

TCC 323: THE LOCALISATION OF A MS

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1. INTRODUCTION

I. MIDDLE ENGLISH DIALECTOLOGY

The publication in 1986 of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English (LALME) opened a range of options in the field of Mediaeval English studies both linguistic and, more specifically, dialectal. The amount of information provided has made it possible to localise linguistic and literary texts whose provenance had been up to now uncertain. The time span¹ studied in previous works of this type has varied depending on the needs and availability of materials. However, it is important to place limits on the period of time covered by such surveys. If sources are examined indiscriminately, diachronic and diatopic differences could be conflated and lead to an erroneous interpretation of the evidence.

In the case of LALME, the limits chosen were the years between 1350 and 1450. Before 1350, the evidence was felt to be too limited; after 1450, the impact of standardisation in the written mode had made the dialectal yield of material too confusing. However, the compilers of LALME did include a few sources from slightly earlier and later dates for areas in which the evidence would otherwise be very restricted in number (eg. the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, a text localised to Canterbury and dated 1340).

Now that LALME is completed, a number of new developments have been projected. One of these is an Atlas of Early Middle English; methods and techniques developed in the survey of the much more extensive later Middle English materials can now be applied to the texts of the earlier period, which present difficult and different kinds of problems.

EME, as ME in general, was characterised by a great dialectal diversity. Naturally this is a characteristic of any language; however, the fact that this diversity was preserved widely in the written mode for ME, as it has not been for any other stage of the English Language, makes it a period particularly interesting for dialectal studies.

The existence of an instrument similar to LALME for Early Middle English would improve the possibility of observing how dialect boundaries had changed and which forms were receding or spreading their use through the comparison and extrapolation of results. This is obviously not the aim of this article, since providing that kind of information is obviously impossible, not only because of the nature of that kind of work, which would require an exhaustive and thorough examination of the EME sources, but also because of the constraints of time and space imposed on this kind of publication. However, a contribution can be made by supplying a partial study of a limited corpus, as is my intention here.

II. THE MANUSCRIPT: BACKGROUND AND CONTENTS

The aim of this work is to complete a study of the linguistic characteristics of one specific sample of the language of the Early Middle English Period. The texts chosen for this purpose have been lyrics. Their availability in reliable editions is an important consideration in selecting them as a source for this dialectal survey. Furthermore, the fact that this is the earliest date when the amount of lyrics compiled in a single MS represent a corpus suitable to the purpose of this work has been another important reason for their preference.

The number of lyrics that has come down to us from the Middle Ages is in many ways partial and incomplete. The nature of the main body of the lyrics preserved is mainly religious, and consequently primarily educational. Together with these some secular poems have also survived, although their number is scantier. The earliest examples of lyrics were preserved in MSS which were not normally specifically designed for their conservation. On the contrary, they were frequently copied in the margins of MSS whose contents have little or no connection with them.² Even though early references to the existence of English lyrics date back to the twelfth century³, it is not until the thirteenth century that a considerable body of poems is preserved. Several different MSS from this interval survive to the present day. Apart from their importance from the literary and historical perspective, the fact that they represent a sizeable amount of linguistic data situated in a limited time span makes them particularly useful for linguistic and dialectal studies.

One of the earliest MSS in which thirteenth century lyrics are preserved is Trinity College Cambridge 323 (B 14.36). The lyrics compiled in this MS are exclusively religious in content. They seem to have been part of the *preaching-notes*⁴ used by friars. TCC 323 includes material in three languages: English, French and Latin. The edition I have used is that made by Carleton Brown in 1932. The manuscript contains 22 lyrics which he includes in his edition. Their concerns are frequently Death and prayers to Christ and the Virgin, although some poems about the Ten Commandments or the Three Kings are also incorporated to it.

According to Brown there are at least four scribes that contributed to the collection of these lyrics. Poems number 15, 16, 17, 25, 26, and possibly 18 of his edition were copied by the same hand (scribe A). The second hand (scribe B) compiled numbers 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, and 29. Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 38 have been copied by the same person, although this remains debatable. The third scribe (scribe C) copied numbers 14, 19, 20 and perhaps also 30. Poem number 31 was copied in

a different hand altogether (scribe D). Even though the fact that many of these poems were also copied in other MSS suggests that the poems contained in this MS were fairly well known in the period, there is no evidence to indicate the nature of the actual relationship of this MS to those which preserve the same materials.⁵

The description of the MS has been made following that given by James in his *Catalogue of the Trinity College Library*, as well as those given by Brown. Trinity College (Cambridge) 323 is formed by two volumes bound together. The first one belongs to the thirteenth century, while the second is dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The volume disappeared from the library for 33 years, from 1863 to 1896. No information about its provenance and ownership has been preserved. In his description of the MS James conflates what Brown considers to be two different poems, numbers 16 and 17 of his edition, under a single entry, number 6. The same is true of James's number 22, which is entered in Carleton Brown's edition as numbers 28a and 29a. The description of the hands made by James is not clear, and it is difficult to know how many scribes, in his opinion, participated in the compilation of the MS. From the eleventh century onwards the linguistic and literary situation of England is characterised by the competition in use as written languages of English, Latin, and French.⁶ This competition became more important in the thirteenth century when writing in French became increasingly fashionable, therefore challenging to a certain degree the position of Latin and English (up to then French was mainly a colloquial language in England).⁷ This situation of *Michsprache* (mixture of languages) is present both in the MS in general, and in individual poems too. Number 14 starts off in Latin, the second stanza is in English, and it is followed by two lines in Latin again. Number 15 alternates stanzas in Anglo-Norman and English. Number 16 introduces Latin lines in each stanza following the structure: English, Latin, English, Latin, English, English, Latin, English, English, Latin. Number 17 alternates English and Latin lines in each stanza. The remaining poems are all in English. The following is a list of the first line of each poem, according to Carleton Brown's transliteration:

4. Otide te munio verbo scripto tibi monstro
[Vid word & wrid ic warne þe, sir eode,]
5. IHesu crist le fiz marie
[Louerd crist, þou hauest us boust,]
6. SEinte mari, moder milde,
7. FOr on þat is so feir ant brist
8. SEinte marie, leuedi brist,
9. FUL feir flur is þe lilie,
10. NOu is mon hol & soint
11. SAY me, viit in þe brom,
12. GLade us maiden, moder milde,
13. HAWe on god in wrchipe,
14. ON leome is in þis world ilist,
15. HIIt wes up-on a scereþorday þat vre louerd
aros,
16. WOLleye iheren of twelte day,
17. LEuedi, ic þonke þe
18. WENne hi þenche on domes-dai ful sore i me
adrede,
19. ÞENE latemeste dai, wenne we sulen farren
20. WEN þe turuf is þi tuur,

21. NU þis fules singet hand maket hure blisse
22. ON hire is al mi lif ylong
23. ÐU þad madist alle þinc,
24. WOse seye on rode
25. NU þu vnseli bodi up-on bere list

III. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

From the earliest stages of dialectal studies, the traditional tool, par excellence, to carry out the analysis has always been the questionnaire, and this has also been the method employed here to obtain the data. Modern facilities in software provide nowadays an easier way of carrying out this task. Word Processors and computer programmes have become the instrument of work for LAEME, which is currently being done. By typing texts into the computer and adding identification tags to each form the results may be readily obtainable. Nevertheless, I have to regret the impossibility of using them in the present study. The questionnaire I used consisted of 94 items. The low frequency of some of the forms has been taken into consideration when pondering their significance for the location of the texts (those that represented 1/3 or less of the total score of the item were marked apart). The selection of the items included in the questionnaire was particularly significant, since it must vary depending on the kind of text under study. Two important aspects have been born in mind in devising the questionnaire: first, the extent to which the elements selected exhibit dialectal variation; second, the frequency of appearance of the items involved. In this case I have tried to include items that will make possible the comparison of my results with those of other works of the same nature, especially LALME, which has been used to localise the texts. In general, it would be expected that special emphasis was given to grammatical words of all types in a questionnaire of this kind; however, the size and nature of the poems might not provide a high enough frequency of use to make the inclusion of some of them worthwhile. Alongside those grammatical words, the shared theme of these poems advised the introduction of certain lexical terms which are commonly employed in the lyrics. In this case, those lexical terms have been words like, “lady”, “lord”, “give”, “death”, etc. Apart from the forms obtained through the questionnaire, I have recorded some other elements whose aspect seemed of interest from a dialectal point of view, and which do not correspond to any of the items I surveyed. These I have marked with an asterisk.

The poems have been analyzed grouped by scribal hands, although the results obtained from the questionnaire has been examined for each poem independently in search of possible dialectal incoherences that might suggest a different authorship for them. The outcome of this paper has been compared with the results obtained in LALME. This will provide a view of the changes dialectal isoglosses have undergone in the course of the Middle Ages, and consequently also of the shifts in importance of certain dialects if any has occurred. It will also show which readjustments took place in the highly unstable linguistic systems of the period, as in articles and verbal endings, for example.

This work consists of two main elements. The first one is a study of the individual characteristics of the poems grouped according to the number of scribal hands estimated in the lyrics of TCC 323. For this Carleton Brown's arrangement has been

used, since his is the only one that seems sufficiently reliable. In this analysis I have also tried to discover whether there are divergences in the linguistic features shown by each poem, even those copied down by the same scribe, and the implications that might have with reference to the origin of the poems. This is also related to the classification of scribal techniques described by M. Benskin and Laing (1981). As far as possible I have taken this theory into consideration when examining the results obtained from the poems through each questionnaire. A second perspective of this study consists of the localisation of the poems in individual maps for each scribe. For this I have resorted to LALME as the only means available currently to fulfil this task, bearing in mind that the dialectal distribution of forms has undoubtedly changed between the EME and later ME periods. Tests in extrapolation of results from EME to LME have already been carried out by LALME compilers, and the results were then satisfactory, since they showed the recession of certain forms and some changes in dialectal isoglosses.

2. THE LANGUAGE OF TCC-323

A detailed dialectal classification of the lyrics was not offered in Carleton Brown's edition of the text, even though reference to the dialects of origin was made:

In the case of this material there is less need for such classification inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of the texts belong to the south or south-west. (p.xli)

In the light of recent research, a more informative analysis is possible, perhaps including differentiation of layers of language in each hand's output. This is related to the scribal techniques classified by McIntosh (1963), and which were later refined by Benskin and Laing (1981). McIntosh classifies scribal types in three different groups: a) those who translate the texts they are copying thoroughly, b) those who preserve the language of the original, c) those who half-transform their original. Benskin and Laing (1981) further note that the more common types were a) and c), whereas b) happens less frequently.

Carleton Brown also considers the orality of the transmission of the lyrics an impediment for their dialectological analysis and further localisation of the linguistic variety they represent:

In the case of short poems that circulated orally and were collected from many sources, the study of dialects can hardly be expected to yield very fruitful results. (p.xli)

However, the fact that the lyrics might have circulated orally need not be a hindrance to their dialectal classification, whether they have been faithfully translated from the dialect of the original or present linguistic mixture, since Benskin and Laing have presented us with a methodology to deal with such problems. Moreover, our target is no longer the complete reconstruction of some putative original,

purged of scribal intervention, as it was in the studies and editions of these texts at the beginning of the current century; scribal language is now considered a valid object of inquiry. This same phenomenon might affect the transmission of written materials as well, since MSS copied from scriptorium to scriptorium, and from dialect to dialect may also present linguistic mixture. In this respect too, Benskin's and Laing's⁸ studies regarding scribal translation and *Michsprache* are very important.

The main concern of this article is a detailed dialectal study of the poems grouped according to scribal hands. As I said earlier, Carleton Brown distinguishes four different scribes in the MS. A first step has been the study of individual poems and the comparison of the forms found in them with those used in the other poems by the same scribe. This has enabled me to discover whether there are different layers in the texts that might help determine the original dialect in which the poems were written. A second stage was the localisation of the texts in scribal groups. For both I have been using LALME and have tried to extrapolate a viable location for these texts by comparing their forms with those recorded for the fourteenth century. For each group of poems I present a map locating the main variants of each specific item for dialectal purposes. Thus, I am trying to provide a linguistic profile of the written forms used by each single scribe. Each map will introduce the forms in poems produced by the same hand; where there is doubt regarding the identity of the scribe, I indicate it with a question mark.

2.1. SCRIBE A.

As stated previously, scribe A copied poems 15, 16, 17, 25 and 26 of Carleton Brown's edition; Brown suggests the possibility of poem 18 being by the same hand too, although only tentatively.

2.1.1.

The analysis and localisation of each individual poem has been made in the first instance by relating the forms in these EME lyrics to those presented for the later ME period in LALME; this process may be considered as extrapolation from later evidence. In general, some of the forms present in these texts will either not be included in LALME, or do not show a dialectally distinctive area of usage. So, I will be using forms chosen for their limited range of possible locations, thus not offering a too widespread usage.

The result of the application of some of the forms found in poem 15 was as follows. The form "up-on" is used in the fourteenth century in Nt, Lei, Nht, Wrk; its presence is also recorded in Cam and Nfk, therefore indicating that it is probably a receding form, since certain coalescing dialects do not show their presence. In turn, "louerd" also shows the presence of another *sprachinsel*, since it is used in the north east midlands and in Wrk. "-et" is in the same position as the previous forms, all of which must have had a more widespread usage in the thirteenth century. "bet" and "yef" offer more possibilities for the localisation of this text, since they are restricted to a single dialect, that of the west midlands (they are used in Hrf and Wor, and in Wor respectively).

In poem 16 the situation is somewhat more complicated. The variant "ur" is exclusive in the north to Yk and WRY. "ho" is limited to the west midlands and north. On the contrary, "muchele" is only found in the south west midlands and Ha

and Ex. “leuedi” is not present at all in the west midlands, being confined to Nfk, WRY and Dur (east and north). “yeue” is present in the northern part of the midland dialects, and “-t” seems to be in a similar situation. “-et” only represents the language of Nfk and Wrk. The mapping of this poem might display a somewhat chaotic situation, but the important element here is that it is in the west midlands where more of these forms occur.

Of the forms included in poem 17 “leuedi” is characteristic of the north and east midlands. “hauet” is found both in Nfk and Wrk. “-t” reflects a somewhat erratic distribution, being found in both midland dialects and in the north; it never appears in the south, though. “nul” is restricted to the south west midlands. Two main dialectal blocks are then represented in this text, a northern one introduced by “leuedi” and a south west midland one illustrated by “nul”.

Poem 25 offers more variants that illustrate the dialects involved better. “louerd” indicates a north east midland dialect; however, its presence in Wrk also includes it in the uses of the west midlands. “up-on” is also used in the east midlands, but again it extends as far west as Wrk. The variant “ur” is only recorded for the north; “vre” is in turn only found in the north west midlands. On the contrary, “þau”, “nul”, “nule” and “miste” are only present in the west midlands. “wolte” is used in the west midlands and Bed, and “habben” in the west midlands and south. As can be seen three layers are present in this poem, a northern, a north east midland and a west midland one. The best represented dialect in this lyric is west midlandish, namely the dialect of Wor which is the one that accommodates most of the forms.

The forms used in poem 26 have the following implications. The variants for ‘THEY’, “heo”, “ho” and “ha”, and “þau”, “sculen”, “heden” and “-et” are characteristic of the west midlands (“-et” is also found in Nfk). The same is true of “suc” “hu-” and “lutel”, which also extends to Wlt and Som in the south and Mx in the south east midlands. “-it” is limited to the central part of the midland dialects, Nht and Lei; “-t” seems to introduce a slight northern influence, although it is also found in some northern areas of the west midlands.

The following table shows the possible layers present in each individual poem taking the above evidence as a basis:

SCRIBE A

Poem	15	16	17	25	26
		NORTH	NORTH	NORTH	NORTH
				NORTH/EM	
	WM	WM	WM	WM	WM

As can be seen, the west midland dialect is common to all the poems, with a northern layer observed in all but 15. 25 also shows a north east midland stratum.

2.1.2.

In this section I will try to establish a more specific location for the dialect of scribe A. Although the mapping for the individual poems pointed to a very specific area in the west midlands, it is advisable to analyse the forms for the scribe as a whole. The variants shared by all the poems are: he (masc.), þe, þat, wid, for, was, i, fur-, -e/-is (genit. sg.). If the forms used in at least 4 of the 6 poems copied by scribe

A are included, the list may be augmented by: *i*, *þou*, *þi*, *it*, *is* ('his'), *as*, *ant*, *noust/nout*, *heuene*, *world*, *haue(s)t*, *wor-*, *were(n)*, *is (vb)*, *art*, *mote(n)*, *come*, *yef/yeue/yemme*, *-est* (2nd pres sg), *-et* (3rd pres sg), *-et* (pres pl), *-t* (pp.ending), *-es* (pl ending), *qu-* (OE cw), *-st* (OE ht), *-sc* (OE sc).

All these forms are a very useful body of items to accomplish a linguistic profile of scribe A; however, for the localisation of the texts it would be advisable to include some others firstly, because their frequency is not high enough, secondly, some of them are only included as part of the partial survey in LALME, in which they are restricted either to the northern or to the southern areas, but not to the whole country; and thirdly, some of them are not analysed in LALME. On the other hand, some of the forms in this list that received a generalised survey in LALME present such a widespread use that they are not helpful in establishing a specific localisation. For this reason, I have decided to resort to certain other forms that, although not the ones with a highest frequency, have more diagnostic validity since they do present a much more restricted regional character, as opposed to the more widespread standard uses. At the same time, these provide a much more useful linguistic profile of scribe A. In fact, sometimes they are only secondary forms, and their frequency of use by scribe A himself fairly restricted. One example of this type is the item 'WAS'; the most common form in the poem by scribe A is "was"; however, it is the form "wes", only found in two of his poems, that provides a more useful localisation.

Map 1 is the result of the localisation of a specific area with the help of the dot maps in the LALME. As in the previous section the area in question is situated in the south west midlands. The forms used to pinpoint this area are "muchel(e)", "wes", "hem"/"-am" ('THEM'), "ho"/"ha"/"a" ('THEY'), "scul(-)" and "scal". The forms that restricted the area most were "sc-" for 'SHALL' and "a", "ha" and "ho" for 'THEY', which are localised in Hrf, Wor, and Gl. To these "heden" as the past plural of 'HAVE' must be added, since it is restricted in the south to Hrf, and Wor. Map 2 also offers a clear view of the dialectal area of the texts. Even though forms like "up-on" and "deþe" are extended to the east midlands, the area that accommodates most of the forms and that is highlighted most in the map is that surrounding Hrf, Wor and Gl. Of the forms used in devising this map "-am" is a curious one, since it does not occur as an enclitic form for the fourteenth century.

After checking in the item maps of LALME one single point situated in Wor, near the border with Hrf, matched these texts. This point shows the convergence of several of the forms used by scribe A of TCC 323: "was/wes", "suc", "scal", "wole", "þau", "por(o)u", "selue", "bote", "w-" (OE hw-), "[h]a" and "h[oe]" ('THEY'), etc. Besides, Hrf and Wor are the only counties where "ho" occurs, according to LALME.

To all these forms, I have to add some others that are somewhat unfamiliar, since they are not recorded at all in LALME, or at least not in the specific forms used by scribe A. "up-o" from poem 25 is not registered in LALME. The variant "bo" for 'BY' is not used at all in the northern dialect analysed in the survey of LALME. The variant "fur" does not appear for the preposition 'FOR', however, as a prefix it is considered a characteristic feature of southern dialects. 'MANKIND' is not included as an item in LALME, but 'MON' and 'KIND' are; however, the form used in poem 16 "monkun" is not one of the outcomes of 'KIND' in the fourteenth century. Another rarity is the use of two different variants for 'NIGHT' "naist(e)"

and “nist”. “deet” for ‘DEATH’ is also used here and not recorded for a century later. The same is true for “meist” (‘MAY’). Another variant important for the linguistic profile of scribe A is “vuel” for ‘WELL’, not recorded in LALME. The devoicing of the final plosive in “ant” is another curiosity, although it is fairly frequent in ME. The fact that some of these are not recorded in LALME even though the items to which they belong are included there could be due to the recession of those forms.

A more important outcome has come out from the study of these poems, the presence of *Sprachinseln* or ‘speech islands’ which has also been noted in modern dialectology. However, this does not represent an unsurmountable barrier to dialectological studies. A careful look at the maps will show that the variant “up-on” is found in Nfk and Cam, two counties that are together, and in Nht, Wrk, Lei, and Nt, but it does not appear in the area in between these two blocks, Ru, Pet, Ely, and Hu, thus showing a discontinuation in the dialectal pattern. Again this may be due to the recession of the forms in that area, or possibly too, to the fact that a dialectal survey of Middle English cannot possibly record “all” the forms used in the period, since only those preserved in writing are available to us. Besides, a better knowledge and understanding of the EME society, of its linguistic attitudes and prestigious varieties, is also required for a clear perspective of both the concept of dialect continuum and of this situation in particular. It is obvious that the fact that two linguistic areas are adjacent does not necessarily imply that the physical-geographical connections between them are good. It has already been proved that the linguistic contact between adjacent dialects may be hindered by the presence of geographical accidents or by the lack of a good network of communications, such as roads and canals.

Beside the forms analysed above, the texts written by Scribe A also incorporate others that may be important from a dialectal point of view to compose a clearer linguistic profile. The poem in which they are used is indicated in brackets. They are the following: tre (15), ec (17), awei (17), ar ‘ere’(25), o ‘on’ (25), i ‘in’ (25) soster (25), heued (25), herte (25), summe (25), owene (26), nouþer (26), sterre (26), doest (26). Of these, “tre”, “ec”, “ar”, “o”, “i”, “herte” are not studied in LALME. “heued”, “owene”, “sterre” and “dede” occur in a very widespread area. “doest” does not appear in this form in LALME. “awei” is used in Bed, Bck, Cam, Hu, Nht, Pet, Wrk; “soster” in Cam and Wrk and “nouþer” in Chs, Li, Yks and WRY.

2.1.3. POEM 18.

There is no certainty that scribe A copied down poem 18. The main characteristic features used in this poem and compared with the ones in the other poems by scribe A will help create its linguistic profile as well as enable the localisation of the text. These forms are:

-With regard to the personal pronouns “i” is the only form for ‘I’. The second person pronoun ends in <-v>, as opposed to the rest of the poems that use <-u>, “þov/tov”(when preceded by <-t>). The form “vre” for ‘OURS’ appears here and in poem 25 too. “he/e” are the forms for ‘HE’ that are present in most of the other poems as well. The objective case is represented by “him/im”. As in the two previous examples, ‘IT’ presents variants with and without aspiration, “hit/it”. “heo” and “hem” are the two forms of ‘THEY’ used here, which are also included in poem 26.

- The form “þo” for ‘THOSE’ is shared with poem 15. “þe/þen” are the same forms as in 26. “þat” is the general form in all the poems.
- “muchel(e)” is the same form used in 16. -”suc” is employed both here and in 26.
- “þen ilke” is a form only used in poem 18.
- As with ‘THOU’ and ‘OUR’, ‘NOW’ also introduces the use of <-v> instead of <-u> in “nov”.
- “þo”, “to” are the forms for ‘THEN/WHEN’; the first is also used in 26.
- “as” is the same in all the poems except 26.
- It is the only one to show variation between “wid” and “mit”, the rest of the poems only use the form “wid”.
- Poem 18 is the only one to use the variant “ac” for the item ‘BUT’.
- The form “stude” is also used in poem 25.
- The variant “þonc” is used here and in 16 with a double <-n>.
- A secondary form “swote” for ‘SWEET’ appears only in this poem.
- Poem 18 is the only one in which the variant “sculde” occurs.
- “heden” is shared by 18 and 26. “mowen” is the form for ‘MAY’ and it is only employed here.

Accordingly, from a first impression it might be concluded that poem 18 belongs to the same dialect as that used in the other lyrics, since it shares some of the variants most restricted geographically. However, certain other forms are exclusive to this text and must be carefully analysed and localised to ensure a proper dialectal identification of the linguistic profile of this text.

Map 3 has been devised taking the forms “vre”, “yov”, “tou”, “mowen”, “nov”, “þe ilke”, “ym”, “ac” and “sunnes”. Of these “yov”, “tou”, “þe ilke” and “ym” are not recorded in this poem as such, but in similar forms: “þov”, “tov”, “im” and “þen ilke”.

At first sight, poem 18 seems to present two layers from two different dialects: forms like “vre”, “yov” and “tou” (also used in poems 25 and 26) suggest a northern or north east midland dialect. On the other hand, forms like “sunnes” and in general the ones it shares with the other lyrics by scribe A, are characteristic of the west midlands and the south west areas. “ac” in LALME is only found in the Sal area. “mowen” seems to be a form general in the midlands (east and west). However, a curious form is “nov”, present, according to the county dictionary of LALME, both in Sal, La, and Nfk, the two extremes of the midland dialects. This might suggest a recession in its use from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, and the examples recorded in LALME may only be relict forms.

Other interesting forms are: brovste, brovtest, siþe, eke, slo, ble, tre. Of these only “siþe” is found in LALME, in two non-coalescing areas: Hrf and Wor on the one hand, and Cam, Ely, Ex, Hu, Mx, Nht, Ox, Pet and Sur on the other.

2.2. SCRIBE B.

Scribe B is the most prolific of the scribes that participated in the production of TCC 323. According to Carleton Brown’s clasification he copied seven poems, numbers 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28 and 29; to these he added another group, whose scribal identity was uncertain, but which were possibly copied down by the same hand. This last group was formed by poems 32, 33, 34 and 38. His poems are also some of the

longest lyrics in this MS, and present a wide variety of forms. I will analyse them in two different groups assembled depending on whether the identity of the scribe is established without doubt or not.

2.2.1.

As in the case of scribe A, the individual poems will be analysed taking selected forms as a base; nevertheless, some of the poems, as 21 and 27, do not show a sufficient number of variants with a domain of use sufficiently limited.

Poem 21 has a very short body, with only six lines, which does not provide many forms for the analysis of its dialect. Five forms have been included. Even though “min” is only found in three different places, each of them represents three distinct dialects: north, west midland and east midland. “haue” can be found in the north and east midlands as well as in the south. “sul” is only used in Li according to LALME, “sule” in Nt, and “wow” in Nfk, all of which relate the dialect of this poem strongly to the north east midlands.

Of the variants included in poem 22, “-chipe” can be found in several dialects, although it tends to be localised in the north part of the midlands, both east and west. The same happens with “-t”. Three places are delimited by the remaining forms: “þurru” and “iyefin” can only be found in Wor; “hau” is used exclusively in La, and “wrcchipe” in Hu. Thus the three areas represented here are west midland, east midland and north. The strongest tendency, though, seems to be for the west midlands, since four of the forms mapped are found in coalescing areas there.

In the localisation of poem 23 the areas highlighted by my results are only two: east midlands and west midlands. The east midlandish character is added by the use of “wrcchipe” in Hu; together with this, other forms like “worchipe” and “sulen” are found; however, the west midlands are better represented, since the dialect of Wor includes forms like “sulen” (also used in Nfk), “hawe”, “hoe”, “nulli” and “beit”. “-chipe” is also recorded in the area surrounding Wor, namely Wrk and Stf.

As in the case of poem 21, the forms suitable for a localisation of the dialect of poem 27 are very restricted in number. Only three have been included. “leuedi” represents the area of Nfk in the east midlands and WRY, NRY and Yk in the north. “gef” may appear in the west midlands, the east midlands and the north, and “ard” is specific of Wor.

Poem 24 offers a greater number of possibilities, and restricts more the dialectal areas to which this poem associates. It shows clearly that the area of Wor and surrounding regions include the greatest number of variants. Some forms such as “ha” (‘SHE’), “huic”, “þurru”, “þuru”, “ard” and “iyeuene” are exclusive to it. Others are also found exclusively in Wor or surrounding regions, like “hou” in Stf, “ha” (‘THEY’) in Wor and Ox, “hoe” in Gl, Wor, Hrf and Ox, “þenne” in Hrf, “tuei” in Som, Wlt and Wor, etc. A different stratum seems to be represented by examples only located in the east midlands, such as “her”, “yeue”, “haut”, etc. Others seem to be pointing northwards, although some are also found in the northern part of the east midlands, like “-de”, “-herd”, “hold”, “leuedi”, “lauedi”, “þo”, “ure”, etc.

As in poem 24, the west midland dialects are recognised at first sight as representing an important part of the forms used in 28. Again Wor is the region that comprises more variants exclusively, like “huc”, “sculen” and “beoit”; others are also used in the surrounding regions and Wor only, such as “hi” (Hrf), “hou” (Stf), “heo” ‘THEY’ (Sal, Stf, Hrf, Wor, Gl, Ox), “ho” (Hrf, Wor), “ha” (Wor, Ox), “monie”

(Gl, Hrf, Wor), “louered” (Wrk), “heouene” (Sal), etc. “ure” (WRY) and “-herd” (Wmld) and “-t” represent a northern stratum, “-i<n>ge” is typical of the east midlands.

Similar to 24 and 28 is the linguistic situation of poem 29. Together with a very strong west midland stratum this text represents forms from the east midlands and the north. As can be seen in the plotting of its forms, the area that comprises most forms exclusively is Wor and surrounding regions; forms like the following are only found there according to the records in LALME: “ig” (Wor), “heo” ‘THEY’ (Sal, Stf, Hrf, Wor, Gl, Ox), “mukil” (Sal, Wor), “þau” (Gl, Wor), “þenne” (Hrf), “ac” (Sal), “nulle” (Gl, Hrf, Sal, Som, Wor), “boit” ‘IS’ (Wor), “ard” (Wor), “boit” ‘ARE’ (Wor) and “bernen” (Hrf). Typically east midlandish are: “uppon” (Cam, Lei, Nht), “haut” (Nfk), “mou” (Cam, Nfk) and “-it” (Lei, Nht). Exclusively northern are: “ure” (WRY), “hu” (WRY). Some other forms are used both in northern and east midland dialects: “nu” (Nfk, WRY) and “salt” (Nht and WRY).

Obviously then, this poem presents a strong west midland character combined with a less strong east midland one. A hint of a northern dialect is also detectable. The same is true of the rest of the poems by scribe B, with the sole exception of 21, explainable for the lack of forms available for its dialectal analysis.

SCRIBE B

Poem	21	22	23	27	24	28	29
	EM/NORTH	EM	EM	EM/NORTH	EM	EM	EM
		NORTH			NORTH	NORTH	NORTH
		WM	WM	WM	WM	WM	WM

2.2.2.

The only forms shared by at least six of the seven poems are: þu, þine, þat, wid, i- (pp.prefix), -t- (OE ht). More interesting from the dialectal point of view, however, are the following: hi, hic, ig, ic; hou; a, ha, hoe (‘SHE’); hoe, ha, heo, ho (‘THEY’); heore, heir (‘THEY’); boþen, bo; monie; mukil; huic, huc, uche; euer- uihon, heuer-huic on; lutel, etc.

These have been used to locate the texts in a map with the help of the county dictionary of LALME. Map 4 shows the localisation of the texts. In it I include some pronominal forms as a basis. They all present a fairly restricted area of occurrence. As in the case of scribe A, the regions that are characterised by the use of the majority of these variants are Hrf, Gl and fundamentally Wor. The form “heir” only found in Cambridge and Kent could posit a problem had it not been for the presence of a similar form “heir{e}” in Hrf, which represents a much more acceptable possibility in the context of a dialect continuum than “heir”.

But the pronouns are not the only items that can show something about the dialectal identity of this scribe. Many other forms are so restricted from a geographical point of view that they also confer a strong dialectal character to the texts, as can be seen in maps 4 and 5. In fact, scribe B introduces many forms in his script that distinguish him from A, although scribes C and D seem to share some of them; however, he shares the main body of forms with A.

The evidence obtained from these maps proves that, just as the texts produced by scribe A, these were also copied in a dialect from the south west midlands, in the area surrounding Wor; in fact, one specific point in the area of Wor presents many of

the forms in question if we use the item maps of LALME as a reference point. It is precisely the same point as in the case of scribe A (see map 5). This place comprises forms like: ho, he, ha, hoe, heo 'THEY'; des 'THESE'; ho, a, hoe, ha, heo 'SHE'; hire, hir 'HER'; hem; heore, here, hore 'THEIR'; uche, huic, huc-; mony, monie; muchel(e), muche, mukil; beet, beoit, beit, boit, boet; was, wes; sal, scal sculen, sulen; wole, wille, wil, wollet (pl); þau; ne, nout; world; mitte, michte; þurru, þuru; wenne, wen, do; -inde; bote; chireche; fuir, fur; lutel; seluen; togedere and tuei, tuo. These are roughly the forms used by scribe B.

Other unfamiliar forms are used in these poems. The first ones are "yeure" and "ge oure", which are not recorded in LALME as such. The same happens with the voicing of the final plosive in "id", which is only used as an enclitic form in the fourteenth century. To these we have to add the presence of "þo" for 'THOUGH', a variant used in LME in Brk, Lei and La, and a clear example of *Sprachinsel*.

Beside these, there are cases like 'LADY', the form "lauedi" is recorded in LALME for La, Nfk and WRY; the form "leuedi" is found in Dur, Nfk, Yks and WRY, whereas "lehedi" and "leuedye" do not appear at all. A similar case is found in 'HEAVEN', the form "heuene" is found in a wide range of dialects, the presence of "heouene-" and "houene" has not been attested altogether in LALME. Another interesting fact is the variation between "nicst" and "nist". "serrue/serue" are not recorded in LALME, maybe because this item was only studied in the northern dialects. The noun 'WILL' is written with initial <v> in one instance. "miththe" is not exemplified in LALME; the same happens with "verrin" since the survey of 'WERE' only includes northern dialects.

The most outstanding effects on the language of this scribe are produced by three different phenomena: the presumed devoicing of the voiced velar plosive in the cluster <ng>, for instance "lonke", "tunke", "þinc", "stronke", etc; the use of <i-> presumably as a mark of length in "wroinc", "reid", "teit", etc; the inferred addition of initial aspiration to words where it does not belong etymologically, already attested in southern dialects for LME: "herre", "hasse", "hoit", "hend", "hold", "hi", etc. and the combination of the last two "gohid" and "fehidi". Contributing to this is also the confusion f/v/w/u in cases with the same word written with two of these consonants: "weder/feder", "woule/voule", etc.

From the dialectal point of view the fact that the same item may present up to four different variants is also important. This happens, as has been seen, with pronouns, and also with conjunctions like 'AS' and 'WHEN', prepositions ('UPON'), etc. A high frequency of variation shows either that the text was created in a transitional area (and the presence of forms like "vour/foure", "veir/faire", "fir-/fur-/for", etc seems to suggest so), or that the text is the result of dialect mixture, that is, 'mischsprachen' (and again the presence of forms like "lauedi/leuedi", "-chipe", and "haliday" together with "fur-", "þorild", "fuir", "holie", etc seem to indicate this other possibility). In the case of these texts both perspectives may have combined and they may be result of the merging of a transitional dialect area in the south west midlands with certain northern features.

Other forms found in these poems though not included in the questionnaire are: buten (22), suo (24), owen (sg) (24), adun (24), y-nou (24), neur (24), er (24), o/oo 'ever' (24), modir (24), herte (24, 27), bend (24), herde (24), dude (24), worþen (24), bueten (24), efter (28), bi-tuenen (28), watir (28), werrec (28), ermes (28), fadeir (28), o 'on' (29), treo (29), freo (29), beo (29), bloe (29), cnoe (29), lude (29), fundene (29), baþe (29), slouþe (29). Many of these are studied in LALME, of

them the following present a very widespread geographical location: owen, er, modir, dude and efter. “adun” is not recorded with a single vowel <u> in LALME; “fadeir” is not present in this form either. Some other forms are found in more delimited areas such as: “neuuir” (Dur, Lei, Li, Nfk, Nht, Wrk, WRY), “y-nou” (Hu), “wrec” (Wor). The form “bi-tuenen” is not found in LALME, but the similar one “bituene” is recorded in WRY.

2.3. SCRIBE ?B?

The other poems presumably written by scribe B are number 32, 33, 34 and 38. At first sight it is obvious that they do present less variation than the previous group, however, a thorough study of each form is required to establish any direct relationship with the other group. The first step in establishing the connections between both groups will be the localisation of these poems too. Again I will try to do this taking specific forms that present a restricted geographical setting in LALME and by checking later on against the item maps for LME.

2.3.1.

The possible localisation for poem 32 is again the same as in the previous cases. Forms from at least three different dialects can be found. From the west midlands, variants such as the following are used: “hid” (Wor), “heo” ‘THEY’ (Gl, Hrf, Ox, Sal, Stf, Wor), “þurut” (Wor), “þau” (Wor, Gl), “sulin” (Wor), “yef” (Dvn, Hrf, Wor). Exclusively northern forms are: “ure” (WRY), “ur” (Yks, WRY), “ar” (Dur). Others are found both in the north and in the north east midlands: “mine” (Nfk, WRY), “vel” (Nfk, ERY), “nu” (Nfk, WRY), “lauedi” (La, Nfk, WRY), “det” (Nfk, ERY, WRY), “-in” ‘pres. pl.’ (Cam, Ely, Nfk, Nht, Sfk, WRY). Examples only found in the east midland regions are: “-it” ‘3rd pres. sg.’ (Cam, Ely, Lei, Nfk, Nht, sfk, Wrk) and “-it” ‘pres. pl.’ (Lei, Nht).

One form, “arrin”, is exclusively found in Wor in LALME. “þau” is used in Gl and Wor, and these are the only ones that link this text to the west midlands. Other forms point to a northern or north east midland origin: “mine” (Nfk, WRY), “hewene” (Nfk, WRY). “fles”, “þo” and “min” are found in the three of them.

Only three variants in poem 34 could be used. “sunne” is restricted to the west midlands and south, and “-inde” is found both in the west and the east midlands. “luue” is restricted to WRY.

As before, poem 38 also seems to present forms exclusive to three different dialects. “bet” is found in the west midlands and south in Dvn, Ex, Ha, Kt, Ox, Sx, Wor; “suic” is exclusive to Wor. The variant “heuin” is only recorded in LALME for Yks and WRY. From the east midlands are “up-on” (Cam, Lei, Nfk, Nht, Nt, Wrk) and “hautit” (Nfk); extended both to the north and the north east midlands are “tu” and “nu”.

The dialectal strata used by scribe B? remains then as follows:

SCRIBE B?

Poem	32	33	34	38
	EM	EM	EM	EM
	NORTH		NORTH	NORTH
	WM	WM	WM	WM

2.3.2.

A localisation of the language of scribe B? in general, and not restricted to the individual poems, has been carried out using the following forms: ic, hid, hire, heo ('THEY'), hem, þo, vel, þurut, þau, up-on, nu, heuin, hewene, det ('DEATH'), sulin, sunnis/sunne/sunin, serue, world, abbe/habe/haut/ab, mit, arrin, yef/yif/yaf, wecche, wepinde, heyin, herþe, dot. However, of these, 'HEAVEN', 'UPON', 'DEATH', 'ARE', 'GIVE' and 'EARTH' were studied only in northern dialects, and 'DO' only in southern ones.

The resulting map (map 6) highlights three main areas in which to situate these texts. The first and most important one is the area of Wor and surrounding counties. This connects this group of poems to the rest of the poems by scribes A and B. Probably this is the area in which these poems were copied down. The other two areas are interrelated and represent a northern and north east midland dialect each. Most important of all for the localisation of these lyrics is the fact that forms like "arrin", "sulin", "hid", "þurut", etc. are only found in the dialect of Wor in the fourteenth century.

From the evidence given above one might conclude that this second group of poems attributed to scribe B were certainly written in the same area; however, whether they were copied by the same person or not is still uncertain since the data obtained is not strong enough in one direction or the other.

Other forms that may contribute to establish the linguistic profile of this scribe are also found in these poems. The form "þo" for 'THE' is used in poem 33; this item is only studied in the north for LME, and its area of occurrence is Bed, Chs, Dby, La, Lei, Li, Nfk, Nt, Sal, Stf and WRY. The item 'THAT' was not included in the LALME, here, as well as in the poems copied by scribe A, it presents voicing of the final consonant "þad". Not included in LALME either is 'WITH', that is used together with "mid" by this scribe. Three variants of 'AND' are employed in poem 32, "and", "ant", "ond". Also worth mentioning are the two forms for 'MAN-KIND', "moncunene" and "monkine", neither of which appear in the LALME, where 'KIND' is only studied for the south. "nith" shows a curious development of OE <ht>. "serue" is not recorded for LME either. Another item that presents different variants in the script of this scribe is 'FAIR', which shows the forms "fayre", "faire" and "waire" here.

Even more interesting is the use of forms like "ab" ('HAVE'), "mit" ('MAY') and "wecche" ('FETCH'-only studied in the south), which are not recorded in LALME for the following century. 'FETCH' is recorded as a "-cch(-)" in southern and south midland dialects; the form "vecche" is common in Brk, Gl, Hrf and Wlt in LALME. An important feature too is the use of <c/k> instead of <g> in forms such as "þinc", "kinc", "suonken", "honkit", "honket", "lonke", etc. This feature is also characteristic of the other group of poems written by scribe B, the only other poem characterised by it is poem 31 by scribe D; scribes A and C do not show it at all. Other unfamiliar forms used here are "wed" ('FEET'), "owir-weint", with confusion of <v> and <w> and inclusion of <i> as a mark of length, "ve" for 'WE', etc. To these must be added those that incorporate an initial unetymological <h-> in "heuir", "heuer-", "hore", "hondin", etc. Finally, I must mention the case of "heyin", 'EYES', not recorded in LALME either. "abutun" is a form not included in my questionnaire that does not show a final <n> in LALME.

2.4. SCRIBE C.

Scribe C is the copyist of poems 14, 19, 20, and 30. In general, the poems he produced are shorter than the ones copied by scribes A and B. This may be the reason why none of the forms obtained from his script is found in all the poems.

2.4.1.

The forms that represent the uses of poem 14 are the following: þisse, agein, nu, þenne, euel, salt, sul, -it (pres. pl.). Among them, “þisse” ‘THESE’ is found in Ely and Gl; “euel” is in a similar position reflecting both east and west midland dialects. Exclusively from the east midlands is “-it” (Lei, Nht). “sul” is only recorded for Li in LALME. “þenne” only in Hrf, and “agein” in the west midlands and south. Thus, three dialects are again used in this poem.

As in the previous case, three dialectal layers are discovered for poem 19. The northern one is represented by the use of “fif” (Chs, Yks, ERY, WRY and Wig). An east midland one is introduced by the use of “-it” ‘3rd pres. sg.’ in Cam, Ely, Lei, Nfk, Nht, Sfk and Wrk. The west midlands are reflected with the presence of “fleise” (Wor) and “ou” (Chs, Stf); also from the west midlands is “selve”, although it is also recorded for Ha in LALME. “sine” and “salt” can refer both to the east midlands or the north.

The west midland dialect is still the best exemplified one in poem 20 as well as in the rest, with forms such as: “þenne” (Hrf), “huvel” (Wor), “boit” (Wor), “munde” (Gl, Hrf, Som, Wor) and “verk-” (Brk, Wor). One single form links this text to the north “ve<re>” recorded in LALME for Yks; some other forms refer both to the north and the east midlands: “nou” (Cam, Hu, Li, Nfk, Nht, Nt, Stf, Wrk, Yks, WRY) and “salt” (Nht, WRY). Exclusive to the east midlands are “haut” (Nfk) and “-it” ‘3rd pres. sg.’ (Cam, Ely, Lei, Nfk, Nht, Sfk). This last form is also found in a coalescing area of the west midlands, Wrk.

Poem 30 is a very short text, and only four forms have been useful in its dialectal classification. Three of those four forms are west midland variants: “þenne” (Hrf), “worild” (Wor), “ssulen” (Gl). The fourth is an east midland form, “-it” ‘3rd pres. sg.’ (Cam, Ely, Lei, Nfk, Nht, Sfk, Wrk).

The dialectal strata of scribe C remains then as follows:

SCRIBE C

Poem	14	19	20	30
	EM	EM	EM	EM
		NORTH	NORTH	NORTH
	WM	WM	WM	WM

2.4.2.

The forms shared by at least three of the four poems are: ic, þu, þi, þat, wel, þenne, salt, wor-, is, nis, -it (3rd pres sg), i- (pp. prefix), -es (pl. of nouns), -i- (length mark), w- (OE hw), s(s) (OE sc), u/i (OE y). However, as in the previous cases, certain sporadic forms used in a very restricted number of poems offer a clearer linguistic profile of scribe C. Some of them are also very useful for the localisation of the language of this scribe since they present a more restricted geographical location.

The use of dot maps has helped demarcate the area of provenance to the Midlands and south through the application of terms such as: “pisse” (pl.), “ssulen”, “sal(t)”, “wordis”, “bopin”, “churche”, etc. A fairly delimited area is obtained from the application of certain terms to the dot maps. These variants are “bouen”, “ou”, and “huvel”; their point of contact is situated around Wrk and Lei. However, other forms checked against the data contained in the county dictionary of LALME offer a slightly different outcome. “sul” is found in the north and north east midlands in dialects that coalesce. Besides, it is also found in the fourteenth century in two other dialects that have no physical/geographical contact with the previous ones: Stf and Wor. Also northern are forms like “verkis” (although it is also found in Wor), “treve” and “ou”. On the contrary, “ssulen” is only found in the area of Wor and Gl, whereas “fleise”, “huvel” and “boit” are only used in Wor. “pisse” can only be found in Gl and Ely, and variants like “cunde” (Hrf, Gl, Brk) and “munde” (Hrf, Wor, Gl, and Som) are limited to the south west midlands. Map 7 has been devised as before following the county dictionary; in it we can observe that the forms most limited geographically speaking relate the texts to the west midlands, as in previous cases, to the area surrounding Wor, Hrf, and Gl, although some of the forms present a generalised use in the eastern area too. However, no specific location has been found in the item maps to match all, or at least most of the forms used in these texts. This situation may have arisen from the fact that chronological differences exist between the LALME data and the texts I am dealing with, since receding forms may be involved in this. Another possibility is that the texts present dialect mixture and therefore cannot be positioned in a specific point without much more intensive analysis, not possible within the confines of this paper.

Many curious forms are found in the script of this scribe. The voicing of <f> in “vul”, typical of southern dialects, is noteworthy. Besides, there is also the occurrence of words such as “lot”, “sout”, “norit”, and “forit” in which <þ> has become <ʰ>. “forit” and “norit” also record the presence of an epenthetic vowel in the form of <i>. The addition of unetymological <h-> at the beginning of “hever” and “her” is also commonly southern. On the contrary the presence of <-i-> as mark of length in words such as “goid”, “deit”, “feid”, “fleise”, “seint” is a feature traditionally considered typical of northern provenance. In poem 20 the combination of an added <-h-> and <-i-> is used in “clohit”. The only explanation for this feature would be proposing a much wider area of occurrence in earlier periods, which would expand its location to the midlands and probably the south as well in EME. Another interesting feature is the use of <v> were <w> would be expected, as in “treve”, “vonien”, “vriten”, “vrend”, “verkis”. Of these, “treve” is found in LALME in Li, Nfk, Cu and ELth. On the contrary, “verkis” is found in Wor and Brk. “vrend” is not recorded in LALME, and “vonien” and “vriten” are not included in their questionnaire. Other interesting forms are “nicste” and “horþe” (which is not recorded for the fourteenth century either). It is also worth noting the presence of “fir-” as the variant of the prefix ‘FOR-’, even though as a preposition ‘FOR’ is used by this scribe with the vowel <o>.

Other interesting forms are: bropir, duden, deit, dunne, teket, buten, messe, horte, lude, woremes, aftir/after, don, turuf. Of these, “dunne” is not used in LALME with double <nn>; the localisation of those present in LALME is as follows: “bropir” is found in Bed, Cam, Ely, Hu, Lei, Nfk, Nht, Nt, Sal, Pet, WRY; “duden” in Brk, Ex, Ox, Sal, Stf, Wrk; “deit” in Wor, and “after” in Wor and WRY.

2.5. SCRIBE D.

The only poem copied by scribe D is number 31. It is a poem of 6 stanzas of 4 lines each. It is characterised by the presence of many unusual forms; one of them, “chid”, “chide” for ‘CHILD’ is supposedly characteristic of this text. An interesting contribution to the linguistic profile of scribe D can be obtained from the following forms, which were not included in the questionnaire:

*suic	’such’
*ec	’also’
*sot-hent	’siþen’
*arre	’before’
*ar	’always’
*biforen	’before’
*broste	’breast’

2.5.1.

The forms recorded in this poem seem to represent two different layers, one with forms relating it to the west midlands, as in the case of the rest of the scribes, and another that points towards a north or north east midland dialect. Map 8 has been devised with the help of the county dictionary of LALME; in it forms like “sunne” and “hauede” connect the language of this scribe with the west midlands and south. “hauede” is only found in the fourteenth century as a relict form in Dvn and Wor. A similar situation in which several dialects appear as ‘Sprachinseln’ is seen in the variant “halle” (La and Chs in the north and Wrk in the midlands) and in “louerd” (NRY, WRY, Li, Nfk in the north and north east midlands and Wrk in the west midlands). Also unusual is the presence in this text of the form “nu” restricted to WRY in LALME, which also happens with “vre” and of “hure” only found in ERY in the fourteenth century. A similar example is “ches” used in NRY, WRY, Li, and Nfk. On the other hand, “mitte” is restricted to Wor.

Other forms that characterise the linguistic profile of scribe D are interesting because they have not been recorded in LALME for a century after this poem was written. One of them is the use of “id” for ‘IT’, only recorded as an enclitic form in the fourteenth century. Two forms are registered for ‘WITH’, “wit” and “uid”, with <t> and <d> respectively for OE <þ>. “uit-” in the preposition ‘WITHOUT’ is also a rarity since this item is never recorded with an initial <u> for the fourteenth century.

Another unfamiliar feature is the use of initial <h-> in “hand” for the conjunction ‘AND’. “boten” is not included in the LALME as a variant of ‘BUT’ either. The form “-kinne” in the word ‘MANKIND’ and “cunne” for ‘KIND’ are employed by scribe D, although no example of them is preserved in the fourteenth century. The variant “uas” for ‘WAS’ is also restricted to this text. The pronoun ‘WE’ presents an unexpected realisation in the variant “wue”. The item ‘OUT’ is only studied for the north, and there no example of the form “hut” is found in the 14th century; the same happens with “sout”, also used by scribe C.

Other forms of interest are: ec, sot-hent, arre, ar, biforen, broste. “sot-hent” is located in Wor in LALME, “arre” in Li and Ox, and “biforen” (only studied in northern dialects) in Stf.

3. CONCLUSION

The localisation of the language of this manuscript as deduced from the outcome of the present analyses is related to three different EME dialects. The three strata found are: East Midland, present in some, but not all the scribes that make up TCC 323; Nothern, a layer shared by all the scribes, but not detected in the totality of the poems; and finally, West Midland, attested in every scribe and poem, and probably the variety of the scriptorium where the MS was produced. The evidence seems to indicate that the location of that scriptorium might be in the Worcester area. This is also supported by the fact that Worcester was at that moment, as well as later in the period, an important scriptorial centre whose production of English texts is well known. The thirteenth century is also a moment when attempts to strengthen the interest in the vernacular were undertaken in the scriptoria of Worcester, and these led many scribes to attempt the study of the language spoken in England in previous periods, as has been recently proved by C. Franzen (1991). The northern layer might be the result of *michsprache* and is probably the dialect found in the original text from which this MS was copied.

The possibilities of study in this field remain open for more intensive work. One viable course would be the examination of the recessive features detected in this paper, but further scrutiny of both this and other materials from the same period would be needed in order to have a more extensive and clearer view of the linguistic situation, at that time.

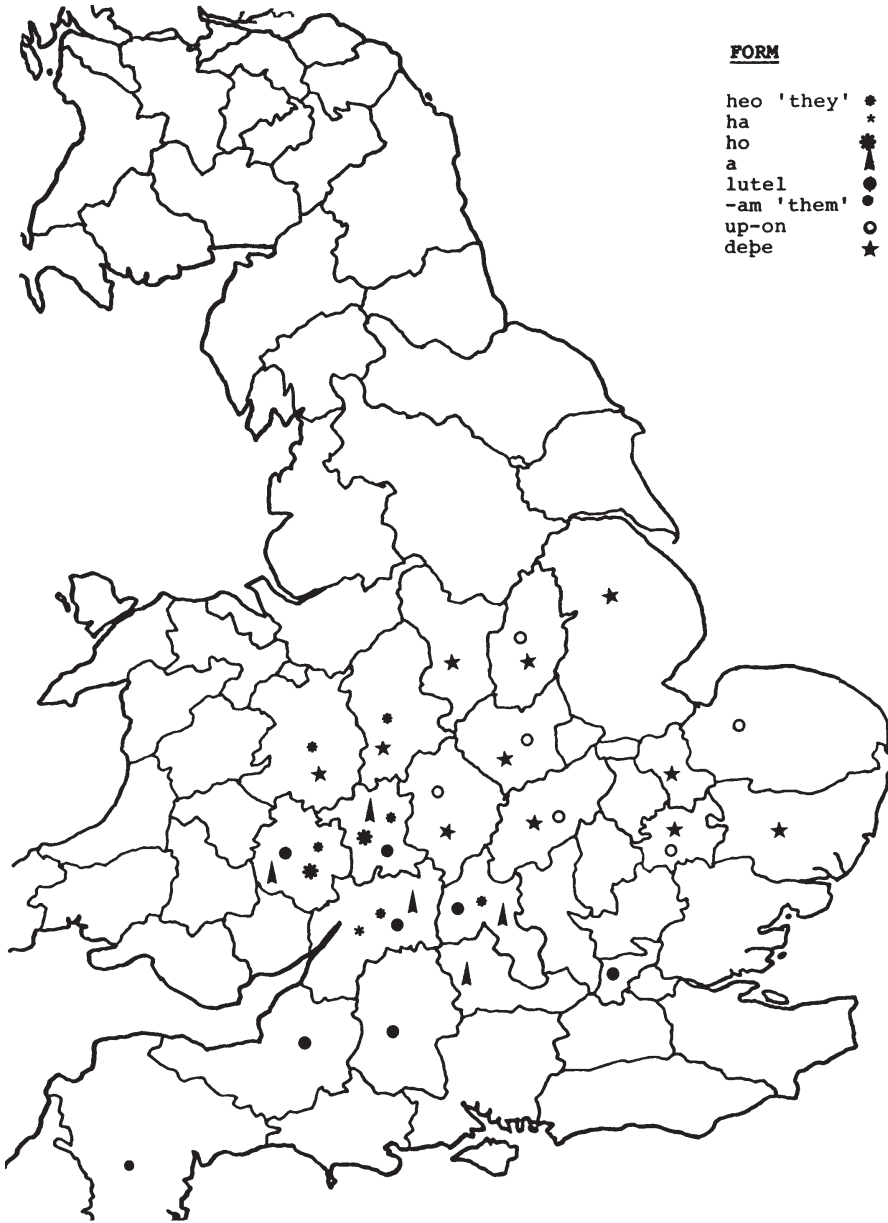
Notes

1. The lack of a clearly delimited time span has been one of the criticisms imposed on traditional dialectological studies. This opinion was shared by A. McIntosh (1989) in relation to a well-known traditional survey on ME dialects, the one completed by Moore, Meech and Whitehall: “[Thirdly], they worked with a too wide chronological spread, using thirteenth century (and even occasionally twelfth century) material side by side with texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in this way linguistic differences due to chronological factors were confused with genuine dialectal (what I call diatopic as distinct from diachronic) differences, to the considerable confusion of the whole study.”
2. This state of affairs in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been described by Pearsall (1977): “We can assume that they gathered together in these volumes songs to sing, stories and treatises to read aloud, verse-sermons, exempla and proverbs to incorporate in sermons, as well as a great store of other useful things, but that they sometimes copied in poems interesting for their own sake.” (p.95).
3. Carleton Brown refers in the introduction to his edition of these lyrics to what he considers to be the earliest example of [a] secular lyric. It is a poem copied in the margins of “fol. 25ro. in Royal 8. D. xiii”, and even though the description of the MS in the catalogue ascribes it to the twelfth century, “On paleographical and linguistic grounds, however, one would judge that they were written shortly after 1200.”
4. R. Woolf (1968), following R.H. Robbins, ‘The Authors of the Middle English Religious Lyrics’, J.E.G.Ph. xxxix (1940), 230-8, maintains that “Lyrics first appear in quantity, and in the body of the text, not in the margins, in manuscripts that were preaching-notebooks of the friars.”
5. For a reference to some other MSS in which these poems may also be found see Carleton Brown (1932), p.xxii.

6. For further details on this situation see M. Clanchy (1979). Luis Iglesias Rábade (1992) also gives a very complete report on the linguistic situation of England at the time.
7. Clanchy (1979:154): "English, French and Latin performed distinct social and intellectual functions in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. No one language could serve all the diverse purposes required because their struggle for dominance was still undecided." Iglesias Rábade (1992:18) states that: "Los normandos introdujeron su lengua, como medio de expresión oral, en todos los ámbitos desde los que ejercían oficialmente el poder, aunque el latín mantuvo su posición de privilegio en la comunicación escrita hasta la segunda mitad del s.XIII, siendo incluso requerido como medio de expresión coloquial en el seno de las comunidades religiosas y centros de instrucción universitarios. A partir de 1250, es el francés, y no precisamente el inglés, el que paulatinamente reemplaza al latín en la comunicación escrita oficial y privada."
8. McIntosh (1989) offers his classification of scribes depending on the way they handle the translation of the texts they are copying, and shows that linguistic mixture is no impediment for a proper dialectal study.

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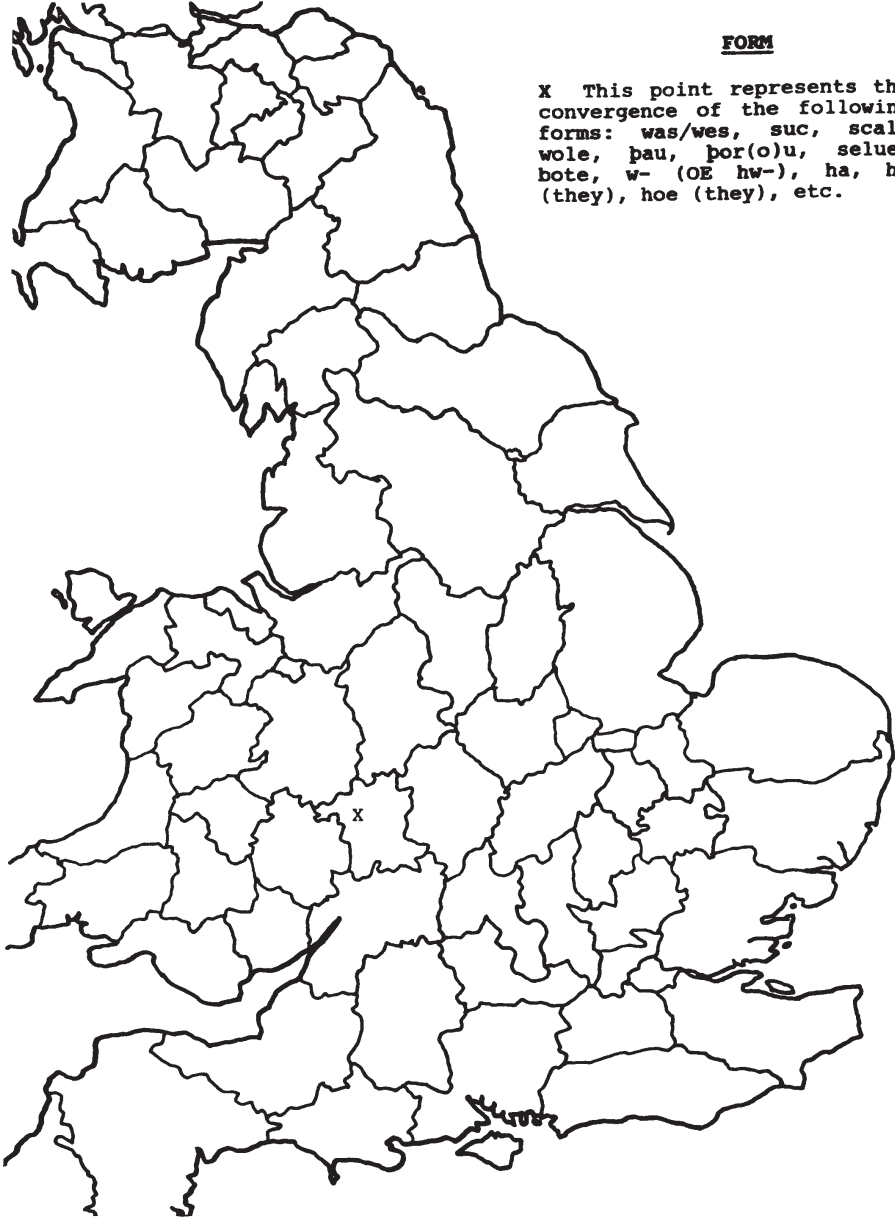
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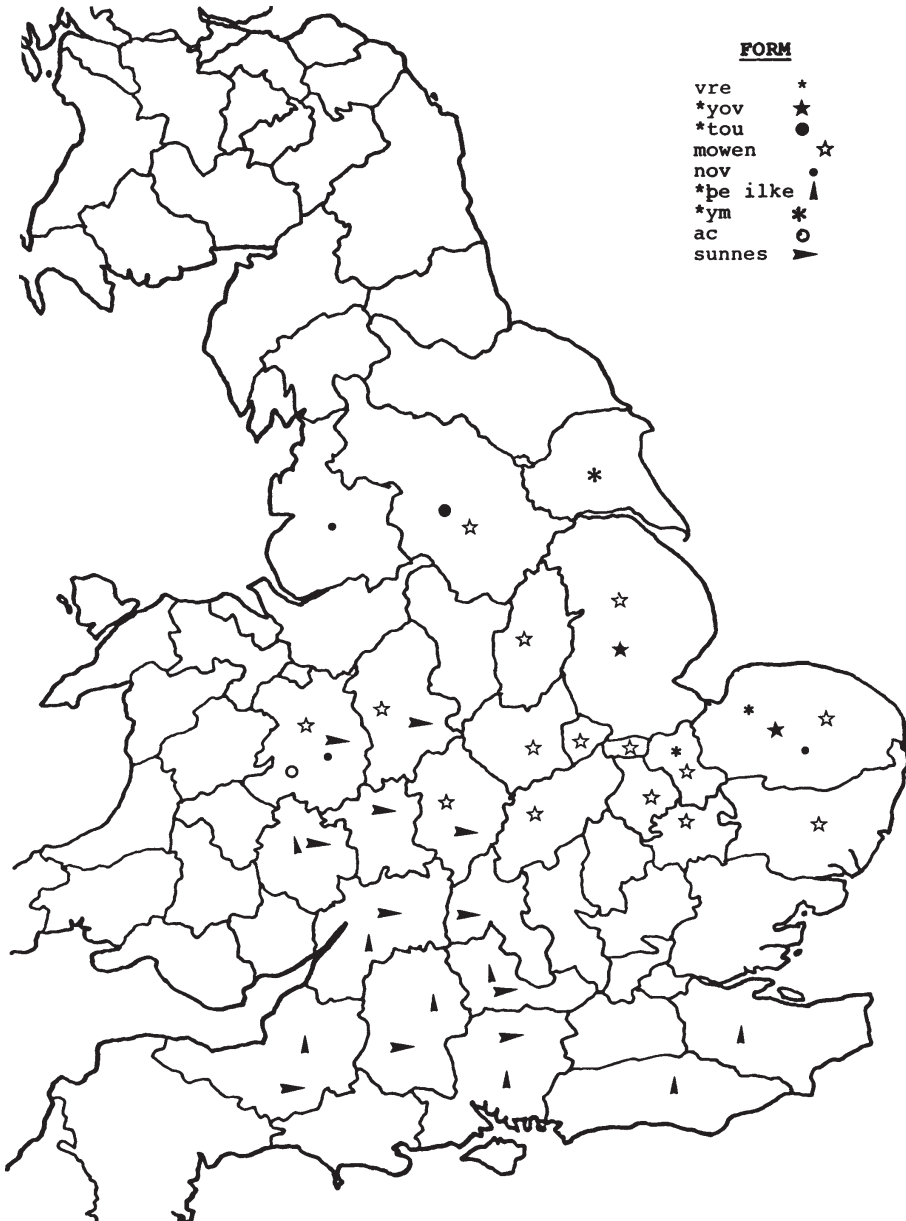


FORM

- heo 'they' ●
- ha *
- ho ●★
- a ▲
- lutel ●
- am 'them' ●
- up-on ○
- depe ★

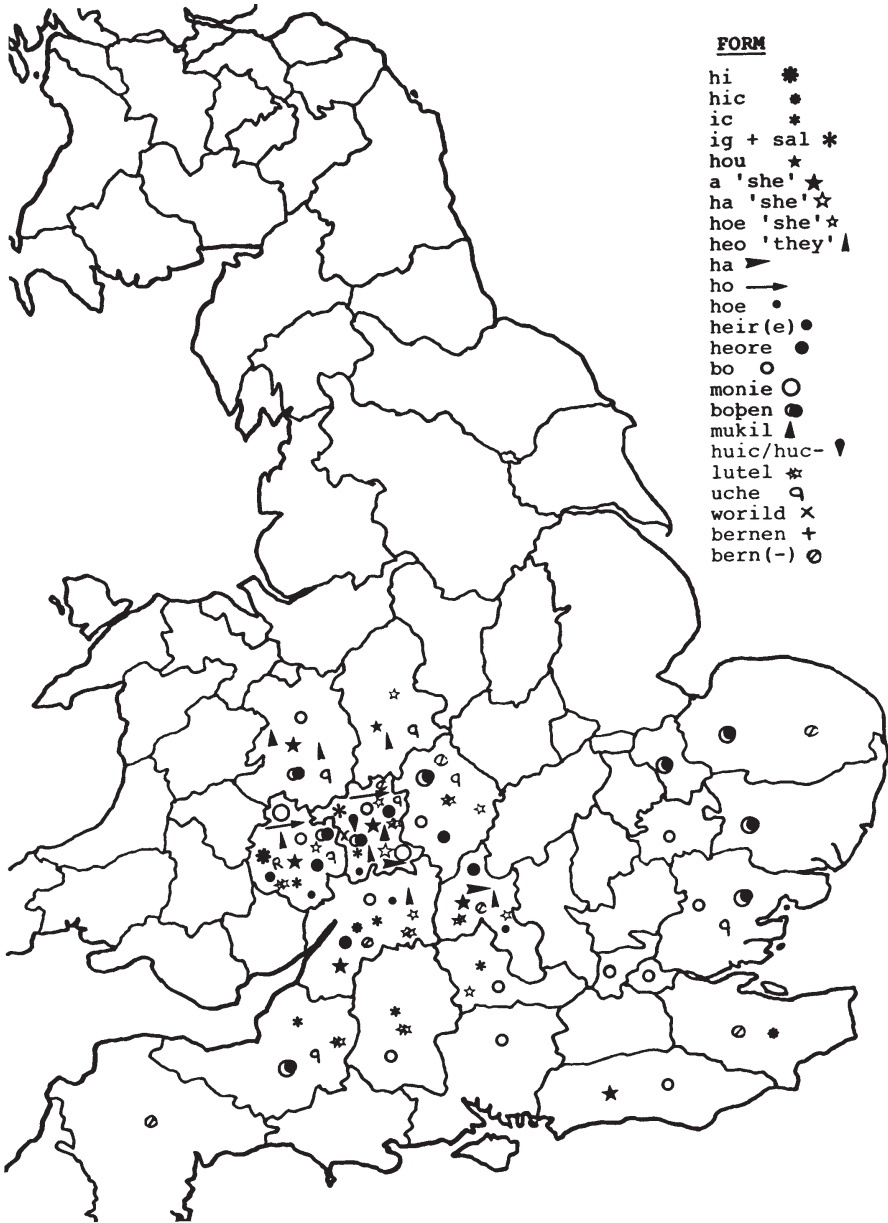
MAP 1 Scribe A



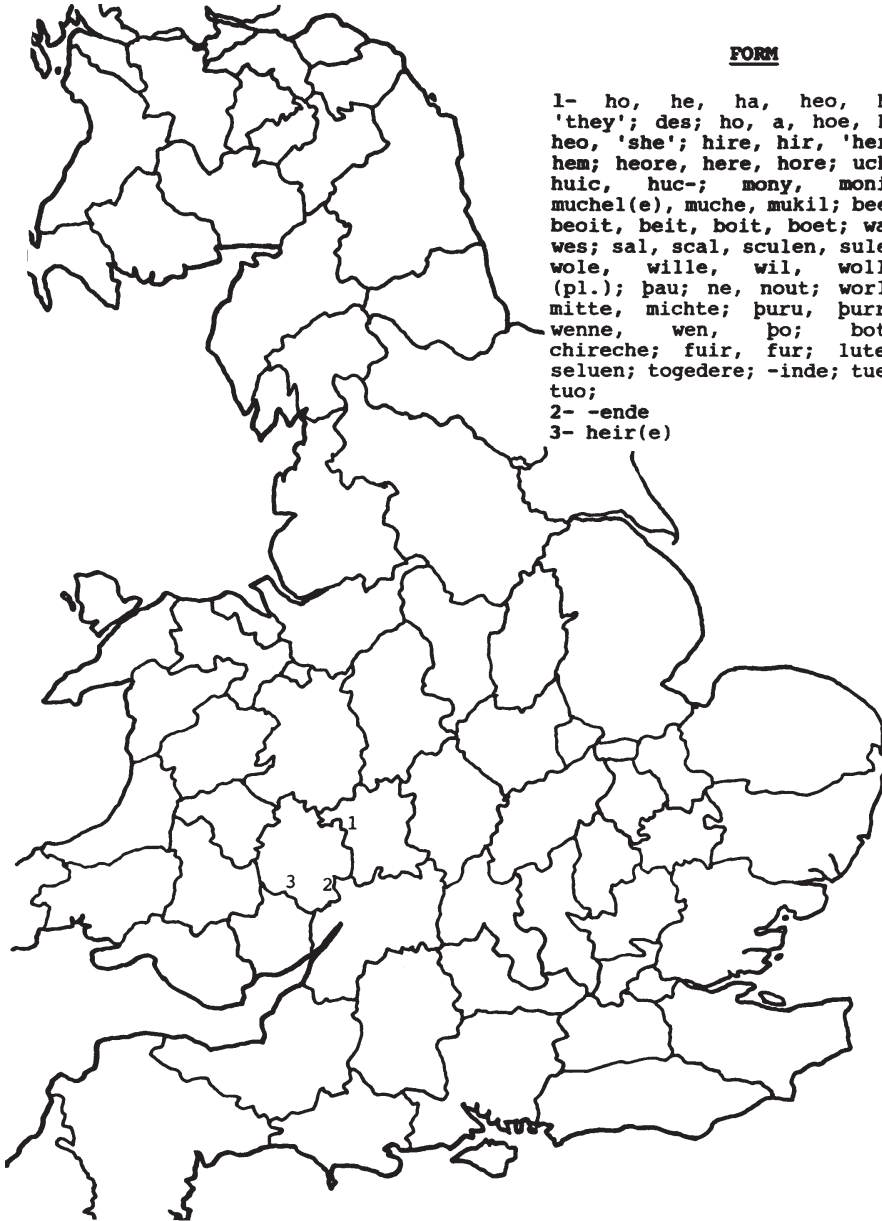


*The forms used in the poems are:
 "pov", "tov", "im", and "pen ilke".

MAP 3 Scribe A Poem 18

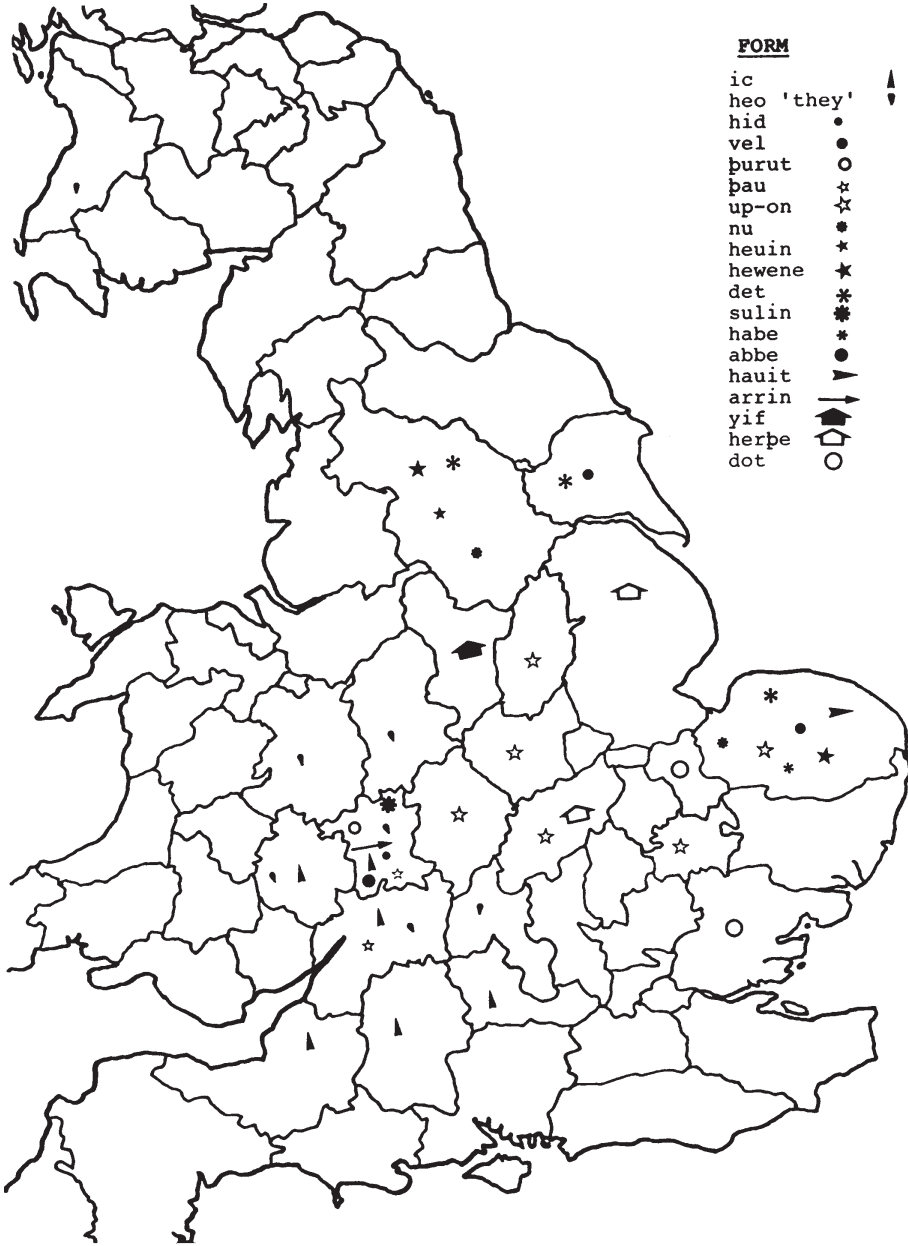


MAP 4 Scribe B

**FORM**

1- ho, he, ha, heo, hoe
 'they'; des; ho, a, hoe, ha,
 heo, 'she'; hire, hir, 'her';
 hem; heore, here, hore; uche,
 huic, huc-; mony, monie;
 muchel(e), muche, mukil; beet,
 beoit, beit, boit, boet; was,
 wes; sal, scal, sculen, sulen;
 wole, wille, wil, wollet
 (pl.); pau; ne, nout; world;
 mitte, michte; puru, purru;
 wenne, wen, po; bote;
 chireche; fuir, fur; lutel;
 seluen; togedere; -inde; tuel,
 tuo;
 2- -ende
 3- heir(e)

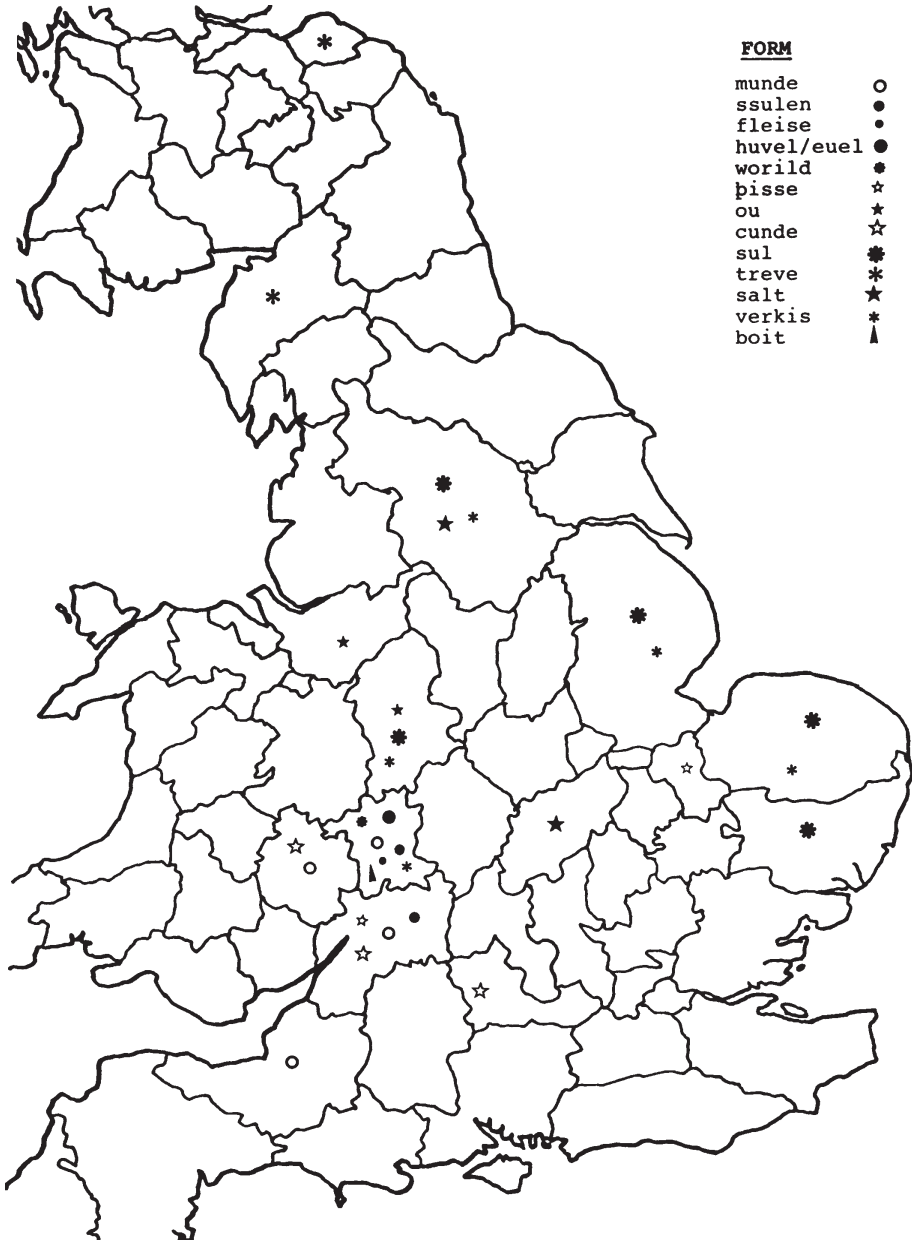
MAP 5 Scribe B



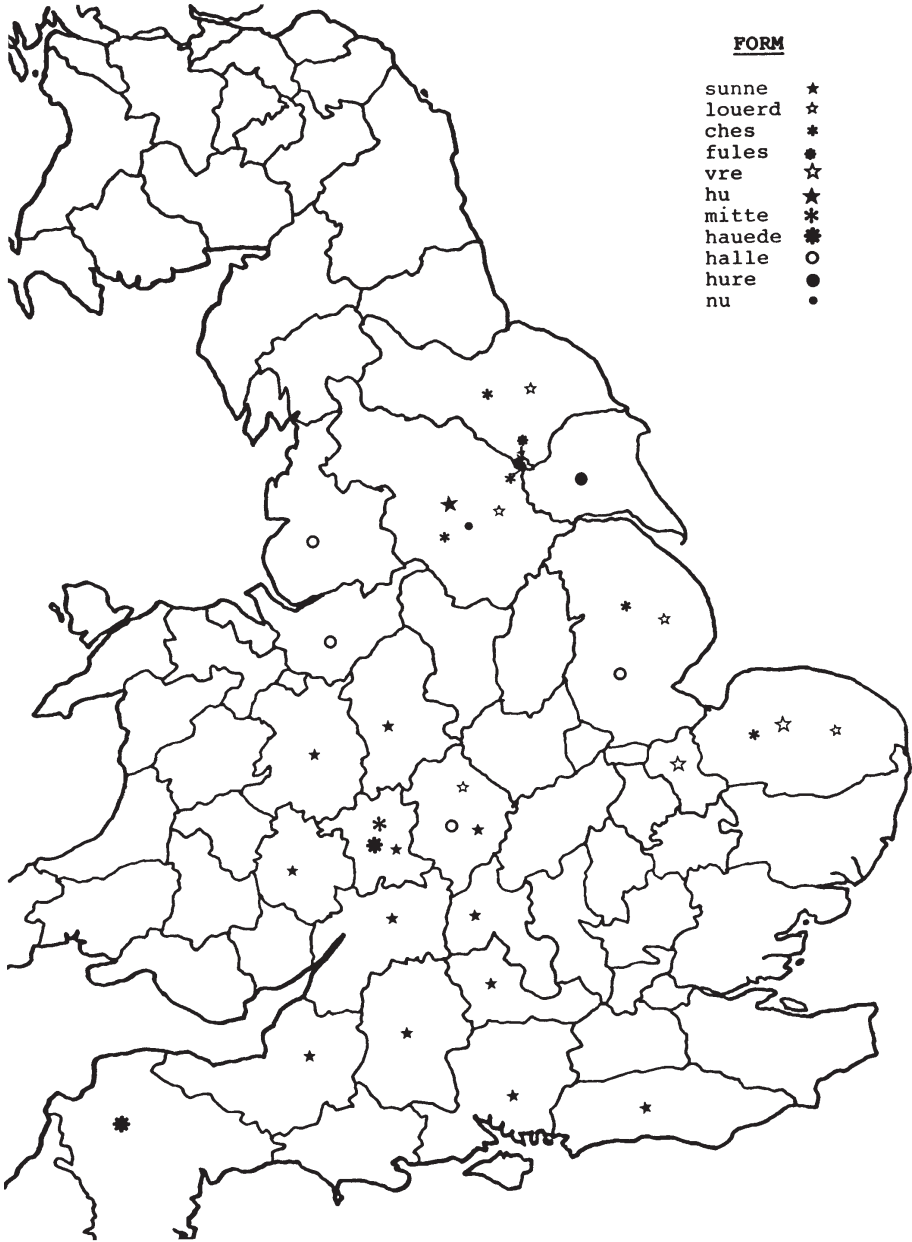
FORM

- ic ○
- heo 'they' ●
- hid ○
- vel ●
- purut ○
- pau ☆
- up-on ☆
- nu ☆
- heuin ☆
- hewene ☆
- det ☆
- sulin ☆
- habe ☆
- abbe ●
- haut ▲
- arrin △
- yif ■
- herpe □
- dot ○

MAP 6 Scribe B?



MAP 7 Scribe C



MAP 8 Scribe D