# A Lexical <br> Comparison of Four Prick of Conscience Group-IV Manuscripts¹ 

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1 I am grateful to María José Carrillo-Linares and Keith Williamson for their generous readings and comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and to Keith Williamson also for the map design.


#### Abstract

Dublin, Trinity College, 157 (D.4.11) (MV 21), London, Lambeth Palace, 492 (MV 48), London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40. 2/E. 25 (MV 49) from line 2,850 - and Shrewsbury, School, III (Mus. III. 39) (MV 95) were recently grouped together as the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subset within the Prick of Conscience Group-IV manuscripts. Apart from often showing identical - or closely related - deviant readings, these copies also display a fairly consistent shared pattern of significant textual omissions (Garrido-Anes 2022). However, lexical variants - whether inherited or idiolectal, intentional or inadvertent, and stylistically or geographically conditioned - are by no means unusual across these four manuscripts. By providing a lexical comparison and analysis of the said copies, this paper aims to shed some light on individual scribal habits towards their presumed exemplar(s), thereby giving further insight into the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup textual relations. The present analysis contributes to refining the history of this particular Group-IV branch through the identification of up to six different lexical layers.


Keywords Prick of Conscience, manuscripts, lexicon, stemma

## 1. Previous Studies on the Prick of Conscience:

## Groups, Subgroups, and the TLS $\mathbf{S}_{2}$ texts

The 115 known manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience (PoC) suggest that this long religious poem - almost 10,000 lines - was one of the most widely read in England in the late Middle Ages. Hanna \& Wood's updated list shows 97 manuscripts of the Main Version (MV), 19 of the Southern Recension (SR), and 49 copies of fragments (2013: 378-383). Unfortunately, the scholarly attention that this work has received so far cannot yet compare with that given to, for instance, Piers Plowman or Chaucer's writings. As Johnston (2020:743) observes:

In many ways, this text has been the victim of its own success. Partly, such neglect seems due to the huge number of manuscripts that survive, marked by a bewildering codicological, dialectal, and textual variation between copies, meaning no one has yet figured out how to characterize its overall manuscript context. What little scholarship
on this poem exists has thus understandably tended toward the literary-critical, and away from the textual and codicological.

Deeper research efforts are still undoubtedly needed to advance our understanding of the poem's transmission, whose picture continues to be far from complete. Johnston (2020: 744) regrets that:

> Scholarship on Middle English manuscripts has, by and large, tended to avoid characterizing large manuscript corpora, like PoC, preferring instead the individual case study of a codex or small group of codices. But proceeding by isolated case studies has prohibited the field from making larger, more universal claims about book production and the circulation of manuscripts.

Even though progress may seem slow when confronting the massive amount of extant material, every small puzzle solved through individual or collaborative work can yield benefits in the long run. Within the textual approach, the initial classification of the POC manuscripts (Andreae 1888) was based on eighteen British Library copies. Later, Bülbring (1891a, 1891b, 1897), D’Evelyn (1930), Humphreys \& Lightbown (1952), and McIntosh (1976 [1989]), among others, contributed studies on further copies. Our current knowledge of the work derives mainly from Britton's research into the Yorkshire manuscripts (1979), Lewis \& McIntosh’s comprehensive Guide (1982), Morris (1863), and - more recently - Morey (2012), Hanna \& Wood's (2013) corrected and amplified text of Morris’s edition, and Johnson (2020).

The MV copies were assigned by Lewis \& McIntosh (1982) to one of four groups: ${ }^{2}$ Group I consists of 19 manuscripts - including those deemed closer to the original - and five subgroups; ${ }^{3}$ Group II includes 26 copies and three

[^0]identified subgroups;4 Group III is made of 15 texts and two tentative small subgroups; ${ }^{5}$ and Group-IV comprises 45 manuscripts. Lewis \& McIntosh (1982) assigned eight of these copies to the so-called Vernon-Simeon subgroup; ${ }^{6}$ seven to the related Lichfield subset; ${ }^{7}$ and another four to an additional subcategory of Vernon-derived texts. ${ }^{8}$ Their Guide (1982: 8-9) emphasized the fact that the remaining 26 Group-IV witnesses demanded further research. Carrillo-Linares (2016: 61) examined seven of these manuscripts (MV 28, MV 29, MV 43, MV 62, MV 93, MV 94, and the conflated MV 35) and referred to them as the 'Northern subgroup'. She also redefined MV 12 - formerly assigned to Group II by Lewis \& McIntosh (1982: 45) - as an essentially Group-IV text, except in Book V. ${ }^{9}$ More recently, Garrido-Anes (2022) explored the associations between another series of Group-IV manuscripts: Dublin, Trinity College, 157 (D.4.11) (MV 21), London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40. 2/E. 25 (MV 49), ${ }^{10}$ and Shrewsbury, School, III (Mus. III. 39) (MV 95). This study claimed that the previously unsubcategorized London, Lambeth Palace, 492 (MV 48) was a further addition to the subset, named $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ after the initials of its four known members.

MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 display a significant repeated pattern of couplet omissions, deviant readings, and paraphrases that set them apart from the other manuscripts of the larger Group-IV family. At times, though, the four copies differ in their renderings of certain words, lines, or couplets, thereby showing either sporadic individual scribal behaviour or

4 MV 7, MV 19, MV 22, MV 53, and MV 85 (Subgroup 1); MV 8, MV 41, MV 58, MV 64, MV 86, and the conflated MV 12 and MV 33 (the Key of Knowing Subgroup); MV 51, MV 56, MV 61, MV 73, and the conflated MV 35 (the Lollard Subgroup); MV 42 and MV 92 share features with the Lollard and the Key of Knowing manuscripts; MV 69 and the conflated MV 5, MV 13, MV 24 , MV 32, and MV 78 are unsubclassified.
5 MV 26 and the conflated MV 32 (subgroup 1); MV 17 and MV 38 (subgroup 2); MV 15, MV 16, MV 55, MV 66, MV 67, MV 74, MV 75, MV 91 and the conflated MV 1, MV 76, and MV 78 are unsubclassified.
6 MV 18, MV 31, MV 36, MV 40, MV 59, MV 70, MV 77, and MV 82.
7 MV 23, MV 45, MV 54, MV 57, MV 68, MV 88, and MV 89.
8 MV 4, part of MV 24, MV 63, and MV 72.
9 For further information about the different versions, groups, manuscripts, and the numeric nomenclature here adopted, see Lewis \& McIntosh (1982).
10 MV 49 is a Group-I copy to the beginning of Book IV (line 2,850), where it becomes Group IV (Lewis \& McIntosh 1982: 83).
the occasional reflex of some additional unshared source. Textual collation has shown that a predecessor (henceforth $S_{2}$ ) of MV 95 and a presumed common exemplar (henceforth $\mathrm{TLS}_{1}$ ) to MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49 must have derived from the same $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ node (Garrido-Anes 2022). The four manuscripts erratically disagree on some independently eyeskipped parts and also display disparate degrees of textual condensation, especially by their respective endings. Furthermore, they predictably diverge in their spelling and morphological systems due to temporal and geographical distance (see Map 1 below).

MV 21 is an early fifteenth-century manuscript in the language of Northern England (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos \& Williamson 2013: LP 205). It is written on parchment and in anglicana formata, and its PoC text is "considerably reduced [...] with many lines omittted, much condensation and some paraphrase" (Lewis \& McIntosh 1982: 52-53). Two lyrics scribbled by a later hand on the bottom margins of the two final leaves seem to point to some Northern owner (Johnston 2020: 783).

MV 48 was written in the late fourteenth century in the dialect of South East Norfolk (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos \& Williamson 2013: LP 637). The manuscript is on parchment and the script is anglicana formata, although bastard anglicana is used for titles and Latin quotations. Its PoC text is also abridged (Lewis \& McIntosh 1982: 81-82). This copy seems to have connections with the Dioceses of Norwich and Lincoln (Lewis \& McIntosh 1982: 82; Johnston 2020: 789).

MV 49 dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Its three scribes used varieties of Northern English and wrote in anglicana and bastard anglicana scripts. The manuscript is a conflated paper copy showing considerable text condensation. Hand A has been associated with West Riding Yorkshire (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos \& Williamson 2013: no LP provided); Hand B is labelled as Northern Middle English (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos \& Williamson 2013: LP 481); and Hand C is also considered to be northern (Lewis \& McIntosh 1982: 83). Johnston (2020: 789) shows ownership connections with Westminster and Yorkshire.

Lastly, MV 95 is a paper manuscript dated to the late fifteenth century. The script of the PoC text is anglicana with some secretary features. The content is often abridged and revised, with many lines omitted or reversed, and its
language has been localized to Northwestern Derbyshire (Lewis \& McIntosh 1982: 128; Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos \& Williamson 2013: no LP provided).


Map 1: Localizations of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49 (hands A, B and C) and MV 95.
Map 1. Localizations of the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ Manuscripts.

## 2. Lexical layers through lexical comparison:

 goal, method, and backgroundThis paper offers a lexical comparison of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 as a method for discriminating between the variants carried over from shared predecessors and those more likely to have been added by later scribal initiative. The tranches of text aligned for the present study are determined by factors such as the physical state of the different copies, the conflated nature
of MV 49, and dissimilar textual omissions or non-parallel condensation of content. Thus, MV 48 stands on its own up to line 446, where MV 21 begins; MV 49 is incorporated into the analysis from line 2,850, where its Group-I constitution ends and its Group-IV constitution starts; MV 95’s first legible line is 4,917, and it ends defectively at around 7,539; in turn, MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49's respective abrupt endings occur at lines 9,470, 5,868, and 9,217. ${ }^{11}$ This analysis extends to line 7,539, after which, only MV 21 and MV 49 can be compared. The vocabulary they present hardly differs after that line, and their degree of condensation is often asymmetrical by the end of their texts.

The current parallel analysis of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 doubtlessly benefits from previous and ongoing studies on the PoC. Although this research focuses on the vocabulary in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ manuscripts, it does not lose sight of their broader linguistic, textual, and intertextual contexts. ${ }^{12}$ The majority of the items used for the comparison are included in the University of Huelva Middle English lexical database. ${ }^{13}$ This work in progress by Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes includes 120 lexical items that present variation in about 60 works preserved in multiple manuscripts with different dialectal origins. The study of the recorded occurrences, replacements, and omissions in the parallel extant copies of those works helps to describe patterns of word rejection and replacement, some of which are likely to have been dialectally motivated. In the case of the PoC, occurrences, omissions, lexical equivalents, and paraphrases have been retrieved for 110lexical items ${ }^{14}$ in-so far-54 out of the 90 manuscripts

11 Line numbers correspond to Hanna and Wood (2013).
12 Special thanks are due to the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the libraries of Dublin Trinity College, Lambeth Palace, Oxford University College, and Edinburgh University for providing me access to the digitized or microfilmed copies of the Main Version manuscripts.
13 The database, not publicly available, is held at http://phpmyadmin.uhu.es.
14 From the 120 database items, the 110 occuring in the Prick of Conscience are the following: ALKIN, AND (HAND), ANHEDE, ASSETHE, AY, BANEN, BIGGEN, BIHING, BILIFE, BISEN, BLINEN, BRAIDEN, CASTEN, CLOMSEN, CLOT, COMLY, CRAG, CRIBBE, CUNNING, DALE, DALK, DASED, DEREN, DIGHT, DIN, DINGEN, DINTEN, DOLE, DOTEN, DREGHEN, DROVEN, EGGEN, EKEN, ERR, FEL, FELE, FELLE, FELLY, FERLY, FLAIEN, FLITEN, FON, FORLUKEN, FORSAKEN, FRAISTEN, FRETT, FROUNT, GILERY, GLOWEN, GOULEN, GRETEN, GRISELY, HELDEN, HENTEN, HIDE, HOUSIL, ILL, IRKEN, KENEN, KIRK, LAIKEN, LAINEN, LAITEN, LAKEN, LETTEN, LIFTE, LITHE, LITHER, LOPER, MERRRYNG, MIRK, MISTER, NEVEN, QUAINTISE, RAIKEN, ROGGEN,
of the poem's Main Version. The central purpose of the database is to discover dialectological patterns in the lexis, but - as shown below - the study of lexical variation can also be a helpful tool in the study of textual relations. ${ }^{15}$

For reasons of space and the limited scope of this study, apart from MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95, only readings in MV 27/34 (Group I) and three other Group-IV manuscripts of the Northern (MV 29), the Vernon-Simeon (MV 49), and the Lichfield subgroups (MV 57) are here provided for reference. ${ }^{16}$ This study contributes to the database with the addition of the realizations of the 110 items retrieved from the previously unstudied MV 48. The present analysis has also brought to light some additional instances of lexical variation not included in the PoC database. Therefore, the possible dialectal nature of some of them has not yet been studied.

In medieval manuscript transmission, the reasons underlying the presence or absence of particular words and expressions in the multiple copies of a particular work are rarely linear and straightforward; rather, they are complex and dependent on multiple intervening factors. The dialectal origin of the change is merely one among many other possibilities. Stenroos (2020: 175) suggests that 'land documents' are likely to constitute a more objective - although more semantically restricted - source of lexical information than the usually non-localized and creative literary texts. In her recapitulation of previous Middle English lexical studies, she observes that:

> ROSYNG, ROUKEN, SAGHTEL, SAMEN, SANDE, SCULKEN, SELCOUTHE, SERE, SLAKEN, SLAVEREN, SLEGHT, SMORED, SONDEREN, SOUCHEN, STEDE, SWELTEN, SWINKEN, THARNEN, THOLEN, THRALLEN, THREPEN, TITE, TROWEN, UGLY, UNDERLOUT, WARN, WARNEN, WATHE, WERE, WLATSOME, WONEN, WONYNGE-STEDE, YEMEN, GERNEN. The remaining 10 items are: BLOUKEN, DELVEN, FORHOUEN, FOSTREN,

15 For more on lexical variation and word geography and methodological applications, see Carrillo-Linares (2005-2006, 2010, 2016), Carrillo-Linares \& Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008, 2009, 2012), and Garrido-Anes (2019).
16 Group I is here represented by MV 27 and MV 34, two virtually identical copies thought to be "close to the author but of quite local diffusion" (Hanna \& Wood 2013: lxvi). The readings from MV 27/34 have been double-checked against Morris (1863) and Hanna \& Wood's revision (2013). MV 34 supplies the readings for some missing lines in MV 27 (1,538-1,579; 6,923-9,210). The readings from MV 57 are supplied by Morey (2012). On copying and reading the PoC, see Johnston (2020).

The effects of scribal transmission on vocabulary appear to be unpredictable (Benskin \& Laing 1981: 96-97; Black Stenroos 2002: passim). Studies of word geography have mostly focussed on texts that survive in several scribal copies clearly representing different dialects; such studies include Kaiser (1937) and Carrillo-Linares (2005-2006), Carrillo-Linares \& Garrido-Anes $(2007,2008)$ on the Lay Folks' Catechism, Carrillo-Linares \& Garrido-Anes (2009, 2012; Carrillo-Linares 2010, 2016), as well as Horobin (2004) on the Prick of Conscience, Scahill (2005) on Ancrene Wisse and [...] Black Stenroos (2002) on Piers Plowman. Together, studies such as these, may throw much light on the dialectal patterning of Middle English vocabulary; however, as specific localizations are for the most part unavailable for this kind of texts, the geographical interpretation of the findings is necessarily tentative.

The provisional nature of the interpretation of lexical change may still prevail in these manuscripts even when their dialectal provenance is known. As shown by Carrillo-Linares (2005-2006, 2010, 2016), Carrillo-Linares \& Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008, 2009, 2012), and Garrido-Anes (2019), the analysis of scribal attitudes regarding the lexicon in the source texts requires deep research into the stemmatological relations among the copies. McIntosh's description of the three types of copying (1973: 60) should also be born in mind. As is the case with the treatment of spelling and morphology, Middle English scribes could also adopt one of the following strategies when dealing with vocabulary: (1) the literatim approach, aiming to retain the lexical items found in the exemplar; (2) translatio, which involves rendering words of the copy-text into the scribe's own dialect or set of personal preferences; (3) or a combination of both, in varying degrees, depending on circumstances. These are often challenging to assess since they may include the copyists' intentions, their capacity for concentration, the legibility of their source, the number of copies of the work they had to hand, or the nature of the potential audience. Text type, whether prose or verse, and stylistic choices also play their part when retaining, omitting, or altering words from the exemplar.

For the above reasons, variants departing from others within the same group or subgroup should never be assumed to be attributable directly to the
scribe(s) and dialect(s) of the copy where they occur. Even though that might well have been the case, the unknown number of lost exemplars prevents certainty that an anomalous change or unique variant was not inherited from a non-shared, not yet analysed - and most probably now missing - source. However, side-by-side analysis of as many copies as possible enables tracking down variants to previous stages of the transmission (Robinson 2013: 13; Bordalejo \& Robinson 2018: 37). Cumulative evidence of untraceable lexical changes in one particular manuscript together with previous studies leading to the same or adjacent geographical areas should provide safer indications of - respectively - new scribal attributions and likely dialectal motivation. Independently of whether the 'altering scribe' was that of the extant copy or a predecessor - and whether dialectal factors were involved or not - the identification of different layers of lexical change can certainly enhance understanding of medieval scribal reception.

## 3. Lexical profiles: a contextual analysis of the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{\mathbf{2}}$ subgroup

The collation and comparative analysis of the selected lexical items in MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 provide the different scribes' lexical profiles. Common and diverging elements lead to the identification of traces of previous stages of the transmission chain.

### 3.1. The reflex of the Group I archetype

The survival of a substantial part of the presumably original lexicon in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ texts supports Lewis \& McIntosh's assertion that the fourth large manuscript family of the PoC ultimately derives from Group I (1982: 7). These occurrences remain relatively stable in the dissemination of the Group-IV texts, and especially within the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup. The lexical invariance in MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 - often shared with MV 29, MV 40, and MV 57, from the Northern, Vernon-Simeon, and Lichfield Group-IV subsets - is sometimes suspended within these three subgroups. Since the poem was probably composed in Yorkshire, ${ }^{17}$ the subsequent expansion of the copies further south
might have brought about some of the occasional lexical replacements within the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield subgroups.

The earliest and most extensive layer of literatim lexical copying is shown in Table $1 .{ }^{18}$ However, as can also be observed, there are occasional cases of ‘euere’ for ‘ay’ (line 12); ${ }^{19}$ ‘wikkednesse’ for ‘ille’ (line 97); ‘derknes’ for ‘myrknes’ (line 194); ‘reuep’ for ‘letten’ (line 253); ‘leeue’ for ‘trow’ (line 296); ${ }^{20}$ brep’ for '(h)and’ (line 775); ‘draveleth’ or ‘sauerep’ for ‘slavers’ (line 784); ‘desyr’ for ‘yernen’ (line 1,136); ‘wylned’ for ‘yherned’ (line 2,188); ‘fele’ or ‘dyuerse’ for ‘sere’ (lines 1,518, 3,436, 4,294); ‘wepyng’ for 'gretyng’ (lines 496, 502, 6,106, 6,571, 7,093); ‘eche’ for ‘(h)eke’ (line 3,256), 'churche’ for 'kyrk' (lines 3,779, 3,790, 4,452, 4,472, 4,646); ‘3if ne’ for ‘warn’ (line 7,260); ‘sone’ for ‘tyte’ (line 7,260); ‘greue’ for ‘dere’ (line 7,307); or ‘alle maner’ for ‘alkyn’ (line 7,323). ${ }^{21}$ The altering scribes were not necessarily the copyists of the manuscripts analysed; the variants - or at least some of them - could have also been carried over from some intermediate, and probably less northerly, exemplar. The deviant readings are fewer in MV 29 - a manuscript from the Northern Subgroup - and more frequent in the Vernon-Simeon-Lichfield subgroups, whose circulation was wider across the Midlands, especially in the south and west. ${ }^{22}$

### 3.2. The reflex of the Group-IV archetype

A second lexical layer in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup is composed of an additional set of items copied literatim by the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ scribes, albeit - in this case - they retain variants already present in some shared predecessor with the other Group-IV subfamilies. It is certainly possible that a few of the changes such as certain omissions (e.g. ‘ay’) or typical replacements (e.g. ‘diuerse’, ‘foul', ‘euere’, ‘duelle’, ‘when', ‘wolde’, or 'grete’ for ‘sere’, ‘wlatsom', ‘ay’, ‘wone’, ‘als-tite’, 'yherned', or 'mykel') may have been accidentally common in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ and the other three subgroups. Identical variation could have been independently

[^1]produced as a result, for instance, of individual eyeskip, but also due to the altering scribes' possible near provenance or resembling personal choices.

Notwithstanding these facts, the repeated and often predictable parallel pattern of omission, deviation, and less ordinary replacements in the same contexts (see Table 2) firmly suggest derivation from a common Group-IV source. That seems to be the case of the agreements of the six manuscripts on: ‘rore’ for ‘goule’ (line 477); ‘yan’ for ‘tite’ (line 1,914); ‘@say’ for ‘@ay’ (line 2,852); ${ }^{23}$ 'sume’ for ‘sere’ (line 2,877); 'forsooth’ for 'me thynk' (line 3,296); ‘haue sorow’ for ‘thole’ (line 3,517); ‘suffyr’ for ‘drighe’ (line 3,540); ‘sydes’ for partes’ (line 4,500); ‘turn’ for ‘trowe’ (line 4,567); ‘blowen’ for ‘strewed and skaterd’ (line 4,996); and ‘@fulle ille’ for ‘@ille’ (6,746). Given that scribes would not have generally wished to ruin the poem's rhyme, line final-position items were more unlikely to be changed. At times, though, nondisturbing and still rhyming alternatives were provided at the end of lines, even if that occasionally involved some non-exact synonyms and deviations from the 'word-for-word' and 'meaning-for meaning' type of replacement. Some instances are: ‘@fulfille’ for ‘@ille’ (line 292); ‘@wepyng/wepande’ for ‘@gretyng/gretand’ (lines 496, 502, 7,093); ‘@chyrche’ for ‘@kyrk’ (lines 3,779, 3,790); ‘@affraiep for ‘@flays’ (line 2,549); ‘@nemene’ for ‘@neuen’ (line 2,896); ‘@pere’ or ‘@here’ for ‘@sere’ (lines 6,582, 6,628). Paraphrases of larger segments and other strategies, such as the inversion of the couplet lines, were sometimes used and the scribes would always manage a new fitting rhyme as in (1) 1,864-1,865 and (2) 3,901-3,902:

1. MV 27: "Bis twynnyng may be cald pe dede /
bat fleyghes about fra sted til stede"
MV 57: "This partyng may be calde the deth /
that flutteth abouten as hit geth"
2. MV 27: "A party for veniel syns sere, /

A party for syns pat er forgeten here;"

MV 57: "Som for synnes here forgeten, /
Som for venyal synnes meten;"

Omissions or lexical alternatives emerging at different points in the transmission may have been dialectally motivated. However, a damaged exemplar, manuscript contamination, occasional misreadings, and scribal errors, together with individual resourcefulness, could also play their part in bringing about changes. Such may be the cases of ‘love’ for ‘trow’ (line 296) and 'sloupe' and 'glory' for 'sleghtes' (line 1,181). These unique readings may have originated in, respectively, MV 57 and MV 40, but they could have also been carried over from some unknown and unshared exemplars.

### 3.3. The $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ node

The third layer of lexical choices must have been inherited from a closer exemplar shared by the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup. As a distinctive branch within Group IV, MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 unequivocally diverge from the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield texts (see Table 3). Whereas the TLS $S_{1} S_{2}$ copies read ‘schall', 'threpe’, 'dyntes', ‘ye same’, 'pyne’, 'grauyng', 'vgly', ‘dolefully', and ‘saules', the rest of the Group-IV texts give, instead, 'aght' (line 5,382), 'trete’ (line 5,407), a word omission (line 5,418), 'sere/diuerse/ many’ (line 5,583), ‘angre’ (line 6,039), 'goulyng’ (line 6,106), 'grysly’ (line 6,564), 'ful deolful' (line 6,873), and ‘synfulle’ ( line 7,343). Furthermore, MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95 - MV 48 ended much earlier - seem to have inherited 'dolefull' (line 7,344) from their exemplar. The same applies to MV 21 and MV 49's ‘sorowe' (line 7,082). The TLS $S_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ reading and the counterpart forms in MV 29 and MV 40 are identical in both cases. On the one hand, 'sorowe' for 'helle' does not look like a coincidental dialectal replacement; it is not likely that such a common word was alien to the altering scribe(s); rather, it may have been the result of an intentional change introduced in some shared ancestor within Group IV. On the other hand, ‘dolefull' for 'noyse and' is an inherited scribal error that consisted in copying the final part of a line - slightly above this one - which also ends in ‘dyn’ (line 7,328), specifically, ‘dolefull dyn'. Several words
are simultaneously omitted in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ copies (line 6,058). ${ }^{24}$ As previously explained, the establishment of textual relations should not initially rely on isolated omissions that could have been accidental lapses or coincidences; however, the absence of certain words may eventually become significant when they form part of a shared recurrent scheme of deviant behaviour.

### 3.4. The TLS ${ }_{1}$ and the $S_{2}$ nodes

MV 95 must have derived from a node different from the one shared by MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49 (hence, TLS ${ }_{1}$ ). It lacks some of the other three copies' line omissions (e.g. lines $5,002,5,199,5,200,6,322),{ }^{25}$ which places this manuscript in a separate transmission line within the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ branch. The fourth lexical layer is, then, represented by forms carried over from the TLS 1 and the $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ nodes. As illustrated in Table 4, from among the MV 95 readings that differ from the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1}$ set, some might be distantly related to one or more of the other Group-IV manuscripts, ${ }^{26}$ while others are peculiar to MV 95 alone. ${ }^{27}$ The implications are that some realizations could have been drawn from an unshared exemplar ( $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ ), while others may have been introduced by the scribe of this particular copy or some intermediate source ( $\mathrm{S}_{2 \mathrm{~A}}$ ).

### 3.5. The TL, the $S_{1}$, and the $S_{2}$ nodes

The comparative analysis of the lexicon in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ copies evinces that both MV 21 and MV 48 derive from the same additional unknown source within the TLS 1 branch. Whereas MV 49 tends to remain faithful to the TLS 1 archetype, MV 21 and MV 48's shared exemplar (henceforth TL) must have contained several additional lexical translations, either express avoidances of northerly terms or stylistic preferences that were passed on to these two descendants. As shown in Table 5, the reflex of this fifth layer manifests itself through MV 21 and MV 48’s shared variants, such as ‘euyll' for 'ille’ (lines

See also: lines 6,390; 6,693; 7,089; 7,155; 7,342.
25 For further detail on line or couplet omissions and related paraphrases in the TLS $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ subgroup, see Garrido-Anes (2022).
26 See lines 5,002; 5,033; 5,199; 5,200; 5,216; 6,109; 6,322; 6,384; 6,643; 6,721; 7,262; 7,531.

5,734, 5,746) and 'few/fewer' for 'fonne/foner' (lines 3,731, 3,732, 4,576, 7,531). MV 21 and MV 48 also read ‘euell saules’ for ‘ille’ (line 2,857), an unusual rendering not likely to have been sheer coincidence. MV 21's deviations from MV 49 after the sudden end of MV 48 at line 5,868 are also given in Table 5. These readings are ‘euyl' for ‘ille’ (lines 6,136, 6,138, 6,384), '3olke’ for ‘dalk' (line 6,443), '3ernyng' or 'wantyng' for 'tharnyng' (lines 7,296, 7,304), and the omissions of ‘ay’ (line 6,537 and 7,039), 'sere’ (line 7,308), and 'ill’ (line 7,327). In the absence of the MV 48 text for comparison in this part, the attribution of these changes to the TL source should be cautious. However, considering that MV 21 is a northern text, its lexical alternatives (where MV 49 - also northern - retains the archetypal term) could probably be assumed to have originated in the seemingly less northerly source shared with MV 48. Regarding MV 95 and its $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ node and their connections with MV 49 or its source ( $\mathrm{S}_{1}$ ), lines 6,136 ('ille/yll)', 6,384 ('ille/yll'), 6,443 ('dalk, dalke'), and 7,327 ('ille/yll') can be traced back to their common $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ancestor.

### 3.6. The $\mathrm{TL}\left[\mathrm{S}_{1}\right]\left[\mathrm{S}_{2}\right]$ node

Further confirmation of the close relationship between MV 21 and MV 48 is presented in Table 6. The absolute lack of evidence for MV 49 and MV 95 in the lines shown prevents a confident attribution of these shared distinctive readings to the TL node, the earlier $\mathrm{TLS}_{1}$, or $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$. Several alternative lexical renderings suggest derivation from exemplars produced in a less northerly dialect than the original poem; in fact, a few of them are identical to variants found in the non-northern manuscripts of the other Group-IV subgroups. Coincidences do not necessarily imply a shared source for the changes, especially when those particular alternatives tend to be expected in manuscripts circulating outside the work's original northern area. The omission of 'won' (line 1,046) and the occurrence of 'euell' instead of 'ill' (lines 1,615, 2,154, 2,157, 2,162, 2,385) could be such cases. Other coincidental readings such as ‘yis' for ‘sere’ (line 1,654) and 'wit’ for ‘trowe’ (line 1,784) not exact synonyms but more atypical renderings - might have originated in some distant exemplar common to three of the subgroups.

The rest of the omissions and, especially, the lexical changes featured in Table 6 are idiosyncratic to the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup. The available evidence
makes it impossible to determine whether these variants stem from the TS, the TLS ${ }_{1}$, or an older node, but they interestingly illustrate typical geographical variation, as in ‘duellyng’ for ‘wonnyng’ (line 1,372), ‘witten’ for ‘knawen’ (line 1,572), 'place’ for ‘stede’ (line 1,757), and ‘hatte’ for 'calle’ (line 2,813). Some of the alternatives given are renderings that go beyond the literal translation and often involve word order changes or paraphrases: 'myght \& strenthe’ for ‘swinken and sorrow' (line 738); ‘subtile’ or 'many sotel' for 'vayn' (line 1,181); ‘frenship’ for ‘saghtel’ (line 1,470); ‘was’ for ‘held’ $(1,528)$; ‘lastande’ for 'lifand' (1,753); ‘wastes’ for ‘sculkes’ (line 1,788); ‘haste’ for 'mast’ (line 2,185); ‘here’ for ‘were’ (line 2,296); ‘manere’ for ‘were’ (line 2,510); ‘@here’ for 'sere’ (line 2,726).

Except for ‘swinken and sorrow’ (line 755), ‘vayn’ (line 1,181), and ‘@lifand’ (line 1,753), the rest of the items in Table 6 tend to be avoided in non-northern areas, especially, though not only, in medial position. ${ }^{28}$ However, once a word was dropped or changed in a non-northern manuscript, succeeding copies even if northern - are less likely to restore the original word. A non-northern exemplar would explain the presence of a large number of lexical translations of supposedly northern words in a northern copy like MV 21. When variation was exceptionally introduced at the end of a line, the original couplet rhyme would be transformed into another suitable one, and efforts were made to sustain it with the new word or a paraphrasis. The couplet below (lines 762-763) illustrates how the different versions deal with the original 'fon’ and ‘@sere’.
> 1. MV 27: "Now, he says, 'my fon days sere / Sal enden with[yn] a short tyme here'." MV 29: "Now, he says, 'my fo dayes sere / Salle ende wyth a schorte tyme here'." MV 40: "Now, he seip, 'my fewe sayes sere / Schul ende in schort tyme here'."
> MV 57: "He seyth, 'my fewe dayes sere /
> Shul ende nowe in shorte tyme here'."

28 On lexical variation, word geography, and works surviving in multiple manuscripts, see Carrillo-Linares (2005-2006, 2016); Carrillo-Linares \& Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008, 2009, 2012); and Garrido-Anes (2019).

> MV 21: "He says now ‘sall my fewe dayes sone wende /
> And within schort tyme brought to ende'."
> MV 48: "He seyth 'my dayes son will wende /
> And with schorte tyme here mak an ende'."

Whereas the northern MV 29 retains both words, the versions of widespread distribution in the south and west of the Midlands read 'fewe'. The manuscripts in the TL node inherited an additional paraphrasis affecting the entire couplet, omitting ‘@sere’, and requiring a different rhyme. They additionally show slight variation between them: MV 48 omits 'fewe', and their last parts of the second couplet line differ in the verb.

### 3.7. The T and the L nodes

Further dissimilar readings in MV 21 and MV 48 are given in Table 7. In most of the lines shown, the damaged or incomplete MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95 copies unfortunately preclude any inference about whether the deviation from the reading in their common exemplar occurred in both MV 21 and MV 48 or only one of them. Where comparison with MV 49 and/or MV 95 is possible (lines 4,291, 5,243, 5,259, 5,743), MV 21 and MV 48 offer contrasting alternative readings. The implication is the presence of a sixth lexical layer. However, it is not discernible whether some words in the lexical pairs may have been retained from the TL exemplar or introduced by MV 21 (or a predecessor in an unshared T node) or MV 48 (or an exemplar in a separate L node). Thus, MV 21 gives ‘euyll', ‘synful', 'ilka', ‘yvill', and 'pertenly’ (lines 4,291, 5,243, 5259, 5,743 ) where MV 48 reads ‘wykkid', ‘euel', ‘synfful', an omission, and ‘open’.

### 3.8. MV 48 or the L node

Although some of the divergent cases above cannot be traced back to earlier stages of the transmission due to the absence of surviving evidence, the lines included in Table 8 evince that the northern MV 21 tends more readily to accept the vocabulary in the TL source than the East Anglian MV 48. The 'translating' scribe of the Norfolk copy - or its exemplar under the L node - provides a substantial list of alternatives to the TL lexicon. Dialectal motivation may underlie most of the replacements in MV 48, which remain
unchanged in the othewise closely related MV 21. Previous and ongoing research suggests that variants for 'als-tite’, ‘wlatsome’, 'ay’, ‘sere’, ‘won/ wonnyng’, ‘myrk/myrknes’, ‘besynes’, ‘dale’, ‘flay’, ‘selcouthe’, ‘yhernyng’, ‘stede’, ‘grisely’, ‘kyrk’, ‘warne’, ‘tite’, ‘wgly, wglines’, ‘hent’, ‘dole’, ‘myster’, ‘ban', ‘flitte’, ‘thole’, ‘frount’, ‘wathe’, ‘sonder', ‘fon’, 'lyfte’, ‘gretyng’, among other items, are commonly found in manuscripts traceable to exemplars of non-northern descent. ${ }^{29}$

Furthermore, MV 48 reads 'theynke’ when MV 21 omits 'fares’ (line 1,343) and 'partynge, clepyd, drede’ instead of 'twynnyng', ‘called', 'deede’ (line 1,864). MV 48 also gives ‘scharply’ for ‘titte’ (line 1,915), ‘betten’ for ‘dongen’ (line 3,256), 'cleped’ for 'gadird’ (line 3,833), ‘wyse’ for 'maners’ (line 4,385), 'harme' for 'wathe' (line 4,558), 'powder' for 'askes’ (line 4,996), ‘dyed' for 'swelt' (line 5,212), and 'parte’ for 'chede out' (line 5,641). Substituting 'wonyng' for ‘dwellynge’ (line 1,009), for example, is a likely dialectal rendering of an original word that remained unchanged in the TL source in this line but was replaced in others, as previously shown. However, ‘@ wyrkand’ for ‘@wonnande’ (line 1,032) or ‘peynes’ as a further replacement for 'euelles’ - the TL alternative to 'maledys’ (line 3,003) - may have had a different type of motivation. MV 48 also shows unshared word additions, such as 'many' (line 1,181), and unshared word omissions, such as those of 'besynes' (line 1,027), and of ‘servand' (MV 21) for 'minister' (MV 27) in line 3,684. Other idiosyncratic readings like ‘@maye’ for ‘@flay’ (line 1,268) or ‘@I wysse’ for ‘@stede’ (line 2,193) are part of paraphrases rather than word-forword translations. This evidence indicates a sixth layer of innovation in the L branch. The MV 48 scribe could have introduced these apparently unique readings, but they could have also been - maybe partially - copied from an exemplar not shared with MV 21.

### 3.9. MV 21 or the T node

A handful of currently untraceable variants to any known or textually inferred sources beyond their respective $\mathrm{T}, \mathrm{S}_{1}$, and $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ nodes are shown in manuscripts of Middle English works. See also Carrillo-Linares (2005-2006, 2010).

Tables 9, 10, and 11. The sixth lexical layer in MV 21 is represented by an assemblage of alternative words or expressions originating either in this copy or a predecessor in the T node. Only in MV 21 (see Table 9) is ‘bale’ given as a synonym for 'paynes’ (line 1,746 ) and 'full of vices’ for 'ille’ (line 3,671 ). In line 1,752, '@sighande’ might have been a misreading of the initial <d> in ‘@dyзeande’. Another possible error is ‘werke’ instead of 'chirch/kyrk’ (line 4,072). The use of ‘3olke’ for ‘dalk’ (line 6,443) has few chances of being a stylistic choice; the word appears to have been wrongly repeated, as an 'egg yolk' is also mentioned in the line above. MV 21 additionally paraphrases the last part of the 2,132-2,133 couplet, where the rhyme was adjusted to ‘@here/ bere’ replacing ‘@chesse/pesse’.
> 1. MV 27: "Es Haly Kyrk pat God first ches, /

> Thurgh whilk men commes to the sight of pes."
> MV 29: "Haly Kyrk yat godde fyrste ches, /
> Thurgh wylk men comes to ye syght if pees."
> MV 40: "Is Holy Chirche pat god furst ches, /
> Bi whuche meN come to pe si3t of pes."
> MV 57: "Is Holy Writte that God fyrste chees, /
> By whiche men comen to syght of pees."
> MV 21: "Yat is Haly Kirke yat god firste here, /
> Thurghe whilke men commes to ou[r] bere."
> MV 48: "Yat is Holy Chirch yAt godd ffirste chesse /
> Th[ro]w which men cumen to ye land of pesse."

The textually related MV 48, however, retains the TL distinctive reading partially preserved in MV 21 ('Yat is'...). No evidence is available, though, to trace further back the origin of MV 48's 'land’ for 'sight'. In line 5,589, it becomes apparent that the TLS ${ }_{1}$ exemplar must have provided the framework for the 'tholed' shared readings in MV 48 and MV 49, whereas the lexical variant 'soffred' is attributable to either MV 21 or a predecessor in the T node. By contrast, the reading in MV 95 - similar to that in MV 29, except for the synonym for 'thole' - must have already been present in the $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ node from which it derives; the lexical alternative 'soffret' in MV 95 appears to be a later innovation, textually unrelated to the form in MV 21.

1. MV 27: "Bat he tholed for mans salvacioun," MV 29: "Yat he tholed for oure saluacioune," MV 57: "That weren for oure salvacyoun," MV 21: "Yat he soffred for mannes saluacion," MV 48: "Yat he tholede ffor manes saluacioune," MV 49: "Yat he tholed for mans saluacioune," MV 95: "Yat he sofrett for awre saluacion,"

### 3.10. MV 49 or the $S_{1 A}$ node; MV 95 or the $S_{2 A}$ node

MV 49 displays an extraordinarily reliable reproduction of the lexicon in the TLS $1_{1}$ exemplar (see Tables 1-9). However, several exceptions emerged in the collation of the vocabulary representing the items used for this study. The only instances of variation apparently unique to MV 49 or an unshared antecedent ( $\mathrm{S}_{1 \mathrm{~A}}$ ) are provided in Table 10. Thus, ‘euermore’ for ‘ay’ (line 5,220), 'gaf for ‘egged’ (line 5,483), and ‘@grete’ for ‘@plente’ (line 7,327) do not match either of the other copies in the subgroup. In line 7,327, the shared rephrasing ('Yare sall be...') carried over from the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ exemplar and the context of the entire line present three slightly differing readings in MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95:

1. MV 34: "And of all pat ill es gret plente." MV 29: "And of alle yat ille es grete plente." MV 40: "And of al pat euel is gret plente." MV 57: "And of alle his badde greet plenté." MV 21: "Yare sall be of all thyng plente." MV 49: "Yare sal be al `ille' thyng grete." MV 95: "There shall be all yll thyng plente."

It should be highlighted that a significant number of cases of lexical divergence in MV 95 are currently untraceable beyond this copy within the subgroup. They may be attributed to the MV 95 scribe, but they could have also been drawn from some intermediate exemplar ( $\mathrm{S}_{2 \mathrm{~A}}$ ) between MV 95 and the $S_{2}$ node (see Table 11). The non-northern origin of this divergence can
be inferred from the fact that words such as 'alkyn', ‘tholede’, ‘yhernynges’, 'ay’, ‘3erne’, 'warne’, and ‘tharnyng’ in the TLS ${ }_{1}$ manuscripts are here found as ‘and all’ (line 4,948); ‘sofrett’ (line 5,589), ‘couetus’ (line 6,628), ‘euer’ (lines 6,643, 7,265), ‘dissyre’ (line 6,721), 'yff no’ (line 7,262) and 'graitt sowrow’ (line 7,296). Variants such as ‘doluen’ for ‘beryed’ (line 5,216) and 'feryng’ for ‘flayng’ (line 6,109) are similar in other Group-IV manuscripts. The fact that MV 95 is a late manuscript that offers an abridged revision of the PoC suggests that scribal preferences could probably account for the changes that have no apparent geographical connection: ‘yit’ for 'ill’ (line 5,407), ‘@chrying owtt’ for 'myrknes’ (line 6,111), ‘@trespass’ for ‘@dight’ (line 6,184), 'lykewysse’ for ‘sone’ (line 6,456), ‘pompe’ for ‘ruse’ (line 7,066), ‘peynes’ for ‘sorow’ (line 7,296 ) and ‘@wates’ for ‘@laytes’ (line 7,531). The addition of intensifiers such as 'graytt' (lines 6,106 and 7,296) also points in that direction.

The lexical relations among the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ copies are less evident in five cases that deserve attention. From line 7,342 (see Table 9) it can be inferred that MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95's shared omissions of 'pe devils' and 'sall' were already present in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ exemplar. The T node reads 'ay', but MV 49 and MV 95 give 'euer'. Since this is a very frequent rendering of the word, its occurrence in these two copies might not be textually related. If related, the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ exemplar would have read 'euel' and 'ay' would be attributable to the T (or TL) node. With the current evidence, although replacement from 'euer’ to ‘ay’ is less common than from ‘ay’ to ‘euer’, this northernizing move cannot be discarded in the northern MV 21. ${ }^{30}$

1. MV 34: "pe devils ay omang on pam sall stryke," MV 21: "And ay emange apon yaim strike," MV 49: "And euer omang opon yam strike," MV 95: "And euer among on them stryke,"

In line 5,801 (see Table 9), MV 21 also reads ‘ay’ where MV 48 and MV 49 have 'euer' and MV 95 omits the line. The word 'euer' could have been present in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ exemplar given that the northern MV 49 tends to faithfully copy
whatever readings were found in the source. Line 6,382 is not available for MV 48, so it is impossible to infer whether 'dwell' (MV 21) was also the form in the TL, the T , or the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ exemplar. 'Be' in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ predecessor could explain the agreement with MV 95 on this uncommon alternative for ‘dwelle’. MV 49's ‘yhelde’ (line 5,894) and ‘fune’ (line 7,531) may have been the original forms in the subgroup exemplar (see Table 10). However, since both MV 21 and MV 95 read 'giffe' and 'few', there is also a chance that these were $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ forms and MV 49 exceptionally deviated from it. In the absence of MV 48 for comparison, the attribution of these changes should be cautious. Considering that MV 21 is a northern text, its lexical alternatives (where MV 49 - also northern - shows the presumably original term) could have also originated in the seemingly less northerly source shared with MV 48, but then, the MV 95 readings would not be textually related. Whether a specific occurrence should be considered a variant or not depends on whether that particular reading is believed to be the one in the archetypal manuscript. More evidence is needed to define these five cases.

## 4. Conclusions

The present analysis uses lexical collation to describe and interpret vocabulary transmission within the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ copies of the PoC. It also considers the relations of these copies within the wider context of the stemma by showing parallelisms and divergences between this and the other three Group-IV main subsets: the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield subgroups. The Group-I version is the starting point of reference for a comparison that reveals the lexical profiles of the copies, which results in the identification of up to six distinct lexical layers in each of the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ manuscripts.

This research evinces that in dealing with a poem of religious and spiritual teaching, the scribes of the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ manuscripts would have generally attempted to be faithful to the contents, the form, and the poetic and rhyming nature of their exemplars. Most of the lexicon in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ copies can be traced back to the presumably original vocabulary, forming the oldest and best represented lexical stratum. The second lexical layer is composed of vocabulary relics of a primitive Group-IV ancestor that deviated from the earliest versions by introducing some geographically conditioned
word changes and omissions and others that must have been the stylistic or personal preference of some scribe. Several northern terms were replaced with others of a more widespread distribution, which points to a less northerly provenance of this Group-IV exemplar.

Due to occasional missing leaves and the currently damaged parts of some manuscripts, not much has survived from the third lexical layer identified. However, a substantial number of word omissions and some atypical readings set MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 apart from the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield subgroups. The $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subset splits into two well-defined branches that represent the fourth layer in their respective manuscripts. One is the TLS $1_{1}$ set, which includes MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49; the other is $\mathrm{S}_{2}$, from which MV 95 derives. The key to this subdivision is provided by some lines which MV 95 retains from the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ exemplar, but which are omitted in MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49's shared predecessor. In turn, words from $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ preserved in the TLS copies are substituted in the $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ branch. Apart from a variety of additional lexical replacements or rejections suggesting that the languages of $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}, \mathrm{TLS}_{1}$, and $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ were not northern, some stylistic creativity was also at play.

Within the TLS 1 copies, the fifth layer is also twofold. On the one hand, the $\mathrm{S}_{1}$ node leading to MV 49 presents, quite consistently, an accurate reproduction of the vocabulary from the exemplar. On the other hand, MV 21 and MV 48 share a significant number of deviant readings that denote derivation from a common line of descent. This TL source must have also been produced in a non-northern dialect since various lexical changes and omissions carried over to MV 21 - a northern manuscript - and MV 48 - from Norfolk - affect words of well-known northern distribution.

Layer number 6 includes different sets of lexical variants gathered from MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95, which are not traceable to any other known source. Unique or rare variants can only start to be tentatively considered actual innovations by the scribes of those particular copies when those readings are absent from other manuscripts to which they are textually related. In addition, variants that at first sight seem to be shared may have actually emerged independently. Scribal patterns of vocabulary usage must always be described and understood in light of the broader tradition. Underlying the sixth layer, an intermediate and now lost source from
which those readings were inherited cannot be discarded. MV 48 - or, at least partially, an exemplar in the L node - stands out as the most active copy of the four in terms of scribal innovation. It seems to be followed by MV 95 and MV 21, or their sources, in their respective $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ and T nodes; by contrast, MV 49 generally shows fidelity to its predecessor. As was the case with the Vernon-Simeon and Lichfield manuscripts, the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup clearly displays several degrees of southernization inherited from their unknown exemplars and carried over through an indefinite number of copies beginning in Group IV. The dialectally and stylistically dynamic nature of the copying process is especially significant in MV 48, from Norfolk. Even though the northern MV 49 and MV 21 barely change the northern vocabulary still preserved in their exemplars, both reflect the southernized stages and the stylistic rewordings that precede them in the transmission chain. MV 95 also reflects some degree of dialectal translation. However, most of the lexical variants in this late North Derbyshire text suggest an intentional revision.

This study is based chiefly on words of a potentially dialectal character, but not all the lexical replacements attested can be assumed to be dialectally conditioned unless accumulated evidence of rejection in localized manuscripts can be traced to a particular area. Some replacements may have emerged from individual stylistic initiative. Manuscript contamination and scribal errors are other factors that could trigger lexical change. The history of the lexicon in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup can be schematized as follows (see Figure 1 below):

Figure 1. Manuscript Relations in the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ Group.

| Group I |  |  |  | Layer 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Group IV |  |  |  | Layer 2 |
| Group $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ |  |  |  | Layer 3 |
| TLS ${ }_{1}$ |  |  | $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ | Layer 4 |
| TL |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { S1A } \\ \text { (MV 49) } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { S2A } \\ \text { (MV 95) } \end{gathered}$ | Layer 5 |
| $\begin{gathered} \stackrel{T}{1} \\ (M V 21) \end{gathered}$ | $\stackrel{\mathrm{L}}{(\mathrm{MV} 48)}$ |  |  | Layer 6 |

Lexical collation has helped to understand the dissemination of some vocabulary items across the primary Group-IV families of the PoC, and more specifically, within the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup. It has also uncovered a part of the history of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 through the identification of their main lexical strata and has further refined the textual relations between the manuscripts of the $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ subgroup. The analysis of the lexicon in these copies has not only confirmed Garrido-Anes (2022)'s findings that the previously unsubclassified MV 48 is closely related to MV 21 and MV 49 - and slightly more distantly - to MV 95; it has also revealed a tighter relationship between MV 21 and MV 48. This study has shown that both copies derive from a TL node unshared with MV 49 or MV 95. The comparative analysis of the lexicon in the extant manuscripts of this subset has contributed to disentangling the now superimposed distinct stages of scribal intervention. Dialectal and stylistic choices, both original and inherited, have additionally disclosed different scribal attitudes towards the vocabulary found in the exemplars.

Previous, current, and future studies into word geography are indispensable to better understand vocabulary reception and distribution in Middle English works. In 1973 McIntosh claimed that "what would be needed in order to carry out a more systematic investigation is the collaborative effort of a sizable number of scholars, together with financial support for the establishment of the necessary corpus of texts" (Hoad 1994: 199). Although progress is being made, the field is so vast and challenging that this statetement recovered by Hoad in the 1990s is still valid today. Apart from some early $21^{\text {st-century incursions in several works preserved in }}$ multiple manuscripts such as Piers Plowman, Cursor Mundi, or the Lay Folks' Catechism, ongoing studies such as the PoC and the 'land documents' projects may help to continue to connect the numerous remaining dots. In this sense, smaller and larger contributions and any upcoming contextualized pieces of evidence need to be welcome, as all together they will become increasingly meaningful for the field. $\mathbb{N}$

[^2]
## Appendix ${ }^{31}$

Table 1: Lexical Layer 1 (The Reflex of the Group I archetype).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 | 11 |
| @TROW | $\emptyset$ | @om. | @TROW | $\emptyset$ | @TROWEN | N/A | $\emptyset$ | 12 |
| AY |  | euere | AY |  | AY |  |  | 13 |
| WONED |  | WONEDE | WONED |  | WONED |  |  | 13 |
| @ANHEDE |  | @on godhede | @ANHEDE |  | @ONEHEDE |  |  | 14 |
| AY |  | euere | AY |  | AY |  |  | 15 |
| @WON |  | @WONE | @WON |  | @WONE |  |  | 16 |
| AY |  | euere | AY |  | AY |  |  | 21 |
| AY |  | om. | AY |  | AY |  |  | 31 |
| AY |  | euere | AY |  | AY |  |  | 32 |
| @AY |  | @ay | @ay |  | @ay |  |  | 37 |
| @ILLE |  | @ILLE | @ILLE |  | @ILLE |  |  | 77 |
| @ILLE |  | @ILLE | 0 |  | @ILLE |  |  | 92 |
| ILLE |  | wikkednesse | 0 |  | @ILLE |  |  | 97 |
| @SERE |  | @SERE | @SERE |  | @SERE |  |  | 146 |
| @ILLE |  | @ILLE | @ILLE |  | @ILLE |  |  | 174 |
| @ILLE |  | @ILLE | @ILLE |  | @ILLE |  |  | 182 |
| MYRKNES |  | derknes | derkenes |  | MYRKNES |  |  | 194 |
| @ILLE |  | @IL | @ILLE |  | @ILLE |  |  | 204 |
| @LETTYNG |  | @LETTYNG | @LETTYNG |  | @LETTYNG |  |  | 237 |
| LETTEN |  | reuep | reven |  | LETT |  |  | 253 |
| @ILLE |  | @fulfille | @fulfille |  | @ILLE |  |  | 292 |
| TROW |  | leeue | love |  | TROW |  |  | 296 |
| TROWED |  | leeuede | leveden |  | TROWED |  |  | 301 |
| TROWES |  | leue | leveden |  | TROWES |  |  | 303 |
| TROWES |  | leeuep | leven |  | TROWE |  |  | 313 |
| TROWED |  | TROUWE | leved |  | TROWID |  |  | 320 |
| @TROW |  | @TROUWE | @trowe |  | @TROW |  |  | 332 |
| @SERE |  | @SERE | @om. |  | @SERE |  |  | 346 |
| @SERE |  | @SERE | @SEERE |  | @SERE |  |  | 352 |
| @AY |  | @AY | @AY |  | @AY |  |  | 403 |
| @GRETYNG |  | @wepyng | @wepyng | @GRETYNG | [...] |  |  | 496 |
| @GRETAND |  | @wepande | @wepand | @GRETANDE | @GRETAND |  |  | 502 |
| @WLATSOM |  | @WLATSOME | @WLATSOME | @WLATSOME | @WLATSOM |  |  | 520 |
| WLATSOM |  | WLATSUM | WLATSOME | WLATSOME | [...] |  |  | 583 |
| @WLATSOM | @WHALSOME | @WLATSOME | @WLATHSOOME | WLATSOME | [...] |  |  | 610 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE |  |  | 651 |

31 The symbols used in the tables are the following: om = word omitted; $0=$ line omitted; $\mathrm{P}=$ paraphrasis; $\emptyset=$ missing text; $\mathrm{N} / \mathrm{A}=$ not applicable; $@=$ final position; [...] = blurred.

| AY | AY | euer | 0 | AY | AY |  |  | 717 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| HAND | ANDE | brep | breth | AENDE | [...] |  |  | 775 |
| SLAVERS | SLAUERS | sauerep | draveleth | SLAVERS | SLAUERITH |  |  | 784 |
| @DOTES | @DOTES | @DOTEP | @DOTETH | @DOTES | [...] |  |  | 785 |
| TROWES | TROWES | leeuep | leveth | TROWE | TROWE |  |  | 788 |
| @TROWYNG | @TROWYNG | @TROWYNG | @TROWYNG | @TROWYNG | @TROWYNGE |  |  | 789 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | 0 | @STEDE | @STEDE |  |  | 858 |
| GRYSLY | GRYSLY | GRISLY | GRISLY | GRISELY | GRYSSELY |  |  | 911 |
| DALE | DALE | DALE | DALE | DALE | DALE |  |  | 1,044 |
| @THRALLEN | @THRALLES | @pRALLE | @THRAL | @THRALL | @YRALLE |  |  | 1,064 |
| @KEN | @KENNE | @KEN | @KEN | @KEN | @KENE |  |  | 1,074 |
| YERNEN | 3ERNYNG | desyr | desyre | 3ERNYNG | 3ERNYNG |  |  | 1,136 |
| DALE | @DALE | @DALE | @DAALE | @DALE | 0 |  |  | 1,166 |
| DOLEFUL | DOLEFULE | DEOLFUL | DEOLFUL | DOLEFULL | 0 |  |  | 1,166 |
| STEDE | STEDE | STUDE | STUDE | STEDDE | STEDE |  |  | 1,168 |
| GILERY | GYLERY | GILERIE | GYLORYE | GILLERYE | GILERIE |  |  | 1,176 |
| SLEGHTES | glory | sloupe | SLEYGHTE | SLEGHTES | SLEYTHES |  |  | 1,181 |
| @QWAYNTYSE | @QUAYNTYSE | @QUEYNTISE | @QUEYNTYSE | @QUAYNTYSE | @QWAYNTYSE |  |  | 1,181 |
| @CAST | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CAASTE | CASTEN | CASTEN |  |  | 1,193 |
| CASTES | CASTES | CASTED | CASTETH | CASTES | CASTEY3T |  |  | 1,221 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE |  |  | 1,327 |
| @ILL | @ILL | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE |  |  | 1,615 |
| AY | AY | AY | AY | AY | AY |  |  | 1,373 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE |  |  | 1,428 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE |  |  | 1,448 |
| SERE | SERE | fele | SERE | SERE | SERE |  |  | 1,518 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE |  |  | 1,705 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE |  |  | 1,744 |
| @BLYN | @BLYNNE | @BLYNNE | @BLYN | @BLYN | @BLYNNE |  |  | 1,746 |
| @BRAYDE | @BRAYDE | @BREIDE | @BRAYDE | @BRAYDE | @BREYDE |  |  | 1,750 |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AYE |  |  | 1,755 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STUDE | @STEEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE |  |  | 1,818 |
| AY | AY | euer | AY | AY | AY |  |  | 1,861 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @geth | @STEDE | @STEDE |  |  | 1,865 |
| @LITH | @LYTH | @LIP | @LYTH | @LITH | @LYTHE |  |  | 1,917 |
| @CAST | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CAST | @CASTE | @KESTE |  |  | 1,918 |
| @CAST | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CASTE | @KESTE |  |  | 1,976 |
| @DRIGHE | @DRY | @DRY3EN | @DRYE | @DRYE | @DREYE |  |  | 2,044 |
| AY | AY | @AY | @AY | AY | AYE |  |  | 2,086 |
| @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILL | @ILLE |  |  | 2,146 |
| YHERNED | 3ERNEDE | 3EORNED | yeerned | 3ERNED | 3ERNYD |  |  | 2,176 |
| YHERNED | 3ERNYD | 3EORNEDE | wylned | 3ERNED | 3ERNED |  |  | 2,188 |
| @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @IL | @ILL | @ILLE |  |  | 2,165 |
| @DERE | @DERE | @DER | @DERE | @DER | @DERE |  |  | 2,290 |
| TROW | TROWE | TROWE | TROW | TROWE | TROWE |  |  | 2,510 |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY |  |  | 2,536 |
| @FLAYS | @FLAYS | @affraiep | @affrayeth | @FLAYES | @FFLEYETHE |  |  | 2,549 |
| @DERES | @DERES | @DEREP | @DERETH | @DERES | @DERYTH |  |  | 2,552 |
| @HENTES | 0 | 0 | 0 | @HYNTES | @HENTE |  |  | 2,722 |


| STEDE | STEDE | STUDE | 0 | STEDE | STEDE |  | 2,790 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| STEDE | STEDE | STUDE | 0 | STEDDE | STEDE |  | 2,806 |
| @MYRKNES | @MYRKENES | @MERKNIS | 0 | @MYRKNES | @MERKNES |  | 2,815 |
| STEDES | STEDYS | STUDES | 0 | STEDDES | STEDYS |  | 2,816 |
| STEDES | STEDYS | STUDES | STEDES | STEDDES | STEDES | STEDES | 2,850 |
| STEDES | STEDYS | STUDES | STEDES | STEDDES | [...ys] | STEEDES | 2,873 |
| STEDES | STEDYS | STUDES | STUDES | STEDDES | [...] | STEDES | 2,880 |
| STEDES | STEDE | STUDE | STED | STEDDES | STEDE | STEDE | 2,885 |
| @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @nemene | @NEVENE | @NEUEN | @NEUEN | @NEUEN | 2,896 |
| GRYSLY | GRYSLY | GRISLI | GRYSLY | GRISELY | GRYSSELYCH | GRYSELY | 2,907 |
| GRISLY | GRYSLY | GRISLY | GRYSLY | GRISELY | GRYSSELY | GRYSLY | 2,925 |
| SERE | sare | sor | sore | SERE | SERE | SERE | 2,982 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SEERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | 2,984 |
| @STEDE | 0 | 0 | 0 | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | 3,025 |
| @FELLE | @FELLER | @FELLE | @FELLE | @FELL | @FFELLE | @FELLE | 3,077 |
| @WON | @WONE | @WONNE | @WONNE | @WONNE | @WONE | @WONE | 3,096 |
| AY | om. | om. | om. | AY | [...] | AY | 3,173 |
| DOLE | DOLE | DEL | DEOL | DOLE | DOLE | DOLE | 3,218 |
| ALKYn | alle | alle | alle | ALKYN | ALKYNS | ALKYNS | 3,248 |
| EKE | EKE | eche | eche | EKE | EKEN | EKE | 3,256 |
| YHERNYNG | 3ERNYNG | 3EORNYNGE | YERNYNG | YHERNYNG | 0 | 3ERNYNG | 3,267 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEED | @STEDDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | 3,286 |
| AY | AY | euere | ever | AY | AY | AY | 3,293 |
| @FERLY | @FERLY | @FERLY | @FERLYE | @FERLY | @FFERLY | @FERLY | 3,296 |
| @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | 3,324 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE | @STEDE | [...] | @STEEDE | 3,317 |
| HOUSIL | HOUSYLLE | HOUSEL | HOUSUL | HOUSILL | HOWSSELL | HOUSEL | 3,402 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SEERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | 3,412 |
| SERE | SERE | diuerse | dyverse | SERE | SERE | SERE | 3,436 |
| THOLE | THOLE | suffre | suffre | thole | [...] | THOYLE | 3,515 |
| THOLE | thole | pole | thole | thole | [...] | THOYLL | 3,524 |
| @SANDE | @sande | @sonde | @sonde | @sande | 0 | @SANDE | 3,535 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SEERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | 3,538 |
| STEDE | STEDE | STUDE | om. | STEDE | [...] | Steede | 3,543 |
| @HEKE | @EKE | @EKE | @EKE | @EKE | @EKE | @EKE | 3,546 |
| ASSETHE | ASETHE | ASEED | ASSEETH | ASETHE | [...] | ASETHE | 3,610 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STED | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE | 3,679 |
| @AY | @euere | @euere | @AY | @AY | @AYE | @AY | 3,706 |
| @STEDES | @STEDES | @STUDES | @STEDES | @STEDE | @STEDDYS | @STEEDE | 3,723 |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AYE | @AY | 3,776 |
| TROW | TROWE | TROWE | TROWEN | TROWE | TROWE | TROW | 3,776 |
| @KYRK | @KYRKE | @churche | @chyrche | @KIRKE | [...] | @KYRK | 3,779 |
| @KYRK | @KYRKE | @churche | @chirche | @KIRKE | @KYRKE | @KYRKE | 3,790 |
| @STEDE | 0 | 0 | 0 | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | 3,811 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @meten | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | 3,902 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | 3,972 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE | 3,980 |
| @TROW | $\emptyset$ | @trowe | @om. | @TROWE | @TROWE | @TROWE | 4,004 |
| @WERE |  | @WERE | @WEERE | @WERE | @WERE | @WERE | 4,088 |


| @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILL | @ILLE | $\emptyset$ |  | 4,111 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AYE | @AY | @AYE |  |  | 4,140 |
| @KEN | @KENNE | @KEN | @KEN | @KEN | @KENE |  |  | 4,215 |
| STEDES | STEDYS | STUDES | om. | STEDDES | STEDE | STEDES |  | 4,247 |
| TROW | TROW | TROUWE | leve | TROW | TROW | TROW |  | 4,275 |
| SERE | SERE | feole | dyverse | SERE | SERE | SERE |  | 4,294 |
| @QUAYNTIS | @QUAYNTYSE | @QUEYNTISE | @QUEYNTYSE | @QUAYNTYS | @QWAYNTEYS | @QUAYNTYSE |  | 4,327 |
| thole | THOLE | POLE | THOLE | thole | thole | THOYLE |  | 4,380 |
| @CONNYNG | @CONNYNGE | @CUNNYNG | @CONYNG | @CONNYNG | @CONNYNG | $\emptyset$ |  | 4,435 |
| TROW | TROWE | TROWE | leve | TROWE | TROW |  |  | 4,440 |
| @FELLY | @FELLY | @FELLY | @FELLEY | @FELLY | @FELLY |  |  | 4,449 |
| @KIRK | @KYRK | @churche | @chirche | @KIRKE | @KYRKE |  |  | 4,452 |
| @KYRKE | @KYRKE | @chirche | @chyrch | @KIRKE | @KYRK |  |  | 4,472 |
| @KEN | @KEN | @KEN | @KEN | @KEN | @KENE |  |  | 4,520 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE |  | 4,607 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE |  | 4,614 |
| KIRK | KYRK | chirche | CHIRCHE | @KIRKE | @KYRKE | $\emptyset$ |  | 4,646 |
| @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @NEUENE | @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @NEUEN |  |  | 4,649 |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AYE | @AYE | @AYE |  |  | 4,678 |
| @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @NEUENE | @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @NEUEN |  |  | 4,688 |
| @SERE | @SERE | 0 | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE |  |  | 4,689 |
| @KEN | @KENNE | @KEN | @KEN | @KEN | @KENNE |  |  | 4,703 |
| @DYN | @DYNE | @DIN | @DYN | @DYN | @DYNE |  |  | 4,707 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE | @SERE |  |  | 4,724 |
| @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @nemene | @NEVENE | @NEUEN | @NEUEN |  |  | 4,757 |
| @CAST | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CASTE | @CASTE |  |  | 4,786 |
| @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @NEUENE | @NEVEN | @NEUEN | @NEUENN |  |  | 4,794 |
| BYGGED | BYGGYD | BUGGED | om. | BYGGED | BYGGEDD | BYGGED |  | 4,850 |
| @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILL | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | 4,931 |
| @FELLE | @FELLE | @FELLE | @FEL | @FELL | @FFELL | @FELLE | @FELL | 4,967 |
| CRAGGES | CRAGGYS | CRAGGES | CRAGGES | CRAGGES | CRAGGED | CRAGGES | [...] | 5,077 |
| @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEED | @STEDE | @STEDE | @STEEDE | @STED | 5,216 |
| TROWE | TROWE | TROUWE | TROWE | TROWE | TROW | TROW | TROW | 5,287 |
| @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | $\emptyset$ | @DEYRE | 5,413 |
| DYNTES | om. | om. | om. | DYNTES | DYNTES |  | om. | 5,418 |
| @KEN | @KENNE | @KEN | @KENNE | @KEN | @KENNE |  | @KENNE | 5,430 |
| @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILL | @YLLE | @ILLE | 0 | 5,641 |
| @ILLE | @ILLE | @ILLE | @YLLE | @ILL | @ILLE | @ILLE | 0 | 5,802 |
| SERE | 0 | heore | here | SERE | $\emptyset$ | SERE | 0 | 5,883 |
| @SERE | @SERE | @pere | @SERE | @SERE |  | @SERE | @SERE | 5,894 |
| @ILLE | @ILLE | @IL | 0 | @ill |  | @ILLE | @YLL | 5,905 |
| @KEN | @KENNE | @KEN | @KEN | @KEN |  | @KEN | 0 | 5,946 |
| TROW | do | do | doon | TROWE |  | TROWEE | 0 | 6,030 |
| TROWED | TROWEDE | leeuep | leved | TROWED |  | TROWED | 0 | 6,030 |
| THOLE | THOLEDE | POLEDE | THOLED | THOLED |  | THOLED | 0 | 6,039 |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY |  | @AY | @AYE | 6,095 |
| GRETYNG | GRETYNG | wepyng | wepyng | gretyng |  | GRETYNG | GRETYNG | 6,106 |
| @DYN | @DYNNE | @dyn | @dyn | @dyn |  | @DYN | @DYNNE | 6,107 |
| DULEFUL | DOLEFULLE | DEOLFUL | DEOLFUL | DOLEFULL |  | DULEFUL | DELEFULL | 6,107 |



| DOLEFULL | DOLEFULLE | DELFUL | DEOLFUL | DOLEFULL |  | DULFULLE | DULFULL | 7,328 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| @DYN | @DYNE | @DINNE | @DYN | @DYN |  | @DYN | @DYN | 7,328 |
| $@ D Y N$ | @DYNE | @DIN | @DYN | @DYN |  | @DYN | @DYN | 7,344 |
| AY | AY | euer | ever | AY |  | AY | EY | 7,388 |
| @BAN | @BAN | @BAN | @BAN | @BAN |  | @BAN | @BANNE | 7,391 |
| @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE | @DERE |  | @DERE | @DEYRE | 7,402 |
| @SONDER | @SONDYR | @SUNDER | @SONDRE | @SONDIR |  | @SONDER | @SUNDUR | 7,408 |
| @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY | @AY |  | @AY | @EY | 7,410 |
| AY | AY | AY | om. | AY |  | AY | om. | 7,413 |
| @DYN | @DYNNE | @DUNNE | P | @DYN |  | @DYN | @DYNNE | 7,423 |

Table 2: Lexical layer 2 (The Reflex of the Group-IV archetype).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| sere | $\emptyset$ | DIUERSE | DIUERSE | $\emptyset$ | DIUERS | N/A | $\emptyset$ | 365 |
| wlatsom |  | FOUL | FOULE | [...] | FFOULE |  |  | 459 |
| goule |  | RORE | RORE | @rare | [...] |  |  | 477 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  |  | 825 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  |  | 1,011 |
| @wonen | @DUELLE | @DWELLE | @DWELLE | @DUELL | @DWELLE |  |  | 1,044 |
| ay | EUERE | EUERE | EVER | EUER | EUER |  |  | 1,343 |
| tite | YAN | DEN | THEN | YAN | OM. |  |  | 1,914 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  |  | 2,342 |
| @ay | @SAY | @SAY | @SAY | @SAY | @SEYE | @SAY |  | 2,852 |
| stede | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | 2,855 |
| sere | SUME | SUM | SOME | SOM | SUM | SOM |  | 2,877 |
| als-tite | WHEN | WHEN | 0 | WHEN | WHENE | WHEN |  | 3,244 |
| me thynk | FORSOTH | FORSOPE | forsothe | FORSOTHE | FFORSOTHE | FORSOTHE |  | 3,296 |
| thole | HAUE SOROW | HAP SERWE | HAVE SOROWE | HAS SOROW | [...] | HAS SOROW |  | 3,517 |
| drighe | SUFFYR | SUFFRE | suffre | SUFFRE | [...] | SUFFER |  | 3,540 |
| yherned | $\emptyset$ | WOLDE | WOLDE | WALDE | WOLDE | WALD |  | 4,010 |
| partes | SYDES | SYDES | STUDES | SYDES | SYDES | $\emptyset$ |  | 4,500 |
| tyte | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | 4,559 |
| trow | TURNE | TURNE | TURNED | TURNE | TIRNE | @TURNE |  | 4,567 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | 4,946 |
| ille | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | 4,967 |
| strew[d] and skaterd | BLAWEN AWAY | $\begin{gathered} \text { BLOWEN } \\ \text { INTO } \end{gathered}$ | BLOWEN IN | BLAWEN AWAY | BLO AWEYE | BLAWEN OWAY | BLOUD AWAY | 4,996 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | 5,033 |
| dole | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | $\emptyset$ | OM. | 5,382 |
| first | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. | 6,130 |


| mykel | GRETE | GRET | GREET | GRETE | $\emptyset$ | GREETE | OM. | 6,561 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,578 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,642 |
| cast | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,650 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,669 |
| ugly | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,679 |
| yherne | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,701 |
| @ille | @FULLE ILLE | @FUL ILLE | @FULILLE | @FULL ILL |  | Ø | @FULL YLL | 6,746 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 7,258 |
| ay | OM. | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 7,343 |

Table 3: Lexical Layer 3 (The TLS1S2 Node).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | (TLS ${ }_{1} S_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| aght | aght | ou3te | aught | SALL | SCHALL | $\emptyset$ | shall | 5,382 |
| threp | trete | trete | tret | THREPE | OM. |  | threpe | 5,407 |
| dyntes | om. | om. | om. | DYNTES | DYNTES |  | om. | 5,418 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | many | YE SAME | YESAM | YE SAME | 0 | 5,583 |
| angre | angyrs | anger | angur | PYNE | $\emptyset$ | PYNE | 0 | 6,039 |
| ay | ay | om. | om. | 0 |  | OM. | OM. | 6,058 |
| @goulyng | @goulyng | @goulyng | @goulyng | @GRAUYNG |  | @GRAUYNG | @GRAYTT GROUYNG | 6,106 |
| cragges | hyls | hulles | mounteynes | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,390 |
| roches | montayns | mountaynes | hulles | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,390 |
| hydusly | grysly | grisli | grysly | VGLY |  | VGLY | VGLY | 6,564 |
| ay | euer | euer | ever | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 6,693 |
| duleful | +ffulle | +fful | +ful | DOLEFULLY |  | $\emptyset$ | DULFULL | 6,873 |
| helle | sorow | serwe | helle | SOROWE |  | SOROW | 0 | 7,082 |
| ay | ay | euere | ever | OM. |  | OM. | 0 | 7,089 |
| ay | om. | om. | ay | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 7,155 |
| devils | deuylls | deueles | fendes | OM. |  | OM. | OM. | 7,342 |
| synfulle | synfulle | synful | synful | SAULES |  | SAULES | SOWLE | 7,343 |
| noyse and | dolefulle | delful | noyse and | DOLEFULL |  | DULEFUL | DOLEFULL | 7,344 |

Table 4: Lexical Layer 4 (The TLS1 and the S2 nodes).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| neuend | neuend | seid | seyd | SAIDE | SEYDE | SAYDE | $\emptyset$ | 2,850 |
| last | last | lasteN | laste | BE | OM. | BE |  | 2,857 |
| vengeaunce | vengaunce | venge | vengeaunce | HELL | HELLE | HELLE |  | 2,857 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | diuerse | SOM | SUME | SOME |  | 2,880 |
| tite | sone | sone | sone | WHEN | WHEN | WHEN |  | 2,901 |
| @raumpande | @rampande | @raumpande | raumpande | GRYNNANDE | GRENANDE | GRYNNANDE |  | 2,907 |
| ay | ay | euer | om. | om. | HEUER | EUER |  | 3,205 |
| sere | grete | 0 | grettest | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | 3,261 |
| thole | thole | pole | take | SUFFRE | [...] | SUFFRE |  | 3,519 |
| thole | thole | pole | thole | BE | [...] | BE |  | 3,542 |
| thole | thole | pole | thole | OM. | [...] | OM. |  | 3,547 |
| @titter | @tyttere | @sannere | @titter | OM. | OM. | OM. |  | 3,727 |
| @stede | @stede | @stede | @stede | 0 | 0 | 0 | @stede | 5,002 |
| be | be | beo | be | DUELL | DWELL | DUELLE | be | 5,033 |
| clotes | cloutes | cloutes | cloutes | 0 | 0 | 0 | clothes | 5,199 |
| cribbe | krybbe | cribbe | crubbe | 0 | 0 | 0 | [...]bbe | 5,200 |
| beryd | deluede | buried | buryed | BERIED | BERYED | BYRED | doluen | 5,216 |
| flaiyng | ferdenes | fere | @affray | FLEYNG | $\emptyset$ | FLAYNG | feryng | 6,109 |
| @myrk[n]es | myrkenes | @merknes | @merknes | @ MYRKNESSE |  | @MYRKNES | @chrying owtt | 6,111 |
| @dight | @dyghte | @diht | @dyght | @DYGHT |  | @DIGHT | @trespas | 6,184 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | 0 |  | 0 | @sere | 6,322 |
| payne | payne | peyne | pyne | SOROWE |  | SOROW | peyne | 6,384 |
| tyte | sone | sone | sone | SONE |  | SONE | lykewysse | 6,456 |
| yhernyngs | 3ernynge | 3ernynges | desyres | 3ERNYNG |  | YHERNYNGES | couetus | 6,628 |
| ay | ay | euere | ever | AY |  | AY | euer | 6,643 |
| yherne | 3erne | desyren | desire | 3erne |  | $\emptyset$ | dissyre | 6,721 |
| rosyng | rosyng | bost | bostyng | ROESE |  | RUSE | pompe | 7,066 |
| warn | were | $3 i f$ nere | yif nere | WARNE |  | WARNE | yff no | 7,262 |
| ay | om. | om. | ay | AY |  | AY | euer | 7,265 |
| sorow | sorow | serwe | sorow | SOROW |  | SOROW | peynes | 7,323 |
| @laytes | @laytes | @leiten | wayte | @LAYTES |  | @LAYTES | @wates | 7,531 |

## Table 5: Lexical Layer 5 (The TL, the S1, and the S2 nodes).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | (TLS ${ }_{1} S_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| om. | om. | om. | om. | EUELL SAULES | EUELLE SAULES | ille | $\emptyset$ | 2,857 |
| foner | foere | fewor | foner | FEWER | FFEWER | foner |  | 3,731 |
| foner | foere | fewor | foner | FEWER | FFEWER | foner |  | 3,732 |
| fone | ffo | ffewe | fewe | FFEWE | FEW | ffone |  | 4,576 |
| ille | $\begin{gathered} \text { ille + } \\ \text { ('be it' om.) } \end{gathered}$ | 0 | $\begin{gathered} \text { evel + } \\ \text { ('be it' om.) } \end{gathered}$ | EUYLL + ('BE IT' OM.) | $\begin{gathered} \text { EUELL + } \\ \text { ('BE IT' OM.) } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { ille + } \\ \text { ('be it' om.) } \end{gathered}$ | 0 | 5,734 |
| ille | ille | euel | yvel | EUYLL | EUEL | ille | 0 | 5,746 |
| ille | ille | euel | yvel | EUYLL | $\emptyset$ | ille | @yll | 6,012 |
| ille | ille | euel | evele | EUYL |  | ille | yl | 6,136 |
| ille | ille | euele | evel | EUYLL |  | ille | 0 | 6,138 |
| ille | ille | euele | yvel | EUELL |  | ille | yll | 6,384 |
| dalk | dale | dale | dalke | 30LKE |  | dalk | dalke | 6,443 |
| ay | om. | om. | om. | OM. |  | ay | euermore | 6,537 |
| ay | ay | euer | ay | OM. |  | ay | 0 | 7,039 |
| tharnyng | tharnyng | 3ernyng | wantyng | 3ERNYNG |  | tharnyng | graitt sowrow | 7,296 |
| tharnyng | tharnyng | wontyng | wantyng | WANTYNG |  | tharnyng | losyng | 7,304 |
| sere | om. | om. | om. | OM. |  | sere | om. | 7,308 |
| ill | ille | euel | badde | OM. |  | ille | yll | 7,327 |

Table 6: Lexical Layer 5 (The $\mathrm{TL}\left[\mathrm{S}_{1}\right]\left[\mathrm{S}_{2}\right]$ node).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| ay | ay | euere | ay | OM. | OM. | N/A | $\emptyset$ | 738 |
| swinken and sorrow | swynk and yair + om. | swynk and serwe | swinke is more and sorow | MYGHT \& STRENTHE | MYTH AND STRENTH |  |  | 755 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @OM. | @OM. |  |  | 762 |
| souchen | shouches | souchep | spieth | OM. | OM. |  |  | 788 |
| ugly | vgly | grysli | ugly | OM. | OM. |  |  | 870 |
| @neven | @neuenes | @nempnes | @ neveneth | @OM. | @OM. |  |  | 969 |
| @wonand | @wonand | @wonande | @wonyng | OM. | OM. |  |  | 997 |
| won | wone | wonen | wone | OM. | OM. |  |  | 1,011 |
| won | wone | om. | om. | OM. | OM. |  |  | 1,046 |
| lither | lychery | euel | evel | OM. | OM. |  |  | 1,059 |
| vayn | vayne | veyn | veyn | SUBTILE | many SOTEL |  |  | 1,181 |
| castes | castes | castep | casteth | OM. | OM. |  |  | 1,219 |



Table 7: Lexical Layer 6 (The $T$ and the $L$ nodes).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| ay | $\emptyset$ | euere | ay | $\emptyset$ | EUERE | N/A | $\emptyset$ | 20 |
| ay |  | om. | om. |  | EUERE |  |  | 41 |
| ille |  | euel | 0 |  | EUELLE |  |  | 94 |
| @ille |  | @om. | 0 |  | @TILL |  |  | 98 |
| ille |  | euel | evel |  | EUEL |  |  | 100 |
| lettes |  | pat no | that they no |  | Whiyt yel |  |  | 238 |
| ay |  | euer | ever |  | EUER |  |  | 270 |


| tyte |  | soone | soone |  | SON |  |  | 322 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ay |  | om. | om. |  | EUER |  |  | 324 |
| sere |  | diuerse | diuerse |  | DIUERS |  |  | 365 |
| sere |  | feole | sere |  | DIUERS |  |  | 337 |
| @als-tyte |  | @tit | @so-tyte |  | @BRI3TE |  |  | 377 |
| @dight |  | @diht | dyght | DAYES | [...] |  |  | 448 |
| myrk |  | foul | om. | OM. | [...] |  |  | 456 |
| wlatsom |  | foul | foule | [...] | FFOULE |  |  | 459 |
| fon |  | fewe | fewe | OM. | FFEW |  |  | 530 |
| wlatsom | ille | euel | evel | FOULE | STENKE |  |  | 657 |
| ille | ilk | euel | evel | OM. | [...] |  |  | 660 |
| ay | ay | om. | om. | OM. | [...] |  |  | 773 |
| comly of shap | om. + of face | om. + of face | om. + of face | IF HE HAUE FORCE | SEMLY OF SCHAPE |  |  | 690 |
| fone | ffo | ffewe | fewe | FEWE | [...] |  |  | 764 |
| foner | fewere | fewor | fewer | OM. | [...] |  |  | 765 |
| als tyte | tyte | sone | sone | SONE | [...] |  |  | 766 |
| fon | fo | fewe | fewe | FEWE | OM. |  |  | 762 |
| ay | ay | om. | om. | OM. | [...] |  |  | 773 |
| full late | late | lop | looth | ILLE | HARD |  |  | 789 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @OPPENLY | @ARE SEN VERELY |  |  | 828 |
| wgly | vgly | grisly | uglye | FOULE | OM. |  |  | 907 |
| calde es | wyttenesse | called is | called es | HALDEN IS | CLEPID ES |  |  | 1,046 |
| sere | sere | vre | oure | OURE | OM. |  |  | 1,250 |
| ay | ay | om. | ofte | 0 | FUL OFTEN TYME |  |  | 1,275 |
| ay | ay | euere | ay | NOGHT | NEUERE |  |  | 1,341 |
| flese | check | check | fleen | FELES | THENEKE |  |  | 1,341 |
| fares | [...]th | Om. | om. | OM. | THEYNKE |  |  | 1,343 |
| lyfte | @lyth | bri3t | bryght | LYGHT | 0 |  |  | 1,444 |
| @gretyng | @gretyng | @wepyng | @wepyng | @LYKYNG | @GRETYNGE |  |  | 1,451 |
| sere | yis | diuerse | dyverse | MANY | DYUERS |  |  | 1,572 |
| gyse | wyse | gyse | gyses | WAYES | TOKENS |  |  | 1,572 |
| fleyghes | flyttes | fihtep | flutteth | STRAYES | WALKEYTH |  |  | 1,864 |
| ay | om. | om. | om. | OM. | EUER |  |  | 2,484 |
| ille | ille | euel | yvel | EUYLL | WYKKID | ille |  | 4,291 |
| ille | ille | euel | wicked | SYNFUL | EUEL | ille | ylle | 5,243 |
| ille | ille | euele | wykked | ILKA | SYNFFUL | ylle | [i]ll | 5,259 |
| ille | ille | euel | evel | YVILL | OM. | ille | 0 | 5,743 |
| apert | aperte | part | open | PERTENLY | OPEN | aperte | 0 | 5,743 |

Table 8: Lexical Layer 6 (MV 48 or the L node).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| als-tite | $\emptyset$ | om. | sone | als-tite | SONE | N/A | $\emptyset$ | 471 |
| wlatsom |  | wlatsum | wlathsome | wlatsome | FFILTHE |  |  | 564 |
| ay | ay | euer | ay | ay | EUER |  |  | 827 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | dyverse | sere | OM. |  |  | 997 |
| @wonnyng | @wonynge | @wonyng | @wonyng | @wonnyng | @DWELLYNGE |  |  | 1,009 |
| sustayns | susteyns | sosteynep | norysshen | sustenys | P |  |  | 1,019 |
| @won | @wone | @wonne | @won | @wonne | P |  |  | 1,019 |
| myrk | myrke | merk | merk | myrke | DERKE |  |  | 1,025 |
| bisens | kindely | ensaunple | ensaumple | besynes | OM. |  |  | 1,027 |
| @wonnand | @wonande | @wonande | @wonande | @wonnande | @WYRKAND |  |  | 1,032 |
| dale | dale | dale | dale | dale | VALE |  |  | 1,046 |
| ay | ay | om. | om. | ai | IN |  |  | 1,169 |
| vayn | vayne | veyn | veyn | subtile | MANY SOTEL |  |  | 1,181 |
| @flay | @flay | @fray | @afray | @flay | @MAYE |  |  | 1,268 |
| ay | ay | euere | euer | ay | ALL |  |  | 1,285 |
| ay | om. | euer | ay | ay | EUER |  |  | 1,288 |
| fares | [...]th | om. | om. | om. | THEYNKE |  |  | 1,343 |
| ay | ay | ay | Om. | ay | EUER |  |  | 1,365 |
| myrk | myrke | derk | derk | myrke | DERKE |  |  | 1,435 |
| selcouthe | selcouth | selcoup | selcouthe | selcouthe | DYUERS |  |  | 1,518 |
| yhernynges | 3ernyng | disir | wilnyng | 3ernynges | DESYRE |  |  | 1,579 |
| won | wone | wone | wone | wonne | DWELLE |  |  | 1,645 |
| yhernes | 3ernes | kepep | kepeth | 3ernys | COUEYTHE3TH |  |  | 1,649 |
| stede | stede | stude | stude | stede | PLACE |  |  | 1,701 |
| ay | Om. | euer | ever | ay | EUER |  |  | 1,751 |
| ay | ay | euer | ever | ay | EUER |  |  | 1,752 |
| grisely | grysly | grisli | grisly | grisely | DREDEFFUL |  |  | 1,757 |
| myrknes | myrkenes | merknes | merkenes | murkiness | DERKNES |  |  | 1,809 |
| ay | check | check | om. | ay | EUER |  |  | 1,853 |
| twynnyng | Om. | partyng | partyng | twynnyng | PARTYNGE |  |  | 1,864 |
| cald | callede | called | calde | called | CLEPYD |  |  | 1,864 |
| @dede | @dede | @dede | @deth | @deede | @DREDE |  |  | 1,864 |
| titte | ones | ones | ones | titte | SCHARPLY |  |  | 1,915 |
| ay | ay | euer | ay | ay | EUER |  |  | 1,970 |
| ay | om. | om. | om. | ay | OM. |  |  | 2,051 |
| ay | om. | om. | om. | ay | EUER |  |  | 2,106 |
| ille | euele | euel | ille | ill | WYKED |  |  | 2,120 |


| ay | ay | euer | ay | ay | EUER |  | 2,121 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kyrk | kyrk | chirche | writte | kirke | CHIRCH |  | 2,132 |
| @kyrk | @kyrke | @chirche | @chirch | @kirke | @CHIRCHE |  | 2,139 |
| yhern | wolde | wolde | wolde | 3erne | WOLDE |  | 2,182 |
| @ay | @ay | @ay | @ay | @ay | @OM. |  | 2,183 |
| @stede | @stede | @stede | @steed | @stede | @ WYSSE |  | 2,193 |
| grisly | grysly | grisly | grysly | grisely | FFERDFFUL |  | 2,218 |
| grisly | grysly | grisly | grysly | grisely | FFOULE |  | 2,233 |
| warne | haued noght | hadde not | ne had | warne | YIFF YEI HADD NOU3T |  | 2,342 |
| titter | titter | sannore | sonner | titer | SUNNER |  | 2,354 |
| @wglines | @vglynes | @foulnes | @foulnesse | @vgglynes | @[WI]CKNES |  | 2,364 |
| grysely | foule | om. | om. | grisely | fFOULE |  | 2,387 |
| ille | ille | euel | ille | ill | EUEL |  | 2,498 |
| stedes | stede | studes | 0 | stedde | OM. |  | 2,800 |
| stede | stede | stude | 0 | stede | PLACE |  | 2,813 |
| kyrk | kyrk | chirche | 0 | kirk | CHIRCH |  | 2,820 |
| ay | ay | euere | ay | ay | @WITHOUTEN ENDE | ay | 2,857 |
| @syn | @synne | @synne | @syn | @syn | @OM. | @syn | 2,857 |
| ay | ay | om. | om. | aye | EUER | ay | 2,869 |
| dole | dole | deol | deol | dole | SOROW | dole | 2,922 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | dyuerse | sere | HERE | sere | 2,985 |
| sere | sere | dyuerse | dyuerse | sere | DYUERS | sere | 3,003 |
| sere | sere | om. | mony | sere | SWYCH | sere | 3,003 |
| maledys | euylles | eueles | evels | euelles | PEYNES | yuels | 3,003 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | YERE | @sere | 3,046 |
| dungen | dongoun | beten | beten | dongen | BETTEN | dongend | 3,256 |
| tite | sone | sone | sone | sone | ANONE | sone | 3,287 |
| @kyrk | @kyrk | @chirche | @chirche | @kirke | @CHIRCH | @kyrk | 3,321 |
| ay | ay | ay | ay | ay | EUER | ay | 3,360 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @seere | @sere | @CLERE | @sere | 3,398 |
| myster | mystere | mester | mystur | myster | NEDE | myster | 3,447 |
| mister | mystere | nede | myster | 0 | NED | myster | 3,477 |
| kirk | kyrke | chirche | chirche | kirke | CHIRCH | kyrk | 3,478 |
| bannes | banes | bannest | bannoeste | bannys | CURSEY3T | bannes | 3,484 |
| @ban | @bane | @ban | @upon | @ban | @HAUE | @ban | 3,485 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | DYUERSE | @sere | 3,633 |
| @kirkes | @kyrkes | @chirches | @kirkes | @kirkes | OM. | @kyrkes | 3,684 |
| minister | mynystere | ministre | minister | servand | OM. | servand | 3,684 |
| ille | ille | euel | ille | ill | DEDLY SYNNE | ille | 3,699 |
| ay | om. | om. | ay | ay | OM. | ay | 3,734 |


| @flitte | @flyt | @flite | @flytte | @flitt | OM. | @flyte |  | 3,762 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| @als-tite | @tyte | @tyd | @tyte | @als-tite | @ALS-WYTHE | @als-tyte |  | 3,767 |
| @kirke | @kyrk | @churche | @chyrche | @kirke | @CHIRCH | @kyrk |  | 3,819 |
| ay | here | here | here | ay | HERE | ay |  | 3,829 |
| haly | in yaire lyfe | pat in heore lyf | in her lyf | haly | MEKE | haly |  | 3,829 |
| kirk | kyrke | chi[r]che | chirches | kirke | CHIRCH | kyrke |  | 3,830 |
| kirkes | kyrkes | chirches | chirches | kirke | CHIRCH | om. |  | 3,833 |
| gadird | gadyrde | gederet | gedered | gedrede | CLEPED | gedrede |  | 3,833 |
| sere | sere | mony | sere | sere | MANY | sere |  | 3,899 |
| sere | om. | om. | om. | sere | MANY | cere |  | 3,994 |
| kyrk | 0 | churche | chirche | kirke | CHIRCHE | kyrk |  | 4,084 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @HERE | @sere |  | 4,284 |
| @tite | @styte | @tyd | @tite | @tite | WYHTE | @tyte |  | 4,292 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @seere | @sere | @HERE | 0 |  | 4,322 |
| thole | lat | lete | suffre | lat | [...] | lat |  | 4,352 |
| sere | sere | mony | dyuersely | sere | MANY | sere |  | 4,385 |
| maners | maners | maners | om. | maners | WYSE | maners |  | 4,385 |
| frount | frount | frount | forhede | fronte | FFORHEUENED | fronte |  | 4,410 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | dyverse | sere | MANY | $\emptyset$ |  | 4,500 |
| @wathe | @wathe | @scaye | @lothe | @wathe | @HARME | @wathe |  | 4,558 |
| yherne | 3 ernr | coueyte | wylne | 3 erne | COUEYTTEN | $\emptyset$ |  | 4,663 |
| @mirknes | @myrkenes | @merknes | @merkenes | @myrknes | @D[A]RKNES |  |  | 4,728 |
| sonder | sondryd | be broken | be parted | sonder | [...] |  |  | 4,789 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | dyuerse | sere | MANY | sere |  | 4,866 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | diuerse | sere | MANY | sere | [...] | 4,919 |
| alkyn | alle | al | alle | alkyn | ALLE MANER | alkyn | and all | 4,948 |
| sere | sere | diuerse | diverse | sere | MANY | sere | sere | 4,996 |
| askes | askys | askes | askes | askes | POWDER | askes | askes | 4,996 |
| wgly | vgly | lodly | ogly | vgly | LOTHELY | vgly | 0 | 5,024 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @DYUERSE <br> LANDE | @sere | @sere | 5,072 |
| swelt | om. | om. | om. | swelte | DYED | swelt | om. | 5,212 |
| trowes | 0 | seyn | say | trowes | SEY | trowes | trowes | 5,291 |
| ille | ille | euele | wicked | ill | EUELL | $\emptyset$ | yit | 5,407 |
| @sere | @sere | @pere | @seere | @sere | @YERE |  | @sere | 5,425 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | HERE |  | om. | 5,432 |
| tholed | tholede | poled | tholed | tholed | OM. |  | om. | 5,433 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @DERE |  | 0 | 5,437 |
| ay | euermore | euere | ever | ay | EUER | ay | 0 | 5,456 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @YERE | @sere | @sere | 5,472 |
| tholed | tholed | poled | tholed | tholed | SUFF[E]RD | tholed | 0 | 5,540 |


| sere | sere | eny | any | sere | MANY | sere | 0 | 5,541 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ille | om. | om. | om. | ill diff | REKELES | ille | om. | 5,553 |
| chede out | departe | departe | departe | sched | PARTE | sched | 0 | 5,641 |
| @ken | @kenne | @be | @ken | @ken | KNOW | @ken | 0 | 5,685 |
| @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @sere | @YERE | @sere | 0 | 5,720 |
| ille | ille | euel | yvel | ill | YDELL | ille | 0 | 5,744 |

Table 9: Lexical Layer 6 (MV 21 or the T node).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| paynes | payne | peyne | peyn | BALE | paynes | N/A | $\emptyset$ | 1,746 |
| @dyand | @dyande | @diande | @dyghyng | @SIGHANDE | @dy3eande |  |  | 1,752 |
| @ches | @ches | @ches | @chees | @HERE | @chesse |  |  | 2,132 |
| ille | om. | om. | om. | FULL OF VICES | om. | om. |  | 3,671 |
| kirk | $\emptyset$ | chirche | chirche | WERKE | chirch | kyrk |  | 4,072 |
| tholed | tholed | 0 | weren | SOFFRED | tholede | tholed | sofrett | 5,589 |
| ay | euere | 0 | ay | AY | euere | euer | 0 | 5,801 |
| duelle | duelle | dwellen | byde | DWELL | $\emptyset$ | be | be | 6,382 |
| dalk | dale | dale | dalke | 30LKE |  | dalk | dalke | 6,443 |
| ay | om. | om. | ay | AY |  | euer | euer | 7,342 |

Table 10: Lexical Layer 5 (MV 49 or the S1A node).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | ( $\mathrm{TLS}_{1} \mathrm{~S}_{2}$ ) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| ay | om. | om. | om. | ay | ay | EUERMORE | om. | 5,220 |
| egged | eggyde | tysede | tysed | egged | [...] | GAF | egged | 5,483 |
| yhelde | 3elde | 3elde | yeelde | giffe | $\emptyset$ | YHELDE | gyff | 5,894 |
| plente | plente | plente | plente | plenté |  | GRETE | plente | 7,327 |
| fone | fo | fewe | few | few |  | FUNE | few | 7,531 |

Table 11: Lexical Layer 5 (MV 95 or the S2A node).

| GROUP I | GROUP IV |  |  |  |  |  |  | LINE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (N) | (VS) | (LICH) | (TLS1S2) |  |  |  |  |
| MV 27/34 | MV 29 | MV 40 | MV 57 | MV 21 | MV 48 | MV 49 | MV 95 |  |
| alkyn | alle | al | alle | alkyn | alle maner | alkyn | AND ALL | 4,948 |
| beryd | deluede | buried | buryed | beried | beryed | byred | DOLUEN | 5,216 |
| ay | om. | om. | om. | ay | ay | euermore | OM. | 5,220 |
| ille | ille | euele | wicked | ill | euell | $\emptyset$ | YIT | 5,407 |
| tholed | tholed | 0 | weren | soffred | tholede | tholed | SOFRETT | 5,589 |
| @goulyng | @goulyng | @goulyng | @goulyng | @grauyng | $\emptyset$ | @grauyng | @GRAYTT grouyng | 6,106 |
| flaiyng | ferdenes | fere | @affray | fleyng |  | flayng | FERYNG | 6,109 |
| @myrk[n]es | myrkenes | @merknes | @merknes | @myrknesse |  | @myrknes | @CHRYING OWTT | 6,111 |
| @dight | @dyghte | @diht | @dyght | @dyght |  | @dight | @TRESPAS | 6,184 |
| tyte | sone | sone | sone | sone |  | sone | LYKEWYSSE | 6,456 |
| yhernyngs | 3ernynge | 3ernynges | desyres | 3 ernyng |  | yhernynges | COUETUS | 6,628 |
| ay | ay | euere | ever | ay |  | ay | EUER | 6,643 |
| yherne | 3erne | desyren | desire | 3erne |  | $\emptyset$ | DISSYRE | 6,721 |
| rosyng | rosyng | bost | bostyng | roese |  | ruse | POMPE | 7,066 |
| warn | were | $3 i f$ nere | yif nere | warne |  | warne | YFF NO | 7,262 |
| ay | om. | om. | ay | ay |  | ay | EUER | 7,265 |
| tharnyng | tharnyng | 3ernyng | wantyng | 3ernyng |  | tharnyng | GRAITT SOWROW | 7,296 |
| sorow | sorow | serwe | sorow | sorow |  | sorow | PEYNES | 7,323 |
| @laytes | @laytes | @leiten | wayte | @laytes |  | @laytes | @WATES | 7,531 |

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MV 2: Arundel Castle, Sussex, Library of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, E. M.
MV 3: Beeleigh Abbey, Maldon, Essex, Foyle MS
MV 4 (DB): Brussels, Bibliotèque Royal Albert I, IV 998
MV 5: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McCLean 131
MV 6 (DB): Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 386
MV 7 (DB): Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.18 (18)
MV 8 (DB): Cambridge, St. John’s College, 80 (D.5)
MV 9 (DB): Cambridge, St. John’s College, 137 (E.34)
MV 10 (DB): Cambridge, University Library, Dd.11.89
MV 11: Cambridge, University Library, Dd.12.69
MV 12 (DB): Cambridge, University Library, Ll.2.17
MV 13: Cambridge, University Library, Additional 6693
MV 14: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Library, English 515
MV 15 (DB): Canterbury Cathedral, Lit. D. 13 (66)
MV 16 (DB): Charlottesville, Virginia, University of Virginia Library, Hench 10
MV 17: Chicago, Illinois, Newberry Library, 32.9
MV 18 (DB): Chicago, Illinois, Newberry Library, 33 (C. 19169)
MV 19 (DB): Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, Berkshire, 7
MV 20: Dublin, Trinity College, 156 (D.4.8)
MV 21 (DB): Dublin, Trinity College, 157 (D.4.11)
MV 22 (DB): Dublin, Trinity College, 158 (D.4.15)
MV 23: Holkham Hall, Wells, Norfolk, Library of the Earl of Leicester, 668
MV 24 (DB): Leeds, University Library, Brotherton 500
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MV 26: London, British Library, Arundel 140
MV 27 (DB) London, British Library, Cotton Galba E. IX
MV 28 (DB): London, British Library, Cotton Appendix VII
MV 29 (DB): London, British Library, Egerton 657
MV 30: London, British Library, Egerton 3245
MV 31 (DB): London, British Library, Harley 1205
MV 32: London, British Library, Harley 2377
MV 33 (DB): London, British Library, Harley 2394
MV 34 London British Library, Harley 4196
MV 35 (DB): London, British Library, Harley 6923
MV 36 (DB): MV 40 London, British Library, Additional 22283
MV 37: London, British Library, Sloane 1044, item 235
MV 38: London, British Library, Sloane 2275
MV 39: London, British Library, Additional 11304
MV 40: London, British Library, Additional 22283
MV 41 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 24203 so far included in Carrillo-Linares \& Garrido-Anes’s Middle English lexical database.

MV 42 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 25013
MV 43 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 32578
MV 44 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 33995
MV 45: London, College of Arms, LVII
MV 46: London, Lambeth Palace, 260
MV 47 (DB): London, Lambeth Palace, 491
MV 48 (DB): London, Lambeth Palace, 492
MV 49 (DB): London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40. 2/E. 25
MV 50: London, Society of Antiquaries, 288
MV 51: London, Society of Antiquaries, 687
MV 52 (DB): London, Longleat, Wiltshire, Library of the Marquis of Bath, 31
MV 53 (DB): Manchester, Chetham’s Library, Mun. A.4.103 (8008)
MV 54: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 50
MV 55: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 51
MV 56: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 90
MV 57: New Haven, Yale University Library, Osborn a 13
MV 58 (DB): New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Bühler 13
MV 59 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 41
MV 60 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 52
MV 61 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 60
MV 62 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 99
MV 63 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14
MV 64 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 87
MV 65: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 99
MV 66 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 126
MV 67: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 141
MV 68: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 156
MV 69: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 157
MV 70 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, English Poetry a. 1
MV 71 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 56
MV 72 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous 486
MV 73: Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 76
MV 74: Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 88
MV 75: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A. 366
MV 76 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 35
MV 77 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 319
MV 78: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 891
MV 79 \& MV 80: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D. 913
MV 81: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry 138
MV 82 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry 139
MV 83: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry 175
MV 84: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 102
MV 85 (DB): Oxford, St. John's College, 57
MV 86 (DB): Oxford, St. John’s College, 138
MV 87 (DB): Oxford, Trinity College, 15 (E. 15)
MV 88 (DB): Oxford, Trinity College, 16A (D. 16A)

MV 89 (DB): Oxford, Trinity College, 16B (D. 16B)
MV 90 (DB): Oxford, University College, 142 (D. 142)
MV 91: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Library, English 1
MV 92 (DB): Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Library, English 8
MV 93: Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library, Taylor MS
MV 94 (DB): San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 139
MV 95 (DB): Shrewsbury, School, III (Mus. III. 39)
MV 96: Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College Library, 8
MV 97: Harfield House, Hertfordshire, Library of the Marquis of Salisbury, Deeds 59/1, covers.

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[^0]:    2 See the list of MV manuscripts in the Primary Sources section.
    3 MV 44 and MV 96 (Subgroup 1); MV 27, MV 34, and MV 83 (Subgroup 2). Other related manuscripts are: MV 20, MV 60, and the conflated MV 5 (Subgroup 3); MV 5 is also related to MV 46 and the conflated MV 49 (Subgroup 4); MV 3, MV 9, MV 10, MV 86, and the conflated MV 90 and MV 24 (Subgroup 5); MV 13 and MV 52 are unsubclassified.

[^1]:    18 See the Appendix for Tables 1-10.
    19 See also lines: 15; 21; 31; 32; 717; 1,861; 3,293; 3,706; 6,348; 6,362; 6,364; 7,290; 7,388.
    20 See also lines: 301; 303; 313; 320; 788; 4,275.
    21 For the sake of brevity, only one spelling form is provided.
    22 For specific locations, see Lewis \& McIntosh (1982) \& Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos \& Williamson (2013).

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