On Middle English *she, sho*: A refurbished narrative¹

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*In memoriam Derek Britton*

We offer a radical reinterpretation of the first step in the development of OE [h] in *hēo* towards PDE [ʃ] in *she*. This solves outstanding difficulties in accounting for the vocalism in ME [e:], precursor of PDE [i:]. The background is the etymology of *she* created for the Corpus of Narrative Etymologies, and its accompanying Corpus of Changes. The database for CoNE is The Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, with 36 different spellings for *she* across 71 texts. First, we present the OE etymology of *she*, tracking the changes that gave rise to all the attested OE variants. Second, using Britton’s (1991) paper as a starting point, we give a new explanation for initial [hj], allowing a straightforward account for all three attested ME vocalisms: [e:], [o:] and [ø:]. Third, we unpack the changes underlying the complex of variants attested in LAEME.

**Keywords:** Old and Middle English, *she*, pronoun, CoNE, LAEME

1. Introduction

There has been up to now no ‘canonical’ or accepted solution to the origin of the English nominative singular third person feminine pronoun *she*. The controversy has focused on (a) the initial [ʃ] of Middle English (ME) *she, sho* and (b) the difficulties of the [e:] vocalism (the source of PDE [i:]),

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which does not arise naturally from any of the solutions proposed. We will return to these in Sections 4 and 5, and offer a radical reinterpretation of the first step in the development towards \[ j \], which also solves the difficulties of the vocalism.

The interest of this pronoun, however, begins in pre-Old English times and is inextricably bound up with the history of the accusative, which by North West Germanic (NWGmc) had merged with the nominative by loss of weak final nasal (see Section 3.3.1). Consider the overlapping inventories of subsequently developed variant forms for the Old English (OE) nominative and accusative (Campbell 1959: §704; OED3 hoo, pron. and n. – note that OED cites even more forms that are either ‘rare’ or late):

Nominative: hēo, hī, hīa, hīæ, hīe, hīo, hīu
Accusative: hēa, hēo, hī, hīa, hīæ, hīe, hīo, hȳ

The handbook paradigms, which are biased towards West Saxon (WS), have hēo as NOM and hīe, hī as ACC. This makes sense as a general rule because for NOM, hēo is found in all dialects of OE, while for ACC, hīe is only absent from Northumbrian (Nth) and hī is found in both early WS (EWS) and late WS (LWS). In NOM/ACC crossovers, shown above in bold, it is only in Mercian (Merc) where hīo, hēo (Ru¹) and hīe (VP) appear in both functions.

According to Campbell (1959: §703), and cf. Hogg & Fulk (2011: §5.17 and n. 2) the dialectal distribution is:

**Nominative**
- hēo is found in all dialects of OE. hīo, hīa and hī are mainly Kentish (Kt), though there are seven tokens of hīo and three tokens of hīa in Nth (Li) beside 11 tokens of hīu,² which is also found elsewhere in Anglian (Angl). hīæ (rare) and hīe are Merc only (VP).

**Accusative** (not attested in Kt)
- hīe, hī are found in both EWS and LWS. hīe is also Merc. hȳ is LWS only. hīo and hēo are mostly confined to Merc (Ru¹), though hīo is found in the EWS Martyrology fragment. hīæ is Angl (Ru¹ and Ru²). hīa forms are Nth as is rare hēa (Li only).

Differences between nominative and accusative are: NOM sg hīu (Angl only) is not recorded as ACC sg; ACC sg hēa (Nth (Li) only) and hȳ (LWS

² Thanks to Julia Cuesta for supplying forms and numbers of attestations in the Lindisfarne Gospel gloss.
only) are not recorded as nom sg. All other forms can represent both cases. This overlap has led in some accounts of the origin of ME she to the suggestion of hīe as a possible etymon (but see Section 3.4). The source of this large number of forms can be clarified by the OE etymologies of the nom and acc as sets, both with the same (merged) PrOE origin. See Section 3.1.

2. A Corpus of Narrative Etymologies (CoNE)

Standard lexicographical practice is to present the ‘etymology of’ an item as a set of cognates, often with some historical commentary, as in the form-histories in OED3, or scattered comments throughout the cognate set. While CoNE reconstructions are of course based in large part on cognate materials, we do not present the cognate sets. Rather we take them as background (what philosophers of science call ‘context of justification’), invisible in the actual etymologies, which are change-by-change narratives of the emergence of the targeted forms. Cognate material may be referred to in the commentaries.

2.1. Data set

The purpose of CoNE is to derive the forms attested in the corpus of early Middle English texts collected for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English 1150–1325 (LAEME). The scribal languages of the texts in the LAEME corpus of tagged texts (CTT) are the product, at least in part, of developments from OE. The first part of a CoNE etymology therefore accounts for each of the attested shapes of an item in OE – the ‘Old English Etymology’. The second part takes all the OE forms that could plausibly serve as inputs to the forms attested in the LAEME CTT and accounts for their transformation(s) – the ‘Middle English Etymology – Base Phonology’. Thereafter, the ‘Middle English Etymology – Morphology’ section assigns each form in LAEME CTT to its relevant lexico-grammatical tag(s) accounting for the shape of any inflection morphology. This article is concerned mainly with phonology and takes account of LAEME tags only insofar as they label subject (OE nominative) or direct object (normally OE accusative) functions in the relevant forms.³

³ The LAEME tags for feminine personal pronoun in subject and direct object functions are $/P13NF and $/P13OdF respectively. The tags are built up incrementally: $ indicates the
3. The Old English Etymologies

The input to an OE etymology in CoNE is usually the reconstructed etymon during the time of the original West Germanic (WGmc) settlement of England, i.e. Ingvaeonic (Ing). In the cases discussed here, however, the histories require us to go much further back, even to Proto-Germanic (PGmc). Each CoNE etymology tells the story of how the input form changed (often taking divers paths) to give the various forms found in OE.

As Wright & Wright (1925: §458) remark, ‘The most difficult chapter in works on comparative grammar is the one dealing with the pronouns’ (under which both personal and demonstrative, i.e. determiners are included). They continue: ‘It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty how many pronouns the parent Indg. [Indo-germanic] language had and what forms they had assumed at the time it became differentiated into the various branches’. We find this as much of a problem as the Wrights and others have. Our reconstructions are our ’best guesses’, arrived at after sorting through largely unargued claims in the handbooks and invoking the least ad-hockery. (CoNE, Grammel-only items, /P13~she and /P13~hie, Old English Etymology)

3.1. Old English narrative etymologies of NOM and ACC singular third-person feminine pronoun

General shape:

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*reconstructed input form ((change)) > *resulting reconstructed form > [phonetic substance underlying OE citation form] > OE citation form
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3.1.1. Nominative singular (adapted from CoNE, Grammel-only items, /P13~she, Old English Etymology)

||  *xjo: ((XW1)) > *hjo: ((OCJV)) > *hio: = *hioo (TF)) >
1  [hio] > hīo
2  *hio ((BVL)) > [hia] > hīa
   3  *hia ((FF)) > [hīæ] > hīæ
4  *hio ((IOM)) > [heo] > hēo
5  *hio ((VH)) > [hiu] > hīu
   6  *hiu ((VH)) > [hiy] > hīe
   7  *hiy ((IES)) > [hi:] > hī

3.1.2. Accusative singular (adapted from CoNE, Grammel-only items, /P13~hie, Old English Etymology).

||  *xjo: ((XW1)) > *hjo: ((OCJV)) > *hio: = *hioo (TF)) >
1  [hio] > hīo
2  *hio ((BVL)) > [hia] > hīa
   3  *hia ((FF)) > [hīæ] > hīæ
4  *hio ((IOM)) > [heo] > hēo
   5  *heo ((BVL)) > [heâ] > hēâ
6  *hio ((VH)) > *hiu ((VH)) > [hiy] > hīe
   7  *hiy ((IES)) > [hi:] > hī
   8  *hiy ((IES)) > [hy:] > hŷ
Differences between 3.1.1 nominative and 3.1.2 accusative are:

Fork 5 nom sg hīu (Angl only) is not recorded as acc sg;
Fork 5 acc sg hēa (Nth (Li) only) is not recorded as nom sg;
Fork 8 acc sg ȳ (LWS only) is not recorded as nom sg.

3.2. The changes

3.2.1. ((XW1)) x-Weakening 1

*xjo: > *hjo:. *x > [h] morpheme initially and between voiced segments if the first is a vowel. Thus OE holt copse < *xolt-a, sēon see < *sehan < *sexan. See Hogg (1992: §7.45).

3.2.2. ((OCJV)) Onset Cluster j-Vocalisation

*hjo: > *hio:. In Ing or PrOE, in onsets of the shape *Cj-, the approximant vocalizes to *i.

3.2.3. ((TF)) Triphthong Filter

*hio: = *hioo > [hio]. We assume a filter that prevents one mora of what would otherwise be an overlong trimoric nucleus from surfacing. In PrOE this disallows the phonotactically illegal trimoric nuclei that would otherwise appear in OE from Breaking ((BRK)) or Palatal Diphthongisation ((PD)) of long vowels – or in this case ((OCJV)). The filter is actually a constraint, rather than strictly a change, and it acts as a result of and simultaneously with ((OCJV)). The filter is important in the later discussion of the ME forms.

3.2.4. ((BVL)) Back Vowel Lowering

*hio > [hia]. From PrOE into OE, under low stress, all or part of the sequence *u > *o > *a may occur. This change also accounts for the variation between -ast and -ost in superlatives and -ade and -ode in the weak class 2 past tense.
3.2.5.  ((FF)) First Fronting

*hia > [hia]. In PrOE *a > [æ] except before nasals. This change has complications in ways not relevant to this article; for full details see CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((FF)).

3.2.6.  ((IOM)) io-Merger

*hio > [heo]. OE Īo/io and ēo/ eo fell together. In WS and Angl (mainly Merc) the merger was in [eo]/[ëo]. In EWS there is considerable intertextual variation in spellings, with merger in ēo/ eo increasing, and becoming virtually complete in LWS. In Kt the merger was first in [io]/[ĭo]. Later in Kt io and ĭo underwent separate mergers via ((VH)) (see Section 3.2.7).

3.2.7.  ((VH)) Vowel Harmony

*hio > [hiu] > [hiy]. Vowel harmony is any assimilation between vowels where the influence goes from left to right. ((VH)) can occur within the nucleus, as in the diphthongal changes here of [hio] to [hiu], where height is the assimilating feature and thence [hiu] > [hiy] in which backness is the assimilating feature.

3.2.8.  ((IES)) ie-Split

*hiy > [hiː] or [hyː]. In OE, īe/ ie > ī/i or ţy/y. This change is said in the handbooks to be restricted to WS territory, however defined, and to be primarily a feature of EWS. We follow Colman (1985) (and cf. Lass 1994: §3.8.2) in taking the EWS ‘ie’ spelling to represent [iy] or [iŷ]; for discussion and references see also Hogg (1992: §236) and Section 3.3.1. The spelling and what it represents vanish through merger with already existing categories, ţy/y the commonest result, ī/i more usual before palatals. However, ie spellings, and presumably therefore [iy] diphthongs, do occur in other dialects: [iy] is required in these etymologies (Fork 7) to account for Kt fem sg nom hī spellings.
3.3. Commentary

Our monosyllabic input form *xjo: for both Nom and Acc is problematic: it is taken as parallel to the nominative singular feminine demonstrative *sjo: (Prokosch 1939: §94; Krahe 1965: §35). We select it on the grounds of ‘majority rule’ in the handbooks, and because there is a plausible route from it to the attested OE forms.5

3.3.1. Excursus on hīe

We assume that all our attested OE outputs for both Nom and Acc feminine pronouns are monosyllabic, whether continuing diphthongs or the outcome of monophthongisation processes. Indeed, it is generally accepted that this is the case in all but one of the outputs. But there is some disagreement in the handbooks about hīe. For instance, Hogg & Fulk (2011: §5.17 (3)) assert that “perhaps in EWS . . . and certainly in Angl” the -ie represents a disyllabic sequence. As indicated above in Section 3.2.8, we do not agree with Hogg & Fulk’s claim. They adduce a metrical argument (ibid. note 3), although they admit that there is no metrical evidence from the attested pronouns themselves to substantiate this. Instead, hīe is assumed to be “parallel to the present subjunctive sīe(n)” may be (which is frequently disyllabic in verse) because they are “etymologically parallel”. It seems likely that the final -e in sīe was still perceived as a separate syllable because it was seen as a continuously functional singular subjunctive marker. It seems to us unlikely, however, that by OE times, the final -e in hīe should be seen as a separate syllable in one case only of a pronominal paradigm (and one form only of other possible forms for that case). We believe it is more likely that all the OE outputs for the pronoun were monosyllabic in OE. See further, CoNE, Grammel-only items, /P13~she.

5 In CoNE we offer two possible OE etymologies for each of these items. The difference is in input forms and early stages of the etymology; in each case they merge in Proto-OE (PrOE). One input form is monosyllabic, the other disyllabic. Both inputs are problematic, but we prefer the monosyllabic solution. For more extensive discussion, see CoNE, Grammel-only items, /P13~she and /P13~hie, Old English Etymology. The monosyllabic input is identical for both nominative and accusative. Where the two OE etymologies somewhat differ is in the developmental Forks that account for the various OE citation forms (see Section 1) for each grammatical function.
3.4. The OE spellings and their subsequent development

Whether the forms are used in nominative or accusative contexts in OE texts, the variation between them seems to be largely regional. Most of the OE variants die out during the period between OE and ME. Written English in the transitional period is mostly confined to copies of earlier works in OE. By the time ME proper begins to emerge, and to survive in the written record in the mid to late twelfth century, the new ‘she’ type for the subject pronoun already begins to be found. For the object pronoun the levelling of the ‘her/hir’ type from the OE DAT/GEN variants is also already the majority for direct object function. For the fem sg personal pronoun used as direct object ($/P13OdF), LAEME CTT has 60 tokens of the ‘heo/hi(e)’ type across only 7 texts. If one includes hi(e) spellings for rt ($/P13OdI) showing survival of feminine grammatical gender in inanimates, the total rises to 77 tokens across 14 texts. Only 2 texts (with 3 tokens between them) have ‘heo/hie’ exclusively in direct object function for her. The other 5 texts show ‘her/hir’ types beside ‘heo/hie’ types. Against this are 494 tokens of the ‘her/hir’ type for her found across 51 texts. Or, if one includes ‘her/hir’ type spellings for rt showing the survival of grammatical gender, the total rises to 590 across 58 texts. The development of the ‘her/hir’ type is treated separately in CoNE under the etymology of $/P13~her and plays no part in this article.

The early ME object forms in ‘hi(e)’ types do not continue into later ME and even in LAEME show no further phonological development. Those non-‘her/hir’ object forms that match subject forms in shape, heo and ha, may be derived in the same way as the subject forms. The implication of all this is that in spite of the multiple variants in OE and NOM/ACC overlap among those variants, we can derive almost all the 3sg fem subject pronoun variants found in LAEME CTT, including all the ‘she’ types, from OE héo. Only Kt hīo is additionally required to explain a few SE ‘i’ variants in ME; our account of she does not invoke hie at all. From Section 4 onwards we therefore deal only with the continuing history of 3sg fem subject pronoun and will say no more about object forms and functions.
4. The she problem

‘What is the OE etymon for she?’ is a controversial issue that has generated extensive debate for well over a century. There are two main camps: (a) those who derive it directly from the nominative personal feminine pronoun hēo, hīo; (b) those who derive it from the nominative feminine singular of the demonstrative, sēo, sīo.

The two main difficulties in accounting for she:

(a) getting an initial palatalised coronal [ʃ] from either [h] or [s] and including in the narrative an initial dorsal [ç], which ME spellings such as ʒho, g(ḥ)e, ʒe suggest formed an intermediate stage;

(b) getting from a mid diphthong [eo] to a long monophthong – [e:] or [o:] – both variants required by the ME spellings. [e:] is also required for PDE she [ʃi:] and [o:] by some dialectal variants in PDE, e.g. shoo [ʃu:].

4.1. Britton’s 1991 account

The exemplary account by our late and beloved colleague, Derek Britton (1991), summarises and discusses all the main arguments, and comes down firmly and very convincingly in the hēo, hīo camp. The present article is in grateful celebration of Britton’s and (in a spirit which he would have applauded) it seeks to build on it, solving some of its difficulties.6

Our ME etymology accepts Britton’s account in principle but is based on a different model: (i) we provide a different account of the structure of the diphthongs in hēo, hīo and a radically new interpretation of the initial stages of the history; (ii) we fill in (by means of four CoNE-specific sound changes) some of the phonological gaps that Britton’s account fails to bridge; (iii) we have different explanations for some particular early ME spellings, based on interpretations of individual scribal systems in LAEME CTT. (CoNE, Grammel-only items, /P13–she, Middle English Etymology – Introductory Notes.)

6 We take Britton’s article as the starting point for our argument. See his article for a summary of previous work with detailed references. A more recent article (Juengling, 2001) returns to the sēo, sīo camp, deriving ME sho from sēo, and ME she from acc sē. This account, like Britton’s, provides a summary of earlier arguments (repeating much of Britton’s and expanding some of it). It relies on ‘stress shift’ (similar to Britton’s ‘resyllabification’: see Sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2). It discounts derivation from hēo on the grounds that other OE hēo-words did not also develop initial [ʃ], an objection that ignores Britton’s evidence and the fact that changes need neither complete nor spread across the lexicon.
4.1.1. The structure of the OE input diphthongs

Britton’s account has the OE ‘long’ diphthongs as trimoric – [he:ɔ], [hi:ɔ]. Our framework (cf. Sections 3.1 and 3.2.3.) has a filter specifically designed to rule out such structures. We claim therefore that these diphthongs were not trimoric but bimoric, that is, in this case [heo], [hio].

4.1.2. ‘Resyllabification’

Britton assumes that trimoric: [he:ɔ], [hi:ɔ] were subject to ‘resyllabification’ to [hjo:] and thence [ço:]. However, he does not explain how the [o] element of the diphthong lengthens rather than remaining short. This is a difficulty whether [o] is part of an originally bimoric or trimoric sequence.

4.1.3. Development from [ço:] to [ʃo:]

Having detailed all the plausible sources for [ʃ], Britton demonstrates that it is derivable by native phonological processes also observable in other WGmc languages. He deals thoroughly with the proposal of a Scandinavian (West Norse) origin, that is, ‘the Shetland theory’, and shows that it is unlikely that she is anything other than a native development (1991: 12–16).

Nonspecialist readers may be confused by our treatment of the OE digraphs. We assume that those conventionally marked in the handbooks with a macron and said to represent ‘long’ diphthongs, e.g. ēo, in fact represent bimoric nuclei, as opposed to the unmarked ones like eo which are monomoric. That is, the macron does not represent an extra increment of length or weight; it indicates that these digraphs are reflexes of Germanic diphthongs, assumed to be bimoric, or of various diphthongisations of long vowels. In phonetic representations, on the other hand, the ‘long’ diphthongs are written simply as bimoric, with no diacritic, and the ‘short’ ones (which have the weight of short vowels, i.e. two qualities associated with one timing slot) are written with a breve. Hence our writing long/short pairs as e.g. orthographic ēo/ eo and phonetic [eo]/[ɛo]. Let [ ] represent a mora. A long vowel then would be e.g. [e] [e], a short vowel [e]. Similarly a ‘long’ diphthong would be [e] [o], and a short diphthong [eo]. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the ‘long’ diphthongs pattern with the long vowels, and the ‘short’ diphthongs with the short (e.g. a long diphthong alone makes a heavy syllable, whereas a short diphthong, like a short vowel, requires two following consonants). This phonological model, with the short diphthongs consisting of two ‘half-morae’, was first proposed in Lass (1983: 172–177, 1984: 253–257); it was adopted in Hogg (1992: §2.29). The use of the breve to mark shortness in phonetic/phonological representations first appears in Hogg (loc. cit.). It was more fully explicated and developed in Lass (1994: §3.6), and is used in CoNE. This conceptual framework was not available to earlier scholars like Campbell (1959), who do not appear to be concerned with the phonetic properties of the diphthongs with respect to weight; at present Hogg (1992) is probably the standard handbook, and we use the Lass–Hogg model here. The long–short diphthong contrast occurs in a number of Germanic languages, e.g. Scots and Icelandic.
4.1.4. Development of [je:]

At this stage of his argument, Britton admits to facing serious problems in how to account for the vocalism, and is forced to resort to a sequence of unsupported hypotheses. In the first stage of his reconstruction (1991: 6–7), he posits a separately derived ‘stressed’ [he:] beside ‘unstressed’ [hjo:]. He gives no argumentation to support the existence of these two prosodic types. The supposed ‘stressed’ form would have been produced unproblematically from hēo by the usual monophthongisation of OE ēo to ē. Later (1991: 19), he suggests that the [e:] in [če:] came from this [he:] variant. In other words, there was a blend of two forms: unstressed [ço:] (< earlier [hjo:]) and stressed [he:] (< earlier [he:o]).

4.2. An altered model and narrative

We accept Britton’s hēo-based account in principle, but present important differences and offer solutions that simplify the narrative and solve otherwise continuing difficulties:

(a) our framework has the ‘long’ diphthongs not trimoric but bimoric (see Section 3.1);
(b) we give a totally different origin for the initial cluster [hj], extrinsic to the nuclear (root) vowel;
(c) we give a more finely detailed phonetic narrative;
(d) we do not see stress as playing any part in the history;
(e) following from our new interpretation of [hj] in (b), above, we have a different explanation of the vocalism in the forms [če:] and [je:], the latter the direct precursor of standard PDE [ʃi:] and related forms.

4.2.1. Structure of the OE input diphthongs

Our model has the ‘long’ diphthongs bimoric via ((TF)), which is specifically designed to rule out trimoric sequences: that is the OE input was [heo], [hio] not [he:o] [hio] (see fn. 7). It is only fair to note that the bimoric interpretation of the so-called long diphthongs did not become prominent until a year after Britton’s article appeared.8

8 For a later study that also has the relevant long diphthongs as trimoric sequences, see Krygier (1998).
4.2.2. ‘Resyllabification’ and differential stress

This notion does not explain why [o:] (< [he:o]) became long. Nor can it account for the vocalism in [çe:]/[je:], nor that in [ço:], which is the presumed realisation of ME forms like ȝeo. To explain [çe:]/[je:] and possible [ço:], Britton (1991: 6–7) is forced to invoke different degrees of stress and ‘generalisation’ (i.e. analogical extension). We think there is no acceptable argument (empirical or theoretical), for associating the two vocalisms [e:] and [o:] with particular differing degrees of stress.

4.2.3. Yod Epenthesis

We resolve all the above difficulties by introducing a different change, Yod Epenthesis ((YE)) – that is, insertion of a palatal approximant before the nuclear vowel. Here we cite a parallel case where ‘resyllabification’ or ‘the formation of rising diphthongs’ have been invoked in the past. This is in the well-known development of certain OE *eo*- words into ME ye-/yo- words. The two best known examples are *yede/yode* (< OE *ēode*) went and of course *you(r)/yow(r)* etc. (< OE *ēow(er)*) you(r) (see further Section 5.3.5). However, OE evidence suggests that in these cases the change is not an intrinsic development of the nucleus but rather an extrinsic development of the word onset.

4.2.4. Evidence for ((YE)) in OE

There is evidence in OE from sporadic initial *g*- spellings in words with historical initial *ea-, eo-* (long or short) that the palatal approximant *yod* could be inserted word-initially without affecting the following diphthong. See DOE s.v. *eallunga, eallinga* altogether: *geallunga*; s.v. ēare, ēar *ear: gearan, gearum*; s.v. eorþe *earth: georman, georde, georpha*; s.v. ēowan, ēowian, ñwan *display: geowde* (C12), geawian (C12), geowige; s.v. ēower *your: geowre, geowrum*; (cf. s.v. gē *you* acc ieow, gen geower) and s.v. gān *go, ëode* (pret.ind. 1st/3rd sg.): geode; (pret.ind. 2nd sg.): geodes; (pret.ind. 3rd pl.): geode, geoden (C12), geodon (C12) gyodan.9

9 The full list of headwords in DOE that have attestations labelled “with intial g” is: ēacnian; ēacnung; ēadig; ealdor-dōmlic; ealgian; eallunga, eallinga; ēari; eardian; ge.eardod; eardung; eardung-stōw; ēare, ēar; earfoþ, earfoþe, earfoþu; earfoþe, earfeþe; earfoþlice; earn; ge.earnian; ge.earnung; ēaster-sunnanǣfen; eornostlice; eorþe; eorþgemet; ēowan, ēowian,
Such forms, followed by continuing digraph spellings, strongly suggest that ((YE)) occurred (or at least could occur) before the monophthongisation of the Old English diphthongs and independent of the nuclear vowel. There is nothing odd about a change restricted to these environments in Old English; all changes have to begin somewhere. There is nothing strange either about a segment appearing ex nihilo; after all, epenthesis is nothing more than the presence of something where there used to be nothing.

4.2.5. ((YE)) post Old English

Sporadic ((YE)) continues after the monophthongisation of the OE diphthongs, and later spreads to words without historical initial diphthongs:\textsuperscript{10}

(a) For early ME, see: (i) LAEME CTT especially the items $e:ode/vpt (reflexes of OE ēode went), and those for object and genitive forms of you(r) (i.e. $/P22<pr, $/P22G, $/P22Od, $/P22Oi – large numbers of reflexes implying intial [j]); (ii) CoNE, the etymologies of $/P22~inc, $/P22~incer (reflexes of OE dual forms, viz ġinc, ġing, ġung, ġinker, gunker, ġunker), $a:/av (3o as a reflex of OE ā ever) and $earl/n (ȝierl as a reflex of OE eorl earl). Cf. LAEME, Maps, no. 16256301 WENT: ‘yed(-), ‘yod(-), ‘yeod-’ and ‘yiod-’ types, all forms implying initial yod, e.g. ĝede, ĝede, yod, ĝeode. It is clear from the surviving dual forms and from 3o < ā ever that already in early ME ((YE)) can be seen in contexts other than historical ea-, eo- words.

(b) For late ME, see: eLALME, Item 282 went and Dot Map, went: ‘ye(o)de’ and ‘y(i)ode’ types, all forms implying initial jod, e.g. yede, yhode, ĝeode; and Item List, Item 387 (collected for the southern part of the survey only) and Dot Map, Jod insertion, as in ‘yerth’, earth etc. The LALME forms include e.g. ġend(e) for end, yet-; āet- in eat(en), yeftstones eft-soons, yorsse hours, ġeuyn even(ing). The spread from historical ea-, eo- words continues.

(c) For Older Scots, insertion of initial [j] (or ‘preiotation’ as Aitken (2002: 132) calls it) also occurs in words with short vowels, where a stress or syllabicity shift explanation is impossible. Aitken points to ‘pre-iotated’ ġywan; ěower; gān, ĝe.gān. The last two listed are the headwords for the geod- examples from OE ēode.

\textsuperscript{10} For similar observations on ‘glide’ epenthesis in initial position in C12–C15, within the framework of an articulated theory of phonological ‘strength’, see Jones (1989: 178–182, esp. Table 3.3.4 and the discussion following). This is a teleological account, which ours is not. Jones does not relate this epenthesis to the history of she.
forms of earth, earl, eld, oven, herb, adam. He also mentions y-forms in words with historical long vowels or diphthongs such as ale, ape, high (he cites hyech), hame (i.e. southern home), hale. Aitken primarily cites lexemes rather than word forms. Citations gleaned from LAOS (largely restricted to legal documents and only up to 1500) include: zerd(e) 3eyrde earth; y(h)ed, yheide, 3e(i)d(e), 3hed, zid, 3yhd (< OE ðode went).

(d) For rural English speakers born in the late nineteenth century there is evidence in the SED materials. For the North, see Orton and Halliday (1962) s.v. hoof, III.4.10 and s.v. oak and acorn IV.10. 2 and 3. There are many other examples, but typical are [hjɔf], [jɔf] in Cumberland [jɔːfs] in Durham for hoof. For the South, see Orton & Wakelin (1968) s.v. ears VI.4.1 and hear VI.4.2. [jɔːː] is typical for both ear and hear in Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Hampshire.

(e) In standard PDE, the commonest non-initial yod insertion is after [h] (as in PDE huge, human, hue, humour), but it occurs frequently (except in East Anglia) after labials and before the goose vowel (as in PDE dew, few, music, mutant, punitive, putrid; and see Wells 1982: 181).

4.2.6. ((YE)) after [h]?

The evidence is sporadic and scattered, but it is clear from the Older Scots and PDE examples above that it could and did occur in those varieties. There are some indications that it might have happened in OE itself. There are no attested examples of OE forms in *hg-*, but this is no surprise, as it seems likely that such spellings would be graphotactically prohibited. But ‘i’ may also be used in OE for word onset [j], as is witnessed by such forms as ieo formerly, ierne eagerly, iegoðe youth. A search of the DOE Web Corpus reveals the following forms: hiea (1× for sg fem acc pron translating Latin eam), hieo (6× in 5 different texts for fem nom sg and nom pl pron), hieom (2× for dat pl pron) and hieora (7× for gen pl pron). In OE, VVV spellings are uncanonical, so hVVV would be distinctly odd. It seems reasonable that hieo(-) should be read as [hjeo] in these cases. It may also be of interest that such forms are apparently confined to the personal pronoun system in OE.11

11 Of further interest is the presence in Ælfric (Book of Kings) of 12 citations of the personal name Hieu HUGH. All this OE evidence (albeit sporadic) gives support to the existence of [hj]. As Donka Minkova (pers comm) remarks: “It really re-dates the emergence of /hj/ in English and fits in with the richer phonotactics of /h/ word-initially in OE: add (marginal) /hj/ to /hw, hr, hl, hn/.”
Is there also evidence of ((YE)) after [h] in ME? A very fruitful source is the Kentish of Dan Michel in the *Aynbite of Inwit* (ayenbitet.tag): e.g. *hyere hear; hierþ, hyerp hears; hyerd heard; hier, hyer(e) here; hyalde, hylade hold*. These spellings are part of an extensive range, not confined to words with initial vowel or h-, known commonly as Kentish Diphthongisation: e.g. *dyere dear; yede (< OE ēode) went; yeren, yearen ears; lyesyinges, lyeasynges lies*. These spellings taken as a set suggest simple insertion of yod (as in the later Older Scots and PDE examples) rather than a complex development of historic diphthongs or the formation of new rising ones.12

4.3. New proposal for *she*

We propose that OE [heo] > [hjeo] via ((YE)). eo-Monophthongisation/Merger ((EOM)) follows. That is: OE [eo] monophthongises and merges with pre-existing [e:] or [o:], perhaps via intermediate [ø:]. The nuclear vowel remains long.

Therefore the word onset and the nuclear vowel in *she* have separate histories. This explanation solves the problem of all the vocalisms suggested by the ME spellings ([e:], [ø:] or [ø:]), without recourse to any arbitrariness involving either stress or analogy. It also allows us to make sense of anomalies in parallel ME data that Britton cites but has difficulty accounting for. Thus sporadic ((YE)) and subsequent Fusional Assimilation (((FA)) see below in Section 5.1.3) can account for *ȝare* and *ȝor their* (Britton 1991: 40 n. 15) more simply than ‘resyllabification’ does; but ((YE)) equally has no difficulty with forms that “are usually not readily or uniquely explicable as the result of resyllabification” (1991: 41 n. 18), including ME *ȝe, ghe for he* and *ȝam for them*.13

It is clear from Britton’s account that all the phenomena listed above can be explained in different, more or less complex and unrelated ways. But adoption of the idea of ((YE)) solves them all in a simpler more unified manner. Intriguingly, the form *hye* for *she* occurs once in LAEME CTT, in

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12 For a useful summary of the literature on the Kentish forms, invoking ‘syllabicity shifting’ but also linking the Kentish phenomena with later ‘glide epentheses’ of [j] and [w] see Jones (1989: 68–73).

13 Given the possibility of initial [h] deletion, ME forms in *ȝ-* could possibly imply [j] rather than [ç] < [hj]. The possibility of this outcome in individual cases must be seriously considered given the parallel modern examples cited in Section 4.2.5 (d). Britton seems not to espouse this view (1991: 5, n. 5 and references). Whatever the case, if there were such ME realisations, they could have played no further part in the development to [ʃ].
the Kentish Sermons (laud471kst.tag) via Kentish ‘Diphthongisation’. Since we think ((KD)) is merely a local, florid manifestation of ((YE)) (or its back vowel equivalent ((WE)) (w-Epenthesis)) hye could be a straightforward rendition of the (temporary but necessary) [hje:] stage. This text also has the forms yare ear, ialde old. (See further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((YE)), ((WE)) and ((KD))).

5. Middle English developments

Given the arguments in Sections 4.2.1–4.2.6, our account of the central narrative is:

*heo ((YE)) > *hjeo ((EOM)) >
1 *hjo: ((FA)) > [ço:] ((PF)) > [jo:]
2 *hje: ((FA)) > [çe:] ((PF)) > [je:]

5.1. The changes

5.1.1. ((YE)) Yod Epenthesis

*heo> *hjeo. A yod is a palatal approximant with greater but non-fricative stricture than a nonsyllabic [i] (see Trask 1996: s.v. approximant for this definition; cf. also the usage – as a different category from nonsyllabic vowel – in Hogg 1992). Such a segment, which is functionally consonantal, is inserted word-initially or at the right edge of a consonantal word-onset (i.e. just before the following vowel); so it may occur in both vowel-initial and consonant-initial words. ((YE)) therefore occurs only in the onset, which is what we meant above (Section 4.3) by saying that the stories of the word onset and nuclear vowel in she have separate histories. The output of ((YE)) is minimally a CV structure (as in yede [je:de] CVV-, [hjo:] CCVV).

We have mentioned the sporadic evidence for this change in Old English as well as in both early and late Middle English. In Old English it appears to be restricted to insertion of initial g- before historically initial ea- and eo- diphthongs (long or short) or of -i- between initial h- and such diphthongs. This context seems to be strongly preferred in the Middle English examples also, and so-called Kentish ‘Diphthongisation’ provides very numerous local examples (cf. Section 4.2.6 and see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((KD))).
5.1.2. ((EOM)) eo-Monophthongisation/Merger

*\textit{hjeo} > *\textit{hjo}: or *\textit{hje}: OE eo/\textit{êo} ([êo]/[eo]) monophthongise, leading to merger with pre-existing short and long vowels: so for the long ones, our concern here, to [e:] or [o:] (possibly in some cases via intermediate [o:]). (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((EOM))).

((YE)) and ((EOM)) often co-occur because the same word may contain suitable environments for both:

For instance, [jeo-] from the operation of ((YE)) in the reflexes of \textit{êode}) becomes \textit{yode} or \textit{yede} via ((EOM)) (with long monophthongs from the original diphthongal nucleus). On the other hand, the existence of \textit{choose} and \textit{cheese} forms (i.e. the two vocalisms [e:] and [o:]) can be accounted for by ((EOM)) alone, with no need to invoke ‘stress shift’. Indeed stress shift in a diphthong makes no sense, in spite of its common appearance in the handbooks. Only a diphthong as a whole, like any vowel, can be stressed or unstressed: a mora is either syllabic or nonsyllabic. But our point stands even if the term used is ‘syllabic shift’ or ‘resyllabification’ because this change [((YE))] can also occur (albeit later) in contexts where there is no diphthongal nucleus following. (CoNE s.v. The CC and ((YE)), para 3.)

5.1.3. ((FA)) Fusional Assimilation

*\textit{hjo}: > [ço:] and *\textit{hje}: > [çe:]. [h] and [j] mutually assimilate giving a palatal fricative, [ç]. The [j] takes on the voicelessness and fricativeness of the [h], and the [h] takes on the palatality of the [j], yielding a single segment. This results in forms spelled with initial \textit{h}-, \textit{g}- and \textit{ȝ}-. ((FA)) occurs as a synchronic process in many varieties of PDE and Scots, giving initial [ç] in \textit{hue}, \textit{huge}, \textit{hew}, \textit{human}, etc. (cf. Britton 1991: 25–26). (See further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((FA))).

5.1.4. ((PF)) Palatal Fronting

[ço:] > [zo:] and [çe:] > [je:]. This is a common change of tongue shape and point of articulation. It also occurs in a number of German dialects as well as in ME (cf Britton (1991: 12) resulting in loss of the palatal fricative and merger in [f]: in e.g. Alsatian, Darmstadt Hessian and Rhenish Franconian (Keller 1961). In English, apart from \textit{she}, ((PF)) seems to be restricted to
shoops rose hips (< OE hēope) and to the place names, Shap, Shaps and Shipton (Britton 1991: 13–15 and n. 23). In Scots, Britton (1991: 20–28) cites [ʃ] forms in the personal name Hugh(ie) and in hook, and huge. He points out (1991: 30–35) that the limited nature of this change is partly due to the paucity of contexts for it in English/Scots. (See further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((PF))).

5.2. The early Middle English spelling variants for she

Including variants that retain OE initial h-, there are 36 different forms for she recorded in LAEME CTT. Those with OE initial h- (or showing loss of [h]) are:

a, ha, he, heo, hi, hie, hio, ho, hoe, hoo, hue, hy, hye

We have already mentioned Kentish hye (Section 4.3). For detailed discussion of all the continuing h- types, see Appendix 1. Variants in LAEME CTT implying ME development to initial [ç] or [ʃ] (with or without further changes) are:

che, ge, ge, Gge, ghe, scae, scha, sche, scho, sco, se, sge, she, sho, yo, ʒho, ʒhō, ʒie, ʒie, pie, poe, ze, zeo, zo.

The narrative in Section 5.1 accounts for the common variants that are specific to ME: [ʃo:], [ʃe:], and the intermediate, much less common, [ço:], [çe:]. Each of our four exclusively ME types is represented by multiple orthographic variants. Their spellings may often be accounted for by ‘purely orthographic’ changes (i.e. without phonetic implication), which are also an important feature of CoNE’s CC. Below we give a summary account of these four outcomes. The forms scha, yo, pie and poe, indicated in the list above in bold, are discussed in detail in Appendix 2. The form scae will be the subject of Section 6.

5.3. Main types exclusive to ME

All these types develop from OE hēo via ((YE)), ((EOM)), ((FA)) with or without ((PF)), as described in Section 5.1.
5.3.1. [ço:] type

The [ço:] type is represented in LAEME CTT by only two texts widely separated geographically:¹⁴ ḥo in ormt.tag (S Lincs) (19 tokens, one with three acute accents on the ‘o’) and a single example of ḥo (beside very numerous heo and occasional he) in corp145selt.tag (Berks). Orm’s language is located contiguous to the distribution of the [jo:] type (see Section 5.3.3) and provides an excellent illustration of the intermediate stage of develop-

¹⁴ See Map 1: LAEME, Maps, no. 00062533 SHE: spellings with initial ḥ-, ḥ- and final simple -o, e.g. ḥo, ḥo. In Maps 1–6, white dots indicate presence of the feature indicated by the title. The three different sizes of dot show relative frequency of occurrence. Black dots indicate the position of texts that do not show the title feature.
On Middle English she, sho

Orm was working in the late twelfth century (Parkes 1983: 120–125) so sho illustrates also an earlier stage of linguistic development. The single example in corp145selt.tag might seem anomalous, especially as the text is late in the early ME period (C14a1), but there are [çe:] types not far distant (see Section 5.3.2) and the later ME picture, which

Map 2. SHE: spellings with initial g, ş, ʒ- and final simple -e, e.g. ghe, şe

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15 Our abbreviated datings follow the conventions in LAEME and CoNE, viz: C = century, a = first half, (a1 = first quarter, a2 = second quarter) b = second half (b1 = third quarter, b2 = last quarter).

16 See Map 2: LAEME, Maps, no. 00062530 SHE: spellings with initial g-, ş-, ʒ- and final simple -e, e.g. ghe, şe and cf. no. 00062520 SHE: spellings with initial g-, ş-, ʒ- implying [ç], e.g. ge, şeo, şho.
has a much denser coverage of surviving texts, also shows such forms into C14 and C15, with a distribution linking our two witnesses.\textsuperscript{17}

Initial insular ‘g’ may be explained by Orthographic Remapping of ‘g’ (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((ORG))). This change explains how the three OE functions of ‘g’ (i.e. [g], [j] and [ɣ]) were redistributed between the new Caroline ‘g’\textsuperscript{18} and the old insular ‘g’ (‘ᵹ’), which later was to become yogh (‘ȝ’). Initial ‘ȝ’ may be further explained therefore by Orthographic Remapping of ‘ȝ’ (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((ORȝ))). In some scribal systems in LAEME, this still developing figura also took on some of the functions of OE ‘h’, viz non-initial [ç, x]. In the unique case of she, its presence in initial position is one indicator that the change from *hj to [ç] did in fact happen. In Orm’s very idiosyncratic (and mostly extremely regular) system, ‘ᵹ’ by itself can only stand for [j]. Orm uses an added ‘h’ as a diacritic for fricativeness (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((HDF))). When he wishes to indicate historical [ɣ] he places the diacritic ‘h’ as a small superscript above the ‘ᵹ’. Uniquely in his system, the word ȡaho she always has a full-sized ‘h’ beside the ‘ᵹ’. This unique rendition by a careful systematist suggests that the sound was different from that realised by ‘ᵹ’ plus superscript ‘h’, and adds reinforcement to the proposal of an otherwise almost unique initial [ç] for this pronoun at this stage in its history.\textsuperscript{19}

5.3.2. [çe:] type

The [çe:] type is slightly more common than the [ço:] type and is represented in LAEME CTT by ge, ge, Gge, ghe, ȝe, ȝie and probably also ȝeo. This type is for the most part confined in LAEME CTT to texts in the (S)E Midlands.\textsuperscript{20} Only one SW Midland text, layamonBOT.tag (NWWilts, CI3bl1) has this type, though its apparent absence elsewhere in the region may be a function of time, since it is an area where h- spellings predominate in early ME and continue well into late ME. Its rarity outside the (S)E

\textsuperscript{17} See eLALME, Dot Maps, Item 4, SHE: spellings with initial ȝ(h)[..]; cf also Dot Maps SHE: ȝ(h)eo; SHE: ȝ(h)e; SHE: ȝ(h)o.

\textsuperscript{18} For the Emergence of Caroline ‘g’, see CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((EOCG)).

\textsuperscript{19} For a detailed version of this argument including first notice of Orm’s differentiation between superscript and non-superscript ‘h’ see Britton (1991: n. 5). See also Laing (2008: 8–10).

\textsuperscript{20} See Map 2: LAEME, Maps, no. 00062530 SHE: spellings with initial ȝ-, ȝ-, ȝ- and final simple -e.
Midlands may also, however, be related to patchy survival of texts in the early period; eLALME shows considerable minority presence of ȝ- forms in the SW Midlands from C14 and C15.21

The ȝe spellings may be explained by ((OR3)) and are confined to layamonBot.tag (10 tokens) and a single token in adde6at.tag (N Essex, C13b2). In LAEME CTT, ȝeo is unique to layamonBot.tag and is the majority form (51 tokens).22 This text uses eo and e spellings for historical [e(ː)] as well as for reflexes of OE êo and eo. It also occasionally uses eo rather than o spellings for historical [o(ː)]. This usage indicates merger of OE êo/eo and ê/e in [e(ː)] or (less commonly) [o(ː)]. Thus the change, eo-Monophthongisation/Merger (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((EOM))) allows eo to be used beside e or o for historical [e(ː)] or [o(ː)] via Litteral Substitution (see CoNE s.v. Special Codes and then ([LS])). It seems likely therefore that both ȝeo and ȝe in this text represent [çː:], though it remains possible that ȝeo stands for [çɔː]. Given the greater numbers of eo spellings, it may be that they also function indexically for feminine gender. The initial ‘ȝ’ in ȝe, ȝeo for she makes these forms quite distinct from forms of the masculine subject pronoun he. But, in spite of the effects of ((EOM)) and the possibility of ([LS]), for he there are only 3 tokens of heo in this text, beside nearly 400 tokens of he. The combination of different initial consonant and different vowel spelling (and possibly different vocalism) for each pronoun provides maximal contrast. It is of interest to note that in late ME ȝ(h)eo forms are confined to the South-West and SW Midlands, including Wilts. The ȝ(h)o forms have a smaller contiguous configuration at the east edge of the ȝ(h)eo area in Wilts, Gloucs and S Worcs. There are no surviving late ME ȝ(h)o forms in the East Midlands. It is possible that indexical feminine -(e)o in such forms had became a regional feature by late ME. See eLALME, Dot Maps, Item 4, she: ȝ(h)eo and she: ȝ(h)o.

In OE times, Caroline ‘g’ was confined to the writing of Latin, insular ‘g’ (‘ʒ’) being used in Anglo-Saxon scripts. After the Conquest, Caroline ‘g’ began to be adopted also for the writing of English, and it was the availability of this extra figura that made it possible for the remapping of sounds to symbols indicated in Section 5.3.1. During the ME period a consensus gradually emerged, that Caroline ‘g’ was used for [g] and [ʤ], with ‘ȝ’ (the development from ‘ʒ’) used for [j], [y] and sometimes [ç, x]. This con-

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21 See eLALME, Dot Maps, Item 4, she: ȝ(h)e.
22 See LAEME, Maps, no. 00062529 SHE: ȝeo.
sensus, however, occurred only gradually. Some early ME scribes adopted Caroline ‘g’ and simply transferred to it all the uses of ‘ȝ’ and the developing ‘ʒ’, including [ç]. One such was the scribe of genexodt.tag (W Norfolk, C14a1). The single occurrences of ge and Gge belong to this scribe’s output, the latter showing dittography, presumably an error arising from the fact that the first ‘g’ is capitalised at the beginning of the verse line. This scribe’s majority form for she is, however, ghe (56 tokens) showing ((HDF)) as well as ((EOCG)) and ((ORG)). He also has a few spellings indicating the [je:] type for which see Section 5.3.4.

The form ge is the creation of the scribe of bestiaryt.tag (W Norfolk, C13b2). Like the writer of genexodt.tag, this scribe adopts Caroline ‘g’ instead of ‘ȝ’ or its later development ‘ʒ’. But unlike the scribe of genexodt.tag he does some further remapping of sound to symbol by modifying the shape of his Caroline ‘g’ to create two variants. Both have a single lobe and a leftward turning descender or tail. When the littera is used for [g] or (rare) [dʒ], the scribe gives it the usual offstroke or hook from the top of the lobe, whether in final position or linked to a following littera. When, however, the littera stands for [j], [ç, x] or [ɣ], it lacks the final hook. These functions are those that other scribes might employ ‘ʒ’ to express. The first to notice this hookless ‘g’ were Gumbert and Vermeer (1971) and they refer to it as ‘an unusual yogh’; but its shape is nothing like yogh, being identical to this scribe’s normal ‘g’ but simply lacking the hook. Its use is therefore separately recorded in both LAEME and CoNE.

gie occurs once in vvbt.tag (SE Essex, C13a1) beside usual hie (28 tokens and he once). In this text OE [eo] has monophthongised to [e:] via ((EOM)) resulting in usual [he:] for she, realised once as he. But this scribe very frequently employs ‘i’ before ‘e’ as a height diacritic to differentiate [e:] from [e:], hence hie and the single occurrence of gie (with the earlier changes described in Section 5.1). This diacritic usage is most commonly found in the SE Midlands (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((IAHD))).

5.3.3. [ʃo:] type

The [ʃo:] type is represented in LAEME CTT by seven texts all localised in the North or NE Midlands. Because very few northern or northerly texts survive from before 1300, the representation and geographical configuration

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23 See LAEME, Maps, no. 00062527 SHE: gie and pie.
24 See Map 3: LAEME, Maps, no. 00062521 SHE: ‘sho’ type, incl sco.
of the [ʃo:] type is therefore provided by texts that are late in the early ME period. They are: cotvespcm.mat.tag (West Riding of Yorks, C14, sco 25×, scho 9×); dulwich.t.mat (S Lincs, c.1300, sco 10×, scho 9× beside scha 1×25); edincmat.tag (East Riding of Yorks, C14a, sco 20×, scho 2×); edincmbt.tag (North Riding of Yorks, C14a, scho 95×, sco 4×, sho 1×); edincmct.tag (City of York, C14a, sco 44×); havelok.tag (W Norfolk, C14a1, sho 21×, scho 1× beside she 46×, sche 1×,26 he 1×27) and merton248t.tag (NW Lincs, C14a2, sho 7×).

25 See further under Appendix 2 no. 1.
26 See further under Section 5.3.4.
27 See further under Appendix 1 no. 2.
The *sco* spelling retains the OE representation of [ʃ], albeit in a new ME context. The other representations of the initial consonant are therefore the result of another orthographic remapping, that of OE palatal *sc*. The remapping consists of the use of ‘*h*’ as a fricative marker, probably modelled on the parallel adoption of *ch* for [tʃ] following OF orthographic practice. The result in ME is most commonly *sch* or *sh*, as in the she examples above (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((ORPSC))).

5.3.4. [ʃe:] type

In early ME, the [ʃe:] type seems to be less common than the [ʃo:] type and is confined to a smaller area in the NE Midlands, contiguous to, and at the south end of, the [ʃo:] area. It is represented in LAEME CTT by *che*, *sche*, *se*, *she* and probably *sge* (see below). For *scae*, which also belongs to this set, see below under Section 6.

The texts showing the [ʃe:] type are: buryFft.tag (W Norfolk, C13b2, *sche* 1×); genexodt.tag (W Norfolk, C14a1, *sge* 2×, *che* 1×, *sche* 1×, *she* 1×, beside spellings of the [ce:] type for which see Section 5.3.2); havelokt.tag (W Norfolk, C14a1, *she* 46×, *sche* 1× beside *sho* 21×, *scho* 1× and *he* 1×) and trincleoDt.tag (W Norfolk, C13b1, *sche* 7×, *se* 1×).

As with *scho* and *sho* in Section 5.3.3, *sche* and *she* spellings may be accounted for via ((ORPSC)). In Norfolk especially, single ‘*s*’ is also found in early ME as one of the possible realisations of [ʃ]. In bestiaryt.tag and genexodt.tag, almost all the reflexes of OE *sc* are spelled *s* with only occasional *s(c)h*. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that for she neither of these texts has any examples of the form *se*. Its presence in neighbouring trincleoDt.tag, however, is no surprise since this text shows a wide range of spellings for historical [ʃ], whether initial, medial or final: *ch*, *s*, *sc*, *sch* and *ss* (the last in medial position only).

The other two spellings represented above, *che* and *sge*, are both from genexodt.tag. The single occurrence of *che* would seem to be either an error for *sche*, or a unique example in this text of palatal hardening of [ʃ] to [tʃ] (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((PH))). There are no other examples of palatal hardening in this text, but there is evidence in later ME of *che* spellings for she in Norfolk,29 so this could be an early manifestation of a real sound change.

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28 See Map 4: LAEME, Maps, no. 00062522 SHE: ‘she’ type, incl rare *scae*, *se* and *sge*.
29 See eLALME, Dot Maps, Item 4, SHE: spellings with initial *ch*.
The two examples of sge in genexodt.tag are oddities. The majority of forms for she in this text imply [çe:] (see Section 5.3.2), with both ghe, and ge spellings. But two tokens, sche and she, clearly imply [je:]. The form sge we take to be a portmanteau form for [je:], with ‘s’ indicating sibilance and ‘g’ indicating palatality. There are no other occurrences of sg- in this text.

5.3.5. Time and space: the distribution of [ʃo:] and [je:] types in ME

As we indicated in Section 4.2.3, the development of OE ēode went in late Old English and in Middle English provides a very useful parallel to the
development of ME \[jo:\] and [je:]. Reflexes of ẽode are well attested up to the end of the Middle English period. Old English geo- spellings subsequently give rise to forms showing the effects of ((EOM)) whether to initial \[jo:] or [je:] or intermediate [jo:]. In mid C11 we already find gode (implying post ((EOM)) [jo:d]-) in the gloss to the Benedictine Rule in British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii. By early C12 we find the following spellings in the Peterborough Chronicle: First Continuation iedon, geden (both 3pl) and by mid C12 in the Second Continuation (petchront.tag), geede and iæde (3sg) and ieden (3pl), all implying post ((EOM)) [je:d]-.30

The distribution of \[jo:] for she in the North and NE Midlands is perhaps surprising, because the result of ((EOM)) in these areas would normally be [e:] rather than [o:], which was normally mainly confined to the South West and (S)W Midlands. But the combined occurrence of ((YE)) and ((EOM)) seems to have led to differing outcomes with a near complementary distribution to the expected regional pattern. The early ME reflexes of OE ẽode went (also with ((YE)) and ((EOM))) show a similar distribution to those of sho, she, the yode type being found in the North and the yede type elsewhere as well as showing some spread to the North. The reflexes of second-person plural object and genitive pronouns you and your (< OE ēow and ēower) have the added complication of influence of the following [w], but again you(-), yow(-), zou(-) and ȝow(-) types predominate everywhere except the South East where ȝeu(-) and ȝew(-) types may be found.31

30 petchront.t.tag also has the very first attestation (ca 1155) of a spelling for she implying [je:], for which see further Section 6.
31 For evidence from the LAEME CTT, see item $e:ode/vpt where the following yod-ful spellings are recorded: 1sg: yede, yod, ȝeode; 3sg: geede, giode, giode, iæde, yed, yede, yod, yode, ȝeode, ȝiæde, ȝiæde, ȝiæde, yeæde, yeæde, yeæde, yeæde, yeæde; pl: geden, giode, giode, iæde, yed, yede, yeden, yod, yode, ȝeden, ȝeden, ȝeode, ȝeodem, ȝeoden, ȝode. For distributions see Maps 5 and 6: LAEME, Maps, no 16256303 WENT: 'yod(e)' type, all spellings with simple medial -o- variants and no 16256302 WENT: 'yed(e)' type, all spellings with medial -e-, -ie- and -æ- variants. For evidence from LALME see eLALME, Itemlist, Item 282 and Dot Map went: 'yo(o)de' type (excl 'yioide'), incl yhj/h(h)- variants and Dot Map went: 'ye(e)de' type, all forms with simple medial -e(e)-, incl yhj/h(h)- variants. For you(r), see LAEME, Maps, no. 00143212 YOU all object types: 'yew' type (ȝeu, ȝew, ȝep and ȝeu) and 00143301 YOUR: ȝeuer(e), ȝewer(e), ȝeure (data from one text only). Such spellings are very rare and sporadic in late ME. Compare also Maps 3 and 4 with eLALME, Dot Map she: 'sho' type, incl sco and s(s)o; and Dot Map she: 'she' type, incl sce and se.
The earliest recorded example of the [ʃ] type for she is that found in the Final Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle, written ca 1155 (petchront. tag). In the annals for 1140–1153, which deal with the complex power struggle between King Stephen and Empress Matilda, the feminine personal subject pronoun occurs six times, always as sce. Continuation of the OE spelling sc- for historical [ʃ] (i.e. all reflexes of WGmc *sk) is exceptionless in this text language. So sc- in sce can be safely taken to represent this new [ʃ] from...
The aesc spelling for \([\varepsilon:]\) might seem problematic. But Peterborough early ME may be taken to represent a descendant of Angl in which Anglian \(\tilde{a}\)\(^1\) Raising had taken place; i.e. \([\varepsilon:\]\ arising from the fronting of WGmc \(*\alpha > [\varepsilon:]\). Moreover, in late OE and very early ME, in all dialects except Kt, Long ae-Raising occurred; i.e. \([\varepsilon:\]\ from whatever source\(^{32}\) raised to \([\varepsilon:]\) (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((AAEIR)) and ((LAER))).

\(^{32}\) That is, \(\tilde{a} \), from the fronting of WGmc \(*\alpha::\) (WS only); \(\tilde{a} \), which is the reflex of the i-umlaut of PrOE \(*\alpha: < Gmc *\alphai\) (WS and Angl); and \([\varepsilon:]\) resulting from the monophthongisation of \(\tilde{ea} [\varepsilon\alpha]\) (WS and Angl).
These changes allow ‘æ’ to become a floating *littera*, employable for a number of functions. In *petchront.tag* æ alternates with e for reflexes of OE æ, e, ea and eo whether long or short (either stressed or unstressed). For [eː] specifically, note the forms *ceæ* cheese (< OE (Angl) cēse) and *daer* deer, animal (< OE dēor) showing (((EOM))). Of particular interest also are the forms *gæde*, *iæde* went (< OE ēode) (beside plural *ieden*), which show ((YE)) parallel to that proposed for [jeː] < [çeː] < [hjeː], but in a vowel-initial ēo word where there was no ‘h’ to trigger ((FA)).

7. Conclusions

(a) For the history of *she*, we posit an approximant epenthesis of a type already found in OE, spreading to further items in ME, and occurring in all periods of Scots as well as PDE. This turns the word-onset into a consonant cluster with its own history, independent of that of the nuclear vowel (though it seems primarily to occur before certain nuclear types).

(b) The nuclear vowel derives in the normal way from OE [æo], with no need for ‘resyllabification’ or the creation of ‘rising diphthongs’.

(c) This account allows an etymology with no interim generation of trimoric nuclei, or the problem of maintaining vowel length when the first element of the nucleus is the first vowel of the diphthong that constitutes it. It therefore allows for the unproblematic derivation of both [jeː] (required for PDE [ʃiː]) and [joː] (required for some regional types such as [ʃuː]).

(d) We claim that the so-called ‘*she* problem’ has been a problem mainly because of a misconception of the kind of etymology it is. The literature (and this is true even of Britton’s account, which is clearly the best) founders on the failure to separate the development of the word-onset and the development of the nuclear vowel.

The mistake has been the attempt to combine a vocalic story and a consonantal story and at the same time make phonological sense. We suggest that in this case it cannot be done, and that by separating the two stories we arrive at a clean and linguistically justifiable narrative.
Appendix 1: ME types retaining OE h-

Such spellings for she are still by far the majority in early ME. The history of these forms is not the main focus of this article, but for completeness’ sake we give a brief account of the main types as represented in LAEME CTT by the h- forms listed in Section 5.2. Each of the first three types takes as its starting point a different attested OE form as shown by the end points of Forks 1 (and 7), 4 and 6 in the OE etymology in Section 3.1.1. The fourth type is derived differently.

1. [hio] and [hi] types
These types are both Kt and are represented in texts in LAEME CTT by hio and hi themselves and by the reflexes hy and possibly hye.

hio survives as a single token in only one text: buryFft.tag (W Norfolk, Cl3b2, beside heo 14×, he 5× and sche 1×). It is surprising to find this originally Kt form so far North in East Anglia.

hi and its ME variant hy are found in the Kentish texts ayenbitet.tag (C14a2, hi 25× hy 12×) and in laud471kst.tag (C13b2, hi 2× beside hye 1×). When hi occurs in texts from other than the South East it is more likely to belong to the [hiy] type (see no. 3, below).

hye occurs only once in LAEME CTT, in laud471kst.tag. In the past it has been accounted for via so-called Kentish ‘Diphthongisation’. We however think it is possible that this spelling may be a straightforward rendition of the [hje:] stage of development via ((EOM)) (see Section 4.3). For details of the complex developments of the reflexes of OE io/eo in Middle Kentish, see CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((KD)) and references there cited, including cross-references to other Kentish-specific changes. By early ME times ‘y’ normally stands not for [y(ː)] but for [i(ː)] or [j] (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((ORY))).

2. [heo] type
The OE [heo] type provides the starting point for all the ME reflexes dealt with in Sections 5.3.1–5.3.4. In addition, LAEME CTT shows a number of h- descendents: he, ho, hoe, hoo, and in (SE Midland texts only) hie. The form heo itself is represented by 970 tokens in 41 texts right across the

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33 Contrast LAEME, Maps, no. 00062518 SHE: spellings with initial h- and no. 00062517 SHE: spellings with initial s-. 
southern half of the country, though it is of common occurrence only in those texts from the (S)W Midlands.\textsuperscript{34}

In LAEME CTT, the spelling \textit{ho} is represented by 210 tokens across 15 texts, all of which are confined to the (S)W Midlands. The \textit{he} form is less frequent but more widespread, being found in texts right across the southern half of the country but usually as a minority form in any text language. It is represented by 86 tokens across 23 texts. Both these forms may be explained via ((EOM)). So too can the form \textit{hoe}, represented by 62 tokens across 7 texts, all from the SW Midlands, where \textit{oe} may represent [o:] via the monophthongisation version of ((EOM)) or [ø:] via the merger version, in which case the final -e would be otiose.\textsuperscript{35}

The single example of \textit{hoo} found in neroart.tag (W Worcs, C13a2) is almost certainly an error because it occurs in this text beside 111 tokens of \textit{heo}. This scribe has no other evidence in his text language of the orthographic doubling of long vowels. Even in late ME the spelling \textit{hoo} for she is vanishingly rare, occurring in LALME as a minor variant beside many others in only two Linguistic Profiles: LP 215 from Cheshire and LP 5040 from Devon. It is not until centuries later that the spelling \textit{hoo} is commonly adopted to indicate the dialectal variant still found in North-Western and NW Midland English.

For the form \textit{hie} occurring outside the SE Midlands, see no. 3, below. When this form occurs in texts belonging in the SE Midlands it is unlikely to derive from OE [hiy]. It likely to derive rather from OE [heo] via ((EOM)) to [he:] with ‘i’ being used as a height diacritic, an orthographic device that typically operates in the SE Midlands (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((IAHD))). This spelling is found in four relevant texts: trhomAt.tag (NW Essex, C12b2), trhomBt.tag (W Suffolk, C12b2) vvat.tag and vvbt.tag (both SW Essex, C13a1) with 238 tokens of \textit{hie} between them. In trhomAt.tag and especially trhomBt.tag \textit{ie} beside \textit{e} and \textit{eo} is commonly

\textsuperscript{34} The numbers in this section include examples of subject forms with the sense \textit{it}, indicating survival of grammatical gender. They do not include non-subject forms. Note that \textit{hēo}, showing an accent as diacritic, found once in lamhomA1t.tag (NW Worcs, C13a1) is not a subject form, but is used for direct object \textit{it}, referring to \textit{elmasde} \textit{alms(deal)} (< OE \textit{ælmes}(<se))) and showing retention of grammatical gender. This form appears in the CoNE etymology of /P13N~she because the etymology deals with all the reflexes of OE \textit{hēo}, regardless of their function, as is the case with the forms discussed in fn. 35 and 36.

\textsuperscript{35} Note that the one occurrence of \textit{hoe} found in a South Eastern text, digpmt.tag (Kent, C13a1), is not a subject form, but is used for direct object \textit{it}, referring to \textit{senne} \textit{sin} (< OE \textit{synn}) and showing retention of grammatical gender.
used for reflexes of OE ēo. In vvat.tag and vvbt.tag ie is commonly used also for reflexes of OE ē.

3. [hiy] type (non-Kentish texts)
OE [hiy] has surviving reflexes in the SW Midlands in two texts in LAEME CTT: fmcpmt.tag (Central Gloucs, Cl3b2–C14a1 hie 5×, beside hi 2×) and tr323dt.tag (hie 2× beside hue 7× (see below): tr323dt.tag also has he 11×, heo 3×, ho 2× (for which see no. 2, above)). As with the Kentish examples in 1. above, OE [hiy] gives rise to the form hi via the unrounding version of ((IES)). hi occurs twice in fmcptmt.tag and once in each of cotowlat.tag (Central Worcs, Cl3b2) and jes29t.tag (E Herefords, Cl3b2).36 In the hie examples we assume the final ‘e’ is otiose.

In LAEME CTT, the form hue is confined to seven occurrences, all in tr323dt.tag (SE Herefords, Cl3b1). In this text, the rounding version of ie-Split ((IES)) gives [hy:] (cf. Section 3.2.8). The next stage is an orthographic change, Western y-Respelling, where reflexes of OE [y(:)] come to be spelled with ‘u’ (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((WYR))). We assume the final ‘e’ is otiose, perhaps by analogy with hie.

4. [ha] type
This type does not originate in OE, and ha(-) forms for any personal pronoun in ME are anomalous. They are however very numerous in the (S)W Midlands, especially for she (including subject pronouns with the sense it showing survival of grammatical gender). ha is represented in LAEME CTT by 627 tokens across 19 texts.

We assume ME 3 pl ha- forms are by analogy with the demonstratives, that is, ha by analogy with þā, har(e) by analogy with þāra, and ham by analogy with þām.37 We further assume ſem sg ha is via Personal Pronoun Merger of these analogised forms (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((PPPA)) and ((PPM))). ha is separate from the following verb in the vast majority of cases. Eight tokens of ha in three texts are joined to the following verb showing possible clitic formation. The same process, with Initial h-Dropping, accounts for the nine tokens of a for she across four texts in

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36 Note that hí, showing an accent as diacritic, found twice in egpm1t.tag (SW Worcs, Cl3a2–b1) is not a subject form, but is used for direct object it, referring to ehte treasure (< OE æ¯ h t) and to brede meat (< OE bræ¯de) and showing retention of grammatical gender.
37 For distributions, mainly in the west and/or south of the country in both early and late ME see LAEME, Maps, no. 00064127 THEIR: ‘har’ type, incl. ar, no. 00063934 THEM all object types: ‘ham’ type, incl am and enclitic +am and no. 00002332 THEY: ha; and see eLALME, Dot Maps Item 9 THEIR: har(e), ar; Item 8 THEM: ham(e), am and item 7 THEY: ha and a.
LAEME CTT: iacbt.tag (NE Gloucs, C13b1, -a 1×); titusskt.tag (mixed language, C13a2, a 1×); tr323tat.tag (E Herefords, C13b1, a- 2×, a 1×); tr323bt.tag (E Herefords, C13b1, a 2×, -a 1×, a- 1×). The leading and trailing hyphens indicate respectively enclitics and proclitics (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((IHD)) and ((CF))).

Appendix 2: Three oddities – Litteral Substitution Sets again

1. scha
This form occurs only once in LAEME CTT in dulwicht.tag (ca 1300) beside 19 tokens of sc(h)o (see Section 5.3.3). This Lincs text is late in the early ME period and is on the borderline of the area where the southerly rounding and raising of OE [aː] > [ɔː] occurred (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((ARR))). Sporadic apparent failure of ((ARR)) in this text gives rise to ‘a’ rather than ‘o’ in some items, e.g. halewid HALLOWED (< OE hālgian), laue REMNANT (< OE lāf). If it is not simply a mistake, it seems most likely that ‘a’ in scha is a litteral substitution of ‘a’ for ‘o’ (albeit representing [ɔː] not [ɔː]) in a system where there is some uncertainty in the spellings of long ‘o’ and ‘a’.

2. þoe, þie
These forms occur once each in arundel248t.tag (E Cambs, C13b2). This scribal system was the subject of a detailed study in Laing (2008). In this system:

There is interchange both between initial <h> and zero, suggesting loss of historical initial [h]. This interchange happens in all classes of the lexicon. There is also interchange between initial <h> and <þ>. This interchange happens mostly in the pronominal system where one would expect low stress. (Laing 2008: 32)

Examples of loss of initial ‘h’ are: auest HAST (2×); im-self HIMSELF; auen HAVE, with inverse spellings further suggesting that ‘h’ is a null character: houet OWETH; hure OUR; hosket ASKETH. Examples of the use of ’þ’ for his-

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38 See further CoNE s.v. Special Codes and then ([LS]) and refererences there cited.
39 OED3 s.v. she, pron.1, n., and adj. under Forms γ, has a curious section, including the dulwicht.tag form, and amalgamating “ME scha [the dulwicht.tag form], ME shae; Eng. regional 18– shaa [north.]; Sc. 19– shae”. Given the difficulties in interpreting these rare, geographically and temporally isolated spellings, they would seem scarcely to form a group. Until C18, -a forms seem to be extremely rare. There are none at all amongst the 64 variants listed in LALME.
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historical [h] and ø are: þe he (2×); þauet haveth; þar-þan erethat. Note also hin thine hese this and hare there. Laing explains (2008: 33) that if ‘h’ is a null character then its use ‘in contexts where one would expect [θ~ð] suggests that historical initial [θ~ð] may sometimes also be reduced to zero’.

These examples strongly suggest the operation of Theta Lenition in this system. As the [θ] value of ‘þ’ becomes lenited to [h], ‘þ’ can come to stand for historical [h] and thence (via Initial h-Dropping) even for zero (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((TL))). We therefore assume that both poe and pie descend from OE [heo]. Both show literal substitution of ‘þ’ for historical [h], which may or may not have completed the lenition sequence to zero. We assume the oe in poe to be for [ø:] via the monophthongisation version of ((EOM)) or for [o:] via the merger version with otiose final -e. In pie, ((EOM)) has produced [he:] and the ‘i’ is a diacritic for height as is commonly found in SE Midland texts such as this, which also has hier 4× beside her(e) 4× for here (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((IAHD))).

3. yo

This occurs three times in clericot.tag (NW Lincs, ca 1300) in which <y> for historical [θ] is found also in yai, yay for they (beside hay). We assume that in these forms <y> represents [θ, ð] via the orthographic practice common in the North and North Midlands of using a <y>-like figura for both ‘y’ and ‘þ’ (see further CoNE s.v. The CC and then ((ORT))). This <y> for ‘þ’ is then associable also with [h] via Theta Lenition as follows: as the [θ] becomes lenited to [h], <y> can come also to stand for historical [h] by literal substitution. This interchange of word-initial ‘h’ and ‘y’ for ‘þ’ is evident in this text also in hyn thine vs yi thy.

This is a very short text of only 529 words. The scribe uses ‘y’ for [i(:)] as well as for [θ, ð] and [h]. There are no examples in the text of words with initial [j] so it is not certain whether or not ‘y’ would also function for that in his system. The scribe does not anywhere use ‘ȝ’: his spellings for historical [ç, x] (only occurring before [t]) are micht-, michc, and mithe might (verb), nayct possessions (< OE æht) nicht night, nouct not, noth naught (both < OE nōht), sayct accorded (< OE sehtan). It seems very unlikely (though theoretically possible) that ‘y’ in yo could represent [ç] in this text although the entry in OED3 may suggest it.40

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40 OED3 s.v hoo, pron. and n.1 under Forms δ, has a section that includes the clericot.tag form, and amalgamates “eME yio (Irish English), eME yo (north-east midl.) [the clericot.tag form],
Abbreviations of OE texts cited

Li = Lindisfarne Gospels
Ru1 = Rushworth Gospels (Merc portion)
Ru2 = Rushworth Gospels (Nth portion)
VP = Vespasian Psalter

LAEME tagged texts cited

adde6at.tag Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional E.6, Hand A: The Sayings of St Bernard
arundel248t.tag London, British Library, Arundel 248: religious verse and prose
ayenbitet.tag London, British Library, Arundel 57: Ayenbyte of Inwyte
bestiaryt.tag London, British Library, Arundel 292, fols. 4r–10v: The Bestiary
buryFft.tag Cambridge University Library Ff.II.33: Sacrist’s Register of Bury St Edmunds
clericot.tag London, British Library, Additional 23986 (roll): Interludium de Clerico et Puella
corp145selt.tag Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145: South English Legendary
cotowlat.tag London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II: Owl and the Nightingale, language 1
cotvespcmat.tag London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A iii, Hand A: Cursor Mundi
digpmt.tag Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 4: Poema Morale
dulwicht.tag London, Dulwich College MS XXII: La Estorie del Evangelie
edincmat.tag Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of Cursor Mundi, Hand A: Cursor Mundi
edincmbt.tag Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of Cursor Mundi, Hand A: Northern Homily Collection
edincmct.tag Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of Cursor Mundi, Hand C: Cursor Mundi

ME ȝeo (south-west.), ME ȝeo (south-west. and south-west midl.), ME ȝho, ME ȝo (chiefly south-west. and south-west midl.), ME ȝoe (south-west.)”. The yio example is from Cambridge, University Library Gg.I.1 written in medieval Hiberno-English. Although the listed clericot. tag yio does not apparently belong in this set, it seems that yio plausibly does. Michael Benskin (pers. comm.) explains that the scribal system of Gg.I.1 has ‘y’ for ‘þ’ and also alternates this ‘y’ with ‘th’ for [θ, ð]. It therefore exhibits one-for-two and two-for-one substitutions. Anything (or any two things) that can represent more than one potestas can therefore substitute for others that also stand for those sounds. Here, ‘y’ can also represent [j] and [i] (which latter of course may also be represented by ‘i’), ‘ȝ’ can also stand for [j] (as well as [ç, x]) so ‘yi’ in this word may be taken to be equivalent to ‘ȝ’ and yio thus marches with ȝo in other systems.
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On Middle English she, sho

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