monne lyf. iknife al so vre owe.
McClean 153. þar we sculle aches mammes lif iknopo ase ure ০েgenres

- 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 e nylones ben to þe heie 7 to þe loʒēe.
Lambeth 161. þer sculen eueninggès beon þe riche | 7 þe lagee.
Digby 156. þer sullen eueninges ben | þo heye 7 þo loge.
Eg. 64r–70v 160. þer sculen eueninges beon þe heye 7 lagen
Eg. 7r–12v 164. þer sculle heuninges ben þe heie 7 þe louʒęe
Jesus 168. þer schulle beon euennynges. þe riche and ek þe lowe.
McClean 154. þar sculle eueningges beo þe heye 7 þe loge

- 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.
\[\Omega172\]

Trinity 165. Ne sal þeih no man samie þiar ne þarf he him adrade.
Lambeth 162. Ne scal na mon smakie þer ne | þer he him adreden.
Digby 157. Ne sel þed no man samien þer | ne darf he him ondrede
Eg. 64r–70v 161. Ne seal þeh nan scamian .setContentType("text/plain;charset=UTF-8") ne ⤦er he him adrede
Eg. 7r–12v 165. Ne skal þei noman scamien þer. ne þerf he him adrede
McClean 155. Ne seal him naʒt scamie þar ne darf he him adrede

Lines \(\Omega172\) to \(\Omega175\) 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. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. him + neg. adv. naʒt where all the other MSS write the n. no man (T), or a variant thereof, except for E\(^2\) 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 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 smaecan. (LAEME)
- D writes the pref. on as part of the inf. v. ondrede where it is a drade/drede in the other manuscripts.

\[\Omega173\]

Trinity 166. Gif him her of þinchæd his gult 7 bet his misdade.
Lambeth 163. Gif him her of þinchæd his gult 7 bet his misdade.
Digby 158. Gif him her of þinchæd his gult 7 bet his misdade.
Eg. 64r–70v 162. Gif him her of þinchæd his gult. 7 bet his misdade
Eg. 7r–12v 166. Gif him here of þinchæd his gult. 7 beted his misdade
McClean 156. He þe ofþuʒte her his gult 7 bette his misdade

Lines \(\Omega172\) to \(\Omega175\) 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.

\[\Omega174\]

Trinity 167. For hem ne sameð ne ne græmæð þe sulle ben iboreʒe
Lambeth 164. For him ne scamæþ | ne ne gromæþ þe sulle ben iborenæ.
Digby 159. Ham ne schamæð ne ne græmæð | þet sullen ben iborenæ
Eg. 64r–70v 163. For hem ne scamæþ ne ne gromæþ | þet sullen ben iboreþæ
Eg. 7r–12v 167. For hem ne scamæþ ne ne gromæþ þe sulle ben iboræþæ
McClean 157. Him ne scamæþ ne him ne gromæþ þat scal beo iboreþæ

Lines \(\Omega172\) to \(\Omega175\) 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. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. him in the first half-line, where all the other MSS have the pron. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. hem (T), or a variant thereof.
- All MSS read cj. ne + adv. neg. ne + v. pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. græmæð (T), or a variant thereof, except for E\(^2\) where the adv. neg. ne is not present and M where the pron. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. him splits the cj. ne and the adv. ne and reads: ne him ne grameþ – a reading found in no other MSS.
Ω175

Trinity 168. Ac þoþre habbed same 7 grome 7 oðer fele sorege.
Lambeth 165. Acha þoþre habbed same 7 grome 7 oðer fele sorege.
Digby 160. þoþre habbed same 7 grome 7 oðer fele sorege.
Eg. 64r–70v 164. ac þe oðre habbet same 7 grome 7 oðer fele sorege.
Eg. 7r–12v 168. ac þe oþre habbet same 7 grome þat scul þe be on forlorenre.
McClean 158. Ac þe oþre habbed same 7 grome 7 oðre fele sorege.

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 scul þe be on forlorenre.

Ω176

Trinity 169. þe dom þal ben sone idon ne last hit no piht longe
Lambeth 166. þe dom þal ben sone idon ne last he naþipt longe
Digby 161. þe dom þal ben sone idon ne last he naþipt longe
Eg. 64r–70v 165. þe dom þal ben sone idon. ne last he naþipt lange
Eg. 7r–12v 169. þe dom þal ben sone idon. ne last he naþipt lange
Jesus 169. þe dom þal ben sone idon. ne last he naþipt lange

Lines Ω176 and Ω177 are not present in M.

- T writes þal by mistake for v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. sal.
- D has the v. pr. ind. 3rd 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 strenðe ne of pronge
Lambeth 167. Ne sal him noman mene þar of strenðe ne of pronge.
Digby 162. Ne sal him noman mene þar of strenðe ne of pronge.
Eg. 64r–70v 166. Ne sal him noman mene þar of strenðe ne of pronge.
Eg. 7r–12v 170. Ne sal him noman mene þar of strenðe ne of pronge
Jesus 170. Ne sal him noman mene þar of strenðe ne of pronge

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.
\( \Omega \) 178

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>171.</td>
<td>þo sulle habben hardne dom þe here paren hardde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>168.</td>
<td>þe sculen habbe herdne dom þa her peren herde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>163.</td>
<td>þo sulle habbe hardne dom þet her peren herde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>167.</td>
<td>þa sculen habbe herdne dom þe here pere hearde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>171.</td>
<td>þo scullen habbe hardne dom þe here pere herde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>171.</td>
<td>þeo schullen habbe harde dom þat er weren harde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>161.</td>
<td>Hi sculle habbe hardne dom þat here pere harde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \( \Omega \) 178 – \( \Omega \) 181 in \( M \) occured in the MS after those lines now found at \( \Omega \) 182 and \( \Omega \) 183 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.

\( \Omega \) 179

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>172.</td>
<td>þo þe euel helden preche men 7 euel læge arerde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>169.</td>
<td>þa þe uuele holden preche men 7 uuele læge redde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>164.</td>
<td>þet euele helden wrecche men 7 euele lægen arerde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>168.</td>
<td>þe uuele heolde preche men. 7 uuele læhe arerde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>172.</td>
<td>þa þe euele heolden preche men 7 vuele læges rerde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>172.</td>
<td>þeo þat uuele heolde wrecche men. and uuele lawe arerde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>162.</td>
<td>þe euele helde poure men 7 euele læge arerde.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \( \Omega \) 178 – \( \Omega \) 181 in \( M \) occur in the MS after those lines now found at \( \Omega \) 182 and \( \Omega \) 183 which have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- \( T, L, E \) 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.

571
Trinity 173. Elch after þat he haued idon sal þar ben þanne idemð
Lambeth 170. Ec eftær þet he efþ idon sal þer þenne idemet.
Digby 165. Ech eftær þet he haued idon sal þanne ben idemð
M has 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. 3rd sg. he before the v. pr. ind. 3rd 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 E¹, E² and D.
The word-order of þanne ben is the reverse of that found in T, the only other MS that has both words.

Digby 166. bliþe mai he þanne ben þe gode haued þel iquemd
McClean 163. Euerich after þan þe he haued idon he scal þar beo þydemð

Lambeth 170. Ec eftær þet he efþ idon. scal þer beon idemð
Digby 165. Ech eftær þet he haued idon. skal þar beon idemð
M has 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 E¹, E² and D.
The word-order of þanne ben is the reverse of that found in T, the only other MS that has both words.

Digby 166. bliþe mai he þanne ben þe gode haued þel iquemd
McClean 163. Euerich after þan þe he haued idon he scal þar beo þydemð

Lambeth 170. Ec eftær þet he efþ idon. skal þar beon idemð
Digby 165. Ech eftær þet he haued idon. skal þar beon idemð
M has 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 E¹, E² and D.
The word-order of þanne ben is the reverse of that found in T, the only other MS that has both words.

Digby 166. bliþe mai he þanne ben þe gode haued þel iquemd
McClean 163. Euerich after þan þe he haued idon he scal þar beo þydemð

Lambeth 170. Ec eftær þet he efþ idon. skal þar beon idemð
Digby 165. Ech eftær þet he haued idon. skal þar beon idemð
M has 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 E¹, E² and D.
The word-order of þanne ben is the reverse of that found in T, the only other MS that has both words.

Digby 166. bliþe mai he þanne ben þe gode haued þel iquemd
McClean 163. Euerich after þan þe he haued idon he scal þar beo þydemð

Lambeth 170. Ec eftær þet he efþ idon. skal þar beon idemð
Digby 165. Ech eftær þet he haued idon. skal þar beon idemð
M has 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 E¹, E² and D.
The word-order of þanne ben is the reverse of that found in T, the only other MS that has both words.

Digby 166. bliþe mai he þanne ben þe gode haued þel iquemd
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. Æalle ða þe isprungen beð of adam 7 of eue
Eg. 7r–12v 175. Alle þø þat isprunge beð of adam 7 of eue.
Jesus 173. Alle þeo þat beø þeicumen. 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/þæ/þæ/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 beø.
- 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 ileued.
Digby 168. alle hi sullen þider cumen | to soðe ge mužen ileuen.
Eg. 64r–70v 172. ealle hi sculen ðuder cume. for soðe pe hit ileue.
Eg. 7r–12v 176. Ealle he scule þuder come. for soðe pe it ileued.
Jesus 174. Alle heo schule þider cumen. and so we owen hit ileue.
McClean 160. To þe dome hi scule come forsoþ ze hit ýleue

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 scule 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.
- D writes the prep. to + n. soðe at the beginning of the second half-line; J has the of and + adv. so; the other MSS have the adv. for-soðe.
- D and M agree on the pron. 2nd pl. ge/ȝe where it is the pron. 1st pl. pe/ƿe in all the other MSS.
- D includes the v. pr. ind. sg. 2nd pl. mužen 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. Þo þe habbed pel idon after here mihte
Lambeth 173. þa þe habbed þel idon after here mihte.
Digby 169. þo þet habbed þel idon | after hire mihte
Eg. 64r-70v 173. þa þe habbed þel idon. after heore mihte
Eg. 7r-12v 177. þo þe habbed þel idon. after heore mihte
Jesus 175. þeo þat habbeþ wel idon. after heore Mihte.
McClean 165. þo þat gode iserved habbeþ after hare mighte

All of the MSS are in agreement in this line except for M which writes the n. gode + v. iserved and places the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. habbed after the subject, where all the other MSS write the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. habbed + adv. pel + 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 heuerniche scule faren forð mid ure drihte
Eg. 7r-12v 178. to heueneriche he scullen. ford mid ure drihte
Jesus 176. To heoueriche heo schulle vare. forð myð vre dryhte.
McClean 166. Hi sculle to heueneriche fare uorð mid ure driȝte

The word-order in M is different from the other MSS although the meaning is retained.

The pron. 3rd pl. hie/hi/he/ho, 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. Þo þe deuæles perkes habbeð idon 7 þar inne beð ifunde
Lambeth 175. þa þe habbed doules perc idon. 7 þer | inne bo ifunde.
Digby 171. þo þet prohten doules perc | 7 peren þer inne iuonde
Eg. 64r-70v 175. þa þe nabbed gode idon. 7 þer inne beð idunde
Eg. 7r-12v 179. þo þe nabbed gode idon. 7 þer inne beð ifunde
Jesus 177. þeo þat habbeþ feondes werk idon. 7 þer in beoþ ifunde.
McClean 167. þe ofre þat þe deuæles porc habbeþ ido 7 þar 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. ofre 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. perc – a reading that does not occur in any of the other MSS.

E² and E¹ agree on the reading v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. nabbed + 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. deuæles (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. ßo sullen vare forð mid him | into helle grunde.
Eg. 64r-70v 176. hi sculen falle spieðe raðe in to helle grunde
Eg. 7r-12v 180. he sculle falle spieðe raþe in to helle grunde
Jesus 178. heo schulle fare forþ myð himþ 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 3rd 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. spieðe + 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. Þar hie sulle ƿunien abuten ore 7 ende.
Lambeth 177. þer hi sculenþunien 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 wunþen .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 ǣ found in E² as Æ 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 ǣ) 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).
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/aft. 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. iesus.
- The word-order crist eft in J is the reverse of that found in TDE.1 and M (M writes iesus for crist; see previous note); the reading in L is different (see earlier note).
- Most texts agree on the pos. 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, E, 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 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 brekeþ neure eft crist helle dure | to alesen hi of bende.
Eg. 64r-70v 178. ne breco neure eft crist helle dure, for lese hi of bende
Eg. 7r-12v 182. ne breco neueruft crist helle dure to lese hem of bende
Jesus 180. Ne brekeþ nought crist eft helle dure, to lesen hem of bende.
McLean 170. Ne brecep neure eft iesus helle for ham to bringe ham ut of bende

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. T. T and D agree on the cj. peþ/peð 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 wunye eþe, which appears to be a strange choice of words in relation to the wo described in the first part of the line.
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. pōleð 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 pōlen (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.

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**Ω192**

- M writes the pron. poss. 1st pl. ure + n. loured where all the other MSS write the n. drihten/drihteh.
- 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.

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**Ω193**

- 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/hem/hi in the second half-line where all of the other MSS have the pron. 1st pl. us/vs.
\(\Omega 194\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>187.</td>
<td>Nolde hit moge don for mai ne suster broder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>188.</td>
<td>Nolde hit mei do for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>179.</td>
<td>Nolde hit moge do vor meie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>183.</td>
<td>Nolde hit moghe do for mei. ne suster for broder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>187.</td>
<td>Nolde it moupe don for mey. ne suster for broper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>185.</td>
<td>Nolde hit nonon do for me. ne suster for brofer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>173.</td>
<td>Nolde hit fader do for þe sune ne suster uor þe brofer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- There is variation between the texts in the first half-line with significant variation in J and M.
- The *n.s moge* 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, E\(^2\) and E\(^3\) have the same reading; L, however has a reading that should be translated as ‘kinsman’ or ‘male relative/coisin’ 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. broder* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

\(\Omega 195\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>188.</td>
<td>Nolde sune don for fader ne no man for oðer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>184.</td>
<td>nalde hit sune do for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>180.</td>
<td>nolde hit sune do vor vader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>184.</td>
<td>nolde hit sune do for feder. naman for oðer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>188.</td>
<td>nolde it sune don for fader. ne noman for oþer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>186.</td>
<td>Nolde hit sone do for vader. ne noman for oþer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>174.</td>
<td>Ne hit moge uor þe mei ne noman uor oþer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M begins the line with the *cj. ne* where all the other MSS have the *v. ps. 3rd sg. nolde*.
- The *pro. 3rd sg. hit* is present in all of the MSS, except T.
- M differs from the other MSS in the first half-line by writing *moge uor þe mei*. a reading which is almost identical to that which was written by the the other MSS in the previous line (cf. notes to line \(\Omega 194\)).
- The *cj. ne* found in all of the other MSS at the beginning of the second half-line is not present in E\(^2\).

\(\Omega 196\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>189.</td>
<td>Vre alre louerd for his þrelles ipined he pas a rode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>185.</td>
<td>vre alre lauerd for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>181.</td>
<td>Vre louerd vor his piales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>185.</td>
<td>Vre ealre hlauerd for his þrelles. ipined pes a rode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>189.</td>
<td>Ure lauerd for his þrelles, ipined pas on rode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>187.</td>
<td>Vre alre louerd for vs þrelles, ipyned wes on rode.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>177.</td>
<td>Vre louerd uor his þrelles ipined pas on þe rode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These lines in M (\(\Omega 196\) and \(\Omega 197\)) occur in the MS after those at \(\Omega 198\) and \(\Omega 199\) but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.
- D, E\(^2\) and M omit the *pl. adj. alre/ealre* where it is present in all of the other MSS.
- J writes the *pro. f. pl. vs* where all of the other MSS have the *pro. 3rd sg. poss. his*
- D writes the *n. pl. piales* where it is the *n. pl. þrelles* (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- D writes *ipines* for the *v. pp. ipined*.
- T includes the *pro. 3rd 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. þe* preceding *rode* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
\[\Omega 197\]

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 vnbond | he bohte us mid his blode.

\[\Omega 198\]

These lines in M (\(\Omega 196\) and \(\Omega 197\)) occur in the MS after those at \(\Omega 198\) and \(\Omega 199\) but they have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- J writes the pron. 3rd pl. def. art. where all of the other MSS write the cj. 7.

\[\Omega 199\]

These lines in M (\(\Omega 198\) and \(\Omega 199\)) occur in the MS before those at \(\Omega 196\) and \(\Omega 197\) 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. pencehe in both J and M where it is situated after the v. in all the other MSS and as a result b 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. bar where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The pron. 3rd 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. pe/ha is present in all MSS before quica (T), or a variant thereof, and before deade (T), or a variant thereof, except for D and E.'
The reading in the first half-line of M is different from all the other MSS. The a. lōue in M refers to humanity’s devotion as a result of God’s actions, whereas in the other MSS the a. refers to the lōue (T) that God has shown humanity.

E₂ writes the dem. pron. þet where all the other MSS have the pron. 3rd sg. hit/it.

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 a. harde precedes the v. habbed; the v. precedes the a. in all of the other MSS, although there is some variation as to what the a. is (cf. following note).

T, L, E₂ and E₁ agree on the a. euel (T) or a variant thereof, where the other MSS (D, J and M) have the a. harde.

In the second half-line M has the pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit and the adv. þel where neither of these readings are present in any of the other MSS.

E₂ mistakenly writes en for prep. on.

The def. art. þeþes 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 sorne 7 ispinch a patere 7 a londe.
Lambeth 192. 7 sake 7 sorne 7 spinc a patere 7 on se 7 a londe.
Digby 188. 7 senne 7 sorne 7 ispinch 7 on se 7 on londe.
Eg. 64r–70v 192. 7 sunne. 7 sorne. 7 ispinch. a patere 7 alande
Eg. 7r–12v 196. 7 sinn ne 7 sorne 7 ge spinch. a patere 7 ec alonde
Jesus 194. 7 sunne. 7 sowe. 7 muchel swyn. a water. 7 a londe.
McCLean 184. Sunne 7 sorne 7 in sunch 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. sminorch. 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 abuged ɻalle
Lambeth 193. Vre forme fader gult. pe abuged ɻalle.
Digby 189. Vres sormes uader gelt pe abuged ɻalle.
Eg. 64r–70v 193. Vres formes faderes gult. pe abigget alle
Eg. 7r–12v 197. Vres formes faderes gult. pe abigget alle
Jesus 195. Vre forme faderes gult. we abugge ɻalle.

Lines Ω204 and Ω205 are not present in M.

Ω205

Trinity 198. Al his ofspring after him in harem is biualle
Digby 190. 7 his ospring efer him on harme bie ɻalle.
Eg. 64r–70v 194. eal his of spring efer him. en hearme is bi fealle
Eg. 7r–12v 198. al his of sprung after hȳm in herme is bi falle
Jesus 196. Al his ofspring 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 efer.
• D writes the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. bie ɻ 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.
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 æceld) helde; D has the n. eceld (this is probably from the OE æceld) and T does not have any of these readings.

The adj. alle/al/æal, present in most MSS, is not present in L, J and M.

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 deiþ) 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.

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 unsel) unsele (T), except for D which writes (OE unvel) vnvele and J which writes (OE unhel) vnhele.
Ω209

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>202.</td>
<td>Ac mihte libbe afemo a blisse 7 an hale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>197.</td>
<td>ac mihten libben eure ma a blisse 7 a hele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>194.</td>
<td>ac mihte libben euer mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>198.</td>
<td>ac mihten libben æure ma. a blisse 7 on hele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>202.</td>
<td>ac mihten libbe euer mo a blisse 7 on hele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>200.</td>
<td>Ah myhten libben euer mo. myd blýsse and myd wele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>188.</td>
<td>Ac miȝte libbe euermore in blisse 7 in hele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- J writes the prep. myd where all the other MSS have s/on/in (Mod. E in).
- J has the n. (OE wele) wele where all the other MSS write the n. (OE hel) hele/hele

Ω210

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>203.</td>
<td>Litel lac is gode lief þe cumeð of gode pille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Litel loc is gode lef þe cumeð of gode pille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>luþtel lac is gode leof þet kumeð of gode pille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Litel loc is gode lief þet cumð of gode ipille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Lite lac is gode leof. þet cumeð of gode ipille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Litel loc is gode lef þat cumeð of gode pille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Lvetel lok is gode leof. þat cumeþ of gode wille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Litel loc is gode lef þat cumpð of gode pille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ω211

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>204.</td>
<td>7 æðlate muchel gyieue þan his herte is ille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>74.</td>
<td>7 æðlate muchel gyieue þan his herte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>74.</td>
<td>7 ecleþe muchel geue of þan þe herte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>70.</td>
<td>7 æðlete muchel igeue / ðanne si hierte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>74.</td>
<td>7 æþ lete muchel gyue ðenne ðe heorte is ille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>74.</td>
<td>7 æþ lete muchel gyue ðenne ðe heorte is ille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>7 lutel he let on muchel wowe. þer þe heorte is ille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>68.</td>
<td>7 æþ lete muchel geue of him þat his herte is ille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *prec. 7* where it is not present in any of the other MSS; M writes the *n. animan* 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 *adv. 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. 3rd sg. (es/ah) 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 *cfr. ac/sh. at the beginning of the second half-line; both E², E¹ and M write the *adv. bu* and D writes the *adv. al* – a reading unique to this MS.

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 *prec. byrge* where all other text have the *prec. for/vor*.

- M inserts the *prec. 1st pl. pe* 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. 3rd pl. polied* (T), or variants thereof.

- D and E² agree on the *def. art. bo/be* in the second half-line; M writes *adammes*, a reading unique to this MS, and all other MSS have the *prec. 3rd pl. here* (T), or a variant thereof.

Lines Ω214 and Ω215 are not present M.

- J begins the line with the *prec. 1st pl. vre* where it is the *prec. 3rd pl. here/hore/here* 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. ogen* (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. 3rd pl. muge* where all of the other MSS use the *sg. form in mei/mai/may*. 
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 E 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 in 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. 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.

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).
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 E1 have a similar reading in this line. L repeats the adv. spā in the first half-line and the pron. pl. pe in the second half line, which are not present in E1.
- 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 æge) e sceo.
- T agrees with L and E2 but does not write the adv. spā + adv. muckle = cf. 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, has the adv. (OE æge) e sceo (T), or a variant thereof.
- D and M agree on the v. pr. ind. 3 pl. gelteð/ageulteð where it is misdod (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS, but M writes the adv. (OE geltæ) 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. pl. us + prep. to + n. (OE red) 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.

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. ṭo be ladeð here lif mid unriht 7 mid prange
Lambeth 205. þa þe ledden hore lif | mid unriht 7 mid prange.
Digby 203. _TODO_ þe leded here lif | mid unriht 7 mid prange
Eg. 64r-70v 206. þo þe leded here lif | mid unriht 7 mid prange
Eg. 7r-12v 211. And þa þe leded here lif mid vnriht 7 mid prange
Jesus 209. And þeo þat ledeþ heore lif. myð vnriht 7 myðd wronge.
McClean 193. 7 þe þat ledeþ hare lif mid perre 7 mid ýprunge

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. _, pl. peren/weren/pere, where all the other MSS have the v. _ sg. pes/pes.
- D writes the pl. n. ger where all of the other MSS have the pl. n. pintre/wynter (the meaning is the same).
- The prep. an _ n. helle, in the second half-line, is not present in J.
- T, E 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. _TODO_ be ladeð here lif mid unriht 7 mid prange
Lambeth 206. þa þe ledden hore lif | mid unriht 7 mid prange.
Digby 203. _TODO_ þe leded here lif | mid unriht 7 mid prange
Eg. 64r-70v 207. And þa þe leden heore lif. mid unriht 7 mid prange
Eg. 7r-12v 211. And þo þe leded here lif mid vnriht 7 mid prange
Jesus 209. And þeo þat ledeþ heore lif. myð vnriht 7 myðd wronge.
McClean 193. 7 þe þat ledeþ hare lif mid perre 7 mid ýprunge

- J, M, E and E _ agree on the cj. And _ at the beginning of the line where it is not present in the other MSS.
- L uses the _ sg. form of the v. _ pl. ledden where all of the other MSS use the _ form in ladeð (T) or a variant thereof.
- M has the n. _ (OE wynter) perre. where it is the n. unriht (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.

Ω221

Trinity 214. Bute hit godes milce do hie sulle punie þar longe.
Lambeth 207. buten hit godes | milce do ho sculent bon þer pel longe.
Digby 204. bute hit godes milce do | hi sulle bi þer pel longe.
Eg. 64r-70v 208. buten hit godes milce do scule beo ðer pel lange
Eg. 7r-12v 212. bute it godes milce do scule beo ðer pel longe
Jesus 210. Bute hit godes mylce beo. he beo þar wel longe.
McClean 194. Bute hit godes milce do hi sulle beo þar pel longe

- J writes the v. _ sg. _ sg. _ where all the other MSS have the v. _ sg. _ sg. _
- The prep. _ sg. _ is not present in E and E _, where it is present in all the other MSS.
- The v. _ sg. _ sulle (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS, is not present in J.
- J includes the v. _ sg. _ _ beop (cf. note above), where all other texts except T (cf. note below) have the _ form of the v. in bon/bi/beo.
- T writes the v. _ (OE _ ) punie in place of the example from the previous line.
- The _ _ longe. present in all the other MSS before the _ longe. is not present in T.

587
### Ω222

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>215.</td>
<td>Godes pisdom is pel mulchef 7 alse is his mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>208.</td>
<td>Godes pisdom is pel mulchef 7 alspa is his mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>205.</td>
<td>Godes milce is spo muchel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>209.</td>
<td>Godes pisdom is pel muchel. 7 alspa is his mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>213.</td>
<td>Godes pisdom is pel muchel. 7 alspa is his mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>211.</td>
<td>Godes wisdom is wel muchel. 7 al so is his myhte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>195.</td>
<td>Godes pisdom is pel muchel 7 so beþ his miȝte.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Ω223

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>216.</td>
<td>Ac nis his mihte noþipt lasse ac biðer ilke pihte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>207.</td>
<td>7 nis his milce naut lesse. ac bi þan ilke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>206.</td>
<td>nis him no þing litlende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>210.</td>
<td>7 nis his milce naphipt lesse. ac bi ôes ilke pihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>214.</td>
<td>7 nis his milce napiht lasse. ac bi ôes ilke pihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>212.</td>
<td>Nis his mylce nowiht lasse. ah al by one wyhte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>196.</td>
<td>Nis his miȝte no lasse þane pas þo bi þan ilke piȝte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- L, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) 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. 3rd 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 *a. mihte/miȝte*: L, J, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the *a. milce/mylce*: D has a a different reading from all the other MSS, as elsewhere in this line, and writes the *a. noþing* (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. noþipt* (T), or a 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/ab*: the text then has the *v. pa. 3rd 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 ilce) ilke* is written in all texts apart from D which writes the *adj. emliche* and J which writes the *quant. card. one*.

### Ω224

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>217.</td>
<td>More he one maiþ forþeue þan alle folc gulte cunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>210.</td>
<td>Mare he ane mei forȝeuen. þen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>207.</td>
<td>He one mai more vorþeue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>211.</td>
<td>Mare he ane mei forȝeuen. ðenne al folc gulte cunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>215.</td>
<td>Mare he one mai forȝeuen. þenne alfolc gulte cunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>213.</td>
<td>More he one maþ for þeue. þan al volk agulte kunne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>197.</td>
<td>More he one mai vorþeue þane al uolk gulte kunne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

D begins the line with the pron. hƿo 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 þe (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/may.

The word-order hit may, in the second half-line of J, is the reverse of all of the other MSS (M has scal for may; see previous note)

D writes adv. (OE swyð) spixe + adj. hard where all the other MSS have the adj. (OE ǣrþēs) oreleas (T) or a variant thereof.
Ω228

Trinity 221. Se deð his pille mast he sal habbe þerest mede
Lambeth 224. þe þe deþ | is pille mest þe he hauð ðurste mede.
Digby 221. Se þet eure deð his pille mest | he sal him perse mede
EG. 64r-70v 215. þe ðe deð his pille mest | he hauð (perse) | ð(e) | með(e)
EG. 7r-12v 219. þe ðe deð his pille mest. he hauð ðurste mede
Jesus 217. þe þat dop his willaest. he schal habbe wrste mede.
McClean 201. þe þat deþ his pille best ðrst he hauþ 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. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. form in hauð/hauþ; D does not have either reading but includes the pron. 3rd sg. him where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The word-order ðrst he hauþ in the second half-line of M is different to all of the other MSS.

Ω229

Trinity 222. His bað sal be þallinde 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 bað sceal beo þallinde pich. his bed. burnende glede
EG. 7r-12v 220. his bað scal beo pallinde pich. his bed berninde glede
Jesus 218. His baþ schal beo wallýnde pich. his bed bernýnde glede.
McClean 202. His baþ scall 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. An 'a-' 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. 3rd sg. scal; this and the v. inf. bon are not present in any of the other MSS.
\( \Omega230 \)

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

Lines \( \Omega230 \) and \( \Omega231 \) are not present in J.
- M repeats he deþ mistakenly (ditography).
- L writes the n. pl. frond where all the other MSS have the n. pl. (OE) 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.

\( \Omega231 \)

Trinity 224. God silde alle godes friend pið spo euele friende.
Lambeth 217. God scilde alle godes frond. a pið | spilche freonde.
Digby 214. isilde us eure drihte crist | pið spiche loðe friende.
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 iscilde alle fram suiche euele friende

Lines \( \Omega230 \) and \( \Omega231 \) 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, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) use the n. god where D writes drihte crist and M writes ieu suicrist in reference to the deity.
- T, L, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) have the poss. n. godes + pl. n. friend (T), or a variant thereof, where both D and M write the pron. f. pl. us.
- D includes the adv. eure in the first half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- L, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) include the adv. a before the prep. pið/pið/piht, where it is not found in any of the other MSS.
- All of the MSS agree on the prep. pið/pið/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.
\( \Omega_{232} \)

Trinity 225. Nafre an helle ine cam ne cumen ich ðar 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 recche
Jesus 143. Neuer ich in helle ne com. ne þer to cume ne recche.
McClean 205. Neuere in helle ich ne com ne neuere come ne recche

These lines in J (\( \Omega_{232} \) and \( \Omega_{233} \)) occur much earlier in the MS but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. See the note following \( \Omega_{147} \).

- 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, 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. neure 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.

\( \Omega_{233} \)

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 perlde pele | þer inne pende vecche.
Eg. 64r-70v 220. ðeh ich aches 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.
McClean 206. þaʒ ich al þes porldes pele þar inne pende vecche

These lines in J (\( \Omega_{232} \) and \( \Omega_{233} \)) occur much earlier in the MS but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison. See the note following \( \Omega_{147} \).

- T, L, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) 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.
- E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree in the second half-line where there is variation in all the other MSS.
- T agrees with E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) but without the prep. inne as part of the adv. ph. þer inne (E\(^1\)).
- 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 sg. pend (cf. note above) but also include the prep. inne as part of the adv. ph. þer inne (D) absent from J but present in E\(^2\) and E\(^1\).
There is variation between the MSS in this line (especially J) but the overall meaning is retained.

There is variation in the MSS in the second half-line of J 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 hurð 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 E2; 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/prite/iwrytten.

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 E3 have the rel. pron. þær þær. 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.
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. f. sg. *pille* is present in the first half-line of all the MSS apart from J.
J writes the v. pr. ind. f. 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. f. pl. *us*.
The pron. 3rd pl. reflex. *hem* (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.

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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/hie/heom*.
The poss. pron. 2nd pl. *here* (T), or a variant thereof, is present in the MSS except for J and M.
T, L, M and E¹ agree on the n. (OE *unfremu*) *unfreme* (T), or a variant thereof; D writes the n. *vnwines*, and E² and J have the n. *hearme/harme*.
M has the pron. 2nd pl. *þe* where all the other MSS have the pron. 3rd pl. *hie/hoe/hieheom*.
The M includes the J from the context and the previous line. Most texts agree on the T, or a variant thereof; the place of hell is implied in (OE ōn) armē (T) or a variant thereof. The writing of armē in M makes for an imperfect rhyme in the next line.

- 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. eard) arge, where all the other MSS have (OE eard) armē (T) or a variant thereof. The writing of arge in M makes for an imperfect rhyme in the next line.

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Ω239

- 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 adj. 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. parnis/parni/warni/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. parmin (T), or a variant thereof, in all of the MSS in the second half-line except J and M (M writes the pron. f. pl. us as an alternative).
- Most texts agree on the prep. pið/pip before the n. harme/herme/hearme apart from D which writes the prep. fram and J which writes the prep. of.

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Ω240

- J writes the adv. þar where all the other MSS write the prep. an + a. helle (T), or a variant thereof; the place of hell is implied in J from the context and the previous lines.
- The v. pr. inf. 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.
The pl. n. pine/pỳne, present in all the other MSS, is not present in L.

M includes the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculle, a reading not present in any of the other MSS. As a result, this is followed in the text by the int. form of the v. bolie where it is bolied (T), or a variant thereof, the pr. ind. 3rd 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.

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

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

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 wöþ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>236.</td>
<td>Hie fareð fram hate chele fram chele to hate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>229.</td>
<td>ho fareð from hate to hate. 7 hech ĭ to frure þe preche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>226.</td>
<td>hi ureð vram hate in to chele ĭ 7 fram chele in to hate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>230.</td>
<td>hi fareð fram hate to chele. fram chele to hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>234.</td>
<td>hi fareð fram hate to þe chele. fram chele to þe hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>228.</td>
<td>ho vareþ from hate to chele. from chele to þar hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>218.</td>
<td>Hi uareþ uram hate to þe chele uram chele to þe hate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.
- E⁴ 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.
- E⁴, J and M agree on the inclusion of the def. art. þeþar before the n. hete, at the conclusion of the line, where it is not present in the other MSS.

### Ω246

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>237.</td>
<td>Pan hie beð in þe hate chele hem þuncheð blisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>230.</td>
<td>þenne hi bið in þere helte þe þe chele him þuncheð blisse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>227.</td>
<td>Panne hi in þere hete blewð se chele ham þencheð blisce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>231.</td>
<td>þenne hi beð þe þe chele þencheð blisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>235.</td>
<td>Panne hi beod in þe Hate. þe chele þencheð blisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>229.</td>
<td>Hwenne heo cumeþ in hete. þe chele heom þincheþ þysse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>219.</td>
<td>þane hi beþ in hete þe chele ham þincheþ blisse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- J writes the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. cumeþ where all the other MSS have the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. beð (T) or a variant thereof.
- D has an alternative word-order in the first half-line.
- The def. art. þeþereþare, found in all of the other MSS, is not present in J and M.
- The def. art. þeþare before the n. chele is present in all of the MSS except T.
- E⁴ writes chelecheð. This is most likely a mistake for chele þincheð.
- The pron. 3rd pl. hem/him/ham/heom is present in all of the MSS except for E⁴ and E⁵.
- J writes the n. þyse where all of the other MSS write the n. blisse/blisse.
\(\Omega 247\)

| Trinity | 238. \(\ddash\)an hie cume\(\ddash\)eft to chele of hate hie habbed misse. |
| Lambeth | 231. \(\ddash\)enne h\(\ddash\)i | cume\(\ddash\)eft to \(\ddash\)chele \(\ddash\)of hete hie habbed \(\ddash\)misse. |
| Digby | 228. \(\ddash\)anne h\(\ddash\)i to chele cume\(\ddash\)| of hete hie habbed misse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 232. \(\ddash\)enne hie cume\(\ddash\)eft to chele. of hete hie habbed misse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 236. \(\ddash\)enne hie come\(\ddash\)eft to chele. of hete habbed misse |
| Jesus | 230. \(\ddash\)enne heo cume\(\ddash\)eft to chele. of hete heo habbe\(\ddash\)m\(\ddash\)ysse. |
| McClean | 220. \(\ddash\)hane heo be\(\ddash\)p in \(\ddash\)chele of \(\ddash\)par hete hie habbe\(\ddash\)p misse |

- D has an alternative word-order in the first half-line.
- M writes the v. pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. be\(\ddash\)p where all the other MSS have the v. pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. cume\(\ddash\)p.) cume\(\ddash\)p.
- 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. \textit{\textbf{\textit{be}}} before the n. chele; M also writes the def. art. \textit{\textbf{\textit{par}}} before the n. hete; these readings are not present in the other MSS.

\(\Omega 248\)

| Trinity | 239. \(\ddash\)ider do\(\ddash\)hem po inoh nabbed none lisse. |
| Lambeth | 232. hi hem do\(\ddash\)h pa inoh nabbed h\(\ddash\)i nane \(\ddash\)blisse. |
| Digby | 229. \(\ddash\)ider h\(\ddash\)e\(\ddash\)m de\(\ddash\)h po inoh \(\ddash\)nabbed h\(\ddash\)i none blisse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 233. \(\ddash\)ider heom die\(\ddash\)d pa inoh. nabbed hy\(\ddash\) nane lisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 237. \(\ddash\)ider h\(\ddash\)e\(\ddash\)m de\(\ddash\)h pa inou. nabbet h\(\ddash\)i none lisse |
| Jesus | 231. \(\ddash\)ider heom do\(\ddash\)h w \(\ddash\)y nouh. nabbe\(\ddash\)p heo none lisse. |
| McClean | 222. \(\ddash\)ider ham do\(\ddash\)h po ino\(\ddash\)h ne habbe\(\ddash\)p h\(\ddash\)i none lisse |

This line in M is found in the MS after the one at \(\Omega 249\) 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. \textit{\textbf{\textit{ider}}} except for L which writes the pron. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. \textit{\textbf{\textit{hi}}}.
- McClean has the neg. \textit{\textbf{\textit{ne}}} + v. pr. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. ind. habbe\(\ddash\)p, where the v. is written as nabbe\(\ddash\)p (T), or variant thereof, in all of the other MSS.
- The pron. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. \textit{\textbf{\textit{hi}}} is present in the second half-line of all the MSS except for T.
- L and D agree on the n. blisse/blesse at the line end where all the other MSS write the n. lisse.

\(\Omega 249\)

| Trinity | 240. \(\ddash\)iten h\(\ddash\)eper hem do\(\ddash\)d pers to nafre non pisse. |
| Lambeth | 233. nute h\(\ddash\)eper hom de\(\ddash\)p purs mid \(\ddash\)neure nane pisse. |
| Digby | 230. nite\(\ddash\)d \(\ddash\)h\(\ddash\)e\(\ddash\)p h\(\ddash\)i ponie\(\ddash\)d mest \(\ddash\)mid neure non ipisse |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 234. nuten phe\(\ddash\)eper him de\(\ddash\)p purs mid nane ipisse |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 238. nuten hi pe\(\ddash\)eper heom ded purst. mid neure non ipisse |
| Jesus | 232. heo nuten h\(\ddash\)eper heom do\(\ddash\)þ wurse. myð neuer none iwisse. |
| McClean | 221. \(\ddash\)ete\(\ddash\)p hi neure ph\(\ddash\)eper ham do\(\ddash\)þ pros to neure none ýpisse |

This line in M is found in the MS before the one at \(\Omega 248\) but has been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- There is some variation in word-order in the first half-line.
- The pron. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. \textit{\textbf{\textit{hi}}} found in all the other MSS in the first half-line, is not present in T and E\(^{3}\).
- The first half-line in D has an alternative reading to the remainder: \(\ddash\)ite\(\ddash\)d \(\ddash\)h\(\ddash\)e\(\ddash\)p h\(\ddash\)i ponie\(\ddash\)d 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. \textit{\textbf{\textit{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. \textit{\textbf{\textit{to}}}, in the second half-line, where all of the other MSS write the prep. \textit{\textbf{\textit{mid}}}.
\( \Omega 250 \)

Trinity 241. Hie palpèd afre 7 seched reste ac hie hes ne muügen imeten.
Lambeth 234. hi palpèd eure 7 seched reste | ac ho ne muügen imeten.
Digby 231. hi palpèd eure 17 reste seched | ac hi ne muügen imeten

Eg. 64r-70v 235. Hi palpèd eure 7 seched reste. ac hi ne muügen imete
Eg. 7r-12v 239. Hi palpèd eure 7 sechet reste. ac hi ne muügen imeten
Jesus 233. heo walkeþ euer and sechep reste. ah heo hit ne muwe imete
McLean 223. Hi palpèp euer 7 sechep reste ac hi ne muže ýmete

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

\( \Omega 251 \)

Trinity 242. For þi þe hie nold hple 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 ho mihte | hire sennen ibeten

Eg. 64r-70v 236. for þi ði nolden hple hile 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 mỳhten. heore sennen ibete.
McLean 224. Vor þan þe hi nolde þe huile hi miȝte hure sennen bete

- There is some variation in the cj. which begins the line. T, L and E\(^{2}\) write for þi þe/for þi ði; E\(^{1}\) writes for þi; M writes vor þan þe: D and J write for.
- E\(^{2}\) omits the pron. hie/ho/hi/heo found in all the other MSS.
- E\(^{2}\) 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, E\(^{1}\) 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.

\( \Omega 252 \)

Trinity 243. Hie seched reste þar non nis ac hie hies ne mügen ifindend.
Lambeth 236. ho seched | reste þer nis. an þi ne mügen hi es finđen.
Digby 233. hi seched reste þer non nis. | For hi ne mügen iuinde

Eg. 64r-70v 237. Hi seched reste þer nis. þi ne mügen hi finde
Eg. 7r-12v 241. Hi seched reste þer non nis. ac þi ne müpen ifinde
Jesus 235. Heo schechep reste þer non nyś. for þi ne muwen hi finde.
McClean 225. Hi schechep reste þar non nis 7 hi ne müge 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; E\(^{2}\) writes the cj. þi; E\(^{1}\) writes the cj. ac * adv. þi; M writes the cj. 7.
- T and L include the pron. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. hies/es where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The pron. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. hie/hi. found in all the other MSS, is not present in E\(^{1}\).
- 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line References</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Ac ðalkeð peri up 7 dun se þater doð mid pinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>Ac ðalkeð peri up 7 dun se þater deþ mid pinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>Ac ðalkeð peri up 7 dun se þater doð mid pinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>ac ðalkeð peri up 7 dun se þater deð mid pinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>ac ðalkeð peri up 7 dun al se þater deð mid pinde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>Ah walkeþ þær boþe vp and dun. so water dop myð winde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>Ac ðalkeð peri vp 7 dun suo þater dop mid þe pinde.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Ω254

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line References</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>þat beð þo þe paren her an þanc unstedefaste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>þo boð þa þe peren her a þanke unstedefeste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>þet seden þo þet her on þonke unstedeueste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>þis beðð þa þe þere her. ðanke unstedefeste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>þis beðð þo þe þeren her. on þonke vn stedefaste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>þis boþ þe þat weren her Mid hwom me heold feste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>þos boþ þe þat þere her of þonke unstedeuaeste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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. 3rd pl. seden where it is the v. pr. ind. 3rd 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. ðe 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line References</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>þo þe gode biheten ahte 7 hit him ilaste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>þa þe gode biheten heste 7 nolden hit iliste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>þo þet biheten gode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>7 to gode be heten aht. 7 nolde hit ileste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>7 þo godi bahten aht. 7 nolden hit ilaste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>And þeo þat gode bi heþte wel. and nolden hit ileste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>þe þe bihete iusu crist 7 noldo him ylaste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.
- E³ 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 E³ which writes the rel. pron. pl. þo only.
- M writes the a. iusu crist where all the other MSS have the a. gode.
- The word-order biheten gode in D and bihete iusu crist in M (see also the note above) is the reverse in all of the other MSS.
- T, E¹ and E³ agree on the a. (OE æht) ahte. L writes the a. 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. 3rd pl. nolden/nolde. found in all the other MSS in the second half-line, is not present in T.
- T writes the pron. 3rd sg. him as well as the pron 3rd 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. 3rd pl. where it is the inf. ileste (L), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
### Ω256

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copy</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>247. 7 þo þe god perc bigunnen 7 ful endin hit nolden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>240. þa þe god perc bigunnen 7 ful enden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>237. Þa þet agunne godes perc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r–70v</td>
<td>241. Pa þe god peorc bigunne. 7 ful endien hit nolde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r–12v</td>
<td>245. Po ðe god peorc bi gunne. 7 ful endien hit nolden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>239. And þeo þat god were þy gunne and ful endþ hit nolden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>229. Þe þat god þæc bigunne 7 fulendi hit nolde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- T and J begin the line with the *cj. 7and*, 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. *perc + v. *pa. 3rd pl. bigunnen*.
- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copy</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>248. Nu paren her 7 nu þar 7 nesten hpat he polden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>241. Nu piten her. 7 nuðe þer. 7 nüst. hpat hi polden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>238. nu peren hier 7 nu þer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r–70v</td>
<td>242. nu peren her. 7 nuðe ðer. 7 nuste hpet ho polde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r–12v</td>
<td>246. þe peren her 7 nuþe þer. 7 nusten pe hpolde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>240. Ñw were her. Ñw were þer. heo nuste hwat heo folden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>230. 7 pere her 7 phile þar 7 neste huat hi polde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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/nude/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. déden + rel. pron. þet* where all the other MSS have the *v. pa. 3rd pl. nestone + pron. hpat* (T), or a variant thereof.
Ω258

Trinity 249. Þar is pich ðat afre þalleð þar sulle þunien inne.
Lambeth 242. þer is bernunde pich | hore saule to ðajien inne.
Digby 239. Þer is þich þet eure þalleð | þet sullen þajien inne
Eg. 64r–70v 243. Þere is pich þe æure þealde. þer scule þadie inne
Eg. 7r–12v 247. Þere is þich þat eure þealde. þat scule þajien inne
Jesus 241. þet ich þych. þat euer walleþ. þat heo schulle habbe þere.
McClean 231. Þar is þat pich þat eureþe þalþ þat scule þe beo inne

- J writes dem. adj. þet + pron. Þ sing. ich where all the other MSS have adv. þar v. pr. ind. Þ 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. þat 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 a. pich where all the other MSS exclude this adj and describe the pich as rel. þat + adv. afre + v. pr. ind. Þ sing. þalleð (T) or a variant thereof.
- L also begins the second half-line differently from the other MSS with the poss. pron. Þ pl. hore = pl. n. saule where T and E agree on the adv. þar/þer + v. pr. ind. Þ pl. sulle/scule; J has the rel. pron. þat + pron. Þ pl. heo + v. pr. ind. Þ pl. schulle; the other MSS agree with the J text but without the pron. Þ pl. heo.
- There is variation in the line endings: L, D, E and E agree on the v. inf. bæjien/bæjie – only L includes the inf. mark. to before the v.; T writes the v. inf. punien – a reading unique to this MS; M writes the dem. pron. þe + v. inf. bæo – a reading unique to M; J has the v. inf. habbe + adv. þere where all the other MSS have the prep. inne.

Ω259

Trinity 250. þo þe ladeð here lif on perre 7 an unpinne.
Lambeth 243. þa þe ledde here þe lif in perre 7 in pinne.
Digby 240. þo þet ledde here lif | in pele 7 in senne.
Eg. 64r–70v 244. þa þe ledde úuel lif. in feoh end in iginne
Eg. 7r–12v 248. þo þe ladde vuel lif. in feoh end in iginne
Jesus 242. þeo þat leddeþ heore lýf vnwrested. and eke false were.
McClean 232. þe þat ladde hure lif mid perre 7 mid ýpine

- T and J agree on the pr. form of the v. ind. Þ pl. ladeð/ledde where the other MSS have the pa. form in ledden/ledde/ladde.
- E and E agree on the adj. uuel/vuel where all of the other MSS have the poss. pron. Þ pl. here/heore/huere.
- J includes the adv. vnwrested 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 a. perre and the a. 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.
  - E and E agree, in the main, on their reading in the second half-line, however, E writes the n. feoh where E has the n. feoh. It is possible that feoh is a form of feoh or it might well be that feoh is from OE feoh and that the scribe of E changed the word to feoh when copying.
  - E and E 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.
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. þat 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. þet + v. pr. and 3[s] sg. is (L), or a variant thereof; T combines the rel. and the v. in þis. J writes the indef. art. an – a reading unique to this MS.
- T, L and J include the v. pr. sbj. 3[rd] sg. be/bo, a reading not present in any of the other MSS; D has the v. ind 3[s] sg. is: the other MSS do not have either of the previous readings.

**Ω260**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>251.</td>
<td>þar is fur þis hundredfeald hatere þan be ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>244.</td>
<td>þer is fur þet is undrþet fald hattrre þene bo ure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>241.</td>
<td>þer is ver þet is hudred fealdede hotter þenne is vre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>245.</td>
<td>þer is fur þe is hundred fealde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>251.</td>
<td>þer is fur þat is undredfelde hatere þanne beo vre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>243.</td>
<td>þar is fur an hundred foldede. hatture þan be vre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>233.</td>
<td>þar is þat fur þat is hundredfelde hatter þanvre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 noþer aqwencen – 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 where it is 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 Avon stream nor Stour’.
These lines in E\(^1\) (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 E\(^1\) begin the line with the *dem. pron. bis*: J and M have the *dem. pron. bat*: D and E\(^1\) have the *adv. þer*.
- The *def. art. þat* in E\(^1\), found in most MSS before the *n. fur* is not present in D and E\(^1\).
- In the second half-line the scribe of M writes *þat noþing ne mot aquenche*: a reading unique to this MS.
- T, L, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the *n. noþipt* (T), or a variant thereof; D writes the *n. noþing* 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. nonon* - a reading unique to this MS.
- The *pron. 3d sg. hit*: present in all the other MSS except M (see notes above), is not found in T.

These lines in E\(^1\) (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 beð* (T), or a variant thereof, at the beginning of the line where E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) 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. 3d pl. sculle*.
- T, L, J, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3d 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. 3d 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 *þa þet* (D); J has the *dem. pron. beo* followed by the *rel. pron. bat* 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. 3d pl. louden* which is a reading unique to this MS.
- All the other MSS, apart from D (cf. previous notes) agree on the *v. pa. ind. 3d sg. pas/pes/wes* apart from M which has the *sbj.* form in *pere*.
- The *adv. þo* 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. adv. poure* where all the other MSS write *preche/preccene*. 

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**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 napilh hit quenchen.
 Digby 243. þer is ver þet eure brenneð | ne mai hit no þing quenchen.
 Eg. 64r-70v 247. þis is þet fur þe eure burnð. ne mei hit napilh quenche
 Eg. 7r-12v 249. þer is fur þat eure burnð. ne mai hit napilh quenche
 Jesus 245. þat is þet fur þat euer barñþ. ne maþ hit nonon quenche.
 McClean 235. þat is þat fur þat euer barnþ: þat noþing ne mot aquenche

**Ω263**

Trinity 254. þar inne beð þe pas to lef preche men to spenche.
Lambeth 247. þer inne boð þa þe pas to lof preche | men to spenchen.
 Digby 244. þer inne sendeð þo þet loueden | preche men to spenchen.
 Eg. 64r-70v 248. her inne boð þe pes to leof. preche men to spenche
 Eg. 7r-12v 250. her inne boð þe pes to lef. preche men to spenche
 Jesus 246. þar inne boþ þeo. þat her wes leof. poure men to swenche.
 McClean 236. þe sculle beo inne þe pere lef poure men to suenche
Ω264

Trinity 255. þo þe spikele men 7 ful of euele prenchen.
Lambeth 248. þa þe peren spikelemen 7 ful of uel prenchen.
Digby 245. 7 þo þet þe spikele men 7 ful of uuele prenchen
Eg. 64r–70v 249. þa þe peren spikele men. 7 ful of uuele prenchε
eg. 7r–12v 253. þo þe peren spikele men. 7 fulle of vuele prenche
Jesus 247. þeo þat were swikelemen. and ful of vuele wrenche.

Lines Ω264 and Ω265 are not present in M.
- The v. ps. 3rd pl. peren/pere/were 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 þo þe mihten euel don 7 lief hit þas to þenchen.
Lambeth 249. þa þe mihten uuel | don. þe þef hit þes to þenchen.
Digby 246. 7 þo þet mihte vnriht do | 7 lief hit hem þes to þenche.
Eg. 64r–70v 250. þa þe ne mihte uuel don. 7 leof þes to þenche
Eg. 7r–12v 254. þo þe ne mihte euel don. 7 lef þas it to þenche
Jesus 248. And þeo þat ne mýhte vuele do. 7 was hit leof to þenche.

Lines Ω264 and Ω265 are not present in M.
- T, D and I 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. varriht 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 þe þe 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 þas (T), or variants thereof, shows variation throughout the MSS.
- The pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit/it, present in all the other MSS, is not found in E3.
- D includes the pron. 3rd pl. hem in the second half-line where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

Ω266

Trinity 257. þe luueden rauingen 7 stale hordom 7 druken
Lambeth 250. þe luueden tening 7 stale. hordom 7 drunken
Digby 247. þo þet louede hordom 7 stale | 7 rauingen 7 drunken
Eg. 64r–70v 251. þe luueden reauingen 7 stale. hordom 7 drunken
Eg. 7r–12v 255. þo þe luueden reuing 7 stale. hordom. 7 drunken
Jesus 249. þeo þat luued reving, and stale. 7 hordom. 7 drunken.
McClean 237. 7 þe þe 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. þe (‘they who’/’those who’) where the other MSS form the construction with the dem. pron + rel. pron. pl. þo þet (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 센터) tening where all the other MSS have (OE 센터) rauing (T) or a variant thereof, and in M which omits the n. hordom and instead writes the adv. (OE unsgemel/Re) unmetliche.

605
\(\Omega 267\)

Trinity 258. 7 an defles perkes blœdeliche spunken.
Lambeth 251. 7 | a doules perche blœdeliche spunken.
Digby 248. 7 on þos lœpes diele perkes | to blœdeliche spunke.
Eg. 64r-70v 252. 7 a. on þes deofles peorc. blœdeliche spuncher
Eg. 7r-12v 256. 7 þe on þes deofles peorke blœpeliche spunke
Jesus 250. And on deoules werke, blœpeliche swunken.
McClean 238. 7 ec in þes deueles pork suo bleþeliche sponke

- E\(^2\) includes the adv. a. and M the adv. ec where neither are present in any of the other MSS.
- E\(^2\) includes the pl. rel. pron. þe where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The poss. def. art. þos/þes/þes. present in D, E\(^2\), E\(^2\) and J before the poss. n. deofles/deueles (lœpes diele in D), is not found in T, L and J.
- E\(^2\) and M agree on the n. peorc/pork where it is the pl. form perkes/perche/peorke/swerke in the other MSS.
- D includes the adv. lœpes 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. bleþeliche/bleþeliche in the second half-line. Neither of these readings is present in any of the other MSS.

\(\Omega 268\)

Trinity 259. Þo þe þaren 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 þepsa lease. þet me hi ne mihte ileue
Eg. 7r-12v 257. Þo þe þere so lease. þat me hi ne mihte ileue
Jesus 251. þeo þat were so lese. þat me heom ne mîhte ileuen.
McClean 239. Þe þe þere so lese þat me ne miȝte 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 þes) lese/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. þe pl. in mes. All the other MSS keep these readings separate.
- The word-order in both D and M differs from the the other MSS in the second half of the line.

\(\Omega 269\)

Trinity 260. Medȝierne domes men 7 pronpise reuen.
Digby 250. 7 medȝierne domesmen | 7 prnprpise reuer.
Eg. 64r-70v 254. med Ḟeorne domesmen. 7 pranc pise ireue
Eg. 7r-12v 258. med Ḟeorne domes men. 7 prançpise reuen
McClean 240. Medȝerne domesman 7 prongpise reue

- D begins with the cj. 7 a reading unique to this MS.
\(\Omega270\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>261.</td>
<td>(\text{bo be oðer mannus pif pas lief her ogen eðlate})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>254.</td>
<td>(\text{pet oðer monnes pif lof. his ægen et lete.})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>251.</td>
<td>(\text{bo pet opres pif haueden lief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r–70v</td>
<td>255.</td>
<td>(\text{pe oðres mannus pif pes lief. his ægen eð lete})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r–12v</td>
<td>259.</td>
<td>(\text{pe opre mannus pif pes lif. his apene eð lete})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>253.</td>
<td>(\text{pe hat wes leof oðer mannus wif. 7 his owe leten})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>241.</td>
<td>(\text{pe pe pas opre mannus piues lef his ogen ʒeþ lete})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The word-order throughout this line varies from MS to MS.
- T, D, J and M write the \textit{art.} as a \textit{pron.} antecedent to the \textit{rel.} in (they who? / those who?) \textit{bo be} (T), or variants thereof; the other MSS have the \textit{rel.} \textit{pet} / \textit{pe} only.
- In D \textit{opres} is a \textit{poss. pron.} where \textit{oðer} (T), or variants thereof, is a \textit{poss. adj.} The use of \textit{opres} in this form in D negates the need for the \textit{poss. n. mannnes} (T), or a variant thereof, found in all the other MSS.
- M has the \textit{pl. form} of the \textit{n. poss. mannnes} + \textit{n. piues}, where it is sg. in all of the other MSS.
- L omits the \textit{v. pa. sg. pas/pes/wes}, probably a scribal error, found in all the other MSS apart from D which writes the \textit{v. pa. sg. e} / 'they who' / 'those who'
- The \textit{pref. eþr} \textit{geþ} before \textit{leten}, found in all the other MSS, is not present in J.

\(\Omega271\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>262.</td>
<td>(7\text{bo be sunegeden muchel on druken 7 on ate.})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth</td>
<td>255.</td>
<td>(\text{bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>252.</td>
<td>(7\text{boþ spide seneqeden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r–70v</td>
<td>256.</td>
<td>(\text{be ðe sunegude muchel a drunken 7 en ete})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r–12v</td>
<td>260.</td>
<td>(7\text{bo be sungede muchel. on druken 7 on ete})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>254.</td>
<td>(\text{And be hat sunegeþ ofte. on drunken. and on mete})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>242.</td>
<td>(7\text{senegede bluþeliche on druken 7 on ete})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- All of the MSS begin with the \textit{cJ. 7} and except for L and \(E^1\).
- There is some variation in tense and person at the beginning of the line: T, D and \(E^1\) have the \textit{pa. pl. bo be sunegeden} (T), \textit{bo pet spide seneqeden} (D) and \textit{bo be sungede} (\(E^1\)); L, \(E^2\) and \textit{have the pa. sg. bo be sungede} (L), \textit{be ðe sunegude} (\(E^2\), \(7\text{senegede}\) (M)); whereas, J has the \textit{ps. sg. in} and \textit{be þat suneged}.
- T, L, \(E^2\) and \(E^1\) agree on the \textit{adv. muchel}; D writes the \textit{adv. spide}; J writes the \textit{adv. ofte} and M writes the \textit{adv. bluþeliche}.
- J ends with the \textit{n. mete}: a reading unique to this MS with all the other MSS having the \textit{n. ate/ete/hete}.  

607
\[\Omega 272\]

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 hueren on horde
Jesus 255. þeo þat wreche men býnymẹp. his eþhte. 7 hit leþþ an horde.
McClean 243. Þe þat pouereman binome 7 leide in harre horde

- J and M agree on the construction dem. pron. + rel. pron. þeo þat/be þat (pl. in M) where all of the other MSS have the rel. pron. þe (pl. in T, E').
- 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/man/man.
- J uses the pr. tse. in the v.s 3rd sg. býnymẹp and leþþ 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. hare 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).

\[\Omega 273\]

Trinity 264. Þe litel let of godes bode 7 of godes porde.
Lambeth 254. þe lutelet of godes borde | 7 of godes porde.
Digby 254. þe litel let of godes bode 7 of godes porde
Eg. 64r–70v 258. þe lutelet of godes bibeode. 7 of godes porde
Eg. 7r–12v 262. þe luteleten of godes bode. 7 of godes porde
Jesus 256. And lutelet on godes bode. and of godes worde.
McClean 244. 7 litel lette of godes hest 7 of godes porde

This line in M is followed by two lines which have been transposed to \(\Omega 282\) and \(\Omega 283\) for the purpose of comparison.

- J and M agree on the cj. and/7 where all the other MSS write the rel. pron. þeþet.
- 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 prep. hit/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.
MSS, the rhyme scheme is spoiled, and J exhibits greater variation than usual. As a result of the additional line at Ω275, the couplets in J at Ω275

- Lines Ω274–Ω276 are not present in M.
  - The cj. end at the beginning of the line is present in all the MSS except J.
  - L, D and J agree on the contraction po þe/se þe/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.

Jesus

- Ω275

Ne his poure kunesmen. at him ne myhete 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.

Jesus

- Ω276

Ne nolde ihere godes men þan he sat at his biede.

Lines Ω274 and Ω276 are not present in M.

- 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 sónde) 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. saet/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 biode) biede/beode except for J which writes the n. borde. The meaning, however, remains very similar.
Ω277

Trinity 267. Po þe þas oðer mannes þing levere þan hit solde.
Lambeth 260. þe þet is oðers monnes þing, louere þene hit sculde.
Eg. 64r-70v 261. þæþ þæ þes oðres mannes þing, loue þenne hit scolde
Eg. 7r-12v 265. Po þe þer en þeþere mannes þinc. leure þanne it scolde
Jesus 260. 7 was leof oþer mannes þing, leure þan beon schulde
McClean 247. þe þe þas þopre 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. 3rd 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 a. þingþingþinc except for M which has the a. god.
- T, L, E² and E¹ agree on the pron. 3rd sg. (i.e.) hit it whereas J writes the v. inf. beon and M writes the pron. 3rd 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 soluer end of golde
Eg. 7r-12v 266. 7 peren al to gredi. of sueluer 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 untrepesse deden þan þe he solden ben holde.
Lambeth 262. 7 þa þe untrọþesse duden þon þe ho sculden bon holde
Eg. 64r-70v 263. End þæ þe untrupnesse dude þam þe hi ahnte beon holde
Eg. 7r-12v 267. And þo þe vntrewnesse deden. þam hi ahnte ben holde
Jesus 262. 7 luueden vntreneþesse. þat heo schulden beon holde.
McClean 249. 7 vnriþþnesse 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/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. untreneþesse except for M which has the n. vnriþþnesse.
- All of the MSS agree on the v. pa. 3rd pl. deden/duden/dude apart from J which has the v. pa. 3rd pl. luueden.
- T, L and E² write the combination dem. + rel. pl. þan þeþ þo þe þam þe; E¹ has the rel. pl. þam; J has the cj. þat and M the cj. þar.
- In the the second half-line E¹ and E² write the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. ahnte where it is the v. pr. ind. 3rd 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 polden.
Eg. 64r-70v 264. 7 leten ðet hie scolden don. 7 dunde þet hi polde
Eg. 7r-12v 268. 7 leten þat hi scolde don. 7 duden þet hi polde
Jesus 263. 7 leten þat hie scolden do. and duden þat heo ne scholden.
McClean 250. Lete þat hi scolde do 7 dune þat he 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 schulde wunyen 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 ðieteres of þis pereldes ahte
Lambeth 264. Þa þe peren eure abuten þisse porldes echte.
Digby 257. 7 þo þet peren ðieteres | of þisse porldes ēȝhte
Eg. 64r-70v 265. Þa þe pitteres of ðis poruldes æȝhte
Eg. 7r-12v 269. Þo þe ðiesteres peren of þis poruldes æȝhte
Jesus 265. Þe þat were gaderares. of þisse worldes ãȝhte.
McClean 245. Þe þe pere ðiesteres of þisse porld estē

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 E’ agree on the pl. n. (OE géters) ðieteres (T), or a variant thereof; L writes the adv. eure + prep. abuten; E’ writes the n. pl. pitteres – it is possible that this comes from OE witian or it could be a scribal error for ðiesteres 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.
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 *adv. al* in the first half-line of the text where it is not present in the other MSS.
- The *prep. 3rd pl. hem/ham/heom* is present in all the MSS except L.
- L writes the *v. pa. 3rd sg. (OE hitan) hechte* where all of the other MSS have the *v. pa. 3rd sg. (OE tyhtan) tihte* (T), or a variant thereof.
- T, L, D, E and M have the *prep. to* with the *cj. 7* in the second half-line; E has the *cj. 7* + the *adv. ec*: J does not have the *prep. to*.

### Ω284

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>Lambeth</th>
<th>Digby</th>
<th>Eg. 64r-70v</th>
<th>Eg. 7r-12v</th>
<th>Jesus</th>
<th>McClean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>273.</td>
<td>7 al þo þe ani pise deuel iquemeþ</td>
<td>266.</td>
<td>7 alle þe þen anige pise doulen</td>
<td>iquemeþ</td>
<td>259.</td>
<td>7 alle þo þet anie pise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259.</td>
<td>7 alle þo þet anie pise</td>
<td>þo diefel er ikuemde</td>
<td>267.</td>
<td>End ealle þa þen eni pise deoflen her iquemde</td>
<td>267.</td>
<td>And alle þo þen eni pise. deoflen her iquemde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266.</td>
<td>7 alle þe þen anige pise doulen</td>
<td>iquemeþ</td>
<td>267.</td>
<td>And alle þe þo þyð dusýe wise, deouele her iquemþ.</td>
<td>267.</td>
<td>And alle þo þe þyð dusýe wise, deouele her iquemþ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251.</td>
<td>Þe þat in alle pise þe deule her iquemeþ</td>
<td>251.</td>
<td>Þe þat in alle pise þe deule her iquemde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The *cj. 7/end* and *the adv. al/alle*, which begins the line in the all the other MSS, is not present in M.
- T, L, D, E and E agree on the *adv. ani + n. pise* (T), or a variant thereof; J writes *prep. myð + adv. dusye + 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. diefel/deuel* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- J, M, E and E agree on the *adv. her*: D writes *er*: the *adv. is not present in T and L.
- L writes *iquemde* for the *v. pa. 3rd pl. where it should be *iquemeþ*: this is a probable scribal error.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. iquemeþ* where it is the *v. pa. ind. 3rd pl. iquemeþ* (T), or a variant thereof, in all other MSS.

### Ω285

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>Lambeth</th>
<th>Digby</th>
<th>Eg. 64r-70v</th>
<th>Eg. 7r-12v</th>
<th>Jesus</th>
<th>McClean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>274.</td>
<td>þo beð mid hem in helle fordon 7 demde.</td>
<td>267.</td>
<td>þa beð nu mid him in helle</td>
<td>fordon 7 fordomet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260.</td>
<td>þo sullen beo mid him</td>
<td>vordon 7 vordemde.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268.</td>
<td>þa beð̱ nu mid him an helle fordon 7 fordemde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272.</td>
<td>þo beoð nu mid him an helle for don 7 for demþen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268.</td>
<td>Þe beoð n̄v in helle wiþ him. fordon. and for demde.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252.</td>
<td>Þo beð in helle mid him uor done 7 uor demde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the final line in L.

- D has an alternate reading to all the other MSS: D writes the *v. pr. 3rd sg. sullen* where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. 3rd pl. beoð/bœd/bœd/bœdþ*: it is then followed in the text by the *int. 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 *prep. for/vor* before the *v. pp. demde*, present in all the other MSS, is not found in T.
\(\Omega286\)

Trinity 275. Bute bo be ofðuhte sore here misdade
Digby 261. Bute bo bet vor þuhte ham | here sennen 7 here misdeden
Eg. 64r–70v 269. Bute pa be of ðuhte sare heore mis dede
Eg. 7r–12v 273. Bute bo be ofþouhte sore, her here mis deden
Jesus 269. Bute þeo þat of þincþe þer, sore heore myþdede.
Mclean 253. Bute þe þat osþuhte sore hure misdede

- M writes s for f in osþuhte.
- D writes the prep. 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. 3ref. pl. form of the v. in of þincþe where all the other MSS have the pa. 3rd sg. form in ofðuhte (T), or a variant thereof.
- D includes the pron. 3ref. 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.
- E and J agree on the adv. her not present in any of the other MSS.
- D includes the poss. pron. 3ref. pl. here + pl. n. sennen, found in no other MS, in addition to the poss. pron 3ref. pl. here + pl. n. misdened – found in all the other MSS.

\(\Omega287\)

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 lade
Eg. 7r–12v 274. 7 gunnen hulhtes beten. 7 betere lif leden
Jesus 270. 7 heore gultes gunnen lete. and betere lif to lede.
Mclean 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. sennen, 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.

\(\Omega288\)

Trinity 277. Par beð naddren 7 snaken. eueten 7 fruden
Digby 263. Per beð naddren 7 snaken | eueten 7 ec fruden
Eg. 64r–70v 271. Per beð naddren 7 snaken. eueten 7 frute
Eg. 7r–12v 275. Per beð naddren 7 snaken. eueten 7 frude
Jesus 271. Per beð naddren 7 snaken. euethen and fruden.

Lines \(\Omega288\) and \(\Omega289\) 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.
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 a. pl. spiken where E2 and E1 have the subj. form of the v. 3rd pl. speke/speken and D and J have the pr. ind. form of the v. 3rd pl. speked/speken.
- D includes the pl. adj. (OE andþe þuþe) ondfulle where it is the pl. adj. (OE niþe þuþe) niðfule (T), or a variant thereof.

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.

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.
\(\Omega^{292}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>281.</td>
<td>Afre þar is euel smech þiesternessse 7 eie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>267.</td>
<td>Eure þer is euel smael þiesternessse 7 eige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>275.</td>
<td>Æure þer is uuel smech. þusternessse 7 eie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>279.</td>
<td>Eure þer is vueel smech. þusternessse 7 eie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>275.</td>
<td>Euer þar is muchel smech. þeosterness and eýe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>261.</td>
<td>Eure þar is muchel smich 7 þusternessse 7 eie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \(\Omega^{290}-\Omega^{293}\) in M occur in the MS after the couplet at \(\Omega^{296}\) and \(\Omega^{297}\) but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- J and M agree on the adj. muchel where it is the adj. euel/vuel in all of the other MSS.
- M includes the \(\text{cj.}^7\) in the second half-line, where it is not found in any of the other MSS.

\(\Omega^{293}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>282.</td>
<td>Nis þar nafre oðer liht þan þe sparte leie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>268.</td>
<td>Nis þer neuye oðer liht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>276.</td>
<td>Nis þer neure oðer liht. þene þe spierde leie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>280.</td>
<td>Nis þer neure oðer liht. þanne þe sparte leie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>276.</td>
<td>Nis þer neuer oðer lyht. bute þe swarte leye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>262.</td>
<td>Ne com þar neuere oðer liȝt þane of þe suarte leye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \(\Omega^{290}-\Omega^{293}\) in M occur in the MS after the couplet at \(\Omega^{296}\) and \(\Omega^{297}\) 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 bitte) bute, at the beginning of the second half-line, where all the other MSS write the \(\text{cj.}^7\) (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 \(\text{def. art.}^7\) þe + adj. sparte (T), or a variant thereof, and writes the adj. (OE jiester) þiester instead.

\(\Omega^{294}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>283.</td>
<td>Þar ligeð ateliche fiend in stronge raketeie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>269.</td>
<td>Þer liggeð attliche feond in stronge raketege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>277.</td>
<td>Þer ligget ladliche funde in stronge raketege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>281.</td>
<td>Þer ligget ladliche fend. in stronge raketeie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>277.</td>
<td>Þer lypo þe lodliche ueond. in stronge raketeie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>255.</td>
<td>Þar beoþ lodlich fend in stronge raketege</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- J writes the 3rd sg. form of the v. pr. ind. lyð 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 \(\text{def. art.}^7\) þe, not present in any of the other MSS, before the adj. lodliche and the sg. n. uenod. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>284.</td>
<td>Þat beð þo þe paren mid god angles spīde heie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>270.</td>
<td>Þet bieð þo þet peren mid gode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>278.</td>
<td>Þet beoð þa ðe pere mid gode on heuene pel hege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>282.</td>
<td>Þet buð þe þe pere mid gode. on heuene pel heie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>278.</td>
<td>Þat is þe þat wes myð god. in heouene spīpe heye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>256.</td>
<td>Þos beo þe þat þere mid gode in heuene spīpe hege</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M writes the *dem. pron. þos* where all the others have the *dem. pron pl. þat/bet*.
- J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is* where all the other MSS have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. beð* (T), or a variant thereof.
- J writes the *v. pa. 3rd sg. wes* where all other MSS have the *pl. form in paren/peren/pere* (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. spīde/spīpe*; 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. spīde/spīpe* where E² and E¹ have the *adv. pel*.

### Ω296

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>285.</td>
<td>Þat beð ateliche fiend 7 eiselic pihnten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>271.</td>
<td>Þer bieð ateliche vend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>279.</td>
<td>Þer beoð ateliche fund. 7 eiselic pihnte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>283.</td>
<td>Þer buð ateliche fend. 7 eiselic pihnte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>279.</td>
<td>Þer beoþ ateliche uendones. 7 grýsiliche wyhtes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>257.</td>
<td>Þat beoþ grīsiliche fend 7 ateliche þigte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- All of the MSS begin the line with the *adv. þer/bar* 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. grýsiliche* – 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.
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 E agree on the prep. þurh/ðurh/þurð, whereas J writes the prep. bi and M writes the prep. mid.

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Omega 297

Trinity 286. Þo sulle þe preche sople isien þe sinegeden þurh sihte
Digby 272. þo sulle þo arme saule iseon þet gelten þurh isihðe.
Eg. 64r-70v 280. þas scule þa precche i fon. þe sunnegede ðurh sihte
Eg. 7r-12v 284. þos sculle þa precchen i son. þe sunge þurð sihte
Jesus 280. þer schule þe wreche soulen iseon þat suneged bi sihtes.
McClean 258. þe sculle þe precche saule iseþ þat seneþede mid isiȝte

---

Omega 298

Trinity 287. Par is se loðe sathanas 7 belzebub se ealde
Digby 273. Per is se loðe sathanas 7 belzebub se alde
Eg. 64r-70v 281. þer is þe laðe sathanas. 7 belzebud se ealde
Eg. 7r-12v 285. þer is þe laþe sathanas. 7 belsebuc þe ealde
Jesus 281. þer is þe loþe sathanas. 7 beelzebub þe olde.
McClean 263. Par is þe loþe sathanas 7 belzebuc þe ȝelde

---

Omega 299

Trinity 288. Eaðe he muþen ben sore ofdrad þe sullen hes bihealde.
Digby 274. eaðe hi muþen bi ofherd þet sullen hine bhihalde.
Eg. 64r-70v 282. eaðe hi muþen beo of dred. þe hine scule bi healde
Eg. 7r-12v 286. Ieþe he muþen ben of drad. þe hine sculled bi helde
Jesus 282. Eþe heo mwue beon adred. þat heom schulde bholde.
McClean 264. Pelle sore hi muþe ben afdered þat suiche sculle bhihelde

- M has the adv. þelle + 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, E, E, and E agree on the v. pa. part. pl. ofdrad/of-dred/of-drard; J writes the v. pa. part. pl. ofdered; M writes the v. pa. part. pl. afdered. D has the v. pa. part. pl. ofherd – this is most probably miswritten for of-fered/afdered (or a variant form of).
- There are some small differences in the word-order in the second half-line, especially in T and D.
- T has the pron. þe/þe as does J in heom: D, E, and E agree on the pron. þe/þe. Hine: M has a different reading with the adj. pl. suiche + v. pr. ind. þe/þe. Sculle.
\section*{\textbf{Ω300}}

| Trinity | 289. Ne mai non herte hit þenche ne tunge hit ne mai telle |
| Digby  | 275. Ne mai non herte hit þenche | 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 maþ non heorte hit þenche. ne no tunge telle. |

Lines Ω300 and Ω301 are not present in M.

- D, E\textsuperscript{2} and J agree on the inclusion of the \textit{adj. no} before the \textit{a. tunge}, not present in T and E\textsuperscript{1}.
- T includes the \textit{pron. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. (inan.) hit} – a reading unique to this MS.
- T, E\textsuperscript{2} and E\textsuperscript{1} include the \textit{neg. adv. ne} before the \textit{v. pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. mai} (T) and \textit{v. pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. can} (E\textsuperscript{2} and E\textsuperscript{1}); neither of these readings are present in D and J.

\section*{\textbf{Ω301}}

| Trinity | 290. Hpu muche hele 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 uoele uoendes. beoþ in þeostre helle. |

Lines Ω300 and Ω301 are not present in M.

- T and E\textsuperscript{2} agree on the \textit{cj. ne/na} where D and E\textsuperscript{1} have the \textit{cj.Æ}; neither reading is present in J.
- J includes the \textit{pl. n. uoendes}: a reading unique to this MS.
- T, E\textsuperscript{2} and E\textsuperscript{1} agree on the \textit{v. pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. senden/sunden}, where D and J write the \textit{v. pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. bieð/beoþ}: the meaning is the same in both variants.
- J includes the \textit{adj. (OE. þeostre)} \textit{þeostre} preceding the \textit{a. helle}: a reading unique to this MS.

\section*{\textbf{Ω302}}

| Trinity | 291. Of þo pine þe þar bieð nalle ich eop naht lie |
| Digby  | 277. Þið þo pinen þet þer bieð l nalle ich þe eou noht liegen |
| Eg. 64r-70v | 285. Þið þa pine ðe þer beoþ. nalle ich eop naht leoþen |
| Eg. 7r-12v | 289. Of þo pine þe þere bued. nalle ic hou nout leoþen |
| Jesus  | 285. for æl þe þyne þat þer is. nulle ich eu nourht lye. |
| McClean | 145. Vor of þar pine þat þar beoþ nalle ich 30 noping leþe |

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 E\textsuperscript{2} agree on the \textit{prep. of} at the beginning of the line (cf. note on M below); D and E\textsuperscript{1} agree on the \textit{prep. þið}: J and M have the \textit{cj. for/vor}.
- M has the \textit{prep. of} as the second word of the line – agreeing with T and E\textsuperscript{1} after the initial \textit{cj}.
- J includes the \textit{adv. her} in the first half-line, where it is the \textit{adv. bar/þer/þere} in all of the other MSS.
- J has the \textit{v. pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. ia}, where it is \textit{bieð} (T), or a variant thereof, in all the other MSS.
- M writes the \textit{a. noþing} where all the other MSS have the \textit{neg. adv. naht} (Trinity), or a variant thereof.
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, E and E agree on the adj. functioning as a n. al/esal at the beginning of the second half-line; T writes the prep. of and M writes the adv. her.
- M writes the combination cj. pat + def. art. pat where all the other MSS have pat/pet functioning as a rel. pron. (inan).
- There is variation in the word-order of the adv. her + v. pr. ind. 3rd 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.

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- E1 writes the cj. ac + cj. get., where T, E2 and J have 7/end + cj. giet/gut/yet: neither reading is found in D.
- D and J agree on the n. noþing where it is the n. naþ/nout in T, E2 and E1.
- T writes the adv. also where all the other MSS have the adv. spo/sa/so.

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.

- T and D agree on the cj. spo: E3 has the adv. bute: J has the cj. asse: the reading is not present in E3.
- J omits the pron. 3rd pl. he/hì present in all the other MSS in the first half-line.
- D writes the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. niten (neg), where all the other MSS have the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. piten/pite/þiten.
- The second occurrence of the cj. þatþet. 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 naþfere habben ende/seal naþfere habben ende. All of the other MSS include the neg. adv. ne at the beginning of the second half-line.
- The adv. naþfere/neure, found in the other MSS, is not present in D or J.
- J includes the adv. non before the n. end – a reading that is not present in any of the other MSS.
Ω306

Trinity 295. Þar beð þe haðene men þe þaren læge lese
Digby 281. Þer bið þo he þene men þet þeren lægelese
Eg. 64r-70v 289. Þar beoð þa heðene men. þe þære læge lese
Eg. 7r-12v 292. Þer buð þo he þenemen. þe þære læpe lese
Jesus 289. Þar beo þe he þene 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. þe nes naht of godes bode ne of godes hease.
Digby 282. þer naht of godes bode | ne of godes hesne.
Eg. 64r-70v 290. þe nes naht of godes bi bode. ne of godes hesne
Eg. 7r-12v 294. þe 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. þer where all the other MSS have the pl. rel. pron. þet. The v. pa. 3rd sg. nes/næs present in all the other MSS is not found in D: it is probable that this is a textual corruption.
- E includes the pron. 3rd pl. heom where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- E 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 bið here iuere
Eg. 64r-70v 291. Vuele cristene men. hi beoð here ifere
Eg. 7r-12v 295. Vuele cristenemen. hi bud here i vere
Jesus 291. Vuele cristenemen. beo 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: beo 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 iere) + adj. pl. nere where all the other MSS write the poss. pron 3rd pl. heor here + n. pl. (OE geferan) iferen (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω309

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

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.
**Ω310**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>299.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>285.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>297.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>293.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 E³ agree on the prep. on + def. art. ðere/þere where all the other MSS have the prep. + adj. in anīðer (T) or a variant thereof. The meaning is similar in all the MSS.

**Ω311**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>286.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>294.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>298.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>294.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.
- The pron. 3rd pl. hi/þeo in the first half-line is present in all the MSS, except T.
- T, D and E² agree on the adv. ut where E² and J have the adv. vp/up.
- T writes the a. peni where all the other MSS have the a. marke: the meaning remains the same.

**Ω312**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>301.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>295.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>299.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>295.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines Ω304-Ω313 are not present in M.
- The pron. 3rd pl. hem/hæm/þeom 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 a. (OE bēn) bene where it is the a. 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 forgieuenesse.

Digby 288. vor naht hi solden bidde þer | ore ne ȝeuenesse.

Eg. 64r-70v 297. for nis neiþer inne helle. are ne forgieuenesse

Eg. 7r-12v 300. for nis neiþer inne helle. ore ne forgieuenesse

Jesus 297. for nys neiþer in helle. ore ne ȝeuenesse.

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 þið þos helle pine.

Digby 289. Shilde him ech þe hƿile he mai | þið þo helle pine.

Eg. 64r-70v 297. Sculde him ech man þe hƿile he muge of þas helle pine.

Eg. 7r-12v 301. Sculde him elc man þe pile he mai. of þos helle pine.

Jesus 297. Nu scilde him vych mon hwile he maþ, wiþ þe ilke pȳne.

McClean 265. Scilde him euerich man þiþ 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/men 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. þið / 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/þas before the n. helle; J, however, writes the dem. pron. þe-ilke and does not have the n. helle.
\(\Omega 315\)

Trinity 304. 7 parni his frend þar þið spo ich habbe ido mine.

Digby 290. 7 parni ech his frend þer þið spo ich pille mine.

Eg. 64r-70v 298. 7 perrn ech his freond þer þið spo ich habbe mine

Eg. 7r-12v 302. And parni æc his frend þer pidd. so ic pulle habbe mine

Jesus 298. And warny þich his freond. so ich habbe mýne.

McClean 266. Þarni euerich man his frend 7 suo ic pulle do mine

- The cj. 7and is present in all the MSS at the beginning of this line, except for M.
- D, E', E^2 and J agree on the pron. ech/æc/vich before his; this reading is not found in T and M writes the adj. euerich + a. 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. bar-pid (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, E^2 and M agree on the v. pr. ind. 1st sg. pille/pule in the second half-line, however, this v. is crossed through in E' 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 E', 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.

\(\Omega 316\)

Trinity 305. Þo þe silde hem ne cunnen ich hem pille tache

Digby 291. Þo þet silden hem ne cunnen þe ich ham pille teche

Eg. 64r-70v 299. þa þe sculden heom ne cunne. ich heom pulle teche

Eg. 7r-12v 303. þo þe sculden heom ne cunnen. ic heom pulle teache

Jesus 299. þeo þat schilde heom ne cunning. ich heem 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.

\(\Omega 317\)

Trinity 306. Ich can ben aider gieff isal lichame 7 sople lache.

Digby 292. ich kan bien aider ef ich sal lichame 7 saule leche.

Eg. 64r-70v 300. ich kan beon gieff ich sceal. lichame 7 saple leche

Eg. 7r-12v 304. Ich kan beo gie if sclal. lichame 7 soule liache

Jesus 300. Ich on beon eýþer if ich schal. lýcome and soule leche.

McClean 268. Þis pord may aíper 3ef 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 may ... 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. aíper (T), or variant thereof, found in all the other MSS, is not present in E' and E^2.
- 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>Late pe þat god forbet alle mankenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>Lete pe þet god vorbiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>Lete pe þet god for but. ealle manne cunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>Lete pe þat god for bet. alle mancunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>Lete we þat god forbed. alle mon kunne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>Lete þat god forbet alle mankinne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>7 do pe þat he us hat 7 silde pe us pid senne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>7 do pel spo he us hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>7 do pe þet he us het. 7 sculde pe us pid sunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>7 do þat he us hat. 7 scilde pe us pid sunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>And do we þat he vs hat. 7 schilde vs wiþ sunne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>Do þat god us het 7 perie us wiþ senne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 7and, 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. slide (T) or a variant thereof - this is followed by the pron. 1st pl. pe which is not present in either D or M.

### Ω320

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>Luue þat god mid ure herte 7 mid al ure mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>Louie god mid ure hertiæ 7 mid al ure mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>Luuie þat god mid ure heorte. 7 mid al ure mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>Luuie þat god mid vre heorte. 7 mid al vre mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>Luuye þat we god myd vre heorte. 7 myd alle vre myhte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>Louie god mid herte 7 mid al ure miȝte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.
\[\Omega321\]

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 sulfolk. spa us lerde drihte
Eg. 7r-12v 308. ⁷ ure emcristene alse us suelf. spa us lerde drihte
Jesus 304. Vre euen cristen. as vs self so vs lerede dryhte.
McClean 272. ⁷ ure nexte al suo us self suo us het ure drihte

- The cj. 7 begins the line in all the MSS except for J.
- M writes the oo. nexte where it is oo. emcristen/emcristene/euen cristen in all the other MSS.
- T, E¹ and J agree on the adv. also/also/as. D writes the adv. spo. M writes the adv. al-suo. E¹ mistakenly writes the adv. al.
- 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. lerde/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.

\[\Omega322\]

Trinity 311. Al þat me radeð ⁷ singed b afore godes borde
Digby 297. Al þet men ret ⁷ singð | biuoren godes borde
Eg. 64r-70v 305. Eal þet me rat 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/ret/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.

\[\Omega323\]

Trinity 312. Al hit hangeð ⁷ halt bi þese þtam porde
Digby 298. Al hit hongeð ⁷ halt | bi þise þtam porde.
Eg. 64r-70v 306. Eal hit hanget ⁷ bi halt. bi ðisse þtam porde
Eg. 7r-12v 310. Al it hanged ⁷ bi halt. bi þisse þtam 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/hisse/disse in all the other MSS.
There is significant variation between the MSS in the first half-line.

- M begins the line with the cf. J where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The adj. pl. all is present in the first half-line of all the MSS except D.
- The scribe of T mistakenly writes godel for the posx. a. 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.

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 þe; D, J and M texts just have the rel. pron. þet þet þet 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 þe þe þe þe þe þ where all of the other MSS do not write the pron. (OE ilce) ilce and simply write the dem. pron. þos þos þos þos þos þos þ.
- M has a different reading in the first half-line: the scribe writes the pl. n. laȝe þe þe þe þe þe þa þale þe þale þe þale þe þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale þale 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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 lýht hit is to falle.
McClean 278. Strong hit is to stonde longe 7 liȝt hit is to falle

Ω328

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

Ω329

Trinity 318. 7 of alle ure gultes ȝeue 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

• 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. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit/it, found in the second half-line of all the other MSS, is not present in E1.

• All of the MSS begin with the cj. ac/ac/ac/ac; 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. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. his + n. míȝte.

• T, E2 and E 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 E agree with D on the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. (OE unnan) one/unne, although this is preceded in D by the pron. 3rd sg. he – a reading unique to this MS; T writes the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. ȝieue; J writes the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. (OE lætan) and M has the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. (OE lēfan) leue. The meaning in all is similar.
• T and E omit the prep. to before the n. (OE bōt) bote.
\[\Omega^{330}\]

Trinity 319. Pe pilnieð after pereldes pele þe lange ne mai ilaste
Digby 305. Pe pilneð efter perldes pe | ðet lange ne ileste
Eg. 64r-70v 313. Pe pilneð efter poruld pele. de lange ne mei leste
Eg. 7r-12v 317. Pe pilnied efter porldes pele. þe lange ne mai ileste
Jesus 313. V þe wilneþ after worldes aÝhte. þat lange ne maÝ ileste.
McClean 281. Pe pilnieþ after orldes þel þat lange ne ileste

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

\[\Omega^{331}\]

Trinity 320. 7 legeð mast al ure spinc on þinge unstedefast.
Digby 306. 7 legeð al most ure ispinc | on þinge vnstedesteste
Eg. 64r-70v 314. 7 legeð eal ure ispinch. on ðinge unstedefeste
Eg. 7r-12v 318. 7 legeð al ure ispinch. on þinge un stede faste
Jesus 314. And mest legeþ þre svÝnk. on þinge vnstudeuste.
McClean 282. 7 legeþ muchel ure suinch in þinge unstedeste

- 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. al most 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.

\[\Omega^{332}\]

Trinity 321. Spunke for godes luue half þat pe doð for eihte.
Digby 307. spungke pe vor godes loue | spo pe doð vor eȝte
Eg. 64r-70v 315. Spunce pe for godes luue. half þet pe doð for æhte
Eg. 7r-12v 319. Spunch pe for godes luue. half þet pe doð for ehte
Jesus 315. If þat we swunken for gode. half. þat we doþ for eȝhte.
McClean 283. Suonke pe uor godes loue alse pe 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 a. god. where it is the posx. form godes in all the other MSS, and the n. luue/loue. found in all the other MSS, is not present.
- The pron. 1st 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/bet at the beginning of the second half-line; D writes the adv. spo and M has the adv. alse.
\[\omega 333\]

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

- T, D, J and M agree on the v. pa. ind. 1st pl. nare/nere where E\(^2\) has the neg. adv. ne + v. pr. sbj. 1st pl. beo and E\(^1\) 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 E\(^1\).
- M writes the v. pp. pl. forgelt where all the other MSS have the v. pp. pl. (OE becieran) bicherd (T) or a variant thereof.
- The adv. spo + adv. euele (T), or variants thereof, is not found in M
- T, D, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the v. pp. pl. bikeihte (T) or a variant thereof; J writes the v. pp. pl. byþouhte and M the v. pp. pl. (OE beþcan) bikaste.

\[\omega 334\]

Trinity 323. ßef pe serueden god half ßat pe doð for erminges
Digby 309. Ef pe polden herie gode | spo pe doð arminges
Eg. 64r-70v 317. ßif pe serueden gode spa pe doð erminges
Eg. 7r-12v 321. Gif pe serueden god. so pe doð erminges
Jesus 317. ßyef we seruede god. so we do þearmýnges.
McClean 285. ßef pe seruede gode alsuo pe doþ erminges

- M begins with the cj. ß 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. ßat where all the other MSS write the adv. spo/spo/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.
- E\(^1\) writes the v.al. a. pl. erminges where it is the a. pl. erminges (T), or variant thereof, in all the other MSS.

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629
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 E¹ writes the prep. en where E² writes the prep. of.
- All the other MSS agree on the v. pa. f³ pl. mihten/mihte/mihte 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. adv. 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 adv. functioning as a n. more/mare.
- M writes the ej. ase, at the beginning of the second half-line, where all the other MSS have the ej. þa/þanne/denne/þan.
- 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 ej. 7 between the n. gierles and kings (T) - eorles her 7 kinges in E³ (cf. note above), where it is the ej. oþer in all of the other MSS.

Lines ß336-ß339 are not present in M.

- T and D agree on the pron. f³ 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 f³ 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 ej. nader 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 deáð þe elder ne þe þeonger
Digby 312. ne pið elde ne pið deáð | se eldre ne se þeongre.
Eg. 64r-70v 320. ne pið ulde. ne pið deáðe. þe uldre ne ðe þeonger
Eg. 7r-12v 324. ne pið elde ne pið deáð. þe elder ne þe þeonger
Jesus 320. Ne wiþ elde ne wiþ deþe. þe eldure ne þe þeonger.

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. þonge 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. deáð ne unhalðe ne elde.
Digby 313. Þer nis hunger ne þurst | deáð hunhelðe ne elde
Eg. 64r-70v 321. Ac þér nis hunger ne þurst. ne deáð. ne unhelðe ne elde
Eg. 7r-12v 325. Ac þer nis hunger ne þurst ne deáð. ne unhelþe ne elde
Jesus 321. Al þer nýs hunger ne þurst. ne deþe. 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. deáð, 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 þære alto selde.
Digby 314. to ofte man biçareð þís lif | 7 þet al to selde.
Eg. 64r-70v 322. of þisse riche þe þenched ofte. 7 of þere to selde
Eg. 7r-12v 326. of þisse riche þe þenchet ofte. 7 of þere to selde
Jesus 322. Of þís world we þenchep 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).
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. adv. elle 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. þel 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 (OE getlome) (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 getlome) by mistake.

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. phar.of, in the second half-line, where it is the prep. of + pron. phan (T), or variants thereof, in all other MSS – the meaning, however, remains the same.

Lines Ω342 and Ω343 are not present in M.
Lines Ω342 and Ω343 are not present in M. Line Ω343 is not present in J (cf. Ω344).
- D writes μuμeγer for the v. pr. ind. f. pl. μugen – this is likely to be a scribal error.
- T writes the pron. f. pl. pe (a reading not present in any of the other MSS) + the v. pr. ind. f. 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.

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.

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. f. pl. pe we, found in the first half-line of all of 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/pis where the other MSS have the adv. þus.

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 ej. 7 where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M has the def. adj. þe where it is the dem. adj. þis/deos /þes in all of the other MSS.
- The word order þe 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. adrenchen; E², E¹ and J have the v. inf. for-drenchen.
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 dol) 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.

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Ω348

Trinity 336. He sal him cunnen silde wel giief hit him nele scrench.
Eg. 64r-70v 330. he seal him cunne sculde pel. giif he hine nele scrench
Eg. 7r-12v 334. he seal him cunne sculde pel. giif he hime nele scrench
Jesus 330. he schal him cunne schilde wel. yef he him [wile bi þenche]
McClean 296. He skal him cunne scilde pel zef hie him nele scrench

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.
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 prep. bi- before the inf. v. werie/perie is not present in J and M, where it is found in all of the other MSS.

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. pið/wib/piþ begins the line in every MS, except for D.
- All of the texts agree on the poss. dem. adj. þisses/þises/þises/þes/þos, 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 of the other MSS in the second line of all of the other MSS, not present in J and M; instead, both of these MSS write the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. derþ/orie (in end-line position) where all the other MSS have the inf. form of the v. derien, following the previous v.

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. 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/ibeden.
- 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Mid þo þapne þe god haued þiue alle man kenne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>mid þo þepne þet god haued þiueen al mankennene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Mid Clickable þe þepne þe god haued. þijiten man cunne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>mid þo þepnen þe god haued þiuen alle mancunne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Mid þe wepnen þat god haued þeuen. to alle mon kenne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>Mid þe þepne þat god almiþti briteþte alle mankenne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines Ω349–Ω352 in M occur in the MS after the couplet at Ω344 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. almiþti after the n. god where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T, D E and J agree on the v. pp. þiue (T), or a variant thereof, following the v. pr. ind. 3.sg. haued (T), or variant thereof, where E has the v. pp. (OE þiucan) þijiten and M, which does not include the v. pr. ind. 3.sg. haued (T), or a variant thereof, has the v. pa. 3.sg. (OE betcan) þiteþte.
- J includes the prep. to before the adj. all where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- The adj. alleþal (cf. note above) is present in the second half-line of all the MSS except E.

**Ω353**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Late þe þe þrode strate 7 þane þe þeg bene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>Lete þe þo þrode strete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Lete þe þe þrode streit. 7 þene þei þe þene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>Late þe þe þrode streit. 7 þei þe þe þene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Lete we þeo þrode streit. and þene weþþ grene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>Lete þe þe þrode strete 7 þane þei þe þene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M writes the adj. grene where all the other MSS have the adj. (OE þiþ) bene.

**Ω354**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>þe þat þe niþe þaþ to þelle of manne me þai þene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>þet þede þþo þiþende þel to þelle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>þe þet þiþeþe þel to þelle of manne. 7 ma þei þene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>þe þat þe þiþeþe þel to þelle of manne. 7 mo ic þene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>þat þat þe þiþeþe þel to þelle of þolke. and mo þiþe þene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>þat þet þat þiþende þel to þelle of þamanne 7 mor þat þiþe þene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- D writes the v. pr. ind. 3.sg. þede where all the other MSS have the cont. form in lat/let.
- The n. þal/þel is present in all of the MSS except for J.
- T, D E and E agree on the n. pl. þanþeþeþe menne 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 indeþ. pron. þe þe þroþeþe þel where D, J, E and E agree on the adj. functioning as a n. moþaþaþe þel. the reading in M is a little unclear: the scribed writes the adj. functioning as a n. more but then writes þast. Pauæ amends this to as but Margaret Laing (LAEME) suggests that this should be read as a possible spelling for þaesþ þe citing another example in the Trinity Homilies.

636
### Ω355

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>343. Go pe þane narepe pað 7 þene pei grene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>327. Go pe þane narepe pei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>337. Ga pe ðene narepe ne. 7 ðene pei grene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>341. Go pe þene narepe pei. 7 þene pei grene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>337. Go we þene narewe wey. þene wey' so schene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>299. Nime pe þane narepe pað 7 þane peý grene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M begins the line with the *v. sbj. pr. ind. 1st* pl. nime where all the other MSS begin with the *v. sbj. pr. ind. 1st* pl. go/ga.
- T and M agree on the *n. pað/paþ* where all the other MSS write the *n. pei/wey*.  
- All of the MSS include the *cj.* at the beginning of the second half-line, except for J where it is not found.  
- J writes the *adv. so + adj. (OE. scieþ)* schene where all the other MSS have the *adj. grene*.  

### Ω356

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>344. Þar forð fareð pel litel folc 7 eche is fair 7 isene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>328. þer uorð vareð litel volc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>338. ðer forð fareð litel folc. ac hit is feir 7 scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>342. þer forð fareð lutel folc. ac it is feir 7 scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>338. þer forð fareþ lutel folk. and þat is wel eþ sene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>300. Þar forð farþ pel litel folc 7 þat is þe porlde on sene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 *and* at the beginning of the second half-line.  
- D, J and M agree on the *dem. pron. þet/bat* where E² and E¹ write the *pron. 3rd* sg. *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. T + adj. (OE gesêne) isene (T)*, or variants thereof. The J and M texts have different readings: J writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd* sg. *is + adv. wel + adv. eþ-sene: M writes the *v. pr. ind. 3rd* sg. *is + def. art. þe + n. porlde + adv. on-sene*.  

### Ω357

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>345. þe brode strate is ure pil. þe is loð te lête</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>329. Si brode strete is ure ipil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>339. þe brade streth is ure ipil. ðe is us lâð to forlæte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>343. þe brade streth is vre ipil ðe is us lód for to leten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>339. þe brode streth is vre wil. þat is vs lóþ to lete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>301. þe brode streth is ure pil he is us lóþ to lete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- M writes the *pron. 3rd* sg. *þe* where all the other MSS write the *rel. pron. þe* or variants.  
- The *pron. 1st* pl. *us/þe* 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 fortelæte) forlæte* where all the other MSS have the *v. inf. (OE letæ) laete/lethe/leten*.  

637
In the second half of the line, M begins the line with the word *he* who completely follows his will, *he* fareð *he* brode strete. E and E agree on the reading: 'he who completely follows his will, he fare <i>by</i> his will, he <i>fare</i> to his will'. The translation in E<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>1</sup> 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: <i>bo</i> <i>bo</i> *be* + <i>adj.</i> *boode* + <i>n.</i> *strete*; E<sup>2</sup> and E<sup>1</sup> agree on the reading: <i>prép. bi + dem. adj. ðusse</i> ðusse + <i>n.</i> *strete*. T agrees with E<sup>2</sup> and E<sup>1</sup> at the end-line but writes the <i>dem. adj. bare</i> where the other two have ðusse ðusse. M writes the <i>prép. mid + dem. adj. ðe-ille</i> or <i>n.</i> *strete*.

**Ω359**

| Trinity       | 347. Hie muʒen lihtliche cumen mid ðare niðer helde |
| Digby         | 331. Hi muʒen lihtliche vare | mid ðare niðerhelde |
| Eg. 64r–70v   | 341. Hi muʒen lihtliche gan mid ðere under hulde |
| Eg. 7r–12v    | 345. Hi muŋen lihtliche gon. mid ðere niðer hulde |
| McLean        | 303. Hi muʒe lihtliche go mid ðar niþer helde |

Lines Ω359 and Ω360 are not present in J.

- M, E<sup>2</sup> and E<sup>1</sup> agree on the <i>v. inf.</i> *gan* *gon* *go*; T has the <i>v. inf.</i> *cumen* and D has the <i>v. inf.</i> *vare*.
- E<sup>2</sup> writes the <i>adj. under</i>, before the <i>n.</i> (OE *hulde*) <i>hulde</i>. Where all the other MSS have the <i>adj. niðer/niþer/nüðer</i>.

**Ω360**

| Trinity       | 348. þœrḥ one godelease pude to one bare felde |
| Digby         | 332. þurð one gutlease poded in to one brode velde. |
| Eg. 64r–70v   | 342. þurh ane godlīsere pode into ane bare felde |
| Eg. 7r–12v    | 346. þurh ane godlīsere pude. in to ane bare felde |
| McLean        | 304. þurȝet þe godlīse wode in to þe bare felde |

Lines Ω359 and Ω360 are not present in J.

- M begins the line with the <i>prép.</i> *þurȝet* + <i>def. art.</i> *þe* where all of the other MSS have the <i>prép. þurh + indef. art. one/ane</i>.
- The <i>prép. in</i> 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 <i>def. art. þe</i> where all of the other MSS have the <i>indef. art. one/ane</i>.
Ω361

Trinity 349. Þa narepe pað is godes has. þar forð fareð þel feape
Digby 333. Se narepe pei is godes hesne | þer vorð vareð þel viape
Eg. 64r-70v 343. Þe narepe is godes hese. ðer forð fareþ þel fiepe
Eg. 7r-12v 347. Þe narepe is godes hes þer forð farð þel feupe
Jesus 341. Þe narewe wéy is godes heste. þat forþ faireþ wel fawe.
McClean 305. Þe narepe paþ is godes heste ac þare uorþ uareþ þel uape

- 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/þar/þer/þare apart from J which has the dem. pron. þat.

Ω362

Trinity 350. þat bed þo þe hem sildeþ þierne þið achen undeape.
Digby 334. þet bieþ þo þet hier ham silten | þið echen vnelpeape.
Eg. 64r-70v 344. þet beþ þa þe heom sculdeþ þeorne þið æche un þeape
Eg. 7r-12v 348. þet búþ þa þe heom sculdeþ þeorne. þid elche un þeape
Jesus 342. þat beþ þeo, þe heom scheldeþ wel. wiþ vých vnelpeewe.
McClean 306. þeþ beþ þe þat scildeþ þam þer þip eulerich vnelfepe

- M begins the line with the cj. þ + dem. pron. þia where all the other MSS have the dem. pron. pl. þaþ/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. 3½ pl. in silten where all the other MSS have the pr. indicative sildeþ (T) or a variant thereof.
- J writes the adv. wel where the T, E2 and E3 agree on the adv. (OE georne) þierne/georne: neither reading is found in D or M.
- M writes the adj. eulerich where all the other MSS have the adj. achen (T) or a variant thereof.

Ω363

Trinity 351. þos godþ uneþe ægien þe clieþ 7 ægien þe heie hulle
Eg. 64r-70v 345. þas gað unieþe þeænes þe clieþ ægeþe þe heþe hulle
Eg. 7r-12v 349. þos goþ un iæþ þeænes þe clieþ ægeþe þe heþe hulle
Jesus 343. þos goþ vnæþ þe æyþþ þe cleo. æyþþ þe heþe hulle.
McClean 307. þos goþ æzæþ þe heþe clif æzæþ þe heþe hulle

Lines Ω363 and Ω364 are not present in Digby.

- The adv. uneþe (T), or a variant thereof, is not present in the first half-line of M, where it is found in all the other MSS.
- E3 includes the prep. to before the prep. (OE ægeþen) þeænes where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- M includes the adj. heþe 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.
Trinity 352. Þos leteþ al here ipil for godes luue to fulle.
Eg. 64r-70v 346. þas leteð al heore ægen pill. for godes hese to fulle
Eg. 7r-12v 350. þos leteð al here ægen 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 oþe pil godes hesne to felle

Lines Ω363 and Ω364 are not present in Digby.
- M writes the pron. 3rd pl. hi where it is the dem. pron. þos/þas/þeos in all of the other MSS.
- T has the pa. ind. form of the v. 3rd pl. (OE lætan) leten where it is the v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. form leteþ/leþeþ 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. ægen/œge before the n. ipil/pil/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.

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 pule bringe
Jesus 345. Go we alle þene wei. for he vs wile brynge.
McClean 309. Go þe alle in þilke þap 7 he us pule bringe

- M writes the prep. in + dem. adj. þilke + n. þap where all the other MSS have the dem. adj. þane/þene + n. þei/þei. 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.

Trinity 354. Mid þo feape faire men biore þe heuen kinge
Digby 336. mid þo vaape vaire men | bioren heuenkinge.
Eg. 64r-70v 348. mid te feape feire men. be foren heueninge
Eg. 7r-12v 352. mid þo faire fepe men. be foren heuene kinge
Jesus 346. Mid þefewe feyremen þyueren heuuninge kinge.
McClean 310. Mid þe upe uaire men þiuore þe heueninge

- 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.
\[\Omega367\]

Trinity 355. \(\text{þar is alre blisse mast mid angles sone.}\)
Digby 337. \(\text{þer is alþe merþe mest | mid englene sone.}\)
Eg. 64r-70v 349. \(\text{þer is ealre muthþe mest. mid englene sange.}\)
Eg. 7r-12v 353. \(\text{þer is alre merþe mest. mid englene sone.}\)
Jesus 347. \(\text{þer is alre Mureþe mest. myþ englene sone.}\)
McClean 311. \(\text{þar is blissene mest mid anglene sone.}\)

- 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. merþe (D), or a variation thereof, in all of the other MSS.

\[\Omega368\]

Trinity 356. \(\text{þe is a þusend pintre þar ne þuncheð hit him naht longe.}\)
Digby 338. \(\text{se þet is a þusend pintre þer | ne þingð hit him naht longe.}\)
Eg. 64r-70v 350. \(\text{þe is aþusend pintre þer. ne þincð him naht to lange}\)
Eg. 7r-12v 354. \(\text{þe þis a þusent pintre þer. ne þincð him noht to lange}\)
McClean 312. \(\text{þe þat is uele hundred pintre þar ne þincþ hit hi naʒt longe}\)

Line \(\Omega368\) is not present in J (cf. \(\Omega369\)).
- T and E\(^2\) agree on the rel. pron. þe (‘the who’) where the other MSS form the construction with the dem. pron + rel. pron. pl. se þet (D), or a variant thereof.
- E\(^1\) combines the rel. pron with the v. pr. 3rd sg. ind. in þis – 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. þusend.
- T, D and M agree on the pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit/it in the second half-line where it is not present in E\(^2\) and E\(^1\).
- E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) include the adv. to before the adv. lange/longe where it is not present in the other MSS.

\[\Omega369\]

Jesus 348. \(\text{wel edý wurþ þilke mon. þat þer býþ vnderuonge.}\)

Although this line is the second half of the couplet attached to line \(\Omega367\), it has been given its own line as it does not occur in any of the other MSS.
Lines \(\Omega370-\Omega371\) in M occur in the MS after the couplet at \(\Omega374\) and \(\Omega375\) but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- M begins the line with the *cj. T* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- T and J agree on the *rel. pron. pe* (‘he who’) where the other MSS form the construction with the *dem. pron.* + *rel. pron. pl. se* (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.* haueð + *n. lest* where it is the inverse in all of the other MSS.
- In M, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) *lest* functions as a *n.* where it is an *adv.* in all the other MSS with the addition of the *n. blisse* in T and D and the *n. murehe* in J.
- The *pron. 3rd sg.* *he* is not present in the first half-line of E\(^2\) and E\(^1\), where it is found in all of the other MSS.
- T, M, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) agree on the *cj. bat* + *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.*

### \(\Omega371\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>358.</th>
<th>þe þat blisse forgoð hit sal him repen sore.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>340.</td>
<td>se þet þo blisce let vor þos hit him sel repen sore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>352.</td>
<td>þe ða blisse. for ðas forlet hit him mei reope sare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>356.</td>
<td>þe ðæ blisse for ðos for lat. it him mae reupe sore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>350.</td>
<td>hwo so þeo blisse for þisse foryet. hit maþ him rewe sore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>318.</td>
<td>Hpo se let þe blisse uor þes hit scal him repre sore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines \(\Omega370-\Omega371\) in M occur in the MS after the couplet at \(\Omega374\) and \(\Omega375\) but have been transposed for the purpose of comparison.

- The J and M agree on the *pron. hwo-so/þro-se* where it is the *dem. pron.* + *rel. pron. pl. þe þet* (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.* *þe* + *a. blisse,* where it is found after the *a.* in D and later in the line of E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) – where it is *forlet/to-for-lat.*
- The *def. art.* *þe þeþeþe* before the *n. blisse,* is found in D, J and M.
- The *prep. for* *vor/þur* + *dem. pron.* *þos/þos þisse þes,* 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.* E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* (cont.) *forlet/to-for-lat* and M has the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *foryet.* The *word-order* in this line differs between MSS.
- T, D and M agree on the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *sal/sel/sal* where J, E\(^2\) and E\(^1\) have the *v. pr. ind. 3rd sg.* *mei/maþ/mayþ,* 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 þos* (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 355. 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 may no pynne ne no won beon in heuene 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 *n. adv. ne,* at the beginning of the line, is not present in M, where it is found in all the other MSS.
- T writes the *n. pyne* 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 puninges fele elch ðeð or uniliche
Digby 342. þeih þer bi poninge vele | ech ðeð or uniliche.
Eg. 64r-70v 354. ðeih þer beð puninges fele. æch ðeð or uniliche
Eg. 7r-12v 358. ðeih þer beð þunienges fele. elc ðeð or uniliche
Jesus 352. þah þer beon wonynægese feole. æch ðeð or uniliche.
McClean 314. þar beo þonenges fele 7 ech ðeð or uniliche

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. beo* where it is the *ind. form of the v. pr. 3rd pl. beo* in E, F 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 habbæ lasse blisse 7 sume þar habbæ more
Digby 343. Sume þer habbæ lesse merðæ 7 sume þer habbæ more
Eg. 64r-70v 355. Sume þer habbæ lesse murðæ. 7 sume habbæ mare
Eg. 7r-12v 359. Sume þer habbet lasse murðæ. 7 sume habbæ more
Jesus 353. Summe habbæ lasse Murerhæ. 7 summe habbæ more.
McClean 315. Sum þar hauþ lasse murcðæ 7 sum þar hauþ 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. merðæ* (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.
$$\Omega$$375

Trinity 362. Elch after þat he dude her after þane þe spanc sore
Digby 344. ech after þan þet he dede | after þet he spanc sore.
Eg, 64r-70v 356. after ðan þe dude her, after ðan þet he spanc sare
Eg, 7r-12v 360. after þan þe hi dude her. after þan þe hi sпонке 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 $$\Omega$$372-$$\Omega$$375 in M occur in the MS before the couplet at $$\Omega$$370 and $$\Omega$$371 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-þaneþe; D writes: after-þanþet and after-þaneþet; E² writes after-ðanþe and after-ðanþet; E¹ writes after-þanþe and after-þanþet; J writes after-þat and after-þat and M writes after-þatþat and of-þatþe. 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/dude, except for D.
- J includes the cj. ðat 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/bisauanc (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/þeo + v. sƿonke/swunken.

$$\Omega$$376

Trinity 363. Ne sal þar ben bread ne pin ne ðeðer kennes este
Digby 345. Ne sel þer bi bred ne pin | ne ðeðer kennes este
Eg, 64r-70v 357. Ne sceal þer beon ne bried ne pin, ne ðeðer cunnes este
Eg, 7r-12v 361. Ne scl þar ben bred ne pin, ne ðeðer cunnes este
Jesus 355. Ne wrþ þer bred ne wynn. ne nones kennes este.
McClean 319. Ne scæl þar beo þerþred ne pin ne þeþre 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/scæl.
- The v. inf. ben/bi/benon/beþo, 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. kennes where all the other MSS have the adj. ðeðer/þeþer/þeþre (pl. form in M) before the poss. n. kennes/cunnes/kenne (pl. form in M).
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.

The cj. ne, 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 æche) 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.

Lines Ω378 and Ω379 are not present in Digby.

J begins the line with the adv. þer v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nys + 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. nouþer but agrees in all other parts with the opening of the other MSS.

The cj. ne, is not found in M, where it is present in all the other MSS.

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 got/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. beuyrþ/beuer, is not found in M and J, where it is present in all ther other texts.
The reading in J differs from all of the other MSS in the first half-line. J writes the conj. ne + adv. þær + neg. adv. ne + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) wurð + 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. 3rd sg. sal + adv. þær + conj. nāder (only in T and M) + n. scat + conj. nor + n. scat (T), or variants thereof, before the conj. ne (not present in J) + poss. n. worldes + n. wele (T), or variants thereof.

Line Ω382 is not present in M.
- J writes the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nis + adv. þær, at the beginning of the first half-line, where all the other MSS write the neg. adv. ne + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. mai/mei.
- T writes the n. blisse where all of the other MSS have the conj. mergþe (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.
\[\Omega^{383}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>370. He is soð sunne 7 briht 7 dai abute nihte.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>350. hi is soð sune 7 briht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>364. he is soð sunne 7 briht. 7 dei abuten nihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>368. he is soð sunne 7 briht. 7 dai a buten nihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>362. he is sop sunne. and briht. and day bute nyhte.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line \(\Omega^{383}\) is not present in M.

\[\Omega^{384}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinity</th>
<th>371. He is aches godes ful nis him no piht uten.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>365. He is ælches godes ful. nis him na pið uten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>369. He is elches godes ful. nis him noþing git vten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>363. He is výche godes ful. nýs him nowiht wiþ vte.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line \(\Omega^{384}\) is not present in M.

Lines \(\Omega^{384}\) and \(\Omega^{385}\) 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-vten* in end-line position; E² and E¹ agree with J on the *prep. pið-uten/git-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 *napþ*.

\[\Omega^{385}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 64r-70v</td>
<td>366. na god nis him pane þe punieð him abuten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>370. no god nis him pane. þe punied him abuten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>364. Nis heom nones godes wonëþ þat wuneþ him abute.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line \(\Omega^{385}\) is not present in M.

Lines \(\Omega^{384}\) and \(\Omega^{385}\) 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. 3rd 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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>373.</td>
<td>Par is pele abuten pane 7 reste abuten spunche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375.</td>
<td>Par is blisse abuten treige 7 lif abuten deade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351.</td>
<td>Par is pele bute pane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353.</td>
<td>Par is blisse buten treige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367.</td>
<td>Par is pele abute gane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371.</td>
<td>Par is pele abute grame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373.</td>
<td>Par is blisse abuten trege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365.</td>
<td>Par is bleysse bute teone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *wæne* as given by Hall and the MED.

**(Ω387)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>374.</td>
<td>þe mygen 7 nelle þider cume hit hem mai ofþunche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375.</td>
<td>Par is blisse abuten treige 7 lif abuten deade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352.</td>
<td>se þet mai 7 nelle þider come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358.</td>
<td>þe mei 7 nelle ðider cume. sare hit him sceal of þinche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362.</td>
<td>þe mai 7 nelle þider come. sore it him scalf þinche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366.</td>
<td>hwo my² þider cume and nule. hit schal hým sore of þinche.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *þe* (*pl. in T*) and D has the construction: *dem. pron. se* + *rel. pron. þet* 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. mygen* where it is the sg. *maí/mei/my²* in all of the other MSS. The *v. nelle* (*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/scal/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. int. ofþunche* (*T*), or a variant thereof, except for D where it is *vorþenche.*

**(Ω388)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>376.</td>
<td>Þær is weole bute wone. and reste bute swýnke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378.</td>
<td>Þær is weole bute wone. and reste bute swýnke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382.</td>
<td>Þær is weole bute wone. and reste bute swýnke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383.</td>
<td>Þær is weole bute wone. and reste bute swýnke.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line Ω388 is not present in M.

- J writes the *n. (OE étona) teone* where it is the *n. (OE tregae) treige/treige* in the other MSS: the meaning is similar in both variations.
- J writes the *prep. wiþ vte* where all the other MSS have the *prep. (a)buten.*
The answers are not found. All of the MSS repeat the answers.

Later in the line J, once again, has an altered sg. in all of the other MSS. D then goes on to write the cj. in all 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. 3rd pl. muge/muþen/muþen. D then goes on to write the cj. and the adj. pl. (OE eadig) eade where all the other MSS have the adv. (OE eala) eade. 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.

Line Ω390 is not present in M.

• D repeats the n. (OE ielde) eilde in the second half-line where it is the n. (OE hale) hale/hele in all of the other MSS present in this line.

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. þer + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. nys where all the other MSS begin the line with v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. þer + adv. þarþer.

• Later in the line J, once again, has an altered word-order. J writes the cj. ne + adj. non + n. sor where T and D write the cj. ne + n. sor + adj. non – E1 does not include the adj. non/nan 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. vnhelpe where all the other MSS write the (OE nesþel) unisalde (T) or a variant thereof.
Ω392

| Trinity | 379. | Par me drihte self isien spo se is mid ipisse |
| Digby | 357. | Per me sel drihten isen 1 spo ase he is mid ipisse |
| Eg, 7r-12v | 377. | Per me scal drihte sulf i seon. sp a he is mid ipisse |
| Jesus | 371. | Seolþþe drehton ise. so he is mýð iwisse. |

Line Ω392 is not present in M.
- J begins the line with the adv. seolþþ where it is the adv. barþþer in all the other MSS.
- D and E agree on the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. sel/scal where it is not present in T and J.
- T and E agree on the adv. sel/scal where it is not present in D and J.
- E and J agree on the adv. spo/se 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 maþþ beon and schal. englene and monne blisse. |
| McClean | 326. | Pat he mai 7 pule beo anglene blisse |

- M writes the cj. þat at the beginning of the line where it is not found in the other MSS.
- The adv. 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. sal where T, D and E have the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. mai + cj. T + 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. T 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 þeih ne bed here eien naht alle iliche brihte |
| Digby | 359. | Pah ne bi here eaþen naht | al iliche brihte. |
| Eg, 7r-12v | 379. | And þeih ne beod heore eþe naht. alle iliche brihte |
| McClean | 327. | Ac þeþ ne beoþ ure eþene alle iliche briþte |

Line Ω394 is not present in J.
- M writes the cj. ac where T and E have 7/and: neither reading is present in D.
- D writes the subj. form of the v. pr. 3rd pl. bi where it is the ind. form bed/beod/beop 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/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 ilitary muchel alle of godes lihte
Digby 360. nabbeð hi naht ilitary muchel | alle of godes lihte
Eg, 7r-12v 380. ði nabbed hi nouht ilitary. 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 þe nener noht | alle of one mihte
Eg, 7r-12v 381. On þisse liue hi neren nout. alle of one mihte
McClean 328. Ne in þis pordre nere naȝt alle of one miȝte

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. þorlde in M
- D writes the pron. 1st pl. þe 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 pihте.
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. Par ne sculle naȝt habbe gode al mid one piȝте

Line Ω397 is not present in J.
- T, D and E1 begin the line with the cj. ne where the reading is not present in M.
- M writes the neg. adv. naȝt 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. þi in the first half-line, where it is not present in T and E1 and does not occur in M.
- All of the texts agree on the prep. bi apart from M which writes the prep. mid.

Ω398

Trinity 385. Po sullen more of him isien þe luueden hine more
Digby 363. Po sullen more of him iseen | þet hine luuede more
Eg, 7r-12v 383. Po scullen more of him seon. þe luuede him her more
Jesus 375. Peo schulen of him more isen. þat her him luuede more.
McClean 330. Hi sculle more of him pite þe louede hine more

- M writes the pron. 3rd pl. þi 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.
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 E agree on *icnopen 7 ec ipiten/iscnopen 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/biknopen 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. ison* 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 E agree on the *n. mihte* where J and M have the *n. milce/milce*. The different word choice in this example conveys a very different idea of God’s nature.

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**Ω399**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>386. 7 more icnopen 7 ec piten his mihte 7 his ore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>364. 7 more iopen 7 isien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>384. 7 more icnopen 7 ipiten, his mihte 7 his ore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>374. And more iseon and iwyten. his Milce and his ore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClean</td>
<td>331. 7 biknopen 7 ýseo his milse 7 his ore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Ω400**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>387. On him he sullen vinden al þat man mai to hleste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>365. On him hi sullen vinden al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>385. On him hi scullen vinden al þat man mai to lestn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>375. On him heo scullen fynden. al þat mon maþ luste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 fystau) luste* where all of the other MSS have the *inf. mark. to + hleste/lestn*.

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**Ω401**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>388. On him he sullen ec isien al þat hie ar nesten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby</td>
<td>366. in liue boc hi sullen isien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eg. 7r-12v</td>
<td>386. in halí boc hi sculle iseon. al þat hi her nusten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>376. 7 on lýves boc iseon. al þat heo her nusten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *q. t* 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*; E agrees with this reading but writes the *adv. halí* 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 *adv. 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 E 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.
Line Ω402 is not present in M.
- There is some difference in word-order in the first half-line: T and E agree on v. pr. ind. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. his is not present in the second half-line of J, where it is found in the other MSS.

Line Ω403 is not present in M.
- T begins the line with the rel. pron. þe, where it is the pron. 3rd 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/opre/oper.

Line Ω404 is not present in M.
- J uses the 3rd pl. throughout the line in hi habbeþ and habbeþ where it is sg. he habeþ and haveþ in the other MSS.
- The reading is different in the second half-line of D: T, E and J conclude the line with the adv. alle + pl. n. þing + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. pealdeð (T), or variants thereof, where D writes the adv. alle + pl. n. þing + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. haveþ + prep. on + n. pealde.

Line Ω405 is not present in M.
- The prep. of begins the line in T, D and E but is not present in J.
- J writes the adj. murie + pron. 3rd sg. (inan.) hit + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is where it is the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. his where 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.
- E is a different reading from the other MSS in the second half-line: E writes the adv. pel + pron. 3rd pl. hem + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is + pl. rel. pron. þe + pron. 3rd sg. hine + v. pr. ind. 3rd pl. bi-healded where it is the adv. spo + adj. fair + pron. 3rd sg. he + v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. is + inf. mark. to + v. inf. bihelden (T), or variants thereof. E concentrates, in the second half-line, on the benefits of seeing God whereas the other texts contain a 'description' of him.
Trinity 393. God is so mere 7 so muchel in his godcunnesse
Digby 371. God is so mere 7 so muchel in his godcunnesse
Eg. 7r-12v 391. God is so swete so muchel in his godnesse.
Jesus 381. God is so muchel in his godcunnesse.
McClean 325. God is suo mer 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 *mere*) *mere*.
- J and M agree on the adj. *godnesse* where the other texts have the adj. (OE *godcundnes*) *godcunnesse*.

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Trinity 394. Þat al þat elles pas 7 is is fele perse 7 lasse.
Digby 372. þet al þet he pes 7 is | is vele perse 7 lesse.
Eg. 7r-12v 392. þet al þet is 7 al þat pes is purse. þenne he 7 lesse
Jesus 382. Al þat 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. 5th sg. *pas*/*pes/ wes and pr. ind. 5th 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 þat ... pas 7* is (T), or a variant thereof, where E1 has *al þat is 7 al þat pes*.
- T includes the adv. *elles* before the v. pa. ind. 5th sg. *pas* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.
- D includes the pron. 5th sg. *he* before the v. pa. ind. 5th 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. *þat* before the v. pa. ind. 5th 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. *þenne* + pron. 5th sg. *he* after the v. pr. ind. 5th sg. *is* + adv. *perse* where it is not present in any of the other MSS.

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Trinity 395. Ne mai hit nafre noman oðer seggen mid iƿisse
Digby 373. Ne mai hit no man oðre | siggen mid iƿisse
Eg. 7r-12v 395. Ne mai it neure no man oðer segge mid iƿisse
Jesus 383. Ne maþ nomon hit segge. ne wÝten mÝd iƿisse.

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. *wÝten* in the second half-line, where it is not present in the other MSS.
Ω409

Trinity 396. Hpu mucchele murihðe habbeð þo þe bed in godes blisse
Digby 374. hu mucchele mergþe habbeð þo | þet bied in godes blisse
Eg. 7r-12v 394. hu mucchele murihðe habbet þo, þe beod inne godes blisse
Jesus 384. Hu mucchele Murehþe habbeþ heo. Þat beoþ in heuene blisse.

Line Ω409 is not present in M.
• J writes the pron. 3rd 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 þiderþard | mid aldre ðerþuonnesse

Ω411

Digby 376. 7 vorsen þisne midelard | mid his pouernesse

Ω412

Digby 377. Ef þe vorsied þis lóþe lif | vor heuene blisse

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 bliseþe us bringe god | þet rixleð 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 lestþeþ buten ende.
McClean 332. To þare blisseþe us bringe god þat ricsleþ aþe bute ende

• J writes the v. sbj. pr. 3rd sg. bringe + pron. 1st pl. vs where all of the other MSS have the word-order us bringe.
• J writes the v. pr. ind. 3rd sg. lestþe þe rixleð/r ixlet/ricsleþ.
• M includes the adv. aþe 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 vnbihti of lichamliche bende.
Eg. 7r-12v 396. Þenne he vre soule vnbint. of licames bende
Jesus 386. Þwenne he vre soule vn bind. of licamliche bende.
McClean 333. Phane 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.
The word-order is the same in T, D and E, 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 letan) lete and M the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. (OE liefan) leue where it is the v. pr. sbj. 3rd sg. iue/ieue/ẏue in all of the other MSS.

T and E 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.

J and M agree on the prep. to + pron. 3rd sg. him where the other MSS have the adv. þider/þuder.

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.

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:


**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⟩ (*bora*) and its variant ⟨þ⟩ (*eth*)

The runic letter ⟨þ⟩ (*bora*) and ⟨þ⟩ (*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⟩ (⟨þ⟩) 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–Ω5, Ω101–Ω105, Ω201–Ω205, Ω301–Ω305 and Ω401–Ω405):

§ 2.1 Examples from T:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ω1–Ω5</td>
<td>ban (Ω1, Ω2), beih (Ω4), pinched (Ω5) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω101–Ω105</td>
<td>bat (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), bare (Ω102), pes (Ω103), beih (Ω105) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω201–Ω205</td>
<td>bat (Ω201), bis (Ω202), burh (Ω202) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω301–Ω305</td>
<td>do (Ω302), pes (Ω302 and Ω304), bar (Ω302), bat (Ω303 and Ω305 x2) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω401–Ω405</td>
<td>bat (Ω401), ban (Ω403), ping/pinges (Ω403 and Ω404), pes (Ω404 x2) etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 2.2 Examples from L:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ω1–Ω5</td>
<td>bene (Ω1 and Ω2), bah (Ω4), ping (Ω5) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω101–Ω105</td>
<td>bet (Ω101, Ω102 and Ω104), bere (Ω102), ber (Ω103), bach (Ω105) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω201–Ω205</td>
<td>bet (Ω201), bis (Ω202), burh (Ω202), pes (Ω202) etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 2.3 Examples from D:

Lines \( \Omega 1-\Omega 5 \): \( \text{banne} (\Omega 1 \text{ and } \Omega 2), \text{begh} (\Omega 4), \text{bingh} (\Omega 5) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 101-\Omega 105 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 101, \Omega 102 \text{ and } \Omega 104), \text{bere} (\Omega 102), \text{be} (\Omega 105) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 201-\Omega 205 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 201), \text{bis} (\Omega 202), \text{burh} (\Omega 202), \text{be} (\Omega 202) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 301-\Omega 305 \): \( \text{bo} (\Omega 302 \text{ and } \Omega 304), \text{bet} (\Omega 302, \Omega 303 \text{ and } \Omega 305^{2}), \text{ber} (\Omega 302) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 401-\Omega 405 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 401 \text{ and } \Omega 404^{2}), \text{banne} (\Omega 403), \text{bing} /\text{inges} (\Omega 403 \text{ and } \Omega 404) \) etc.

§ 2.4 Examples from E2:

Lines \( \Omega 1-\Omega 5 \): \( \text{ben} (\Omega 1), \text{banne} (\Omega 2), \text{beh} (\Omega 4), \text{bingd} (\Omega 5) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 101-\Omega 105 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 101, \Omega 102 \text{ and } \Omega 104), \text{bere} (\Omega 102), \text{be} (\Omega 105) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 201-\Omega 205 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 201), \text{bis} (\Omega 202), \text{be} (\Omega 202) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 301-\Omega 305 \): \( \text{bo} (\Omega 302 \text{ and } \Omega 304), \text{be} (\Omega 302), \text{bere} (\Omega 302), \text{bet} (\Omega 303 \text{ and } \Omega 305), \text{be} (\Omega 305) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 401-\Omega 405 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 401), \text{banne} (\Omega 403), \text{bing} /\text{inges} (\Omega 403 \text{ and } \Omega 404), \text{be} (\Omega 404^{2} \text{ and } \Omega 405) \) etc.

§ 2.5 Examples from E1:

Lines \( \Omega 1-\Omega 5 \): \( \text{benne} (\Omega 1), \text{banne} (\Omega 2), \text{bech} (\Omega 4), \text{bingh} (\Omega 5) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 101-\Omega 105 \): \( \text{bet} (\Omega 101), \text{bat} (\Omega 102, \Omega 104), \text{bere} (\Omega 102), \text{be} (\Omega 103), \text{bei} (\Omega 105) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 201-\Omega 205 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 201), \text{bis} (\Omega 202), \text{burh} (\Omega 202), \text{be} (\Omega 202) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 301-\Omega 305 \): \( \text{bo} (\Omega 302 \text{ and } \Omega 304), \text{be} (\Omega 302), \text{bere} (\Omega 302), \text{bat} (\Omega 303 \text{ and } \Omega 305), \text{be} (\Omega 305) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 401-\Omega 405 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 401), \text{banne} (\Omega 403), \text{bing} /\text{inges} (\Omega 403 \text{ and } \Omega 404), \text{be} (\Omega 404^{2} \text{ and } \Omega 405) \) etc.

§ 2.6 Examples from J:

Lines \( \Omega 1-\Omega 5 \): \( \text{ban} (\Omega 1 \text{ and } \Omega 2), \text{bah} (\Omega 4), \text{pinkh} (\Omega 5) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 101-\Omega 105 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 101, \Omega 102 \text{ and } \Omega 104), \text{bere} (\Omega 102), \text{be} (\Omega 103), \text{bah} (\Omega 105) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 201-\Omega 205 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 201), \text{bis} (\Omega 202), \text{burh} (\Omega 202), \text{be} (\Omega 202) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 301-\Omega 305 \): \( \text{bo} (\Omega 302 \text{ and } \Omega 304), \text{be} (\Omega 302), \text{bere} (\Omega 302), \text{bat} (\Omega 303 \text{ and } \Omega 305) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 401-\Omega 405 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 401, \Omega 404^{2}), \text{ban} (\Omega 403), \text{bing} /\text{inges} (\Omega 403 \text{ and } \Omega 404) \) etc.

§ 2.7 Examples from M:

Lines \( \Omega 1-\Omega 5 \): \( \text{banne} (\Omega 1), \text{ban} (\Omega 2), \text{be} (\Omega 2), \text{bes} (\Omega 4), \text{bingh} (\Omega 5) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 101-\Omega 105 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 101, \Omega 102 \text{ and } \Omega 104), \text{bare} (\Omega 102), \text{be} (\Omega 103), \text{bes} (\Omega 105) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 201-\Omega 205 \): \( \text{bat} (\Omega 201), \text{be} (\Omega 201), \text{bis} (\Omega 202), \text{burh} (\Omega 202), \text{bes} (\Omega 202) \) etc.

Lines \( \Omega 301-\Omega 305 \): \( \text{ban} (\Omega 302^{2}), \text{bat} (\Omega 302 \text{ and } \Omega 305^{2}) \) etc.
§ 3.  **Writing of <b> in initial position**

The writing of <b> 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:

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§ 3.1 In E2 <b> frequently occurs in initial position (all occurrences noted):
\[\text{an} (\Omega 230 \text{ and } \Omega 251), \text{de} (\Omega 31, \Omega 40, \Omega 45^2 \text{ etc.}), \text{der} (\Omega 44, \Omega 55, \Omega 96 \text{ etc.}), \text{derf} (\Omega 44), \text{dere} (\Omega 51 \text{ and } \Omega 235), \text{denche} (\Omega 63 \text{ and } \Omega 387), \text{dan} (\Omega 72 \text{ and } \Omega 375^2), \text{denne} (\Omega 275 \text{ and } \Omega 335), \text{denchet} (\Omega 80), \text{ding} (\Omega 86), \text{durh} (\Omega 92, \Omega 202 \text{ and } \Omega 207), \text{danc} (\Omega 92), \text{da} (\Omega 95, \Omega 182, \Omega 227 \text{ etc.}), \text{dis} (\Omega 121, \Omega 163, \Omega 207 \text{ etc.}), \text{enne} (\Omega 123, \Omega 130, \Omega 181 \text{ and } \Omega 224), \text{denchet} (\Omega 137), \text{dridd} (\Omega 145), \text{danne} (\Omega 148), \text{dearf} (\Omega 172), \text{deh} (\Omega 190 \text{ and } \Omega 233), \text{dolie} (\Omega 191), \text{dreles} (\Omega 196), \text{denche} (\Omega 199 \text{ and } \Omega 345), \text{dolied} (\Omega 213), \text{des} (\Omega 223 \text{ and } \Omega 267), \text{durst} (\Omega 240 \text{ and } \Omega 338), \text{den} (\Omega 260), \text{denche} (\Omega 265), \text{ding} (\Omega 277), \text{det} (\Omega 280), \text{den} (\Omega 284), \text{dusternes} (\Omega 292), \text{dene} (\Omega 293, \Omega 353 \text{ and } \Omega 355^2), \text{durh} (\Omega 297 \text{ and } \Omega 360), \text{dass} (\Omega 314, \Omega 325 \text{ and } \Omega 371), \text{disse} (\Omega 323), \text{dinge} (\Omega 331), \text{denchoed} (\Omega 339), \text{deos} (\Omega 346), \text{disses} (\Omega 350), \text{durh} (\Omega 360), \text{deape} (\Omega 362), \text{das} (\Omega 364), \text{dinoed} (\Omega 368), \text{deh} (\Omega 373) \text{ and } \text{dinche} (\Omega 387).\]

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§ 3.2 In E1 <b> is occasionally used in initial position (all occurrences noted):
\[\text{an} (\Omega 72), \text{denne} (\Omega 75), \text{de} (\Omega 75, \Omega 90, \Omega 226 \text{ etc.}), \text{dis} (121), \text{des} (\Omega 223), \text{deh} (\Omega 233), \text{dinchet} (\Omega 246), \text{den} (\Omega 284), \text{dere} (\Omega 359), \text{durh} (\Omega 360), \text{da} (\Omega 362), \text{deape} (\Omega 362), \text{dos} (\Omega 371) \text{ and } \text{deh} (\Omega 373 \text{ and } \Omega 394).\]

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§ 3.3 In the remaining MSS the occurrences of <b> in initial position are infrequent and are as follows (all occurrences noted):
\[\text{T: der} (\Omega 223); \text{L: de} (\Omega 70); \text{D: darf} (\Omega 44); \text{M: darf} (\Omega 44); \text{in J there are no instances of <b> in initial position.}\]

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§ 4.  **The writing of <b> and <f> in medial and final position**

In medial and final position <b> is interchangeable with <f> 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 of [s]inced (T: \Omega 110) the <b> is said to be in medial position rather than initial as there is no division within the compound. However, in of [s]unche (T: \Omega 137), where there is division between the words, the <f> is said to be in initial position.

When a MS has a dominant reading, eg. mostly writes <b> 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  in both medial and final position:

Medial position: bideneh (Ω6), cuđe (Ω9), seden (Ω9), ofđinkeđ (Ω10), nuđe (Ω10), iselde (Ω16), unhalde (Ω17), oder (Ω26, Ω31, Ω94 and Ω96), bideneched (Ω34), lođe (Ω45), tilde (Ω58), eider (Ω63), bođe (Ω63 and Ω67), edlate (Ω75), erđe (Ω76 and Ω83), bineđen (Ω89) etc.

Final position: binched (Ω5), ofđinkeđ (Ω10), misliceđ (Ω13), bispikeđ (Ω14), bed (Ω20), stondeđ (Ω21), bed (Ω24 and Ω33), bideneched (Ω34), pilled (Ω35), dođ (Ω36, Ω54, Ω57, Ω61, Ω62, Ω84 and Ω90), habbeđ (Ω37), bihođed (Ω39), forgieted (Ω39), haudeđ (Ω41), pened (Ω42), deđ (Ω43), sended (Ω47), beređ (Ω47), habbed (Ω52), giueđ (Ω59), haudeđ (Ω66 and Ω67), giueđ (Ω72), cumeđ (Ω74), sihđe (Ω76), bed (Ω76), bed (Ω76), penched (Ω80), dođ (Ω80), Bođe (Ω82), giemede (Ω82), madeđ (Ω85), paledđ (Ω86), hered (Ω91), sihđe (Ω92), purh-sihđe (Ω92) breked (Ω93), gulted (Ω93), bed (Ω96), pilled (Ω100) etc.

However,  is written in medial position in biçohte (Ω8), ober (Ω68), ofšinched (Ω173), bepe (Ω226 and Ω325)604, bidenechen (Ω340), ofšunce (Ω387) and is written finally in dep (Ω22).

§ 4.2 L mostly writes  in medial position:
iqueđen (Ω29), sóđen (Ω29), kuđe (Ω29), nuđe (Ω10),oders (Ω31), lađe (Ω62), eider (Ω63), oder (Ω68, Ω94 and Ω96), edlete (Ω75), orđe (Ω83) etc.

However, is written in medial position (often before final –e) in iselbe (Ω16), un-helbe (Ω17), tilbe (Ω58), bađe (Ω63 and Ω67), horbe (Ω76), binoben (Ω89), nabing (Ω101), depe (Ω111), ober (Ω138), mure (Ω163), ebe (Ω166), bođe (Ω175), strengbe (Ω177), dealbe (Ω191), nibinges (Ω241), hpeđer (Ω249) and balbien (Ω258) and lađe (Ω283).

L mostly writes  in final position:
mišleked (Ω13), fulleđ (Ω14), bispikeđ (Ω14), bed (Ω20), stondeđ (Ω21), dođ (Ω22 and Ω54), sended (Ω28), bed (Ω29), deđ (Ω36, Ω43, Ω84 and Ω90), habbed (Ω37), bihođed (Ω39), forgieted (Ω39), haudeđ (Ω41 and Ω71), pened (Ω42), lađe (Ω45), beređ (Ω47), dođ (Ω59, Ω62 and Ω80), mid (Ω68), giueđ (Ω72), cumeđ (Ω77), bed (Ω76, Ω77 and Ω78), penked (Ω80), paldeđ (Ω86), herđ (Ω91), brokeđ (Ω93), gulted (Ω93), pilled (Ω100) etc.

However, is written in final position in biŋb (Ω5), dep (Ω57), doj (Ω61), haueb (Ω67), biseb (Ω117), biddebj (Ω132), binched (Ω137), binebj (Ω173), saimebj (Ω174), habbebj (Ω175), efb (Ω180), bob (Ω182), brekebj (Ω189), dep (Ω191, Ω202, Ω228, Ω249 and Ω253), bab (Ω229: bađ in the same line) and dep (Ω330).

604 Note that this is more often written separately as in bepe (Ω26).
§ 4.3 In D <p> and <p> occur in medial position a comparable amount of times:
The letter <p> is written in bilベンケ (Ω46), bilپوگت (Ω88), offペンケ (Ω10), oپر (Ω26), bilペンケ (Ω34), sleuپه (Ω38), loپه (Ω45), oپر (Ω68), noپينگ (Ω79), bineپه (Ω89) etc.

However, <p> is found (often before final –e) in childe (Ω7), iueده (Ω9), cuده (Ω9), nude (Ω10), iselده (Ω16), unhelده (Ω17), tilده (Ω58), loده (Ω62), bored (Ω65), erده (Ω76 and Ω83), edله (Ω75), oدر (Ω94) etc.

In final position D always writes <p>:
offペンケ (Ω10), misliپه (Ω13), vieكه (Ω14), bispiken (Ω14), biپ (Ω20), stoned (Ω21), doپ (Ω21, Ω22), bied (Ω24, Ω33, Ω77 and Ω78), bilペンケ (Ω34), pilled (Ω35), deپ (Ω36, Ω43, Ω54, Ω57, Ω62 and Ω90), habed (Ω37), bihoteپ (Ω39), hauپ (Ω41, Ω66, Ω71), weneپ (Ω42), seneپ (Ω47), bereپ (Ω47), hogeپ (Ω52), doپ (Ω59, Ω61 and Ω80), giefد (Ω72), cumد (Ω74), ouersipeپ (Ω76), bied (Ω76), penyو (Ω80), deپ (Ω84), piteپ (Ω86), pialدپ (Ω86), ihurپ (Ω91), buپسپ (Ω92), breپ (Ω93), gelپ (Ω93), wilپ (Ω100) etc.

§4.4 E2 has mostly <p> in both medial and final position:

Medial position: iوپن (Ω9), sپدپن (Ω9), oپر (Ω26, 86, Ω94 and Ω96), oپرس (Ω31), laپ (Ω45 and Ω62), tiو (Ω58), baپ (Ω63 and Ω67), edله (Ω75), eورد (Ω76 and Ω83), biپنپن (Ω89), eپدر (Ω90) etc.

Final position: هپنپ (Ω5), bispiken (Ω14), بعپ (Ω24), biپنپد (Ω34), pulپ (Ω35), deپ (Ω36), habed (Ω37), biپهتپ (Ω39), hauپ (Ω41), penپ (Ω42), deپ (Ω43, Ω54, Ω47, Ω80 and Ω90), bereپ (Ω47), doپ (Ω59 and Ω61), hauپ (Ω66 and Ω71), هپ (Ω67), cumپ (Ω74), ouersipنپ (Ω76), بودپ (Ω76), بپ (Ω77, Ω78, ), deپ (Ω84), peپلپ (Ω86), ihurپ (Ω91), دمپنپ (Ω92), breپ (Ω93), pulپ (Ω100) etc.

However, <p> is found in medial position in ناپينگ (Ω101), cuپه (Ω9), nپه (Ω10), يپسلپ (Ω16) and unhelپه (Ω17) and in final position in مپنگ (Ω14), بوپ (Ω20), دپ (Ω22) and نپ (Ω140).
§ 4.5  E1 has ⟨φ⟩ more often in medial position (often before final -e):
iquepen (Ω9), cupe (Ω9), nupe (Ω10), y-selpe (Ω16), un-helpe (Ω17), ope (Ω26, Ω31, Ω68, Ω94 and Ω96), obpe (Ω45), bope (Ω67), erpe (Ω76), herpe (Ω83), bi-nepen (Ω89), ope (Ω94, Ω96) etc.

However, it is ⟨α⟩ in syden (Ω9), lađe (Ω62), bađe (Ω63), eclete (Ω75), eider (Ω90), hpeder (Ω136), suđe (Ω216) and ladliche (Ω294).

In final position it is mostly ⟨α⟩ (see also note § 7.4 ⟨α⟩ written for ⟨α⟩ in E1):
biske (Ω14), buđ (Ω24), sended (Ω47), dođ (Ω61), haude (Ω66, Ω67, Ω71), comed (Ω74), ouer-sihđe (Ω76), bedh (Ω76), ḟurd-sihđe (Ω92), brekeđ (Ω93) etc.

However, it is ⟨φ⟩ in folgę (Ω14), beop (Ω20), depb (Ω22 and Ω36) and be-ßen (Ω34).

§ 4.6  The graph ⟨α⟩ does not occur at all in J and only on three occasions in M and always in final position: płeđ (Ω35), peneđ (Ω42) and habbed (Ω184). The letter ⟨α⟩ does not occur in the list of Runic/Old English letters at the beginning of the text of M, where ⟨φ⟩ does; this is unlikely to be because ⟨α⟩ was more familiar to this audience than ⟨φ⟩ but rather because of the infrequency of the occurrences in M.

§ 5  ⟨θ⟩ written for ⟨φ⟩/⟨α⟩

There are very few occasions where ⟨θ⟩ is written for ⟨φ⟩/⟨α⟩: all of the texts write ⟨θ⟩ medially in sathanas (Ω298); T writes ⟨θ⟩ initially in thurh (Ω42), medially in lothe (Ω62) and methes (Ω379); L writes ⟨θ⟩ in finishing position in pith (Ω227) and medially in lathed (Ω133), where it represents ⟨t⟩ (from OE lætan rather than OE læcan); D, E2 and E1 have no occurrences of ⟨θ⟩ for ⟨φ⟩/⟨α⟩ other than the one shared by all manuscripts at Ω298; J writes ⟨θ⟩ for medial ⟨t⟩ in euethen and M has ⟨θ⟩ in final position in repeth (Ω10).

Remark: it is perhaps unsuprising that all texts share ⟨θ⟩ in sathanas which is from Latin satan but also OF sathanas.
§ 6  \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is written as \( <h> \)

D and E1 write \( <h> \) for \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) on two occasions:

§ 6.1 In D it is found in \( \text{pinch} (\Omega 5) \) and \( \text{purh} (\Omega 149) \); contracted form of the OE \text{verb weorpan}.

§ 6.2 In E1 it is present in \( \text{pinh} (\Omega 5) \), \( \text{hafh} (\Omega 150) \).

§ 6.3 Conversely, in L \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is written where \( <h> \) might normally be expected in \( \text{purh} (\Omega 92) \) and in E1 \( \check{\phi} \) is written where \( <h> \) might normally be expected in \( \text{purh} (\Omega 92) \). According to the OED, \( '\text{final } \check{\phi}/\phi \) is frequently a scribal error for \( 'h \). However, it is also possible that it should be read as \( '/\theta/ \) and that this is a genuine variant form of this word.

§ 7  \( <d> \) written for \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \)

§ 7.1 In T \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is written as \( <d> \) in \( \text{folged} (\Omega 14) \), \( \text{huaed} (\Omega 71 \text{ and } \Omega 139) \), \( \text{bed} (\Omega 109) \) and \( \text{ileued} (\Omega 183) \).

§ 7.2 In L \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is rarely written as \( <d> \) in: \( \text{cud} (\Omega 168) \), \( \text{uneade} (\Omega 190) \) and \( \text{bernd} (\Omega 260) \).

§ 7.3 In D \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is written as \( <d> \) in \( \text{darf} (\Omega 44) \), \( \text{aider} (\Omega 63, \Omega 121 \text{ and } \Omega 317) \), \( \text{vnnede} (\Omega 190) \), \( \text{ded} (\Omega 191) \), \( \text{deade} (\Omega 191) \), \( \text{dead} (\Omega 213) \) and \( \text{ead} (\Omega 389) \).

§ 7.4 In E1 \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is written frequently as \( <d> \) in \( \text{mys liked} (\Omega 13) \), \( \text{bi hoted} (\Omega 39) \), \( \text{huaed} (\Omega 41, \Omega 122, \Omega 180, \Omega 181, \Omega 325, \Omega 352, \Omega 370 \text{ and } \Omega 404) \), \( \text{pened} (\Omega 42) \), \( \text{ded} (\Omega 43, \Omega 84, \Omega 129, \Omega 132 \text{ and } \Omega 249) \), \( \text{giued} (\Omega 72) \), \( \text{bud} (\Omega 77) \), \( \text{i hurd} (\Omega 91) \), \( \text{bed} (\Omega 96) \), \( \text{pulled} (\Omega 100 \text{ and } \Omega 237) \), \( \text{beod} (\Omega 109^{27} \text{ and } \Omega 409) \), \( \text{demed} (\Omega 124) \), \( \text{bued} (\Omega 125) \), \( \text{ieted} (\Omega 133) \), \( \text{naued} (\Omega 139) \), \( \text{seid} (\Omega 140) \), \( \text{i-bughed} (\Omega 153) \), \( \text{pid} (\Omega 161, \Omega 185, \Omega 319, \Omega 336 \text{ (x3), } \Omega 337^{x2}, \Omega 351 \text{ and } \Omega 362) \), \( \text{cud} (\Omega 168) \), \( \text{pinched} (\Omega 173) \), \( \text{beted} (\Omega 173) \), \( \text{ileued} (\Omega 183) \), \( \text{habbed} (\Omega 184, \Omega 247 \text{ and } \Omega 374) \), \( \text{ford} (\Omega 185) \), \( \text{died} (\Omega 213) \), \( \text{leded} (\Omega 220) \), \( \text{polied} (\Omega 241) \), \( \text{fared} (\Omega 245) \), \( \text{beod} (\Omega 246 \text{ and } \Omega 254) \), \( \text{palked} (\Omega 250 \text{ and } \Omega 253) \), \( \text{seched} (\Omega 252) \), \( \text{tered} (\Omega 289) \), \( \text{bued} (\Omega 302) \), \( \text{bud} (\Omega 309 \text{ and } \Omega 310) \), \( \text{hanged} (\Omega 323) \), \( \text{erued} (\Omega 326) \), \( \text{pilned} (\Omega 330) \), \( \text{giued} (\Omega 347) \), \( \text{lod} (\Omega 357) \), \( \text{foleped} (\Omega 358) \), \( \text{punied} (\Omega 385) \), \( \text{nabbed} (\Omega 394) \) and \( \text{pealed} (\Omega 404) \).

§ 7.5 In M \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is only written twice as \( <d> \) in \( \text{darf} (\Omega 44) \) and \( \text{lodliche} (\Omega 294) \).

§ 7.6 In E2 \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) is only written once as \( <d> \) in \( \text{lodliche} (\Omega 294) \) and in J in \( \text{lodliche} (\Omega 294) \).

§ 7.7 Conversely, the L text, mistakenly, writes \( <\phi>/\check{\phi} \) for \( <d> \) in \( \text{hef} (\Omega 157) \).
§ 8  \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) written as \( \phi \phi \)

Most of the following are examples where the scribe is spelling the dental fricative [\( \partial \)] or [\( \theta \)] 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 \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) is, on rare occasions, written as \( \phi \phi \) in *pinchet* (Ω10), *hauet* (Ω66), *seit* (Ω140), *et lete* (Ω157, Ω162 and Ω270) and *punchet* (Ω246) and in *atteme* (Ω132) which demonstrates an assimilation of \( \phi \phi \) (compare with *bare* (D) and see § 8).

§ 8.2 In E2 \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) is, occasionally, written as \( \phi \phi \) in *pinchet* (Ω10), *mis lichet* (Ω13), *forgyet* (Ω239), *sendet* (Ω247), *giuet* (Ω72), *denchet* (Ω80), *gultet* (Ω293), *habbet* (Ω104, Ω148, Ω175 and Ω201), *denchet* (Ω137), *scamet* (Ω174), *gramet* (Ω174), *hauet* (Ω180), *abigget* (Ω204), *nabbet* (Ω248), *ligget* (Ω294), *hanget* (Ω323) and *mid te* (Ω366) which demonstrates an assimilation of \( \phi \phi \) (see § 8).

§ 8.3 In E1 \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) is, frequently, written as \( \phi \phi \) in *pinchet* (Ω10 and Ω137), *det* (Ω21 and Ω54), *pillet* (Ω35), *habbet* (Ω37, Ω201 and Ω374), *forgyet* (Ω39), *habbet* (Ω52, Ω104, Ω148, Ω175 and Ω201), *dot* (Ω59); *bet* (Ω78), *deht* (Ω80), *denchet* (Ω80 and Ω339), *gultet* (Ω93), *nabbet* (Ω101), *pillet* (Ω102), *seit* (Ω117), *suit* (Ω122), *iluet* (Ω136), *punet* (Ω143), *bloupet* (Ω143), *scamet* (Ω174), *gramet* (Ω174), *abigget* (Ω204), *libbet* (Ω215), *piht* (Ω231), *pit* (Ω237), *vunderstondet* (Ω238), *pinchet* (Ω246), *nabbet* (Ω248), *sechet* (Ω250), *nihtfulle* (Ω289), *ligget* (Ω294) and *rixlet* (Ω414).

§ 8.4 In J \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) is written as \( \phi \phi \) only once in 7 te (Ω62) which demonstrates an assimilation of \( \phi \phi \) (see § 8). There are no occurrences of \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) written as \( \phi \phi \) in T, D and M.

§ 9.1 In L \( \phi \phi / \phi \phi \) has been replaced by \( \phi \phi \) in *eclete* (Ω75); this is probably a scribal error, and is lost/replaced by \( \phi \phi \) in *ouer sich* (Ω76).

§ 10  *Simplification of the double fricative [\( \partial \partial \)]*

§ 10.1 In T [\( \partial \partial \)] is simplified in *sečen* (Ω9, Ω122 and Ω216).

§ 10.2 In D [\( \partial \partial \)] is simplified in *silpen* (Ω9), *seče* (Ω122 and Ω216).

§ 10.3 In E1 [\( \partial \partial \)] is simplified in *syčen* (Ω122).
§ 11  The runic letter <ƿ> (wynn)

§ 11.1 From the twelfth century on the runic letter <ƿ> (wynn) is replaced by continental <w> ('double-you'). (Jordan §16) All of the manuscripts of the CL retain OE <ƿ> 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 <ƿ> in mowe (Ω30), Owen (Ω31), wif (Ω32), were (Ω32²), wiue (Ω32), drawn (Ω48 and Ω50), meward (Ω238), wel (Ω348) and sowle (Ω415).

§ 11.3 L writes <w> for <ƿ> once only in swicen (Ω108).

§ 11.4 D writes <w> for <ƿ> in wit (Ω2), hwile (Ω41), iwisse (Ω41), weneð (Ω42) wolde (Ω50), wealde (Ω56), workes (Ω65), swo (Ω68), wilde (Ω100), wrecche (Ω179), hwere (Ω342), hwet (Ω343) and we (Ω343).

§ 11.5 E2 does not write <w> for <ƿ> at any point in the text.

§ 11.6 E1 writes <w> for <ƿ> only once in wilde (Ω152).

§ 11.7 M writes <w> for <ƿ> in yswinche (Ω37), we (Ω170) and wode (Ω360).

§ 11.8 J writes <wv> for <ƿ> in Vive (Ω170, Ω330 and Ω340).

§ 12  The Old English ligature æe

§ 12.1 The Old English ligature æe is regularly found in E2: æem (Ω1), pælde (Ω2), iæed (Ω5), æer (Ω13, Ω18, Ω23 and Ω129), æerpe (Ω20), aeie (Ω21), scael (Ω22), Ææmne (Ω23), æech (Ω28), æefter (Ω29, Ω124), mein (Ω30), æuelich (Ω33), Ææref (Ω46), æider (Ω65), æefter (Ω65), æaniman (Ω69), æeure (Ω69, Ω288, Ω209, Ω258 and Ω292), æt (Ω94, Ω165, Ω129 and Ω132), næure (Ω99), þæere (Ω102), læeden (Ω128), æl (Ω145), eælle (Ω182), æeldene (Ω201), baæ (Ω229), æeches (Ω233), læde (Ω287), pære (Ω306), œc (Ω315), ræt (Ω322), æhte (Ω332), ælmes (Ω351), nærepne (Ω355), forlæte (Ω357), nærepeï (Ω361), æche (Ω362), æefter (Ω373), græi (Ω378) and æelches (Ω384).

§ 12.2 The Old English ligature æe is occasionally found in E1: æem (Ω1), Ææmne (Ω1), þæes (Ω1), þæelde (Ω2), æer (Ω13), scael (Ω22), sael (Ω27), æfrech (Ω33), þææmnden (Ω35) and æidí (Ω238).

§ 12.3 The Old English ligature æe is rarely found in T: mæi (Ω30), ængles (Ω96), ænes (Ω192), middenaer (Ω202), læte (Ω357) and sæd (Ω405).

§ 12.4 The Old English ligature æe is not present in any of the other four manuscript versions (L, D, J and M).
§ 13  **Tironian nota </>**

§ 13.1 All of the texts continue to use the Tironian nota </> more regularly and write and infrequently, except for J which mostly writes and (122 times) with the nota </> 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, Ω47², 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 </>.

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§ 14  **Old English <ζ> (yogh)**

§ 14.1 The Old English letter <ζ> (yogh) is retained in all texts, in varying degrees, apart from J where the letter form is is not present at all. In the remaining texts, insular <ζ>/<.uniform/> is found alongside Caroline g. OE <ζ> continued to be used, in most of the texts, as a velar and palatal spirant; whereas, Caroline g replaced <ζ> as a stop. This will be discussed in more detail in section (§ 42)
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/kyng/kinges/kynges (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81, Ω227 and Ω335: from OE cyning) 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. cuðen, from the OE cyðan, where all of the other MSS have <c> in cuðen/cuðe/cuþe.
J writes <k> in the verb pp. ikud (Ω168), from the OE cyðan (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. 3rd sg. cuþe. 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 (mane)cunne/(mane)cunne (Ω318 and Ω352), from OE cyuþ, where it is written <k> in all other MSS in variations of (mane)kunne/(mon)kunne/(mon)kinne/(man)kunne (Ω318 and Ω352).

§ 16.4  The use of <k> for c in OE cyuþ is more regular with T, D, J and M agreeing on the initial letter in the sg. noun kunne/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 cunnnes (this reading, at Ω376, is not present in L); in addition to this, M has kennes (Ω86) and J has kunnesmen (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/konýng (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 ⟨c⟩ do not support the normal contention that ⟨c⟩ 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. 3rd 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. 3rd 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 kunne, 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/cule in all of the remaining texts.

§ 17.4 L writes ⟨k⟩ in initial position in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. kume (Ω74), where it is cumeð /cumeð/cumeð/cumeð/cumeð 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. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202, Ω207: all texts present agree on ⟨c⟩); the verb subj. 3rd pl. come (Ω129: all texts agree on ⟨c⟩; the form of the verb is not subj. in T cumeð); the verb pa. 3rd 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 3rd 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/come/comen (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 3rd 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. knau/knoƿa/knowe (M has the alternative reading his porkes) where T, E2 and E1 have cnoƿa/cnaƿa/cƿoƿe and in line Ω142 (i)knoƿa (the L text has an alternative reading: scaƿe) where T, E2 and E1 have cnoƿa/(i)cnaƿa/(i)cƿoƿe (the reading in E1 is a probable mistake for icnoƿa).

§ 18.2 Line Ω170 for the verb inf. is (i)knaƿa/(i)knapen/(i)knoƿe/(i)knoƿe where T, E2 and E1 have (i)cnoƿen/(i)cnaƿe and line Ω399 where D writes (i)knoƿen, M (bi)knoƿe, whilst T and E1 have icnoƿen/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)clepian (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 ijesus, 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 emchristene (men) (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. 3rd pl. queþÞþ* (Ω80), which only occurs in M, and the *verb pp. iqueþþ* (Ω9: T, J and M have a different reading).

§ 20.2 The *noun quike/quyke/quica/quikeþþ* (Ω80, Ω199), where all texts agree.

§ 20.3 The *verb inf. (i)queme/iquemen/yqueme* (Ω98), the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. iquemeþþ* (Ω284: J only), the *verb pa 3rd pl. iquemde* (Ω284:T, L, E2, E1 and M), and the *verb pp. iquem/iquemed* (Ω181: not present in L and M). However, at line Ω98 and Ω181 E2 writes the OE form <cþþ> in cþþman and icþþmed and at Ω284 D writes <k> in ikuþþme.

§ 20.4 The *verb inf. quenche/qurenchen/aquench* (Ω159: not present in E2 and M; Ω261 and Ω262). However, at Ω261 D writes <k> in kuþþche but reverts to <qu> in quenchen at Ω262; E2 writes OE <cþþ> in cþþen in both Ω261 and Ω262.

§ 20.5 The *noun aquerne* (Ω379 in T and E2) but it is written <cþþ> in ocþþerne/acþþerne (E1 and J) and <k> in okerne (M).

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§ 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:

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§ 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. 3rd sg. liked* (Ω13); the adj. (sg. and pl.) siker* (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the noun pl. perkes* (Ω64, Ω65, Ω73, etc.); the noun ifanke* (Ω70); the noun pl. manke* (Ω71); the adj. pl. quike* (Ω80); the *verb pp. biloken* (Ω83); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. maked* (Ω85); the *verb pr. ind. 1st pl. brekoð* (Ω93, cf. brecó §22.1); the pron. ilke* (Ω223); the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. palkeð* (Ω250 and Ω253); the adj. pl. spikele* (Ω264); the *noun drukene* (Ω266 and Ω271); the *verb pa. 3rd pl. spunken* (Ω267); the *noun pl. snañen* (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. 3rd sg. ofþþinkeð* (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.

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670
§ 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. misleke(Ω13); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bispikè(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 bonke (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. broke(Ω93) and the verb pr. 3rd sg. breke(Ω189); the noun spinke (Ω215, for <> 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 (Ω241); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. palke(Ω250 and Ω253); the noun banke (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. bonke (Ω199) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. bonke(benko) (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. hplike (Ω137), where palatal c/tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.2.

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§ 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. speke(Ω289); the noun porke (Ω11); the verb pa. 3rd sg. likede (Ω13); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. misleke(Ω13); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bispikè(Ω14); the adj(sg. and pl.) siker/sikere (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the noun pl. perkes/porke/workes (Ω64, Ω65, Ω73, etc.); the noun bonke (Ω70); the noun pl. monke (Ω71); the pl. adj. quike (Ω80 and Ω199); the verb pp. biloken (Ω83); the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. breke(Ω93) and the verb pr. 3rd sg. breke(Ω189); the adj. spikele (Ω108) and pl. spikele (Ω264); the verb inf. drinke (Ω151); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. palke(Ω250 and Ω253); the noun bonke (Ω254); the noun drunke (Ω266 and Ω271); the verb pa. 3rd pl. spunke (Ω267); the noun pl. snaken (Ω288); the noun pl. raketeg(Ω294); the noun marke (Ω311) and the verb pa. 1st pl. spngke (Ω332) (where <g> is also written).

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§ 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 subj. 3rd pl. speke (Ω289); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-spikè(Ω14); the adj(sg. and pl.) siker/sikere (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the noun pl. pearkes (Ω64 and Ω73); the noun ipanke (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. breke(Ω93); the pl. noun spinke(n) (Ω108); the verb pp. idrunkeme (Ω151); the pron. ilke (Ω223); the noun boke (Ω235); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. palke(Ω250 and Ω253); the noun banke (Ω254); the noun drunke(n) (Ω266 and Ω271); the noun pl. snaken (Ω288); the noun pl. raketeg(Ω294) and the noun marke (Ω311).
§ 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 <-e> 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. 3rd pl. spekē (Ω289) and the verb pp. ispekē (Ω9); the noun sg. and pl. werke (Ω11 and Ω267 cf. § 24.1 for werk (without final –e); the verb pa. 3rd sg. likede (Ω13); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. mýs-likē (Ω13); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. brekē (Ω93) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. brekē (Ω189); the pl. noun swiken (Ω108); the noun boke (Ω123 and Ω235); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. walekē (Ω250 and Ω253); the adj. pl. swikenē (Ω264); the noun drunken (Ω266 and Ω271); the verb pa. 3rd pl. swunken (Ω267 and Ω375) and the verb pr. 1st pl. swunken (Ω332); the noun pl. snaken (Ω288); the noun pl. rakteie (Ω294); the noun marke (Ω311); the verb inf. drine (Ω347) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. sponke (Ω375).

For the writing of <k>, likely representing velar /k/, in the noun smeke (Ω19) and <ck> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. recke (Ω140), where palatal c/tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.5.
§ 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.) sikere/sikere (Ω40, Ω42 and Ω43); the noun pl. purkes/porke (Ω64, Ω73, Ω113 etc.); the noun bonke (Ω70); the noun pl. monke (Ω71); the pl. adj. quike/quikepe (sic) (Ω80 and Ω199); the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. breke (Ω93); the pl. noun suike (Ω108); the adv. eke (Ω112); the adj. sike (Ω208); the pron. ilke (Ω223) and adj. ilke (Ω232); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. palke (Ω250 and Ω253); the noun bonke (Ω254); the noun drunke (Ω266 and Ω271); the verb pa. 3rd pl. sponek (Ω267); the noun pl. raketege (Ω294); the verb pa. 1st pl. suonke (Ω332); and the adj. ilke (Ω358) and bilke (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. mislica (Ω13); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bispica (Ω14); the verb pr. 3rd sg. brec (Ω189 – cf. <k> in breke § 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 presentin the pl. noun swicen (Ω108).

For the writing of <c>, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of pinch (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 ⟨ɾ⟩ in medial position for OE velar c in E2 is present in the verb pa. 3rd sg. licide (Ω13) and the verb pr. 3rd sg. brecð (Ω189).

For the writing of ⟨ɾ⟩, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bincð /dincð (Ω5 and Ω368); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-bincð (Ω173) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. iðencð (Ω212), where palatal c /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.14.

For the writing of ⟨ɾ⟩, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-bencð (Ω34), where palatal c /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.16.

For the writing of ⟨ɾ⟩, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. recþ (Ω140), where palatal c /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 33.4.

§ 22.5 The retention of ⟨ɾ⟩ in medial position for OE velar c in E1 is present in the verb pr. 3rd sg. brecð (Ω189) and the noun godcunnesse (Ω406) from the compound (god + cunnesse).

§ 22.6 There is not one occasion in the text of J where ⟨ɾ⟩ is retained in medial position for OE velar c.

§ 22.7 The retention of ⟨ɾ⟩ in medial position for OE velar c in M is present in the verb pr. 3rd sg. brecþ (Ω189).

For the writing of ⟨ɾ⟩, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bincþ (Ω5 and Ω368) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-bincþ (Ω137), where palatal c /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.26.

For the writing of ⟨ɾ⟩, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bîpancþ (Ω34), where palatal c /tʃ/ might be expected, see § 32 and § 32.28.

For the writing of ⟨ɾ⟩, likely representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd 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* (*Ω*17, Ω59, Ω124 etc.); the *noun banc*/bọnç (*Ω*72, Ω92, Ω113 and Ω254); the *noun loc*/lac (*Ω*74 and Ω210); the *noun perc* (*Ω*113, Ω121, Ω133 and Ω256); the *noun boc* (*Ω*123 and Ω235); the *adv. ec* (*Ω*47, Ω167, Ω214 etc.); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brac* (*Ω*192); the *adj. sic* (*Ω*208); the *noun sg. and pl. folc* (*Ω*224 and Ω356) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. spanc* (*Ω*375).

For the writing of <c> in the *noun* (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 bonc* (*Ω*72, Ω92 and Ω113); the *noun lac* (*Ω*74); the *noun perc* (*Ω*133, Ω186 and Ω256); the *adv. ec* (*Ω*167, Ω180 and Ω214); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brec* (*Ω*192); the *adj. sec* (*Ω*208); the *noun pl. folc* (*Ω*224); the *cj. ac* (*Ω*139, 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* (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* (*Ω*1, Ω78, Ω84 etc.); the *cj. ac* (*Ω*17, Ω59, Ω139 etc.); the *noun jispec* (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the *noun loc* (*Ω*74); the *noun potc/perc* (*Ω*133, Ω186 and Ω256); the *noun boc* (*Ω*123, Ω235 and Ω401); the *verb pa. 3rd sg. brec* (*Ω*192); the *adj. siec* (*Ω*208); the *noun sg. and pl. uolc/volc* (*Ω*224 and Ω356) and the *verb pa. 3rd sg. spanc* (*Ω*375).

For the writing of <c> in the *noun smac* (Ω292), probably representing /k/, and the *noun ispec* (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 βanc/danc/θanc (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the noun lac (Ω74); the noun peorc (Ω113, Ω121, Ω133 etc.); the noun boe (Ω123); the verb pa. 3rd sg. brece (Ω192); the noun SG. and pl. folc (Ω224 and Ω356) and the verb pa. 3rd 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 βanc/danc (Ω72, Ω92 and Ω113); the noun loc (Ω74); the noun peorc/peorc (Ω113, Ω121, Ω133 and Ω256); the noun boe (Ω123 and Ω401); the verb pa. 3rd sg. brece (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 (Ω81 and Ω123), the adv. spilc (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 βanc/βone (Ω72 and Ω92); the noun loc (Ω74); the noun peorc/pro (Ω186 and Ω256); the verb pa. 3rd sg. brece (Ω192); the noun boe (Ω235); the noun folc (Ω356); the verb pa. 3rd SG. bisuane (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 bonk (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 ṽork (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. Spunch (Ω332) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. spunch (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. (Mose 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 (Ω206, Ω245², 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 chilce (Ω7); the noun chele (Ω206, Ω245², 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/chile (Ω206, Ω245², Ω247 and Ω336) and chele (che): (Ω246: most likely a mistake for chele pinche) 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/chile (Ω206, Ω245², Ω246, Ω247 and Ω336) and the verb pp. pl. (bi)cherd (Ω333).
§ 28.6 Palatal c /ts/ is <ch> in initial position in J:
The noun child/childe (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); the noun chilce (Ω7); the noun chelc (Ω206, Ω245x2, Ω246, Ω247 and Ω336) and the verb pp. pl. (bi) cherd (Ω333),

§ 28.7 Palatal c /ts/ is <ch> in initial position in M:
The noun child/childe (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26, Ω157); the noun chilse (Ω7); the noun chelc (Ω206, Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247) and the adj. functioning as pl. noun chielde (Ω243);

§ 29 In medial position it is <ch> in:
§ 29.1 Palatal c /ts/ is written <ch> in medial position in T:
The adj. (sg. and pl.) muchel/muchele (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.) and mulchel (Ω222) but once written with <k>, probably /kl/, in mukel (Ω2216 see. § 33.1 and § 21.1), the adv. muchel/muche (Ω25, Ω61, Ω63 etc.) but muchel (Ω14), the noun muchel (Ω370 and Ω395); the noun smeche (Ω19): (cf. § 30.1 for <ch> in final position in smeche); 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. heuerliche (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. erDliche (Ω162); the noun steche (Ω198); the noun spunche (Ω215 and Ω386 (cf. (i)spinche § 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. prechen (Ω264); the adv. bliDliche (Ω267); the adj. ateliche (Ω294 and Ω296); the adj. pl. eiseliche (Ω296); the adj. pl. lichamliche (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. screnche (Ω348) and the verb inf. drenchen (Ω346).

§ 29.2 Palatal c /ts/ is written <ch> in medial position in L:
The adj. (sg. and pl.) muchel/muchele (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.) and the adv. muchel (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); the adj. helche/echhe/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 heuerniche/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. recho (Ω140); the adv. lihtliche (Ω154); the adj. orDliche (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. prechen (Ω264) and the adv. bliDliche (Ω267).
§. 29.3 Palatal /ʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in D:
The adj. (sg. and pl.) muchel/muclidean (Ω12, Ω78, Ω75 etc.), the adv. muchel/muclidean
(Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the noun. muche/muchel (Ω370 and Ω395); the noun pl. diches
(Ω42); the pl. adj. riche/richier (Ω42 and Ω335); the adj. ponderlicheste (Ω69);
the adj. heueriche/heueneriche/heueneriche (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185, Ω372 and Ω412); the adv.
liche (Ω267, Ω394 and Ω395); the adj. echen(n) (Ω88, Ω291, Ω244 etc. cf. § 30.3 for <ch>
in final position in ech) and the pron poss. esches (Ω92 and Ω377); the adv. lihtliche
(Ω154 and Ω359); the adj. perldliche (Ω162); the adj. emliche (Ω223); the adv. bližliche
(Ω267); the adj. attliche/attliche (Ω294 and Ω296); the adj. pl. eiliche (Ω296); the adj. pl. licamliche
(Ω415); the noun smech (Ω19; cf. smac § 31.1); the adj. hpich/hpiche (Ω137 and Ω143); the
verb pr. ind. f° sg. recche (Ω141 and Ω232 (cf. § where it is regh in Ω140); the verb inf.
quenchen(k)/ kuenche (Ω159, Ω261 and Ω262); the noun stecche (Ω198); the noun (i)spiche
(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. sprenchen (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 /ʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in E2:
The adj. (sg. and pl.) muchel(e)/michel(e) (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.), the adv.
muchel/muchel/michel (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the noun. michel (Ω370); the noun smech
(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. diches (Ω42); the adj. heueriche/heueneriche
(Ω43, Ω66 and Ω185); the poss. noun spinches (Ω65); the adv. liche (Ω67); the adj. elche/
eche/ache (Ω88, Ω291, Ω244 and Ω362, cf. § 30.4 for <ch> in final position in elch/ech and
§ 31.4 for <- Ch in final position in ech) and the adj. poss. elches/aches/ateshes (Ω92, Ω233
and Ω384); the adj. heuenerliche (Ω99); the adj. lihtliche (Ω154, Ω359); the adj. eordliche
(Ω162); the noun stochce (Ω198); the noun ech (Ω206); the noun spiche (Ω215 and Ω386,
cf. § 30.4 for <ch> in final position in spich); the pl. adj. spiche
(Ω231); the verb pr. ind. f° sg. recce (Ω232 (cf. § 33.4 written rec at Ω410); the verb inf.
feche (Ω233); the verb inf. sprenchen (Ω263); the verb inf. quenchen/cpenche (Ω261 and
Ω262); the noun pl. prenchen (Ω264); the adv. bližliche (Ω267); the adj. ladliche (Ω294);
the adj. atliche (Ω296); the adj. pl. eisliche (Ω296); the verb inf. teche (Ω316); the noun
leche (Ω317); the verb inf. drenche (Ω346); the verb inf. drinchen (Ω347); the noun scench
(Ω347), the verb inf. scrrenchen (Ω348) and the adj. eche (Ω377 ModE ‘everlasting’).
§. 29.5 Palatal c/tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in E1:
The adj. (sg. and pl.) *muche*/muhele (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.), the adv. *muche*/muhele (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the noun. *muche* (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/heueniche (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 and Ω163); the poss. noun *spinches* (Ω65); the adv. *liche* (Ω67, Ω394 and Ω395); the adj. *elche*/eche (Ω88, Ω91 Ω244 and Ω362, cf. § 30.5 for *elch* and § 31.5 for *ele*) and the adj. poss. elches (Ω92, Ω233 and Ω384); the adj. heueneiche (Ω99); the adj. pulche (Ω137); the adv. lihtliche (Ω154 and Ω356); the verb inf. *aquenche*/quenche (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. bli|eliche (Ω267); the adj. la|liche (Ω294); the adj. ateliche (Ω296); the adj. pl. eisliche (Ω296); the verb inf. teache (Ω316); the noun liache (Ω317); the verb inf. drench (Ω346); the noun scenche (Ω347); the verb inf scrench (Ω348) and the adj. eche (Ω377x2 ModE ‘everlasting’).

§. 29.6 Palatal c/tʃ/ is written <ch> in medial position in J:
The adj. (sg. and pl.) *muche*/muhele (Ω12, Ω75, Ω78 etc.), the adv. *muche* (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.) and the noun. *muche* (Ω370); the pl. adj. *riche* (Ω42); the adj. heeue riche/heueriche (Ω43, Ω66 and Ω185) and the noun heueneiche (Ω372); the adv. i|liche (Ω67); the adj. sup. wunderlicheste (Ω69); the adj. ewiche/vliche (Ω88 and Ω244 cf. § 30.6 where it is <ch> in final position in vých/ hvých/huých) and the adj. poss. vých (Ω383); the adj. heueneiche (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 stuche (Ω198); the noun ache (Ω206); the pl. adj. suiche (Ω231); the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. recche (Ω232 (cf. § 33.6 where it is *reklô* in Ω140); the verb inf. vecche (Ω233); the verb inf. swenche (Ω263); the noun pl. wrench (Ω264); the adv. blu|eliche (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. wurch (Ω344); the verb inf. drench (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, Ω18 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 (Ω91x2), 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. heuerliche (Ω299); the verb inf. (bi)chipe (Ω12: corruption?); the adj. phiche (Ω137); the verb pr. ind. f° sg. reche/reche (Ω141 and Ω232 (cf. § 33.7 where it is recp in Ω140); the adj. buiche (Ω143); the adv. liptliche (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. iuhecche (Ω233); the verb inf. iuquenche (Ω261 and Ω262); the verb inf.
suenche (Ω263); the adv. unmetliche (Ω266); the adv. bļeliche/ bļeliche (Ω267 and Ω271); the adj. pl. gristliche (Ω296); the adj. ierliche (Ω296); the noun leche (Ω317); the verb inf. adrencche (Ω346); the noun sencche (Ω347); the verb inf. sencche (Ω348); the noun godesriche (Ω372); the adj. pl. lichamliche (Ω415 <ch> written twice) and the adj.
suichcne (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. f° 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/edged 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 spunch 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. africh); the
adj. spilch (Ω81x2 and Ω416x2); the adj. bplch (Ω143); the noun sellich (Ω190); the noun pich (Ω229 and Ω258); the noun smech (Ω292, cf. § 29.1 for <ch> in medial position in smech).

§ 30.2 Palatal c/tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in L:
The pron. f° sg. ich (this is always the form, except once where it is ihi (Ω232) and twice where it is written i+ in ilede (Ω25) 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/spulich (Ω81x2 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' 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. ech, 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 (Ω81x2, Ω123 and Ω416) and the adj. hpich (Ω143, cf. § 31.3 for <*> written in medial position in the adj. hpice).

§ 30.4 Palatal c/tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in E2:
The pron. f' sg. ich (this form occurs 17 times in this version whereas ic occurs 19, cf. § 31.3); the noun smecl (Ω19 cf. § 29.4 for <ch> in medial position in the noun smeche); the adj. elch/ech (Ω112 and Ω314 cf. § 29.4 for <ch> in medial position in ech/ech and cf. § 31.4 for <*> in final position in ech), the adv. eurich (Ω33) and the pron. ech/ech (Ω28, Ω167, Ω315 and Ω375); the noun ispinch (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 and Ω331); the adj. spich (Ω81 but splic 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' 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/ech and cf. § 31.5 for <*> in final position in ech) and the adj. æfrech (Ω33); the noun æ spinch/ispinch (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 and Ω331); the noun pich (Ω229 and Ω258) and the noun smecl (Ω292).

§ 30.6 Palatal c/tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in J:
The pron. f' 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 Ω416x2); the adj. vých/vých/huých (Ω33, Ω91, Ω92 etc. cf. § 29.6 where <ch> is written in medial position in ewiche/vlche), the adj. eueruche (Ω66), the pron. vch/vich/vých (Ω28, Ω167, Ω315 and Ω375); the adj. hwiche (Ω143) cf. § 29.6 for <ch> in medial position in hwiche); the adj. grimlychimp (Ω146); the noun stench (Ω146); the noun seollich (Ω190); the noun pich/pých (Ω229 and Ω258) and the noun smecl (Ω292).

§ 30.7 Palatal c/tʃ/ is written <ch> in final position in M:
The pron. f' 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. eurich (Ω33, Ω66, Ω112 etc. cf. § 29.7 for <ch> in medial position in euriche) and the pron. eurich (Ω180 cf. § 29.7 for <ch> in medial position for the poss. form euriches); the noun yswinch/suinch (Ω37, Ω203 and Ω331); the adj. suich (Ω31, Ω125 and Ω416); the noun drinch (Ω151 and Ω347); the noun pich (Ω229 and Ω258); the noun smich (Ω292, cf. § 29.7 for <*> in medial position in smeche) and the adj. lodlich (Ω294).
§ 31  **In medial and final position it is written &lt;c&gt; in:**

The writing of &lt;c&gt; in medial and final position where &lt;ch&gt; /tʃ/ might be expected is rare in all texts apart from in the pron. 1st sg. ic. From the OE period final c became palatal when preceded by a front vowel (Campbell § 428). Many of the examples that follow, share examples written &lt;ch&gt; (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/.

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§ 31.1 Palatal c /tʃ/ is written &lt;c&gt; in medial and final position in T:

The pron. 1st 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.

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§ 31.2 Palatal c /tʃ/ is written &lt;c&gt; in medial and final position in L:

The noun (i)spinc (Ω37, Ω58 and Ω203); the adj. hƿice (Ω143) and the noun sullíc (Ω190).

Comment: the noun (i)spinc is conceivably a variant in /k/ and it is also possible that the noun sullíc had /k/. See also § 23.2.

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§ 31.3 Palatal c /tʃ/ is written &lt;c&gt; in medial and final position in D:

The pron. 1st 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 ispinc (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 ispinc had /k/. See also § 23.3.

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§ 31.4 Palatal c /tʃ/ is written &lt;c&gt; in medial and final position in E2:

The pron. 1st 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 ech/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/elc); 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 1st sg. ic (this is the usual form for E1, cf.  ich § 30.5); the adj. e lcd (Ω116 and Ω120, cf. elch/ech § 30.5 and elche/eche § 29.5); the adj. e ure ̣ḷc (Ω66 and Ω122; both Egerton texts maintain the separation of the adv. (OE æ̅fre) e ure and the adj. (OE æ̅lc) e lc/ie lc) and the pron. æ̅lcd (Ω167, Ω315 and Ω373); the adv. sp lc (Ω81 and Ω123); the adj. ps i lc (Ω143).

Comment: it is possible that the adj. e lc/e ure- ̣i lc, the adj. s p i lc, the adv. s p u lc and the adj. p i lc 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 yncan and pencan:

§ 32.1 In both of these verbs, which merged in most dialects during the ME period, assimilation 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 <s> or <ʃ> following the stem; under these conditions (before a consonant) assimilation 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 yncan in T:
The verb inf. ʃunch(ə) (Ω63) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ʃunch(ə)/ ʃunch(ə) (Ω5, Ω212, Ω246 and Ω368); the verb inf. of ʃunch(ə)/ ʃunch(ə) (Ω137, Ω214 and Ω387) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ʃunch (Ω173).

§ 32.3 However, it is written as <k>, probably representing velar /k/ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ʃunch (Ω10).

§ 32.4 Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb pencan in T:
The verb inf. penc(ə)n (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. penc(ə)/penc(ə) (Ω199 and Ω339) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. penc(ə) (Ω80).
The verb inf. bi ʃench(ə) (Ω340), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bi ʃench(ə) (Ω6) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi ʃench(ə) (Ω34).
§ 32.5 **Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb ħyncan in L:**
The verb inf. ħunchan (Ω63) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħunched/ħunchet (Ω212 and Ω246); the verb inf. of ħinch (Ω214) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ħinchet (Ω10).

§ 32.6 The verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħing (Ω5) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ħingū (Ω137) demonstrate palatalization through <g> and <ch>.

§ 32.7 However, the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ħinch (Ω173) is likely to be velar <k> (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncopation and assimilation in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.)

§ 32.8 **Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb ħencan in L:**
The verb inf. (i)ēncen (Ω123, Ω158 and Ω265) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħenc (Ω34: contracted form of OE ħęncan); the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bi-ēnc(e) (Ω6).

§ 32.9 L writes <k> [k] in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ħenke (Ω199) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. ħenked/ðenke (Ω80 and Ω199).

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§ 32.10 **Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb ħyncan in D:**
The verb inf. ħenchen (Ω63); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħenched (Ω212 and Ω246); the verb inf. of ħenchen (Ω214); the verb inf. vorēnchen (Ω387); the verb inf. of ħenchen (Ω214) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ħenchen (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173).

§ 32.11 The writing of <g> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħing (Ω5) and <g> the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħing (Ω368) are also likely to represent palatalization.

§ 32.12 **Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb ħencan in D:**
The verb inf. (i)ēnchen (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ħenche (Ω199) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. ħenched (Ω80) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-ēnchen (Ω6) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-ēnchen (Ω34).

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§ 32.13 **Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb ħyncan in E2:**
The verb inf. ħinch (Ω63), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. cheleche (sic) (Ω246: written by mistake for chele bínchen); the verb inf. of ħinch (Ω214 and Ω387) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ħinch of ħitchet (Ω10 and Ω137).

§ 32.14 However, <c> is frequently written in E2 in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħinech/ðinech (Ω5 and Ω368); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of ħinech (Ω173) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ħenech (Ω212). It is likely that because of the following consonant <c> in the 3rd sg. assimilation did not take place and <c> reverted to velar [k] (cf. § 32.1).

§ 32.15 **Palatal /tʃ/ written <ch> from the OE verb ħencan in E2:**
The verb inf. (i)ēnchen (Ω123, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ħenchen/ðenchen (Ω199 and Ω339), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. ħenchet (Ω80); the verb inf. bi-ēnchen (Ω340), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bi-ēnche (Ω6);

§ 32.16 However, <c> is written in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-ēnche (Ω34). It is likely that because of the following consonant <c> in the 3rd sg. assimilation did not take place and <c> reverted to velar [k] (cf. § 32.1).
§ 32.17 **Palatal /tf/ written <ch> from the OE verb þyncan in E1:**

The verb inf. þiecnen (Ω63), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þiecneth (Ω212 and Ω246); the verb inf. of þiecn of þiecen (Ω214 and Ω387) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of þiecen of þiechen (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173).

§ 32.18 E1 also writes the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þinh (Ω5) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þinco (Ω368, cf. § 32.1).

§ 32.19 **Palatal /tf/ written <ch> from the OE verb þyncan in E1:**

The verb inf. (i)þene (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. þunger/þungen (Ω199 and Ω339), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. þungen/þunge (Ω80 and Ω199); the verb inf. biþünge (Ω340) and the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. biþunge (Ω6).

§ 32.20 E1 also writes the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. biþęnc (Ω34).

§ 32.21 **Palatal /tf/ written <ch> from the OE verb þyncan in J:**

The verb inf. þungen/þunge (Ω63, Ω123) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þüngeo (Ω212 and Ω246) and the verb inf. of þung of þung (Ω214 and Ω387) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of þung of þunčen (Ω10 and Ω137).

§ 32.22 However in J the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þíngp (Ω5) demonstrate velar [k], written <k> (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncopation and assibilate in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.).

§ 32.23 **Palatal /tf/ written <ch> from the OE verb þyncan in J:**

The verb inf. þung (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. þungen (Ω199 and Ω339), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. þungen (Ω80); the verb inf. biþénge (Ω340), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. biþung (Ω6).

§ 32.24 However in J the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. biþęng (Ω34) demonstrate velar [k], written <k> (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncopation and assimilation in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.).

§ 32.25 **Palatal /tf/ written <ch> from the OE verb þyncan in M:**

The verb inf. þine (Ω63) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þinche (Ω246).

§ 32.26 However, <c> is readily written before the consonant <b> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þibe (Ω5 and Ω368) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of þibe (Ω137) (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncopation and assimilation in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg.).

§ 32.27 **Palatal /tf/ written <ch> from the OE verb þyncan in M:**

The verb inf. þungen (Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. þüngeo (Ωii, Ω212), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. þungen (Ω199); The verb pr. ind. 1st sg. biþung (Ω6 and Ω340).

§ 32.28 However, <c> is written before the consonant <b> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. biþęng (Ω34) (cf. § 32.1 on the relationship between syncopation and assimilation 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. mukele* (\(\Omega 216\) cf. § 21.1 and § 29.1).\(^{862}\)
§ 33.2  In L \(<k>\) is written in medial position in the *noun smike* (\(\Omega 19\), cf. 21.3) and the *adj. hpuile* (\(\Omega 137\), cf. 21.3).
§ 33.3  In D \(<\gamma>h\) is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. regh* (\(\Omega 140\)).
§ 33.4  In E2 \(<\gamma>\) is written the *verb pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. rec\(h\)* (\(\Omega 140\) cf. § 22.4).
§ 33.5  In E1 \(<k>\) is written in the *noun smike* (\(\Omega 19\), cf. § ) and \(<ck>\) in the *verb pr. subj. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. recke* (\(\Omega 140\) cf. § 21.5 and § 29.5).
§ 33.6  In J \(<k>\) is written in the *noun smoke* (\(\Omega 19\) (cf. § 30.6 for \(<ch>\) in final position in *smech*); the *verb pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. rek\(h\)* (\(\Omega 140\)); the *noun (i)sw\(yn\)(e)* (\(\Omega 37\), \(\Omega 58\), \(\Omega 203\) and \(\Omega 214\)) and \(<g>\) in final position in the *noun drung* (\(\Omega 151\)).
§ 33.7  In M \(<\epsilon>\) is written in the *verb pr. ind. 3\(^{rd}\) sg. rec\(h\)* (\(\Omega 140\) 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 *mcla*, *mclan*, *mclum*, etc., (as opposed to *micela*, *micelan*, *micelam*, etc.) affrication did not take place, and the palatal consonant reverted to velar /k/ […] The y, θ, and e 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 /ʃ/

In ME about 1100 OE sc became /ʃ/ 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 /ʃ/ is written <sc> in initial position in:

§ 35.1  sc /ʃ/ is written <sc> in initial position in T on only two occasions (the more regular reading is <sc> cf. § 36.1):
The verb inf. scrench (Ω348) and the noun scat (Ω380).

§ 35.2  In L sc /ʃ/ written <sc> in initial position is the more regular reading in:
The verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal (Ω27, Ω36, Ω38 etc. scab mistakenly written for scal in Ω229; cf. § 37.1 for <sch> in schal and § 36.3 for <sc> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd 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. 3rd pl. sculen (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. sculde (Ω123 and Ω277), the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. sculden (Ω61, cf. § 36.2 for solde) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. sculden (Ω279 and Ω280); the verb pa. 3rd sg. scop (Ω86); the noun pl. scæfte (Ω86); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scæp (Ω142); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scame (Ω174); the noun scome (Ω175); and the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. scilde (Ω231).

§ 35.3  In D sc /ʃ/ is written <sc> in initial position on only four occasions:
The verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal (Ω27, where the regular form is <sc>, cf. § 36.3 for sel/sal); the verb pa. 3rd sg. iscoph (Ω86); the noun scete (Ω380) and the noun scrud (Ω380).

§ 35.4  In E2 sc /ʃ/ is always written as <sc> in initial position:
The verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sceal (Ω317), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sceal/sceal/scal (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. scule(n) (Ω59, Ω94, Ω98 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. scule(n) (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. sculde (Ω38 and Ω277), the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. sculde(n) (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. sculden (Ω280); the verb pa. 3rd sg. scop (Ω86); the noun pl. sceafte (Ω86); the verb inf. (bi)scean (Ω161); the verb inf. scamian (Ω172) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scamet (Ω174); the noun scame (Ω175); the verb inf. sculde(n) (Ω316 and Ω348) and 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. sculden (Ω362); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scin (Ω290); the noun scrench (Ω347); the verb inf. scrench (Ω348); the noun sciet (Ω380) and the noun scrud (Ω380).
§ 35.5 In E1 sc /ʃ/ written as <s> in initial position is the dominant reading:
The verb pr. ind. 1st sg. *scal* (Ω317), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *scal*/*scel* (Ω22, Ω36, Ω49 etc. cf. § 36.4 for <s>), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. *sculle(n)* (Ω59, Ω98, 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 *solen* Ω48), the verb pa. 3rd pl. *scolde* (Ω280); the noun *scirreue* (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. *sciliden*/scilde* (Ω316 and Ω348), the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. *sculde* (Ω231 and Ω314), the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. *scule* (Ω319) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *sculde* (Ω362); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *scin* (Ω290); the noun *sence* (Ω347); the verb inf. *screne* (Ω348); the noun *sced* (Ω380) and the noun *scred* (Ω380).

§ 35.6 J writes sc /ʃ/ as <s> in initial position on one only occasion, in the verb pa. 3rd pl. *scolden* (Ω280 cf. § 37.3 for *scolden* in the same line).

§ 35.7 In M sc /ʃ/ written as <s> is the dominant reading:
The verb inf. *scilde* (Ω316 and Ω348), the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. (*y*)-*scilde*/(i)-*scilde* (Ω11, Ω107, Ω231 and Ω314) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *scilde* (Ω362); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *scal*/scel* (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.) the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. *scule* (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98 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); the noun *scirreue* (Ω51); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *scuppe* (Ω85); the verb pa. 3rd sg. *scop* (Ω86); the noun pl. *scefte* (Ω86); the verb inf. (*y*)-*scunie* (Ω161); the verb inf. *scamie* (Ω172) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *scamie* (Ω174) and the noun *scame* (Ω175); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *scin* (Ω290); the noun *sence* (Ω347); the verb inf. *screne* (Ω348) and the noun *scred* (Ω380).

§ 36 Old English sc /ʃ/ is written <s> in initial position in:

§ 36.1 In T sc /ʃ/ 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 *bal* by mistake), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. *sulen*/sulien*/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. *solen* (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. *solen* (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. *same* (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. *silde* (Ω362); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *sine* (Ω290); the noun *sence* (Ω347) and the noun *sруд* (Ω380).
§ 36.2 In L sc/s/ written as <s> in initial position is only present on three occasions (the more regular reading is <s> cf. § 35.2):
The verb pa. ind. 1st pl. solde (Ω51 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/s/ 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 (Ω22, Ω36, Ω55, cf. § 35.3 for <sc> in scal), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sullen/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. sbj. 3rd sg. (i)silde (Ω231) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. silten (Ω362), and the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. sinΩ (Ω290).

§ 36.4 In E1 sc/s/ 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/scal/scal), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sulle (Ω94, cf. § 35.5 for <s> 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/s/ is written <sch> in initial position in:

§ 37.1 In L sc/s/ is written as <sch> in initial position on only one occasion (the more regular reading is <s> cf. § 35.2): in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. schal (Ω22).

§ 37.2 In D sc/s/ 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. schamč (Ω174 cf. § 36.3 for the verb inf. samien) and as <sh> only once in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. shilde (Ω314 cf. § 36.3 for (i)silde).
§ 37.3 In J sc /ʃ/ 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. schule/schulle/schulen (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. schule/schulle/schulen (n) (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), the verb pa. ind. 1st sg. scholde/schulde (Ω38 and Ω277), the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. schine (Ω290), the verb inff. schonye (Ω161); the noun schirreue (Ω51); the verb pa. 3rd sg. schop (Ω86); the noun pl. schafte (Ω86); the verb pa. 3rd pl. schulden/scholde (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 pa. 3rd pl. schelde (Ω362), and the adj. schene (Ω355).

§ 37.4 In M sc /ʃ/ 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 /ʃ/ in medial position

In medial position OE sc /ʃ/ is written <ss> in the noun pl. fisses (Ω85) in T, L, E1 and fysses in J; however, in E2 the OE form <sc> is retained in fisces (Ω85).

§ 39 Old English sc /ʃ/ in final position

In final position OE sc /ʃ/ 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 <s> at line Ω38 in the verb inff. slapen (L), sleuhben (D) and slapen (E2). OE /sl/ is also written <s> at line Ω38 in the verb inff. slakien (J), where it is OE /sl/ is written <scl> 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 <s> in the noun milce/mylce (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 ȝ before a consonant in initial position in:
The adj. grimlých (Ω146: J only); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. grameȝ/gromeȝ/gramet/grameȝ (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. grýsliche/grísliche (Ω296: only in J and M); the noun glie/gleo (Ω303); the adj. grei/gréi/gréi/grey (Ω378) and the noun grame (Ω371: only in E1).

§ 42.2 Written ȝ 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. f1 pl. gulted/gelted /gultet/gulted/ (a/gulte)/ (a/gelte) (Ω293, Ω217: D and M only, and Ω326), the verb pp. (i/a)gult/gel (Ω11 and Ω94: M only), the verb pp. pl. for/gelt (Ω333: M only), the verb pa. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. (for)god (Ω371: T only), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. god/god/god (Ω363), the verb sbj. f2 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. godelese/gutlese/godliese/godlese (Ω360); the noun godcunnesse (Ω406: T, D and E1) and the noun godnesse (Ω406: Ο and M).

§ 42.3 The verb pa. 3rd pl. gunne/gunnen/[b]gunnen/[a]gunne/[b]gunne/[by]gunne (Ω242: M only; Ω256 and Ω287) and the verb sbj. pa. 3rd sg. [b]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 [b]ginninge/[b]ginnige/[b]ginnige/ [b]gyndynge/ginninge (Ω124) and the noun [i]gunne (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 /l and r, the fricative /ɣ/ was 
labialized and vocalized to /w/ > /w/ <w>. 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 <ȝ> in the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. folged (Ω14) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. folge 
ð (Ω358: OE folgað; the adj. ogen (Ω113, Ω118, Ω121 etc.: OE ágan cf. § 43.2 ogen); the 
verb pa. 3rd pl. luugen (Ω168: OE lugon); the verb pp. in borgen (Ω174: OE borgen); the noun 
sg. and pl. lage(s) (Ω179 and Ω324: OE lagu) and the adj. lage-lease (Ω306) and in the noun 
moxe (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 
moxe); the adj. ogen (Ω31: OE ágan cf. § 43.1 ogen); the verb inf. drawen (Ω48 and Ω50: 
OE dragen). The first two examples (mowe and ogen) were also written with <ȝ> 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 <ȝ> 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 /ɻ/. The letter <ȝ> is always written in: 
the noun mage (Ω30: OE máge); the adj. ahen (Ω170: OE ágan cf. § 43.4 for previous instances of this adj. where it is 
always ahen). It is likely that <h> in this example represents /ɣ/ – a feature of the AB 
dialect.

§ 43.5 However, <ie> is written once in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. fulið (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 ahen). 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 <ȝ> throughout except in 
the verb inf. dragen (Ω50: OE dragan) where <ȝ> is still velar. This is not surprising 
considering the text’s likely Kentish provenance; Kent preserved <ȝ> into the fourteenth 
century. (Jordan § 186). Therefore, <ȝ> is present in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. volgið (Ω14) and 
the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. volgið (Ω358: OE folgað); the verb ind. 1st pl. hogen (Ω52: 
OE ágan) and the adj. ogen/hogen (Ω113, Ω118, Ω170 etc.); the noun pl. fueles (Ω285: 
OE fugel); the verb pa. 3rd pl. luugen (Ω168: OE lugon); the verb pp. iborgen (Ω174: 
OE borgen); the noun sg. and pl. lage (Ω179 and Ω324: OE lagu) and the adj. lage-lease 
(Ω306) and the noun moxe (Ω194: OE máge).

863 However, cases after an atomic vowel are rare (Jordan § 186).
§ 43.7 The movement to <w> is not represented at all in E2 which retains <s> throughout, except in the noun moghe (Ω194: OE máge cf. mage (Ω30)) – where <s> 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, <s> is present in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. folgeþ (Ω14) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. folgan (Ω358: OE folgan); the noun mæge (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. fugelles (Ω385: OE fugel); the verb pa. 3rd pl. lugen (Ω168: OE lugon); 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 <s> in about half of the cases 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 <s> is written in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. folgeþ (Ω14); the noun mæge (Ω30: OE máge cf. § 43.9 mōpe); the adj. age(n) (Ω31, Ω113 and Ω364: OE ágan cf. § 43.9 hope(n)/apene); the noun pl. fugelles (Ω385: OE fugel); the verb pa. 3rd pl. lugen (Ω168: OE lugon) and the noun pl. lage (Ω179: OE lagu cf. § 43.9 lape).

§ 43.9 However, the movement to <w> is present in the verb inf. drāpen (Ω48 and Ω50: OE dragan); the adj. hopel(n)/apene (Ω118, Ω121, Ω170 etc.: OE ágan cf. § 43.8 oge(n)); the verb pp. iborepene (Ω174: OE borgen); the noun mōpe (Ω194: OE máge cf. § 43.8 mōge); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. folgeþ (Ω358: OE folgan cf. § 43.8 folgeþ) in the 3rd sg.; the adj. lape-liese (Ω306: OE lagu) and the noun pl. lape (Ω324 cf. § 43.8 lapes).

§ 43.10 In medial position <s> is not present at all in J. The movement to <w> has been completed as demonstrated in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. folwenep (Ω14) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. feleweb (Ω258: OE folgan); the noun mōwe (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. lōwen (Ω168: OE lugon); 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 <s> throughout the text in the noun mōge (Ω30: OE máge); the adj. oge(n) (Ω31, Ω170 and Ω270: OE ágan); the verb inf. draze (Ω48: OE dragan); the noun pl. fogle (Ω85: OE fugel); the verb pp. iborege (Ω174: OE borgen); the noun sg. and pl. lage (Ω179, Ω3242 and Ω325: OE lagu); the noun mōge (Ω195: OE máge) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. folgeþ (Ω358: OE folgan).

§ 44 In final position the fricative already in OE had become voiceless and fallen together with WGmc h, see §.
OE Palatal ʒ /j/

§ 45 In initial position:
The writing of the period preserves <ʒ> 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 <g>, usually transcribed as /j/, is frequently replaced by <ʒ> 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 ʒ is retained in initial position during this period. (gung/giung/gỳng/jung 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 ʒ (yogh) with ʒ has been accomplished – for example, ýong (Ω4), discussed previously; the adv. yet (Ω5) where it is ʒiet/ʒyet/ʒyet/ʒet in the other MSS; the adj. pl. ýonge (Ω10) where it is ʒeuenge/ʒunge/ʒuinge/ʒunge in the other MSS (not in D); the verb pr. ind. ʒd sg. for-ʒyet (Ω26) where it is forʒyet/forʒet/vorʒet/for ʒut/vorʒet in the other MSS; the noun ʒuenesesse (Ω313) where it is forʒuuenesese/ʒuenesese/forʒuuenesese in the other MSS etc. (This is not a list of all occurrences of <y>/<ʒ> 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).

§ 45.2 L writes <g> in the verb sbj. ʒd sg. Giue (Ω57) where it is ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒeue 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. ʒ sg. Giue in Ω59 (T and J); the verb inf. ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒiuen/ʒiuen/ʒeuen/ʒeue (Ω65); the verb pr. ind. ʒd sg. ʒiue/ʒiuen/ʒiuen/ʒiuen/ʒiuen (Ω65); the verb pr. inf. ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒiue/ʒiue in all other MSS etc. (This is not a list of all occurrences of <y>/<ʒ> 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).

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 <ʒ> /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 <ʒ>/<ʒ> in all other MSS: unforgolden/unforgolden/unforgolde/un-for-golde/vn-for-golde/unʒulde.

Comment: /g/ in the pp., as seen in J, is the regular form in OE, where /i/ 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. gief (Ω126x2, Ω173, Ω225 etc.). In D <ȝ> is not present initially in any of the cj. ef (Ω126x2, Ω173, Ω225 etc.). L retains <ȝ> in the cj. gef/gef/gif (Ω126x2, Ω225, Ω237 etc.) but writes <g> in Gif (Ω173). E2 always retains <ȝ> in the cj. gif/gief (Ω126x2, Ω173, Ω225 etc.). E1 retains <ȝ> in the cj. gif (Ω126x2, Ω173, Ω225 etc.) but writes velar <g> in Gif (Ω334 and Ω345). In J <ȳ> is usually omitted in the cj. if (Ω126, Ω225, Ω237 etc.) but is written <ȳ> in ȳef (Ω126, Ω334 and Ω348). M retains <ʒ> in the cj. ȝef (Ω16, Ω73 Ω126x2 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.

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§ 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.

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§ 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 /i/ 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 éágan /eaijan/(Ω76) T and J write <i>/<y> in éien/éyen where the other MSS retain <ȝ>/<ʒ> in egen/egene except for D which writes <h> in eghen.

§ 47.2 For the verb inf. OE wegan /weygan/(Ω64) L and J write <i>/<y> in peien/weýen where the other MSS retain <ȝ>/<ʒ> in peigen/pègen /peye.
§ 47.3  For the verb inf. OE for-wrēgan /forwre:yan/ (Ω100) all texts write <i>/</i> in forpreien (T), forpreien (L), vorpreien (D), for-preien (E1), for-wreye (J), forpreie (M), except for E2 (the most conservative text) where <i>/</i> is retained in pregen. Note that this verb is in rhyming position with the verb pa. 3rd pl. OE ge-sāgon (Ω101) (also ge-sāwun in OE) where 3 is written <i>/</i> in iseien (T) and iseýen (J) whilst it is <i>/</i> in (<i >/</i>) (L, D, E2, E1 and M). In all instances, except E2, the rhyming of <i>/</i> with <i>/</i> suggests that a transition to a palatal had taken place even if it was not represented orthographically. The <i>/</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>/</i> in the verb pa. 1st pl. (neg) niseien/ne-i-seien and the other MSS writing <i>/</i> in nisegen/ne-isegen/ni-segen/ne-iseye (not in J).

§ 48  Palatal ʒ following a parasitic vowel
Where palatal ʒ was already separated by a parasitic vowel from the preceding consonant, Old English LWS and Kentish dialects already demonstrated the interchange of –iġ 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. ený (Ω16: J only) and ani/eni/eni (Ω54), ani/eni/eni (Ω69: T, L, D, E2 and E1), ani/anie/eni (Ω284) from OE ænig but anige in L; the adj. mani/moný/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/izedi /æidi/edýe/ʒedýe (Ω238) from OE eádig and the adj. functioning as a noun hungri (Ω243: M only) from OE hunigrig.
§ 49  The loss of palatal ʒ /j/ before d

During the OE period palatal ʒ /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 <ʒ> is lost in some instances of the pa. form of the OE verb secgan.

§ 49.1  The writing of <ʒ> is lost in T in the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. sade (Ω136), the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. sade (Ω164), the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. saden. However, T writes <i> in the pp. isaid (Ω148), where OE ʒ has been vocalized to /i/.

§ 49.2  The writing of <ʒ> is lost in L in the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. sade (Ω164). However, this is the minority reading for this MS as OE ʒ /j/ is vocalized to/i/ in all other writings of the pa. form of this verb, i.e. the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. as seide (Ω136), the pp. iseid (Ω148), the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. seiden (Ω234). The predominant <ei> writing in L is a probable Anglian feature, which is shared with J cf. § 49.6.

§ 49.3  The writing of <ʒ> is lost in D in the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. as sade (Ω136) the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. sade (Ω164) and the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. sade(n) (Ω148, Ω234 and Ω254).

§ 49.4  The writing of <ʒ> is lost in E2 in the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. sade (Ω136), the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. sade (Ω164), the pp. ised (Ω148) and the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. sade (Ω234).

§ 49.5  The writing of <ʒ> is lost in E1 in the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. sade (Ω136), the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. sade (Ω164) the pp. ised (Ω148) and the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. sade (Ω234).

§ 49.6  In J OE ʒ /j/ is vocalized to/i/ in all the writings of the pa. form of this verb, i.e. the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. seýde (Ω136), the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. seide (Ω164), and the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. seýden (Ω148 and Ω234). The predominant <ei>/<ey> reading in J is a probable Anglian feature which is shared with L, cf. § 49.2.

§ 49.7  The writing of <ʒ> is lost in M in the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. sade (Ω136). However, in the verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. seide (Ω164) and the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. seide (Ω234) OE ʒ /j/ is vocalized to/i/; a feature shared with L (§ 49.2) and J (§ 49.6).

§ 49.8  However, OE ʒ /j/ is vocalized to/i/ in all of the MSS (except L where it is not present) for the verb pp. ileid/y-leid/i-leýd/i-leid (Ω12).
§ 50 **OE palatal gg /dz/**

Late OE /dz/, written <cʒ> in the twelfth century (§ 192). Example from CL are:

The verb inf. bugge/bugge/bugen/begen/biggen/biggen (Ω403; Ω403) and the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. abuged(abuges)/abuget/abugged (Ω204: D, E2, E1 and J: OE a-byca), but abuged (T), abuged (L); the verb inf. segen/siggen/sigge/sege (Ω94; Ω96 not in D and M; Ω156 etc. OE siggan), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. siggel (Ω148: M only, OE secg(e) and the verb pr. 1st sg. segge (Ω326: J, OE sege); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. lecgel/leggel (Ω331: D, E2, E1, J and M, OE lecgad (inf. lecgan) but leged (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 ʒ originally stood before j(i), then probably already in late OE assimilation 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. lange (Ω3, Ω176; Ω221 etc.: OE lange); the noun kinge (Ω64 and Ω366) and pl. kinges (Ω335); the verb acting as a noun in erminge (Ω65); the noun pl. binges (Ω403); the noun pl. angles/angles (Ω96 and Ω295) and the pl. possessive form angles (Ω367 and Ω393) the movement to /dz/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the noun pl. horlinges (Ω108: OE noun hore + suffix –ling); the verbal noun biginninge (Ω124: OE be-ginnan); the verb pp. imeng (Ω151: OE ge-menged); the noun hunger (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE hungor); the noun pl. efininges (Ω171: OE efining); the noun pronge (Ω177 and Ω220); the verb pp. pl. (Ω182: OE sprungen); the noun nifinges (Ω241: OE nifing); the pl. verbal noun puninges (Ω373 cf. § 51.3 for the sg. form poning: OE wánian); the adj. pl. stronge (Ω294 OE stræng); the noun tunge (Ω300: from OE tunge); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. singed (Ω322: OE singan); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hanged (Ω323: OE hangad); the noun pl. erminges (Ω334: OE earning); the adj geunger (Ω337: OE ongera); 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 déor-ling).

§ 51.2 However, T writes <ng> /ŋg/ in the noun strengede (Ω328) but /ŋg/ is devoiced to /ŋk/, written <k>, before <k> in strencke (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. prongipse (Ω49) but <g> is missing, devoiced to /ŋ/ before <p>, in prongipse (Ω96); the noun king (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the noun sg. and pl. ping, also with neg no. (Ω78, Ω86, Ω101 etc.); the noun ofsprung/ofospring (Ω205 and Ω218: OE of-spring); the verbal noun poning (Ω244 cf. § 51.1 for the pl. form puninges :
OE wánian) and the verbal noun raunig (Ω266: OE réáfian).

§ 51.4 In medial position in L OE g in the group n3 /ŋ/ is written <ng> in the adv. longe (Ω3, Ω176 and Ω221: OE lange); the verb acting as a noun in earninge (Ω65): the noun pl. engles (Ω96) the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the noun pl. ordlinghes (Ω108: OE noun hore + 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 etinge); the noun pronge/prange (Ω177 and Ω220); the noun strengle (Ω177); the verb pp. pl. sprunge (Ω182: OE sprungen) and the noun nipinges (Ω241: OE nipinge).

§ 51.5 However, in the verb pp. meind (Ω151: OE ge-menged) /ŋ/ is devoiced to /ŋ/ before <d>.

§ 51.6 L also writes <gg> and omits <n> for OE /ŋ/ in the verbal noun biginnigge (Ω124: OE be-ginnan).

§ 51.7 In final position in L OE g in the group n3 /ŋ/ is written <ng> in the noun ğung (Ω4: OE geong); the adj. prangpise/ prangoise (Ω49 and Ω269: OE wrang); the noun king (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.); the noun sg. and pl. bing, also with neg na, (Ω86, Ω101, Ω277 etc.); the noun of-spring (Ω218: OE of-spring); the verbal noun paninge (Ω244: OE wánian); the verbal noun tening (Ω266 OE teóinian) and the adj. sg. strong (Ω327: OE strang).

§ 51.8 In medial position in D OE g in the group n3 /ŋ/ 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. binges (Ω331 and Ω403); the noun pl. engles (Ω295) and the pl. possessive form englene/engles (Ω367 and Ω393) the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the noun pl. horlinges (Ω108: OE noun hore + suffix –ling); the verbal noun biginninge (Ω124: OE be-ginnan); the verbal noun endinge (Ω125: OE endung); the verb pp. imainged (Ω151: OE ge-menged); the noun hunger/hunge (Ω154, Ω240, Ω336 etc.: OE hungor) but omits <n> in huger (Ω206); the noun pl. eueningges (Ω171 OE eting); the noun pronge (Ω177 and Ω220); the verb pp. pl. asprungen (Ω182: OE sprungen); the noun nipinges (Ω241: OE nipinge); the pl. verbal noun poniinge (Ω373: OE wánian) the verbal noun reaung (Ω266: OE réáfian); the adj. pl. stronge (Ω294: OE strang); the noun tunge (Ω300: from OE tunge); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sing (Ω322: OE singan); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. honge (Ω323: OE hanga); the noun pl. arminges (Ω334: OE earring); 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, /ŋ/ is written <nh>, probably /ʃ/, before <d> in the noun strenhde (Ω177).

§ 51.10 In final position in D OE g in the group n3 /ŋ/ is written <ng> in the noun ğung (Ω4: OE geong); the adj. prangpise (Ω269: OE wrang); the noun king (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the noun sg. and pl. bing, often with neg no. (Ω78, Ω79, Ω86 etc.); the noun ospring/ospreng (Ω205 and Ω218: note: <s> missing in both readings, OE of-spring) and the adj. sg. strang (Ω327: OE strang).
§ 51.11 In medial position in E2 OE /ŋ/ is written <ng> in the adv. lange (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE læge); the noun kinge (Ω264 and Ω366) and pl. kinges (Ω335); the verb acting as a noun in earninge (Ω65); the noun pl. óinge (Ω331); the noun pl. engles (Ω96) and the pl. possessive form engle (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. euninges/ (Ω171: OE efining); the noun prange (Ω177; and Ω220); the verb pp. pl. isprunges (Ω182: OE sprungen); the noun niðinges (Ω241: OE niþing); the verbal noun pl. pununges (Ω373: cf. § 51.14 for the sg. form pununge: OE wáñian); the adj. pl. strange (Ω294: OE strang); the noun tunge (Ω300: from OE tunge); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. singan (Ω322: OE singan); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hanget (Ω323: OE hangad); the noun pl. erminges (Ω334: OE earning); 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> /ŋ/ in the the noun strengðe (Ω328) but /ŋ/ is devoiced to /ŋk/, written <ñ>, before <ñ> in strengðe (Ω177).

§ 51.13 In E2 <ñ> is absent before <g> in the verbal noun bi-ginnige (Ω124: OE be-ginnan).

§ 51.14 In final position in E2 OE /ŋ/ is written <ng> in the noun ðyng (Ω4: OE geong); the noun king (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the noun sg. and pl. ðingþing, also with neg na (Ω86, Ω101, Ω277 etc.); the verb pp. imeng (Ω151: OE ge-menged), where <ŋ> 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 wáñian); the verbal noun reauing (Ω266: OE reáñian) and the adj. sg. strang (Ω327: OE strang).

§ 51.15 However /ŋ/ is devoiced to /ŋk/ before <ñ>, in the adj. prancpise/pranc-pise (Ω49 and Ω269: OE wrang).
§ 51.16 In medial position in E1 OE *g* in the group n3 /ng/ is written <ng> in the adv. *lange/longs* (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the noun *kinne* (Ω64 and Ω366) and pl. *kinnes* (Ω35); the verb acting as a noun in the *erninge* (Ω65); the noun pl. *bingle(s)* (Ω31 and Ω403); the noun pl. *engles* (Ω96) and the pl. possessive form *englene/engles* (Ω367 and Ω393), the movement to /dʒ/ took place in the thirteenth century under French influence (OED); the noun pl. *horlinges* (Ω108: OE *hurre +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 *hununga*); the noun pl. *heueninges* (Ω171: OE *eining*); the noun *prange/pronge* (Ω177 and Ω220); the verb pp. *isprungge* (Ω182: OE sprungen); the noun *nilpinges* (Ω224: OE *niping*); the adj. pl. *stronge* (Ω294: OE *strang*); the verbal noun pl. *punienges* (Ω373: cf. § 51.18 for the sg. form *pange* OE *wánian*); the noun *tunge* (Ω300: from OE *tung*); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *sing* (Ω322: OE *singing*); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *hanged* (Ω323: OE *hang*); the verbal noun pl. *erninges* (Ω334): the adj *sgeonger* (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 *durlinges* (Ω402: OE *döör-ling*).

§ 51.17 However, E1 writes <ng> /ng/ in the noun *strength* (Ω177) but /ng/ is devoiced to /ŋk/, written <nk>, before <d> in *strenck* (Ω328).

§ 51.18 In final position in E1 OE *g* in the group n3 /ng/ 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 *kinne* (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the noun sg. and pl. *binge*; also with neg no. (Ω86, Ω101 Ω384 and Ω404) but devoiced to /ŋk/ in *binc* (Ω277); the verb pp. *inmeng* (Ω151: OE *ge-meng*); the noun of *spring* /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 *réian*) and the adj. sg. *stronge* (Ω327: OE *strange*).

§ 51.19 In medial position in J OE *g* in the group n3 /ng/ is written <ng> in the adv. *longe* (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.: OE *lange*); the noun *kinne* (Ω64 and Ω366) and pl. *kynge* (Ω35); the verb acting as a noun in the *erninge* (Ω65); the noun pl. *bingle* (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/ordlinges* (Ω108: OE *hurre +suffix –ling*); the verbal noun *bigynnyng* (Ω124: OE *be-ginnan*); the verbal noun *endinge* (Ω125: OE *endung*); the noun *hunger* (Ω154, Ω206, Ω240 etc.: OE *hununga*); the noun pl. *eunyles* (Ω171: OE *eining*); the noun *wronge* (Ω177 and Ω220); the noun *strenck* (Ω177 and Ω328); the noun *nybingle* (Ω241: OE *niping*); the verbal noun pl. *wonynges* (Ω373: cf. § 51.21 for the sg. form in *wonyng*; OE *wánian*); the adj. pl. *stronge* (Ω294 OE *strang*); the noun *tunge* (Ω300: from OE *tung*); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *sýng* (Ω322: OE *singing*); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *honge* (Ω323: OE *hang*); the noun pl. *armynenges* (Ω334: OE *arming*); the adj *yonge* (Ω337: OE *geongra*); the verb inf. *brýng* (Ω365) and the pr. sbj. 3rd sg. *bringe* (Ω414 OE *bringan*); the noun *songe* (Ω367: OE *sang*); the verb pp. *vunderoune* (Ω369: OE *under-fangen*) and the pl. noun *derlinges* (Ω402: OE *döör-ling*).

§ 51.20 However, in the verb pp. *meýnd* (Ω51: OE *ge-meng* /ng/ is simplified to /y/ before <d> (/g/ is lost).
§ 51.21 In final position in J OE /g is written <ng> in the noun ʒung (Ω4: OE geong); the adj. wrongwise (Ω49 and Ω269: OE wrang); the noun king/kyng (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the noun sg. and pl. ƿing, also with neg no. (Ω86, Ω87, Ω159 etc.); the noun ofspring (Ω205 and Ω218: OE of-spring); the verbal noun wonyng (Ω244: cf. § 51.19 for the pl. form in wonynges: OE wâñian); the verbal noun reuing (Ω266: OE réáfían) and the adj. sg. strong (Ω327: OE strang).

§ 51.22 In medial position in M OE /g is written <ng> in the adv. longe/lange (Ω3, Ω122, Ω221 etc.: OE länge); the adj. pronge/prongepise (Ω49 and Ω269: OE wrang) and the noun ʒpronge (Ω220); the noun kinge (Ω64 and Ω366) and pl. kinges (Ω335); the noun pl. angles (Ω96) and the pl. possessive form anglexe (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. ʒsprungen (Ω182: OE sprungen); the verb inf. bringe (Ω189: OE bringan); the noun pl. eldringles (Ω202: M only) from OE ildran; the noun ʒnipinges (Ω241: OE ƿipinge); the adj. functioning as a noun hungri (Ω243: OE hungrig); the adj. pl. stronge (Ω294: OE strang); the verb pr. ind. ʒr. hongeþ (Ω323: OE hangdr); the verb inf. bringe (Ω365) and the pr. subj. ʒr. 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 poniggs (Ω373: OE wánian). This would appears 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. eueniggs (Ω171: OE efting) and the noun pl. erniggs (Ω334: OE earring).

§ 51.24 In M /ŋ/ is devoiced to /ŋk/ before <þ> in the verb pr. ind. ʒr. sincþ (Ω322: OE singan).

§ 51.25 In final position in M OE /g in the group ng is written <ng> in the noun ʒung (Ω4: OE geong); the noun king (Ω51, Ω81 and Ω227); the noun sg. and pl. ƿing, also with neg no. (Ω86, Ω101, Ω139 etc.); the noun ofspring (Ω218: OE of-spring); the verbal noun reuing (Ω266: OE réáfían) and the adj. sg. form in strong (Ω326 and Ω327: OE strang).
§ 52 Initial position and before a vowel

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 (Ω: M only); the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. helpen (Ω: 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/himselfe/him-sulfne/him-seolue (Ω14); the pron. 3rd sg. he (Ω14); the verb pp. 1st sg. hudde/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. ahe (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 hechte (Ω43); the verb ind. 1st pl. hoge (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/ripe/rapen/reowe* (Ω22) and *repe/n/reope/reope/rewe* (Ω371); the OE noun *hlátorde* is written *louerd/lauerd* (Ω81 and Ω196) in all texts apart from E2 (the most conservative of the texts) where *<h>* is retained in *hlauord* (both occasions); the *adv. ræder/ræder/ræde* (Ω138); the OE verb *hlystan* is written *lusten/ileste* (Ω237) in L, E1, J and M but in T, D and E2 *<h>* is written in *hlesten/hlusten*; the same *verb* is written *lsten/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. hipile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc. cf. §§ 54.2 for *<ph>* in *phile*) and as an *adv. (Ω342); the pron. *hpate* (Ω802, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *adv. ai+hpate* (Ω90) and *elles-hpate* (Ω342); the *pron. hpane* (Ω98, Ω110, Ω213 and Ω341) *etc.; the *adv. hipi* (Ω109, Ω110, etc.); the *pron. hpon* (Ω110); the *adv. hipilke* (Ω137); the *pron. hpa* (Ω140); the *adv. hpike* (Ω143); the *pron. hpane* (Ω213), although it is written without *<p>* in *hom* (Ω98) and the *pron. hpeper* (Ω249). There are no occurrences of *<ph>* in the text.

§ 54.2 In T *<ph>* is written once only in the *cj. phile* (Ω314).

§ 54.3 In L *<hp>* is retained in the *cj. hipile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.); the *pron. hpate/hpate* (Ω80: note that it is written *<p>* in *pet* earlier in the same line, Ω92, Ω94, Ω98, Ω108, Ω257; the *adv. hpi* (Ω109, Ω110, etc.); the *pron. hpon* (Ω110); the *adv. hpike* (Ω137); the *pron. hpa* (Ω140); the *adv. hpike* (Ω143); the *pron. hpane* (Ω213), although it is written without *<p>* in *hom* (Ω98) and the *pron. hpeper* (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, etc.); the *pron. pet/pate* (Ω80: note that it is written *<hp>* in *hpate* later in the same line, Ω96, Ω142, etc.); the *adv. uþper* (Ω90) and the *pron. paþse* (Ω119).

§ 54.5 D writes *<hp>* in the *cj. hipile* (Ω34, Ω41, Ω56 etc.) and as an *adv. (Ω342); the pron. *hpate/hpate/hwete* (Ω802, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); the *adv. aiþhpate* (Ω90), *hper* (Ω249) and *elles-hwere* (Ω342); the *adv. hpi* (Ω110) and as a *pron. (Ω110 and Ω213); the *adv. hpike/hpiche* (Ω137, Ω143); the *pron. hpane* (Ω140) and *hpo-so* (Ω226) the *pron. hpane* (Ω3412). 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. penne* (Ω36); the *cj. hipile* (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and as an *adv. (Ω342); the *pron. hpate* (Ω80, Ω94, Ω96 etc.) the *pron. hpane* (Ω98, Ω110, Ω213 and Ω341 cf. §§ 54.7 in the same line as Ω341 it is written *phan*); the *adv. hpi* (Ω110); the *pron. hpane* (Ω119); the *pron. hpane* (Ω140); the *adv. hipilke* (Ω143); the *adv. elles-hpate* (Ω342).
§ 54.8 It is written \(<\text{ph}>\) in the pron. \(\text{phet} (\Omega 292)\); the \(\text{cj. phede}\) (\(\Omega 136)\); the \(\text{adj. philce} (\Omega 137)\); the pron. \(\text{phede} (\Omega 249)\) and the pron. \(\text{phan} (\Omega 341)\); cf. §. 54.7 in the same line it is written \(\text{hpan}\).  

§ 54.9 \(\text{E1}\) regularly writes \(<\text{p}>\) on its own in the \(\text{cj. pyle/pile} (\Omega 28, \Omega 33, \Omega 36 \text{ etc.})\) and as an \(\text{adv.} (\Omega 342)\); the pron. \(\text{pat/pet} (\Omega 80, \Omega 92, \Omega 94 \text{ etc.})\); the adv. \(\text{par} (\Omega 88)\); the pron. \(\text{pan} (\Omega 98, \Omega 210 \text{ and } \Omega 341^{(2)})\); the adv. \(\text{pulche} (\Omega 137)\); the pron. \(\text{po} (\Omega 140)\); the adj. \(\text{pilce} (\Omega 143)\); the pron. \(\text{pilcer} (\Omega 249)\); the adv. \(\text{pare} (\Omega 342)\) and the \(\text{cj. panne} (\Omega 217)\).  

§ 54.10 However, \(<\text{hp}>\) is retained in the \(\text{cj. hpile} (\Omega 22, \Omega 24 \text{ and } \Omega 34)\) and as a \(\text{noun} (\Omega 156)\); the pron. \(\text{hpae/hpet} (\Omega 98, \Omega 108, \Omega 142 \text{ etc.})\); the adv. \(\text{hpi} (\Omega 110)\); the pron. \(\text{ha-se} (\Omega 119)\); the \(\text{cj. hpeder} (\Omega 136)\) and the adv. \(\text{elles-hpare} (\Omega 343)\).  

The combination \(<\text{ph}>\) is not found at all in \(\text{E1}\).  

§ 54.11 In J \(<\text{hw}>\) is retained in the \(\text{cj. hwenne} (\Omega 6, \Omega 23, \Omega 36 \text{ etc.})\); in the \(\text{cj. hwile} (\Omega 22, \Omega 24, \Omega 28 \text{ etc.})\) and in the adv. \(\Omega 342\); in the pron. \(\text{hwa}t (\Omega 80^{(2)}, \Omega 92, \Omega 94 \text{ etc.})\); the adv. \(\text{hwer} (\Omega 85)\); the adv. \(\text{ic-hwer} (\Omega 90)\); the pron. \(\text{hwan} (\Omega 98 \text{ and } \Omega 341^{(2)})\); the adv. \(\text{hi} (\Omega 110^{(2)})\); the adv. \(\text{hider} (\Omega 127)\); the \(\text{cj. hwi} (\Omega 134)\); the adv. \(\text{hwich/hwic} \text{h} (\Omega 137 \text{ and } \Omega 143)\); the pron. \(\text{hwo} (\Omega 140, \Omega 147 \text{ and } \Omega 387)\) and \(\text{hwo-so} (\Omega 371)\); the pron. \(\text{hweiber} (\Omega 249)\); the pron. \(\text{pl. hwom} (\Omega 254)\) and the adv. \(\text{elles-hware} (\Omega 342)\).  

§ 54.12 J writes \(<\text{wh}>\) only once in the pron. \(\text{whon} (\Omega 213)\).  

§ 54.13 The reading in M is regularly \(<\text{ph}>\) in the \(\text{cj. phane/phanne} (\Omega 6, \Omega 23, \Omega 36 \text{ etc.})\); the pron. \(\text{phat} (\Omega 6, \Omega 80, \Omega 92 \text{ etc.})\) and as an adv. \(\Omega 110^{(2)}\); the \(\text{cj. phile} (\Omega 22, \Omega 24, \Omega 33 \text{ etc.})\); the adv. \(\text{phider} (\Omega 88)\); the pron. \(\text{ham} (\Omega 98)\); the adv. \(\text{phiche} (\Omega 137)\); the pron. \(\text{pho-so} (\Omega 139)\); the pron. \(\text{pho} (\Omega 140)\) and the pron. \(\text{hpo-so} (\Omega 371)\); the pron. \(\text{phan} (\Omega 164, \Omega 213 \text{ and } \Omega 341)\); the pron. \(\text{phaiber} (\Omega 249)\) and the adv. \(\text{phar-of} (\Omega 341)\).  

§ 54.14 However, M writes \(<\text{hu}>\) in the pron. \(\text{huat} (\Omega 96)\) and the adj. \(\text{huiche} (\Omega 143)\).
\textbf{§ 55} \textit{The writing of} \textit{h} \textit{in the combination} \textit{ht}

In medial position \textit{h} had largely disappeared in OE between voiced sounds (especially between vowels). Medial \textit{h} remains in ME in the group \textit{ht} (=/xt/) as a velar fricative \textit{<ht–ʒt-ght>} (Jordan § 196).

\textbf{§ 55.1} In T OE \textit{ht} is always retained, for example in the \textit{verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg.} \textit{mihte} (Ω16) and the \textit{verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl.} \textit{mihte} (Ω53; T) from OE \textit{miht}; the \textit{noun ahte} (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE \textit{æht}; the \textit{verb pp. unboht} (Ω60) from OE \textit{boht}; the \textit{noun rihtwisnesse} (Ω73) from the OE \textit{rihtwisnes}; the \textit{adj. pl. brihte} (Ω76) from the OE \textit{boehrht}; the \textit{noun mihte} (Ω78) from OE \textit{meaht}; the \textit{noun nihte} (Ω79 and Ω82) from the OE \textit{nht}; the \textit{noun pihte} (Ω80) from the OE \textit{wijht}; the \textit{noun drihte} (Ω81) from the OE \textit{dryhten}; the \textit{noun unruiht} (Ω95) from OE \textit{un-riht} etc.

\textbf{§ 55.2} L writes mostly \textit{<ht>} in the \textit{verb pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. ahte} (Ω2) from OE \textit{ahte} (see footnote 4); the \textit{verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg.} \textit{mihte} (Ω16) from OE \textit{miht}; the \textit{noun rihtwisnesse} (Ω73) from the OE \textit{rihtwisnis}; the \textit{noun lihte} (Ω77) from the OE \textit{loht}; the \textit{noun mihte} (Ω78) from OE \textit{meaht}; the \textit{noun noht} (Ω78) from OE \textit{nó-wiht}; the \textit{noun nihte} (Ω79) from the OE \textit{nht}; the \textit{noun pihte} (Ω80) from the OE \textit{wijht}; the \textit{noun drihten} (Ω81) from the OE \textit{dryhten}; the \textit{noun unruiht} (Ω95) from OE \textit{un-riht} etc.

\textbf{§ 55.3} However, it is a regular feature of L to find \textit{<cht>} written in this position in the \textit{verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg.} \textit{michte} (Ω19) and the \textit{verb pa. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl.} \textit{michte} (Ω53) from OE \textit{miht}; the \textit{noun echte} (Ω43 and Ω56); the \textit{adj. pl. brichte} (Ω76) from the OE \textit{boehrht}; the \textit{adv. (neg.) nocht} (Ω139), although once \textit{naut} (Ω223), from the OE \textit{nó-wiht}; the \textit{verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. ut-brochte} (Ω192) from the OE \textit{brohte}; the \textit{noun tichte} (Ω223) from OE \textit{ge-wiht}; the \textit{noun echte} (Ω282) from OE \textit{æht}; the \textit{verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. hecht} (Ω283) from OE \textit{heht} and the \textit{verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. tachte} (Ω283) from OE \textit{tæht} etc.

\textbf{§ 55.4} D writes mostly \textit{<ht>} in the \textit{verb pp. vnboht} (Ω60) from OE \textit{boht}; the \textit{noun rihtwisnesse} (Ω73) from the OE \textit{rihtwisnis}; the \textit{adj. pl. brihte} (Ω76) from the OE \textit{boehrht}; the \textit{noun lihte} (Ω77) from the OE \textit{loht}; the \textit{noun mihte} (Ω78) from OE \textit{meaht}; the \textit{noun nihte} (Ω79) from the OE \textit{nht}; the \textit{noun pihte} (Ω80) from the OE \textit{wijht}; the \textit{noun drihten} (Ω81) from the OE \textit{dryhten} etc.

\textbf{§ 55.5} However, in D, the writing \textit{<cht>} is found in the \textit{verb pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. echte} (Ω2) from OE \textit{ahte} (see footnote 4); the \textit{noun hecht/echte} (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE \textit{æht} and the \textit{noun eghte} (Ω282) from OE \textit{æht}. D also writes \textit{<ch>} in the \textit{verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. tichede} (Ω283) from OE \textit{tyhte}, \textit{<o> in the verb pa. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. tachte} (Ω283) from OE \textit{tēht} and \textit{<gt>} in the \textit{noun egte} (Ω332) from OE \textit{æht}.

\textbf{§ 55.6} D also writes \textit{<gt>} in the \textit{verb pp. bikagte} (Ω333) which comes from Old Northern French \textit{cachier} which eventually replaced Old English \textit{leccan}, Middle English \textit{lachen}. Hence, the past tense is \textit{cahte}, \textit{cauhte}, \textit{cautzte}, \textit{caught}, like \textit{lahte}, \textit{lauhte}, \textit{lauzte}, \textit{laught}. (OED).

\textbf{§ 55.7} D writes \textit{<ht>} in the \textit{noun isihat} (Ω297) and \textit{isihþe} (Ω382) where all remaining texts have \textit{<ht>} or \textit{<gt>}; this is from OE \textit{sihþ} – (h/θ has changed to \textit{<t>}: Jordan § 198 remark 2.)
§ 55.8 In E2 OE *ht* is always retained, for example in the verb *pa. 1st sg. miht* (Ω16 and Ω19) and the verb *pa. 3rd pl. miht* (Ω53) from OE *miht*; the noun *ehte* (Ω56) from OE *eht*; the verb *pp. un-boht* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the noun *rihtwisnesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwis*; the adj. *pl. brihte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohht*; the noun *lihte* (Ω77) from the OE *leohht*; the noun *miht* (Ω78) from OE *meahht*; the noun *naht* (Ω78) from OE *ná-wiht*; the noun *niht* (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 ᵇuhte* (Ω286) from OE *brihte*.

§ 55.10 E1 mostly writes <ht> in the verb *pa. 1st sg. myhte* (Ω16 and Ω19) from OE *miht*; the noun *ehte* (Ω56) from OE *eht*; the noun *miht* (Ω78) from OE *meahht*; the noun *niht* (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 <ht>) from the OE *dryhten*; the noun *unriht* (Ω95) from OE *un-riht* etc.

§ 55.11 However, there is considerable variation in this text with the omission of <b> in the adv. (neg) *nout* (Ω49, Ω199, Ω302 and Ω396, ) and *nopit* (Ω76) from OE *nó-wiht* the verb *pp. vn-bout* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the noun *ritginesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwis*; the adj. *pl. britte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohht*; the noun *nout* (Ω77, Ω304, Ω307); the noun *drihte* (Ω115 see Ω81 where it is written <ht> and Ω124 where it is <ht>) from the OE *dryhten*; the noun *drihte* (Ω124: <b> 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-brouhte* (Ω192) from the OE *brohte* and the addition of <b> before <ht> in the noun *lithte* (Ω77) from the OE *leohht* 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 *eht*.

§ 55.12 In J OE *ht* is always retained, for example in the verb *pa. 1st sg. myhte* (Ω16) and the verb *pa. 3rd pl. myhte* (Ω53) from OE *miht*; the noun *ayhte* (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE *eht*; the verb *pp. vn-bouht* (Ω60) from OE *boht*; the noun *ryhtwisnesse* (Ω73) from the OE *rihtwis*; the adj. *pl. brihte* (Ω76) from the OE *beohht*; the noun *lyhte* (Ω77); the noun *myhte* (Ω78 and Ω97) from OE *meahht*; the noun *nowiht* (Ω78) from OE *ná-wiht*; the noun *nyhte* (Ω79) from the OE *niht*; the noun *pihte* (Ω80) from the OE *wiht*; the noun *dryhtel* (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 <ʒ> for OE ħt, for example, in the noun miste (Ωi: M only reading) from OE meaht; the verb pr. subj. 3rd sg. ȝisht from OE dihtan; the noun unȝist (Ωii) from OE wiht; the noun nost (Ωiii) from OE neaht; the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ȝaste (Ω2) from OE ahhte;664 the verb pa. 1st sg. ȝistte (Ω16) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. miste (Ω49, Ω51 and Ω53) from OE miht; the noun ȝeste (Ω43 and Ω56) from OE æht; the verb pp. unboȝht (Ω60) from OE boht; the noun riȝtspinness (Ω73) from the OE riȝtvisnesse; the adj. pl. briotste (Ω76) from the OE bohrt; the noun liȝste (Ω77) from the OE leocht; the noun piȝste (Ω80) from the OE wiht; the noun driȝste (Ω81) from the OE dryhten; the noun almist (Ω83) from OE xel-mihtig etc.

§ 56 In final position the velar fricative [x] and the palatal fricative [ç] (allophones of /hu/) 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 <b> is written in final position for the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. oh (Ω2: OE ah (agan) – cf. fn. 321); the cj. ȝeih (Ω4, Ω105 and Ω190): OE ȝeah) and the adv. ȝeih (Ω172: OE ȝeaih); the prep. thurh (Ω42 cf. § 56.3 for <ch> in burch: OE ȝurh/ȝurg); the verb pa. 3rd sg. i-ȝeih (Ω274: OE seah) and the noun i-nogh (Ω404 cf § 56.2 inogh: OE ge-nôg –nôh).

§ 56.2 In T <çh> is written in final position in the noun inogh (Ω402 cf. § 56.1 i-nogh: OE ge-nôg –nôh).

§ 56.3 In T <ch> is written in final position in the prep. burch (Ω42 cf. § 56.1 thurh: OE ȝurh/ȝurg).

§ 56.4 In T it is written, before final –e, without /ç/ in the adj. sg. and pl. heie (Ω295 and Ω363: OE ȝeaih) and functioning as a plural noun heie (Ω171).

§ 56.5 In L <b> is written in final position for the cj. ȝah (Ω4 cf. § ȝach/ȝech: OE ȝeaih); the prep. ȝurh (Ω42: OE ȝurh/ȝurg);

§ 56.6 In L <ch> is written in final position for the cj. ȝach/ȝech (Ω105 and Ω190: cf. § ȝah: OE ȝeaih) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. i-ȝeich (Ω274: OE seah).

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664 This is the use of the OE pa. (3rd sg.) form in expression of pr. meaning; L and D share this reading (ahhte and ȝocht) 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 ȝaste)
§ 56.7 In D <h> is written in final position for the prep. ðurh (Ω42 cf. § 56.8 for <ch> in ðuch: OE ðurh/pūrg) and the noun i-nōh (Ω402 and Ω404: OE ge-nōg –nōh). It is written <ç> (before final –e) in the adj. sg. and pl. hege (Ω94 and Ω295: OE heáh) and when functioning as a noun pl. hege (Ω171).

§ 56.8 In D <çh> is written in final position in the cj. þegh/baeh (Ω4, Ω105, Ω119 and Ω190\(^2\): OE þeah) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. i-segh (Ω274: OE seah).

§ 56.9 In D <ch> is written in final position in the the prep. ðuch (Ω42 cf. § 56.7 for ðurh: OE ðurh/pūrg).

§ 56.10 In D <ᵹ> is written in final position in the adv. ðeð (Ω177: OE þeáh).

§ 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. ðeh (Ω172: OE þeáh); the prep. ðurh (Ω42 cf. § 56.12 for <ch> in ðuch: OE ðurh/pūrg) 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. ðuch (Ω42 cf. § 56.11 for ðurh: OE ðurh/pūrg).

§ 56.13 In E2 it is written as <ç>, before final –e, in the adj. sg. and pl. hege/hege (Ω295 and Ω363: OE heáh) and when functioning as a noun pl. hege (Ω171).

§ 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. ðurh (Ω42\(^2\): OE ðurh/pūrg) and the noun i-nōh (Ω402 cf. § 56.18 inou: OE ge-nōg –nōh).

§ 56.15 In E1 <ç> is written (with final –e) in the noun poxe (Ω49: OE wóh) and the adj. hege (Ω363: OE heáh).

§ 56.16 In E1 <ch> is written in final position for the cj. þech (Ω4 cf. § 56.17 þei: OE þeáh).

§ 56.17 In E1 <i> is written in final position for the cj. þei (Ω105 and Ω190 cf. § 56.16 þech: OE þeáh) and the adv. þei (Ω172: OE þeáh), and the verb pa. 3rd sg. sei (Ω274 OE seah).

§ 56.18 In E1 <ᵹ> is written in final position in the noun inou (Ω402: OE ge-nōg –nōh).

§ 56.19 In J <h> is written in final position for the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. aäh (Ω2: OE ah (agan) – cf. fn. 4); the cj. þah/ðeh (Ω4, Ω105, Ω190 OE þeah); the prep. ðurh (Ω42\(^2\): OE ðurh/pūrg); the verb pa. 3rd sg. i-sēyð (Ω274: OE seah) and the noun i-nōu (Ω402 and Ω404: OE ge-nōg –nōh).

§ 56.20 In J it is written without /ç/, before final –e, in the adj. heye (Ω363: OE heáh).
§ 56.21 In M <ʒ> is written in final position for the cj. Ƿʒ (Ω4, Ω105, Ω234: OE þeah); the prep. Ƿʒ (Ω42 and Ω213: OE þurh/purh). It is written <ʒ> (before final –e) in the adj. sg. and pl. Ƿʒe (Ω94, Ω295 and Ω363x2: OE heah) and when functioning as a noun pl. Ƿʒe (Ω295).

§ 57 The OE Prefix Ƿge

All versions of the text retain a prefix in Ƿ;/Ƿ, although its usage is irregular and can vary between texts and within the same text, which comes from the OE Ƿge by way of the intermediary Ƿȝi 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. Ƿge-lad (Ω5), the noun Ƿge-spynch (Ω37) and Ƿge-spinch (Ω203), the adv. Ƿge-lome (Ω48) and twice in E2 in the adv. Ƿge-lome (Ω48), the noun pl. Ƿge-sceafte (Ω86).
§ 58 **Voicing in f/v/u**

In ME, as in OE, the labiodental $\acute{f}$ 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$>$ as well as [v].

§ 58.1 T always writes OE unvoiced [f] as $<$f$>$ in initial position, as in the adj. pl. fele ($\Omega$29 and $\Omega$10); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. folged ($\Omega$14); the prep. for ($\Omega$17$^{\times 2}$, $\Omega$19$^{\times 2}$, $\Omega$26$^{\times 2}$ etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. forgiete ($\Omega$26); the cj. for ($\Omega$29, $\Omega$35); the noun frend ($\Omega$31); the verb inf. forgiete ($\Omega$35); the adj. acting as a noun fremde ($\Omega$35) 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 ($\Omega$5); in the pref. of (dinke) ($\Omega$10); the prep. of ($\Omega$21$^{\times 2}$); the reflex. pron. 2nd sg. be-self ($\Omega$30); the noun wif ($\Omega$32); the reflex. pron. 3rd sg. him-self ($\Omega$33) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the adv. ofte ($\Omega$22, $\Omega$37, $\Omega$48, $\Omega$58 etc.); the adv. after ($\Omega$29), after-[bat] ($\Omega$180, $\Omega$375), after-[pane]-be ($\Omega$375); the adv. eft ($\Omega$53, $\Omega$55, $\Omega$59, $\Omega$164 etc.); the prep after ($\Omega$65, $\Omega$124, $\Omega$125, $\Omega$184 etc.); the noun lofte ($\Omega$85); the noun pl. safte ($\Omega$86) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. giefō ($\Omega$153).

§ 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$>$: the noun juel ($\Omega$20); the adj. alie (u $\Omega$24 and $\Omega$33); the noun piue ($\Omega$25), pive ($\Omega$26) and wiue ($\Omega$32: note that it is $<$f$>$ earlier in the same line when in final position); the reflex. pron. 3rd sg. him-self ($\Omega$21$^{\times 2}$); the noun heuene ($\Omega$28); the quant. card. seuene ($\Omega$29: rhyme); the comp. adj. leuere ($\Omega$30) etc. except in the reflex. pron. 3rd sg. him-selfen ($\Omega$14, $\Omega$112) and the reflex. pron. 3rd sg. him-self ($\Omega$26); the prep before (n) ($\Omega$19, $\Omega$28, $\Omega$63 etc.) and the adv. before ($\Omega$29) the compound adj. afric ($\Omega$33), africh ($\Omega$66), afri ($\Omega$122); the adv. afre ($\Omega$88, $\Omega$160, $\Omega$250, $\Omega$258 etc.); the adv. nafre ($\Omega$99, $\Omega$128$^{\times 2}$, $\Omega$189, $\Omega$191 etc.); the noun pl. deflen ($\Omega$100), the possessive noun defles ($\Omega$267); the adv. afremo ($\Omega$111, $\Omega$209); the noun pl. efninges ($\Omega$171) and the adj. pl. arefe-haeld ($\Omega$326).

§ 58.4 $<$f$>$ has disappeared before d (Jordan § 216) in the verb pa. 1st sg. hadde ($\Omega$16) from OE hæfde and the verb pa. 3rd sg. hadde ($\Omega$144, $\Omega$156) from OE hæfde.

§ 58.5 L always writes OE unvoiced [f] as $<$f$>$ in initial position, as in the adv. ful ($\Omega$6); the verb 3rd sg. (bi) fealt ($\Omega$7); the adj. pl. folęe ($\Omega$9 and $\Omega$10); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. folieð ($\Omega$14); the prep. for ($\Omega$17$^{\times 2}$, $\Omega$19$^{\times 2}$, $\Omega$26$^{\times 2}$ etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. forgiet ($\Omega$26); the cj. for ($\Omega$29); the noun frend ($\Omega$31); the cj. for ($\Omega$35); the verb inf. forgiete ($\Omega$35); the adj. acting as a noun fremde ($\Omega$35) etc. but $<$u$>$ in the noun pl. (i)uere ($\Omega$240); the adj. uersc.
§ 58.6 The writing of $<$, 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 (Ω21x2); the reflex. pron. 2nd sg. be-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-bet (Ω180); the adv. eft (Ω53, Ω55, Ω59, Ω63 etc.); the prep. eft (Ω65, Ω184, Ω244, Ω330 etc.); the noun lifte (Ω85); the noun pl. scfite (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 $<$: the adj. aluie (Ω24 and Ω33); the noun piue (Ω25, Ω26 and Ω32: note that it is $<$ 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. before(n) (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.), and the adv. biren (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 $<$: in the verb pa. ind. 1st sg. hefde (Ω16); the pa. ind 1st pl. hefdan (Ω52); the verb pa. 3rd sg. hefde (Ω144).

§ 58.9 D demonstrates transition to voicing in initial position when followed by a voiced element and regularly writes $<$ initially in the adj. pl. vele (Ω29 and Ω10); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. volget (Ω14); the prep. vor and uor (Ω17x2 Ω19x2, Ω26x2 etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. vorget (Ω26); the cj. vor (Ω35); the verb inf. uorgite (Ω35) etc. however, although less numerous, $<$ is also written throughout the text, for example, the cj. for (Ω29, Ω39, Ω51, Ω58 etc.); the noun fremde (Ω35); the adv. afirst (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 $<$, 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 (benched) (Ω10); the prep. of (Ω21x2); 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), efter-bet (Ω180, Ω372) and after-ban-bet (Ω375); the adv. eft (Ω53, Ω59, Ω63, Ω160 etc.); the prep. eft 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 Ω23) and hine selue (Ω26); the prep biuore(n) (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and the adv. biuore (Ω29); the noun uuele (Ω20 and Ω27); the adj. aliu (Ω24 and Ω33); the verb subj. 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. haue(Ω41); the pron pl. selue (Ω47) etc. but it is <f> in the noun pl. deoflen (Ω100) and the possessive noun deofles (Ω186), defles (Ω202), diefle (Ω207) and noun diefle (Ω284); the noun life (Ω120; note that it rhymes with drieu) and the verb inf. eftin (Ω410: from OE efstan).

§ 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).

§ 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. folge(f) (Ω14); the prep. for (Ω17x2, Ω19x2, Ω26x2 etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-gut (Ω26); the noun freond (Ω31); the cj. for (Ω35); the verb inf. forge-ti (Ω35); the adj. acting as a noun fremde (Ω35) etc. but the noun pl. (ju)erva (Ω105; possibly due to the influence of the prep.) 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 prep. of (pinchot) (Ω10); the prep. of (Ω21x2); the reflex. pron. 2nd sg. be-sulfe (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-sulfe (Ω14, Ω34); the adv. oft (Ω22, Ω37, Ω48, Ω58 etc.); the adv. after (Ω29 and Ω124), after-bet (Ω180), after-ban-be (Ω375) and after-dan-bet; the adv. eft (Ω53, Ω59, Ω63, Ω64 etc.; the prep after/after (Ω65, Ω184, Ω204, Ω244 etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hefd (Ω67, Ω122, Ω150 etc.); the noun lufte (Ω85); the noun pl. sceafte (Ω86); the verb pr. 3rd sg. naft (Ω139) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. gif (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. arich (Ω33); the reflex. pron 3rd sg. him sulue (Ω33); the adj. aliu (Ω33 etc. but it is written <f> in the the prep be-fore(n)/bi-fore (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 deofles (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.
§ 58.17 El always writes OE unvoiced [f] as <f> in initial position, as in the adj. pl. *feol* (Ω9 and Ω10); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *folcena* (Ω14); the prep. for (Ω17x², Ω19x², Ω26x² etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *for-gut* (Ω26); the cj. for (Ω29, Ω31, Ω35); the noun *freond* (Ω31); the verb inf. *for-gyten* (Ω35); the adj. acting as a noun *frenden* (Ω35) except for in the quant. card. *vyue* (Ω29) and the noun pl/1/-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 *binched* (Ω10); the prep. of (Ω21x²); the reflex. pron. 2nd sg. *bi-self* (Ω30); the noun *pif* (Ω32); the reflex pron. 3rd sg. *him-sulfe* (Ω34) etc. and in medial position where it is adjacent to one unvoiced sound, for example, in the reflex pron. 3rd sg. *him-sulfe* (Ω14); the adv. oft/often (Ω22, Ω37, Ω48, Ω58 etc.); the adv. after (Ω29), after-*ban* (Ω180), after-*ban-*be (Ω37x²); the adv. eft (Ω53, Ω56, Ω59, Ω63 etc.); the prep after (Ω65, Ω124, Ω184, Ω205 etc.); the noun *lofte* (Ω85); the noun pl. *scefta* (Ω86); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *hefbi* (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 <v>/v>: the reflex. pron. 3rd sg. *him-belue* (Ω26, Ω33); the adj. *vuele* (Ω27); the adj. pl. *alue* (Ω28); the quant. card. *vyue* (Ω29); the comp. adj. *leure* (Ω30); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *haued* (Ω41); the noun *heuen-riche* (Ω43); the noun *beve* (Ω44); the noun *suuel* (Ω47) etc. but it is written <f> in the the prep be-*fore*/*bi-*fore* (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and the the adv. *before* (Ω29); adj. *a-life* (Ω24); the noun *pife/pýfe* (Ω25, Ω26, Ω32); the adj. *alife* (Ω33); the adj. *afrech* (Ω33); the noun pl. *deolfe* (Ω100, Ω267), the possessive noun *deolfe* (Ω202, Ω347) and the noun *deofel* (Ω225) and deolfa (Ω284); the noun *suelfer* (Ω278).

§ 58.20 <f> has disappeared before d’ (Jordan § 216) in the verb pa. 1st sg. *hadde* (Ω16) from OE *haefde* and the verb pa. 3rd sg. *hadde* (Ω144, Ω156 from OE *haefde*.

§ 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 <w> in the previous line); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *folwele* (Ω14); the adj. *fol* (Ω15); the prep. for (Ω17x², Ω19x², Ω26x² etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *for-yet* (Ω26); the noun *freond* (Ω31); the verb inf. *for-yete* (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 <w> in the adv. pl. *veole* (Ω9; note that is 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. *vynde* (Ω55); the prefix *vorf* 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 *binched* (Ω10); the prep. of (Ω21x²); the reflex. pron. 2nd sg. *bi-self* (Ω30); the noun *wif* (Ω32); the verb sbj. pr. 3rd sg. *yef* (Ω127: note- all other texts have –e and are written <w>) (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-*bat
§ 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 the reflex. pron. 3rd sg. him-seoleu (Ω14 and Ω26, Ω33, Ω34); the prep. pl. fele (Ω10: note that it was written <-> in the previous line); the prep. for (Ω17x2, Ω19: note it is <-> later in the same line); the noun frend (Ω31); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. forget; the verb pp. (a)fered (Ω44); the noun fure (Ω44); the adj. fairest (Ω52); the verb inf. finde (Ω53, Ω55); the suffix (hundred)felde (Ω55) the verb pp. (if)unde (Ω69) etc. but <-> <-> in the adj. pl. vele (Ω9: note that it is written <-> in the following line); in the prep. uor (Ω19: note that it is <-> earlier in the same line, Ω26x2 and Ω57); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. uorget (Ω26); the prep. (bi)uore (Ω33); the cj. uor (Ω34, Ω39, Ω44, Ω72, ); the verb inf. uorgete (Ω35); the adj. acting as a noun uremde (Ω35); the adv. (a)uirst (Ω38); the inf. marker uor (Ω54); the verb inf. (i)vynde (Ω59); the prep. (to) – uore (Ω64) etc.

§ 58.26 The writing of <->, for OE [f], is retained, throughout this and all other texts, in final position, for example, the prep. of (Ω1x2, Ω3x2, Ω4x2, Ω11x2 etc.); in the noun lif (Ω5); the reflex. pron. 2nd sg. bi-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. 3rd sg. zef (Ω72 and Ω153); the noun lefte (Ω85); the noun pl. scefte (Ω86); the adv. after-pan (Ω180) and after-bat-bat (Ω375) etc.

§ 58.27 In medial position <-> is written in the reflex. pron. 3rd 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 <-> earlier in the same line when in final position); the adj. euerich (Ω33); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. haue (Ω41); the noun heuenriche (Ω43) etc. but <-> in the prep bi-fore (Ω19)

§ 58.28 <-> has disappeared before d (Jordan § 216) in the verb pa. 3rd sg. hadde (Ω16) from OE hæfde and the verb pa. 3rd 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 ə in all texts, for example, the verb inf. habbe/habben (Ω16, Ω40, Ω46 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. haueð/haueþ/haueþ/haueþ (Ω41, Ω65, Ω71 etc.) from OE hafa and the neg. of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. naueð/naueþ/naueþ/naueþ (Ω139; not in L which writes naif and E2 which has naïf; see section on æ § 63ff.), the verb pr. ind 1st pl. habbeð/habbeþ/habbeþ/habbeþ (Ω52: T, E1 and J and Ω201) and the neg. of the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. nabbeð/nabbeþ/nabbeþ/nabbeþ (Ω101 and Ω248 not in M which writes ne habbeþ).

Ω395 T, D and E1 only), 665 the verb inf. fare/fareþ/vareþ (Ω185: not in E1, Ω187: T, L, D and J), 666 the verb ind. 3rd pl. fareð/vareþ/vareþ/vareþ/vareþ/vareþ/fareþ/fareþ/fareþ (Ω245, Ω385: not in L, Ω361: not in L), 667 and the verb inf. babien/bacie (Ω258: L, D, E2 and E1).

§ 60  OE a before a Nasal:

In late OE the back sound /ɔ/, written ə, was characteristic for the Anglian dialect while in the (West) Saxon geographical area it was written ə. 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 Worcestershire) – before nasals, before lengthening groups and with lengthening in open syllables. The remaining territories, therefore the EML, South and North, have a. (Jordan § 80 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 ə in forms of the the sg. noun man (Ω21 etc., 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 manneses (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and mani-manneses (Ω37: note a before n in mani) etc.; the noun iþanke (Ω70) and þanke (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. þanþanþe/ þanne (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.: ModE when) and the pl. noun manke (Ω71).

665 For the 1st sg., the pa. and sbj. forms of the verb and the verb pr. ind. 3rd 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 § 6: for Prim. Gmc. a > æ in OE see Campbell §131 and §133 and for the restoration of Æ before back vowels see Campbell §157; for the complete paradigm of Class III weak verbs, including habban, see Baker p.78 or Wright §538.)

666 For the retention of Germanic a in the verb inf. of OE fare (strong verb class 6) see Wright §57.

667 The 3rd sg. ind. version of this verb found at Ω386, even though written ə in ME, will be discussed in æ due to i-mutation during the OE period.
§ 60.2 L writes <o> in forms of 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 monnnes (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and monies-monnnes (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 danke (Ω254); <a> in the adv. danne (Ω169); <a> in the cj. banne (Ω21: ModE than) and <a> in the pl. noun manke (Ω71).

§ 60.3 D writes <a> in forms of the sg. noun man (Ω21², 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)ban (Ω72, Ω92, Ω113 etc.) but it is <o> in the noun ponke (Ω70 and Ω254); <a> in the adv. banne (Ω41, Ω57, Ω121 etc.); the cj. banne (Ω21, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE than) and the cj. banne (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.: ModE when) and it is <o> in the pl. noun manke (Ω71).

§ 60.4 E2 writes <a> in forms of the sg. noun man (Ω21, Ω33, Ω40 etc.), manne (Ω21), no-man/naman/na-man (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), mani-man (Ω39: note a before n in mani), seniman (Ω69), the possessive noun mannes (Ω31, Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and manies-mannes (Ω37: note a before n in manies) etc.; the noun ibanke (Ω70), banke (Ω72), ābanke (Ω254); it is <a> in the cj. banne (Ω2, Ω21: ModE than) and the cj. banne (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 banke (Ω70) and ban (Ω72 and Ω92) but ponke (Ω254); the adv. banne (Ω41, Ω123, Ω168 etc.); <a> in the cj. banne/pan (Ω2, Ω21, Ω29 etc.: ModE than); <a> in the cj. banne (Ω6, Ω134, Ω246: ModE when), banne (Ω36, Ω417: ModE when) and ābanne (Ω159: ModE when) and <a> in the pl. noun manke (Ω71).

§ 60.6 J writes <o> in forms of the sg. noun mon (Ω15, Ω21², Ω33 etc.), no-mon/nomon (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), mony-mon (Ω39: note o before n in mony), the poss. noun monnes (Ω92, Ω118 etc.) and monies-monnnes (Ω37: note o before n in monies) but <a> in the possessive noun mannes (Ω31) etc.; <o> in the noun bonk (Ω72 and Ω92) and <a> in the cj. ban/bane (Ω1, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE than).

§ 60.7 M writes <a> in forms of the sg. noun man (Ω21², 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-monnnes (Ω37: note a before n in manies) etc. the adv. banne (Ω41, Ω57, Ω130 etc.) and ban (Ω121); the cj. ban/e (Ω1, Ω2, Ω21 etc.: ModE than) and the cj. phane/phane (Ω6, Ω23, Ω36 etc.: ModE when); but writes <o> in the noun bonke (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 à 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. hange (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. hange (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. prangpise (Ω49); the adj. sg. and pl. strang(e) (Ω294 and Ω327) and the verb ind. 3rd sg. hange (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. lange (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 ◊ for the adv. longe (Ω3, Ω176, Ω221 etc.); the noun wronge (Ω170 and Ω220) and the the adj. wrongwise (Ω49); the adj. sg. and pl. strong(e) (Ω294 and Ω327) and the verb ind. 3rd sg. honge (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 ◊ for the adv. longe (Ω3, Ω221, Ω327 etc.) but lange (Ω330), ◊ in the noun ypronge (Ω220) and the adj. pronge; the adj. sg. and pl. strong(e) (Ω294 and Ω327); the verb ind. 3rd sg. honge (Ω323) and before the lengthening group nd in the noun sg. and pl. honde (Ω83 and Ω201) and the verb pp. yfonded (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 ◊ (along with the Norman writing ◊) remained in the twelfth century. However, in the WML and Kent the more fronted sound (written ◊ but sometimes ◊ 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 Mosse § 24)

This topographically and chronologically graduated transition to a is important for a study of the CL. T in most instances writes ◊, 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 ◊ being written for OE æ, including after p in the noun petere/peter, where in E1, a slightly later text, these instances of ◊ are more sporadic with a transition to ◊ demonstrable 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 ◊ with a mixture of ◊. L writes the noun petre (Ω84) and peter (Ω261) but pater/patere (Ω151, Ω203 and Ω253). However in J, a later text, the transition to a, written ◊, is almost complete and the noun wattere/wateres/water (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.) is written. In D, which displays many Kentish features, there are mostly instances of ◊ writings, including the noun peter (Ω151 and Ω261) but some ◊ including pater (Ω253). M, which is the most recent text to be written, only has ◊ 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. subj. 1st pl. haben (Ω103), the verb pa. 1st sg. hadde (Ω16), the verb pa. 3rd sg. hafed (Ω144 and Ω156); <æ> in the noun almessen (Ω29 and Ω312); the adv. after (Ω29) and the prep. after (Ω65, Ω124, Ω125 etc.); the noun patere/pater (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the pron. hpet (Ω80², 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 brec: in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); the noun bað (Ω229); but <œ> in the pron. hpeðer (Ω249) and <œ> in the noun sed (Ω405).

§ 63.2 In L OE æ is <œ> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe/abbe (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.) but <œ> in the verb pa. 1st sg. hafede (Ω16), the verb pa. 3rd sg. hafede (Ω144) and hafed (Ω156: miswritten for hafed?); <œ> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. efê (Ω180: where not followed by a front vowel in OE); <œ> in the noun elmesse (Ω29); the adv. after (Ω29) and the prep. after (Ω65, Ω124, Ω184 etc.); the noun petere (Ω84, ) and peter (Ω261) but pater/patere (Ω151, Ω203 and Ω253); <œ> in the pron. pet/hpet (Ω80², Ω92, Ω96 etc.) but hpet (Ω92, Ω257); <œ> in the noun feder (Ω157) but <œ> in fader (Ω195) and in the possessive noun fader (Ω204: as part of foreme-fader); <œ> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brec (Ω192: OE brec: in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <œ> in the noun bað (Ω229) and <œ> in the pron. hpeðer (Ω249).

§ 63.3 In D OE æ is <œ> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the verb pr. subj. 1st pl. habben (Ω103), the verb pa. 1st sg. hadde (Ω16) but <œ> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. hedde (Ω144) and <œ> in hauede (Ω156); <œ> in the noun almessen (Ω29, Ω312); the adv. after (Ω29) and the prep. after/efer (sic) (Ω65, Ω184, Ω205 etc.); the noun peter (Ω151 and Ω261) but pater (Ω253); <œ> in the pron. pet/hpet (Ω80², Ω94, Ω108 etc.) but hpet (Ω92); <œ> in the noun vader (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the possessive noun uader (Ω204: as part of vormes-uader); <œ> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brec (Ω192: OE brec: in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); the noun behð (Ω229) and <œ> in the noun sed (Ω405).

§ 63.4 In E2 OE æ is <œ> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. habbe/habb (Ω3, Ω5, Ω7 etc.), the verb pr. subj. 1st pl. habbe (Ω103), and <œ> in the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. hafed (Ω122, Ω150 and Ω181) and in the neg. nafed (Ω139) but it is written <œ> in the heð (Ω67): from OE heafed, where all other MSS write haed (from OE hafað); <œ> in the verb pa. 1st sg. hadde (Ω16) but <œ> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. hedde (Ω144 and Ω156); <œ> in the noun almessen (Ω29 and Ω312); <œ> in the prep. after (Ω184, Ω205, Ω244 and Ω380) but <œ> in the adv. after (Ω29) and the prep. after (Ω65 and Ω124); <œ> in the noun petere/pater (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the pron. hpet/hpet (Ω24, Ω80, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); <œ> in the noun feder (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the possessive noun faderes (Ω204: as part of foremes-faderes); <œ> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brec (Ω192: OE brec: in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <œ> in the noun bað (Ω229) and <œ> in the pron. pheðer (Ω249).
§ 63.5 In El OE a 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 after (Ω330); <a> in the noun patere/pater (Ω84, Ω151, Ω203 etc.); the pron. pat/phet (Ω80, Ω92, Ω96, Ω98, Ω142 and Ω343: hpet written in the same line) but pet/phet (Ω24, Ω94, Ω103, Ω257, Ω341 and Ω343: hpet 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.); <a> in the noun bead (Ω229: (after a, a > ea) see Jordan p.54); <a> in the pron. peper (Ω249) and <a> in the noun sed (Ω405).

§ 63.6 In J OE a 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 almesse/amesse (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, Ω92, Ω94 etc.); <a> in the noun fader/vader (Ω157 and Ω195) and in the possessive noun faderes (Ω204: as part of foreme-faderes); <a> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brek (Ω192: OE bræc in the 1st and 3rd sg. pa.); <a> in the noun baþ (Ω229) and <a> in the pron. hlweþer (Ω249).

§ 63.7 In M OE a 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 hujat (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:/ /e:/ 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 /dy/ in siggen ‘to say’. (Jordan § 34).
§ 64.4 In T OE e is <e> in the verb inf. beren (Ω98) and the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) pl. bere\(\tilde{\text{e}}\) (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, Ω95, Ω156 etc.); the verb inf. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) pl. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω199 and Ω339) and the verb pr. ind. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) pl. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω80); the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) sg. bi-ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω340), the verb pr. ind. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sg. bi-ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω34); the noun sellich (Ω190); before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun ende (Ω53, Ω87\(^{\text{x}2}\), 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 stren\(\text{e}\)/streng\(\text{e}\) (Ω177 and Ω328) and the verb pp. imengd (Ω151); but <e> the noun pl. engles (Ω96) and <e> 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. beren (Ω98) and in the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) pl. bere\(\tilde{\text{e}}\) (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)ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω123, Ω158 and Ω265); the verb pr. ind. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sg. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω34: contracted form of OE ðænæn), the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) pl. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\) (Ω199) and the verb pr. ind. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) pl. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)/benke (Ω340 and Ω199); the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) sg. bi-ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)/benke (Ω6) but it is written <\(\text{u}\)> in the noun sullic (Ω190: WS syll. with rounding to /\(\text{y}\)/); before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun ende (Ω53, Ω87\(^{\text{x}2}\), Ω126 etc.) and the adj. ende-læse (Ω150); <e> in the noun pl. bende/bendes (Ω141, Ω189 and Ω197); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the noun stren\(\text{e}\)/streng\(\text{e}\) (Ω177) and in the noun pl. engles (Ω96 and Ω295) but <e> in the verb pp. meind (Ω151).

§ 64.6 In D OE e is <e> in the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) pl. bere\(\tilde{\text{e}}\) (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\(^{\text{x}2}\), Ω126\(^{\text{x}2}\) etc.) and the adj. ende-læs (Ω150); the verb inf. (i)ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)(en) (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) pl. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\) (Ω199) and the verb pr. ind. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) pl. ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\) (Ω80); the verb pr. ind. f\(^{\prime}\) sg. bi-ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)/benke (Ω6 and Ω340) and the verb pr. ind. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sg. bi-ben\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)/benke (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 stren\(\text{e}\)(en) (Ω177); the noun pl. engles (Ω96) and the pl. possessive engle/ne/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)benche (Ω123, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. benche/penche (Ω199 and Ω339), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. šenchet (Ω80); the verb inf. bi-šench (Ω340), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bi·-benche (Ω6) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-šencoð (Ω34); the noun sellich (Ω190): before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun ende (Ω53, Ω87 etc.); before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun pl. bende/bendes (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197 and Ω304); before lengthening group [ŋg] in the noun strengə/strengə (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)benche (Ω123, Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. be·-ben (Ω34), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. benche/penche (Ω199 and Ω339), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. šenchet/penche (Ω80 and Ω199); the verb inf. bi·benche (Ω340) but <e> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bi·benche (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 etc.); before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun pl. bende/bendes (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197 and Ω415) and the adj. endeliese (Ω150); <e> in 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. 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.); the verb inf. benche (Ω158, Ω265, Ω300 and Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. benche (Ω199 and Ω339), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi·penkB (Ω34), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. šench (Ω80); the verb inf. bi·šench (Ω340) and the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bi·penche (Ω6); the verb inf. segge(n) (Ω94, Ω96, Ω156 etc.) but it is written <e> in sellich (Ω190 W5 syllic. with rounding to /y/) before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun ende (Ω53, Ω87, Ω126 etc.) and the adj. endeliese (Ω150); <e> in the noun pl. bende/bendes (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197, Ω304 and Ω415); <e> before lengthening group [ŋg] in the noun strengIr/strengIr (Ω177 and Ω328); the noun pl. engles (Ω96) and the pl. possessive englene (Ω367 and Ω393) but <e> 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. 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 <e> in the verb inf. sigge (Ω94 and Ω156: cf. § 64: usually Kentish or East Anglian form); the verb inf. bænche (Ω345), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bænche ð (Ωii, Ω212), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. bænche ð (Ω199); the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. bænche ð (Ω66 and Ω340) but <e> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bænche ð (Ω34) (cf. § 64.2, usually an East Anglian form); before lengthening group nd it is <e> in the noun ende/end (Ω53, Ω87 etc., Ω126 etc.) and the adj. endeles (Ω150); <e> in the noun pl. bænde/bændes (Ω141, Ω189, Ω197 and Ω415); before lengthening group ld it is <e> in felde (Ω360); <e> before lengthening group [ng] in the verb pp. imengd (Ω151); but <e> 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 /ə/ 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 nolde forms found in L (see § 65.4).

§ 65.3 In T OE o is <e> in the prep. bifoer/biforen (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and adv. biforen (Ω29); <e> in the noun bode (Ω273) and the noun pl. bode (Ω307); <e> in the noun borde (Ω322); <e> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. nolde (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. nolde/nolde (Ω251 and Ω256); <e> in the verb pa. ind. 1st sg. polde (Ω17), the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. polde (Ω36, Ω156, Ω158 and Ω160), the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polde (Ω50), the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. polde (Ω200) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polden (Ω257 and Ω280); <e> in the noun pl. sorge (Ω175) and noun sg. sorge (Ω149, Ω203 and Ω215) but <e> in sarege (Ω391).

§ 65.4 In L OE o is <e> in the prep. bi-foire/biforen/bi-foran (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and adv. biforen (Ω29); the noun borde (Ω273); <e> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. nolde (Ω251 and Ω256) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. nolde (Ω145) but <e> in nolde (Ω194, Ω195, Ω274 and Ω276); <e> 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 <e> 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 example; <e> 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/bifore (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. nolde (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. nolde/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. polde (Ω50) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polde (Ω200) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polde (Ω257); <o> in the noun sorge (Ω149, Ω203, Ω215 and Ω391) and the noun pl. sorge (Ω175).

§ 65.6 In E2 OE o is <o> in the prep. be-fore/bi-fore/be-fore (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and adv. bi-fore (Ω29); the noun bode (Ω273) and the noun pl. bi-bode (Ω307); the noun borde (Ω311); <o> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. nolde (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. nolde/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. 3rd pl. polde (Ω200) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polde (Ω257 and Ω280); <o> in the noun sorge/sorgen (Ω203 and Ω215) and the noun pl. sorge (Ω175).

§ 65.7 In E1 OE o is <o> in the prep. be-fore/be-fore/be-fore (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. nolde (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. nolde/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. polde (Ω50) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polde (Ω200) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. polden/polde (Ω257 and Ω280); the noun sorge/sorepen/sorepe (Ω203, Ω215 and Ω391).

§ 65.8 In J OE o is <o> in the prep. bi-fore/bivoren/bivore/be-vore/be-voren (Ω19, Ω28, Ω64 etc.) and adv. bi-uore (Ω29); the noun bode (Ω273) and the noun pl. forbode (Ω307); the noun borde (Ω311); <o> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. nolde (Ω145, Ω194, Ω195 etc.) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. nolde/nolde (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. wolde (Ω257); it is <o> in the noun sowe (Ω203) but <o> in the noun sowerewe (Ω149, Ω215 and Ω391: influence of OE soerjean (Jordan § 35: Remark 3).

§ 65.9 In M OE o is <o> in the prep. bivore/bioure (Ω19, Ω89, Ω98 etc.) and the prep. to-uore (Ω64); the noun borde (Ω311); <o> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. nolde (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 sore3e (Ω149 and Ω203) and the noun pl. sorce (Ω175).
§ 66  
OE i

§ 66.1  The change of \( y \rightarrow i \) (§ 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 \( i \) but \( y \) 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 \( [i] > [e] \) 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 \( e \) in closed syllables, particularly in the vicinity of labials, liquids, \( /l/ \) and \( /tl/ \). (Jordan § 36).

§ 66.4  Further neutralizing takes place under the influence of \( w \). In late OE \( wr\)- often yielded \( wy\)-, these forms were continued into ME often written \( <w> \) as a result of \( /y/ > /u/ \) (Jordan § 36), thus \( wulle \) etc. below.

§ 66.5  In T OE \( i \) is \( <i> \) in the verb inf. \( bidde \) (\( \Omega 130 \) and \( \Omega 303 \)), the verb pr. ind. 1\( ^{st} \) sg. \( bidde \) (\( \Omega 141 \)), the verb pr. ind 3\( ^{rd} \) sg. \( bidde \) (\( \Omega 132 \)) and the cont. form \( bit \) (\( \Omega 131 \) and \( \Omega 370 \)); before the lengthening consonant group \( ld \) it is \( <i> \) in the noun \( childe \) (\( \Omega 3, \Omega 25, \Omega 26 \) and \( \Omega 157 \)); \( <i> \) in the verb inf. \( finde \) (\( \Omega 53, \Omega 55, \Omega 59 \) etc.) and the verb pr. ind 1\( ^{st} \) pl. \( finde \) (\( \Omega 343 \)); \( <i> \) in the verb inf. \( binden \) (\( \Omega 227 \)); the noun (\( pil/pille/pill \) (\( \Omega 14, \Omega 74, \Omega 84 \) etc.); \( <i> \) in the verb pr. ind. 3\( ^{rd} \) sg. \( pile \) (\( \Omega 40, \Omega 56, \Omega 325 \) etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3\( ^{rd} \) pl. \( pille \) (\( \Omega 35, \Omega 100, \Omega 102 \) etc.), \( <i> \) in the verb pr. ind. 1\( ^{st} \) sg. \( pille \) (\( \Omega 234, \Omega 236, \Omega 239 \) etc.) but it is \( <u> \) in \( pule \) (\( \Omega 164 \), § 66.4); \( <i> \) in the noun \( pit \) (\( \Omega 2 \)); \( <i> \) in the verb inf. \( piten \) (\( \Omega 399 \)), the verb pr. ind. 3\( ^{rd} \) pl. \( piten \) (\( \Omega 305 \)), the verb pa. 1\( ^{st} \) sg. \( ipiste \) (\( \Omega 18 \)); \( <u> \) in the noun \( ofspring \) (\( \Omega 208 \)) but \( <e> \) in \( ofspring \) (\( \Omega 218 \), § 66.3); \( <i> \) in the noun \( ispinc/ispinc \) (\( \Omega 37, \Omega 58, \Omega 203 \) etc.) but \( <u> \) in \( spunche \) (\( \Omega 215 \) and \( \Omega 386 \) cf. § 66.4); \( <i> \) in the quant. ord. \( bride \) (\( \Omega 145 \)); \( <i> \) in the demonstrative adj. \( bis \) (\( \Omega 69, \Omega 262 \); sg. nom. neut. OE \( \Omega \) \( bis \)) (\( \Omega 202, \Omega 207 \); sg. ac. masc. OE \( \Omega \) \( bisne \), \( \Omega \) \( 282 \); sg. gen. fem. OE \( \Omega \) \( bisse \), \( \Omega \) \( bisre \); \( <e> \) in the demonstrative adj. \( de \) (\( \Omega 323 \); dat. pl. OE \( \Omega \) \( dissim \)) (\( \Omega \) \( 339 \) and \( \Omega \) \( 396 \); sg. dat. neut. OE \( \Omega \) \( dissim \)) and \( \Omega \) \( 350 \): T writes the masc. sg. gen. form, from OE \( \Omega \) \( bisse \), for the fem. sg. gen., from OE \( \Omega \) \( bisse \), \( \Omega \) \( bisre \).

§ 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 \( n \) contracted with a following accented \( u \) to produce \( ny \)-. According to Campbell (§ 265) in I-W.S \( ne- \) was written for \( ny- \) with great frequency in forms of \( nyllan \) (\( nelle, nells, nele \)). 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. 3\( ^{rd} \) sg. \( nele \) (\( \Omega 128, \Omega 348 \)); \( ne + will: OE \) \( npell \)- often written: \( nyllan \) or \( nllen \), and in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 3\( ^{rd} \) pl. \( nller \) (\( \Omega 387 \); \( ne + will: OE \) \( npell \)- often written: \( nyllan \) or \( nllen \)), and in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 1\( ^{st} \) sg. \( nlle \) (\( \Omega 302 \); \( ne + will: OE \) \( npell \)- often written: \( nyllan \) or \( nllen \)). It is also written \( <e> \) in the neg. form of the verb pa. ind. 3\( ^{rd} \) pl. \( nesten \) (\( \Omega 236, \Omega 257 \) and \( \Omega 401 \): OE \( witan + neg \)) but \( <i> \) in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 3\( ^{rd} \) pl. \( niten \) (\( \Omega 249 \): OE \( witan + neg \)).
§ 66.7 In L OE i is <i> the verb inf. biden (Ω130), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bidde (Ω141), the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. bidde (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/pulled (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc.: cf. § 66.4), <i> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pule/pulle (Ω164, Ω234 and Ω239: cf. § 66.4) but <u> 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 ispinç/spine/spinke (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.); <u> in the quant. ord. berde (Ω145: cf. § 66.3 and a note on this occurrence in L in Jordan § 36); <i> in the demonstrative adj. bis (Ω262: sg. nom. neut. OE bie; Ω202, Ω207: sg. ac. masc. OE bise) and bisse (Ω282: sg. gen. fem. OE bisse, biser).

§ 66.8 See § 66.6 for OE yi- > 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. bidde (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. vinden/finden/finde/ vinde/unide (Ω53, Ω55 and Ω59 etc.); <i> in the verb inf. bide (Ω227); the noun pil/pille/pile (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); <i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pile (Ω40, Ω56, Ω325 etc.); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. pile (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc.), <i> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pile (Ω164, Ω234, Ω236 etc.); <i> in the noun wit (Ω2); the verb pa. 1st sg. ipiste (Ω18), <i> in the neg. form of the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. n testen (Ω401 cf. § 66.10: nesten); <i> in the noun ospring (Ω205: note that i has been corrected from e) but <i> in the noun ospreng (Ω218: § 66.3); <i> in the noun ispinç/spine/spinke (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.); <i> in the quant. ord. bi (Ω145); <i> in the demonstrative adj. bis (Ω202, Ω207: sg. ac. masc. OE bise), <i> in the demonstrative adj. bise (Ω323: dat. pl. OE bissum; Ω396: sg. dat. neut. OE bissum; Ω282: sg. gen. fem. OE bise, biser), bisses (Ω380: D uses the masc. gen. sg. form (OE bises) for the fem. gen. sg. form (OE bisse, biser).

§ 66.10 See § 66.6 for OE yi- > ny- : In D <i> 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/nite (Ω305: OE witan + neg.) but <i> 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. *bidde* (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. *bine* (Ω227); the noun *y-pil/ipille/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. *pule)/pulle* (Ω35, Ω100, Ω102 etc. cf. § 66.4), *<i>* in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. *pulle* (Ω164, Ω234, Ω226 etc. cf. § 66.4); *<i>* in the noun *pit* (Ω2); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *pite* (Ω305) but *<u>* in the verb pa. 1st sg. *a-pyste* (Ω18): cf. *<i>* is either written for *i* here § 66.1 or it is through an earlier stage of neutralization before writing § 66.4); *<i>* in the noun *of-spring* (Ω205, Ω218); *<i>* in the noun *ispinch* (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc.); *<i>* in the quant. ord. *bridde* (Ω145); *<i>* in the demonstrative adj. *his/dis* (Ω262: sg. nom. neut. OE *his*; Ω202, Ω207: sg. acc. masc. OE *hisne*; Ω282: sg. fem. gen. OE *hisse, hisre*); *<i>* in the demonstrative adj. *illesse* (Ω323: dat. pl. OE *illessum;* Ω339, Ω396: sg. dat. neut. OE *illessum*); *illesse* (Ω350: E2 uses the masc. gen. sg. form (OE *illesse*) for the fem. gen. sg. (OE *iisse, iisre*).

§ 66.12 See § 66.6 for OE *yi*—*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 *nipill*—often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) and *<i>* in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. *nele* (Ω302: *ne* + will: OE *nipill*—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. *bine* (Ω227); the noun *y-pil/pille/pille/i/pill* (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); *<i>* in the verb inf. *bine* (Ω227); the noun *y-pil/pille/pille/i/pill* (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); *<i>* in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *pule* (Ω56) but *<u>* in *pule)/pulle* (Ω40, Ω325, Ω346 etc. cf. § 66.4), *<i>* in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *pille* (Ω35) but *<u>* in *pulled/pullet/pulled* (Ω100, Ω102 and Ω287 cf. § 66.4), *<i>* in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. *pulle* (Ω164, Ω234, Ω226 etc. cf. § 66.4), *<i>* in the noun *pit* (Ω2); *<i>* in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *pite* (Ω305), *<u>* in the verb pa. 1st sg. *a-pyste* (Ω18); *<u>* in the noun *of-spring* (Ω205 cf. § 66.4) but *<i>* in *of-spring* (Ω218); *<i>* in the noun *ge-spynch* (Ω37 cf. *<y>* is either written for *i* here § 66.1 or it is through an earlier stage of neutralization before writing § 66.4) but *<i>* in *ispinch/ge-spynch/spinche* (Ω58, Ω203, Ω215 etc.); *<i>* in the quant. ord. *bridde* (Ω145); *<i>* in the demonstrative adj. *his* (Ω202, Ω207: sg. acc. masc. OE *hisne;* Ω282: sg. fem. gen. OE *hisse, hisre*); *<i>* in the demonstrative adj. *illesse* (Ω323: dat. pl. OE *illessum;* Ω339: sg. dat. neut. OE *illessum*); *illesse* (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 *yi*—*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 *nipill*—often written: *nyllan* or *nellan*) and the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. *nele* (Ω302: *ne* + will: OE *nipill*—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/nuste* (Ω236, Ω257 and Ω401).
§ 66.15 In J OE i is → in the verb inf. bidde (Ω30), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bidde (Ω141), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. cont. bit (Ω31, Ω32 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group ld it is → in the noun child/childe (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); → in the verb inf. vinden (Ω53) and written →y in the verb inf. (i)vynde/fynde (Ω20, Ω59, Ω90 etc. cf. § 66.1); →y in the verb pr. ind. bynde (Ω227 cf. § 66.1); the noun wil/wille (Ω14, Ω74, Ω84 etc.); → in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pile/wile (Ω35) but → in wille (Ω100, Ω102 and Ω237 cf. § 66.4); → in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pile/wile (Ω164, Ω239 and Ω316); →y in the noun wyt (Ω2 cf. § 66.1); →y in the verb inf. iwytan (Ω399 cf. § 66.1), → in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. witen (Ω305), → in the verb pa. 1st sg. wiste (Ω18); → in the noun ofspring (Ω205 and Ω218 cf. § 66.1); → in the noun (i)swýk/swýnke (Ω37, Ω58, Ω203 etc. cf. § 66.1); → in the demonstrative adj. bis (Ω202, Ω207: sg. ac. masc. OE bisne; Ω339: sg. dat. fem. OE bisse, pisre); → in the demonstrative adj. pisse (Ω323: dat. pl. OE bissum; Ω282: sg. gen. fem. OE bisse, pisre) (at Line Ω350 J writes πoes the nom. sg. fem. form for what should be the gen. sg. fem. OE pisse, bisre).

§ 66.16 See § 66.6 for OE y → ny-: In J → is written in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. nule (Ω128 and Ω387: ne + will:OE npill – often written: nyllen or nellan) in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. nule (Ω302: ne + will:OE npill – often written: nyllen or nellan); → in the neg. form of the verb pa. 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 → rather than ← 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 → in the verb inf. bidde (Ω30), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bidde (Ω32) and the cont. form in bit (Ω31 and Ω370); before the lengthening consonant group ld is → in the noun child/childe (Ω3, Ω25, Ω26 and Ω157); → in the verb inf. finde (Ω53, Ω55, Ω90 etc.); → in the verb inf. bidde (Ω227); the noun pile/pil (Ω74, Ω84, Ω90 etc.); → in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pile (Ω56), → in pile (Ω365 cf. § 66.4), the vowel is omitted in pile (Ω40 and Ω346), the vowel is omitted in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. pile (Ω164), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pile (Ω234 and Ω236) but → in pile (Ω239 and Ω316), the vowel is omitted in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. pile/pil (Ω35 and Ω237) but → in pile (Ω100 cf. § 66.4); → in the noun pit (Ω2); → in the verb pa. 1st sg. piste (Ω18); → in the noun ofspring (Ω218 cf. § 66.3); → in the noun yswynch/suinch (Ω37, Ω203, Ω331 etc.); → in the quant. ord. bidde (Ω145); → in the demonstrative adj. bis (Ω69: sg. nom. neut. OE bis; Ω202, Ω207: sg. ac. masc. OE bisne; Ω396: sg. dat. fem. OE bisse, pisre) and pisse (Ω282: sg. gen. fem. OE bisse, pisre).

§ 66.18 See § 66.6 for OE y → ny-: In M ← is written in the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. nele (Ω128, Ω348: ne + will:OE npill – often written: nyllen or nellan) and the neg. form of the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. nelle (Ω302: ne + will:OE npill – often written: nyllen or nellan); M writes ← 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. neste (Ω236 and Ω257).
§ 67  OE ŵ

In OE this sound was the ŵ-mutation of ū. 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 ŵ.
In the OE period, about 900, ŵ was unrounded and lowered to ɛ 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 ɛ (deriving from OE ŵ) could have also given rise to e. (Jordan § 39 and § 40 and Mosse § 29)

§ 67.2  The North and the East-Midlands where by unrounding it became ŵ, written ⟨i⟩ or ⟨y⟩.
Instances of unrounding to ŵ 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 ŵ 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 Mosse § 29)

§ 67.3  The WML (excluding almost the whole of Lancashire) and the South-West where ŵ 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 Mosse § 29)

§ 67.4  Special developments before palatized consonants
In the Southwest, unrounding of ŵ > ŵ 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/ or /dʒ/ in the twelfth century (Jordan § 43 and Mosse § 29).
§ 67.5 In T OE. $y$ is $<u>$ in the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ adj. dude ($\Omega^2$: OE dyde), the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ sg. dude ($\Omega^375$), the verb pa. $1^{st}$ pl. duden ($\Omega^99$), the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ pl. dude ($\Omega^283$) but $<$e$>$ in deden ($\Omega^279$ and $\Omega^280$), $<u>$ in the verb pa. $1^{st}$ pl. misleden ($\Omega^104$) and the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ pl. misleden ($\Omega^201$); $<e>$ in the adj. $<$e$>$ net ($\Omega^5$: OE un-nyr$)$; $<u>$ in the verb inf. $<$e$>$ dunche ($\Omega^63$) and in the verb pr. ind. $3^{rd}$ sg. $<$e$>$ dungen ($\Omega^212$, $\Omega^246$ and $\Omega^368$) but $<$u$>$ in $<$e$>$ dunche ($\Omega^5$); $<u>$ in the verb inf. of $<$e$>$ dunche ($\Omega^137$, $\Omega^214$ and $\Omega^387$) but $<$u$>$ in the verb $3^{rd}$ sg. ind. of $<$e$>$ dunche ($\Omega^173$); $<u>$ in the verb inf. gulte ($\Omega^224$); the verb pr. ind. $1^{st}$ pl. gulte ($\Omega^93$ and $\Omega^326$), the verb pp. gulte ($\Omega^11$); $<u>$ in the noun gult ($\Omega^173$ and $\Omega^204$) and the pl. gultes ($\Omega^287$ and $\Omega^329$); $<u>$ in the adj. muchel/muchele/mukel/muchel ($\Omega^12$, $\Omega^63$, $\Omega^74$ etc.; in lW-S $\hat{y}$ often becomes $\hat{\imath}$ in the neighbourhood of labials: $mice$ > $myce$ (Cambell § 318) and pl. muchele ($\Omega^301$); $<u>$ in the adv. muchel/muchel/much ($\Omega^14$, $\Omega^24$, $\Omega^61$ etc.); the noun muchel ($\Omega^370$); $<u>$ in the noun euel ($\Omega^60$, $\Omega^61$, $\Omega^201$ etc.) but $<j>$, $i$-longa, in juel ($\Omega^20$); $<e>$ in the adv. (for the sg. & pl.) euel/euele ($\Omega^27$, $\Omega^95$, $\Omega^126^{22}$ etc.); $<e>$ in the adv. euel/euele ($\Omega^179$, $\Omega^309$ and $\Omega^333$); $<u>$ in the noun furst ($\Omega^38$); $<e>$ in the noun king and heuen-kinge ($\Omega^51$, $\Omega^64$, $\Omega^81$ etc.; OE cyning) and pl. kinges ($\Omega^335$); $<u>$ in the verb inf. bugge ($\Omega^66$); $<e>$ in the adj. spilch ($\Omega^81^{22}$ and $\Omega^416^{22}$); before $h$ it is $<i>$ in the noun drihte/drihten ($\Omega^115$, $\Omega^124$, $\Omega^136$ etc.); $<e>$ in the noun senne ($\Omega^134$, $\Omega^203$, $\Omega^212$ etc.); $<u>$ in the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ pl. sunegeden ($\Omega^271$ and $\Omega^297$); the adj. hplech ($\Omega^143$); $<u>$ in the adj. murie ($\Omega^163$); the noun murihce ($\Omega^409$); $<e>$ in the noun steche ($\Omega^198$); $<e>$ in the noun kenne/kennes ($\Omega^213$ and $\Omega^376$) and (man)kene ($\Omega^318$, $\Omega^352$); $<e>$ in the noun unpenne ($\Omega^219$); $<e>$ in the verb inf. hlesten/hleste ($\Omega^237$, $\Omega^400$); $<e>$ in the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ sg. tihte ($\Omega^283$); $<u>$ in the verb inf. fulle ($\Omega^364$) and the verb $3^{rd}$ sg. fulle ($\Omega^324$) and $<u>$ in the noun hulle ($\Omega^363$).

§ 67.6 In T OE. $y$ is $<i>$ in the adj. litel/little ($\Omega^12$, $\Omega^47$, $\Omega^62$ etc.; $<e>$ in the adv. litel ($\Omega^142^{22}$ and $\Omega^273$); $<u>$ in the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ pl. hudden ($\Omega^169$); $<u>$ in the noun fure/fur ($\Omega^44$, $\Omega^159$, $\Omega^161$ etc. OE fyr$)$; $<e>$ in the noun here ($\Omega^46$: OE hyr$)$; $<u>$ in the verb inf. cuden ($\Omega^102$) but $<$e$>$ in the verb pa. $3^{rd}$ sg. kedde ($\Omega^200$) and $<e>$ in the adv. hpi ($\Omega^110$).
§ 67.7 In L OE y is <e> in the verb pa. 1st sg. ind. dude (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. bunchen (Ω63) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bunchet (Ω212 and Ω246) but <i> in bing (Ω5); <i> in the the verb inf. of bunch (Ω214), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of bing (Ω137) and the verb 3rd sg. of bingchet (Ω10); <u> in the verb inf. gulte (Ω224); the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. gulte (Ω93), the verb pp. gult (Ω11); <u> in the noun gult (Ω173 and Ω204); <u> in the adj. muchel/muche (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in IW-S ð often becomes ð in the neighbourhood of labials: micel > mycel (Cambell §318); <u> in the adv. muchel (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); <u> in the noun ufel/ufel/uele (Ω20, Ω60, Ω61 etc.); <u> in the adj. (for the sg. & pl.) ufel/ufel/uele (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126 etc.); <u> in the adv. ueste (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 murpe (Ω163); <u> in the noun stuche (Ω198); <u> in the noun cunne (Ω213); <u> in the noun unpinne (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 etc. and Ω273); <u> in the verb pp. ihud (Ω12 and Ω78: OE hydan); <u> in the noun fur/fur (Ω44, Ω59, Ω260 etc.); <u> in the verb inf. kude (Ω102) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. cudde (Ω200) and <i> in the adv. hpi (Ω110).
§ 67.9 In D OE y is <i> in the verb pa. 1st sg. <i>dede (Ω2: OE dyde) the verb pa. 3rd sg. <i>dede (Ω375) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. <i>doden (Ω283), <i> in the verb pa. 1st pl. <i>misdeden (Ω104) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. <i>misdeden (Ω201); <i> in the adj. <i>vene (Ω5: OE un-nyt); <i> in the verb <i>henche (Ω63) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. <i>henched (Ω212 and Ω246) but <i> in <i>bingen (Ω5 and Ω368); <i> in the verb inf. of <i>henche (Ω224), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of <i>henched (Ω10, Ω137 and Ω173); <i> in the verb inf. <i>gelte (Ω224); the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. <i>gelte (Ω93 and Ω326), verb pp. <i>igelt (Ω11); <i> in the noun gelt (Ω173 and Ω204); <i> in the adj. <i>muchel/muche/ muchel (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in 1W-S ƙ often becomes ƙ in the neighbourhood of labials: micel > mycel (Cambell §318) and pl. <i>muche (Ω301); <i> in the adv. <i>muche/muchele/muchel (Ω14, Ω25, Ω61 etc.); the noun <i>muche (Ω370); <i> in the noun <i>eulle/euel (Ω20, Ω60, Ω61 etc.); <i> in the adj. (for the sg. & pl.) <i>euele/euel (Ω27, Ω126 etc.); <i> in the adv. <i>eule (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <i> in the adv. <i>afirst (Ω38); <i> in the noun <i>king and <i>heuene-kinge/ heuenkinge (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE cyning) and pl. <i>kinges (Ω335); <i> in the verb inf. <i>beggen (Ω66); <i> in the adj. <i>spich (Ω81, Ω123, Ω416), spichne (Ω416) and the adj. pl. <i>spichne (Ω231); <i> in the noun lefte (Ω85); before h it is <i> in the noun <i> drihte/drihten (Ω115, Ω124, Ω136 etc.); <i> in the noun <i>senne (Ω134, Ω203, Ω212 etc.); <i> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. <i>sunegeden (Ω271); the adj. <i>hpich (Ω143); <i> in the noun <i>merhe/ merghe (Ω163 and Ω409); <i> in the noun <i>stecche (Ω198); <i> in the noun <i>kennke/kennes (Ω213, Ω376) and (man/kennke (Ω318 and Ω352); <i> in the noun <i>unpenne (Ω219) but <i> in <i>pinne (Ω259); <i> in the verb inf. <i>hlesten/lesten (Ω237 and Ω400); <i>- in the verb pa. 3rd sg. <i>tichede (Ω283) and <i>- in the verb 3rd sg. uoluel (Ω324).

§ 67.10 In D OE y is <i> in the adj. <i>litel/little (Ω12, Ω47, Ω62 etc.); <i> in the adv. <i>litel (Ω142 and Ω273); <i>- in the verb pa. 3rd pl. hidden (Ω169); <i> in the noun <i>fere/ver (Ω44, Ω159, Ω161 etc.); <i>- in the verb inf. <i>ked (Ω102) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. <i>kedde (Ω200) and <i>- in the adv. <i>hpi (Ω110).
§ 67.11 In E2 OE y is <w> in the verb pa. 1st sg. ind. dude (Ω2: OE dyde), the verb pa. 3rd sg. dude (Ω375), the verb pa. 1st pl. dude (Ω99), the verb pa. 3rd pl. dude (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω283), <w> 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-nut); <i> in the verb inf. ðinche (Ω63), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. biocð/ðinocð (Ω5, Ω368) but <e> in ðenocð (Ω212); <e> in the the verb inf. of ðinche (Ω214 and Ω387) the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-biocð (Ω173) and verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-ðinchet/ of-ðinchet (Ω10 and Ω137); <u> in the verb inf. gulte (Ω224); the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. gultet/gultes (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 IW-S ð often becomes ð in the neighbourhood of labials: micel > mycel (Cambell §318) but <i> in michel/michele (Ω63, Ω78 and Ω216); <y> in the adv. mychel (Ω14: retains older spelling) but <u> in muchel (Ω25, Ω61, Ω139 etc.); <i> in the noun michel (Ω370); <u> in the noun uuuel (Ω60, Ω61, Ω201 etc.) but <y> in ōfele (Ω20); <u> in the adj. (for the sg. & pl.) uuuel/uuele (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126 etc.); <u> in the adv. uuele (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <u> in the adv. a-furst (Ω38); <i> in the noun king and heu-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/spile (Ω81 and Ω123); <u> in the noun lufte (Ω85); before ð 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. sungeede (Ω271) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. sungeede (Ω297); the adj. bpline (Ω143); <u> in the noun mure/demurhde (Ω163); <i> in the noun sticch ((Ω198); <w> in the noun cunne/cunnes (Ω213, Ω376) and (man)-cunne (Ω318 and Ω352); <i> in the noun unpennne (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); <w> in the noun hulše (Ω363).

§ 67.12 In E2 OE y is <i> in the adj. litel (Ω12, Ω62, Ω342 etc.) but <w> 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. <i> sg. ind. duden (Ω2: OE. dyde), the verb pa. 3rd sg. dude (Ω375), the verb pa. <i> pl. dudum (Ω99), the verb pa. 3rd pl. dude (Ω283) but <i> in deden (Ω279 and Ω280), <u> in the verb pa. <i> pl. mis-duden (Ω104) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. mis-duden (Ω201); <i> in the adv. (v)anvpyt (Ω5: OE. un-nyt); <i> in the verb inf. pichin (Ω63), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bichin/Penoch/Øitchin/enoch (Ω5, Ω212, Ω246, Ω368); <i> in the verb inf. of pichin/øitchin (Ω214 and Ω387) and the verb ind. 3rd sg. of pinched/ of pichin (Ω10, Ω187 and Ω173); <u> in the verb inf. gulte (Ω224); the verb pr. ind. <i> pl. gulte/Øulted (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 W-S f 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); <u> in the noun vuele/vuei (Ω20, Ω60, Ω71 etc.) but <i> in euel (Ω265); <i>/<u> in the adj. (for the sg. & pl) vuele/vulei (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126) but <i> in euel (Ω126; <i> later in the same line); <i> in the adv. euele (Ω179) but <i> in vuele (Ω309 and Ω333); <i> in the adv. a-ferst (Ω38); <i> in the noun king and heueene-kinge (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE cyning) and pl. kinges (Ω335); <i> in the verb inf. biggen (Ω66); <i> in the adv. spile-se (Ω81); <i> in the adj. spile (Ω81, Ω123, and Ω416²) 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 <i> in synne (Ω203, Ω212, Ω214 and Ω315); <u> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. sunegede (Ω2271); the adj. pilc (Ω143); <u> in the noun muroh/murhede (Ω163 and Ω409); <i> in the noun sticche (Ω198); <u> in the noun cunne/cunnes (Ω213, Ω376) and (man)enne (Ω318, Ω352); <u> in the noun vnpunne (Ω219); <u> in the verb inf. lusten (Ω237) but <i> in lest (Ω400); <i> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. tihete (Ω283); <u> in the verb inf. fulle (Ω364) and the verb 3rd sg. fuld (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, Ω142², Ω273 etc.); <u> in the verb pp. hud (Ω78); <u> in the noun fur/fur (Ω44, Ω77, Ω159 etc.); <u> in the verb inf. cupe (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. dude (Ω2: OE dyde), the verb pa. 3rd sg. dude (Ω375), the verb pa. 1st pl. duden (Ω99), the verb pa. 3rd pl. duden (Ω280 and Ω283), <i> in the verb pa. 1st pl. mysduden (Ω104) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. mys-duden (Ω201); <u> in the adj. vnne (Ω5: un-nyet); <i> in the verb inf. bunchen (Ω63) but <i> in binche (Ω123), <i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. binkb/bincheb (Ω5, Ω212 and Ω246); <u> in the verb inf. of bunchen (Ω221) but <i> in of binche (Ω387) and the verb 3rd sg. ind. of bincheb (Ω10 and Ω137); <u> in the verb inf. agult (Ω224); the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. agulte (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 i often becomes y 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.); <u> in the adj. (for the sg. & pl.) vuel/euel (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126 etc.); <u> in the adv. vuel/euel (Ω179, Ω309 and Ω333); <i> in the adv. a-virst (Ω38); <i> in the noun king and heuene-kinge (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE cyning) and <i> in kyng (Ω227: J regularly writes y for i) and in pl. kynge (Ω335); <u> in the verb inf. bugge (Ω66); <u> in the adj. such (Ω81 and Ω416 etc.); <u> in the noun lufte (Ω85): before h it is <u> in the noun dryhte/dryhten (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. sungeb (Ω271) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. sunegeden (Ω297); the adj. hpich (Ω143); <u> in the noun mureb/μ (Ω409); <u> in the noun stuche (Ω198); <u> in the noun kunne/kunnes (Ω213, Ω376) and (mon)-kunne (Ω318 and Ω352); <u> in the noun ununwunne (Ω219); <u> in the verb inf. lusten/luste (Ω237 and Ω400); <u> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. tycede (Ω283); <u> in the verb inf. fullen (Ω364) and the verb 3rd sg. fulleb (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 and Ω273); <u> in the verb pp. ihud (Ω78); <u> in the noun fure/fur (Ω44, Ω77, Ω159 etc.); <u> in the verb inf. culpe (Ω102) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. cudde (Ω200) and <i> in the adv. hwi (Ω110).
§ 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 <> in the verb pa. 1st pl. misdede (Ω104) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. misdede (Ω201); <> in the adv. (vn)net (Ω5: OE un-net); <> in the verb inf. pinche (Ω63), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pinchepinche (Ω5, Ω246 and Ω368) but <> in benche (Ω212); <> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. of-banche (Ω137); <> in the verb inf. gulte (Ω224); the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. gultep (Ω93) but <> in agel tep (Ω326), <> in the verb pp. a-gult (Ω11); <> in the noun gult (Ω173) and the pl. gultes (Ω287); <> in the adj. muchel (Ω12, Ω63, Ω75 etc.: in LW-S ί often becomes ū in the neighbourhood of labials: micel > mycel (Cambell §318); <> in the adv. muchel (Ω25 and Ω61); <> in the noun muche (Ω370); <> in the noun eul (Ω20, Ω60, Ω71 etc.); <> in the adv. for the sg. & pl. eule/euel (Ω27, Ω95, Ω126 etc.); <> in the adv. euel (Ω179); <> in the adv. auirst (Ω38); <> in the noun king and heuenkinge (Ω51, Ω64, Ω81 etc.: OE cyning) and pl. kingses (Ω335); <> in the verb inf. bugge (Ω66); <> in the adj. suich (Ω812 and Ω416), suicchne (Ω416) and the adj. pl. suiche (Ω231); <> in the noun lefte (Ω85); before h it is <> in the noun drihte/drihten (Ω115, Ω136, Ω185 etc.); <> in sg. sunne (Ω203, Ω212, Ω218 etc.) but <> in the noun senne (Ω134, Ω319 and Ω351) and pl. sennees (Ω251); <> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. suenegede (Ω271) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. suenegede (Ω297); the adj. huiche (Ω143); <> in the noun stecche (Ω198); <> in the noun kunne (Ω2213), <> in (man)kine (Ω318) and <> in (man)kenne (Ω352 and Ω354) and kenne (Ω376); <> in the noun unpenne (Ω219); <> in the verb inf. ileste (Ω237); <> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. tilte (Ω283); <> in the verb inf. felle (Ω364) and the verb 3rd sg. fell/fuelle (Ω324 and Ω325) and <> in the noun hulle (Ω363).

§ 67.18 In M OE, y is <> in the adj. litel/litle (Ω12, Ω47, Ω62 etc.) and the adj. lite (Ω221); the adv. lite (Ω1422) and the adv. litel (Ω273); <> in the noun fure/fur (Ω44, Ω77, Ω260 etc.); <> in the verb inf. cu/p (Ω102) and <> in the verb pp. (vn)hed (Ω168).
§ 68  
OE. u
In OE. u was probably already open [u]. The first examples of <o> written for u are found in the second half of the twelfth century with <o> still scattered until the second half of the thirteenth century when the graphical substitution was brought about in imitation of AN <o> 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), cymed, cymb 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 puninges (Ω373); <u> in the noun grande (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), cymed, cymb 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. puned (Ω143), <o> in the verb pp. iponed (Ω58); <u> in the noun grande (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/comme (Ω27, Ω164, Ω232 etc.) but <u> in cumen (Ω183 and Ω417), <u> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. cumede (Ω74: note: in OE. ind. pr. 2nd and 3rd sg. cymes(t), cymed, cymb 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. cume (Ω163); <u> in the verb inf. punie (Ω160 and Ω389) but <o> in ponie (Ω188), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. poneð (Ω143), the verb pp. iponed (Ω58), and the verb as a noun pl. in puniinge (Ω373); <u> in the noun grande (Ω187 and Ω310); <u> in the noun sune (Ω195); <u> in the verb pa. 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), cymed, cymb 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. puned (Ω143), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. puned (Ω385), the verb pp. ipuned (Ω58), and the verb as a noun pl. in puninges (Ω373); <u> in the noun grande (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 El OE u is <o> in the verb inf. *comen/com* (Ω27, Ω164, Ω183 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *com* (Ω74: note: in OE ind. pr. 2nd and 3rd sg. cymes(t), cymed, cymþ forms occur by i-umlaut), <o> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl. *come* (Ω129), <o> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *come* (Ω247), <u> in the pr. sbj. 3rd sg. *cume* (Ω163); <u> in the verb pr. *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. *ipuned* (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. *cume* (Ω74: note: in OE ind. pr. 2nd and 3rd sg. cymes(t), cymed, cymþ forms occur by i-umlaut), <u> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl. *cume* (Ω129), <u> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *cume* (Ω247); <u> in the verb inf. *wunye/wunyen* (Ω160, Ω188 and Ω389), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *wune* (Ω143), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. *wune* (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. *by-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. *cum* (Ω74: note: in OE ind. pr. 2nd and 3rd sg. cymes(t), cymed, cymþ 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 *ponienges* (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).
§ 69.1 OE a, which according to evidence of very rare <∽> writings in late OE (stan became steån) had a somewhat more back sound, in ME this became more neutralized to very open [a:] 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 <∽>. 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 <∽> with sporadic <a>.

§ 69.4 In T OE a is <∽> in the noun lore (Ω1); it is <∽> in the card. quant. on/one/or (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[2]), the adj. no/non/no/one/non/nones (Ω51[2], 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); <∽> in the noun ore (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the adj. oreleas (Ω227); <∽> in the noun loc (Ω74) but lac (Ω210: repetition of line Ω74); <∽> in the adj. pori (Ω151); <∽> in the noun aquerne (Ω379); <∽> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bihotēð (Ω39: note that in the MSS it is written biha/lo/teð) but <a> in the contracted form bihat (Ω381); <∽> in the comp. adj. hatere (Ω260) and <a> in the contracted form of the verb. pr. ind. 3rd 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 ᅟi-umlaut of a in the acc. masc. cf. §.B, 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/none (Ω60[2], 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), <∽> in the pron. nan (Ω115 and Ω252); <a> in the noun are (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132), and the adj. areleas (Ω227); <∽> in the noun lac (Ω74); <∽> in the adj. pori (Ω151); <∽> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bihateð (Ω39) and <∽> in the comp. adj. hatere (Ω260).

868 OED. The word shows shortening of the long vowel of Old English ār 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), the adj. non/no/none (Ω60, Ω118, Ω248 etc. OE nan) and as part of the noun non-man (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), however, it is written nanne-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. 3rd sg. bi-hote (Ω39) but <o> in the contracted form bihat (Ω381); <o> in the comp. adj. hotter (Ω260) and <o> in the contracted form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hot (Ω319).

§ 69.7 In E2 OE a is <o> in the noun *lore* (Ω1); it is <o> in the card. quant. an/anne/an (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), the adj. nan/na/nane (Ω60, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE nan) and as part of the noun non-man (Ω25) but nanman/na-man/an-man/nam-man (Ω38, Ω114, Ω177 etc.), and nanne-mon (Ω124: acc. masc.), the adj. as noun in nammore (Ω370), the adv. na (Ω141) and na-mare (Ω133), the pron. nan (Ω115, Ω172 and Ω252); <o> in the noun are (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the adj. arelies (Ω227); <o> in the noun lac (Ω74); <o> in the adj. pori (Ω151); <o> in the noun aquerne (Ω379); <o> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-hate (Ω39) and in the contracted form bi-hat (Ω381); <o> in the comp. adj. hatter (Ω260); <o> in the contracted form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hot (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/an (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), the adj. one (Ω88, Ω115, Ω377 etc.; ModE alone), the adj. non/no/none (Ω60, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE nan) and as part of the noun non-man/noman (Ω25, Ω38, Ω172 etc.) but nan-man (Ω114), and nanne-mon (Ω124: acc. masc.), the adj. as noun in no-more (Ω370), the adv. no (Ω141) but <o> in na-mare (Ω133) although it is no-more in the following line (Ω134), <o> in the pron. nan (Ω115) but non (Ω252); <o> in the noun ore/bore (Ω54, Ω125, Ω132 etc.) and the adj. orelies (Ω227); <o> in the noun loc (Ω74); <o> in the adj. pori (Ω151); <o> in the noun aquerne (Ω379); <o> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bi-hate (Ω39) but <o> in the contracted form bi-hat (Ω381); <o> in the comp. adj. hater (Ω260) and <o> in the contracted form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hot (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 æ-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 (Ω6022, Ω118, Ω190 etc. OE nan) and as part of the noun nomon/no-mon (Ω25, Ω38, Ω114 etc.), but <a> in the adv. as noun namore (Ω370), the adv. no (Ω141) but <ar> 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); <o> in the noun acquerne (Ω379); <o> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bihote (Ω389) but <ar> in the contracted form bihat (Ω381); <a> in the comp. adj. hatter (Ω260) and <a> in the contracted form of the verb. pr. ind. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. bihote (Ω389) and in the contracted form bihot (Ω381); <a> in the comp. adj. hatter (Ω260) and <o> in the contracted form of the verb. pr. ind. 3rd sg. het (Ω319: this is not dialectal. The scribe uses the pa. form).

§ 70 OE æ
It is important to differentiate when dealing with æ whether the sound derives from the fronting of Prim. Gmc. æ from WGmc. *a: (see Campbell §128) or is a product of the i or j-mutation of OE a deriving from WGmc *ai: (see Cambell §197).

§ 71 OE æ (Angl. Kent. <e> /e/, WGMc. a)
OE æ 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 æ and Angl.-Kent <e> /e/ because of the disappearance of the writing æ:WS æ (< WGMc a) developed into Southern ME /e/, but Mercian e (< WGMc. a) developed into Midland ME /e/. Since ME /e/ and /e/ are both spelled æ, a valuable criterion is the shortening, since shortened æ yields a in Sax. radde, dradde, naddre against Angl.-Kent redde, drede, neddre. OE streæ/stre = ME strat/stret. (cf. Jordan § 49 for a fuller discussion of this and the geographical boundaries).
§ 72  OE â € œ i or j mutation of OE a (< WGmc. *ai)

§ 72.1  OE â € œ prevails in the whole area except Kent and gives ME /e:/, written <e> beside the old <æ> sign. As a result of the change of ea > â € œ /e:/ the inverse writing <æ> also appears which, however, becomes very infrequent after the middle of the thirteenth century

§ 72.2  OE â € œ was narrowed to e in Kentish already in OE, and /e:/, written <e>, continued in ME for this dialect. (Jordan § 49 and Mossé § 28)

§ 73  East Saxon a out of â € œ 1 and â € œ 2
OE â € œ 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 /e:/ and /æ/ 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 /e:/ or Angl. e. (Jordan § 50 and Mossé § 28: Remark IV)

OE â € œ in the CL:

OE â € œ 1 (Angl. Kent. <e> /e:/, WGmc. a)

§ 74  In the following, OE â € œ is written <e>, unless stated, in all texts apart from T. OE â € œ in T will be dealt with separately (including where it is written <e>) in § 76.

§ 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/mysdede/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. sbj. 3rd sg. rede (Ω165) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. rede (Ω179: L only). 1869

§ 74.3  The noun selhe/iselhe/yselhe/selhe/selhe (Ω16), the noun pl. uniselhe/vniselhe/vniselyl be/uniselbe (Ω207: <a> in E1 cf. § 75.1) and the adj. unsele/un-sele/vn-ysel (Ω208: not in D and J).

§ 74.4  The verb inf. adreden/adrede/a-drede/ondrede/of-drede (Ω166: <a> in adrade in E1 cf. § 75.1, Ω217: not in D), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. adrede/a-drede (Ω6), the verb pp. pl. of-dred/ofdred/of-drede/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. sbj. 3rd pl. rede (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/stre (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: <a> in E1 cf. § 75.5; not in L).

§ 74.9  The noun pl. pepnen/pepne/wepnen (Ω352: not in L).

1869 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 rede)
§ 74.10 The verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. lete \(\Omega_{133}: \langle a \rangle\) in T cf. § 75.3) and in the cont. form let (\(\Omega_{134}: \langle a \rangle\) not in E2 and J), the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. let (\(\Omega_{318}, \Omega_{353}: \langle a \rangle\) in E1 cf. § 75.1, neither reading in L), the verb inf. lete/leten (\(\Omega_{357}: \langle a \rangle\) in T and E2 cf. § 76 and § 75.2, not in L).

§ 74.11 The adj. mere/mer (\(\Omega_{406}: D, E1 and M\)).


§ 75

Exceptions to \(\langle e \rangle\) written for OE \(\langle a \rangle\) in L, D, E2, E1, J and M.

The writing of \(\langle a \rangle\) for OE \(\langle a \rangle\):

§ 75.1 In E1 OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the noun pl. vnisalpe (\(\Omega_{207}\)); \(\langle a \rangle\) in the verb inf. adrade (\(\Omega_{166}\)) and in the verb pp. pl. of-drad/of-drard (\(\Omega_{44}, \Omega_{166}, \Omega_{299}: \langle e \rangle\) in \(\Omega_{96}\) cf. § 74.4); the noun naddren (\(\Omega_{288}\)) and the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. late (\(\Omega_{353}: \langle e \rangle\) in \(\Omega_{318}\) cf. § 74.10).

§ 75.2 In D OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the noun naddren (\(\Omega_{288}\)).

§ 75.3 In L OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. lathe (\(\Omega_{133}: \langle e \rangle\) in the cont. form at \(\Omega_{134}\) cf. § 74.10).

§ 75.4 The writing of \(\langle a \rangle\) for OE \(\langle a \rangle\) occurs in E2, the MSS version with the most conservative writing, in the verb inf. forlate (\(\Omega_{357}\)).

§ 75.5 The writing of \(\langle a \rangle\) for OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is present in E1 in the noun liache (\(\Omega_{317}\)).

§ 75.6 The writing of \(\langle a \rangle\) for OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is present in E1 in the noun un-sealpe (\(\Omega_{391}\)).

§ 76

**OE \(\langle a \rangle\) in T**

OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is mostly written \(\langle a \rangle\) in T (cf. § and §), with exceptions noted:

In T OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the noun dade (\(\Omega_{3}\)), the noun pl. dade (\(\Omega_{10}, \Omega_{91}\) and \(\Omega_{160}\)) and the noun pl. misdade (\(\Omega_{137}, \Omega_{173}\) and \(\Omega_{286}\)) but written \(\langle e \rangle\) in the sg. misdade (\(\Omega_{216}\)); OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the noun rade (\(\Omega_{4}\) and \(\Omega_{92}\)) and the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. rade (\(\Omega_{165}\)); OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the nouns sg. and pl. unisalpe (\(\Omega_{207}\) and \(\Omega_{391}\)) but \(\langle e \rangle\) in the noun iselpe (\(\Omega_{16}\)) and in the adj. unsele (\(\Omega_{208}\)); OE \(\langle a \rangle\) is \(\langle a \rangle\) in the verb inf. ofdrade (\(\Omega_{166}\) and \(\Omega_{217}\)), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. adrade (\(\Omega_{6}\)) and the verb pp. pl. ofdrad/ofdradde (\(\Omega_{44}, \Omega_{96}\) and \(\Omega_{299}\)); the noun strate (\(\Omega_{244}, \Omega_{351}, \Omega_{357}\) and \(\Omega_{358}\)); the noun naddren (\(\Omega_{288}\)); the noun lache (\(\Omega_{317}\)); the noun pl. papne (\(\Omega_{352}\)); the verb inf. laten (\(\Omega_{38}\)) but \(\langle e \rangle\) in late (\(\Omega_{357}\)), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. late (\(\Omega_{133}\)) and in the cont. form lat (\(\Omega_{134}\)), the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. late (\(\Omega_{318}\) and \(\Omega_{353}\)); however, it is \(\langle e \rangle\) in the adj. mere (\(\Omega_{406}\)).
§ 77  The **adv. OE þæt**

The **adv. OE þæt** has been dealt with separately here as there is considerable variation:

§ 77.1  T is nearly always <a> in *par/pare* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *par-fore* (Ω153), *par-inne* (Ω186 and Ω263), *par-on* (Ω6), *par-pið* (Ω315) but <ia> in *piar* (Ω172).

§ 77.2  L and D always write <e> in *ber/berē* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *ber-fore/beruore* (Ω153), *ber-inne/berinne* (Ω186, Ω233; not in L, and Ω263), *ber-to* (*berwīð* (Ω315; not in L) and the cf. *ber-hwile/ber-pile* (Ω222 and Ω41).

§ 77.3  E2 is nearly always <e> in *der/derē/derē* (Ω45, Ω49, Ω53 etc.), *per-fore* (Ω153), *der-inne* (Ω186, Ω233), *per-pið* (Ω315) but <e> in *par* (Ω46 and Ω306) and <e> in *bare* (Ω102: cf. § 7).

§ 77.4  E1 is nearly always <e> in *ber/berē/bēr* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *hēr-fore* (Ω153), *be-inne* (Ω186 and Ω233), *be-pið* (Ω315) but <e> in *beor* (Ω288), <a> in *bor* (Ω244), <a> in *bar* (Ω112) and in *be-inne* (Ω188).

§ 77.5  J is most often <e> in *ber* (Ω45, Ω49, Ω53 etc.), *ber-in* (Ω186), *ber-of* (Ω393) but occasionally (8 times) <a> in *bar* (Ω45, Ω143, Ω221 etc.), *bēr-vore* (Ω153) and *be-inne* (Ω263).

§ 77.6  M is always <a> in *bar/bare* (Ω45, Ω46, Ω49 etc.), *bare-vore* (Ω153), *be-inne/beinne* (Ω186, Ω233), *ba-vor* (Ω243) and *be-to* (Ω113).

**OE ðæt** (<i> or þ < WGMc *)

§ 78  In the following, OE ðæt resulting from the <i>-mutation of OE a (< WGmc *æ*).

§ 78.1  The **adj. sg. and pl. mest** (Ω7, Ω13: not in J and M, Ω62 etc.)\(^{470}\) and the **adv. mest** (Ω228).

§ 78.2  The **adv. er** (Ω13: <a>) in E2 and E1 cf. § 79.1 and § 79.2, not in D and M, Ω23: <a> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1 cf. § 79.3, <e> in J cf. § 79.8, not in D, Ω164: not in E2) and the cf. **er/ere** (Ω18: <e> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1 cf. § 79.3, Ω129; <a> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1 cf. § 79.2, not in J).

§ 78.3  The **noun sg. and pl. un-helpe/unhelde/unhelde/hunhelde/vnhelpe/vnhele*/vnhele*/*vnhelde*/vnhele* (Ω17, Ω206, Ω338: not in L, etc.).

§ 78.4  The **adj. (OE æfre ælc) eurich/euerich/eure-elc/eure-ilc/everyuch** (Ω33: D and M only – L and J write forms of OE ælc. Ω66: not in L which writes *ech*, Ω122: E2 and E1 only), the **adv. eure/euer/eure/efre** (Ω88: L, D and E1, <a> in E2 cf. § 79.1, Ω160: not in D, eueremore in M, Ω250 etc.) and *eure-ma/euer-mo/eure-ma/euer-mo/euer-more/eueremore* (Ω111, Ω160: M only, Ω209: <a> in E2 cf. § 79.1).

\(^{470}\) **OED:** Old English *mëst,* 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 *mëst*), Kentish *mêst* is unusual. It may have been formed by analogy with *lêst* (or perhaps by <i>-mutation from an earlier form in ð, although this presents phonological difficulties).
§ 78.5 The noun lest/leste (Ω62); the noun sg. and pl. hese/hesne/hesest (sic.)/heste (Ω93, Ω307: not in L and M, and Ω361: not in L); the verb inf. mene/menim/bimene (Ω177); the verb pa. 3rd pl. arede (Ω179) (not in L which mistakenly writes redde. See §); the adv. enes (Ω192: D writes ones, see § 79.9); the noun hete (Ω206 (in Trin. at Ω206), Ω245, Ω246 etc.) and the verb inf. teche (Ω316: <ea> in E1 cf. § 79.8).

§ 78.6 The verb pp. iled (Ω5: <ae> in E2 cf. § 79.1, <a> in E1, J and M, cf. § 79.3, § 79.4 and § 79.5); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. lede (Ω5); the verb pr. ind. 3rd 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. leded (Ω95: J only, Ω220: L has the pa. form, Ω259: J only, all other MSS, apart from T, have pa. form), the verb inf. ledene/ledede (Ω128: <ae> in E2 cf. § 79.1, Ω287: <a> in E2 cf. § 79.1, Ω416: not in L and E2), the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. leden (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. lede/ded (cont. form) (Ω354: <a> in E1 and J cf. § 79.3 and § 79.4, not in L).

§ 78.7 The adj. eni/eni (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, <a> in E2 cf. § 79.1, not in J and M).

§ 79 Exceptions to <e> written for OE æ in L, D, E2, E1, J and M

The writing of <e> for OE æ:

§ 79.1 This is a regular feature of E2 (cf. § 72.1) which writes <e> for æ in the adv. ær (Ω13 and Ω23) and cj. ær (Ω13 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. ilod (Ω5) and the verb inf. laden/laden (Ω128 and Ω287) (all other forms of this verb have <e> in E2 cf. § 78.6) and the noun animan (Ω69; <e> in Ω54 cf. § 78.7).

§ 79.2 E1 writes <e> (cf. § 72.1) for æ in the adv. ær (Ω13 <a> in Ω23 cf. § 79.3 and æ in Ω164 cf. § 78.2) and the adj. æfrech (Ω33 <a> in Ω122 cf. § 78.4). E1 also writes <a> for æ in the cj. ær (Ω129: <a> in Ω18 cf. § 79.3).

The writing of <a> (with shortening) for OE æ:

§ 79.3 E1 writes <a> in the adv. ær (Ω23: <e> in Ω13 cf. § 79.2 and <a> in Ω164 cf. § 78.2) and cj. ær (Ω18: <a> in Ω129 cf. § 79.2). The writing of æ as <a> also takes place in the adv. anie (Ω54). In E1, some <a> writings (cf. § 78.2) are present in the OE verb lædan but the more regular form is written with <e> in the verb pp. ge-lad (Ω5), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ladde (Ω95), the verb pr. 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 <e> 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 æ as <a> also takes place in the adv. anie (Ω54).

§ 79.6 In D the only place that <a> is written for æ is in the adv. anie (Ω54 and Ω284) and as part of the noun anie-man (Ω69).

§ 79.7 In L the only place that <a> is written for æ is in the adv. anige (Ω284: <e> in Ω284 cf. § 78.7).
§ 79.8 The writing of <ea> (cf. § 72.1) for OE ǣr 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 ǣr in the adv. ear (Ω23).

§ 79.9 The adv. ones in D:
D writes <e> in the adv. ones (Ω192) from OE æðræs; 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 ǣr.

§ 80 OE ǣr in T

§ 80.1 In T OE ǣr is mostly written <e> (cf. §1) in:
The adj. sg. and pl. mast (Ω27, 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 unhalō (Ω17, Ω206, Ω338 etc.); the adj. afric/africh/afrī (Ω253, Ω66, Ω122: the compound of OE æfre ælc); the adv. afre (Ω288, Ω160, Ω250 etc.) and afremo (Ω111 and Ω209); the noun last (Ω62); the verb pp. ladd (Ω5), the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. lade (Ω5), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. laded (Ω220 and Ω259), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. lat (cont. form) (Ω354); the adj. ani (Ω254 and Ω284) and the noun ani-man (Ω69); the noun has (Ω93 and Ω361; <e> in the pl. form Ω307 cf. § 80.2) <e> in the noun hate (Ω245, 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 <e> (cf. § 72.1) in the adv. ænes (Ω192) and writes <ea> (cf. § 72.1) in the pl. hease (Ω307: <e> in the sg. form cf. § 80.1) but <e> in the verb inf. mene (Ω177) and <e> in the noun hete (Ω206 more regularly <e> cf. § 80.1).

§ 81 ælc, 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 ælc, 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 echche/elche (Ω88, Ω91, Ω112 etc.) but <e> in eches (Ω244), written <e> in the possessive adj. elches (Ω92) but <e> 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 ælc 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 ælc, elc, and ylc. The two former gave rise to such Middle English forms as alic(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 ublic (ū), ilch, in west midland ublic (ū), ich, and in east midland and north. Ûk, which still survives in northern dialect and in Scots (In Havelok the form Ûlc, Ûkis occas. reduced to Ûl before a cons.)
§ 81.4 E2 writes <e> in the adj. elche/elic/ech (Ω88, Ω91, Ω112 etc.) but <ea> (cf. § 72.1) in the possessive adj. elches (Ω92) and <e> (cf. § 72.1) in aeches/achles (Ω233 and Ω384), the pron. elch/ech (Ω167, Ω315) but <ae> (cf. § 72.1) in eche/ech (Ω362 and Ω373).

§ 81.5 E1 writes <e> in the adj. elche/elch/elic (Ω88, Ω91, Ω112 etc.) and possessive adj. elches (Ω92, Ω233 and Ω384); written <e> in the pron elche/elch (Ω167, Ω362, Ω373) but <ae> (cf. § 72.1) in eec (Ω315).

§ 81.6 J writes <v<y> in the adj. vých (Ω33, Ω120 and Ω314), hvých (Ω91 and Ω112), vliche (Ω244) - cf. footnote 328 - and <w>y> in ewiche (Ω88), <v>y> in the possessive adj. vých/vých (Ω92 and Ω384); <v>y> in the pron. vých (Ω167, Ω362, Ω375) and <vi> in vich (Ω315).

§ 81.7 M writes <e> in the adj. eche (Ω91) and the pron. eche (Ω373) but <ae> in the possessive adj. aches (Ω92).

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OE vowels i, e, o, u

The vowels i, e, o and u remained in ME:

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§ 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>:

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§ 82.1 In T OE e is written <e> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω14, Ω22, Ω24 etc.: hie in Ω119 and Ω324 is the pl. form used for sg.; the verb pr ind. 3rd sg. deþ/ded (Ω22, Ω43 and Ω228: - T writes the historical pl. form ded, with the vowel now transferred to the sg. by analogy, on eleven occasions); <e> in the verb inf. iqueme (Ω98), the verb pp. iquem/med (Ω181), the verb pa. 3rd pl. iquemde (Ω284); verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131, Ω173), the verb inf. beten(n) (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <e> in the verb pp. pl. idem/med (Ω111, Ω285) and sg. idem(Ω180), the verb inf. deme(n) (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. demed (Ω124); <e> in the noun glede (Ω229) and <e> in the noun este (Ω376).

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§ 82.2 In L OE e is written <e> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω14, Ω24 etc.; the verb pr ind 3rd sg. ded/dep (Ω36, Ω43, Ω57 etc.); <e> in the the verb inf. iquemen (Ω98), the verb pp. iquemed (Ω181), the verb pa. 3rd pl. iquemde (Ω284); <e> in verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131, Ω173), the verb inf. beten (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <e> in the verb pp. pl. idem/med (Ω111), fordem (Ω285) and sg. idem (Ω180), the verb inf. (bidem/n) (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. demed (Ω124); <e> in the noun deme (Ω99); <e> in the noun glede (Ω229); <e> in the adj. eche (Ω377 etc.) and <e> in the noun este (Ω376).
§ 82.3 In D OE e is written <> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.; hi Ω142 and Ω383 pl. form used for sg.); the verb pr ind. 3rd 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); <> in the verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131) and beted (Ω173), the verb inf. (i)beten (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <> in the verb pp. pl. idemd (Ω111), vordemde (Ω285) and sg. idemed (Ω180), the verb inf. deme(n) (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. demed (Ω124); <> in the noun glede (Ω229); <> in the adj. eche (Ω377x²); <> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. ikuemde (Ω284) and <> in the noun este (Ω376).

§ 82.4 In E2 OE e is written <> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.); the verb pr ind. 3rd sg. deð/ded (Ω22, Ω36, Ω43 etc.) but <> in dieð (Ω248); <> in the the verb inf. cpeman (Ω98), the verb pp. icpemed (Ω181), the verb pa. 3rd pl. iquemde (Ω284); <> in verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb inf. beten (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω173); <> 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. 3rd sg. demed (Ω124); <> in the noun demen (Ω99); <> in the noun glede (Ω229); <> in the adj. eche (Ω377x²); <> in the noun este (Ω376); but <> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) beot (Ω131: OE beētan).

§ 82.5 In E1 OE e is written <> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.); the verb pr ind. 3rd sg. deð/ded/det/deð (Ω22, Ω36, Ω43 etc.); <> in the verb inf. i-queme (Ω98), the verb pp. iquemed (Ω181), the verb pa. 3rd pl. iquemde (Ω284); <> in the verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131) and beted (Ω173), the verb inf. beten (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287); <> in the verb pp. pl. i-demde (Ω111), for-demde (Ω285) and sg. idemed (Ω180), the verb inf. deme(n) (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. demed (Ω124); <> in the noun demen (Ω99); <> in the noun glede (Ω229); <> in the adj. eche (Ω377x²) and <> in the noun este (Ω376).

§ 82.6 In J OE e is written <> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω14, Ω22, Ω27 etc.: heo Ω122 fem. written for masc.); the verb inf. queme (Ω98), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. iqueme] (Ω284); <> in the verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131), the verb inf. (ibete (Ω139 and Ω251); <> in the verb pp. pl. idemed (Ω111), for-demde (Ω285) and sg. ydemed (Ω124), the verb inf. deme (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.); <> in the noun deme] (sic) (Ω99); <> in the noun glede (Ω229); <> in the adj. eche (Ω377x²) and <> in the noun este (Ω376).

Note – J always writes the historical pl. form for the sg. in doð, rather than <e>, with the vowel transfered. by analogy (Ω22, Ω43, Ω54 etc.).
§ 82.7 In M OE e is written <e> in the pron. 3rd sg. (nom. masc.) he (Ω22, Ω27, Ω33 etc.); the verb pr ind 3rd sg. dep (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, Ω2249 and Ω253); <e> in the verb inf. ÿqueme (Ω98), the verb pp. ÿquemed (Ω181), the verb pa. 3rd pl. ÿquemde (Ω284); <e> in the verb pp. ibet (Ω103 and Ω139), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bet (Ω131), the verb inf. bete (Ω139, Ω251 and Ω287), the verb pa. 3rd sg. bete (Ω173); <e> in the verb inf. deme (Ω112, Ω114, Ω120 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. demed (Ω124), the verb pp. ÿdemed (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 ṡ

§ 83.1 OE ṡ 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 <y> for i (long or short) but writes <i> in pirste and hwile (cf. § 83.8).

§ 83.2 Long ṡ demonstrates rounding to /y/, written <w>, 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 ṣ 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. pirste (Ω20); <i> in the cj. hpile (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the noun as adv. hpile (Ω342); <i> in the verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3rd 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 ṣ is written <i> in the pron. 1st sg. poss. mi (Ω2); <i> in the adj. pl. pirste (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 ṣ 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. pirste (Ω20); <i> in the cj. hpile (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the noun as adv. hpile (Ω342); <i> in the verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3rd 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 řis written <i> in the pron. f’sg. poss. mi (Ω2) and the pron. f’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. briste (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 řis written <i> in the pron. f’sg. poss. mi (Ω2) and the pron. f’sg. poss. (pron. pl.) mine (Ω315); <i> in the cj. hpile/hycle/pile (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the noun hpile (Ω156) and the noun as adv. pile (Ω342); <i> in the verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3rd 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. briste (Ω20) etc.

§ 83.8 In J OE řis written <y> in the pron. f’sg. poss. my (Ω2) and the pron. f’sg. poss. (pron. pl.) myne (Ω315); <i> in the adj. pl. briste (Ω20); <i> in the cj. hwile/hwile (Ω22, Ω24, Ω28 etc.) and the noun as adv. hwile (Ω342); <y> in the noun as adv. tyme (Ω137); <y> in the verb inf. abyde (Ω145) <y> in the noun wyn(e) (Ω151 and Ω376); <i> in the poss. noun swýnes (Ω152) etc.

§ 83.9 In M OE řis written <i> in the pron. f’sg. poss. mi (Ω2) and the pron. f’sg. poss. (pron. pl.) mine (Ω315); <i> in the adj. pl. briste (Ω20); <i> in the cj. phile/hycle/hyle (Ω22, Ω24, Ω33 etc.); <i> in the verb (cont.) pr. ind. 3rd 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 dialectically applicable to CL.

§ 84.1 In T OE o is written <o> in the prep. to (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25x2 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. 3rd pl. come(n) (Ω148 and Ω213) and pa. f’sg. come (Ω341: the writing of <a> in cam, other instances of the verb pa. f’sg. and 3rd 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, Ω25x2 etc. Note: it is written <o> 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. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202 and
§ 84.7 In M OE o is written <o> in the prep. to (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25 etc.) and when functioning as the inf. mark. to (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the noun dom(e) (Ω49, Ω129, Ω131 etc.), the noun domesdai (Ω141) and the noun pl. domesmen (Ω269); <o> in the noun boc (Ω123, Ω235 and Ω401); <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the verb pa. 3rd 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 etc.) and when functioning as the inf. mark. to (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the noun dome (Ω49, Ω94, Ω131 etc.), the noun domesday (Ω141) and the noun pl. domesmen (Ω269); <o> in the noun boc (Ω123 and Ω235) but <o> in bec (Ω401); <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. comen (Ω213), the verb pa. 1st sg. com (Ω232) and pa. 1st pl. comen (Ω341); <o> in the noun mone (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.5 In E1 OE o is written <o> in the prep. to (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25 etc.) and when functioning as the inf. mark. to (Ω2, Ω20, Ω38 etc.); the noun dom(e) (Ω49, Ω94, Ω131 etc.), the noun domesdai (Ω141) and the noun pl. domes-men (Ω269); <o> in the noun boc/boke (Ω123 and Ω235); <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the verb pa. 3rd 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 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. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the verb pa. 3rd pl. comen (Ω148, Ω213), the verb pa. 1st sg. com (Ω232) and pa. 1st pl. come (Ω341); <o> in the noun mone (Ω290) etc.

§ 84.3 In D OE o is written <o> in the prep. to (Ω20, Ω24, Ω25 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. domes-men (Ω269); <o> in the noun boc (Ω123, Ω235 and Ω401); <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. com (Ω122, Ω202 and Ω207), the verb pa. 3rd pl. comen (Ω148, Ω213), the verb pa. 1st sg. com (Ω232) and pa. 1st pl. come (Ω341); <o> in the noun mone (Ω290) etc.

Ω207), the verb pa. 3rd pl. comen (Ω148, Ω213.), the verb pa. 1st sg. com (Ω232) and pa. 1st pl. come (Ω341) etc.
OE u

§ 85 In eME <u> remains as the written form for OE u. Around 1200 <ow> 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.

§ 85.1 In T OE u is written <u> in the adv. nu (Ω1, Ω13, Ω17 etc.); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre (Ω58x, Ω64, Ω65x etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88 and Ω134x); the adv. hpu (Ω143, Ω301x, Ω342x and Ω409) etc.

§ 85.2 In L OE u is written <u> in the adv. nu (Ω1, Ω13, Ω17 etc.) and núe (Ω10 and Ω257); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre/hure (Ω58x, Ω64, Ω65x etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88); the adv. hu (Ω143) etc.

§ 85.3 In D OE u is written <u> in the adv. nu (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and núe (Ω10); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre (Ω58x, Ω64, Ω65x etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88 and Ω134x); the adv. hu (Ω143, Ω301x, Ω342x and Ω409) etc.

§ 85.4 In E2 OE u is written <u> in the adv. nu (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and núe (Ω10 and Ω257); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre (Ω58x, Ω64, Ω65x etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88); the adv. hu (Ω143, Ω212, Ω301x and Ω342x) etc.

§ 85.5 In E1 OE u is written <u> in the adv. nu (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and núe (Ω10 and Ω257); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre (Ω58x, Ω64, Ω65x etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88 and Ω134); the adv. hu (Ω143, Ω212, Ω301x etc.) etc.

§ 85.6 In J OE u is written <u/v> in the adv. nvnu (Ω13, Ω17, Ω62 etc.) and núe (Ω10); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre (Ω58x, Ω64, Ω65x etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88 and Ω134); the vowel/ in the adv. hw (Ω143, Ω301x, Ω342x and Ω409) etc.

§ 85.7 In M OE u is written <u> in the adv. nu (Ω17 and Ω238) and núe (Ω10); the poss. pron 1st pl. ure/vre (Ω64, Ω65x, Ω81 etc.); the pron. 2nd sg. (nominative) bu (Ω88 and Ω134x and twice in the description of the letter forms at the beginning of the text); the adv. hu (Ω143 and Ω212) etc.
§ 86  
**OE Short Diphthongs**

The short diphthongs in OE (ea, eo and io) originated in three different ways:

1. By *breaking* before r, l, and h combinations.
2. From velar umlaut before back vowels.

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 alway 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 <œ> spelling of the Midlands and the North, tend to show that OE ea had a higher quality in the South. (Jordan § 58: Remark)
§ 88  OE ea before r-Combinations

When no lengthening groups follow:

§ 88.1  At the beginning of the eleventh century, <œ> writings appear alongside the more traditional <ea> writings. The transition œ > a then takes place as described in § 63.

§ 88.2  In T, when no lengthening group follows, <œ> is written in the adj. pl. arge (Ω20); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. darf (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172); the adj. arme (Ω238); the adj. sparte (Ω293) and the adj. narepe (Ω355).

§ 88.3  In T, before rd, <œ> is written in the noun (midden)earð (Ω145 and Ω207) and <œ> in (midden)erð (Ω202) and <œ> in the adv. harde (Ω166) and the adj. hardne (Ω178) and pl. harde (Ω178).

§ 88.4  In T, before rn, <œ> is written in the verbal noun erninge (Ω65) and <œ> in the verb inf. parnin (Ω237 and Ω239) and the verb sbj. 3rd sg. parnie (Ω315).

§ 88.5  In L, when no lengthening group follows, <œ> is written in the adj. pl. erge (Ω20) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. perf (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172) but <œ> in the adj. arme (Ω238).

§ 88.6  In L, before rd, <œ> is written in the noun (midden)erð/(midden)erde (Ω145, Ω202 and Ω207) and <œ> in the adv. herde (Ω166), the adj. herde (Ω178) and pl. herde (Ω178).

§ 88.7  In L, before rn, <œ> is written in the verbal noun erninge (Ω65) and the verb inf. pernin (Ω239) but <œ> in parni (Ω237).

§ 88.8  In D, when no lengthening group follows, <œ> is written in the adj. pl. arge (Ω20); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. darf (Ω44, Ω46 and Ω172); the adj. arme (Ω238) and the adj. narepe (Ω355).

§ 88.9  In D, before rd, <œ> is written in the adv. harde (Ω166) and the adj. hardne (Ω178) and pl. harde (Ω178); the noun (miden)earð (Ω202 and Ω207) but <œ> in (midden)earð (Ω145).

§ 88.10 In D, before rn, <œ> is written in verb inf. parni (Ω237 and Ω239) and the verb sbj. 3rd sg. parni (Ω315) but <œ> in the verbal noun earninge (Ω65).
§ 88.11 In E2, when no lengthening group follows, <e> is written in the adj. pl. arge (Ω20); <e> in the adj. narepe (Ω355); <e> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ðarf (Ω44) but <e> in ðierf (Ω44) and <e> in ðearf (Ω172); <e> in the adj. earme (Ω238); and <e> 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 rr, <ea> is written in the verbal noun earninge (Ω665); <e> 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. ðarf (Ω44) but <e> in ðarf (Ω46 and Ω172) and <e> in the adj. earme (Ω238).

§ 88.15 In E1, before rd, <e> is written in the adv. harde (Ω166), <e> in the adj. herde (Ω178) and in the pl. herde (Ω178); <e> in the noun (middan)erdi (Ω202 and Ω207) but <e> in (middan)-eard (Ω145).

§ 88.16 In E1, before rr, <a> is written in the verb inf. parnen/parine (Ω237 and Ω239) and the verb sbj. 3rd sg. parnie (Ω315) but <e> in the verbal noun erninge (Ω665).

§ 88.17 In J, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ðarf (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)erdi/myddelerd (Ω145, Ω202 and Ω207) and <a> in the adj. harde (Ω178) and pl. harde (Ω178).

§ 88.19 In J, before rr, <a> is written in the verbal noun eartynge (Ω665) and <a> in the verb inf. warnyw (Ω237 and Ω239) and the verb sbj. 3rd sg. parny (Ω315).

§ 88.20 In M, when no lengthening group follows, <a> is written in the adj. pl. arȝ (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)erdi (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 rr, <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 (Ω665).
§ 89 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).§72

§ 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. ermiggs (Ω334).

§72 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 *eldu 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 *smört-, 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 *smört-(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.
§ 90.7 E2 writes <ea> in the adj. eal (Ω117, Ω126, Ω162) but <a> in the adj. al (Ω125, Ω320 and Ω381) and <a> in al (Ω145), <ea> in the pl. ealle (Ω80, Ω86² etc.) and <ea> in ealle (Ω182) but <a> in all/alle (Ω204, Ω215, Ω324 and Ω365), <ea> the adj. functioning as a noun in eal (Ω55, Ω73, Ω283 etc.) but <a> in al (Ω77 and Ω13), <ea> in the adv. eale (Ω156 and Ω358) and eal-to (Ω261 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), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. palēd (Ω258) and the verb pr. part. as adj. pallinde (Ω229).
§ 90.8 El writes <ea> in the adj. al (Ω52, Ω126, Ω145 etc.) and pl. alle (Ω80 and Ω86\textsuperscript{2}) but <ea> in ealle (Ω176), <a> in the adj. functioning as a noun in al (Ω27, Ω13, Ω25 etc.) but <ea> in eal (Ω122 and Ω161), <a> in the possess. adj. pl. alre (Ω170) but <ea> in the possess. adj. ealldouhtes (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. peald\textsuperscript{3} (Ω258).

§ 90.9 J writes <a> in the adj. al (Ω52, Ω117, Ω145 etc.) and pl. alle/all (Ω23, Ω80, Ω86\textsuperscript{2} etc.), the adj. functioning as a noun in al/lalle (Ω7, Ω13, Ω55 etc.), the adv. al (Ω156, Ω158 and Ω358) and al-to (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the possess. adj. al(miyht\textsuperscript{2})es (Ω349) and possess. adj. pl. alrePlace (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. walle\textsuperscript{p} (Ω258) and the verb pr. part. as adj. wallynde (Ω229).

§ 90.10 M writes <a> in the adj. al (Ω52, Ω117, Ω125 etc.) and pl. alle (Ω80, Ω86\textsuperscript{2}, Ω106 etc.), the adj. functioning as a noun in al (Ω27, Ω24, Ω83 etc.), the adv. al (Ω358) and al-to (Ω11, Ω12, Ω20 etc.), the adj. al(mi\textsuperscript{xi}) (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. pal\textsuperscript{p} (Ω258) and the verb pr. part. as adj. pallinde (Ω229).

§ 91.1 When the lengthening group ld follows then the Saxon ea becomes æ = ME e /e:/ in the course of the eleventh century. However, Anglian a in the Midlands undergoes the change to o /o:/ 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 /e:/ < ea, e> writings with /e:/ shown into the fifteenth century in East Saxon (or London, Essex). While advancing Anglian /s:/ is found in both Worc. and Glouc. the AB dialect consisantly 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. 3rd sg. peald (Ω2), the verb inf. pealden (Ω56), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pealde\textsuperscript{3} (Ω86 and Ω404); <a> in the adj. eald/ealde (Ω4, Ω202, Ω298) and pl. ealde (Ω324); <ea> in the suffix –feald/feald (Ω55 and Ω260); the verb inf. ihelen/heald (Ω257, Ω325) and ihelde (Ω299) but <o> in ihelden (Ω405) and <o> in bolde (Ω56: originally written halde, with a subpuncted and o written above) and <a> in the cont. form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. hal (Ω323 and Ω325).
§ 91.4 L writes <e> before the lengthening group *ld* in the verb *pr. ind. 1st sg. pelde* (Ω2), the verb *inf. pelden* (Ω56) but <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. palde* (Ω86); <a> in the *adj. ald* (Ω4); <a> in the suffix –*fald* (Ω55 and Ω260) and <a> in the *verb inf. halden/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 <a> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. pialde* (Ω86 cf. § 91.1); <ea> in the *adj. eald* (Ω4) but <a> in *alde* (Ω298), <ea> in the *pl. elde* (Ω324); <ea> in the *suffix –feald* (Ω55 and Ω260); <a> in the *verb inf. healden/healden* (Ω56 and Ω57 cf. § 91.1) and *bihalde* (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 <a> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pealde* (Ω2), <e> in the *verb inf. pelden* (Ω56), <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. palde* (Ω86) but <a> in the *cont. form palt* (Ω86); <ea> in the *adj. eald/elde* (Ω4, Ω202, Ω298) and in the *pl. elde* (Ω324); <ea> in the *suffix –feald* (Ω55 and Ω260); the *verb inf. healden/healden/healden* (Ω56, Ω57 and Ω325) and *bi-healden* (Ω299) but <a> in the *contracted form of the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. halt* (Ω323).

§ 91.7 E1 writes <e> before the lengthening group *ld* in the *verb pr. ind. 1st sg. pealde* (Ω2), <e> in the *verb inf. pelden* (Ω56), <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. palde* (Ω86) but <e> in the *cont. form palt* (Ω86); <ea> in the *adj. eald/elde* (Ω4, Ω202, Ω298) and in the *pl. elde* (Ω324); <e> in the *suffix –felde* (Ω55 and Ω260); <ea> in the *verb inf. healden/healden* (Ω56, Ω57 and Ω325) but <e> in *bi-helde* (Ω299), <ea> in the *verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. bi-healden* (Ω405) but <a> in the *contracted 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. welde* (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 –fold* (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. eald* (Ω4), *gelde* (Ω298 cf. § 91.2) and *pl. gelde* (Ω324 cf. § 91.2); <e> in the *suffix –felde* (Ω55 and Ω260); the *verb inf. ihelde/ylhede* (Ω57, Ω325) but <a> in *bihelde* (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 *ae* 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 resulted from Anglian *ae* (cf. § 92.5 L: *alder*) with lengthened *æ*/e/* written <e> (cf. § 92.5 L: *eld*). In the East Midland, Kentish and Northern Dialects *e* was retained.

In the CL:

§ 92.4  T writes <e> in the comp. adj. *elder* (Ω1 and Ω337) and <e> in the noun *elde* (Ω17, Ω18, Ω337x2, Ω338 and Ω390).

§ 92.5  L writes <a> in the comp. adj. *aldar* (Ω1) and <e> in the noun *elde* (Ω17 and Ω18).

§ 92.6  D writes <e> in the comp. adj. *eldar/elde* (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 *uldr* (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. *eldar/elde* (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 *elde* (Ω390).

§ 92.10  M writes <e> in the comp. adj. *eldar* (Ω1) and <e> in the noun *elde* (Ω17 and Ω18).

§ 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)

§ 93.3  T demonstrates the glide *ei* in the writing <e> 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).
§ 93.4 L writes ⟨e⟩ before ch in ⟨e⟩ in the verb pa. 3rd sg. isech (Ω274).

§ 93.5 D writes as ⟨e⟩ before ⟨e⟩ (cf. § and Jordan § 63) in the adj. pl. hege (Ω295), in the adj. functioning as a noun hege (Ω171) and in the verb pa. 3rd sg. isech (Ω274).

§ 93.6 E2 retains ⟨ea⟩ in the adj. hege (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. 3rd sg. isech (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. 3rd 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. 3rd sg. iseỳh (Ω274).

§ 93.9 M writes ⟨e⟩ in the adj. hege (Ω363), the adj. pl. hege (Ω295) and as a noun in hege (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: meht, meht = ma(u)ght, na(u)ght. (Jordan § 64)

Comment: the writing of the verb ME miht (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. 3rd sg. mihte (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the pa. 3rd pl. mihten (Ω251 and Ω265); ⟨i⟩ in the noun nihte (Ω79, Ω82 and Ω383) and pl. possess. nihte (Ω149).

§ 94.3 L writes ⟨i⟩ in the verb pa. 1st sg. mihte (Ω16) and before ch in michte (Ω53) but ⟨e⟩ in mahte (Ω233; see § 94.1 Comment), ⟨i⟩ in the pa. 3rd sg. mihte(n) (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the pa. 3rd pl. mihten (Ω251 and Ω265); ⟨i⟩ in the noun nihte (Ω79) and pl. possess. nihte (Ω149).
§ 94.4 D writes  before  in the verb pa.  sg.  (Ω16), before  in  (Ω233), the verb pa.  sg.  (Ω209, Ω225 and Ω268), the pa.  pl.  (Ω251 and Ω265) and the pa.  pl.  (Ω335);  in the noun  (Ω79 and Ω383) and pl. possess.  (Ω149).

§ 94.5 E2 writes  before  in the verb pa.  sg.  (Ω16 and Ω233), the pa.  pl.  (Ω53), the pa.  sg.  (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the pa.  pl.  (Ω251 and Ω265);  in the noun  (Ω79 and Ω383) and pl. possess.  (Ω149).

§ 94.6 E1 writes  in the verb pa.  sg.  (Ω16),  in the pa.  sg.  (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the pa.  pl.  (Ω251 and Ω265);  in the noun  (Ω79 and Ω383) and pl. possess.  (Ω149).

§ 94.7 J writes  in the verb pa.  sg.  (Ω16), the pa.  pl.  (Ω53 and Ω383), the pa.  sg.  (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the pa.  pl.  (Ω251);  in the noun  (Ω79 and Ω383) and pl. possess.  (Ω149).

§ 94.8 M writes  before  in the verb pa.  sg.  (Ω16), the pa.  pl.  (Ω53 and Ω335), the pa.  sg.  (Ω161, Ω209, Ω225 etc.) and the pa.  pl.  (Ω251);  in the pl. possess. noun  (Ω149).

§ 95 OE eo

In OE breaking to eo from  occurred regularly before [u] and [x], and before [x] and [r] when a consonant follows. Retraction of  to  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 /o/ sound (unless it had not already been changed to /e/ by smoothing). In the twelfth century this was unrounded to  in EML and the North. The /o/ 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 /o/ was represented by the writing <eo> and Anglo-French <io>. 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  began in the twelfth century. However, the smoothed forms of the Anglian dialect had  from the late OE period. (Jordan § 65)

§ 96.2 In the CL the writing of <eo> in the noun peorc/peorcke/peorch (Ω11, Ω113, Ω116 etc.) in E2 cf. § 96.6 and <eo> in the noun perke/perch/perc (Ω11, Ω113, Ω121 etc.) in L demonstrates the continued differentiation between Sax. work /work/ < 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 *perorke/perorc* (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 noun *perorche/perorc/perorch* (Ω11, Ω113, Ω116 etc.), pl. *peorke* (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 *perorke/perc* (Ω11, Ω113, Ω116 etc.) but <eo> in *peorc* (Ω133 and Ω256), <e> in the pl. *perkes* (Ω64 and Ω73) but *peorke* (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. *portunity* (Ω73, Ω113, Ω116 etc.), <o> in the sg. *perke/perc* (Ω118 and Ω267) but the vowel is missing in *purke/porke* (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. purđe (Ω149) and the *verb sbj.* 1st pl. purđen (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).

§ 97.4 L writes <u> for OE eo in the *verb pr. sbj.* 3rd sg. purđe (Ω149) and the *verb sbj.* 1st pl. purđe (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. purđe (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).

§ 97.6 E2 writes <u> for OE eo in the *verb sbj.* 1st pl. purđe (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. purže (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. wurže (Ω346) and for the i-umlaut of eo it is <u> (cf. § 100) in the *adv.* wors (Ω249) and the *adj.* wurse (Ω407) but the vowel is absent in wrst (Ω228) and wsrse (Ω310).

The writing of <u> in the above examples for the i-umlaut of eo (purse) 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 subj. pr. ind. 3rd sg. *prībe* (Ω149) and the verb subj. 1st pl. *prībe* (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 *f*-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 *le*, but only when *s* precedes it e.g. *asceolcan* but not *melcan*. (Campbell § 146). Angl. *eo* appears in *seolf* with late WS *sylf, silf*. (Jordan § 68)

§ 98.2  In ME we find in the CL Southwestern *sulf/sylf/* 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. */sylf/* (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/selfe/selfe/selfen* (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the 2nd sg. reflex (*be/-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/-solf/solue/sulf* (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the 2nd sg. reflex (*be/-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); *<o* in the 2nd sg. reflex (*be/-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/sulue* (Ω14, Ω34, Ω112 and Ω116) but *<e* in (*him/-selue/self* (Ω26, Ω33, Ω119 and Ω193), the 2nd sg. reflex (*be/-self* (Ω30) and the 1st pl. reflex. (*us/-sulf* (Ω321), the 3rd pl. reflex. (*hem/-self* (Ω236) and (*him/-sulf* (Ω321)
§ 98.9  J writes <eo> (cf 98.3 ) in the pron. 3rd sg. reflex. (him)-seolue/seol (Ω14, Ω26, Ω33 etc.), the 2nd sg. reflex (p)-seol (Ω30) and the 1st pl. reflex. (us)-seol (Ω321).

§ 98.10 M writes <eo> in the pron. 3rd sg. reflex. (hine/him)-seolue/self (Ω26, Ω41, Ω112 etc.), the 2nd sg. reflex (i)-self (Ω30) and the 1st pl. reflex. (vs)-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 fehtan. 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 rihtƿinesse (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 rihtƿinesse (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 rihtƿinesse (Ω73), the noun unrihte (Ω95 and 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 rihtƿinesse (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 rihtƿinesse (sic) (Ω73), the noun vniht (Ω95 and Ω220) and the adv. rihte (Ω114); <i> in the adj. briht (Ω383) and the pl. brihte (Ω76).

§ 99.7  J writes <y, i> in the noun ryhtƿinesse (Ω73), the noun vnyht/vnriht (Ω95 and Ω220) and the adv. ryte (Ω114); <i> in the adj. briht (Ω383) and the pl. brihte (Ω76).

§ 99.8  M writes <i> in the noun rihtƿinesse (Ω73) and the adv. rihte (Ω114) and <i> in the adj. pl. brihte (Ω76).
§ 100 The ᵹ-umlaut of eo (Primitive English ᵹu + ᵹ-umlaut)

§ 100.1 Prim. Gmc. ᵹ before y was broken to ᵹo (later eo in most dialects) with great regularity (Campbell § 148). ᵹo was then subject to ᵹ-umlaut in WS only, giving øe > y e. (Campbell § 201 and Jordan § 70). Outside of WS ᵹo 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 /œ/ or ø are also found and in the North and NML ᵹ is present as a reflex of ᵹo. (Jordan § 70)

§ 100.3 In the CL the ᵹ-umlaut of eo is only present in the following examples, before h (cf. 99), where it is written ᵹ in all texts, and in § 97 as part of the wur group.

In the CL:

§ 100.4 Before h (cf. § 99) T writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouer-sih₇ (76) and wur₄-sih (92).
§ 100.5 Before h (cf. § 99) L writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouer-sich (76) and wur₄-sich (92).
§ 100.6 Before h (cf. § 99) D writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouer-sich (76) and wur₄-sich (92).
§ 100.7 Before h (cf. § 99) E2 writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouersih (76) and wur₄-sih (92).
§ 100.8 Before h (cf. § 99) E1 writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouer-sih (76) and wur₄-sih (92).
§ 100.9 Before h (cf. § 99) J writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouer-syh (76) and wur₄-syh (92).
§ 100.10 Before h (cf. § 99) J writes ᵹ in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ouersyh (76) and wur₄-syh (92).

§ 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 ø in am (71 and 74); L writes OE eo as ø in em (71 and 74); The E MSS writes OE eo as ø in em (71) but øo in em (74). The shortening of the OE diphthong in eom might well have resulted in ME am, em and œam – although it is probable that ME am is a continuation of the chiefly Anglian form am, 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 (am) 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 \( ea \) (= \( ae \)), \( eo \), \( io \) from the short front vowels \( ae \), \( e \), \( i \), 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 \( <eo \), \( ø > \) (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 \textit{adj. pl. fele} (\( \Omega^9 \), \( \Omega^10 \), \( \Omega^100 \) etc.), the \textit{pron. pl. fele} (\( \Omega^71 \), \( \Omega^109 \)) and in the \textit{adv. fele} (\( \Omega^407 \)); \( <e > \) in the \textit{verb pr. ind. F\( ^{1} \) pl. breked} (\( \Omega^93 \)); \( <e > \) in the \textit{noun pele} (\( \Omega^162 \), \( \Omega^233 \), \( \Omega^330 \) etc.) and the \textit{noun unfremu} (\( \Omega^237 \)).

§ 103.2  L writes \( <o > \) in the \textit{adj. pl. fele} (\( \Omega^9 \), \( \Omega^10 \), \( \Omega^100 \) etc. cf. § 102.3) but \( <e > \) in \textit{fele} (\( \Omega^175 \), \( \Omega^219 \)), \( <o > \) in the \textit{pron. pl. fele} (\( \Omega^109 \), cf. §102.3) but \( <e > \) in \textit{fele} (\( \Omega^71 \)); \( <o > \) in the \textit{verb pr. ind. F\( ^{1} \) pl. breked} (\( \Omega^93 \)); \( <e > \) in the \textit{noun pele} (\( \Omega^162 \) and \( \Omega^233 \)) and \( <e > \) in the \textit{noun unfreme} (\( \Omega^237 \), cf. § 102.3).

§ 103.3  D writes \( <e > \) in the \textit{adj. pl. vele/uele/fele} (\( \Omega^9 \), \( \Omega^10 \), \( \Omega^100 \) etc.), the \textit{pron. pl. fele/uele} (\( \Omega^71 \), \( \Omega^109 \)) and the \textit{adv. vele} (\( \Omega^407 \)); \( <e > \) in the \textit{verb pr. ind. F\( ^{1} \) pl. breked} (\( \Omega^93 \)) and \( <e > \) in the \textit{noun pele} (\( \Omega^162 \), \( \Omega^233 \), \( \Omega^330 \) etc.).

§ 103.4  E2 writes \( <e > \) in the \textit{adj. pl. fele/uele} (\( \Omega^9 \), \( \Omega^100 \), \( \Omega^175 \) etc.) but \( <a > \) in \textit{fele} (\( \Omega^10 \) < \textit{feala} by association with the antonym \textit{feawe});\( ^{873} <e > \) in the \textit{pl. pron. fele} (\( \Omega^109 \)) but \( <ea > \) in \textit{fele} (\( \Omega^71 \)); \( <e > \) in the \textit{verb pr. ind. F\( ^{1} \) pl. breked} (\( \Omega^93 \)) \( <e > \) in the \textit{noun pele} (\( \Omega^162 \), \( \Omega^233 \), \( \Omega^330 \) etc.); the \textit{noun unfreme} (\( \Omega^237 \)).

§ 103.5  E1 writes \( <e > \) in the \textit{adj. pl. fele/vele} (\( \Omega^9 \), \( \Omega^10 \), \( \Omega^100 \) etc.) and in the \textit{pron pl. fele} (\( \Omega^109 \)) but \( <ea > \) in \textit{fele} (\( \Omega^71 \): by association with the antonym \textit{feawe}. (see fn. 330); \( <e > \) in the \textit{verb pr. ind. F\( ^{1} \) pl. breked} (\( \Omega^93 \)) and \( <e > \) in the \textit{noun pele} (\( \Omega^162 \), \( \Omega^233 \), \( \Omega^330 \) 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. f' 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. f' 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.* heuenerliche (Ω99); the *noun* pereldes (possess.) and pereld (Ω282, Ω330, Ω346 etc.); under the influence of *we* it is <u> in the *noun* suster (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *we* 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-rich (Ω66 and Ω185) and the *adj.* houenerliche but <e> in the *noun* heuenerliche (Ω43) and heuen-king (Ω64); <o> in the *noun* porld-pel (Ω162) and porldes (poss.) (Ω282); under the influence of *we* it is <u> in the *noun* suster (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *we* 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 heuen-king/heuenkinge (Ω64 and Ω366); <e> in the *noun* perldes (poss.) (Ω162, Ω330, Ω350) and the *adj.* perldliche (Ω162) but <o> in porld/porul and porldes (poss.) (Ω282, Ω346, Ω380); under the influence of *we* it is <u> in the *noun* suster (Ω157 and Ω194 for the influence of *we* 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 heuene (Ω83), <e> in heuereriche (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.), heue-kinge/heuken-kinge (Ω64 and Ω366) and the *adj.* heuenerliche (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 *we* it is <u> in the *noun* suster (Ω157 and Ω194, for the influence of *we* see Wright § 52) but <o> in the *noun* pode (Ω360).

§ 104.5 E1 writes <e> in the *noun* heuene (Ω76 and Ω83), the *noun* heuener-riche/heuereiche (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.), heuen-kinge (Ω64 and Ω366) and the *adj.* heuenerliche (Ω99); <o> (cf.
§ 81.3) in the noun **porld** and **poruldes/porlides** (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).

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§ 104.6 J writes <eo> (cf. § 81.3) in the noun **heouene** (Ω28, Ω76, Ω83 etc.), **heoue-riche/heoueriche** (Ω43, Ω66, Ω185 etc.) and **heouenkinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) but <e> in the adj. **heuenliche** (Ω99); <o> in the noun **world** and **worlides** (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).

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§ 104.7 M writes <e> in M for the noun **heuene** (Ω76 and Ω83), **heueneriche** (Ω43 and Ω185), **heuenkinge** (Ω64 and Ω366) and the adj. **heuenliche** (Ω99); the noun **porld/world** and **porlides** (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).

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**The velar umlaut *io* of *i***

§ 105.1 The velar umlaut *io* of *i* probably went to *eo* everywhere in Old English. In ME /o/ results with unrounding to *e* - with lengthening in open syllables.

§ 105.2 OE *eo* was retained as a front round vowel /o/ 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 (**sydðenan, suððe** (cf. E2 § 105.7) < late WS **syððan**). (Jordan § 74)

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§ 105.4 T writes <e> (§ 105.1) in the adj. **seþen** (Ω9, Ω122 and Ω216); the quant. card. **seuene/seue** (Ω29 and Ω149); <e> (§ 105.1) in the prep. **bineden** (Ω89); <e> in the possess. pron 3rd 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 <e> in the verb inf. **bene/nime** (Ω45); <e> in the adj. **quike** (Ω80) and the adj. functioning as pl. noun in **quik** (Ω199); <e> in the noun **silver** (Ω278) and <e> in the adj. **nider** (Ω310 and Ω359).

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§ 105.5 L writes <e> (§ 105.2) in the adj. **sodeþen** (Ω9, Ω122) but <u> (§ 105.3) in **sudden** (Ω216); <e> (§ 105.2) in the quant. card. **souene/soue** (Ω29 and Ω149); <e> (§ 105.2) in the noun **solure** (Ω278); <e> (§ 105.2) in the prep. **bineden** (Ω89); <e> (§ 105.2) in the possess. pron 3rd pl. **hore** (Ω104, Ω184, Ω213 etc.) but **here** (Ω251 and Ω259); <e> in the verb pp. **iclepede** (Ω109) and the verb inf. **biclepie** (Ω112) and <e> in the verb inf. **bene/nimen** (Ω45); <e> in the adj. **quike** (Ω80) and the adj. functioning as pl. noun in **quik** (Ω199).
§ 105.6 D writes <e> (§ 105.1) in se\de (Ω122 and Ω216); <e> in the quant. card. seune/seue (Ω29 and Ω149); <e> in the prep. bine\pen (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 3rd pl. her/her (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. ni\per (Ω310 and Ω359) and <i> in the cj. sip\pen (Ω9).

§ 105.7 E2 writes <e> (§ 105.2) in the quant. card. seuene/seue (Ω29 and Ω149); <e> in the prep. bi-ne\den (Ω89); <e> (§ 105.2) in the possess. pron 3rd pl. heore/heora (Ω104, Ω184, Ω214 etc.) and <e> (§ 105.2) in the noun seoluer (Ω278); <u> in the verb pp. icluped (Ω109) and the verb inf. bi-clupien (Ω112); <u> (§ 105.3) in the cj. su\o\de (Ω122); <y> (§ 105.3) in the cj. sy\o\den (Ω9) but <i> in si\o\de (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-ne\pen (Ω89); <e> in the verb pp. icleped (Ω109) and the verb inf. bi-clepien (Ω112); <e> in the noun sue\er (Ω278); <e> in the adv. henne (Ω417); <e> in the possess. pron 3rd pl. here (Ω104, Ω213, Ω214 etc.) (8); <e> in heore (Ω184, Ω237, Ω302 etc. (8) and <u> in hire (Ω272 and Ω287); <y> (§ 105.3) in the cj. sy\o\den (Ω9) and <e> (§ 105.3) in su\o\e/su\e\per (Ω122 and Ω216); <u> in the adv. nu\er (Ω359); <e> in the quant. card. seuene/seue (Ω29 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-ne\pen (Ω89); <e> in the verb pp. icleped (Ω109) but <e> (§ 105.2) in the verb inf. bi-clepien (Ω112); <e> (§ 105.2) in the quant. card. seue (Ω149); <e> (§ 105.2) in the possess. pron 3rd pl. heore (Ω104, Ω184, Ω213 etc.); <e> (§ 105.2) in the noun seoluer (Ω278); <e> (§ 105.2) in the adv. henonne (Ω417); <e> (§ 105.2) in the cj. se\o\pe (Ω9) but <e> in se\o\pen (Ω122); <y> in the verb inf. (by)nyme (Ω45); <y> in the adj. quy\ke (Ω80) and the adj. functioning as pl. noun in quyk (Ω199) and <y> in the adj. ny\pe (Ω310).

§ 105.10 M writes <i> in the adj. quike (Ω80) and the adj. functioning as pl. noun in quike\pe (Ω199); <i> in the adj. n\per (Ω359); <i> in the verb inf. (bi)nime (Ω45); <i> in the cj. sip\pe (Ω9) but <u> in su\pen (Ω216); <u> in the verb pp. icluped (Ω109); <u> in the possess. pron 3rd pl. hire (Ω104, Ω251, Ω259 etc. (6)) but <e> in hare (Ω184, Ω220, Ω272 and Ω358); <e> in the quant. card. seue (Ω149); <e> in the prep. bine\pen (Ω89); <e> in the noun seluer (Ω278) and <e> in the adv. henne (Ω417).

774
OE Long Diphthongs

§ 106  **OE ea**

§ 106.1 The diphthong *ea* /eːaː/, follows a parallel movement to that of short *ea* (cf. § 87) and was monophthongized to ə around 1000 in most places. However, where ə (⟨ea⟩) went to ə, there resulted from open /æː/, probably already in the twelfth century, /eː/, usually written ⟨eo⟩ 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 /j/. 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 (⟨edi⟩) and M (⟨edi⟩ and 363). The writing ⟨ya⟩ and ⟨ia⟩ occurring beside ⟨yaa, 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 ⟨dyead, dyad, diad, dyea⟩ etc. (Jordan § 82).

§ 106.3 T writes ⟨eo⟩ in the *adv. ec* (Ω47, Ω112, Ω167 etc.); ⟨eo⟩ in the *adj. sg. and pl. eːlate* (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.) but ⟨ea⟩ in the *adv. eːade* (Ω217, Ω299 and Ω389) and in the *adv. uneaːde* (Ω190, Ω198 and Ω363); ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun deːade* (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.); ⟨ea⟩ in the *adv. eːadi* (Ω238); ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun lean* (Ω65); ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun brede* (Ω198, Ω376) but ⟨ea⟩ in *brade* (Ω152); ⟨ea⟩ in the *verb noun rauing* (Ω266).

§ 106.4 L writes ⟨eo⟩ in the *adv. ec* (Ω167, Ω180 and Ω214); ⟨eo⟩ in the *noun chep* (Ω69); ⟨eo⟩ in the *adv. edi* (Ω238); ⟨eo⟩ in the *adj. sg. and pl. eːletɛ/et-lɛtɛ* (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.) and in the *adv. eːde* (Ω217), ⟨eo⟩ in *uneade* (Ω198) but ⟨ea⟩ in *uneade* (Ω190: rh); ⟨eo⟩ in the *noun deːbe/de ːde/daːde* (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.) but ⟨ea⟩ in *deːade* (Ω191: rh); ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun brede* (Ω152 and Ω198).

§ 106.5 D writes ⟨eo⟩ in the *adv. ec/ech* (Ω1, Ω24, Ω84 etc.); ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun lean* (Ω65); ⟨eo⟩ in the *adj. sg. and pl. eːlɛte* (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.) but ⟨ea⟩ in the *adv. eːde/ede* (Ω299 and Ω389) and in the *adv. uneaːde* (Ω198) but ⟨eo⟩ in *vnnede* (Ω190); ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun deadˈ e/deade* (Ω111, Ω132, Ω191 etc. (10) but ⟨eo⟩ in *deːde/daːde* (Ω120, Ω129, Ω193 etc. (4)); ⟨eo⟩ in the *noun bred/brade* (Ω152 and Ω376) but ⟨ea⟩ in the *noun brede* (Ω198) and ⟨ea⟩ in the *adv. eːdi* (Ω238).

775
§ 106.6 E2 writes <e> in the adv. ech/ ec (Ω3, Ω11, Ω24 etc.); <e> in the adj. ẹẹ-le-te (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.), <e> in the adv. ea-ẹ (Ω217) but <e> in ieę (Ω299 cf. § 106.2) and in the adv. un-ieę/ unieę (Ω190 and Ω363) but <e> in unieę (Ω198); <e> in the noun dieę/dieę (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc. cf. § 106.2) but <e> in deę (Ω132); <ie> in the noun lien (Ω65 cf. § 106.2); <ie> in the noun briede (Ω198 and Ω376) but <e> in briede (Ω152); <e> in the adj. ẹedi (Ω238 cf. § 106.2) and <e> in the verbal noun reauing (Ω266).

§ 106.7 E1 writes <e> in the adv. ec (Ω3, Ω11, Ω24 etc.); <e> in the noun lyen (Ω65 cf. § 106.2); <e> in the adj. ẹẹ-le-te (Ω75, Ω157, Ω162 etc.), the adv. ẹẹ (Ω299 and Ω389) and <e> in the adv. vneę (Ω190, Ω198) but <e> in un-ieę (Ω363 cf. § 106.2); <e> in the noun deę/ded (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.) but <e> in dieę/dieę (Ω191, Ω193, Ω202 etc. (5) and <e> in deę (Ω388); <e> in the noun briede/bred (Ω152, Ω198 and Ω376); <e> in the adj. ẹedi (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. ẹẹ (Ω190 and Ω389) and the adv. vneę (Ω198, Ω363); <e> in the noun deę/dę (Ω111, Ω120, Ω129 etc.); <e> in the noun briede/bred (Ω152, Ω198 and Ω376); <e> in the adj. ẹdy (Ω238); <e> in the verbal noun reving (Ω266) but <e> in the noun lean (Ω65).

§ 106.9 M writes <e> in the adv. ek/ eę (Ω112, Ω267, Ω377 etc.); <ie> in the noun lien (Ω65); <e> in the adj. ẹẹ-le-te (Ω75, Ω157 and Ω270: cf. § 106.2), <e> in the adv. vneę (Ω198); <e> in the noun deę (Ω111, Ω129, Ω132 etc.) but <e> in ded (Ω120 cf. § 106.2); <e> in the noun briede/bred (Ω152 and Ω198, Ω376); <e> in the adj. ẹedi (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 fth pl. leude/ileued (Ω136 and Ω183); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. heređ (Ω91) and in the verb inf. ilehere (Ω276); the verb inf. temen (Ω113 rh); the verb pp. alezaed (Ω141) but it is <ie> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. giemęđ (Ω82).
§ 107.3 L writes <e> throughout, in the verb inf. ieleu/leuen (Ω50 rh, Ω136), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. ileuo (Ω183); the verb pp. alesd (Ω141); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. iher (Ω91) and the verb inf. iheren (Ω276).

§ 107.4 D writes <e> in the verb inf. ileuen (Ω50, Ω136, Ω183 etc.); the verb inf. teme (Ω113 rh); the verb pp. alesd (Ω141); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. iher (Ω91) but <ie> in ihiere (Ω276).

§ 107.5 E2 writes <u> (cf. § 107.1) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ihuren (Ω276) the verb pp. ilusd (Ω141) but <e> (cf. § 107.1) in the verb inf. ileue (Ω50 in rhyming position), the verb 1st pl. leued/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. iluet (Ω136) but <e> (cf. § 107.1) in ileued (Ω183 in rhyming position); the verb inf. ileue (Ω50 in rhyming position) and the verb inf. temen (Ω113 in rhyming position).

§ 107.7 J writes <e> in the verb inf. ileue (Ω50), the verb 1st pl. leued/ileue (Ω136, Ω183); the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. iher (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. yleft (Ω50 rh.), the verb 1st pl. leued (Ω136) and the verb pr. sbj. 2nd pl. yleft (Ω183); the verb inf. teme (Ω113 rh); the verb pp. ilesed (Ω141) but <u> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. ihur (Ω91).

§ 108 OE eo (Kentish œo)

§ 108.1 The development of OE eo is similar to that of eo > /œ/ (cf. § 95), with a special development taking place in Kent (cf. §). OE eo yields long /œ/, 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 /œ/ sound is indicated by <eo, o, (ue, eu), u>. (Jordan § 95).

§ 108.2 In Kent eo had already gone to œo in OE. In early ME this became œ (cf. § 108.5) and with accent shifting /œ/. In medial position /œ/ 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 /œ/). However, in final position the accent remained on the first component and as a result the second disappeared, therefore, in the CL we find bi 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. f pl. beð (Ω20 and Ω341) but <ie> in bieð (Ω342), <e> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. beð (Ω76, Ω96, Ω1092 etc.) but <ie> in bieð (Ω302), <e> in the verb pr. sbj. f sg. bie (Ω24 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 <e> 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.) fiendes (Ω230); <i> in the noun lieue (Ω44); <e> in the noun deueld (Ω225 and Ω284), the possess. noun deueldes/difles (Ω186, Ω202 and Ω267) and the noun pl. deflen (Ω100); <i> in the noun dieire (Ω152 rh); <e> in the noun spiere (Ω153 rh); <e> in the verb inf. biflen (Ω161); <ie> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. hielden (Ω179) but <ie> in the adj. sic (Ω208).

§ 108.4 L writes mostly <o> (cf. § ) in the verb inf. bon/bò (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc.), <o> in the verb pp. ibon/bon (Ω3 and Ω144), <o> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. boð/boð (Ω29, Ω76, Ω77 etc.) but <e> in boð (Ω246), <o> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl. bon/bò (Ω96 and Ω141), <o> in the verb pr. sbj. 1st sg. bo (Ω4), <e> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. bo (Ω27, Ω33, Ω127 etc.) but <ie> in boe (Ω30) and <e> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. boeð (Ω20).

It is <e> in the verb inf. seon (Ω19) but <o> in son (Ω167); <e> in the adj. louere (comp.) and lof (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the adj. functioning as a noun loued (Ω45); <e> in the noun sg. frond (Ω31) and the noun pl. (OE dat.) frond (Ω230) but freond (Ω231); <o> in the pl. noun (OE dat.) fond (Ω230); <e> in the noun boed (Ω44); <o> in the noun doueld/doulen (Ω225 and Ω284), the possess. noun doueldes (Ω186, Ω202 and Ω267) and the noun pl. doule (Ω100); <o> in the noun dore (Ω152); <e> in the noun spore (Ω153); <ie> in the verb inf. biflen (Ω161); <e> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. holden (Ω179) but <ie> in the adj. sic (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), <e> 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 bh (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. f pl. bieð (Ω20, Ω341 and Ω342), <ie> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. bieð (Ω77, Ω78, Ω182 etc.) but <e> in bieð (Ω76 and Ω109), <e> in the verb pr. sbj. 1st sg. bi (Ω4 and Ω141), <e> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. bi (Ω27, Ω33, Ω127 etc.), <e> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl. ben (Ω29) but <ie> 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. lieif (Ω74, Ω265 and Ω270) and in the adj. functioning as a noun lieue (Ω45); <ei> in the noun pl. (OE dat.) frende (Ω231); <ie> in the pl. noun (OE dat.) viende (Ω230); <ie> in the noun lieue (Ω44); <ei> in the noun deuel (Ω225) but <ie> in diefle (Ω284), <ei> in the poss. noun dofles (Ω186) but <e> in defles (Ω202), <ie> in diefl (Ω267) and <ei> in the noun pl. deoflen (Ω100); <ie> in the noun dere (Ω152); <ei> in the noun spiere (Ω153 rh); <e> in the verb inf. biflien (Ω161); <ei> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. hielden (Ω179) and <ei> in the adj. siec (Ω208).

§ 108.6 E2 writes mostly <eo> (cf. §) in the verb inf. beon/beo (Ω40, Ω42, Ω44 etc.) but <ei> in ben (Ω2), <ei> in the verb pp. ibeon (Ω3 and Ω144), <eo> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. beo/bi (Ω20, Ω341 and Ω342), <ei> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. beo (Ω76, Ω96, Ω109 etc.) but be (Ω77, Ω78), <ei> in the verb pr. ind 2nd pl. bu (Ω24), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 1st sg. beo (Ω4), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. beo (Ω27, Ω30, Ω33 etc.), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl. beon (Ω29) and <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. beo (Ω333).

It is written <e> in the verb inf. iseon/seon (Ω19 and Ω167); <ei> in the adj. leoure (comp.) and leof (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the adj. functioning as a noun leoue (Ω45) but <ei> in the adj. lieif (Ω270); <ei> in the noun sg. freond (Ω31) and pl. noun (OE dat.) freonde (Ω231); <ei> in the pl. noun (OE dat.) feonde (Ω230); <ei> in the noun boeue (Ω44); <ei> in the noun deofel/deoflen (Ω225 and Ω284), the poss. noun deofles (Ω202 and Ω267) and the noun pl. deofles (Ω100); <ei> in the noun deore (Ω152 rh); <ei> in the noun spere (Ω153 rh); <ei> in the verb inf. bi-fleon (Ω161); <ei> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. heolde (Ω179) and <ei> in the adj. siec (Ω208).

§ 108.7 El retains <ei> or <e> in <eo> forms associated with the South and WML, alongside unrounded <ei>. It is written <ei> in the verb inf. ben/be (Ω2, Ω40, Ω42 etc. (15) but <ei> in beo/bean (Ω125, Ω141, Ω166 etc. (17) and <e> in buen (Ω181), <ei> in the verb pp. iben (Ω3) but <ei> in ibeon (Ω144), <ei> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. beo (Ω20) but <ei> in bbe (Ω341 and Ω342), <ei> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. beo/bi (Ω76, Ω78, Ω96 etc. (7)) but bbeo (Ω109 etc.), Ω224, Ω254 etc. (8), bbeo/ibeo (Ω77, Ω295, Ω296 etc. (8)) and bbeo (Ω302), <e> in the verb pr. ind 2nd pl. bu (Ω24), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 1st sg. beo (Ω4), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. beo (Ω30, Ω127, Ω190 etc.) but <ei> in be (Ω27), <e> in bue (Ω33) and <ei> in bo (Ω33), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd pl. ben (Ω29), <ei> in the verb pr. sbj. 2nd pl. ben (Ω28).

It is written <ei> in the verb inf. isen (Ω19) but <ei> in i-seo/i-seon/seon (Ω167, Ω392, Ω398 etc.) but <ei> in i-sen (Ω297) and <ei> in sene (Ω405); <ei> in the adj. leoure (comp.) and leif (Ω30, Ω74, Ω263 etc.) and in the adj. functioning as a noun leue (Ω45) but <ei> in lif (Ω270); <ei> in the noun frond (Ω31) but <ei> in the noun pl. (OE dat.) freonde (Ω231); <ei> in the pl. noun (OE dat.) feonde (Ω230); <ei> in the noun beve (Ω44); <e> in the noun deofel/deofo (Ω225 and Ω284), the poss. noun deofles (Ω202 and Ω267) and the noun pl. deofles (Ω100); <ei> in the noun dere (Ω152 rh); <ei> in the noun spere (Ω153 rh); <ei> in the verb inf. biflum (Ω161); <ei> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. heolden (Ω179) and <ei> in the adj. siec (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. f\textsuperscript{1} pl. beop (Ω20, Ω341 and Ω342), <eo> in the verb pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. beop (Ω29, Ω76, Ω77 etc.), <eo> in the verb pr. ind 2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. beop (Ω24), <eo> in the verb pr. sbj. f\textsuperscript{1} sg. beo (Ω4 and Ω141), <eo> in the verb pr. sbj. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sg. beo (Ω27, Ω30, Ω33 etc.) but <e> in be (Ω260), <eo> in the verb pr. sbj. 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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 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. 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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. f\textsuperscript{1} pl. beop (Ω20 and Ω341), <eo> in the verb pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. beop (Ω109\textsuperscript{2}, Ω186, Ω246 etc.) but <e> in beop (Ω76 and Ω96), <e> in the verb pr. ind 2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. beop (Ω24), <eo> in the verb pr. sbj. f\textsuperscript{1} sg. beo (Ω4, Ω141), <eo> in the verb pr. sbj. 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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. freond (Ω31) and the noun pl. (OE dat) freond (Ω231); <e> in the pl. noun (OE dat) uende (Ω230); <e> in the noun þeue (Ω44); <eo> in the noun deuol/deuol (Ω225 and Ω284), the possess. noun deules (Ω186, Ω202 and Ω267) and the noun pl. deules (Ω100); <eo> in the noun dere (Ω152 rh); <e> in the noun suere (Ω153); <e> in the verb inf. ule (Ω161); <e> in the verb pr. ind. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. helde (Ω179); <e> in the adj. sike (Ω208).

§ 109 The i-umlaut of eo (Primitive English ïu + i, ï)

§ 109.1 As in the short i-umlaut of eo (§ 100.1), ïo was subject to i-umlaut in WS giving y (and later ã) < iê. (Campbell § 201). In the Midland ïo went over into eo, in Northumbrian this must have occurred in the eleventh century, in Kent ïo was preserved.

§ 109.2 In ME in dialects of the Southwest traces of the WS y are found. The otherwise predominating eo and Kent. ïo developed like the same sounds without umlaut (cf. § 108). (Jordan § 86)

§ 109.3 For the nouns OE WS freond 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 \(<e>\) in friend (Ω231); \(<e>\) in the noun pl. (nom.) fiend (Ω294); \(<e>\) in the noun biesternesse (292) but \(<u>\) in the adj. bustere (Ω79); \(<e>\) in the noun pl. derlinges (Ω402) and \(<e>\) in the adv. diere (Ω153 and Ω193); \(<e>\) in the noun niede (Ω274).

§ 109.5 L writes mostly \(<o>\) in the noun pl. (acc) frend (Ω192 and Ω231); \(<o>\) in the adv. dore (Ω153 and Ω193); \(<o>\) in the noun node (Ω274); \(<o>\) in the adj. bestre (Ω79) but \(<e>\) in the pl. bestre (Ω77).

§ 109.6 D has mostly \(<e>\) in the adj. sg. and pl. biestere (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the noun biesternesse (292); the noun niede (Ω274); \(<e>\) in the adv. diere (Ω153 and Ω193) with \(<o>\) in the noun pl. deorlinges (Ω402); \(<e>\) in the noun pl. 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 \(<e>\) 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. bustere (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the noun biesternesse (Ω292); \(<u>\) in the adv. dure (Ω153) but \(<e>\) in deore (Ω193) and \(<e>\) 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. bustere (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the noun biesternesse (Ω292); \(<u>\) in the noun pl. durlinges (Ω402); \(<e>\) in the adv. duere (Ω153) but \(<o>\) in dore (Ω193) and \(<e>\) in the noun neode (Ω274).

§ 109.9 J always writes unrounded \(<e>\) (cf. § 109.1 and § 109.2) in the noun pl. freond (Ω192 and Ω315); \(<e>\) in the noun pl. (nom) feond (Ω294); \(<e>\) in the adj. sg. and pl. bestere (Ω77 and Ω79) and in the noun biesternesse (292); \(<e>\) in the adv. deore (Ω153 and Ω193); \(<e>\) 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. bestre but Southwestern \(<u>\) (cf. § 109.2) in the noun biesternesse (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)

Diphthongs from front vowels caused by preceding palatals:

§ 111 The front vowels æ and Sax. æ (cf. § 71ff. for æ) and e yielded the diphthongs ea, ea, ie and ʲe < e. From about 900 Sax. ie was simplified to i or y; ea and ea were 'smoothed' in some areas to e or ʲe, however, many Sax. dialects retained ea and ea. (Jordan § 75)

§ 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/ral (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).

§ 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. sameþ (Ω174) but <e> in the noun pl. scefte (Ω86) and <o> in the noun scome (Ω175); with <e> in the adv. gere (Ω115).

§ 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); <e> 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).

§ 112.5 E2 writes <ae> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. sceal (Ω317) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. sceal (Ω27, Ω36, Ω49 etc.); <ae> in sceal (Ω22) and <a> in scal (Ω180); <a> in the verb inf. scamian (Ω172) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scameð (Ω174); <a> in the noun scame (Ω175); <a> in the noun pl. scæfte (Ω86) but <e> in the noun scete (Ω380; i-umlaut of ea?)
§ 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 <œ> in scel/sel (Ω22, Ω27) and <œ> in scal (Ω167, Ω348); <œ> in the verb inf. scamien (Ω172) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scenet (Ω174); <œ> in the noun sceme (Ω175) but <œ> in the noun pl. scefte (Ω86) and in the noun sced (Ω380; <œ> might be explained by its position between palatal and dental consonants).

§ 112.7 J writes <œ> in the verb pr. ind. 1st sg. schal (Ω317) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.) and <œ> in the noun pl. schafte (Ω86).

§ 112.8 M writes <œ> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scal (Ω22, Ω27, Ω36 etc.); <œ> in the verb inf. scamie (Ω172) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. scamet (Ω174); <œ> in the noun same (Ω175); <œ> in the noun schat (Ω380); <œ> in the noun pl. scefte (Ω86).

§ 113 The i-umlaut 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 <œ> in the noun chele (Ω206, Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247) and in the verb pp. bicherd (Ω333).
§ 113.3 L writes <œ> in the noun chele (Ω206, Ω246 and Ω247).
§ 113.4 D writes <œ> in the noun chele (Ω206, Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247) and <œ> in the verb pp. bicherd (Ω333).
§ 113.5 E2 writes <œ> in the noun chele (Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247) but <œ> in chule (Ω206 cf. 113.1) and <œ> in the verb pp. bicherd (Ω333).
§ 113.6 E1 writes <œ> in the noun chele (Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247) but <œ> in chule (Ω206 cf. 113.1); <œ> in the verb pp. bi-cherd (Ω333).
§ 113.7 J writes <œ> in the noun chele (Ω206, Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247) and <œ> in the verb pp. bi-cherd (Ω333).
§ 113.8 M writes <œ> in the noun chele (Ω206, Ω245x2, Ω246 and Ω247).
§ 114  
OE ea

§ 114.1  
Palatal dipthongization of ægives 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 ie 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. giær (Ω149) where it is written e in L, E2, E1, J and M in ger/yer/ger.

§ 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.

In the CL:

§ 116  
OE ie after g.

§ 116.1  
T writes ie throughout with the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. forgiet (cont.)/forgieted (Ω26, Ω39), the verb inf. forgiete (Ω35), the verb pp. forgieten (Ω101); ie in the noun giæde (Ω46); ie in the noun giæue (Ω75 and Ω211); ie in the verb sbj. 3rd sg. giæue/giæue (Ω57, Ω127x², Ω329 and Ω416) but e in geue (Ω328), ie in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. giæued (Ω59 and Ω198), the verb inf. giæuen (Ω65 and Ω274), the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. giæue/giefe (Ω72, Ω153 and Ω347) and the verb pp. giæue (Ω352); ie in the verb inf. forgiæue (Ω224); ie in the noun forgiæuenesse (Ω313); ie in the verb pp. bigiæue (Ω110) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont.) bigiet (Ω131).

§ 116.2  
L writes e throughout with the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. forgiet (cont.)/forgieted (Ω26 and Ω39), the verb inf. forgieten (Ω35), the verb pp. forgieten (Ω101); e in the noun geue/geue (Ω46 and Ω75); e in the noun giæde (Ω46); e in the verb inf. geuen (Ω65 and Ω265), the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. giæue/giefe (Ω72 and Ω153), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. giæued (Ω198), the verb sbj. 3rd sg. giæue (Ω127) but i in giæue (Ω57); e in the verb inf. for-geuen (Ω224); e in the verb pp. bigiæue (Ω110).

§ 116.3  
Digby writes e in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. vorgiet (cont.)/forget (cont.) (Ω26 and Ω39), the verb pp. uorgiete (Ω101), but ie in the verb inf. uorgiete (Ω35); ie in the noun giæue (Ω46) but e in iæue (Ω75); e in the noun giæde (Ω46); e in the verb inf. giæuen (Ω65) but e in geuen (Ω274), ie in the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. giefe/giefe (Ω72 and Ω153), the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. gieue (Ω57 and Ω328) but ie in giæue (Ω127 and Ω416) and e in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. giæued (Ω198) and the verb pp. igeuen (Ω352); e in the verb inf. vorguen (Ω224); e in the noun giæuenesse (Ω313); e in the verb pp. bigiæue (Ω110).
§ 116.4 E2 writes <w> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-gut (cont.) (Ω26) but <i> in forgitete (Ω39), the verb inf. for- grind (Ω35) and <y> in the verb pp. for- gyte (Ω101); <i> in the noun gyue (Ω75); <i> in the verb sbj. 3rd sg. gyue (Ω57 and Ω328) but <y> in gyue (Ω127 and Ω416), <i> in the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. giuere/giuden (Ω72, Ω153 and Ω347), <i> in the verb inf. giuene (Ω65) but <i> in giuene (Ω274) and <i> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. giuende (Ω198); <i> in the verb inf. for-giuent (Ω224); <i> in the noun forgiuentesse (Ω313); <i> in the verb pp. bi-giite (Ω110).

§ 116.5 E1 writes <w> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-gut (cont.) (Ω26) but <y> in forguyte (Ω39), the verb inf. for- gyten (Ω38), the verb pp. for-gyte (Ω101); <y> in the noun gyue (Ω75); <i> in the verb inf. giuene (Ω65, Ω274), the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. giuied (Ω72, Ω153 and Ω347), the verb sbj. 3rd sg. giuie (Ω57, Ω328) but <i> in giuie (Ω127) and <i> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. giuie (Ω198) and the verb pp. giuene (Ω352); <i> in the verb inf. for-giuent (Ω224); <i> in the noun forgiuentesse (Ω313); <i> in the verb pp. bi-giite (Ω110) and the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. (cont./be-) gite (Ω181).

§ 116.6 J writes <i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. for-yete (cont./for-yete) (Ω26 and Ω39), the verb inf. for- yeiten (Ω38), the verb pp. for-yete (Ω101), <i> in the noun yeffe (Ω46); <i> in the noun yelde (Ω46); <i> in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. yeue/yeif (Ω57, Ω127 and Ω328), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. yeuel (Ω59), the verb inf. yeue(n) (Ω65 and Ω274), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. yeue (Ω198), the verb pp. yeuen (Ω352), the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. yeuel (Ω153 and Ω347) but yeuel (Ω72); <i> in the verb inf. for-yeue (Ω224); <i> in the noun yeuensesse (Ω313); <i> in the verb pp. bi-yete (Ω110).

§ 116.7 M writes <i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. uorjete (cont./forjete) (Ω26, Ω39), the verb inf. uorjete (Ω38), the verb pp. forjete (Ω101); <i> in the noun jeue (Ω75); <i> in the verb sbj. 3rd sg. jeue (Ω57 and Ω328), the verb inf. jeue (Ω65), the verb pr. ind 3rd sg. jeiel (Ω72 and Ω153), the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. jeiel (Ω198 and Ω347); <i> in the verb inf. uorgeue (Ω224); <i> in the verb pp. biijete (Ω110).

§ 117 OE ȝe after g

§ 117.1 In the CL the forms of WS ȝeȝ (ȝet), with diphthongization, and Anglian ȝet, without diphthongization, from OE e exhibit the same development as ȝ. The writing of SW <w> in E2 and E1 demonstrate the reflex of /y/.
In the CL:

§ 117.2  T writes <i>e in the adv. ṣiet (Ω5) and the cj. ṣiet (Ω304 and Ω310).
L writes <e in the adv. ṣet (Ω5).
D writes <i>e in the adv. ṣiet (Ω5) but <e in the cj. ṣet (Ω310).
E2 writes <e in the adv. ṣyet (Ω5) and <u (cf. § 117.1) in the cj. ṣut (Ω304 and Ω310).
E1 writes <ue in the adv. ṣuet (Ω5) but <u (cf. § 117.1) in the cj. ṣut (Ω310).
J writes <e in the adv. ṣet (Ω5) and the cj. ṣet (Ω304 and Ω310).
M writes <e in the adv. ṣet (Ω5).

§ 118  OE ie after sc

§ 118.1  Most MSS of the CL agree on <i>e in the following readings with early SW <u> writings in both E2 and E1.

§ 118.2  T writes <i>e in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd 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. 3rd pl. silde (Ω362).

§ 118.2  L writes <i>e in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. scilde (Ω231).

§ 118.3  D writes <i>e in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. isilde/shilde (Ω231 and Ω314), the verb inf. silden (Ω316) and the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. silten (Ω362 Kentish form: MED).

§ 118.4  E2 writes <u (§ 118.1) in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. sculde (Ω231 and Ω314), the verb inf. sculde (Ω316 and Ω348), the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. sculde (Ω319), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculde (Ω362).

§ 118.5  E1 writes <u (§ 118.1) in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. sculde (Ω231, Ω314), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculde (Ω362), the verb inf. sculde (Ω348) but <i>e in scilden (Ω316) and the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. scilde (Ω319).

§ 118.6  J writes <i>e in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. sildhe (Ω314), the verb inf. sildhe (Ω316 and Ω348), the verb pr. sbj. 1st pl. sildhe (Ω319) but <e in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sildhe (Ω362).

§ 118.7  In M OE ie after sc is <i>e in the verb pr. sbj. 3rd sg. Isilde (Ω231 and Ω314), the verb inf. silde (Ω316 and Ω348), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sildhe (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 ġeonger in E2 and E1 would have probably stood for /jung/, which is corroborated by it rhyming in the text with hunger. However, the Kentish dialect preserves ġ 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. ġeunge (Ω10) and the adj. (comp.) ġeunge (Ω337); with <uw> in the noun ġiud (Ω390).

§ 120.2 L writes <u> in the adj. ġung (Ω4) and the adj. pl. ġunge (Ω10).

§ 120.3 D OE writes <uw> in the adj. ġiung (Ω4), <uw> in the adj. (comp.) ġunge (Ω337) and <eu> in the noun ġeugege (Ω390).

§ 120.4 E2 writes <γ> in the adj. ġyng (Ω4), <u> in the adj. pl. ġunge (Ω10), <eo> (§ 119.1) in the adj. (comp.) ġeonger (Ω337) and <ew> in the noun ġeugege (Ω390).

§ 120.5 E1 writes <u> in the adj. ġung (Ω4), <uw> in the adj. pl. ġunge (Ω10), <eo> (§ 119.1) in the adj. (comp.) ġeonger (Ω337) and in the noun ġeugege (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 <uw> in the adj. jung (Ω4), the adj. pl. ġunge (Ω10).

§ 121  OE eo after sc

§ 121.1 T writes <u> in 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.) and <o> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. solde (Ω38, Ω277), the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. solde(n) (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. solden (Ω279, Ω280 and Ω313) and the verb pa. ind 3rd sg. sop (Ω86).

§ 121.2 L writes <u> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sculen/scule (Ω48, Ω50, Ω59 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculen (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 2nd pl. sculen (Ω23 and Ω48), the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. sculde (Ω277), <uw> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. sculden (Ω279 and Ω280); <uw> in the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. in sculden (Ω61) and <o> the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. solde (Ω52) and the verb pa. ind 3rd sg. scop (Ω86).

§ 121.3 D OE writes <uw> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sulle(n) (Ω23, Ω100, Ω108 etc.), <uw> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sulle/sullen (Ω94, Ω170 and Ω341) and <o> in sollen (Ω59), <o> in 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) and the verb pa. ind 3rd sg. iscop (Ω86).
§ 121.4 E2 writes <u> in the verb pr. ind. 1st pl. sculen/scule (Ω59, Ω94, Ω98 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. sculen (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), but <o> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. scolde (Ω38, Ω277), the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. scolde (Ω48, Ω49, 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/scule (Ω59, Ω94, Ω98 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. scullen/sulle/scullen (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 (Ω48, Ω50, Ω52 etc.), the verb pa. 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/schulbe/schulen (Ω94, Ω96, Ω98 etc.), the verb pr. ind. 3rd pl. schulle/schulbe (Ω23, Ω96, Ω100 etc.), the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. schulde (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 scolen/scolen (Ω280 etc.) 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 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 etc.) 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 æ after æ, e, i.

§ 122 OE æ + æ/æ/æ

§ 122.1 Already in the OE period in some instances ææ had became 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 æ æ writings are prominent <ei> 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 mai (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. seid (Ω117, Ω119 and Ω140).
§ 122.3 L writes mostly <i>e</i> (cf. § 122.1) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mei</i> (Ω17) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω51, Ω66, Ω90 etc.)(16) but <i>a</i> in <i>mai</i> (Ω36, Ω41 and Ω70); <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>seid</i>/seit (Ω119 and Ω140) and <i>biseid</i> (Ω117); <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in the noun <i>dei</i> (Ω165) and (domes)-dei (Ω141).

§ 122.4 D writes mostly <i>a</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω36, Ω41, Ω45 etc.) but <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in <i>mei</i> (Ω400); <i>a</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>sa id</i> (Ω140) but <i>e</i> in <i>sei</i> (Ω117); <i>a</i> in the noun <i>dai</i> (Ω383) and (domes)-dai (Ω141) but <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in <i>dei</i> (Ω165).

§ 122.5 E2 writes mostly <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mei</i> (Ω17) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω22, Ω28, Ω36 etc.); <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>sei</i> (Ω117) but <i>a</i> in <i>sa id</i> (Ω140); <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in the noun <i>dei</i> (Ω383), (domes)-dei (Ω141) and <i>dei</i> (Ω165).

§ 122.6 E1 writes mostly <i>a</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω17) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω36, Ω41 and Ω45) but <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in <i>mei</i> (Ω22); <i>e</i> (§ 122.1) in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>seid</i> (Ω117 and Ω140); <i>a</i> in the noun <i>dai</i> (Ω165 and Ω383) and (domes)-dai (Ω141).

§ 122.7 J writes mostly <i>a</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>may</i> (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>ma y</i> (Ω22, Ω28, Ω36 etc.); <i>a</i> in the noun <i>da y</i> (Ω165 and Ω363) and (domes)-dai (Ω141) but <i>e</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>sey</i> (Ω117, Ω119 and Ω140).

§ 122.8 M writes mostly <i>a</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω17 and Ω19) and in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>mai</i> (Ω22, Ω36, Ω41 etc.) with <i>a</i> in <i>may</i> (Ω133 and Ω317); <i>a</i> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. <i>sa y</i> (Ω117, Ω119 and Ω140); <i>a</i> in the noun (domes)-<i>dai</i> (Ω141) and <i>daie</i> (Ω165).

§ 123 Deserving special attention is the <i>pa</i> form Old English <i>segan</i> (past tense <i>segde</i>). In the Saxon (and probably Kentish) area OE <i>s</i> often disappeared after palatal vowels before a following dental or consonantal <i>n</i> with lengthening of the preceding vowel (Wright § 321 and Jordan § 191); hence, in OE, LWS <i>sede</i> is found alongside <i>segde</i>, in the CL this is represented as follows:

§ 123.1 T writes <i>a</i> in the verb <i>ind</i>. <i>pa</i>. 3rd sg. <i>sade</i> (Ω136), the verb <i>pa</i>. 3rd pl. is <i>saden</i> (Ω234) and the verb <i>pa</i>. 1st sg. <i>sade</i> (Ω164) but <i>a</i> in the verb pp. <i>isaid</i> (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. is sede (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. is sede (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. is sede (Ω234), and the verb pp. ised (Ω148).

§ 123.6 J writes <e> in the verb ind. pa. 3rd sg. seye (Ω136) the verb pa. 1st sg. seye (Ω164) and the verb pa. 3rd pl. seyden (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 ā+ y/þ/

§ 124.1 In late OE ā+ y yielded /ei/ 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 ā₁ (Angl. Kent. <e> /ei/, WGmc. a):

§ 125.1 T writes <ei> in the noun mei (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); <ai> 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); <eɡ> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. isegen (Ω101) and in the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. ne-isegen (Ω105) but <e> in the verb pa. sbj. 3rd sg. isien (Ω123).
§ 125.4  E2 writes <ei> in the noun mei (Ω30) but <ei> in meie (Ω194); <eɣ> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. isegen (Ω101) and in the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. segen (Ω105) and <eɣ> in the adj. grei (Ω378).

§ 125.5  E1 writes <ei> in the noun mei (Ω30) and <eɣ> in meɣ (Ω194); <eɣ> in the adj. grei (Ω378); <eɣ> in the verb pa. subj. 3rd sg. seie (Ω123) and <eɣ> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. segen (Ω101).

§ 125.6  J OE writes <eɣ> in the noun meɣ (Ω30); <eɣ> in the adj. greɣ (Ω378); <eɣ> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. seɣen (Ω101) and <eɣ> in the verb pa. subj. 3rd sg. isęe (Ω123).

§ 125.7  M writes <eɣ> in the noun mei (Ω30); <eɣ> in the adj. grei (Ω378); <eɣ> in the verb pa. 3rd pl. ysege (Ω101) and the verb pa. ind. 1st pl. isęge (Ω105).

§ 126  OE æ₂ (i or Ъ mutation of OE a (< WGmc *ai):

§ 126.1  T writes <eɣ> 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 <eɣ> in the adv. eiðer (Ω63).

§ 126.3  D writes <ai> in the adv. aiðer/aider (Ω63 and Ω317) but <eɣ> in the pron. eiðer (Ω248).

§ 126.4  E2 writes <eɣ> in the adv. eiðer (Ω63) but <ai> in aiðer (Ω248).

§ 126.5  E1 writes <eɣ> in the adv. ayðer (Ω63) and <ai> in aiðer (Ω248).

§ 126.6  J writes <eɣ> in the adv. eyðer (Ω63, Ω317) and the pron. eyðer (Ω248).

§ 126.7  M writes <ai> in the adv. aiðer (Ω63, Ω317) and in the pron. aiðer (Ω248).

§ 127  e + ȝ /j/.

§ 127.1  ME ei < eɣ /eɣ/ appeared in the twelfth century in all positions as /ei/ (cf. § for opening of e).

§ 127.2  T writes <eɣ> in the noun eie (Ω21, Ω292) and in the adj. pl. eiseliche (Ω296); <eɣ> in the verb inf. peigen (Ω64); <eɣ> in the noun pei (Ω355 and Ω365) but <eɣ> in peɣ (Ω353) <eɣ> in the pl. possess peies (Ω73) and <eɣ> in the noun treigt (Ω388).

§ 127.3  L writes <eɣ> in the noun eie (Ω21); <eɣ> in the verb inf. peien (Ω64) and <eɣ> in the noun pl. possess peges (Ω73).
§ 127.4  D writes <ei> in the noun eie (Ω21) but <e⟩ in eie (Ω292), <ei> in the adj. pl. eisliche (Ω296); <ei> in the noun pei (Ω353, Ω355 and Ω365) but <e⟩ in the noun pl. possess peges (Ω73); <e⟩ in the verb inf. pege (Ω64) and <e⟩ in the noun trege (Ω388).

§ 127.5  E2 writes <ei> in the noun eie (Ω21) but <e⟩ in eie (Ω292) and the adj. pl. eisliche (Ω296); <e⟩ in the verb inf. pegen (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); <e⟩ in the verb inf. pegen (Ω64) and <e⟩ in the noun trege (Ω388).

§ 127.7  J writes <ey⟩ in the noun eye (Ω21, Ω292); <ey⟩ in the verb inf. weye (Ω64); <ey⟩ in the noun wey (Ω353, Ω355) and <ei> in we (Ω365).

§ 127.8  M writes <ei> in the noun eie (Ω21 and Ω292); <e⟩ in the verb inf. pege (Ω64); <ei> in the noun pei (Ω353) but <ey⟩ in pey (Ω355) and <e⟩ in the pl. possess. peges (Ω73).

§ 128  e+ z/j/

§ 128.1  This section contains OE e /ei/ 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) ʒ already in late OE was vocalized; the /ei/ so originating was shortened and widened so early to /ei/ that it joined the change of ei > ai.

§ 128.2  However, if ʒ stood after e in syllable initial position between vowels, then Že originated out of /eː:je/; the Ž step was in part already reached in the first half of the thirteenth century ei out of short OE e+ ʒ had already previously become /ei/ and further yielded ai. (Jordan § 97)

§ 129  OE e+ ʒ /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 <eie> 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. forpregen (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 <e⟩ in the verb inf. for preye (Ω100) and <ey⟩ in the noun leye (Ω293).
§ 129.7  M writes <e⟩ in the verb inf. forpreie (Ω100) and <ey⟩ in the noun leye (Ω293).
2. Vowels before voiceless velar fricatives

§130  OE ea + ŋ /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 <ει> in the noun pl. egen (Ω76).

§130.3  D writes <ει> in the noun pl. egen (Ω76) but <ευ> in egen (Ω394) and <ει> in the noun pl. raketeie (Ω294).

§130.4  E2 writes <ει> in the noun pl. egen/εge (Ω76 and Ω394) and <ει> in the noun pl. raketeie (Ω294).

§130.5  E1 writes <ει> in the noun pl. egen (Ω76) and <ei> in the noun pl. raketeie (Ω294).

§130.6  J writes <ευ> in the noun pl. ευεν (Ω76) and <ευ> in the noun pl. raketeie (Ω294).

§130.7  M writes <ευ> in the noun pl. ευεν/εζενε (Ω76 and Ω394) and <ευ> in the noun pl. raketeie (Ω294).

§131  Development of a u-glise before /x/ and and i-glise 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 Æht (Jordan § 122). See also OE æt + h.

§132.2  In the CL the adj. (OE faht) at line Ω378 is foh (T), faht (E2) and fah (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. 3rd sg. auh where it is not present in the other MSS (oh: T; ah: E2 and E1; æt M; aht: L, which also writes acht at Ω136).

§133  OE æt + h

§133.1  T writes <æ> in the noun ahte (Ω43, Ω56 and Ω255) and <æ> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. taihte (Ω283).

§133.2  L writes <e> before ch in the noun echte (Ω43 and Ω56) but <æ> before ch in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. tachte (Ω283).

§133.3  D writes <e> before ç in the noun hechte (Ω43 and Ω56) and <æ> before ç in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. tahte (Ω283).

§133.4  E2 writes <e> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. tehte (Ω283) and in the noun echte (Ω56) but <æ> in ahte (Ω255).

§133.5  E1 writes <e> before c in the noun eicte (Ω43) and <e> in echte (Ω56); the glide sound <æu> is represented (cf. § 132.1) in auht (Ω255) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. tauhte (Ω283).
§ 133.6 J writes <a>y> in the noun aŷhte (Ω43 and Ω56) and <a> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. tahte (Ω283).

§ 133.7 M writes <o> before <y> in the noun eyte (Ω43 and Ω56) and in the verb pa. ind. 3rd sg. teʒte (Ω283)

§ 134 o + h

§ 134.1 This yielded outh 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. bihoht (Ω8) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. bihohte (Ω159); <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brohte (Ω192); <o> before <y> in the noun inogh (Ω402) and before <h> in inoh (Ω404) and in the adj. inoh (Ω248).

§ 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. bihocht (Ω8) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. bihohte (Ω159); <o> before ch in the adj. inoch (Ω248) and in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brochte (Ω192).

§ 134.4 D writes <o> in the verb pp. vnboht (Ω60) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. bohte (Ω193 and Ω197); <o> before <y> in the verb pp. binoht (Ω8) and <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. bohte (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).

§ 134.5 E2 writes <o> in the verb pp. unboht (Ω60) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. bohte (Ω193 and Ω197) and <o> in the verb pp. bihoht (Ω8); <o> in the verb pa. 3rd sg. brohte (Ω192) and <o> in the adj. inoh (Ω248).

§ 134.6 E1, a glide sound is demonstrated in the <ou> (§ 134.1) writing in the verb pp. vn-bouht (Ω60) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. bouht(e) (Ω193 and Ω197); the verb pa. 3rd sg. bi-bouhte (Ω159) but <o> before <h> is written in the verb pp. bi-bouht (Ω8); a glide sound is demonstrated in the <ou> (§ 134.1) writing in the the verb pa. 3rd sg. bouht(e) (Ω192); the adj. inou (Ω248) and the noun inou (Ω402), but <o> is written before <h> in inoh (Ω404).

§ 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. bouht(e) (Ω193 and Ω197); <ou> in the verb pp. bi-bouht (Ω8) and in the verb pa. 3rd sg. bi-bouht(e) (Ω159); <ou> is written in the noun inou (Ω402 and Ω404), in the adj. y-nou (Ω248) and the verb pa. 3rd sg. broht(e) (Ω192).
§ 134.8 M writes <o> before <ɔ> in the verb pp. unboȝt (Ω60), the verb pa. 3rd sg. boȝte (Ω193 and Ω197) and in the verb pp. bi-boȝt (Ω8); <ɔɔ> is written in the adj. inoȝ (Ω248) and in the verb pa. 3rd sg. broȝte (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 + /ɔ/ 

§ 136.1 In ME a + /ɔ/ > /au/ written <aw> especially before vowels.

§ 136.2 T writes <aw> in the verb inf. drawen (Ω48 and Ω50) but <ɔɛ> in the noun pl. lage/lages (Ω179 and Ω324) and <ɔɛ> in the adj. pl. lage-laise (Ω306).

§ 136.3 L writes <ɔɛ> in the verb inf. dragen (Ω48, Ω50) and <ɔɛ> in the noun pl. lage (Ω179).

§ 136.4 D writes <a> before <ɔɛ> in the verb inf. draghen (Ω50); <ɔɛ> in the noun pl. lagen/lage (Ω179 and Ω324) and <ɔɛ> in the adj. pl. lage-laise (Ω306).

§ 136.5 E2 writes <ɔɛ> in the verb inf. dragan/dragen (Ω48 and Ω50); <a> before <ɔɛ> in the noun pl. laghe (Ω179), <ɔɛ> in lage (Ω324) and in the adj. pl. lage-liese (Ω306).

§ 136.6 E1 writes <ap> in the verb inf. drapen (Ω48, Ω50); <ap> in the adj. pl. lape-lise (Ω306) and in the noun pl. lape (Ω324) but <ɔɛ> in the noun pl. lages (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-lev (sic) (Ω306).

§ 136.8 M writes <ɔɛ> in the verb inf. drage (Ω48) and in the noun pl. lage (Ω179, Ω324).²

§ 137 a + /ɔ/ 

§ 137.1 Around 1200 in the Southumbrian dialect a + /ɔ/ was already more often /ɔ:/ (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 <ɔɛ> in moge (Ω194); <ɔɛ> in the adj. ogen (Ω113, Ω118, Ω121 etc.) but <ow> in owen (Ω31).

§ 137.3 L writes <a> (cf. § 137.1) before <ɔɛ> in the noun moge (Ω30); the adj. agen (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.) and before <ɔɛ> in ahen (Ω170).

§ 137.4 D writes <ɔɛ> in the noun moge (Ω194) and in the adj. ogen/hogen (Ω113, Ω118, Ω170 etc.).

§ 137.5 E2 writes <a> (cf. § 137.1) before <ɔɛ> in the noun moge (Ω30) and <a> before <ɔɛ> in maghe (Ω194); <ɔɛ> in the adj. age/agen (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.).

§ 137.6 E1 writes <ɔɛ> in the noun moge (Ω30) and the glide <ow> before <p> in moupe (Ω194); <ɔɛ> in the adj. oge (Ω31) and <ap> in hope/ope/open (Ω118, Ω121, Ω170 rh etc.) but <a> (cf. § 137.1) before <ɔɛ> in age (Ω113) and <ap> in apene (Ω270).
§ 137.7 J writes <ow> in the noun mowe (Ω30) and in the adj. owe/owene (Ω31, Ω113, Ω118 etc.).
§ 137.8 M writes is <ɔɔ> 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 /ɔw/ (cf. § 69) as a was neutralised to /ɔ/ before the merger with w. However, in some areas of the WML (AB dialect) <o> 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 <ɔ> in the verb inf. icnopen (Ω170, Ω399) and the pr. ind. 3rd sg. cnopeð (Ω115, Ω142); <ɔɔ> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. blopeð (Ω143); <ɔ> in the noun sople (Ω143, Ω317 possess) 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. iknapen (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 <uw> in the verb inf. moupe (Ω23); <ɔ> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. iknopeð (Ω115 and Ω142) and the verb inf. iknapen (Ω399) but <a> in iknapen (Ω170); <ɔɔ> 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 <ɔ> 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 sople (Ω317 possessive).

§ 138.6 E1 writes <ɔ> in the verb inf. mopen (Ω23); <a> in the verb inf. icnape/icnapen (Ω170 and Ω399) and the pr. ind. 3rd sg. cnapeð (Ω115) but <ɔ> in icnapeð (sic) (Ω142); <uw> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. blopeð (Ω143); <uw> in the noun saule (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. iknoweð (Ω115 and Ω142); <ow> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. bloweð (Ω143); <uw> 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* (Ω23); <o> in the verb inf. *iknope* (Ω170) and *biknope* (Ω399) and in the pr. ind. 3rd sg. *knopel* (Ω142); <o> in the verb pr. ind. 3rd sg. *blope* (Ω143); <ow> 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 /øu/ > /eu/ (written <ew>) during the twelfth century.

§ 139.2  
T writes <e> in the verb inf. *reƿen* (Ω22, Ω214 (del. by underlining) and Ω371); <e> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. *seƿen* (Ω23); the i-umlaut of eo before w is <e> in *untreƿnesse* (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 *untroƿnesse* (Ω279).

§ 139.4  
D writes <ie> in the verb inf. *rieƿen* (Ω22) but <e> in *reƿen* (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 *repe* (Ω371); <eo> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. *seopen* (Ω23); the i-umlaut of eo before w is <u> in *untreƿnesse* (Ω279).

§ 139.6  
E1 writes <u> in the verb inf. *rupen* (Ω22) but <eu> in *rewe* (Ω371); <eo> in the verb pa. ind. 3rd pl. *seopen* (Ω23); the i-umlaut of eo before w is <eu> in *untrewnesse* (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. *sowe* (Ω23); the i-umlaut for eo before w is <eo> 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. *sipe* (Ω23).
§ 140. OE æ and ea + w

§ 140.1 Both yielded an /eu/ diphthong. In Kent /jεu/ 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. sceƿ (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 writes <e> in the pron. pl. uepe (Ω109 and Ω361) and in the adj. pl. uepe (Ω366).