Language Changes Walking Hand in Hand:

The spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism in Early Middle English

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In this paper, I address two morphological changes in Early Middle English that played a part in the major transition of the language from synthesis to analysis: the spread of the s-plural and case syncretism. I investigated a large number of scribal texts that are mostly dated between 1050 and 1300 and localised to different dialects, both from printed editions and from the LAEME text database. The investigation makes it clear that the two changes proceeded in a pattern proposed by Lexical Diffusion, i.e. a characteristic slow-quick-quick-slow S-curve. It is also shown that they proceeded roughly parallel in each of the dialects investigated. On the grounds that the two changes agree not only in their general growth pattern but also in their irregular behaviour particularly in the more southern/western dialects, I conclude that they are not independent but correlated processes that encouraged each other and together contributed to arguably the most catastrophic morphological change in the history of English.

Keywords: Middle English, Lexical Diffusion, plural, case syncretism

1. Introduction

It is my great pleasure to be able to present my paper here as part of the symposium-derived publication by the Institute for Language Studies, Kanagawa University. I take this opportunity to investigate two morphological changes that proceeded during the Early Middle English period: the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism.¹ They are among

several morphological changes that contributed to the major transition of English from synthesis to analysis, arguably the most catastrophic morphological change ever experienced in the history of the language. Therefore, investigating the two changes will contribute to a better understanding of how the catastrophe as a whole came about.

In this paper I aim to show how, on the one hand, they mostly proceeded parallel and in a universal pattern proposed by the theory of Lexical Diffusion and how, on the other hand, they even shared irregular behaviours, diverging from the normally expected course of change. I would then propose that the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism encouraged each other to push forward the major morphological change.

The major concern shared in the papers of the present volume is individual languages and linguistic universals. The theme may typically be associated with synchronic approaches such as typology and contrastive linguistics, but there is no reason why it should not apply to diachronic studies. One of the fairly recently developed theories on the patterns of language change is Lexical Diffusion. It proposes that a language change tends to proceed by a few words at a time. As will be shown later on, this pattern of language change is universally found.

To say, however, that the pattern of Lexical Diffusion is universally found is not the same as saying that all language changes follow this pattern. In fact, it is difficult if not impossible to find an example of the model working ideally. The reason is that a particular language change proceeds in particular contexts under particular conditions. A language change could take the ideal pattern of Lexical Diffusion only with many "ifs," such as if no other change interferes and if no language-external force hinders it. It is inappropriate, therefore, to pay attention only to the universality of the pattern, ignoring particularities accompanied by a change. In this paper I will take advantage of Lexical Diffusion to explain the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism broadly, but I will also

take account of particular factors involved, especially in explaining the irregular aspects of the processes.

In the next section, I will discuss Lexical Diffusion in detail. Section 3 furnishes a preliminary discussion about textual analysis of the spread of the s-plural and case syncretism, which are investigated in Section 4 and 5 respectively. Section 6 synthesises the two processes with emphasis on their interaction.

2. Lexical Diffusion

Lexical Diffusion was first proposed by Wang in his "Competing Changes as a Cause of Residue" as a new model for sound change. Before his study, sound change had been widely believed to proceed according to what is called the Neogrammarian doctrine. The latter formulates that sound change proceeds regularly and in a phonetically gradual and lexically abrupt manner. If the Neogrammarians found exceptions to the regularity of sound change, they had to find other rules that could explain them so that they were made regular. In doing so, however, they left many exceptions unexplained, and often resorted desperately to "analogy" or "dialectal borrowing."

Lexical Diffusion opposes itself to the Neogrammarian regularity of sound change. It hypothesises that sound change goes on in a phonetically abrupt and lexically gradual manner, in other words, that sound change does not occur to the whole lexicon at a time but affects some words earlier than others. One difficulty with the Neogrammarians was that they failed to explain why some words are affected and others unaffected at a given time in a change. Lexical Diffusion is, however, capable of handling such cases because it theoretically assumes a gradual process of sound change.

Another strength of Lexical Diffusion is that it can still explain without difficulty even those sound changes that seemingly follow the pattern of

the Neogrammarians. If a sound change seems to have occurred suddenly and regularly across the lexicon, diffusionists can explain that it spread through the lexicon so quickly that the end result looked as if it had happened suddenly and regularly.

In Lexical Diffusion, linguistic change diffuses through the lexicon by a few words at a time. The rate of diffusion, however, varies according to the stage it is at. At the initial stage of change, the rate of diffusion is slow. When the number of words affected by change reaches somewhere around 20 percent of the lexicon, it "takes off" as if to step over the threshold. After the "take-off" the diffusion picks up speed, swallowing most of the lexicon in a relatively short period of time. Then the rate slows down again when somewhere around 80 percent has been affected, and finally the diffusion tapers off. This slow-quick-quick-slow pattern of Lexical Diffusion is often referred to as the S-curve model² as shown in Fig. 1.

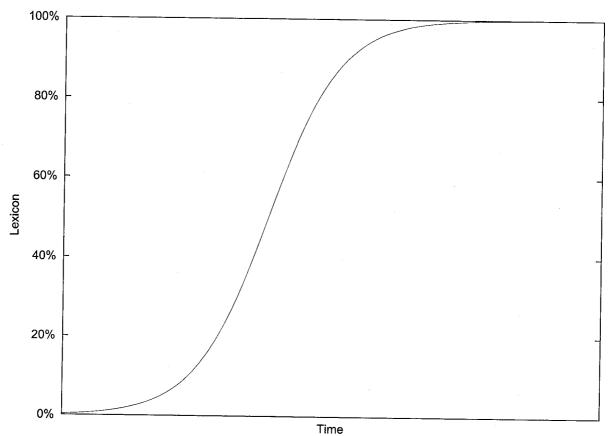


Fig. 1: The S-Curve Model of Lexical Diffusion

Although Lexical Diffusion started as a theory of the implementation of phonological change, it was soon applied to other areas of linguistic study. For example, Ogura and Wang presented a morphological application of the theory when they addressed the question of how -s replaced -th as the third person singular present indicative suffix of the verb in Early Modern English. Ogura also discussed the ups and downs of do-periphrasis in Late Modern English from a Lexical Diffusion point of view. Another study that recently drew my attention addressed the question of how the number of loan words in Japanese has increased since the mid-twentieth century. The growth rate shown in this study was immediately reminiscent of Lexical Diffusion (Hashimoto).

Although Lexical Diffusion can theoretically apply to linguistic change of any level, whether of phonology, morphology, or syntax, the rate of diffusion may vary. For example, morphological change tends to diffuse more slowly than phonological change. This is because there are more morphemes than phonemes and there are more morphological environments to work through than phonological ones (Aitchison, "Missing Link" 25). Along similar lines, syntactic change may go on even more slowly. The consequence of morphological and syntactic changes taking more time is that they are more subject to interferences that may prevent them from proceeding smoothly. The longer a change takes, the more likely it is to be somehow hindered on the way.

In fact, many linguistic changes fail to follow the ideal pattern of Lexical Diffusion. Some changes may stop when they have affected only part of the lexicon. Some may reverse their process perhaps because of another change in the opposing direction. Some may proceed extremely slowly over a few centuries, looking as if they had effectively come to a stop. Thus, in actual cases, the S-curve very often shows itself as a reality-deformed pseudo-S. I will come back to this issue when I investigate the spread of the s-plural and case syncretism.

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3. Textual analysis

The nature of the present research is diachronic, therefore it is necessary first to define the time range in which the data are collected. Since the main period when the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism took place is the Early Middle English period, ranging roughly from 1050 to 1300, I have mainly collected texts dated within this time range. I should add, however, that I also analysed some texts dated out of the range to have a longer-range diachronic overview.

Middle English is known to be a language with a profusion of distinct dialectal forms, and no serious enquiry into the period can be made without dialectal considerations. Seven dialects are conventionally recognised: Northern, Northeast Midland, Northwest Midland, Southeast Midland, Southwest Midland, Southwestern, and Southeastern. There are more surviving texts from some dialects than from others, a fact which prevents present-day students from investigating all dialects with equal precision. All we could to address this problem is to analyse as many texts available as possible with philological care. This I have tried to achieve in two complementary ways.

Firstly, I collected relevant examples from printed editions of 107 scribal texts.³ This manual work allowed me to look closely at individual examples in the context in which they occur. The drawback of this approach is, however, the time it takes.

The other approach I took was to use a digital corpus. Thanks to its editors' generosity, I was in a position to get access to part of the LAEME text database, which is compiled at the Institute of Historical Dialectology, the University of Edinburgh.⁴ This digital corpus enabled me to collect a large quantity of data from as many as 140 texts with computational ease. Although, with the corpus, I had to sacrifice often close examination of the context in which individual plural forms occur, the amount of the collected data should make up for the drawback.

In a study with dialectological orientation, it is essential to obtain the accurate localisation and dating of individual texts. For this purpose, I rely on Laing's *Catalogue* and her updated information. The list of scribal texts examined is given in Appendix A. The table in Appendix B arranges the texts according to the dialect/period.

4. The spread of the s-plural

Present-Day English (PDE) has a very simple nominal morphological system. It has no grammatical gender installed, nor is it concerned with grammatical case except for the barely surviving genitive case (or the possessive case in PDE terms) in the form of 's. The only fully surviving grammatical category for nouns is number, or the singular/plural distinction.

In the last category, however, the variation of formations has been greatly reduced, almost all plurals now being distinguished from singulars simply by suffixing with -s or its variant -es. The situation was much more complex in early English. In Old English, there were at least four major plural types beside -s:-n, -vowel, $-\phi$, and miscellaneous formations such as i-mutation. All these types except -vowel have actually come down to PDE, e.g. *oxen*, *sheep*, and *men*. It is important, however, that such plural types are now recognised as "exceptional," marginalised by the overwhelming -s.

Then how did the generalisation of the s-plural happen? The period to look at is the Early Middle English period, during which a series of morphological reorganisations took place. In what follows, I summarily describe how the different plural types were geographically distributed and diachronically developed during the EME period.

In EME, the choice of the plural types differed from dialect to dialect. In turn, in each dialect, it differed from word to word, from text to text, from scribe to scribe, and from period to period. A general trend, however, is recognised. On the whole, in the more northern/eastern dialects, the s-plural showed a remarkable spread toward generalisation as early as LOE. On the other hand, in the more southern/western dialects, it spread only gradually in competition with its major rival -n.

The graph in Fig. 2 illustrates the spread of -s in each dialect. Each point in the graph represents the type-counted rate of the s-plural to all the plurals in text that are put in the nominative/accusative case.⁵ The rate is the average for the group of scribal texts that belong to the dialect/period in point.

What the graph makes clear is that in the more northern/eastern dialects, Northern, Northeast Midland, Southeast Midland, and North-

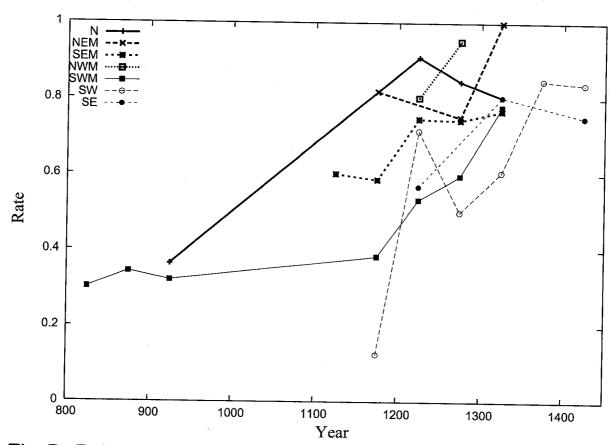


Fig. 2: Rate of the s-Plural to All Nominative/Accusative Plurals (counted by type)

Notes: The abbreviations of the dialects in the legend of this and the following graphs are short for Northern, Northeast Midland, Southeast Midland, Northwest Midland, Southwest Midland, Southwestern, and Southeastern respectively.

west Midland, the rate reached approximately 70 percent by 1200. On the other hand, in the more southern/western dialects, Southwest Midland, Southwestern, and Southeastern, the rate reached as high only after the middle of the fourteenth century.

Although different dialects show different growth patterns of -s, they draw roughly comparable if not exactly parallel S-curves, largely following the slow-quick-quick-slow pattern suggested by Lexical Diffusion. In addition, the timing of the "take-off" commonly falls somewhere between 1100 and 1250. The generalisation of -s thus spread from the more northern/eastern to the more southern/western dialects, like the spreading ripples caused by a stone thrown in a pond.

As I discussed in Section 2, Lexical Diffusion is often realised not as an ideal S-curve but as a somewhat deformed one. This is particularly the case with the more southern/western dialects. For example, the Southwestern draws an irregular curve that goes up, down and up. It may be called an N-curve rather than an S-curve.

There are several reasons why such apparently "irregular" curves result. Firstly, the amount of the texts examined varies greatly with dialects and/or periods. As can be seen in Appendix B, some dialect/period slots are more represented than others. One slot has more than twenty texts while some have only one or none. This is because surviving texts from the EME period are distributed geographically unevenly. In this view, the Southwestern N-curve may simply reflect the small amount of text analysed for the dialect.

Another reason for departure from the ideal S-curve may have something to do with the way the rates are calculated. The rate for each dialect/period is the average for all the texts belonging to that dialect/period. Because language in scribal texts can differ remarkably from scribe to scribe even when they are closely enough dated and localised, individual texts can give rates far from the average.

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Let me give an example from the Southwest Midland dialect. The graph shows that in the thirteenth century the dialect experiences a steady growth of -s at the rate of a little over 50 percent. Two of the texts studied for the dialect/period, however, provide very different pictures. On the one hand, *Poema Morale*, Egerton fols. 64r-70v, gives the rate of 0.378. On the other hand, *Ancrene Riwle*, Cotton Nero, gives 0.644.

The third, and most critical, reason for irregular curves in the more southern/western dialects is that there the spread of $\neg s$ was rivalled by that of $\neg n$. Let us see the graph for $\neg n$ in Fig. 3. While, on the whole, the n-plural was far less common than the s-plural and diminishing its presence during the EME period, there was a short period when the n-plural showed a sign of revival in Southwest Midland, Southwestern, and Southeast Midland.

If we compare the graphs for -s and -n, we should note that exactly

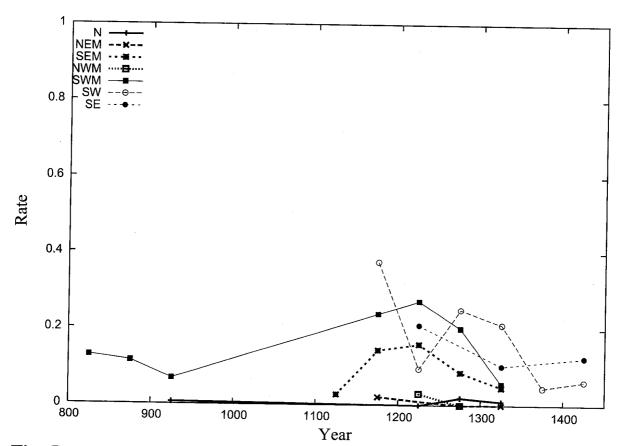


Fig. 3: Rate of the n-Plural to All Nominative/Accusative Plurals (counted by type)

when and where the n-plural showed a revival, the spread of the s-plural slowed down. Interestingly enough, the Southwestern curve for -n goes down, up, and down, whereas that for -s goes up, down, and up. Corresponding behaviour of this kind is seen in other dialects.

From the above, it can be said that the spread of the s-plural in the more southern/western dialects was realised as an irregular curve of Lexical Diffusion due to the interference of the competing n-plural.

5. Case syncretism

PDE nouns have two grammatical cases which are morphologically distinct: the common nominative/accusative case and the possessive case. In OE, four cases were morphologically distinguished: the nominative, the accusative, the genitive, and the dative.6 The genitive has come down to date as the possessive, but the other three have morphologically coalesced as the common case.

What happened in the history of English is this. Already in OE the nominative and the accusative took the same form in many nouns, therefore they were to be merged before long. Toward LOE, phonological weakening and loss not only made distinction between the two case forms less clear, but also paved the way for further coalescence of the dative case into the nominative/accusative.

In the singular series of inflections, distinction of the accusative and the dative, if any, was made by the vowels in the inflectional suffix. It is easy to see how their phonological loss or obscuration into a schwa made the distinction inoperative. In the plural series, the dative suffix -um may look distinct enough to mark it from the corresponding accusative, but the phonological attrition affected first the nasal -m and then the vowel -u, so that most dative plural forms resulted in a dysfunctional suffix sounding like a schwa at best. Since many nouns of the strong feminine, the strong neuter, and the weak declension had nominative/accusative 106

plural endings made up of either a nasal, a vowel, or a ϕ , phonological loss in the final syllable was too destructive for the old morphological system to remain functional. It was a matter of time that the dative case coalesced into the accusative, or the common nominative/accusative case.

In investigating case syncretism, I analysed the same collection of scribal texts for the plural formation. First, I collected all plural nouns put in syntactic environments which would require a dative case in OE. Then, from the collected forms, I took out those forms which can be judged as the same forms as the corresponding accusative, since they are considered case-syncretised. Then, I calculated the syncretism rate, which I define as the token-counted rate of forms thus interpreted as case-syncretised to all the forms collected.

As case is a category independent of number, case syncretism must have proceeded in the singular as well as the plural. It might be more desirable, therefore, if not only plural forms but also singular forms were collected. Collecting singular forms, however, would face practical difficulty because it is almost impossible to judge on morphological grounds alone whether a given singular form represents an accusative or a dative. On the contrary, in the plural the presence of -s safely proves that we have here an accusative form as a result of case syncretism rather than a dative.

Let us now see how case syncretism was going on during the EME period. The graph in Fig. 4 illustrates the growth of the syncretism rate for each dialect.

What the graph makes clear at once is that the curves for case syncretism are comparable with those for the spread of -s. In both processes, the more northern/eastern dialects are more "developed" than the more southern/western at most points in time.

To take the Southwestern dialect as an example, the syncretism rate

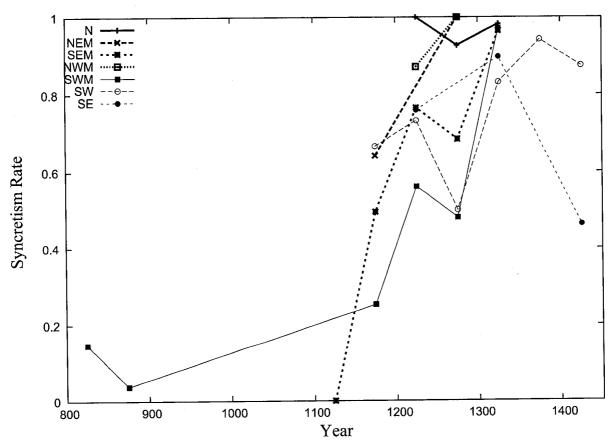


Fig. 4: Syncretism Rate (counted by token)

curve moves up, down, and up. This should immediately remind us of the similar curve for the spread of the *s*-plural. Another point to make is that in the Southwest Midland the syncretism rate temporarily drops in the middle of the thirteenth century. Looking back at the graph for the spread of -*s* in Fig. 2, the rate surely slows down, not to say drops, in the corresponding period.

6. Correlation of the two processes

It should be clear by now that the similarity of the pattern in which the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism were proceeding can hardly be a coincidence. I argue for the correlation on the following grounds. Firstly, both processes show comparable S-curves. This may not be a strong argument for the correlation, however, since the S-curve should be the normal pattern predicted in Lexical Diffusion and any two linguistic

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changes can show the pattern independently.

Secondly, the wave of diffusion in both processes spreads from the more northern/eastern dialects to the more southern/western. This should make a stronger case for the correlation, but the direction of the wave is so general a characteristic of most of the linguistic changes during the ME period that the two processes might be said to be correlated only to that diluted extent.

A third argument for the correlation is that the two processes share irregular curves in the more southern/western dialects. This provides further evidence for the correlation, since not only regularities but also irregularities run parallel. A fourth argument is that the timing of the "take-off" is closely dated in the two processes.

From the above, it is highly likely that the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism were related to each other. If we presume that they proceeded in a correlated manner, we can explain why they "took off" so dramatically when they did especially in the more northern/eastern dialects. They interacted with each other to pick up speed, together bringing about the major morphological change. To use a metaphor, the two snowballs rolling on a slope bumped against each other on the way and got bigger and quicker as they rolled down.

From a systemic point of view, the two processes were in fact closely related within the morphological system. The remarkable spread of the *s*-plural was realised not only through Lexical Diffusion from word to word but also through pervasion from nominative/accusative environments to dative ones. This cross-case pervasion of the *s*-plural in turn encouraged case syncretism which had already started independently for phonological reasons. In turn, as case syncretism thus proceeded to make the dative less distinct from the nominative/accusative, it became even easier for the *s*-plural to pervade into dative environments. In this way, the two rolling snowballs conspired with each other to push forward the

morphological reorganisation.

7. Conclusion

In this paper I have focused on the two particular changes with a view to contributing partly to the discussion concerning the morphological catastrophe in the history of English. I have clarified how the spread of the s-plural and case syncretism walked hand in hand with each other.

I should emphasise, however, that they constitute only part of the catastrophic process. It is likely that other linguistic changes in EME, such as the loss of gender and the inflectional levelling of the determiner "the," show a similar pattern. I would propose that these were all closely related to one another and, taken together, pushed forward the global systemic change of the language, just as has been shown with the spread of the *s*-plural and case syncretism. This larger issue, however, I would like to leave to future research.

Notes

- This paper is based on a presentation delivered at the 22nd Conference of the East Branch of the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies at Kanto Gakuin University in June, 2006. I would like to convey my gratitude to the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science for offering me financial assistance to develop the original idea into the present work (Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (Start-up) for 2007: No. 19820038).
- The S-curve is sometimes referred to as the logistic curve, which explains the characteristic pattern of changing population.
- The notion of the scribal text as distinct from the literary text should be made clear. The scribal text is a part or a whole of a literary text, depending on whether one or more scribes are responsible for copying. If a scribe copied a whole literary text, it is a scribal text. If, for example, four scribes were involved in copying a literary text, we speak of four distinct scribal texts. In Middle English dialectology, such a meticulous treatment is necessary because scribes differed greatly in the dialect(s) in which they copied. For the detailed arguments,

- see Benskin and Laing.
- 4 Special thanks go to Dr Margaret Laing, who generously allowed me to share the text database as well as the attempted localisation and dating of the texts.
- As I discuss in Section 5, it is not as simple as it might seem to decide whether a given form in EME texts represents the nominative/accusative as distinct from the dative in syntactic environments that would require a dative case form in OE such as after many prepositions and after verbs that take dative objects. My working principle is to count forms put in syntactically dative positions that can be judged as morphologically the same forms as the corresponding nominative/accusative, so that I can get as many examples as possible for analysis.
- 6 There was another case, the instrumental, but it had already coalesced in most cases to the dative by OE.

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Appendix A: Text list

- Notes: The manuscript and text information here is based on Laing's *Catalogue* and her updated notes personally made available to the present author. The IDs preceded by an asterisk designate that the scribal texts were analysed from the LAEME text database. The four-digit IDs (#1000 to #2002) represent conflated texts made up of a number of individual scribal texts that can be dealt with together on scribal and dialectal grounds. The five-digit IDs (#10000 to #29000) represent texts which are dated either marginally within, or out of, the range defined in Section 3 but analysed additionally for a longer-range diachronic comparison.
- #1 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fols. 156r-168v: The Owl and the Nightingale. Conflated to #1100.
- #2 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fols. 233r-239v 113, 240r 16-241v 115: The Owl and the Nightingale, language 1.
- #3 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fols. 239v 114-240r 15, 241v 116-246r: The Owl and the Nightingale, language 2.
- #4 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52, fols. 2r-9v: Poema Morale.
- #5 London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 59v-65r: Poema Morale.
- #6 London, British Library, Egerton 613, fols. 64r-70v (e): Poema Morale.
- #7 London, British Library, Egerton 613, fols. 7r-12v (E): Poema Morale.
- #8 Oxford, Bodley Digby 4, fols. 97r-110v: Poema Morale.

- #9 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fols. 169r-174v: Poema Morale. Conflated to #1100.
- #10 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123, fols. 115r-120r: Poema Morale.
- #11 London, PRO, Patent Rolls 43 Henry III, m. 15. 40: Proclamation of Henry III Huntingtonshire.
- #13 Durham, D and C Library A III 12, fol. 49r: Candet Nudatum Pectus.
- #14 Oxford, Bodley Digby 45, fol. 25r: Candet Nudatum Pectus.
- #15 Oxford, Bodley Digby 55, fol. 49r: Candet Nudatum Pectus, etc.
- *#16 Oxford, Bodley Rawlinson C 317, fol. 89v: Candet Nudatum Pectus.
- #17 Cambridge, St John's College A. 15, fols. 120v, 72r: Candet, etc.
- #18 Oxford, Bodley 42, fol. 250r: Candet Nudatum Pectus, etc.
- #19 London, British Library Additional 11579, fols. 35v-36v, 72v-73r: Candet Nudatum, etc.
- #20 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34, fols. 72-80v: Sawles Warde. Conflated to #1000.
- *#21 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies I, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#22 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies II, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#23 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies III, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#24 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies IV, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#25 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies V, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#26 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies VI, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#27 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies VI, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#28 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies VII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#29 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies VIII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#30 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies IX, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#31 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies X, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#32 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XI, hand B. Conflated to #1300.

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- *#33 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#34 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XII, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#35 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XIII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#36 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XIII, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#37 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XIV, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#38 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XV, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#39 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XVI, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#40 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XVII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#41 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XVIII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#42 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XIX, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#43 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XX, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#44 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXI, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#45 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#46 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXIII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#47 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXIV, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#48 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXV, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#49 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXVI, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#50 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXVII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#51 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXVII, hand A. Conflated to #1200.

- *#52 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXVIII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#53 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXVIII, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#54 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXIX, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#55 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXIX, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#56 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXX, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#57 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXX, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#58 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXXI, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#59 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXXI, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#60 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXXII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#61 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXXIII, hand B. Conflated to #1300.
- *#62 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXXIII, hand A. Conflated to #1200.
- *#63 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies XXXIV, hand C.
- #64 London, British Library, Stowe 34: Vices and Virtues, hand A.
- #67 Maidstone Museum A. 13: Death's Wither-Clench (or Long Life), main hand of English.
- *#69 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 20r: Sawyer 507 ("Sawyer" here and below refers to Sawyer, P. H., ed. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*. London: 1968). Conflated to #1400.
- *#70 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 20v: Sawyer 980. Conflated to #1400.
- *#71 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22r: Sawyer 1045. Conflated to #1400.
- *#72 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22r: Sawyer 1069. Conflated to #1400.
- *#73 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22r-v: Sawyer 1078. Conflated to #1400.
- *#74 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22v: Sawyer 1084. Conflated to

- #1400.
- *#75 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22v: Sawyer 1072. Conflated to #1400.
- *#76 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22v: Sawyer 1079. Conflated to #1400
- *#77 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22v: Sawyer 1071. Conflated to #1400.
- *#78 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22v: Sawyer 1068. Conflated to #1400
- *#79 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 22v: Sawyer 1083. Conflated to #1400.
- *#80 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fols. 22v-23r: Sawyer 1082. Conflated to #1400.
- *#81 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1077. Conflated to #1400.
- *#82 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1073. Conflated to #1400.
- *#83 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1085. Conflated to #1400.
- *#84 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1075. Conflated to #1400.
- *#85 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1046. Conflated to #1400.
- *#86 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1081. Conflated to #1400.
- *#87 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r: Sawyer 1080. Conflated to #1400.
- *#88 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23r-v: Sawyer 1074. Conflated to #1400.
- *#89 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 23v: Sawyer 1076. Conflated to #1400.
- *#90 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 24r: Pelteret 19. Conflated to #1400.
- *#91 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fols. 27v-28r: Pelteret 5. Conflated to #1400.
- *#92 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 28r: Pelteret 18. Conflated to #1400.
- *#93 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 28r: Pelteret 20. Conflated to

#1400.

- *#94 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 45r: Will of Alfrich Modercope, or Sawyer 1490. Conflated to #1400.
- *#95 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 45r: Will of Thurketel, or Sawyer 1528. Conflated to #1400.
- *#96 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 45r: Will of Leofgifu, or Sawyer 1521. Conflated to #1400.
- *#97 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 45r-v: Will of Edwin, or Sawyer 1516. Conflated to #1400.
- *#98 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fols. 45v-46r: Will of Ketel, or Sawyer 1519. Conflated to #1400.
- *#99 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 46r: Will of Aelfgar, or Sawyer 1483. Conflated to #1400.
- *#100 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 46v: Sawyer 703. Conflated to #1400.
- *#101 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fols. 46v-47r: Will of Aethelfled, or Sawyer 1494. Conflated to #1400.
- *#102 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 47r: Will of Aelfflaed, or Sawyer 1486. Conflated to #1400.
- *#103 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 48r: Will of Theodred, or Sawyer 1526. Conflated to #1400.
- *#104 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 48r-v: Will of Bishop Aelfric, or Sawyer 1489. Conflated to #1400.
- *#105 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 48v: Will of Thurketel, or Sawyer 1527. Conflated to #1400.
- *#106 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 49r: Bequest of Aethelmaer, or Sawyer 1499. Conflated to #1400.
- *#107 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 49r: Sawyer 1468. Conflated to #1400.
- *#108 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 49r-v: Will of Thurstan, or Sawyer 1531. Conflated to #1400.
- *#109 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 49v: Sawyer 1470. Conflated to #1400.
- *#110 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 49v: Sawyer 1219. Conflated to #1400.
- *#111 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fols. 49v-50r: Wills of Siflaed, or Sawyer 1525. Conflated to #1400.
- *#112 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 50r: Will of Wulfsige, or Sawyer

- 1537. Conflated to #1400.
- *#113 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 50r: Sawyer 1224. Conflated to #1400.
- *#114 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 50r: Sawyer 1225. Conflated to #1400.
- *#115 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 50r: Sawyer 1529. Conflated to #1400.
- *#116 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33, fol. 50r: Will of Aethelric, or Sawyer 1501. Conflated to #1400.
- *#118 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, fols. 14r-105r (except T2 sections): Ancrene Riwle, language T1.
- #122 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, fols. 127r-133r: Wohunge of ure Lauerd.
- *#123 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, fols. 133v-147v: Saint Katherine.
- #124 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 169*, p.175: Stabat iuxta crucem Christi.
- *#125 Herefordshire Record Office AL 19/2, Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, fol. 152r: Bromfield Writ.
- *#126 Stratford-upon-Avon, Shapespeare Birthplace Library, DR 10/1408, Gregory Leger-Book, pp.23-24: Coventry Writ.
- #128 London, Lincoln's Inn Hale 135, fol. 137v: Nou sprinkes the sprai.
- #129 Cambridge University Library, Ff. VI. 15, fol. 21r: Ten Commandments.
- #130 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510, fol. 3r: Fragment of lyric.
- *#136 London, Lambeth Palace Library 499, fols. 64r-69r, 125v: alliterative lyrics.
- #137 London, British Library, Arundel 248, fols. 154r-155r: four lyrics.
- #138 London, Corporation of London RO, Liber de antiquis Legibus, fols. 160v-161v: Prisoner's Prayer.
- #140 Cambridge, Emmanuel College 27, fols. 111v. 162r-163r: Lyrics.
- #141 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, fol. 65r: Death's Wither-Clench (or Long Life).
- #142 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, fols. 128v-133v: Kentish Sermons.
- #144 London, British Library, Harley 978, fol. 11v: Symer is icumen in.
- #145 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fols. 187r-188v: A Luue Ron. Conflated to #1100.
- *#146 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 26, fol. 211r: 10 Commandments and 7 Gifts.
- *#147 London, British Library, Cotton Roll ii 11 lang A: 3 documents from Crediton.
- *#148 London, British Library, Cotton Roll ii 11 lang B: document from Crediton.
- #149 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 636, fols. 88v-91v: Peterborough Chronicle final continuation.

- #150 London, British Library, Arundel 292, fol. 4r-10v: The Bestiary.
- #155 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 444, fols. 1r-81r: Genesis and Exodus.
- *#156 Wells Cathedral Library, Liber Albus I, language 1, fol. 14r: 4 documents.
- *#157 Wells Cathedral Library, Liber Albus I, language 2, language 2, fols. 17v-18r: 5 documents.
- #158 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652, fols. 1r-10v: Iacob and Iosep.
- #159 London, British Library, Additional 23986, verso of roll: Interludium de Clerico et Puella.
- *#163 Aberdeen University Library 154, fol. 368v: couplet and 3 quatrains.
- #164 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, fols. 120v-123v: On God Ureison of ure Lefdi. Conflated to #1800.
- #165 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, fols. 123v-126v: Ureison of God Almihti. Conflated to #1800.
- #166 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, fols. 126v-128r: On lofsong of ure lefdi. Conflated to #1800.
- #167 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, fols. 128r-131r: Lofsong of ure Louerde. Conflated to #1800.
- #168 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, fols. 131r-v: Lesse crede. Conflated to #1800.
- *#170 Worcester Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library Q 29, fols. 130v-131r.
- *#171 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, fol. Vi (flyleaf), tremulous hand: Nicene Creed. Conflated to #1900.
- *#172 Worcester Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library F 174, fols. 63r-66v: Worcester fragments. Conflated to #1900.
- *#173 Worcester Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library F 174, fols. 1r-63r: Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary. Conflated to #1900.
- #175 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 360, fol. 145v, hand B: lyric.
- *#187 Worcester, Herefordshire and Worcestershire Record Office, BA 3814, fol. 38v: Copy of a writ of King Edward.
- #189 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 65v-67r, hand B: On Ureison of Ure Loverde.
- #190 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 1r-3r, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily I. Conflated to #2000.
- #191 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 3r-9r, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily II. Conflated to #2000.
- #192 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 9r-15v, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily III. Conflated to #2000.
- #193 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 15v-18v, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily IV. Conflated to #2000.

- #194 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 18v-21v, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily V. Conflated to #2000.
- #195 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 21v-25r, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily VI. Conflated to #2001.
- #196 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 25r-27v, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily VII. Conflated to #2001.
- #197 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 27v-30v, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily VIII. Conflated to #2001.
- #198 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 30v-37v, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily IX. Conflated to #2000.
- #199 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 37v-45r, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily X. Conflated to #2000.
- #200 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 45r-47r, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily XI. Conflated to #2000.
- #201 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 47r-49r, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily XII. Conflated to #2000.
- #202 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 49r-51v, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homily XIII. Conflated to #2000.
- #203 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 51v-54r, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily XIV. Conflated to #2001.
- #204 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 54r-56r, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily XV. Conflated to #2001.
- #205 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 56r-57v, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily XVI. Conflated to #2001.
- #206 Lambeth Palace Library 487, fols. 57v-59v, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homily XVII. Conflated to #2001.
- *#207 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 119r-120v: Harrowing of Hell. Conflated to #2002.
- *#208 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 120v-122v: 15 Signs before Doomsday. Conflated to #2002.
- *#209 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 122v-125v: Life of St Eustace. Conflated to #2002.
- *#210 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 125v-127r: Sayings of St Bernard. Conflated to #2002.
- *#211 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fol. 127r-v: Stond wel moder. Conflated to #2002.
- *#212 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 127v-130r: Sayings of Bede. Conflated to #2002.

- *#213 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 130r-132r: Our Lady's Psalter. Conflated to #2002.
- *#214 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 132r-134v: The XI Pains of Hell and Sweet Ihesu.
- *#215 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 134r-136v: Le Regret de Maximian. Conflated to #2002.
- *#216 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 136v-138r: The Thrush and the Nightingale. Conflated to #2002.
- *#217 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 138r-140r: The Fox and the Wolf. Conflated to #2002.
- *#218 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 140v-143r: The Proverbs of Hending.
- *#219 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 163v-164r: lyric on the vanity of the world. Conflated to #2002.
- *#220 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 165r-168r: Dame Sirith.
- *#221 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fol. 168r-v: names of the hare. Conflated to #2002.
- *#222 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 195v-197v: Debate between Body and Soul.
- *#223 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 197v-198r: Doomsday. Conflated to #2002.
- *#224 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 198r-200r: The Latemest Day. Conflated to #2002.
- *#225 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fol. 200r: lyric beg. loue is sofft. Conflated to #2002.
- *#226 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fol. 206r: In Manus Tuas. Conflated to #2002.
- #229 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 59, fols. 66r-v, 113v, 116v: verses on God and the BVM.
- *#231 London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B vi, fol. 204v: Pater Noster, etc.
- #232 London, British Library, Additional 27909, fol. 2r: Penitence for Wasted Life.
- #234 London, British Library, Egerton 613, fol. 1v: Somer is comen.
- #238 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fol. 246r-v: Death's Wither Clench (or Long Life).
- #239 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fol. 246v: Orison to Our Lady.
- #240 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fol. 246v: Will and Wit.
- #241 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fols. 246v-247r: Doomsday.
- #242 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fols. 247r-248v: The Latemest

Day.

- #243 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fol. 248v: Ten Abuses.
- #244 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, fols. 248v-249r: Lutel Soth Sermun.
- #245 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, fols. 1r-120v, hand A: Ancrene Riwle.
- #246 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 39 (323), fols. 19r, 25v, 27r col 2, 28r-29v, 32r-33v, 36r-46r, 47r-v, 83v-84r, hand A: verses.
- #247 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 39 (323), fols. 20r-25r, 26r-27r col 1, 27v, 34r, 35r-v, hand B: verses.
- #248 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14.39 (323), fols. 30r-31v, 81v, hand C: verses.
- #249 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14.39 (323), fols. 81v-82r, 85r-87v, hand D: verses.
- #250 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fols. 179v-180v: Death's Wither Clench (or Long Life). Conflated to #1100.
- #251 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fols. 180v: Orison to Our Lady. Conflated to #1100.
- #252 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fol. 182r-v: Doomsday. Conflated to #1100.
- #253 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fols. 182v-184v: The Laternest Day. Conflated to #1100.
- #254 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fol. 184v: Ten Abuses. Conflated to #1100.
- #255 Oxford, Jesus College 29, fol. 185r-v: Lutel Soth Sermun. Conflated to #1100.
- *#258 Salisbury Cathedral Library 82, fol. 271v: Pater Noster.
- *#260 London, British Library, Royal 17. A. xxvii, fols. 1r-8v, 11r-45v, hand A: Sawles Warde, St Katherine and part of St Margaret.
- *#261 London, British Library, Royal 17. A. xxvii, fols. 9r-10v, 58v-70v, hand B: end of Sawles Warde, most of St Juliana, Oreisun of Seinte Marie.
- *#262 London, British Library, Royal 17. A. xxvii, fols. 45v-58r, hand C: part of St Margaret, beginning of St Juliana.
- #263 London, British Library, Royal 2. F. viii, fol. 1v: 2 lyrics.
- #264 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 8, p. 547: Worldes blisce haue god day.
- #269 London, British Library, Royal 12. E. i, fols. 193r-194v, hand A: Stond wel moder.
- #270 London, British Library, Royal 12. E. i, fols. 193r-194v, hand B: versions of My Leman on the Rood, and Thenk man.
- *#271 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. iii, fols. 6r-8v: fragments of Floris and Blauncheflur.
- #272 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402, fols. 1r-117: Ancrene Wisse.
- *#273 London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C. vi, fols. 4r-194r, hand A: An-

- crene Riwle.
- #278 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. ix, fols. 3r-17rb (foot); 17va lines 1-4; 18vb line 7-25vb (foot); 27ra line 6 (tat)-87vb (foot), 89rb line 4-194v (end), hand B: Layamon A.
- #285 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 108, hand C, fols. 219v-228r: Havelok.
- *#286 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145, hand A, fols. 1r-210v: The South English Legendary (fols. 63r-77r 18, 82r line 11-02v 118, 122r 135-133r 18 for Inventio Crucis, SS Quiriac, Brendan; Barnabas, Theophilus, Alban, John the Baptist; James the Great, Christopher, Martha, Oswald the king).
- #291 London, British Library, Arundel 57, fols. 2r-4r, 13r-96v: Ayenbite of Inwyt.
- *#296 Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of Cursor Mundi, hand C, fols. 37r-50v: Extracts from Cursor Mundi.
- *#297 Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of Cursor Mundi, hand A, fols. 1r-15v: Extracts from Cursor Mundi.
- *#298 Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of Cursor Mundi, hand B, fols. 16r-36v: Extracts from the Northern Homily Collection.
- #1000 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34: Hali Meidhad, Sawles Warde, fols. 52v-71v; 72r-80v. Conflating ##20, 117.
- #1100 Oxford, Jesus College 29: Jesus College 29 texts. Conflating ##1, 9, 145, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255.
- #1200 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies I, hand A. Conflating ##21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 36, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 62.
- #1300 Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52: Trinity Homilies VI, hand B. Conflating ##27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 57, 59, 60, 61.
- #1400 Cambridge University Library Ff. II. 33: Bury documents. Conflating ##69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116.
- #1800 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv: Cotton Nero texts. Conflating ##164, 165, 166, 167.
- #1900 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, fol. Vi (flyleaf); Worcester Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library F 174, fols. 63r-66v and fols. 1r-63r: The Worcester Tremulous hand. Conflating ##171, 172, 173.
- #2000 Lambeth Palace Library 487, hand A, lang 1: Lambeth Homilies, hand A, lang 1. Conflating ##190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202.
- #2001 Lambeth Palace Library 487, hand A, lang 2: Lambeth Homilies, hand A, lang 2: Conflating ##195, 196, 197, 203, 204, 205, 206.

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- #2002 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, fols. 119r-143r, 163v-164r, 165r-168v, 195v-200r, 206r: verse texts excluding, XI Pains of Hell, Proverbs of Hending, Dame Sirith and Debate between the Body and Soul. Conflating ##207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221, 223, 224, 225, 226.
- #10000 London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A xxii, fols. 54r-59b: Vespasian Homilies.
- #11000 Rushworth Gloss to the Gospel according to Saint Matthew.
- #12000 Cottonian MS. Vespasian A. I: Vespasian Psalter Gloss.
- #13000 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116: The Life of St. Chad.
- #14000 Oxford, Bodley 343: Bodley 343 Homilies.
- #15000 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 636, fols. 58v-81r: Peterborough Chronicle, Copied Annals (1070-1121).
- #16000 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 636, fols. 81r-91v: Peterborough Chronicle, First Continuation (1122-1131).
- #17000 Lindisfarne Gloss to the Gospel according to Saint Matthew.
- #20000 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Kent d. 3 (Cartulary of St Laurence's Hospital). Davis, no. 210. ff. 11r-13v: Ordinances of St Laurence's Hospital, Canterbury.
- #21000 Oxford, Merton College 248, hand of fols. 66v, 139v, 141v, 148v: Bishop Sheppey's Collection.
- *#22000 London, Lambeth Palace Library 216, fol. 111r-v: Bidding Prayer.
- #23000 London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B III: Saint Editha.
- #24000 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 33: Sir Ferumbras.
- #25000 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck MS), hand A (main hand): Sir Orfeo.
- #26000 Cambridge University Library Gg. IV. 27 (2), fols. 6r1-13r: King Horn.
- #27000 London, British Library, Harley 2253: King Horn.
- #28000 Oxford, Bodley, Laud. Misc. 108: King Horn.
- #29000 Oxford, Bodley, Junius 1: Ormulum.

Appendix B: Text dating and localisation

| | C9a | C9b | | C10b | C11a | C11b | C12a | C12b | C13a | C13b | C14a | C141 | C15a | TOTAL |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|-------|---|---|--|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| N | | | 17000 | | | | | | 231 | 296 297 | 298 | | | 5 |
| NEM | | | | | | | | 29000 | | 15 128 159 | 129 | | | 5 |
| SEM | | | | | | | 16000 | 4 149 1200 1300 | 13 64 138 | 11 137 150 155 175 269 270 285 1400 | 25000 | | | 18 |
| NWM | | | | | | | | | 16 118 122 124 | 136 | | | | 5 |
| SWM | 12000 | 13000 | 11000 | | | | | 5 170 189 2000 2001 10000 14000 | 6 7 146 245 260 261 262 272 273 1000 1800 1900 | 2 3 10 126 158 187 214 218 220 222 229 238 246 247 248 249 264 271 278 1100 2002 | 125 27000 | | | 45 |
| SW | | | | | | | | 63 | 144 156 157 26000 | 163 263 | 140 258 286 | 24000 | 23000 | 12 |
| SE | | | | | | | | | 8 17 67 142 | | 291 21000 | | 20000 | 7 |
| [TATO | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 28 | 38 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 97 |

Notes: The numbers refer to the text IDs printed in Appendix A. The abbreviations of the dialects are short for Northern, Northeast Midland, Southeast Midland, Northwest Midland, Southwest Midland, Southwestern, and Southeastern respectively.