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in Lingue e letterature europee,
americane e postcoloniali

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The Language of *Emaré*
A Middle English Romance

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Anno Accademico
2011 / 2012

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ABBREVIATIONS

absol.	absolute	ll.	lines
adj.	adjective	LME	Late Middle English
adv.	adverb	LModE	Late Modern English
AmE	American English	LOE	Late Old English
arch.	archaic	n.	noun
c.	century/centuries	obs.	obsolete
ca.	circa	OE	Old English
conj.	conjunction	OF	Old French
dial.	dialectal	p.	page
EME	Early Middle English	pers.	person
EModE	Early Modern English	plur.	plural
EOE	Early Old English	poet.	poetical
exc.	except	pp.	pages
form.	formal	pret.	preterite
int.	interjection	pron.	pronoun
ME	Middle English	reg.	regional
ModE	Modern English	rel.	relative
MS	manuscript	sing.	singular
MSS	manuscripts	StE	Standard English
l.	line	v.	verb
lit.	literary		

CHAPTER 1
SOURCES, THEMES AND LITERARY GENRE

1.1. Sources: Manuscript, Literary Precedents

1.1.1. The Manuscript

Emaré exists in only one manuscript, the Cotton Caligula A ii, dating early 15th century and now in the British Museum. The manuscript consists of two paper quartos originally denominated Vespasian D8 and Vespasian D21, which were put together before 1654 and then given the current denomination. According to Rickert, the MS was copied not earlier than 1446 because it contains the poem *Nightingale* by Lydgate[1] which was with a high degree of certainty written in that year. The date *ad quem* is probably 1460, as there is a chronicle of England in Latin to the end of Henry VI's reign (1st reign: 31st August 1422 – 4th March 1461) in the same handwriting as the other works. The later additions about Henry VI's death (21st May 1471) and the reigns of Edward IV (4th March 1461 – 3rd October 1470 and 11th April 1471 – 9th April 1483) and Richard III (26th June 1483 – 22nd August 1485) are clearly in another handwriting.[2] Kaluza instead claims that the MS was written between 1425 and 1450.[3] *Emaré* stretches through six folios, ff. 71-76 according to the new numbering and 69-74

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[1] John Lydgate (ca. 1370 – ca. 1450) was a Benedictine monk of Bury St. Edmund's Abbey. He was a very prolific poet and his production includes saints' lives, imitations of Chaucer, compilations and translations. See FORD, B. (ed.), *Medieval Literature: Chaucer and the Alliterative Tradition*, vol. 1, part I of *The New Pelican Guide to English Literature*, London, Penguin Books, 1982, p. 631 and RICKERT, E. (ed.), *The Romance of Emaré*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1906, p. x.
[2] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. x.
[3] In GOUGH, A. B., *On the Middle English Metrical Romance of Emare. Inaugural-Dissertation, etc.*, Kiel, H. Fiencke, 1900, p. 1.

according to the old one. The MS contains nine further metrical narratives, including Thomas Chestre's *Sir Launfal.*

1.1.2. Synopsis

The romance opens with an invocation to Christ and starts telling the story of Emaré, daughter of emperor Artyus and Erayne. She has no siblings and when her mother prematurely dies, she is sent to live by a governess named Abro, who teaches her good manners and to sew and embroider. For his visit to Emaré's father, King Tergaunte of Sicily brings a magnificent cloth as a gift. Its story follows, from its origin, through all the events which brought it from the sultan of Babylon to Tergaunte. It took seven years to give the cloth its shape: it is enriched with plenty of precious stones and representations of true lovers are embroidered on each of the four corners. Once Tergaunte has left, Artyus feels he is missing his daughter, calls her back to his palace and falls in love with her. Consequently, he decides to marry her and sends for papal dispensation; he also has the cloth turned into a robe for Emaré. When he expresses his desire to marry her, the young woman, shocked by the incestuous proposal, vehemently refuses. The emperor, enraged, exiles her and she faces her first exposure adrift in the sea. Her robe is placed in the boat with her. After the boat has disappeared beyond the horizon, Artuys repents and orders to go in search of his daughter but she cannot be found. Emaré goes adrift for seven days and arrives on the shores of Galicia where she is rescued by Sir Kadore, the King of Galicia's steward, who is impressed by the brilliance of the precious stones of the cloth. Sir Kadore is at first frightened by that sight but feels pity for the

conditions in which the young woman is. Emaré conceals her identity by saying that her name is Egaré and is taken to the steward's castle where she is looked after until she has recovered from the hardships of the sea and is given the task of teaching embroidery to the servants. During a banquet held at Sir Kadore's castle Emaré wears her robe and the King of Galicia falls in love with her. He decides to marry her but his mother tries to talk him out of it by saying that Emaré is a fiend and that she will not be present at the ceremony. In spite of that, the wedding takes place. Not much later, the King leaves to go in aid of the King of France, who is besieged by the Saracens and the pregnant Emaré is left under Sir Kadore's protection. When the heir is born, the messenger sent to inform the King stops at the castle of Emaré's mother-in-law who makes him drunk and destroys the letter he is carrying. She writes another letter to her son saying that his newborn is a devil. Though being devastated by the news, the King writes a message ordering his wife and son to be taken care of in spite of all. On his way back, the messenger stops again at the queen mother's castle where once again, the letters are substituted, so that Sir Kadore is given the false command of sending Emaré, the baby Segramour and the robe adrift in the sea. He is reluctant but Emaré encourages him not to disregard the wish of his master. After seven days she arrives in Rome and this time she is rescued by Iurdan, a merchant. Again, the gems on the robe scare the rescuer, but he takes Emaré and her baby home, giving them shelter and comfort for the next seven years. When the King of Galicia returns home he cannot find his wife; Sir Kadore shows him the counterfeited letter and he understands what has happened. He is so enraged that he wants to burn his mother alive for her

treachery but eventually he only exiles and dispossesses her of her lands. After seven years the King of Galicia goes to Rome to ask for forgiveness for what he has caused. He is the guest of the merchant who had rescued Emaré. She instructs Segramour on how to receive the King, but though he is impressed by the boy's manners, he does not recognise his son. Then Emaré tells Segramour to take the King by the hand and tell him to come and talk with her. On hearing her name, the King is overwhelmed with joy and the family is eventually reunited. Emaré's father also comes to Rome to pay penance and Emaré convinces her husband to go and meet him. Their son joins him and makes himself known by the emperor, asking him to speak with Emaré. The emperor accepts and meets his loving daughter. Subsequently, Segramour will become emperor. The romance ends with a shorter invocation to Christ.

1.1.3. Literary Precedents and the Constance Saga

Emaré partly originates from a folk tale included in the *Vita Offæ Primi*, in the *Vitae Duorum Offarum*, a 12th or 13th century chronicle credited to St. Alban's abbacy telling the lives of two Offa kings, one mythical and one historical. Not much is known of both. King Offa of Angeln may have lived in the 4th century in West Anglia and is said to have been married to a Valkyrie, Thrytho; King Offa of Mercia lived in the 8th century and was involved with two women, one of whom, Drida, was exposed to the sea.[4] *Vita Offæ Primi* tells of the King of York

[4] Over the centuries the stories of the two Offas and their wives were matter of much confusion. They were often interchanged because both are connected to a woman, respectively Trytho and Drida, who was exposed, and later married her. Moreover, the fact that Offa II's son asked Charlemagne's daughter Bertha in marriage contributed to even more complicated connections as Bertha is also the name of Charlemagne's mother, who was unjustly accused and sentenced to death in a forest. As a proof of her

being in love with his own daughter whom is sent to die in the forest and found by Offa who is resolved to marry her, apparently already pregnant. After many years, Offa goes to war to help the Northumbrian King against the Scots but the messenger carrying his message of victory to his wife is drugged in the King of York's castle and his letter is replaced by his son-in-law with one ordering that the queen and her children must be left to starve and die in the woods.[5] The children undergo the mutilation of their feet and hands but their limbs are later restored by a hermit with whom the queen and the children live until they are found by the wretched Offa. As a sign of gratitude for his restored family, the hermit tells Offa to erect an abbey (St. Albans) in gratitude, which will be built much later by one of Offa's descendants. Here we find the first instance of the Innocent Persecuted Wife, of the Incestuous Father and of the Forged Letters, which are central themes in *Emaré*.

The other main source for *Emaré* is to be found in the Dominican friar Nicholas Trivet's *Chronique Anglo-Normande, 1334-1337*, which will also be the source for Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*. In Trivet's chronicle we learn of a heroine named Constance[6], who will later give the name to the entire saga. She is the daughter of the emperor of Rome Tiberius and she is credited with converting to Islam and marrying a heathen

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death, the executors had to exhibit Bertha's tongue or heart but she was pitifully spared and managed to be reunited with her family after several trials. See HIBBARD, L. A., *Medieval Romance in England*, New York, Franklin, 1960, pp. 30-31 and RICKERT, E., *The Old English Offa Saga* in ALLEN, P. S., CARPENTER, F. I. and von KLENZE, C. (eds.), *Modern Philology*, Vol. 2, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1904, pp. 353-354.

[5] The passages of the pregnant woman and of the son-in-law are not further clarified in the sources I have used for this dissertation. Hibbard (1960; p. 24) summarises the plot: "The *Vita Offae Primi* […] relates that the king of York loves his own daughter, that her executioners abandon her in the forest, that she is found by Offa and that she becomes his wife. After the birth of her children and the lapse of many years, Offa goes to aid the vassal king of Northumbria against the Scots. For Offa's message of victory his son-in-law substitutes a letter commanding that the queen and her children should be left to die in the woods.".

[6] Henceforth the name of the heroine will be used to refer to the whole prose text by Trivet.

sultan. But Tiberius' mother orders the slaughter of all the Christian guests attending Constance's wedding and the young bride is consequently sent to sea. After reaching Northumbria, she has to face a false accusation of murder which is then proven wrong and at last she marries King Alle of Northumbria. After Constance has given birth to an heir, her mother-in-law writes a letter to Alle stating that her nephew is a devilish creature and then in another counterfeited letter, supposedly of her son, she condemns Constance and the baby to immediate exposure. After being long adrift in the sea, they finally arrive in Rome where the family is reunited. The Incestuous Father is here absent but the Innocent Persecuted Wife and the exposure are this time connected to religious material, in what we can call a didactic tale.

Rickert juxtaposes *Vita Offæ Primi* (α), Trivet's *Constance* (β) and *Emaré* (γ) to highlight their points in common:

1. The heroine is of royal descent, therefore a princess, in all three versions: in β and γ she is the daughter of an emperor whereas in α of a king[7]; both in α and γ she rejects her father's unnatural love. She is sentenced to die in the forest in α and left to die in a boat in γ. Both survive.

2. After exposure, the princesses are found and rescued. Some time later, they all become royal wives: in α Offa I is struck by her virtue and beauty and marries her; in β Alle marries her because of her reputation of being beautiful and pious; in γ the King of Galicia is impressed by her courteous and refined manners in serving him and asks her to become his wife.

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[7] In *The Old English Offa Saga* Rickert claims that Emaré is the daughter of a king (p. 358) but Artyus is referred to only as "syr" and "emperour".

3. The three sovereigns set off to fight in a war: in α Offa has already become a father; in β and γ they leave while their wives are pregnant.

4. The messengers carrying the letters of the king's victory (α) or the child's birth (β and γ) are drugged and the letters counterfeited. In α the counterfeiter is the heroine's father who tries to have his daughter killed in the same manner as he had tried before (see the previous paragraph) and orders her and her children's hands and feet to be cut off, accusing her of being a witch; in β and γ the letters are replaced by the mothers-in-law, who claim that the newborn is a monster (β) or a devil (γ) and order exposure on the sea for both the queen and the child.

5. The queen finds shelter: in α a hermit takes her and her children to live with him for some years and miraculously restores their mutilated limbs; in β the she lives for twelve years in the house of the senator Arsemius where her child is educated; in γ she is rescued by a merchant who gives her and her child shelter for seven years.

6. Eventually the family is reunited: while hunting, in α, the heroine is discovered by Offa I who promises the hermit to build an abbey as a token of gratitude; the King in β and the Emperor in γ seek atonement for what they have done or caused and go to Rome to ask for forgiveness. There they find their wife and son.

Moreover, the legend of Helena of Constantinople, the mother of Constantine the Great (272-337 AD), may have inspired the life in Rome of Constance, who earns a living with needlework. Helena lives a modest and industrious life to support herself and she manages to be reunited with her royal

partner through her child, who draws his father's attention with his graceful manners and his charm. Another work which could be connected to the *Vita Offæ Primi* and with the Constance saga is *The Wife's Complaint*[8] which tells of the life in a kind of forest cave of an exiled wife who was separated from her husband by some treacherous kinsmen of his. According to scholars, however, the brevity of the composition (53 ll.) and its fragmentary nature do not make it possible to determine the relation to the saga and therefore it must be considered independent from it, at least until any further reliable evidence emerges.[9]

A direct source for *Emaré* seems to have actually existed and it was most probably a French lost lay called *L'Egarée*. The name may be inferred from l. 1032:

> Men callys 'playn[t] þe garye.'

The hypotheses concerning the meaning of the word *playn[t]* employed in such a way and position is a matter of discussion. The copyist might not have understood the word 'lay' because he probably did not know it meant a precise literary genre. But *playn[t]* may stand for 'complaint' intended as a literary composition concerning the lamentation of a woman who is separated from her lover against her will.[10] *The Wife's Complaint* is an example of the genre, which was popular in 13th century French literature and subsequently in 14th century England. Thus it was erroneously interpreted by the copyist as *playnt* whereas *lay* is what was meant here, as *Emaré* is not actually a *complaint* in its form and

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[8] Part of the *Exeter Book*, late 10th century, a MS containing an extensive anthology of Anglo-Saxon poetry.
[9] HIBBARD, L. A., (1960): p. 31.
[10] HIBBARD, L. A., (1960): p. 23.

content and most likely derives from a French lost lay, as discussed above.[11] Further evidence for the French origin is to be found in proper names. With the exception of *Trystram* which is rather a northern ME spelling (but the oldest version of this story seems to be French, as stated by Voretzsch)[12], all other names are undoubtedly French or French versions of Celtic (e. g. *Kadore* for 'Cadoc') and English (*Artyus* for 'Arthur') names. The names Emaré and Egaré need a separate explanation. Emaré may derive from French *esmarie* meaning 'forlorn, troubled' and Egaré comes from French *esgarée*, meaning 'outcast'. In her study, Rickert formulates a further hypothesis: the author must not have meant to call the heroine Emaré but *Emeré*, 'pure, refined as a precious metal, endowed with rare qualities';[13] <a> instead of <e> might have been necessary because Emaré frequently rhymes with Egaré.[14]

This lost original French lay must have been earlier than the late 13th century French and German versions of the Constance Saga (i.e. *La Manekine, La belle Helene de Constantinople, Mai und Beaflor, Die Königstochter von Frankreich.* See § 1.1.5. for bibliographical information) but not earlier than 1200.[15]

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[11] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxx. See also entry 1029. STORY / 1032. PLAYN ÞE GARYE / 1035. GLORYE in the explanatory notes section.

[12] The common source of the poetic versions of *Tristan and Iseult* seems to be the so-called *Ur-Tristan* from the first half of the 12th century and it is supposed to have been in French. See VORETZSCH, C., *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur im Anschluss an die Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Sprache*, Halle a.S., M. Niemeyer, 1913, p. 365.

[13] From the character in *La Blonde Esmeree* in *Le Bel Inconnu* by Renaut de Beaujeu, written at the turn of the 12th and 13th century.

[14] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxix.

[15] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxxii and GOUGH, A.B., *The Constance Saga. [On a legend contained in the "Vita Offæ primæ" and other MSS., including the Chronicle of N. Triveth.]*, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1902, p. 31.

1.1.3.1. Emaré's Cloth: Hypotheses on Its Origin and Its Role

Another explanation proving the existence of a lost original is given, according to Rickert, by closely comparing the sequence on the cloth in *Emaré* (ll. 82-180) and that in *Mai und Beaflor*, quoted below:

> ein samît lâȝûrblâ
> verre brâht ûȝ Persîâ
> der was schône gehêret
> grôȝ vlîȝ dar an gekêret
> von meisterlîchen handen.
> eȝ [sic] wurden in allen landen
> nie gesehen sô richiu kleit,
> […]
> dar obe ein richer mandel
> gewohrt von tiurer koste.
> manec [sic] edel stein drûf gloste,
> die hôher kraft niht wâren vrî.
> edele [sic] borton von Arâbî,[16]

The "lâȝûrblâ" could be *Emaré* "azowr" (l. 113) and Persîâ could easily correspond to Babylone in l.158. Furthermore, in both texts there is a passage stating the inestimable value of the stones sewn on it (the "tiurer koste" of *Mai und Beaflor* may be the "myche prys" of l. 92) and the uniqueness of the piece (as stated in the words "eȝ wurden in allen landen nie gesehen sô richiu kleit" and "So ryche a jwelle ys þer non in alle Crystyante", ll. 107-108).

This kind of precious embroidered cloths typical of the Middle East was very popular among western kings. In 1191, the then King of Sicily Tancred visited Richard the Lionheart and according to the chronicles of the time, among all kinds of precious gifts, he brought with him some silken fabrics. The presence in the two texts of such accounts of the cloth's characteristics, which are very similar but not to such an extent to suggest that one was taken from the other,

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[16] Quoted in RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxxi.

supports the hypothesis that there must have been a common source for them. In addition, some passages in *Emaré* show a degree of abruptness which perhaps points to an unskilled insertion of them from the older text into the more recent one. In the following we have an example of this: the King of Sicily has brought the cloth as a gift to Emaré's father and, after telling the story of the precious object,

> The Kyng of Cesyle dwelled þer,
> As long as hys wylle wer,
> Wyth þe emperour for to play;
> And when he wolde wende,
> He toke hys leue at þe hende,
> And wente forth on hys way.
> Now remeueth þys nobylle kyng.
> The emperour aftur hys dowȝtur hadde longyng,
> To speke wyth þat may.

According to Rickert, the word *emperour* in l. 188 must have been added later for the sake of the comprehension of the passage: without it, the correct sequence of characters and events would be much more difficult to grasp.[17] It looks as if the author had to compress the source text and this resulted in quite a rough juxtaposition. As a matter of fact, the story and the description of the cloth are about one tenth of the entire poem (98 lines out of a total of 1035) which seems rather disproportionate.

As for the role and meaning attributed to the cloth, different opinions have been formulated, but none of them is convincing. Gough claims that it "is endued with the magical power of compelling love" and that its "spell was transferred to Emare[18] when she wore the robe, so that her beauty fascinated

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[17] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxxii, 7.
[18] Gough does never put the accent on the final <e> of Emaré in his works.

Artyus, and the king of Galys", but he is not being accurate since only the King of Galicia is actually fascinated by Emaré while she is wearing her cloth. Her father instead falls in love with his daughter independently from the garment: only upon his decision to marry her and after he has got a papal dispensation, he has it cut into a robe that subsequently he gives to Emaré as a gift (l. 241 and following). This raises another question: why, if this robe is so precious, does the Emperor leave it to Emaré when she is exiled? Artyus is furious with his daughter after she refuses to marry him and yet he sends her away in the boat with the magnificent robe.[19] This is rather contradictory after all the praise the cloth receives throughout the text ("For glysteryng of þe ryche ston" in l. 100; "'Sertes, þys ys a fayry, Or ellys a vanyte!' The Kyng of Cysyle answered þan, 'So ryche a jwelle ys þer non In alle Crystyante.'" in ll. 104-108; "And a glysteryng þyng þer-yn" in l. 350; "Þe cloth vpon her shone so bryȝth" in l. 394; "The cloth on her shon so bryght" in l. 439) and may point to the fact that the cloth's powers are not always seen as benign but also as a threat. Later in the text, Emaré's mother-in-law first sees her while she is wearing the robe and her reaction is that of warning her son against the girl: the line "'Sone, þys ys a fende, In þys wordy wede!'" (ll. 446-447) expresses her doubts over such brilliance because it could conceal a dangerous magical threat. So, as soon as she has the chance, she substitutes her son's letter with the one she has written and sends Emaré and the baby to sea with the robe. So, should the fact that the cloth itself is twice pushed away be intended as a manifestation of its malign character? In fact, Emaré does never personally make the decision to bring the

[19] GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. 38.

robe with her but throughout her forced peregrination, it is either a gift or a burden she accepts passively.[20] We can also assume that if the cloth had had powers, Emaré would have used it to defend herself from the perils of the sea and to oppose her wicked mother-in-law, but this does not happen. Therefore, the text does not confirm the magical powers of the cloth that Gough and Donovan assume it has.[21] On the contrary, "the narrator quickly rationalizes [the magical aspect], explaining that the effect is due to the glittering of the jewels".[22] Mehl claims that the garment is a key factor in the story since it is "an inseparable attribute, like her outward beauty […] symbolic of her inner perfections" and that "her robe is always mentioned whenever her beauty impresses the beholders".[23] In his view therefore the cloth is identified with an enhancer of Emaré's beauty and qualities, a view deriving also from the frequent expressions which underline the otherworldliness and extreme beauty of the protagonist. See for example "She semed non erþely wo*m*mon" in l. 245 and such repeated phrases as "wordy vnþur wede" and similar ones (see § 2.3.). Pace Mehl, it is to be noted though that Emaré's beauty is never made concrete for the reader or the listener with a description of her features. Neither are her inner qualities explicitly attributable to the cloth: her resourcefulness and inner strength are represented by her remarkable sewing skills, a frequent

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[20] HOPKINS, A., *Veiling the Text: The True Role of the Cloth in Emaré*, in WEISS, J., FELLOWS, J., DICKSON, M. (eds.), *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation*, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2000, p. 80.

[21] "the Emperor weakens on sight of the cloth, now recognisable as magical in its effect, clearly so when it is changed into a robe and given to Emare to wear. At the time this effect is felt, the Emperor becomes enamoured of his own daughter", DONOVAN, M. J., *Middle English Emare and the Cloth Worthily Wrought*, in BENSON, L. D. (ed.), *The Learned and the Lewed: Studies in Chaucer and Medieval Literature*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 341.

[22] HOPKINS, A., (2000): p. 73.

[23] Quoted in LASKAYA, A. and SALISBURY, E. (eds.), *The Middle English Breton Lays*, Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1995, p. 149-150 and HOPKINS, A., (2000): p. 73.

matter of praise among her two rescuers, which are independent from embroidering and turning the cloth into a garment. And, most importantly, in the text it is specifically her activity of seamstress and her courtly manners which guarantee for her nobility, not the robe.

Finally, we can conclude that the function of the cloth is confused and it blurs the perception of the role of the heroine in the story: it is neither clearly connected with supernatural powers nor the source of Emaré's qualities, which are solely hers, in no way conferred on her by any magical object and which make her the enduring, faithful heroine of the story.

1.1.4. Date and Author

Both Gough and Rickert underline that the frequent allusions to minstrels in the poem (6 in total: in ll. 13, 132, 319, 388, 468, 867) most certainly indicate that the author was a minstrel, itinerant and uneducated. As for the date, Gough claims that *Emaré* was written approximately in the same period as four other romances showing the same metre (see § 2.3. below), therefore after 1300 and before 1350. He explains that, considering the evidence of a second hand working on the text, many archaisms and northern forms might have been lost. On the other hand, Rickert moves the date *a quo* to 1350, claiming that "the -*e* as a factor in the verse has almost disappeared"[24] and collocates the *ad quem* limit to 1400, saying that the absence of archaisms points to a post-Chaucerian date.[25]

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[24] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxviii.
[25] GOUGH, A. B., (1900): pp. 15-16, 17-19; RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxviii.

1.1.5. Further Versions of the Constance Saga

Gough traces the roots of the saga to a nature myth where the heroine is a supernatural being (she has traits of a Valkyrie or a swan-maiden, respectively the Old Germanic and the medieval counterparts of the same female mythical figure), who comes into the human world at the beginning of spring to bring back warmth and splendour to nature after the deadly winter months she spent in the underworld. The death of her mother, her exposures, the alternation between her incredible beauty and her being almost dead from starvation in a boat and the hardships she has to endure are the price for the rebirth of nature in the warm months. By putting together the common sequences found in comparing the versions of the Constance Saga, he summarises the underlying tale as follows:

> "A prince whose wife is dead desires to marry his daughter. On her refusal, her hands are cut off, and she flees with treasure to a foreign land. A young king hunting in a forest finds her, and marries her. During his absence in the wars she bears him a son (or two children). A traitor (generally her mother-in-law) forges a letter to the husband saying that the queen has borne a monster, and also, seeing that this produces no effect, forges a reply ordering the mother and child to be exposed or burnt. They are banished (in many versions, put in the sea), and protected in their exile by a stranger. The queen's hands are restored. The husband on his return discovers the treachery, and burns the traitor. He ultimately rejoins his lost family. (Afterwards the heroine is reconciled to her repentant father)." (GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. ii).

In continental Europe we find a total of eighteen versions of the tale. Five versions are French: *La Manekine*, ca. 1270, by Philippe de Remi, a metrical romance; *La Contesse d'Anjou*, 1313-1316, by Jehan Maillart, a dit (a poetic narrative meant to be spoken); *La belle Helene de Constantinople*, late 13th century, an unpublished uncredited romance; *Columpnarium*, 15th century, an

unpublished uncredited play; *De Alixandre, Roy de Hongrie, qui voulut espouser sa fille*, found in a 15th century manuscript, an uncredited story. Three are German: *Mai und Beaflor*, ca.1260, an uncredited metrical romance; *Die Königstochter von Frankreich* ca. 1277-1300, by Jansen Eninkel, a versified tale (a prose version is also extant); *Die Königstochter von Frankreich*, ca. 1401, by Hans von Bühel, a metrical romance. Three versions are known in Spain: *Historia del Rey de Hungria*, late 14th century, an anonymous Catalan tale; an untitled tale in the prose chronicle *Le Victorial*, ca. 1400, by Guitierre Diez de Games; *La Istoria de la Filla de l'Emperador Contasti* [sic], ca. 15th century, Catalan story. Italy was a fertile ground for this tale with its seven versions stretching from the 14th to the 17th century: *Ystoria Regis Franchorum et Filie in qua Adulterium Comitere Voluit*, 1370, an anonymous Latin prose; *Dionigia*, 1378, by Fiorentino, a novella; *Novella della Figlia del Re di Dacia*, late 14th century, anonymous; *Historia de la Regina Oliva*, ca. 1400, a romance in *ottava rima*, later the basis of a play, *La Rappresentazione di Santa Uliva*; *Miraculi de la Gloriosa Verzene Maria*, 1475, a prose tale; *De Origine inter Gallos et Britannos Belli Historia* by Bartolomeo Fazio, written before 1457, a Latin prose in chronicle style; *La Penta Manomozza* by Basile, written before 1637, a novella.

What has been preserved and what has been left out throughout the centuries? The final reward for the heroine's faith, patience and endurance made the tale suitable for transformation into a Christian legend (see for instance the Italian *Santa Uliva* or the *Gloriosa Verzene Maria*) or more generally, a tale with a didactic purpose, therefore the most violent and crude

segments of the story such as the burning or mutilation of a woman remain only in a few cases.[26] When violence is censored, humanity, admiration of beauty and piety take its place as for example in our *Emaré*, where the grace and the stunning, almost unearthly beauty of the protagonist are constantly underlined and there are stanzas thick with prayers and invocations to God.

1.2. Literary Genre: the Romance and the Breton Lay

1.2.1. The Romance

The term 'romance' derives from 12th century French *roman*, where it designated a kind of classical narrative composition concerned with history, mostly rhymed and set in faraway lands. In 13th and 14th century England, romance authors took inspiration from French *romans,* sometimes merely translating them into English, but tending to place their stories in the contemporary world of their homeland. The themes evolved from the feats of heroic knights, battles and wars to the genteel manners of the court. The presence of a courteous and courageous heroine (instead of a male hero) involved in fanciful and sometimes unreal plots was a growing tendency, possibly due to the fact that after the Norman Conquest a long period of peace followed and such varied themes were more suitable to the historical moment than the previous ones. Romances were, sometimes explicitly, meant to be read or sung in front of an audience, as it is testified in some texts including our *Emaré* (l. 24 "As I here synge in songe"), and most importantly, they were in the

[26] In *Constance*, *La belle Helene de Costantinople, La Manekine, Die Königstochter von Frankreich, La Penta Manomozza* and *Historia de la Regina Oliva.*

form of rhyming stanzas or couplets, with their pulsating and regular rhythm, the most suitable form for a minstrel poem. As said above, the sources were French, imported through the Normans, who, when they settled in France, let go of most of their original stories and made French literary trends their own. When they conquered England, they brought this material with them and French styles and sources started to intermingle with local ones, giving birth to the English metrical romances as we know them.[27]

1.2.2. The Breton Lay

A particular kind of this literary genre are the romances of "trial and faith"[28], connected with hagiography. According to Woolf, the resemblance between Christian martyrs and romance heroines, women who endure poverty and sufferings which have been imposed on them and finally get back what they were deprived of, is striking.[29] *Emaré* is one of the three romances of "trial and faith"[30] which is defined by its author a "Breton lay".[31] This particular form of romance also originated in France, mostly from the work of a 12th century poet, Marie de France, about whom not much is known.[32] Although the fact of being a

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[27]BENNETT, J. A. W., *The Oxford History of English Literature,* vol. 1, part 2: 'Middle English Literature', Oxford, Claredon Press, 1986, pp. 121-129; FRENCH, W. H., HALE, C. B. (eds.), *The Middle English Metrical Romances*, vol. 2., New York, Russel & Russel, 1964, pp. 3-10.

[28] WOOLF, R., *Later Poetry: the Popular Tradition* in BOLTON, W. F. (ed.), *The Penguin History of Literature, The Middle Ages*, London, Penguin Books, 1993, p. 271.

[29] WOOLF, R., (1993): p. 271.

[30] Hibbard groups Middle English romances into three types: romances of "love and adventure", romances of "legendary English heroes" and romances of "trial and faith". See HIBBARD, L. A., (1960) and MILLS, M. (ed.), *Six Middle English Romances*, London, Dent; Totowa, NJ, Rowman and Littlefield, 1973, p. vii.

[31] L. 1030 in *Emaré*: "Thys ys on of Brytayne layes". The others are *Erl of Toulous* (end of 14th century) and *Sir Gowther* (15th century).

[32] She is the author of twelve lays which are thought to have defined the genre. She wrote in Anglo-Norman and was active between 1167 and 1184. See LASKAYA, A. and SALISBURY, E., (1995): p. 1 and ZESMER, D. M., *Guide to English Literature, From Beowulf through Chaucer and Medieval Drama*, London, Barnes and Noble, 1961, p. 113.

Breton lay is not explicitly expressed in them, there are four further romances[33] which presumably are Breton lays because they share the common defining characters of the genre: brevity (500 to 1200 lines); suitability to musical accompaniment; resemblance to what is told in the first 22 lines of *Sir Orfeo*:

> We redeth oft and findeth y-write,
> And this clerkes wele it wite,
> Layes that ben in harping
> Ben y-founde of ferli thing:
> Sum bethe of wer and sum of wo,
> And sum of joie and mirthe also,
> And sum of trecherie and of gile,
> Of old aventours that fel while;
> And sum of bourdes and ribaudy,
> And mani ther beth of fairy.
> Of al thinges that men seth,
> Mest o love, forsothe, they beth.
> In Breteyne this layes were wrought,
> First y-founde and forth y-brought,
> Of aventours that fel bi dayes,
> Wherof Bretouns maked her layes.
> When kinges might ovr y-here
> Of ani mervailes that ther were,
> Thai token an harp in gle and game
> And maked a lay and gaf it name.
> Now of this aventours that weren y-falle
> Y can tel sum, ac nought alle.[34]

As a matter of fact, the reason of the denomination Breton is not clear and some scholars, Zesmer for example, claim that "a romance becomes a Breton lay for no better reason than it contains a reference to Brittany or that the poet *says* it is a Breton lay".[35] Brittany, however, has a key role in defining such genre, as it is known that in that northern French region and in neighbouring Normandy, the Armorican Celts were much appreciated for their musical tales. Breton storytellers were often, if not always, bilingual, therefore they must have

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[33] *Sir Orfeo* (late 13th or early 14th century), *Lai le Freine* (early 14th century), *Launfal* (late 14th century), Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* (end of 14th century).
[34] *Sir Orfeo* is included in LASKAYA, A. and SALISBURY, E., (1995).
[35] ZESMER, D. M., (1961): p. 114.

been the means of diffusion of ancient mythological Celtic tales and sagas through French in English literature. Moreover, the origin of the word *lai* for insular Celts meant "a short musical composition or song, probably played on a harp-like instrument to accompany the telling of a tale".[36]

All the English Breton lays share some patterns: the suffering of the hero or heroine because of an unjust accusation, a separation and final compensation and recognition, conveying a message which possibly means that 'the more you unjustly suffer, the greater will be your joy eventually'.

What seems certain from a study of the lays (but also of metrical romances in general) is the process through which they took on the shape in which we know them. As stated above, they were meant to be sung or even recited before an audience and, prior to being written down, there must have been a continuous and incessant rehandling of the story which did not necessarily lead to an improvement of the text. On the contrary, it is more plausible that the written text is a much less refined and creative version of its oral ancestor. Redaction was almost exclusively an oral process which of course involved also what we would today call translation (in this case, from French originals into English), but which included a degree of modification of the original text, a much different process from our idea of translating.[37]

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[36] RUMBLE, T. C. (ed.), *The Breton Lays in Middle English,* Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1965, p. xiii.
[37] FORD, B. (ed.), (1982): pp. 68-69.

CHAPTER 2
THE LANGUAGE OF EMARÉ

2.1. Orthography

In *Emaré*[38], final *-e* is used extensively but apparently without any particular function and cannot be attributed with sufficient certainty either to the scribe or the author (see l. 349 *A boot he fond by þe brym* and l. 694 *A bote he fonde by þe brymme*).[39] As for the other symbols which deserve an explanation, Rickert says that in her re-edition of the work, she has retained <għ, ħ, n̸, n̄, r̀> since she was unable to explain the principle behind their usage. She clarifies that often their usage is meaningless; the curl on <r> is most likely merely ornamental and as for the other consonants above, the variety of the possible expansions made the elaboration of a rule for their general usage impossible, and this is the reason why I decided not to include them in the text. As for <þ>, it expressed both /θ/ and /ð/, because in the 13th c. <ð> died out in favour of <þ>, a consonant borrowed from the runic alphabet. In OE <ȝ> stood for /g/, /x/ and /j/. It was only in the 12th c. that <g> was introduced through Franco-Latin influence to express /g/ and /ʤ/. Consequently, <ȝ> was left to represent /x/ (l. 320 *myȝth*, l. 326 *nyȝth,* l. 347 *knyȝtus,* etc.) and also /j/, later <y> (l. 20 *ȝou*, l. 516 *ȝode,* l. 569 *ȝynge*, etc.). As for <u> and <v>, the former was used for both [u, v] medially (l. 11 *heuen*, l. 14 *euery*, l. 43 *lyue*, l. 70 *leue*, l. 118 *seuen*, l. 429

[38] The edition of the romance used for this dissertation is Edith Rickert's, 1906, based on the MS. All the symbols we find in ME manuscripts are supposed to be pronounced, so every single letter corresponds to an actual sound in the spoken language of the time, except for final <e> in substantives and adjectives, which, according to scholars, was already silent in late Middle English. Final <e> was therefore employed only for metrical reasons to show that the radical vowel was long and therefore it turned into a very useful tool in versification.

[39] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xv.

haue, l. 715 *craue,* l. 814 *lyued,* etc.) and the latter initially (l. 4 *vs*, l. 62 *vseden*, l. 98 *þer-vpone*, l. 105 *vanyte*, l. 152 *vertues,* l. 198 *vnþur,* l.548 *vnþurstonde*, l. 794 *vnhende*, etc.). As a result of French influence, in ME <z> was introduced for [z] (l. 91 *topaze*, l. 482 *Sarezyne*): earlier there was no voice contrast between [s] and [z] which were both expressed with <s>. Another consequence of French influence was the use of <ou/ow> to express /u:/, (see l. 25. e*mperour*, l. 26 *towre*, l. 42 *kowth*, l. 109. *dowȝter*, l. 339. *countre*, etc.) leaving <u> to /u/ and to /y(:)/ in those dialects where it did not undergo unrounding. After OE /y/ was unrounded in non-western dialects (see 1. iii. KYNG) and merged with /i/, <y> started to be used as an equivalent of <i> (in the text there is an extensive use of <y> in place of <i>, which appears 16 times less than its counterpart). Scribal conventions established that in the presence of <m, n, v, w>, <u> was to be written <o> to avoid confusion. The reason of this habit is the nature of manuscript writing: these letters required a sequence of unligatured verticals, very similar to a sequence of four or more <i>, which made the comprehension of the word sometimes tricky (see l. 158 *sonne* <*sunu*, l. 232 *come* <*cuman*).[40]

In many ME texts spelling is very changeable and *Emaré* is no exception. We find a wide variety of spellings for the same word: ‘daughter’ is *dowȝter*, *dowhter*, *dowȝtur, dowȝtyr, þowȝtur*; ‘there’ is *þore, þer, there, thore, ther*, ‘again’ is *a-ȝeyn, a-gayn, a-gayne*, and so on. As for proper nouns, which normally show more consistency in spelling than common words, they also

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[40] BLAKE, N. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language,* Vol. 2, *1066-1476*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 35-38.

come in different versions: ‘Emaré’ is *Emare* and *Emarye*; ‘Egaré’ is *Egare* and *Egarye*, ‘Segramour’ is *Segramour* and *Segramowre.*

2.2. Language: Dialect, Verbs, Inflections

Sources tend to place *Emaré* in the East Midlands with a distinct northern connotation. According to Rickert, the northern character of the text is traceable in the following features: *-n* is dropped in most of the infinitives (l. 59 *to sewe*, l. 93 *to se*, l. 120 *to hyde*, ll. 135 and 141 *to se*, l. 183 *to play*, l. 227 *to worche*, l. 249 *to be-holde*, l. 305 *to seke*, l. 312 *to telle*, l. 321 *to go*, l. 322 *to wawe*, l. 356 *to se*, l. 357 *to dye*, l. 376 *to sewe*, l. 471 *to se*, ll. 603 and 622 *to rede*, l. 661 *to wepe*, l. 667 *to warye*, l. 689 *to playe*, l. 690 *to tane*, l. 713 *to brynge*, l. 727 *to þryfe*, l. 758 *to blame*, l. 769 *to rede*, l. 822 *to take*, l. 825 *to make*, l. 842 *to come*, l. 939 *to folde*, l. 942 *to be-holde*, l. 957 *to wynne*, l. 996 *to hyde*, l. 1014 *to loke*, l. 1034 *to wone*) and retained only five times (l. 4 *to done*, l. 423 *to sene*, l. 426 *to bene*, l. 486 *to sene*, l. 827 *to wynnen*); the retention of *-n* in past participles such as *done* (ll. 469 and 856)*, sene* (l. 429)*, for-lorne* (l. 255)*, borne* (ll. 49, 258, 503, 520)*, gone* (l.696)*.* It is lost in *be* (ll. 364 and 718), *woxen* (l. 950), in *holde* (l. 1027) and in *helde* (l. 225). The northern character of the text can be more effectively grounded on Rickert’s analysis of the vocabulary. In *Emaré* there are 40 dialectal or rare forms used in *Emaré*, 20 of which can be found in Yorkshire glossaries of the 14th and of the 15th century and in a number varying between seven and twelve in the Durham, North and West Lincolnshire, Lake District and Lancashire lists.

More convincing are the features common to the Midlands and Northern dialects, that is the alternation between *a* and *o* of OE long *a* in *fome <fam*, *home <ham*, *oon <an*, *lore <lar*, *gare <gara*, *sore <sar*, *more <mara, a-lone <al-an*; the presence of the adverbial ending *-ly, -lye* due to Scandinavian influence; the extensive use of <y> from OE <ü> (see above).[41]

On the other hand, in a previous study Gough claims that establishing whether the dialect is West or East Midlands is not easy. In spite of that, he lists a number of features which tend to place the work in the East Midlands rather than anywhere else, as for instance the large number of words of Scandinavian origin (l. 657 *pappes* 'nipples', l. 915 *myn* 'less, smaller', l. 954 *skynne* 'skin'). He also excludes the South because of the lack of distinct and consistent southern features, except for initial *-y* in past participles, which, however, occurs only twice for the sake of the rhyme (l. 520 *y-borne* and l. 395 *y-dyȝth*). Rickert agrees with Gough on the northern character of the dialect. He supports his hypothesis with the loss of final *-n* in the infinitive, the northern form *ȝynge* for OE *geong*, the contraction of the infinitive *tane* or *tone* instead of *tacan*, *taken* and the use of *e* for *a* in *wes*, *cledde, kelle* (respectively ll. 463, 525, 303). The work can therefore be located in the north East Midlands with a good degree of certainty.[42]

As stated above, the infinitive of verbs shows a clear tendency to lose final *-n*. There are no verbs in the present indicative singular and in the plural most end in *-e* but there are also a few instances of the old *-en* ending (l. 13

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[41] WRIGHT, J., and WRIGHT, E., *An Elementary Middle English Grammar*, London, Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 22-23; OED.
[42] GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. 11.

walken). Also in the preterite plural there are two instances of the *-en* ending (l. 124 *loueden*, l. 218 *seten*).

Most plurals show one of the following endings: *-s, -es, -ys, -us*. The last (see l. 4 *dedus*, l. 151 *knyȝtus,* ll. 445 and 546 *wordus*, l. 823 *shypus*) is labelled as a typical northern West Midlands feature.[43] *Yȝen* in l. 298 is the only instance of a plural in *-n*; the plurals which show no inflection are OE plurals used archaically, possibly because of rhyming necessities: *honde* 'hands' in l. 639 rhymes with *londe, sonde, wronge* respectively in ll. 642, 645 and 648; *yere* 'years' in l. 816 rhymes with *dere, clere, chere* respectively in ll. 807, 810, 813; *ston* 'stones' in l. 100 with *non* in l. 101; *stye* 'paths' in l. 196 with *melodye, hye, lady* respectively in ll. 193, 194, 197; *street* 'streets' in l. 543 with *swete, lete, blede* respectively in ll. 546, 549, 552, etc.. Of particular interest is the use of *fote* 'feet' in l. 1017: Rickert claims that it is a "survival of the old dative plural *fotum*",[44] whereas Zupitza suggests that this plural form is used in ME when following a preposition like *at, on, to*. As for *þyng*, it appears in the old endingless plural 9 times in *yn all þyng* on ll. 40, 64, 568, 712, 724, 964, 976; in *all maner of thynge* on l. 75; in *most of all þyng* on l. 762. This usage is typical in works as late as Chaucer.[45]

In the MS the genitive is spelt *-es, -us, -ys* but it occurs also without inflection in the following expressions: l. 6 *heuen lyghte*, l. 7 *heuyn qwene*— which however can be intended as compounds as well—, l. 109 *the amerayle dowȝter*, l. 158 *þe sowdan sonne*, l. 170 *þe sowdan sone*, l. 576 *þe kyngus*

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[43] JORDAN, R., *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, trans. and rev. by Crook, E. J., The Hague, Mouton, 1974, p. 138.
[44] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xv.
[45] GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. 8.

modur castelle, l. 974 *þe emperour komynge.* Gough underlines that this modality is common in ME texts, in particular with proper names and titles, also in compound form.[46]

2.3. Rhyme, Metre, Repetition and Alliteration.

The stanzas of the poem can be divided roughly into two groups: those according to the *aabccbddbeeb* scheme (*1*) or variants of it and those following the scheme *aabaabccbddb* (*2*) or variants of the same. The former pattern undergoes alterations in the fourth quatrain which can become most frequently *beeb* or *baab, bccb or bddb*, repeating respectively the first or the second or the third couplet. The latter can have *bccb* or *baab* in the last cluster. There are different interpretations on the variety of stanza structure used in the romance. Wilda claims that it is the result of the scribe's misinterpretation of the original rhyme "feeling", Kölbing suggests that it was done intentionally.[47] Kölbing's hypothesis seem to be excluded by a comparison with the four other romances written in pattern *1* because they present few alterations. Moreover, three of them date much earlier than *Emaré* and one is written in a different dialect.[48] Wilda's hypothesis could confirm that there were actually two authors involved in the writing but the reason why pattern *1* predominates in a proportion of 2/3 over pattern *2* remains obscure. As Gough shows, in *King of Tars* the existence

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[46] GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. 7.
[47] Quoted in RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xix.
[48] The four romances are *Amis and Amiloun* (late 13th c.), *King of Tars* (late 13th c.), *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* (early 14th c.) and *Lybeaus Disconus* (first half of the 14th c.). See RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xix; HIBBARD, L. A., (1960): p. 45, 65, 97; GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. 13 and KALUZA, M., *Libeaus Desconus. Die mittelenglische Romanze vom schönen Unbekannten. Nach sechs Handschriften kritisch herausgegeben von Dr. M. Kaluza*, Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1890, p. lxxiii.

of two MSS makes the tracing of the passage from one to the other rhyme pattern justified and quite clear; unfortunately, this is not the case of *Emaré*, whose MS, however, "bears internal evidence of being a copy"[49], thus making the hypothesis of the two authors likely. Furthermore, in pattern *2*, where southern vocabulary is prevalent, the southern feature of the past participles in *-y* can also be found. These features point to a second southern author of a later period.[50]

As for rhythm, Rickert defines it "rough", since short lines could be improved through the insertion of lost <e> and long ones shortened through the deletion of redundant and unnecessary words. Generally, the text seem to depart from a strict iambic composition; more than one fourth of the lines lack the first syllable of the iambic foot and thus start with a stress and, similarly but less frequently, they have two short syllables instead of one; there is sometimes a need for elision of vowels as for instance in l. 72 "And speke we of þe͡ emperour"; the arrangement of stresses is heterogeneous and sometimes turns to OE rhythmical devices.

If the rhythm is not very accurate, alliteration and repetition do play a very important role in the text. Alliteration occurs 323 times, and from a formal point of view it is present in almost every possible combination of words (noun + adjective, noun + noun, adjective + adjective, verb + noun, adjective + noun + verb, etc.), for instance in sentences where two ideas are associated or opposed as in "That made both see and sonde" (l. 18), "The lady þat was both meke and mylde" (l. 478), "Both kyng, knyȝth and clerke" (l. 495), "Bothe yn wo

[49] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xix.
[50] GOUGH, A. B., (1900): p. 13-14.

and wele" (l. 573). Alliteration can connect from a minimum of two to a maximum of four words (three words: "To God of heuen she made her mone, And to hys modyr also" ll. 314-315; "To serue her at her wylle, Bothe yn wo and wele." ll. 572-573, etc.; four words: "Of mykylle myrght y may ȝou telle, And mornyng þer a-monge" ll.20-21; "Messengeres dyȝte hem in hye; Wyth myche myrthe and melodye" ll. 193-194; "Certys, þys ys a wykked kase! Wo worth dedes wronge!" ll. 647-648, etc.). As for repetition, it is in my opinion the most relevant feature in the text from a stylistic point of view. If we take a closer look at the style, we will find a great amount of conventional devices which can generally be found in works of this genre. They are useful on the oral level where they help a minstrel to keep the rhythm in his declamation and on the written level, where they are not essential to the story but offer the writer a wide range of rhymes which are versatile and easily adjustable to his rhyming necessities. Some examples of such expressions are: 'in all things' in "He was curtays in alle þyng" (l. 40), "She was curtays in alle thynge" (l. 64 and 724), "In alle maner of thynge" (l. 75), "She kowȝþe werke alle maner þyng" (l. 382), "Ther was alle maner þyng" (l. 466), "He commanded yn alle þynge" (l. 568), "And badde h*ys* wyf yn alle þynge" (l. 712), "I loue most of alle þyng" (l. 762), "In no manere þynge" (l. 852), "Swete sone, yn alle þyng" (l. 964 and 976); some other are expressions related to 'God': "God forbede þat I hyt so se" (l. 263), "As hyt was Goddys wylle" (l. 327, 500, 675), "Thorow þe grace of Goddes sond" (l. 332, 680, 820, 836, 944), "As God wolde hyt sholde be" (l. 480), "God forbede þat I hyt so se" (l. 251, 263 and 630); expressions connecting opposing ideas as "Bothe to olde and to ȝynge" (l. 40, 65, 380, 725); moreover, some expressions

reassure the reader or hearer that what is being said is true: “For sothe, as y say þe” (l. 46, 96, 463 and 144), “I say ȝow for certeyne” (l. 131), “In trwe story as y say” (l. 544), “Of mykylle myrght y may ȝou telle” (l. 20); some are mere expletives as “godely vnþur gare” (l. 198 and 938), “wordy vnþur wede” (l. 250, 366, 612, 736 and 988), “comely vnþur kelle”, “semely vnþur serke” and “lufsumme wer vnþur lyne” (respectively ll. 303, 501 and 864). Some lines are exact repetition: “Then þe lordes þat wer grete” (ll. 217, 865 and 889); “Now þe lady dwelled þore” (ll. 274, 325, 673, 721) “That semely ys of syght” or “That semely ys to sene” and similar ones (ll. 9, 48, 93, 135, 141, 171, 423, 471, 486); “Both by stretes and by stye” (l. 196, 543), etc.. Also entire narrative or descriptive sequences are repeated; for instance the four stanzas describing Emaré’s beautiful cloth are very similar (ll. 121-132, 133-144, 145-156, 157-168); there are four lamentation sequences involving the fainting of the character (ll. 280-300, 547-564, 604-612, 769-783); the sequences regarding the reunions, first of Emaré and her husband and then with her father (ll. 925-936 and 1009-1020). But there is repetition also in Emaré’s two sea-voyages, in the messenger’s two journeys (to his master and back to the castle), in the directions given by Emaré to her son on how to receive his father and then his grandfather upon their arrival. These narrative sequences are also strikingly similar in their style and construction. Rickert says that the first author must have only had a smattering of the original tale[51] since such rate of repetition is not to be found in other versions of the story and that therefore he probably rearranged the details on his own initiative. Compared to Gower’s *Confessio*

[51] See § 1.

Amantis and Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* (their versions of the Constance Saga: see § 1), *Emaré* uses by far less words: in particular, compared to Chaucer's version, *Emaré* presents one third less words in approximately the same number of lines.[52] Given this and the previous considerations, a high rate of repetition of single words, in particular adjectives ('great' for instance, is repeated forty times), is inevitable.[53]

As for the syntax, I suppose that the presence of some corrupted lines (when a word has been inserted in a line, it becomes evident from the metre) and abrupt changes of subject did not hinder the comprehension but in a closer analysis of the text as the present one, we find that syntax rules are sometimes literally "challenged". In the first stanza for example we find an invocation to Jesus offering us an example of this:

> Ihesu, þat ys kyng in trone,
> As þou shoope boþe sonne and mone,
> And alle þat shalle dele and dyghte, 3
> Now lene vs grace such dedus to done,
> In þy blys þat we may wone,
> Men calle hyt heuen lyghte; 6
> And þy modur Mary, heuyn qwene,
> Bere our arunde so bytwene,
> That semely ys of syght, 9
> To þy sone þat ys so fre,
> In heuen wyth hym þat we may be,
> That lord ys most of myght. 12

Here, relative clauses introduced by *þat* or *that* are placed in such positions that the resulting sentence sounds rather awkward (see ll. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 above) and there is not a logical relation between subject and verb (as in "And

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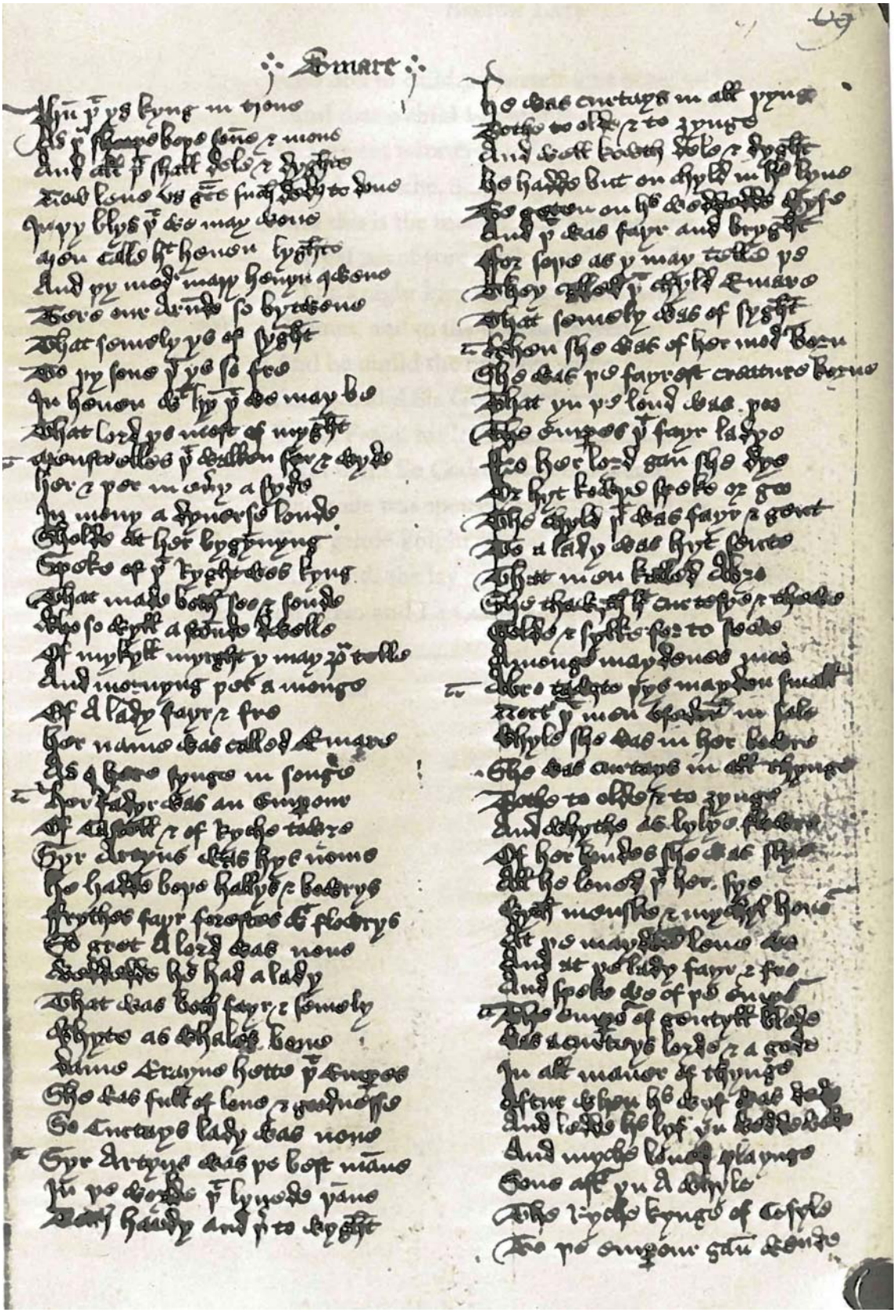
[52] *Emaré* has 802 words in 1035 lines; *Confessio Amanti* 945 words in 1014 lines; *Man of Law's Tale* 1265 words in 1029 lines. See RICKERT, E., p. xxii.
[53] RICKERT, E., (1906): p. xxiii, xxvii.

þy modur Mary, heuyn qwene […] That semely ys of syght, To þy sone þat ys so fre").

The poem shows a clear tendency to coordination rather than subordination and there are few introductive or transitional expressions between direct and indirect speech. Subjects are mostly used arbitrarily, being often omitted where needed ("She moste haue wyth her no spendyng, Noþur mete ne drynke; But shate her yn-to þe se" ll. 271-273; "Then was þe stewardes herte wo, And sayde, 'Lorde, why sayst þou so?'" ll. 763-764) and repeated where not necessary ("The emperes, þat fayr ladye, Fro her lord gan she dye" ll. 52-53).

All these features point unequivocally to the oral character of the poem, which is also demonstrated by the presence of a large number of imperfect rhymes and assonances, repetition in forms and content. These features must nevertheless have made oral transmission effective and successfully evoked characters and scenes in the mind of the audience.

THE TEXT



Taken from RUMBLE, T., (1965): p. 96.

EMARÉ

The following text is taken from RICKERT, E., (1906): pp. 1-32. Rickert clarifies how she treated the text in the MS as follows:

> "The present edition aims to give the text as the scribe intended it to be read. Expansions of contracted forms, additions and a few obvious corrections are indicated[;] expansions by italics; additions in brackets; probable omissions in parentheses. […] Capitals and punctuation are modern. […] In a unique MS which bears internal evidence of being a copy, and shows a great mixture of dialects, I have not attempted to restore the text, believing that such a reconstruction must be largely arbitrary. I have departed from recent custom, in expanding ꝉ to lle inasmuch as in *Emaré* there is not a single instance of ll or ꝉe. I have retained the marking of għ, ħ, n̸, n̄, r᾽ because I am unable to find any principle governing the usage. In regard to għ, ȝtħ, ħ, the balance of evidence seems to show that the stroke has lost his value, although in a few cases an -e added serves to correct the metre. The marking of m̄, n̄, n̸, if expanded at all, must be rendered sometimes un, nn, mm, sometimes me, ne; but there are also cases in which it must be meaningless. The curl to r seems to be mere ornament."
>
> RICKERT, E., (1906): pp. xii-xiii.

In reporting the text in my dissertation, I decided to keep Rickert's italics, brackets and parentheses and to leave out special characters with the exception of <þ> and <ȝ>.[54]

(1)

Ihe*s*u, þa*t* ys kyng in trone,
As þou shoope boþe son*n*e *and* mone,
And alle þat shalle dele *and* dyghte,
Now lene vs g*r*ace such ded*us* to done,
In þy blys þa*t* we may wone,
Men calle h*y*t heuen lyghte;
And þy mod*u*r Mary, heuyn qwene,
Bere our aru*n*de so bytwene,
That semely ys of syght,
To þy sone þa*t* ys so fre,
In heuen w*yth* hy*m* þa*t* we may be,
That lord ys most of myght.

(2)

Menstrelles þa*t* walken fer *and* wyde,

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[54] For further information, see § 2.1..

Her *and* þer in euer*y* a syde.
In mony a dyuerse londe,
Sholde, at her bygy*n*nyng,
Speke of þ*a*t ryghtwes kyng
That made both see *and* sonde.
Who-so wylle a stou*n*de dwelle,
Of mykylle myrght y may ȝou telle,
And mornyng þer a-monge;
Of a lady fayr *and* fre,
Her name was called Emare,
As I here synge in songe.

(3)

Her fadyr was an emp*er*our,
Of castell*e and* of ryche towre,
Syr Artyus was hys nome;
He hadde boþe hallys *and* bowrys,
Frythes fayr, forestes w*yth* flowrys,
So gret a lord was none.
Weddedde he had a lady,
That was both fayr *and* semely,
Whyte as whales bone;
Dame Erayne hette þ*a*t emp*er*es,
She was full*e* of loue *and* goodnesse,
So curtays lady was none.

(4)

Syr Artyus was þe best ma*n*ne
In þe worlde þ*a*t lyuede þa*n*ne,
Both hardy and *þer*-to wyght;
He was curtays in all*e* þyng,
Bothe to olde *and* to ȝynge,
And well*e* kowth dele *and* dyght.
He hadde but on chyld in h*y*s lyue,
Be-geten on h*y*s weddedde wyfe,
And þ*a*t was fayr and bryght;
For soþe, as y may telle þe,
They called þat chyld Emare,
That semely was of syght.

(5)

When she was of her mod*u*r born,
She was þe fayrest creature borne,
That yn þe lond was þoo;
The emp*er*es, þat fayr ladye,
Fro her lord gan she dye,
Or hyt kowþe speke or goo.

The chyld, þ*a*t was fayr *and* gent,
To a lady was hyt sente,
That men kalled Abro;
She thawȝth h*y*t curtesye and thewe,
Golde *and* sylke for to sewe,
Amonge maydenes moo.

(6)

Abro tawȝte þys mayden smalle,
Nort*ur* þ*a*t men vseden in sale,
Whyle she was in her bowre.
She was curtays in alle thynge,
Bothe to olde *and* to ȝynge,
And whythe as lylyo flowre;
Of her hondes she was slye,
Alle he[r] loued þ*a*t her sye,
Wyth menske *and* mychyl honowr.
At þe mayden leue we,
And at þe lady fayr *and* fre,
And speke we of þe emp*erour*.

(7)

The emp*erour* of gentylle blode,
Was a curteys lorde *and* a gode,
In alle maner of thynge.
Aftur, when h*y*s wyf was dede,
And ledde h*y*s lyf yn weddewede,
And myche loued playnge,—
Sone aft*ur*, yn a whyle,
The ryche kynge of Cesyle
To þe emperour gan wende.
A ryche present w*yth* hym he browght,
A cloth þ*a*t was wordylye wroght.
He wellecomed hym as þe hende.

(8)

Syr Tergaunte þ*a*t nobylle knyȝt (hyȝte),
He presented þe emperour ryght,
And sette hym on hys kne,
Wyth þ*a*t cloth rychyly dyght,
Fulle of stones þ*e*r h*y*t was pyght,
As thykke as hyt myght be:
Of(f) topaze and rubyes,
And oþ*ur* stones of myche prys,
That semely wer to se;
Of crapowtes *and* nakette,
As thykke ar þey sette,
For sothe, as y say þe.

(9)

The cloth was dysplayed sone,
The emp*erour* lokede þ*er*-vpone,
And myght[e] hyt not se;
For glysteryng of þe ryche ston
Redy syghte had he non,
And sayde, “How may þys be ?”
The emp*erour* sayde on hygh,
“Sertes, þys ys a fayry,
Or ellys a vanyte!”
The Kyng of Cysyle answered þan,
“So ryche a jwelle ys þer non
In alle Crystyante.”

(10)

The amerayle dowȝter of heþennes
Made þys cloth w*yth*-outen lees,
And wrowȝte h*y*t all*e wyth* p*r*ide;
And p*ur*treyed h*y*t w*yth* gret honour,
Wyth ryche golde and asowr,
And stones on ylke a syde.
And, as þe story telles in honde,
The stones þ*a*t yn þys cloth stonde,
Sowȝte þey wer fulle wyde.
Seuen wyuter h*y*t was yn makynge,
Or h*y*t was browghte to endynge,
In herte ys not to hyde

(11)

In þ*a*t on korner made was
Ydoyne and Amadas,
W*yth* loue þ*a*t was so trewe;
For þey loueden hem w*yth* honour,
Portrayed þey wer w*yth* trewe-loue-flo*u*r,
Of stones bryght of hewe:
Wyth carbunkulle *and* safere,
Kassydonys *and* onyx so clere,
Sette in golde newe;
Deamondes and rubyes,
And oþ*ur* stones of mychylle pryse,
And menstrellys w*yth* her gle[we].

(12)

In þ*a*t oþ*ur* corner was dyght,
Trystram *and* Isowde so bryȝt
That semely wer to se;
And for þey loued hem ryght,

As fulle of stones ar þey dyght,
As thykke as þey may be:
Of topase and of rubyes,
And oþ*ur* stones of myche pryse,
That semely wer to se;
Wyth crapawtes *and* nakette,
Thykke of stones ar þey sette,
For sothe, as y say þe.

(13)

In þe thrydde korner, w*yth* gret hono*ur*,
Was Florys *and* Dam Blawnchefl*our*,
As loue was hem be-twene;
For þey loued wyth honour,
Purtrayed þey wer *wyth* trewe-loue-flo*ur*,
W*yth* stones bryght *and* shene:
Ther wer kny*ȝ*tus *and* senatowres,
Emerawdes of gret vertues,
To wyte w*yth*-outen wene;
Deamou*n*des and koralle,
Perydotes and crystalle,
And gode garnettes by-twene.

(14)

In the fowrthe korner was oon,
Of Babylone þe sowdan so*n*ne*,*
The amerayles dow*ȝ*tyr hym by.
For h*ys* sake þe cloth was wrowght;
She loued hym *in* hert *and* thowght,
As testymoyeth þys storye.
The fayr mayden her by-forn
Was portrayed an vnykorn,
W*yth* hys horn so hye;
Flowres *and* bryddes on ylke a syde,
W*yth* stones þ*a*t wer sowghte wyde,
Stuffed wyth ymagerye.

(15)

When the cloth to ende was wrowght,
To þe sowdan sone h*y*t was brow*ȝ*t,
That semely was of sy*ȝ*te.
“My fadyr was a nobylle man,
Of þe sowdan he h*y*t wan,
W*yth* maystrye *and* w*yth* my*ȝ*th.
For gret loue he *ȝ*af hyt me,
I brynge h*y*t þe in specyalte,
Thys cloth ys rychely dyght.”
He *ȝ*af h*y*t þe empe*r*our,

He receyued h*y*t w*yth* gret honour,
And þonkede hym fayr *and* ry*ȝ*t.

(16)

The Kyng of Cesyle dwelled þer,
As long as hys wylle wer,
W*yth* þe emp*er*our for to play;
And when he wolde wende,
He toke hys leue at þe hende,
And wente forth on hys way.
Now remeueth þ*y*s nobylle kyng.
The emp*er*o*ur* aft*ur* h*y*s dow*ȝ*t*ur* hadde longy*n*g,
To speke w*yth* þ*a*t may.
Messengeres forth he sent
Aftyr þe mayde fayr *and* gent,
That was bry*ȝ*t as someres day.

(17)

Messengeres dy*ȝ*te hem i*n* hye;
W*yth* myche myrthe *and* melodye,
Forth gon þey fare,
Both by stretes *and* by stye,
Aft*ur* þ*a*t fayr lady,
Was godely vnþ*ur* gare.
Her norysse, þ*a*t hy*ȝ*te Abro,
W*yth* her she goth forth also,
And wer sette in a chare.
To þe emp*er*o*ur* gan þe[y] go;
He come a*ȝ*eyn hem a myle or two;
A fayr metyng was there.

(18)

The mayden, whyte as lylye flo*ur,*
Ly*ȝ*te ajeyn (her fadyr) þe emp*er*o*ur*;
Two kny*ȝ*tes gan her lede.
Her fadyr, þ*a*t was of gret renowne,
That of golde wered þe crowne,
Ly*ȝ*te of hys stede.
When þey wer bothe on her fete,
He klypped her *and* kyssed her swete,
And bothe on fote þey *ȝ*ede.
They wer glad *and* made good chere,
To þe palys þey *ȝ*ede in fere,
In romans as we rede.

(19)

Then þe lordes þ*a*t wer grete,
They wesh *and* seten don to mete,

And folk hem serued swyde.
The mayden, þ*a*t was of sembelant swete,
Byfore her owene fadur sete,
The fayrest wo*m*mon on lyfe;
That alle h*y*s hert *and* alle hys þowȝth,
Her to loue was yn browght;
He by-helde her ofte syþe.
So he was an-amored h*y*s þowȝt*ur* tylle,
W*yth* her he þowȝth to worche h*y*s wylle,
And wedde her to hys wyfe.

(20)

And when þe metewhyle was don,
In-to hys chambur he wente son,
And called h*y*s counseyle nere.
He bad þey shulde sone go *and* come,
And gete leue of þe Pope of Eome,
To wedde þ*a*t mayden clere.
Messengeres forth þey wente,
They durste not breke hys co*m*ma*n*deme*n*t,
And erles w*yth* hem yn fere.
They wente to þe courte of Rome,
And browȝte þe Popus Bullus sone,
To wedde h*y*s dowȝter dere.

(21)

*Þ*en was þe emp*er*o*ur* gladde *and* blyþe,
And lette shape a robe swyþe,
Of þ*a*t cloth of golde;
And when h*y*t was don her vpon,
She semed non erþely wo*m*mon,
That marked was of molde.
Then seyde þe emp*er*o*ur* so fre,
“Dowȝtyr, y wolle wedde þe,
Thow art so fresh to be-holde.”
Then sayde þ*a*t wordy vnþ*ur* wede,
“Nay, syr, God of heuen h*y*t for-bede,
Þ*a*t euer do so we shulde!

(22)

ȝyf h*y*t so be-tydde þ*a*t ȝe me wedde,
And we shulde play to-ged*ur* in bedde,
Bothe we were for-lorne !
Þe worde shulde sprynge fer *and* wyde,
In alle þe worlde on euery syde,
Þe worde shulde be borne.
ȝe ben a lorde of gret pryce,
Lorde, lette neu*ur* such sorow a-ryce,

Take God ȝou be-forne!
That my fad*ur* shulde wedde me,
God forbede þat I hyt so se,
That wered þe crowne of þhorne!”

(23)

The emp*er*o*ur* was ryght wrothe,
And swore many a grete othe,
That deed shulde she be.
He lette make a nobulle boot,
And dede her þ*er*-yn, God wote,
In þe robe of nobulle ble.
She moste haue w*yth* her no spendyng,
Noþ*ur* mete ne drynke;
But shate her *yn*-to þe se.
Now þe lady dwelled þore,
Wyth-owte anker or ore,
And þa*t* was gret pyte!

(24)

Ther come a wynd, y vnþ*ur*stonde,
And blewe þe boot fro þe londe,
Of her þey lost þe syght.
The emp*er*o*ur* hym be-þowght
That he hadde alle myswrowht,
And was a sory knyȝte.
And as he stode yn studyynge,
He felle down in sowenynge,
To þe yrþe was he dyght.
Grete lordes stode þ*er*-by,
And toke v[p] þe e*m*p*er*o*ur* hastyly,
And conforted hym fayr *and* ryght.

(25)

When he of sownyng kou*er*ed was,
Sore lie wepte *and* sayde, “Alas,
For my dowhter dere!
Alas, þa*t* y was made man!
Wrecched kaytyf þa*t* I h*y*t am!”
The teres ro*n*ne by h*y*s lere.
“I wrowght a-ȝeyn Goddes lay,
To her þa*t* was so trewe of fay.
Alas, why ner she here!”
The teres lasshed out of h*y*s yȝen;
The grete lordes þa*t* h*y*t syȝen,
Wepte *and* made ylle chere.

(26)

Ther was noþ*ur* olde ny ȝynge,
That kowþe stynte of wepynge,
For þ*a*t comely vnþ*ur* kelle.
In-to shypys faste gan þey þrynge,
For to seke þ*a*t mayden ȝynge*,*
Þ*a*t was so fayr of flesh *and* felle.
They her sowȝt ou*ur*-alle yn þe see,
And myȝte not fynde þ*a*t lady fre,
A-ȝeyn þey come full*e* snell*e*.
At þe emp*er*o*ur* now leue we,
And of þe lady yn þe see,
I shalle be-gy*n*ne to tell*e*.

(27)

The lady fleted forth a-lone;
To God of heuen she made her mone,
And to hys modyr also.
She was dryuen w*yth* wynde *and* rayn,
W*yth* stronge stormes her a-gayn,
Of þe wat*ur* so blo.
As y haue herd menstrelles sy*n*g yn sawe,
Hows ny lond myȝth she non knowe,
A-ferd she was to go.
She was so dryuen fro wawe to wawe,
She hyd her hede *and* lay fulle lowe,
For watyr she was fulle woo.

(28)

Now þ*y*s lady dwelled þore,
A good seuen-nyȝth *and* more,
As h*y*t was Goddys wylle;
W*yth* carefulle herte *and* sykyng sore,
Such sorow was here ȝarked ȝore,
And euer lay she stylle.
She was dryuen yn-to a lond,
Thorow þe grace of Goddes sond,
That alle þyng may fulfylle;
She was on þe see so harde be-stadde,
For hung*ur and* thurste almost madde,
Woo worth weder*us* ylle!

(29)

She was dryuen in-to a lond,
That hyȝth Galys, y vnf*ur*stond,
That was a fayr countre.
Þe kyng*us* steward dwelled þe*r* by-syde,
In a kastelle of mykylle pryde;
Syr Kadore hyght he.

Eu*er*y day wolde he go,
And take w*yth* hym a sqwyer or two,
And play hym by þe see.
On a tyme he toke þe eyr,
W*yth* two kny*ȝ*t*us* gode *and* fayr;
The wedur was lythe of le.

(30)

A boot he fond by þe brym,
And a glysteryng þyng þer-yn,
Ther-of þey hadde ferly.
They went forth on þe sond
To þe boot, y vnþ*ur*stond,
And fond þer-yn þ*a*t lady.
She hadde so longe meteles be,
That hym þowht gret dele to se;
She was yn poyn[t] to dye.
They askede her what was her name;
She chaunged h*y*t þer a-none,
And sayde she hette Egare.

(31)

Syr Kadore hadde gret pyte;
He toke vp þe lady of þe see,
And hom gan he[r] lede.
She hadde so longe meteles be,
She was wax lene as a tre,
That wordy vnþ*ur* wede.
In-to hys castelle when she came,
In-to a chawmbyr þey her nam,
And fayr þey gan her fede,
Wyth alle delycyus mete *and* drynke,
That þey my*ȝ*th hem on þynke,
That was yn alle þ*a*t stede.

(32)

When þ*a*t lady, fayr of face,
W*yth* mete *and* drynke keuered was,
And had colo*u*r a-gayne,
She taw*ȝ*te hem to sewe *and* marke
Alle maner of sylky werke;
Of her þey wer fulle fayne.
She was curteys yn alle þyng,
Bothe to olde *and* to *ȝ*ynge,
I say *ȝ*ow for certeyne.
She kow*ȝ*þe werke alle maner þyng,
That felle to emp*er*o*ur*, or to kyng,
Erle, barown or swayne.

(33)

Syr Kadore lette make a feste,
That was fayr *and* honeste,
Wyth hys lorde, þe kynge.
Ther was myche menstralse,
Tro*m*mpus, tabo*ur*s *and* sawtre,
Bothe harpe *and* fydylleyng.
The lady, þ*a*t was gentylle *and* smalle,
In kurtulle alone serued yn halle,
By-fore þ*a*t nobulle kyng.
Þe cloth vpon her shone so bryȝth,
When she was þer-yn y-dyȝth,
She semed non erdly þyng.

(34)

The kyng loked her vp-on,
So fayr a lady he syȝ neu*ur* non,
H*y*s herte she hadde yn wolde.
He was so an-amered of þ*a*t syȝth,
Of þe mete non he myȝth,
But faste gan her be-holde.
She was so fayr and gent,
The kynges loue on her was lent,
In tale as hyt ys tolde.
And when þe metewhyle was don,
In-to þe chamb*ur* he wente son,
And called h*y*s barouns bolde.

(35)

Fyrst he calle[d] Syr Kadore,
And oþ*ur* knyȝtes þ*a*t þer wore,
Hastely come hy*m* tylle.
Dukes *and* erles, wyse of lore,
Hastely come þe kyng be-fore,
And askede what was h*y*s wylle.
Then spakke þe ryche yn ray,
To Syr Kadore gan he say,
Wordes fayr *and* stylle:
“Syr, whens ys þ*a*t louely may,
That yn þe halle serued þ*y*s day ?
Telle me, ȝyf hyt be þy wylle.”

(36)

Then sayde Syr Kadore, y vnþ*ur*stonde,
“Hyt ys an erles þowȝt*ur* of ferre londe,
That semely ys to sene.
I sente aft*ur* her, certeynlye,

To teche my chylderen curtesye,
In chambur wyth hem to bene.
She ys þe ko*n*nyngest wo*m*mon,
I trowe, þa*t* be yn Crystendom,
Of werk þa*t* y haue sene."
Then sayde þa*t* ryche raye,
"I wylle haue þa*t* fayr may,
And wedde her to my quene!"

(37)

The nobulle kyng, verament,
Aftyr h*y*s modyr he sent,
To wyte what she wolde say.
They brow*ȝ*t[e] forth hastely
That fayr mayde Egarye;
She was bry*ȝ*th as someres day.
The cloth on her shon so bryght,
When she was þe*r*-yn dyght,
And her-self a gentelle may,
The olde qwene sayde a-non,
"I sawe neuer wo*m*mon
Haluendelle so gay!"

(38)

The olde qwene spakke word*us* vnhende,
And sayde, "Sone, þ*y*s ys a fende,
In þ*y*s wordy wede!
As þ*o*u louest my blessynge,
Make þou neu*ur* þ*y*s weddyng,
Cryst h*y*t de forbede!"
Then spakke þe ryche ray,
"Modyr, y wylle haue þ*y*s may!"
And forth gan her lede.
The olde qwene, for certayne,
Turnede w*yth* ire hom a-gayne,
And wolde not be at þa*t* dede.

(39)

The kyng wedded þa*t* lady bryght;
Grete p*u*ruyance þe*r* was dy*ȝ*th,
In þa*t* semely sale.
Grete lordes wer serued a-ryght,
Duke, erle, baron *and* kny*ȝ*th,
Both of g*r*ete and smale.
Myche folke for soþe þe*r* was,
And þe*r*-to an huge prese,
As h*y*t ys tolde yn tale.
Ther was all*e* maner þyng,

That felle to a kyng*us* weddyng,
And mony a ryche menstralle.

(40)

When þe mangery was done,
Grete lordes departed sone,
That semely were to se.
The kynge be-lafte w*yth* þe qwene,
Moch loue was hem be-twene,
And also game *and* gle.
She was curteys *and* swete,
Such a lady herde y neu*ur* of ȝete;
They loued both w*yth* herte fre.
The lady þ*a*t was both meke *and* mylde,
Conceyued *and* wente w*yth* chylde,
As God wolde h*y*t sholde be.

(41)

The kyng of France, yn þ*a*t tyme,
Was be-sette w*yth* many a Sarezyne,
And cu*m*bered all*e* in tene;
And sente aft*ur* þe kyng of Galys,
And oþ*ur* lordys of myche prys,
That semely were to sene.
The kyng of Galys, in þ*a*t tyde,
Gedered men on eu*er*y syde,
In armo*ur* bryght and shene.
Then sayde þe kyng to Syr Kadore,
And oþ*ur* lordes þ*a*t ther wore,
“Take good hede to my qwene.”

(42)

The kyng of F*r*aunce spared none,
But sent for hem eu*er*ychone,
Both kyng, knyȝth *and* clerke.
The stward by-laft at home,
To kepe þe qwene whyte as fome,
He come not at þ*a*t werke.
She we*n*te w*yth* chylde yn place,
As longe as Godd*us* wylle was.
That semely vnþ*ur* serke;
Thylle þ*er* was of her body,
A fayr chyld borne *and* a godele,
Hadde a dowbylle kyng*us* marke.

(43)

They h*y*t crystened w*yth* grete hono*ur*,
And called hy*m* Segramo*ur*;

Frely was þat fode.
Then þe steward, Syr Kadore,
A nobulle lett*ur* made he thore,
And wrowȝte h*y*t alle w*yth* gode.
He wrowȝte hyt yn hyȝynge,
And sente h*y*t to h*y*s lorde þe kynge,
That gentylle was of blode.
The messenger forth gan wende,
And w*yth* þe kyng*us* mod*ur* gan lende,
And yn-to þe castelle he ȝode.

(44)

He was resseyued rychely,
And she hym askede hastyly,
How þe qwene hadde spedde.
“Madame, þe*r* ys of her y-borne
A fayr man-chylde, y telle ȝou be-forne,
And she lyth in her bedde.”
She ȝaf hym for þa*t* tydynge
A robe *and* fowrty shylynge,
And rychely hym cladde.
She made hy*m* dronken of ale *and* wyne,
And when she sawe þa*t* hyt was tyme,
Tho chambur she wolde hym lede.

(45)

And when (s)he was on slepe browȝt,
The qwene þa*t* was of wykked þowȝt,
Tho chambur gan she wende.
Hys letter she toke hym fro,
In a fyre she brente h*y*t do;
Of werkes she was vnhende.
Anoþ*ur* lett*ur* she made w*yth* euylle,
And sayde þe qwene had born a deuylle,
Durste no mon come her hende,
Thre heddes hadde he there,
A lyon, a dragon *and* a beere,
A fowlle, feltred fende.

(46)

On þe morn, when h*y*t was day,
The messenger wente on h*y*s way,
Bothe by stye *and* strete;
In trwe story as y say,
Tylle lie come þe*r* as þe kynge laye,
And speke word*us* swete.
He toke þe kyng þe lett*ur* yn honde,
And he h*y*t redde, y vnþ*ur*stonde,

The teres downe gan he lete.
And as he stode yn redyng,
Downe he felle yn sowenyng,
For sorow hys herte gan blede.

(47)

Grete lordes þat stode hym by,
Toke vp þe kyng hastely;
In herte he was fulle woo.
Sore he grette *and* sayde, “Alas,
That y eu*ur* man born was!
That hyt eu*ur* shullde be so!
Alas, þat y was made a kynge,
And sygh wedded þe fayrest þyng,
That on erþe myght go!
That eu*ur* Jhesu hy*m*-self wolde sende
Such a fowle, loþly fende,
To come by-twene ys too!”

(48)

When he sawe hyt myȝt no bett*u*r be,
Anoþ*ur* lett*ur* þen made he,
And seled hyt w*yth* hys sele.
He co*m*manded yn alle þynge,
To kepe welle þat lady ȝynge,
Tylle she hadde her hele;
Bothe gode men *and* ylle,
To serue her at her wylle,
Bothe yn wo and wele.
He toke þys lett*ur* of hys honde,
And rode þorow þe same londe,
By þe kyng*us* modur castelle.

(49)

And þen he dwelled þe*r* alle nyȝt;
He was resseyued *and* rychely dyȝt,
And wyste of no treson.
He made hy*m* welle at ese *and* fyne,
Bothe of brede, ale *and* wyne,
And þat be-rafte hy*m* hys reson.
When he was on slepe browȝt,
The false qwene hys letter sowȝt;
In-to þe fyre she kaste hyt downe.
A-noþ*ur* lett*ur* she lette make,
That men sholde þe lady take,
And lede her owt of towne.

(50)

And putte her yn-to þe see,
In þ*a*t robe of ryche ble,
The lytylle chylde her wyth;
And lette her haue no spendyng,
For no mete ny for drynke,
But lede her out of þ*a*t kygh.
“Vpon payn of chylde *and* wyfe,
And also vpon ȝo*ur* owene lyfe,
Lette her haue no gryght!"
The messenger knewe no gyle,
But rode hom mony a myle,
By forest *and* by fryght.

(51)

And when þe messenger come home,
The steward toke þe lett*ur* sone,
And by-gan to rede.
Sore he syght and sayde, “Alas,
Sertes, þ*y*s ys a fowle case,
And a de[l]fulle dede!”
And as he stode yn redyng,
He felle downe yn swonynge,
For sorow h*y*s hert gan blede.
Ther was noþ*ur* olde ny ȝynge,
That myȝte for-bere of wepynge,
For þ*a*t worþy vnþ*ur* wede.

(52)

The lady herde g*r*et dele yn halle,
On þe steward gan she calle,
And sayde, “ What may þ*y*s be?
ȝyf any-þyng be a-mys.
Telle me what þ*a*t h*y*t ys,
And lette not for me.”
Then sayde þe steward, verame*n*t,
“Lo, her, a lett*er* my lord hath sente,
And þ*er*-fore woo ys me !”
She toke þe lett*ur* *and* by-gan to rede;
Then fonde she wryten alle þe dede,
How she moste yn-to þe see.

(53)

“Be stylle, syr,” sayde þe qwene,
“Lette syche mornynge bene;
For me haue þ*o*u no kare.
Loke þ*o*u be not shente,
But do my lordes co*m*maundeme*n*t,

God for-bede þou spare!
For he weddede so porely,
On me, a sympulle lady,
He ys a-shamed sore.
Grete welle my lord fro me,
So gentylle of blo(l)de yn Cristyante,
Gete he neuur more!”

(54)

Then was þer sorow and myche woo,
When þe lady to shype shulde go;
They wepte and wronge her hond[e].
The lady, þat was meke and mylde,
In her arme she bar her chylde,
And toke leue of þe londe.
When she wente yn-to þe see,
In þat robe of ryche ble,
Men sowened on þe sonde.
Sore þey wepte and sayde, “Alas,
Certys, þys ys a wykked kase!
Wo worth dedes wronge!"

(55)

The lady and þe lytylle chylde
Fleted forth on þe watur wylde,
Wyth fulle harde happes.
Her surkote þat was large and wyde,
Ther-wyth her vysage she gan hyde,
Wyth þe hynþur lappes;
She was aferde of þe see,
And layde her gruf vpon a tre,
The chylde to her pappes.
The wawes, þat were grete and strong,
On þe bote faste þey þonge,
Wyth mony vnsemely rappes.

(56)

And when þe chyld gan to wepe,
Wyth sory herte she songe hyt a-slepe,
And putte þe pappe yn hys mowth,
And sayde, “Myȝth y onus gete lond,
Of þe watur þat ys so stronge,
By northe or by sowthe,
Wele owth y to warye þe, see,
I haue myche shame yn the !”
And euur she lay and growht.
Then she made her prayer,
To Ihesu and hys modur dere,

In alle þ*a*t she kowþe.

(57)

Now þ*y*s lady dwelled thore,
A fulle seuene nyght *and* more,
As h*y*t was Goddys wylle;
W*yth* karefulle herte *and* sykyng sore,
Such sorow was her ȝarked ȝore,
And she lay fulle stylle.
She was dryuen toward Rome,
Thorow þe grace of God yn trone,
That alle þyng may fulfylle.
On þe see she was so harde be-stadde,
For hung*ur and* thurste all*e*-most madde,
Wo worth chawnses ylle!

(58)

A marchaunte dw[el]led yn þ*a*t cyte,
A ryche mon of golde *and* fee,
Iurdan was h*y*s name.
E(e)uery day wolde he
Go to playe hym by þe see,
The eyer for to tane.
He wente forth yn þ*a*t tyde,
Walkynge by þe see syþe,
Alle hym-selfe a-lone.
A bote he fonde by þe bry*m*me,
And a fayr lady ther-ynne,
That was ryght wo-by-gone.

(59)

The cloth on her shon so bryth,
He was a-ferde of þ*a*t syght,
For glysteryng of þ*a*t wede;
And yn h*y*s herte he þowȝth ryght,
That she was non erdyly wyght,
He sawe neu*ur* non s(h)uch yn leede.
He sayde, "What hette ȝe, fayr ladye?"
"Lord," she sayde, "y hette Egarye,
That lye her yn drede."
Vp he toke þ*a*t fayre ladye,
And þe ȝonge chylde her by,
And hom he gan hem lede.

(60)

When he come to h*y*s byggynge,
He welcomed fayr þ*a*t lady ȝynge,
That was fayr and bryght;

And badde h*ys* wyf yn alle þynge,
Mete *and* drynke for to brynge,
To þe lady ryght.
“What þ*a*t she wylle craue,
And her mowth wylle h*y*t haue,
Loke h*y*t be redy dyght.
She hath so longe meteles be,
That me þynketh grette pyte;
Conforte her ȝyf fou myght.”

(61)

Now þe lady dwelles ther,
W*yth* alle mete þ*a*t gode were;
She hedde at her wylle.
She was curteys yn alle þyng,
Bothe to olde *and* to ȝynge;
Her loued bothe gode *and* ylle.
The chylde by-gan for to þryfe,
He wax þe fayrest chyld onlyfe,
Whyte as flo*ur* on hylle;
And she s[h]ewed sylke werk yn bo*ur*,
And tawȝte her sone nortowre;
But euyr she mornede stylle.

(62)

When þe chylde was seuen ȝer olde,
He was bothe wyse *and* bolde,
And wele made of flesh *and* bone;
He was worþy vnþ*ur* wede,
And ryght well*e* kowþe prike a stede,
So curtays a chylde was none.
Alle men louede Segramowre,
Bothe yn halle *and* yn bowre,
Wher-so-eu*ur* he gan gone.
Leue we at þe lady, clere of vyce,
And speke of the kyng of Galys,
Fro þe sege when he come home.

(63)

Now þe sege broken ys,
The kyng come home to Galys,
W*yth* mykylle myrthe *and* pride.
Dukes *and* erles of ryche asyce,
Barones *and* knyȝtes of mykylle pryse,
Come rydynge be hys syde.
Syr K[a]dore, h*y*s steward þa*n*ne,
A-ȝeyn hy*m* rode w*yth* mony a man,
As faste as he myght ryde;

He tolde þe kyng a-ventowres,
Of h*y*s halles *and* h*y*s bowres,
And of h*y*s londys wyde. 756

(64)

The kyng sayde, “By Goddys name,
Syr Kadore, þ*o*u art to blame,
For þy fyrst tellynge! 759
Thow sholdest fyrst haue tolde me
Of my lady Egare,
I loue most of all*e* þyng!” 762
Then was þe stewardes herte wo,
And sayde, “Lorde, why sayst þ*o*u so?
Art not þ*o*u a trewe kynge? 765
Lo her, þe lett*ur ȝ*e sente me,
*Ȝ*owr owene self þe sofe may se;
I haue don *ȝo**ur* byddynge.” 768

(65)

The kyng toke þe letter to rede,
And when he sawe þ*a*t ylke dede,
He wax alle pale *and* wanne. 771
Sore he grette *and* sayde, “Alas,
That eu*ur* born y was,
Or eu*ur* was made manne! 774
Syr Kadore, so mot y the,
Thys lett*ur* come neu*ur* fro me,
I telle þe her a-none!” 777
Bothe þey wepte *and ȝ*af hem ylle.
“Alas," he sayde, “saf Goddys wylle!”
And both þe[y] sowened pen. 780

(66)

Grete lordes stode by,
And toke vp þe kyng hastyly,
Of hem was gret pyte; 783
And when þey both keuered were,
The kyng toke hy*m* þe letter þer,
Of þe heddys þre. 786
“A, lord,” he sayde, “be Goddws grace,
I sawe neu*ur* þys lett*ur* yn place!
Alas! how may þ*y*s be?” 789
Aft*ur* þe messenger þer þey sente,
The kyng askede what way he went:
“Lor, be *ȝo**ur* modur fre.” 792

(67)

“Alas!” þen sayde þe kynge,

“Wheþ*ur* my mod*ur* wer so vnhende,
To make þys treson? 795
By my krowne, she shall*e* be brent,
W*yth*-owten any oþ*ur* jugement,
That thenketh me best reson!” 798
Grete lordes toke hem be-twene,
That þey wolde exyle þe qwene,
And be-refe her hyr renowne. 801
Thus þey exiled þe false qwene,
And by-rafte her hyr lyflofe clene,
Castelle, towre *and* towne. 804

(68)

When she was fled ou*ur* þe see fome,
The nobulle kyng dwelled at hom,
W*yth* fulle heuy chere; 807
Wyth karefulle hert *and* drury nwne,
Sykynges made he many on,
For Egarye þe clere, 810
And when he sawe chylder*en* play,
He wepte *and* sayde, “Well*e*-a-wey,
For my sone so dere!” 813
Such lyf he lyued mony a day,
That no mon hy*m* stynte may,
Fully seuen yere. 816

(69)

Tyll*e* a thowght yn hys herte come,
How h*y*s lady, whyte as fome,
Was drowned for h*y*s sake. 819
“Thorow þe g*r*ace of God yn trone,
I woll*e* to þe pope of Rome,
My penans for to take!” 822
He lette ordeyne shypus fele,
And fylled he*m* full*e* of wordes wele,
Hys men mery w*yth* to make. 825
Dolys he lette dy*ȝ*th *and* dele,
For to wy*n*nen hym sowles hele,
To þe shyp he toke þe gate. 828

(70)

Shypmen, þ*a*t wer so mykylle of p*r*ice,
Dyght her takulle on ryche a-cyse,
That was fayr *and* fre. 831
They drow*ȝ* vp sayl *and* leyd out ore,
The wynde stode as her lust wore,
The weþ*ur* was lyþe on le. 834
They sayled ouer þe salt fome,

Thorow þe g*r*ace of God in trone,
That most ys of powste.
To þ*a*t cyte when þe[y] come,
At þe burgeys hous h*y*s yn he nome,
Ther-as woned Emarye.

(71)

Emare called he[r] sone,
Hastely to here come,
Wyth-oute ony lettynge,
And sayde, “My dere sone so fre,
Do a lytulle aftur me,
And þ*o*u sha[l]t haue my blessynge.
To-morowe þ*o*u shall*e* serue yn halle,
In a kurtylle of ryche palle,
By-fore þ*y*s nobulle kyng;
Loke, sone, so curtays þou be,
That no mon fynde chalange to þe,
In no manere þynge !

(72)

When þe kyng ys serued of spycerye,
Knele þ*o*u downe hastylye,
And take h*y*s hond yn þyn;
And when þ*o*u hast so done,
Take þe kuppe of golde sone,
And serue hym of þe wyne.
And what þ*a*t he speketh to þe,
Cu*m* a-non and tell*e* me,
On Godd*us* blessyng *and* myne!”
The chylde went yn-to þe halle,
Among þe lordes g*r*ete *and* small*e*,
That lufsu*m*me wer vnþ*ur* lyne.

(73)

Then þe lordes þ*a*t wer grete,
Wysh *and* wente to her mete,
Men[s]trelles browȝt yn þe kowrs.
The chylde he*m* serued so curteysly,
Alle hy*m* loued þ*a*t hy*m* sy,
And spake hy*m* gret honowres.
The*n* sayde alle þ*a*t loked hy*m* vpon,
So curteys a chyld sawe þey neu*ur* non,
In halle ny yn bowres.
he kynge sayde to hym yn game,
Swete sone, what ys þy name?”
“Lorde,” (he seyd) “y hyȝth Seg*r*amowres.”

(74)

Then þ*a*t nobulle kyng
Toke vp a grete sykynge,
For h*y*s sone hyghte so;
Certys, w*yth*-owten lesynge,
The teres out of h*y*s yen gan wryng;
In herte he was full*e* woo.
Neuer-þe-lese, he lette be,
And loked on þe chylde so fre,
And mykell*e* he louede hym þoo.
The ky*n*g sayde to þe burgeys a-non,
"Swete syr, ys þ*y*s þy sone?"
The burgeys sayde, “*Ȝ*oo.”

(75)

Then þe lordes þ*a*t wer grete,
W(h)esshen a-*ȝ*eyn aftyr mete,
And þen come spycerye.
The chyld þ*a*t was of chere swete,
On h*y*s kne downe he sete,
And serued hy*m* curteyslye.
The kynge called þe b*u*rgeys hy*m* tylle,
And sayde, “Syr, yf h*y*t be þy wylle,
3yf me þ*y*s lytylle body!
I shalle hym make lorde of town *and* towre,
Of hye halles *anti* of bowre,
I loue hym specyally.”

(76)

Whe*n* he had serued þe kyng at wylle,
Fayr he wente h*y*s modyr tylle,
And tellys her how hyt ys.
“Soone whe*n* he shalle to chamb*ur* wende,
Take h*y*s hond at þe grete ende,
For he ys þy fadur, y-wysse;
And byd hym come speke w*yth* Emare,
That changed her name to Egare,
In the londe of Galys !”
The chylde wente a-*ȝ*eyn to halle,
A-monge þe g*r*ete lordes alle,
And serued on ryche a-syse.

(77)

When þey we’ welle at ese, a-fyne,
Bothe of brede, ale *and* wyne,
They rose vp, more *and* myn.
Whe*n* þe kyng shulde to chamb*ur* wende,
He toke h*y*s hond at þe grete ende,

And fayre he helpe hym yn;
And sayde, “Syr, yf ȝour wylle be,
Take me ȝo*ur* honde and go w*yth* me,
For y am of ȝowr kynne!
ȝe shulle come speke w*yth* Emare,
That chau*ng*ed her nome to Egare,
That berys þe whyte chy*nn*e!”

(78)

The kyng yn herte was fulle woo,
Whe*n* he herd mynge þo,
Of her þ*a*t was h*y*s qwene;
And sayde, “Sone, why sayst þ*o*u so?
Wher-to vmb*r*aydest þ*o*u me of my wo?
That may neuer bene!”
Neu*ur*þeles w*yth* hym he wente;
A-ȝeyn hem come þe lady gent,
In þe robe bryght and shene.
He toke her yn h*y*s armes two,
For joye þey sowened, both to,
Such loue was hem by-twene.

(79)

A joyfull metyng was þ*er* þore,
Of þ*a*t lady, goodly vnþ*ur* gore,
Frely in armes to folde.
Lorde! gladde was Syr Kadore,
And oþ*ur* lordes þ*a*t þer wore,
Semely to be-holde,
Of þe lady þ*a*t wa[s] put yn þe see,
Thorow grace of God in Trinite,
Þat was keuered of cares colde.
Leue we at þe lady whyte as flo*ur*,
And speke we of (her fad*ur*) þe e*m*p*er*o*ur*,
That fyrste þ*y*s tale of y-tolde.

(80)

The e*m*p*er*o*ur* her fadyr þen
Wa[s] woxen an olde man,
And þowȝt on hys synne;
Of hys þowȝtyr Emare,
That was putte yn-to þe see,
That was so bryght of skynne.
He þowȝt[e] that he wolde go,
For h*y*s penance to þe Pope þo,
And heuen for to wynne.
Messengeres he sente forth sone,
And þey come to þe kowrt of Rome,

To take her lordes inne.

(81)

Emare prayde her lord, þe kyng,
“Syr, a-byde þ*a*t lordys komyng,
That ys so fayr *and* fre.
And, swete syr, yn alle þyng,
A-qweynte ȝou w*yth* þ*a*t lordyng;
Hyt ys worshyp to þe.”
The kyng of Galys seyde þan,
“So grete a lord ys þer non,
ȝn alle Crystyante.”
“Now, swete syr, what-eu*ur* be-tyde,
A-ȝayn þ*a*t grete lord ȝe ryde,
And alle þy knyȝtys w*yth* þe.”

(82)

Emare thawȝte her sone ȝynge,
A-ȝeyn þe e*m*per*our* komynge,
How þ*a*t he sholde done:
“Swete sone, yn all*e* þyng,
Be redy w*yth* my lord þe kyng,
And be my swete sone!
Whew þe e*m*per*our* kysseth þy fad*ur* so fre,
Loke ȝyf he wylle kysse the,
A-bowe ȝe to hym sone;
And bydde hy*m* come speke w*yth* Emare,
That was putte yn-to þe see,
Hym-self ȝaf þe dome.”

(83)

Now kometh þe e*m*per*our* of pryse;
A-ȝeyn hy*m* rode þe kyng of Galys,
W*yth* fulle mykulle pryde.
The chyld was worþy vnþ*ur* wede,
A satte vpon a nobyll*e* stede,
By h*y*s fadyr syde;
And when he mette þe e*m*per*our,*
He valed h*y*s hode w*yth* gr*e*t hono*ur,*
And kyssed hy*m* yn þ*a*t tyde;
And oþ*ur* lordys of gr*e*t valowre,
They also kessed Segramowre;
In herte ys not to hyde.

(84)

The e*m*per*our*s hert anamered gr*e*tlye,
Of þe chylde þ*a*t rode hym by,
W*yth* so louely chere.

Segramowre, he s[t]ayde *h*y*s* stede,
Hys owene fad*ur* toke good hede,
And oþ*ur* lordys þat þer were.
The chylde spake to þe e*m*per*o*u*r,*
And sayde, “Lord, for þyn hono*ur*,
My worde þat þou wylle here:
ȝe shulle come speke w*yth* Emare,
that changede her name to Egare,
That was þy þowȝþ*ur* dere.”

(85)

The e*m*per*o*u*r* wax alle pale,
And sayde, *“*Sone. why v*m*braydest me of bale,
And þou may se no bote?*”*
“Syr, *and* ȝe wylle go w*yth* me,
I shalle þe brynge w*yth* þat lady fre,
Þat ys louesom on to loke.”
Neu*ur*-þe-Iesse, w*yth* hym he wente;
A-ȝeyn hym come þat lady gent,
Walkynge on her fote.
And þe e*m*per*o*u*r* a-lyȝte þo,
And toke her yn hys armes two,
And clypte *and* kyssed her sote.

(86)

There was a joyfulle metynge
Of þe e*m*per*o*u*r and* of þe kynge,
And also of Emare;
And so þer was of Syr [S]eg*r*amo*ur*
That aftyr was emp*er*our;
A fulle gode man was he.
A grette feste þe*r* was holde,
Of erles *and* barones bolde,
As testymonyeth þys story.
Thys ys on of Brytayne layes,
That was vsed by olde dayes.
Men callys “playn þe garye.”
Iheso, þat settes yn þy trone,
So graunte vs w*yth* þe to w[o]ne,
In þy p*er*petuall*e* glorye ! Amen.

Explicit Emare.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. i. ÞAT: 'who', indeclinable rel. pron.. A ME pronoun from OE *þæt*; it has possibly developed from the demonstrative function to a relative pronoun by the subordination to the first of the second of two sentences which were originally consecutive.[55]

1. ii. YS: 'is', 3rd sing. pers. of the verb *to be*. In OE <y> is used for the sounds [y] and [y:]. These sounds survive only in the south western dialect and from the 12th c. on they were expressed by <u>. In the North and in the Midlands /y/ changed to /i/ and <y> became a written variant for <i>. This explains the spelling of the conjugated verb here.[56]

1. iii. KYNG: 'king', <OE *cyning, cining, cyng, cing*. Masculine noun belonging to the vocalic or strong declension. Contraction from *cyning* to *cyng* can be found already in OE. The form *cyning* was retained when associated to a person's name (*Aelfred cyning*) but in ME the form *king* prevailed also in this case. Final /ŋ/ was already current in ME. OE /ü/ became unrounded to /i/ in late OE or early ME in the North and in most East Midlands counties. The vowel reached LME unchanged and was slightly lowered to /ɪ/ in EModE, which represents its current realisation. In OE Germanic <k> started to be differentiated into a guttural and a palatal sound, which in ME were both generally written <c>. Guttural <c> was written <k> before palatal vowels, thus

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[55] OED, **that, *pron.*[1]**, A.I.1.b..
[56] ROSEBOROUGH, M. M., *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press Publisher, 1970, p.17.

kyng because of the front vowel /y/. <g> in the combination /ŋg/ remained in ME.[57]

1. iv. TRONE / 2. MONE: trone: 'throne', < OF *trone* < Greek *θρόνος*. In words coming from OF with no stress shift, ME /ɔ:/ is long in open syllables, resulting in /trɔ:nə/. The vowel then was narrowed to /o:/ early in the 16th c. and it eventually reached ModE /əʊ/ through the stage of /oʊ/[58]. <t> stands for Greek sound θ due to a pseudo-learned way of spelling. In the Renaissance period an <h> was inserted in some words after <t>, being <th> the transliteration used for words borrowed from Greek through Latin. This respelling started a change to the initial sound also in words that had initially /t/ as in *thesis* and *theatre*[59]; Mone: 'moon' <OE *mona*, *mone*. The LOE sound /o:/ remained the same in ME and is labelled long close <o> as opposed to /ɔ:/. In the 14th c., the spelling became <oo> to mark the length of the vowel. Further on, because of the Great Vowel Shift, /o:/ became /u:/ which is the current pronunciation in ModE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/: therefore it can be argued that when the text was written, the vowel in *trone* had already undergone raising to /o:/ because of the Great Vowel Shift whereas the vowel in *mone* was still at starting point /o:/.[60] [61]

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[57] OED, **king, *n.***, 4; WRIGHT, J., and WRIGHT, (1974): pp. 22-23, 117, 122-123, 127, 139; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 150, 177; WELNA, J., A Diachronic Grammar of English, Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978: pp. 82-83, 213-214.
[58] OE /θrɔnə/, ME /θrɔ:nə/, ModE /θrəʊn/.
[59] OED, **throne, *n.***, 2a; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 207, 228; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 113-114, 219, 229, 244; PYLES, T. and ALGEO, J., *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982, pp. 171, 178.
[60] OED, **moon, *n.*[1]**, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 101-102, 188; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 84; ROTA, F., *Grammatica storica della lingua inglese*, Milano – Messina,Giuseppe Principato, 1951, p. 60; PYLES, T. and ALGEO, J., (1982): p. 151; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., *L'inglese dalle origini ad oggi: Le vicende di una lingua*, Rome, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1988, p. 135-141.
[61] The work presents many instances of imperfect rhymes and assonances. Therefore henceforth, only the rhyming vowel will be taken into consideration. See § 2.3..

2. i. ÞOU: 'you', <EME *þu* <OE *ðu*. 2nd pers. sing. pronoun, nominative. The ME personal pronouns retained distinctions of case, person, number and gender from their OE antecedents. For the 2nd person singular, the merging of dative and accusative forms already happened in OE. Therefore in ME we have *thou* for the nominative, *thee* for accusative and dative and *thi, thine* for the genitive. The 2nd pers. sing. pronoun can be found also in enclitic form, such as *-tou, -te* to be attached to preceding verbs.[62]

2. ii. SHOOPE: 'shaped, created' < OE *scieppan – scop – scopon – scapen,* 6th class of strong verbs. The strong verb is found unaltered only in OE, whereas in ME its forms were almost completely replaced by analogical new formations. A strong form of the preterite existed until the 14th c. but in ME two weak forms are also found: *shupte* /y/ from the original present form and *shapide* from the new analogic form *shape*. Also for the past participle ME developed two new weak forms, *schept* and *shaped*, but from the 16th c. only the latter can be found.[63]

2. iii. BOÞE: 'both', det. < EME *baðe* < Old Norse *báðar* (masculine)*, báðir* (feminine)*, bæði, báði* (neuter). *bo* and *ba* <OE *ba* and *bei* <OE *begen* coexisted with *both* until the 14th-15th c., when the former died out. Its use coincided largely with the current usage. The unvoicing of ð occurred when final

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[62] OED, **you, *pron.***, A.I.***4.a.; SINGH, I., *The History of English*, London, Hodder Education, 2005, pp. 119-120; FISIAK, J., (1968): p. 86; ROTA, F., (1951), pp. 343-344; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 105.
[63] OED, **shape, *v.***, I.†1a; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 79; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 189.

<e> started to disappear.[64] For the development of long /o/, see 1. iv. TRONE above.

2. iv. SONNE: 'sun', <OE *sunne* <Old Frisian *sonne, sunne*. Weak feminine noun. Halfway through the 13th c., <o> replaces <u> in writing before and after nasals, <w> and where <v> = /u/; this becomes pretty general by the end of the century. <o> is written for /u/ also when it is followed by a single consonant + vowel in late ME. Compared to other phenomena, this is earlier than the writing of <ou> for /u:/ and later than the use of <u> for /y/. The original <u> is reintroduced in the spelling during the 16th c. and later, between 1600 and 1700, it undergoes delabialization from /u/ to /ʌ/. [65]

3. i. SHALLE: 'shall', <OE *sceal – sculon – sc(e)olde* ('to owe money', now obs.). Preterite-present strong verb. Followed by an infinitive, it is used to form the future tense. It is in the late ME period that the differentiation according to the persons starts: *shall* is used for the 1st person whereas *will* is used for all other persons as in the current usage. The text here indicates that the verb was already employed as an auxiliary expressing futurity although in OE there often was a modal implication of volition. Its periphrastic use clearly indicating futurity starts in EME by the side of *will,* but the latter keeps a pronounced modal character indicating promises, wishes and resolutions until much later in the ME period. The distribution of the persons in the verb *shall* in ME is as follows: 1st,

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[64] OED, **both, *adj.***, A.I.1.; MUSTANOJA, T. F., *A Middle English Syntax*, vol. 1, Helsinki, Modern Language Society, 1960, p. 214; FISIAK, J., *A Short Grammar of Middle English, Graphemics, Phonemics, Morphemics*, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, p.111; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): pp. 108-109; BRUNNER, K., *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*, trans. From the German by G. K. W, Johnston, Oxford, Blackwell, 1963, p. 55.

[65] OED, **sun, *n.*[1]**, 1.a; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 22; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 114.

2nd, 3rd pers. sing. and plur. when indicating that an event will take place in accordance with divine fate or will, predictions and prophesies; 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. when expressing commands and instructions, also in the 1st pers. sing. and plur. when interrogative; 1st, 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. in statements following conditional clauses.[66]

3. ii. DELE: 'deal, distribute', trans. verb, today obs. in this meaning. ME dele, delt, dalt <OE *dælan – dælde – dæled*. EME /ɛ:/, which is generally represented by <e>, developed from LOE /æ:/. The change from <æ> to <e> was only orthographical, as the sound remained /ɛː/. Some time after 1700 there was a shift of the formal style, where /ɛ:/ was used, to a more colloquial style employing /i:/. This is due to the Great Vowel Shift and is the dominant pronunciation in LModE and the current orthography <ea> in *deal* testifies to its derivation from /ɛː/.[67]

3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE: dyghte: 'govern', <OE *dihtan – dihte – dihtode – (ge)diht, dihted* ('to dictate', now obs.)*.* 'compose, unite', ModE *dight – dighted, dight* (now arch.). The ME sound combination /ix/, generally spelt <igh>, develops in the 15th c. to /i:/. This is explained by the vocalization of the palatal fricative [ç] to /j/, leading to the rise of /ij/ that is subsequently simplifies into /i:/. This started from the 14th c. south of the Humber, except for the north-west Midlands, where /i:/ can be found only in the 15th. The spirant-less pronunciation can be considered as a dialectal variety introduced from the East Midlands areas. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation of [ç] still existed in the

[66] ROTA, F., (1951), pp. 384-385; MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), pp.489-496.
[67] OED, **deal, *v.***, I.†3.a; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 98, 237; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): pp. 25-26; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 159.

cultivated variety of London Standard English of the time. After front vowels, the fricative /x/ was lost at the end of the 14th c. as testified from numerous gh-less spellings, i.e. *mit, fiten, ait* for *might, fight eight.* When word finally, the loss is a consequence of the impact of ç-less inflected forms (*high~hie*)[68]; lyghte: 'light', <OE *léoht*. Strong neuter noun. The first stage of the diphthongization process was reached at the end of the 14th c. and rests in the development of /i:/ into /ii/ where the first element was slightly lower than the second. During the 16th and 17th c. LME /ii/ was probably turned into /əɪ/ and only a century later it developed into /ʌɪ/. The current realization /aɪ/ was reached after the lowering of [ʌ] at the beginning of the 19th c.. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[69]

4. i. LENE: 'lend, grant', <OE *lǽnan – lened(e-lende – lende,* weak verb of the 1st class. In the present tense, the substitution of *lend-* for *len-* happened in EME because the past form *lende* would regularly correspond either to *lenen* or *lenden* in the infinitive and because of the analogy with verbs like *bend, rend, wend,* etc., *lend* with a non-etymological *-d*[70] eventually prevailed.[71] Nonetheless, forms with *len-* continued to be used up to the 19th c..

4. ii. DEDUS: 'deeds', <OE West Saxon *dæd*, Anglian *ded.* The current pronunciation descends from the Anglian variety, as StE developed in the areas where Anglian was spoken. In ME the phoneme /e:/ was written <e> and later

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[68] OED, **dight, *v.***, I.†3; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 181, 202.
[69] OED, **light, *n.*[1]**, 7.a; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 47, 181, 188-189, 223, 238, 244-245; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 249.
[70] WELNA claims that the reason for the development from LOE *lǽnan* to *lende, lend* is to create a transitional sound after a liquid or a nasal.
[71] OED, **lend, *v.*[2]**, 2.a; PYLES, T. and ALGEO, J., (1982): p. 178; ROTA, F., (1951), pp. 445-446;

<ee>. The plural in *-us* is recorded as a distinct northern West Midlands feature.[72]

4. iii. TO DONE / 5. iii. WONE: to done: 'to do', also ME *done, dide, didon, idon* <OE *don, dyde, dydon, gedon*. LOE /o:/ remained unchanged in EME but underwent raising to /u:/ in the 15th c. during the Great Vowel Shift arriving to the present pronunciation. Here the infinitive is expressed in an oblique form, presenting both the preposition *to* and the simple infinitive form, which was already rare towards the end of the OE period. Infinitives ending in *-en* or *-n* (from OE *-an*) are recorded in the South until the end of the 14th c. especially in monosyllabic verbs, whereas in the Midlands these suffixes disappeared earlier[73]**;** wone: 'remain, live', also ME *wonien – wunede – wuned* <OE *wunian – wunode – gewunod* (now arch.). The rhyming vowel is /o:/.[74]

5. i. ÞY: 'your', <EME *ði*. Variant of *thine* with loss of final *-n,* which became the form of the 2nd pers. sing. possessive determiner before the replacement in StE with the current *your.*[75]

5. ii. BLYS: 'bliss', also ME *blysse, blis* <OE *blids*, *blis*. Strong feminine noun which undergoes a process of regressive assimilation and vowel-shortening in LOE from *blids* to *bliss, blis*. OE /i:/ is shortened in EME when found before two or more consonants.[76]

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[72] OED, **deed, *n.***, 1.a; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 17-18, 96; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 138.
[73] OED, **do, *v.***, I.***7.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 101-102, 188; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 84, 239; FISIAK, J., (1968): p. 40; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 159.
[74] OED, **won | wone, *v.***, I.†2..
[75] OED, **thy, *adj.***.
[76] OED, **bliss, *n.***, 2.c; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 56, 62.

5. ii. MAY: 'can, may', <OE *magan – mihte – muhte* 'be able to'. Preterite-present verb of the 5th or the 7th class or unclassified. The attribution to either class is difficult for phonological reasons because there are scholars who think that the original verb might not have been a preterite-present. *May* was possibly reformed by analogy under the influence of preterite-present verbs with *-u-* in the present plural—for example *shall* (see 3. ii. SHALLE above). The forms in *-u-* in the present indicative plural, present subjunctive, and preterite appear only in some LOE texts but *-u-* seems to have spread to the infinitive and the past participle in many ME dialects and was used in some English regional varieties until the 19th c.. The semantic shift from 'to be able to' to a meaning of possibility and permission started little later than 1200 and was completed before the 18th c..[77]

6. i. HYT: 'it', <OE *hyt.* This OE form can be found until the 15th c.. Later, during the ME period, <h> was retained only in emphatic function and therefore dropped in all other cases. At length, this led to the dropping of <h> in all positions in ModE.[78]

6. ii. HEUEN: 'heaven', <EME *hefen* <EOE *heofon*. The result of EOE /eo/ monophthongization is LOE /ö/ which became unrounded in EME in northern and eastern areas (LOE *heofon* >EME *heven*). LOE /e/ resulted in /ɛ:/ when lengthened in open syllable, exactly like LOE /æ:/ but in some current English words where /ɛ:/ is spelt <ea> to indicate the long open vowel, the vowel was

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[77] OED, **may, *v.*[1]**, II.†4.; ROSEBOROUGH, M. M., (1970), p. 78; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): pp. 201-202; MOSSÉ, F., *A Handbook of Middle English*, London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1952, p. 83; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), pp. 120-121.
[78] OED, **it, *pron.***, I.1.a..

eventually shortened. This shift from /ɛ:/ to /e/ when before a single consonant involves a large group of words and is very difficult to place in time. Nevertheless it can be argued that most of them underwent vowel shortening between the 15th and the 16th c..[79]

7. i. MODUR: 'mother', <OE *modur*. The process of postvocalic /d/ turning into /ð/ when before /r/ or /ər/ takes place over a long period, as spellings with <d> were still in use until the 17th c.. Although other grammarians place the beginning of this phenomenon in the 15th c.—this is due to many <th> spellings for earlier <d> appearing late—Dobson records spellings from the 15th c. onwards. The various stages of the phonetic change—confirmed by the spelling <dth> found in northern areas—might have been [də(r)] > [dd] > [dð] > [ð]. EME vowel /o:/ was identical to LOE /o:/ but underwent raising to /u:/ in the 15th c. and was eventually shortened to /u/ in EModE, although this might have already taken place in ME—historical long forms were more frequent at that time. In the Elizabethan period, high vowels tended to be slightly lowered, therefore /u/ developed into /ɣ/ or /ʊ/ in the middle of the 17th c. before reaching its current realisation /ʌ/ in the latter half of the century. [80]

7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE: qwene: 'queen', <EME *kwene* <OE *cwen*. <k> starts to be used in ME to avoid confusion with French /tʃ/ <c> before a high vowel in initial position. Later, <qu> entered for OE <cw>. Here there seems to be an intermediate stage <qw> between OE <cw> and ME <qu>. LOE /e:/ remained unchanged in EME and underwent narrowing to /i:/ in LME reaching

[79] OED, **heaven, *n.***, 1.a; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 45, 62, 69-70, 76-77, 86-87, 210-211; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 101-102, 252.
[80] OED, **mother, *n.*[1]**, I.2.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 171, 188, 208-209, 213, 234.

its final and current realization[81]; bytwene: 'straight', <OE *bitweonum.* The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[82]

8. i. ARUNDE: 'message', <OE *ærende, arunde* (now obs.). LOE /æ:/ is shortened in EME resulting in /Ɛ:/ when preceding two unstressed syllables. <e> was used to represent the new phoneme. [83]

9. i. SEMELY: 'fair, beautiful', also ME *semliche* (now obs.). [84]

9. ii. SYGHT / 12. i. MYGHT: syght: 'sight', <OE *sihð*[85]; myght: 'power', <OE *meaht*. For the vowel development of both words and the rhyme, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.[86]

10. FRE / 11. BE: fre: 'generous', <EOE *freoh*, ME–16[87]; be: 'be', <OE *beon*. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.[88]

12. MOST OF MYGHT: 'the most powerful'.

13. i. WALKEN: 'walk, wander', <OE (strong, 7th class) *wealcan – weolc – weolcon – gewealcen*; (weak, 2nd class) *wealcian – wealcede – gewalcud*. In OE the strong verb is found much more often than the weak one but this is probably only a recording accident. The strong preterite survived into the 15th c. before being completely substituted by the weak one. The ending in *-en* is a feature of the verbs in the Midlands dialects. Since the 12th c., the new ending

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[81] OED, **queen, *n.***, I.6.a.; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 251; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 187-188.
[82] OED, **between, *adv.***, B.1.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 472. ii. QWENE / 473. BE-TWENE.
[83] OED, **errand, *n.***, †1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 69-70, 98-99.
[84] OED, **seemly, *adj.***, 1.a.; MED, 1..
[85] OED, **sight, *n.*[1]**, I.†3..
[86] OED, **might, *n.*[1]**, 1.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 400. SYȝTH / 401. MYȝTH.
[87] OED, **free, *adj.***, A.III.17.a.; MED, 2b..
[88] OED, **be, *v.***, II.4.a.; MED, 3.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 477. FRE / 480. BE, 789. BE / 792. FRE, 883. BE / 884. FRE.

was used for the 3rd pers. plur. and is probably an analogic extension of the ending of the preterite-present verbs in the plural. It was introduced to separate the 3rd person singular and plural, as the OE endings *-eþ* and *-aþ* merged at some point and were therefore indistinguishable. In the 15th c. the sequence /alC/ was affected by the development of a transition glide /u/, thus producing the diphthong /au/. Later on, ME /au/ and its LME continuation /ɒu/ went back to a monophthongal sound, /ɔ:/, which continues down to ModE without relevant changes. As for dark /l/, the pronunciation with /l/ survived into the 17th c., but it is quite possible that the phenomenon was already advanced by the end of the LME period, therefore in the 15th. The process consists in two stages: (1) the vocalisation of /l/ to /u/ and (2) its coalescence with the preceding /u/. /uł/ followed by a velar or labial was the context in which the loss of /l/ occurred without the addition of lenght. [89]

13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE: LOE /i:/ passed unchanged into EME. For the diphthongization process due to the Great Vowel Shift, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[90]

15. i. MONY: 'many', also ME *moni*, *monie* <OE *moni-* (inflected form). In ME the form most often recorded is with <a>. Other two forms, with <e> or <o>, are recorded: the former belonged to southern areas but was found only in scattered locations; the latter is recorded in a wide band stretching from

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[89] OED, **walk, *v.***, I.1.b.; MED, 2.a.b.; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 108; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 192-193, 196, 205, 220; Pyles and Algeo [T. and J., (1982): p. 178] explain the phenomenon of the loss of /ł/ with the merging of ME /ɑl/ and /ɑu/ into /ɑu/ and becoming /ɔ:/.

[90] WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 94-95; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 239-240. The rhyme occurs also on ll. 166. ii. SYDE / 167. WYDE, 256. ii. FER AND WYDE / 257. SYDE.

Lancashire towards the West and into the South-West reaching Somerset and also in the North of England and in southern Scotland. [91]

15. ii. LONDE / 18. SONDE: londe*:* 'lands', <OE, ME16 *lond.* Strong neuter noun. OE /ɑ:/ before <nd> became /ɔ:/ in ME in all dialects except in the North where the sound was centralised in /a/. The northern variant spread to all other dialects in the following centuries and reflects the current pronunciation[92]; *sonde* 'sand', <OE *sand*, *sond.* Strong feminine noun. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[93]

16. i. HER: 'their', also ME *here* <OE *hiera, hira.* 3rd pers, plur. pronoun. ME personal pronouns continue to retain OE distinctions of number, gender, person and case and were used in their genitive form in place of modern possessives. By the time the romance was written, there was a strong variability in the usage and occurrence of personal pronouns, according to dialects and areas: in southern areas, OE *h-* forms were the most used, whereas the Scandinavian *th-* forms started to spread southwards from northern and Midland areas, which had hosted the Danelaw settlements since the 9th c.. The *th-* forms supplanted the Anglo-Saxon ones and completely replaced them everywhere in EModE in the 15th c..[94]

17. RYGHTWES: 'righteous', <OE *ryhtwies.*[95]

19. i. WHO-SO: 'whoever', also ME *hwase,* arch. .[96]

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[91] OED, **many, *adj.***, A.1.b..
[92] OED, **land, *n.*[1]**, 3.a..
[93] OED, **sand, *n.*[2]**, 3.a.; FISIAK, J., (1968): pp. 33-34. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 331. LOND / 332. ii. SOND.
[94]MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), pp. 156-157; FISIAK, J., (1968): pp. 88-89; BRUNNER, K., (1963): pp. 60-61; SINGH, I., (2005): pp.119-120; ROSEBOROUGH, M. M., (1970), p. 70.
[95] OED, **righteous, *adj.***, A.1.a..

19. ii. STOUNDE: 'while', <OE *stund,* n., now obs.[97]

19. iii. DWELLE / 20. ii. TELLE: dwell 'stop, linger', <OE *dwellan – dwealde,* weak verb of the 1st class[98]*;* telle 'tell', <OE *tellan – tealde – getealde,* weak verb of the 1st class. OE /e/ in the present stem became /ɛ/ in the 12th c. still the current pronunciation. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ/.[99]

20. MYKYLLE: 'much', <OE *mycel*, now rare*.* <y> developed in two different ways. In the North and East Midlands the unrounding of LOE /y/ to /i/ started in the 11th c. but the vowel temporarily remained unchanged in the West Midlands areas and in the South. Here, before /tʃ/ and after labials, it started to be partly unrounded to EME /u/ by the 12th c.. High vowels had the tendency to be lowered during the Great Vowel Shift, therefore ME /u/ turned into EModE /ʊ/ in the middle of the 17th c.. Nevertheless it is very difficult to say when exactly it became completely unrounded in its way to its current pronunciation with /ʌ/, as some Londoners apparently already realised it this way as early as the beginning of the 16th c.. The palate-alveolar stop /k/ became the affricate in LOE when between front vowels, therefore /tʃ/. In the neighbourhood of /tʃ/, <l> and <ll> were often dropped. The northern variant of *mycel* had /k/ instead of the affricate.[100]

20. ii. MYRGHT: 'mirth', <OE *mirhþ.*[101]

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[96] OED, **whoso, *pron.***, 1..
[97] OED, **stound, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..
[98] OED, **dwell, *v.***, 5..
[99] OED, **tell, *v.***, I.*2.a.; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 58-59.
[100] OED, **mickle, *adj.***, A.I.1.c.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 53, 82-83, 142, 213, 234.
[101] OED, **mirth, *n.***, †1.a..

21. i. MORNYNG: ‘mourning’, <OE *murnan*, ‘to be sorrowful or troubled’, originally a strong verb but weak inflections were already attested in OE.[102]

21. ii. A-MONGE / 24. i. SONGE: a-monge: ‘above all’, <OE *on gemange.* The replacement of the preposition *on* with the unstressed prefix *a-* testifies to the reduction occurring during LOE in unstressed syllables[103]*;* songe: ‘poem’, <OE *song.* EOE /ɑ/ underwent lengthening before the group /ng/. In the passage to EME, the lengthened vowel became rounded reaching /ɔ:/ in all areas except for the North, where it was fronted to /a:/. LME /ɔ:/ was shortened before <ng> at the end of the 14th c. and underwent unrounding becoming more open in EModE. At that time, with /ɒ/, it reached the current pronunciation. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[104]

25. i. FADYR: ‘father’, <OE *fæder.* EME /a/ underwent lengthening in the passage to EModE due to its position before the fricative [ð].It is at the end of the 18th c. that /a:/ was retracted to /ɑ:/ due to the Great Vowel Shift, reaching its modern realisation. For the process involving *d*, see 7. i. MODUR above. [105]

25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE: emperour: ‘emperor’, <OF *emperere* <Latin *imperator.* Jordan records the last vowel as a long <u>.[106]*;* towre: ‘fortress’, <OE *torr* <Latin *turris.* Welna records the word among French loanwords without stress shift having long <u> in EME. Subsequently the Great Vowel Shift turned it into a diphthong which became [əʊə] in EModE because of

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[102] OED, **mourning, *n.*[1]**, I.2..
[103]OED, **among, *prep.***, A.I.4.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 40, 51, 145, 151.
[104] OED, **song, *n.***, 2.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 40, 100, 151-152, 214.
[105] OED, **father, *n.***, 1.a; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 211, 236.
[106] OED, **emperor, *n.***, I.3.a.; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 203.

the presence of /r/. Later on in the 18th c., the first element of the triphthong /əʊə/ was retracted and lowered to /ʌ/ and further to /a/ later in the 19th c., reaching its current pronunciation. The rhyme here rests on /u:/.[107]

26. i. CASTELLE: 'castle, fortress', <OE *castel* <Latin *castellum*. The word was taken into English at two different times: before 1000, meaning 'village' or 'military camp'; later from Old Northern French with a meaning stretching from 'fortified building' to 'fortress', 'stronghold'. In LME /a/ was lengthened to EModE /a:/ when followed by a fricative in consonantal clusters as well. The cluster <st> was in the same period simplified in its pronunciation, /t/ remaining only in the spelling and being lost in the realisation of the word. The vowel eventually reached its current pronunciation at the end of the 18th c. when /a:/ was retracted to /ɑ:/ due to the Great Vowel Shift as in 25. i. FADYR.[108]

27. NOME / 30. NONE: nome: 'name', <OE *noma.* In EOE, the back vowel /a/ used to be expressed with <o> in many dialects and its realisation was /ɔ/. In the 10th c. <o> was replaced by <a>, possibly hinting at the lowering happening at the time in most OE dialects .LOE /a/ was lengthened in open syllables in the first half of the 13th c. and during the 15th c. /a:/ developed to /æ:/, since it was fronted and raised because of the Great Vowel Shift. LME /æ:/ was raised to /ɛ:/ at the beginning of the 16th c. and for some time in the same century it coalesced with the ME phoneme /ɛ:/—whose further development would later be /i:/. At the beginning of the 18th c. the narrowing which involved the vowel was complete and the new phoneme /e:/ set a balance in the long vowel

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[107] OED, **tower, *n.*[1]**, I.2.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 115-116, 224, 238.
[108] OED, **castle, *n.***, II.3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 211, 227, 236.

system. It lasted until the 19th c. when /e:/ was diphthongized to /eɪ/, i.e. the current pronunciation[109]; none: 'no one', <OE *nan*. Negative form of *one*, made up by the negative adverb *ne* and the article *an*. Starting from EME, this pronoun is a particular development of the numeral article, standing for 'some one' or 'a person'. LOE /ɑ:/ was fronted to /a:/ in the North and in the Midlands and in the South it was raised and became rounded during the 12th c., reaching /ɔ:/. The spelling also changed—it was expressed with <o> in the South and in the Midlands and with <a> in the North. In EME it was further narrowed to /o:/, probably due to the influence of a prothetic /w/ before /ɔ:/[110]. In the 15th c. /o:/ was raised to /u:/. Between the 15th and the 16th c., the shortening wave affected also vowels before /n/, therefore *none* is supposed to have been realised as [nun] before being unrounded to /ʊ/ in the first half of the 17th c. reaching its current pronunciation with /ʌ/ by the end of the same century. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[111]

28. i. HADDE: 'had', preterite of the verb *haue* <OE *habban – hæfde – hæfed,* weak verb of the 3rd class. The verb underwent various stages of weakening mostly due to its stressless position in sentences, both in principal and in auxiliary positions. In ME the *habb-* forms were gradually reduced to *hav-* by levelling and at length the labiodentals *f* and voiced variant *v* were also lost when followed by a consonant, hence *ha-st*, *ha-th*, *ha-s*, *ha-d.* OE /æ/ was lowered to /a/ when entering EME approximately from around 1100 onwards

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[109] OED, **name, *n.***, A.I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 50, 78-79, 190, 217-218, 238, 243-244; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 47.
[110] Prothetic /w/ was added before /o:/ as well. The word *one* shared the development of vowel in *none* but also kept the prothetic semivowel in its current pronunciation /wʌn/. [WELNA, J., (1978): p. 147].
[111] OED, **none, *pron.***, A.2.a.; MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), p. 209; WELNA, J., (1978): pp.100, 160, 188, 208, 213, 234.

and consequently started to be expressed with <a> from even earlier. In about 1500, /a/ started to palatalise to /æ/, reaching its current pronunciation. [112]

28. ii. HALLYS: 'pavilions, halls', also ME *halle* <OF *hale,* 'covered market place'.[113]

28. iii. BOWRYS / 29. ii. FLOWRYS: bowrys: 'bowers', <OE *bur.* LOE /u:/ did not undergo any phonological changes in the passage to EME but in ME it started to be spelt with <ou> or <ow>—therefore as *boure* (about 1300) and *bower* (about 1500)— possibly through the influence of French. ME /u:/ developed into the triphthong [əʊə] because of the influence of /r/ in the 16th c. and by the 18th the starting point was lowered and retracted to /ʌ/ before reaching its current pronunciation with /ɑʊ/ as early as the beginning of the 17th c. in the North and everywhere else at the beginning of the 19th c.[114]; flowrys: 'flowers', also ME *flur(e* <OF *flur.* Presumably borrowed from Norman French, the vowel entered ME as /u:/ and shared the same development as /u:/ in *bowrys*. The rhyming vowel is /u:/.[115]

29. i. FRYTHES: 'fields, pastures', also ME *fyrth* <OE *(ge)fyrhðe.* Strong neuter noun.[116]

31. LADY / 32. SEMELY: lady: 'lady', <OE *hlæfdie.* The two syllables syncopated provoking the shortening and lowering of /æ:/ to /a/ in the passage

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[112] OED, **have, *v.***, I.*1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 87-88, 143, 213; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 54, 150, 194; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 140.
[113] OED, **hall, *n.*[1]**, 3..
[114] OED, **bower, *n.*[1]**, 3.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 103-104, 224, 238, 244.
[115] OED, **flower, *n.***, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 105, 116. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 63. BOWRE / 66. FLOWRE.
[116] OED, **frith, *n.*[2]**, 2..

to EME. After the syncope, the vowel in open syllable underwent lengthening to /a:/ in all dialects. In the 15th c. with the Great Vowel Shift, the vowel was fronted and raised going back to the level of /æ/ but preserving its length. At the beginning of the 16th c. it reached EModE /ɛ:/, which already existed in ME but the two phonemes did not share their later development. The narrowing occurring in the 17th c. led to /e:/ which was temporarily absent from the vowel system of EModE because of the raising of ME /e:/ to /i:/. At the beginning of the 18th c. this new /e:/ was widely accepted and it later underwent diphthongization in the 19th c., reaching its current realisation /eɪ/. Nowadays, the phoneme seems to be undergoing a process of smoothing, therefore going back to /e:/; semely: for the meaning, see 9. i. SEMELY above. The rhyming vowel is /æ/.[117]

33. BONE / 36. NONE: bone: 'bone' <OE *ban*[118]; none: 'no one'. For the rhyme, see 27. NOME / 30. NONE above.[119]

34. i. HETTE: 'was called', <OE *hatan – heht – hehton – gehaten*, 'to call, to name', strong verb of the 7th class. The verb in OE preserved its medio-passive voice until later than all the other Germanic languages: it was presumably in ME that the verb started to be exclusively active in form, although keeping also its passive sense. Later the passive sense became prevalent and supplanted the active in usage. As for the forms, after losing its passive forms, the present stem disappeared and the past tense—which had an old reduplicated form and a contracted one *het*—was substituted by *hight* (through *heȝt, hiht*) and *hete*

[117] OED, **lady, *n.***, I.1.d.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 68-69, 79, 190, 217, 238, 243.
[118] OED, **bone, *n.***, I.1.a..
[119] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 735. BONE / 738. NONE.

(through *het, heet*). In ME its inflection had become *hote*, *hēt* or *hight*, *hote(n.* Through the centuries the verb was affected by levelling and various forms of analogy which eventually led to the form *hight*, used nowadays only in literary language as a past simple and a past participle, and *heighted*, used as a past participle in some dialects.[120]

34. ii. EMPERES / 35. GOODNESSE: emperes: 'empress', also ME *emperess(e* <OF *emperesse*[121]*;* goodnesse: 'virtue', <OE *godnes.*[122] The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

37. MANNE / 38. ÞANNE: manne: 'man', <OE *manna, monn.* The back vowel /a/ in the context +/N/ of words of Germanic origin developed to dark /ɔ:/ and was expressed by <o> until the 10th c., when it started to be written <a>, possibly reflecting the then ongoing process of lowering of the vowel which became /a/ in the 15th c.[123]; þanne: 'at that time', <OE *þanne, þonne, þænne*. In the 15th c. it was reduced to *þen* and subsequently spelt *then*, which influenced the spelling of the conjunction *than* during the 16th c., until the 17th when the conjunction and the adverb eventually differentiated into *then*, adv. and *than,* conj.. The rhyming vowel is /a/.[124]

39. i. ÞER-TO: 'also', <OE *þær to,* now form. or arch..[125]

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[120] OED, **hight, *v.*[1]**, II.5.a..
[121] OED, **empress, *n.*[1]**, 1..
[122] OED, **goodness, *n.***, 1.a..
[123] OED, **man, *n.*[1]**, II.4.d.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 50, 180-181.
[124] OED, **then, *adv.***, I.1.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 751. ÞANNE / 752. MAN, 949. ÞEN / 950. MAN.
[125] OED, **thereto, *adv.***, 3..

39. ii. WYGHT / 42. ii. DYGHT: wyght: 'coureageous', arch. (in use until the late 19th c.), also ME *wiht*[126]*;* dyght: 'govern', see 3. iii.. For the rhyme and the development of the vowel, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.

40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE: þyng: 'circumstances', <OE *ðing*. Strong neuter noun. The unchanged plural is a feature of its declension which survived in the South in ME together with the analogical plural in *-s*. After the unrounding, <y> was equal in value to <i> and since the latter half of the 13th c. it started to be written for /ɪ/. In an *-ng* context, shortness prevails[127]; ȝynge: 'the young', <OE *ging.* The form with /ɪ/—a particular case of the unrounding of *y* > *i* due to the influence of the preceding palatal sound <ȝ>—is a typical southern variant. The rhyme here rests on /ɪ/.[128]

42. KOWTH: 'could', <OE *cunnan,* 'to know, to know how, to be mentally able'*,* preterite-present verb of the 3rd class. These verbs have in common an original preterite form used as present tense. The OE inflection was *can* for the 1st and 3rd person*, canst* for the 2nd*, cunnon* for the plural*, couþe* for the preterite. Analogy is very important in the history of this verb: firstly, because the new preterite *coude* was formed by analogy with the weak preterites in *-de* in the ME period; secondly, the <l> we find in the modern past tense *could* was inserted by analogy with *should* and w*ould* in the 16th c. and is therefore non-etymological.[129]

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[126] OED, **wight,** ***adj.***, A.1.a..
[127] OED, **thing,** ***n.*****[1]**, I.4.a.; JORDAN, R. (1974): pp. 62-63, 67-68.
[128] OED, **young,** ***adj.***, A.1.a.; JORDAN, R. (1974): p.70. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 64. THYNGE / 65. ȝYNGE, 379. ÞYNG / 380. ȝYNGE, 568. ÞYNGE / 569. ȝYNGE, 724. ÞYNG / 725. ȝYNGE.
[129] OED, **can,** ***v.*****[1]**, II.4.a.; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 121; ROTA, F., (1951), p. 462; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 157.

43. LYUE / 44. ii. WYFE: lyue: 'life', <OE *liif*[130]; wyfe: 'wife', <OE *wif*, strong noun. For the rhyme and the pronunciation, see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE above.[131]

44. BE-GETEN: 'generated, born', <OE *begit-an – begate – begeten.* From the beginning this verb had an open *e* in the present stem and therefore followed the conjugation of the 4th strong class (*e-a-o* series). In the 16th c., the past tense was often *begot*, because of the assimilation of the past participle form and from the 17th c. onwards, the two forms eventually merged. The past participle *gotten* is almost obsolete in BrE, whereas it is still very common in AmE.[132]

45. BRYGHT / 48. SYGHT: bryght: 'bright', <OE *beorht,* now arch.[133]; syght: 'sight', for the etymology, see 9. ii. SYGHT above. For the rhyme and the vowel development, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.[134]

46. i. FOR SOÞE: 'in truth', <OE *forsóð.* Made up by the preposition *for* and the neuter noun *soð,* used up to the first half of the 17th c. with the meaning of 'truth, verity'. [135]

46. ii. ÞE / 47. EMARE: þe: 'you', <OE *ðe.* For the usage of the 2nd person singular pronoun, see 2. i. ÞOU above. The vowel in *thee* developed as the one

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[130] OED, **life, *n.***, I.1.a..
[131] OED, **wife, *n.***, 2.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 595. ii. WYFE / 596. LYFE.
[132] OED, **beget, *v.***, 2.a..
[133] OED, **bright, *adj.***, A.3..
[134] OED, **sight, *n.*[1]**, I.†3.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 697. BRYTH / 698. SYGHT.
[135] OED, **forsooth, *adv.***, 1.†a..

in 7. ii. QWENE[136]; Emare: the proper name of the main character. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

49. BORN / 50. BORNE: born: 'born', <OE *beran – bær – bæron – boren*, strong verb of the 4th class. LOE /o-/ was lengthened and retracted to EME /ɔ:/ when before /r/. The vowel reached EModE unchanged because of the influence of /r/ which blocked the raising of the vowel, the normal development with the Great Vowel Shift. Moreover, /r/ influenced /ɔ:/ which was gradually reduced and lost, leaving as a trace an indefinite vowel sound, favouring the diphthong [ɔə]., an allophone of /o/. The current pronunciation is recorded for the first time towards the end of the 18th c.. The diphthong had by then monophtongized to /ɔ:/; borne: 'born'. The rhyme rests either on /o/ or /ɔ:/.[137]

51. ÞOO / 54. GOO: boo: 'at the time', <OE *þa.* The adverb was originally a case-form of the stem *þa-* from which *the* and *that* derive: it was either the accusative singular feminine or an unstressed form of the original accusative masculine[138]; goo: 'walk', <OE gan. The OE inflections are: present tense *ga*, past participle *gegan*. It originally did not have a past tense, therefore it was integrated with *eode* which was an extension of a lost synonymous form in Gothic, with the suffix for the past tense of weak verbs. Around the 15th c. the past tense was substituted once again with the past tense of the verb *wend* ('to alter the position or direction of'), which had become in the meantime a synonym of *go*. /ɑ:/ was rounded and raised to /ɔ:/ from LOE to EME in the

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[136] OED, **thee, *pron.***, A.I.1.b..
[137] OED, **bear, *v.*[1]**, IV.43.a.; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 156; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 80, 216, 236.
[138] OED, **tho, *adv.***, 1.a..

South and in the Midlands, more precisely in the 12th c.. In the North it was fronted instead to /a:/. The new vowel was represented as <a> in the North and <o> or <oo> everywhere else. /ɔ:/ was narrowed to /o:/ in the passage to EModE but surely before the monophthongization of LME /ɒu/ to EModE /ɔ:/, as the two phonemes did not merge. In the 19th c. /o:/ diphthongized to /oʊ/ but *go* reached its current pronunciation later in the century when the diphthong was centralized and lowered to /əʊ/ in Southern BrE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[139]

52. LADYE / 53. ii. DYE: ladye: 'lady'. For *ladye*, see 31. above; dye: 'die', <EME *deȝen, deghen.* Weak verb of the 1st class. The verb is not attested in OE so it is thought to have disappeared in EOE and been re-adopted in EME either from Old Norse but more probably from some OE dialects, where the verb *diegan*, *degan* is attested. *Deȝen, deghen* entered EME regularly as *deye* but in the 14th c. *deghe* was narrowed to *diȝe*, *dighe* from which the later *dye, die. Die* is one of those rare not French loanwords where ME /e:/ nonetheless underwent narrowing to /i:/ possibly in the first half of the 15th c.. For the further development of the vowel, see 6. LYGHTE above. The rhyme here rests on /i:/.[140]

53. GAN: also ME *gin – gann – gunnon – gunnen*, strong verb of the 3rd class, arch.. Used in a weakened sense as an auxiliary verb to form a periphrastic preterite.[141]

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[139] OED, **go,** ***v.***, I.†1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 100-101, 218-219, 244. The verb can be found also on ll. 195. GON and 200. GOTH. The same rhyme occurs in 955. GO / 956. ÞO.
[140] OED, **die,** ***v.*****[1]**, I.*1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp.181-182.
[141] OED, **† gin,** ***v.*****[1]**, 1.a..

55. GENT / 56. SENTE: gent: 'polite', <OF *gentil*. The word underwent a stress shift from OF to ME and entered it with the vowel /e/[142]; sente: 'sent', <OE *sendan*, weak verb of the 1st class. The inflection of the verb was as follows: 3rd person singular *sendeþ*, past tense *sende,* past participle *sended*. The syncope in the past tense occurred in OE in verbs with short stems ending in *d, t* or *ʒ* and in verbs with long stems and was extended to the past participle in ME. Furthermore, in the same period verbs ending in *-nd, -ld* and *-rd* started to have <t> instead of <d>; later it occurred also to verbs with longer stems ending in <n>, <m>, <l>, <r> or <v> (e.g. *delen* > *delt*). From EOE to LOE there was vowel lengthening in the sequence /end/ but the shortness was restored in this context in EME without further changes. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[143]

57. ABRO / 60. MOO: Abro: the proper name of Emaré's governess; moo: 'more', <OE *mara.* LOE /ɑ:/ became rounded and was raised to /ɔ:/ in ME. During the LME period, in an +/r/ context /ɔ:/ was narrowed to /o:/ following what happened in every other position. The loss of /r/ gave birth to a centring diphthong of the [ɔə] quality which finally monophthongized to /ɔ:/ towards the end of the 18th c.. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[144]

58. i. THAWȝTH: 'taught', <OE *tæc(e)an.* Weak verb of the 3rd class. The OE past tense and past participle apparently underwent shortening in EME, therefore resulting in *tahte*, *taȝte.* From here the current *taught*, deriving from *taute*, which was already recorded in the 14th c. in some dialects. In the

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[142] OED, **gentle, *adj.***, A.3.†c.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 109.
[143] OED, **send, *v.*[1]**, I.*1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 36, 86; BRUNNER, K. (1963): pp. 79-80. The same rhyme occurs in 190. SENT / 191. GENT.
[144] OED, **more, *pron.***, B.II.3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 100-101, 222, 236.

passage to EME there was a general wave of shortening of long vowels, in which *æ* was also involved. In this case, æ underwent shortening to /a/ because before a consonant cluster. When /a/ was followed by /x/, a /u/ glide was originated, the whole cluster resulting thus in /aux/. The development from ME /au/ to LME /ɒu/ seems to be controversial because of the spelling <au, aw>, which is rather conservative and does not reflect the actual change which was occurring. /a/ underwent regressive assimilation due to the influence of /u/ and reached the level of /ɒ/ in the 15th c.. The further development of the diphthong /ɒu/ is doubtful. The monophthongization to /ɔ:/ is based on the parallel /ai/ monophthongizing to /æ:/ in the same century but in reality the change might have occurred in the North and later have spread to the South. /ɔ:/ reflects the current pronunciation.[145]

58. ii. THEWE / 59. SEWE: thewe: 'manner', <OE *þeaw*. LOE /æ:/ + /w/ turned into /ɛu/ in the transition to EME. From EME onwards, various pronunciations coexisted, i.e. /ɛu/, /eu/ and /iu/ but the most frequently used in the 15th c. seems to have been the intermediate one, /eu/. /iu/ became widely accepted only in EModE. In this period a stress shift from the first to the second element of the diphthong also occurred, a shift which became general in use only by the end of the EModE period. We have thus the rising diphthong /ju:/, which is the current pronunciation[146]; sewe: 'sew', <OE *seowan.* Weak verb of the 1st class. The EOE falling diphthong /e(:)o/ underwent a stress shift to the second element, turning into a rising diphthong. This possibly started from the

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[145] OED, **teach, *v.***, II.6.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 68-69; 127, 196, 220.
[146] BOSWORTH, J., TOLLER, T. (eds.), An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898, p. 1042, **þeaw**, II.; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 125; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 125, 195-196, 223-224.

weakening of the first element in a +/w/ context, causing the following development EOE /e(:)o/ > LOE /eo(:)/ > /o(:)/. Unexpectedly, the verb followed the group of words which had /ɔu/. The diphthong was a long lasting one, possibly, some scholars suggest, still present in the 17th c.—but it had many parallel monophthongal versions which coexisted, testified by a variety of spellings found especially in the east Midland area. In particular, the final spellings with <ow> were very early and testify to the fact that the monophthongization first occurred word-finally. The hypothesis rests on ME /ɔu/ undergoing progressive assimilation in the passage to LME /ɔ:/. In the 16th c. it was narrowed to /o:/, giving way to the diphthongization to /oʊ:/ of the early 19th c. and to the current pronunciation with [əʊ] which indicates a form without stress shift, whereas the modern spelling is a result of the unshifted OE verb *seowian,* a weak verb of the 2nd class with the same meaning.[147]. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[148]

61. SMALLE / 62. iii. SALE: smalle: 'small', <OE *smæl.* LOE /æ/ was lowered to /a/, as is evident from the spelling <a> used from the 11th c. onwards. Later, in the 15th c., the vowel in a +/ɬ/ context developed a transition glide /u/, testified by the <aul> spelling which however disappeared rather soon. The resulting diphthong /au/ was raised to /ɒu/ in the ME period. For the further development of the diphthong, see 58. i. THAWȝTH above[149]; sale: 'palace', <OE *sæl*, strong noun, now obs. The rhyming vowel is /a/.[150]

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[147] OE *seowian* > LOE *sowan* > ME *sowe.*
[148] OED, **sew, *v.*[1]**, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 47, 124, 196-197, 218-219, 244.
[149] OED, **small, *adj.***, 2.3.c.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 87, 192; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 232.
[150] OED, **† sale, *n.*[1]**, a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 459. SALE / 462. SMALE.

62. i. NORTUR: ‘nurture’, also ME *norther* <OF *norture.*[151]

62. ii. VSEDEN: ‘used’, also ME *usen – used – used,* <OF *user*.[152]

67. i. HONDES: ‘hands’, <OE *hond*. For the vowel, see 15. ii. LONDE.[153]

67. ii. SLYE / 68. SYE: slye: ‘skilled’, also ME *sleh* <Old Norse *slœg-r* (arch.). The diphthongal sounds of the Old Norse loanwords did not expand the ME vowel system when entering English because the diphthongs were replaced with the closest sounds already existing. The presence of short /e/ and the palatal fricative [ç] resulted in the development of a front glide /i/, therefore EME *sleh* had /ei/ and later /ai/. In the ME period the diphthong was monophthongized but preserved its length, turning into /i:/. For the further development of the vowel, see 6. LYGHTE above.[154]; sye: ‘saw’, <OE *seon – sæh – sawun – sewen,* strong verb of the 5nd class. *Sye* is one of the very numerous alternative spelling of the preterite singular of the verb. LOE /æ/ was lowered and retracted to /a/ when entering ME. For the further development of the vowel, see 58. i. THAWȝTH above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[155]

69. i. MENSKE: ‘dignity’, also ME *menke* <Old Norse *mennska* ‘humanity’, now *mense*, obs., except in Scottish.[156]

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[151] OED, **nurture, *n.***, 1.a..
[152] OED, **use, *v.***, II.8.a..
[153] OED, **hand, *n.*[1]**, I.*1.a..
[154] OED, **sly, *adj.***, A.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 127, 133, 156.
[155] OED, **see, *v.***, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 87.
[156] OED, **† mensk, *n.***, 1.a..

69. ii. HONOUR / 72. EMPEROUR: honour: 'honour', also ME *onur* <OF *onor* <Latin *honor*.[157] For the rhyme, see 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE above.[158]

70. WE / 71. FAYR AND FRE: we: 'we', <OE *we*, 2nd pers. plur. pronoun. For the history of pronouns, see 16. i. HER and 2. i. ÞOU above. The vowel developed as the one in 7. ii. QWENE[159]; fayr and fre: 'of noble appearance', now arch. and poet.. For the etymology of the word and the rhyme, see 10. FRE / 11. BE above.[160]

73. BLODE / 74. GODE: blode: 'temper', <OE *blod*, strong neuter noun of the a-stem. LOE long back /o:/ reached unchanged EME from LOE and was raised to /u:/ in the 15th c. because of the Great Vowel Shift. With <d> in postvocalic position, the vowel underwent shortening between ME and EModE—it seems that the process was completed not earlier than 1640. In the case of *blood* (and also *flood, done)* though, the shift must have taken place quite early, as the vowel participated in the lowering of LME /u/ to EModE /ʌ/, which occurred in the latter half of the 17th c. at the latest[161]; gode: 'virtuous', <OE *god*. *Good* shares the vowel development of *blood* until probably the late 17th c. /ʊ/, the current pronunciation. Delabialization occurred only when the back vowel was

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[157] OED, **honour | honor, *n.***, 3.a..
[158] The same rhyme occurs in 178. EMPEROUR / 179. HONOUR, 991. EMPEROUR / 992. ii. HONOUR, 1003. EMPEROUR / 1004. HONOUR.
[159] OED, **we, *pron.***; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 187-188.
[160] OED, **free, *adj.***, A.I.3.a..
[161] OED, **blood, *n.***, III.11.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 101-102, 188, 208-209, 233-234.

preceded by a labial (e.g. *blood, flood*) or a semivowel (as in *wonder*). The rhyming vowel is /o:/.[162]

75. THYNGE / 78. PLAYNGE: thynge: see 40. ÞYNG above; playnge: 'playing', <OE *plægian – plægade* (past tense and past participle), weak verb of the 3rd class. The uncertain origin of the verb and the numerous different forms recorded make it very difficult to determine its original type and the conjugation to which it belonged. LOE /e(:)j/ turned into a new diphthong /ei/ in EME. Not much later though, the first element was lowered and the diphthong became /ai/. This process was completed in the 14th c.. There are two hypotheses concerning the passage from ME /ai/ to the monophthong /æ:/. The first is that at the end of the 15th c. the reflexes of ME /ai/ and /a:/ temporarily coexisted at the stage of /æ:/ in the language of the lower classes, whereas an oblique diphthong /æi/ was used by those who could read. The second hypothesis is that the /æi/ usage was limited to the north Midlands and the North, while in the South and south Midlands the diphthong /ai/ stayed longer, reaching /æ/ in the 18th c. after an intermediate passage through /ei/. For the further development of the vowel, see 27. NOME above. The two words do not rhyme.[163]

76. DEDE / 77. WEDDEWEDE: dede: 'dead', <OE *dead.* LOE /æ:/ was raised and fronted in EME, thus becoming /ɛ:/. Later on, between the 15th and the 16th c. the vowel was shortened when it was before a single consonant and raised to /e/[164]; weddewede: 'widowhood', <OE *widewanhad.* The rhyming vowel is /e/.[165]

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[162] OED, **good, *adj.***, II.5.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 101-102, 234-235.
[163] OED, **play, *v.***, II.11.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 120, 161-162, 190-191.
[164] OED, **dead, *adj.***, A.I.*1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 98-99, 210-211.

79. WHYLE / 80. CESYLE: whyle: 'while', <OE *hwil.* OE /i:/ reached ME unchanged. For the development of the vowel, see 6. LYGHTE above[166]; Cesyle: 'Sicily'. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.

81. WENDE / 84. HENDE: wende: 'went', <OE *wendan – wende – gewend,* 'to alter the position or direction of; to turn (something) round or over', weak verb of the 3rd class. The forms of the past tense and the past participle with the voiced variant *-t* appeared about 1200 and were used beside the *-d* forms until 1500, when they started to be regarded as the usual preterite of the verb.[167] Eventually, when *went* replaced the old preterite forms of to *go* (*eode, ȝeode*) in the reflexive and in the intransitive senses, *wend* acquired the new form *wended.* LOE /e:/ underwent shortening in ME[168]; hende: 'politely', adv., aphetic form of OE *gehende*, adj., 'near, convenient'. For the rhyme, see 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.[169]

82. BROWGHT / 83. ii. WROGHT: browght: 'brought', <OE *bringan – brohte – broth,* weak verb of the 1st class. To explain the development from LOE /ox/ to ModE /ɔ:t/, it seems plausible that EME /ɔu/ had a variant [ɒu] when before /xt/, which joined the later development of ME /au/ (see 58. i. THAWȝTH above.). The loss of /x/ is a possible result of its vocalisation to /w/[170]; wroght: 'manufactured', <OE *wyrcan – worhte – geworht,* weak verb of the 1st class. The inflection from *wyrcan* would be **worch* but the substitution of *k* for *ch*

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[165] OED, **widowhood, *n.***, 1.a..
[166] OED, **while, *n.***, I.1.c.; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 28.
[167] For the general behaviour of the alternation of <t> and <d> in past tenses, see 56. SENTE.
[168] OED, **wend, *v.*[1]**, II.10.a.; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 47.
[169]KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), Middle English Dictionary, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1956, vol. 4, p. 633, **hende, *adj.***, 1(b). The same rhyme occurs in ll. 184. WENDE / 185. ii. HENDE, 531. WENDE / 534. VNHENDE.
[170] OED, **bring, *v.***, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 128, 196, 202.

which occurred first in the north-midland areas about 1200 eventually produced the modern standard form *work*, possibly due to the influence of *work* n., or to Scandinavian influence. The current past tense became of common usage in about 1500 and was formed directly on the infinitive stem. After being unrounded in OE, /u/ reached unchanged EME. The spelling <o> is due to the proximity of <w>, to avoid confusion among downstrokes. In the 15th c. the high vowels (and also /e/) in a +/rC/ context gave birth to a vowel of uncertain quality but possibly very close to /əː/ or /ɜː/. The rhyming vowel is /ɔː/.[171]

83. i. WORDYLYE: 'elegantly', also ME *worþilych*.[172]

85. ii. KNYȝT / 86. RYGHT: knyȝt: 'knight', <OE *cniht.* The ME vowel derived directly from LOE /i/ and developed exactly as 3. iii. DYGHTE and 6. LYGHTE. As for the cluster /kn-/, the process of its reduction started in the 15th century mostly on a dialectal level, but it soon reached London. The reduction is a result of many intermediate stages. It could be either the result of the devoicing and affrication of /k/ to [x] and subsequent simplification of [hn] to [n̥]—a voiceless allophone of /n/ which was later re-voiced because of the influence of an adjacent vowel—or a nasalisation of /k/ to [ŋ̊], which was later fronted to [n̥]. In the 18th c. the coalescence of [n̥n] led to /n/ but a wide variety of oblique pronunciations existed at least until 1650[173]; ryght: 'immediately', <OE *rihte.* The rhyming vowel is /iː/.[174]

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[171] OED, **work,** ***v.***, I.**3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 42, 48, 92-93, 216-217. The rhyme is also present in 169. WROWGHT / 170. BROWȝT.
[172] OED, **worthily,** ***adv.***, 1.†b..
[173] OED, **knight,** ***n.***, I.4.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 82, 227-228.
[174] OED, **right,** ***adv.***, I.1.a..

87. i. SETTE: ‘set’, <OE *settan – sette – geset*, weak verb of the 1st class.[175]

87. ii. HYM: ‘himself’, <OE *him* + OE *self. Hym* used as a modern reflexive pronoun is the predominant usage until the late 15th c.. However, reflexive pronouns started to be reinforced with *self* since OE: at the beginning it was separated from the actual pronoun or possessive and was used in all cases of the personal pronoun (only 1st and 2nd person until the 15th c.). From about 1300, *self* began to be considered a noun—it was previously an adjective—therefore it could be combined with the possessive pronoun (*my self, me self*). Later the use of the personal pronouns with the nominative became rare and they started to be used as a distinct category, the reflexives.[176]

87. iii. KNE / 90. BE: kne: ‘knee’, <OE *cneow.* EOE /e:o/ monophthongized in LOE and was rounded to /ö:/ in the 11th c. as the EME orthography <eo> proves until much later. It was unrounded to /e:/ in about 1100 and in the 15th c. it underwent narrowing to /i:/ because of the Great Vowel Shift, the current pronunciation[177]; be: ‘be’. See 11. BE above. For the rhyme, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.

88. DYGHT / 89. PYGHT: dyght: ‘adorned’. For the etymology, see 3. iii. DYGHTE above[178]; pyght: ‘jewelled, set with jewels’ (now obs.), also ME *pyȝt*. For the rhyme, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.[179]

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[175] OED, **set, *v.*[1]**, XI.*†105.a.108..
[176] OED, **him, *pron.***, II.4.c.; MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), pp. 152-153; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), pp.118-119; BRUNNER, K., (1963): pp. 61-62.
[177] OED, **knee, *n.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 44-45, 97, 187-188.
[178] OED, **dight, *v.***, III.10.a..
[179] OED, **† pight, *adj.,*** 1.a..

91. RUBYES / 92. PRYS: rubyes: 'rubies', also ME *rubee* <OF *rubi* <Latin *rubinus*[180]; prys: 'value', also ME *pres*, <OF *pris* <Latin *pretium*. *Price* entered ME with front vowel /i:/ which developed as the vowel in 6. LYGHTE above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[181]

93. SE / 96. ÞE: se: 'see', for the etymology of the verb, see 68. SYE above. The vowel development is discussed in 87. iii. KNE; þe: 'you', see 46. ii. ÞE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[182]

94. i. CRAPOWTES: 'toadstones', <OF *crapaudine*.[183]

94. ii. NAKETTE / 95. SETTE: nakette: **'**agate'. Probably a variant of *achate* with a prothetic *n*[184]; sette: 'disposed', see 87. i. SETTE. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 19. iii. DWELLE / 20. ii. TELLE above.[185]

97. SONE / 98. ÞER-UPONE: sone: 'immediately', <OE *sona*. The vowel follows the development of 2. MONE[186]; þer-upone: 'upon', <OE *þær* 'there' + EME *upon* 'upon', arch. or formal. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[187]

99. SE / 102. BE: se: 'see', for the verb, see 68. SYE above. The vowel development is discussed in 87. iii. KNE; be: 'be'. See 11. BE above. For the rhyme, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[188]

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[180] OED, **ruby, *n*[1].**, A.1.a..
[181] OED, **price, *n.***, II.3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 108. The rhyme is also present in 130. RUBYES / 131. PRYSE, 139. RUBYES / 140. PRYSE.
[182] The same rhyme is also present in 141. SE / 144. ÞE.
[183] OED, **crapaudine, *n.***, †1..
[184] OED, **† nakette, *n.***.
[185] OED, **set, *v.*[1]**,VII.63.†a.. The same rhyme is present in 142. ii. NAKETTE / 143. SETTE.
[186] OED, **soon, *adv.***, I.1.a..
[187] OED, **thereupon, *adv.***,1.a..
[188] The same rhyme occurs in 135. SE / 138. BE, 355. ii. BE / 356. ii. SE.

100. i. GLYSTERYNG: ‘glittering’, <Middle Low German *glistern* ‘shine with a brilliant but tremulous light’.[189]

100. ii. STON / 101. ii. NON: ston: ‘stones’, <OE *stan*. For the development of the vowel, see 54. GOO[190]; non: ‘not’, <OE *nan.* See 30. NONE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[191]

101. i. REDY: ‘quick, prompt’, <OE ræde <EME rædi. [192]

104. i. SERTES: ‘certainly’, ME *certes* <OF *certes* <Latin *a certis, arch..[193]

103. ON HYGH / 104. ii. FAYRY: on hygh: ‘sitting on his throne’, here used as a noun, <OE *heah.* LOE /e:/ in a +/x/ developed a front glide /i/, thus turning to [eiç] in the 13th c.. In about 1500 it monophthongized to /i:/ during the Great Vowel Shift and coalesced with original ME /i:/. This was due to the vocalisation of [ç], the palatal fricative, to /j/ and to the consequent simplification of the resulting cluster /ij/ to /i:/. For the loss of final <gh>, and the development of the vowel, see 3. iii. DYGHTE and 6. LYGHTE above[194]; fayry: ‘magic, an enchantment’, also ME *feirye* <OF *faerie.*[195]

105. i. ELLYS: ‘else’, <OE *elles.*[196]

105. ii. VANYTY / 108. CRYSTYANTE: vanyty: ‘vanity’, also ME *uanite* <Latin *vanitas*[197]; Crystyante: ‘the Christian world’, also ME *cristiente* <Latin

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[189] OED, **glistering, *n.***.
[190] OED, **stone, *n.***, 7.a..
[191] OED, **none, *pron.***, A.3.a.β..
[192] OED, **ready, *adj.***, A.I.3.b..
[193] OED, **certes, *adv.***.
[194] OED, **high, *adj.***, A.IV.19.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 127, 156.
[195] OED, **fairy, *adj.***, A.†3..
[196] OED, **else, *adv.***, 4.a..

christianitas. The word had three different forms: the form *cristienté* (and the one in the text) derived from French, the more native one *cristentie* and the form *christianity* directly from Latin. Both the French and the English type were spelt with <ch> after 1500. In the 15th c., the familiarity with the language of the clergy gave birth to a 5-syllable type *cristianite* which later became *christianite, christianitie, Christianity,* supplanting the other forms by the 16th c.. The rhyming vowel is /i/.[198]

106. ÞAN / 107. NON: þan: 'at that point', see 38. ÞANNE; non: 'none', see 30. NONE. The two words here do not rhyme.[199]

109. i. AMERAYLE: 'Emir', also ME *amerail* <OF *amiral.*[200]

109. ii. DOWȝTER: 'daughter', <OE *dohtor.* See 82. BROWGHT above.[201]

109. iii. HEÞENNES / 110. WYTH-OUTEN LEES: heþennes: 'heathens, the Muslims', <OE *hæðen.* LOE /æ:/ developed to /ɛ:/ after 1100. /ɛ:/ was replaced by /i:/ at the beginning of the 18th c. and was complete after 1750. /i:/ was the sound actually used in colloquial style, instead of the more formal /ɛ:/[202]*;* wyth-outen lees: 'without', <OE *wiðutan*[203], and 'lies', <OE *lyge*, *lee* (northern dialects), strong masculine noun. The plural *lees* is typical of northern dialects. LOE /e:/ changed into /i:/ in EME when followed by /ġ/ and from the 12th c. it started to be spelt with <i, y>. In ME /i:/ underwent triphthongization through /įi/

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[197] OED, **vanity, *n.***, 3.b..
[198] OED, **Christianity, *n.***, †1..
[199] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 967. ÞAN / 968. NON.
[200] OED, **admiral, *n.***, 1..
[201] OED, **daughter, *n.***, 1..
[202] OED, **heathen, *n.*[1]**, B.1.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 98, 237.
[203] OED, **without, *prep.***, B.III.10.d..

reaching [əɪə] in the 16th c.. After that, in the 18th c. final [e] was lost and the first was lowered to /ʌ/, resulting in the diphthong /ʌɪ/. The current realisation /aɪ/ was reached in the 19th c.. The rhyme here rests on /ɛ:/.[204]

111. i. WROWȝTE: 'made', see 83. ii. WROGHT.

111. ii. PRYDE / 114. ii. A SYDE: pryde: 'satisfaction', <OE *prydo* (strong feminine), *pryde* (weak feminine). LOE /ü:/ first underwent unrounding in the North and the East Midlands about 1100, whereas /i:/ in the West Midlands is attested only from the 13th c. and one century later in the South-West. For the further development of the vowel, see 6. LYGHTE[205]; a syde: 'on one side', also ME *on syd*. For the vowel, see 14. SYDE above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[206]

112. i. PURTREYED: 'decorated', also ME *purteray – purtraid* (also past participle) <Anglo-Norman *purtraire*.[207]

112. ii. HONOUR / 113. AZOWR: honour: 'honour', see 69. ii. HONOUR above; azowr: 'lapis lazuli', also ME *azer* <OF *azur.* The spelling <ow> reflects the same development of French loanwords which entered ME with /u:/—see 28. iii. BOWRYS and 29. ii. FLOWRYS above. The rhyming vowel is /u:/.[208]

114. i. YLKE: 'same', <OE *ylca.*[209]

115. IN HONDE / 116. STONDE: in honde: 'in process', <OE *hond.* See 67. i. HONDES above[210]; stonde: 'there were', <OE *standan – stod – stodon –*

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[204] OED, **lie, *n.*[1]**, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 95-96, 121, 188, 224, 238, 244.
[205] OED, **pride, *n.*[1]**, I.5.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 95.
[206] OED, **aside, *adv.***, A.III.†8.. The rhyme is also present on ll. 340. BY-SYDE / 341. PRYDE, 747. PRIDE / 750. SYDE, 987. PRYDE / 990. SYDE.
[207] OED, **portray, *v.***, I.†1..
[208] OED, **azure, *n.***, A.1..
[209] OED, **ilk, *adj.*[1]**, 2.†b..

gestanden, strong verb of the 6th class. *Standen*, the regular form of the past participle, continued to exist until the 16th c. and was then supplanted by *stood* from the past tense. For the vowel, see 15. ii. LONDE and 18. SONDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[211]

117. i. SOWȝTE: 'sought', <OE *secan – sohte – gesoht,* weak verb of the 1st class. The normal development of this verb would be *seech* which can be found in some dialects. The current form with *k* is possibly due to the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indicative *secþ*, which follows the regular development of the palatal plosive *c* before a spirant. The reason why this was not generalised to all verbs (e.g. *teach*) is however not clear.[212]

117. ii. WYDE / 120. IN HERTE IS NOT TO HYDE: wyde: 'widely', see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE; in herte is not to hyde: 'that is the truth of it', *hyde* <OE *hydan – hidde – hyded,* weak verb of the 1st class. The current past participle *hidden* is after strong verbs and is first recorded in the 11th c.. For the development of the vowel, see 111. ii. PRYDE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[213]

118. i. WYNTER: 'winters, years', <OE sing. *winter,* plur. *winter.* The plural occurs also without inflection until 1500.[214]

118. ii. MAKYNGE / 119. ii. ENDYNGE: makynge: 'production', <OE *macung*[215]; endyng: 'completion', <OE *endian* + OE *-ende*. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE above.[216]

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[210] OED, **hand, *n.*[1]**, II.*29.f..
[211] OED, **stand, *v.***, II.*18.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 547. YN HONDE / 548. UNÞURSTONDE.
[212] OED, **seek, *v.***, I.1.a..
[213] OED, **hide, *v.***, 1.a.; KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 4, p. 709, **herte, *n.***, 2a(a).
[214] OED, **winter, *n.*[1]**, 2..

119. i. OR: 'before', also ME *hoore*, conj., now obs.[217]

121. WAS / 122. i. YDOYNE AND AMADAS: was: LOE /æ/ was lowered to /a/ in EME. In EModE /a/ was not fronted to /æ/ as had happened in any other context because prevented by the presence of /w/. Later the allophone [a] was retracted and rounded to the point of /ɒ/, again influenced by the preceding semivowel. The change was completely accepted only in the 17th c.. For the verb see 11. BE above[218]; Ydoyne and Amadas: proper nouns of the characters from an Anglo-Norman legend of the first half of the 13th c.. The rhyming vowel is /a/.

123. TREWE / 126. HEWE: trewe: 'true', <OE *treowe.* EOE /e:o/ monophthongized to /ö:/ in the 11th c. thus losing the first element; the remaining element underwent rounding. This can be inferred only from the EME spelling because the previous spelling was in use throughout OE. In EME the sound was spelled <ewe>, showing that there was unrounding of the vowel to /e/ influenced by the adjacent semivowel diphthongized to /eu/. Later the first element of the diphthong was raised to /i/ possibly due to regressive assimilation, and the result was /iu/. This phenomenon is difficult to place in time: Brunner dates it in the early 14th c.; Jordan-Crook places it in the first phase of the Great Vowel Shift in the 15th c.; Dobson claims that /iu/ was the realisation of the 14th century London dialect; finally Fisiak affirms that it took place in 1600. Before 1800 the diphthong became a rising one after a stress

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[215] OED, **making, *n.*[1]**, I.1.a..
[216] OED, **ending, *n.***, 1..
[217] OED, **or, *conj.*[2]**, C.1.†b..
[218] WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 87-89, 213, 235-236.

shift and changed into the sequence /ju:/, widely accepted in the latter half of the 17th c.. The change first occurred word-initially and later also in the other positions. The word reached its current pronunciation in the early 18th c., when the diphthong in a /C/+ context was simplified to /u:/[219]; hewe: 'appearance' now obs., <OE *hiew*. <eu> became <iu> in the 12th c. but the spelling was retained. The rhyming vowel is /eu/.[220]

124. i. HEM: 'themselves', <OE *him*, *hiom*, *heom. Hem* was the dative and accusative personal plural pronoun for all persons. In 1500 *them* and *'em* were used respectively as more and less emphatic variants and in the 15th century *them* eventually supplanted *'em* which remained in weak colloquial usage, mostly in the South. For the history of pronouns, see 16. i. HER above and for their use as reflexives see 87. i. HYM.[221]

124. ii. HONOUR / 125. TREWE-LOUE-FLOUR: honour: see 69. ii. HONOUR; trewe-loue-flour: 'Herb Paris, True Lover's Knot', <OE *treowlufu.* For *flour*, see 29. ii. FLOWRYS above. The rhyming vowel is /u:/.[222]

127. i. CARBUNKULLE: 'carbuncle', <OE *carbunculus* <OF *carbuncle* <Latin *carbunculus*.[223]

127. ii. SAFERE / 128. CLERE: safere: 'sapphire', also ME *saphyr*[224]; clere: 'bright', <OF *cler.* The word entered ME with /e:/. In LME, the weakening and

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[219] OED, **true, *adj.***, A.5.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 44-45, 125-126, 162-163, 238-239.
[220] OED, **hue, *n.*[1]**, †1.a.; WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 59.
[221] OED, **† hem | 'em, *pron.***; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), p. 106-107; SINGH, I., (2005): pp. 84-85, 119-120.
[222] OED, **true-love, *n.***, 4..
[223] OED, **carbuncule, *n.***, 1.a..
[224] OED, **sapphire, *n.***, 1.a..

later loss of /r/ left as a trace the indefinite vowel /ə/, provoking the new diphthong [ɪə] because of the presence of /r/. Moreover, the lowering influence of the trilled consonant also led to the variant /ɛ:/, as indicated by the spelling <ea>, which was however used also in words having ME /e:/, as *clear*. In fact, the spelling <ea> was for some time used in words with ME /e:/ (e.g. *clear, appear, fear* where it consolidated as the current spelling) as well as in words with LME /i:/ (e.g. *cheer, deer, steer* now having <ee>). The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[225]

128. KASSYDONYS: ‘chalcedony’, also ME *calsydoyne* <Latin *chalcedonius*.[226]

129. NEWE / 132. GLEWE: ‘new’, <OE *neow*. For the development of the vowel see 123. TREWE above[227]; glewe: ‘musical instrument’, <OE *gleow.* The rhyming vowel is /eu/.[228]

133. DYGHT / 134. ii. BRYȝT: dyght: ‘adorned’, see 3. iii. DYGHTE above[229]; bryȝt: ‘bright’, see 45. BRYGHT above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[230]

134. i. TRYSTRAM AND ISOWDE: proper nouns of the characters from a Norman (originally Celtic) 12th century legend.

136. RYGHT / 137. DYGHT: ryght: ‘sincerely’, see 86. RYGHT above[231]; dyght: see 88. DYGHT above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[232]

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[225] OED, **clear, *adj.***, A.I.1.†a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 111, 220-221.
[226] OED, **chalcedony | chalcedony, *n.***.
[227] OED, **new, *adj.***, II.7.†e..
[228] OED, **glee, *n.***, 2.†b..
[229] OED, **dight, *v.***, III.10.a..
[230] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 439. BRYGHT / 440. DYGHT.
[231] OED, **right, *adv.***, III.10.a..
[232] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 177. DYGHT / 180. ii. RYȝT, 285. ii. DYGHT / 288. RYGHT.

145. i. THRYDDE: 'third', <OE *þridda*. The metathesis /rV/ > /Vr/ in *third* appeared first in Northumbrian and became of common use only in the 16th c..[233]

145. ii. HONOUR / 146. ii. DAM BLAWNCHEFLOUR: honour: see 69. ii. HONOUR above; Dam Blawncheflour: proper name of the female character of an OF poem of the late 12th c.. In the same line we find the name of the male counterpart *Florys*.

147. BE-TWENE / 150. SHENE: be-twene: another spelling for 'between'. See 8. ii. BYTWENE above; shene: 'bright, shining', <OE *sciene*. LOE /e:/ did not undergo any change in the passage to EME but it underwent raising to /i:/ in the 15th c., reaching its current pronunciation because of the Great Vowel Shift. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[234]

148. ii. HONOUR / 149. TREWE-LOUE-FLOUR: see 124. ii. HONOUR / 125. TREWE-LOUE-FLOUR above.

151. i. KNYȝTUS: see 85. ii. KNYȝT above. For the plural in *-us* see 4. ii. DEDUS above.

151. ii. SENATOWRES / 152. VERTUES: senatowres: 'senators, high officials', also ME *senatur* <OF *senateur* <Latin *senator*[235]; vertues: 'powers', also ME *uertu* <OF *vertu.* The word underwent stress shift and entered English with /ü:/—which continued to be used by educated speakers up to EModE—and was

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[233] OED, **third,** ***adj.***, A.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 57.
[234] OED, **sheen,** ***adj.***, 2.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 95-96, 187-188. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 933. SHENE / 936. BY-TWENE.
[235] OED, **senator,** ***n.***, 1.a..

diphthongized and partially unrounded in EME, reaching the value of /iu/ and coalescing with native /iu/. In the second half of the 17th c., the diphthong underwent stress shift and became rising, turning into /ju:/. The rhyming vowel is /u:/.[236]

153. i. TO WYTE: 'to be sure', obs., <OE *witan – wise – gewiten*, originally meaning 'I have seen, hence I know', preterite-present verb of the 1st class. The original conjugation was anomalous (infinitive *wit* or *wete*; present tense: I, he *wot*; thou *wost*; we, ye, they *wite*; preterite *wist*; past participle *witen*), there were various attempts to normalize it through analogy and irregular extension of the use of some forms, resulting in a new infinitive and present-stem forms such as *wis, wist, wot*. From the preterite *wist* a new verb originated in about 1550, meaning 'to know' and in use until the end of the 19th c.[237]

153. ii. WYTHOUTEN WENE / 156. BY-TWENE: wythouten wene: 'without doubt', now obs., <OE *wen*, feminine noun[238]; by-twene: 'between'. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.

154. KORALLE / 155. ii. CRYSTALLE: koralle: 'coral', <OF *coral*[239]; crystalle: 'crystal', <OE *cristalla* <Latin *crystallum,* weak masculine noun. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[240]

155. PERYDOTES: 'garnets', also ME *peritote* <Anglo-Norman *peridou*.

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[236] OED, **virtue, *n.***, II.9.†a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 109, 132, 238-239.
[237] OED, **wit, *v.*[1]**, II.10.c(a).; SHIPLEY, J., *Dictionary of Early English,* London, Peter Owen Ltd., 1957: pp. 728-729.
[238] OED, **† ween, *n.***, 4.b..
[239] OED, **coral, *n.*[1]**, 1..
[240] OED, **crystal, *n.***, 2.a..

157. i. FOWRTHE: ‘fourth’, <OE *feowerða.* For the development of the vowel, see 123. TREWE.[241]

157. ii. OON / 158. ii. SONNE: ‘one’, <OE *aan,* see 30. NONE above; sonne: ‘son’, <OE *sunu.* LOE /u/ did not change when entering EME. For the further development of the vowel, see 7. i. MODUR above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[242]

158. i. SOWDAN: ‘sultan’, < medieval Latin *sultanus.*

159. BY / 162. STORYE: by: ‘by, next to’, <OE *be* (unaccented), *bi* (accented). In ME the preposition was written both *by* and *bi*, whereas ModE leaves *be-* as a stressless suffix and makes *by* the preposition (and adverb) in all positions and senses[243]; storye: ‘story’, also ME *storie* <OF *estorie* <Latin *historia.* The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/.[244]

160. WROWGHT /161. THOWGHT: wrowght: ‘manufactured’, see 83. ii. WROGHT; thowght: ‘thought’, <OE *ðocht,* strong masculine noun. For the rhyme, see 82. BROWGHT / 83. ii. WROGHT above.[245]

163. BY-FORN / 164. UNYKORN: by-forn: ‘in front’, <OE *biforan, beforan,* compound of OE *bi-*, prefix + *foran,* adv.. LOE /o/ reached EME unchanged and was later lengthened to /o:/ when reaching EModE. In a + /r/ context, Wright suggests that the lengthening led to the gradual weakening and loss of /r/, thus /ɔ:/; on the other hand Prins explains that /o/ was not lengthened but slightly lowered to /ɔ/ and the loss of /r/ left an indefinite vowel as a trace. The two

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[241] OED, **fourth, *adj.***, A.1..
[242] OED, **son, *n.***, 1.a..
[243] OED, **by, *prep.***, A.I.*1.a..
[244] OED, **story, *n.*[1]**, I.†1.a..
[245] OED, **thought, *n.***, I.1.a..

current realisations /ɔ:/ or /ɔə/ are alternative[246]; unykorn: 'unicorn', also ME *unicorne* <OF *unicorne.* The rhyming vowel is /o:/.[247]

165. HYE / 168. ii. YMAGERYE: hye: 'high', see 103. HYGH above; ymagerye: 'embroidery', <Anglo-Norman *ymagerye.* The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[248]

166. i. BRYDDES: 'birds', <OE *brid,* masculine noun. The metathesis operative in *bird* is the same which affected 145. i. THRYDDE.[249]

168. i. STUFFED: 'filled', <OF *estoffer*, 'to furnish, equip'.[250]

169. WROWGHT / 170. BROWȝT: see 82. BROWGHT / 83. ii. WROGHT above.

171. SYȝTE / 174. ii. MYȝTH: syȝte: 'sight', see 48. SYGHT above; myȝth: 'might', <OE *meaht.* The sequence /æɑxt/ became /ixt/ through /iext/ in EOE and the cluster entered LOE as /i:/. This process is called 'palatal umlaut' and consists in the fronting of the vowel preceding final /xt/. LOE /i:/ did not change when entering ME and then developed exactly as 3. iii. DYGHTE and 6. LYGHTE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/[251]

172. MAN / 173. WAN: man: 'man', see 37. MANNE; wan: 'won' <OE *winnan – wann – wunnon – gewinnan,* strong verb belonging to the 3rd class. The modern *won* derives from the OE plural preterite form, where LOE /u/ was spelt <o> because of the neighbourhood of <n>—but that worked also in proximity of

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[246] OED, **before, *prep.***, A.I.1.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 90-92, 216, 236-237.
[247] OED, **unicorn, *n.***, I.2..
[248] OED, **imagery, *n.***, 1.†b..
[249] OED, **bird, *n.***, 2.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 57.
[250] OED, **stuff, *v.*[1]**, 9.a..
[251] OED, **might, *n.*[1]**, 1.†b.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 46.

<m, v, w>—to avoid confusion. Both the realisation and the spelling passed to EME. From now onwards, the vowel developed as in 7. i. MODUR. The rhyme here rests on /a/.[252]

174. i. MAYSTRYE: 'ability', also ME *maiestrie* <OF *maistrie*. Subsequently it was remodelled after *master.*[253]

175. i. ȝAF: 'gave', <OE *giefan – geaf – geafon*. – *giefen*, strong verb of the 5th class. The forms with initial <g> are recorded in the north-eastern Midlands in the 13th c. but the forms with <ȝ> remained common in use up to the 15th c.. The palatal forms disappeared completely in literary language starting from 1500 but are still sometimes used in modern dialects. The g-forms, which spread first in the Midlands dialects and subsequently southwards, are possibly of Scandinavian origin, since on the one hand there is no valid hypothesis of analogy and on the other the regular forms of the infinitive in early northern texts were *gif, give*, resembling Swedish *gifva* and Danish *give*.[254]

175. ii. ME / 176. ii. IN SPECYALTE: me: 'me', <OE *me*. OE also had an accusative form *mec*, which fell into *me* (accusative and dative) in ME. The pronoun also had a weak form *ma, mah and m-* and *m'* when before vowels which anyway did not pass into ME or, better, it coalesced with the weak form of *my*, adj.. EME /e:/ underwent narrowing to /i:/ during the Great Vowel Shift[255]; in

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[252] OED, **win, *v.*[1]**, 7.d.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 92-93, 213, 234.
[253] OED, **mastery, *n.***, 4.a..
[254] OED, **give, *v.***, I.1.a..
[255] OED, **me, *pron.*[1]**, A.1.; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), pp. 54, 105; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 187-188.

specyalte: 'as a special mark of favour', also ME *specyalte* <OF *especialté.* The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[256]

176. i. BRYNGE: 'bring', see 82. BROWGHT above.

180. i. ÞONKEDE: 'thanked', <OE *þongian – þongode – geþongod,* weak verb of the 2nd class.[257]

181. ÞER / 182. WER: þer: 'there', <OE *þær , þar , þer.* LOE /æ:/ became more close when entering EME, reaching the value of /ɛ:/, which started to be represented by <e>. Later, in EModE, the sequence /ɛ:/ (+ /r/) reached the modern pronunciation [ɛə], merging with the result of LME /æ:r/, as confirmed by some spellings (e.g. <bare> for *bear*, <pare> for *pear*)[258]; wer: 'was', <EOE *uuærun*. The vowel in both words shared the same development. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/.[259]

183. PLAY / 186. WAY: play: 'amuse himself', see 78. PLAYNGE above; way: 'journey', <OE *weg*. For the development of the vowel, see 78. PLAYNGE above. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.[260]

184. WENDE / 185. ii. HENDE: wende: see 81. WENDE; hende: 'end', <OE *ende,* strong masculine noun. For the rhyme, see 55. GENT / 56. SENTE above.[261]

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[256] OED, **specialty, *n.***, I.1.†b..
[257] OED, **thank, *v.***, †1..
[258] OED, **there, *adv.***, I.*1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp, 98-100, 221.
[259] The form *wer* is recorded in the OED as a regional variant of the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. of the past indicative of the verb *to be*, in use until the 19th century. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 721. THER / 722. WERE, 784. WERE / 785. ÞER.
[260] OED, **way, *n.*[1]**, V.**34.†a..
[261] OED, **end, *n.***, II.7.a..

185. i. LEUE: ‘leave’, <OE *leaf*, strong feminine noun.[262]

187. i. REMEUETH: ‘departs’, also ME *remefe* <Anglo-Norman *remover*.[263]

187. ii. KYNG / 188. LONGYNG: kyng: ‘king’, see 1. iii. KYNG above; longyng: ‘yearning desire’, <OE *langung.* The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/.[264]

189. MAY / 192. ii. DAY: may: ‘maiden’, <OE *mæden,* strong neuter. *Maid* is one of those words which coexisted with its *-n* ending form *maiden*. In fact, early in ME, many words ending in *-n* experienced in southern texts shortening with loss of the nasal in an unstressed vowel (e.g. *game, clew, eve, morrow)*. This development is possibly due to the modifications in noun inflection of the period, when *-e* in the singular and *-en* in the plural became invariable in all grammatical cases in particular historically strong feminine and weak nouns[265]; day: ‘day’, <OE *dæȝ*. For the development of the vowel, see 78. PLAYNGE above. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.[266]

192. i. SOMERES DAY: ‘summer’s day’, <Old Frisian *sumersdey.*[267]

193. i. DYȝTE HEM: ‘get ready’, now obs. See 3. iii. DYGHTE.[268]

193. ii. IN HYE / 194. MELODYE: in hye: ‘in haste’, <OE *hih,* now obs.[269]; melodye: ‘music’, <OF *melodie.* For the rhyme, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.[270]

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[262] OED, **leave, *n.*[1]**, 2.a..
[263] OED, **remove, *v.***, 1.a..
[264] OED, **longing, *n.***, 1..
[265] OED, **maid, *n.*[1]**, I.2.a..
[266] OED, **day, *n.***, I.1.a.. The rhyme occurs also on ll. 418. ii. MAY / 419. DAY, 438. SOMERES DAY / 441. MAY, 814. DAY / 815. ii. MAY (here with the same meaning of 5. ii. MAY).
[267] OED, **summer’s day, *n.***, a..
[268] OED, **dight, *v.***, III.†11..

195. i. GON: ‘go’, see 54. GOO above.

195. ii. FARE / 198. UNDER GARE: fare: ‘far’, <OE *feor*. LOE /ö/ underwent unrounding to ME /e/ first in the East and in the North in about 1100 and in the 14th c. in the West. In the early 15th c., when followed by /r/ in the same syllable it was lowered to LME /a/, both in native words and in loanwords, which, eventually, went back to the realisation /er/ (e.g. *certain, desert,* etc.) because influenced by Latin. However these words were pronounced with /ar/ during LME. The process must have started in the North and the north Midlands in the 14th c. spreading in the South afterwards but there is no sure proof because often the orthography did not reflect this change. The further development of /a/ + /r/ is controversial. The most accredited hypothesis is that the vowel underwent lengthening to /a:/ in Shakespeare’s time and not much later a [ə] glide developed between /a:/ and /r/. At the end of the 18th c. /a:/ and its allophone [aə] were retracted to /ɑ:/, which is the ModE realisation[271]; under gare: ‘under one’s clothes’, <OE *gara,* ‘gown’, now obs. The rhyming vowel is /a/.[272]

196. BY STRETES AND BY STYE / 197. LADY: by stretes and by stye: ‘everywhere’, now obs..[273] Stye: ‘paths’, <OE stig, now obs[274]; lady: ‘lady’, see 31. above. For the rhyme, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.

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[269] OED, **haste, *n.***, II.4.a..
[270] OED, **melody, *n.***, I.1.a..
[271] OED, **far, *adv.***, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 86-87, 177, 215-216, 236.
[272] OED, **gore, *n.*²**, †2.a..
[273] OED, **street, *n.***, A.1.†c..
[274] OED, **† sty, *n.*¹**, a..

199. i. NORYSSE: ‘nurse’, also ME *nurse* <OF *nurrice.*

199. ii. ABRO / 200. ii. ALSO: Abro: see 57. ABRO above; also: ‘as well’, <OE *ealaswa.* The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[275]

200. i. GOTH: ‘goes’, see 54. GOO above.

201. CHARE / 204. THERE: chare: ‘chariot’, also ME *chiare* <OF *char* <Latin *carra*[276]; there: ‘there’, see 181. ÞER above. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/.

202. GO / 203. ii. TWO: go: ‘go’, see 54. GOO above; two: ‘two’, <OE *twa* (feminine and neuter), *twegen* (masculine; it survived only in modern *twain*, adj. and n., and *tway*, adj., arch.). LOE /ɑ:/ was rounded and raised to /ɔ:/ both in the Midlands and in the South in the 12th c.. and it was spelt <o> but sometimes also <oo, oa, o-e>. In EME the semivowel /w/ was lost when preceded by a consonant ad followed by a back vowel. However, this must have occurred after the semivowel had influenced the vowel provoking the narrowing of EME /ɔ:/ to ME /o:/. In the 15th c. it was further narrowed to /u:/, which represents the current pronunciation. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[277]

203. i. AȝEYN: ‘towards’, <OE *ongeagn*, prep., now regional and nonstandard, used in OE with dative and accusative. For the development of the vowel, see 78. PLAYNGE.[278]

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[275] OED, **also, *adv.***, A.3..
[276] OED, **† char, *n.*[2]**,1 .; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 85-86.
[277] OED, **two, *adj.***, A.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 100-101, 147, 160, 188. The rhyme also occurs on ll. 343. GO / 344. TWO.
[278] OED,**again, *prep.***, B.I.1.a..

205. LYLYE FLOUR / 206. ii. EMPEROUR: lylye flour: 'the flower of the (white) lily', see 29. ii. FLOWRYS above[279]; emperour: see 25. ii. EMPEROUR. The rhyming vowel is /u:/.

206. i. LYȝTE: 'descended', <OE *lihtan – lithe – liht,* weak verb of the 3rd class.[280]

207. LEDE / 210. STEDE: lede: 'brought', <OE *lædan – lædde – læded,* weak verb of the 3rd class. LOE /æ:/ underwent fronting and became more close reaching a level between /ɛ:/ and /e:/ in ME. At the beginning of the 18th c., /i:/ was the dialectal variant of educated /ɛ:/, but it gradually replaced the refined vowel, becoming widely accepted by 1750[281]; stede: 'steed, stallion', now obs., <OE *steda*, weak masculine noun. LOE /e:/ did not change when entering EME. It underwent narrowing to LME /i:/ in the 15th c., as confirmed by the spelling <i> which started to be used in this period. Later /i:/, which became the current pronunciation, started to be spelt <ie> especially before labiodentals fricatives, whereas <ee> was employed in final position or in closed syllables from ME onwards. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[282]

208. RENOWNE / 209. CROWNE: renowne: 'fame', also ME *rennon,* <Anglo-Norman *renoun*;[283] crowne: 'crown', <Anglo-Norman *coroune*. Both words entered ME with /u:/ which in LME diphthongized both in native and in loanwords to /ụu/—with a process similar to that involving /ịi/, where the first

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[279] OED, ˈ**lily-flower, *n.***.
[280] OED, **light, *v.*[1]**, II.6.a..
[281] OED, **lead, *v.*[1]**, I.1.†a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 98-99, 210-211, 237.
[282] OED, **steed, *n.***, †a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 95-96, 187-188.
[283] OED, **renown, *n.***, A.1.a..

element is slightly lower than the second.[284] The spelling was already <ow> as in contemporary English. Between the 16th and the 17th c., the diphthong probably sounded like /əʊ/ and in EModE its first element was retracted to /ʌ/, giving /ʌʊ/ and /ɑʊ/ later at the beginning of the 19th c.. The rhyming vowel is /u:/.[285]

211. FETE / 212. ii. SWETE: fete: 'feet', <OE *fet*, strong masculine noun[286];swete: 'sweetly', <OE *swete*, adv.. The vowel sound in the two words developed as the vowel in 150. SHENE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[287]

212. i. KLYPPED: 'embraced', <OE *clyppan – clyppte – clypped,* now arch. and dial., weak verb of the 1st class.[288]

213. ȝEDE / 216. REDE: ȝede: 'went', see 54. GOO above; rede: 'read, peruse', <Old English *rædan – rædde – geræd,* weak verb of the 3rd class. In Old English the verb is also attested as a strong verb of the 7th class but by ME it had become weak. Possibly, this shift—which occurred very early in ME—was due to the formal and partially semantic association with the verb *rede*, whose meanings partially overlapped with those of *read* in the Germanic languages (e.g. Gothic *raidjan* 'to establish, to correctly determine, to interpret'). For the development of the vowel, see 207. LEDE / 210. STEDE above.[289]

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[284] The processes involving the two ME long high vowels are presented as parallel from this diphthongization onwards.
[285] OED, **crown, *n.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 115-116, 189-190, 223, 238, 245.
[286] OED, **foot, *n.***, I.1.a..
[287] OED, **sweet, *adv.***, B.1..
[288] OED, **clip, *v.*[1]**, 1.a..
[289] OED, **read, *v.***, II.5.b..

214. CHERE / 215. IN FERE: chere: 'expression', also ME *chere* <OF *chiere*, 'face', this meaning is now obs.. In the 12th c., OF /ie/ was simplified to /e:/ in loanwords entering ME. For the further development of the vowel see 128. CLERE above[290]; in fere: 'together', now obs., <OE *gefer,* neuter noun. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[291]

217. GRETE / 218. iii. TO METE: grete: 'great, eminent', <OE *great.* LOE /æ/ developed as the vowel in 27. NOME[292]; to mete: 'to eat, to dinner', now obs., <OE *mæte*. For the development of the vowel, see 128. CLERE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[293]

218. i. WESH: 'washed', <OE *wæscan – wosc – woscon – wæscen,* strong verb of the 6th class. The strong forms can be found until the end of the 16th c., when the weak forms started to prevail, but weak forms of the verb had occasionally occurred since the 14th c..[294]

218. ii. SETEN DON: 'sat down', preterite plural of OE *sittan – sæt – sæton – geseten,* strong verb of the 5th class. [295]

219. SWYDE / 222. ii. ON LYFE: swyde: 'rapidly', <OE *swiðe*, now arch. or dial.[296]; on lyfe: 'alive', see 43. LYUE above. For the rhyme and the pronunciation, see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE above.[297]

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[290] OED, **cheer, *n.*[1]**, 2.†b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 111.
[291] OED, **† fere, *n.*[2]**, 2.a..
[292] OED, **great, *adj.***, A.III.12.a..
[293] OED, **meat, *n.***, I.3.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 865. GRETE / 866. ii. METE, 889. GRETE / 890. ii. METE.
[294] OED, **wash, *v.***, I.3.a..
[295] OED, **sit, *v.***, III.18.a..
[296] OED, **swith, *adv.***, 3..
[297] OED, **alive, *adj.***, 1.b..

220. i. SEMBELANT: ‘appearance’, also ME *samblant* <French *semblant*, now obs..[298]

220. ii. SWETE / 221. SETE: swete: ‘gracious’, see 212. ii. SWETE above; sete: ‘sat’, see 218. ii. SETEN DON. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 147. BE-TWENE / 150. SHENE.[299]

222. i. WOMMON: ‘woman’, <OE *wifmon.* In LOE there was a wave of assimilations, one of which was the regressive assimilation on /fm/ to /mm/, which simplified to /m/ in *woman* between 1300 and 1400. Long /i/ was shortened when entering EME because of the following two consonants and it became rounded to /ü/ and later /u/[300] in ME because of its position between /w/ and /l/. <f> disappeared in ME when in a consonantic cluster (e.g. EME *halfpeny* > ME *halpeny*). The vowel developed as in 7. i. MODUR, but as it is preceded by the semivowel /w/, /ʊ/ was not lowered and unrounded to /ʌ/.[301]

223. ÞOWȝTH / 224. BROWGHT: powȝth: ‘thought’, see 161. THOWGHT above; browght: ‘brought’, see 82. BROWGHT. For the rhyme, see 82. BROWGHT / 83. ii. WROGHT above.[302]

225. i. BY-HELDE: ‘contemplated’, <OE *bihaldan – biheold – biheoldon – bihalden,* strong verb of the 7th class.[303]

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[298] OED, **† ˈsemblant, *n.***.
[299] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 891. SWETE / 893. SETE.
[300] Welna explains that the causes of this shortening are not clear. However, the shortening is a necessary conclusion, as without it the long vowel would have turned into a diphthong because of the Great Vowel Shift.
[301] OED, **woman, *n.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 56, 62, 156, 170, 176, 213, 234-235. The lowering and unrounding did not occur also when the vowel was followed by <p, b, f>. ME *wommon* is recorded as a West Midlands and South-West form.
[302] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 529. BROWȝT / 530. ÞOWȝT.

225. ii. OFTE SYÞE / 228. WYFE: ofte sybe: ‘oftentimes’, <OE *oft*, obs.[304]; wyfe: see 44. ii. WYFE above. For the rhyme and the pronunciation, see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE above.

226. i. AN-AMORED: ‘enamoured’, also ME *anamoured* <OF *enamourer.*[305]

226. ii. ÞOWȝTUR: ‘daughter’, see 109. ii. DOWȝTER.

226. iii. TYLLE / 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE: tylle: ‘of’, <OE *til,* now dial.. /i/ remained unchanged when entering EME and it was lowered later throughout ME reaching EModE /ɪ/, the current realisation[306]; to worche hys wylle: ‘if it be his good pleasure’, for *to worche* see 83. ii. WROGHT; *wylle* ‘will’, <OE *willa*, weak masculine noun. The rhyming vowel is /i/.[307]

229. i. METEWHYLE: ‘the time taken by a meal’, <OE *mæte* (see 218. iii. TO METE) + <OE *hwil* (see 79. WHYLE).[308]

229. ii. DON / 230. SON: don: ‘done, finished’, see 4. iii. TO DONE above[309]; son: ‘soon’, <OE *sona*. ME /o:/ was raised to /u:/ which remains until today. The rhyming vowel is /o:/.[310]

231. NERE / 234. CLERE: nere: ‘close at hand’, also ME *ner*. For the vowel, see 181. ÞER above[311]; clere: ‘bright’, see 128. CLERE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[312]

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[303] OED, **behold, *v.***, I.7.a..
[304] OED, **often, *adv.***, C1†..
[305] OED, **enamoured, *adj.***, 1..
[306] OED, **till, *prep.***, A.I.3.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 117, 213.
[307] OED, **will, *n.*[1]**, II.8..
[308] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 6-I, p. 387, **mete, *n.***, 1b(e).
[309] OED, **do, *v.***, 1.a..
[310] OED, **soon, *adv.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 188. The rhyme occurs also on ll. 406. DON / 407. SON, 469. ii. DONE / 470. SONE, 856. DONE / 857. SONE.

232. COME / 234. ROME: come: 'come back', <OE *cuman – com – common – cumen*, strong verb of the 4th class. The spelling with <o> for <u> in the present stem was a scribal habit before *m, n, u* (*v*) introduced in the 13th c.. The other spelling *cum* was used until the 17th c. but eventually was superseded by *come*, as shown by similar examples as *some*, *son*, *tongue*, *love*, etc.. Similarly, the past participle *cumen* is recorded up to the 17th c., but eventually *comen* prevailed. It started to lose final *-n* in the 13th c., and was levelled after the infinitive *come*. Between the 16th and the 17th c. there was a strong tendency of turning it into a weak verb, thus resulting in *comed* for the past participle but the strong form continued and continues nevertheless to the present. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 27. NOME / 30. NONE.[313]

235. WENTE / 236. ii. COMMANDEMENT: wente: 'went', see 81. WENDE; commandement: 'order, injunction', <OF *commandement* <Latin *commandamentum.* For the rhyme, see 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.[314]

236. i. DURSTE: 'dared', < OE *durran – dorste – durst*. A preterite-present verb of the 3rd class. The original construction with the infinitive without *to* is still in use as well as the negative *he dares not,* but the intransitive forms with *to* are equally accepted. The forms *dares, dared* first appeared in the 16th c. and were used in the South in the transitive senses—which developed in the same

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[311] OED, **near, *adv.***, 2..
[312] OED, **clear, *adj.***, A.I.4.d..
[313] OED, **come, *v.***, I.*1.b..
[314] OED, **commandment, *n.***, 1.a..

period—and only after 1600 also in the original intransitive senses when followed by to.[315]

237. FERE / 240. DERE: fere: 'travel', now arch. or poet., <OE *faran – for – foron – faren,* strong verb of the 6th class. Initially, the verb existed both in the strong and in the weak conjugation. The weak *fere* also existed in other Germanic languages but with a transitive sense meaning 'to carry'. This verb became obsolete in the present tense in the 14th c., but the past tense and participle *ferd* continued to serve the verb *fare* in its inflection. So the irregular weak form produced *fare – ferd*, which was regularised before 1500 to *fare – fared,* and the strong past tense died out by the 16th c.[316]; dere: 'there', a different orthography for *þer* (see 181. ÞER). For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 181. ÞER / 182. WER.[317]

238. ROME / 239. SONE: sone: 'soon', see 230. SON above. For the rhyme, see 27. NOME / 30. NONE.[318]

239. i. POPUS BULLUS: 'Papal Bull', also ME *bulle* <Latin *bulla*.[319]

241. BLYÞE / 242. ii. SWYÞE: blyþe: 'mirthful', <OE *bliðe*[320]*;* swyþe: 'rapidly', see 219. SWYDE above. For the rhyme and the pronunciation, see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE above.

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[315] OED, **dare, *v.*[1]**, I.1.a..
[316] OED, **fare, *v.*[1]**, I.2.†a..
[317] OED, **there, *adv.***, I.*1.a..
[318] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 958. SONE / 959. ROME.
[319] OED, **bull, *n.*[2]**, 1..
[320] OED, **blithe, *adj.***, A.2.a..

242. i. LETTE SHAPE A ROBE: 'had a robe shaped', <OE *lætan – let – leton – gelæten,* strong verb of the 7th class. Here employed in causative use.[321]

243. GOLDE / 246. MARKED WAS OF MOLDE: golde: 'gold', <OE *gold,* a strong neuter noun. EOE /o/ in a + /ld/ context was lengthened in LOE. When entering ME it did not undergo any change and in LME the presence of a labial followed by a consonant resulted in the rise of the diphthong /ɔu/, which was sometimes spelt as <ou, ow> until the 16th c.. In ModE this sound is not always reflected in the spelling, as many words are now spelt with <o>. The further development of the LME diphthong to /əʊ/ is rather complicated. One hypothesis is that there was regressive assimilation, thus the second element was lowered getting closer to the first before /ɔ:/ was narrowed to /o:/. On the other hand, /o:/ is supposed to have been the merger between /ɔu/ and /əʊ/. Consequently, the uncertainty about the precise development of the diphthong leads to the conclusion that during the three centuries stretching from LME to EModE there were many parallel forms. Eventually the diphthong lowered and centralized to /əʊ/. The final realisation was accepted generally at the beginning of the 19th c.[322]; marked was of molde: 'was made of mould', <OE *mearcian – mearcode – gemearcod,* 'to put a mark on', weak verb of the 2nd class.[323] Molde: <OE *molde*, 'loose, broken earth'. The two words share the development of the vowel and the rhyming vowel is /o:/.[324]

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[321] OED, **let, *v.*[1]**, II.13.; MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), p. 605.
[322] OED, **gold, *n.*[1]**, 1.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 39, 101-102, 193, 197, 244.
[323] OED, **mark, *v.***, ; MED, 13(a)..
[324] OED **mould | mold, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..

244. HYT WAS DON HER UPON / 245. ii. WOMMON: hyt was don her upon: 'it was placed on her', <OE *don*, see 4. iii. TO DONE[325]; wommon: 'woman', see 222. i. WOMMON. For the rhyme, see 4. iii. TO DONE / 5. iii. WONE above.

245. i. ERÞELY: 'terrestrial, human', <OE *eorþlic*.[326]

247. FRE / 248. ii. ÞE: fre: 'frankly', for the etymology see 10. FRE[327]; þe: 'you', see 46. ii. ÞE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[328]

248. i. WOLLE: 'will', <OE *willan* – *wille* (3rd person singular without *-þ*) – *wolde,* anomalous verb. The current negative form *won't* derives from the preterite of the verb. As previously discussed in 3. i. SHALLE, the verb acquired auxiliary function in the formation of the future tense. In this function, *will* was typical of popular speech. However the first meaning attributed to it was volition, a sense which connotated for a long time its auxiliary use in the future and explains why *shall* became a pure futurity auxiliary earlier than *will.*[329]

249. BE-HOLDE / 252. SHULDE: be-holde: 'contemplate', see 225. i. BY-HELDE. In EOE /ɑld/ was lengthened to LOE /ɑ:ld/ and subsequently the vowel shared the development of the one in 54. GOO[330]; shulde: preterite of 3. i. SHALLE. Similarly to what occurred to /ɑld/ in *be-holde,* EOE /old/ was lengthened to LOE /o:ld/ and reached EME unchanged. Later in LME it was turned into /u:/, the realisation which survived into ModE. As for the labial, it

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[325] OED, **do, *v.***, PV2, **to do on**.
[326] OED, **earthly, *adj.***, A.1.a..
[327] OED, **free, *adv.***, C.1..
[328] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 963. FRE / 966. ÞE, 979. FRE / 980. THE.
[329] OED, **will, *v.*[1]**, I.**11.a.; MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), pp. 493-494.
[330] WELNA, J., (1978): p. 39.

developed as in 13. i. WALKEN and was already lost in LME. The two words do not rhyme.[331]

250. UNÞUR WEDE / 251. GOD OF HEUEN HYT FOR-BEDE:; unþur wede: used as a mere rhyme tag, <OE *wæd,* feminine noun, 'a garment'. The vowel developed as the one in 150. SHENE[332]; God of heuen hyt for-bede: 'God forbid', <OE *forbeodan – forbead – forbudon – forboden,* strong verb of the 2nd class. The vowel developed as EME /e:/ in 87. iii. KNE. In ME the infinitive form *forbidde* appeared and from here the vowel subsequently developed to LME /i:/ which was slightly centralised to /ɪ/ in EModE and remains today. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[333]

253. i. ȝYF: 'if', <OE *gif* 'in the case that' [334]

253. ii. BE-TYDDE: 'happened', <OE *betidan,* weak verb of the 1st class, mostly impersonal or in the 3rd person singular, used with *be* in perfect tenses, now arch.[335]

253. iii. WEDDE / 254. BEDDE: wedde: 'marry', <OE *weddian – weddode – geweddod,* weak verb of the 2nd class. The past tense *wed* is now only dialectal and common dialectal in the past participle[336]; bedde: 'marriage bed', <OE *bedd*, neuter noun. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/.[337]

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[331] WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 39, 101-102, 188.
[332] OED, **weed, *n.*²**, 2†b; KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 13-I, p.193-194, **wede, *n.***, (2)(f).
[333] OED, **forbid, *v.***, 2.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 44, 97, 209-210. The rhyme occurs also on ll. 447. WEDE / 450. FORBEDE.
[334] OED, **if, *conj.***, A.I.1.a..
[335] OED, **betide, *v.***, 1.a..
[336] OED, **wed, *v.***, 3.a..
[337] OED, **bed, *n.***, I.1.b..

255. FOR-LORNE / 258. BORNE: for-lorne: 'morally lost', <OE *forloren* adj. <OE *forleosan – forleas – forluron – forloren,* strong verb of the 2nd class, after the 15th c. it is found only in the past participle. Now obs. in this meaning[338]; borne: 'born', see 49. BORN above. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 49. BORN / 50. BORNE above.

256. i. SPRYNGE: 'spread', <OE *springan – sprang – sprungon – sprungen,* strong verb of the 3rd class.[339]

259. i. BEN: 'are', see 11. BE. This is not an instance of omission of auxiliary *have* in periphrastic tenses, attested from the end of the 15th c. onwards, but a regional plural variant of the verb *be* (also *beoþ, beþ*) used until the 14th c. in the Midlands and in the South, later only in the South and in the West. It is a reflex of OE *beo-* as ME singular forms *best* (2nd person) and *beth* (3rd person), deriving from the same root.[340]

259. ii. PRYCE / 260. A-RYCE: pryce: 'value', see 92. PRYS[341]; a-ryce: 'originate', <OE *arisan – aras – arason – arisen,* strong verb of the 4th class. LOE /i:/ reached EME unchanged. Subsequently the vowel developed as in 6. LYGHTE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[342]

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[338] OED, **† for˙lese, *v.***, 2.c..
[339] OED, **spring, *v.*[1]**, I.†2.a..
[340] OED, **be, *v.***.
[341] OED, **price, *v.***, II.3.†b..
[342] OED, **arisan, *v.***, III.17.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 94.

261. TAKE GOD ȝOU BE-FORNE / 264. i. ÞHORNE: take God ȝou be-forne: 'take God's guidance', see 163. BY-FORN above[343]; þhorne: 'thorn', <OE *þorn.* For the vowel and the rhyme, see 163. BY-FORN / 164. UNYKORN above.[344]

262. ME / 263. SE: me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME above; se: 'see', see 93. SE. The vowel development is discussed in 87. iii. KNE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[345]

264. ii. WERED: 'wore', <OE *werian – werede – wered,* weak verb of the 1st class. Starting from the 14th c., the verb slowly shifted to the strong declension by analogy with verbs as *swear*, *bear*, *tear,* although becoming of common use only after the 16th c..[346]

265. WROTHE / 266. OTHE: wrothe: 'irate', <OE *wraþ*. The semivowel was lost in the pronunciation in the cluster /wr-/ in EModE[347]; othe: 'oath', <OE *að.* The vowel developed as in 54. GOO. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[348]

267. BE / 270. BLE: be: 'be', see 11. BE above; ble: 'blue', <OF *bleu*. The vowel developed similarly to the one in 152. VERTUES. Here The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[349]

268. BOOT / 269. i. WOTE: boot: 'boat', <OE *bat.* LOE /ɑ:/ was rounded and raised to /ɔ:/ in EME, represented by the spellings <o, oo, oa, o-e>. Later, in ME a *u* glide appeared after /ɔ/, which led to /ɔu/ but the monophthongal variant /ɔ:/ also existed (see 243. GOLDE). In EModE, /ɔ:/ was narrowed to /o:/ before the

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[343] OED, **god, *n.***, III.†9.c..
[344] OED, **thorn, *n.***, I.1..
[345] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 766. ME / 767. SE.
[346] OED, **wear, *v.*[1]**, I.4.a..
[347] OED, **wrath, *n.***, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 230.
[348] OED, **oath, *n.***, 1.a..
[349] OED, **blue, *adj.***, 1..

monophtongization of /ɒu/ to /ɔ:/, as the the phonemes did not merge. The vowel was spelled <oa> by analogy with <ea> used for /ɛ:/. At the beginning of the 19th c.,it was diphthongized to /oʊ/ and in the 20th the first element was centralised to /ə/[350]; wote: 'knows', a variant of *wit* (see 153. i. TO WYTE), the result of the preterite-present stem *wot, wat* in other forms of the verb, a process which initially involved the 2nd person singular (*wat* and *wot* for *wast* and *wost*) and the present tense plural (replacing *witen*) starting from the 13th c. in the North. Subsequently the forms *woten* for the infinitive, *wotest* and *woteth* for the 2nd and 3rd person of the present tense and the present participle *wotting* appeared between the 15th and the 16th c.. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[351]

269. DEDE: 'put', <OE don, see 4. iii. TO DONE. *Dede* <*dyde* is a dialectal variant derived from the original strong verb: in fact the vowel in the past tense *dyde* is explained as a special OE representation of an Indogermanic weak vowel.[352]

271. SPENDYNG / 272. DRYNKE: spendyng: 'money', <OE *spendan* <Latin *expendere*[353];drynke: 'drink', <OE *drincan – dranc – druncon – druncen,* strong verb of the 3rd class. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE above.

273. i. SHATE: 'sent', <OE *sceotan – sceat – scuton – scoten,* strong verb of the 2nd class. The origin of the modern *shoot* is not clear and probably mixed. On the one hand it might be a shortened form from the 14th c. weak form *schotte.* On the other it may come from the past participle *schotten.* In the

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[350] OED, **boat, *n.*[1]**, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 100-101, 196, 218-219, 244
[351] OED, **wit, *v.*[1]**, 1..
[352] OED, **do, *v.***.
[353] OED, **spending, *n.*[1]**, 2.a.†2..

infinitive, LOE /o:/ reached EME unchanged. Subsequently, it developed as the vowel in 2. MONE [354]

273. ii. SE / 276. PYTE: se: 'see', see 93. SE; pyte: 'pity', also ME *pitee* <Anglo-Norman *pite.* The word entered ME with /i/ and was later lowered in the 16th c., reaching with /ɪ/ its current pronunciation. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[355]

274. ÞORE / 275. ORE: þore: 'there', see 181. ÞER; ore: 'oar', <OE ar. The vowel developed as the one in 60. MOO. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[356]

277. UNDERSTONDE / 278. ii. LONDE: understonde: 'understand', <OE *understandan – understod – understodon – understanden*, strong verb of the 6th class. For the development of the vowel, see 116. STONDE[357]; londe: 'land', see 15. ii. LONDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[358]

278. i. BLEWE: 'carried away', <OE *blawan – bleow – bleowon – blawen,* strong verb of the 7th class. For the /eow/ monophthongization process, see 59. SEWE.[359]

279. SYGHT / 282. KNYȝTE: sygh̲t: 'sight', see 48. SYGHT; knyȝte: 'knight', see 85. ii. KNYȝT. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.

280. i. HYM: 'himself', see 87. ii. HYM.

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[354] OED, **shoot, *v.***, II.11.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 101-102.
[355] OED, **pity, *n.,*** I.3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 107-108, 213.
[356] OED, **oar, *n.***, 1.a..
[357] OED, **under˙stand, *v.***, I.4.b..
[358] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 337. LOND / 338. UNÞURSTOND, 352. SOND / 353. UNÞURSTOND, 421. UNÞURSTONDE / 422. LONDE.
[359] OED, **blow, *v.*[1]**, I.****12.a..

280. ii. BE-ÞOWGHT / 281. MYSWROWHT: be-þowght: 'considered', <OE *beþencan – beþohte – beþoht,* weak verb of the 1st class. The OE past tense and past participle lost postvocalic /n/ of the present so that /ɔ/ underwent compensatory lengthening between LOE and ME. For the development of the vowel, see 161. THOWGHT[360]; myswrowht: 'done amiss'. For the etymology of the verb and the phonological development, see 83. ii. WROGHT. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[361]

283. STUDYYNGE / 284. SOWENYNGE: studyynge: 'meditation', also ME *stoding* <*studie* <OF *estudier*[362]; sowenynge: 'in a swoon', also ME *swoȝning* <*swoȝene.* The vowel in the two words developed as the one in 40. ÞYNG. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/.[363]

285. i. YRÞE: 'earth, ground', <OE *eorðe*, weak feminine noun.[364]

285. ii. DYGHT / 288. FAYR AND RYGHT: dyght: 'fallen', for the etymology of the verb, see 3. iii. DYGHTE above[365]; fayr and ryght: 'indeed', for the etymology, see 86. RYGHT. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[366]

286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY: þer-by: 'near that', <OE *þærbi,* see 181. ÞER and 159. BY above[367]; hastyly: 'in haste, without delay'.In the suffix *-ly*, OE /i:/ was shortened to /i/ in EME. The rhyming vowel is /i/.[368]

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[360] OED, **think, *v.*²**, II.8.a..
[361] OED, **† miswork, *v.***, 2..
[362] OED, **studying, *n.***, I.2.a..
[363] OED, **swooning, *n.***, 1..
[364] OED, **earth, *n.***, I.2..
[365] MED, **dighten (v.)**, 5..
[366] OED, **right, *adv.***, III.11.a..
[367] OED, **thereby, *adv.***, 2.a..

289. i. KOUERED: ‘recovered’, <OF *couvrer* <*recouvrer* <Latin *recuperare*.[369]

289. ii. WAS / 290. ALAS: was: ‘was’, see 121. WAS; alas: ‘alas’, <Anglo-Norman *allas.* The rhyming vowel is /a/.[370]

291. DERE /294. LERE: dere: ‘dear’, <OE *deore.* EME /e:/ is the result of the monophthongisation of OE /e:o/ > LOE /ö:/, which was narrowed to /i:/ in the 15th c.. When in a +/r/ context, a [ə] glide appeared in the 16th c. and [ɪə] became a full phoneme after postvocalic /r/ was eventually dropped in the 17th c.[371]; lere: ‘face’, <OE *hleor* ‘cheek’, neuter noun, now obs. The vowel developed as in DERE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[372]

292. MAN / 293. ii. AM: man: ‘man’, see 37. MANNE; am: 1st person singular of the verb *to be*, <OE, *eom, eam.* The rhyming vowel is /a/.[373]

293 i. KAYTYF: ‘miserable’, <Old Northern French *caitif* <Latin *captivum.*[374]

295 i. AȝEYN: ‘against’, see 203. i. AȝEYN above.

295. ii. LAY / 296. TREWE OF FAY: lay: ‘law’, <LOE *lagu,* strong feminine. When followed by a back vowel, LOE [ɑɣ] became first /aw/ and later /au/. The later development of the vowel is discussed in 58. i. THAWȝTH[375]; trewe of fay: ‘faithful to religion’, see also 123. TREWE above. Fay: <OF *feid*, *feit* <Latin

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[368] OED, **hastily, *adv.***, 1.. WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 62-64. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 781. BY / 782. HASTYLY.
[369] OED, **recover, *v.*[1]**, 4..
[370] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 556. ALAS / 557. WAS, 772. ALAS / 773. WAS.
[371] OED, **dear, *adj.*[1]**, A.I.2.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 97, 187-188, 220-221; FRANCOVICH ONESTI, N., (1988), pp. 156-157.
[372] OED, **† leer, *n.*[1]**, 2..
[373] OED, **be, *v.***, I.1.a..
[374] OED, **caitiff, *adj.***, B.†2..
[375] OED, **law, *n.*[1]**, I.***9.a..

fidem. The OF diphthongs /ai/ and /ei/ merged into /ɛi/ or /æi/, which coalesced with native /ei/ into /ai/. The further development of the vowel is discussed in 78. PLAYNGE. As for final fricative /θ/, it might be analogical to ME *truth* or expresses an Old Western French phoneme, which still existed in the 11th c.. Therefore the spellings <d> or <t> in French may have been actually realised as a dental fricative. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.[376]

297. i. NER: 'were', negative form of the verb *were*, formed by the agglutinant particles *na-, ne-.* See 182. WER above.[377]

297. ii. HERE / 300. CHERE: here: 'here', <OE *her*. /e:/ remained unchanged when entering EME and it subsequently developed as in 291. DERE above[378]; chere: see 214. CHERE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

298. i. LASSHED OUT: 'poured out', past tense also ME *last*. *Lash* is a verb of difficult etymology, maybe of onomatopoeic origin, as the parallel and almost synonymous *lush* which appeared in the same period. Some of its senses are very similar to French *lâcher.*[379]

298. ii. YȝEN / 299. SYȝEN: yȝen: 'eyes', <OE *eage,* weak neuter noun. The first instance of the plural in *-s* can be found in 1375. EOE /e:/ +/ġ/ resulted in LOE /ej/, with the semivowel /j/ deriving from the vocalisation of the post-vocalic palatal consonant .This is connected to the shift in syllable boundaries occurring at the time, which brought to the combination of the vowel with the

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[376] OED, **fay, *n.*[1]**, I.4.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 129, 143.
[377] MOSSÉ, F., (1952): p. 112.
[378] OED, **here, *adv.***, A.1.a..
[379] OED, **lash, *v.*[1]**, I.1..

semivowel.[380] In the passage to EME, when a vowel followed the cluster /e:j/, it tended to become a monophthong, as shown in the sequence /e:je/ > /e:ije/ > /i:ie/ > /i:e/ > /i:ə/ > /i:/ (end of the 13th c.). The spelling <i, y> is attested already in the 12th c.. This process started in the South and spread northwards to central Midlands, since in the North /ə/ was early lost. For the further development of the vowel, see 110. WYTH-OUTEN LEES above[381]; sy3en: 'saw', plural form of the preterite of the verb *to see* (see 68. SYE). The rhyming vowel is /i:/.

301. ȝYNGE / 302. i. WEPYNGE: 3ynge: 'young', see 41. ȝYNGE above; wepynge: 'weeping', <OE *wepan – weop – weopon – geweopen,* a strong verb of the 7th class. It started to be conjugated as a weak verb in the 13th c. and shifting finally to the weak declension in the 14th. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[382]

302. ii. STYNTE: 'stop', <OE *stintan – stant – stunton – gestunt,* 'to blunt, dull', strong verb of the 3rd class.[383]

303. KELLE / 306. FLESH AND FELLE: kelle: 'cloak', a northern form of ME *calle* <French *cale.* ME /a/ +/l/ developed a transition glide /u/ which led to the diphthong /au/ in the 15th c., represented by <aul> soon simplified to <al>. *caul* is one of the rare words where the earlier spelling survived. Later in the 16th century, the first element of the diphthong was retracted to /ɒ/. For the further

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[380] For instance, the earlier division of the word *blowan* was *blo-wan.* In LOE it became *blow-an.*
[381] OED, **eye, *n.*[1]**, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 50, 120-121.
[382] OED, **weep, *v.***, I.1.a.. The same rhyme occurs in 610. ȝYNGE / 611. WEPYNGE.
[383] OED, **stint, *v.***, I.†7.a..

development of the vowel, see 58. i. THAWȝTH above[384]; flesh and felle: 'skin', <OE *fel*, strong neuter noun. The rhyme here rests on /ɛ:/.[385]

304. ÞRYNGE / 305. ȝYNGE: brynge: 'throng, crowd', <OE *þringan – þrang – þrungon – þrungen,* now obs. except dialectally, strong verb of the 3rd class. The vowel development is discussed in 24. i. SONGE above[386]; ȝynge: 'young', see 41. ȝYNGE above. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

307. SEE / 308. FRE: see: 'sea', <OE *sæ*. LOE /æ:/ became slightly more close in EME, reaching the level of /ɛ:/, represented by <e, ea>. /ɛ:/ continued throughout ME and LME and between the 16th and the 17th century the more colloquial /i:/ replaced the /ɛ:/ of the formal style. The final pronunciation was widely accepted after 1750[387]; fre: 'innocent', see 10. FRE. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/.[388]

309. SNELLE / 312. TELLE: snelle: 'quickly', <OE *snel*[389]; telle: 'tell', for the etymology and the development of the vowel see 20. ii. TELLE. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ/.

313. i. FLETED: 'floated', <OE *flotian – flotode – geflotod,* weak verb of the 2nd class.[390]

313. ii. A-LONE / 314. MONE: a-lone: 'alone', also ME *al-an.* It was originally a phrase with the adverb *all* intensifying the adjective *one*; written as a single

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[384] OED, **kell, *n.***, 2..
[385] OED, **fell, *n.*[1]**, 2.a..
[386] OED, **† thring, *n.*[1]**, †1.a..
[387] OED, **sea, *n.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 98-99, 217-218, 237.
[388] OED, **free, *adj.***, A.II.8..
[389] OED, **snell, *adv.***, B.1..
[390] OED, **float, *v.***, I.1.b..

word since 1450. The phonological development of the word differs from that of its constituting words: the first syllable shows that the vowel in *all* developed in the same way as it was realised in an unstressed context and *one* shows that it developed as ME /ɔ:/ (see discussion under 1. iv. TRONE / 2. MONE) and not as /o:/ in *one* (see 30. NONE and notes)[391]; mone: 'prayer, request', of uncertain origin, probably related to OE verb *mænan* 'to complain, lament'. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[392]

315. ALSO / 318. BLO: also: 'also', <OE *eallswa.* The semivowel was active in the narrowing of EME /ɔ:/ to /o:/ but this did not affect *also* because /w/ was lost when preceded by a consonant (mostly /s/) and followed by a back vowel. The later development of the vowel is discussed in 268. BOOT[393]; blo: 'blue', see 270. BLE above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.

316. RAYN / 317. A-GAYN: rayn: 'rain', <LOE *rein*. LOE /e:j/ became /ei/ in EME and then the first element of the diphthong became more open, reaching the level of /ai/ early in the 14th c.. For the further development of the vowel, see 27. NOME above[394]; a-gayn: 'against', see 203. i. AȝEYN. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.

319. SAWE / 322. WAWE: sawe: 'story, tale', <OE *sagu,* strong feminine noun[395]; wawe: 'wave', the development of the vowel is discussed in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[396]

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[391] OED, **alone, *adv.***, A.1.a.(a).
[392] OED, **moan, *n.***, 1†b..
[393] OED, **also, *adv.***, A.3.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 147, 160-161.
[394] OED, **again, *adv.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 120, 161-162.
[395] OED, **saw, *n.*^{2}**, †2..

320. i. HOWS: ‘house’, <OE *hus*, strong neuter noun.[397]

320. ii. KNOWE / 323. LOWE: knowe: ‘know, preceive’, <OE *cnawan – cneow – cneowon – gecnawan,* strong verb of the 7th class. The meaning of the verb partly overlapped with *wit* v. (see 153. i. TO WYTE above) and with the etymologically related *can* v., which became a modal (see 42. KOWTH) and *ken* v. ‘to make known, confess’, now obs. and current only in Scots. Weak forms of the verb were frequent in usage between the 15th and the 18th century but did not supersede the strong ones. For the vowel development, see 59. SEWE above. The development of the /kn-/ cluster is discussed in 85. ii. KNYȝT[398]; low: ‘low’, also ME *laȝe*. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[399]

321. i. A-FERD: ‘afraid’, <OE *æfæred*, now regional and nonstandard. The word was superseded by *afraid* in the 18th c..[400]

321. ii. GO / 324. WOO: go: ‘go’, see 54. GOO; woo: ‘distressed’, <OE *wa*, now obs. exc. in Scots and northern dialects. For the rhyme, see 51. ÞOO / 54. GOO.[401]

325. ÞORE / 326. MORE: þore: ‘there’, see 181. ÞER; more: see 60. MOO above. For the rhyme see 274. ÞORE / 275. ORE.[402]

327. WYLLE / 330. STYLLE: wylle: see *wylle* at 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE; stylle: ‘still’, <OE *stille*. LOE /i/ continued unchanged throughout ME

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[396] OED, **wave, *n.***, I.1.a..
[397] OED, **house, *n.*[1]**, A.I.1.a..
[398] OED, **know, *v.***, I.1.a.;
[399] OED, **low, *adj.***, 1.a..
[400] OED, **afeared, *adj.***, 1.a..
[401] OED, **woe, *adv.***, A.II.3.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 637. WOO / 638. GO.
[402] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 673. THORE / 674. MORE.

and it became slightly more centralised and more open in LME, reaching its current pronunciation on the level of /ɪ/. The rhyme here rests on /ɪ/.[403]

328. i. CAREFULLE: 'full of grief, sorrowful', <OE *carful* <*caru* 'care'.[404]

328. ii. SYKYNG: 'sighing', <OE *sican – sac – sicon – gesicen,* strong verb of the 1st class, in ME it shifted to the 3rd class of the weak declension, now obs.[405]

328. iii. SORE / 329. ii. ȝORE: sore: 'pain', <OE *sar,* strong neuter noun, now obs. The vowel development is discussed in 60. MOO[406]; ȝore: 'soon', <OE *geara*, now obs.. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[407]

329. i. ȝARKED: 'ordained', <OE *gearcian – gearcode – gearcod,* weak verb of the 2nd class, now obs..[408]

332. i. THOROW: 'through', <OE *þuruh*, a disyllabic development of *þurh* prep. and adv. paralleled in *borough* (*burh), furrow* (*furh*), *borrow* (*borh*), *sorrow* (*sorh*), etc.. The two OE words shared the meaning of 'from side to side' but being *þurh* chiefly a preposition—thus stressless and proclitic—it is now represented by the monosyllabic *through* continuing in ModE as a preposition and adverb. From *þuruh* derived *thorough*, today adjective and archaic noun.[409]

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[403] OED, **still, *adv.***, 2.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 82, 213. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 675. WYLLE / 678. STYLLE.
[404] OED, **careful, *adj.***, †1..
[405] OED, **sike, *v.***, 1.a..
[406] OED, **sore, *n.*[1]**, †6.
[407] OED, **yare, *adv.***, †1.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 676. SORE / 677. ȝORE.
[408] OED, **† yark, *v.***, c..
[409] OED, **thorough, *prep.***, I.1.a..

333. FULFYLLE / 336. iii. YLLE: fulfylle: 'do', <OE *full* + OE *fyllan*[410]; ylle: 'inconvenient, bad', <Old Norse *illr* 'bad, difficult'. For the rhyme, see 226. iii. TYLLE / 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE.[411]

334. HARDE BE-STADDE / 335. MADDE: be-stadde: 'hard put to it', <Old Norse *staddr,* past participle of the verb *steðja*, 'to stop, place'[412]; madde: 'insane, mad', <OE *gemæd*. In EME /æ:/ was shortened when before geminates and reached the level of /a/, which remained until the 16th c., when it went back to /æ/ which remains to the present. For the rhyme see 37. MANNE / 38. ÞANNE.[413]

336. i. WORTH: 'equivalent in power to', <OE *weorþ* , *worþ* , *wurþ*.[414]

336. ii. WEDERUS: 'weather', <OE *weder*, neuter noun. The spelling with <th> is first recorded in the 15th c. and generalised to all areas in the following century; the pronunciation with [ð] may be much older.[415]

339. COUNTRE / 342. HE: countre: 'country', <OF *cuntrée*, *contrée*. The vowel entered English with ME /u/ and without shifting its stress. Subsequently the vowel developed as in 7. i. MODUR[416]; he: 'he', <OE *hi*, a form which is also at the base of words as *him, his, hit, hem, here, hence.* 3rd pers. sing. pronoun, nominative. When the 1st and the 2nd person singular accusative and dative

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[410] OED, **fulfil, *v.***, 6.a..
[411] OED, **ill, *adj.***, A.4.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 681. FULFYLLE / 684. ii. YLLE.
[412] OED, **bested | bestead, *adj.***, 5.a..
[413] OED, **mad, *adj.***, 4.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 68, 213. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 682. BE-STADDE / 683. MADDE.
[414] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 13-II, p. 923, **worth, *quasi-prep.***, 3(b); OED.
[415] OED, **weather, *n.***, 1.a.(a).
[416] OED, **country, *n.***, I.2.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 114.

forms had already merged (see 2. i. ÞOU), the 3rd person forms retained separate forms longer, in particular in the South. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[417]

340. BY-SYDE / 341. PRYDE: by-syde: 'by the side', <OE *be sidan*, now lit. and obs.[418]; pryde: 'pryde', see 111. ii. PRYDE. For the rhyme and the development of the vowel, see 111. ii. PRYDE / 114. ii. A SYDE above.

345. SEE / 348. THE WEDUR WAS LYTHE OF LE: see: 'sea', see 307. SEE above; the wedur was lythe of le: 'the weather was fine, peaceful'. *Lythe* 'calm, serene', <OE *liðe,* now obs.[419]; *le* 'sheltered position, tranquillity', <OE *hleo*, strong neuter or masculine. The vowel development is discussed in 87. ii. KNE. For the rhyme, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.[420]

346. EYR / 347. FAYR: 'air', <Anglo-Norman and OF *aire* <classical Latin *aer.* The French diphthong /ai/ and /ei/ merged as /ɛi/ and later the first element reached the level of ME /a/, spelt <ai> or <ay> but also <ei, ey>, a merely historical spelling standing for a low vowel. As for the shift from ME /ai/ to LME /æ:/ there are two main hypotheses: either that at the end of the 15th c. /ai/ and /a:/ coalesced at the level of /æ:/ ~ /æi/ or the process taking /ai/ to /æi/ and eventually to /æ:/ was located in the north Midlands and in the North, whereas in the South and south Midlands the diphthong was slightly raised to /ei/ in the 18th c.. Both hypotheses are acceptable; probably monophthongal forms were common in the speech of the lower classes and diphthongal realisations were

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[417] PYLES, T. and ALGEO, J., (1982): p. 119; OED, **he, *pron.***, I.1.a..
[418] OED, **beside *adv.***, A.1.†a..
[419] OED, **lithe, *adj.***, 2.†b..
[420] OED, **lee, *n.*[1]**, †3..

used by cultivated speakers. Subsequently the vowel developed as in 181. ÞER[421]; fayr: 'equitable', <OE *fæger*. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.[422]

349. BRYM / 350. ÞER-YN: brym: 'coast', also ME *brymme*, of uncertain etymology[423]; þer-yn: 'in that place', <OE *þærin* now formal, arch. or obs. The rhyme here rests on /ɪ/.[424]

351. FERLY / 354. LADY: ferly: 'wonder', <OE *færlic* 'sudden'[425]; lady: see 31. LADY. For the rhyme, see 31. LADY / 32. SEMELY above.

355. i. METELES: 'without food', see 218. iii. TO METE.

356. i. HYM ÞOWTH GRET DELE: 'it seemed to him striking, moving' <OE *þencan – þohte – þoht*, weak verb of the 1st class, see 280. ii. BE-ÞOWGHT above.[426]

357. DYE / 360. EGARE: dye: see 53. ii. DYE; Egare: the fictitious name which Emaré give herself to conceal her real identity. The two words do not rhyme.

358. NAME / 359. A-NONE: name: 'name', see 27. NOME; a-none: ' at once', <OE *on an* 'into one', now obs.. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 27. NOME / 30. NONE.[427]

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[421] OED, **air, *n.*[1]**, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 129, 190-191,
[422] OED, **fair, *adj.***, A.III.10.a..
[423] OED, **brim, *n.*[2]**, I.†1.a..
[424] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 694. BRYMME / 695. THER-YNNE.
[425] OED, **ferly, *n.***, B.2..
[426] OED, **think, *v.2***, III.13.†d.. The meaning of *gret dele*—here used as an adverb—has been deduced from the context as no meaning from the OED was suitable and the pages relative to *dele* in the *Middle English Dictionary* by KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956) are in part missing.
[427] OED, **anon, *adv.***, †4.a..

361. PYTE / 362. SEE: pyte: 'pity', see 276. PYTE; see: 'sea', see 307. SEE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 273. ii. SE / 276. PYTE.

363. LEDE / 366. UNÞUR WEDE: lede: 'led', see 207. LEDE; unþur wede: used as a mere rhyme tag, see 250. UNÞUR WEDE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

364. BE / 365. iii. TRE: be: 'been', see 11. BE; tre: 'tree', <OE *treow.* The development of the vowel is discussed in 10. FRE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[428]

365. i. WAX: 'become, turned', <OE *weaxan – weox – weoxon – weaxen,* strong verb of the 7th class. The strong past tense became rare after the 14th c. and the verb shifted to the weak declension in LME, since. For the development of the vowel, see 121. WAS above.[429]

365. ii. LENE: 'lean, wanting in flesh', <OE *hlæne.*[430]

367. CAME / 368. NAM: came: 'came', for the verb see 232. COME. *Came* should belong to the number of words where LOE /a/ was lengthened to /a:/ in an open syllable but the vowel is in fact obscure in origin. Welna lists both long and short vowels as possible influences (e. g. Old Norse *kvam* and northern *cam* for the short vowel, plural present tense *camen* and plural past tense *comen* for the long vowel). Subsequently the vowel developed as in 27. NOME[431]; nam: 'took', <OE *niman – nom – numon – genumen,* strong verb of the 4th class, now obs. and regional. *Niman* corresponded to the senses of the Scandinavian loanword *take* and remained in common use until the 15th c.. In

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[428] OED, **tree, *n.***, 1.a..
[429] OED, **wax, *v.*[1]**, II.9.a.(b).
[430] OED, **lean, *adj.***, A.1.a..
[431] WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 78-79.

the following century it disappeared temporarily to reappear later in the 17th as a colloquial word meaning 'to steal'. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[432]

369. FEDE / 372. STEDE: fede: 'feed', <OE *fedan – fedde – fedde*, weak verb of the 1st class. The development of the vowel is discussed in 210. STEDE[433]; stede: 'in that place, in the chamber' now obs., <OE *stede,* masculine noun. The vowel development is discussed in 6. ii. HEUEN. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[434]

370. DRYNKE / 371. HEM ON ÞYNKE: drynke: 'drink', see 272. DRYNKE; hem on þynke: 'call to their mind', for the etymology of the verb see 356. i. ÞOWTH above. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[435]

373. FACE / 374. WAS: face: 'face', <Anglo-Norman and OF *face* <post-classical Latin *facia.* The vowel development is discussed in 27. NOME[436]; was: see 121. WAS. The rhyming vowel is /a/.

374. KEUERED: 'covered', <OF *cuvrir*, see 289. i. KOUERED.[437]

375. A-GAYNE / 378. FULLE FAYNE: a-gayne: 'anew', for the etymology and vowel development, see 203. i. AȝEYN[438]; fulle fayne: 'well pleased', <OE *fægen.* The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.[439]

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[432] OED, **nim, *n.*[1]**, †1.; BRUNNER, K., (1963): p. 76.
[433] OED, **feed, *v.***, 1.a..
[434] OED, **stead, *n.***, II.2.†d..
[435] OED, **drink, *v.*[1]**, II.7.e..
[436] OED, **face, *v.***, I.1.a..
[437] OED, **cover, *v.*[1]**, 3.a..
[438] OED, **again, *adv.***, A.II.4.a..
[439] OED, **fain, *adj.***, A.1.a..

376. MARKE / 377. WERKE: marke: 'embroider', now obs.. For the etymology of the verb see 246. MARKED WAS OF MOLDE. EOE /æɑ/ monophthongized to /æ/ in LOE and in the passage to EME, due to the influence of /r/ it was raised to /e/. In ME /r/ further influenced the vowel causing the lowering to /a/ in the 15th c.. For the further development of the vowel, see 195. ii. FARE[440]; werke: 'creation, handiwork', <OE *weorc*. The development of the vowel is discussed in 83. ii. WROGHT. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[441]

381. CERTEYNE / 384. ii. SWAYNE: certeyne: 'sure, certain', for the etymology see 104. i. SERTES. The word entered English with ME /e/ and the stress shifted from the second syllable to the first. In the 15th c. short /e/ in a +/r/ context was lowered to /a/ first in the North and later it also in the South. This shift affected both native and loanwords but French and Latin loans especially went back to /e/ after the lowering of the vowel because of the influence of the Latin spelling. So in LME words like *certain, desert* were nevertheless pronounced /er/. The further development of the vowel is discussed in 83. ii. WROGHT[442]; swayne: 'a young boy attending on a knight', <OE *swan* <Old Norse *sveinn* 'boy, servant', now obs.. The vowel developed as in 78. PLAYNGE. The rhyming vowel is /aɪ/.[443]

382. ÞYNG / 383. KYNG: þyng: 'thing', see 40. ÞYNG[444]; kyng: 'king', see 1. iii. KYNG above. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/.[445]

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[440] OED, **mark, *v.***, I.1.†d.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 44, 78-79, 177-178.
[441] OED, **work, *n.***, II.9.a..
[442] OED, **certain, *n.***, B.III.7.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 109, 148, 177-178.
[443] OED, **swain, *n.***, †1..
[444] OED, **thing, *n.*[1]**, II.8.c..

384. i. FELLE: ‘befell, was fitting to’, arch., <OE *feallan – feoll – feollon – gefeallen,* strong verb of the 7th class.[446]

385. FESTE / 386. HONESTE: feste: ‘feast, banquet’ <OF *feste.* The word entered English with ME /ɛ:/ and without shifting its original stress. Subsequently the vowel developed as in 3. ii. DELE[447]; honeste: ‘sumptuous’, <OF *honeste*, this meaning is now obs.. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/.[448]

387. KYNGE / 390. FYDYLLEYNG: kynge: ‘king’, see 1. iii. KYNG above; fydylleyng: ‘fiddle, string instrument’, <OE *fiðele*. No forms ending in *-ing/-yng* are recorded for the instrument. The suffix was possibly added here for the sake of the rhyme. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/.

388. MENSTRALSE / 389. iii. SAWTRE: menstralse: ‘minstrelsy, musical entertainment’, now obs. and historical, <OF *menstralsie*[449]; sawtre: ‘psaltery’, <Anglo-Norman *psalterie* <classical Latin *psalterium.* The two words do not rhyme.[450]

389. i. TROMMPUS: ‘trumpets’, <14th c. French *trompe.*[451]

389. ii. TABOURS: ‘drum’, <OF *tabur*, now rare.[452]

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[445] The rhyme is also present on ll. 393. KYNG / 396. ÞYNG, 559. KYNGE / 560. ÞYNG, 849. KYNG / 852. ÞYNGE, 976. ÞYNG / 977. KYNG.
[446] OED, **fall, *v.***, V.†33..
[447] OED, **feast, *n.***, 3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 109-111.
[448] MED, **honest(e**, (adj.) 3(a).
[449] OED, **minstrelsy, *n.***, 1.a..
[450] OED, **psaltery, *n.***, 1..
[451] OED, **trump, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..
[452] OED, **tabor | tabour, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..

391. SMALLE / 392. ii. HALLE: smalle: 'young', see 61. SMALLE[453]; halle: 'large room', see 28. ii. HALLYS. The rhyming vowel is /a/ as in 61. SMALLE / 62. iii. SALE.[454]

392. i. KURTULLE: 'gown', <OE *cyrtel.*[455]

394. BRYȝTH / 395. Y-DYȝTH: bryȝth: 'brightly', see 45. BRYGHT; y-dyȝth: 'adorned', see 3. iii. DYGHTE above. This form of the past participle beginning in *i, y-* was originally *ge-* and started to be vocalised in EOE through the intermediate levels of *ȝe-, ȝi-, i-.* It was first lost in northern and Midlands dialects (about the 11th c.) whereas it remained longer in southern ones: in 14th-century London it was used in free variation as proven by Chaucer's use which shows no regularity. Its latest development can be observed in present south-western dialects in the form of *a-*, which is nevertheless felt as an archaism. For the rhyme, see 133. DYGHT / 134. ii. BRYȝT.[456]

397. LOKED HER VP-ON / 398. NON: loked her vp-on: 'looked at her', *loked* 'looked' <OE *locian – locode – gelocod*, weak verb of the 2nd class[457]; *vp-on* 'at' <EME *upon*, see 98. ÞER-UPONE; non: 'no-one', see 101. ii. NON. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[458]

399. HADDE YN WOLDE / 402. BE-HOLDE: hadde yn wolde: 'had in control', <OE *geweald,* now obs.. The development of the vowel is discussed in 210.

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[453] OED, **small,** ***adj.***, II.3.c..
[454] OED, **hall,** ***n.*****[1]**, 7.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 862. HALLE / 863. SMALLE.
[455] OED, **kirtle,** ***n.*****[1]**, 2.a..
[456] MOSSÉ, F., (1952): p. 80; WRIGHT, J., (1974): pp. 109-177.
[457] OED, **look,** ***v.***, I.1.a.(a).
[458] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 871. VPON / 872. NON.

STEDE[459]; be-holde: ‘contemplate’, see 249. BE-HOLDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.

403. GENT / 404. LENT: gent: ‘polite’, see 55. GENT; lent: ‘granted’, <OE *lendan – lente – gelendet,* weak verb of the 1st class. Both the syncopation process involving the past tense and the vowel development are discussed in 56. SENTE. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[460]

405. TOLDE / 408. BOLDE: tolde: ‘told’, see 20. ii. TELLE above; bolde: ‘courageous’, <OE *bald*. For the development of the vowel, see 54. GOO. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.

409. SYR KADORE / 410. WORE: Syr Kadore: the proper name of the King’s steward; wore: ‘were’, a form for *were* (see 182. WER) to be found typically in ME, where the vowel shows retraction to /ɔ:/. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[461]

411. TYLLE / 414. WYLLE: tylle: ‘to’, for the etymology and the development of the vowel, see 226. iii. TYLLE[462]; wylle: ‘will’, see wylle at 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE. The rhyming vowel is /i/.[463]

412. LORE / 413. BY-FORE: lore: ‘erudition’, <OE *lar*, strong feminine noun, now arch.. For the development of the vowel, see 60. MOO above[464]; by-fore: ‘before’. For the etymology and the vowel development see 163. BY-FORN above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.

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[459] OED, **† wield, *n.***, 1.a..
[460] OED, **lend, *v.*[2]**, 2.a..
[461] OED. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 490. SYR KADORE / 491. WORE, 940. KADORE / 941. WORE.
[462] OED, **till, *prep.***, A.I.2.a..
[463] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 895. TYLLE / 896. WYLLE, 901. WYLLE / 902. TYLLE.
[464] OED, **lore, *n.*[1]**, 5.a..

415. i. SPAKKE: 'spoke', <OE *sprecan – spræc – spræcon – gesprecen,* strong verb of the 5th class. In LOE, the consonantal cluster /spr/ was one of those which underwent simplification through loss of one consonant (*sprecan* > *specan*). In the same period /e/ underwent lengthening when in open syllable, reaching the level of /ɛ:/—and thus merging with the development of LOE /æ/—in EME. The vowel reached EModE unchanged and became /i/[465], its current realisation.[466]

415. ii. RYCHE IN RAY / 416. SAY: ryche in ray: 'in rich array, richly dressed' now poet., <Anglo-Norman *arai* = OF *arei*[467]; say: 'said', <OE *secgan – sægde – gesægd,* weak verb of the 3rd class. In LOE /æġ/ underwent the same modifications which occurred to the vowel in 298. ii. YȝEN, thus becoming /æj/. Later in EME /æ/ was lowered to /a/, the diphthong /æj/ therefore turning into /ai/, as the similar /ej/ becoming /ei/ in the same period. Subsequently the vowel developed as in 78. PLAYNGE. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/[468].

417. STYLLE / 420. WYLLE: stylle: 'soft', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 330. STYLLE[469]; wylle: 'will', see 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE. The rhyme is discussed in 327. WYLLE / 330. STYLLE.

418. i. WHENS: 'whence, from what place', also ME *whennes*<OE *hwanone*. The ending *-s,* originally *-es*, was used to form adverbs and was identical with

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[465] For the theory behind the replacement of /ɛ:/ with /i:/, see 3. ii. DELE.
[466] OED, **speak, *v.***, I.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 56, 76-77, 237.
[467] OED, **array, *n.***, II.8.a.
[468] OED, **say, *v.*[1]**, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 50, 121-122.
[469] OED, **still, *adj.***, A.3.a..

the genitive singular ending of many masculine and neuter nouns and also of adjectives. -*es* was analogically added also to feminine nouns in adverb-forming function (e.g. *nihtes* 'by night'). Furthermore, as OE had adverbs governed by the preposition *to* and a genitive (e.g. *to-gains*) and other adverbs governed by prepositions plus accusatives and datives (e.g. *on-gegn*, see 203. i. AȝEYN above), the latter consequently acquired parallel forms resembling the genitive adverbs (e.g. *aȝeines*).[470]

423. SENE / 426. BENE: sene: 'see', for the verb, see 68. SYE above. The vowel development is discussed in 87. iii. KNE; bene: 'be', see 11. BE. For the rhyme, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

424. CERTEYNLYE / 425. CURTESYE: certeynlye: 'certainly', see 381. CERTEYNE; curtesye: 'courteous behaviour', <OF *cur-*, *cortesie*. *Court* entered English with ME /u:/. Differently from words as 208. RENOWNE and 209. CROWNE, in a + /rC/ context the LME diphthongisazion of /u:/ did not occur. The presence of /r/ was relevant also in the passage to EModE, when it provoked a slight fronting and lowering of /u/ to /ʊ/ and the appearance of a /ə/ glide, giving as a result the diphthong /ʊə/ which was later further lowered via /oə/ to the current /ɔə/. For the rhyme, see 67. ii. SLYE / 68. SYE.[471]

427. i. KONNYNGEST: 'the most skilful, clever', <OE *cunnende* <*cunnan* (see 42. KOWTH), the forms of the adj. *cunning, connyng* cannot be found in OE but

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[470] OED, **whence, *adv.***, I.1.a..
[471] OED, **courtesy, *n.***, 1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 115-116, 189, 222.

became common in the 14th c. in the earlier sense of 'knowing'. Now only lit. archaism.[472]

427. ii. WOMMON / 428. CRYSTENDOM: wommon: 'woman', see 222. i. WOMMON above; crystendom: 'Christendom', <OE *cristendom.* For the rhyme, see 4. iii. TO DONE / 5. iii. WONE above.[473]

429. SENE / 432. QUENE: sene: 'seen', for the verb *to see*, see 68. SYE above. The vowel shared the same development as the one in 210. STEDE; quene: see 7. ii. QWENE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

430. RAYE / 431. MAY: raye: 'king', <Anglo-Norman *rai*, *raie*, *rei*, now obs.[474]; may: 'maiden', see 189. MAY. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.[475]

433. VERAMENT / 434. SENT: verament: 'really', <Anglo-Norman *veirement,* now obs.[476]; sent: 'requested to go to', for the verb and the phonological development, see 56. SENTE. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[477]

435. SAY / 438. DAY: say: 'say', see 416. SAY; day: 'day', see 192. ii. DAY. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/.

436. HASTELY / 437. EGARYE: hastely: 'in haste', see 287. HASTYLY; Egarye: another spelling for the fictitious name which Emaré gives herself to conceal her real identity. The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY.

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[472] OED, **cunning, *adj.***, 2.a..
[473] OED, **Christendom, *n.***, 3.a..
[474] OED, **† ray, *n.*[7]**, 1..
[475] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 451. RAY / 452. MAY.
[476] OED, **† ˈverament, *adv.***, a..
[477] OED, **send, *v.*[1]**, I.*1.a.. The same rhyme occurs in 619. VERAMENT / 620. ii. SENTE.

441. MAY / 444. ii. GAY: may: 'maiden', see 189. MAY; gay: 'noble, beautiful', <Anglo-Norman *gai*, *gaye*, a conventional epithet of praise for a woman in use until the 18th c., obs.. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 189. MAY / 192. ii. DAY.[478]

442. A-NON / 443. WOMMON: a-non: 'at once', see 359. A-NONE; wommon: 'woman', see 222. i. WOMMON. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 27. NOME / 30. NONE.

444. i. HALUENDELLE: 'half', <OE *þone healfan dæl,* accusative of *se healfa dæl* 'the half part', now obs..[479]

445. VNHENDE / 446. FENDE: vnhende: 'improper', see 84. HENDE[480]; fende: 'enemy', <OE *feond*, now obs.. The development of the vowel is discussed in 87. iii. KNE. For the rhyming vowel, see 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.

448. BLESSYNGE / 449. WEDDYNGE: blessynge: 'blessing, favour', <OE *bledsung* <*bledsian – bledsode – gebledsod,* weak verb of the 2nd class, 'to mark with blood, sacrifice'. Later the word was adopted as a suitable rendering of Latin *benedicere* 'speak well of or to, praise, consecrate' which was in its turn influenced by Hebrew *brk,* literally 'to bend' and therefore 'to bend the knee, worship, praise, bless God, invoke blessings on, bless as a deity', weak verb of the 2nd class[481]; weddynge: 'wedding', <OE *weddung* <OE *weddian – weddode*

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[478] OED, **gay, *adj.***, A.1.†a..
[479] OED, ˈ**halfendeal |** ˈ**halvendeal, *adv.***, †C..
[480] OED, **† un**ˈ**hend, *adj.***, 2.a..
[481] OED, **blessing, *n.***, 2.b..

– *geweddod,* weak verb of the 2nd class (see 253. iii. WEDDE). For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[482]

453. LEDE / 456. DEDE: lede: 'led', for the verb see 207. LEDE; dede: 'deed, act', for the etymology of the word, see 4. ii. DEDUS. The vowel shared the same development as the one in 210. STEDE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 207. LEDE / 210. STEDE.

454. FOR CERTAYNE / 455. A-GAYNE: for certayne: 'for sure', see 381. CERTEYNE; a-gayne: 'again', for the etymology, see 203. i. AȝEYN. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/ as in 316. RAYN / 317. A-GAYN.

457. BRYGHT / 458. ii. DYȝTH: bryght: 'bright', see 45. BRYGHT; dyȝth: 'made', for the verb see 3. iii. DYGHTE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE.[483]

458. i. PURUYANCE: 'preparations', <Anglo-Norman *porveaunce* 'foresight, provision for the future, divine Providence'.[484]

460. A-RYGHT / 461. KNYȝTH: a-ryght: 'properly', see 86. RYGHT[485]; knyȝth: 'knight', see 85. ii. KNYȝT. For the rhyme, see 85. ii. KNYȝT / 86. RYGHT above.

463. WAS / 464. PRESE: was: 'was', see 121. WAS; prese: 'crowd', <Anglo-Norman *pres*. The two words do not rhyme.[486]

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[482] OED, **wedding, *n.***, 1..
[483] OED, **dight, *v.***, III.14.a..
[484] OED, **purveyance, *n.***, †3..
[485] OED, **aright, *adv.***, 1..

465. TALE / 468. MENSTRALLE: tale: 'tale', <OE *talu*. The development of the vowel is discussed in 27. NOME[487]; menstralle: 'minstrel', <Anglo-Norman *menestral*, 'servant, worker, artisan'. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.

469. i. MANGERY: 'banquet, feast', <Anglo-Norman *mangerie*, now obs.[488]

471. SE / 474. GAME AND GLE: se: 'see', for the etymology of the verb, see 68. SYE above; game and gle: 'mirth, joy', for the etymology, see 132. GLEWE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 93. SE / 96. ÞE.[489]

472. i. BE-LAFTE: 'remained', <OE *belæfan – belæfde – belæfd,* weak verb of the 3rd class.[490]

475. SWETE / 476. ȝETE: swete: 'sweet', see 212. ii. SWETE; ȝete: 'yet', <OE *giet, gieta.* The vowel in *yet* underwent shortening between OE and ME, so its realisation in EME was /e:/. For the development of the vowel and the rhyme, see 19. iii. DWELLE / 20. ii. TELLE above.[491]

478. i. MEKE: 'courteous, gentle', <Old Icelandic *mjukr* 'soft, pliant, gentle', Old Swedish *miuker* 'soft, pliant, gentle', now obs..[492]

478. ii. MYLDE / 479. WENTE WYTH CHYLDE: mylde: 'mild', <OE *mild*[493]; wente wyth chylde: 'got pregnant', *child* <OE *cild*. For the development of the vowel, see 14. SYDE above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[494]

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[486] OED, **press, *n.*[1]**, II.5.a..
[487] OED, **minstrel, *n.***, I.3.a..
[488] OED, **† mangery, *n.***, 1.a..
[489] OED, **glee, *n.***, 3.a..
[490] OED, **† be leave | be leve, *v.***, II.6..
[491] OED, **yet, *adv.***, II.2.a.(b)..
[492] OED, **meek, *adj.***, A.†1..

481. TYME / 482. ii. SAREZYNE: tyme: 'time', <OE *tima*, weak masculine noun, often overlapping in meaning in OE with *tide* 'portion, extent, or space of time', now obs.. For the development of the vowel, see 14. SYDE above[495]; Sarezyne: 'Saracens', <OF *Sar(r)azin*, *-cin* <late Latin *Saracenus.* The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[496]

482. i. BE-SETTE: 'closed round', <OE *besettan – besette – beset*, weak verb of the 1st class.[497]

483. i. CUMBERED: 'benumbed', <OF *encombrer* <late Latin *incombrare* 'to block, obstruct'.

483. TENE / 486. SENE: tene: 'trouble, grief', <OE *teona*, masculine noun, arch.[498]; sene: 'seen', for the verb *to see*, see 68. SYE above. The vowel shared the same development as the one in 210. STEDE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

484. GALYS / 485. PRYS: Galys: 'Galicia', an area of Spain in the north-east of the country[499]; prys: 'virtue', for the etymology and phonological development see 92. PRYS above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[500]

487. TYDE / 488. ii. SYDE: tyde: 'time', <OE *tid*, now this meaning is obs. or dial., for the phonological development see 14. SYDE; syde: 'place', for the etymology see 14. SYDE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[501]

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[493] OED, **mild, *adj.***, A.1.d..
[494] OED, **child, *n.***, IV.17.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 640. MYLDE / 641. CHYLDE.
[495] OED, **time, *n.***, A.I.*1.a..
[496] OED, **Saracen, *n.,*** A.1.a..
[497] OED, **beset, *v.***, 4..
[498] OED, **teen, *n.*[1]**, 3.a..
[499] OED, **Galician, *adj.*[1] *and n.*[1]**.
[500] OED, **price, *n.***, II.3.†b.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 985. PRYSE / 986. GALYS.

488. i. GEDERED: 'gathered', <OE *gaderian – gaderode – gaderod,* weak verb of the 2nd class. For the process involving d, see 7. i. MODUR above.[502]

489. SHENE / 492. QWENE: shene: 'bright, shining', the etymology and phonological development are discussed in 150. SHENE; qwene: 'queen', see 7. ii. QWENE for the discussion about the word. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

493. NONE / 494. HEM EUERYCHONE: none: 'no one', see 30. NONE; hem euerychone: 'every one of them', adj. absol.. See 27. NOME / 30. NONE for the rhyme.[503]

495. CLERKE / 498. WERKE: clerke: 'scholar, penman', <OF *clerc.* The vowel developed as in 195. ii. FARE but differently from it, it preserved the spelling <er> in ModE[504]; werke: 'operation', see 377. WERKE above. The rhyming vowel is /e/.[505]

496. HOME / 497: FOME: home: 'home', <OE *ham*, strong masculine noun. For the development of the vowel, see 243. GOLDE[506]; fome: 'foam', <OE *fam*, strong masculine or neuter noun. The two words share the development of the vowel and The rhyming vowel is /o:/.[507]

499. YN PLACE / 500. WAS: yn place: 'immediately', <Anglo-Norman and OF *place*. The word entered English with ME /a:/ and subsequently developed as

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[501] OED, **side, *n.*[1]**, III.11.b..
[502] OED, **gather, *v.***, I.2.a..
[503] OED, **every, *adj.***, III.10.b..
[504] OED, **clerk, *n.***, 1.a..
[505] OED, **work, *n.***, I.3.b..
[506] OED, **home, *n.*[1]**, A.2.a..
[507] OED, **foam, *n.***, 1.a.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 805. FOME / 806. HOM.

the one in 27. NOME[508]; was: ‘was’, see 121. WAS. The two words do not rhyme.

501. SERKE / 504. KYNGUS MARKE: serke: ‘shirt’, <OE *sarc*, masculine noun[509]; kyngus marke: ‘birthmark signifying royalty’, <OE *mearc*, strong feminine noun; for the etymology of *kyngus*, see 1. iii. KYNG. The rhyming vowel is /e/ as in 376. MARKE / 377. WERKE.[510]

502. BODY / 503. GODELE: body: ‘body’, <OE *bodig.* LOE /o/ reached EME unchanged and continued throughout ME. In LME it started to be slightly more open reaching the level of /ɒ/—its current pronunciation—in EModE[511]; godely: ‘handsome’, <OE *godlic*. For the phonological development, see 74. GODE. The two words do not rhyme.[512]

505. HONOUR / 506. SEGRAMOUR: honour: ‘honour’, see 69. ii. HONOUR; Segramour: the name given to the King of Galicia and Emaré’s son. For the rhyme, see 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE above.

507. FODE / 510. GODE: fode: ‘a child regarded as one who is fed or nurtured’, <OE *foda*, now obs.. For the development of the vowel, see 2. MONE above[513]; gode: ‘good’, see 74. GODE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/.

508. SYR KADORE / 509. THORE: Syr Kadore: the name of the King’s steward; thore: ‘there’, see 181. ÞER. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.

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[508] OED, **place, *n.*[1]**, P2.a.(a); WELNA, J., (1978): p. 112.
[509] OED, **sark, *n.***, a..
[510] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): v. 5-I, p. 523, **king, *n.***, 1b(a).
[511] OED, **body, *n.***, I.1.a..
[512] OED, **goodly, *adj.***, 1..
[513] OED, **food, *n.***, †II.6..

511. HYȝYNGE / 512. KYNGE: hyȝynge: ‘quickly, in haste’, for the etymology of the word, see 193. ii. IN HYE. The suffix was possibly added here for the sake of the rhyme[514]; kynge: ‘king’, see 1. iii. KYNG above. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE above.

513. BLODE / 516. ȝODE: blode: ‘temper’, see 73. BLODE; ȝode: ‘went’, see 213. ȝEDE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 73. BLODE / 74. GODE.[515]

514. WENDE / 515. LENDE: wende: ‘go’, for the etymology and the phonological development, see 81. WENDE; lende: ‘remained, stayed, see 404. LENT above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[516]

517. RYCHELY / 518. HASTYLY: rychely: ‘in rich manner’, <OE *riclice*; hastyly: ‘soon’, for the etymology, see 287. HASTYLY. The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY.[517]

519. SPEDDE / 522. BEDDE: spedde: ‘succeed, fare well, now arch. in this meaning, <OE *spedan* – *spedde* – *gesped*, weak verb of the 3rd class. For the development of the vowel, see 7. ii. QWENE[518]; bedde: ‘bed’, see 254. BEDDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/.[519]

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[514] OED, **hying, *n.***.
[515] OED, **go, *v.***, III.*30..
[516] OED, **† lend, *v.*[1]**,3.a..
[517] OED, **richly, *adv.***, 2..
[518] OED, **speed, *v.***, I.2.b..
[519] OED, **bed, *n.***, I.1.a..

520. Y-BORNE / 521. BE-FORNE: y-borne: 'borne', for the etymology and phonological development, see 49. BORN; be-forne: 'openly', now obs.. For the etymology and the rhyme, see 163. BY-FORN / 164. UNYKORN.[520]

523. TYDYNGE / 524. SHYLYNGE: tydynge: 'piece of news', <LOE *tidung*, feminine noun[521]; shylynge: 'shillings', <OE *scilling*, masculine noun. The invariable use of the word is vulgar. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE above.[522]

525. CLADDE / 528. LEDE: cladde: 'dressed', arch. in this meaning, apparently educed from OE *claðod* 'covered with clothes' <OE *clæðan*, weak verb of the 3rd class <Old Norse *klæða* 'to clothe'. The vowel developed as the one in 335. MADDE[523]; lede: 'lead', for the etymology and phonological development, see 207. LEDE. The rhyming vowel is /æ:/.

526. WYNE / 527. HYT WAS TYME: wyne: 'wine', <OE *win* <Latin *vinum*[524]; hyt was tyme: 'it was time', see 481. TYME. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.

532. FRO / 533. DO: fro: 'from', <OE *fram* <Old Norse *fra.* The word entered Northern English with /a:/. Starting from the 12th c. in the other dialects the vowel started a process of retraction and became slightly less open reaching /ɔ:/. Subsequently the labial influenced EME /ɔ:/ bringing it to the higher level of /o:/ in ME. Between the 15th and the 16th c. the vowel was lowered back to /ɒ:/, the current pronunciation. The word remains in current English meaning

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[520] OED, **before, *adv.***, A.I.†3..
[521] OED, **tiding, *n.*[1]**, 2.a..
[522] OED, **shilling, *n.***, 1.d..
[523] OED, **clad, *adj.***, 1.a..
[524] OED, **wine, *n.***, 1.a..

direction only in the expression *to and fro* 'backwards and forwards' and *of or fro* 'for or against'[525]; do: 'next', <OE *ðа*, *þa,* now obs.. *Ða*, *þa* entered EME with /ɑ:/ and soon developed into /ɔu/. Subsequently the vowel developed as the one in 268. BOOT. In LOE *ð* and *þ* started to be expressed by <th> and the word *tho* remains in south western ModE only with the meaning of 'then, at that time'. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.[526]

535. WYTH EUYLLE / 536. DEUYLLE: wyth euylle: 'with evil intention', <OE *yfel*. ModE *evil* may derive from Kentish *evel* or be the result of LOE lengthening of /i-/ to /e:/ and subsequent narrowing of the vowel to LME /i:/ because of the Great Vowel Shift[527]; deuylle: 'devil', <OE *deofol*. The vowel shared its development with the one discussed in 6. ii. HEUEN. The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 226. iii. TYLLE / 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE.[528]

537. HENDE / 540. iii. FENDE: hende: 'near, at hand', now obs.. For the etymology of the word see 84. HENDE[529]; fende: 'evil', see 446. FENDE. For the rhyme, see 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.

540. i. FOWLLE: 'wicked', *foul fiend* 'devil', <OE *ful* 'rotten.[530]

540. ii. FELTRED: 'having matted hair or wool', <OF *feltrer* <medieval Latin *filtrum.*[531]

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[525] OED, **fro | frae, *prep.***, A.1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 118-119, 160, 214.
[526] OED, **tho, *adv.***, 1.†b.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 133.
[527] OED, **evil, *n.*[1]**, B.I.2.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 80-81, 187-188.
[528] OED, **devil, *n.***, I.1.a..
[529] OED, **† hend | hende, *adv.***, A.1..
[530] OED, **foul, adj.**, A.II.7.a.; **fiend, *n.***, 2.a..
[531] OED, **† ˈfeltered, *adj.,*** 2.a..

541. DAY / 542. WAY: day: 'day', see 192. ii. DAY; way: 'way', see 186. WAY. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/ as in 183. PLAY / 186. WAY.

543. STYE AND STRETE / 546. SWETE: stye and strete: 'everywhere', see 196. BY STRETES AND BY STYE above. Strete 'streets, roads', <EOE *stret*. The phonological development is discussed at 150. SHENE[532]; swete: 'sweet', see 212. ii. SWETE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 147. BE-TWENE / 150. SHENE.

544. SAY / 545. LAYE: say: 'say', see 416. SAY above; laye: 'was', <OE *licgan – læg – lægon – gelegen*, strong verb of the 5th class. For the development of the vowel see 78. PLAYNGE above. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/ as in 189. MAY / 192. ii. DAY.[533]

549. DOWNE GAN HE LETE / 552. BLEDE: downe gan he lete: 'he shed tears', for the etymology of the verb see 242. i. LETTE SHAPE A ROBE above. the vowel development is discussed in 76. DEDE[534]; blede: 'bleed', for the etymology of the verb see 448. BLESSYNGE. The vowel developed as in 7. ii. QWENE. The rhyming vowel here is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE.

550. REDYNG / 551. SOWENYNG: redyng: 'reading', <OE *rædan – reord – redon – ræden*, strong verb of the 7th class[535]; sowenyng: 'in a swoon', for the

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[532] OED, **street, *n.***, A.1.a.; **† sty, *n.*[1]**, a...
[533] OED, **lie, *v.*[1]**, I.1.a..
[534] OED, **let, *v.*[1]**, IV.**22.f..
[535] OED, **read, *v.***, 1.a..

etymology of the verb, see 284. SOWENYNGE. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[536]

553. BY / 554. HASTELY: by: 'next to', see 159. BY[537]; hastely: 'in haste', see 287. HASTYLY. The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY.

555. FULLE WOO / 556. SO: woo: 'much distressed', see 324. WOO for the etymology[538]; so: 'so', see 315. ALSO for the etymology and the phonological development. For the rhyme, see 51. ÞOO / 54. GOO.[539]

560. SYGH: 'then', <OE *siðða,* adv., now arch. or dial.[540]

561. ON ERÞE MYGHT GO / 564. TOO: on erþe myght go: 'live and move', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 54. GOO[541]; too: 'two', see 203. ii. TWO. The rhyming vowel is here /ɔ:/ as in 202. GO / 203. ii. TWO.

561. SENDE / 562. ii. FENDE: sende: 'send', see 56. SENTE above; fende: 'fiend', see 446. FENDE. The rhyming vowel is /e/ as in 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.

562. i. LOÞLY: 'hideous, loathsome', <OE *laðlic,* now literary.[542]

565. BE / 566. HE: be: 'be', see 11. BE; he: see 342. HE. For the rhyme see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.

567. SELE / 570. HELE: sele: 'seal', <OF *seel* <Latin *sigillum*. The word entered ME with /ɛ:/. For the further development of the vowel in both words,

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[536] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 607. REDYNG / 608. SWONYNGE.
[537] OED, **by, *prep.***, A.I.*1.a..
[538] OED, **woe, *adv.***, A.II.3.a..
[539] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 763. WO / 764. SO, 879. SO / 882. WOO, 928. SO / 929. ii. WO.
[540] OED, **sith, *adv.***, A.†1.a..
[541] OED, **go, *v.***, I.†1.b..
[542] OED, **loathly, *adj.***, a..

see 3. ii. DELE[543]; hele: 'health, sound body condition', <OE *hælu*, now obs. exc. Sc.. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/ as in 385. FESTE / 386. HONESTE.[544]

571. YLLE / 572. WYLLE: ylle: 'morally evil', now obs. in this meaning. For the etymology and the phonological development, see 336. iii. YLLE[545]; wylle: 'desire, liking'. For the word and the rhyme, see 226. iii. TYLLE / 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE.[546]

573. WELE / 576. CASTELLE: wele: 'well-being', now obs. in this meaning, <OE *wel, well*[547]; castelle: 'castle', for the etymology and the development of the word, see 26. i. CASTELLE. The two words here rhyme on /ɛ/.

574. HONDE / 575. LONDE: honde: 'hand', see 67. i. HONDES for etymology and phonological development; londe: 'land', see 15. ii. LONDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 15. ii. LONDE / 18. SONDE.[548]

577. NYȝT / 578. DYȝT: nyȝt: 'night', <OE *neaht*. The word developed as 6. LYGHTE[549]; dyȝt: 'dressed'. For the etymology, see 3. iii. DYGHTE above. The rhyming vowel here is /i:/ as in 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE.[550]

579. i. WYSTE: 'knew', see 153. i. TO WYTE.[551]

579. ii. TRESON / 582. ii. RESON: treson: 'treason', <Anglo-Norman *treysoun* = OF *traïson*[552]; reson: 'reason', <Anglo-Norman and OF *reson.* Both words

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[543] OED, **seal, *n.*²**, 1.a..
[544] OED, **† heal | hele, *n.***, 1.a..
[545] OED, **ill, *adj.***, A.1.a..
[546] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 723. WYLLE / 726. YLLE.
[547] OED, **† well, *n.*²**, 1.a..
[548] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 639. HOND[E] / 642. LONDE.
[549] OED, **night, *n.***, A.I.1.a..
[550] OED, **dight, *v.***, III.10.a..
[551] OED, **wit, *v.*¹**, 2.a..

entered English with ME /ɛ:/ and developed /i:/ in 17th and the 18th c. as in 3. ii. DELE. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/ as in 385. FESTE / 386. HONESTE.[553]

580. i. HYM: 'himself', for the use of the reflexive here, see 87. ii. HYM.

580. ii. AT ESE: 'in comfort', <OF *eise, aise*, 'elbow-room' or 'opportunity'.[554]

580. iii. FYNE / 581. WYNE: fyne: 'well', <French *fin.* The word entered ME with front vowel /i:/ which developed as the vowel in 6. LYGHTE above[555]; wyne: 'wine', see 526. WYNE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.

582. i. BE-RAFTE: 'stole', <OE *bi-, bereafian – bereafode – bereafod*, weak verb of the 2nd class. The syncope occurs in weak verbs of the 2nd class only in verbs with a long stem-vowel.[556]

583. SOWȝT / 584. BROWȝT: sowȝt: 'sought', see 117. i. SOWȝTE for the etymology and phonological development; browȝt: 'brought', see 82. BROWGHT for the etymology of the verb and the phonological development. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 82. BROWGHT / 83. ii. WROGHT.

585. KASTE HYT DOWNE / 588. TOWNE: kaste hyt downe: 'threw it down', <Old Norse *kasta*. [557] *Downe* 'down', <LOE *dune, dun*, aphetic form of *adune*. In about 1200 OE /u:/ started to be written <ou> due to the influence of Anglo-Norman and Central French and it became general in 1300, except in the North where <u> was retained longer. The spelling <ow> appeared in EME before <l,

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[552] OED, **treason, *n.***, 1.a..
[553] OED, **reason, *n.*[1]**, II.8.b.. The same rhyme occurs in ll. 795. TRESON / 798. RESON.
[554] OED, **ease, *n.***, II.7.a..
[555] OED, **fine, *adv.***, C.b..
[556] OED, **bereave, *v.***, 1.c.; BRUNNER, K., (1963): p. 81.
[557] OED, **cast, *v.***, II.11..

n, w>.LOE /u:/ reached EME unchanged and subsequently the vowel developed as the one in 209. CROWNE[558]; towne: 'village', <OE *tuun, tun*, 'enclosed place, field' masculine noun. The modern meaning is a result of the Norman conquest, with *town* resembling the meaning of French *ville* and Latin *villa*. The root vowel underwent the same development of *downe* above. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 208. RENOWNE / 209. CROWNE.[559]

586. MAKE / 587. TAKE: make: 'make', <OE *macian – macode – gemacod*, weak verb of the 2nd class[560]; take: 'take', <LOE *tacan – toc – tocon – getacen* <Old Norse *taka – tok – tekinn* 'to grasp', strong verb of the 6th class. In ME the verb superseded OE niman (see 368. NAM), from then onwards it was the simplest option to express the basic notion of Latin *capere*, *sumere.* The vowel in both verbs developed as the one in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[561]

589. SEE / 590. BLE: see: 'sea', see 307. SEE above; ble: 'blue', see 270. BLE. The rhyming vowel here, is /ɛ:/.[562]

591. WYTH / 594. KYGH: wyth: 'with', <OE *wið*[563]; kygh: 'country, region', now arch, <OE *cyðð, cyð.* When entering EME, /ü:/ was shortened and unrounded to /i/, thus sharing the same development as /i/ in 1. iii. KYNG. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE above.[564]

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[558] OED, **down,** ***prep.***, I.1.a.; JORDAN, R. (1974): p. 87; WELNA, J., (1978): p.103.
[559] OED, **town,** ***n.***, 3..
[560] OED, **make,** ***v.***, I.*1.a..
[561] OED, **take,** ***v.***, II.*2.a..
[562] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 643. SEE / 644. BLE.
[563] OED, **with,** ***prep.***, A.II.***21.a..
[564] OED, **kith,** ***n.***, †3.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 64-65.

592. SPENDYNG / 593. DRYNKE: spendyng: 'money', see 271. SPENDYNG above; drynke: 'liquid nourishment', <OE *dryncˌ drinc*. The vowel developed as in 1. iii. KYNG above. For the rhyme, see 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE above.[565]

595. i. VPON PAIN: 'with punishment of', <Anglo-Norman and OF *peine* <classical Latin *poena.*[566]

597. GRYGHT / 600. FRYGHT: grygh̄t: 'peace', <OE *grið,* now obs.[567]; frygh̄t: 'frith, a wood of some kind', <OE *(ge)fyrhðe,* strong neuter noun (see also 29. i. FRYTHES). The spelling here is anomalous. The rhyming vowel here is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[568]

598. GYLE / 599. MYLE: gyle: 'guile, treachery', <OF *guile*. The word entered English with /i:/ and subsequently the vowel developed as the one in 6. LYGHTE above[569]; myle: 'mile', <OE *mil*, strong feminine noun. LOE /i:/ reached EME without any modification. For the diphthongization process due to the Great Vowel Shift, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/.[570]

601. HOME / 602. SONE: home: 'home', see 496. HOME; sone: 'soon', 97. SONE. For the rhyme, see 27. NOME / 30. NONE.

603. REDE / 606. ii. DEDE: rede: 'read', for the word see 216. REDE above; dede: 'deed, act', for the etymology of the word, see 4. ii. DEDUS. The vowel

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[565] OED, **drink, *n.***, 1.b..
[566] OED, **pain, *n.*[1]**, 1.b..
[567] OED, **grith, *n.***, †4..
[568] OED, **frith, *n.*[2]**, 1..
[569] OED, **guile, *n.***, 1..
[570] OED, **mile, *n.*[2]**, 1.a..

shared the same development as the one in 210. STEDE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 207. LEDE / 210. STEDE.[571]

606. i. DE[L]FULLE: 'doleful, sorrowful', <OF *doel* <late Latin *dolium* + *ful*, now arch. or lit..[572]

604. ALAS / 605. CASE: alas: 'alas', see 290. ALAS; case: 'event, occurrence', <OF *cas* <Latin *casus*. The word entered English with /a:/. Borrowings from French were the only instances of /a:/ in closed syllables—native words had /a:/ only in open syllables. Subsequently the vowel developed as the one in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[573]

609. BLEDE / 612. VNÞUR WEDE: blede: 'bleed', see 552. BLEDE above; vnþur wede: 'under her clothes', see 250. UNÞUR WEDE. The rhyming vowel here is /e:/ as in 250. UNÞUR WEDE / 251. GOD OF HEUEN HYT FOR-BEDE.

613. i. DELE: 'lamentation', for the etymology see 606. i. DE[L]FULLE above.[574]

613. ii. HALLE / 614. CALLE: halle: 'hall', see 28. ii. HALLYS; calle: 'shout, summon', <Old Norse *kalla* 'to call, cry, summon'. The word entered in EME with /a/ which reached ME unchanged. Subsequently the vowel shared the same development as the one in 61. SMALLE. The rhyming vowel here is /a/.[575]

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[571] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 622. REDE / 623. DEDE, 769. REDE / 770. DEDE.
[572] OED, **doleful, *adj.*[1]**, A.1..
[573] OED, **case, *n.*[1]**, I.†1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 112, 117, 190. The same rhyme occurs in 646. ALAS / 647. KASE.
[574] OED, **dole | dool | dule, *n.*[2]**, 2.a..
[575] OED, **call, *v.***, I.*1.a..

615. BE / 618. ME: be: 'be', see 11. BE; me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE.[576]

616. A-MYS / 617. YS: a-mys: 'amiss', also ME *a mis, amyss*[577]; ys: 'is', see 1. ii. YS. The rhyming vowel here is /i/.

620. i. LO: 'Oh', <OE *la*, interjection.

621. ME / 624. ii. SEE: me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME; see: 'sea', see 307. SEE. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/ as in 307. SEE / 308. FRE.

624. i. MOSTE: 'must', <OE *mot* (1st and 3rd pers.) – *motan* (pres. plur.) – *moste* (pret.), preterite-present verb belonging to the 6th class. *Must* was originally the past tense of the verb *motan* 'to be permitted to' which, as any other preterite-present verb, developed present tense uses; the present tense use of *motan* had meanings expressing obligation. The present tense forms may possibly have developed from the subjunctive form of the verb which survives until EModE. The meanings and usage of the new present forms were fully established in the 14th c. and in the same century the 2nd pers. sing. form *most* died out because of its identity with the past tense of the same verb. Since then *motan* developed new past tense forms (ME *moht,* ModE *mought*) resulting from the confusion with the past tense forms of the verb *may*. Archaizing writers continued to use the form *mote* until the 16th c. when it died out. It is difficult to understand how the verb passed from a meaning of concession to do something to the current one. Francovich-Onesti hypothesises

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[576] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 919. BE / 920. ME.
[577] OED, **amiss, *adj.***, B.1..

that the modern meaning may come from its negative use ‘you may not, so you have to’. One of the first examples of this use of the verb dates back to the 13th c.. Here a verb of motion has been left out, a use now archaic.[578]

625. QWENE / 626. BENE: qwene: ‘queen’, see 7. ii. QWENE above; bene: ‘be’, see 11. BE. For the rhyme, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[579]

627. KARE / 630. SPARE: kare: ‘sorrow, grief’, this meaning is now obsolete, <OE *caru, cearu*. LOE /ɑ/ was fronted to /a/ in EME when lengthened in open syllable, thus resulting in /a:/ and filling the empty slot left by LOE /ɑ:/ which became /ɔ:/ in EME. From then onwards, /a/ and /æ/—which became /a/ in the same period—shared the same development in this kind of context. Next, /a:/ in a +/r/ context narrowed to /ɛ/ and in LME developed an /ə/ glide [ɛə] due to the loss of /r/, reaching its current pronunciation[580]; spare: ‘show mercy’, <OE *sparian – sparode – gesparod,* weak verb of the 2nd class. The two words in this entry share the same vowel development. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[581]

628. SHENTE / 629. COMMAUNDEMENT: shente: ‘confused’, <OE *scendan – scent – gescend*, weak verb of the 1st class, now dial. or arch.[582]; commaundement: ‘order, injunction’, see 236. ii. COMMANDEMENT above. For the rhyme, see 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.

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[578] OED, **must, *v.*[1]**, II.3.a.(b)..
[579] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 927. QWENE / 930. BENE.
[580] OED, **care, *n.*[1]**, †1.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 78-79, 221-222.
[581] OED, **spare, *v.*[1]**, I.2.a..
[582] OED, **shand, *v.*[1]**, 1.a..

631. PORELY / 632. LADY: porely: 'in an inferior way', <Anglo-Norman and OF *povre* <classical Latin *pauper,* 'needy, lacking means'[583]; lady: 'lady', see 31. LADY above. The rhyming vowel is /æ/ as in 31. LADY / 32. SEMELY.

633. SORE / 636. MORE: sore: 'deeply', see 328. iii. SORE above[584]; more: 'more', see 60. MOO above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 328. iii. SORE / 329. ii. ȝORE.

634. i. GRETE WELL: 'give my love to', now obs. with *well* and lit. when found alone, <OE *grœtan – grœt – gegrœted,* weak verb of the 1st class.[585]

634. ii. ME / 635. CRISTYANTE: me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME; Cristyante: 'Christianity', see 108. CRYSTYANTE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 175. ii. ME / 176. ii. IN SPECYALTE.

636. GET HE NEUUR MORE!: 'he could not find ever!'.

645. SONDE / 648. WRONGE: sonde: 'sand', see 18. SONDE; wronge: 'not morally right', <LOE *wrang*. The word entered LOE as a noun. In a document dating back to the 10th c. there is the first instance of the word used as an adjective. The adjectival use became consistent in EME. The vowel developed as the one in 24. i. SONGE. Furthermore, in EModE initial /w/ was lost in a +/r/ context. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 15. ii. LONDE / 18. SONDE.[586]

649. CHYLDE / 650. WYLDE: chylde: 'child', see 479. WENTE WYTH CHYLDE above; wylde: 'tumultuous, turbulent', <OE *wilde.* The vowel shared the same

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[583] OED, **poorly, *adv.***, 1..
[584] OED, **sore, *adv.***, 3.a..
[585] OED, **greet, *v.*[1]**, 3.a..
[586] OED, **wrong, *adj.***, II.3.a.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 230.

development as the one in 14. SYDE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 478. ii. MYLDE / 479. WENTE WYTH CHYLDE.[587]

651. HAPPES / 654. ii. LAPPES: happes: 'events', <Old Norse *happ*[588]; lappes: 'hanging parts of a garment to be folded over', <OE *lappa*, *læppa* weak masculine noun. The rhyming vowel is /a/.[589]

652. i. SURKOTE: 'outer coat', <OF *sur-*, *sor-*, *sour-*, *sircot.*[590]

652. ii. WYDE / 653. HYDE: wyde: 'ample', see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE[591]; hyde: 'hide', see 120. IN HERTE IS NOT TO HYDE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 117. ii. WYDE / 120. HYDE.

654. HYNÞUR: 'on the outside, external', in early use <*utter* adj. or <*out* adj. or <*out* adv. + *-er,* in later use <*out* adv. or <out adv.+ *-er.*[592]

656. i. GRUF: 'face downwards', <Old Norse *grufa*, arch..[593]

655. SEE / 656. ii. VPON A TRE: see: 'sea', see 307. SEE above; vpon a tre: 'on a plank', <OE *treow*. The vowel development is discussed in 87. iii. KNE above. The rhyming vowel here is /ɛ:/ as in 307. SEE / 308. FRE.[594]

657. PAPPES / 660. RAPPES: pappes: 'nipples', perhaps <classical Latin *papilla* 'nipple' or <early Scandinavian *pappe*, *papp, papa* 'breast', now arch. or

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[587] OED, **wild, *adj.***, A.II.9.a..
[588] OED, **hap, *n.*[1]**, 2..
[589] OED, **lap, *n.*[2]**, 1.a..
[590] OED, **surcoat, *n.***, 1..
[591] OED, **wide, *adj.***, I.1.a..
[592] OED, **outer, *adj.***, A.I.2..
[593] OED, **groof | grufe, *n.***, 1..
[594] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 11-II, p. 1009, **tre, *n.***, 2a(e).

reg.[595]; rappes: ‘knocks’, probably imitative, compare *tap, clap* and Norwegian *rapp*, also imitative. The rhyming vowel is either /e:/ or /ɛ:/ as in 651. HAPPES / 654. ii. LAPPES.[596]

658. STRONG / 659. ÞONGE: strong: ‘intense’, <OE *strang, strong.* The vowel developed as in 648. WRONGE above[597]; ponge: ‘knocked, thumped’ <Norse: compare Icelandic *dengja,* Swedish *dänga,* Danish *dænge,* all related to the sense of banging, not recorded in OE and now arch. or dial.. Possibly conjugated on the analogy of *sing, fling*. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 15. ii. LONDE / 18. SONDE.[598]

661. WEPE / 662. A-SLEPE: wepe: ‘weep’, for the etymology see 302. i. WEPYNGE above; a-slepe: ‘asleep’, <OE *on slæpe*. The phonological development of both words is discussed at 150. SHENE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[599]

663. MOWTH / 666. SOWTHE: mowth: ‘mouth’, <OE *muþ.*[600] The vowel development is discussed in 209. CROWNE above; sowthe: ‘south’, <OE *svþ, svð*, adv.. In OE the word was used only as an adverb; it is only in ME that it started to be employed as an adj., possibly as a consequence of its being the first element in compounds such as *southdeal* n., *south end* n., *south half* n.. The phonological development of the vowel of both words is discussed in 209.

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[595] OED, **pap, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..
[596] OED, **rap, *n.*[2]**, I.1.b..
[597] OED, **strong, *adj.***, 13.a..
[598] OED, **ding, *v.*[1]**, †1..
[599] OED, **asleep, *adv.***, 1.a..
[600] OED, **mouth, *n.***, I.1.a..

CROWNE above. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 208. RENOWNE / 209. CROWNE.[601]

664. i. ONUS: 'once', <OE *ænes.* For the discussion on the formation of adverbs, see 418. i. WHENS above.[602]

664. ii. LOND / 665. STRONG: lond: 'land', see 15. ii. LONDE above; strong: 'strong, intense', see 658. STRONG. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 15. ii. LONDE / 18. SONDE.

667. i. WARYE: 'curse', <OE *wirgan – wirgede – gewirged,* weak verb of the 2nd class, now obs..[603]

667. ii. SEE / 668. THE: see: 'sea', see 307. SEE; the: 'you', see 46. ii. ÞE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 93. SE / 96. ÞE.

669. GROWHT / 672. KOWÞE: growht: 'complain', <OF *groucier,* now obs. exc. dial. or arch.[604]; kowþe: 'could', see 42. KOWTH above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 280. ii. BE-ÞOWGHT / 281. MYSWROWHT.

670. PRAYER / 671. DERE: prayer: 'prayer', <Anglo-Norman and OF *priere*. The phonological development is discussed in 346. EYR[605]; dere: 'dear', see 291. DERE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 291. DERE /294. LERE.

679. ROME / 680. TRONE: trone: see 1. iv. TRONE above. For the rhyme, see 27. NOME / 30. NONE.[606]

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[601] OED, **south, *adv.***, A.I.a..
[602] OED, **once, *adv.***, A.I.3.a..
[603] OED, **†** '**wary, *v.***, 1.a.; BOSWORTH, J., TOLLER, T. (eds.), (1898): p.1237, **wirgan** v., II.
[604] OED, **grutch, *v.***, 1.a..
[605] OED, **prayer, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..

684. i. CHAWNSES: ‘unfortunate event, mishap, <OF *cheance.*[607]

685. CYTE / 686. FEE: cyte: ‘town’, <OF *cite* <Latin *civitas*. *Cyte* retained its original stress on the last syllable and underwent stress shift later in ME. The word entered ME with /i/ and subsequently developed as in 1. iii. KYNG[608]; fee: ‘property’, <Anglo-Norman *fee*, *fie* = OF *fé*, *fi* <medieval Latin *feodum*, *feudum.* The vowel developed as the one in 87. iii. KNE. For the rhyme. see 361. PYTE / 362. SEE.[609]

687. i. IURDAN: the proper name of the merchant who finds Emaré stranded and rescues her after she has been sent unto the sea the second time.

687. ii. NAME / 690. ii. TANE: name: ‘name’, see 27. NOME above; tane: ‘take’, see 587. TAKE above. This form survives in Scots and many English dialects and was typical of northern ME, where *k* and the following short vowel were lost leaving the forms *ta, tas, tan.* The rhyming vowel is /a:/.

688. HE / 689. SEE: he: ‘he’, see 342. HE; see: ‘sea’, see 307. SEE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

690. i. EYER: ‘air’, see 346. EYR above.

691. TYDE / 692. SYÞE: tyde: ‘time’, see 487. TYDE above; syþe: ‘then’, see 560. SYGH. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 487. TYDE / 488. ii. SYDE.

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[606] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 820. TRONE / 821. ROME.
[607] OED, **chance, *n.***, A.I.2..
[608] OED, **city, *n.***, 2.a..
[609] OED, **fee, *n.*[2]**, I.3..

693. A-LONE / 696. WO-BY-GONE: a-lone: 'alone' see 313. ii. A-LONE; wo-by-gone: 'racked by physical pain', <*wo* n. ''physical pain' + *bigon* v. 'inhabited, occupied'. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 313. ii. A-LONE / 314. MONE.[610]

699. WEDE / 702. YN LEEDE: wede: 'garment' see 250. UNÞUR WEDE; yn leede: 'among people, on earth', <OE *leod* 'nation' people' feminine noun or <OE *leode*, *leoda* 'men', plural or <OE *leod* strong masculine, poet. for 'king'. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 363. LEDE / 366. UNÞUR WEDE.[611]

700. RYGHT / 701. WYGHT: ryght: 'immediately', see 86. RYGHT above; wyght: 'being', <OE *wiht,* masculine and feminine noun, now obs.. The word developed as 6. LYGHTE. The rhyming vowel here is /i:/ as in 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE.[612]

703. LADYE / 704. EGARYE: ladye: 'lady', see 31. LADY above; Egarye: another spelling for the fictitious name which Emaré gives herself to conceal her real identity. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 52. LADYE / 53. ii. DYE.

705. DREDE / 708. LEDE: drede: 'extreme fear', <EME *drede.* The vowel developed as the one in 76. DEDE[613]; lede: 'bring', see 207. LEDE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 207. LEDE / 210. STEDE.

706. LADYE / 707. BY: ladye: 'lady', see 31. LADY above; by: 'next to', see 159. BY. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 159. BY / 162. STORYE.

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[610] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 13-II, p. 806, **wo-bigon, *adj.***, 2(a).
[611] OED, **† lede, *n.***, 1.c. Phrases.
[612] OED, **wight, *n.***, †1.b..
[613] OED, **dread, *n.***, 1..

709. BYGGYNGE / 710. ȝYNGE: byggynge: 'habitation, home', <OE *biggen* + *-ing* <Old Norse *byggja* 'to inhabit', now obs..[614]; ȝynge: 'young', see 41. ȝYNGE. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

711. BRYGHT / 714. RYGHT: bryght: 'beautiful', now obs. in this meaning. For the etymology see 45. BRYGHT above[615]; ryght: 'immediately', see 86. RYGHT above. For the rhyme and the vowel development, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.

712. YN ALLE ÞYNGE / 713. BRYNGE: 'of every kind of', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 40. ÞYNG; brynge: 'bring', for the etymology, see 82. BROWGHT above. The vowel shared the same development of the one in 40. ÞYNG. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

715. CRAUE / 716. HAUE: craue: 'to ask earnestly, to beg for', <OE *crafian – crafode – gecrafod,* weak verb of the 2nd class[616]; haue: 'have', see 28. i. HADDE. The rhyming vowel is /a/.

717. DYGHT / 720. MYGHT: dyght: 'made', for the verb see 3. iii. DYGHTE[617]; might: 'can', see 5. ii. MAY above. For the rhyming vowel and its phonological development, see 3. iii. DYGHTE / 6. LYGHTE above.

718. BE / 719. ii. PYTE: be: 'been', see 11. BE; pyte: 'pity', see 276. PYTE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 273. ii. SE / 276. PYTE.

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[614] OED, **bigging, *n.***, †1.b..
[615] OED, **bright, *adj.***, A.3..
[616] OED, **crave, *v.***, 2.a..
[617] OED, **dight, *v.***, III.14.a..

719. i. ME ÞYNKETH: ‘it seems to me’, <OE *me* pron. + *þyncan – þuhte – geþuht,* weak verb of the 1st class. Compare with *þencan* in 280. ii. BE-ÞOWGHT for the compensatory lengthening of *u*. OE *þyncan* regularly gave ME *thinken* or *thinchen* whereas OE *þencan* ‘think’ gave ME *thenken* or *thenchen*, where EME /e/ +N gave ME /i/. The two verbs became thus homophonous in most dialects so that *think* now means both.[618]

727. ÞRYFE / 728. ii. ONLYFE: þryfe: ‘to grow well, thrive’, <Old Norse *þrifa-sk* refl. verb. When entering English EME *þriven* /i:/ did not undergo any change. For the further vowel development, see 6. LYGHTE [619]; onlyfe: ‘alive’, see 43. LYUE above. For the rhyming vowel and the pronunciation, see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE above.[620]

728. i. WAX: ‘became’, see 365. i. WAX.

729. HYLLE / 732. STYLLE: hylle: ‘hill’, <OE *hyll*, strong masculine and feminine noun. The phonological development is discussed in 1. iii. KYNG[621]; stylle: ‘secretly’, this meaning is now obs.. For the etymology, see 330. STYLLE. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 327. WYLLE / 330. STYLLE.[622]

730. BOUR / 731. NORTOWRE: bour: ‘bedroom, boudoir’. For the etymology and the phonological development, see 28. iii. BOWRYS above[623]; nortowre: ‘nurture’, see 62. i. NORTUR. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 112. ii. HONOUR / 113. AZOWR.

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[618] OED, **† think, *v.*[1]**, 2.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 152-153.
[619] WELNA, J., (1978): p. 188.
[620] OED, **alive, *adj.***, 1.b..
[621] OED, **hill, *n.***, 1.a..
[622] OED, **still, *adv.***, 1.†b..
[623] OED, **bower, *n.*[1]**, 2.a.-b..

733. i. ȝER: ‘years’, <OE *gear*, strong neuter noun. LOE /e:/ reached EME unchanged. Subsequently the vowel in *ȝer* developed as the one in 291. DERE.[624]

733. ii. OLDE / 734. BOLDE: olde: ‘old’, <OE *ald*. The vowel developed as the one in 54. GOO[625]; bolde: ’corageous’, see 408. BOLDE above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 405. TOLDE / 408. BOLDE.

736. VNÞUR WEDE / 737. ii. STEDE: vnþer wede: used as a mere rhyme tag, see 250. UNÞUR WEDE; stede: ‘steed, stallion’, see 210. STEDE. The rhyming vowel here is /e:/ as in 250. UNÞUR WEDE / 251. GOD OF HEUEN HYT FOR-BEDE.[626]

737. i. PRIKE: ‘prick, spur’, <OE *prician* – *pricode* – *gepricod*, weak verb of the 2nd class.[627]

739. SEGRAMOWRE / 740. BOWRE: Segramowre: the name of the King of Galicia and Emaré’s son; bowre: ‘bedroom’, for the etymology, see 28. iii. BOWRYS above. For the rhyming vowel, see 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE.[628]

739. GONE / 744. ii. HOME: gone: ‘go’, see 54. GOO above; home: ‘home’, see 496. HOME. For the rhyming vowel, see 27. NOME / 30. NONE above.

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[624] OED, **year, *n.*[1]**, 1.d.; WELNA, J., (1978): p. 95.
[625] OED, **old, *adj.***, I.4.a..
[626] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 988. VNÞUR WEDE / 989. STEDE.
[627] OED, **prick, *v.***, II.10..
[628] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 873. BOWRES / 876. SEGRAMOWRES.

742. VYCE / 743. GALYS: vyce: 'immoral habits', <Anglo-Norman and OF *vice* <Latin *vitium*. For the phonological development see 92. PRYS above[629]; Galys: 'Galicia', an area of Spain in the north-east of the country.The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 484. GALYS / 485. PRYS. [630]

744. i. SEGE: 'siege', < OF *sege, seige, siege* 'seat'.[631]

745. YS / 746. GALYS: ys: 'is', see 1. ii. YS above; Galys: see 743. GALYS above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 484. GALYS / 485. PRYS.

748. ASYCE / 749. PRYSE: asyce: 'quality, manner', <OF *asise*, *assise* 'act of sitting down or of setting, regulation; regular mode, manner'; pryse: 'virtue', see 485. PRYS. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 91. RUBYES / 92. PRYS.[632]

753. RYDE / 756. WYDE: ryde: 'ride', <OE *ridan – rad – ridan – geriden*, strong verb of 1st class. The vowel developed as the one in 14. SYDE[633]; wyde: 'wide', see 13. ii. FER AND WYDE above. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE.

754. A-VENTOURES / 755. BOWRES: a-ventoures: 'events, adventures', <Anglo-Norman *aventur*, *aventour*, later remodelled after post-classical Latin *adventura*; bowres: 'dwellings', see 28. iii. BOWRYS. For the rhyming vowel, see 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE.[634]

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[629] OED, **vice, *n.*[1]**, 1.a..
[630] OED, **Galician, *adj.*[1] *and n.*[1]**.
[631] OED, **siege, *n.***, II.6.a..
[632] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 829. PRICE / 830. ii. A-CYSE.
[633] OED, **ride, *v.***, I.1.a..
[634] OED, **adventure, *n.***, 1.a..

757. NAME / 758. BLAME: name: 'name', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 27. NOME above; blame: 'to find fault with', <OF *blâmer*, *blasmer.* The word entered English with ME /a:/ and did not undergo any stress shift. Subsequently ME /a:/ was slightly raised and fronted to LME /æ:/ which soon merged with /æ:/ deriving from the monophthongisation of /ai/. The further vowel development is discussed in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/ as in 367. CAME / 368. NAM.[635]

759. TELLYNGE / 762. ÞYNG: tellynge: 'account, description', <OE *tellan* v. + *-ing*, now arch. or dial.. For the etymology of the verb and the phonological development, see 20. ii. TELLE[636]; þyng: 'things', see 40. ÞYNG. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

760. ME / 761. EGARE: me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME; Egare: the fictitious name which Emaré gave herself to conceal her real identity. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

765. KYNGE / 768. BYDDYNGE: kynge: 'king', see 1. iii. KYNG; byddynge: 'order, injunction', <OE *bid* v. + *-ing*. For the etymology of the verb and the phonological development, see *for-bede* in 251. GOD OF HEUEN HYT FOR-BEDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[637]

771. PALE AND WANNE / 774. MANNE: wanne: 'pallid', <OE *wann*[638]; manne: 'man', see 37. MANNE above. For the phonological development of both words and the rhyming vowel, see 37. MANNE / 38. ÞANNE.

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[635] OED, **blame, *v.***, 1.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 112-113, 190.
[636] OED, **telling, *n.***, 1.b..
[637] OED, **bidding, *n.***, 5..
[638] OED, **wan, *adj.*[1]**, 4.b..

775. SO MOT Y THE / 776. ME: so mot y the: 'so may I prosper', see 624. i. MOSTE for the etymology of *mot* and 727. ÞRYFE for the meaning of *the*[639]; me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 93. SE / 96. ÞE.[640]

777. A-NONE / 780. ÞEN: a-none: ' at once', see 359. A-NONE; þen: 'after that', see 38. ÞANNE for the etymology. The two words do not rhyme.

778. ȝAF HEM YLLE / 779. SAF GODDYS WYLLE: ȝaf hem ylle: 'grieved', now obs. in this meaning. For the etymology of the words and their phonological development, see 175. i. ȝAF and 336. iii. YLLE[641]; saf Goddys wylle: 'may it not displease God'. For the phonological development of *wylle*, see 227. TO WORCHE HYS WYLLE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 571. YLLE / 572. WYLLE.[642]

783. PYTE / 786. HEDDYS ÞRE: pyte: 'pity', for the etymology and the vowel development see 276. PYTE above; heddys þre: 'three heads'.[643] *Þre* 'three', <OE *þri* (*þrie*), *þrio*, *þreo.* The vowel in the word shared the same development of the one in 87. iii. KNE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 273. ii. SE / 276. PYTE.

787. GRACE / 788. YN PLACE: grace: 'grace, favour', <French *grâce.* The word entered English with ME /a:/ and did not undergo any stress shift. Subsequently it shared the same development of the vowel in 758. BLAME[644];

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[639] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 6-II, p. 730, **moten, *v.*** (2), 11(a).
[640] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 859. ÞE / 860. ME.
[641] OED, **ill, *n.***, B.5.a..
[642] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 9, p. 111, **sauf, *adj.***, 7.
[643] 'Three heads' refers to the first King of Galys' mother's letter, where she hinted at the fact that Emaré had born a devilish creature with three zoomorphic heads (see l. 538).
[644] OED, **grace, *n.***, II.6.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 112-113.

yn place: ‘in person’, see 499. YN PLACE above for the etymology and the phonological development. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.[645]

790. SENTE / 791. WENT: sente: ‘sent’, see 56. SENTE; went: ‘went’, see 235. WENTE above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.

793. KYNGE / 794. ii. VNHENDE: kynge: ‘king’, see 1. iii. KYNG; vnhende: ‘impolite’, see 445. VNHENDE above. The two words do not rhyme.

794. i. WHEÞUR: ‘why’, <OE *hwæþer*, *hweþer*.[646]

796. BRENT / 797. JUGEMENT: brent: ‘burnt’, <OE *beornan – bearn – burnon – bornen*, intransitive strong verb of the 3rd class. Later in OE, *bærnan – bærnde – bærned,* a transitive weak verb of the 1st class was derived from the former. The two verbs remained distinct in OE but in ME they fell together, giving birth to four different present-tense stems—*bern-*, *brin(n-*, *barn-*, *bren(n-*—and the difference between transitive and intransitive senses disappeared. *Brennen – brende – brent* seems to have been the most common form until the 16th century, when it was suddenly supplanted for unclear reasons by *burn, burnt*, possibly the descendant of earlier *bern-*, *birn-*[647]; jugement: ‘opinion’, <French *jugement <juger.* The rhyming vowel is /e/ as 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.[648]

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[645] OED, **place, *n.*[1]**, P2.a.†(b)..
[646] OED, **whether, *conj.***, II.†5..
[647] WRIGHT, J. and WRIGHT, E., (1974): p. 185; OED.
[648] OED, **judgement | judgment, *n.***, 6..

799. TOKE HEM BE-TWENE / 800. QWENE: ‘consulted each other’, for the etymology see 587. TAKE, 124. i. HEM and 8. ii. BYTWENE above[649]; qwene: ‘queen’, see 7. ii. for QWENE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE.

801. RENOWNE / 804. CASTELLE, TOWRE AND TOWNE: renowne: ‘honour’, see 208. RENOWNE above[650]; castelle, towre and towne: ‘property’. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 208. RENOWNE / 209. CROWNE.

802. QWENE / 803. ii. CLENE: qwene: ‘queen’, see 7. ii. for QWENE; clene: ‘wholly, entirely’, <OE *clæne* adv.. the development of the vowel is discussed in 3. ii. DELE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE.[651]

803. i. LYFLOÞE: ‘means of living’, <OE *liif* (see 43. LYUE) + OE *lad* ‘support’ or ‘journey’.[652]

807. i. HEUY: ‘sad, grieved’, <OE *hefig,* now obs..[653]

807. CHERE / 810. CLERE: chere: ‘mood’, see 214. CHERE above; clere: ‘fair lady’, now obs. in this elliptical use. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 127. ii. SAFERE / 128. CLERE.[654]

808. i. KAREFULLE: ‘full of grief, sorrowful’, see 328. i. CAREFULLE.

808. ii. DRURY: ‘sad, doleful’, <OE *dreorig* ‘gory, bloody, sorroful’, obs. or arch. in this meanings.[655]

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[649] OED, **take, *v.***, VIII.53.†b..
[650] OED, **renown, *n.***, A.1.a..
[651] OED, **clean, *adv.***, II.5.a..
[652] OED, **livelihood, *n.*[1]**, 2.a..
[653] OED, **heavy, *adj.*[1]**, A.VII.27.a..
[654] OED, **clear, *n.***, C.I.†1..

808. iii. MONE / 809. ON: mone: 'lamentation', see 314. MONE above[656]; on: 'ones', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 30. NONE. Here the form is singular regardless of the plural sense, possibly for the sake of the rhyme. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 27. NOME / 30. NONE.

811. PLAY / 812. WELLE-A-WAY: play: 'playing', for the etymology of the verb and the phonological development, see 78. PLAYNGE; welle-a-way: 'alas', <OE *weg la weg*, alteration of OE *wa la wa,* interj. expressing sorrow. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/ as in 183. PLAY / 186. WAY.[657]

813. DERE / 816. YERE: dere: 'dear', see 291. DERE above; yere: 'years', see 733. i. ȝER above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 291. DERE /294. LERE.

815. i. STYNTE: 'stop', <OE *styntan* 'to blunt, dull'. The simple verb appears much less than compounds *astyntan, ætstyntan, forstyntan*. As a matter of fact the ME and ModE meanings of the verb must result from unrecorded senses in OE or be due to Scandinavian influence.[658]

817. COME / 818. FOME: come: 'came', see 232. COME; fome: 'foam', see 497: FOME above. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 496. HOME / 497: FOME.

819. SAKE / 822. TAKE: sake: 'guilt', this meaning is now obs., <OE *sacu*, strong feminine noun[659]; take: 'take', see 587. TAKE for the etymology of the the word. The vowel in both verbs developed as the one in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/.

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[655] OED, **dreary, *adj.***, 3..
[656] OED, **moan, *n.***, 1.a..
[657] OED, **wellaway, *int.***, A.a..
[658] OED, **stint, *v.***, I.†5..
[659] OED, **sake, *n.*[1]**, II.6.†b..

823. FELE / 824. WELE: fele: ‘many’, <OE *fela, feola*, now obs.[660]; wele: ‘wealth, riches’, <OE *wela*, weak masculine noun. The vowel developed as the vowel in 415. i. SPAKKE. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/ as in 385. FESTE / 386. HONESTE.[661]

826. i. DOLYS: ‘alms’, <OE *dal*, parallel form of *dæl* which gives *deal* (see 3. ii. DELE).[662]

825. MAKE / 828. GATE: make: ‘make’, see 586. MAKE above; gate: ‘way’, <Old Norse *gata*. The word entered EME with /a:/. Subsequently it developed as 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/ as in 586. MAKE / 587. TAKE.[663]

826. ii. DELE / 827. HELE: dele: ‘distribute’, see 3. ii. DELE above; hele: ‘health, sound body condition’, see 570. HELE above. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/ as in 385. FESTE / 386. HONESTE.

830. i. TAKULLE: ‘rigging, ship equipment’, <Middle Low German *takel.*[664]

831. FAYR AND FRE / 834. THE WEÞUR WAS LYÞE OF LE: fayr and fre: ‘beautiful, of pleasant form’, see 71. FAYR AND FRE above; the weþur was lyþe of le: ‘the weather was fine, peaceful’, for the etymology and vowel development, see 348. THE WEDUR WAS LYTHE OF LE. For the rhyming vowel, see 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.

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[660] OED, **† fele, *adj.*[2]**, B.1.a..
[661] OED, **weal, *n.*[1]**, †1.a..
[662] OED, **dole, *n.*[1]**, 6.a..
[663] OED, **gate, *n.*[2]**, I.2. Phrases.
[664] OED, **tackle, *n.***, 2.a..

832. ORE / 833. WORE: ore: ‘oar’, see 275. ORE; wore: ‘were’, a form for *were* (see 182. WER). The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 274. ÞORE / 275. ORE.

835. FOME / 836. TRONE: fome: ‘foam’, see 497: FOME above; trone: see 1. iv. TRONE above. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 496. HOME / 497: FOME.

837. ÞOWSTE / 840. EMARYE: þowste: ‘power, might’, <Anglo-Norman and Old French *poesté*, *poosté*, *posté* < classical Latin *potestas* power, authority, now Sc. and Irish English; Emarye: another spelling for the proper name of the main character. The two words do not rhyme.

838. COME / 839. ii. NOME: come: ‘came’, for the etymology and the phonological development, see 232. COME above; nome: ‘took’, for the etymology of the word see 368. NAM. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 27. NOME / 30. NONE.

839. i. BURGEYS: ‘burgess, citizen’, <OF *burgeis*.[665]

841. SONE / 842. COME: sone: ‘son’, for the etymology and the vowel development, see 158. ii. SONNE; come: ‘come’, for the etymology and the phonological discussion, see 232. COME. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 27. NOME / 30. NONE.

843. LETTYNGE / 846. BLESSYNGE: lettynge: ‘ delay’, <OE *lettan, lette, geletted*, weak verb of he 1st class, now obs.[666]; blessynge: ‘blessing, favour,

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[665] OED, **burgess, *n.***, 1.a..
[666] OED, **† letting, *n.*[1]**, 1.b..

see 448. BLESSYNGE for the etymology. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

844. FRE / 845. ME: fre: 'of noble appearance', for the etymology of the word, see 10. FRE; me: 'me', see 175. ii. ME. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.[667]

847. HALLE / 848. PALLE: halle: 'hall, large room', for the etymology of the word, see 28. ii. HALLYS above; palle: 'rich cloth', <classical Latin *pallium* 'covering, cover', The rhyming vowel is /a/ as in 61. SMALLE / 62. iii. SALE.

850. BE / 851. ii. ÞE: be: 'be', see 11. BE above; þe: 'you', see 46. ii. ÞE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE above.

851. i. CHALANGE: 'objection', <OF *ca-*, *chalenge*, *-lange*, originally *-longe* which is at the base of *calumny* as well.[668]

853. SPYCERYE / 854. HASTYLYE: spycerye: 'spices', <OF *espicerie*[669]; hastylye: 'in haste, without delay'. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 436. HASTELY / 437. EGARYE.

855. ÞYN / 858. WYNE: þyn: 'yours', see 5. i. ÞY and 16. i. HER for further discussion on possessives. Differently from dependent possessives, independent ones retain their final *n* because they are emphatic. By analogy with *min, thin*, in the South and East Midlands also other possessives started to show final *n* since the 14th c. (e.g.: *hisen, hiren, ouren, youren, heren*). On the

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[667] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 1012. ME / 1013. FRE.
[668] OED, **challenge, *n.***, †1..
[669] OED, **spicery, *n.***, 1.a..

other hand, since the end of 13th century in the North and then in the Midlands final *s* started to appear in the 3rd pers. sing. and in the plural (e.g.: *hires, oures, yours, heres, theirs*)[670]; wyne: 'wine', see 526. WYNE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 580. iii. FYNE / 581. WYNE.

861. MYNE / 864. ii. VNÞUR LYNE: myne: 'mine', for the discussion on possessives, see 855. ÞYN; vnþur lyne: 'in their clothes', <OE *lin* 'flax', neuter noun. The phonological development of both words is discussed in 14. SYDE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 580. iii. FYNE / 581. WYNE.[671]

864. i. LUFSUMME: 'lovely, beautiful', <OE *lufsum*.[672]

866. i. WYSH: 'washed', another spelling for 218. i. WESH.

867. KOWRS / 870. HONOWRES: kowrs: 'the courses of the meal', <French *curs*, *cors, cours.* The vowel developed as the one in 26. ii. TOWRE[673]; honowres: 'esteem, approbation', for the etymology and the vowel development see 69. ii. HONOUR. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE.

868. CURTEYSLY / 869. SY: curteysly: 'courteously', <OF *corteis*, *curteis*[674]; sy: 'saw', for the etymology of the verb, see 68. SYE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 67. ii. SLYE / 68. SYE.

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[670] MUSTANOJA, T. F., (1960), p. 164.
[671] OED, **line, *n.*[1]**, 2.†b..
[672] OED, **lovesome, *adj.***, A.3..
[673] OED, **course, *n.***, V.26.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 115-116.
[674] OED, **courteously, *adv.***, 1.a..

874. YN GAME / 875. NAME: game: 'in fun, as a joke', <OE *gamen, gomen*, strong neuter noun, this meaning is now obs. or dial. [675]; name: 'name', see 27. NOME above. The vowel development of both words is discussed in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/ as in 367. CAME / 368. NAM.

877. KYNG / 878. SYKYNGE: kyng: 'king', see 1. iii. KYNG above; sykynge: 'sigh', for the etymology of the word, see 328. ii. SYKYNG above. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[676]

880. LESYNGE / 881. WRYNG: lesynge: 'lying', obs. or arch. exc. dial., <OE *leasung <leasian – leasode – geleasod*, weak verb of the 2nd class[677]; wryng: 'come out', <OE *wringan – wrang – wrungon – wrungen,* strong verb of the 3rd class. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[678]

885. ÞOO / 888. ȝOO: þoo: 'then', see 51. ÞOO above for the etymology and the phonological development; ȝoo: 'yes', <OE *gæ, gee, ge*, now dial. and arc.. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 51. ÞOO / 54. GOO.[679]

886. A-NON / 887. SONE: a-non: 'at once', see 359. A-NONE above; sone: 'son', see 158. ii. SONNE above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 27. NOME / 30. NONE.

890. i. W(H)ESSHEN: 'washed', see 218. i. WESH above.

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[675] OED, **game,** ***n.***, 1..
[676] OED, **sighing,** ***n.***, 1.b..
[677] OED, **leasing,** ***n.*[1]**, a..
[678] OED, **wring,** ***v.***, Phrasal verbs, **to wring out**, 1..
[679] OED, **yea,** ***adv.***, A.1.a..

891. SPYCERYE / 894. CURTEYSLYE: spycerye: 'spices', see 853. SPYCERYE; curteyslye: 'courteously', see 868. CURTEYSLY above. The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY.

897. BODY / 900. SPECYALLY: body: 'person', for the etymology see 502. BODY[680]; specyally: 'in a special manner', <OF *especial* or <Latin *specialis* + *-ly*, modelled after Latin *specialiter* or OF *(e)speciaument*, *(e)specialement.* The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY.[681]

898. TOWRE / 899. BOWRE: towre: 'tower', see 26. ii. TOWRE above for the etymology and the phonological discussion; bowre: 'dwelling', see 28. iii. BOWRYS for the etymology and the development of the vowel. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE.

903. YS / 906. Y-WYSSE: ys: 'is', see 1. ii. YS above; y-wysse: 'certainly', <OE *gewis* adj., the neuter form of which was used as an adverb since ME. The rhyming vowel here is /i/ as in 616. A-MYS / 617. YS.[682]

904. WENDE / 905. ENDE: wende: 'went', for the etymology of the verb and the phonological discussion, see 81. WENDE above; ende: 'conclusion', <OE *ende*, strong masculine noun. The rhyming vowel is /e/ as in 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.[683]

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[680] OED, **body, *n.***, III.11..
[681] OED, **specially, *adv.***, 1.a..
[682] OED, **iwis | ywis, *adv.***, B..
[683] OED, **end, *n.***, II.7.a..

907. EMARE / 908. EGARE: the proper and fictitious names of the main character. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.[684]

909. GALYS / 912. A-SYSE: Galys: 'Galicia', an area of Spain in the north-east of the country; a-syse: 'manner', see 748. ASYCE for the etymology and the phonological development. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 484. GALYS / 485. PRYS.

910. HALLE / 911. ALLE: halle: 'hall', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 613. ii. HALLE above; alle: 'all, every', <OE *eall, all*. Both LOE /æ/ and /ɑ/ reached the level of /a/ in EME. Subsequently the vowel developed as the one in 13. i. WALKEN. The rhyming vowel is /a/ as in 61. SMALLE / 62. iii. SALE.[685]

913. A-FYNE / 914. WYNE: a-fyne: 'finally', <OF *a fin*, now obs.[686]; wyne: 'wine', see 526. WYNE. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as 526. WYNE / 527. HYT WAS TYME.

915. MORE AND MYN / 918. HELPE HYM YN: more and myn: 'people of all ranks, everybody', now obs., <OE *mo* (see 60. MOO) and <early Scandinavian *minni*, *minne, mindre*, 'less, smaller', now obs.[687]; helpe hym yn: 'helped him to go in', <OE *helpan – healp – hulpon – holpen*, weak verb of the 2nd class. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as 526. WYNE / 527. HYT WAS TYME.[688]

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[684] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 922. EMARE / 923. EGARE, 1006. EMARE / 1007. EGARE.
[685] OED, **all,** ***adj.***, A.2.b.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 87-90.
[686] OED, **† afine,** ***adv.***.
[687] OED, **more,** ***n.***^{3}, D.1..
[688] OED, **help,** ***v.***, 6.a..

921. KYNNE / 924. CHYNNE: kynne: 'descent', <OE *cyn(n*, neuter noun[689]; chynne: 'chin', <OE *cin*, probably feminine. The vowel development of both words is discussed in 1. iii. KYNG. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as 526. WYNE / 527. HYT WAS TYME.[690]

925. WOO / 926. ii. ÞO: woo: 'distressed', see 324. WOO; þo: 'at that time, then', see 51. ÞOO. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 51. ÞOO / 54. GOO.

926. i. MYNGE: 'relate, give an account', <OE *min* + OE *-(i)gian,* a suffix used to form verbs from nouns and adjectives, consequently belonging to the 2nd class of weak verbs, now obs. or reg..[691]

929. i. VMBRAYDEST: 'reproach', also ME *umbreiden – umbraidede – umbreided.*[692]

931. WENTE / 932. GENT: wente: 'went', see 235. WENTE above for the etymology of the verb and the vowel development; gent: 'polite', see 55. GENT. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 55. GENT / 56. SENTE.[693]

934. TWO / 935. TO: the etymology of both words and their phonological development is discussed in 203. ii. TWO. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/.

937. ÞORE / 939. VNÞUR GORE: þore: 'there', see 181. ÞER; vnþur gore: 'under her clothes, <OE *gara.* The vowel development is discussed in 60. MOO. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 274. ÞORE / 275. ORE.[694]

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[689] OED, **kin, *n.*[1]**, I.1.†d..
[690] OED, **chin, *n.*[1]**, a..
[691] OED. **† ming, *v.*[2]**, 3..
[692] KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. (eds.), (1956): vol. 12, p. 15-16, **umbreiden, *v.***, (b).
[693] The same rhyme occurs in ll. 1015. WENTE / 1016. GENT.

939. FOLDE / 942. BE-HOLDE: folde: 'to embrace', <OE *fealdan – feold – feoldon – gefealdan,* strong verb of the 7th class. The vowel developed as the one in 54. GOO[695]; be-holde: 'contemplate, look at', for the etymology of the verb, see 249. BE-HOLDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 399. HADDE YN WOLDE / 402. BE-HOLDE.

943. SEE / 944. TRINITE: see: 'sea', see 307. SEE above; Trinite: 'Trinity', <OF *trinite*. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 7. ii. QWENE / 8. ii. BYTWENE.[696]

945. CARES COLDE / 948. Y-TOLDE: cares colde: 'deadening sorrow'. *Cares:* see 627. KARE. *Colde*: <OE *cald, ceald*. The vowel development is discussed in 60. MOO[697]; y-tolde: 'told', for the discussion on the verb, see 20. ii. TELLE above. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 51. ÞOO / 54. GOO.

951. SYNNE / 954. SKYNNE: synne: 'sin', <OE *syn(n*[698]; skynne: 'skin', <early Scandinavian *skinn, skin, skindh*. The vowel development of both words is discussed in 1. iii. KYNG. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as 526. WYNE / 527. HYT WAS TYME.

952. EMARE / 953. SEE: Emare: the proper name of the main character; see: 'sea', see 307. SEE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 46. ii. ÞE / 47. EMARE.[699]

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[694] OED, **gore, *n.*²**, †2.a..
[695] OED, **fold, *v.*¹**, 9..
[696] OED, **trinity, *n.***, 2.a..
[697] OED, **cold, *adj.***, II.9..
[698] OED, **sin, *n.***, 1.a..
[699] The same rhyme occurs in 982. EMARE / 983. SEE.

957. WYNNE / 960. INNE: wynne: ‘earn’, the discussion about the verb is at 173. WAN[700]; inne: ‘accomodation, inn’, <OE *inn*, neuter noun. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as 526. WYNE / 527. HYT WAS TYME.[701]

961. KYNG / 962. KOMYNG: kyng: ‘king’, see the discussion at 1. iii. KYNG; komyng: ‘arrival’, <OE *cuman* + *-ing*, see 232. COME for the etymology and the phonological discussion. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

964. ÞYNG / 965. LORDYNG: þyng: ‘things’, see 40. ÞYNG; lordyng: ‘lord, sir’, <OE *hlafording* <OE *hlaflord* + <OE *-ing*. This suffix here is used to form derivative masculine substantives meaning ‘one belonging to’ or ‘with the quality of or ‘of the kind of’, hence also as a patronymic ‘son of’, ‘descending from’. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.[702]

969. CRYSTYANTE / 972. ÞE: Crystyante: ‘Christianity’, see 108. CRYSTYANTE above; þe: ‘you’, see 46. ii. ÞE for the etymology and the phonological development. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 175. ii. ME / 176. ii. IN SPECYALTE.

970. BE-TYDE / 971. ii. RYDE: be-tyde: ‘happened’, see 253. ii. BE-TYDDE for the etymology and 487. TYDE for the phonological development; ryde: ‘ride’, see 753. RYDE for the etymology and the phonological development of the verb. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 13. ii. FER AND WYDE / 14. SYDE.

971. i. A-ȝAYN: ‘towards’, see 203. i. AȝEYN above for the etymology.

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[700] OED, **win, *v.*[1]**, 7.e..
[701] OED, **inn, *n.***, 4.a..
[702] OED, **lording, *n.*[1]**, 1..

973. ȝYNGE / 974. KOMYNGE: ȝynge: 'young', see 41. ȝYNGE above; komynge: 'coming, arrival', see 962. KOMYNG above. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

975. DONE / 978. SONE: done: 'do', see 4. iii. TO DONE above; sone: 'son', for the etymology and the vowel development, see 158. ii. SONNE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 4. iii. TO DONE / 5. iii. WONE

981. i. A-BOWE: 'bow down', <OE *abugan – abeah – abugon – abogen,* strong verb of the 2nd class.[703]

981. ii. SONE / 984. DOME: sone: 'immediately', see 97. SONE above; dome: 'condemnation, sentence of punishment', <OE *dom.* The vowel developed as the one in 4. iii. TO DONE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 4. iii. TO DONE / 5. iii. WONE.[704]

992. i. VALED: 'doffed, took off', <OF *valer*, aphetic form of *avale* 'to the valley'.[705]

993. TYDE / 996. IN HERTE IS NOT TO HYDE: tyde: 'time', see 487. TYDE for the etymology and the phonological development; in herte is not to hyde: 'that is the truth of it', see 120. IN HERTE IS NOT TO HYDE for the etymology and the vowel development. The rhyming vowel is /i:/ as in 487. TYDE / 488. ii. SYDE.

994. VALOWRE / 995. SEGRAMOWRE: valowre: 'worthiness', <OF *valour*. The word entered ME with stress shift from the second syllable to /a/. In the

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[703] OED, **† abow, *v.,*** 1.b..
[704] OED, **doom, *n.***, 2..
[705] OED, **vail, *v.*²**, I.2.a..

passage to EModE it was slightly raised to /æ/[706]; Segramowre: another spelling for the name given to the King of Galicia and Emare's son. The rhyming vowel is /u:/ as in 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE.

997. GRETLYE / 998. BY: gretlye: 'very much', for the etymology, see 217. GRETE; by: 'next to', for the etymology see 159. BY above. The rhyming vowel is /i/ as in 286. ÞER-BY / 287. HASTYLY.

999. CHERE / 1002. WERE: chere: 'face', see 214. CHERE above for the etymology and the phonological development[707]; were: 'were', for the etymology and the phonological development see 182. WER. The rhyming vowel is /ɛ:/ as in 181. ÞER / 182. WER.

1000. i. S[T]AYDE: 'stop, arrest', now obs., <OF *(e)stai-*, *(e)stei-* from the inflectional system of *ester* 'to stand'.[708]

1000. ii. STEDE / 1001. HEDE: stede: 'steed, stallion', see 210. STEDE; hede: 'careful attention'. As there is no corresponding OE noun, apparently <OE *hedan* v. 'to take charge or possession, to take'. The vowel developed as the one in 7. ii. QWENE. The rhyming vowel here is /e:/ as in 250. UNÞUR WEDE / 251. GOD OF HEUEN HYT FOR-BEDE.[709]

1005. HERE / 1008. DERE: here: 'here', see 297. ii. HERE above; dere: 'dear', see 291. DERE. The rhyming vowel is /e:/ as in 127. ii. SAFERE / 128. CLERE above.

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[706] OED, **valour | valor, *n.***, 1.†b.. WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 111-112, 213.
[707] OED, **cheer, *n.*[1]**, †1..
[708] OED, **stay, *v.*[1]**, III.20.a..
[709] OED, **heed, *n.***, 1.b..

1009. PALE / 1010. BALE: pale: ‘whitish, pallid’, <Anglo-Norman *paille*, *pal*, *pale*, *palle*. The vowel development is discussed in 758. BLAME above[710]; bale: ‘evil’, <OE *balu*, *bealu*. The vowel development is discussed in 27. NOME. The rhyming vowel is /a:/ as in 367. CAME / 368. NAM.[711]

1011. BOTE / 1014. LOKE: ‘remedy’, <OE *bot*, feminine noun. The phonological development of the vowel is discussed in 268. BOOT[712]; loke: ‘look’, <OE *locian – locode – gelocod*, weak verb of the 2nd class. LOE /o:/ did not undergo any changes when entering EME. The vowel reached the level of /ʊ/—its current realisation—in LModE, through the intermediate passage of LME /u:/, which, in a +/k,t,d,m/ context, was shortened and slightly fronted and delabialised. The rhyming vowel is /o:/.[713]

1017. FOTE / 1020. SOTE: fote: ‘feet’, for the etymology and the vowel development, see 211. FETE above; sote: ‘sweetly’, see 212. ii. SWETE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 1011. BOTE / 1014. LOKE.

1018. ÞO / 1019. TWO: þo: ‘then, at that time’, see 51. ÞOO above; two: ‘two’, see 203. ii. TWO above. The rhymng vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 51. ÞOO / 54. GOO.

1021. METYNGE / 1022. KYNGE: metyng: ‘meeting’, <OE *metan – mette – gemeted*, weak verb of the 1st class[714]; kynge: ‘king’, for the etymology and the vowel development, see 1. iii. KYNG. The rhyming vowel is /ɪ/ as in 40. ÞYNG / 41. ȝYNGE.

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[710] OED, **pale, *adj.***, 1.a..
[711] OED, **bale, *n.*[1]**, I.1.a..
[712] OED, **boot, *n.*[1]**, II.†7.a..
[713] OED, **look, *v.***, I.1.g.; WELNA, J., (1978): pp. 101-102, 188, 233.
[714] OED, **meeting, *n.***, I.1.a..

1023. EMARE / 1026. HE: Emare: the proper name of the main character; he: 'he', see 342. HE above. The rhyming vowel is /e:/.

1024. [S]EGRAMOUR / 1025. EMPEROUR: [S]egramour: the name of the King of Galicia and Emaré's son; emperour: 'emperour', for the etymology and the vowel development, see 25. ii. EMPEROUR. For the rhyming vowel, see 25. ii. EMPEROUR / 26. ii. TOWRE.

1027. HOLDE / 1028. BOLDE: holde: 'held', <OE *haldan – heold – heoldon – halden,* strong verb of the 7th class. For the etymology and the vowel development see 249. BE-HOLDE[715]; bolde: 'corageous', see 408. BOLDE. The rhyming vowel is /ɔ:/ as in 399. HADDE YN WOLDE / 402. BE-HOLDE.

1029. STORY / 1032. PLAYN ÞE GARYE / 1035. GLORYE: story: 'story', see 162. STORYE; þe garye: Rickert suggests that the correct spelling would be either "playn[t] þ'E-garye", meaning "the complaint of Egaré" or "lay þ'E-garye", "the lay of Egaré"; glorye: 'worship', <OF *glorie.* The rhyming vowel is /i:/[716].

1030. LAYES / 1031. DAYES: layes: 'lays, sung poems', <OF *lai*, of uncertain etymology. The most satisfactory hyphotesis is that the word comes from Old High or Middle High German *leich* 'play, melody' and phonetically from Old Norse *lag* 'tune' (see 295. ii. LAY)[717]; dayes: 'days', for the etymology and the phonological development, see 192. ii. DAY. The rhyming diphthong is /ai/ as in 189. MAY / 192. ii. DAY.

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[715] OED, **hold, *v.***, II.27..
[716] OED, **glory, *n.***, 4.c.. See § 1.1.3..
[717] OED, **lay, *n.*[4]**, 1.a..

1033. TRONE / 1034. W[O]NE: trone: ‘throne’, for the etymology and the phonological development, see 1. iv. TRONE above; wone: ‘live, dwell’, see 5. iii. WONE. The rhyming vowel is /o:/ as in 1. iv. TRONE / 2. MONE.

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Ringraziamenti

“Ogni dipinto porta una firma. Quella sul dipinto più sublime e quella del più incerto hanno nonostante tutto qualcosa in comune: un sottile gioco di pensieri, persone e situazioni che sfuma il nome dell’autore, in modo a volte impercettibile ma sempre unico”.

(D. L. B.)

Non posso di certo non riservare una posizione d’onore a chi ha sempre dato il proprio incondizionato assenso a tutte le mie scelte universitarie, dalla mia immatricolazione al Lasc nel 2007 e ad Anglistica nel 2010, alla partenza per la mia esperienza di tirocinio Erasmus a Londra, per arrivare alla laurea, il giorno in cui questo percorso si completa. Se sono arrivata fino a qui è in buona parte anche grazie ai miei genitori, che in questi anni mi hanno silenziosamente supportato (e sopportato).

Vorrei poi ringraziare la Professoressa Cattaneo, che con la sua pacatezza e compostezza mi ha saputo rassicurare in quei giorni in cui presa dallo sconforto, questa tesi mi sembrava un’impresa senza fine e che mi ha seguito con costanza e dedizione nei mesi di stesura. Con lei inoltre condivido una sorta di passione “protettiva” per la lingua italiana e per l’inglese, e conserverò sempre con affetto il ricordo delle nostre chiacchierate su doppiaggi più o meno azzeccati.

La mia scorta di autostima l’ho trovata quotidianamente in Hans, la mia metà ed il mio migliore amico, che crede in me più di quanto io stessa a volte riesca e che ha vissuto la scrittura della mia tesi quasi come se fosse la sua, sia riportandomi razionalmente all’ordine quando necessario, sia restituendomi il buonumore ogniqualvolta la stanchezza prendeva il sopravvento e strappandomi sorrisi in tipico stile hd.

Insieme a loro, non dimentico le mie amiche di sempre, le vecchie e le nuove intese, i colleghi di avventure accademiche, gli amici emigrati, la mia famiglia e chi ha un buon motivo per ricevere il mio Grazie: credo che dentro di sé ognuno

sappia dove trova spazio il proprio nome in questo elenco essenziale ma non meno importante del resto.

Aggiungo un consueto pizzico di leggerezza ringraziando anche: Spinoza, il 2, il 1453, Gregartù, Damon, John Bleasdale ed il suo puntuale “Hi Laura!”, la mia bicicletta.

Sarei ingiusta infine a non ringraziare anche me stessa: infatti, senza l’incessante movimento delle mie dita sulla tastiera non sarei arrivata neanche alla fine di questa facciata.