PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE INTEGRATION OF ROMANCE LOANS IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

English lexemes containing intrusive nasal consonants mostly have a difficult origin in common. In what follows (part I), the relevant word material will be ordered according to its phonological structure. In principle we follow the ordering of Gustav Muthmann's Reverse English Dictionary. Based on Phonological and Morphological Principles of 2002. In cases such as jig v. and its frequentative jiggle v., paralleled by most probably related and nearly synonymous jog v. and its frequentative joggle v., the attested forms are not only rare but also late. Therefore, we have been constrained to base some etymologies on roots, mostly of imitative origin. In part II, some French loan verbs, which show unusual retention of Old French -er/-re in Middle English, will be examined.

Keywords: etymology, diachrony, language contact, areal linguistics, linguistic history
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Abstract. English lexemes containing intrusive nasal consonants mostly have a difficult origin in common. In what follows (part I), the relevant word material will be ordered according to its phonological structure. In principle we follow the ordering of Gustav Muthmann’s Reverse English Dictionary. Based on Phonological and Morphological Principles of 2002. In cases such as jig v. and its frequentative jiggle v., paralleled by most probably related and nearly synonymous jog v. and its frequentative joggle v., the attested forms are not only rare but also late. Therefore, we have been constrained to base some etymologies on roots, mostly of imitative origin. In part II, some French loan verbs, which show unusual retention of Old French -eri-re in Middle English, will be examined.

I. Intrusive nasals (m, n) followed by voiced stops

I.1. Intrusive -m + b-

bribe v. (c1390, BDE)
ME bribe(n), adapted from brip-, accented stem of OF brimber/briber ‘to beg, be a mendicant’ (Godefroy I: 734a), from a root bri(m)b- (REW³: 1302). The editors of B/W⁶: 88a & EWFS²: 151b, s.v. bribe, assume an onomatopoetic origin. (BDE: 116a; KDEE: 159b; ODEE: 117a)

bribe n. (c1425, BDE)
ME bribe, adapted from AF bribe, bri ‘bit, piece; bribe’ (AND²: bribe, see OF bribe, brimbe ‘lump, piece’ (T/L I: 1139; Godefroy VIII: 373a); alternatively derived from ME bribe(n). Modern meaning first attested a1439. Cf. ModF bribe ‘thing of little value’ (DEHF: 101b, brimbe, 13th c.). (BDE: 116a; KDEE: 159b; ODEE: 117a)

briber n. (c1378, KDEE)
ME bribour and brybowre ‘thief’, adapted from AF bribour ‘vagrant; casual labourer, piece-worker’ (AND²: bribour), see OF brimbeur, bribeur ‘beggar, vagabond’ (Godefroy I: 734b), corresponding to ModF bribeur, of
the same meaning, derived from the verb *briber* ‘to beg’ (B/W⁶: 88a & EWFS²: 151b). (BDE: 116a; KDEE: 159b; ODEE: 117a)

**bribery n.** (a1387, BDE)
ME *briberie*, adapted from OF *brimerie/* *briberie* ‘begging, mendicity’ (Godefroy I: 734a), derived from the verb *briber* ‘to beg’ (B/W⁶: 88a & EWFS²: 151b). (BDE: 116a; KDEE: 159b; ODEE: 117a)

**flame n.** (c1303, BDE)
ME *fla(u)me, fla(u)mbe, flam(m)e*, adapted from AF *flambe*, *flaume, flaume, flaumme; flamble, flambre* ‘flame; fire, blaze; (infernal) fire; (fig.) flame, fervour, passion; etc.’ (AND²: *flambe*), cf. OF *flamme*, derived from L *flāma, flamma* (cf. *flammula* ‘small flame’); cf. ModF *flamme* ‘flame’ (DEHF: 303a, *flamma*, 10th c.). (BDE: 387b; KDEE: 511b; ODEE: 359b)

**inflame v.** excite, make more violent (c1340, BDE)
ME *enflaume(n)* ‘to kindle’, later *inflame(n) (1350), also *fla(u)mbe(n)*, adapted from AF *enflamber, enflaumber, enflamer, enflammer; enflaumer; enflamber* ‘to set on fire; to excite, arouse; to catch fire, blaze’ (AND²: *enflamber*), from L *inflammāre* (< in- ‘in’ + L *flāma, flamma*; cf. *flammula* ‘small flame’). Cf. ModF *enflamer* ‘to set on fire’ (DEHF: 302b, s.v. *flambe, 1160). (BDE: 387b; KDEE: 511b; ODEE: 359b)

**jib v.²** (of a horse) stop and refuse to go on, kick back (1811, OED) probably from the root /djib-/ (*gib*/-jib-), pretonic stem of Old French *giber*. Cf. ModF *regimber* ‘to kick back’ (DEHF: 656b, OF *regiber, 1175); alternatively aphetic variant of ME *regiben*, ModE *REJIB* v.

**label n.** (c1300?, BDE)
ME *lable* ‘narrow band with pendants on coat of arms’, adapted from OF *label* (T/L V: 19, s.v. *label, lambel* ‘piece of cloth, fringe’); see AF *labelle*, *label, labelle* ‘(her.) label, band drawn across the upper part of a shield’ (AND²: *labelle*), allegedly of Frankish/Germanic origin, OLF *labba* (FEW XVI: 431a). See the synonym *labbel* ‘(her.) label, band drawn across the upper part of a shield’ (AND²: *lambel*). OHG *lappa* ‘rag’ (G *Lappen*); Frankish *labba* is a non-form (KDEE, DEHF, s.v.); see ModF *lambeau* ‘piece of cloth’ (DEHF: 419b, *lambel 13th c.*), derived from earlier *lambel*, has a variant without the *n*-infix, namely attested ModE *label*. (BDE: 571a; KDEE: 775a; ODEE: 510a)
regibbe/rejib v.\(^1\) hap.leg. (obs.) (of a horse) refuse to go on, kick back; jib (a1200?, MED)
EME regibben (c1225-30/a1250) and regiben (c1230), either from regib-, the pretonic stem, or rejib-, the accented stem of AF regibber, regiber, regiwer (lit. & fig.) to jib (AND\(^1\): regibber); see OF regimber (end 12\(^{th}\) c.), also figurative meaning (1450), nasalized variant of regiber (1176-81), formed on the root gib-, jib- /ʤib-/ denoting the action of kicking with the feet/hooves (TLF, s.v. regimber).
 Cf. ModF regimber (DEHF: 656b, regiber, 1175; EWFS\(^2\): 758b). See also JIB v. and BRIBE n./v.

I.2.a. Intrusive -n + ge- /-nds-/

harbinger n. forerunner (c1471, BDE)
ME herbengar, alternation of earlier herberger ‘provider of shelter’ (a1200?), later herbergour ‘a surveyor’ (1384-85), adapted from AF herberger ‘one who offers lodging, innkeeper’ (AND\(^2\): herberger\(^1\)), derived from AF herberger, herberger, herberjer; herberger; herbegier, herbejer, herbercherier; etc. ‘to lodge, shelter; (mil.) to encamp; etc.’, of Germanic origin. Cf. ModF héberger ‘to give shelter, lodge’ (DEHF: 366b, s.v. héberge, 1050). (BDE: 465a; KDEE: 886a; ODEE: 572a)
messenger n. (a1200?, BDE)
EME messager (c1230), later messanger (a1300?); cf. ModF messenger (DEHF 2001: 471a, s.v. message), adapted from messanger, messenger, variants of AF messager, messagere, messagier; mesager, messegere, massager ‘messenger, envoy’ (AND\(^2\): messager). Cf. ModF messenger (DEHF: 471a, 1080); see related MESSAGE n. for the origin. Concerning the \(\beta\) forms with intrusive \(n\), see etymological section of OED\(^3\): messenger n. (BDE: 655a; KDEE: 886a; ODEE: 572a)
murenger n. (obs., hist.) inspector of the city walls (1286/1586?, OED\(^3\))
ME murager, earlier attested as a surname Joh. le Murager (1286), adapted from AF *mura(i)er which can be inferred from murage, mourage ‘(coll.) walls’ (AND\(^2\): murage), from LL *mūraticum ‘belonging to the walls’, derived from mūrus ‘wall’; later spelt muringer, murenger (16\(^{th}\), 18\(^{th}\), OED\(^3\)) with intrusive \(n\) as in HARBINGER n., PASSENGER n.; for further discussion see E.S.C. Weiner et al. ‘The Oxford English Dictionary Today’, Transactions of the Philological Society 102 (2004), 363-64. (BDE: 686b; KDEE: %; ODEE: %)
passenger n. (1337, BDE) (OED\(^3\): passenger n.)
ME passajour ‘passenger ferry’, passager ‘traveller’ (1338), borrowed from AF passager, passageur; passajour ‘traveller’ (AND\(^3\): passager), derived from AF passage ‘path, way; sea-lane; crossing, ford; crossing, sea pas-