Graphic Substitutions in Middle English

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Of the innumerable instances of graphic substitutions to be met with in Middle English manuscripts, some are undisputable scribal blunders, being downright mistakes or errors arising from scribes' ignorance or carelessnesses, while others can be accounted for on some graphic or phonological grounds, as for the substitution of the letter z for p.

In most handbooks, both these types have commonly been lumped together on a par as simple scribal blunders. For example, the aforementioned graphic substitution of z for p has been adjudged simply "an error" (Brunner 1963: 38 Note 5; 5 Note 2) or a usual "mistake" (Skeat 1906: 2*) by Anglo-Norman scribes unfamiliar with the two letters. This way of explaining is not wholly satisfactory in view of the fact that these so-called errors or mistakes are not just confined to a few negligible number of scribes or limited to some isolated instances; moreover, no scribe would substitute almost methodically one

1 Continental Norman, developed with settlement of the Danes in Upper Normandy in 910 and Lower Normandy in 923, was not a homogeneous dialect but "in phonetic development lay...across the border line of Western and North-Eastern French" (Studer 1920:5). Anglo-Norman is this Norman French retained or developed separately in England during the Middle English period. Some scholars, however, unhappy about the use of the term 'Anglo-Norman' to refer to the entire period, apply yet the term 'Anglo-French' (i.e. the French of Paris as developed in England) to the latter part of the period in the 13th and 14th centuries when the influence exerted by the speech of Paris on Anglo-Norman was growing increasingly, restricting 'Anglo-Norman' to the early part of the period till about the time of the loss of Normandy in 1204 after which "the individuality of Normandy itself was merged into that of the Île-de-France" (Menger 1904:4).

That the Norman dialect in England didn't die out completely with the loss of Normandy in 1204 is evidenced by the fact that "Anglo-Norman literature became much richer in the 13th century than before" (Vising 1923:20) and that the Norman dialect of the 11th century and the French spoken in England at the close of the 14th century were "substantially the same in every part of the country" (Studer 1920:12). Even though Anglo-Norman had been displaced by 'Francien' (the speech of the Île-de-France) or Anglo-French as a literary medium in the later 14th century (Pope 1952 #1186), Anglo-Norman remained until the middle of the 14th century as a living language used by a considerable portion of the population as the natural medium of expression (Studer, p.11; however, see Berndt 1965: 145-63).

The term 'Anglo-Norman' normally refers to the French of Norman origin before the end of the 14th century, for the French loan-words introduced into English before the end of the 14th century, according to a careful study of the vocabulary of Middle English by Prof. Behrens point, almost without exception, to a Norman origin (cited in Studer 1920: 15). Anglo-Norman, despite of late survivals, however, was practically a dead language by the middle of the 14th century (Studer 1920: 12).
letter for another without some cogent orthographical or palaeographical reason.

Graphic substitutions are due to two causes: graphic confusion and graphic association. In manuscripts, letters can be confused with one another on account of their graphic similarity, as between c and t, p and y, and u and n. For instance, the graphic forms of p and y appear so alike in manuscripts that the latter is distinguished from the former only by the superscript dot. A graphic error or mistake arises commonly from such a graphic confusion. Graphic confusion, however, is to be distinguished from what I would like to call direct and indirect grapho-phonetic association. Direct grapho-phonetic association arises when alternative letters are used for the same sound, as h, 3, gh for /x/, while indirect grapho-phonetic association arises when nonalternative letters are being associated with one another, as 3 with p and s, or p with s. An example of the former is a substitution of 3 for p, which is due to the fact that in late Middle English, y was used for both the palatal fricative, written 3, and the dental fricative, written p, which often assumed the y-form in script. An example of the latter is a substitution of 3 for s, which is due first to the fact that to indicate the unfamiliar fricative h (commonly written 3) before t, Anglo-Norman scribes often employed its French equivalent s, secondly to graphic confusion of y (for 3) and p on account of their graphic similarity (see #VI.1 below), and finally to subsequent association of p with s, as shown in cl300 Lay. Brut (Otho) 2/30: mistie ~ 21/25: miptie (OE mihtig; ME migt) (see #VI. 4 below of this paper).

To the present writer’s knowledge, no comprehensive analysis of graphic substitutions in Middle English has been made to determine what various values the letter 3, for example, stands for and also how it came to be used as substitutes for various other letters. The purpose of this paper is, then, to describe in six sections and an appendix the graphic substitutions of the following seven letters in Middle English: #I. 3 for y; palatalized l; diacritics (vowel length and hiatus), i, and h, and also s ~ z, w ~ u, g, j, p ~ ð, and for various abbreviations; #II. y for p ~ ð, h, j, and long i; #III. h for w, p~ ð, y, and for diacritics (vowel length and hiatus); #IV. s for h; #V. w for y, j, and f; #VI. p for y, h, w, s, f, and d and t; and Appendix: z.

The texts from which data have been taken for illustration are mainly from the published and unpublished parts of the Middle English Dictionary (A through K part 1), facsimiles, and also from (diplomatic) editions.

I. 3

The letter 3 is used for the following letters and values: 1. y; palatalized l; diacritics;

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2 On the French use of s for [h], see #IV below of this paper.
3 Hereafter this work will be identified as MED in parentheses.
4 Greg 1913, cited by section and line and identified as G.
5 Sisam 1955, to be identified as S; Dickins and Wilson 1954, to be identified as DW; Mossé 1952, to be identified as M; and others as cited.
and $i/i$; 2. $h$; 3. $s \sim z$; 4. $w \sim u$; 5. $g$; 6. $j$; 7. $p \sim f$; 8. abbreviations.

1. $y$; palatalized $l$; diacritics (vowel length and hiatus); and $i/i$.

1.1. $y$.

Whether an intervocalic $y$ functions as off-glide or on-glide depends on the following $e$ being pronounced or not. There is said to be no diphthong in ME bowe (<OE boga) or in dayes (<OE dæges) since the $o$ and $w$ of bowe, or the $a$ and $y$ of dayes, belong to different syllables. However, with loss of the unstressed $e$ in bowe by apocopeation and in days by syncopation, the $o$ and $w$, or the $a$ and $y$ have come to fall in the same syllables (Malone, p. 262). By apocopeation: a1400(a1325) Cursor 1773: au [Göt: aue; Frf: aghe; Trin-C: awe] (ON *aga; cf. Ol agi; MED aue ‘fear’); a1400 Cursor (Göt) 1977: bou [Frf: boghe; Vsp: bou] (OE boga; MED boue n. (1)); by syncopation: a1300 Sirith 324: (fourth) daus (cf. a1400 Cursor (Trin-C) 18100: dawes), a1400(a1325) Cursor 3155: dais [vrr. days, dayes] (OE pl. dagas).

Final $e$ is said to have disappeared gradually from the 12th century, first in words with weak sentence stress, later but still in the 12th century in trisyllabic words with a long first syllable, and the remaining instances (i.e. in trisyllabic words with a short first syllable and also in dissyllabic words) disappeared in the North in the 13th c. and in the South gradually during the 14th c. (Brunner, p. 32).

1.1.1. Word medially and finally.

a. OE $j$, and Ol, ON $i$.

?c1200 Orm. 10018: be33sc (Ol beisk-r); a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brut 1468: brain [c1300: bra3en] (OE brægen); c1400(?c1390) Gawain 1215: $ge3e$ (Ol geyja ‘to cry’); a1435 (c1395) WBible(2) Tob. 7.19: ano3e [WB(1): no3e] (OF anoii); a1382) WBible(1) Judith 16.11: gase (OF gai).

b. OE $/j/$, vocalized to $/y/$ after front vowels.

Thus Malone says, "The nom. sg. day and the gen. sg. dayes differed in that the ay of the former was diphthongal, whereas the ay of the latter was not" (Malone 1959).

However, some others are of the opinion that this situation prevailed only in Old English, in which the syllable boundary came before the intervocalic consonant; hence, the intervocalic $y$, like any other intervocalic consonants, belonged to the following syllable. In Middle English, however, due to the shifting of the syllable boundary, the intervocalic consonant came to belong to the preceding syllable. "One of the ways diphthongs are developed is by the shifting of the syllable boundary...In OE, words like wegen ‘to weigh’, glowan ‘to glow’ seem to have been divided weg-an, glo-wan; then at the end of the OE period weg-e(n), glö-e(n), and later on when finals were weakened or dropped, wei-e, glow-e, which resulted in new diphthongs being evolved" (Mosse, p. 27; also see Fisiak, p. 52). Stockwell even goes as far as to say that a diphthong which he identifies as /ow/ had already arisen in Old English in clawu ‘claw’ and strawu ‘straw’ before 10th century lengthening (p. 16). Also Jordan (p. 103): "Zum Teil schon im Altenenglisch".

In the Northern dialects, the unstressed final $e$ was silenced about the middle of the 14th century (Morsbach, #7); final $e$ was yet still kept in the greater parts of Western and Middle South in the 14th century, and was kept intact in the greater parts of Kentish until the middle of the 14th century (Morsbach, #9); final unstressed (historical) $e$ is in general no longer sounded in the Northwest Midland in Gawain (Tolkien, Gordon, and Davis, p. 133); this final $e$ was completely silenced in the South in the 15th century in the spoken English (Jordan, #290).
a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brul. 30810: buze (< OE bycgan 'to buy'), cf. 1372 In bedlem is 68: to byze, (c1300) Havelok 53: beye.

c. OE velar fricatives [z], [k], next to ME front vowels.

c1250 Owl & N. (Cig.) 426: ege (< OE ēage). Both the ey from OE ēog and ēag by vocalization of OE voiced velar fricative g to y after front vowels and the new ey from OE ēax with the excrescent front glide y developed before ē and after ē were later monophthongized to i, first in the Southwest (Brunner, #13 Note 13).8

OE ēah: c1330 Orfeo (Auch) 24/355-56(S): sīge 'saw' [rime: hiège 'high']; c1400 (?c1390) Gawain 1922: nieğ 'nearly' (~ 929: ne3 'near').

OE ēag: c1400 (c1378) PPl.B (Ld) Pro! 161, 165: bi3e (vrr. be3e s, bēhe s, bēye s, be3e s); bei3 (vrr. bye, bighē s) (OE beaģ 'an arm ring').

OE eōg: c1400 (c1390) Morte Arth. (2) 2621: dregh (rime: hyghe) (OE dreogan, m drugr); also cf. OE ey(j): a1300 Floris (Vit) 77/84: idiged (ppl.), c1400 (?c1390) Gawain (Nero) 996: dēge (~ 2460: dyģe) (OI degja).

That ey became i is confirmed by the reverse spelling ei (~ ey-ei) for i:9 c1330(?a1300) Tristrem 760, 766: hiège... hy, a1400 (c1300) NHom.(1) Abp. & N. p. 90: in hey [vr. hiège] (< OE hīgan); a1400 (a1325) Cursor 3862: gleied [Göt: gleyed; Trin-C: gli3ed] (< OI glija 'to shine'); (c1300) Havelok 53: beye (< OE bycgan 'to buy').

1.1.2. Word (or morph) initially, from OE and OI /y/, or epenthetic glide /y/.

a. OE and OI /y/.

c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex. 4745: zoten, a1400 (a1325) Cursor 7443: eten [vr. a zoten] (zoten from OI jōtun, and eten from OE ēotan); c1400 (?c1390) Gawain 1122: get (OE gēt); ibid. 89: zōnge (OE geong); ibid. 530: a3ayn (OE on-gēgn); ibid. 2410: zare (OE gear(w)e); (c1384) WBible(1) Mat. 5.37: z3ea 'yes' (OE gēa).

b. Epenthetic 3 /y/ before front vowels (mostly ē) in the Southern dialects.10 Development of epenthetic /y/ initially before front vowels is probably regional Kentish in origin from the 12th century but its results are also found in the Southwest in the 14th century, where initial ē became ķe (Wyld, p. 218; Brunner, p.17 Note 20, and p. 23).

OE ēa: c1400 Femina 65: 3extre ... 3ex (OE eax).

OE ēa: (?1340) Ayenb. 257: yeren (OE ēare), cf. c1380 Firumb.(1) 996: yre, c1325 Horn (Hr!) 969: earen [vrr. erek, irē].11 c1150(?OE) PDidax. 3/7: yem, cf. a1225

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8 Scribes often adhere to the spellings ei, ey, etc. even "when the rhyme shows that the pronunciation [i] was intended" (Wyld, p.126).

9 On the spelling i3 for /i/ with the ŋ performing a dual function of vowel length and hiatus, see #1.1.3.lb below of this paper.

10 This 3 interchanges with h; To what extent this alternating letter h represents the sound commonly signified by that letter, namely [h], is not conclusive. In many instances, h's occur in free variation with ŋ's for /y/.

11 The English scribes followed the example of Anglo-Norman scribes who wrote ie for ŋ and
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La y. Brut 25: eames [c1300: hemes] (OE ēam); ?a1500 in Camb. 25, 54, 89 143f.n.l: zerwygge, ?a1400 Boxon (Hrl 1288) p.203: herwyckys (< OE ēarwicaca);
(1340) Ayemb. 124/20: yeast (OE ēast); a1225(?c1175) PMor.(Lamb) 227: ēt [vrr. ēt], (OE ēadig); a1225(c1200) Vices & V. (l) 3/16: ics, (1410) York MGame 3: ēte (OE ēac, ēc).


OE æ: c1250 Owl & N. 1180: ɜare (OE æfre), cf. 1500 Scrope DSP Abbrev. 304/23: he yet ‘ate’ (OE æt).

OF ai, ei: they levelled in Anglo-Norman through “gi to ɛ” (Pope, #1223): (c1426) Audelay Poems 43/925: ɜeesy, (1447–8) Shillingford 88: yese, a1325 Horn(Ld) 1298: heyse, a1400(a1325) Cursor 13305: hess [vrr. ese], c1400 Bible SNT(1) 2 Tim. 4.2: hese, c1450 St.Editha 4835: heyssy (OF aise; MED ɛs).

1.2. To indicate palatalization of l: 1375 Bruce 459: assalʒe ‘to assaile’. Under a direct French influence, the Scotch tried to keep the palatalized consonant ť and rendered it by Ī (Mossé, p.31). Palatal l and n are represented by ly, ny (Tolkien, Gordon, and Davis, p.129).

1.3. As diacritic symbols.

1.3.1. Ī for long /i/.

a. In the sequence ĪI, that is, before a consonant or word finally, the preconsonantal or pre-word final ʒ represents only vowel length.

Long /i/ is often represented by a sequence of graphs ĪI, already in Old English as early as the late 9th century in the Hatton manuscript of the Pastoral Care, as in (þær)big ‘thereby’ 43/14, stigge 23/16, stiggened 101/14 (<stīgan).12 Conversely, original ĪI became long i by compensatory lengthening through the loss of a postvocalic ʒ, in the same Hatton manuscript, as in (þær)hyd 113/3, (þær)hydig 301/8 (cf. inngehygde 95/15, 111/22).13

sometimes left out the e of the ie diagraph (especially if followed by r), so that i was used to denote the ɛ sound (Van der Gaaf, ESTs 18:40, cited in Trnka 1959:442).

12 See also the reverse spelling ie for ī in the Cotton manuscript of the Pastoral Care, in (þær)bie 42/14, reflecting the change of EWS le to LWS ī. Page and line references are to Sweet 1871.

13 Also see æ3→œ in mæden 415/18 (<mæden). Likewise in early Middle English, scribes
b. In the sequence -i3V, where V is a vowel, the intervocalic 3 performs a double function of vowel length and hiatus in the following French loan words. 3 for hiatus corresponds to the letter h in Old French from the 13th century on as in trahir, cahier, or in Anglo-Norman as in juhe (for jüe), or in Latin as in trahere, vehere, (see Pope, #1171, p. 95).

a. Hiatus.

In Old English, the Weak II verb ending -ian is two syllables (Moore and Knott, p. 86 fn. 79); the -izan (for -ian) then represents the use of 3 in hiatus. Already in the late 9th century Old English Pastoral Care, the morphographemic alternation of 〈i3〉 and 〈i3e〉 for /i/ occurred before another vowel in posttonic position, 〈i3〉 before e, and 〈i3e〉 before a: 〈i3〉: lacni3enda (OE lacnienda), agimeleasi3en (Cotton MS: -sien); 〈i3e〉: lacni3ean (OE lacniæan, ~ lacnian), bodi3eð (OE bodiæd).

A similar diacritical use of 3 occurs, sometimes analogically, in Middle English, as in Glo. Chron. B (Trin-C) VI/22(G): gregori3es, 28: io3ge ‘joy’, 16: wity3e (< OE witian); c1175(?OE) Bod.Hom. 116/23: i-buri3ed, cf. a1225(?a1200) Lay.Brut 6014: i-buried [c1300: ibured], 27872: burien (inf.) (< OE byr(1)gan, byr(1)gde), in which the i of i3 is an epenthetic vowel developed between a liquid and a palatal consonant after short accented vowels, already in Old English after the 10th century, principally in West Saxon (see Campbell, #365; Luick, #348).

The intervocalic 3 in posttonic position, hence, is to be interpreted as hiatus marker, corresponding in function to the letter h. The two letters h and 3, thence, are used often interchangeably in Middle English between two juxtaposed vowels, as in: ?a1300 Sayings St. Bede 195: herihinge, (a1333) Herbert Wele herizyng (OE herian), cf. c1250 Owl & often wrote i3 or y3 to indicate long i—also ij, iy, yj, the last example in the 15th century, for long medial i (see Morsbach, #16 Anm. 3).
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b. Conservative or analogical spellings.


1.4. For /i/ or /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables.

a. /ɪ/. In the following, the ȝ after a liquid represents a syllabic vowel, not a glide (since it is not preceded by an intrusive epenthetic front vowel, often developed between a liquid and a palatal consonant), as in iburiȝed cited above and in the following: a1450 (a1400) Siege Jerus. 1247: balies [vr. baylȝes] (OE belȝ; pl. belgan, byl(i)gan); a1225 (?a1200) Lay. Brut 22718: awaȝed [c1300: iwellid] (OE gewel(e)gian).

b. /ɪ/: c1300 SLeg. (Ld): hevȝ; cf. a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brut 2795: hefȝere (MED hêwīn. ‘heaviness’).

1.5. ȝ for /y/. In imitation of the digraph spellings sh, ch, the letter h was analogically introduced to indicate a velar or a palatal fricative with ȝ—the combination gh in the course of the 14th century (Jordan, #17.2).

a1425(c1395) WBible(2) Mat. 5.37: ȝhe, ȝhe ‘yes, yes’, (c1456) Pecock Faith (Trin-C) VIII/12(G): ȝhe, cf. (c1384) WBible(1) Mat. 5.37: ȝea (OE ēa); (1422) LRed Bk. Bristol vol. 1.8.1: ȝhe shall helpe, (c1456) Pecock Faith (Trin-C) VIII/10(G): ȝhe, Prick of Conscience 68: yhe(OE ēa); c1400 Wit & W. (Cmb) 19/2: ȝhef (OE giȝ); c1200 Orm. 12945: diȝhellesnesse, a1225 Wint. Ben. Rule 105/13: diȝhlice (OE diȝgellice; MED diȝellice); a1325(?c1380) NPass. 638: gate [vr. yhatȝe, zhatȝe]. In Scots ȝh was frequently written instead of ȝ: Bruce 274/441(M): ȝhe ‘ye’; ibid. 272/232(M): ȝharnyt ‘yearned’; ibid. 272/246(M): yheyt ‘yet’.

1.6. ȝ represents only the letter i, not its sound.

(a1333) Shoreham Poems 61/1704: contraȝt, cf. ibid. 68/1945: contrait (OF contrait). OF ai became ȝ in Anglo-Norman before dentals t, d, s, and sometimes also before g

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14 Before i, initial ȝ was lost in the 14th century (Jordan, #189 Anm. 1).
15 Also parfȝt ‘perfect’ (OF parfit) with an unetymological ȝ (or gh) after i before t in the in 15th century (Brunner 1963:43).
2. /h/ initially before vowels.

2.1. (xJ initially before vowels.

c1400(c1378) PPL.B(Ld) 6.138: ze shal ete ... He shall ete (OE hē; MED hē(1)); a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brut. 1147: heo [c1300: zeo], (c1280) SLeg.Pass.(Hrl: C. Brown) p. 16: heo [Pep: zeo], c1325(c1300) Glo. Chron. A 635: ze, 8977: heo (OE hē; MED hē) pr. n.(1)); 1750(c1400) Wycl.Apot. 31-32: take hede ... tak pē e ... (OE hēd(2) ‘heed’); ibid. 47: zele (OE hēl(u; MED hēle)); ibid. 28: zele (< OE hēlan); ibid. 75: zepun (MED hēthum); ibid. 8: zering (MED hēring(e)); ibid. 56: zerd (MED hērd(e)); ibid. 37, 61: zere (MED hēren v.), ibid. 55: zet (MED hēte n.(1)); a1450 St. Editha 96: zey3then (MED hēthen adv.); a1300(?c1150) Prov. Alf.(Jes-O) 73/31: hw (Trin-C: hu); c1440 Thrn. Med. Bk. 19/15: ziskes ‘hicups’ (pres. 3sg.); a1500(a1400) Egiam. 528: zerbys (OF erbe & L herba; MED hērbe).

2.2. Palatal (xJ and velar (xJ remained in Middle English medially only before the group -ht and in gemination and (morph or word) finally after vowels or after liquids due to the devoicing of final (3J already in OE; [xJ also occurred initially before consonants.


2.2.1. It is commonly held that (xJ in the group -ixt/ began to fall out in the course of the 14th century19 in most of the South-Humbrian areas, perhaps through voicing (Jordan, #196), but the loss of [xJ after back vowels occurred sooner, as early as the

17 MED says that in Middle English the fem. hē is chiefly Midlands and South, rarely (if ever) North.

Ho probably indicates a reflex of the rising diphthong due to stress shift in late Old English. The earliest instance of the use of ho seems to be in Lagamon A, which has ho once (Serjeantson 1927:201).

18 On the p for h, see #VI. 2 below of this paper.

19 at least by the 15th century (Wyld 1927:217).
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13th century in *Lagamon* (see Wyld, p. 217). However, the following data show that the loss of this /x/ had set in as early as the 13th century after front as well as back vowels.

2.2.1.1. After front vowels.

a1225(5c1175) PMor.(Lamb) 75: brichte [vrr. brittle, brihte, brizte], c1250 Louerd asse pu ard 71: brit, 10: brist, 117: briste, c1250 Of on pat is so fayr 3: brist, (1340) Aysenb. 72: bryte, 82: brytne (OA brecht, bryht; WS beorht); (c1300) Havelok(Ld) 2427: knit (OE cnihht); c1250 On hire is al 33: idilt [vrr. ydyyt], (a1333) Shoreham Poems 133/83: dittep, ?c1450 Knt.Tour-L. 69/16: dite (OE dihtan); c1330(?a1300) Rich. (Auch) 115/19: doun rigtes [vrr. ryetes] ‘down right’.

2.2.1.2. After back vowels.

a. Before t.


b. Finally.


2.2.2. There are two interpretations on the absence, whether phonological or only orthographical, of the *h* in the sequence -ht. Skeat(1956, #23) thinks that the h-less forms are due to the habits of Anglo-Norman scribes who have written /-xt/ variously as *ht, th, ct, cht, cth*, and *t*; hence, in the edition he restores all the ‘missing’ *h*s. Jordan (*#198 Anm. 1 and #17 Anm. 1*) likewise thinks that an omission of *h* before *t* by the French scribes, as in Lay A., K.H.O., Digby 86, Will Pal., is not phonological but simply due to their difficulty with the English fricative sound; hence, -ht is said to be often written *st, t, or th*. On the other hand, Brödin (1950) thinks that the Anglo-Norman scribes have frequently written *t* to indicate the mute *ȝ* by placing it at the end of a word, as in *nity* for *nith* or *nit*. He tries to account for this unusual orthographical combination, by saying that in OE words of the type *nith, riht*, the palatal consonant was often rendered in ME by retained *h* or *ȝ*. When later this palatal became mute, the vowel was lengthened, and these consonants disappeared or were kept as a sign of lengthening, and were even put at the end of the words, whereby such forms *nit, nity, nith* came into being; still later *h* and *ȝ* were added to other final *t*. 
I believe, however, with Skeat and Jordan that since -ht is commonly written th and also t, rarely -ht or -zt, in \textit{Havelok}, a manuscript written by a scribe of Norman birth,\footnote{as in \textit{with} (line 48), \textit{woth} (213), \textit{leth} (252), \textit{neith} (808), and conversely, th is written t finally, as in \textit{herknet} (1), \textit{wit} (19, 52, 113).} the th spelling seems to suggest the scribe's difficulty with the English fricative sounds in question rather than an indication of the mute 3 as Brödin would like to interpret.

The graphic metatheses th, t3, 3th, and cth, whatever their implications may be, for ordinary ht, zt, 3ht, and cht occur as early as the early 13th century both after front and back vowels.

\textbf{a. After front vowels.}

\begin{itemize}
\item c1250 \textit{On leome} 18: brith, (c1300) \textit{Havelok} (Ld) 589, 2144: brith, c1325 \textit{Nou skrynkep} 55: bryth, c1425 \textit{In place} 123: bryth, (1440) *Capgr. St. Norb. 584, 1371: bryt3, (c1450) Capgr. St. Aug. 16/17: bryth, a1450 Hrl.Cook.Bk.(1) 12: bryth (OA breht, bryht; WS beorht); c1250 \textit{On hire is al} 35: nith (OE niht); a1400 \textit{Cursor} (Trin-C) 17396: kigt (ppl.) [Ld: kyth] 'caught'; 1372 \textit{I am iessu} 3: i-dith, c1425 \textit{In place} 126: dyth... syth, a1500(c1400) \textit{Emare} 395: bry3th... ydY3th, a1500 \textit{Rich.} (DC) 98/1: dyth (OE dihtan); (c1300) \textit{Havelok} (Ld) 604: rith (OE riht); a1450 \textit{Agnus Castus} (Stockh) 128/25: it helpy3t (for helpy3t = helpyth < OE helpan); \textit{ibid}. 152/1: hardy3t (3sg. of harden v.).
\end{itemize}

\textbf{b. After back vowels.}

\begin{itemize}
\item (c1300) \textit{Havelok} 2791: brouth3n, a1425 \textit{Ben Rule} (1) 38/38: broth, c1440 \textit{PLAlex} 68/4: bro3the, a1450(a1415) Mirk Fest. Suppl. 290/21: brouthen, a1475 \textit{Ludus} C. 364/257: brouth (OE brohte); (?a1325) \textit{Otuel & R.} 2008: dou3thy, c1330(?a1300) \textit{Rich.} (Auch) 117/175: duhti [Brunner: duthi] (OE dohtig); (c1300) \textit{Havelok} (Ld) 149: nouth (OE nãht); \textit{ibid}. 170: douther (OE dohtor).
\end{itemize}

The copyist, accustomed to write both French and English, often chose a French representation for an English sound, so that st appears for ht, as in c1300 \textit{Lay, Brut} (Otho) 21/30(DW): For pe mistie [=mighty] Godes loue, a1275(?1150) \textit{Prov. Alf.} (Trin-C) 72/31: 3u we mistin in werelle; c1250 *St.Marg.(2) 219: brosthen 'brought'; \textit{ibid}. 218: heiste 'commanded'; c1300(?c1225) \textit{Horn} (Cmb) 10: miste (past of may), cf. \textit{ibid}. 8: mi3te; c1250 \textit{Judas} (Trin-C) 29-31: miste, cnistes, fiste.

OF s had first become only a breathing before it was lost before another consonant in Modern French, as in \textit{diner} from OF \textit{disner}, \textit{gitt} from \textit{gist}, \textit{bête} from \textit{beste}.\footnote{See Sisam 1955:278; for a detailed account of -st for -ht by Anglo-Norman scribes, see #IV below of this paper.} Anglo-Norman scribes used either the letter s or z to indicate an analogous development in English, namely, the loss of /x/ before t, generally in late Middle English, as shown by the rimes nyt: myzt, in (1465) \textit{Will Norwich in Norfolk Archaeology} 4.332: As I lay in my bed right on a nyt / That me be rest yf of scele ye force & myzt.\footnote{This, however, leaves the alternation of \textit{heiste} and \textit{heite} in the following early Middle English text (13th c.) unaccounted for: c1250 \textit{Judas} (Trin-C) V/18-19(G): "pe riche ieu pat \textit{heiste} Pilatus / pi louerd pat \textit{heite} iessu." If the alternant \textit{heite} here is genuine and not an orthographical variance, see \textit{ibid}. 759(?1150) \textit{Prov. Alf.} (Trin-C) 72/31: 3u we mistin in werelle; c1250 *St.Marg.(2) 219: brosthen 'brought'; \textit{ibid}. 218: heiste 'commanded'; c1300(?c1225) \textit{Horn} (Cmb) 10: miste (past of may), cf. \textit{ibid}. 8: mi3te; c1250 \textit{Judas} (Trin-C) 29-31: miste, cnistes, fiste.

\footnote{This, however, leaves the alternation of \textit{heiste} and \textit{heite} in the following early Middle English text (13th c.) unaccounted for: c1250 \textit{Judas} (Trin-C) V/18-19(G): "pe riche ieu pat \textit{heiste} Pilatus / pi louerd pat \textit{heite} iessu." If the alternant \textit{heite} here is genuine and not an orthographical variance, see \textit{ibid}. 759(?1150) \textit{Prov. Alf.} (Trin-C) 72/31: 3u we mistin in werelle; c1250 *St.Marg.(2) 219: brosthen 'brought'; \textit{ibid}. 218: heiste 'commanded'; c1300(?c1225) \textit{Horn} (Cmb) 10: miste (past of may), cf. \textit{ibid}. 8: mi3te; c1250 \textit{Judas} (Trin-C) 29-31: miste, cnistes, fiste.}
2.3. 3 represents only the letter h, not the sound, in the sequence s3 and t3, the former for sh [ʃ] and the latter for th [θ].

s3: (a1333) Herebert pe kynges baneres 16/7: wass3en (OE wascan); t3: 1372 At pe time 25: det3 (OE deap), (1389) Nrf. Gild Ret. 36: a clot3 (OE clāp), (c1440) *Capgr. St. Norb. 1239: wit3 pe gifts seueene.

In a1400 HEuen it is 2: rich3 ‘rich’, the 3 is used redundantly after h.

2.4. 3h for [h].

c1440 Thrn. Med. Bk. 19/15: 3hiskyng ‘hiccupping’; c1330 Assump. Virg.(2) 276: 3he [=Mary]; a1375 WPal. 1985: 3he, cf. (a1387) Trev. Higd. 1.11: 3e [=Ruth](MED hé pron.(2)).

3. [s] and [z].
The letter s is substituted for h as early as about 1250. Conversely, the letter 3 is substituted for s, as in ics for ich and di3h for dish: a1300 Wolrdes blis no last 3-4: hich [vr. ics] ... hic [vr. ics] (OE ic); 1349 Acc.Exch.K.R. 471/3 m. 10 (OED col.): dighednayl, cf. 1348 Acc. Exch. K.R. 471/1 m. 1 (OED col.): discenail. The letter 3 is commonly used to represent y in native words but s or z in French loan-words. Palaeographically speaking, the Caroline miniscule form of z with a tail is identical with the native 3 in script form, though entirely distinct in origin and sound value.

3.1. [s].
a. In stressed syllables.

a1450(1408) *Vegetius(1)100a: strynges i-made of senewes and here / Plente of senewes and horshere for strenge; (a1460) Vegetius(2)(Pmb-C) 1937, 1977: 3awe(Lat. serra ‘saw’, a military term); c1440 Thrn. Med. Bk. 28/1, 20/20: 3ucre ‘sugar’; c1400 (?)c1390) Gawain 2173: forz ‘waterfall’.23

b. In unstressed syllables.


In the Northern dialects, OE sc became s [s] (already in late OE times, as in englis in the Lindisfarne Gospels) in unstressed or sentence secondary stress (Satztieftoniger) position, especially in the derivatives in names in Inglis, Frankis, Denis, and also in the auxiliary sal, sulde; elsewhere, it remained [s], spelled sh, sch in the Midland dialects, and sh, sch, ss in the Southern and Western dialects, and ss in Eastern and South and

23 So MED under the entry word fors. But Davis (p.125 in Tolkien and Gordon 1967) thinks that the word is from OE furh ‘furrow’, used in the sense of water course, since 3 is not used with this value /s/ after r in a stressed syllable. The script forms of the following final -z’s may have been 3’s in the manuscripts: c1300 SLeg.(HrI) 475/348: surpliz, 503/342: croiz (cf. ibid. 503/345: croize), ibid. 552/71: voz.
In the sequence t3.

The spelling t3 has generally been interpreted as indicating voiceless [s]. As Gordon has pointed out (1953, p.93), the sequence t3 is used only for voiceless [s] at the end of stressed monosyllables, as in wat3, hat3, sat3, got3, as in Gawain, where dot3 (line 2211), got3 (17), hat3 (375), wat3 (4) alternate with dos (1308), gos (935), and was (169). That this t3 represents [s] can be proved by the rimes, for example, in c1400 (?c1380) Pearl 440–41: place... hat3. In Old French, z and tz were used to represent the sound [ts], as in Fitz-Gerald (Mod. French fils). When later this OF [ts] had been assimilated to ss, and then simplified to s, generally in the 13th century—earlier in the North25—the older traditional spelling tz was sometimes kept for s.26

3.2. [z].

a. In stressed syllables.

Cf. c1400 (?c1380) Pearl 501: sayt3 rv 615: sa13 rv 457: says.

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24 See Morsbach, #7–9; Jordan, #183, #260. Jordan (#17.2), however, says that French scribes attempted to represent the [s] sound a first by s, ss, and then, sh, ssh, using the h as a diacritic for palatalization on the analogy of ch.

25 See Paues, #194; Davis, p.136; however, Zachrisson (cited in Jordan, #259) says that this French tz became s in English, already in the 12th century.

26 McLaughlin (p.100), however, concludes that "the weight of the evidence seems to favor the interpretation [of t3] as voiced [z]." Cf. c1400 (?c1380) Pearl 501: sayt3 ~ 615: say3 ~ 457: says.
There are indications that in the course of the 15th century, earlier in the North, the unstressed e of the inflectional ending -es was lost, and that this final s, including those in unstressed words like was, his, was voiced before the gradual loss of the unstressed vowel e (Jordan, #291, #208).

c1400(?c1390) Gawain 1139: hounde3, 1606: bigynne3, etc.

3.3. z represents only the letter s, not the sound, in the sequence s3 (i.e. ss): a1500 Alex.-Cassamus 518: deszeperes, cf. c1300 Lay. Brut (Otho) 1622: dosseperes [Clg: duczepers] (OF dozeper(s)).

3.4. 3h for sh [ʃ] (on the diacritical use of h, see #1.15 above).

1349 Acc.Exch.K.R.471/3m.10 (OED col.): dighednayl, cf. 1348 Acc.Exch.K.R. 471/1m.1 (OED col.): discenail.

4.1. [w].

4.1.1. From OE or OI [ʒ].

In OE, [ʒ] occurred only medially in two positions: intervocally, next to back vowels, as in sagu and nigon, and after liquids r or l and before any vowel, front or back—finally, [ʒ] had become devoiced to [x]. This [ʒ] was later labialized to ʒw and vocalized to u by way of w, first in the Southwest Midland (Worcester), about 1200, as confirmed by the w-spellings (Brunner, #13 Note 5), but somewhat later in the North-Midland and the North, and not until toward 1400 in Kent (Jordan, #186). This change is limited in the main to stressed syllables.

This OE [ʒ] then appears as ME [w] in the following environments.

4.1.1.1. Intervocally, only after back vowels.

c1400(?c1390) Gawain 514: innoʒe [rime: 512 blowe] ~1401: innowe (OE genōh);

27 In the course of the 13th century, [dz] became [z] (Pope, #194), which is written ʒ. In Old French, s in intervocalic position stood for [ʒ] (Pope, #693).

28 Greg (1910:283) explains the substitution of ʒ for w as involving first “a misreading of p for r and then a confusion of ʒ with ʒ.”

29 Some, however, think that it also occurred initially before back vowels in very early Old English but that it later became a stop [g] in the second half of the 10th century (Jordan, #184; Wyld, #86 about 1000). Moulton (p.24) concludes from “the evidence” that pre-OE /g/ was a stop initially before back vowels, but he adds that “the evidence that OE initial g-plus back vowel or consonant represented a stop is inconclusive; it could conceivably have been a velar spirant” (p.24 fn. 58).

30 Hence, OE [ʒ] as in nigon didn’t become w but y since it now came to stand between two non-back vowels in Middle English, subsequent to the change of the unstressed [ʒ] to [ʒ] in the 12th century, as in a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brut 1188, 5149: nigion (< nigon) (see Jordan, #190).

31 However, Jordan(#186) says that ʒ was still [ʒ] in Kentish until 1400.
4.1.1.2. Medially after liquids r or l and before a vowel.


b. With an intrusive vowel developed after a liquid and before OE [æ] (after short accented vowels): c1250 Prov.Alf. 204: are3e [Jes-O: arewe], a1225(?c1375) PMor. (Lamb) 17: er3e [vrr. erewe, ar3; ar3e] (OE earh, infl. earga).

4.1.1.3. Finally after the final e had been lost.


4.1.2. From OE w.

(a1382) WBible(1) Ecclus. 43.22: blee3 [WB(2): blew] (OE bleow); c1400(?c1380) Cleaness 397: flo3ed, c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex. 2053: flo3es [Dub: flowes] (< OE flowan); a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brut 15741: huewe, 19889: heuwe; MED heu 'color').

4.1.3. From OE /-xx-/


4.1.4. From OE /f/[v].

c1380 Firumb'(1) 4319: abo3e, cf. c1400(c1300) N.Hom.(1) Gosp. p. 96: abowen, (c1444) Paston 2.66: abowe (OE (a)bufan). MED says that abow, abo3e are Southwestern.

4.2. /u/.


4.3. \z\ represents the letter w, not the sound, in the sequence o3z; hence, o3z is ow for /\/. c1400(?c1390) Gawan 305: bro3es \sim 2306 browe (OE brū).

4.4. \z\ for length mark.

a. w3 for /\/: c1330(?a1300) Arth. & M. 9798: dugste [rime: lugste], 9435: dust (akin to dūst? OE *dystan); ?a1450 Agnus Castus(Stockh): bu3t (OE būtan).

b. o3 for /\/: ?a1450 Agnus Castus(Stockh): hogt (OE hāt), no3t (OE nāht); (a1333) Shoreham Poems 5/137: fo3t(OF fot), cf. a1225(?a1200) Lay. Brut 29314: an heondon and a futen, c1300(?c1225) Horn 134: fout, ?c1375 Abye gud men: fute and hand.33

32 Cf. ME aw from OE af- before a vowel: OE hafoc→ME havek, hāwek, hawk (see Wyld 1927: 124).

33 See Roseborough (1938:30): “From the late thirteenth century on, o appears to have been raised and rounded to [\u02c0], which was identified with French a". Brunner (1963: 15): "OE o, about the 14th century, north of a line running west from the Humber, became an [\u02c0] sound, more and
c. aʒ for /aː/: ?a1450 Agnus Castus (Stockh) 132/3: hæzt ~ 121/7: hat (MED hát, hait, 3sg. of habban).

4.5. z used redundantly after u and w.\textsuperscript{34}


5. /g/.

5.1. From OE /g/.

5.1.1. Word or morph initially before consonants or (original) back vowels.


\textsuperscript{34} Cf. OE eaw, ēow → ME ōu, ēu respectively.

\textsuperscript{35} On the spelling ōu for ō, see fn. 33 above.
5.1.2. Medially or finally after n.


5.2. From OI and OF /g/.

a1400(a1325) Glo. Chron. B (Trin-C) 6120(=VI/19(G)): zates (ON gata); c1400 (?c1390) Gawain 1453: zaule (ON gaula); ibid. 1215: zege ( < OE geyja?); ?c1200 Orm. 10885: gæress, 8050: gæress (ON görvi, gervi; MED gère).


5.3. ʒh for [ʒ] in early ME in Ormulum: aȝhenn ‘own’, bȝhes ‘boughs’, ȝeȝe ‘eyes’ (see Jordan, #190; Brunner, p.43 Note 7).

6. /ʒ/.

c1150 Hrl. HApul 130.126/1: drenʒe (cf. OE drinc; MED drink);36 [ts] and [dz] were retained longer in the English loan-words and in later Anglo-Norman than on the Continent, where they, however, became [s] and [z] respectively in the course of the 13th century (Pope, #1181, #194): (1463) Acc. Howard in RC 57 180: sayle, cf. (1464) ibid. 187: gayel (OF jaiole); c1390 PPLA(Vrn) Prol. 47: seint Ieme [vr. ʒame], cf. c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A 10278: aȝomes tid (OF James); a1425 Wycl. Serm. 1.410: zaping (?OE).

7. /θ/;/ð/.

Brödin (1950) says that the first scribe of the manuscript (?a1450 Agnus Castus (Stockh)) uses ʒ as a voiceless dental fricative, which use is probably to be regarded as an inverted spelling because in late Middle English y was used both for the palatal fricative ʒ and the dental ð, which in writing often took the form of y. Similarly, Sisam (p.275) interprets that ʒ for ð initially is more often due to confusion of the letters ð and y and subsequent preference of ʒ for y in spelling than to direct confusion of ð and ʒ, which are not usually very similar in late Middle English script.

7.1. Initially.


36 MED says that a pronunciation drenʒe may have existed, by blending with drenche.
37 This text is evidently the work of a Norman scribe, who makes the usual mistakes by confusing ð with ʒ (Skeat 1906, p. 2*).
7.2. Medially.

a1400 *Cursor* (Trin-C) 4781: bliže [Vsp: blith];

7.3. Word or morph finally.

?a1425 (?a1350) Castleford *Chron.* 19924, 19926: Iugelour...pat mikel cuȝ of gam and gle... Fele burdes and wordes for soȝ he carpes; c1330 7 *Sages* (Auch) 2235: wij, c1330 *Degare* (Auch) 44: wij ‘with’; c1300 *SLeg.* (Ld) 366/35: deȝ, c1330 *Degare* 943: deȝ-dint, c1390 *SLeg. Cross* (Ld) 168: deȝ (OE deap); a1375 *WPal.* 261: feiȝ (liche), 209: feply (MED feiȝthi < AF feid & fei); 39 (1340) *Ayenb.* 234/8, 12: hondraȝ (i.e. hondradȝe with ð for d); ?a1450 *Agnus Castus* (Stockh) 132/3: haȝ ‘hath’ (3sg. of habban).

7.4. In inflectional syllables: [º].

c1300 (c1250) *Floris* (Cmb) 448: he... goþ forþ and letȝ hire stonde, 635: crieȝ, 459: geȝ.

7.5. ȝ for [º].


8. ȝ for various abbreviation marks.

In Latin palaeography, punctuation marks were used for abbreviations—the full point, and a colon or a semicolon: the first is the earliest and simplest mark of abbreviation (exp. A ȝ = aut) and the latter two appeared next (exp. B ; B ;), of which the favorite from was the semicolon, which later developed, by rapid writing, into a ȝ-shaped form from the 11th century on and was employed for various abbreviations: -us, -ue, -que, -et, later also for final m. A survival of the abbreviation ȝ for et, as in ȝȝ for set (i.e. sed), is seen in the z (for ȝ) in viz for videlícet (see Thompson, p. 99; also Johnson and Jenkinson p. 55). This ȝ-type abbreviation mark appears in English court hand from the 12th century (see Johnson and Jenkinson, pp. 60-61 and xxv). The following data, unless otherwise noted, are from *Statutes Realm*, vol. 1 (1810), a collection of early Middle English Latin documents from 1235 on.

8.1. For -us, as in *Abbatib3*, quibȝ; for -et, as in ȝȝ for set ~ sed and in possȝ; as a comprehensive mark of abbreviation: quixȝ for quilibet, qnȝ for quandoque, and videlȝ for videlícet (p. lxiii).

8.2. For a name: zorke (p. 52); c1460 *Erly in a someristide* 154/15, 25: Z.E.R.E. written after brute...ȝ for zorke, pat is manly and myȝtfull, *ibid.* 155/25: A ȝ for yorke.

8.3. For the Tironian sign for the conjunctive and or et (p. 52): a1350 *SLeg. Blase*

38 Or could bliȝe be for bli adj., reduced from of bliȝe adj.

39 Or could feiȝ be for AF variant fei?
II. y

The ME script forms of y and p are nearly, sometimes quite, identical, so that they are distinguished from each other by the former being overdotted. A common script form of y in Middle English is ʒ, which is also used for /x/; hence, the four letters ʒ, y, i, and j are often used interchangeably.

1. p; δ

(1399) RParl. 3.452a: all yof 'although'; a1500 Agnus Castus (Hrl) p. 167: bopen [vrr. boym, bothen], cf. c1150(OE) Hrl. HApol. 119.100/1: bozen (OE bopen) (on the graphic substitution of ʒ for p, see #1.7 above); 1389 Nrf. Gild Ret. 109: breyeroun (OE brómpor); (1440) PParv. 242: hyye (MED hǐth(e ); c1305 Als i·me rod 12: yider (OE pider).

2. ʒ (for h).

a1300 I syke 60: bibopt [vrr. bi-boyt, boht] (OE beboht) (on the graphic substitution of p for h, see # VI.2 below); (c1300) Havelok(Ld) 1219: mayt; a1325 (?c1300) NPAss. 102-4: yio [Rwl C. 655: he].

3. j ~ g for /j/.

(1440) PParv. 140: enyoyen [vrr. enioyn], cf. a1475 Ludus C. 118/83: injouyid (OF enjo-ir); (1467-8) Doc.Finchale in Sur.Soc. 6 p. cccvi: ywnnyng (MED joininge); a1500 (1422) Yonge SSecr. 225/26-27: yontures (OF jointure); ibid. 240/8: youse, cf. (c1440) Scrope Othea 84: ioyeux (OF joios, joix); c1400(c1387) PPl.B(Ld) 13.83: Iurdan [C: yurdan] (ML jurdānus; MED Jordan).

4. /j/.

(1440) PParv. 242: hyye (MED hǐth(e ); c1475(a1449) Lydg. St. Giles 159: deuhy (OE deawig; MED deui); (a1398) *Trev. Barth 41b/b: heuyere, a1300 SLeg.(Ld): hevʒ (MED hêvi), cf. a1225(?a1200) Lay.Brut 2795: hefʒere (where eʒ, iə = i, see #I. 1.4b above).

III. h

H is used for w, p, y, diacritic symbols, and an epenthetic h, and also redundantly. H for w and y is due to the fact that all the three letters are related to the ʒ, which represents /y/, for example, next to a front vowel, /w/ next to a back vowel, and /x/ next to a consonant. H for p is due to the graphic similarity of the letters p and y, with subsequent employment of ʒ for y, and then of the archaic h for ʒ in spelling (cf. #II above and # VI. 2 below).40

40 The substitution of h for p has also been explained as due to confusion caused by the difficulty experienced by French scribes in distinguishing between the two unfamiliar fricative sounds.
Graphic Substitutions in Middle English

1. \(w\) (for OE or Or [\(\beta\)]).

- a1225(?c1200) St. Juliana 43/456: feolahe, cf. c1325 (c1300) Glo. Chron. A 4245: dawiinge (OE dagung; MED dauinge);
- a1225(?1200) St. Juliana 43/456: feolahe, cf. c1325 (c1300) Glo. Chron. A 4245: dawiinge (OE dagung; MED dauinge);
- a1225(?c1200) St. Juliana 43/456: feolahe, cf. c1325 (c1300) Glo. Chron. A 4245: dawiinge (OE dagung; MED dauinge);
- a1300 Gloss. Bibbesw. (Seld) 832: velien [vrr. felouhes, felowes] (OE sg. felg; p! felga, -an; MED fêla) ;

2. \(p\sim\delta\).

- c1325 Lenten ys come XVIII/22(S): doh (=dop).

3. \(y\) (i.e. \(\acute{z}\)).

- a1300 Owl & N. (Jes-O) 408: bareh [Cig: bare\(\hat{\mathcal{g}}\)], cf. c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth. (1) 191: barowes (OE bearg. bearh); c1400(c1378) PPl. B(Ld) Prol. 161: bizes [vrr. beizes, behes, byes] (OE bêag, bêah); a1300 Levedi sainte 20: dehe (OE déag, dé(a)h);

4. Diacritic symbols for vowel length and hiatus, or vowel length alone.

- a. Vowel length and hiatus (see #1.1.3.1b above).
  - (a1420) Lydg. TB 1.3067: coharte, (?a1430) Lydg. Pilgr. 24829: coharte, cf. ?a1425 *Chauliac (1) 144b/a: coarte (L; MED cörten); ibid. 153b/b: cohite, 94b/b: coite (OF coît; MED cőte); (1440) PParv. 120: dyel [KC: dial, diholf] (OE; MED dial).
  - b. Vowel length alone (see #1.1.3.1a above).

5. Word or morph initial epenthetic (excreent) \(h\).

Initial excreent fricative \(h\) occurs already in Old English in the late 9th century Hatton manuscript of the Pastoral Care: his 215/19 (Cotton MS: is). This epenthetic \(h\) is said to take place “only in stressed syllables, and especially in those that have extra strong sentence-stress” (Wyld, p.219). In later Old French from the 13th century on, to obviate the ambiguity of the symbol \(u\), the \(h\) was often prefixed to words beginning

The Normans still pronounced the intervocalic dentals at the time of the Conquest, and that this pronunciation was continued in Anglo-Norman for some time, till toward the middle of the 12th century in any case (Menger, p. 92).

41 W after an epenthetic back vowel but \(y\) after an epenthetic front vowel.
with this symbol used with vocalic or semivocalic value, as in *huis*, *huit*, *huem.*

(c1300) *Havelok* (Ld) 304: hic; *ibid.* 322: (per)hinne; a1300 *Worldes blis ne last* 3–4: hich [vr. ics] ...hic [vr. ics] (OE ic); c1250 *Owl* & *N.* (Clg) 4: hule; *ibid.* 1177: harte;

*ibid.* 1733: hunke; a1340(?a1400) *Morte Arth.* (1) 3244: enhorilde, cf. c1400(?a1380) *Cleanness* 19: enorled (OF orler; MED enorlēn).

6. -ih and hi- for -ī and ʒī respectively, for short /i/ (see #1.1.3.2a and b above).

?a1300 *Sayings St. Bede* 195: herihinge, cf. (a1333) Herbert *Wele herizyn*, c1250 *Owl* & *N.* (Clg) 4: hule; *ibid.* 1177: hartu; a1440(?a1400) *Morte Arth.* (1) 322: (per) hinne; *ibid.* 322: (per) hinne; a1300 *Loke to pi louerd* 2: hyf, cf. a1325(?c1300) *NPass.* 385: yif [vrr. ʒif, if, hiff] (OE gif; MED if).

7. Redundantly after u and w (see #1.4.8 above).


IV. s

In French, [s] before a consonant (t) was velarized to [x] in the 11th or 12th century (Pope, #1178); this ‘weakened’ s, however, was still “sounded” into the 13th century (except in the western region) as indicated by the rhymes of Old French poets (Pope, #377). On the Continent, this stage was evidently ephemeral, but in Anglo-Norman, where these consonants found support in the English sound system, this fricative [ʃ] (after front vowels) or [x] (after back vowels) persisted into the late 13th or 14th century, as attested by the spellings and rhymes of French loan-words in German poems, e.g. *foreht*, *reht*, or by the testimony of the fifth rule of the 13th (~14th) century Anglo-Norman *Orthographia Gallica* (pp. 8 and 49): “Quant s est joynt [a la t], ele avera le soune de h, come est, plest seront sonez eght, pleght” (when s is joined to t, it has the sound of h, and that est, plest should be pronounced eght, pleght (see Pope, #378(ii), #1178(ii); Menger, p. 106; Morsbach, #16 Anm. 1.). Anglo-Norman scribes represented this palatal and velar fricatives by the English h and occasionally by gh or sh, as in mih†, eshtel (Pope, #1216(iv); Menger, p. 102), osaht, vouiht, fuht, etc. (Pope, #1178), or still by original s, as in misite ‘might’ and boust ‘bought’.

The exact phonetic nature of this spelling h (or gh, sh) from the old s is not certain, but was (at first) a sound representing “one of the many series of changes s may have undergone before disappearance” in the early part of the 13th century (Menger, pp. 42 Pope, #730; Anglo-Norman scribes often omitted or inserted incorrectly initial h (see Brunner, p. 43). On the initial epenthetic h alternating with s, see #1.1.1.2b above.

43 Pope, #1178: for -st we find st, ht (ght, sh), and also (disappearance) in Anglo-Norman (Menger, p. 102).
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106-107). Apparently, the sibilant fricative had first been weakened to a backed flat fricative [ç] or [x] and further to a glottal fricative (i.e. a breathing [h]) before it was lost.

When this preconsonantal s was finally effaced, the traditional spelling s was then maintained frequently and used as a diacritic to indicate the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This diacritical function of s was subsequently extended to other words unetymologically, as Peletier du Mans states: "Nous métons voulontiers cète lettre(s) pour sinnifer que la sillable ét longue" (see Pope, #725(i)).

A similar development occurred in English also, as when ME gh had been lost, for example, before t, the old gh then came to be used as a diacritic to indicate vowel length—this, of course, by reverse spelling: (1461) Paston ii. 29: wright (OE wrītan), c1450 Lydg. SSecr.Ct. 1814: audight (L. auditūs; MED audītē).

a. After front vowels.

c1250 Of on pat is so fayr 3: brist, c1250 Louerd asse pu ard 10: brest, 117: brest, 71: brest (withot h), cf. a1225(?c1175) PMor.(Lamb) 75: brichte [vrr. brihte, bríghte, brítte] (OA breht, bryht; WS beorht; MED bright); c1250 Doomsday(Trin-C) 6: disten, c1250 Louerd asse pu ard 119: diste (OE dihtan); c1250 Judas 34: fiste, cf. a1225(?c1200) St. Juliana 63/684: to fiten (without h)(OE feohtan); c1250 *St. Marg.(2) (Trin-C) 218: heiste, c1250 Judas(Trin-C) 19: heiste, 20: heite (OE hét); ibid. 6: meist mete 'might meet', 29: miste 'might' [rime: cnistes (line 30) 'knights', fiste (31) 'fight'], a1275(?1150) Prov.Alf.(Trin-C) 72/31: mistin, c1300(?c1225) Horn(Cmb) 10: miste.

b. After back vowels.

c1250 Judas(Trin-C) 26: ic am ioust (OE boht); c1250 *St.Marg.(2) 219: brousten, c1250 Seinte marie leuedi 5: brovste (OE broht); c1300(?c1225) Horn 15/249: doster (OE dohter); c1440 PParv. 129: dowsty (OE dohtig); c1250 Wolle ye i-heren 4: isouste (ppl.) [rime: ibroust], c1250 pe ne latemeste dai 28: isouste (ppl.) [rime: ibroust] (without h), ?a1300 Jacob & J. 420: isouste (ppl.) (OE sōhte); c1250 pene latemeste dai 68: bipaiste (ppl.) [vrr. bīpahte] ~ 286: bigeoste.

V. w

W is used for z, j ~ g, and f.

W for y and j (~g) is due to the fact that all these letters are related to z, which represents w, for example, next to a back vowel, as well as y and j (see #11.3 above); w for f is due to the fact that u or v was used for w, and since u and v interchanged with each other, one of them was subsequently employed for f.

1. z (i.e. y) /y/: a1225 Wint.Ben.Rule 71/12: andwit (MED andʒit).
2. j ~ g /j/: c1390 Psalt. Maria(1) 440: pe Iewes mod [L. tempera judicis] (OF juge; MED jūge).
3. f/f, /v/ (see #1.4.4 above): (c1385) Chaucer CT.Kn. A.1985: a veze [vrr. weze,

VI. p

p is used for y, h, w, s, f, and d and t.

1. y (see #II above).

Concerning the two English letters that have no equivalents in the French alphabet, a 14th century writer remarks as follows: “Auxi come nous auons en nostre parleure en Engleterre deux lettres plus qils nount en lour a.b.c, cest assauoir p et z, qi sont appellez thorn et zogh” (MS British Museum Harley 4383 f. 31), which means in Middle English: “And wee in Englond hauue in oure language and speche ii lettres mo pan pei haue in hire a.b.c, and pat is p and z whiche ben clept pond and zogh” (MS Cotton Titus c.xvi (1410–1420)) (see Paues, p. 444). One of these two letters, z, is called ‘yoz, zoz’ or ‘pouz’ in the 15th century English Mandeville manuscripts (see Paues, p. 446).

Since y and p appear so alike in script, they have been endlessly confused by scribes, as in c1305 Als i me rod (Linl) 163/12(S): yider (= pider), Oxf. Douce 109 f. 37: z. and y which ben clepid zou and pou3; Camb.Univ. Ff. 5.35 f.24b: y and z pe whiche beth I-callid powhes (see Paues, p. 445), and also with occasional transference to p of the dot which palaeographically may stand only over y, as in c1250 Prov. Alf.(Trin-C) f. 85: p i. yorn (with the y overdotted for p (!) by the Norman scribe).

c1250 pene latemeste dai 86-87: lepen (OE læg)... brepe, cf. c1325 Most i ryden 18: brege (OE WS bræw; OA brég; MED breu n.), c1250 Wene pin eyen 21/1: epen ‘eyes’; c1400 John Ball’s Letter to the Peasants of Essex, 1381 (St. Albans MS British Museum Royal 13.E.ix) 161/11(S): pe (=ye); c1475(cl399) Mum & S.(1) 3.106: clesped (MED cloien v.); c1350 MPPsalter 45.4: deluup [vr. deluvie] (MED dilüwie); c1450 Med.Bk.(1) 318/1048: dregge, cf. ?c1425 Chauiac(2) 34a/b: dragye (OF dragie; MED dragē); c1305 Als i me rod 23: piiif, (c1465) Stonor 1.71: pyf: (OE gif); a1450 Disp.Virg. & Cross(Roy) 241: keiped (MED keied (ppl.) ‘fastened’); c1325 Mon in pe mone 69/11: hip-te (OE higp; MED highte).

Similarly, th for y ~ z: c1400 St.Anne(1) 1226: contreths, c1440 PLA lex 9/23: contreth, a1450 7 Sages(3) 3318: countreth, c1450 Alph. Tales 69/12, 163/21: contreth, (a1456) Shireley Death Jas. 11: countreth, cf. c1300 Sleg. Nich. (Hrl) 439: contrai, (1398) *Trev. Barth. 135b/a: contey (OF contrée; MED contrè(e, with scribal substitution of th for y read as p).

2. h.

On the orthographical origin of p for h, see #III above; the p for h usually appears before t from OE -ht.

2.1. /x/.
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c1325 Mon in pe mone (Hrl) 69/7: wypt (OE wiht); c1300 Lay. Brut (Otho) 12: hept...
hept [Clg: heiht], c1325 Mon in pe mone (Hrl) 70/35: hept (OE hé(a)h); c1250 Owl & N. 1391, 1395, 1552: nopt, 1470, 1620, 1740: napt (OE näht); c1300 Lay. Brut (Otho) 21/25 (DW) miptes, cf. *bid. 21/30 (DW): misties (OE mihtig); De clerico et puella (British Museum Harley 2253) 122/17 (DW): ript (OE rihte); a1300 I syke 60: bibopt [vrr. bi-boyt, boht] (OE beboht); c1250 Owl & N. 1295: hopful [Jes-O: houhful], cf. *bid. 537: h03fule (OE hohful); c1300 Lay. Brut (Otho) 1270: bi-hepte; c1300 Lay. Brut (Otho) 3477, 3205: inop [Clg: inoh], a1450 Bevis (Cai) 28/600: i-noupe [Auch: inou3] (OE genoh); a1225 (?a1200) Lay. Brut 9106: broote n [c1300: brohte]; *bid. 6940: ise05t en [c1300: soht e] (OE gesohte).

2.2. p represents only the letter h, not its sound.


In the sequence -ht, final t is often omitted: c1300 (c1250) Floris (Cmb) 407: forb [Auch: forht]; *bid. 737: worp [Auch: worht]. For a similar loss of the t after 3, see c1400 (c1390) Gawain 1858: my3 (=my3t), c1400 (?c1380) Pearl 286: bro3 (=bro3t).

3. w.

Anglo-Norman scribes often confused the two letters p and f, as did the English scribes, on account of their graphic similarity, by writing p for the Anglo-Saxon f (=w); therefore, the Norman scribes of the following manuscripts have written down the following four peculiarly English letters as a memorandum for guidance in their transcription: (a) At the bottom of the first page on folio 85 of c1250 Prov. Alf. (Trinc): iye w and iyorn;44 (b) on the blank page folio 114b following the beginning of the Poema Morale (McLean 123): •porn• wen y03 and.45

(c1300) Havelok (Ld) 464: ps (=ws for us); *bid. 2578: forpi (=forhwi, forwi); c1250 Owl & N. 946: flopep [Jes-O: flowep], cf. c1450 (?a1400) Wars Alex. 2053: flozes [Dub: flowes]; c1250 Owl & N. 1613: ascpeple; ?a1300 St. J. List Trees 155: hapes (OE haga); c1450 Bevis (Cai) 28/600: i-noupe [Auch: inou3], cf. (c1410) York MGame 38: inowe (OE gen6g, gen6h); a1225 (?OE) Lamb. Hom. 157: itupe, cf. c1250 Owl & N. 1725: it03en [vr. itowen] (<OE gete6n); *bid. 1320: ipune, 475: iwone (OE gewuna).

4. s.

p for s is due first to the fact that for the unfamiliar fricative h (commonly written 3) before t, Anglo-Norman scribes often employed its French equivalent s, and next, to

44 The i of iye and iyorn apparently stands for id est; see Pauces, p. 442; in the same manuscript, the Norman scribe has also written y twice where he should have written f (=w) (see Greg 1910, p. 284).

45 On the other hand, Sisam, following Dr. Bradley, suggests that the initial p is mistaken for v (=u). However, I would rather explain the substitution by associating p with 3 for w, and subsequent employment of 3 for y, and then of p for w in spelling.
graphic confusion of $\gamma$ (for $y$) and $p$ on account of their graphic similarity (see # VI.1 above), and finally to subsequent employment of $p$ for $s$.\(^6\) Cf. c1300 Lay. Brut(Otho) 21/30(DW): mistie, 21/25: miptie (OE mihtig).


5. \text{f.}

The substitution of $p$ for $f$ is due to the fact that ME /x/, written $\gamma$, was often labialized to $f$ finally or before $t$, as in a1400 Cursor(Vsp) 579: pof [Trin-C: pouze] ‘though’,\(^4\) and then subsequent confusion of $\gamma$ (for $y$) and $p$. Wyld(p.209) says that substitution of $f$ for $\theta$ and $v$ for $\delta$ in all positions occur: “This substitution seems to be rather a personal idiosyncracy than a dialect feature, though it does appear to be frequent in a very low type of Cockney English.”

\text{c1325 Middelord for mon(Hrl) 30/29: fyth of oper ne darp he floe (?OE derfen ‘to afflict’); c1400(?c1380) Pearl 138: oper ‘over’; a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC 4.1567: hastif [vr. hastyp] (OF; MED h\{"stl\}); a1375 WPal. 362: dwerp, cf. a1325 Gloss. Bibbesw. 823: dweruf [vr. dwarw, duarf] (OE WS dweorg; MED dwergh).\(^4\)

6. \text{d and t.}

\text{a. For d.} Before nasal or liquid, there was a tendency of $p$ becominga $d$ (see Brunner, p. 38).

\text{(c1300) Havelok(Ld) 739: erpe; c1325(c1300) Glo. Chron. A. 7491: debrused [vr. pebrusede] (OF debrisier; MED d\{"br\}isen); a1500(?1400) Chester Launfal 101: peparty\{F departir\}; c1330 Orfeo 33/370: perk (OE deporc); c1250 On leome 55: peit (OE d\{"ep\}); 1451-1500 (c1400) Tundale 1057: donge [vr. ponge], 1056: dange [vr. pange], a1500 (c1400) Emare 659: ponge (past of OE *dingan); a1500(c1400) Emare 422: powztur (OE dohtor); a1400 Cursor(Göt) 11829: propsi [Frf: dropesy] (MED dropsi(e); ?c1200

\(^6\) The $\gamma$ in French represents the letter $z$ or $s$.


\(^4\) Conversely, $f$ for $p$: c1175(3OE) Bod. Hom. 134/27: He nauef (=nauep).
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Orm. 2245: Jupewess (L. Jüdaeus).49

b. For t.

a1500(?c1425) Spec. Sacer. 60/35: dympnedes (AF deintép); (a1387) Trev. Higd. 7.473: drouyte [vr. druyp]. Similarly, th for t: (c1300) Havelok(Ld) 48: with, 213: woth, 252: leth, 808: neth.50

APPENDIX: z

This letter takes the Roman form, both as a capital and as a small letter, during the 11th and 12th centuries, with two horizontal lines joined by a diagonal, but from the latter part of the 13th century on, the small letter, however, comes to assume the form indistinguishable from the letter g ‘yogh’ (Johnson and Jenkinson, p.55); hence, they have come to be confused. Moreover, some editors have replaced g’s by z’s where “that is the letter intended” (Davis, p.v in Tolkien and Gordon 1967).

The letter z, then, is used for p, /ts/, s, and h.

1. p (cf. #1.7 above).

(1296) in Löfvenberg ME Local Surnames 101: Rob. atte Huz, cf. ibid. 113: Steph. atte Huth (MED hith(e ); c1300 SLeg.(Ld) 424/129: His fisichres wenden a-fischez ‘went fishing’ (with original 3, (for th) normalized to z by the editor(!), cf. a1325(c1280) SLeg. Pass.(Pep) 2179: Hi... wende a-fischep (MED a-fiseth ‘adv.’); c1390 SLeg. Cross (Ld) 168: dez (OE deáp); ?a1400 Adv. 18.5.16 Gloss. 159: hez (OE hæp); a1400(a1325) Cursor 7806: haizen [Frf: heypen] (OE hæpen).

2. /ts/ (cf. #1.3.1c above).

In Old French, z was written for ts at the end of words, whence some plurals like restemenz. Following this, tz was used in English, as in merchantz (Mossé, p.53). In French loan-words, the flexible z can signify the sound z [ts] in final position (Morsbach, #10).

(c1300) Havelok(Ld) 2559: Marz (OF marz); (1314) Chart.R.PRO 3.275: cerchez (pl.) ~ (1461) RParl. 5.476a: chirchetts (pl.) (MED cherset); a1225(c1200) Vices & V. (1) 79/7: innocentes, (c1390) Chaucer CT.ML B. 815: innocentz, a1500(c1340) Rolle Psalter(UC 64): innocenz (pl.), c1390(a1325) Ipotis 71: innocens (<OF innocent; MED innocent).

3. s [s] (cf. #1.3.1 above).

For voiceless s, the French z is commonly used (Morsbach, #10). In the Northwest Midland dialect, the Northern dialect, and Scots, the letter z was equally used at the end

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49 Conversely, d for p[ð]: a1400 Cursor (Got) 4539: cloing [Trin-C: cloing], a1400(a1325) Cursor 10600: de-gre [Got: pe-gre].

50 Conversely, t for th. French scribes employed t for p or ð since they had no interdental fricatives (see Jordan, #203 Ann.): (c1300) Havelok(Ld) 1: herknet; ibid. 18, 52, 113: wit; c1250 Owl & N.(Clg) 67: bigredet, 67. 131: wit, 230: hatiet.
of words with the value s or z (Mossé, #8.IV).

a1500 Hrl. 1002 Gloss 627: nruus: zenuws, cf. a1450(1408) *Vegetius (1) 100a: strynges
i-made of zenuwes and here / Plente of zenuwes and horshere for strenges; (1391) Acc.
Expect.Der. in Camd. n.s. 52 219/17: zitronde (OF; MED citronâde); c1325(c1300)
Glo.Chron.A 10201: justizes, c1425 Al es bot 85: iusticz (OF; MED justýce); a1400
(c1300) NHom.(1) Abp. & N. 86: faz (OF; MED fáce); a1475 Russell Bk. Nurt. 618:
douz, (1440) PParv. 129: dowce (OF douz, douce; MED dôuce).

The loss of /x/ before a consonant is indicated by the Anglo-Norman scribes with
either the letter s or z: (1465) Will Norwich in Norfolk Archaeology 4.332: nyt (OE
niht) [rime: myzt (OE miht)].

4. h (cf. #1.2.1 above).

(1340) Ayenb. 56/29: ze, cf. c1400(c1378) PPl.B(Ld) 6.138: 3e shall ete ... He shall
ete (OE hé).

5. z represents only the letter h, not its sound, in the sequence tz (for th) (see #1.
2.3 above).

c1400(c1378) PPl.B(Ld) 17.237: assetz [C. 20.203: a-seth] (OF asse(t)z; MED
asseth).

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