VIII.—ANGLO-ROMANCE ETYMOLOGIES. By
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Anlace.—The N.E.D. offers no conjecture for this word, “not known in any continental language,” older forms *a(u)nlaz*, *anelas*. Two fairly plausible etymologies are noted by Du Cange: (1) “ab *annulo* sed *anello*, quo ea sica vel ejusdem capulus insertus gestabatur”; (2) “telum adlaterale, because, Germanis *laz* olim *latus* significabat.” The first is supported by no evidence. The word *laz*, in the second, is Provençal, and could hardly have been current English as early as Matthew Paris, though the following lines from the “Passion du Christ” (tenth century) make the etymology rather tempting:—

“Sanct pedre sols veniir lo uol
estrais lo fer que *allaz* og.”

(Förster and Koschwitz, p. 65.)

Professor Skeat (C.T. Prol., l. 357) offers as a guess *an*, *on*, and *las*, *lace*, and compares l. 392, “a daggere hanging *on a laas* hadde he.” But here *on a laas* is, I think, suggested by the noun *anlas*, by the same instinct of folk-etymology which produced the form *anlace*. O.F. *laz* is used, in matters of armoury, only of the helmet laces (Rol., 3334 and elsewhere). The earliest recorded occurrence of *anlace* is in Matthew Paris (five times), “genus cultelli quod vulgariter *anelacius* dicitur.” This *anelacius* is, I suggest, a metathetic form of *alenacius* (cf. It. *alenare*, Prov. *alenar*, F. *haleiner* from **alenare* for *anhelare*, Körting, 431). Du Cange, s.v. *cultellus*, has “*cultellus allenalis*, pugiunculus, Gall. *stilet*. V.s. *allenalis*. *Allenalis*, cultellus allenalis, pugiunculus, sica ad instar subulæ, nostris olim *alenas*. V.s. *alenacia*. Statut. arm. 1351, ex Tabul. Massil. . . . nullus . . . portet in dicta civitate . . . cultellos *allenales*, subpœna . . . *Alenacia*, gallice *alennes*, subula, nostris *alene* olim *alennier*, pro theca subulæ” (1407); . . . un *alennier* à mettre le *alenne*. *Alenas*, pugiunculus, gall. Petit poignard, poinçon, apud Guill. Guyart (1305). Et sacha par grant ataigne un *alenas* d’une gayne;

and (1308) un *alenas* en sa main Cherche des armeures l'estre, Pour lui ocire et afiner," evidently a *miséricorde* or dagger of mercy. Du Cange also refers to Raynouard, s.v. *alena*, who gives examples and mentions Sp. *alesna*. Godefroy gives "*alenaz, alesnaz, aleinas*, petit poignard, poinçon," with examples from Partonope de Blois (twelfth century?), Guiart (thirteenth century), and "*alenacia, aleinas*" (Gloss. rom.-lat. du 15^e siècle). *Alenas* is formed from *alène*, awl (v. Godef. Comp., s.v. *alesne*), as *coutelas* from O.F. *coutel*. For the double use of the word (weapon and tool), cf. E. *awl* (v. examples in N.E.D., 1297, 1387), *bodkin*, F. *poinçon* (v. Godef. Comp.), O.F. *stilet*. For the anterior history of *alène* and its Romance cognates, v. Körting (*alesna*), Kluge (*Ahle*), N.E.D. (*awl*). *Alesna* is itself a metathetic form (O.H.G. *alansa*), and, by another curious metathesis, has given It. *lesina*, whence F. *lésine* (Diez, p. 192). The E. *anelas* for *alenas* may perhaps be due to some fancied connection with O.F. *anel*, ring.

Bawd.—The N.E.D. considers it possible that this is short for *bawdstrot*, which occurs occasionally in M.E., and is a variant for *bawde* in one passage in Piers Plowman. This would represent O.F. **baldestrot*, only found as *baudetrot*, pronuba (Godefroy), occurring only once, in a glossary. *Bawdstrot* is explained, correctly I believe, as an E. compound by the editor of the Cath. Angl.; *bawd's trot* means an old woman acting as messenger. Minsheu, in my opinion rightly, regards *bawd* as an aphetic form of *ribaud*,¹ also *rebaud* in M.E., which is equally common in M.E., and which, if not applied in the exact technical sense which *bawd* has acquired, is, in its masculine and feminine form, especially used for *adulter*, *mæchus*, etc., both in O.F. and M.E. Holyoak even gives "*ribaud*, leno" (no other gloss); so also Gouldman. See also N.E.D. s.v. *ribald*, 1b. The aphæresis of the first syllable is fairly common in French loan-words in M.E., e.g. *cover* for *recover*, *creaunt* for *recreeant*, and, later, *cital* for *recital* (Shak.). This derivation would also explain *bawdy* (*ribaudie*), *bawdry* (*ribaudrie*), which, in the sense of obscene behaviour or conversation, cannot very well be accounted for by *bawd*, but are obviously equivalent to "*ribauldry*, lascivia, obscœnitas, impudicitia, Venus" (Gouldman). For a converse transition of meaning cf. E. *ruffian* from It. *ruffiano*, a bawd.

Bawker.—The only quotation in the N.E.D. is from Greene's

¹ Skinner derives *ribaud* from *baud*, "a *re* intensivo et Gal, *baud*, audax, q. d. valde audax (i. e.) impudens."

"Cony-Catching" (1592): "The *bawkers*, for so the common hanterers of the alley are tearmed, come to bowle, as though rather they did it for sport than gaines." Greene uses the word several times in speaking of the sharpers who frequented bowling alleys and worked with confederates to induce greenhorns to bet on the game. I suggest that it is an aphetic form of F. *embaucheur*, an enticer, recruiter, crimp. Godefroy gives the Picard form *embaquiquer* (*embaucher*). Cf. *vie* from *envie*, *gin* from *engin*, *cumber* from *encumber*, etc.

Blotch.—It is curious that *blotch*, generally felt as more or less equivalent to *blot*, is apparently a more recent word by about two centuries, its earliest record in the N.E.D. being 1604. The N.E.D. suggests that it may be a variant of *blot* influenced by *botch* (F. *bosse*), 'swelling or tumour.' Its oldest meaning is 'pustule, swelling, tumour,' while its later uses point to association with *blot*. The date of its appearance is rather against its being an English formation, and makes it possible that it is a loan-word. I suggest that it may possibly be the F. *beloce*, 'sloe, bullace,' of which Littré says: "Ce mot, confiné aujourd'hui dans la Normandie, était autrefois du langage commun." Roquefort has "*bloce, bloche*, prunes qui ne se mangent que lorsqu'elles sont très molles." Duméril gives the form *bloche* as Norman. Moisy, s.v. *beloce*, says: "On prononce *bloche*." There is no doubt that O.F. *beloce* was used metaphorically in at least three senses—(1) object of no value (cf. *alise*), (2) blow, and also swelling resulting from it, (3) eye.

(1) "Pour l'amour sa feme ne donne une *beloce*" (Jean de Meung). Here *beloce* is used like *alise* in O.F.

(2) "Tien, vilain, tien ceste *beloce*" (Mart. de S. Estienne, 15th century). Here it rhimes with *bosse*.

"*Blosse*, tumeur qui se forme sur le front lorsqu'on le heurte" (Roquefort).

(3) "*Blosses*, yeux" (Orne). Duméril suggests Germ. *blicken*, but it is obviously the word *beloce* used like its synonym *prunelle*; cf. use of *sloe* and *bullace* in English.

As *blotch* appears to have originally meant a black pustule, it is possible that it may be taken from the name of a fruit the colour and shape of which it suggested. For somewhat similar processes cf. *carbuncle* and *strawberry-mark*.

Bludgeon.—The N.E.D. does not propose a definite etymology for this word—"a short stout stick or club, with one end loaded or thicker and heavier than the other, used as a weapon." A word

blogon is quoted by Dr. Whitley Stokes from the Cornish drama "Origo Mundi" (fourteenth century), but its relation to the English word is uncertain. The possibility of its being a 'cant' word derived from *blood* is mentioned. The late occurrence (Bailey, 1730) and form of the word both suggest a foreign origin. The essential meaning being that of 'knob-stick,' I propose to derive it from O.F. *bouge*, *boujon*, going back to *boule* < *bŭlla* (cf. *boulon*). Roquefort gives the forms *bougeon*, *bougon*, *boujon*, *bouyon*, *bouzon*, all meaning, along with other significations, a cross-bow bolt with a large head. Diez (s.v. *bolzone*) considers derivation of It. *bolzone*, O.F. *bouzon*, Pr. *bosso* from *bŭlla* possible without invoking Germ. *Bolzen*, the forms *bulcio*, *bultio* occurring in O.G. glossaries. Kluge (s.v. *Bolzen*) regards M.L. *bultionem* as of Germanic origin. O.F. *boujon* and its very numerous variants probably belong to *bŭlla*, since O.F. *boujon* is used technically in connection with the cloth trade ("espèce d'aune de fer servant à mesurer les laines" (Godefroy), "statut de draperie" (Roquefort), "*boujonneur*, maitre, garde ou juré de la draperie" (Roquefort)), while modern F. has *bouille* < Sp. *bolla* < *bulla* in a similar connection: "Petit sceau de plomb que mettaient aux pièces d'étoffe, de drap les jurés du métier, pour en certifier la qualité, l'aunage, etc., ou les commis des bureaux des fermes, pour marquer qu'elles avaient été déclarées" (D.G.). A number of examples for *boujon* used as a standard in the cloth trade are given by Godefroy. Apart from this technical meaning the uses of *boujon* fall into two groups: (1) cross-bow bolt with a large blunt head, (2) bolt or rung furnished with a head (cf. modern *boulon*). Cotgrave has "*bougeon*, a bolt or arrow with a great head." Borel says "*bougeon*, sagette qui a une teste. D'autres l'appellent un *materas*." It is also in Corneille (ed. 1731) "*bougeon*, vieux mot, flèche qui a une tête." Both *bouge* and *boujon* (cf. *bât*, *bâton*, *bourde*, *bourdon*) appear to have meant a club in O.F.: "Et lors le dit Maingret, qui tenoit un *bouge*, s'efforça d'en frapper le dit suppliant" (Godefroy gives as meaning *hache d'armes* or *grande serpe*, but it may equally well mean *club*), "Glavyes, *beghons*, *maches*" (Godefroy, 1394). According to Godefroy it also occurs in the N.E. dialects in various technical senses, including *traverse de chaise*, *d'échelle*. Sigart gives the same meanings—*traverse ronde de chaise*, *de ridelle*, *boujon d'esquie*, *échelon*. I suggest that *bludgeon* is this word (altered under the influence of *blood* or *blow*?). That such an intrusion of *l* is possible is shown by the M.E. *blōding* (S. & B.), seventeenth century *blouding* from F. *boudin* (Holyoak, Gouldman), *blouding*,

boudin (Sherwood), *blouding* or *bloud-pudding* (Littleton). It may be noted that O.F. has three words for a heavy cross-bow bolt with a head intended for smashing rather than piercing, viz., *boujon*, *garrot*, *materas*, and that all three have also the sense of *cudgel*. The D.G. quotes *cent coups de garrot* from Furetière, and Duméril has “*matrasser*, assommer, rouer de coups. Il vient sans doute du vieux français *matras*, sorte de dard à grosse tête qui ne perçait pas.” The M.E. *bougouns*, only recorded once (Stratmann & Bradley), may quite well be a beating instrument.

Brack.—The N.E.D. gives only one reference for the use of *brack* in Elizabethan nautical language, and suggests for meaning and derivation only a possible connection with O.F. *braque*, *braque*, breaching of a gun, or with E. *bracket*, cheeks of a gun carriage. The passage occurs on p. 305 of the “Hawkins Voyages” (Hakluyt, 1878 edition), in connection with hand-to-hand fighting at sea and the successive means of defence of a ship which has been boarded by the enemy. “For if our enemy had come to bourd with us, our close fights were such, as we were secure, and they open unto us. And what with our cubridge¹ heads, one answering the other, our hatches upon bolts, our *brackes* in our deckes and gunner room, it was impossible to take us as long as any competent number of men had remained.” I suggest that a *brack* was a light piece of artillery placed between decks for use in the last struggle when the defenders were driven below. This is no doubt Sp. *barraco*, “une sorte d’artillerie dont l’on use à la guerre” (Oudin), “a tame boar, also a small kind of canon” (Stevens). For the contraction cf. the common form *crack* for *carrack* (Sp. *carraca*, F. *carraque*, etc.). The Sp. word may be related to *barraca*, “logette ou cahnette de soldats, cabane, etc.” (Oudin), if the *barraco* was essentially a gun for indoor defence. It seems possible that E. *brack* may have given F. *braquer*, to aim a gun (first recorded for 1564 in D.G.), for which Diez (p. 532) suggested O.N. *brāka*, to break, an etymology rejected by the D.G., while Körting puts it under Germ. *brakko*, a hunting dog.

Branks.—This word, almost invariably used in the plural, was applied to an instrument used in Scotland and the North of England for punishing scolding women and, occasionally, other culprits. It was also used for a bridle. This second sense is no doubt the older. Jamieson says, “Instead of leather, it has on each side a *piece of wood* joined to a halter, to which a bit is sometimes

¹ See **Cobridge-head**.

added." He quotes from Colvil's Mock Poem (1681), "Why sodds for saddle and *branks* for bridle?" His description of the *branks* used as an instrument of punishment shows that it was an iron bit which acted as a painful gag. The *branks* are mentioned in Brand's "Popular Antiquities" (ed. Ellis, Lond., 1813), vol. ii, p. 445, with a quotation from Plott's "History of Staffordshire" with reference to their use at Newcastle-under-Lyme and Walsall—"such a Bridle for the Tongue as not only quite deprives them of speech . . . fastened with a padlock behind." In Andrews' "Old Time Punishments" (Hull, 1890) there are seventeen illustrations of the *branks*, many of which are somewhat elaborate, but the quoted description of an eye-witness of a late use of the instrument shows that the essential part was the *bit*—"The bridle was fixed in their mouths and tied at the back of their heads with gay ribbons." Jamieson suggests as etymologies Gael. *brancas*, halter, and Du. *pranghe*, *muyl-pranghe*, confibula, etc. (Kilian).

The N.E.D. agrees with Jamieson in taking 'bridle' as the older meaning and assigns the word to Scotland (sixteenth century). It regards the singular *brank* as exceptional and notices the use of a *branks* (cf. a bellows). No settled etymology is given, but the following conjectures are noted:—M.E. *bernak*, brake; Germ. *Pranger*; Du. *prang*, fetter.

Wright localizes the word (obs.) in Scotland, Ireland, and the northern counties of England with both meanings, giving as etymology Du. *prange*, M.L.G. *prange*. According to Macbain, quoted in Wright, the Gael. *brang*, halter, is a loan-word from Eng.

There is also a verb *to brank*, both transitive and intransitive. Jamieson gives four meanings: (1) to bridle, to restrain; (2) to raise and toss the head, as spurning the bridle (applied to horses); (3) to bridle up oneself (of women); (4) to prance, to caper. The N.E.D. gives an example for meaning (1) from 1574, and for (2-4), which are practically identical, from c. 1400 (Morte Arthur) and 1513 (Douglas). Wright derives the latter meaning from M.H.G. *brangen* (*prangen*).

It is quite obvious, from a comparison with *bridle*, that we have to do with one word throughout—

- (a) *branks*, piece of harness; *bridle*, piece of harness;
- (b) *branks*, gag; *bridle*¹ = branks (N.E.D.);
- (c) *brank*, to restrain; *bridle*, to restrain;
- (d) *brank*, to toss the head; *bridle*, to toss the head;

¹ "A Brydle for a curste queane" (1623).

and that the initial meaning is connected with a horse's bit, the *branks* being originally the two pieces of wood by means of which a rough bridle was improvised. This excludes both *Pranger* and *prangen*.

I believe that *branks* is the same word as *branch*, a word used in a great number of expressions, usually of French origin (N.E.D., s.v. *branch*, iv, 11), to indicate objects arranged in pairs, and derived from L. *branca*, which Diez regards, owing to its presence in all the Romance languages, including Roumanian, as belonging to the Roman popular language—"Zusammenhang desselben mit dem altgael. *brac*, corn. *brech* (*e* aus *a*), kymr. *breich* mit ausgefallenem *n* muss man anerkennen und vielleicht vergegenwärtigt das bret. *brank* noch die reinere form" (p. 63). The form *brangu* is normal in Normandy (Moisy) and in Wallon (Sigart).

The almost invariably plural form *branks* suggests a plural as origin. In Italian and French such a use of *branca* and *branche* is very common, e.g., "*branca*, Quelle parti degli strumenti da presa, che servono a stringere, et afferrare" (Costa & Cardinali, "Dizionario della lingua Italiana," Bologna, 1819); and, in French, "les *branches* d'un compas, d'une lunette, d'une épée, etc." The origin of *branks* appears in "Les *branches* de la bride, les deux pièces de fer, d'acier que relie le mors" (D.G.).

Corneille has the following definition: "On appelle en terme de Manège *Branches* de la bride, deux pièces de fer courbées, qui dans l'intervalle de l'une à l'autre, portent l'embouchure, les chainetes et la gourmette. Ces pièces de fer répondent d'un côté à la tête, et de l'autre aux rênes, et servent à tenir la tête du cheval sujette. On dit *Branche* hardie, en parlant de celle qui ramène. On forgeoit autrefois une *branche* pour relever, qu'on appellait *Branche* flaque. Elle n'est plus en usage." Richelet has a shorter definition to the same effect. Cramer has "*branches* de bride, de mords, d'embouchûre, Die Stangen an einem Gebiss, oder Mundstück." Oudin has "*Branche* de bride, Cama de freno." Cotgrave gives, as one of the meanings of *branche*, "the cheek of a bit." The O.F. dictionaries do not record it, as neither form nor meaning is obsolete.

It is clear that the original meaning of *branks*, from which the other meanings are easily deduced by the parallel process in bridle, corresponds pretty closely with that of *branches* de bride. The *branches* are the outward and visible sign of the bit which

constrains or reduces to silence, and would naturally be shaken and made to jingle by the tossing of the head. This is confirmed by the fact that *E. branches* is used in the same technical sense. The N.E.D. (s.v. *branch*, iv, 11) has, "in Harness-making, a pair of parallel levers passing through the ends of a curb-bit, and provided with rings or loops for the curb-chain, etc.," Ex. (1884) "The *branches* should be long or short, as the rider wishes a *mild or a severe bit*" (the italics are mine). Cotgrave has "*gardes d'un canon, the branches of a canon-bit*" (see D.G. *canon du mors*). The description of *branks*, bridle, in Brockett's Glossary seems to indicate that the *branks* were the two pieces of wood which converted a rope into an extempore bridle.

Cobridge-head.—The N.E.D. says "understood to have been bulkheads across the fore and after parts of the ship." This is the editor's note in the "Hawkins Voyages" (Hakluyt, 1878). Hawkins also uses the form *cubridge*. The N.E.D. also quotes Kingsley ("Westward Ho!"), who took this and other words from the "Hawkins Voyages." The form *cobridge* occurs on p. 293, where Hawkins is discussing the use of artillery in defending a ship already boarded (v. *brack*): "Againe, all that which hath beene spoken of the danger of the artillery in bourding, it is not to be wrested nor interpreted, to cut off utterly the use of all artillery after bourding, but rather I hold nothing more convenient in shippes of warre, than fowlers and great bases in the cage workes, and murderers in the *cobridge heads*." The double form *cobridge*, *cubridge* shows clearly that the word is a derivative of Sp. *cobrir*, *cubrir*, to cover, protect. It is possibly "*cobija*, une petite mante, ou couverture courte, que portent les servantes et villageoises" (Oudin); cf. military use of F. *mantelet*.¹ Diez (p. 441) derives *cobija* from *cooperculum* (It. *coperchio*) with euphonic loss of *r*. Thus it would represent an older **cobrija*. It is not impossible that *cobridge-head* is simply nautical etymology for the past participle *cob(r)ijado* (due to *bulk-head*), for the Elizabethan seamen distorted foreign words in a curious way. Even the pedantic Sir Richard Hawkins calls the Patagonians the Pentagones (p. 188). Or *cobridge* may be, by metathesis of *r*, from "*cobertija*,² un couvert, une loge, ou logette, une galerie, l'avance et saillie d'un toict"

¹ *Mantell* was used in a somewhat similar sense in the fifteenth century; see "Accounts and Inventories of Henry VII," ed. Oppenheim, p. 91 (Navy Records Society, 1896).

² Stevens gives "*cobertizo*, a 'pentice; sometimes taken for a cover'd passage or gallery.'"

(Oudin). For a similar corruption cf. *cartridge* from *cartouche*. In any case its connection with *cobrir* is evident. "*Cubbridge-head*; is the same as a bulk-head; only that this word is us'd of the bulk-head of the fore-castle and the half-deck" (Sea Dictionary, 1708).

Cockney.—The N.E.D. adopts as the origin of this much discussed word the compound *coken-ey*, 'cock's egg,' meaning first of all a delicacy, such as an egg of unusual form, etc., and then a mother's darling, spoiled child, effeminate person, etc. The modern developments of the meaning can be neglected so far as the etymology of the word is concerned. This derivation (see N.E.D. for parallels) seems to satisfy the use of the word in the well-known and difficult passage in "*Piers Plowman*" (vi, 287), which is its earliest recorded occurrence. It is discussed at length (*Academy*, May 10, 1890) by the editor of the N.E.D. I am inclined to regard *cokeney*, applied to a person, as a separate word, and I suggest that it is the F. *acoquiné*,¹ the oldest meaning of which is roughly 'spoiled,' 'self-indulgent.'

The N.E.D. treats *cockney* under the following heads: (1) 'cock's egg,' with four quotations, including the passage from "*Piers Plowman*"; (2) 'a child that sucketh long,' 'a nestle-cock,' 'a mother's darling,' 'a cockered child, pet, minion,' 'a child tenderly brought up,' hence 'a squeamish or effeminate fellow,' 'a milksop'; (3) 'a townsman'; (4) 'a Londoner.'

It is the group of meanings under (2) which I propose to connect with O.F. *acoquiné*. The examples given under this head in the N.E.D. are numerous from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and show that *cockney* was in common use from c. 1350 to c. 1650, if not later, in the sense of 'milksop.' If the derivation I suggest is correct, the first meaning would have been 'a self-indulgent frequenter of the kitchen, unfit for manly doings,' and the word would have been later applied, half endearingly, to éxigent sucklings. Thus the semantic development would be the converse of that of 'milksop.'

The F. *acoquiné* is used colloquially, especially in the east of France, and generally in the expression "*acoquiné au coin du feu*" in the sense of 'self-indulgent.' The following are some of the definitions which I have collected:—

Nineteenth Century.

D.G. *acoquiner*. Famil. et généralt. en mauvaise part. Attacher par l'habitude. "S'acoquiner au coin du feu."

¹ This was suggested by Henshaw; v. Skinner.

Eighteenth Century.

Furetière (1727). *Accoquiner* ou *acoquiner*, se plaire, s'attacher à une vie coquine, faineante et libertine ; s'amuser, s'accoutumer à quelque chose d'indigne. "Ce mot vient de *coquus*, parceque les faineans se plaisent fort à la cuisine."

Seventeenth Century.

Oudin (1660). *Accoquiner*, amansar, domar. *S'accoquiner*, ser holgaçan, picarear.

Cotgrave (1611). *Accoquiné*, made tame, inward, familiar ; also growne as lazie, sloathful, idle, as a begger.

Nicot (1606). "*Accoquiner* est rendre quelqu'un ou quelque beste si privée en sa hantise, qu'elle ne veuille estre nulle part ailleurs."

The following literary examples occur:—

Sixteenth Century.

1. La Noue. "Ils se souillent en se pensant delecter, et, *s'accoquinans* aux escrits de mensonge, ils desdaignent ceuz où reluit la vérité."
2. Montaigne, ii, 37. "Tant les hommes sont *accoquinés* à leur estre misérable." iii, 13. "Six mois après, vous raurez si bien *accoquiné* votre estomach que . . ." These are translated by Florio : "So much are men *enured* in their miserable estate. Six months after you shall finde your stomache so *enured* unto it that . . ." Cotton (1685-6) has *enslaved* in the first case and *inured* in the second.

Seventeenth Century.

3. Malherbe. "Locataires *accoquinés* en une maison."
4. "Quand on s'est une fois *accoquiné* à faire des vers, l'on ne peut plus s'appliquer à autre chose" (? quoted by Furetière from Œuvres mêlées).
5. Molière. "Mon Dieu, qu'à tes appas je suis *accoquiné*" (Dép. Am., iv, 4). "Nous les verriens (les femmes) nous courir sans tous ces respects et ces soumissions où les hommes les *accoquinent*" (Princ. d'El., iii, 2).
6. Regnard. "On *s'accoquine* à servir ces gredins-là, je ne sais pourquoi" (Sérén. 9).

Eighteenth Century.

7. Mme. de Caylus. "Je ne sais ce que l'académie dira du mot *acoquinée*, mais j'en sens, moi, toute l'énergie avec vous" (Lett. 1714).

This last example is important as appearing to indicate that the word was a provincialism and unfamiliar to Parisian society. Of the other examples, three (4-6) are put into the mouths of comic valets, and the others are used by writers noted for their homely and vigorous style (La Noue, Montaigne, Malherbe). It is curious that the word does not seem to occur in Rabelais. The meaning of *acoquiner* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to be 'to spoil by indulgence, to humour, to cocker,' with something of the meaning both of *accagnarder* and *apprivoiser*,¹ while the reflexive form is used of acquiring self-indulgent habits and becoming slothful and exigent. Palsgrave has an example for each use. "I accustome one with wyldre condicions. *Je acoquaine*. I accustome him for the bent of my bowe. *Je l'acquoine à ma mode*" (p. 417). "I come to a mans place, onlooked for, onbydden, onwelcome, as a malapert felowe dothe. *J'accoquine*. If you use to come to mennes houses on this fashion unbydden, other men will call you a bolde begger, or a dysour. Si vous vous acoustumez dainsi *accocquiner*, les gens vous tiendront pour ung belistre deshonté, ou pour ung diseur" (p. 504). It is noteworthy that Palsgrave does not use the reflexive form and that he is apparently influenced by O.F. *coquiner*, to beg. Similarly, in later dictionaries compiled by foreigners, meanings are given which are obviously suggested by the later meaning of *coquin* (in the development from 'beggar' to 'rogue').

A comparison of the foregoing examples with the meaning which *cockney* had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to show that the equation *cockney* = *acoquiné* is plausible so far as sense is concerned. While the dictionaries always give the double meaning of 'spoilt baby' and 'self-indulgent loafer,' it is only the latter which is illustrated by the literary examples available. See N.E.D.

From the phonetic point of view there are two difficulties, viz. the loss of initial *a-* and the unusual development of O.F. *é-* > M.E. *-ay, -ey* (see *Academy*, May 10, 1890, for the latter). The loss of initial *a-* is of course normal in the case of M.E. loanwords from O.F., but the two forms generally continue to exist for some time, and the form with *a-* is sometimes the survivor, e.g., *apprentice, prentice; annoy, noy; avangard, vanguard*. But in many cases only

¹ Roquefort (s.v. *adomestiquer*) has "C'est ainsi que de *coquina*, on a fait *s'accoquiner*."

aphetic forms are recorded (Behrens,¹ p. 980). As the loss of *a-* is a colloquial feature, I suggest that in this case the aphetic form came into existence before the word was ever written.

I propose to explain the termination in this way. The dialects of the East regularly develop L. *-atum*, *-atem* (and, in general, free tonic *a*) into *-ei(t)* instead of the *é(t)* of the Ile-de-France. Brunot (i, 310-19) describes this as a regular feature of Wallon, Lorrain, Comtois, and Bourguignon, and as occurring also in Champenois. A page of an O.F. text from either of these regions will usually furnish a dozen examples of past participles in *-ei(t)* or of forms like *queil* for *quel*, *citei(t)* for *cité(t)*, etc. Littré remarks that even in modern F. the regular Burgundian pronunciation is *ecobquignai*. The theory which I put forward is that the special form of M.E. *cokeney* is due to the Burgundian pronunciation. There are several examples of M.E. *-eye*, *-ey* from the fem. *-ée*, e.g. *valley*, *contreie*, etc. (see Behrens, p. 969). I believe that it is a mere accident that only feminines are thus recorded, since the *-e* mute could hardly have influenced the development of the tonic vowel. The probable explanation is that Eastern forms in *-ei*, *-eie*, not felt as participles, survived, while those felt as participles were levelled to the ordinary Anglo-French form. A parallel to *cockney* is *attorney*, for which the regular *aturne* appears to be recorded once only (1303), while we have *attorney* (1347 and Lydgate), *atturneye* (Prompt. Parv.) representing, I believe, O.F. *atornei* (Godefroy, 1311, Roquefort). Behrens also gives *priveye*, which probably represents both m. and f. forms. See also Behrens (p. 962) on the probable independent development of such forms in E.

To cozen.—The N.E.D. is inclined to accept the derivation from F. *cousiner*, “to act as cousin or kinsman, to sponge upon, beguile.” This dates from Minsheu. The N.E.D. points out, however, that, in the early spelling, *-in* predominates in the sense of ‘kinsman,’ and *-en*, *-on* in *cozen*. The derivation from It. *cozzonare*, “to play the horse-breaker or courser . . . also to play the craftie knave, . . . ; *cozzone*, a horse-breaker, a horse-courser, also a craftie knave” (Florio), is regarded as unsupported by sufficient evidence (see also Torriano). I think, however, that the semantic arguments in favour of the It. origin are overwhelming.

The oldest meaning of *cozen* is not ‘to sponge like a needy kinsman,’ but simply ‘to cheat, swindle.’ The earliest record of

¹ In Kluge, “Geschichte der englischen Sprache.”

the word is in Awdeley (1561), where "*cousoners*¹ and shifters" is used to include "a curtesy man, a cheatour or fingerer, and a ring-faller," i.e. three recognized types of professional swindlers. In the "Grounde-worke of couny-catching" (1592) *coossen* occurs five times in a few pages: (1) "the horrible *coossenening* of all these loose varlots"; (2) "playing their *coosening*s in their kinde"; (3) "*coosening* devises and devilish deceites"; (4) "his *cosening* walks" (i.e. expeditions); (5) "seeing himself so *coosened*." Nashe (†1600) uses the word several times, e.g.: "all *coosonages*, all cunning drifts overgilded with outward holiness" ("Pierce Penilesse"); "thou common *coosener* of curteous readers" ("Foure Letters Confuted"); "a number of my creditors that I *coosned*" ("Unfortunate Traveller"); "*coosning* fantasies" ("Summers Last Will and Testament"); "such notorious *coosnage* and villany" ("Christs Teares over Jerusalem"); "under vilany I comprehend murder, treason, theft, *cousnage*, cut-throat covetise, and such like" ("Pierce Penilesse"); "the unskilfuller *cousning* kind of alchumists" ("Terrors of the Night"). These examples, which could be multiplied indefinitely from the Elizabethans (e.g., Greene, Gabriel Harvey, Dekker, etc.), show conclusively (a) that the 'needy kinsman' idea is altogether absent, (b) that *to cozen* is to swindle and deceive, (c) that the *-in* forms are practically absent in the earliest occurrences of the word.

Italy had, rightly or wrongly, in the sixteenth century, the reputation of being the nursery of rogues, and supplied a considerable number of unsavoury words to English, either directly (*bona-roba*, *bravo*, etc.) or through French (*assassin*, *courtezan*, *poltroon*, etc.). The words "Italian, Italionate, Italionism" are commonly expressive, in Nashe and his contemporaries, of cruelty or cunning. Italy was the happy hunting-ground of English rogues and adventurers. All men of birth and learning included Italy in the grand tour, and probably few escaped being swindled by an Italian *cozzone*.

That *cozen* and *cousin* were confused later is very probable, but this confusion does not appear to have penetrated into the earlier dictionaries. Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton, all give separate entries for *coosen*, to deceive, and *coosin*, a kinsman, and do not suggest any possible connection. Cooper does not appear to use the word at all (in 1575 it was quite a neologism), but gives

¹ As far as I can judge, the *-on* spelling predominates largely in the earliest instances of the word.

"deceiver, beguylor, cheat, etc.," for the Latin words which are glosses for *coosener* in Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton. Hexham gives *bedrieger* for *coosener*, *bedriegen* for *coosen*, and, for a *coosen*, refers to *kindred* (so also Holyoak).

Most convincing of all, Cotgrave does not use the word in defining *cousiner*, "to clayme kindred for advantage, or particular ends; as he who, to save charges in travelling, goes from house to house, as cousin to the owner of everie one"; while for *maquignon* (a horse-dealer) he gives "a huester, broker, horse-scourser, *cousening* marchant." From L. *mango* to American *horse-swapper*, the words used in most European languages for a 'horse-dealer' have the secondary sense of swindler or worse.¹ Veneroni (1714) has "*cozzone*, piqueur de chevaux, etc., *cozzone* de matrimonie, . . . courtier ou maquignon de chair humaine, . . . mango." Junius (1611) gives two entries for *mango*: (1) de artificibus non liberalibus; (2) de infamibus; (1) *mango equorum*, ein Rosstäuscher, een Rosstuysscher, maquignon, etc. Grimm gives a large number of examples for *Rosstäuscher* (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) almost invariably used with the second part identified with *täuschen*, to deceive, rather than *tauschen*, to exchange. Kilian gives "*peerdtuysscher*, *rostuysscher*, hippoplanus, hippocomus, curator equorum." The disparaging sense and subsidiary meanings of *maquignon* are well known. Oudin renders it by "corredor, ganadero, alcahuete." See also R. Estienne (1538) s.v. *mango*. Körting, following Diez, derives *cozzone* from *coctio* for *cocio*, 'a pedlar or huckster' (Gouldman), and gives the cognates Pr. *cussó-s*, O.F. *cosson*, Cat. *cussó*.

The verb *cousiner*, to sponge, is given by Littré, but no authority is quoted. Furetière has "*cousiner*, s'appeler cousin; aller visiter comme cousin, ou ami. Un tel *cousine* avec un tel. Cet hobereau ne vit que d'aller *cousiner* ça et là. Il n'y a guères que les provinciaux qui se *cousinent*. Ce terme de familiarité n'est point en usage à la cour." In the second example, the only one that suggests any connection with *cozen*, the verb is, as in Cotgrave, intransitive, while *cozen* is almost always transitive.

Dekker ("The Belman of London," 1608), who plagiarized

¹ "The bawds, pettie bawds, and panders are the horse-coursers that bring jades into the market; where they swear they are free from diseases, when they have more hāging on their bones than are in a French army; and that they are but coltes of halfe a years running, when they have scarce a sounde toothe in their heades" (Dekker, "The Dead Tearme," 1608).

largely from Harman, repeatedly uses *cozen* in the sense of the gull, or victim, and says that this is thieves' cant: "He that is drawn in to venture his money, is (amongst this cursed brotherhood of Cheators) termed a *Cozen*, and is handled so kindly, as if he were a *cozen* indeede." He plays more than once on the word: "Thus have I discovered a strange art, by which conyes are caught after a new maner of hunting, and *cozens* found out that were never of the kindred before." I imagine that this is an additional argument against the derivation *cousiner*, for even Dekker would hardly pun on one word instead of two. His use of *cozen* is either an error (see the earlier authority of Awdeley and Harman) or a later development. Except in this particular connection, he constantly uses *to cozen* for 'to cheat, swindle,' and especially when it is a question of disguising the real condition of goods, e.g. "So is a citizen, that *cozens* other men of their goods, and sels bad ware in a blind shop" ("The Catch-pols Masque"). In the following passage we get the three elements of *cozen*:—"So then, a horse-courser to the merchant is as the cheator to the faire gamester: he is indeed a meere jadish Nonpolitane,¹ and deals for none but tyred, tainted, dull, and diseased horses. By which meanes, if his picture bee drawne to the life, you shall finde every horse-courser for the most part to be in quality a *coozener*, by profession a knave, by his cunning a varlet, in fayres a hagling chapman, in the city a cogging dissembler, and in Smithfield a common forsworne villaine" ("Lanthorne and Candle-light": of Ginglers).

Crewel.—The N.E.D. suggests no etymology for this word, "thin worsted yarn of two threads" (Bailey). The earliest example is *crule* (1494). The form *crewle* appears almost simultaneously (1502). The forms *crue*, *crewe* also occur. The word seems to have become obsolete about 1800, and to have revived c. 1860, when crewel-work was fashionable (N.E.D.). The examples show that it was applied especially to coloured yarns. If the monosyllabic form *crule* is due to arbitrary spelling, which, as the early examples are from inventories, may very well be the case, it seems possible to connect the forms *crue*, *crewe* with F. *cru*, raw, and to regard *crewel* as a diminutive. Palsgrave gives "*crule* or caddas, sayette." The D.G. has "*cadis*, serge commune, droguet de laine fabriqué dans le midi de la France; *sayette* petite serge de soie ou de laine." The adj. *cru*, applied to yarns, means

A play on 'Neapolitan.'

simply 'unbleached.' The D.G. does not give an example for *cru*, but, under the compound *écru* (a common term in the Nottingham lace-trade), it has "*Soie écrue, fil écru, qui n'ont point été soumis à l'eau bouillante. Toile écrue, qui n'a pas été blanchie.*" Furetière, however, gives "*cru . . . qui n'a point passé par le feu, ou par un certain degré de chaleur nécessaire pour acquérir la dernière préparation requise, e.g. Les petits velours à un poil, crêpes et crêpons, se font de soie teinte sur le cru. Les satins, damas et Venitiennes ne doivent point être faits de soie teinte sur le cru. Toutes ces étoffes doivent être de soie cuite en chaîne, trame, poil, ou brouchée, ou toute de soie cruë, sans aucun mélange de cruë et de cuite.*" Thus *cru* or *écru* was applied to yarns which were dyed without previous bleaching, e.g.—

" Et qui voudra faire œuvre de fil *es cru*,
Si fasse raie de fil teint."

(13th cent., Littré.)

I do not know whether the wool used in *crewel* work answers to this description, but it seems a reasonable presumption that the original *crue* or *crewe* did so. The exact meaning of the word soon became obscured, for Littleton (1685) gives "*crewel* or *crule*, glomus fili," which, as he renders *glomus* "bottom of yarn or clew of thread," seems almost to suggest that he felt *crewel* as a dissimilated *clewel*¹; cf. Germ. *Knäuel*. Thus also Encyc. Lond. *crewel* (klewel, Du.), yarn twisted, etc., with a quotation from Izaak Walton. Roquefort gives "*crus, cruse, soie qui n'a pas été adoucie, travaillée, qui est crue.*" I suspect that he found the nominative *crus* and made a feminine for it. An alternative to regarding *crewel* as the diminutive of *crue* is to consider the *-l* as being added in E. as in the case of *scroll* from M.E. *scrow* (Prompt. Parv.), O.F. *escroue*, O.H.G. *scrôt*, shred, but in the case of this word I conjecture the influence of *roll*,² a scroll being commonly felt as something rolled up (cf. *volume*), hence the *scroll* of a violin. The formation of diminutives from names of materials is fairly common, e.g., *sayette* from O.F. *saie* (*soie*), *créseau* from O.F. *cresé* (see *Kersey*). The common West Country *crewel*, cowslip (N.E.D.), primrose (Wright), is of unknown origin. Both in meaning and form it could represent L. *crocalle*, cf. *jewel*, *fewel*, *newel* (*jocale, focale, nūcale*), but no O.F. **croiel* appears to be recorded.

¹ This, I find, is Skinner's etymology.

² Conversely O.F. has *roue* for *rôle* (Roquefort) due to *escroue*.

Crow.—The N.E.D. regards *crow*, later *crowbar*, as identical with *crow*, a bird, the bent end of the implement suggesting a bird's beak. That it has been popularly associated with the bird is certain, but rather with the claw than the beak, e.g. "a *crow-foot* or yron bar, vectis" (Holoak). I suggest, however, that this association is accidental, and that E. '*crows* (commonly *croes*') of iron,' the phrase in which all the earliest examples occur (v. N.E.D.), represents O.F. '*eros* (pl. of *croc*) de fer' used in the same sense. Comparing the three headings under which it is treated in the N.E.D. with three headings in Littré (*croc*), we have—

N.E.D., 5a: "A bar of iron usually with one end slightly bent and sharpened to a beak, used as a lever or prise." Examples (c. 1400, 1468, 1555) are all in the form '*croes* of iron.'

5b: "Used as an agricultural tool. Earliest example 1573 (Tusser)."

Littré, 3: "Terme d'agriculture. *Croc*, ou crochet, instrument aratoire à une, deux, ou plusieurs deus aiguës, . . . principalement employé dans la petite culture."

N.E.D., 6: "A grappling hook, a grapnel (cf. *corvey*, F. *corbeau*)."

Littré, 2: "Longue perche dont le bout est armé d'un crochet, e.g. un *croc* de batelier."

Littré, 4: "Terme de marine. L'extrémité recourbée d'un grand nombre d'ustensiles de fer."

Comparing the N.E.D. examples with those in Littré and Godefroy, we have—

"Certeine instruments wherewyth they might pull downe the workes yt their enemyes made, called Harpagons, and also *crowes* of yron called corvi" (Brende, Q. Curtius, 1553). "His batt'ring *crow* (1614). Les *crocs* de la ville se disaient . . . de grands *crocs* dont on se servait pour abattre les maisons qui brûlaient" (Littré). "Iron wolves and *crowes* to grasp the ram withall" (1632). "*Crow*, in the sea language, a machine with an iron hook, for fastening hold, and grappling with the enemies vessels" (Chambers' Cycl., 1727-51). "Et prenoit les nes totes ardanz a *eros*" (Villehardouin, in Godef. Comp.). "Et li vaissiaus sachiez hors a *eros*." "Et jetterent grans *kros* et haves au dit pont leveis" (Froissart, ib.). "De picques, de *crocs* et de angines." Palsgrave does not give *crow*, but for *grapple* has *havet*, used by

¹ v. "Naval Inventories," ed. Oppenheim.

Froissart in conjunction with *croc* (v.s.). Cotgrave has "*croc*, a grapple, or greate hook," and Sherwood even gives the plural form "*eros* of iron, pince. Voyez *crow*." As late as 1763 Delpino has "*croe*, tenazas." Altieri (1751) gives *rampino*, *raffio*, which would both be rendered in F. by *croc*. All the meanings of E. *crow*, implement, including those most closely associated with L. *corvus*, appear to be covered by F. *croc*, and I suggest that association with *crow*, bird, began with the early Tudor translators dealing with *corvus*,¹ which is, of course, the origin of *corvy*, and ultimately of F. *corbeau*, used in the same sense. The phonology of the word is simple. The earliest O.F. and E. examples are in the plural, and the mod. F. pronunciation is *cro*, due to O.F. plural *eros*, except in the liaison *croc-en-jambe*. See Addenda.

Gantry or gawntree.—Jamieson gives *gantrees*, a stand for ale-barrels. The N.E.D. does not commit itself to an etymology. Wright gives the correct derivation from F. *chantier*, L. *canterius*, which occurs under the form *gantier*² in Hécart's "Dictionnaire du Rouchi." This is confirmed by the entry in Cotgrave, "*Chantier*, a *gauntrie* or stilling for hogsheads, etc., to stand on." Cotgrave also has "*chantellage*, a certaine fee due unto some lordes for the *gauntries* whereon wine that is sold hath stood," and he gives *gauntrie* for *ponton*. The change of suffix is not commented on in Wright. It is clear that *gawntree* is due to folk etymology, *tree* being used in Scots for 'barrel' (Jamieson), as well as for many other contrivances of wood.

The form *gantry* is to be ascribed to the influence of *buttery*, *scullery*, *pantry*, especially the last, with which it would be naturally coupled, and with which it occasionally rhimes in popular songs, e.g.—

"His *pantry* was never ill-boden;
The spence was ay couthie an' clean;
The *gantry* was ay keepit loaden
Wi' bowies o' nappie bedeen."

(Jamieson's "Popular Ballads.")

In "to go a *gawntree*" (v. Wright) we have another meaning of *chantier*, viz. 'rafter' (Junius, "Nomenclator," p. 388).

Kersey.—Professor Skeat derives this word from the village of Kersey in Suffolk, "where a woollen trade was once carried on."

¹ None of the early L. dictionaries (Holoak, Gouldman, Littleton) render this *corvus* by *crow*, and their only gloss for *crow-foot*, *crow* of iron, is *vectis*.

² It is also in Sigart, "Dictionnaire du Wallon de Mons."

The N.E.D. says there is no historical evidence for this, but points out that the earliest quotation (1262) seems to support it. The O.E. name of the village was *Caersige*, and the quotation in question has L. abl. pl. *tersegis*, misprinted for *cersegis*. It is not stated whether this emendation is based on comparison with the MS. If it is not, there is just a possibility that the whole word is misprinted and should read *kerseyis*, i.e. *kersey*. The connection of names of products with their place of manufacture is not as a rule difficult to establish, and it is curious that a word so commonly used in M.E. should nowhere occur in such a way as to indicate association with any particular place.¹ On the other hand, there is very strong evidence in favour of its being the F. past participle "*croisé*, étoffe fabriquée à quatre marches au moins et dont les fils de la trame sont plus serrés que dans l'étoffe à deux marches" (Littré); "*croisee*, en termes de tisserand, est un entrelacement de fils bien serrés ensemble" (Corneille); so also Furetière. Modern F. has *carisel*, *créseau* (obsolete): "altération de l'anglais *kersey*, étoffe de laine croisée. Sorte de grosse serge à deux envers" (D.G.). An example is given for both forms: "*Carisez* ou *creseau* d'Angleterre" (1582). I believe that only *carisel* is of E. origin, and that *creseau* is from O.F. *crésé*, for *croisé*. This view is supported by the above quotation: "*Carisel* or English *creseau*." Apparently *carisel* was not only applied to closely woven materials, such as E. *kersey* and F. *croisé*, for Corneille has "*carisel*, grosse toile claire, qui est une manière de canevas dont on se sert pour travailler en tapisserie. Il y a du *carisel* blanc et du *carisel* teint, et on le nomme autrement *creseau*"; so also Furetière. Littré has "*créseau*, terme de commerce, étoffe de laine croisée à deux envers. Etym. *croiser*." In O.F. *croisé* was used as in Modern F. of a similar material, e.g. Godefroy has (s.v. *croisé*) "*cresee*, étoffe de laine *croisée*, *créseau*," with the example "*cresee* et aultres estoffes" (Valenciennes, 1444), and, Compl., "*croisié*, étoffe dont la laine est croisée d'une certaine façon . . . drap d'or cramoisy a une bordure decoupee de *crezé* blanc." It is noticeable that the O.F. examples have always the dialect form *crésé*, *crésée*, now replaced by *croisé*, *croisée*. Palsgrave (p. 236) has '*kersay*, *cresey*'; Cotgrave, '*creseau*, *kersie*,' and '*carizé*, *kersie*' (not quoted in N.E.D.). The constant association of E. *kersey* with Modern F. *croisé* and O.F. *crésé* seems to put the

¹ It is also one of the commonest commercial terms in early records of travel. See publications of the Hakluyt Society, *passim*.

identity of the words beyond doubt. I do not suggest that the manufacture was of French origin,¹ but that it was regularly described in England by the O.F. past participle *cresté*. In the earliest records we find *kersey* and *kerseye*, due no doubt to *drap* and *étouffe*, just as we find the masculine and feminine forms used in Old and Modern F. (v.s.). For the change from *cre-* to *ker-* cf. the M.E. doublets *kerse* and *cresse*, M.E. and E.S. *kernel* for O.F. *crenel* (*créneau*), and the Norman forms *queroix*, *querouaix* for *croix*, and *queroisée* for *croisée* (Moisy). There may even have been popular association with the name of the village of Kersey, if it can be proved that it was ever a flourishing cloth town. The material seems to have been made in many parts of England, e.g. "Hampshire and Devonshire *karsies*," "Northerne *karsies*" (1578, Hakluyt, extra series, xi, 26, 29). The importance of the manufacture is shown by the way in which the name spread, e.g., Germ. *Kirsei*, Du. *karsaai* (*karseye*), *panni* genus (Kilian), "Sp. *cariséa*, du *cresté* ou *carisé*, qui est un drap ou sarge bien deliée; il se fait en Angleterre" (Oudin). See Addenda.

Oriel.—No satisfactory etymology has been proposed for this word. Professor Skeat suggests L. *aureolum*, but, although no doubt some such association was set up in the later life of the word (hence perhaps M.L. *oriolum*), its earliest meaning appears to be purely structural, without any reference to ornamentation. From Hamper's exhaustive article in *Archæologia*, xxiii, it would appear that *oriel* (O.F. *oriol*) was used in a variety of senses, all of which are covered by Germ. *laube*, but it does not seem possible to connect it with this word. The mod. Germ. is *Erker* (in M.H.G. often, by dissimilation, *erkele*), M.L. *arcora* (Du Cange, Kluge). Hamper describes *oriel* as meaning: (1) pent-house, (2) porch, (3) detached gate-house, (4) upper story, (5) loft, (6) gallery for musicians. His arguments are not always convincing, but by comparing the examples he quotes with those in Du Cange and Godefroy, one is inclined to conclude that an *oriel* was originally very much what it is now, viz. a projecting structure, forming inwardly a kind of recess or sanctum in a hall and outwardly a kind of bay window or balcony. Du Cange, s.v. *oriolum*, gives "porticus, atrium"; Godefroy, s.v. *oriol* (*ourieul*, *aurieul*), "porche, allée, galerie, corridor." He does not quote for *aurieul*, and only once for *ourieul*

¹ At the same time, the wild suggestion that *kersey* is a corruption of Jersey, if based on any facts connected with the early history of the industry, would seem to suggest association with Normandy.

(1426). This latter is a freak spelling which may be neglected, as *eu* (unless for *el* vocalized) cannot occur correctly in O.F. in a protonic syllable; *aureolum* would give regularly *oriol*, *ourieul*; but the word was introduced into E. before the change of *o* to *eu* in the tonic syllable. The oldest record (*oriol*) is in the A.N. Life of St. Thomas, by Garnier de Pont. Sainte-Maxence (twelfth century)—

“ A l'uis de la chambre out un *oriol* fermé,
droit devers le chardin, qui out maint jor esté.
pur refaire erent dunc abatu li degré,
e li carpentier erent a lur disner alé,
a cel *oriol* sunt li chevalier turné.”

This is not quite clear, but the *oriol* appears to have been a kind of bay or gallery above the hall, looking on to the garden. Now the usual M.L. word for ‘hall’ in all shades of meaning is *aula*, to which Du Cange gives ten entries; *auleum* also occurs in the same sense. A recess or adjunct to a hall¹ might be called *auleolum*, just as we have *atriolum*, a little portall (Cooper), a porch, piazza, or little hall (Ainsworth, 1736), a small hall, ante-chamber (Lewis), from *atrium*² (often synonymous with *aula* in M.L.), *podiolum* from *podium*, and perhaps other architectural terms. Both *atriolum* and *podiolum* cover some meanings of *oriel*. The word *auleolum* exists, and is recorded by the German Thesaurus and Du Cange. By the former it is quoted from a tenth century MS. (Berne) without context or gloss, and the passage in Du Cange is from the “Bollandists’ Martyrologium”: “*auleolum*, sacellum, ab *aula*, ecclesia, de qua suo loco, Miraculo S. Urbani Mart. tom. 6. Maii pag. 18: In qua benedictione dum carpentarii vellent aptare analogium ad sermoni-candum, de *auleolo* S. Urbani quod situm erat super Maternam, ubi solebat poni corpus Urbani pretiosi martyris, exigente ratione temporis membratim disjunctum, nullatenus redintegrare valuerunt.” This is from a MS. in a Catalonian monastery. It would appear that the *auleolum* or *sacellum* was a niche, side-chapel, or oratory, meanings which might very well go with *oriel*. If it is admitted that *auleolum* satisfies the meaning *oriel*, the form presents no difficulty. The dissimilation of *l-l* or *r-r* is almost normal in O.F., cf. *rossignol*

¹ “A small excursion out of gentlemen’s halls in Dorsetshire is commonly called an *oriol*” (Fuller, quoted by Hamper); v. also other examples in *Archæologia*, xxiii.

² “*Atrium* also occurs for *oriel*, e.g. *atrium* nobilissimum in introitu quod porticus vel *oriolum* appellatur” (Matthew Paris, quoted in *Archæologia*, xxiii). Cf. E. use of ‘hall’ for ‘vestibule.’

from **lusciniolum*, and can be traced back to V.L., e.g. *flagellum* non *fragellum*, *terebra* non *telebra*, *meretrix* non *menetrix*, *frustrum* non *frustum* (Appendix Probi, seventh or eighth century). In the majority of cases F. does not record the non-dissimilated form, e.g. *flairer* (**frairer*) from *fragrare*, *pêlerin* (**pererin*) from *peregrinum*, so that, while an O.F. *oliol* would be conclusive, it is not a necessary link.

Partner.—Professor Skeat explains *partner* as “a curious corruption of M.E. *parcener*, frequently misread and misprinted as *partener*, by the common confusion between *e* and *t* in MSS. and through the influence of *part*.” But the form *partener* (thirteenth century, N.E.D.) seems to be at least as old as *parcener* (v. Stratmann & Bradley), of which it is a synonym, both being used to render L. *particeps* (*parcener* in Wiclif, *partenere* in the Prompt. Parv.). The most literal E. translation of *particeps* is *partaker*, i.e. *part-taker* (cf. Germ. *Teilnehmer*), and all three words seem to be used almost indifferently, e.g. Cooper has “*particeps*, that taketh part, a companion, a complice, a coparcioner; *particulones*, coheires, or parteneres that have an heritage together.” Bearing in mind the very common use of E. *to hold* in matters of law and possession, whence the modern derivatives *householder*, *leaseholder*, etc., and of F. *tenir* in similar senses (cf. E. *tenant*, *tenure*, etc.), it seems quite possible that M.E. *partener*, *partenour*, etc., may represent O.F. *part* and *teneor*, ‘tenant, holder’ (Godefroy), formed into an E. compound by the same instinct as the less natural hybrid *partaker*. Its equivalent, *share-holder*, was formed some centuries later in the same way; cf. Germ. *Teilhaber*. Laurière, “Glossaire du Droit français” (ed. Favre, 1882), does not actually give a F. *part-teneur* or *partie-teneur*, nor do I suggest that the compound existed in F., but the following juxtapositions of *parçonnier* and *part* with *tenir* tend to support the derivation I suggest: “*Parceners*, . . . ce sont sœurs qui partagent une heredité ou tenement entre elles, comme coheritières.” “*Parchonniers* . . . sont ceux qui sont communs.” “Tenir heritage sans parchonnerie, c’est jouir seul d’un heritage.” “Tenir en parchonnerie, etc.” “Tenir comme partprenant, c’est quand l’on acquiert portion d’un fief.” “Quand l’on tient partie d’un fief.” The fifteenth and sixteenth century spelling, *parteynor*, suggests that the word was still felt as belonging to *tenir*; cf. *conteyn*, *deteyn*, etc. This etymology would also explain *partners*, “a frame work of timber

fitted round any hole or scuttle in a ship's deck, through which a mast . . . passes" (N.E.D.). The object of this contrivance is to relieve the strain on the deck. The earliest quotation in the N.E.D. is *c.* 1608. It occurs also in the description of the *Madre de Dios*, the great carrack captured in 1592: "The length . . . of the maine-mast was 121 foot, and the circuite about at the *partners* 10 foote 7 inches" (Hakluyt Soc., extra series, vii, 117), and it seems to have been a pretty familiar word, for Cotgrave has "*estambres*, the two thicke pieces of wood that environ the hole through which a mast passes the decke, or hatches. We call them *partnours*." Now it seems very difficult to connect this word with *partner* in its general sense, and impossible to connect it with *parcener*, but it could quite obviously be derived from *F. tenir*, representing either a compound *part teneor* or *par teneor*, the essential idea being that of *holding*, as is shown by the definitions in Veneroni: "*étambres*, terme de marine, pezzi di legno che abbracciano il piede dell' albero d'un vascello; die Hölztzer, so den Mastbaum unten fest halten; ligna malum firmantia."

The analogy of *share-holder* suggests that the first element of *partner*, in its ordinary sense,¹ is *F. par(t)* (the form *par* occurs quite early in O.F.), but, in some of its subsidiary meanings, there may have been some influence of O.F. *partenir*, *détenir*, *posséder* (Godefroy), where *par* is the intensive *per*; cf. *partenant*, tenant, parent (Godefroy), *partenieux*, partisan (Godefroy); and the nautical *partners* is probably from this verb. Examples of *tenir* used of part possession are numerous in Godefroy, e.g., "*doit avoir et tenir par parçon de terre*" (1273), "*chescune parchon . . . tenue et chargie*" (1439), "*s'aucuns tient en parchonneries avec autres*" (Contumes de Beauvoisis), "*les tenemenz qe nous tenomz en la vile, nous les tenomz en parcenerie ov Robert de Romgley nostre parcener*" (Edward I, 1304); "*tener en parcenarie ceo que a eux affiert sans partition*" (Littleton).

Raynouard gives a Prov. form *partender*, participant, sociétaire: "Si es compains de la covercio des bos, tu seras *partenders* de lor vertu" (Trad. de Bêda, fol. 74). Moisy (Glossaire Anglo-Normand) even quotes O.F. *partener* (Vie de S. Thom. de Cant.). This I have not been able to verify.

¹ The N.E.D. treats it under four heads: (1) sharer, (2) colleague, (3) business partner, (4) partisan, all of which correspond closely with the ordinary meanings of Modern and O.F. *part* (v. Littré).

Patch.—The N.E.D. does not commit itself to an etymology, and does not trace the word beyond the M.E. *pacche*. Professor Skeat says, “apparently a by-form of *platch*.” I suggest that it is simply a doublet of *piece*, as its two principal meanings, ‘a piece sewn on a garment, a plot of ground’ (Skeat), are exactly represented by F. *pièce*. There does not seem to be any phonetic difficulty. Modern E. *cratch*, M.E. *cracche*, *crecche*, O.F. *creche* (*crèche*) and Modern E. *match*, M.E. *macche*, O.F. *mesche* (*mèche*) are parallel cases to Modern E. *patch*, M.E. *pacche*, O.F. *pieche* (*pièce*). The *i* was lost as in *piece* (M.E. *pece*, still spelt so in the Manip. Vocab.; *peece* in Cotgrave), which represents a learned spelling only. The variant *pieche* is common in O.F., e.g. “eseroele, drapel ne *pieche*” (Godefroy), in the sense of ‘shred, patch,’ and E. *piece* and *patch* are still interchangeable terms in speaking of repairing clothes. In Modern F. a ‘patch’ (of cloth) is *pièce*, e.g. “mettre des *pièces* à un vêtement,” and ‘to patch’ is *rapiecer*, in O.F. often *piecer* (Palsgrave, p. 655). There may have been also an O.F. *pee(h)e*,¹ cf. *dépecer*. ‘A patch of wheat’ is ‘une *pièce* de blé.’ ‘Patchwork’ is “un ouvrage fait de *pièces* et de morceaux” or “un ouvrage fait de *pièces* de rapport.” The identity of *patch* and *piece* is shown pretty clearly by the M.E. and later glossaries: Prompt. Parv., “*patche*, or clowt sett on a thyng: scrutum, pictacium. *Pecyn*, or set pecys to a thyng, or clowtyn: repecio, reb(r)occo, sarcio.” Cath. Angl.,² “a *peece* of leder or of clathe: assumentum. To *peece*: assuere.” Manip. Vocab., “a *patche*: cento, particula. To *patche*: sarcire, reparare. A *peece*: pars. To *peece*: sarcire, superaddere.” Cooper, “panniculus: a *peece* of cloth, a clout, a ragge.” Cotgrave, “rapiecer: to *peece*, *patch*, botch, clowt, mend.” The Latin dictionaries of the seventeenth century appear to treat *piece*, *patch*, *botch* as interchangeable terms. Sherwood gives practically the same collection of F. equivalents under *patch*, *patched*, *patcher*, etc., and *peece*, *peeced*, *peeceer*, etc. Bishop Hall has “the *piecing* up of these domestic breaches,” where we should now say “patching up.” Also “all being now *pieced* up between them” (N.E.D., 1630).

I believe that the earlier form *peche* actually occurs in E. In the “Aneren Riwe,” p. 256 (Camden Society), we find “a lute

¹ Godefroy has *pechier* in the sense of *dépecer* (in Palsgrave, p. 655, *piecer* means ‘to mend’). Godefroy Comp. gives the variants *peece* (1241), *peice* (1272), *peece* (1275), *piessie* (1364), *pieche* (1370), *pessie* (1385), so that *peche* may almost be assumed.

² Does not give *patch*.

clut mei lodlichen swuže a muchel ihol *peche*," where the variant is *mantell*, and the editor suggests the emendation *pitch*. I believe it is *piece*, used, not in the sense of modern *patch*, but in that which *piece* has preserved in speaking of a measured quantity of fabric.

Scotch **paullie**.—The N.E.D. gives the variants *pallie*, *paullie*, *palie*, *paley*, and suggests no derivation. The word is used both as adj. and subst. in the sense of weakly, undersized, etc., applied especially to sheep. Jamieson gives more various meanings, including 'lame, dislocated, distorted,' e.g. "a *paullie* hand." It appears to be F. *épaulé*, blessé à l'épaule, e.g., "le cheval s'est *épaulé*" (D.G.); "Cheval *épaulé*, qui s'est démis une épaule" (Richelet, 1698); also "bête *épaulée*, fille qui a fait un enfant avec un galant" (Richelet). Godefroy gives *espaulé*, applied to a dislocated shoulder and to inferior cloth (warped?). Cotgrave has "*espaulé*, whose shoulder is burst or out of joint. Une beste *espaulée*, crackt stuffe, broken ware; a wench, etc." So also Boyer (1742). Michel, "The Scottish Language" (1882), does not appear to mention the Scotch word. The special application of the word to sheep and horses, the only domestic animals that have 'shoulders,' seems natural. It is not impossible that the E. adjective *poorly*, which the N.E.D. regards as apparently due to the expression "to look *poorly*," may be corrupted from the same word. In the earliest example quoted it is used of cattle (Tusser).

Peevish.—The N.E.D. regards the derivation as quite unsolved. Professor Skeat suggests imitative origin. But this does not suit the older meanings. These are, according to the N.E.D.—

- (1) Silly, senseless, etc. (1393).
- (2) Spiteful, malignant, etc. (1468).
- (3) A general epithet of dislike (1513).
- (4) Perverse, refractory, etc. (1539).
- (5) Morose, irritable (modern use).

An examination of the examples given in the N.E.D. shows that all possible shades of meaning of *peevish* are practically covered by *perverse*, a word constantly given as its synonym in the older dictionaries and parallel in formation and meaning to *froward*.¹ Junius derives *peevish* from *perversus* and gives a quaint explanation of the double disappearance of *r*. Later etymologists do not

¹ Harman frequently uses the word in speaking of rogues, e.g. "Their *pevishe* peltinge and picking practyses. Their *pevyshe* speeche," etc.

discuss this theory at all, being repelled apparently by the phonetic difficulties. These are, however, not insurmountable. The oldest form of *peevish* is *peyvesshe*, *peyvishe* (Langland), which looks like the feminine of the form *pevess* used by Douglas along with *pevische*, *pevage*. This would correspond to an O.F. **pevesche* from *perversa*, which may have existed and been ousted early by the learned *pervers* (twelfth century). The disappearance of the second *r* is not abnormal.¹ We have *dos* from *dossum* for *dorsum* and *pêche* from *pessica* for *persica*. Moreover, we have a close parallel to **pevesche* in *revêche*, described by the D.G. as of unknown origin but derived by Diez (pp. 272, 742) from *revera*, a derivation strongly supported by Romance cognates (Sp. *reves*, It. *rivescio*, etc.). The fact that Cotgrave gives *reversche*² as *revesche* supports this etymology. Körting accepts **robesticum* (Förster). The disappearance of the first *r* in *pevesche* I should explain by the influence of *revêche* (*revesche*, thirteenth century), with which it is almost synonymous.³ The three words occur together in Sherwood—*peevish*, *revesche*, *pervers*, etc. For the later change of suffix cf. *relish* for M.E. *reles*; *parish*, *rubbish*, etc.

Riddle and rideau.—The Century derives *riddle*, curtain, from O.F. **ridel* (*rideau*), which, according to the D.G., “semble dérivé de *rider*.” But the E. word is, according to the dictionaries, much older than the F. It is common in M.E., and occurs in *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1250–1340), *Gawayne* (c. 1360), *Ferumbras* (c. 1380), *Alexander* (c. 1400–50), in a will of 1418 and an inventory of 1431 (see Stratmann & Bradley, Halliwell, Cath. Angl.) in the *Prompt. Parv.*, Cath. Angl., and *Medulla*. On the other hand, the first record of *rideau*, curtain⁴ (D.G. and Godefroy), is 1471. I suggest, therefore, that F. *rideau* is from M.E. *ridel*. As for the latter word, I believe it to be identical with *riddle*,⁵ sieve, which is for an older *ridder* of E. origin (Skeat). The connection between the two ideas, in which ‘separation’ is the essential, is seen in *to*

¹ Cf. M.E. *travas* (screen?), *transversum* (*Prompt. Parv.*), and E.S. *trevis*, *trevesse*, *travesse* (Jamieson): *base*, a canon, O.F. *berse*, etc.

² Roquefort gives *reverchier* and *reverser* for *renverser*; *revès*, à l'envers, and also “*revers*, il paraît que ce terme, ajouté à une injure, l'augmentait beaucoup.”

³ Or the *r* becoming mute before another consonant already in M.E. (Behrens, p. 988) may have exceptionally disappeared in the written word. Before another consonant *r* regularly disappears in Norman in the tonic syllable, e.g. *abre* for *arbre*, and occasionally in the protonic, e.g. *paleux* for *parleur* (Moisy).

⁴ In the sense of *hill* it is recorded for 1427.

⁵ Also introduced into O.F. in the verb “*rideler*, passer au tamis” (Godefroy).

riddle, "to darn a hole in linen or woollen, to fill it up by working cross and cross," and *riddle-wall*, "a wall made up with split sticks worked across each other" (Halliwell); see also Wright. For a semantic parallel cf. the double meaning of E. *screen*, *umbraculum*, *cribrum*.

To rummage.—Professor Skeat, following Skinner, derives this verb from *roomage*, stowage, from *room*. I suggest that it is more probably F. *arrimage*, earlier *arrumage* from *arrimer*, earlier *arrumer*: "ranger la cargaison dans la cale d'un navire" (D.G.). The earliest example I have found is 1560: "And that the masters of the ships do looke wel to the *romaging*, for they might bring away a great deale more than they doe, if they would take paine in the *romaging*" (Hakluyt Society's Publications, extra series, vol. ii, p. 409). It is evident that from a noun *rummage* was formed the verb *to rummage*,¹ to pack, and from the notion of general dragging about and confusion connected with this work came the modern sense 'to ransack,' originally a seaman's word,² e.g.: "Our greedy seamen *rummage* every hold, Smile on the booty of each wealthier chest" (Dryden). Furetière gives the form *arrumage* as more usual than *arrimage*: "On dit qu'un vaisseau est mal *arrumé*, lorsqu'il n'est pas à son plomb qui le fait tenir droit sur bout; car alors les poinçons se déplacent, courent et roulent vers la pente, et du heurt s'enfoncent les uns les autres, ce qui cause de grands coulages. *Arrumeurs*, sont de petits officiers établis sur les ports, et surtout en Guyenne, que le marchand chargeur doit fournir et payer, qui ont soin de placer et de ranger les marchandises dans un vaisseau, et surtout celles qui sont en tonneaux, et qui sont en danger de coulage." From this it is pretty evident that the word came to England in connection with the Bordeaux wine trade. (Professor Skeat, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1906, ascribes to the same source *funnel*, *puncheon*, *rack*, *spigot*, *ullage*.) Sp. *arrumar* is given by Oudin with the same meaning. The earliest dictionary record I have come across is in Littleton, "*to rummage*, scrutator, colligere vasa," where the secondary sense is already put first.

The origin of *arrimer* is described by the D.G. as unknown. Körtling, following Diez and Mackel, derives it from O.H.G. *rīm*, row, and Diez notes that in modern Prov. the aphetic *rīma* is used

¹ But, according to Skinner, there was also a verb *rume*, which would be direct from *arrumer*.

² Cf. Laugier, "Dizionario di Marina" (Genoa, 1880): "*rummage*, perquisizione che fa la dogana in cerca di contrabbando."

in the sense of 'arrange,' so that to arrange casks and verses may be etymologically the same (but see Kluge, *Reim*). This supposes *arrimer* to be the older form, in which case *arrumer* may be a labialized form (cf. *jumeau*). Scheler, regarding the *u* form as older, proposes Du. *ruim*, room, and quotes Sp. *arrumar* in the same sense. This is also Littré's opinion. The question is still further complicated by the form *arruner*, the only one given by Oudin, and which occurs also in Duméril and Moisy. This is apparently from Norm. *run*, "tour, rang" (Moisy), which seems to represent E. *room*. Roquefort gives all three forms—*arrimer*, *arrumer*, *arruner*. The probable solution is that *arrimer* is derived from *rim* (v.s.), and has, by association of meaning, gradually supplanted *arrumer*, a word of separate origin (but see Diez, p. 275). Furetière gives "*arrumer* une carte marine, c'est y décrire des rumb." The D.G. defines "*rumb*, espace angulaire qui sépare l'une de l'autre les trente-deux aires de vent de la boussole," with a quotation from 1483. Skeat (Concise Dict.) derives E. *rumb*, *rhumb*, similarly used,¹ from *rhombus*, and rejects the alternative derivation from Du. *ruim*. This is also Körting's view. Scheler, on the other hand, declares for Du. *ruim*, with inorganic *-b*, passing through F. into It. and Sp. However that may be, the fact remains that O.F. had a verb *arrumer*, to mark out spaces on a chart, and if, as seems probable, this is the older, the secondary sense of ranging casks in a hold may very well have been derived from it by a seaman's metaphor. Furetière derives *arrumer*, in both senses, from Port. *ruma*, règle, ligne droite (Diez gives Port. *rumbo*, *rumo* as identical with F. *rumb*). Oudin gives "*arrumar*, agencer, accommoder; *arrumar* el navio, accommoder la charge du navire, en sorte qu'elle ne pese pas plus d'un costé que d'autre." The derivation of F. *arrumer* from *rhombus* is very strongly supported by the use of the latter word in heraldry. Veneroni gives "*à rômbo*, losengé en terme de blason." *Losengé*, in works on heraldry, is defined as 'covered alternately with lozenges' of two different tinctures.' Now, the *rumb*s on a compass-chart easily suggest a diamond form, and casks in a hold are usually arranged, like bricks, in such a manner that every cask above the ground-tier rests on two others, so as to produce very much the general effect of a *losengé* shield. Cotgrave gives "*carte arrumée*, a sea-card, wherein all the quarter winds, or travers boords, are delineated," and "*arrumer*, to delineate, or set

¹ The word appears to be common to the Romance languages, which is some argument for its Latin origin.

out, in a sea-card, all the Rums of winds." In the other sense he gives the Norman "*arruner*, to ranke, sort, range, dispose, put in order, set in array." This I believe to be a separate word (v.s.). He does not give *arrimer*. Godefroy has *ariner*, *arinner*, *arimer*, *arrimer*, *aruner*, etc., in the sense of 'arrange, array,' e.g. "*toute l'ost bien arisnee*" (G. de Palerme). It is also used of keeping sheep together. Other examples in Godefroy are "*arrummer son ménage*"; "*disposer et arruner les champs de semences*"; "*contre grans roys me suis bien arrimee* (var. *arrinée*)"; "*cils qui au parler s'arime*." Godefroy notes variants, all with the sense of 'arrange,' as being used in the patois of Saintonge, Poitou, Picardy, and Berri.

Arrumer means to arrange in the hold. If it meant to put into the hold we should expect to find *enrumer* (cf. *emballer*, *embarquer*, *embariller*, *emboîter*, *embourser*, *embouteiller*, etc.); cf. *arranger* from *rang*, and O.F. *arruner*, possibly from Norm. *run* (v.s.).

Scabbard.—Professor Skeat derives this from O.H.G. *scala*, 'scale, husk, case,' *bergan*, 'to hide, protect,' through O.F. *escauberc*, of which Godefroy gives only the plural *escaubers*. Thus *scabbard* would mean 'cover-cover.' This derivation seems sound so far as the form of the word is concerned, but is very unsatisfactory from the point of view of meaning.¹ In O.F. compounds from *bergan* the other part of the word is the object of the verb, e.g., *halberc*, guard neck, *herberge*, guard army, *berfroï*, guard peace. Thus for *scabbard* we should expect a compound meaning 'guard-blade.' The O.F. sing. **escauberc* may be inferred from the M.E. forms *scaberge*, *scauberk*, *scaubert*, *scaberke*, *scabarge* (S. & B.), and the change of termination presents no difficulty; cf. F. *haubert* for O.F. *hauberc*, and the very common confusion between *-t* and *-c* in both languages. I suggest that the first element of O.F. *escauberc* is cognate with the English *shear*, *share* (cf. *ploughshare*). *Lexer* gives "M.H.G. *schar*, *schneidendes eisen*, *pflugschar*, *scheere*." Schade (1866) gives "O.H.G. *scāra*, *scār*, *scheere*, *bezeichnung eines Schwertes*," with a reference to Schmeller, iii, 384 sq., where it is glossed *novacula*. Thus *scār-berg* would give the meaning required, and would be a perfectly natural formation falling into the same group as those mentioned above, while *escale*, though of German origin, is obviously, by its form, a comparatively late loanword (see D.G., s.v. *écale* and *écaille*). In two of the three words undoubtedly thus formed from O.H.G. *bergan* dissimilation has taken place—

¹ The subsidiary meanings of Germ. *Schale* do not lend themselves at all to association with a sword-sheath.

herberge > *héberge*, *berfroi* > *beffroi*; cf. also Prov. *alberc*, *alberga*, etc., from O.H.G. *hari-berg*. Thus *scâr-berg* > **escarberc*, **escalberc*, *escauberc*,¹ which is the form required.

Scovel.—The Century derives *scovel*, a long-handled broom for sweeping out ovens, from Welsh *ysgubell*, a whisk, besom, broom, and the latter from L. *scopa*. This seems rather a round-about way of accounting for a very common F. word, which of course goes back ultimately to *scopa*. The D.G. has "*écouvette*, petit balai de maréchal ferrant; *écouvillon*, sorte de balai ou de brosse à long manche," etc. Cotgrave has "*escouvelle*, a brush, as *ecouëtte* (a plaisterer's whitening brush)." O.F. has *escouve*, L. *scopa*, and the diminutive *escouvel*, with very numerous variants. Sherwood has "*scovell*, *escovillon*. Voyez à *Maulkin*." It is this word which has given E. *scovel*, and the Welsh word, if related, is from E. Cf. Sp. "*escobilla*, vergettes à nettoyer, brosses" (Oudin).

Sentry.—In the *Academy* of September 26, 1908, I published an article in which I suggested that our word *sentry* represented an older *centry* for *century*, 'a band of soldiers,' influenced by another word *centry*, *sentry*, which is common in the seventeenth century for *sanctuary*. Though I am still convinced that *sentry* has been to some extent identified with *centuria* (Lear, iv, 4; Cor., i, 7; Par. L., ii, 412; N.E.D., s.v. *century*), I am now satisfied that the main element of the word is *sentry* for *sanctuary*, the transition from abstract to concrete having come about just as in the case of F. *garde* and Germ. *Schildwache* (cf. to stand sentry, monter la garde, Schildwache stehen, Du. de wachte houden). The accidental resemblance of the word to its synonym *sentinel* misled the etymologists of the seventeenth century and prevented them from seeking the etymology elsewhere. The oldest military sense of *sentry* appears to be 'place of safety' or 'watch-tower.' Cotgrave gives the word under—

"*barbacane*, . . . some hold it also to be a *sentry*, scout-house, or hole.

"*garite*, a place of refuge, and of safe retyrall in a rowt, disaster, or danger; the recourse of such as are discomfited; (hence), also, the dungeon of a fortresse, whither the beleaguered soldiers make their last retire and flight; also, a by way or path that leads one aside, and out of the high way; also, a *sentry*, or little lodge for a sentinell, built on high.

¹ There is also the influence of *hauberc* as a possible factor.

"*guerite*, as *garite*: or a place of retreat, or hiding-hole (whereof divers were wont to be made) in thick rampiers, for the preservation of those that, in a surprize, had the lucke, or leisure, to get into them; also a *sentrie*, or watch-tower.

"*eschaugnette*, a *sentrie*, watch-tower, beacon."

Cotgrave also gives *sentrie*, s.v. *sentinelle*, but as a rule, for a single soldier, he uses *sentinel* (e.g. s.v. *eschaugnetteur*). Sherwood has "*sentrie* or watch-tower, *guerite*."

The purely abstract meaning of *sentry* appears in—

"Thou, when nature cannot sleep,
O'er my temples *sentry* keep." (Sir T. Browne.)

"Here toils, and death, and death's half-brother, sleep,
Forms terrible to view, their *centry* keep." (Dryden.)

Sentry (sanctuary) is at present hardly documented. The earliest occurrence I have noted is in Nashe (1590). It does not occur apparently in Cooper, Minsheu, or Holyoak. Skinner has two entries—

centry, pro sanctuary.

centry, v. *sentinel*.

Phillips (1678) has "*centry*, a word contracted from *sanctuary*, a place of refuge for malefactors." Littleton has "*centry* or sanctuary, sanctuarium." Semantic parallels are numerous, e.g. L. *custodia*, "custodie; keeping; watch; warde; a prison or place where one is kept; or the place where watchmen be" (Cooper); "keeping, charge, guard, watch and ward, a prison, a watch-tower, a watchman" (Holyoak); "*custodiæ*, guards or *sentries* of horse or foot" (Gouldman). For the special transition from 'watch-tower' to 'watchman' cf. It. *vedetta* (F. and E. *vedette*, a cavalry sentry), "a watch-tower whence may be seen a farre off, a sentinels standing place, a prying or peeping-hole, a beacon, a loure or high lantern on the top of a house, fane or weather-cock" (Torriano¹); "aguet, vedette, lieu par où l'on regarde, échaugnette, eine Wacht, vigiliæ, ein Wacht-Thurn, specula" (Veneroni). For the transition from the abstract meaning of 'safety' to that of 'sentry-box' cf. the parallel development of F. *guérite*, the formation of which is difficult to explain, but which is certainly a derivative of *guérir*, O.F. *garir*, to save, protect (cf. *garrison*), O.H.G. *warjan*. Modern F. *guérite*, sentry-box, meant formerly

¹ Florio's definition is shorter, but to the same effect.

'watch-tower' (cf. *garret*¹), and its original meaning was 'refuge,' 'sanctuary'; the expression *enfiler la guérite*, 'to take refuge,' occurs as late as Régnier (D.G.), while Cotgrave gives *prendre la garite*, 'to run away,' Oudin *gagner la guerite*, *huyr*. The following examples are given by Godef. Comp.:—

"Ceste roche est Ihesuicrist meismes qui est li refuges et la *garite* aus humbles."

"Ayant pris la *garite* pour se sauver, il se trouva le matin au milieu du camp des Suisses." (Pasquier.)

"A la *garite*, a la *garite*!

Fui tost, fui tost, et guari te." (Coinci.)

"Et gens de bien et les meschans

Ont tout gaigné a la *guerite*." (Marot.)

See also Borel, s.v. *garite*, *guarite*, *guerite*.

Thus *sentry* and *guérite* were in the sixteenth century synonymous in two senses, (1) sanctuary, refuge, (2) sentry-box. The later development of *sentry* is due to its accidental resemblance to *sentinel*.

Sharper and to sharp.—The Century does not assign an etymology to the verb *to sharp*, 'to defraud, pluck, etc.' and its derivative *sharper*. Professor Skeat treats it as belonging to the E. adjective *sharp*. This seems an improbable development of meaning, since the natural sense of the verb *to sharp(en)* would be, and is, 'to make sharp.' Originally a cant-word, *sharp* can be quite well derived, both in form and meaning, from O.F. *escharper*, to plunder, L. *ex-carpere*. Godefroy gives "*escharpir*, tailler, découper; *escharpiller* (with numerous variants), mettre en pièces," and, locally, "mettre les toisons de laine par petits flocons pour les briser, les carder." There is also a noun *escharpillerie* (with variants), "vol, pillage, brigandage sur les grands chemins, friponnerie." The form *escharpiller* is a derivative of *escharper*, *escharpir* (cf. *sauter*, *sautiller*; *mordre*, *mordiller*, etc.), felt, in one of its senses, as *eschar piller* (cf. O.F. *eschargaitier*), and, in the form *escharpeler*, probably associated with *peler*. Godefroy does not give *escharper* in the same sense, but Roquefort has "*escharpiller*, *escharper*, *escharpiller*, ravager, voler, depouiller, etc." Modern F. has "*écharper*, *charpir*, diviser (le crin, la laine); mettre en pièces" (D.G.). Cf. also *charpir* (obs.), "étirer, effiler (la laine)," and its derivative *charpie*, "amas de fils tirés de vieux

¹ Skinner, s.v. *garret*, gives "*garite*, propugnaculi turris, perugium."

linge, dont on se sert pour les pansements" (D.G.). Thus O.F. *escharper* is a parallel to the E. 'to pluck,' 'to shear,' used literally and metaphorically, and may have given E. *to sharp* in the same sense. It does not appear to be older than the seventeenth century. It may be noted that the simple *carpere*, 'to pluck,' is used in exactly the same sense in classical Latin—

"Et soror, et mater, nutrix quoque carpat amantem."

(Ovid, *Amor.* i, 8, 91.)

So also "*carpere aliquem*, to pill one and ridde him of that he hath" (Cooper). In the case of the noun *sharp(er)* there is no doubt popular association with the adj. *sharp*.

Skillet.—The Century does not distinguish etymologically *skillet*, a vessel, from *skillet*, a rattle or bell used by criers. The latter is, of course, O.F. *eschellette*, *esquillette*, diminutive of O.F. *eschelle* from M.H.G. and mod. G. *schelle*, bell. Jamieson gives *skellat* and *skellie*, with the correct derivation; so also Wright. *Skillet*, a vessel, has always been derived from O.F. *escuellette*, 'a little dish' (Cotgrave), diminutive of O.F. *escuelle*, L. *scutella*. I suggest that this etymology is phonetically improbable, if not impossible. O.F. *eschellette* and *escuellette* would not give the same form in E., as the *u* of *escuelle* has always been sounded, and was syllabic in O.F. (Littré and D.G.). In another E. word, *scullery*, derived from it, the *u* has persisted, just as it has persisted in F. derivatives. Godefroy gives *escule* as a variant of *escuele*, *esculete* of *escuelete*, *esculier* (1361) and *esculer* (1395) of *escuellier*, and *esculee* six times for *esculee* once; cf. also Modern F. *éculer*, *éculon* (D.G.). Thus *escuellette* would have given *scullet* or *squillet*; cf. *scullery* and *squillery*. I suggest that *skillet*, older *skellet*, is a diminutive formed in E., by analogy with its synonym *posnet*, from E. *skeel*, common in various dialects (v. Wright) for a vessel; cf. S. *skiel* and *skeil* (Dunbar). This word appears as M.E. *skele* in the Cath. Angl., the editor of which gives, in a footnote, the forms *skell*, *skill*, *skail*, *skeele*, and indicates *skillet* as its diminutive. It is obvious that this word is rather connected with Du. *schaele* (Kilian), *schael* (Hexham), and Germ. *Schale* than with O.F. *escuelle*. The fact that *skillet* has, as a subsidiary meaning, that of a piece of metal cast in a form flatter than an ingot (Century), also confirms this rapprochement; cf. Germ. *Schalenguss*, F. *coquille*. Apart from phonetic difficulties, the meanings of *skillet* and *écuelle* do not very well correspond. *Écuelle* in O. and Modern F. seems always to be used of a vessel, usually shallow or flat, in which food or drink is

served; hence its use in various proverbs. Its most natural E. rendering is *platter* or *bowl* (in Palsgrave *disshe*). *Skillet*, on the other hand, is used especially of a vessel used for boiling and cooking, and is usually described by the older dictionaries as standing on three feet: "a vessel of metal with feet for boiling" (Bailey). It is not used of a vessel brought to table. Shakespeare's "Let housewives make a *skillet* of my helm" suggests *pot*, and *skillet* is regularly used as equivalent to *posnet*, diminutive of O.F. *poçon*, which had a handle and three feet (N.E.D.). Holyoak has "a *skellet* or *posnet*, ollula, chytra, anthepta, chytrapus, coculum, ænulum": "*ollula*, a little pot, a pipkin" (Cooper); "*chytra*, a posnet, a skillet, a pot with feete; also, a trivet, a brandiron" (Cooper); "*chytropus*, a skillet, posnet or pan, having feet; also, a trivet, a brandiron" (Gouldman); "*coculum*, a brazen pot or kettle to boyl in" (Gouldman); "*ænulum*, a cauldron, or like brazen vessel" (Gouldman). All these meanings are very remote from Cotgrave's 'little dish.' Palsgrave has "*skellet* with a handle, poillon." Cotgrave appears to give it only under *poisle*. It is not in Stratmann & Bradley. The oldest occurrence I have found (*skellet*) is in Skelton (Elynour Rummyng, l. 250), where Dyce explains it 'kettle.' The *escuellette* etymology, due to Henshaw, appears first in Skinner, who comments on the change of meaning.

Skull.—The accepted derivation, which dates from Minsheu, connects this word with the Germanic root represented by *shell*, "named from its shell-like shape" (Skeat). This does not seem to account for the regular occurrence of the vowel *u*, nor does it satisfactorily explain the fact that the word occurs quite early in three separate senses—(1) cranium, (2) helmet, (3) drinking-cup. I believe that the M.E. form *sculle* may be equally well derived from O.F. *escuelle*, bowl, for which *escule* commonly occurs (cf. derivatives *esculee*, *esculete*, *esculier*, etc., in Godefroy). It may be regarded as certain that E.S. *skul*, used by Douglas to render both *cymbium* and *cratera*, represents O.F. *escu(e)lle*. The application of the same word to a steel cap is quite natural and easily paralleled; cf. F. *bassinet*, O.F. *hanap* and its derivatives, Du. *beckeneel*, etc. The brain-*pan* is also described in the same playful way in many languages, e.g., Sp. *casco*, skull, helmet, potsherd; Germ. *Hirnbecken*, -*kasten*, -*kugel*, -*pfanne*, -*schale*; Du. *beckeneel*, "galea, cassis; calva, calvaria, cranium" (Kilian); "the *scull* or *pan* of the head; head-peece, helm or murrion" (Hexham). The F. *tête*, *hanap*, It. *teschio*, Germ. *Kopf* illustrate the same tendency. Cf. also

Du. *bol* and *kop* (Kilian, Hexham). For the natural association between helmet and cup cf. L. *galea* and *galeola*. Skinner derives *scull*, a boat,¹ from *escuelle*. This is probably right; cf. the double meaning of *vessel* in English, of *alveus* and *linter* and the relationship of *cymba* and *cymbium*, *scapha* and *scaphium* in L.; cf. also F. *bac*, 'tub, trough, and ferry-boat.' Holinshed uses *skew* for coracle, and the Dict. of the Canting Crew (1690) has *skew*, 'a begger's wooden dish,' for which the Century also gives the meaning 'drinking-cup' (Brome). These are perhaps back formations from *scull* in its two senses.

NOTE.—The fact that *escu(e)lle* is not recorded in O.F. in the sense of *skull* does not seem to be a serious objection to identifying the two words; cf. *mazzard*, 'skull, helmet,' from M.E. *mazer*, drinking-bowl, O.F. *masere*, drinking-bowl (only).

Spraid, sprayed.—This provincial word is widely used in E. (v. Wright) in the sense of roughened or chapped with cold. The Century connects it with S. *spreagh*, plunder. Variants (*spreathe*, *spreaze*) are given in Wright. These must be corruptions of *sprayed*, for the word is obviously from O.F. *aspreier*, 'to roughen.' It is used especially in "hands (*a-*)*sprayed* with cold," and also "a *spraying* wind." Godefroy gives *aspreier* (*-oier*, *-eer*) and several derivatives illustrating the very wide application of O.F. *aspre* to whatever seems rough to any of the senses, and to the effect of heat, cold, hunger, illness, etc.; see also Littré, s.v. *âpre*. *Aspreier* seems to have been supplanted in the sixteenth century by *aspirer*, the only form in Cotgrave. Godefroy Comp. gives an example: "Le maniement de la neige *asprit* (i.e. *sprays*) le cuir des mains." Cf. "*lingua aspera*, rough with driness" (Cooper).

Squinch.—The Century connects both *squinch* and *sconcheon* with *sconce*. Wright gives the correct derivation of *scuncheon* from O.F. *escouinon*, "a scunch, the back part of the jaumbe of a window" (Cotgrave). *Scunch* is a back formation from *scuncheon*, and *squinch* is its doublet. Godefroy does not give the O.F. variant *escuinon*, but cf. Norman *cuignie*, axe (Vie de S. Thomas), for *cognée*, like *écouinon*, a derivative of L. *cuneum*.

Sullen.—The traditional derivation is O.F. **solain*, lonely, "given as a pittance for one monk in Roquefort" (Skeat), equivalent in sense to O.F. *soltain*, solitary. This etymology is, however, not quite satisfactory: (1) **solain*, lonely, is not recorded by Godefroy,

¹ Apparently older than *scull*, a short oar.

though *soltain* is a fairly common word; (2) Roquefort's *solain*, "portion qu'on sert à un religieux" ('a monk,' not 'one monk'), has, I think, nothing to do with *solus*. It can only represent L. *solamen* (= *solatium*), the suffix *-men* being added to verb-stems only (*examen*, *nomen*, *nutrimen*, etc.). Du Cange, from whom Roquefort appears to have taken it, says (s.v. *solatium*): "Haud scio an a *solatium* hoc significatu (refectio) deducenda sit origo vocis Gallicæ *solain*, qua . . . portio monachica designatur; an a verbo *solere* quia quotidie solet præberi." The word simply means 'comfort,' 'refreshment'; cf. "*solari* famem quercu concussa, to ease his hunger with mast" (Virg. quoted by Cooper). It was erroneously connected with *solus* by the compiler of the Prompt. Parv. ("*soleyne*, or a mess of mete for on alone, *solinum*"), and this mistaken etymology was adopted by Halliwell, who is quoted in the Century.

M.E. *soleyn* cannot obviously be O.F. *soltain*. But, at the same time, it often occurs in the sense of 'solitary' (v. Stratmann & Bradley), and in Chaucer ("Book of the Duchesse," 981). There is, however, another M.E. *solein*,¹ solemn, O.F. *solenne* (Godefroy), L. *solemnis*, which is used in the sense of 'dignified, serious, excellent, etc.' I take examples from the same texts quoted by Stratmann & Bradley for *solein*, 'solitary.'

Partenay, l. 864 :

"All redy was made a placé ful *solain*."

Ibid., l. 6104 :

"So by hym was made and furged again
Off Maillers the church, with fresh werke *solain* "

(*beaulx* in F. text). Ibid., l. 4394 :

"Noghtwithstanding went to se his dedes *solain*."²

Gower, iv, 448 : "Thereof a *solein* tale I rede."

There were thus in M.E. two adjectives of identical form, one meaning 'solitary' and the other 'solemn,' 'stately,' etc. Only the latter is found in O.F. I suggest, therefore, that the latter is the original word, and that in one of its senses (*agelastus*) it became associated with the adj. *sole* and was popularly connected with solitude.

¹ The learned form *solem(p)ne* is of course common (and is alone recorded in Stratmann & Bradley), and retains its original meaning, giving modern E. *solemn*.

² Interpreted 'done alone' in E.E.T. (Skeat), but might equally well come under the other meaning.

Palsgrave has two entries: "*solempne* high, solemn"; "*solempne* of maners, haultain" (glossed by *surlie* in Cotgrave). Cotgrave gives *sullen* under *melancholique*, and under *rechigné, refrigné* (both adjectives which could be used to describe what we call 'a solemn ass'), but not under *maussade, morose, morne, revêche*, which rather correspond to modern E. *sullen*. In fact, M.E. and sixteenth century *sullen* must have meant rather 'austere,' 'gloomy,' a meaning more easily growing out of *solemn* than out of *solitary*. The discovery of an O.F. *solain*, solitary, would prove a separate origin for one M.E. *solain*, but would not alter the fact that Modern E. *sullen* derives its chief force from *solemn*. The learned *solemn* has had, of course, an almost independent existence, though it is sometimes curiously juxtaposed with *sullen* as an epithet of kindred force (see examples from Skelton and Shakespeare below). The evidence of the early Latin-English dictionaries is conclusive. Cooper does not give the word under *solus, solitarius, solivagus*, but he has "*acerbus, soleyne*, austere; *agelastus*, that never laugheth, sadde, *soleyne*; *vultuosus*, of a grave and *solemne* countenance." Holyoak has "*sullen, acerbus, agelastus*." Gouldman has "*solemnness* or sadness of countenance, *tetricitas*; *solemn, tetricus*; *sullen, acerbus, agelastus, vultuosus, stomachosus*; *acerbus, . . . sullen, austere*; *agelastus*, one that never laugheth, sad, *sullen*; *vultuosus*, of a grave and *solemn* countenance." Littleton has "a *solemn* look, *vultus tetricus*; *sullen, acerbus, vultuosus, tetricus*; *tetricus, . . . sullen, surly*; *acerbus, . . . sullen, crabbed, austere*; *vultuosus*, of a *sullen, grim* countenance." Skelton uses *solayne* three times, glossed in each case *sullen* by Dyce, but obviously equivalent to *solemn* in its uncomplimentary meaning—

"Nay, jape not with hym, he is no small fole,
It is a *solemnpe* syre and a *solayne*."
(*"Against a comely coystrowne,"* l. 51.)
"By Cryste, quod Favell, Drede is *soleyne* freke."
(*"Bowge of Courte,"* l. 187.)
"Addressyng your selfe, lyke a sadde messengere,
To ower *soleyne* seignecour Sadoke."
(Speke, Parrot, l. 305.)

Shakespeare uses *sullen* at least nineteen times. It sometimes has rather the modern sense of 'peevish,' 'surly' ("*She is peevish, sullen, froward, proud, disobedient, etc.*" "*They told me you were rough and coy and sullen*"). It never has any direct

association with solitude, but it occurs generally in the sense of 'gloomy, austere, doleful,' and even 'solemn,' e.g. :—

"Come, mourn with me for that I do lament,
And put on *sullen* black incontinent" (Richard II, v, 6).

Cf. "Customary suits of *solemn* black" (Hamlet, i, 2).

"And like bright metal on a *sullen* ground,
My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly" (1 Henry IV, i, 2).

So also: "the colours . . . neither *sullenly* dark, nor glaringly lightsome" (Sidney, Arcadia).

"Our *solemn* hymns to *sullen* dirges change"¹ (Romeo, iv, 5).

"Yet the first bringer of unwelcome news
Hath but a losing office; and his tongue
Sounds ever after as a *sullen* bell,
Remember'd knolling a departing friend"
(2 Henry IV, i, 1).

"No longer mourn for me when I am dead
Than you shall hear the surly *sullen* bell
Give warning to the world that I am fled" (Sonnet 71).

Cf. Milton—

"Oft on a plat of rising ground,
I hear the far-off Curfeu sound,
Over some wide-water'd shoar,
Swinging slow with *sullen* roar" (Penseroso, l. 76);

and "the *solemn* curfew" (Tempest, v, 1).

Thus *solemn* and *sullen* are doublets, with meanings sometimes almost identical (gloomy, agelastus), but going so far apart when *solemn* has its etymological meaning of *festal* that Shakespeare could even contrast them. The popular form acquired, in M.E., under the influence of *sole* and the popular etymology of *soleyne*, allowance of food, the meaning of 'solitary,' 'misanthropic,' which easily grew out of *agelastus*.

Surly.—The etymology given by Skinner (*sour*) seems to be generally accepted (Century, Skeat). Wedgwood derives it from *sir*, in accordance with the oldest recorded spelling, and explains *sur-* by the influence of *sour*. The Century does the converse.

¹ This contrast is curious, identical words being actually opposed to each other. The sense remains unaltered if we read: "Our *festal* hymns to *solemn* dirges change" (see context in the play).

Skeat says "probably from A.S. **sūrlīc*, sour-like." There are three very strong arguments against this etymology: (1) A.S. *sūrlīc* does not occur; (2) the word is not found in M.E., where we should certainly expect to find a fairly common sixteenth century epithet if it went back to A.S.; (3) *surlly* did not at first mean 'sour, morose, peevish,' but 'haughty, tyrannical.' Although it may have been associated with *sour*, its original meaning appears as late as Hexham (1675), who gives "*sullen*, suyr,¹ stuyr, die nimmermeer en lacht," but "*surlly*, hoovaerdigh, opgeblasen." I have no doubt that *surlly* is for *sirly*, formed by analogy with *kingly*, *queenly*, *lordly*, *masterly*² (cf. also *imperious*, *tyrannical*, and the older meaning of *lady-like*), and that it is a parallel to Germ. *herrisch*, which renders its sixteenth century meaning; cf. Langland, "And suthe I sauh him sute, as he a *syre* were," which suggests *syrely*. The use of *sire* in the sense of 'ruler' is not uncommon in O.F. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, e.g.—

"Jamais *sire* ne se fasse subget" (Deschamps);

"Faquins commandent, et les pires

Au dessus des bons font les *sires*" (Baif);

[cf. *siresse*, *maitresse-femme*, *femme absolue*, *impérieuse* (Roq.)];

nor in E. of the same period, e.g.: "He is such a grim *syer*"; "Syrus, that soleme *syar* of Babylon" (Skelton); "Melancholly, that angrie *sire*" (Rom. Rose). Cotgrave gives *surlly* under the following F. adjectives:—*haulain*, *haut à la main*, *orgueilleux*, *rogue*, *sourcilleux*, *superbe*, and under *faire du grobis*, all implying arrogance, but not under *hargneux*, *morne*, *revêche*, its modern equivalents. He also gives it under *amastiné*, but the 'surliness' of the house-dog has its element of arrogance also. The fact that it is not used by Cooper (a contemporary of Levins), at least under any of the words under which it might be expected to occur, seems to prove it a neologism. It also does not appear to be in Hoiyoak. Gouldman gives for it *fastuosus*, *superciliosus*, *arrogans*, *contumax*, *ferox*, while *morosus* first appears in Littleton, who also gives *surlly* under *imperiosus*. It is thus clear that for the dictionary-makers of the first half of the seventeenth century, the period at which the word becomes common in literature, the word meant 'imperious' and not 'churlish.' The earliest occurrences I have found are—

¹ Kilian has "*suer-mensch*, homo acerbus, immitis, austerus, tetricus."

² Hybrid formations of this kind are fairly common, e.g., clerkly, miserly, priestly, princely, scholarly, etc.

Manip. Vocab., *serly*, imperiosus (glossed in Cooper by *lordly* and *ladylike*).

"Like *syrlic* shepheards han we none
They keepen all the path."

(Spenser, Shepherd's Calendar.)

"With that *surlie* and imperious colleague of his sirnamed
Imperiosus." (Holland's Pliny.)

"And as for these soure *surlings*, they are to be commended to
Sieur Gaulard." (Camden.)

In the first three examples *surly* = arrogant. In the last the author seems to be playing on both *soure* and *sieur*. This is quoted by Richardson, s.v. *surly*. The word *surling* can only be a diminutive of *sir*, probably coined for the nonce by analogy with *lordling*.

Shakespeare uses *surly* apparently ten times—

"Be opposite with a kinsman, *surly* [= haughty] with servants."
(Twelfth Night, ii, 5, and iii, 4.)

"'Tis like you'll prove a jolly *surly* [= masterful] groom,
That take it on you at the first so roundly." (Shrew, iii, 2.)

"Or if that *surly* [= imperious] spirit, melancholy,¹
Had baked thy blood." (King John, iv, 3.)

"The sad-eyed justice, with his *surly* [= imperious] hum,
Delivering o'er to executors pale
The lazy yawning drone." (Henry V, i, 2.)

"What, shall King Henry be a pupil still,
Under the *surly* [= arrogant] Gloster's governance?"
(1 Henry VI, i, 3.)

"See, how the *surly* [= haughty] Warwick mans the wall."
(3 Henry VI, v, 1.)

"What a vice were it in Ajax now—
If he were proud—

Or covetous of praise—

Ay, or *surly* borne [= arrogant]." (Troilus and Cressida, ii, 3.)

"Or else it would have galled his *surly* [= imperious] nature."
(Coriolanus, ii, 3.)

"Against the Capitol I met a lion,
Who glar'd upon me, and went *surly* [= haughtily] by
Without annoying me." (Julius Cæsar, i, 3.)

¹ Cf. "Melancholly, that angrie *sire*" (Rom. Rose).

An examination of the context of these passages will show that the alternative I have suggested renders the sense pretty accurately. Thus Shakespeare does not use *surlly* in the plays in the sense of *churlish*. The word occurs also in Sonnet 71: "Than you shall hear the *surlly*, sullen bell Give warning to the world that I am fled From this vile world . . ." Here it is, as in the plays, a dignified epithet, with which may be compared "in cradle of the rude, *imperious* surge."

Taint.—The modern authorities all seem to accept the old derivation from F. *teint(e)*, *teindre*, L. *tingere*, which dates from Minsheu. The Century says "in some senses *taint* is prob. associated with *tangere* or confused with *attaingt*." Professor Skeat, s.v. *attaingt*, says, "in no way allied to *taint*." Richardson remarks, "our old writers seem to use it as equivalent to *touch*, or touch lightly." I propose to show that *taint* is the aphetic doublet of *attaingt*, O.F. *atainte*, *ataindre* (*ad-tangere*), M.E. *teint*, *taint*, for *ataint* (Stratmann & Bradley), and has been very slightly influenced by *taint*, colour, F. *teint*. The mistaken etymology so generally accepted is due to the fact that in modern E. *taint* always has the meaning of infection, corruption, etc., easily associated with change of colour; cf. L. *inficere*. The real order of development has been roughly—(1) to attain, touch, (2) to wound, attack, (3) to affect, influence, (4) to spoil, vitiate. The legal *attaingt* preserves, generally speaking, the first meaning only, "*atteint par la justice du roi*." All the examples in the Century¹ for *taint* (noun, adjective, verb) can be paralleled by F. examples of *atteinte*, *atteint*, *atteindre*. I select a few only—

- "His *taints* and honours
Waged equal with him" (A. and C.).
- Cf. "Porter *atteinte* à l'honneur, à la réputation de qqn" (D.G.).
- "Your business has received a *taint*" (B. Jonson).
- Cf. "Percé jusques au fond du cœur,
D'une *atteinte* imprévue aussi bien que mortelle" (Corn.).
- "A hallowed temple, free from *taint*
Of ethnicism" (B. Jonson).
- Cf. "La doctrine est demeurée sans *atteinte*" (Bossuet).

¹ Except "with a silver *taint* like a lily" (Greene), which is obviously F. *teint* (*inctan*).

"Nero will be *tainted* with remorse" (3 Henry VI).

Cf. "Je sais de quel remords son courage est *atteint*" (Rac.).

"Infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and *tainteth* it" (Bacon).

Cf. "*Atteint* de la peste, d'une maladie" (Littré).

"Cold and wet lodging had so *tainted* their people"
("New England's Memorial").

Cf. "Car si l'avait *atainte* et la pluie et la bise" ("Berte aux grands pieds").

"and the truth

With superstition and tradition *taint*" (Milton).

Cf. "La première *atteinte* que nous donnons à la vérité"
(Bossuet).

"The honour of a gentleman is liable to be *tainted*"
(Steele).

Cf. "Sa bonne foi ne reçut jamais la moindre *atteinte*"
(Bossuet).

"a pure unspotted heart,

Never yet *taint* with love, I send the king"

(1 Henry VI).

Cf. "Qui vous a dit que j'ai pour elle l'âme *atteinte*?"
(Mol.).

Taint, and *to taint*, used of thrusting, tilting at a ring, etc., are of course F. *atteindre*; v. examples in Richardson and Century, and cf. "*atteinte*, au jeu de bague, donner *atteinte* à une bague, la toucher sans l'emporter" (Littré). The Century absurdly calls it a variant of *tent*, *tempt*. Similarly, in the various definitions of *taint* in the Century, the idea of tinging and tincturing is forcibly introduced without reason. F. *teindre* is rarely used with a personal object, and practically its only metaphorical use is in speaking of feelings, ideas, etc., e.g. "un sentiment *teint* de tristesse," without any idea of 'tainting.' On the other hand, Littré gives "*atteindre*, fig. *toucher*, *léser*, concerner." "*Tainted* with heresy" is in O.F. "*atains* de l'heresie" (Quesnes de Béthune); "*tainted* with the same murder" (Holl. Plutarch) can be paralleled by O.F. "Quiconques est *atains* du cas si comun de mordre ou de traison" (Godef.). Palsgrave does not give the aphetic form, but only "I *attheynt*, I hyt or touche a thyng," etc. Cotgrave has "*attaint*, . . . touched, hit, stricken; also, *tainted*, attainted, convicted."

The transition from 'attacked' by disease, heresy, etc., to 'corrupted' in the same way, appears clearly in the seventeenth century dictionaries. Neither Holyoak, Gouldman, or Sherwood register *taint*, except in the sense of *convictio*, but they all have *attainted* in both senses, e.g. "*attainted*, attaint, attainet; corrompu, gasté" (Sherwood). In Littleton the process is complete; he gives only (for *taint*) 'corrumpto, inficio,' neither of which is glossed by *taint* in Cooper.

Shakespeare uses *taint*, *tainted*, *tainting* thirty-seven times. Some of these cases have been quoted already. In others the word has obviously its final meaning of infection, corruption. The following examples show that, even as late as Shakespeare, *to taint* was sometimes, consciously or unconsciously, identified with *to attack*, F. *atteindre* :—

"For, sure, the man is *tainted* in his wits."

(Twelfth Night, iii, 4.)

"Il a évidemment le cerveau *atteint*" (cf. *touched*).

"We come not by the way of accusation,

To *taint* that honour every good tongue blesses."

(Henry VIII, iii, 1.)

Cf. "Porter *atteinte* à l'honneur de qqn."

"His actions show much like to madness; pray Heaven his wisdom be not *tainted*" (Measure for Measure, iv, 4).

"Ses actions ressemblent à celles d'un fou; fasse le ciel qu'il ne soit pas *atteint* de folie!"

The N.E.D., s.v. *attaint*, accepts *taint* from *teindre*—"The subsequent development [of *attaint*] was affected by its being associated in fancy with *taint* (F. *teindre*), with which its aphetic form coincided, so that in some senses it passed into the latter verb." These senses are dealt with by the N.E.D. under *attaint* 9 (influence of *taint*) and 10 (full sense of *taint*). However, the examples quoted can be brought under F. *atteindre* in the same way as those I have dealt with, e.g. "Lest she with blame her honour should *attaint*" (Spenser), which would be in F. "de peur qu'elle ne porte *atteinte* à son honneur."

To sum up, *attaint* and *taint* are the same word. Neither of them has anything to do with dyeing, although there is another rare word *taint* from *teindre* (v.s.). For the transition of meaning from mere contact to corruption. cf. E. *contagion*, *touched*, Germ. *anstecken*. The mistaken derivation from *teindre* is perhaps due to

the M.L. *attinctus* quoted by the N.E.D. s.v. *attaint*, and this M.L. form for *attactus* is itself due to a mistaken etymology, or is simply a barbarous form from *attingere* (cf. V.L. **pinctus* for *pictus*). Skinner was undecided between the two etymologies: "Verum autem etymon est a Fr. *teinct*, *atteinct*, part. verbi *teindre*, *atteindre*, *attingere*, q.d. *Attinctus* putredine, vel ab *attaint*, part. verbi *atteindre*, *attingere*, q.d. 'putredine *attactus*, ut vulgo dicimus, 'it has gotten a touch.'" Cf. "I will not poison thee with my *ataint*" (Lucrece, 154).

NOTE.—*Taint*, a spider, which was popularly supposed (Browne's "Vulgar Errors") to infect cattle, is probably the same as Ray's *tant*, a small field spider, the form being corrupted in accordance with the superstition. *Tant* is perhaps an adaptation of F. *taon*, gadfly, also particularly hostile to cattle, and used of other parasites; "*tahon*, a brizze, brimsee, gadbee, dunflie, oxeffie; *tahon marin*, the sea brizze; a kind of worme found about some fishes" (Cotgrave). Milton uses *taint*-worm (Lycidas, l. 46).

Tallant.—"The upper hance or break of the rudder abaft" (Smyth). Not in Century. This appears to be "F. *étalon*, cheville reliant deux bois enchâssés dans des mortaises" (D.G.); "O.F. *estalon*, . . . a short, and thicke pegge, or piece of timber, whereby two sparres are fastened byas-wise together" (Cotgrave). The D.G. regards it as cognate with Germ. *stiel*, handle. The E. word is not in Stratmann & Bradley. The earliest occurrence I have noted is (1486) in "Naval Accounts and Inventories," ed. Oppenheim (Navy Records Society, 1896): "Also the same day paid to Raufe a Calton for a peece of tymbre of hym bought and spent in making of a *talland* for the same rother of the said ship" (p. 14).