

# A DIALECTAL STUDY OF THE FIRST QUIRE IN NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, BROGYNTYN MS II.1\*

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## ABSTRACT

Brogynryn MS ii.1 (olim Porkington 10) is a mid-fifteenth-century collection of prose and verse copied by multiple scribes. As the signatures suggest, quire 1 did not belong to the originally intended book but was initially unrelated to the other twenty-five extant quires and a singleton. These two distinct parts of the codex became physically and textually connected when Scribe I used the end of this booklet (fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>) to start copying a text that continued at the beginning of quire 2 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). The volume's Middle English texts and place(s) of production were tentatively associated with the West-Midland counties of Cheshire or Shropshire (Ackerman 1947; Kurvinen 1951, 1969; Huws 1996). While a dialectal study of the core of the manuscript is currently underway by Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes (forthcoming), the present paper aims to offer a detailed analysis of the English texts in the first quire—except for Scribe I's later addition—and to delimit their linguistic provenance. The methodology followed is that devised in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)* (McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986).

KEYWORDS: Brogynryn MS ii.1, Porkington 10, quire 1, dialectal provenance, *LALME*.

ESTUDIO DIALECTAL DEL PRIMER CUADERNILLO DEL MANUSCRITO  
DE LA BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE GALES, BROGYNTYN II.1

## RESUMEN

El manuscrito Brogynryn ii.1 (anteriormente Porkington 10) alberga una colección de prosa y verso de mediados del siglo xv copiada por múltiples escribas. Como sugieren las firmas, el primer cuadernillo no pertenecía al libro original, pues no estaba inicialmente relacionado con los otros veinticinco cuadernillos y una hoja adicional suelta que se han conservado. Estas dos partes distintas del códice se conectaron física y textualmente cuando el Escriba I utilizó el final del primer cuaderno (fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>) para empezar a copiar un texto que continuaría al principio del segundo (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). Los textos en inglés medio que forman parte del volumen y el lugar (o lugares) de producción del mismo se asociaron tentativamente a los condados de Cheshire o Shropshire, en el oeste del país (Ackerman 1947; Kurvinen 1951, 1969; Huws 1996). Como complemento al estudio dialectal del núcleo del manuscrito que están llevando a cabo Carrillo-Linares y Garrido-Anes (próxima publicación), el presente trabajo pretende ofrecer un análisis detallado de los textos ingleses del primer cuadernillo (exceptuando el añadido posteriormente por el Escriba I) para tratar de delimitar su procedencia lingüística. La metodología seguida es la diseñada en *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)* (McIntosh, Samuels y Benskin 1986).

PALABRAS CLAVE: Brogynryn MS ii.1, Porkington 10, cuadernillo 1, procedencia dialectal, *LALME*.

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## 1. BROGYNTYN MS II.1 AND ITS FIRST QUIRE

National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn MS ii.1 (olim Porkington 10) is a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript on parchment and paper.<sup>1</sup> Its Latin and Middle English texts are the work of multiple scribes and cover various subjects ranging from science and practical activities to lyric and love poems, romance and religion. This miscellany is believed to have been informally produced within the household of a gentry landowner.<sup>2</sup> The codex, written in a variety of bastard secretary and fere-textura hands, consists of twenty-six quires followed by a single surviving leaf from gathering 27.<sup>3</sup> Its signatures reveal that the first three booklets of the original compilation were replaced, for some unknown reason, by the present quire 1:

That our book was intended from the start to include quire 1 does indeed seem to be ruled out. But that quire 1 had an independent existence other than, briefly, as a loose quire appears unlikely [...]. The work of scribes A–H occurs only in quire 1 [...], and it seems improbable that they would have been aware in what a literary neighbourhood their texts were destined to find themselves. (Huws 1996, 191-193)

The first gathering of Brogyntyn MS. ii.1, of parchment, was bound together with the rest in one volume shortly after Scribe I used the blank space at the end-fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>—to start copying a treatise about the weather, which continued in what is now quire 2 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). A likely date around 1470 for the whole volume seems unobjectionable, judging from the reference to the Fall of Constantinople, a 1463 Calendar and watermarks from the late 1460s (Huws 1996, 202).

Despite some debate (Kurvinen 1953; Huws 1996; Salter 2012), eight scribes appear to have been involved in the copying of quires 2-27: I (fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>); J (fols. 12<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>; 130<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>; 192<sup>r</sup>-194<sup>v</sup>; 203<sup>r</sup>-211<sup>v</sup>); K (fols. 23<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>r</sup>); L (fols. 27<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>); O (fols. 59<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>;<sup>4</sup> 129<sup>r</sup>-130<sup>r</sup>; 150<sup>r</sup>-192<sup>r</sup>; 200<sup>r</sup>-202<sup>v</sup>); Q (fols. 91<sup>r</sup>-129<sup>r</sup>; 139<sup>r</sup>-150<sup>r</sup>); R (fols. 195<sup>r</sup>-198<sup>r</sup>); and S (fols. 198<sup>r</sup>-199<sup>v</sup>). Scribes J, O and L contributed to the core of the codex with the most significant number of pages. J and O were also the volume

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\* This paper complements Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes's (forthcoming) dialectal analysis of the Middle English texts in the main part of Brogyntyn MS ii.1. Both studies emerge from Nancy P. Pope's kind invitation to participate in a research project that approaches the codex from multiple angles. I am also grateful to Keith Williamson for generously helping with the production of the map in Figure 1 and to him and María José Carrillo-Linares for their readings of earlier drafts. I also fondly remember our dear friend, the late Margaret Laing, for suggesting that we be part of this project.

<sup>1</sup> See the digitized manuscript on: <https://www.library.wales/discover-learn/digital-exhibitions/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/a-middle-english-miscellany>.

<sup>2</sup> See Johnston (2014, 3), Clarke (2016, lxx; 88-102) and Griffin (2019, 79).

<sup>3</sup> For more details on the manuscript, see Marx (1999, 25) and the online catalogue: <https://archives.library.wales/index.php/english-miscellany>.

<sup>4</sup> Recipes 3-6 were copied by Scribe I (Huws 1996, 190).



rubricators, decorators and compilers. Together with I, they filled the blank pages at the end of quires (Huws 1996, 198).

Apart from Scribe I's later addition to quire 1, another eight scribes (A-H) participated in the production of the didactic prose texts that currently constitute the first part of the book. Scribe A copied several English texts—*Secundum Anticos Grecorum*—on auspicious and ominous days: for falling ill (item 1, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>); being born, getting married, travelling and starting some mission (item 2, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>); dying awfully or becoming incorruptible (item 3, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>); and weather prognostications, based on Saint Paul's Day, in Latin and English translation (items 4-5, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>). This scribe was also responsible for some notes on the planets (item 6, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>); a Latin prose text on the divisions of the world (item 7, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>); and a chronology of the world in English (item 8, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>) (Kurvinen 1953; Huws 1996).

The rest of the scribes in the quire were less prolific than A. Thus, Scribe B copied a Latin table presenting the divisions of time (item 9, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>). Another Latin table showing the planetary hours and explanatory notes in English was provided by Scribe C (item 10, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>). Scribe D then wrote the Latin text on the planets' influence at birth (item 11, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>), followed by Scribe E's English explanation of a 1463 calendar (item 12, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>). Next, Scribes F and G shared the copying of some rules for venesection in English (item 13, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>). Finally, Scribe H contributed a Latin table about sun and moon eclipses for 1462-1481 (item 14, fols. 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>).<sup>5</sup>

## 2. THE WEST-MIDLAND DIALECT HYPOTHESIS AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE FIRST QUIRE

### 2.1. GOAL

The dialectal and geographical provenance of Brogyntyn MS ii.1 was tentatively associated with the North-West Midland counties of Cheshire or Shropshire (Ackerman 1947; Kurvinen 1951). Huws (1996) agreed that the scribes may have well shared a locality in either of these places, as both had strong social and commercial connections with Wales. Supportingly, the medieval scribe or book owner's name 'Hattun' (fol. 52<sup>v</sup>) appears to have been "more frequent in Cheshire and Shropshire than in any other part of England" (1996, 205). The codex was seemingly in Welsh hands by the early sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century, it was probably owned by the Owen family of Clennau (Caernarfonshire), from where it eventually reached Brogyntyn estate in Shropshire (Pope 2005, 38). Huws (1996, 205) acknowledged that the West-Midland language of the texts was only recognizable "under a heavy varnish of standardization." To more accurately delimit

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<sup>5</sup> For more on the contents of quire 1, see Silva (forthcoming); for a reconsideration of the number of hands involved in it, see Connolly (forthcoming). She believes that the linguistic localisation of the Middle English texts in the quire here presented is entirely compatible with her findings.



their dialectal provenance, he thus claimed for a more comprehensive and better-grounded study based on *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)*.<sup>6</sup>

To test the West-Midland hypothesis connecting the language of the manuscript with Cheshire or Shropshire, Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes (forthcoming) are presently studying the dialects of the eight scribes—I, J, K, L, O, Q, R, S—that participated in the volume's main part. The current paper undertakes complementary work in this respect and aims to widen the picture of the language variants present in the codex. This goal is achieved by providing and analyzing the Linguistic Profiles (LPs) of the five scribes—A, C, E, F, G—responsible for the Middle English texts in the initially alien—now first—quire.

## 2.2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology and conventions adopted are drawn from *LALME*. Initially, the texts were faithfully transcribed from the digitized manuscript. No emendations or expansions of abbreviations were attempted; instead, the symbol {@} was used, followed by a different number for the different abbreviation or possible otiose marks.<sup>7</sup> Then, one *LALME* questionnaire of ITEMS was filled in for every scribe and text.<sup>8</sup> For each item found, the primary or most frequent form was entered in the first place; any secondary variant—occurring from 1/3 to 2/3 of the times of the dominant one—was additionally given in single brackets; finally, enclosed in double brackets, rare forms—those attested less than 1/3 of the times of the dominant one—may follow (vol. 3, xiv).<sup>9</sup> Once the questionnaires are completed and the scribal LPs obtained,<sup>10</sup> the so-called 'fit'-technique is applied to each LP (vol. 1, 10-12). First, the distributions of the variants need to be retrieved from *LALME* by combining the information provided by the dot maps (vol. 1), the county dictionary (vol. 4) and *eLALME* user-defined maps.<sup>11</sup> Such distributions are then plotted and superimposed on a working map for each scribe. The fitting process—manually performed while benefiting from the *eLALME* tools—should begin with well-attested forms of the

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<sup>6</sup> See McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin (1986). See also the electronic version (*eLALME*) by Benskin et al. (2013).

<sup>7</sup> Carrillo-Linares (2023) and Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes (forthcoming) use the same transcribing system for the rest of the scribes in the volume. In this paper, however, for the sake of simplicity, the symbol {@} alone—with no number—stands for any abbreviation or idle mark. In all cases, the lexeme, together with all the potentially encapsulated realizations of each abbreviation or otiose mark will be considered for the analysis.

<sup>8</sup> The search tool *AntConc* (Anthony 2022) was a useful external aid that facilitated the retrieval of data from the transcribed texts.

<sup>9</sup> These relative frequencies are accompanied by the actual number of occurrences in each scribal text. The absolute numbers appear between square brackets [ ].

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2.

<sup>11</sup> The user-defined map tool is extremely useful to check the distributions of specific forms in a more user-friendly format than the one offered by the county dictionary.



items collected in *LALME* for the entire country of England; once the broad area of localization is known, the ‘fit’-technique can continue with other items collected only for the north or only for the south (Alcorn 2017). This method allows for the gradual elimination of unlikely areas of linguistic provenance and should eventually narrow down the dialectal origin of the language analyzed. However, due to the possible mobility of scribes and exemplars, the language of Middle English texts could also display linguistic features that did not necessarily belong to the place where they were produced or owned. Both the external and the textual history of a manuscript could condition the linguistic appearance of the copy.

Linguistic choices in Middle English texts could be determined by multiple factors such as scribal education, work connections, travelling or migration, personal preferences, text types, the intended audience and textual transmission. Stenroos and Thengs (2020, 85) highlight the benefits of studying documents localizable on reliable non-linguistic evidence and argue for a fluid approach to texts by integrating the geographical, linguistic and social spaces, that is, by considering “networks of contact rather than physical distance.” Their corpus of *Middle English Local Documents (MELD)* (Stenroos, Thengs and Bergstrøm 2017-) is an excellent reference tool complementary to *LALME*, although texts from the West Midlands have not yet been incorporated.

As McIntosh (1973, 61) described, whereas some scribes endeavored to provide a *literatim* copy of the exemplar, others chose to translate into their dialects, and most produced a mixture of their own, alien and tolerated forms in varying degrees. When several lengthy texts copied by the same scribe are available for comparison, the probability of identifying and localizing that scribe’s own repertoire of forms is high. A single text copied by one scribe can also be informative when long enough to allow the researcher to distinguish between different dialectal layers. By contrast, short texts may occasionally display very few occurrences of some dialectally revealing forms, thereby complicating the task of discriminating those that belonged to the scribe’s repertoire from those carried over from the exemplar. Given the brevity of some texts and, consequently, the fewer chances for items to occur and reoccur, the primary, secondary and rare labels might be misrepresenting the scribe’s actual practice. Thus, whether short texts do or do not supply a sufficient number of relevant features compatible with a not too broad dialectal area may sometimes become a matter of chance and luck. As Stenroos and Thengs (2020, 84) observed:

The *LALME* compilers expected that every text might be localised within the dialect continuum assuming that it contained an internally consistent combination of forms. A combination that could not be fitted in such a way would then represent something else than a local English dialect: a dialect mixture (*Mischsprache*), ‘standardised’ usage, or a genuine dialect from another continuum, such as Hiberno-English (*LALME* I, 12).

In the absence of more solid non-linguistic evidence that would ideally add to the contextual picture of the place of production and provenance of the scribes of Brogyntyn MS ii.1’s first quire, the current approach needs to be restricted to



localizing the texts based on the *LALME* notion of “*linguistic* [...] rather than *real* or *geographical* space” (Williamson 2004, 119-120). The fitting processes that follow aim to provide—in Stenroos and Thengs’s (2020, 84) words—“relative localizations [...] not meant to reflect precise geographical positions; rather, they reflect the linguistic similarities between texts.”

### 3. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Scribe A provides larger chunks of text and more variety of items and forms than the rest of the copyists in the quire. Although the heading preceding each of the four texts on prognosis—*Secundum Anticos Grecorum*—suggests that items 1-5 may have all been copied from the same exemplar, the questionnaires were initially filled out individually in case they showed incompatible features that could point to different sources. Similarly, the analyses of items 6 (on the planets) and 8 (the chronology) were first performed separately. However, a side-by-side comparison of the six pieces reveals that they all have a compatible language. Thus, the questionnaires for the different texts copied by A were eventually merged into a single LP.

Some of the spelling, morphological and lexical forms found in A’s, C’s, E’s, F’s and G’s texts were of widespread use and, therefore, of no diagnostic value. Such is the case, for example, of IT forms with <i> and no <h>; initial <ʒ> in YET; <wh> for WH; NOT as ‘not’; ANY, MANY and MAN with <a>; ‘is’ and ‘ys’ for IS; <sch> and <a> forms for SHALL; ‘was’ for WAS; ‘fro’ for FROM; AFTER with initial <a>; FIRST, with <i, y>; ‘good(e)’ for GOOD; and <-ly> for -LY. The forms ‘but’ for BUT, ‘or’ for OR, and the plural endings <-es, -is, -ys> were also broadly used. Consequently, only relevant forms displaying non-ubiquitous distributions in *LALME*’s dot maps are selected from each scribal LP to apply the ‘fit’-technique.<sup>12</sup> Scribe C’s notes on the planetary hours, Scribe E’s explanation of the calendar and Scribes F and G’s venesection are all relatively short texts. Notwithstanding this fact, all the scribes provide several diagnostic forms that allow for their approximate localization.

#### 3.1. SCRIBE A

For broadly delimiting the dialectal provenance of A’s language, the fitting process begins with several *LALME* items that are well attested for all the areas.<sup>13</sup> The assemblage of A’s primary forms for four of them—‘pes’ for THESE; ‘ʒif, ʒyf’ for IF; ‘whan(ʃ@)’ spellings for WHEN; and all ‘pouʒ’ type variants for THOUGH—leads to the dismissal of northern England, alongside the northerly Midland regions

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<sup>12</sup> These forms are highlighted with an asterisk in Tables 1 and 2.

<sup>13</sup> See Table 1 for Scribe A’s LP.



of Lancashire, Cheshire, North Shropshire, North Staffordshire and North and Central Derbyshire, in the west; in the east, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, the northernmost part of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire—except for its border with Soke of Peterborough—are also discarded.

The northern half of Northamptonshire, the adjacent part of Leicestershire, Bedfordshire and South Huntingdonshire are also improbable areas of origin due to their lack of ‘*ʒif*, *ʒyf*’ forms for *IF*. In turn, the entire Shropshire, West Norfolk and South-East Suffolk stand out for the lack of recorded occurrences of ‘*pes*.’ However, they should not be ruled out yet, given that the closely related ‘*pes(e)*’ is not particularly uncommon in those three regions. Likewise, the form ‘*pouʒ*’ is recorded in only three East Anglian LPs,<sup>14</sup> while the similar variant ‘*pouʒ*’ is slightly more common and appears in five LPs, mainly in Suffolk.<sup>15</sup> Spellings with <ou> and <ow> for *THOUGH* are unattested in Central Norfolk.

The combination of verbal forms ending in thorn for the third-person singular and <-n{@}> for the plural is not helpful in further delimiting the probable origin of the language displayed by Scribe A. Although typically associated with the Midlands, Brogyntyn MS ii.1 is a fairly late manuscript, and the ‘-n’ plural forms could have reached more southern areas by the mid-fifteenth century. That was also the case with endingless infinitives (Lass 1992, 145; Nielsen 2005, 73; Wełna 2012, 423).

In southern England, the concurrence of ‘*pes(e)*’, ‘*ʒif*, *ʒyf*’, ‘*whan*({@})’ and ‘*pouʒ*’ forms excludes Cornwall (which additionally lacks ‘*ʒit*’ for *YET*), Devonshire (except for its easternmost extreme), South Somerset, Wiltshire and the nearby areas of East Gloucestershire, North-West Oxfordshire and the northernmost extreme of Berkshire. Cornwall is additionally crossed out by the lack of ‘*ʒit*’, ‘*pes(e)*’, ‘*whan*({@})’, ‘*pouʒ*’ and ‘*ben*({@})’, whereas West and Central Devonshire are discarded by the lack of ‘*ʒif*, *ʒyf*’ and ‘*ʒit*’, with only LP ((5051)) showing the similar ‘*ʒyt*’.<sup>16</sup>

Both ‘*pes*’ and ‘*p*<sup>is</sup>’ appear only once in A’s writing, and only four *LALME* LPs display the superscript form.<sup>17</sup> Whether scribal or inherited, ‘*pis(e)*’ spellings are not attested for Dorset or Hampshire, and they are incompatible with most of Suffolk, except for its northeast.<sup>18</sup> The non-northern character of Scribe A’s texts is also confirmed when adding the combined distribution of ‘*aʒen*-type’ variants—for *AGAINST* and *AGAIN*—to the assemblage of forms mentioned above. This step provides

<sup>14</sup> LPs 776, 4057, West Norfolk; 8420, North-East Suffolk.

<sup>15</sup> LPs 4646, South-East Norfolk; 8310, 8491, West Suffolk; (8350), South-East Suffolk; 8450, Central Suffolk.

<sup>16</sup> Following *LALME*’s practice for the LPs, no brackets and single or double parentheses surrounding LP references are also used here to indicate the frequency of the form(s) discussed. An unbracketed LP indicates dominant usage of the form(s); single brackets enclosing an LP represent a scribal usage of 1/3 to 2/3 of the times of the dominant form; double brackets are given when the form discussed was used less than 1/3 of the times.

<sup>17</sup> LPs ((16)), Central-West Lincolnshire; 4564, North-East Norfolk; 5313, Central-West Wiltshire; (8420), North-East Suffolk.

<sup>18</sup> LPs (4768, 8420).



further evidence for the elimination of Lancashire, Cheshire, Lincolnshire and Rutland; it also supports the exclusion of the remaining parts of Derbyshire, the county of Shropshire and the bordering areas in West Staffordshire; ‘aʒen’ forms do not seem to concur in Cornwall, West Devonshire, Dorset and Monmouth.

The coexistence of the forms above delimits the likely provenance of Scribe A’s language to the Midlands and excludes its most northern parts. The overlapping distribution of the forms for WHO of the ‘who-so’ type—collected only for the “Southern Appendix” (vol. 4)—supports the exclusion of most southerly areas of the country from west to east, including Monmouth, in the South-West Midlands, and London, in the South-East Midlands. This first phase of the fitting process leaves three areas uncrossed: the largest one comprises the southern half of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, North-West Gloucestershire and Worcestershire; the second one includes North-East, Central and South Oxford, and Central Berkshire; and the third area is Ely and the southeastern extreme of Norfolk.<sup>19</sup>

Focusing on the non-dominant forms in A’s language, ‘h-forms’ for IT are heavily found in the south and west of England. The distribution of ‘hit’ rules out the East-Midland areas of Soke of Peterborough, Huntingdonshire, West Norfolk, West Suffolk and the northeasternmost tip of Buckinghamshire. ‘Hit’ is rarely attested in Ely and Bedfordshire, and both ‘hit’ and ‘hyt’ are non-dominant forms in Norfolk.<sup>20</sup> In Hertfordshire, ‘h-forms’ are exclusively found on its borders with Essex and Central Buckinghamshire,<sup>21</sup> and they are recorded as subsidiary forms in only one Cambridgeshire LP localized to the north of the county.<sup>22</sup>

The co-occurrence of the non-dominant variants ‘hit’ and ‘hyt’ for HIT, ‘eny’ for ANY, ‘yf’ for IF, ‘beþ’ for ARE and ‘mane’ forms for MAN allow for narrowing down their area of likely origin to the West-Midland counties of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and the adjacent South Northamptonshire area.<sup>23</sup> However, several isolated spots in East Suffolk and West-Central Wiltshire are still uncrossed.

The assemblage of primary and non-dominant variants occurs in Worcestershire, Warwickshire and South Northamptonshire. Furthermore, Scribe A uses ‘vas’ once as a rare form. Unfortunately, the item WAS appears in only one of the texts copied by A, which prevents any comparison with further occurrences, which would have allowed assessing whether the form was one of the scribe’s own variants or carried over from the exemplar. In either case, ‘vas’ must have been a fairly local form, as it is attested in only five *LALME* LPs, two of them localized to already discarded counties<sup>24</sup> and three from West-Midland areas not far from where

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<sup>19</sup> LPs 557, (73).

<sup>20</sup> LPs ((652), North-East Ely; ((8200)), South-West Bedfordshire; ((642)), (4629), South Norfolk; ((4041)), South-West Norfolk; (4564), ((4066, 4656, 4663)), East Norfolk.

<sup>21</sup> LPs (6530), 6620.

<sup>22</sup> LP 672 (hit), ((hyt)).

<sup>23</sup> ‘Mane’ is found in LPs from the still-uncrossed Worcestershire, ((7841)); Warwickshire, (4689); Northamptonshire bordering Warwickshire, 4273; South-East Northamptonshire, ((739)).

<sup>24</sup> LPs 366, East Riding Yorkshire; ((4621)), Central Norfolk.





A's language appears to be.<sup>25</sup> In addition, other words with <v> for <w> are recorded for North Gloucestershire, South Staffordshire and West Worcestershire.<sup>26</sup> Finally, scribe A sometimes writes <w> for <u>. Again, although scarcely attested in *LALME* and collected only for the south, this feature is compatible with the West Midlands, as evinced in LPs 4063—from the Warwickshire border with Northamptonshire—and 5658—broadly localized to Gloucestershire, South Herefordshire or South Warwickshire.

Scribe A and numerous LPs from Worcestershire, Warwickshire and adjacent areas in South Northamptonshire display remarkably similar combinations of forms, thereby endorsing the localization of A's assemblage to the linguistic space delimited by LPs 7640, 7660 and 7841; LPs 4063, 4675, 4679, 4686, 4689, 8000, 8010, 8040, 8070; and LPs 705, 739, 4273, 4710. They are all comprised within the Worcestershire area between Stanford-on-Teme (in the northwest), Redditch (in the northeast) and Pershore (in the south); the region that stretches from West to South Warwickshire, from around Hampton-in-Arden—near Birmingham—to Warwick and the Stratford-upon-Avon district, including the borders with North-East Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire; and South Northamptonshire, from the Daventry area (in the west) to Horton (in the east).

### 3.2. SCRIBE C

Scribe C's evidence is significantly smaller, as the notes to the planetary hours occupy only seven lines.<sup>27</sup> The concurrence of 'bep(e), beth(e)' forms for ARE allows for the dismissal of the entire north of England alongside an extensive part of the Midlands that includes, on the one hand, Cheshire, Derbyshire, South Staffordshire and South Shropshire, in the center and northwest of the region; and on the other, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, in the northeast. This combination of ARE variants additionally rules out most of the Central and South-East Midlands, except for the southeasternmost part of Norfolk, East Suffolk, Hertfordshire and Essex. 'Bep' and 'beth' appear in only two LPs from Ely, where they are rare forms.<sup>28</sup> Minority variants in few manuscripts of well-attested areas were probably relicts carried over from their exemplars, in which case, such areas become unlikely places of linguistic provenance.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the South and South-West regions of Dorset, South Somerset, Cornwall, East Gloucestershire and Monmouth are dismissed by the absence of at least one of C's variants for ARE.

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<sup>25</sup> LPs ((7080)), Central Gloucestershire; ((4239)), South Shropshire; ((529)), Central-West Staffordshire.

<sup>26</sup> LP ((7080)), North Gloucestershire; 4239, South Staffordshire; ((7331)), West Worcestershire.

<sup>27</sup> See Table 2 for Scribe C's LP.

<sup>28</sup> LPs 557, ((bep)); 558, ((beth)).

<sup>29</sup> For the notion of relict, see Benskin and Laing (1981, 58).



The overlapping distributions of several other items—THESE as ‘þes’; IT as ‘hit’; and -IGHT as <-yʒt>—support the elimination of several of the already discarded northern, North-East Midland and South-East Midland counties, including most of Hertfordshire. In the west, Shropshire seems unlikely due to the absence of ‘þes.’

Once the ‘fit’-technique excludes the most northerly regions, the variant ‘to’ for the conjunction UNTIL—collected only in *LALME*’s ‘Southern Appendix’ (vol. 4)—may be added to the assemblage of forms above. The plotting of ‘to’ allows for virtually discarding the whole south of England as an eligible origin; only central Wiltshire remains uncrossed. The macro-fitting leads to an extensive West-Midland area covering West Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and the more central Warwickshire. Scribe C’s specific spellings ‘beþe, bethe’ are primarily attested in West Warwickshire,<sup>30</sup> Central Wiltshire<sup>31</sup> and West Essex,<sup>32</sup> where they could have coexisted with ‘to’ for UNTIL<sup>33</sup> and the rest of the forms used by C.

The context provided by the preceding text in the quire suggests a linguistic location in the vicinity of A’s language. The combination of forms used by Scribe C is compatible with Warwickshire LPs 4675, 4683, 4684, 4685, 4689, 8010 and 8050, which includes Birmingham, Hampton and Henley in Arden, Wellesbourne and Goldicote—near Stratford-upon-Avon—in the west; Warwick, in the center; and Tysoe, in the southeasternmost tip.

### 3.3. SCRIBE E

Scribe E’s text on the 1463 calendar runs across thirty-five lines.<sup>34</sup> The overlapping distributions of ‘hit’ for IT, <-iʒt, -yʒt> for -IGHT; ‘aʒen’ for AGAIN, ‘the-wh(y/i)ch(e)’-type spellings for WHICH, and ‘beth(e), beþ(e)’ forms for ARE allow for narrowing down the potential provenance of Scribe E’s language to a limited set of counties. The initially uncrossed areas comprise Devonshire, Somerset, Central and South Wiltshire, Hampshire, Surrey and Kent, in the south; Leicestershire,<sup>35</sup> South Northampton, the eastern extreme of Norfolk and parts of East Suffolk, Essex, London and Middlesex, in the South-East Midlands; East Staffordshire, South-West Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Central Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, in the South-West Midlands.

The subsequent plotting of ‘call-,’ ‘callyd/id’ for CALL- / CALLED together with that of ‘vn-to / vnto’ spellings for the conjunction UNTIL adds evidence to the

<sup>30</sup> Warwickshire LPs 4689, 4683 and ((4675)) contain ‘beþe’; LP 4685 has ‘bethe.’

<sup>31</sup> Wiltshire LP (5430) contains ‘beþe’; LPs 5295, ((5314)) and ((5412)) have ‘bethe.’

<sup>32</sup> In Essex, the form ‘beþe’ appears in LPs (5602, 6210); LPs ((5601)), 5602 and 6300 contain ‘bethe.’

<sup>33</sup> Wiltshire LP 5460; Essex LPs 6100, (6260), 6330, 9450; Warwickshire LPs 4684, 8010, (8050).

<sup>34</sup> See Table 2 for Scribe E’s LP.

<sup>35</sup> The item ARE spelled with thorn is extremely rare in this county, only recorded in LP ((767)), Leicestershire.



elimination of most of the already discarded South-East Midland counties while additionally discarding London, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. This stage of the fitting process drastically narrows down the eligible areas of provenance to Surrey, Warwickshire and South Northamptonshire.

For a more precise fitting, although Scribe E's specific form 'beþe' is barely attested in *LALME*,<sup>36</sup> most of its recorded usages belong to West-Midland LPs. Moreover, ARE spellings with <th> or <þ> and final <e> could coexist with Scribe E's all other forms in the Warwickshire area demarcated by LPs 4675, 4683, 4684, 4689, 8040, 8070 and 9700, namely, the west and south of the county, virtually the same as Scribe C's localization and partially coincident with Scribe A's.

### 3.4. SCRIBE F

Scribe F's copying of the venesection text covers the first column on fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. Many forms used in such a brief passage are of no diagnostic value.<sup>37</sup> However, the coexistence of the forms 'nat' for NOT and 'callyd' ('callid') for CALLED can be delimited to an area that includes Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, South-East Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, Surrey, Somerset and Wiltshire.

The third-person singular endings serve to confirm the elimination of the north of England, the North-West Midland counties of Shropshire and Derbyshire, and West Norfolk. However, since this item was not systematically—but only occasionally—collected for the south, it cannot be used to definitely exclude Suffolk or any of the uncrossed southerly counties. Notwithstanding this fact, the variants displayed by Scribe F—<<sup>t</sup>, -iþ<sup>e</sup>, -eþ<sup>e</sup>, -ithe>—even if one or more may have been carried over from the exemplar—could all co-occur in Leicestershire and the North-East Warwickshire adjacent area delimited by LPs 44, 299, 302, 432, 531, 699 and 767. The evidence elicited from this text prevents the dismissal of the remaining southern and southeastern counties of Wiltshire, Surrey, Essex and Suffolk. However, the linguistic association with Leicestershire or the adjacent Bedworth-Coventry-Nuneaton area in Warwickshire seems contextually more plausible.

### 3.5. SCRIBE G

Scribe G copied the venesection text's second column.<sup>38</sup> The assemblage of LITTLE as 'lytel(e,' AGAINST as 'a(-)3enste' and the '-us type' of plural (spelt <-vs>)

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<sup>36</sup> LPs ((767)), North-East Leicestershire; (6820), South Oxfordshire; (7040), South-West Gloucestershire; 5313, Central Wiltshire; ((6270)), South-West Essex.

<sup>37</sup> See Table 2 for Scribe F's LP.

<sup>38</sup> See Table 2 for Scribe G's LP.



allows the exclusion of the whole northern region together with Lancashire, Cheshire and North Shropshire. This combination of forms is possible—albeit unlikely—in Derbyshire.<sup>39</sup> The selected items allow for additionally discarding an extensive East-Midland area, whose uncrossed parts are narrowed down to Central Norfolk and South-East Suffolk. In the South, the West and the Central Midlands, this assemblage of forms is viable in Hampshire, North Sussex and Somerset; also in Staffordshire, South Shropshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Monmouth; and in West Gloucestershire, North Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, West Leicestershire and South Northamptonshire. *WITHOUT* forms—spelt ‘w<sup>i</sup>(-)-out(e)’—do not occur in the uncrossed Monmouth and are recorded for only one Gloucestershire LP.<sup>40</sup>

Several items collected only for the north—*UPON* as ‘vppon{@}’ and *BETWEEN* spelt ‘be(-)twyxt’—contribute to further delimiting the likely dialectal provenance of G’s text by confirming the dismissal of Shropshire, Nottinghamshire and Norfolk. Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Leicestershire are also ruled out, except for their border with Warwickshire. The verbal forms <-ithe, -ythe, -ethe> were not systematically collected for the south. Thus, although the uncrossed parts of Suffolk, Hampshire, Sussex, Monmouth, Worcestershire and Herefordshire cannot be technically discarded,<sup>41</sup> these three verbal endings are unattested for Shropshire but concur in the area where South Staffordshire, South Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire converge. The overlapping distribution of *EYE(S)* as ‘yʒe-, iʒe-’ points to the south of Staffordshire and Warwickshire. Therefore, North Warwickshire—near the border with Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire—seems likely to be the origin of Scribe G’s language. Such linguistic provenance would be congenial with the language in Scribe F’s first column of the venesection. Scribe G’s language could then be localized near LPs 699, 4285, 4675 and 9700.

#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The long-needed study of scribal languages in the National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn MS ii.1 is currently in progress. Whereas Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes (forthcoming) will soon provide a linguistic analysis of the manuscript’s main texts, the present paper has focused on the language of the marginal booklet that eventually became the volume’s first quire. Although the late date and the brevity of its Middle English texts result in a seemingly limited number of diagnostic features, it has been possible to establish various degrees of dialectal delimitation.

*LALME*’s ‘fit’-technique applied to the different LPs derived from the transcribed texts of Scribes A, C, E, F and G has led to the unequivocal localization

<sup>39</sup> LP ((257)) is the only witness for ‘aʒenst.’

<sup>40</sup> LP 7211, localized to the border with Herefordshire.

<sup>41</sup> Forms ending in <-ythe, -ithe> are attested in three Herefordshire LPs: (7351), 7352 and (7353).

of the language of the first quire to a non-northern dialectal area. The evidence suggests that this late addition to the original book was entirely written in overlapping dialectal varieties, more likely from the Midlands than the extreme south. The linguistic space shared by the English texts in quire 1 turns out to be more central than Shropshire and slightly more southern than Derbyshire.

Thus, Scribe A's assemblage of forms in the texts on prognosis, the planets and the chronology points to an area comprising Worcestershire, West and South Warwickshire, and South Northamptonshire. The fittings for Scribe C's copy of the planetary hours and Scribe E's notes on the 1463 calendar reveal the same West or South Warwickshire origin. Finally, Scribes F and G can be respectively situated in the area of Leicestershire or North-East Warwickshire and the north of Warwickshire or some neighboring area in the adjacent counties.<sup>42</sup>

Given that Warwickshire emerges as the largest uncrossed area shared by the five fitting processes performed, it may be suggested that Scribes A, C, E, F and G must have all worked under the linguistic influence of this county or nearby areas. Upcoming studies on the rest of the manuscript will hopefully improve, on the one hand, our present knowledge of the dialectal varieties of the remaining texts and scribes (Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes forthcoming); on the other, they will shed some light on the relationship between the linguistic findings and the volume's paleographic and extralinguistic context (Connolly forthcoming; Pope forthcoming).

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<sup>42</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.

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# APPENDIX

TABLE 1. SCRIBE A.

LALME ITEM	LP-SCRIBE A	1. PROG-NOSIS	2. PROG-NOSIS	3. PROG-NOSIS	5. PROG-NOSIS	6. PLANETS	8. CHRONOLOGY
THESE*	bes, b <sup>is</sup> [1, 1]		bes [1]	b <sup>is</sup> [1]			
THOSE	bo, b <sup>o</sup> [2, 2]		b <sup>o</sup> [2]	bo [2]			
IT*	it ((yt, hit, hyt)) [23 ((2, 1, 1))]	it [19]	hyt [1]	hit [1]	it (yt) [4 (2)]		
MAN*	man, man{(@)} ((mane)) [2, 2, (1)]	man [1]		man [1]		man{(@)} [2]	mane [1]
ANY*	any (eny) [3 (1)]	eny [1]	any [2]	any [1]			
ARE*	ben{(@)} (bep) [3 (1)]		ben{(@)}, bep [1, 1]	ben{(@)} [2]			
IS	is (ys) [15 (7)]	is ((ys)) [4 ((1))]		ys [2]	is (ys) [2 (1)]	is ((ys)) [7 ((2))]	is (ys) [2 (1)]
WAS*	was ((vas)) [16 ((1))]						was ((vas)) [16 ((1))]
SHALL <i>sg</i>	schal (schall{(@)}) [11 (4)]	schal (schall{(@)}) [6 (2)]	schal (schall{(@)}) [3 (1)]	schal (schall{(@)}) [2 (1)]			
SHALL <i>2sg</i>	schalt [1]		schalt [1]				
SHALL <i>pl</i>	schall{(@)} [1]				schall{(@)} [1]		
TO <i>prep</i>	to [9]	to [2]		to [1]		to [3]	to [3]
TO 'til'	to [4]	to [2]		to [1]			-to [1]
TO + <i>inf</i>	to [5]	to [1]		to [1]			to [3]
FROM	fro [6]						fro [6]
AFTER	after [1]	after [1]					
THOUGH*	bou3 [10]	bou3 [10]					
IF*	3if, 3yf ((yf)) 6, 5 ((1))	3if [6]	3yf, yf [1, 1]		3yf [4]		





AS	as [1]		as [1]				
AGAINST*	aʒen [1]						aʒen [1]
AGAIN*	aʒen [1]		aʒen [1]				
yet	ʒit [1]	ʒit [1]					
WH-	wh- [8]	wh- [1]	wh- [2]	wh- [3]			wh- [2]
NOT	not [7]	not [1]	not [5]	not [1]			
OE, ON ā	o [19]	o [1]	o [2]	o [4]	o [1]	o [8]	o [3]
WORLD	world [1]						world [1]
<-IGHT>*	-yʒt, -yʒtt [1, 1]	-yʒt [1]		-yʒtt [1]			
WHEN*	whan{@} [1]						whan{@} [1]
<i>Sb pl</i>	-es ((-s, -ys)) [32 ((2, 1))]	-es ((-s)) [10, ((2))]	-es [6]	-es [5]	-es [1]	-es [3]	-es ((-ys)) [7 ((1))]
<i>Pres part</i>	-yng{@} (-yngē) [2 (1)]	-yngē [1]				-yng{@} [2]	
<i>Vbl sb</i>	-yng [1]						-yng [1]
<i>Pres 3sg</i>	-(e)þ [31]	-eþ [23]	-eþ [1]			þ [7]	
<i>Pres pl</i>	-n{@} [1]		-n{@} [1]				
<i>Weak pt sg</i>	-ed [5]						-ed [5]
<i>Weak ppl</i>	-ed ((-yd)) [3 (1)]	-ed [2]	-yd [1]				-ed [1]
<i>Str ppl</i>	-Ø, -en({@}) [5, 5]	Ø [5]		-en{@} [1]			-en [4]
ABOUT <i>adv</i>	a-boute [7]					a-boute [7]	
ALL	all{@} [1]				all{@} [1]		
ALSO	also [2]			also [1]			also [1]
AWAY	away [1]	away [1]					
BE <i>inf</i>	be [6]	be [5]		be [1]			





BEFORE <i>pr</i>	be-fore [1]			be-fore [1]		
BETWEEN <i>pr</i>	by-twene [1]				by-twene [1]	
BIRTH	berþe [1]					berþe [1]
BUT	but [1]	but [1]				
DAY	day [21]	day [12]		day [3]	day [1]	day [5]
DAYS	dayes ((days)) [19 ((1))]	dayes ((days)) [9 ((1))]	dayes [4]	dayes [4]		dayes [2]
DEATH	deþ (dethe) [3 (1)]	deþ [3]		dethe [1]		
DIE <i>vb</i>	dye(-) [9]	dye(-) [7]		dye [2]		
DIE <i>inf</i>	dye [2]	dye [2]		dye [2]		
DIED <i>sg</i>	dyed [1]					dyed [1]
EARTH	erþe [3]					erþe [3]
EVIL	yuel [2]			yuel [1]		yuel [1]
FAIR	fayre [1]				fayre [1]	
FIRST	fyrst ((fyrste, fyrst firste)) [3 (1, 1)]	fyrst [1]		fyrste, firste [1, 1]		fyrst [2]
FIFTH	fyfte [1]	fyfte [1]				
FOLLOW <i>vb</i>	folow- [1]	folow- [1]				
FOURTH	fourþe [1]	fourþe [1]				
GOTTEN	-goten{@} [1]			-goten{@} [1]		
GOES <i>3sg</i>	gop ((goeþ)) [7 ((1))]	goeþ [1]				gop [7]
GOOD	goode ((good)) 5 (11)			goode [2]	goode (good) [2 (1)]	goode [1]
GREAT	gret [4]					gret [4]
HAVE <i>inf</i>	haue [1]		haue [1]			

HAD <i>sg</i>	had [2]				had [2]
HEAD	-hedd- [1]				-hedd- [1]
HELL	helle [1]				helle [1]
HIM	hym [3]	hym [1]	hym [1]		hym [1]
HIS	hys ((his)) [10 ((3))]		his [1]	hys [1]	hys ((his)) [9 ((2))]
ENGLAND	Ynglonde (Ynglond) [5 ((2))]				Ynglonde (Ynglond) [5 ((2))]
LIFE	lyffe [1]	lyffe [1]			
LIVE <i>vb</i>	lyued [2]				lyued [2]
LONG	longe [4]	longe [2]	longe [2]		
LORD	lord [2]				lord [2]
MONTH	moneþ [8]	moneþ [8]			
NEVER	neu{@} [1]	neu{@} [1]			
OR	or [3]	or [1]		or [1]	or [1]
OTHER	oþer [1]			oþer [1]	
OUR	oure [2]				oure [2]
OUT	out [1]				out [1]
SAY <i>inf</i>	say [3]				say [3]
SAY <i>pl*</i>	seyn{@}		seyn{@} [1]		
SAID <i>ppl</i>	-saide [2]				-saide [2]
SIXTH	sixte [1]	sixte [1]			
SOME	som [1]		som [1]		
THOU	þou, þ <sup>u</sup> [1, 1]		þou, þ <sup>u</sup> [1, 1]		
THIRD	þirde [1]	þirde [1]			





TRUE	trew [1]	trew [1]				
TWO	two				two [1]	
WHAT	what			what [1]		---
WHO*	who-so [4]		who-so [2]	who-so [2]		
WITH	w <sup>i</sup> , with [1, 1]				w <sup>i</sup> , with [1, 1]	
WITHIN <i>pr</i>	w <sup>i</sup> -in [3]	w <sup>i</sup> -in [3]				
YEAR	ʒere [53]			ʒere [2]	ʒere [1]	ʒere [50]
YEARS	ʒere [4]					ʒere [4]
-AND	-londe ((- lond)) [5 ((2))]					-londe ((-lond)) [5 ((2))]
-ANG	longe [4]	longe [2]	longe [2]			
-FUL	-full- [1]	-full- [1]				
-LY	-ly [5]	-ly [4]				-ly [1]
-NESS	-nes (-nesse) [3 (1)]	-nesse [1]		-nes [1]		-nes [2]
UN-	vn- [1]		vn- [1]			
'k' for 'c'	c ((k)) [1]			((k)) [1]		
'w' for 'u'	u ((w)) [86 ((14))]	u ((w)) [28 ((2))]			u ((w)) [3, 3]	u ((w)) [17 ((1))] u ((w)) [38 ((8))]

TABLE 2. SCRIBES C, E, F AND G.				
LALME ITEM	LP-SCRIBE C 10. PLANETARY HOURS	LP-SCRIBE E 12. CALENDAR	LP-SCRIBE F 13A. VENESECTION	LP-SCRIBE G 13B. VENESECTION
THESE	þes [1]			
IT*	hit [1]	hit, it [1, 1]	it [1]	
WHICH		the whyche [3]		
MANY*		many [2]		

MAN			man{@} [1]	man{@} [3]
ARE*	bɛɓe, bethe [ɪ, ɪ]	bethe, bɛɓ <sup>c</sup> [ɪ, ɪ]		
IS	ys [2]	ys [ɪ5]	ys [5]	ys [4]
SHALL <i>pl</i>		schal [1]	schal [ɪ]	
TO <i>prep</i>		to, tyɪ [1, 1]		
TO + <i>inf</i>	to [ɪ]	to [6]		
FROM	fro [ɪ]	fro [4]		
AFTER		aft{@} [1]		
THEN		then [1]		
IF		yɸ [1]		
AS			as [1]	
AGAINST*				a- enste [2]
AGAIN <i>adv</i> *		aʒen [1]		
LENGTH		lengheɓ <sup>c</sup> [1]		
WH-	wh- [2]	wh- [6]		
NOT*			nat [1]	
OE, ON <i>ā</i>	o [3]	o [4]		
WHERE	where [1]	wher{@} [ɪ]		
<-IGHT>*	-yʒt [2]	-yʒt ((-ɪʒt)) [4, ((1))]		-yght [ɪ]
<i>Sb pl</i> *	-es (-is) [2, ɪ]	-es ((-ys, -is,)) [8 ((2, 1))]		-es, -is, -ys, -us [1, 1, 1, 1]
<i>Pres part</i>	-yng [1]	-yng{@} (-yng) [2 (1)]		-yng{@} [1]
<i>Vbl sub</i>		-yng, -yng{@} [2, 2]		-yng (-yng{@}, -yng) [2, (1, 1)]
<i>Pres 3sg</i> *	-ɛɓ, -ythe [1, 1]	-ythe (-ethe) [2 (1)]	- <sup>c</sup> (-ithe, iɓ <sup>c</sup> , -eth, -ɛɓ <sup>c</sup> ) [2 (1, 1, 1, 1)]	-ythe (-ethe) ((-ithe)) [4 (2) ((1))]





<i>Weak ppl</i>		-yd (-id) ((-ed)) [6 (2) ((1))]	-yd [1]	
<i>Str ppl</i>	-en [1]	-yn{@} (-yn) [2, 1]	-Ø [10]	-Ø [8]
AFTERWARDS		aft{@}ward [1]		
ALSO	also [1]			
BE <i>inf</i>		be [3]		
BEFORE <i>adv-time</i>		a-fore- [1]		
BETWEEN <i>pr*</i>				be-twyxt, betwyxt [1, 1]
BUT	but [2]			
CALLED <i>ppl*</i>		callyd [2]	callyd [1]	
DAY	day [3]	day [7]		
DAYS		dayes [1]		
DOWN	doun [1]	doun{@} [2]		
EYE				y3e [1]
FIRST <i>adv</i>	fyrst [1]	first, fyrst [1, 1]		
FIRST <i>weak adj</i>		fyrst [1]		
FOURTH		fourthe [1]		
GO <i>inf, subj</i>	go [1]	go [1]		
GOOD			good, goode [1, 1]	good (goode) [3 (1)]
GREAT				grete [2]
HAVE		haue [1]		
HAS 3sg	hathe [1]			
HEAD	hede [1]		-hede [1]	hede (heede) [3 (1)]
HEIGHT		hy3þ <sup>r</sup> [1]		

HIS		hys [2]
HOW		how [2]
KNOW <i>inf</i>	know [1]	
KNOWN		knowyn{@} (knowyn) [2 (r)]
KNOWLEDGE <i>sb</i>		knowledge [1]
LITTLE		lytel [1]
LORD	lorde [1]	lorde [1]
MADE <i>ppl</i>		made [1]
MAY		may [1]
MOON		mone [1]
NEW		new [1]
ONE <i>pron</i>	one [1]	
OTHER	oþer [1]	odyr [1]
THE OTHER		the oþ{@} [1]
SAY <i>inf</i>		say [5]
SAID <i>ppl</i>		sayde [1]
SEVENTH		seuenhthe [1]
SIXTH		sext [1]
SUN	son [1]	son{@} ((son, sonne)) [5 ((r, r))]
THIRD		thyrde [1]
TWELVE	twelfe [1]	
UNTIL <i>conj</i> *	to [1]	vn-to [1]
UPON*		vpon, vpon{@} [1, 1]



WHAT	what [1]	what [2]		
WHOLE		hole [1]		
WITHOUT <i>pr</i> *				w <sup>l</sup> -out [1]
YOU		ʒe [2]		
YEAR		ʒere [1]		
-LY		-ly [2]		
'k' for 'c'		c, k [5, 4]	c, k [9, 9]	k (c) [8, 3]
Doubling cons. excluding 'nn'			t ((tt)) [8, 1]	

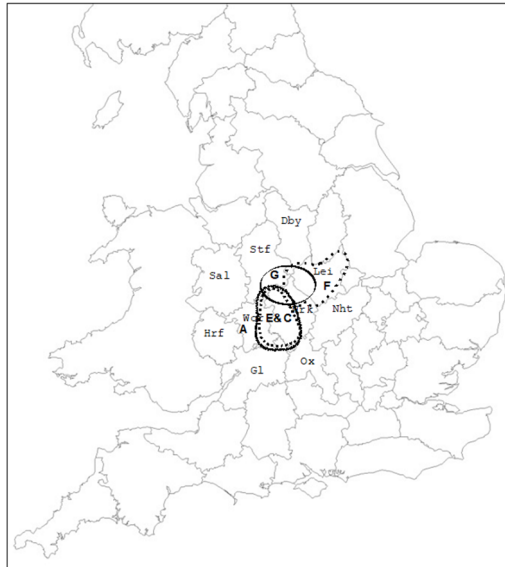


Figure 1. Approximate localization of the LPs for Scribes A, C, E, F and G.