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The Origin of the Phrases in the ME Legend of Pope Gregory

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INTRODUCTION

The ME legend of Pope Gregory which belongs to the Saints' legends in the strict sense of the word is filled with almost all subject-matters by which ME romances are characterized. Like the majority of the romances, this short verse of 1500 lines begins with a direct address¹ to the audience, accompanying many formulas which seek to establish some contact between the author and his audience. Such a hero² as the word 'romance' often implies is Gregory here and the story contains the separation-restoration sequence and the love-marriage sequence³ of which combination is arranged in such a way that the one restores imbalances found in the other. The only thing, however, that can be said that there is some real difference between this work and the romances seems to be that the scenes of marriage: of mother to son and of brother to sister, within certain specified degrees of kinship which was prohibited by the Church in the Middle Ages⁴ are depicted.

The period from 1300 to 1500 which is fixed by the date of the manuscripts, as MED takes it to be, sees Saints' legends becoming more explicitly moral and less devotional and more moralizing romances⁵ than they were in the thirteenth century. The fact that Saints' legends and romances are hardly distinguishable results in the appearance of what can best be termed the romantic-legendary in-between types⁶.

During the fourteenth century English was spreading fast, while the use of French declined, even among the upper classes.

Whom have collections like the Vernon Ms. treated here and Auchinleck Ms. been intended for and appealed to? If we give proper considera-

tion to the fact that they were written at a time when a large proportion of aristocratic circles was no longer able or willing to read the originals⁷ and at the same time that community acceptance is the major factor in deciding whether oral literature will survive to the point where it may be recorded and brought into the realm of written literature⁸, it cannot be denied that they are also addressed to the lowest classes. It is thus important to note that the translation, or rather adaptation, of Saints' preceded all other kinds of translation⁹. There is no other reason than community acceptance.

The beginning of the thirteenth century¹⁰ when the Fr. legend of Pope Gregory was written is roughly comprised in Later Old French¹¹ in which standard Modern French was slowly formed¹² and the flexional system was maintained in relative stability¹³. Unlike the earlier period when the tonic stress was intense,¹⁴ it was the new tendency to link together words connected in thought and to make the phrase or locution the sentence unit instead of the word¹⁵ that characterized Later OF. An author's use of the phrasal pattern forms may help us to study the OF phrases more easily and the very tendency of Later OF may attach a peculiar significance to the study.

The Fr. legend of Pope Gregory of 2794 lines was probably read out from the Ms. Tours 927, one of six manuscripts¹⁶ which survive, in which the wandering life led by many of the Old French poets resulted in a considerable mingling of dialectal forms.¹⁷

In the processes of this study, it may be proved that the main material of the ME legend of Gregory is drawn from the Fr. legend of Gregory. Why are the ME legends considerably shorter than their sources? Is this abridgement due to the omission of complete episodes or parts of the plot? Because the English legends would be far more removed from actuality and from the day-to-day experience of the audience than the French as far as their courtly background was concerned, and because they would not be accepted by the audience unless they reflected the profound changes in social conditions in reference to the social and political background, they did not try to imitate the French as they were. In the processes of translation, adaptation, and imitation, they thus established a very different way to tell the story much earlier: a more concise mode of narration or a much sparser use of description and less reflection¹⁸, by intensifying a crisis without losing anything of the plot,

meanwhile the French told the whole story¹⁹. The ME legend of Gregory hasn't thoroughly been studied in that most of the scholars have taken it for granted that the English legends, only derivatives of the French, were dismissed as inferior translations or imitations, but in the midst of almost impersonal transmission or calques were the various devices to make the story quick: by turning some of the indirect discourse into direct dialogue²⁰ or introducing some variants of the verb 'to say', which proves that the English narratives were intended for a listening audience, while the French for a reading audience²¹.

To what degree did the translations help foreign words and phrases to penetrate into ME? Owing to geographical vicinity, a bilingual situation, or translation, there is bound to be a certain amount of interchange²² between two different systems of expression. If the one is at a more primitive stage of development than the other, it will create a system of its own based on its own inherent laws. The phraseonomic loans, above all, which are of a syntactic nature affected the language widely and obviously to the point where they superseded native phrases and influenced their syntactic units. The existence in some similar collocations in form and in meaning facilitated the introduction of the rival tongue, and the others went out of use by the existence in better native phrases; e.g. in the struggle for predominance between the strong plurals in -es and the weak plurals in -en, the Fr. plurals in -s²³ must have facilitated the ultimate victory of the former.

Most of the romances or legends have been compared with their French sources in some detail, mainly to prove the migrations of certain stories and motifs or to illustrate cultural differences between the two countries by lists of differences and parallels. In interpreting these parallels or calques, it is of importance to begin by noting that the French word is more submerged in the sentence and that its component sounds are functionally less apparent than the English word²⁴, in that the detail is subservient to the ensemble.

Much space is devoted to the following comparisons of the phrases which are instituted between the OF legend of Gregory: *Vie du Pape Grégoire le Grand* edited by Luzarche and the ME legend: *Die Mittelenglische Gregoriuslegende* by Carl Keller.

I. French Element in English Phraseology

I—1

An attempt to classify in complete separation the syntactical and the purely semantic seems indeed impossible. All that we can do is to place first phrases which contain a borrowed Fr. word or those we consider to be genuine calques, while preserving as far as possible the alphabetical order. It is no disproof of the principal source drawn from the Fr. legend to list below no more than 41 phrases.

ARME: Sens cri e sens noise *s'armerent*, 58.6
Gonne hem arme swiþe wel. 107.856

ART: Que torner, peust, *par son art*, 7.21
Wip his art he torned heore mod 12.104

ASEMBLE: Quant il *furent* tuit *asemblé* 98.13
Que tuit il legat *s'assemblerent* 98.3
Feise assembled weoren heo þo, 157.1256

BARGE: Quant Gregoire ist *de la barche* 53.3
Gregori went *in to þat barge.* 96.769
Godefroy defines *barche*, a variant of *barge*, as 'embarcation plate avec une voile carré', taking the following example:
Et por la priere de ceaus qui la furent
Si furent despendu a faire barches
(Machab., II, IV, 20, B.N.1)

BARS: *As barres* prennent à juier. 42.21
Atte Bars heo maden a tras. 81.650
as and *atte* are a shortened form of *all the* and *a les*.

BI SEGET: Molt ot grant gent, si *aseja* 58.2
La cité e tendi ses tentes 58.3
Icomen and *bi seget* þe castel diche 104.838
bi seget consists of BE and SEGE, aphetic form of *asege*.

CHAUMBRE: Chascun jor vei le conte *entrer* 71.23
En cele chambre 71.24
Ens en la chanbre 1'a *menée*, 19.5
And *in to chaumbre* heo *wenten* ariht, 36.298

Such a phrase as *en cele chaumbre* is not infrequently met with in OF texts.

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En celle zambre n'a mestier
Tortiz, candoile ne doplier.
(Hector, B.N. 821, f° 2^a)

COURS: E devant tos *un grant cors fist*: 42.24

A cours he tok wiþ his felawe. 81.651

Where we distinguish between *a race* and *running* in English, in French the same word *course* stands for both.²⁵

cf. Et la lune qui fait son curs
E sun cressant e son decurs

(De N.-Dame, B.N. 19525, f° 89^d)

DUYK: Querre il vint uns de Raains 32.3

Uns riches dux qui fu romains 32.4

A Riche Duyk of miȝt ful strong, 61.493

ELECCIUN: *Por faire entr'eauz élection* 98.8

Heore *elecciun* wel *forte do* 157.1258

It is not unlikely that the use of *for to* with a similar function, in ME, was remodelled on that of *pour a*²⁶ frequently seen in OF texts.

cf. Feirent election d'un roy de boys
pour les regir et dominer.

(RAB., Pantag., I. III, ch. LI)

ENGENDRURE: Li Diabes n'en sot nient 10.9

De cest saintisme engendrement; 10.10

Bote of *þe holy engendrure*, 16.135

Pe storrye seip, he wuste nouht. 16.136

This passage in the OF text is met with in Godefroy, in the sense of 'naissance'. The adverbial suffix -ment, meaning 'in a ... spirit', 'in a ...manner', is occasionally added to nouns²⁷.

FFEBLE: *Feibles esteit e sens valor*, 107.5

Ffeble he was, 174.1385

GRACE: Qui dignes seit d'aver sa grace 100.12

Pat God hem *sende grace* sone, 157.1259

HOST: Chevauchent *verz l'ost* à bataille. 58.16

Porwh þe host he per rod. 108.865

ost, *houst* and also *ot* are seen in Godefroy.

- IN TO: *Ens en la chambre* à sa seror 14.17
And in to chaumbre þei went þan, 24.202
 Godefroy mentions that '*ens* se place souvent devant *en* pour renforcer l'idée exprimée par la préposition':
Enz en lur mains portent branches d'olive.
 (Rol., 93, Müller)
- JUEERBON: Qu' erent *d'ivoire* bin *ovrées* 22.16
Pat weore i mad of Jueerbon 48.390
 cf. *Ledit vaissel est d'yvuire.*
 (J. Goulain, Trad. du Ration. de G. Durant, B.N. 437, f° 18r°)
- LAUNCE: Haubert *ot bon e lance* forte 58.23
And tok a lance hol and sound 108.864
- ORISOUN: A Dame-Deu *oreison fist* 109.1
 To God he *seide an Orisoun*, 177.1410
 cf. A uraisuns se jetent, s'unt lur culpes batut.
 (Voy. de Charlem., 668)
Cil ki aler n'i poent funt a Deu urisun.
 (Wace, Rou, 2^ep., 881)
- PENAUNT: Qu'il *quereient un penéant* 103.12
Aftur a penaunt i souht ful riht 164.1316
 cf. Mais par l'apostre une quierent peneant
Je ne verrez pesser le chiet d'un an.
 (Garin, ms. Dijon 300, f° 3^a)
- PES: Que il *seient trestuit en pais*, 65.11
 Fforte he hedde hire *pes y make* 112.901
 II li repont: "*Laissez m'en pais*, 76.9
 Be stille, dame, *hold þi pees*, 132.1059
 The ON. phrase is: *setja grið ok frið*, to make truce and peace.
Macian is already used before the Conquest, as early as 1056. It would be hazardous to attribute this phrase in the Abingdon Chron. to French influence and the court of Edward the confessor²⁸.
 cf. *Vois m'en, si vus tenez en pes!*
 (Huon De Rot., Ipomedon, 5192)
- PREY: *Repria Deu* omnipotent; 94.20
And preyede god to senden him hap, 150.1201

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The prefix *re* is frequently affixed to verbs, where possible to the auxiliary, to express repetition²⁹.

RENTES: *Rente de pais ne de terre* 115.16

Londes and rentes 185.1466

cf. Dona terres as vavassors,
Duna altres rentes plusors.
(Wace, Rou., 3^e p., 9021)

ROCHE: *Que en un roché de mer*, 103.13

He wonep *in a Roche of stone* 164.1317

roche was often used, meaning 'maison, cave, caveau, souterrain'.
(Godefroy)

cf. Celui qui tant ot geuné
Et en la roche demoré
(Guiot, Bible, 1884, Wolfart)

SESE: *Par les cheviaus l'a tost saisi* 43.5

Wip honden he *sesede him* ful sket 82.654

SOUPE: *E si le face o sei soper* 88.13

Po hit was tyme forte *soupe*, 144.1151

TENDRE: ...cum il est gras

E blans e *tendres* sor les dras; 86.13

...pi flesche *is tendre* 141.1129

TENTE: *La cité e tendi ses tentes* 58.3

Wip *tentes sprad* and tild ful wyde, 105.840

cf. Li riche homme communement
Refont, en l'eure, sanz atendre,
De toutes parz leur tentes tendre.
(G. Guiart, Roy. lign., B.N. 5698 p. 333^b)

TORNE: *Que torner, péust, par son art*, 7.21

Wip his art he *torned* 12.104

Que torner péust, par son art, 7.21

Heore loue to *tornene in to synne* 13.112

I—1—1

By the existence in sufficiently similar native words in form and in meaning and in sound due to pure coincidence arisen independently in

both languages, we cannot categorically affirm the words listed below to be of Fr. origin, and that they are doubtful loans is the common denominator to the phrases collected here.

- MARK: Enprès i a *dis mars mucés* 22.13
Ten Mark of seluer per wip oute 47.387
(LOE marc prob. from ML)
cf. .I. jor de respit vaut .c. mars.
(Dolop., 7870)
- NOME: Li abés cui *el non aveit* 40.23
Pe childes *nome* per he *tok*. 78.622
- RICHE: L'autre iert *riches et mananz* 38.7
Pat O ffisschere was *riche of weole* 74.589
manant a passé du sens de domicilié à l'acception de *riche, opulent, puissant*, according to Godefroy.
cf. E par lui est riche et manant.
(MARIE, Ysopet, XXIII, Roq.)
- WEY: Qui *dreite veie* les *menot*, 101.6
Vr lord *tauhte* hem *pe wey ariht*. 160.1284
Norman *veie* and Eng. *wey* were phonetically and semantically alike. Similarity of idiomatic use was therefore to be expected³⁰.
cf. Et justiche alast droite voie.
(Renclus, Carité, LII, 12)
- WYN: E li dona *de son bon vin* 89.3
And ʒaf him *wyn of Maser broun*, 145.1164
The same thing can be said of *wyn. bon vin* was often met with in OF, meaning 'pourboire, pot-de-vin'.

I—1—2

The phrases are listed which were remodelled on the analogy of the existing pattern, or by applying to a system of its own based on its own inherent laws, e.g. by using nouns instead of verbs, or verbs instead of nouns. These are not so genuine calques from the Fr. sources as ones in I-1, but the only thing that can be concluded from these is that they are partial loans.

- CRISTENE: Qu'il le *fasse crestienté* 39.7
And preye pe abbot ʒif he mihte, 75.603

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Cristene hit for *Godus loue* 75.604

Godefroy mentions an example from the very line, meaning 'christianisme'.

DELYUER: Que la dame *ot delivrement*, 19.21
Pe ladi schulde *delyuered beo*, 40.226
cf. Ne n'ai nes .I. delivrement,
Se per toi non tant soulement.
(Lib. Psalm., VII, p.266, Michel)

HERMYTE: Jà home de si saintisme 92.15
Ne déust estre d'abaie; 92.16
Mais *estre en un hermitage*, 92.17
Pou schuldest han *ben hermyte* or frere 147.1181

In the ME text is *nomina agentium hermyte* seen, where the Fr. uses *hermitage*.

cf. Tut li cunta que il oi
La dolur, la noise le cri
Cum fet sis sire en l'ermitage.
(MARIE, Lais, Eliduc, 993)

LONG: Nos *ne poons pas longement* 98.19
3e witeþ wel hit mai *not long* 154.1237

PENAUNCE: S'il veit que *aions repentance* 80.17
E cuer de *faire penitence* 80.18
And *penaunce for sunne take*. 137.1098
Li a *enjoint penitence* 115.12
Penaunce he dude his Modur *take* 185.1464

OE had the phrase *bōte dōn*, which did not survive into ME. The Mod.E. phrase is at least partly due to the Fr. one³¹. OED mentions no examples of the phrase in ME. The popular OF. form *penaunce* was gradually ousted from French by the ecclesiastical form *pénitence*,³² a new adaptation of the L.

PLAY: E, *si te pleist*, si lur diras 16.23
Pou schalt trewely *on pi play* 31.253
Wenden in to þe holy lond 31.254
(OE *plega* wk.n. or OF *plaid* AN *plai*)

PREYERES: Si a Deu *humbement prié*; 108.24
Preyeres he þer *made preo*; 177.1409

TONNE: Mais *le tonel* veulent *aveir*, 34.20'

Anon to hem *pe tonne* heo *nome* 67.541

One sees no other difference in meaning than that the former is a masculine noun, while the latter a feminine one.

Among the words listed above, OF. *crestienté*, *hermitage*, *penitence*, *pleist*, *prié*, and *tonel* were already used in ME.

I—2

Some phrases have little in common with their sources, apart from the fact that their meaning remains unmodified.

BAPTIZED: E l'enfant *fait crestienté* 40.15

Baptized in *pat holy flod*, 78.626

BARRED: Emprès eaus *ont cel uis fermé* ; 14.20

Pe dore was *barred ful skeet*, 25.205

BATAYLE: *A celz de ost se copleront*, 58.13

And we schal *ziuen pe batayle* 106.853

Vppon pe Duyk pat wol no grip. 106.854

CACCHE: Les ot la nuit *enveié hors* 34.8

Por peisson prendre en sele mer 34.9

To cacche fisch to *pe Couent* 65.529

cf. Mais ce n'est pas pour contenter nature.

Note the inversion of object and verb after *to* or *por*.

CORTEISLICHE: E le *tint cher* 57.4

And *receyuede him corteisliche*. 104.836

tenir, in this idiom, had originally the not uncommon meaning of 'to consider', 'to look upon as'. In the common Eng. restricted sense of 'to cherish' the expression, both with *tenir* and *avoir*, is very frequent. In the view of OE. *deorworpliche healdan*, Prins considers *to hold dear* as a doubtful borrowing, but it seems difficult to deny Fr. influence, as it is paralleled by *to hold cheap*.³³

ESEN: Qu' *en son ostel le herberiaist* 86.1

To *esen* him a *nihtes tyde*. 140.1124

PARTEN: or *desevrons* 81.21

Nou wole we *parten a twynne* 138.1103

PORUEYDE: Puis li vait *la nef loier* 52.5
Pe abbot *porueyde* him *a schip*. 94.753

SEE. Que il l'*asiet en la caiere*. 110.24
Pe see him *schalper bi take*, 180.1434

cf. Qui en s'asist pas en sa cheere.

(Psaut., Richel. 1761, f° 4r°)

OF. *fermer*, *desevrer*, and *see* were already used in ME, the first word since as early as 1374, the second in the sense of 'depart' since 1420.

I—3

The processes of translation and versification facilitate explanation for the appearance of the phrases which were produced based on the whole meaning of the Fr. phrases and that literary hacks or professional commercial writers who roughly translated and versified Old French texts must have pieced together in lay scriptoria.³⁴

ASKAPE: Que ja mais n'*istra de prison* 67.15
Heo swor he scholde neuer *askape*, 112.899

JOYE: Il lur mostra, c'*il furent lé*; 104.15
Per of heo *hedden joye and blis*. 167.1336

As for *make joy*, *mirth*, the fact that it occurs in Layamon makes us doubt whether they might not be native developments. Still even Layamon might have been influenced by his Fr. text.³⁵

RESOUN: *Silonc sa bonne conscience* 115.11
Pe pope *was wys of resoun*. 185.1463

cf. Bonne conciance

Tu iez ne demeure qu'an moi.

(Renart, B.N. 1630, f° 164)

Selon lor bone concience

(Sept. 1230, Ch. de Thib. de Champ. A. mun. Troyes.)

ROBBED: Qui ne *par force estre prise*, 54.7
Ne par assaut estre conquise 54.8
Vr *bestes beop robbed and solde*; 98.789

cf. Il vit que force d'ausaut n'i pout rien valoir.

(Chron. de Fr., Berne 590, f° 28^a)

- ROBES: *Toz ses garnimanz a jus mist* ; 84.14
Robes riche he lafte pon 139.1111
- SACREDE: Ont *fait icel jor Apostoile* 111.3
 And *sacrede him to pope anon.* 179.1426
- SOIOURN: Après n'i ot que *demorer* 30.3
 No lengore *nedde heo soiourn* 56.456
- SOUPED: Après *mangier*, 103.7
 Po heo *hedden i souped euerichon* 164.1311
 OF. *prison* appeared in early ME. OF. *conscience* was used in the phrase of *god conscience*.³⁶ The fourteenth century also saw the words *garnimanz*, *Apostoile*, *mangier*.

I—3—1

The ME phrases are produced likewise by roughly translating the original, but they are different from ones in I—3 in that there seems to be delicate shades of meaning between the ME phrases and their sources.

- AFFLICCIION: *Faisons jeune e oreison* 100.1
Heo leizen in affliccion, 158.1263
- ALLAS: Molt puis dire *que mar fu née*, 11.9
 And seide *allas pat heo was bore!* 19.160
 If these two sentences have exactly the same meaning, it is interesting to note the word order.
- BLAME: A poi sis cuers ne *parti d'ire* 15.20
 Pe kniht hem *blame* sum dale 27.223
- COUNSEIL: *Meillor conceil ai-je trove*, 13.5
My conseil is al redi take. 20.170
- DRESSEDE: Granz coups se vont *entredoner.* 62.8
 E li ducs a Gregoire *feru* 62.11
 And to him *dressede* anoper spere. 111.892
- PALFREY: *Arière torne le cheval*, 74.5
His palfrey he smot in eiper syde. 130.1041
- SEGE: Forment la *roube e l'assaut*, 32.9
 Abouten hire he *sette his sege* ; 62.507
- TRAYTUR: *Uns avotres e uns chaitis* 43.17

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Pou traytur and fondelyng! 83.665

Godefroy mentions this example of the OF text under *avoutre*. In ME are OF. *ire*, *conseil*, *avotres*, and *chaitis* used. *assaut* appears as early as 1450.

II. Native Element and Scandinavian Element

II—1

Using native phrases and ones of ON origin, versifiers or copiers translate the sources without modifying their structure, in exactly the same way as those which are seen in I-1. As is stated in the introduction, this means the existence in better native words.

- ABOUTE: *Entor les murs*, beles e gentes 58.4
Banes vp set and Conphanoun, 105.841
Aboute pe Cite! with muche pruyde 105.842
(OE. abutan)
- A ʒEYNES: Ne devez pas nostre corage 106.10
Troblor, *contre sa volenté* 106.11
A ʒeynes him may beo no let 171.1371
Pat made al pis world of nouht. 171.1372
Car tot li saint de la cité 110.1
Ont *contre lui* molt tost souné, 110.2
Pe Bellen *a ʒeynes him* alle Ronge 178.1419
(aʒein + adv.-es, OE. onʒean)
- ARIHT: Qui *dreite veie* les menot, 101.6
Vr lord tauhte hem *pe way ariht* 160.1284
(A prep. + RIGHT sb. OE. riht)
cf. Et justiche alast droite voie.
(Renclus, Carité, LII, 12)
- AS: Li baron l'ont enceveli, 6.22
A grant enor, à grant barnage, 6.23
Com prince de si haut lignage. 6.24
As men schulde a prince done. 10.84
(a worn-down form of all-so, OE.all-swa)
- ASKED: *Demande* lur dont il venoient, 103.9

Pe ffisschere *asked* hem a non 164.1313

(OE. *ascian*)

cf. Il descent jus del palefroi,
En la sale, devant le roi,
Son pere et sa mere salue,
Puis lor demende de la sa drue.
(Floire et Blancheflor, 1^{re} vers., 665)

AUȜTE: Qu'il l'dira, *por nule rien*, 38.18

Ome ne feme qui seit nez 38.19

And þat he tolde *for non auȝte* 75.599

(OE. a-wiht, OE. a, o ever + wiht creature)

cf. Dame, fet il, vus dites bien!
Ne voldreie pur nule rien
Que de mei i ait acheisun,
Mescreance ne suspesçun.
(Marie, Lais, Yonec, 149)

BAD: Ele lur *roe isnelement* 21.17

Heo *bad* anon men schulden take 44.357

(OE. *biddan; bæd*)

BARLI: De *ton pain d'orange* un petitet 89.15

E de l'eigue en un vaisselet 89.16

But *Barli bred* and watur clene, 146.1169

(OE. *bærlic*)

cf. Pain d'orge

(Parton., 5370)

BE. Dons demande *que se esteit* 36.3

Iluec dedenz que il véeit 36.4

And *what þing þer Inne be* 69.562

cf. Qui ci m'estois ne sai por coi.

(BEN., Troie, ms. Naples, f°10^a)

BED: *En lit sa seror* est venus, 9.2

Bote wente *to his suster bed*, 14.119

(OE. *bedd*)

Quant il giseit *et lit mortein*, 13.12

Whon he lay *on his dep bedde* : 21.174

The oblique case is used fairly frequently to express possession³⁷

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or relationship, referring to persons in the singular.

cf. Qui en son liet ert ja cohie�.

(WACE, Rou, 3^ep., 4952)

BESTE: *Chosir lur rova del meilor* 102.4
Pe beste, ichot, heo nomen hem to 163.1304
(OE. bet(e)st, betstra)

BI GON: *L'enfant comensse à blestenjer* 43.15
Bi gon heo Gregori forte prete 83.664
(OE. began)
cf. Sur lui posa un de ses dras,
Les piez cunmence a baisier.
(Ste Marie l'Egipt., B.N. 19525, f^o 25^b)

BI ȜETE: *Donc fu engendres sains Gregoire*, 10.4
Pur was seint Gregori bi ȝete 15.132
(OA.begetan, -gæt,-geten)
De qui et coment il fu nés; 22.23
Hou he was biȝeten and born 48.392
cf. Par le pere dont je sui ajandré
(Loh., B.N.1622, f^o 286 v^o)

BI LAFTE: *La suer remist oveuc son frere*, 7.1
Pe Maiden per wip bi lafte 11.93
(OE. belæfan)

BISOUȜTE: *E molt hubement li requierent* 100.10
And bi souȝte God pat made pe None, 157.1257
(OE. besecan)
cf. Li prestres mist que tot son pooir
A li requerre de s'amor
(Dame qui conchia le prestre, ms. Berne 354, f^o 80^c.)

BI TAUHTE: *Si l'livra au frere manant;* 38.16
Pat opur Mon he bi tauhte 75.597
(OE. betæcan, -tahte, -tæhte)
Si la comande à cel baron 18.7
And bi tauȝt hire ilke kniht 34.277
cf. Il et li doze per sont livret a martirie.
(Voy. de Charlem., 699)

- BLINNE: Que il ne *laisa*, par nul plait, 8.3
 Ne por peche ne por mesfait, 8.4
 Pe foule þing nolde not *blinne* 13.114
 (OE. blinnan str.vb.)
 cf. Ne set por coi aidier li lait.
 (Rencl. De Moiliens, de Carité, et .XV., 7, Van Hamel)
- BO: *E* dist saumes *e* oreisons 94.22
 Matins *and* ympnes *bo*, 150.1200
 cf. Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun
 salvament.
 (Serme. de Strasb., 1.1.)
- BRINGE: Si l'*enleva* par la main destre 12.18
 Bi þe hond heo gon him *vp bringe* 19.161
 (OE. bringan)
 Que il les *conduie* al rocher 104.17
 3if þou woldest vs þider *bringe*, 168.1345
Menrai-vos i parmi la mer 94.4
 And to þe Roche *bringe* þe. 149.1198
 Que il seit à Rome *amené* 103.16
 We scholden wiþ vs *bringen* him hom, 165.1321
 cf. N'an fiert nul de l'espee, que a la mort n'amaint.
 (J. BOD., Saisnes, XIV.)
 Je vos menrrai tot main a main.
 (G. DE. COINCI, Mir., Richel. 2163)
 Pois a l'abei condit les unt.
 (G. De S. Pair, M.S. Michel, 615)
- BUSKEDEN: *S'esmut* le matin, au jor. 30.6
 Heo *buskeden hem* to þe burienge, 56.453
 (ON. buask)
 cf. C'est l'acheisuns pur quei s'esmuet.
 (Marie, Lais, Eliduc, 482)
- CALLEDEN: Gregoire *apeleent* l'abé 40.17
 Pe Abbot men calleden Gregori; 78.621
 (OE. ceallian from ON. kalla)
 cf. Que vers Franceis porchast e face

Que il l'aplaugent a seigneur
(BEN., D. de Norm., II, 10027)

- CARE: *par grant dolor* 12.16
Wip dreri herte and care mournynge, 19.157
(OE. carian)
cf. Par la delour de son cors
(Vie des Hermites, ms. Lyon 698, f°5r°)
- CAST: Qui fu *en cele mer getée* 106.23
Pat *in þe see* was cast to *grounde* 172.1378
La clef des ferges *fu getée*, 104.9
Pe keyȝe wip myn owne hond 166.1329
In to þe see *i caste a way*. 166.1330
(ON. kasta wk. vb.)
- CHIRCHE: Li abés envait à l'iglise 40.13
And seide to hem, "to chirche goþ." 77.620
(OE. cirice, circe)
- CLEPEN: ...si *l'apela* 87.23
Pe penaunt he *lette clepen* a ȝein. 143.1144
(OE. cleopian)
- CLUPT: Si a *enbracié* sa seror 9.4
e si *l'acole* 9.10
(OE. clyppan)
cf. Que peusse por vos baisier
Et acole et enbracier
(Eneas, 1740)
- COME: Que *vienge à* lui, sans demorer, 14.5
And bad him *to* his lord *come* 23.191
Li seneschals qui molt l'ama 73.5
Vint à li, si li demanda: 73.6
Pe stiward com hire *to queme*, 128.1029
A la nef vindrent 95.7
Quant *venu furent al* rocher, 95.11
Po he was *to þe Roche i come*, 151.1207
La contesse *estoit d'Aquitaine*, 112.1

- To Rome a ladi *was i come*, 183.1447
 Gregoire *vint al* marinant, 85.23
 Þe pridde niht he *com to* affisshere 140.1122
- A ses V anz *est jà venus*; 41.1
 Whon he *was comen to* ʒeres fyue, 80.637
 (OE. cuman)
- COME: La cité toute en reconvist 110.4
 De la gloire *de sa venue* 110.5
 Monie was glad of *pat come* 176.1401
 (OE. cuma)
- CON: Que veir en *sache* se je non 103.22
 To him ich *con* techen a riht 165.1324
 Que, à douse ans, *sot bien* ses pars 41.15
 Gregoire *couþe wel* his pars 81.646
 (OE. cunnan; cann, conn, cunnon)
- COPPE: Ensemble burent *d'un vaissel* 7.11
 And of o *Coppe* dronken same 11.98
 (OE. cuppe wk. fem. LL. cuppa, the source of OF. cope, cupe, coupe)
- CORUEN: E si *taillerent d'un cotel* 7.12
 Heo *Coruen* boþe *wip o knif* 11.97
 (OE. corfen from ceorfan)
 cf. ...E que tuz fussent taillié a esquire
 (Rois, p.245)
- CRADEL: Qui iert *el bers envelopé*. 37.4
 Pat on þe child *in þe cradel lay* 71.578
 (OE. cradol)
 Godefroy quotes the very passages.
 cf. Quere un berssoil bel egent
 Ou puisse coucher son fis.
 (Vie du pape Grég., p.21)
- CUSSE: Mais si la *baise* 9.10
 And gon hire *cusse* Mouþ and neb, 14.121
 (OE. cyssan)
- DAY: Que il aveit pesché *le jor* 102.3

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Pe ffisschere hedde *al day* i bene 162.1295

Vppon þe see wip netes stronge 162.1296

(OE. *dæʒ*)

cf. Au matinet, quant il dut es clarcir,

(Les Loh, ms. Montp., f° 103^a)

This passage may have fixed itself as a stereotyped expression in OF texts.

DED: *De ces enfans morut* li mere 4.11

Of hire was þe Modur *ded* 5.48

(OE. dead)

cf: Hal bele amie Blancheflor,

Por moi vos a morte mon pere.

(Floire et Blancheflor, 2^e vers., v.1569, du Mériel)

DEP: Quant il giseit *el lit mortein*, 13.12

Whon he lay *on his dep bedde*: 21.174

Godefroy quotes this example.

DRINKE: E si *bevreiés* un sestier 89.23

Del meilleur vin de mon celier. 89.24

Why i nouh pou woldest *drinke* 147.1178

(OE. *drincan*)

DROF: Si com *li venz* le *demenot* 33.14

Þe wynd him *drof* in þe see. 64.524

(OE. *drifan*, *draf*)

DROUH: Les tables *traï fors de sa manche* 76.14

Þe tables longe of yuori, 133.1063

Þe ladi *drouh out of hire sleue* 133.1064

(OE. *draʒen*; *drof*)

ENY: *Qui nuil sodeier* retenist? 53.21

Or *eny Mon* þat durste holde 98.785

A kniht *vnkoup* of opur lond 98.786

(OE. *ænig*)

FELAWE: En cele chambre *sans nuil per*; 71.24

Wip outen felawe gret or smale. 125.1002

(LOE. *feolaʒa* wk.masc. from ON. *felage*)

FEOLDEN: Andui li *sunt cheu as pies*, 14.21

Heo *feolden to þe knyhtes feet*, 25.207

(OE. feallan, feol, feollon)

cf. Tuit li autre evesque li sunt kauz as pez.

(Garn., S. Thom., B.N. 13513, f° 25 v°)

FER: Mais cist pensée *est loing del mien*, 48.12

Pi pouʒt and myn *is fer* i tiht. 87.694

(OE. feor(r))

cf. Mainte longue semaine

Trai quant sui loing de lui.

(Couci, Chans., VIII, Crapelet.)

FET: Enprès i a dis mars mucés 22.13

Le bon argent *desos ses piés*. 22.14

Vndur his hed heo hit *kest*, 47.386

Vndur his fet þat no mon wist 47.388

(OE. fot, pl. fet)

FETERDE: E li remist toz *enfergez* 104.7

Estreiemment par les deus piez 104.8

Per ich him *feterede and faste bond*. 166.1327

(OE. feter fem.)

FYNDE: Qu'ele a *les tables trovées* 72.17

And souhte and *gon* þe tables *fynde* 127.1019

Quant il le *vit venir poignant* 73.17

Pe Erl he *fond* vndur a þorn 129.1036

Mais n'ai encore lue *trove* 92.22

...ichaue *i souʒt* 148.1183

Þe place nis not ʒit *i founde* 148.1184

Tant que la clef *s'est trovée* 95.23

Þat þe keye schulde neuere *be founde*, 151.1212

(OE. findan)

FRETE: Tu *manjeroies* tot le peisson, 89.20

Þis grete ffische bi fore me here, 146.1173

Bodi and hed pou woldest *frete*. 146.1174

(OE. fretan)

FUIR: Bien près de lui e *près del fue*; 88.24

And *bi þe fuir* sat him a doun. 145.1162

(OE. fyr)

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- cf. Pres est de Deu et des regnes del ciel.
(Alexis, str. 36^d, XI^{CS}., Stengel)
- FUL: Si peché furent *molt estrange*. 1.4
A sunne *ful strong* bi twene two; 2.12
(OE. full)
- GAME: *A grant joie ensemble se tienent* 7.8
Astounde heo *liuiden in muche game* 11.100
(OE. gamen, gomen str.neut.)
cf. Grans joies me vient
De servir la gente.
(G. De SOIGNIES, Chans., ap. Scheler, Trouv. belg.,
nouv. sér., p.l)
- GLAD: Onques del mal ne *fust si lez* 81.9
As he *was glad* þo we hit wrouht. 136.1094
(OE. glæd)
Donc *fu* joios li enemis 9.21
Po was þe fend of his Cure 16.133
cf. Molt en serai lies et jous.
(BEN., Troies, B.N. 375, f^o74g)
- GLADET: Après mangier, quant *furent lez* 103.7
And gladet weren in þat niht 164.1312
(OE. gladian, M.gleadian)
cf. Au terme vient joians te lies.
(Floire et Blanceflor, 1^e vers., 2036, du Ménil)
- GO: Mais or *issez hors*, damiseles, 72.9
Heo bad hir Maidens to chaumbre *go* 126.1010
- GODUS: E vos prie, *por Déu le grant*, 40.4
Cristene hit *for Godus loue*. 75.604
(OE. God)
cf. Pro Deo amur
(Serm. de Strasb, 1.)
- GOLD: Quatre mars *d'or bien esmeré* 22.6
Markes foure *of gold proute* 47.385
(OE. gold)
Les iiiii mars *d'or* li dona, 69.17

- Ffour Mark *of gold* pider brouhte, 120.965
- GON: Si *comença* molt à plorer. 87.4
 For him heo *gon* sore wepe. 142.1140
 (OE. -ginnan, -gann)
 Quar plus de XVII anz *i a* 104.3
 Seuentene winter, *i gon hit is*. 167.1340
- GOOD: *Cheval ot bon* et forte tarje; 53.4
 Ichot, he *hedde a ful good stede*, 90.770
 (OE. god)
 cf. Bon ot vent, tot est passez
 (Marie, Lais, Eliduc, 704)
- GREIPE: La dame ont fait tost sus lever 29.5
 E bien vestir e conréer. 29.6
 Pow schalt *greipe* þe ful ʒare 54.437
 (ON. greiða, f. greiðr)
 cf. De rices dras le cunreerent.
 (Marie, Lai de Lanval, 172, Roq)
- ʒIF: Gregoire à l'oste demandé a 53.19
 En cel país *se* guerre a 53.20
 Bote a non witen ne wolde, 98.783
 ʒif þer were enywerre strong 98.784
 (OE. ʒiefu)
- ʒIT: Mais *n'ai encore* lue trove 92.22
 Þe place *nis not ʒit* i founde 148.1184
 (OE. ʒiet)
- ʒIUE: E il li *doiront* bon luiier 104.18
 We wol þe ʒiue gold and fe. 168.1346
 (OE. gifan)
 E li *dona* de son bon vin 89.3
 And ʒaf him wyn of Maser broun, 145.1164
- HAUE: E si le *prenge à seignor*, 68.21
 And ʒif ʒe wolden *a lord haue*, 117.941
 (OE. habban)
 De ci que les tables *aura*. 107.18

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Bote he his tables *mihte haue* 175.1392

HERDE: A la voiz de la dame *entent*, 74.12
He *herde* godes wordes calle. 130.1044
Quant la maisnee l'a *oïe*, 73.4
Men *herden* hou was bi stad. 128.1028
Trestuit comunement l'*oïrent* 101.3
Po heo hedden *i herd* þe steuene 160.1279
(OA. heran)

HIT: Se *c'est veirs que* la letre dit, 50.2
Ȝif *hit beþ soþ þat* þe lettres seyn, 90.723
(OE. hit)
cf. Voirs est que...
(Arch. S 285, pièce 4)

ce³⁸ is used to introduce the real subject, or refer to a sentence or a clause.

HOLD: Qui nuil soldeier *retenist?* 53.21
Or eny Mon þat durst *hold* 98.785
(OA. haldan, WS. healdan)
De la dame lur fiés quereient 31.9
Quar de li *tenir* les deveient. 31.10
His tounes heo token hire *to holde* 58.476

HOND: Si l'enleva *par la main destre*, 12.18
Bi þe hond heo gon him *vp bringe* 19.161
(OE. hond)
Li sires l'a *par la main prise* 19.4
Be þe hond his wyf he *nom*, 36.297

HOUS: Que à la par fin ont trové 101.16
Le bordel à un pescheor 101.17
To *þe ffisscheres hous* heo come, 161.1289
(OE. hus, fiscere)
E mist l'a en *un maison* 115.13
An hous of Ordre in þe toun, 185.1467
To his Modur he lette make, 185.1468
(OE. hus + prep.of + OF.ordre)

- Il ne *ierra en ma maison*, 89.19
In myn hous schaltou not *lye*. 141.1134
 cf. Kar ki veit le bordel sun veisin alumé
 Il ad pour del suen
 (GARN., Vie de S.Thom., Richel. 13513 f° 58r°)
- ILKE: Si la comande *a cel baron* 18.7
 And bi tauzt hire *ilke kniht* 34.277
 (OE. *ilca*)
- KEPT: E l'or *ai-je* molt bien *gardé*. 51.12
 I *haue* hem *kept* in to pis stounde. 92.742
 (OE. *cepan*)
- KNYF: E si taillèrent *d'un cotel* 7.12
 Heo Coruen boþe *wip o knyf* 11.97
 (LOE. *cnif* prob. from ON. *knifr*)
- KUYNDE: Que *mon lignage conéusse* 81.15
 pat i schal nou þus *knowe my kuynde* 136.1089
 (OE. (*ge*) *cynde(e)*)
- LAD: *porter el chastel* à sa gent 63.11
 E devant la dame *amenez* 67.2
 And to þe contasse *i lad* ful sone. 112.895
 (OE. *lædan, lædde*)
- LAFTE: Toz ses garnimanz *a jus mist*; 84.14
 Robes riche he *lafte* pon 139.1111
 (OE. *læfan*)
 cf. Les armes *mist jus e vint a l'empereur*.
 (Chron. de S. -Den., ms. Ste-Gen. f° 169c.)
- LAY: E quant sa suer la biere veit, 30.13
 Oû li cors del baron *giseit* 30.14
 To sen hire broþur *þer he lay* 57.461
 (OE. *leccan*)
 Qui *gist en un rochel de mer*, 100.22
 Lowe *lyþ, loken in astone* 156.1248
- LETE: Que tu *guerpisses cest pensé*. 48.6
Pin idel pouzt pou *lete* a stounde. 89.710
 (OE. *lætan, pa.t. let*)

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Qui ne set *garder sa parole*; 43.14
Con heo nouht *hire wordes lete*, 83.662

Qu'il l'*otreia* à herbergier. 87.22
Pe penaunt he *lette* clepen a ʒein. 143.1144

Or *lerons un poi* de Gregoire 97.7
Here we schulle *leten of* Gregore. 153.1223

cf. Li prelaz se larrent jus ardeir,
Ainz que lassassent de dire veir
Pur nule de fenz.
(Vie de S. Thom. de Cant., 1222, ap. Michel, D.de
Norm., t.III.)

tenir les paroles,
(Mule sans frain, ms. Berne 354, f^o 26^a)

LEUE: La pucelle a *pris congié* 18.15
Pe kniht *tok leue* and wente his wei 35.285
(OE. leaf)

In ON. this phrase only occurs in translation from the French;
moreover the use of the prep. *at* points to OF. *prendre congé a, of*
to F.*de*. The term reflects the feudal relation between lord and
vassal. In OE., however, *æt* was also used to express separation
or origin.³⁹

cf. Prennent cunget, a cel mot s'en turnerent.
(Rol., 2764)

LOND: *En Aquitaine l'encontrée* ; 4.5
In þe lond of Aquitayne 5.41
(OE. lond)

LORE: E le face à *escole métre* 23.12
And þat me scholde *sette* him *to lore* 49.399
(OE. lond)

cf. Puis ad escole li bons pedre le mist.
(Alexis, XI^e s., Str. 7^c)

LUSTNEP: Or *escotez*, 1.1
Lustnep me ar ʒe henne go, 2.10
(OE. hlysnian)

The command can be stressed by words like *si*, or more commonly *car*.⁴⁰

MAKE: Que il *feront abé de tei*. 47.16
Heore abbot heo schulen make þe 86.692
(OE. macian)
Qu'arent *d'ivoire bien ovrées*; 22.16
Þat weore *i mad of Jueerbon* 48.390
cf. *Esmeres tint Joieuse au fourel d'or olvré*.
(Mainet, p.23, G.Paris)

MIHTE: Mais il *ne pot sor piez ester*. 107.4
...,mihte he not gon. 174.1385
(OE. mæg; miht; mihte)

MONREDEN: E ot *receu o ses omages*, 69.7
Monreden he tok, 119.956
(OE. mannræden)

It is interesting to note that at first efforts were made to translate the phrase completely: *mandred don*, whereas later on this practice was given up and the Anglo-Saxon substantive was supplanted by a French one: *homage don*.⁴¹

MOODUR: *Venu à la mestre eglise* 110.17
Heo brouhten him to þe Moodur chirche 179.1423
(OE. modor + OE. cirice)

Godefroy defines *mere eglise* as 'eglise métropole'. *mestre* does not seem to be a variant of *mere*, *medre*, but that of *maistre*.

MORWE: *Par matinet* 94.23
A morwe þo he scholde go, 150.1204
(OE. morgen, ME.morwe (shortened wariant of morwen))

Par matinet, 104.19
To Morwe in þe Morweninge, 168.1349
cf. *Au matinet, quant il dut esclarcir*,
(Les Loh., ms. Berne 113, f^o 5^a)

NEUER: Que *ja mais n'istra de prison* 67.15
Heo swor he scholde neuer askape, 112.899
(OE. næfre)

Jamais nul jor joie n'aurai 49.11

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Ne schal i *neuere* blipe beo, 88.704

Jamais, je quit, *ne* nos veirons 81.22

In one stude *neuer eft* vs seo. 138.1104

NOT: Que sis parens *ne* sui *de rien*. 45.14

And seip i am *not* of þi kuynde. 85.680

(OE. na-wiht, nowiht)

Li Diables *n'en* sot *nient* 10.9

...he wuste nouht 16.136

cf. Pro metons et avons en covent, sens de riens aleir
encontre, ke...

(1300, Cartul. de Namur, I, Reiff).

NOU: *Huimais orés* com Escripture, 3.23

Nou wol ich ariht bi ginne 5.37

(OE. nu)

cf. Huimais orrez avant de lor lingnie

Et de la geste qui des barons issirent.

(Jourd. de Blaivies, 8, Hoffmann)

ORE: Que il la *garde en tel enor*, 6.17

E que la *tient en tel enor*. 7.18

Þor hire *kepe and hold in ore* 8.70

(OE. ar, ON. eir)

cf. Et proieres Nostre Segnor

Qu'il nos tenst et gart nostre honor.

(Parton., 2835, Crapelet)

OUT: Si m'en irai *del regne hors*. 84.12

Out of his lond whon he com, 139.1117

(OE. out, ute)

Les ot la nuit enveié *hors* 34.8

Out of an abbey þei weoren isent 65.527

RADDE: *Les letres list* que il trova 49.22

He radde þe lettres þat þer fonde 90.722

(OE. rædan, pa.t. rædde)

REDI: Quant il or le comandement, 14.7

Atornassé isnelement 14.8

Þe knyht was *redi* þo a non, 24.197

- (OE. (ge) ræde + -ig)
- ROD: *Chevauchent verz l'ost à bataille.* 58.16
Þorwh þe host he þer rod. 108.865
(OE. ridan, pa.t. sg.rad)
- RONGE: Car tot li saint de la cité 110.1
Ont *contre lui* molt tost *souné*, 110.2
Þe Bellen a zeynes him alle Ronge 178.1419
(OE. hringan wk.)
- ROOD: *Devant le crucefiz s'areste*, 55.23
Per he knelede bi fore þe Rood; 102.820
(OE. rod)
- SAME: *Ensemble burent d'un vaissel* 7.11
And of o Coppe dronken *same*. 11.98
(shortened form of SAMEN adv. OE. samen) !
- SCHENE: *Ma chiere amie*, 89.8
My ladi schene 146.1167
(OE. sciene, OA. scene)
- SCHEWED: *Il lur mostra*, 104.15
Þe keyze he schewed hem ful sket. 167.1335
(OE. scēawian)
- SCHULDEST: Ne *déust* estre d'abaie; 92.16
Þou schuldest han hermyte or frere 147.1181
(OE. sceal; scealt, sculon, scolde)
- SEE: Qui fu *en cele mer* getée 106.23
Pat in þe see was cast to grounde 172.1378
(OE. sæ)
- En cele mer* un tiel en ai, 93.8
Wip Inne þe see an hous i wrought 148.1189
Wel deope in þe see grounde 148.1190
- SENDE: Si *manderai* le chevalier. 13.22
Aftur þat knyht pou sende anon, 22.182
(OE. sendan)
- Les ot la nuit *enveié hors* 34.8
Out of an abbey þei weoren isent 65.527

- SEO: Vos *monstrerai* à la contesse, 55.3
Pou schalt þat ladi at chirche *seo*. 100.802
Jamais, je quit, ne nos *veirons* 81.22
In one stude neuer eft vs *seo* 138.1104
(OE. str. vb. seon)
- SET: E li bons venz les *a droit mis* 52.14
Pe wynd ful harde *per on* was *set* 94.759
(OE. settan)
- SEYN: Se c'est veire que *la letre dit*, 50.2
Ȝif hit beþ soþ þat *pe lettres seyn*, 90.723
(OE. secgan)
- SLEUE: Les tables trai fors *de sa manche* 76.14
Pe ladi drouh *out of his sleue*. 133.1064
(OA. slefe, OE. sleepe wk.vb.)
- SORE: Si comença *molt* à plorer. 87.4
For him heo gon *sore* wepe. 142.1140
(OE. sare)
- SORI: *Trist e desconforté* esteient, 97.19
De lur pastor que il perdeient 97.20
His frendes weore *for him sori*, 153.1227
(OE. sarig)
cf. Faire grands plaints de pareille amertume.
(ID., la complainte d'un pastoureau chrestien faite en
forme d'églogue rustique, t.I, p.273, éd. 1731, in-4°)
- SOP: Se *c'est veirs que* la letre dit, 50.2
Ȝif hit beþ soþ þat *pe lettres seyn*, 90.723
(OE. soþ)
- SOUHTE: Par tot a *quis e tant cercha* 72.16
And *souhte* and gon þe tables fynde 127.1019
(OE. secan, sohte)
- SPAC: E *dist saumes e oreisons* 94.22
...and *spac* 150.1199
Matins and ympnes bo 150.1200
(OE. sp(r) ecan, sp(r)æc)

cf. E dist saumes, e oreisons.
(Vie S. Gregoire, ap. Bartsche, Lang. et litt. fr., 97, 3)

SPRAD: La cité e *tendi ses tentes* 58.3
I piht he hedde his pauloun, 105.840
Wip tentes sprad and tild ful wyde, 105.841
(OE. sprædan)

STRENGPE: Jusque *par force* la *prendra* 32.16
Bot he hire *wip strengpe wonne* 63.510
(OE. strengp(u))

ME. *par force* enables us to prove, what might otherwise be very difficult and meet with violent opposition, that the phrase is indeed a calque on the French one.⁴²

STUDE: De sur nos XII est aposé 99.21
E est *en lue de* Dame-De; 99.22
Pe pope is *in his stude* at neode. 155.1245
(OE. stede)

The OE. prep. used in connection with *stede* was generally *on*.

cf. C'un autre homme ferai couchier
En lu de moi o ma moillier.
(Athis, Ars. 3312 f^o 7^e)

SUCH: *De guerre* avons sovent *tiel fais* 53.22
Such werre is a ming 98.788
(OE. swelc, swilc, swulc)

SUNNES: *Selonc la colpe e le peché* 80.19
And penaunce *for hire sunnes* take. 137.1098
(OE. synn)
Por pardon de cel pecché querre 112.19
Penaunce *for hire sunne* to take 183.1448

SWOWEN: *Pasmée chiet*, e si baron 30.15
Heo *fel a swowen* bi foren him alle. 57.462
(OE. geswogen)
Chai' pasmée par grant dolor. 12.16
Wip dreri herte and care mournynge, 19.157
Pe Erl *fel aswowe* hire by fore. 19.158.

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- TAKE:** *Por pardon de cel pecché querre* 112.19
Penaunce for hire sunne to take 183.1448
(LOE. tacan)
- TIL:** *Truisque sil li viegne aidier* 33.3
Til pat child weore come to elde 63.511
(ONb. til, from ON. til)
cf. *Mei meismes munter en mun plus halt palais*
Ke n'en purrai descendre tresk'il cumanderat.
(Voy. de Charlem., 769, Koschwitz)
- TIME:** ...quand *li termine* 16.13
Est aprochés de la meschine 16.14
...hit is neih *hire time*. 29.241
(OE. tima)
Quant *vint au jor* que ce dut estre 19.19
Whon *pe tyme* schulde come, 40.325
- TIPINGE:** *Dire li vuet une novele* 27.14
Tolde hire tipinge pat loue gret, 52.426
(LOE. tidung)
- TOLDEN:** *Conté li ont* cum la troverent; 107.1
Heo *tolden* him in a luytel prowé, 172.1379
(OE. tellan, (A) tálde)
- PAT:** *Tant que* la clef s'est trovée 95.23
Pat *pe keye* schulde neuere be founde, 151.1212
- PER INNE:** Dons demande que se esteit 36.3
Iluec dedenz que il véeit. 36.4
And what ping per Inne be? 69.562
(OE. pær, par, OE. in, inne)
cf. *La mere veit illeuc son fil.*
(Vie du pape Grég., p.56, Luzarche)
Dedenz l'entraille a trové 102.12
La clef des ferges qu'il geta 102.13
Pe ffishchere fond per inne a keye, 163.1307
- PONKEDEN:** *A Dame-Deu* *graces rendirent.* 101.4
Heo *ponkeden pe kyng of heuene* 160.1281
(OE. pancian, poncian)

- cf. Li evesques, quant ço entent
A Dameldeu gracies en rent.
(Partonop. de blois, ap. Bartsch, Lang. et litt. fr.,
251,6)
- POU3T: Mais *cist pensés* est loing del mien, 48.12
Pi pouzt and myn is fer i tiht. 87.694
(OE. poht)
- PRIDDE: Vint *al tierz jor* 85.19
Pe pridde niht he com to affisshere 140.1121
(OE. pridda, pridde)
Quar ancor, *le tiers jor avant* 27.7
Pe pridde day of hire childe 55.446
cf. Al tierz jorⁿ relevat, si com out preechiet.
(Voy. de Charlem., 173)
- PROWE: E que *en mer fuissez getez* 77.13
Pat in þe watur was i þrowe 133.1074
(OE. þrawan)
- WAS: *Fu li plors e li duels molt grans* 18.12
Per was serwe and feorly siȝt, 34.281
En cel país *se guerre a* 53.20
ȝif þer were eny werre strong 98.784
- WATUR: E *de l'eigue* en un vaisselet 89.15
But Barli bred and *watur clene*, 146.1169
(OE. wæter, M.weter)
- WEDES: Puis *se vesti de povres dras* 84.15
Pore wedes he þer *nom.* 139.1113
(OE. wæd fem. wæde str.)
- WENE: Mais ne *quit* pas qu'il or seit vis; 104.2
Ich *wene* a lyue nis he not ȝit. 165.1326
(OE. wenan)
- WEPE: Si *comença* molt à *plorer* 87.4
For him heo *gon sore wepe.* 142.1140
(OE. wepan)
- WHAT: *De quel país* fu icil las, 50.24
But hit telleþ not *of what lond.* 90.726

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(OE. hwæt; M.hwet)

WHIT: ...cum il *est* gras 86.13

E *blans* 86.14

Pi bodi *is whit*; 141.1129

(OE. hwit)

WHODER: Dont il venist ne *où alast* 53.18

He askede *whoder he wolde wende*. 97.781

(OE. hwider)

WINTER: Quar *plus de XVII anz* i a 104.3

Seuentene winter igon hit is 167.1340

(OE. winter, pl. winter)

WITE: ...car me mostrés 51.2

De qui ce fu, *ce vos savés*, 51.3

Tel me, sire, *zif pou wite*. 91.732

(OE. witan)

Saver se il encore vesquist, 105.1

To wite zif he weore a lyue. 170.1360

...quel je *en sai*, 93.7

Ichot wher is a Roche al Rounde, 148.1188

Bien sot que ce sa mere esteit, 113.9

He wuste he was hire owne sone. 183.1453

WIP: *Ensemble o lui* trabuch(i)er 10.2

Wip him to wonen in hard schoure 16.139

(OE. wip)

cf. Ensemble ed els sainz Gabriels i vint

(Rol., 2395)

WOK: Ele *s'est* molt tost *esveilée*; 9.5

Heo *wok* and schrizte and was adred, 14.123

(OE. wacian)

WONEP: Qui *gist en un rochel de mer*, 100.22

He *wonep in a Roche of ston*. 159.1275

(OE. wunian, wonen)

cf. N'entrer pas en desesperance.

(GERV., Best., Brit. Mus. add. 28260, f° 93^b, p. Meyer, Rapp.)

OF. *comenssa à, engendres, comande, conduie, taillèrent, retenist, entent, atornassé, souné, manderai, rendirent*, and *receu* were already used in ME. As for *rendirent*, it is not until 1588 that it is used in the same sense as this example, by the existence in *don graces*. OF. *demande, remist, requierent, amené, apeleent, enbracié, demenot, manjerois, gardé, guerpises, tendi*, and *plorer* are met with in 1400's. In addition, such nouns as *dolor, bers, vaissel, sodeier, per, joie, Deu, lignage, enor, manche, force*, and *desesperance* are seen in ME. The following adjectives are also used in ME: *bon, chiere, desconforté, blans, estrange, joios*.

II—2

The phrases in II-2 are considered to have been produced under a native system based on its own inherent laws. It has been a critical commonplace that almost all verses produced by translation (or these poets) were lamentably wanting in originality and imagination, but they had selective art enough to bring out those that would make the sentence smooth, using stereotyped phrases, or tags, or formulas, even though they still carried with a tinge of transmission and there was not yet narrative fluency.

ALYUE: Mais ne quit pas qu'il or seit *vis*, 104.2
 Ich wene *a lyue* nis he not ʒit. 165.1326
 Saver se il encore *vesquist*, 105.1
 To wite ʒif he *weore a lyue* 170.1360
 (OE. on life)

DAY: Par matinet, *quant jor fu cler*, 94.23
 Whon *liht of day* we mowen see, 149.1196
 (OE. *dæʒ*)

DWELLYNG: Que vienge à lui, *sans demorer* 14.5
Wip outen scunnes dwellyng 23.192
 (OE. *dwellan* + ING)
 cf. Il broche le cheval sanz nul demoremant
 Por pandre do domange, se il puet, vangement.
 (J. Bod., Sax., CXCI, Michell)

HED: *De chief en chief jusqu'en l'areste* 89.21

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Par les douz oils de ceste teste 89.22

Bodi and hed pou woldest frete 146.1174

(OE. heafod)

cf. Les lettre tent, s'en apel a Baudri,
E cil les prent, de chief en chief les list.
(Les Loh., ms.Montp., f° 42^d)

LEGGINGE: *Que onques main nus hom n'i mist*, 110.3
Wip outen hond legginge of Mon, 178.1420
(OE. lecgan)

NEIH: ...*quand li termine* 16.13
Est aprochés de la meschine; 16.14
...hit is neih hire time. 29.241
(ON. nær, OE. neah)

OF. *aprochés* was used as early as 1350 in ME.

CONCLUSION

A look at the phrases in I-2 after ones in I-1, I-3 after I-2, and II-2 after II-1 will reveal that the less dependence of the phrases upon translation or calques is placed. The phrases in I-2, I-3, and II-2, where the words from the original were supplanted by another word of Fr. origin or native words, in part because some words in the Fr. text came to lack stability applying to the English syntactic unit even though they were already in ME, apart from whether they were frequently used or not, never entirely broke with ones drawn from the source, but they took on too, the characteristic of native shape and semblance.

Under II-3, I collected the examples which were much more removed from the original than ones listed in this paper and that may help us to dismiss the critical commonplace that the ME text was wanting in originality and imagination, but II-3 is omitted because the present work aims at illustrating parallels and calques.

Notes

1. Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p.8

2. op. cit., p.17
3. op. cit., p.182
4. Susan Wittig, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances*, (Austin and London: Univ. of Texas Press, 1978), p.186
5. Mehl, op.cit., p.17
6. op. cit., p.19
7. op. cit., p.6
8. Wittig, op.cit., p.181
9. M.K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, (London : Manchester Univ. Press, 1966), p.27
10. Victor Luzarche, *Vie de Pape Grégoire le Grand*, Introduction XXII.
11. Pope, op.cit., p.9
12. op. cit., p.81
13. op. cit., p.303
14. op.cit., p.82
15. op. cit., p.432
16. cf. Bieling, *Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung der Gregorlegende*, (Berlin : Jahresbericht der Sophienrealschule, 1874)
17. Pope, op.cit., p.33
18. Mehl, op.cit., p.22
19. C.S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, (Gloucester : Peter Smith, 1959), p.259
20. op.cit., p.266

In the Fr. legend of Gregory are such verbs as 'faire', 'dire', 'respondre', 'ecrire', and 'demander' used to introduce direct dialogue. The English versifier or copier expresses the very passages in exactly the same way as those which are seen in the original :

Fis, *dist* li pere, lai ester, 5.15

Tei n'estovra mie plorer ; 5.16

"A sone," he *seide*, "darpe nouht wepe 7.57

Pauh i schulle from pe falle. 7.58

There is, however, a little scope left him for showing great skill in turning some of the indirect discourse or objective description into direct dialogue :

Or estovra pencer avant 16.12

De l'acouchier, quand li termine 16.13

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Est aprochés de la meschine 16.14
“Ich wot,” he *seide*, “hit is hire time. 29.241
Que *il les* conduie al rocher 104.17
E *il li* doiront bon luiier 104.18
ʒif pou woldest vs pider bringe, 168.1345
We wol þe ʒiue gold and fe 168.1346
Quar, *s’ele* concent le peché 9.13
En fin sont dampné e jugé; 9.14
Se *ele* fet noise ne cri, 9.15
De tot a *son frere* honi. 9.16
Heo pouʒte, ʒif *ich* loude grede, 15.125
Pen schal *my broþur* foule beo schent. 15.126
Puis le pristrent par les espondes, 26.10
S’il enpeinstrent en mer es ondes 26.12
Pe tonne and þe luytel grome 51.419
In to þe see *we* han hit brouht.” 51.420
Molt *puis dire* que mar fu neé, 11.9
And *seide* allas þat heo was bore! 19.160
Mais ge vei or e sai très bien 45.13
Que *sis* parens ne *sui* de rien 45.14
And *seip i* am not of *þi* kuynde 85.680

21. Wittig, op.cit., p.20
22. A.A. Prins, French Influence in English Phrasing, (Leiden: Univ. pers. Leiden, 1952), p.5
23. John Orr, Old French and Modern English Idiom (OFMEI), (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), p.15
24. John Orr, Words and Sounds in English and French (WSEF), (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1953), p.59
25. op.cit., p.60
26. Orr, OFMEI, p.29
27. E. Einhorn, Old French, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974), p.93
28. Prins, op.cit., p.208
29. Einhorn, op.cit., p.126
30. Orr, OFMEI, p.137
31. Prins, op.cit., p.119
32. OED

33. Orr, OFMEL, p.89
34. Wittig, op.cit., p.13
35. Prins, op.cit., p.205
36. MED
37. Einhorn, op.cit., p.17
38. op.cit., p.38
39. Prins, op.cit., p.270
40. Einhorn, op.cit., p.119
41. Prins, op.cit., p.35
42. op.cit., p.86
43. op.cit., p.184