II.

THE FRIESIC ELEMENT IN ENGLISH; AND SOME ETYMOLOGIES.

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It must often have been noticed that many words that can hardly be otherwise than of native origin are not to be found in Anglo-Saxon; and there is a presumption that at least some of these must be Frisian. Of course, I here exclude words that may easily have been borrowed from Scandinavian. Some of these may have been Anglo-Saxon, but were not written down in early documents; there must always be some uncertainty due to this fact. Nevertheless, I wish to draw attention to the words which I shall now discuss in their alphabetical order.

Of course it must be premised that what we usually call 'Old Frisian' is really 'Middle Frisian'; it is most unfortunate that the Frisian documents are of rather late date. But I shall use the symbol 'O.Fr.' with reference to Richtofen's glossary all the same. It will not be misunderstood by those who are accustomed to deal with etymologies.

Ankle. The A.S. for 'ankle' is *anclēow*, whence the M.E. *anclowe* and *anclee*; see N.E.D. O.Fr. had the corresponding form *anklef* or *onelef*. But O.Fr. also had the form *ankel*, not found in A.S., though it is cognate with the O.N. *ökla*, Dan. and Swed. *ankel*. It may be that *ankel* is Scandinavian. On the other hand, Outzen gives *onkel* as being North Frisian, so that a Frisian origin is equally possible.

Askance. If we are to believe, as we surely ought, that the principal vowel in a word is the truest guide to its source, it can be shown that *askance* must needs be of Frisian origin. This source has been insufficiently considered, though the N.E.D. clearly points the way. We there read:—'Diefenbach compares Jutlandish *ad* [misprint for *aa*] *skands*, W. Fries. *skān*, which he compares with the Du. *schuin*.' It is true that we find no older examples than *ascanche* in Palsgrave (1530) and *ascance* in Wyatt (1541); but this does not prove much, owing to the occurrence in English of a large number of dialectal words which were in use

for centuries before they were written down. Take, for example, the word *acre-staff*, noted as first appearing in Cotgrave in 1611. When I printed my *Nominale*, containing words of the thirteenth century, the form *akerstaf* was there; and it is obvious that so easy a compound might have been invented at any early date.

Ban. Of course the word *ban* is found in A.S., which has *ge-bann*, a proclamation, and *bannan*, to summon, to proclaim. But these are so far from accounting for the senses of 'to prohibit' and 'to curse', that the N.E.D. assumes the further influence of the O.F. *ban*. But even this hardly suffices; for Godefroy assigns no such sense as we find in the E. *under a ban*; he explains *être en ban de* as 'to be under an obligation to (do a thing)'. It is far simpler to consider it as Frisian. The O.Fr. *ban*, *bon*, sb., *banna*, *bonna*, vb., and its derivative *bannere*, *bonnere*, 'a beadle, one who proclaims,' are all extremely common words, with various senses; and one sense of *ban* was 'an interdict'. The number of examples in Richtofen show how common the word must have been, and suggests that we need not look much further. At any rate, the O.Fr. forms are worth looking at, considering how scarce the word is in A.S.

Boose, a cow-stall. As the form **bōs* does not occur in A.S. at all, and the derivative *bōsig* or *bāsig* only occurs twice (both times in the O. Northumb. glosses of St. Luke) it is worth noting that we find, in Outzen, the N. Fries. *bōsem*, *būsem*, and also *boos*, with the required sense. As noted in the N.E.D., the O.N. *bāss* could not have given the mod. E. *oo*; so that it is not Scandinavian. But as it still exists in Frisian, it may have been Frisian from the first.

Boy and Girl. It is remarkable that there is no trace in A.S. or O.N. of such common words as *boy* and *girl*; neither of which appears till about A.D. 1300. They must have been dialectal words, and may have been Frisian. As for *boy*, it only occurs in the East Frisian *boi*, which is probably cognate with the G. *bube*. *Girl* appears to be a diminutive, with suffixed *-l*, of the N.Fries. *gōr*, a child, which is also found in Low G. and Pomeranian.

Burr, in the sense of a prickly seed-vessel of a plant. This word is surely native English, though not found till after 1300. It is hardly Scandinavian, as it does not occur in Old Norse, and the Danish form is *borre*. It may very well be Frisian, as Outzen gives the N. Frisian form *burre* as well as *borre*, with the right sense. However, Kalkar gives a Mid. Danish *burre*.

Dream. The sb. *drēm* and the verb *drēmen* first appear in 1250. There is no trace of either form in A.S.; for the A.S. *drēam*, 'joy, jubilation,' and its derived verb, must be held to be unrelated words of a like form; i.e. merely accidental homophones. I believe that the word is Friesic, and that the form is verbal, the substantive having perished. O.Fr. has *drām*, a dream, where the *ā* represents, as usual, the Teut. *au*; but the derived verb is not recorded. But Outzen gives both *drôm*, sb., and the derived verb *dreeme*, to dream, also spelt *drieme*. In O.Fr. the *umlaut*-form of *ā* is *ē*, as in *lēsa*, to loosen, Goth. *lausjan*; and this *ē* would give M.E. open *ē*, mod. E. *ea*, as in the case of the verb to hear, O.Fr. *hēra*, Goth. *hausjan*. I would therefore derive the verb to dream from an O.Fr. **drēma*, as preserved in the N.Fr. *dreeme*.

We must not forget that Langland uses the sb. form *drēmels*, with the sense of 'dream', obviously a derivative from the verb; and this peculiar form would help to reinforce the verbal form to the detriment of the original sb. Here, again, there is no trace of *drēmels* in A.S.; but Koolman particularly records the E.Fries. *drömel*, sb., and *drömelen*, vb.; as well as the curious compound *drömel-peter*, a sleepy man, lit. 'dreamy Peter'.

Fallow. The verb to *fallow*, i.e. 'to break up land', does not occur in A.S., though the pl. sb. *fealga*, 'harrows,' is in the Épinal Glossary. But the N.Fr. has it exactly, in the form *falge*, 'to break up land'; so also E.Fr. *falgen* (Koolman).

Fere, in good health, hale. The M.E. *fēre*, first appearing in the Lambeth Homilies and in Layamon, is clearly a Southern form, though not found in A.S. It is exactly the O.Fr. *fēre*, N.Fr. *für*, with the same sense. The corresponding O.N. form, viz. *fērr*, is monosyllabic, and may have been the origin of the North E. *feir* in Barbour's Bruce. Cf. E.Fr. *färig*, ready to travel (Koolman), which is closely related.

Flag. There are many words of the form *flag*, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. In the sense of a piece of cut turf, spelt *flagge* in the Promptorium, we can hardly derive it from the O.N. *flaga*, which should have given *flaw*. It is precisely the N.Fr. *flaggen*, pl. 'pieces of cut turf'.

Flaw. The interesting word *flaw*, in the peculiar sense of 'a sudden gust of wind', or, in Macbeth, of 'a sudden burst of passion', may very well have been Friesic, as there is no trace of it before the year 1500 in our literature. It is precisely the N.Fr. *flaag*, a sudden burst of rain; E.Fr. *flage*, a sudden whim,

a sudden change of weather; *rägenflage*, a burst of rain; *windflage*, a flaw of wind; *al bi flagen*, 'stossweise, mit kurzen Unterbrechungen'; Koolman.

Frieze. I believe it will be found that the E. *frieze*, O.F. *frise*, is really derived from Friesland, and means precisely 'cloth of Friesland'. This view is set aside in the N.E.D., on the ground of want of evidence. The oldest quotation there given is 'a gowne of grene *frese*', dated 1418. But an earlier instance has lately been found, in Miss Toulmin Smith's edition of the Earl of Derby's Expeditions in 1390-3, p. 280, l. 25:—'Item, pro ix bras [measures of six feet] panni lanei *de Frise*.' Surely, this can only mean 'woollen cloths of Friesland'; for since the *panni* are already described as *lanei*, they would hardly need further description except as indicating their place of origin. So also Cotgrave speaks of 'drap de frise', though he does not explain it. *Frise*, in the sense of 'Friesland', occurs even in the Chanson de Roland; so that it is quite an early form in French. Franck, s.v. *Fries*, cites the Latin expressions *Frisii panni* and *pallia Fresonica* as connecting these cloths with Friesland. I see no more difficulty in the phrase 'cloth of Frise' than in *chevaux de Frise*, as to which there can be no doubt. It is usual to derive the F. *frise* from the verb *friser*, to curl; but it is quite as likely that the verb is from the substantive. As to the words *frizz* and *frizzle*, which are supposed to be related, I take *frizz* to be a mere abbreviation for *frizzle*, which occurs in English nearly a century earlier, and agrees with the W. Flemish *friezen*, to curl hair (De Bo). And this last form may be derived immediately from the O.Fries. *frisle*, *fresle*, a lock of hair, pl. *frislen*, *frislan*, locks of hair, which is at any rate a word of much earlier date than the verb *to frizzle*. There is no need to raise the question as to whether frizzled hair was a characteristic of the Frisian people. Richtofen calls attention to the mod. Fris. *frisseljen*, to braid the hair, *frissel-snoer*, a fillet or snood, and *frislen*, to fizzle. Outzen also gives the N.Fr. *fressle*, *friessle*, to frizzle or curl.

Ham. The word *hamm*, 'an enclosed plot,' is extremely common in place-names, but hardly ever occurs in A.S. as an independent word. It has therefore been commonly regarded, and I think rightly so, as being an indication of a Frisian settlement. Richtofen confuses the O.Fr. *hemm*, a ham (as above) with the O.Fr. *hēm*, a home, A.S. *hām*. Outzen, s.v. *ham*, has a long statement, not all of it accurate, in which he distinctly says that,

both in Angeln and Friesland, an enclosed plot is called a *hamm*. Hence we must derive the verb *to hem in*, which may thus also be regarded as due to Friesian; but the sb. *hem*, in the sense of 'border of a garment', is the A.S. *hemm*, a cognate word.

Hark. We find A.S. *heorenian*, to hearken; but no shorter form. *Hark* is plainly Frisian; from O.Fr. *harkia*, *herkia*, to hark; N.Fr. *harke*. On the other hand, Frisian has not the longer form *hearken*.

Hind. The word *hind*, in the sense of 'peasant', is usually regarded as having been formed from the M.E. *hine*, 'a domestic,' by adding *d*. This is doubtless right, but it is worth noting that Richtofen has one example in which *da hynden* means 'the hinds', or 'the domestics'. The usual form is *hiona*, *hiuna*, or *hina*, all plural. The same mode of formation is here seen to be common to English and Frisian, which is not at all surprising.

Hoop. The word *hōp*, sb., a hoop, only occurs in very late A.S., about 1175. It also occurs once in O.Fr., and Outzen notes it as being N. Frisian. Dr. Murray remarks that 'it is not known outside the Low German-Frisian group'.

Knop, Knob. Neither of these forms are known much before 1400; the nearest A.S. form is *cnæp*. O.Fr. has both *knop* and *knap*. N.Fr. has *knaap*, *knáp*, *knóp*, 'a button'; also *knub*, *knob*, 'a knotty growth on the hand, a lump.' Cf. Du. *knop*, Dan. *knop*, Swed. *knopp*.

Knuckle. Not known before the fourteenth century. The O.Fr. *knokete*, or *knokle*, occurs rather often.

Lane. *Lane* occurs once in the Blickling Homilies, and in a few early charters. Otherwise it does not appear in English literature till the fourteenth century; we also find M.E. *lone*, a lane, in Piers Plowman. The forms *lana*, *lona*, both occur in O.Fr., and again in N.Fr. Further, E. Fries. has *lane* and *lone*; and W.Fr. has *lean*. The word may fairly be called Frisian.

Left. In the phrase *the left hand*, the adj. *left* requires explanation. The A.S. for 'the left hand' is *sēo winestre* (or *winstre*) *hand*; so that *left* is not English. It is surely Frisian; since Outzen gives N.Fr. *leeft*, or *leester Hond*, 'left hand.' In a short gloss of forty-seven Latin words with A.S. glosses, printed in Mone's *Quellen*, pp. 442-3, we find 'inanis, *left*'; and as the same gloss has 'peccati, *senne*', it has been inferred that *left* and *senne* are Kentish forms, since Kentish has *e* for A.S. *y*; and we also find A.S. *lyft-ād*, 'paralysis,' where *lyft* means 'stricken with

weakness'. This 'Kentish' solution is not very satisfactory; for though the A.S. *lyft* may explain 'the *lyft* side' in Layamon, the earliest example of *left* is 'the *lefte* eghe', or left eye, in Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, which is notoriously in a Northern dialect. I think it is much more to the purpose to note that O.Fr. has the same habit as Kentish, viz. that of using *e* for the A.S. *y*, as in *gelden*, golden (A.S. *gylden*), *gerdel*, a girdle (A.S. *gyrdel*), *kētha*, to make known (A.S. *cȳthan*). Moreover, we find O.Fr. *lef*, weak, ill, which is *lef-t* without the *t*. Yet it is remarkable that O.Fr. also has *winster hand* to denote the left hand; which seems to show that the N.Fr. *leefter hand*, or simply *leeft* (with lengthened *e*) was once a dialectal peculiarity of a limited area. The original vowel is *u*, as in the E. Fries. *luf*, 'weak.' Hexham has the M.Du. *luchte-handt*, or *lufter-handt*, 'left-handed.'

Luck. First found in the fifteenth century; and perhaps borrowed from M. Dutch. Still, it is possible that it is Friesic, as we find O.Fr. *luk*, *luck*, and the phrase *luck of on luck*, luck or want of luck; and Koolman notes W. Fries. *luk*; cf. N.Fr. *lock*, luck.

Rend. That the verb *to rend* is really Friesic, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is entirely absent both from Low G. and Scand.; and it never occurs in A.S. It occurs, however, twice in the O. Northumbrian Gospels; and again twice in the same in the compound form *tō-renda*. But in O.Fr. it is fairly common, not only as a simple verb, but in four compounds, viz. *tō-renda* (as above), *bi-renda*, *fon-renda* (to rend from), and *in-renda*. It had, originally, an initial *h*, which occurs once in the imper. pl. *hrendas*. The root is *qert*, to cut; cf. Skt. *kṛt*, to cut, *kṛtana-m*, a cutting; L. *cort-ex*, bark.

Split. The verb *to split* is wholly unknown to A.S.; indeed, I do not know where to find an example in Middle English. I have therefore supposed it to have been borrowed from Middle Dutch. But our dialects seem to contradict this, and suggest that it is a native word; for they tell us of a past t. *splat*, and a pp. *splitten*. It may very well have been a dialect word of Frisian origin. For not only do we find the weak verb *splitte* in N.Fr., but O.Fr. has the strong verb *splīta*, pp. *splīten*, with the derivatives *of-splīta*, *to splīta*, *ūt-splīta*; and Richtofen gives the mod. Fr. *splijten*, pt. t. *splīet*. I would therefore claim the verb *to split* as being certainly Frisian.

Sprout. The traces of A.S. *sprūtan* are extremely slight; there

is one example of *ā-sproten* as a pp., and that seems to be all. It was probably a Frisian word, as we find O.Fr. *sprūta*, pp. *spruten*. This is only a conjecture, as the O.Fr. examples are neither numerous or early.

Tip, sb. the extreme end. Spelt *tippe* in the Anceren Riwle; but not found in A.S. Cf. North Fr. *tipp*, *tippten*, a tip; and note that Richtofen quotes a mod. Fr. *tip-muts* as a variant of *top-muts*, a cap on the top. Both A.S. and O.Fr. have *top*.

Touse, to pull about. Not in A.S.; but M.E. has the compound *tō-tūsen*. Cf. N.Fr. *tuse*, E.Fr. *tūsen*; so that it may have been Frisian.

Twinge. M.E. *twengen*, A.S. *twengan*, weak verbs. I mention this because the corresponding strong verb *thwingan*, *twingan*, is found only in O.Fr. and O.Sax.; not in A.S. The use of *tw* for *thw* is Danish. The O.N. *thwinga* is a weak verb.

Unto. The prefix *un-* in *unto* is certainly the O.Fr. *und-* prefix, with the same sense. It also occurs in O. Saxon, but never in A.S. This common preposition is decisive as to the influence of Frisian upon English.

By way of recapitulation, I beg leave to suggest that the English words which I suppose to be of Frisian origin, or to be well illustrated by Frisian, are these following:—Ankle, askance, ban, boose (cow-stall), boy, bur, dream, to fallow (land), fere (in sound health), flag (a piece of cut turf), flaw (a sudden gust of wind), frieze-cloth, frizzle, girl, ham (an enclosed plot), hark, hind (a farm-labourer), hoop, knob, knop, knuckle, lane, left hand, luck, to rend, to split, to sprout (whence, probably to spout, with loss of *r*), tip, to touse, to twinge, unto, until.

NOTES ON OTHER WORDS.

Caliver. The word *caliver*, a musket, only occurs in Shakespeare in prose, and there is no poetical quotation in the N.E.D. that shows how it was accented. But as it arose from a particular use of *calibre*, it was at first pronounced with the stress on the penultimate, though the accent was thrown back in the phrase *calliper-compasses*. There is a curious example in the old play entitled the Queen of Arragon, by W. Habington, which is written in rather a jocose vein. In Act ii, sc. 1, a small dwarf is introduced who says to the mighty captain of the host:—‘I am the servant of thy fam’d calíver,’ i.e. of thy famous musket. Phil. Trans. 1911.

agreement with this, one of the quotations in the N.E.D. gives the spelling *caleever*, from Holinshed.

Catch; see **Ketch** (below).

Continent. There is a peculiar use, by Greene, of the word *continent* which (as I venture to think) has never been explained. In his play of Friar Bacon, sc. xi, 15, as edited by Ward, or l. 1543, as edited by Collins, we read that

‘ Three-formed Luna hid her silver looks,
Trembling upon her concave continent,
When Bacon read upon his magic book ’.

Dr. Ward explains ‘her concave continent’ to mean ‘the vault of the sky’.

But the whole play is full of astrology; and in astrology it is impossible for the moon to be in the ‘sky’, because that was the name that strictly belonged to the sphere of the fixed stars. The moon, as a planet, had a sphere all to herself, one that was smaller and swifter in motion than any of the rest; a fact which gives all its point to Shakespeare’s phrase—‘Swifter than the moon’s sphere’—in *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ii, 1. 7. Similarly, Venus had a sphere of her own; see *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, iii, 2. 61. And no two planets could exist in the same sphere; see 1 *King Henry IV*, v, 4. 65.

These spheres were concentric hollow shells, each planet being tightly fixed to the inside of its own shell or hollow sphere. Notwithstanding such fixture, Bacon’s magic made Luna tremble in her position; and it is obvious that ‘*her concave continent*’ is the particular sphere to which Luna alone had claim.

The phrase occurs again earlier in the play in a far more difficult passage, viz. in sc. ix, 62 (l. 1148):—

‘ For when proud Lucifer fell from the heavens,
The spirits and angels that did sin with him
Retained their local essence as their faults,
All subject under Luna’s continent :
They which offended less hung in the *fire*,
And *second* faults did rest within the *air* ;
But Lucifer and his proud-hearted fiends
Were thrown into the *centre of the earth*. ’

All this is astrologically exact. The fallen spirits fell from the empyrean or outermost sphere, passing successively through the primum mobile, the sphere of fixed stars, the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. *Inside* the Moon’s sphere, and therefore described as being ‘subject under

Luna's continent', there were yet four more spheres, those of the elements; and Lucifer fell through these also, i.e. through fire, air, water (not here mentioned), and earth, till he reached hell, situate within the earth's very centre.

It is remarkable that Greene, a few lines above, has made a queer blunder. He says:—

'Terra is but thought
To be a *punctum* [small point] squared [as compared] to the rest;
And that the compass of ascending elements [*water, air, fire*]
Exceed in bigness as they do in height [*grow larger as they are farther off*];
Judging the concave circle of the sun to hold the rest in his circumference.'

Here he has inadvertently written *sun* instead of *fire*. It is the sphere of fire that 'holds the rest', yet is nevertheless within the sphere of the Moon. Her sphere is within the sphere of Mercury, which is within that of Venus; and all of these are within 'the concave circle' of Sol. In the very next line he puts himself right again by saying:—'If, then, as Hermes says, the *fire* be greatest.' That is all right; for the fire's sphere was really the greatest of the elemental spheres; but, in astrology, 'the fire' and 'the sun' are wide apart. It is clear that the poet's common sense has here overcome the jargon which his learning should have made consistent.

Cricksies. *Cricksies* is a well-known East Anglian name for a kind of wild damsons or bullaces. It is really a double plural, from a singular *crick*. The form *cricksey*, given in the E.D.D., is merely evolved out of the pl. *cricksies*, which ought rather to be simply spelt *crickses*. The word goes back to the thirteenth century, and is of Norman origin. In the *Nomina* edited by me for the Phil. Soc. (1906), l. 680, the Norman *creke* is glossed by *bolas*, 'bullace,' and in l. 648 *creker* is glossed by *bolastre*, 'bullace-tree.' In Walter de Bibbesworth, ed. T. Wright, p. 162, last line, we have *Le creker, que crekes porte*, where *crekes* is glossed by *bolaces*. So also in *Feminæ*, ed. W. Aldis Wright, p. 52. From the O.F. *creke*, a bullace, whence *creker*, a bullace-tree, mod. F. *crèquier*.

The O.F. *creke* is of Low G. origin; from Mid-Low G. *kreke*, *kreike*, a sloe (Lübben). Berghaus gives Low G. *kreeken*, pl. sloes. Cf. G. *krieche*, the wild plum tree; O. H. G. *chriehboum*, sloe-tree, M. H. G. *krieche*, a sloe. Also M.Du. *kriecken*, black cherries, Du. *kriek*, a black cherry. We also find Dan. *kræge*, a bullace, Swed. *krikon*, bullace; but these are merely borrowed

words. The word is only found in Teutonic, and its ultimate origin is unknown. See *Kræge* in Falk and Torp's Et. Dan. Dict. In the *Gemma Gemmarum*, printed at Cologne in 1509, fol. Cc 4, back, the Low L. *cinus* is glossed by *krieken-pruymbæm*. *Pruym* means 'plum'. Mr. Aldis Wright kindly refers me to Cotgrave, who has: '*Creiche*, a bullace, or small plum.' This is the Parisian form, with the characteristic *ch* for *k*; from which the English word cannot be derived. It is remarkable that this Parisian variant is extinct, while the Norman form has survived. Hatzfeld's French Dict. has *crèque* and *créquier*, marked as belonging to the Northern dialect. The pl. form *crèques* is given in Moisy's Dict. of the Norman dialect. It is also a known Picard form (Corblet), and is retained, according to Hatzfeld, in Flemish.

Dray, a squirrel's nest. In some countries called *a draw*; and just as *draw*, in the sense of sledge, or brewer's cart, is from the verb *to draw*, so *dray*, a nest, is from the same. The difficulty is, of course, to account for this peculiar sense; but it is altogether cleared up by a passage in the Book of St. Albans, viz. on the first page of the treatise on Hawking. 'And we shall say that hawkys doon *draw* when they bere tymbering to their nestes, and nott they *beld* ne *make* the(i)r nestes.' It follows that *draw* was sometimes used in the sense of to build or make a nest, obviously from *draw* in the sense of 'to carry', because hawks and squirrels carry the materials for the nest to the required spot. See *Draw*, 3c, in the N.E.D. It is remarkable that this peculiar sense is very scarce in English, because the cognate G. *tragen* has the sense of 'to bear, to carry' as its primary or usual one, and the sb. *träger* usually means 'a porter'.

I have long been of opinion that the sb. *gedræg*, as used in *Beowulf*, 756, is the same word, with the same sense of 'nest'. It is made synonymous with *heolstor*, a hiding-place. When Grendel fled away, it is said that he '*wolde on heolstor fleon, secan deofla gedræg*', i.e. that he wanted to flee to a hiding-place, and to seek the nest of devils. It is usual to treat *gedræg* as a variant of *gedræg*, a tumult, lament, which is a different word, from a different root.

Hunks, a miser, a stingy old man. The etymology is not given in the N.E.D. But it is plainly related to the Dan. *hundsk*, very stingy, cynical, vile, villanous; which is merely an adj. formed from *hund*, a dog, and lit. is 'houndish', or

'currish'. Kalkar gives the Mid. Dan. forms as *hundisk* and *hundsk*, and assigns to them the sense of *karrig*, i.e. stingy, miserly. It is not likely that we obtained the word from Denmark; but a large number of words of this character were certainly imported from Low G. in Dekker's time, who was the first person to use *hunkes*, in 1602. Berghaus duly gives the Low G. *hundsck* or *hundsk* as the equivalent of G. *hündisch*, dog-like, and adds that it also occurs with the sense of G. *geizig* or the L. *sordidus*. Flügel explains *geizig* by 'avaricious, churlish, niggard, covetous, greedy'; which puts the matter beyond all doubt. The change from *hundsk* to E. *hunks* shows nearly the same simplification as that from the Low G. *minsk* to E. *minx*. See *minx* in my Etym. Dict. Hexham's Dutch Dict. (1658) has: '*Honts, Hondtsch*, greedie, griple, or covetuous.'

Ketch. It is shown in the N.E.D. that the two-masted vessel called a *ketch* was in earlier days called a *catch*. The earliest quotation for *catch* is dated 1481-90. But it is forty years older. In the Black Book of the Admiralty, i. 262, I find a notice of 'quandem navem . . . vocatam le Heeke, sive Flewere, alias a *Catche*'. The date is 1443-6.

Nailbourn. In some parts, notably in Kent, an intermittent spring, or a brook that only flows at certain times, is called a *nailbourn*. Sometimes the *n* is lost, and it is then an *ailbourn*. The problem arises, which is the more correct form? The right answer is that the initial *n* is quite correct; and what is even more strange, the derivation is actually from *nail* and *bourn*. The N.E.D. has given the preference to the wrong form; the supposed better form is there given as *eylebourn*, notwithstanding the fact that the oldest quotation, dated 1480, correctly has *naylborne*, and the next quotation, dated 1677, likewise has: 'of these [springs] there are . . . many in the county of Kent, which they call *Nailbournes* there.' The earliest quotation for *eylebourn* (without the *n*) is dated 1719. So that, if evidence is to be regarded, it is already clear that the form with *n* is much older than that without it. But what we really want is the Anglo-Saxon form.

And this is precisely what I have found; for although the word is not in the dictionaries, it is in the Charters, and goes back to the time of Alfred. In a Charter dated 882 there occurs a passage (printed in Kemble, v, 124, and in Birch, ii, 172) which runs thus:—'thonne of cunecan forda of-dune on stream on næglesburnan'; then from Cunecan's ford adown the stream to Nail's

bourne; i.e., to the place where Nail's bourne runs into it. The river appears to be the Tone, which flows by Taunton, and the locality seems to be Creech St. Michael, past which (according to Bacon's map) a stream flows into the Tone from the north.

But this is not the only use of the genitive form *nægles* in place-names; I have found two others. In another Charter, dated 854, for which see Birch, ii, 77, is the expression: 'ad rivulum qui Neglescumb nominatur'; to the brook which is called Nail's combe, which must be short for 'Nail's combe brook', as a combe is a hollow or glen in a hill-side. And yet again, in a charter of the eighth century, for which see Birch, i, 238, there is mention of a place called Negles-leah, or 'Nail's lea', near Woodchester, in Gloucestershire; not three miles from which there is a place which even at the present day is called Nailsworth. There is also a Nailstone in Leicestershire and a Nailsea in Somersetshire. It is certain that the A.S. *Nægles*, the genitive of *Nægel*, is used in the Charters as the genitive of a man's name, and indicates possession, ownership, or mark of connexion. The word *worth*, meaning 'farm', almost invariably follows a man's name in the genitive case; see my explanation of the Cambs. place-names Boxworth, Elsworth, Knesworth, Lolworth, Papworth, Stetchworth, and Wentworth; also of Duxford and Pampisford, of which the older names were Duxworth and Pampesworth. Nailsworth can only be explained as a farm in the occupation of Nail; and Nail's bourne can only be explained as a bourne named from a man of the name of *Nægel*. Bardsley notices the marriage of John Naile, of Liverpool, in 1584, and though I do not find the name Nail in the Clergy List, I find the name Nagel twice, which is the same name in a German form.

Neither does the evidence end here. The Norse personal name Nagli, i.e. 'nail', occurs in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ed. Vigfusson & Powell, ii, 59; and in a list of South German place-names in Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, I find both Nagelback, i.e. 'nail beck' and Nægelsback, i.e. 'Nail's beck', given as the names of streams. It is thus quite certain that *nail-bourne* was originally Nail's bourne, whatever the explanation may be. We might conjecture that a certain intermittent stream happened to be named Nail's bourne, and that the name spread to others of a like character. The true *general* name for such a stream was *winterburna*, a winterbourne, that only flowed in the winter.

Packet. The N.E.D. traces back the word *packet* to Palsgrave,

and says that it was probably an Anglo-French masculine derivative of the M.E. *pakke*, a pack. This turns out to be quite right. The A.F. *pacquet* is nearly a century older than Palsgrave. For I find the quotation: 'robbes, joyaulx, *pacquets*, bouges, bagues,' etc., Black Book of the Admiralty, i, 277 (Oct. 13, 1463).

Packway. The oldest example is dated 1754. But it occurs 272 years earlier. 'The Fordley manor rolls [Suffolk] . . . record that Robert Grosse held in the 21st year of Edward IV a piece of land called Fordeland, lying by *le Packewaye* in the same place, leading from Kelsale to Dunwich'; Chronicles of Theberton, by H. M. Doughty (1910), p. 31. The date is 1481-2.

Pansy. In the N.E.D. the oldest quotation for *pensee*, a pansy, is from the Assembly of Ladies, dated about 1500; but I should think it may be as old as 1470 or 1480. The earliest example of *pensee* in old French is also dated about 1500.

It is, however, somewhat older. For, in the Excerpta Historica (1831), at p. 220, I find: 'emprinse de une fleur de *pensee*.' The date is 1467.

Puttock. The N.E.D. gives us *puttock*, as meaning a bird of prey, a kite, a buzzard. A valuable definition informs us further that the term was also used figuratively, and opprobriously, to a person; and especially to a catchpole, with reference to the kite's preying upon chickens. The etymology is unknown; we can hardly connect it with *buteo*, as has been suggested.

By a most curious accident, I have nevertheless discovered the exact origin, past all doubt. Puttok is a not uncommon name in East Anglia, where it was also spelt Putthawke. In Mr. Doughty's Chronicles of Theberton, p. 177, we find: 'That year (1748) John Puttock or Putthawke (buzzard) was churchwarden; another Theberton name was Sparhawke or Sparrahawke.' Mr. Doughty has further supplied me with many examples from the notes he has made from registers; viz., John Puttock in 1733, 1738, 1751, etc.; John Putthawke in 1738, 1744, 1748, etc.; whence it is obvious that the meaning of the name was perfectly well known in Suffolk in the eighteenth century. It means precisely 'chicken-hawk', which is the very sense which it ought to have. The former syllable *putt* is a variant of *pout*, which is given in the Eng. Dial. Dict. as another form of *poult*; and *poult* is nothing but a contracted form of *pullet*. The N.E.D. gives s.v. *Poult* several examples of the spellings *pout*, *poutt*, and *poot*. *Pout-hawk* was shortened to *puttock*, precisely as *goosehawk* was to

goshawk; the shortening of the vowel being due (as in many cases) to the stress on the former syllable. *Puttock* is not a very old word, being first found about 1400. The former syllable is French.

Sow-thistle. Any one would suppose that this name was composed of *sow* and *thistle*; but this is only popular etymology. The old name was really *thow-thistle*, altered to *sow-thistle* as being easier to say and more intelligible. The E.D.D. gives *Thowthistle*, Yorks Nott.; also, in West Yorks, *thoo-thistle*, a sow-thistle; and the conjecture is made, that it may be a mispronunciation of sow-thistle, which is manifestly improbable, if not impossible. The change must have been made the other way. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ab. 1440, the name is given as *Thowthystylle* or *sowthystylle*. But the A.S. name was *thūfe-thistel*, with the long *ū*, which regularly becomes *ou* in modern E. lit., 'tufted thistle'; not, as suggested in the A.S. Dict., because it has leaves in tufts (which is not so), but because the fully developed flowers have light tufts that can be blown off by wind like the heads of a dandelion. It has nothing to do with sows. The A.S. *thūfe*, tufted, is derived from *thūf*, a tuft; and, in my belief, this Teutonic form *thūf* is the origin of the fourth-century Latin *tūfa* and the French *touffe*, from which we, in our turn, have borrowed the word which we have turned into *tuft*. It follows that the sow-thistle was named from its tufts.

Theodolite. This extraordinary word has probably exercised etymologists more than any other in the language. I venture to contribute something to its history that may perhaps enable us to form a probable idea as to its origin.

In my *Principles of English Etymology*, ser. i, p. 410, I have called attention to what I there call 'confluence of forms', or the tendency to confuse words that are very much alike in sound. A well-known example is the case of the verb *to bid*, in the sense of 'command', which has lost its own present tense, past tense, and past participle, and has accepted instead the forms of the verb *bid*, to pray. The verb *to forgo*, to give up, is often spelt *forego* by confusion with *forego*, meaning to go before. My belief is that, in like manner, *theodolite* is due to a confusion between two forms that were really distinct. I shall consider them separately.

It is very necessary to inquire what was meant by a *theodolite* at the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth. The modern theodolite invariably carries a telescope;

but the old one had none. This simple consideration somewhat damages several of the fanciful etymologies that have been advanced, connecting it with the Greek *θεῖα*, a sight, a view; with various appendages. However, it had 'sights', after a fashion, though they were inconspicuous; the 'sights' being merely pin-holes. The best article on the subject is that by Augustus de Morgan, in *Notes and Queries*, 3 Ser. iv, 51, where several useful references are given. We have rather insufficient instances of the use of the word. It first appears in 1571, in a book by Leonard Digges, entitled *Pantometria*, book i. c. 27, where an instrument called *Theodelitus* is mentioned as if it were well known. The chapter is headed: 'The composition of the instrument called Theodelitus.' The chapter begins:—'It is but a circle devided into 360 grades or degrees.' But this is misleading; for it has other additional parts, as he goes on to explain. 'The index of that instrument with the sightes, etc., are [*sic*] not unlike to that whiche the square hath. In his backe prepare a vice or serue to be fastned in the top of some staffe, if it be a circle, as here . . . Behold thys figure folowing.' The remark 'if it be a circle' means that some theodolites had only a semi-circle of degrees. The 'figure folowing' shows at once that the whole instrument closely resembles the back of the old astrolabe planisphere, with its graduated rim, its revolving index or 'rule', and its pin in the centre. The most important parts of the instrument were, in fact, two; a graduated rim and the 'rule' or index. This 'rule' is described in Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, part i. § 13. In one of the MSS. of that treatise, there is an extra section (probably not due to Chaucer), in which we find:—'thy rewle of thy astrolabye, that is to sey, the *allydatha*'; see my edition for the Early English Text Society, p. 81. The same sentence is preserved in Thynne's first edition of Chaucer's Works (1532), at fol. Ggg, back, col. 2. The 'rule' was, in fact, familiarly known, from quite an early date, as *the allidatha*, *allidada*, or *alidada*. It is spelt *allidada* in Messahala's Latin treatise on the *Astrolabe*, which is older than Chaucer's time: from the Spanish *alidada*, *alhidada*, a word of Arabic origin, as explained in the N.E.D., s.v. *Alidad(e)*, where it is defined as 'the index of an astrolabe, quadrant, or other *graduated* instrument, carrying the sights or telescope, and showing the degrees cut off on the arc of the instrument'. I believe that De Morgan was quite right in suggesting that this extraordinary name for a very essential part

of a theodolite was the true, but remote origin of the name of the instrument; that we must, in fact, start from the phrase *the alidade*. But, if this be so, it has clearly suffered a good deal of change. How this came about I believe I can at least partially show.

In the first place, *alidade* was usually preceded by the definite article, seldom by the indefinite *an*. This appears from the quotations in N.E.D., and from the nature of the case; the instrument had always *one* alidade only, and it was an essential part of it. The N.E.D. remarks that Cotgrave, in 1611, has the form *th'Alhidada*, with a hyphen after the *th*, as if the two words were sometimes run together. He gives the French form as *Alidade*, explained by 'Th'Alhidada of an Astrolabe; the rule which turneth on the back thereof'. On the other hand, Digges uses *Theodelitus* without any article at all. In bk. i. c. 27, as above, he speaks of 'the instrument called *Theodelitus*', and in ch. 28, the rubric is: 'To searche . . . by the instrument called *Theodelitus*. This instrument upon his staffe,' etc.; showing that the instrument necessarily consisted of a rule as well as of a rim, and that both were pinned down on a staff. The same chapter has a figure marked at the side: 'GEFO Theodelitus; GF his Alhidada or index with sightes.'

However, in Arthur Hopton's *Topographical Glasse*, printed in 1611, the article is doubled; his chapter 6 contains 'The description of the Theodelitus'. And he begins: 'The Theodelitus is an instrument consisting of a planisphere and an alhidada . . . The Alhidada is a straight ruler with a fiducial edge', etc. *Fiducial* here means true, or exactly straight. The instrument was used in various ways; in a vertical plane, to take altitudes, and in a horizontal plane, to take angles between various terrestrial objects. In the latter case especially, the instrument was called 'a cross-staff'; for there was a conspicuous cross on the flat surface, dividing the rim into four quadrants. We hence learn that *the alidade* was sometimes used as a name for the whole instrument. For Baretti's *Span. Dict.* (1778) simply translates *Alidada* by 'a cross-staff'. It was not likely that this term would escape mispronunciation; and De Morgan exemplifies this from W. Bourne's *Treasure for Travellers*, 1578, which describes the use of a circle furnished with an alidade. There is an engraving in which it is spelt *alideday*; but everywhere else in the book it is called *athelida*,

which might easily be varied to *adelida*. If we prefix the definite article, we at once have *the athelida*, or *the adelida*; which is certainly on the way to *the adelide*, and brings us almost within sight of the present form.

But even in the original Spanish we find a corrupt form. The Dictionary of the Spanish Academy (1791) explains *Alhidada* by 'regula versatilis'; and another word *Alhadida* by 'cuprum vel æs ustum'. Stevens's Span.-Eng. Dict. (1726) confuses these two words, and gives us: '*Alhadida*, burnt brass; also, a rule belonging to the astrolabe.' The same error occurs in Pineda (1740) and in Baretti (1778). That is to say, these three Englishmen all thought that an *alidade* could be called an *aladide*. This gives exact authority for at least these three variations, viz. *the alidade*, *the aladide*, and *the athelide*; and these three really imply, as a fourth form, *the adelide*. If some good quotations for this last form can be found, it would be very satisfactory. Such a change as that from *aladide* to *adelide* is obviously easy in the case of a word of unknown origin and limited technical use. We find other examples in English of a like kind in simpler cases. The word *tikelen*, to tickle, occurs in Chaucer; it may be considered as due to a form *tick*, to touch lightly, but we hardly ought to ignore the probable influence of the Icel. *killa*, with the same sense. The phrase *kittle cattle* means much the same as *ticklish cattle*. Again, the common word *maggot* is surely an alteration of the Middle Eng. form *maddok*, with the same sense. The Danish for *maggot* is *maddik*. If we admit confluence or confusion, it may easily have been confused with the Old French *Magot* or *Maggot*, which was a nickname for Margaret and also meant a magpie. And this is where comes in my theory, viz. that the term *the alidade* or *the adelide* was altered in form by confusion with another term which was like it in form, though the sense was different; and this second term was the remarkable word *Theodalet*, which definitely turned *the ad-* into *Theod-*, and gave a wholly Greek appearance to a term which, in its origin, was a mixture of English and Arabic. If I for once assume that the definite article *the* was amalgamated with an Arabic word, let me just observe that similar instances in Spanish occur literally by the hundred. Minshew's Spanish Dict. (1623) gives a list of Spanish words beginning with the Arabic definite article *al-*, at pp. 384-6. They fill just eight columns. Even English possesses such examples as *albacore*, *albatross*, *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alcove*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alquazil*, *alkali*, and *alpaca*. The *al-*

in *alligator* has replaced (by confusion) the Span. def. article *el*. The *a-* in *a-pricot* represents the Arab. *al* in the Port. form *albricoque*. The *la* in *lariat*, a common American word for 'a lasso', is the Span. def. art. *la*, as seen in the Span. *la reata*. The *l* in *lute* represents the Arab. *al*, and is merely a definite article; and the same is true of *limbeck* for *alembic*; and there are other instances. The most remarkable one, for our present purpose, occurs in the case of the word *asphodel*. Cotgrave's French Dictionary explains the French *Affrodille* as 'Th'Affodill, or Asphodill Flower'; the same word, under the form *Aphrodille*, as 'The affodill, or Asphodill flower'; and again, under the form *Asphodil*, as 'The Daffadill, Affodill, or Asphodill flower'. Hence it appears that the Affodill was also known as Th'affodill, and lastly, as Daffodil. Not only was the *th* of *the* prefixed, but it was further changed to *d*. And *daffodil* is now the standard form. We have now to consider the form *Theodolet* or *Theodelet*, which I take to be the other factor, or efficient contaminant, that helped to produce the modern form. It is a word of considerable antiquity, and existed long before the theodolite came into use; a point which is of course essential. It is given in Godefroy's Old French Dictionary. He records 'Chatounet, *Theaudoullet*', etc., in 1367; *theodelet*, 15th century; 'Cathonnet, *Theodelet*, bien gloses,' and again, 'Cathonnet et *Theodoullet*, tres bien gloses,' in 1409; 'un *theaudelet*,' in 1431, and finally: 'Theodulus: *Theodelet*, un livre,' from which we learn that *Theodelet* was the name of a book, as some of the other entries also imply. The standard passage for its use is in Rabelais' Gargantua, bk. i, c. 14; 'puis luy leut Donat, le Facet, *Theodolet*, et Alanus in parabolis,' then he read to him Donat, and Facetus, and Theodolet, and Alanus. These are all known booknames. *Donat*, or *Donet* was the elementary grammar of Ælius Donatus, which every scholar had once to learn; see the N.E.D., which gives a quotation from Piers the Plowman. *Facet*, or *Facetus*, was the book upon good behaviour called *Facetus de Moribus* (N.E.D.). *Catonet* spelt *Chatonnet* above, was another name for *Facet*, because it was regarded as being a supplement to *Caton* or *Cato*, the *Disticha de Moribus* by Dionysius Cato; see *Caton* in N.E.D. Old French writers thus got into the habit of using *-et* at the end of book-names; further examples are *Esopet*, a book of fables by Æsop; *Avionet*, a book by Avianus (see my note to P. Plowman, B. xii, 257); and *Pamphilet* or *Pamphlet* was a poem in imitation of Ovid, of which the Latin title was *Pamphili Mauriliani Pamphilus*; see

Pamphlet in my *Etym. Dict.*, new ed., 1910. Hence Theodolet meant a book by Theodulus, though I will not attempt to decide what were its precise contents. There is no doubt at all about its derivation, since Theodulus was once a common name, coined from Greek, and denoting 'servant of God'. The prevailing spellings are *Theodolet* and *Theodelet*, and my contention, viz. that these spellings actually influenced the spelling of the name of the instrument, is fully proved by the result. The writer of the article on *Theodolite* in the English Cyclopædia, who was (I suppose) no other than De Morgan, entitled it *Theodolet* or *Theodalite*, because, as he says, he had found that both spellings were once in use. It thus appears that the particular form *Theodolet* was used in both senses, so that the confusion was complete. If it had not been for such confusion, it would have been extremely improbable that, in the phrase *the alidade* or *the adelide* the definite article would have been so persistently used as being a part of the word.

There can be no doubt that the word *theodolite* was coined in England, as it is only known elsewhere as a borrowed word. In N. and Q. 9 S. vii. 306-7, Mr. Lynn says:—'It is in the "Observationes Astronomicæ" of Thomas Bugge, then Professor of Astronomy at Copenhagen, which appeared in 1784. At p. liii we read, after an account of the improvements in telescopic instruments effected by Römer: "Mentem Roemerii sequi cæperunt artifices Angli, construentes astrolabia majora (Theodolits) et instrumenta æquatorialia." Theodolits is evidently intended to be taken as an English plural.' Its singular was *Theodolit*.

It is clear that we cannot really construct the usual modern form *theodolite* without taking into consideration *both* of the above-named sources. The Old French *Theodolet* is required to account for the first six letters, viz. *Theod-*, as well as for the coalescence of the definite article *the* with *alidade*. But the other source is equally necessary, not only for explaining the exact sense of the word (which is obviously of prime importance), but also for accounting for the suffix *-ite*. This *-ite* I take to be due to the form *the athelide*, frequently employed as early as 1578. This suffix *-ide* would easily become *-its* under the influence of words ending in *-ite* in such old words as *anchorite*, *chrysolite*, *hypocrite*, etc., in which *-ite* was of Greek origin; in order to be congruous with the Greek origin of Theodulus. The use of *t* would also be suggested by the final letter of *Theodolet*. The sense, in fact, was entirely due to

one of the sources, and the form, mainly, to the other; just as our verb *bid*, to command, owes its sense to the A.S. *bēodan*, but all its forms to the A.S. *biddan*. What we really require, in order to trace the word's evolution, are simply more examples of an early date; and it is not improbable that Dr. Murray may be able to supply them.

I wish to append a note on the definition of *Cross-staff* in the N.E.D. The second sense is given as 'an instrument formerly used for taking the altitude of the sun or a star'. But that was not the only use of it. If the *alidade* was made to revolve in a plane perpendicular to the earth's surface, you could then take the altitude of a star as you would with a sextant. But it could with equal ease, or in fact with greater ease, be made to revolve in a horizontal plane, and you could then measure the angle subtended by the line joining two visible objects situate on the earth. De Morgan notes that Digges, Bourne, and Hopton used a semicircle, which they made horizontal or vertical at pleasure; and Phillips' Dict., ed. 1706, not only says that a cross-staff was used for taking altitudes, but adds—'also sometimes in surveying to take angles.' I also note that, as said above, there were several spellings of *theodolite* in use formerly. The reason why this particular form prevailed is simply because it is the spelling given in Blount's *Glossographia*, and so became what we may fairly call the 'Dictionary' spelling. All the other glossographers followed his lead, viz. Coles, Phillips, Kersey, Bailey, and Dr. Johnson. The other spellings never had a chance after the year 1674.

Tire, of a wheel. There can be no doubt that the *tire* of a wheel is simply short for *attire*; as has often been pointed out. The Mid. E. for *attire* was *atir*, *atyr* (with one *t*), and the prefixed *a-* was no doubt often confused with the indef. article, as it is often shortened to *tir* or *tyr*; I have already given examples. What I wish to note here is that we have some references in the E.D.D. that are decidedly helpful. In Atkinson's Dict. of the Cleveland Dialect we find: '*Tire*' (1) tinsel edging or other decorative work employed by the cabinet-maker, etc.; (2) the metal edging or ornament of coffins, as in *coffin-tire*. In Robinson's Dialect of Whitby we find: '*Tire*, the metallic embellishments of cabinet-work.' Here the connexion with *attire* is obvious. Again, the E.D.D. gives an excellent example of the verb *to tire* in the sense of to attire or decorate. A Somersetshire phrase is thus quoted, with reference to the decoration of a church at Christmas-time:

'I suppose you was all day yesterday *tiring* the church.' We continually see advertisements of 'Dunlop's tyres', where *tyre* is spelt with a *y*; this seems to be intended to show some acquaintance with Greek, and suggests a comic derivation from *τύπος*, a cheese! In the first scene of the old play entitled *Eastward Ho*, we find: 'Lord, sister! . . . do you put off your city *tire*?'

Wase, a wisp, a twist, a small bundle, especially of hay or straw, a torch. The various senses are thus given in E.D.D.: 1. A wisp, a small bundle of hay or straw. 2. A bundle of sticks, etc. 3. A pad of straw, cloth, etc., worn on the head to relieve the pressure of a burden carried on it. 4. A hoop of straw on which to rest a dirty or hot pan. 5. A straw collar for oxen. 6. Ludicrously, a bulky neck-tie. 7. A washer or packing-ring for making pipe-joints water-tight. It should particularly be noted that it always refers to something twisted up or bundled together; and never means loose straw or stubble, as is unwarrantably assumed by those who seek to connect it with *wayzgoose* (discussed below). The sense of torch occurs in Middle English. In Lydgate's *Siege of Troy*, bk. iv, c. 34, fol. y vi, back, col. 1, I find:—

'For they fayrē as a wispe of fyre
When it brenneth brightest in his blase;
Sodaynly it wasteth as a wase.'

In St. Brandan, ed. T. Wright, we have: 'The lie of the fur stod an hegh as hit a *was* were,' i.e. the flame of the fire stood on high as if it were a torch. And in the Tale of Beryn, l. 2351, the phrase 'a brenning *wase*' means a burning wisp of straw. And lastly, in Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülker, p. 627, *wase* means a wisp for stopping up a hole.

It does not occur in A.S., but it may have been English; Hexham has the Middle Du. *wase*, a torch; and Lübben has the Low G. *wase*, a bundle of faggots. The Bremen Wörterbuch has *wase*, a bundle of faggots, etc. Or it may have been Norse; cf. Swed. *vase*, a sheaf; Dan. *vase*, a mop, a swab, a tangled mass; Norw. *vase*, a causeway of fascines (Larsen); Swed. dial. *vase*, a bundle of faggots, a sheaf fastened together; *vasa*, to lay together; Norw. *vase*, a mass of thread or hair, a heap of small sticks; *vasa*, to mix up, entangle, complicate. It should be noted how the sense goes back to a root *was*, with the sense of to bind or fasten together; and how entirely this is opposed to anything that lies loosely about, as stubble is wont to do. It is chiefly for this reason

that we must dissociate *wase* from *wayzgoose*. We do not feed geese upon pads of straw, or bundles of sticks, or masses of thread or hair.

Wayzgoose. This word, so well known among printers, has often been discussed. The following account of it occurs in the Century Dictionary :—

‘*Wayzgoose*, an erroneous spelling of **wase-goose*, from *wase* and *goose*, a stubble-goose; hence, a fat goose, that is, one ready to kill in harvest time. Also an entertainment given by an apprentice to his fellow-workmen, of which the goose was the crowning dish; hence, in recent times, a printers’ annual dinner, the funds for which are collected by stewards regularly appointed by “the chapel.”’

We also find—‘*Waygoose*, a corruption of *wase-goose*.’

But when we come to investigate the matter at all carefully, we find that there is no justification whatever for the insidious inference that *wase* means ‘stubble’, or could ever have had such a sense. I have shown above that *wase* meant a twist, a wisp, a pad of straw, a torch, and is a well-known Middle English, Middle Dutch, and Middle Low German word. The original sense was simply ‘twist’, and the material used was generally straw, though this was really accidental. My belief is that the sense of ‘stubble’ cannot anywhere be found, that geese were never fed upon twisted wisps or torches, and that *wayzgoose* has no connexion whatever with the old word *wase*. Surely it is significant that it is always spelt with *ayz*, and never with *ase*. Our ancestors were clearly guiltless of confusion between the forms.

Neither is it at all certain that *waygoose* is a corruption; it may quite well have been the original term. There is no reason why *wayz* may not have been a truly phonetic spelling of the plural of *way*.

For the form *waygoose* there is respectable evidence. The compilers of the Cheshire and West-Somerset glossaries give this form, independently of each other, as being quite legitimate. And *way* appears in several compounds. The Century Dictionary has way-baggage, way-barley, way-beaten, way-bennet, way-bit, way-board, way-bread, way-door, way-farer, way-faring, way-gate, way-grass, way-lay, way-maker, way-mark, way-passenger, way-post, way-shaft, way-side, way-station, way-thorn, way-warden, way-wise, way-wiser, way-worn, way-wort. Some of these deserve particular attention.

Way-bennet and Way-barley are names for mouse-barley, *Hordeum murinum*. It is called way-barley (say Britten and Holland) from its frequency by the roadside. Way-grass is knot-grass, obviously so named for a similar reason. So also we have way-thistle, wayfaring-tree, way-thorn, way-wort. The most important of the set is way-bread, 'a plantain,' because it appears in A.S. The A.S. name was *weg-bræde* or *weg-bræde*, lit. 'way-broad'. It has of course nothing to do with *bread*; but was named (as explained by Weigand when discussing the German form *Wegebreit*) from the remarkably broad and flat leaves of the common plantain (*Plantago major*), and not from its 'spreading along roads', as said in the Century Dictionary. The right sense is 'the flat plant by the roadside', and it was also called *wayside-bread*, as in Wilts. We thus see that way-barley, way-bennet, way-bread, way-grass, way-thistle, way-faring tree, way-wort, all refer to the way-side, and not to the road itself. There is therefore a strong presumption that *way-goose* simply meant 'wayside-goose', with reference to the broad strips of grass that frequently accompany country roads. Within two miles of Cambridge, in the direction of Fulbourn, I have frequently seen what we might fairly call way-turkeys, i.e. a flock of turkeys kept upon the grass by the way-side under the superintendence of a small boy whose sole business was to watch them and keep them from straying far; and the said turkeys were of course being fed up for consumption at Christmas, just as geese were for consumption at Michaelmas. If we can once admit that way-goose may have been compounded of *way* and *goose*, we can account at once for *wayz-goose* as being a compound of *ways* and *goose*. There is no great difficulty as to the use of the plural in such a case; there must needs be four ways wherever two roads cross. Philips' Dictionary explains 'to way a horse' by 'to teach him to travel in the ways'. And here the story ends. I will only add that Bosworth & Toller's Dictionary gives a dozen compound words beginning with *weg*, a way; whilst Flügel's German Dictionary actually has some forty compounds beginning with *wege*, of which *wegeblatt*, *wegebreit*, *wegedistel*, *wegedorn*, *wegegrass*, *wegekümmel*, *wegelauf*, *wegeschlinge*, *wegesenf*, *wegetrirt*, *wegewarte*, and *wegeweis* (12 in number) are all names of wayside plants.

If this is right, the usual spelling *wayzgoose* is thoroughly justified. The final *s* has been sounded as *z* for five centuries at least.

I add a further note that the compound *wei-lete*, meaning 'a meeting of roads', occurs twice in Birch's Cart. Saxon. ii, 205. This reference is not given in the A.S. Dictionary.

Withershins, Widdersinnis, in a direction contrary to the course of the sun. There is an interesting use of this word in ch. xxiv of Waverley. We there read: 'moving from east to west, according to the course of the sun. This . . . was called making the *deasil*.' Macbain's Gael. Dict. has: '*deiseil*, southward, sunward, early Irish *dessel*; from *deas*, right hand, south, and *seal*, a while, a space, from the root *svel*, to turn.' And *deas* is allied to the Lat. *dexter*. Sir W. Scott appends a footnote to this effect: 'Old Highlanders will still make the *deasil* around those they wish well to. To go round a person in the opposite direction, or *withershins* (German *wider-shîns*) is unlucky, and a sort of incantation.'

Of course, this 'German *wider-shîns*' is a purely imaginary word, coined at a time when English was supposed to be derived from modern German; and it is curious to observe Sir Walter's use of *sh* where a German would have written *sch*, and of *î* [*sic*] where a German would have written *ei*. This proves at once that this 'German' form was not derived from any book. The G. *wiederschein* means 'reflexion of light'.

Of course, the suffix *sinnis* or *shins* has nothing to do with either *sun* or with *shine*, as Jamieson correctly notes. All the same, the word was once written with the suffix *-sones* (presumably with reference to the M.E. *sonne*, 'sun'); but this was in quite modern times, viz. in 1897 (see E.D.D.), by some-one with a turn for etymology. The E.D.D. duly records the singular explanation '*withershins*, that is, as the weather shines'; from which we learn that weather is in the habit of shining, and that it shines in a particular direction! This was perpetrated in 1837. But the same authority gives us also another derivation, showing that a similar form occurs in Old English. It first quotes from Gawain Douglas, who spelt it *widdersinnis*, and employed it in the sense of 'backwards'. And next it refers us to the Blickling Homilies, ed. Morris, p. 93; a passage duly quoted also by Toller in the A.S. Dictionary. In this remarkable homily we read of the terrible wonders that will be visible at Doomsday; when, amongst other prodigies, '*steorran yrnath withersynes ealne thone dæg*,' the stars shall run in a contrary course all the day long.

There is no doubt as to the derivation of this A.S. word. The

suffix *-es* is merely adverbial; the prefix *withēr* means 'against' or 'contrary to'; and *sȳn* is a well-known sb. of very common occurrence. This *sȳn*, also spelt *sēon*, *sīen*, means 'sight, vision, appearance'; so that the original sense of the adverb was 'in a direction contrary to what we usually see'.

But it is much to be feared that the form *wiðersynes*, occurring nowhere else, was made up for the occasion. The sense does not seem quite satisfactory, and we should expect the word to be of Norse origin, as it is best known in Scotland. We do not find the exact form in Norse, but we find the suffix *-sinnis* in such words as *opt-sinnis* (for *oft-sinnis*), oftentimes; and, as the original sense of the O.N. *sinni* was 'journey' or 'path' (the sense 'time' being secondary), the form **wiðr-sinnis* would mean 'in a contrary direction'. And this, I suppose, is rather to be taken as the true origin. The corresponding A.S. form would be *wiðer-sīðes*, as the orig. sb. is the Gothic *sinth*, O.N. *sinni*, A.S. *sīð*, whence the E. *sithence* and *since*.

It is remarkable that M.H.G. has a similar form; but the resemblance appears to be accidental, though the ultimate root is the same. The M.H.G. *widersinnes* means 'perversely', lit. 'contrary to intention'; from the G. *Sinn*, 'intention' or 'mind'. And it is this M.H.G. word, and not our *widdersinnis*, which best answers to the M.Du. *wedersins*, explained by Hexham as meaning 'otherwise, or in another manner'.

Yorker. The name of a difficult ball to play; a cricketing term. We read in accounts of a cricket match, 'he was bowled with a *yorker*.' This is simply the prov. E. *yarker*, lit. 'a jerker'; see N.E.D. No doubt the pronunciation has been affected by confusion with *York*. To *yark* is 'to throw with a jerk'; also to kick; cf. *yerk* in Shakespeare. Anglo-French turned *yerk* into *jerk*.