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PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE INTEGRATION OF ROMANCE LOANS IN ENGLISH

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.

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

I.1. Intrusive *-m* + *b-*

bribe v. (c1390, BDE)

ME *bribe(n)*, adapted from *brib-*, 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 onomatopoeic origin. (BDE: 116a; KDEE: 159b; ODEE: 117a)

bribe n. (c1425, BDE)

ME *bribe*, adapted from AF *bribe*, *brib* '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 *brimberie*/**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*, *flaumbe*; *flame*, *flamme*; *flaum*, *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)

flame *v.* burn, blaze (c1303, BDE)

ME *flamme(n)* ‘to burn’, later *flaume(n)* (1350), also *fla(u)mbe(n)*, adapted from AF *flamber*, *flammer*, *flaumber* ‘to burn, blaze; to become angry’ (AND²: **flamber**), cf. OF *flamme*, derived from L **flāma*, *flamma* (cf. *flammula* ‘small flame’); cf. ModF **flamber** ‘to blaze’ (DEHF: 302b, s.v. *flambe*, 1160). (BDE: 387b; KDEE: 511b; ODEE: 359b)

inflame *v.* excite, make more violent (c1340, BDE)

ME *enflaume(n)* ‘to kindle’, later *inflame(n)* (a1425), also *enflame* (1590), ultimately adapted from AF *enflamber*; *enflaumber*, *enflamer*, *enflammer*; *enflaumer*; *emflamber* ‘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 **enflammer** ‘to set on fire’ (DEHF: 302b, s.v. *flamme*, 11th c.). (BDE: 526a; KDEE: 714a; ODEE: 473a)

jib *v.*² (of a horse) stop and refuse to go on, kick back (1811, OED)

probably from the root /dʒib-/ <gib-/jib-), pretonic stem of Old French *giber*. Cf. ModF **regimber** ‘to kick back’ (DEHF: 656b, OF *regiber*, 1175); alternatively apthetic variant of ME *regibben*, 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*, *labbelle* ‘(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 *lambel* ‘(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 *regib-*, the accented stem of AF *regibber*, *regiber*, *regiwer* (lit. & fig.) to jib (AND¹: **regibber**); see OF *regimber* (end 12th c.), also figurative meaning (1450), nasalized variant of *regiber* (1176-81), formed on the root *gib-*, *jib-* /*ɟib-*/, denoting the action of kicking with the feet/hooves (TLF, s.v. **regimber**). Cf. ModF **regimber** (DEHF: 656b, *regiber*, 1175; EWFS²: 758b). See also JIB v. and BRIBE n./v.

I.2.a. Intrusive -n + g- /-ndʒ-/

harbinger n. forerunner (c1471, BDE)

ME *herbengar*, alternation of earlier *herberger* ‘provider of shelter’ (a1200?), later *herbergour* ‘a purveyor’ (1384-85), adapted from AF *herberger* ‘one who offers lodging, innkeeper’ (AND²: **herberger**¹), derived from AF *herberger*, *herbergeer*, *herbergier*, *herberjer*; *herbager*; *herbeger*, *herbegier*, *herbejer*, *herberchier*; 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 *messenger* (c1230), later *messenger* (a1300?); cf. ModF *messenger* (DEHF 2001: 471a, s.v. **message**), adapted from *messenger*, *messenger*, variants of AF *messenger*, *messagere*, *messagier*; *messeger*, *messegere*, *massager* ‘messenger, envoy’ (AND²: **messager**). Cf. ModF **messager** (DEHF: 471a, 1080); see related MESSAGE n. for the origin. Concerning the β forms with intrusive **n**, see etymological section of OED³: **messenger** n. (BDE: 655a; KDEE: 886a; ODEE: 572a)

murenger n. (obs., hist.) inspector of the city walls (1286/1586?, OED³)

ME *murager*, earlier attested as a surname *Joh. le Murager* (1286), adapted from AF **murag(i)er* which can be inferred from *murage*, *mourage* ‘(coll.) walls’ (AND²: **murage**¹), from LL **mūraticum* ‘belonging to the walls’, derived from *mūrus* ‘wall’; later spelt *muringer*, *murenger* (16th, 18th, OED³) 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) (OED³: **passenger** n.)

ME *passajour* ‘passenger ferry’, *passager* ‘traveller’ (1338), borrowed from AF *passager*, *passageur*; *passajour* ‘traveller’ (AND¹: **passager**), derived from AF *passage* ‘path, way; sea-lane; crossing, ford; crossing, sea pas-

sage; crossing; etc.’ (AND¹: *passage*). Concerning the β forms with intrusive *n*, see etymological section of OED³: *passenger n.*; see also *PASSAGE n.*; cf. ModF *passager* ‘passenger’ (DEHF: 552b, s.v. *passer*, 1355). (BDE: 761b; KDEE: 1036a/b; ODEE: 655b)

porringer *n.* small dish for porridge or similar food (1467, BDE) (OED³: **porringer** *n.*)

late ME *porryng̃er*, alteration of ME *potyñger* ‘small dish for stew’ (1454), there is ME *podd̃inger*, see English (dial.) *pott̃inger*, *pot̃inger* (obs., 15th c.), *potẽger* (obs.), borrowed from OF *potager*, derived from *potage* ‘vegetable soup’. Concerning the β forms with intrusive *n*, see etymological section of OED³: **porringer** *n.*; cf. ModF *potager* ‘(orig.) a cook’ (DEHF: 604b, s.v. *potage*, 1373); see also related *PORRIDGE n.* and *POTTAGE n.*

scavenge *v.* remove refuse (a1644, BDE)

back formation from the noun *SCAVENGER* (q.v.). (BDE: 966a, s.v. *scavenger*; KDEE: 1227a, s.v. *scavenger*; ODEE: 796a, s.v. *scavenger*)

scavenger *n.* (1530, BDE)

EModE *scavenger*, alteration of ME *scawageour* (1373) and *scavager* (1477-79) ‘a toll collector’, borrowed from AF **scawenger*, *scavenger*, unattested variants of *scawageour*, *scavageour*, *scowageour* ‘scavenger (official appointed to levy scavage)’, derived from *scawage*, *scawauge*, *scawenge* ‘scavage, showage (a toll levied on merchant strangers displaying their goods for sale in a town)’ (AND¹: *scawage*), variant ONF *escauwage* ‘inspection’, from *escauwer* of Germanic origin; see AF *eschawinge* (M.E.) ‘(law) a fee or toll on merchants for right to display goods for sale’ (AND²: *eschawinge*). Cf. Flemish *scauwen* ‘to inspect’ and ModG *schauen* ‘to look at, watch’ (8th c., Kluge²⁴); ultimately related to OE *scēawian* ‘to show’. (BDE: 965b; KDEE: 1227a; ODEE: 796a)

I.2.b. Intrusive nasals (*m, n*) followed by the affricates (*tʃ, dʒ*)

I.2.b.1. Intrusive nasals (*m, n*) followed by *tʃ* (*ch, cch*)

flinch *v.* draw back, turn aside (1579, BDE), draw back, or shrink from pain, wince (a1677, BDE)

probably adapted from MF *flenchir*, a variant of OF *flanchar* ‘to bend’, which was revived as ModF *flanchar* ‘to give away, yield’ (DEHF: 303b, 1835), from a Germanic source, cf. Frankish **hlankjan* ‘to bend’. Alternatively, **flenchir*, *flinchir* with *n*-infix as unattested variants of AF *flechir*, *flecher*; *flichir* ‘to turn aside, yield, flinch’ (AND²: *flechir*), from LL **flecticāre*, frequentative of CL *flectere* (see DEHF: 304a, s.v. *fléchir*, OF *flechier* 1160) would pose no semantic problems at all. However, the editor of KDEE: 517b, s.v. *flinch*, unduly confuses the two hypotheses. (BDE: 391b; KDEE: 517b; ODEE: 362b)

munch *v.* chew steadily and/or noisily (a1325, BDE) (OED³: **munch**, *v.*)

ME *mocche(n)*, *mucche(n)* ‘to chew audibly’, later *monche/mounche* (14th, 15th centuries, OED³), apparently of imitative origin. The *n*-insertion may be due to the influence of *mangen* ‘to eat’ (a1376) and *maungen* (c1385), see MANGE *v.*; cf. ModF *mâcher* (DEHF: 443b, OF *maschier*, 1190, late Latin *masticāre*); see OED³: **munch**, *v.* for hypotheses about the origin. (BDE: 686a; KDEE: 932a; ODEE: 597a)

scunch *n.* (obs.) bevelled inner edge, etc. (1611, OED)

aphetic variant of SCUNCHEON *n.* (q.v.); see also cognate SQUINCH *n.*

scuncheon *n.* bevelled inner edge of the jamb of a door, etc. (1293, MED) (OED²: **scuncheon** arch.)

ME **sconchōun** ‘a splayed building stone’ (1293), also *sconch(e)on*, *scunchon*, *-un*, *skounsiom*, *squinchon*, *-un*, (*s*)*quinshon*, *scochoun*, *schouchon* (MED: **sconchōun** *n.*), adapted from Old Picard *escouchon* and *escochon* (Godefroy III: 411), see CF **escoinsson** (T/L III: 940), from LL **excussiō-nem* obl.sing. of **excussiō*, derived from *excussus* p.ppl. of L *excutere* ‘to throw away, beat out, etc.’ (Bork 1969: 115ff.). See ModF **écoinçon** ‘Eckstein’ (i.e. ‘cornerstone’, EWFS²: 347a), which belongs to the word family of L *quatere* ‘to shake, beat, push’ (Diensberg 2008: 56-60). However, ModF **écoinçon** ‘cornerstone’ (DEHF: s.v. *coin*, 1334) may well have been influenced by OF *coin* ‘wedge; corner’ (< L *cuneus*); see TLF, s.v. **écoinçon**. The intrusive *n*-infix may partly be due to group analogy on the model of LUNCHEON *n.*, PUNCHEON *n.*, TRUNCHEON *n.* and the like; see also SQUINCHEON *n.*

There is an alternation between non-CF (Old Picard) /-ʃ-/ ⟨sh, ch⟩ and CF /-ss-/ ⟨-s-, -ss-⟩; /-tʃ-/ ⟨ch⟩ as third variant cannot be excluded because of the spellings Old Picard *escouchon* and *escochon* and ME *scochoncrestes*, corresponding to ModE SCUTCHEON *n.*¹ (q.v.). Thus, we may safely postulate a variant stem **excutt-* (for *excuss-*, see above) so that LL **excuttiō-nem* obl.sing. of **excuttiō* might yield non-CF *escouchon* and *escochon* with /-tʃ-/ ⟨ch⟩ (see Diensberg 2008: 56-57; Dietz 2006: 170 and footnotes 114/115, 201-202). See also original SCUTCHEON *n.*¹ as attested in *scochoncrestes* (1373, MED), cognate with the synonym SCOINSSON *n.* (Diensberg 1985: 122-23, 163, 164).

There must have been a semantic development from ME *sconchōun* ‘a splayed building stone’ (1293) to *sconchōun angler* ‘a splayed stone forming a quoin’ (1442), to ‘chamfered brick’ (1409-10), to ‘an oblique angle of a building’ (1434) and, ultimately, to ‘a bevelled inner edge, etc.’ (1611, OED²: **scuncheon**, *n.*). Both SCUTCHEON *n.*¹ and SCUNCHEON *n.*, and SQUINCHEON *n.*, as well as SCOINSSON *n.* are cognate with RESCUE *n./v.*, QUASH *v.*, SQUASH *v.*, SQUAT *v.*, and thus go back to the word family of

Latin *quaterere* ‘to shake, beat, push’ (see Diensberg 2008: 56-60). In disagreement with the statement under the respective entry (1850, OED²), **scutcheon** *n.*² is not a spelling variant of SCUNCHEON *n.* (Diensberg 1985: 123), but identical with **scutcheon** *n.*¹ ‘(hist.) bevelled inner edge of the jamb or side of a door, etc.’ (OED²).

We prefer to derive **scuncheon** ‘bevelled inner edge, etc.’ from a root **scutch-**, meaning ‘to beat out, etc.’, as attested in AF *escucher* ‘to scutch, cleanse (flax)’, OF **escoucher* (presupposed by ModF *écoucher*). ME **(e)scuchen* ‘to scutch, cleanse (flax)’, though unattested, finds its continuations in ModE SCUTCH *v.* and derivations, as well as in **scutcheon** *n.*¹ ‘(hist.) bevelled inner edge of the jamb or side of a door, etc.’ (OED²). After an intrusive nasal had been inserted, **scutch-** became **scuntch-** and supplanted variants such as Old Picard *escouchon* and *escochon*, as well as CF *escoisson* (T/L III: 940), from LL **excussiōnem* obl.sing. of **excussiō*, derived from *excussus* p.ppl. of L *excutere* (see EWFS²: 347a, s.v. *écoinçon* ‘Eckstein’, i.e. ‘cornerstone’). Thus, **scuncheon** would have denoted ‘something which has been beaten out (in masonry)’, before it became a special building term.

scutch *v.* dress fibre (flax, hemp, etc.) by beating, etc. (1611, KDEE) (OED²: SCUTCH *v.*²)

ME **(e)scuchen* may be postulated on the evidence of AF *escucher* (attested for the 13th century), *escuger*; *estonger*; *estuger*; *eschujer*; *esquecher* ‘to scutch, cleanse (flax)’ (AND²: **escucher**), see OF **escoucher*, from **excutiāre*, **excutiāre*, unattested variants of L *excutere* ‘to beat out’, prefixed form of L *quaterere* ‘to shake, beat, push’ (Bork 1969: 138ff.); wrongly derived from VL **excussiāre* (KDEE: 1236a, s.v. *scutch*). Cf. ModF *écoucher* ‘(Hanf, Flachs) schlagen’ (Bork 1969: 52-55 ‘56’ to dress flax), wrongly derived from VL **excussiāre* (for *excussāre*?) (EWFS²: 348a), from *excussus* p.ppl. of L *excutere* (see Bork 1969: 138ff.). See also SCUTCHEON *n.*² and SCUNCHEON *n.* (BDE: %; KDEE: 1236a, s.v. *scutch*; ODEE: 803b, s.v. *scutch v.*)

scutch *n.* the action of dressing fibre (flax, hemp, etc.) by beating, etc. (1611, KDEE)

either derived from the verb, or rather from OF/ModF (dial.) *escouche* ‘instrument used to dress (fibrous material, flax, hemp, etc.) by beating’ (1733, OED²: **scutch** *v.*²), derived from the verb *escoucher/escucher* (see FEW III: 290a, s.v. **excutiāre* (< L *excutere*); see Bork 1969: 138ff.). AF *escoinche*, a variant of *escuche*; *escuce*; *eschuce* ‘swingle-stock; swingle-tree’ (AND²: **escuche**), of obscure origin, ‘instrument used to dress fibre (flax, hemp, etc.) by beating, etc.’; AF *escoinche* may be from the same root as OF *escoinseau* casus rectus / **escoinsel* casus obliquus, a synonym

of *escoinson* ‘wedge, splayed cornerstone’ (Godefroy III: 411c). (BDE: %; KDEE: 1236a, s.v. *scutch* v.; ODEE: 803b, s.v. *scutch* v.)

shunch v. (obs.) scare away, cause to start aside (c1225, MED)

EME *schunchen* which occurs in the context *schrenchen* & *schunchen* ‘lead astray & scare away’ (c1225); *scheunchen* ‘to shy, start aside’ (c1225-30). Though not of Romance origin, ME *sch(e)unchen* ‘to shy, start aside’ shows an *n*-infix. The verb may be linked with Germanic **skuh*, **skeuh* (see d’Ardenne 1961: 164); cf. German *scheu* & *scheuen* ‘(to) shy’ and *scheuchen* ‘to scare away’, from West Germanic **skeuha-* (Kluge²⁴). Cf. EME *eschif* ‘shy’ (< AF *eschif*), cognate with ME *eschewen* (< OF *eschivre*), ModE *ESCHEW* v.

squinch n. cornerstone

aphetic form of **squincheon**; see **SCUNCH** n.; (BDE: %; KDEE: %; ODEE: %)

squincheon n. cornerstone (1409-10, MED)

obviously a variant of **SCUNCHEON** n. (q.v.); see *squinchon*, *-un*, (*s*)*quinshon*, variants of ME *sconchoun*, also *sconch(e)on*, *scunchon*, *-un*, *skounsiom*, etc., attested as *sqwynchuncrest* ‘a splayed building stone used for the top of a gate, etc.’ (1429-30), *sqwynchon* (1409-10; cf. also *scochoncrestes* (1372). Attested in *sqwynchon aschler* ‘a splayed stone forming a quoin’ (1442) and *sqwynchuncrest* (1430); see MED: **sconchōun** (n.). The alternation /skwí-/ <sqwi-/ (< *skúí-*, through shift of stress) ~ /sku-/ <scu-/), as in *squinchon*, *squinshon* and *sconchoun*, *scunchon* respectively, is quite frequently found in French loan words, e.g. *ASQUINT* *adv.* – *ASKOYNE* *adv.* (Diensberg 1985: 122-23, 163, 164; Dietz 2006: 273ff., 287f.).

I.2.b.2. Intrusive nasals (*m*, *n*) followed by *ʒ* <g, j>

popinjay n. vain and overly talkative person (1322, BDE) (OED³: **popinjay**, n.)

ME *popingaye* parrot, also *papejai(e)*, *papinjai* ‘figure or model of a parrot’, earlier as a surname *Papejaye* (1270); also *popynjay* (c1380), adapted from AF *papejei*, *papegai*, *papejai*, *papejoie*; *papinjai*, *papungay* ‘(orn.) parrot, popinjay; (her.) popinjay’ (AND¹: **papejei**), probably from Spanish *papagayo* (Corominas/Pascual IV: 384b), probably of Arabic origin. Modern meaning of a vain and overly talkative person first recorded in 1528. See ModG *Papagei* (15th c., Kluge²⁴). (BDE: 817b; KDEE: 1090a; ODEE: 696b)

I.2.c. Intrusive *-n* + *g-*

***jig** *adj.* (arch.) lewd, coquettish, frivolous (c1200?/c1230, MED)

ME *gigge*, also *gige* (c1225-30), found only in the context *gigge lahtre* ‘lewd or coquettish laughter’ (c1200?/c1230, MED), probably derived from the root *gig-*, *jig-* /*dzig-*/, of French origin, as found in AF *gigeler* ‘to frolic’ (AND²: **gigeler**), see OF *gigler* ‘to play the violin’ (Godefroy IV:

277c), possibly related to AF [*gigue*], *gige*, *gigye* ‘(mus.) fiddle, stringed instrument’ (AND²: [*gigue*]). We have to assume a connection between the meanings ‘to make music’ and ‘to dance to music’. AF *gigeler* may have been adapted as ModE **jiggle** ‘to shake or jerk lightly’ (1836, BDE). See below cognate JIG *n.* and possibly related JIGGLE *v.*

***jig** *n.* (arch.) a foolish or a loose woman (c1250/c1300, MED); (of a man) an awkward or boorish fellow (a1387, MED)

ME *gegges* (for *gigges*) ‘foolish or loose women’; *gigges* (also *gegges*) ‘awkward or boorish fellows’, probably derived from the root *gig-*, *jig-/dʒig-/* ⟨ǰig(ge)⟩, of French origin, as found in ModF **gigue** ‘a gawky young woman’. See ModF (*maison*) **ginguette** ‘small restaurant’ (DEHF: 359b, 1697, derived from OF *ginguet* ‘narrow’, variant of *guiguet*, related to *giguer* ‘gambader’). There is OF *ginguet* ‘sour wine’ (Godefroy IX: 699c), corresponding to ModF **ginguet**, *ginguette* adj. (obs.) ‘a little sour or bitter (speaking of wine)’ (TLF, s.v.). Obviously related to ME *gigelot* ‘loose woman; a courtesan, harlot’ (c1325, MED). See ModF **gigolette** (DEHF: 339a, s.v. *gigue*), which is paralleled by EME *rikelot* ‘chatterbox’ (Zettersten 1964: 13-15; Zettersten 1969: 245). French has attestations both of the roots **guig-** and **guing-** (*n*-infix), whereas English seems to have borrowed only the former. While the meanings ‘to make music’ and ‘to dance, jump, frolic’ may well be related, there seems to be some semantic incongruity, as far as the other sparse attestations are concerned, so that our conclusions can merely be tentative. See above cognate JIG *adj.*

jig *n.* lively dance (c1560, BDE)
(see **jig** *v.* below for the origin)

jig *v.* dance a jig (1588, BDE)

probably derived from earlier **jig** ‘lively dance’ (1560), which may be tentatively associated with AF [*gigue*], *gige*, *gigye* ‘(mus.) fiddle, stringed instrument’ (AND²: [*gigue*]), see OF **gigue**, *gigle* (T/L IV: 316; Godefroy II: 278a). The verb **jig** goes back to OF **giguer**, *ginguer*, *jynguer* ‘to frolic’ (Godefroy II: 278b). Cf. ModF **giguer** ‘gambader, sauter à la danse’, i.e. ‘to frolic; dance, jump’, variant of **ginguer** (15th) (DEHF: 359b, s.v. **ginguette** as in *maison ginguette*); see B/W⁶: 311b, s.v. *ginguette* and TLF, s.v. *ginguet* ‘fresh, sparkling wine’. We assume that the root *gig-*, *jig-/dʒig-/* ⟨ǰig(ge)⟩ implies an unsteady, shaking or jerking movement which (taken figuratively) would account for the giddiness or flightiness of girls or women (see Zettersten 1969: 240, s.v. **gigge**, wrongly treated as a noun). See probably cognate JIG *adj.* and *n.* (BDE: 553b, s.v. *jig*¹ *v.*; KDEE: 752a, s.v. *jig n.*; ODEE: 495b, s.v. *jig n.*)

I.2.d. Intrusive *-n* + *gl-*

jiggle *v.* to shake or jerk lightly (1836, BDE)

either frequentative, formed on **jig** *v.* (q.v.), or derived from unattested ME *jiggen* ⟨ǰiggen⟩, from the root *gig-*, *jig-* /dʒig-/ ⟨ǰig(ge)⟩, adapted from AF *gigeler* ‘to frolic’ (AND²: *gigeler*). (BDE: 553b; KDEE: 752a; ODEE: 495b)

jingle *v.* to make a sound (c1387-95, BDE)

ME *jingle(n)*, either imitative or might be distantly related to **jiggle** *v.* (without *n*-infix). (BDE: 553b; KDEE: 752b; ODEE: 496a)

jog *v.* shake with a push or jerk (1548, BDE)

probably formed from the root *jog-* /dʒog-/, of imitative origin. (BDE: 555a, s.v. *jog*¹ *v.*; KDEE: 753b; ODEE: 497a)

joggle *v.* shake slightly (1513, BDE)

frequentative variant of JOG *v.* (q.v.). See however CF *jogler* ‘to juggle’ (T/L IV/2: 1710), from L *joculāre* or *joculāri* (FEW V: 41a), from *joculus*, diminutive of *iocus* ‘joke’. Cf. ModF *jongler* ‘to juggle’ (DEHF: 408a, 1360), which, unlike the English verb, shows intrusive *n*; see JUGGLE *v.* (BDE: 555b; KDEE: 753b, s.v. *jog n.*; ODEE: 497a, s.v. *jog v.*)

juggle *v.* (c1378, BDE)

ME *jogelen* (ca1400/ca1378), adapted from AF *jugler* ‘to perform as a jongleur, juggler or minstrel; to entertain’ (AND²: *jugler*¹), see OF *jogler* (T/L IV/2: 1710), from L *joculāre* or *joculāri* (FEW V: 41a), from *joculus*, diminutive of *iocus* ‘joke’. Cf. ModF *jongler* ‘to juggle’ (DEHF: 408a, 1360). The vocalism /u/ and the absence of the nasal infix are typical of Anglo-French *jugler*, etc.; cf. Central French /o/ + *n* as in ModF *jongler* (DEHF: 408a, 1360). (BDE: 558a; KDEE: 757b; ODEE: 499a)

juggler *n.* (a1200?, BDE)

EME *iuglurs* (AW, MS Corpus, c1230), later *jogelour* ‘jester, clown’, adapted from AF *jugleur*, *jugleor*, *jugleour*, *juglour*, *juglur*; *jugler*, *juglere*, *jugliere*; *jogeler*, *jogelere*; *jogelour*, *jogelur*, *joglor*; *jugelour*, *jugelur*, *jugulur* ‘juggler, jongleur, one who entertains or amuses people; minstrel, etc.’; ‘(pej.) rogue, villain’ (AND²: *jugleur*), see OF *joglëor* (T/L IV/2: 1705); from L *joculātōrem* obl.sing. of *joculātor* ‘jester’. A continuation of late OE *gēogelere* ‘magician’ (a1100) can be safely excluded. Cf. ModF *jongleur* (DEHF: 408a, s.v. *jongler*, *joglëor* 12th c.); see also JUGGLE *v.* (BDE: 558a; KDEE: 757b; ODEE: 499a)

I.3. Intrusive nasals (*m*, *n*) followed by voiceless fricatives

enhance *v.* (c1280, BDE)

ME *anhaunse(n)*, also *enhaunce(n)*, also *anhausen*, adapted from the tonic (accented) stem of AF *enhaucer*, *enaucher*, *enauscer*, *enauser*, *enausser*; *enalcer*, *enalcier*; *enancere*, *enanser*, *enhancer*, *enhancier*; *enauncer*,

enaunser, *enaunsier*, etc. ‘to raise, lift; to raise, exalt; to make higher; etc.’ (AND²: **enhaucer**), from VL **inaltiāre*, from *in-* + **altiāre*, derived from L *altus* ‘high’. AF *enhanc(i)er/enauncer* for expected *enhaucer*, *enaunser* owes its origin to a change of the second element from *-aucer*, *-aucier* (< L *-altiāre*) to *-ancer*, *-ancier* (< L *-antiāre*). There is the unprefixated French verb **hausser** ‘to raise, lift’ (DEHF: 366a, s.v. *haut* ‘high’; *halcier* 1130; *hausser* 15th c.); see also aphetic HANCE v. (obs.). Group analogy on the model of loan verbs such as ADVANCE and DANCE may have determined the phonological make-up of the verb **enhance**.

For the development of AF **en-/em-** > **an-/am-** in pretonic position see remarks under ANOINT v., see ME *anhansyeth* ‘enhances’ (OED²), quoted by Dobson 1972: XCII, footnote 2. Concerning the development of Latin **a + I + C (preconsonantal I)** in Romance loan words see Klaus Dietz, *Die Rezeption des Vorkonsonantischen L*, 2 vols. (Muenchen: Fink, 1968). Regarding **enhance** v., see Dietz 1968: 273ff. & 455f.; see also aphetic HANCE v. (obs.) as exemplified in ME *haunce(n)/haunse(n)*. (BDE: 331a; KDEE: 433b; ODEE: 315a)

glance v. glide off an object struck (1441, BDE), to look quickly (1583, OED)

ME *glawnce(n)* ‘to glide off at a slant as a weapon does’, a variant of earlier *glacen* ‘to graze, strike a grazing blow’ (c1300), without *n*-infix, from AF *glacer*, *glascer*; *glisser* (*glaucier*) ‘to slip (into), slide; (fig.) to slip, slide’ (AND²: **glacer**), cf. CF *glacier*, *glachier* ‘to slip’ (T/L V/1: 344), from AF *glace*, *glace*, *glasce*; *glaiche*; *glas*, *glaz*; *glaas* ‘ice’ (AND²: **glace**), from VL **glacia* for CL *glaciēs* (see DEHF: 340b, s.v. *glace*, 1130). ME *glawncen*/*glawncen* have to be derived from an Anglo-French variant with *n*-infix, an unattested **glancer*. However, earlier *glacen* may have been refashioned on the model of verbs in this subgroup such as ADVANCE v., DANCE v., ENHANCE v., HANCE v., LANCE v. (undoubtedly of French origin) which usually denote some kind of movement or a related activity of some kind.

The verb may have been remodelled through the semi-morpheme **-ance** which denotes some kind of movement which is specified by the element **gl-** as in **glare** ‘to stare fiercely’ & **glaze** ‘to stare’ (obs.) & **glint** v. (of eyes), verbs which refer to some kind of looking (Marchand 1969: 7.53/p. 411). Without having recourse to blending (and the like) quite a few words may have been coined by processes as the one under examination which, on the face of it, seem to violate the rules of classical word-formation. (BDE: 435a; KDEE: 574b; ODEE: 400a)

hance v. (obs.) lift, raise on high (a1400/c1303, MED) (OED²: **hance** v.)

ME *hauncen*, *hancen*, *ha(u)nsen*, aphetic variants of *enhauce(n)*, see ENHANCE v.; alternatively adapted from AF *hauncer*, variant of *halcer*,

halceier, halcier; haucer, haucher, haucier, hauser; hawcer ‘to raise, bring higher; to elevate, exalt; (of a glass etc.) to raise (and drink), etc.’ (AND²: **halcer**); cf. ModF **hausser** ‘to raise, lift’ (DEHF: 366a, s.v. **haut** ‘high’).

hawse v. (obs.) raise, exalt, hoist (a1400/c1303, MED) (OED²: †**hawse** v.)

ME/EModE *hause, halse, haulse*, adapted from AF *halcer, halceier, halcier; haucer, haucher, haucier, hauser; hawcer* ‘to raise, bring higher; to elevate, exalt; etc.’ (AND²: **halcer**); cf. ModF **hausser** ‘to raise, lift’ (DEHF: 366a, s.v. **haut** ‘high’).

hawser n. large rope or small cable (1294, BDE)

pronunciation: /'hɔːzə(r)/; ME *hauceour, hauucour, haucer*, apparently Anglo-Norman *hauceour*, < Old French *haucier* ‘to hawse, hoist’; in reference to the original purpose of a hawser (OED²: **hawser** n.). ME *ausor*, also *haucer* (1295), adapted from AF *haucer, hauceour, hauser, hausor, hausour; hauuȝour* ‘(nav.) hawser (heavy rope or light cable)’ (AND²: **haucer**¹), originally from root-stressed present forms of AF *halcer, halceier, halcier; haucer, haucher, haucier, hauser; hauncer; hawcer* ‘to raise, bring higher; to elevate, exalt; (of a glass etc.) to raise (and drink); to make higher, taller; to increase; to make louder, etc.’ (AND²: **halcer**), used as a noun, from VL **altiāre* ‘to raise’ for LL *altāre*, derived from L *altus* ‘high’; cf. ModF **hausser** ‘to raise, lift’ (DEHF: 366a, s.v. **haut** ‘high’, OF *halcier*, 1130, see MF *hausser* (Greimas/Keane: 345b, 15th c.); see also TLF, s.v. **hausser**). Through association with **hawse** n. ‘part of ship’s bow’ (ME *hals*, 1336-37), apparently of native origin, /-s-/ (<-c-) of ME **haucer** gave way to /-z-/ (<-s-) (or spelling pronunciation?). See related ENHANCE v. and HANCE v. (arch.). (BDE: 469b; KDEE: 632b; ODEE: 431b)

scoinson n. bevelled inner edge of a window (15th, ODEE)

adapted from MF *escoinson* (14th c.) which survives as ModF *écoinçon* ‘Eckstein’, i.e. ‘cornerstone’ (EWFS²: 347a); the *n*-infix is undoubtedly due to MF *coin* ‘angle, wedge’ (EWFS²: 242a) which is at the origin of ModE COIN n. (q.v.). Thus MF *escoinson* goes back to earlier *escoisson* ‘making a hole in a wall where a supporting stone or piece of wood is to be set in’. To OF *escoisson* correspond Old Picard *escouchon, escochon* as dialectal variants of *escoisson* and Old Picard *escouchon, escochon* (Godefroy III: 411), which continue VL **excussiōnem* obl.sing. of **excussiō* which can be led back to *excussus* p.ppl. of L *excutere* which belongs to the word family of L *quatere* ‘to shake, beat, push’ (see Bork 1969: 115ff.; Diensberg 1985: 122, 123, 163, 164; Diensberg 2008: 56-60).

Both SCOINSSON n., as well as SCUTCHEON n.¹ and SCUNCHEON n. and SQUINCHON n. are cognate with RESCUE n./v., QUASH v., SQUASH v., SQUAT v., and thus go back to the word family of Latin *quatere* ‘to shake, beat, push’ (see Diensberg 2008: 56-60). See unrelated AF *escuchon, escucheon*,

escuchoun, *escuchun*, etc. '(her.) escutcheon, coat of arms; shield' (AND²: *escuchoun*), which yielded ModE ESCUTCHEON *n*.

I.4. Intrusive nasals (*m*, *n*) followed by voiceless stops

pamper *v.* (c1390, BDE)

ME *pamp(e)ren*, adapted from MLG? (cf. West Flemish *pamperen* 'to pamper'), probably derived from synonymous *pamp* (14th c.), see German dial. *pampen* 'to cram', which could reflect *pamp* for *pap* 'nipple, teat' (cf. BDE: 753a; KDEE: 1028a, s.v. *pap*²; ODEE: 647b, s.v. *pap*²) with nasal infix. See OED³: **pamper** *v.* for the origin. (BDE: 750b; KDEE: 1026a; ODEE: 644b)

pimp *n.* (1607, BDE; 1599, KDEE) (OED³: **pimp** *n.*¹)

perhaps to be connected with MF *pimper* 'to dress up elegantly or adorn' (Greimas/Keane: 478a, 16th c.), see *pimpar*, variant of Old Provençal *pipar* 'to dress up elegantly, spruce up', allegedly from an expressive root *pipp-*. See ModF **pimpant** 'alluring' pres.ppl. of MF *pimper*, from an expressive root *pimp-* which is supposed to denote 'elegance and grace' (DEHF: 581a, 1500; see TLF, s.v. **pimper** *v.* and **pimpant** *adj.*). There is northern German vulgar/slang *pimpern* 'to have sexual intercourse' which may or may not reflect the same root; see also OED³: **pimp** *n.* for the origin.

The editors of both BDE, s.v. & DEHF, s.v. are right in assuming an expressive root *pipp-* (~ *pīp-*?) and *pimp-* respectively; the occurrence or non-occurrence of the nasal infix is typical of low-strata words; see also BRIBE *n./v.* & JIB *v.* and obsolete REGIBBE *v.*; for an extensive discussion of the origin of PIMP *n.*, see Liberman, ADEE: 174b-176b. (BDE: 795a; KDEE: 1068b; ODEE: 681a)

Conclusion. A close scrutiny of the word material assembled under the respective entries has shown that the insertion of nasal consonants may well have begun in the source language. The case of the verbs *munch* and *shunch*, certainly not of Romance origin, may point to an extension of *n*-insertion to lexemes of other origin. As in the case of *scutch* and *scutcheon* (original forms), compared with *scunch* and *scuncheon* and their variants *squinch* and *quincheon* (containing intrusive nasals), both variants may exist side by side. A case may be made for *jig* *v.* and its frequentative *jiggle* *v.*, paralleled by most probably related and nearly synonymous *jog* *v.* and its frequentative *joggle* *v.*, to which *juggle* *v.* could be added, as derived from the same root, but with different vocalism (see Liberman 2005: 183 "false ablaut").

II. Unusual retention of OF/AF *-er/-re* in Middle English

These seven verbal lexemes quoted below (there may even be some more) illustrate the retention of the endings *-er* (< L *-āre*), first conjugation, and *-re* (< *-ere*), third conjugation (Pope 1934/52: §§ 882-886). Apart from prefixed **em-broider** *v.* (there is the simplex **broider** *v.*), they consist of 2 syllables with stress on the first one. They may have followed the model of the loan verb **cover** (< AF *covrir*). In the case of the origin of **flatter** *v.*, a much debated etymology, the fact that there are six more other loan verbs which show the same feature, may confirm our hypothesis of a French origin.

batter *v.* strike with repeated blows (c1330, BDE)

ME *bateren*, from pretonic stem of AF *batre*, *bater*, *batere*, *baterer*; *bastre* ‘to beat; to attack, beat; to thresh; to beat, scutch (flax); etc.’ (AND²: *batre*¹), from VL **battere* for CL *battuere*; ModF *battre*. (BDE: 81b, s.v. *batter*¹; KDEE: 105b; ODEE: 80a, s.v. *batter*¹)

broider *v.* (arch.) decorate with needlework (c1353, KDEE) (OED²: **broider**, *v.*)

ME **broudere(n)*, see MED, s.v. **broudered** p.ppl. ‘embroidered’ (Latin 1398/English c1450), adapted from AF *brouder*, *broder*; *broider*, *broidsder*; *bruider*, *bruisder*; *bruser*, *brusder* ‘to embroider’ (AND²: **brouder**); cf. OF *brouder*, *brosder* ‘to stitch’; cf. ModF **broder** (DEHF: 103b, *brosder* 12th c.); see also EMBROIDER *v.* (BDE: %; KDEE: %; ODEE: %)

dower *v.* (1604-05, KDEE)

EModE *dower* ‘to give dowry to’ (OED²: **dower** *n.*), derived from the noun **dower** ‘widow’s share of her husband’s property, property a bride brings to her marriage’. There is AF *dower*, *douer* ‘to endow (also eccl.), (law) to dower, endow; to endow, enrich, furnish’ (AND²: **dower**²), see also AF *dowerer* ‘(law) to dower’ (AND²: **dowerer**), both reflecting L *dōtāre*. Cf. ModF **douer** ‘to endow’ (DEHF: 233b, end 12th c.). See also DOWRY *n.*, DOWAGER *n.* and ENDOW *v.* (BDE: %; KDEE: 392b; ODEE: 286b, s.v. *dower*).

embroider *v.* decorate with needlework (a1393, BDE)

ME *embroudren*; adapted from AF **embroider*, see *embroidé* ‘embroidered’ (AND²: **embroidé**); see AF *embroidé*, *embraudé*, *embroudé*, *embruusdé*; *enbroidé*, *enbroudé* ‘embroidered’ (AND²: **embroidé**). See also the simplex AF *brouder*, *broder*; *broider*, *broidsder*; *bruider*, *bruisder*; *bruser*, *brusder* ‘to embroider’ (AND²: **brouder**); cf. ModF **broder** (DEHF: 103b, *brosder* 12th c.). Obviously formed out of OF *en-/em-* (< L *in-*) + *brosder/broder* (T/L I: 1167) of Germanic origin (Frankish **brozdōn*). The adding of the suffix *-er*³ (BDE: 339b, s.v.) seems to have occurred in the borrowing language; cf. FLATTER *v.* Though attested only towards the end of the 16th cen-

ture **-oid-** already occurred in the source language (AF *embroidé, enbroidé; broider, broisder, brouderer; broiderer*) side by side with **-aud-** (*embraudé; braudester; braudure*) and **-oud-** (*embroudé; brouder; brouderer, broudes-ter*) and is best explained by analogy (see Diensberg 1985: 49, 153, 155).

There is no need to postulate the influence of EME *broiden* 'braided', p.ppl. of OE *breždan*, which died out before the end of the 13th century as Klaus Dietz has shown convincingly (1981: 106-108). Furthermore, both forms with **ou** (besides **au**) and **oi** occur in Anglo-French as has been demonstrated above. Following received wisdom Dietz (1981: 106) seems to underestimate the importance of insular French which remained a language of record right into the 15th century (see Diensberg 2000: 205-206). (BDE: 324b; KDEE: 425a; ODEE: 309a)

flatter v. (a1200?, BDE; wrongly dated 1386 by Liberman ADEE: 75a)

EME *flatrin* 'to flatter' (c1230), later *flatteren* (c1225?), early adaptation of AF *flater, flatere, flatter; flatir, flatire, flatier* 'to flatter' (AND²: *flater*³). The Anglo-French forms are first attested from c1250 onwards so that chronology need not further be taken into account. The rather unusual ME *flat(e)r-en* means that the Anglo-French infinitive *flater* was borrowed in full and the Early Middle English infinitive ending **-in, -en** added. Less convincing alternative: back-formation from *flater-er* n. 'flatterer' and *flater-ie* n. 'flattery' (AND²: *flaterie*), which contain the **-(e)r-**element; cf. the loan word *ulatour* 'flatterer' in the *Ayenbite* (1340). AF/OF *flater* is assumed to derive from a Frankish root **flat* 'level, flat' which as a verb is supposed to mean 'to stroke with the hand, caress', a meaning attested for MF *flatter* only in 1354 (DEHF: 303b, 1175); see Greimas/Keane: 288b, s.v. *flater*, also *flater* and TLF, s.v. *flatter*.

Liberman (ADEE: 75b-78a, in particular 76b-77a) definitely excludes a borrowing from French, adducing the forms ME *ulateri* 'flatter' and *ulatour* 'flatterer', which occur in *Ayenbite* (1340), as evidence. However, they do not speak against a French origin since voicing of initial fricatives is as a rule restricted to native wordstock (see Berndt 1960: 180) but testify to a very early borrowing. Cf. the case of EME *vlaske* 'sprinkle' (a1250) co-occurring with *flaskie* sg.subj.pres., from OF *flaschir*, ModE *flash* (cf. Diensberg 1994: 218). (BDE: 389a; KDEE: 513b; ODEE: 360b)

render v. (a1376, BDE)

ME *rendre(n)* 'to say over, recite'; later 'to hand over, deliver' (a1400?), adapted from AF *rendre, render, rendre* 'to give (back), (law) surrender, transfer, etc.' (AND¹: *rendre*), from LL **rendere* for CL *reddere* 'to give back, return, restore'. Cf. ModF *rendre* 'to give back' (DEHF: 660a, 10th c., modelled on *prendre* 'to seize, grasp'). (BDE: 910a; KDEE: 1171b; ODEE: 755b)

tender *v.* offer formally (1542-43, BDE)

ME *tendre*, adapted from MF *tendre* 'to offer, hold forth' (Greimas/Keane 620a, s.v. II. *tendre*), from L *tendere* 'to stretch, extend'. See TEND *v.*¹ (BDE: 1124b, s.v. *tender*²; KDEE: 1414b, s.v. *tender*²; ODEE: 909b, s.v. *tender*²)

Final conclusion. A close examination of the material displayed above has shown that the method of a linguistic description on the basis of phonological structure contributes to the solution of etymological problems as in the case of **scuncheon** *n.* and **squncheon** *n.*; not infrequently, group analogy plays a major role, e.g. with the lexemes **enhance** and **scuncheon**. In the case of the origin of **flatter** *v.*, a much debated etymology, the fact that there are six more other loan verbs which show the same feature, confirms our hypothesis of a French origin.

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