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THE LANGUAGE OF EMARE,
A MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCE

PART I. PHONOLOGY

Yoshio Nagano

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The period from the end of the 13th to the middle of the 15th century saw the fashion of romance writers largely adopting tail-rime stanzas of twelve lines in Scotland and the northern part of England. But this vogue, which is clearly due to the French influence of the day, was hardly followed among writers of the southern district with an occasional exception that Chaucer, for instance, employed this verse pattern (though of six lines) parodically in Sir Thopas of the Canterbury Tales. In this case, the monotonous beat of tailrime would have been turned to good account by the celebrated poet for the sake of narrative effect. Be that as it may, romances of this category including Emare which we find in the north of the Midlands are Amis and Amiloun (13th c., North East Midland), Ipomadon (ca. 1350, North), Athelston (ca. 1350, North Midland), Sir Octovian (ca. 1350, North), Sir Eglamour of Artois (ca. 1350, North Midland), Sir Torrent of Portyngale (ca. 1400, North East Midland) etc. Indeed they may fade into insigni-
ficance beside Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Morte Arthure or the like; they may be no doubt inferior in terms of literary value; yet they do have their raison d'être in that each of them forms the basis of a huge pyramid of romantic sagas of the medieval England.

Of these 'minor' romances, Emare may be said most refined to all appearances. The only extant MS. is found in the volume Caligula A II of the Cottonian collection at the British Museum and the date of composition is to be roughly placed later than the middle of the 14th century. Although nothing is known of the immediate source, it would be possible to assign it to the so-called Constance saga, which is so named after the heroine in Chaucer's Man of Law's Tale (C. T.) or Gower's Confessio Amantis (II, 38) because of a certain similarity of plot between them. It is quite probable that for subject matter these two authors separately depended upon the story of Constance in Chronique Anglo-Normande by Nicholas Trivet, an Anglo-Norman writer. This story, in turn, could be traced back to a French version that may have arisen in Touraine, a former province in West France, during the period of Anglo-Norman domination. This assumed French version seems to have been the source of Emare and its analogues. The fact that proper names are not only French but loan words in abundant use are also French will lead to the conclusion that Emare is a translation or adaptation of a French romance. Here is the outline of
the story.

Emare, only child of the emperor Artyus, loses her mother in her infancy and is brought up by a court lady. Artyus later becomes enamoured of his own daughter in adolescence, and obtains a dispensation from the Pope to marry her. But, on her refusal, she is exiled in a boat, which drifts to the land of Galicia. The steward of the king of the land discovers Emare and brings her to his castle, where she spends day after day in needle-working. One day she waits at a banquet for the king, who falls in love with her and at last marries her against the will of his mother. During his absence for the battle with the Saracens, she bears a son, who is named Segramour. The king's mother intercepts a letter telling him of the birth and counterfeits another to the effect that the queen has borne a devilish monster. Although greatly distressed, the king orders his wife to be well treated. His mother, however, again substitutes this letter for another one ordering in the king's name that the queen with her child should be adrift in a boat. The command is after all carried out in people's grief. After a week they drift to Rome, where they are sheltered for seven years by a kind merchant. The king of Galicia, on returning from the war, finds out her mother's treachery and exiles her. After seven years' lamentation he travels to Rome to do penance and happens to lodge at the merchant's house. By Emare's instruction her son Segramour waits at table upon the king, whose heart is strangely drawn toward his unknown child, and Emare makes herself known to him. Artyus, her father, also comes to Rome to do penance and is met by the king of Galicia and his young son. They reconcile themselves with one another and Segramour afterwards becomes emperor.3)
Nothing is either known of the author of this story, but from allusions to wandering minstrels in the opening part of the text (v. 13 ff.) one will be inclined to regard him as such. The more explicit feature of the language of the text would lead us to the supposition that the author's country was somewhere within the boundary of the North-East Midland dialect, i.e. Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire.

Of no less historical importance than those of other M.E. literary monuments, the language of Emare was a geographical and chronological variety of that which had earlier materialized the Peterborough Chronicle (ca. 1150), Ormulum (ca. 1200), Genesis and Exodus (ca. 1250) and Havelok the Dane (ca. 1300). The North-East Midland dialect (abbreviated to NEM) stood midway between Northern and South-East Midland dialects: the former was the development of Northumbrian in the Old English period, while the latter, evolved from Old Mercian of the eastern division under the Danelaw, approximated more closely to the Northern dialect. It goes without saying that geographical boundaries for dialects do not exist: in its fringe a given dialect merges into the next with no clear line of demarcation, and it is only for the sake of convenience that we usually speak of such a vanishing or neutral zone as if reduced to a real line. Then, it was important that NEM bordered on its southern counterpart, i.e. SEM (the South-East Midland dialect), because the SEM territory comprised London, Oxford and
Cambridge, thus lending itself to the capacity of the literary language which, in its turn, was to be furthered by Chaucer, Gower and Wyclif.

Such being the case, it is clear that NEM must have played a disguised but significant part in forming a channel through which to send out into SEM a number of substantial Old Norse loan words including they, their, them etc. or scores of Northern forms. Here we cannot afford to dwell upon how matters stood then. What is more, there is the problem of French loan-words which kept finding their way into ME after the Norman Conquest. Concerning this, it would suffice to say that in such a literary work as romance which generally presupposes a French model in some form or other in its background, the significance of the role to be played by words of French origin cannot be too much evaluated. Thus it is not without reason that the romance of Emare has been singled out as a language testing to prove the validity of the above premise. In what follows the linguistic testing will be made in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax, and this conventional tripartite approach, it is hoped, would give a clear picture of the English language in the making.5)

PART I. PHONOLOGY

The language of Emare is here to illustrate that it was by no means an exception to the general phonological change from OE to
ME. So far as it is concerned, the pattern of the change is frequently so advanced as to appear in the guise of ModE for all the difference in orthography and pronunciation: in the ultimate analysis, it is a number of EM or NEM characteristics that have found their way into Modern Standard English. Generally speaking, this romance would provide us with many interesting aspects of the language in its horizontal section along with the admixture of dialectal and foreign elements in it.

1. Vowels

§ 1. The vocalic changes that distinguish OE from ME may be conventionally treated as qualitative and quantitative. Of the former a great variety of vowel changes comes to the fore, while of the latter the lengthening of short vowels is the most important. In the first section isolative changes in both aspects of vowels are to be dealt with. In the following those words placed after the symbol >or~ are, as a rule, illustrations from Emare.

1a.) OE a~ME a:— The vowel is unchanged in other dialects than WM (West Midland) in a certain case: e. g. warian> warye / arm~arm(e) / man(n)~man etc.

1b.) OE a>ME-WM o:— This change happened when a came before a nasal. In Emare this WM form is more frequent than the above: e. g. land>lond(e) / manig>mony / rann (pret. of rinnan) > ronne / sand > sond / standen>stonden / panken>
ponken etc. These alone could not be a positive indication of the author's country.

1c.) **OE æ > ME a:** — In NEM a-forms are regular: e.g. æfter > after / gemæd > mad(e) / glæd > glad(d) / pæll > palle / sæl > sal(e) / wæs > was etc.

2.) **OE a > ME ā:** — The lengthening took place in most dialects in the early 13th century: e.g. caru > kāre / scamu > shāme / sparian > spāre etc.

3a.) **OE e ~ ME e:** — Unchanged in all dialects: e.g. bed(d) ~ bed / (Anglian) merc > merke / fela > fele / hefig > heuy / lettan > lette / weder ~ weder etc.

3b.) **OE eo > ME e:** — The sound /ō/ represented by the spelling eo was flattened into /e/ during the 12th century in other dialects than WM and SM which retained it until the 14th century: e.g. eorplic > erpely / freo > fre / heofon > heuen / heorte > herte / seofon > seuven / weorc > werk etc.

4a.) **OE æ > ME ē:** — The development of OE æ requires special mention because it is of two origins. One is the palatalization of the West Germanic *ā* as in OE dæd ‘deed’ (OSaxon dād, OHG tāt, ModHG tāt), OE stræt ‘street’ (OSax. strāt, OHG strāz, ModHG strasse) etc., and this may be conventionally referred to as æ¹. This sound was preserved in WS only; in all other dialects it had been raised to ē and fell in with OE ē of other origins giving a long tense /ē:/.

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was the result of the \( i/j \)-mutation of OE ā derived from the West Germanic *ai as in OE dæl 'deal, part' (<WGmc. *daili- : OHG teil, ModHG teil), OE tæcan 'teach' (<WGmc. *taik-ja-n : OE tacn, OHG zeihhan, ModHG zeichen 'token, sign') etc., which we may call ā\(^2\). This sound was raised to /e:/ in Kentish but remained elsewhere giving a long slack /e:/.

These two sounds were thus kept distinct from each other since the OE period in the Anglian speech in the north of the Thames (including Midland dialects), ē standing for ā\(^1\) and ā for ā\(^2\) in writing. The difference in quality between the two vowels is of more importance for the later history of the English language than for ME. Although careful rhymers usually kept the two apart, it is often difficult to see the qualitative distinction by the ME spelling. In *Emare* we see that the rule, if any, is not always followed. The chief reason may lie in the fact that the romance consists of the tailrime stanza and that it is a version which, as a matter of course, calls for a good number of foreign words. For example, in the stanza XVIII we find three sets of words of different origins rhymed together:

(a) lede (<OE lædan): stede (<stæda): ðede(<ȝoede): ræde(<rædan); (b) grête (<græt): mēte (<mētan: Northumbr. mæta): swēte (~): sēte (<sæt); and (c) infère (<in+fēra): chēre (<AF chere).

Here we can see illustrations from *Emare* of what has been
stated in the above: (1) \( \text{æ}^1 > \text{è} \): e. g. dæd > dède / rædan > rède / slæp > slèpe / stræt > strète / wæde > wède / wæron > wère etc. (2) \( \text{æ}^2 > \text{è} \): e. g. clæne > clène (< Gmc *klainiz) / dæl > dell (< *dailiz) / hælan > hèlen (< *ñailjan) / hlæne > lène (< *ñlainjaz) / læfan > lèue (< *laibjan) / sæ > see (< *saìwiz) / tæcan < têche (< *taikjan) etc. However, it should be remembered that this classification has nothing but theoretical value for such a written record as Emare.⁶⁸

4b.) OE \( \text{ē} \) > ME \( \text{ê} \) (a long slack sound):— e. g. blèdan > blède / cwèn > qwène / grètan > grèten / hèran > hère / scène > shène / stèda > stède / wèla > wèle etc.

4c.) OE \( \text{ēo} \) > ME \( \text{ê} \):— The development of OE long \( \text{eo} \) may be treated in the same way as its short counterpart (cf. 3b.): e. g. blèo > blè / dèore > dère / fèoh > fee / fèond > feend / hlèo > lé / lèod > leede / trèo(w) > trè / trèowe > trèwe etc.

4d.) OE \( \text{ēa} \) > ME \( \text{ê} \):— The OE \( \text{ea} \) which had been monophthongized to \( \text{æ}^2 \) in the late OE period fell in with \( \text{æ}^2 \), thus giving slack \( \text{ê} \) in all ME dialects but SE: e. g. dèad > deed / grèat > grèt / hèafod (> hè(f)ed) > hèed, hede / lèas > lees / naèr > nère / tèar > tère etc.

4e.) OE \( \text{e} \) > ME \( \text{ê} \):— As in the case of \( \text{a} \) (cf. 2.), the lengthening occurred in most dialects during the first half of the 13th century and was accompanied by a change in quality to long slack \( \text{ê} \) to join the same sound of different sources: e. g. beran > bère /
brecan < brēke / me > mē / mete > mēte / sprecan > spēke / wela > wēle etc.

5.) OE ea > ME a:— The monophthongization was brought about by the process in which ea first became a, then fell in with OE a and along with it changed to a in N/EM/WM and to e in the southern district: e.g. bealu > bale / eall > all / gearcian > ʒarke / heard > harde / hearpe > harpe / sceapan > shape / weaxan > waxe etc.

6a.) OE i ~ ME i:— Like a (1a.) and e (3a.), this OE vowel remained until the ME period. In the 14th century the writing of y for i became common for a certain scribal reason7-1 instead of standing for the high-rounded sound / ü /: e.g. bliss > blyss / brim > brym / friō > fryp / micel > mykell / siōdan > syth etc.

6b.) OE y / ü / > ME i:— In N/EM and in some part of SW, OE y was unrounded to i, though the writing y was kept for a considerable time. In the SE area around Kent it gave e and in SW/WM remained as u in the spelling. Some remnants of the e-form are left, merry etc., and others of the u-form cudgel, shut etc., while bury and busy, both in the SM/WM spelling, respectively represent the SE and the EM pronunciations. Examples: cyng (< cyning) > kynge / cyð(ðu) > kyth / lytel > lytell / mycel > myche / mynegian > mynge / myrigp > myrgth / styntan > stint / pyncan > pynke etc. Examples of the SW/WM spelling in u from Emare are: cyrtel > kurtell / pyrst
The lengthening of \(i\) took place in the North and then underwent the subsequent change in quality to tense \(\ddot{e}\) like \(yfel > euyll\) (or \(\acute{e}uil\)) which found its way into StE.

7a.) OE \(i\) \(\sim\) ME \(i\):— (cf. 6a.): e. g. lif > lyf / liðe > lythe / swiðe > swype / tid > tyde etc. (\(y = \ddot{i}\))

7b.) OE \(\acute{y}\) \(\sim\) ME \(i\):— With the same development as the short vowel (see above), this was unrounded to \(i\) in N/EM and lowered to \(\ddot{e}\) in SE: e. g. fyr > fyre / hýdan > hýde / pryde > pryde etc.

8a.) OE \(o\) \(\sim\) ME \(o\):— Unchanged like a, e, i and u: e. g. bödig > body / for > for / god > god / of > of / on > on etc.

8b.) OE \(\ddot{o}\) \(\sim\) ME \(o\):— The long vowel remains as tense \(\ddot{o}\) in all dialects except N: e. g. bôt > bote / gôd > gôde / hôd > hôde / mödor > möder / môna > möne / scôp > shoope / sóð > sôpe / swôte > swôte etc.

9a.) OE \(a\) \(\sim\) ME \(o\):— OE \(a\) was rounded to a long, slack / \(o\):/ sound south of the Humber (in EM, WM, SE and SW) in the 12th century. The process first began in the southern area and spread westwards and northwards, but did not get beyond the Humber: e. g. án > òn / bêt > boot / fâm > fôm / gâra > gôre / lär > lôre / mâ > mô / sârig > sôry / stân > stôn / pâ > thoò / wâ > woo etc.

9b.) OE \(\ddot{a}\) \(\sim\) ME \(a\):— In Emare not a few Northern words are found which kept the OE vowel unchanged: e. g. bân > bâne / cnâwan > knawe / mâra > mâre / on án > anâne (> ModE anon)
sär>säre etc.

10a.) OE u~ME u:— Here it is noticed that o was often written for u (or ou sometimes) for a similar reason as in the case of y for i (cf. 6a.) in the 14th century: e. g. cuppe>kuppe / full ~full / kunnend>konnd / sunne>sonne / stund>stounde / purst>thurst / wunian>wonen etc. In Emare we can find some examples showing the lengthening of the vowel in Northumbrian: sumor>sømer / sunu>søne etc.

10b.) OE ü~ME ü:— Note that the sound /u/ is represented by two kinds of spelling like ou and ow in Emare: e. g. bür>bour / cūde>cowye / fūl>fowl / hūs>hows / mūp>mowth / ūt>out etc.

§ 2. In the second section the formation of new diphthongs in ME is in question. What seems to make up for the general loss of OE diphthongs through the later monophthongization in ME is the rise of scores of new diphthongs from various OE sources specifically in the combinative position. It is by and large due to the following causes.

i) Front palatalized g (or ʒ) in combination with the preceding vowel. The vocalization of g is shown by the fact that already in late OE i stood for it instead.

1a.) OE æg>ME ai:— e. g. dæg>day / faegen>fayn / faeger >fayr / mægden>mayde(n) / sæge>sayde etc.
1b.) OE eg > ME ei (=written ai / ay in Emare):— e.g. ongegn > agayne, æzyen / plegian > play / regn > rayn / segel > sayl / umbregdan > umbrayde / weg > way etc.

1c.) OE ēg > ME ei (> i):— e.g. ēge (Anglian) > eie > ye

1d.) OE ig > ME i:— A diphthong was not brought about in this process: e.g. ænig > any / bodig > body / hlæfdige > lady / sārig > sōry / stig > stỳ etc.

ii) W or back palatalized g / γ / in combination with the preceding vowel. Various vowels in this connection gave rise to diphthongs ending in / u /. The sound / g / came to be vocalized as / u / after passing the stage / w / about 1200 in SMD.

2a.) OE ag / aw > ME au:— e.g. sagu > sawe / wagian > wawe etc.

2b.) OE āg / āw > ME ou:— e.g. āgen > Owen / sāwel > sowle etc.

2c.) OE ēow > ME ēu (perhaps representing a sound like / ü /):— e.g. trēowe > trēwe // ēower (>*ēwer) > your (also cf. § 1, 4c.)

2d.) OE iw > ME iu (later written ew, uw, u etc.):— e.g. stigward > steward etc.

iii) A glide developed between a vowel and the following front or back voiceless fricative h / χ /. The glide appeared most clearly south of the Humber.

3a.) OE ah > ME au:— Almost all the ME dialects underwent this change with the development of a glide: e.g. tahte (Nbr.) > tawȝte etc.
3b.) OE āh > ME ou:— In dialects south of the Humber this change took place in accordance with the process referred to in § 1, 9b. above: e. g. āhte>owht etc.

3c.) OE oh > ME ou:— In some dialects south of the Humber diphthongization in this position did not take place: e. g. dohtor > dow3ter / sohte>sow3te / pohte>pow3t, thowght, thaw3te etc.

3d.) OE ōh > ME ou:— This change occurred south of the Humber but did not get beyond: e. g. drōh>drow3 / brohte>brow3t etc.

3e.) OE ēh (<ēah) > ME eı > i:— The change happened south of the Humber: e. g. heh (<heah)>heigh>hī=hye, hy / LNbr. breht (<Angl. berht<OE beorht)>bryght etc.

3f.) OE uh > ME ū (written ow in Emare):— Lengthening probably happened in u in this position: e. g. puruh (<pruh)>porow etc.

§ 3. The change in vocalic quantity, i. e. lengthening or shortening, is mainly due to the position of a vowel when it is combined with certain consonant groups or other adjacent sounds. From late OE to ME many lengthenings and shortenings took place and, what is more important, they have had a profound effect upon the phonological system of ModE.

i) To begin with, mention must be made of those lengthenings before such consonant groups as -ld, -rd, -rl, -nd, -ng etc., but we find that most of the lengthened vowels had been shortened again in N/EM at least when Emare was composed. Therefore, except
in rare cases like lord / founde / stounde etc. a great majority of vowels in such combinations prove to be unaltered apparently: hence, chyld / golde / molde / mylde / olde / herde / erle / worlde / honde / londe / sonde / amonge / songe etc.

Next, lengthening took place in open accented syllables of disyllabic words in most dialects in the first half of the 13th century. But this change did not happen in trisyllabic words: e.g. faran > fāre / nama > nāme / beran > bere / mete > mete / hopa > hōpe etc. The lengthening of i and u respectively leading to e and o did not happen till the 14th century and then mainly in the north and later in NM. To this Emare bears witness by a very few instances: gewritten > wreten / sumor > sōmer / sunu > sōne etc.

ii) The shortening of OE long vowels may be chiefly attributed to the following causes.

a) When long vowels precede double consonants: e.g. hīdde > hydde / gemǣdd > madde / lǣdde > ledde etc.

b) When long vowels are followed by two different kinds of consonants e.g. *wēpte > wepte / cēpte > kepte / tāhte > tawȝte etc.

c) In polysyllabic words (the shortening of a long vowel in the first syllable): Cristendōm > Crystendōm / nā py læs > nǣfre . . . > neuer-pe-lesse etc.

d) In accented syllables (the shortening of a long vowel in prefixes or final syllables): e.g. aſfāred > afērede / aſcamod > aſhāmed / ārisan > arīce etc.
2. Consonants

The substantial changes in the consonantal system during the transition period from OE to ME were very few indeed, which tells of the comparative stability of consonants in general. It may be said that in ME modifications have more to do with orthography. As for Emare, reference will be made only to what is considered noteworthy.

i) Historically viewed, c had done double duty for a back (or guttural) and a front (or palatal) stop /k/ and /tʃ/ (c in writing). In ME for the front c the scribes adopted the writing ch (medially cch, later tch) used in French MSS., while for the back sound they kept c, except before e and i. Then they had recourse to k to avoid confusion with the French c which was also used for /ts/ as in blecen etc. and for /s/ as in ice. The following points are to be noticed in Emare.

a) For the back stop c and k are used sometimes interchangeably. Interesting to remark, k is in use for this sound, i.e. with a, o, u coming after, when c is traditionally expected without any confusion. This may be regarded as one of the scribal habits at least: e.g. kase / surkote / kuppe // wykked / kyang etc. (cf. case / come / curtays etc.)

b) For the front stop /tʃ/, the writing ch (medial cch) is usual:
e.g. mychel / chère / chyld // wrecched etc.

c) Chiefly for the sound /s/ in French loan words, c is used: e.g. acyce (or asyce / asyse) / grece (-ce in this case stands for OF pl. gres) / pryce // aryce (for the native word) etc.

ii) While OE g was used for three different sounds, i.e. a voiced back stop /g/, a front spirant /j/, and a voiced back spirant /v/ (/g/ between back vowels), in ME these sounds came to be represented by different symbols. In Emare we find as follows.

a) For the voiced back stop g was kept in use: e.g. gäre / gýle / agayn / geten / göde etc.

b) For the front spirant a new symbol ð known as ‘yogh’ had been adopted and was in full use in Emare: e.g. ðaf / ðode / ðou / ðynge / ðede / æzeyn // syð etc.

c) For the voiced back spirant which was vocalized to /u/ in the form of diphthong as in sawe (<sagu) etc., ð was sometimes used, but in Emare the writing y was exclusively employed instead: e.g. dayes / layes (earlier da^es / layes) etc.

iii) OE h stood for the voiceless back or front spirant, i.e. /x/ or /ç/, for which three kinds of writing as later innovations are found used interchangeably in Emare: e.g. dowȝter / sowȝte / tawȝte // thawȝt / browȝt / wrowȝt // knyȝt / syȝt // aryȝt / wyȝt // (and rarely) dowȝter / mysrowȝt etc. Note that the spelling koweȝpe has no etymological reason whatever for the presence of ð (normally kowpe<OE cup) being a case of false analogy which
is usually due to scribal error. Hence it follows that the spirant, whether front or back, was being null and void already at the time of Emare, because there is found a proof that hye is written side by side with hygh or such with shuch (also cf. phorne).

iv) The OE writing -cg representing the voiced front stop /dʒ/ is written gg medially in ME and the same sound in French loan words is represented initially by g/j and medially by g in Emare: e.g. gent / joye // huge / sege etc. Examples to show the ME writing gg for native words are not to be found here because the sound seems to have been completely palatalized like say (<seggen) and the like.

v) OE sc came to be written sch in early ME and Emare had sh and ssh (medially): e.g. she / shene / shâme // lashed / wheshen etc.

vi) In Emare we find that the writing u is used for the voiced labial /v/ both initially and medially: e.g. ualed / ualowre // haue / leue / seuen etc. Rarely w is found for /v/: knawe/ wawe etc.

vii) For the dental, whether voiced /ð/ or voiceless /θ/, the old p and the new th are found interchangeably: e.g. pat / panne / pyng // that / then / thynge etc.

3. The Sound of French Loan Words

Linguistically it would be by virtue of a number of Romance
words in some form or other that Emare lays claim to one of those medieval romances as such. This chapter is, accordingly, designed for the phonological treatment of them at the time when they made an appearance in this verse story. What matters most in such a case is the problem how loan words generally could find themselves in a new linguistic environment other than their own. A kind of compromise will be reached by mutual concessions as it were, and the manner of compromise is different according to the date and place of borrowing. In this case the language of such compromise is generally known as Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French (AF) and no introductory mention of it will be necessary now.

A.) Vowels

i) The OF writing a before nasals (m and n) is represented au in AF and ME texts after the 13th century: e.g. OF ch(e)auce > chawnse / comandement > commaundement / granter, greanter > graunte / marchant > marchaunte etc. The spelling au before -mb and -nge / -ndʒ/ tended to disappear during the 14th century and came to be reduced to a, but in N/NWM and some other dialects the former was kept on like chawmber / chaunge etc. in Emare.

ii) The writing en, which afterwards stood for the pronunciation /ã/ in Central French, was preserved in AF: e.g. aventowre / emperour / present etc.

iii) The sound /o/ in combination with nasals plus consonants changed to /u/ (written o, u, ou [long]) in AF whereas it was
kept on in CF: e.g. OF encumber > cumber / (~) trompe (> ModE trump) / conseil > counseyle etc.

iv) The AF writings o and u (later ou) invariably stood for / u /, and ou and ow for its lengthening / u : /: e.g. OF portraire > purtrey, portray // duble > dowbell / flur > flowre / tur > towre / nourture > noritowre etc.

v) AF ai and ei fell in with ME ai which had been monophthongized to slack / e /, so we find three kinds of spelling for this sound in Emare: e.g. OF arai, arei > araye / curteis > curtays / gai > gay / lai > lay // air > eyr / certain > certayne / * conceivre > conceyue // (~) ese / (~) resoun etc.

vi) AF ie changed to / e / after the 12th century to fall in with ME slack / e : /: OF cornier > corner / manièrè > manere etc.

vii) Those vowels not known to ME are represented as follows:
   a) French nasal vowels are replaced by each corresponding English sound as in: enamourer > anamore / chalenge > chalange etc.
   b) The sound / ü / was represented by u and did not fall in with OE / ü / (written y), which had been developed to / i /: e.g. huge / jugement / study / vertue etc.

viii) The long vowel / ü : / fell in with the same sound from OE y in W/SW, but this was later replaced by i except for French words. Attempts would have been made to keep / ü : / as faithfully as possible, but in the 14th century French / ü : / became one with
ME *iu* which was a development from OE *eow* and *tw*. This is clear from the spelling *ew*/*u* for French /ü:/, and *u*/uw (=ow/ou in *Emare*) for ME *iu*. The exact sound value is not easy to determine by these writings, but it must have been approximately /ju:/.

Instances from *Emare* are: AF juel>jewell // duc>duke/ user>use etc.

ix) AF *uē* had been probably developed to /ö/ in the 12th century. Like /ö/ from OE *eo*, this sound, when borrowed, became unrounded /e/ or /e:/.

Among various spellings for it, we find *e* and *o* in *Emare*: OF cuvir, covrir>kouere, keuere / removier>remeuv-, remov->remeue etc.

x) Though resembling in the spelling, *joye* and *poynt* are of different sources: the former from *oi* (<Lat. *au+i*), and the latter from *ui* (<Vulgar Lat. *o+i*). These two kinds have been since kept from falling in with the similar ME diphthongs in spite of dialectal variants derived from them.

**B.) Consonants**

As a rule consonants are far less susceptible of environmental alteration than vowels and it will suffice here to make reference to a few cases in *Emare*.

i) French /s/ is kept unaltered, but we have to remember that Northern French had /sf/ (written *ch*) in contrast to the Central French /s/ (coming from Latin *ce, ci, ti*). A number of loans in ME still continue to be represented in the NF pronunciation: e.g.
chawmber / chaunge / marchaunte etc. Others show the CF pronunciation: asyce, acyse / asowr / grece (<OF gres: pl. of gre) / norysse / sertes, certes / topase etc.

ii) In contrast to the NF word beginning with w—which itself was of Germanic origin—we find instead g in loan words from CF as in gyle etc.

iii) OF / dʒ / was introduced into ME unchanged and written g or j: e.g. gent / gentell / jewell / joye // burgeys / chaunge etc.

iv) The internal s in front of t and p was kept in AF words while it was lost in CF: e.g. castell / feste / haste / honeste // dysplaye etc.

4. The Sound of Old Norse Loan Words

Scandinavian habitation for hundreds of years in E / N / NW districts not only brought about a great number of their, i.e. Old Norse words but a partial assimilation of English words to their own as well. This is not so manifest until the ME period in which numerous manuscripts began to appear. Chief ON traits in sound to be seen in *Emare* are as follows.9)

a) The diphthong / ei/ (<Germanic ai) spelt -ay-, which later fell in with the native ai: e.g. ON sveinn>swayne / peir>they etc.

b) The long / a:/ (<WGmc. a) as in ON já>ʒoɔ / ár>ðr (cf. ME ěr<OE ær) / várum>þøre (cf. ME wěre<OE wǣron) etc.

c) A consonantal combination sk which shows a strong tendency
in ON words to resist palatalization as in ON skinn > skynne / sky > skye etc.

d) The voiced back stop /g/ at the beginning of words in contrast to the front palatalization of OE g when preceded or followed by a, e, i: e.g. ON p.p. getinn > gotten / gat > gate ‘way’ (cf. OE gaet / geat) etc.

5. Special Cases Examined

Since language is a complex system of rules with exceptions, some space must be spared for the consideration of special cases. Exceptional as they would appear, granted a technical perspective most of them in substance may be attributed to any one of the above-stated rules.

i) **bryght** comes from the late Northumbrian OE form *breht* which in itself is the metathesis of Anglian *berht*, an unrounded dialectal variant of OE *beorht* (cf. 1, 1, 3b. and 2, 3e.)

ii) **cleddde** is a contracted form of *clæpde* as the result of *p* having been absorbed into the following *d* which is a normal development from late Nbr. OE *clæpde* (pret. of *clæpan*), but ON *klædda* (pret. of *klæða*) may be partly the source (cf. 1, 1, 4a. and Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, s. v. cloth).

iii) **come** (as preterite) is a normal ME descendant from the OE pret. Form *cōm / cōwm*. The modern dialectal *come* as pret. is directly from this, but in ME another form *cam / căme* appeared
first in N/E in the 13th century probably after ON kvam and finally replaced the former (cf. 1, 1, 8b. and ODEE, s. v. come).

iv) foure could not be traced back immediately to OE feower without taking into account the accentual transfer from feower to *feówer: a natural development from the former would be something like *fewer (ME) or *fure (ModE) (cf. 1, 1, 4c.)

v) zore might be easily explained by its descent from OE geare (? <ge+ar) as ODEE interprets, but the same as above seems to be also true of this word, because we can point out the accentual transfer from géara (gen. pl. of gear ‘year’) to geára, thus giving rise to the present ME form.

vi) zng, widely seen in popular verses, would be from Nbr. OE palatalized zing (<geong) or from the comparative form zingra of WS dialect. But either cannot be decisive.

vii) sorow is one of those frequent instances where a parasitic vowel inserts itself between consonants to simplify a consonant cluster. In OE this often took place especially before such consonants as l, n, r or between them and h / χ /, z, w: hence, OE sorh, sorg > sorow / morgen > morowe / purh > thorow etc.

viii) wommon comes from OE wifman(n) through two stages of development, i.e. first by the assimilation of -fm- to -mm- as in late OE leofman > lemman, next by the rounding in the 13th century of wim- to wum- / wom-. This may be explained physiologically because the rounding mutation from /i/ to /u/ after the bilabial
semivowel /w/ will be more natural than otherwise.

ix) worche (as verb) cannot be directly traced back to WS-OE wyrcan / wiercan which gave ME wirche / wyrche. Those WS sounds were rounded to wur- / wor- in late Nbr. for the similar reason just stated in the above. ODEE fails to take account of these dialectal forms in explaining the history of work as verb.

x) wore is not either a form to be naturally expected from OE wærón (which gave wēre in ME), but a normal development from the ON loan várom / várum (ind. pret. 1st pers. of vera 'to be'). This was one of N/EM dialectal forms based on ON adoption.

xi) wyddwehede presents something noteworthy in its suffix -hede. Seeing that the original form is OE wuduwanhād, we naturally expect ~hāde (>ModE -hood). Accordingly the suffix -hede should be from some other source: in this case a hypothetical form must be *hādu which is mutated from -hād; it was in long use side by side with this after the ME period only to be obsolete except in ModE godhead / maidenhead etc.

Notes:—

2) A. B. Gough, Preface to Emare, p. viii.
3) 'Emare' is from OF esmarie 'the bewildered, distressed one'.
4) "Menstrelles that walken fer and wyde / Her and ther in euery syde / In mony a dyuerse londe, / Sholden... / Speken of that
ryghtwys kyng ..."

5) The text on which the present treatise is based is the edition by A. B. Gough as Vol. II in the series *Old and Middle English Texts* ed. by Lorenz Morsbach & Ferdinand Holthausen (Heidelberg 1901).


7) "In ME it is used for i, this y being found especially in combination with an n or m—positions in which in the pointed writing of the ME MSS y was clearer than i" (E. E. Wardale, *An Introduction to Middle English*, London 1949) p. 48.


9) See my treatise *Old Icelandic Loan Words in Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, Part I [Studies in English Literature and Language, Kyushu Univ., No. 12 (Fukuoka 1962)].