

II.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT.

[Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May 1, 1903.]

Accompliment. The word *accompliment*, in the same sense as *compliment*, is rare. I note that it occurs twice in Act i, sc. 2, of the *Atheist's Tragedy*, by Cyril Tourneur; pr. in 1611.

Boat. It has been fully shown that all the forms of this word are unoriginal except the A.S. *bāt*, masc., from a Teut. type **baitōz*, and the Icel. *beit*, neut., given by Vigfusson as a poetical word for 'ship,' from a Teut. type **baitom*. And it is further pointed out by Liden (*Studien zur altindischen und vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte*, Upsala, 1897; p. 34) that these forms are clearly allied to Icel. *biti*, a cross-beam in a house or in a ship, whence the verb *bíta*, to divide a ship with cross-beams; from *bit-*, the weak grade of the Teut. root **beit-* (whence the second stem **bait-*) as seen in A.S. *bītan*, to bite, pt. t. *bāt*. It is well known that this root must also have had the sense of 'to cleave'; as *bītan* is cognate with Lat. *findere* (pt. t. *fīdi*), to cleave, and Skt. *bhid*, to cleave; the Idg. form of the root being *BHEID*. See Brugmann, i, § 567. The explanation would be that Icel. *biti* would mean a piece of split wood, and A.S. *bāt* a boat made of split wood.

Coke. See my (doubtful) note on this word in *Athenæum*, No. 3,869, Dec. 21, 1901; p. 842.

Curds. M.E. *crudde*, a curd; prov. E. *crud*, coagulated milk; cf. prov. E. *cruddle*, to curdle (E.D.D.); prov. E. *crowd*, to squeeze, pt. t. *crud*; prov. E. *crids*, curds; prov. E. *crowdy*, a kind of porridge or oatmeal gruel, also called *cruddy*. The forms *crud*, *cruddle*, are from **crud-*, weak grade of A.S. *crūdan*, to crowd, press; *crīd* is from the mutated form **cryd-*; and *crowdy* is from the infin. stem *crūd-*. All the forms are related to E. *crowd*, to press, squeeze. (Cf. *Athenæum*, No. 3,834, April 20, 1901; p. 501.)

Cutter, a swift sailing-vessel. From the prov. E. *cut*, to speed; see E.D.D. And this represents the weaker grade of Norw. *kūta*,

str. vb. (pt. t. *kaut*), of which the sense is to run, to speed; as duly noted in the same work. Perhaps we can derive *kite* from the same root; see *Kite*.

Eggs. There are two proverbs relating to eggs, one of them occurring in Shakespeare, both of which have been explained. I add a few details.

The former is: *to come in with five eggs*, correctly explained as “to break in fussily with an idle story.” The two best quotations are given, viz., from Udall’s translation of Erasmus’ *Apophthegmes*, *Jul. Cæsar*, § 20, and from the *E. tr. of More’s Utopia*, ed. Arber, p. 56. The phrase was sometimes altered to—*to come in with five eggs for a penny, and four of them addle*. There is a note on the subject in the 1877 reprint of Udall, by R. Roberts, at p. 459, which is helpful. In the first place, Mr. Roberts gives another quotation from Heywood’s *Proverbs*, pt. ii, cap. 1, as follows:—

“One sayd; a well favoured olde woman she is;
The divell she is, said another; and to this,
In came the third, *with his five egges*, and sayde,
Fiftie yere a-goe I knew her a trym mayde.”

He then quotes from Simon Fish’s *Supplicacion*, ed. Furnivall, to show that the author quotes some proverbs, one being—“The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny”; to which he adds that “egges be solde for fower a peny” in consequence. It is clear from this that five a penny was once a usual price for eggs; so that “to come in with five eggs” doubtless meant “to offer five eggs for a penny.” It is easy to see that it would be annoying to people who were somewhat seriously engaged in bargaining at a market for things of some value to be interrupted in the transaction by a man coming in with an offer of five eggs for a penny; i.e. with a trivial offer of a thing that was not particularly wanted and was not alluringly cheap. This is quite sufficient to show how the phrase originated.

The second phrase is very interesting as occurring in Shakespeare. When, in *Winter’s Tale*, i, 2, 161, Leontes says to his little boy, “Will you take eggs for money?” the high-spirited lad replies, “No, my lord, I’ll fight.” This is explained to mean—“Will you suffer yourself to be put off with something worthless?” Mr. Roberts has a full solution of it. He states that, within living memory [he is writing in 1877], farmers’ daughters would go to market, and take with them a basket of eggs. When they bought

something at a shop, which came, for example, to 3s. 4d., they would lay down 3s., and then ask the shopman, "Will you take eggs for money?" i.e. will you have four pennyworth of eggs instead of the 4d.? The shopman usually wished for nothing of the sort, especially if he had that morning had more offers than one of the same kind. But he was often afraid of offending a good customer, and would weakly consent. Hence the exact sense of the phrase is really this—Will you consent to something which you would much rather refuse to do? This shows clearly how the phrase arose.

Frail (of figs). It means a light basket; derived, in N.E.D., from O.F. *frayel*, of unknown origin. Godefroy gives both *frael* and *flael*; and in 1285 we find "De *flaello* ficum"; Ducange. I suggest, as the origin, the Lat. *flagellum*, whence also E. *flail*. The O.F. *frael* would result from *flael* by dissimilation; cf. *rossignol*. Ducange gives Lat. *flagellum* ceræ, which seems to mean a frailful of new wax, weighing one-sixth of a pound; and the examples in Ducange and Godefroy show that the frail was used for figs, grapes, wax, and resin. As to the Lat. *flagellum*, we may readily suppose that the same rod which formed an effectual switch could be used, in company with other rods, so as to form a basket; and rods of a thicker sort could be used for thrashing out corn. Baskets for carrying grapes could conveniently be made of young vine-shoots; cf. Vergil, *Georg.*, ii, 299. (Cf. *Athenæum*, No. 3,828, March 9, 1901; p. 307.)

Goluptious. I suggested, in my Notes on Eng. Etym., that this represents the more classical form *voluptuous*. But I can now do better; for it is clear that *goluptious* really represents the by-form *voluptious*. The latter is used by Heywood, in the first scene of his play entitled *The English Traveller*: "as might best Please the *voluptious*."

Gourmand. Referred by Diez to Icel. *gormr*, ooze, mud, grounds of coffee, etc. This is practically right, but we require further evidence. F. *gourmand* is precisely Norw. *gurmen*, one who is inclined to gormandise; from Norw. *gurma*, to gorge oneself (Ross). The lit. sense is to stir up mud, also to eat steadily and continually (Aasen); from Norw. *gurm*, mud.

Greengage. The earliest literary use of it is in Act 3 of Foote's *Lame Lover* (1770). Here Sir Luke Limp gives a discourse upon various kinds of 'plumbs,' and is interrupted by Sergeant Circuit, who exclaims, interrogatively, "The green gages, or

orlines?" The N.E.D. has this quotation (s.v. Orleans); but with the spelling *orleans*. I find the spelling *orlines* in the play as printed in *The Modern Eng. Drama*, vol. 5 (1811). This spelling means that the *-ean-* was pronounced like the *-ine* in *machine*; indeed, the phrase New Orlines, with the emphasis on the last syllable, occurs in a popular nigger-song which was very familiar to me more than fifty years ago.

Griddle. I have already noted that Moisy gives M.F. *gredil* as occurring in the sixteenth century. But Godefroy, in his Supp., s.v. *gril*, gives a form *gridil*, from 'GARL.' (? John de Garlande). And we find A.F. *gridil* in a gloss upon *craticulam* in Neckam; see Wright, Vol. of Vocab., series i, p. 102, l. 9.

Gristle. The A.S. form has for its chief vowel a long or short *i*; this is shown by the spelling *gristle* in Vocab. 158. 22; 265. 16; 414. 1. But a far older gloss occurs in "*Cartilago, naes-gristlae*" in the Epinal and Erfurt glossaries; see Sweet, O.E. Texts, p. 46. This seems to be distinct from the A.S. *grost*, *gristle* (also in O.E. Texts).

Grogram. The earliest known quotation is dated 1562. It is perhaps worth notice that the spelling *grograyn* occurs at p. 147 of Mr. F. S. Ellis's edition (in 1893) of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. This edition represents the author's MS., supposed to have been written in 1557.

Grove. The root of the word *grove* is unknown. The A.S. form is *grāf*, of rare occurrence. As the A.S. *ā* answers to Norse *ei*, we may notice the Norw. *greiv-la*, a tree whose branches spread wide out like horns, *greiv-la*, v., to branch out; *greive*, a ram with wide horns; *grivle*, a bullock with wide horns, also a man with long arms and legs (Ross).

Gull. Perhaps *gull*, a dupe, was one of the somewhat slangy words that were so freely imported in Tudor times from the Netherlands. Cf. E. Fries. *gul*, soft, kind, good-natured (Koolman); M. Du. *gulle*, 'a great wench without wit,' Hexham; Low G. *gull*, soft, good-natured (Berghaus).

Gulp. It has been shown that the older form was *gluppen* or *gloppen*; see P. Plowman, A. v, 191, and the various readings. But it is worth while to say that it is derived from the weak grade **glup* of a known Teutonic strong verb, viz. Swed. dial. *gliopa*, to swallow (pt. t. *glop*), Norw. *glüpa* (pt. t. *glauþ*); so that the Teut. root is **glēup*. The word *gloppen*, to stare in amazement, may be allied, as the Norw. *glupa* has three senses; (1) to gape; (2) to snap at with

open mouth; (8) to swallow. The word *gloppen*, to stare, be amazed, is clearly allied to *glappa* in the sense to gape, to open the mouth wide, which often accompanies amazement. Hence we obtain the connexion between the words, and the form of their Teut. root. Cf. Du. *gluipen*, to peep, in Franck.

Gurnard. We find *gurnard* as early as 1314, in the time of Edw. II. Cotgrave has the forms *gournauld* and *grougnaut*, the latter of which he marks as a Languedoc word. But neither form is truly French; and it is tolerably clear that the forms are both Provençal. Mistral gives the modern forms as *gournau* and *grougnau*, both meaning 'gurnard'; and these are from the verb *gourgna* or *grougna*, to grunt, and ultimately from the Lat. *grunnire*. This does not affect the usual explanation of the word; but it accounts for the E. spelling.

Ham. The E. *ham* is from A.S. *hamm*, a strong fem., and is allied to Du. *ham*, O.H.G. *hamma*, prov. G. *hamme*, a ham. This is connected by Dr. Murray and Franck with O. Irish *cam*, W. *cam*, bent. Brugmann connects *ham* with Gk. *κνήμη*, the lower part of the leg (i, § 421), which is not very convincing.

The English *ham* has its exact counterpart in the Late L. *camba*, the bend of the leg. This interesting old form occurs in The Book of Cerne, and is thence quoted in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, vol. i, p. lxxi of the Preface. The Latin text actually reads *cambas* (another reading being *gambas*), and the A.S. gloss is *homme*, fem. pl. acc. This shows that the Lat. *camba* had the very sense of the A.S. *homm*, viz. 'ham'; and the close connexion of the words is thus rendered obvious. See *Jamb* in N.E.D.

Harlot. It is well known that this word was a much less objectionable one in former times, and was applied to a man, with much the same sense as our 'fellow.' It is undoubtedly, as said in the New E. Dict., from O.F. *herlot*, *harlot*, *arlot*, masc., a lad, young fellow, vagabond; and is cognate with the Ital. *arlotto*, which Florio explains by 'a lack-Latin, or hedge-priest.' The Prov. form is *arlot*, which Mistral explains by 'pillard, ribaud, goujat qui suivait les armées,' i.e. a spoiler, ribald, camp-follower. The O.F. *herlot* is perfectly correct, but the best quotation in Godefroy is given s.v. *berlot*, because, in Michel's edition of *Tristan*, it happened to be thus misprinted. The origin of O.F. *herlot* is wholly unknown; the guesses given in Körting are all wholly useless. I shall therefore venture upon another, which at any rate is possible. I think the sense of 'camp-follower' was probably

the original one, because all the other senses follow from it easily. Again, it must be of Teut. origin, as shown by the O.F. and E. *h*. Thirdly, I take it to be a compound word, of which the former half is the O.H.G. *heri*, *hari*, G. *heer*, an army. All that remains is to discover a Germanic *lot*, with a suitable sense. But this actually occurs as a suffix in the Du. *labber-lot*, a blackguard, mentioned by Franck under *leuteren*, to loiter. The original sense of this *-lot* was precisely loafer, loiterer, idler. The fem. form of it occurs in the W. Flemish *lutte*; De Bo explains *dronke-lutte* as a drunken woman, a slut; and *jenever-lutte* as a gin-drinking woman; plainly terms of reproach. Both these are connected with O.H.G. *lotar*, M.H.G. *loter*, *lotter*, useless, vagabond-like, O.H.G. *lotar*, a frivolous fellow, also frivolity, *loter*, buffoonery, *lotarsprähha*, frivolous talk, *loter*, a buffoon, worthless fellow, *lotervalle*, a dissolute woman, *loterheit*, buffoonery, *loterie*, f., a frivolous woman, *loterchöson*, to speak vain things, *loterlich*, frivolous, *loterpfaffe*, a frivolous priest (like Florio's hedge-priest), *loterritter*, a valueless knight, *lotersingare*, a strolling singer. Kluge connects these words with G. *liederlich*, but I do not know whether this is at variance with the view expressed by Franck. Perhaps it is not, if we further connect them all with A.S. *lypre*, contemptible, bad, and the M.E. *lither*. However this may be, I think that the original sense of O.F. *her-lot* may very well have been either 'an army-loafer' or 'an army-buffoon,' and that it is in this direction that we must look for the right etymology. Diez derives it from L. *ardelio*, but this does not account for the *h*; Körting from *hariolus*, a soothsayer, which is quite improbable. Suchier tried to extract it from the G. *herold*; and I agree with him as to the former syllable. But *-lot* does not come from *-wald*.

Hitch, to move jerkily. This verb is not known before 1440, where it occurs in the Prompt. Parv. Its origin is obscure. But prov. E. has also the forms *hotch* and *hutch* in the same sense. The prov. E. forms help us, as they show that the vowel answers to A.S. *y*, not *i*; and the form *hotch* will suit the Du. *hokken*, if we can find a suitable sense in that verb. The Du. *hokken* means to squat, or crouch, or sit hunched up; but it also has a very peculiar use. Thus Calisch gives a sense 'to be wanting, to stick,' with the illustration "*het hokt, or er hokt iets, there is something wanting, there is an obstacle.*" But this is just our phrase 'there is a hitch'; and we may suspect that there is an actual relationship.

between the words. The Du. *hokken* is related to E. *huckster*, and is accounted for in Franck's Etym. Du. Dictionary. Perhaps the original sense had reference to an obstacle sticking up in a road, over which a thing had to be pulled. It would then move jerkily, whilst the original sense of sticking up would account for the sense to crouch, i.e. to hunch up one's back. The Icel. *hokinn*, bent, is the p.p. of a lost strong verb of which the original sense may well have been 'to stick out,' or 'to project'; and an A.S. **hyccan* might be allied to it.

Hog. As regards the early form of *hog*, a recent and most fortunate find of two small slips of parchment in the cover of a book belonging to Queens' College, Cambridge, has given us the indubitable A.S. form. An account of the A.S. inventory which these slips contain has just been printed for the Cambridge Phil. Soc.; and I repeat here so much as relates to the word *hog*. The inventory belongs to the former half of the eleventh century, certainly before the Conquest, and in it we can make out these words:—æt strætham .xx. sugena . . . æt . . . de swyn. and .xl. hogga; ætxl. hogga æt hafuces[tūn]. I.e. 'at Streatham [Cambs.] 20 of sows, at . . . swine and 40 of hogs; at . . . 44 of hogs at Hauxton' [near Cambridge]. This proves that the A.S. form was *hogg* or *hocg*, a strong masculine, with the gen. sing. *hocges* and the gen. pl. *hocga*. Thus the discovery of two small slips of parchment carries back the history of the word for 300 years. I have also noticed quite recently that the name of *Ailmer Hogg* occurs twice in the Ramsey Chartulary, vol. i, p. 188, and vol. iii, p. 39, in a document attributed to the time of Aylwin, who was abbot of Ramsey from 1043 (before the Conquest) to 1079; which practically gives us another early instance, and shows that even at that date it had already become a surname or nickname. Cf. also *hogger*, Cursor Mundi, 1517; *hoggaster* occurs in 1175.

Irk. The etymology of *irk* has been given up; but it may be thus explained. The N.E.D. has M.E. *argh*, from A.S. *earh*; also spelt *ergh*, *erf* in Scotch, and *arf* in Northern E. It has the sense: 'inert, sluggish, lazy, slow, loath, reluctant.' Hence was formed A.S. *irgþ* (Toller), *yrǵð*; as, e.g., in The Battle of Maldon, l. 6. As the final *þ* is voiceless (cf. *streng-th*, *leng-th*), this would produce a base *irk-*, from which the verb *irk* and the M.E. adj. *irk* can both be derived. The sense of *irk* almost coincides with that of *argh*; it is given as: 'weary, tired, troubled, bored, disgusted,

loath.' Hence the verb *irk*, orig. 'to grow weary, . . . to be loath to do something.' We have almost an exact parallel in G.; in which *es ärgert mich*, i.e. 'it irks me,' is derived from G. *arg*, cognate with A.S. *earh*. We might even compare *irk*, from *earg*, with M.E. *dwerk*, a dwarf; cf. *dwarf* with prov. E. *arf*. So also in Dutch, we have *dat ergert mij*, it irks me; from *erg*, bad. Aasen gives Norw. *erga* with the same sense as Dan. *ærgre*, to vex, annoy, also used as a reflexive verb; and Rietz notes prov. Swed. *ärge*, vb., as a derivative of *arg*, adj. Schade records M.H.G. "*es arget mir (or mich)*, es ist mir bedenklich, es ist mir zuwider."

Jack-of-the-clock. This is well known, from Shakespeare, as meaning a figure which mechanically struck clock-hours on a bell. But it seems worth adding that a similar name was given to a similar contrivance in France. The F. name is given in Roquefort as *Jacquemarc* (with variations), and in Godefroy's Supplement as *Jaquemart*. Godefroy notes that the name occurs in Rabelais. Roquefort says it was named from its inventor, *Jacques Marc*; but gives no proof of this.

Jag. The N.E.D. regards *jag* as a variant of *dag*; and we find in the Prompt. Parv. "*Iagge*, or *dagge* of a garment, *fractillus*." The sense seems to be a pendant of cloth, in the shape of a blade of a dagger. The origin of both words is obscure; but it seems reasonable to consider *dag* as having been suggested by F. *dague*, a dagger; a conclusion which is generally accepted. No origin has been suggested for *jag*. I suggest that, just as the E. *dag* may have been originated by F. *dague*, a dagger, so the E. *jag* may have been suggested by a F. **jagaye*, one of the forms assumed by F. *zagaye*, an assegai or spear-head. This is a very old word; Godefroy quotes the dimin. form *jagayette*, as well as the variant *archegaie*, which is merely a form *chagaye* with a prefix *ar-* due to the Arab. definite article. The compound *lancegay*, i.e. *lancezagaye*, occurs in Chaucer's Sir Thopas, which shows the antiquity of the weapon; whereas *jag* does not occur till after 1400. The peculiar use of the words helps the hypothesis; both *dag* and *jag* represent something in the shape of a dagger-blade or a javelin-head; and both have the secondary sense of *to stab*, or *to pierce through*; see examples in N.E.D. Both words are probably of Oriental origin, and due to the Crusades. *Zagaye* is known to be a Berber word, i.e. N. African Arabic; and F. *dague* is obviously not of Latin origin, but may be plausibly referred to the root seen in Heb. *dākhāh*, to strike.

Jerkin. The only words that resemble it are the late Du. *jurk*, a frock (Sewel); E. Fries. *jurken*, a child's frock (Koolman); and the Westphalian *jürken*, a sort of overcoat. It is known that the Du. *j* is a *y*, not E. *j*; and that a jerkin is not a child's frock; but it is difficult to resist the suspicion that there may be some sort of connexion. Perhaps it came about thus: Koolman records an E. Fries. Christian name *Djure*, which he refers to *Djurko*, *Diurko*, and takes to be the E. Fries. form of Du. *Dirk* (Dietrich), and also to be the origin of the surnames *Djurken* and *Jurken*. I think he is wrong as to *Dirk* (except by way of popular confusion), because Berghaus explains that *Juri* really means *George*, and that the pet-names for George are *Jürgen* and *Jürken*, the latter of which he assigns to Hamburg. I see no difficulty, even phonetically, in deriving our *jerkin* (first known in 1512) from a Friesic *Djurken*; nor yet in deriving the late Du. *jurk* from a Friesic *Jurken*. The only difficulty that remains is that of deriving the name of a garment from that of a maker; but this is to some extent met by such cases as *mackintosh* and *doily*. And I find a far stronger proof of the likelihood of the suggestion in the fact that Godefroy actually gives O.F. *georget* as meaning 'sorte de casaque,' which can hardly be derived from anything but the same name of *George*; whilst at the same time it seems to be generally admitted that *jacket* is derived from *Jacques*. Perhaps even Cotgrave's *jargeot*, *jargot*, "a kind of course garment worn by country people," may be similarly explained. (Athenæum, No. 3,924, Jan. 10, 1903.)

Kick. The solution of this word has been entirely given up. The notion of deriving it from the Welsh *cicio*, to kick, has been abandoned, because the borrowing runs the other way. As the form, having two hard *k*'s, is not very likely to be a native one, and it is not Celtic or French, we can only expect it to be of Scandinavian origin. The easiest solution is to suppose that it is nothing but an assimilated form of *kink*, with *kk* for *nk* in the usual manner so common in Old Norse. We are here greatly helped by the E.D.D., from which we learn that *kink* is actually still used in the same sense; thus, in Mid Yorkshire, the phrase "He'll *kink* t' bairn," means "he will kick the child"; and again, in W. Yks., we find: "Betty Barrilwaist, wi' *kinkin'* back [i.e. kicking back] lost her balance." Cf. Norw. *kinka*, to wriggle, to rock; *kika*, also *kikka*, to sprain or dislocate (Aasen); *kikk*, a sprain, *kikka*, to drive very hard so as to sprain, especially used of a horse

(Ross). The idea seems to express a convulsive action or jerk. The E. *chincough* is called *kinkhoest* in Dutch, but *kikhosta* in Swedish.

Kit, a small fiddle or violin. (F.—L.—Gk.) This is a derivative, ultimately, from Gk. *κιθάρα*, L. *cithara*. The intermediate form may be the M. Fr. *quiterne*, a gittern (Cot.); of which *kit* is an abbreviation. Godefroy, s.v. *quiterneur*, a player on a gittern, notes the variant *quiterneur*. The form seems to belong to the Norman dialect of French; see Moisy, Gloss. Comp. Anglo-Normand, 1895; p. 813.

Kite. The A.S. form is *cȳta*, answering to Teut. **kūt-jon-*, masc. Perhaps from the strong verb preserved in Norw. *kuta* (pt. t. *kaut*), of which one sense is to run, to go swiftly; so that the *kite* would be named from its swiftness of flight. So also **Cutter**.

League, as a measure of distance. The early spellings are *lege*, *leege*, *leghe*; also *leuge*, *lewge*. "The space of .iiij. *leges*" occurs in Gesta Romanorum, ch. 78, p. 397. The forms *leuge*, *lewge*, may be from Lat. *leuga* immediately; but I think that *lege* or *leghe* was adopted directly from Bordeaux, which belonged to England at the end of the fourteenth century. Mistral gives the Bordeaux form as *lègue*; and Godefroy has a form *leguee* as a derivative (s.v. *lieuee*). The Gascon form is *lega* (Moncaut), and the Provençal is *lègo*; cf. Span. *legua*. The Celtic type is *leugā*; Stokes-Fick, p. 244. It is worth noticing that, according to Cotgrave, the German league was about four miles long, the Languedoc league about three miles long, and the Italian league about two miles long. The English league coincides, as to length, with the Languedoc league, which is what we should expect. Fabyan (see N.E.D.) says that a *lege* "conteyneth iiij Englysshe myles."

Ledger. The earliest quotation in the N.E.D. is dated 1481, with reference to the sense of 'a large copy of the breviary.' Quite recently, however, Wylie's Hist. of Henry IV., vol. iv, p. 198, quotes "19 portos, 3 liggers" as occurring in 1401. As *portos* was a *small* copy of the breviary, a *ligger* here means a *large* one.

Lingo. I have given Port. *lingoa* as the probable origin of this form. But Mistral gives *lengo*, *lingo* as the Provençal forms, noting that *lingo* is used in Marseilles. Surely we obtained it from that famous port.

Loop, a noose. In my larger Etym. Dict. I ventured to derive *loop* from the Gael. *lub*, explained by Macleod and Dewar as

'a bend, curvature, a bending of the shore, a loop, a noose, a winding, meander, maze, a snare,' etc. As this was received with some derision, I tried to make out that it was of Scand. origin. But lately Mr. Bradley has thought that I was quite right. The word is genuinely Celtic; see *lùb*, to bend, in Macbain's Etym. Gaelic Dict.; and note the form *lùb-tha*, bent, in Old Irish (Windisch). When reconsidering the question lately I was much struck by the curious use of *loop* in Scottish, to denote the winding of a river; see E.D.D. and Jamieson; because Gael. *lùb* has also this precise sense. Further, the Gael. *lùb* was used in the secondary sense of 'deceit, guile'; which is the obvious origin of Lowl. Sc. *loopy*, crafty, deceitful; for which the E.D.D. assigns no origin.

Malapert. In the N.E.D., s.v. *Apert*, it is shown that *some* of its senses are not from L. *apertus*, open, but from L. *expertus*. This seems certainly right for sense 4. It is worth noting that, whilst Godefroy confuses these words hopelessly, Cotgrave keeps them apart by spelling 'open' as *apert*, and 'expert' as *appert*, with a doubled *p*; and this agrees with *appert* in Caxton (sense 4). I believe that *malapert* is likewise from O.F. *appert*; and is much the same as *mal-adroit*. See *Malapert* in my Concise Dict., where 'open' should be deleted.

Martingale. It is agreed that the F. *martingale* is of Prov. origin; see Prov. *martegalo* in Mistral. And further, that the word is of purely local origin, from the adj. *Martegau*, meaning an inhabitant of *Martegue* or *Martigue*, an isolated town near the delta of the river Rhone. This place, according to Mistral, is so named from its proximity to a pool named *estang de Marto*, from Prov. *santo Marto*, i.e. St. Martha of Bethany, who was said to have come to Provence, and is supposed to be buried at Tarascon, situate at the apex of the Rhone delta.

Moist. The etym. is disputed. Hatzfeld suggests L. *muscidus*, mossy, from *muscus*; Körting gives L. **muccidus*, **mūcidus*, from L. *mūcus*. But Körting (§ 6414) also approves of the old etym. from L. *musteus*, **mustidus*, **mustius*, from L. *mustum*, new wine. The use of *moisty* in Chaucer certainly helps this. So does the use of E. *musty*, which resembles the Gascon *musti*, Prov. *mousti*, moist. Further, the Prov. *mousti* closely resembles the Prov. *moust*, must; with which Mistral connects it. It is worth notice that Godefroy, in his Supplement, gives some remarkable forms, s.v. *Moiste*; viz.: *muste*, *moste*, *moete*, *muiste*, *moite*, *moyste*; and he gives

examples in which both *muste* and *moiste* have the sense of *moist*, i.e. musty. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there is a real connexion between *moist* and L. *mustum*. Cf. Span. *mostoso*, ‘mustie, of new wine’; Minshew.

Motet. From F. *motet*. I have given this as a borrowed word from Ital. *mottetto*; but it is really a dimin. of F. *mot*, a word; also (as noticed by Cotgrave) a note winded by a huntsman on his horn. See Hatzfeld. That the F. word was not borrowed from the Italian appears from its early use. It occurs in Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 242; and even in Wyclif, *Works*, ed. Matthew, p. 91, l. 4 from bottom.

Musty, mouldy, etc. The etymology offers some difficulty, as the sense connects it rather with the word *moist* than with *must*, i.e. new wine. Perhaps it came immediately from Gascony, through the Bourdeaux wine trade. Mistral gives Prov. *mousti*, moist; Gascon *musti*; and Körting, § 6329, notes Limousin *mousti*, moist. It seems natural to associate these words with Prov. *moust*, new wine. And perhaps this throws some light on the difficult word *moist*, with its derivative *moisty*.

Node. The L. *nodus* has sometimes been compared with E. *knot*, but there is no trace of an initial *g* in the L. word. It is rather related to Skt. *naddha-*, tied, bound, p.p. of *nah* (for *nadh*), to tie; and both are from the Idg. root NEDH, to fasten. See Brugmann, i. § 700 (a), note 2.

Noggin. I find that under the word *knag* (2), a keg, the N.E.D. recognises the connexion between *knag* and *noggin*, as suggested in the last edition of my Etym. Diet. This is fully borne out by the various derivatives in E. dialects and in Gaelic, which has borrowed from English. Thus we have E. dial. *knag*, a keg, also a small wooden vessel with a handle, with the variant *knog*, a small cask, a firkin. How the suffix *-in* arose it is hard to say. I once thought that *noggin* was of Gaelic origin, but Macbain has pointed out that the derivation runs the other way. Nevertheless, it still seems to me to be a possibility that the suffix (not the primary part of the word) may be Celtic, because Celtic has a large number of diminutives in *-an*. Hence from the E. word *knag*, a keg, we may easily derive the Gael. *cnagan*, an earthen pipkin; also Gael. *cnagaire*, a noggin, a quart measure. And the former of these will account for Lowl. Sc. *naggin*, *naggie*, a cup, *knaggie*, a keg, a small wooden vessel with a handle. Otherwise the suffix must have been suggested by the adjectival *-en* in *wood-en*. Swift

rightly spells *noggin* with an initial *k*, in his verses to Dr. Sheridan, dated December 14, 1719: "For all your colloquing, I'd be glad of a *knoggin*." The chief difficulty, perhaps, is to ascertain whether *knag*, a keg, or a small wooden vessel, is the same word as *knag*, a knot in wood, also a peg or a pin. I much suspect that such is the case. Thus the Swed. *knagg* not only means a knot, a peg, but also the handle of a scythe; the Dan. *knage* means a peg, a cog of a wheel, or a spoke; and this is perhaps how the E. *knag* acquired the sense of a wooden vessel with a handle; after which, it may easily have come to mean a wooden vessel in general, a cask, or a keg. The ramifications of the senses of words are often very hard to follow.

Pamper. I have given this as being a frequentative form from the Low G. *pampen*, used in a like sense. But it is really Flemish. The exact form *pamperen*, used exactly as E. *pamper*, is given in the West Flemish Dict. by De Bo.

Pillow-beer, a pillow-case. A compound of *pillow* and M.E. *bere*, *ber*, a cover, a case. The latter is given in N.E.D., s.v. *bear*, sb. (4).

The Bremen Wörterbuch gives *büren*, a cover, case; *beds-büren*, a bed-cover; *kussen-büren*, a cushion-cover; and adds that *Büren* is also the name of several villages near Bremen, and signified originally 'a hut.' Hexham gives M. Du. *buer*, a cottage, shed; Lübben gives Low G. *bure* as a variant of *büren*. These words are clearly allied to A.S. *būr*, a bower, whence *bȳre*, a byre. Further, the Low G. *buur* meant not only a bower, but a birdcage. The development of sense may be the same as in prov. E. *cot*, a cottage, a shelter, a cover, a finger-stall. Possibly the M.E. *bere*, a pillow-case, may be the same word as A.S. *bȳre*, a cowhouse, with the Kentish *ē* for *ȳ*. We know that Chaucer has Kentish forms; he uses *feer* for A.S. *fȳr*, fire, so he would consistently use *bere* for A.S. *bȳre*. This requires that the *ē* in *bere* should be close. In Chaucer, prol. 695, *pilwebere* rhymes with *pardoneer*, which seems to have had close *ē* (Ten brink, § 67γ); in the Book of the Duchess, 254, *bere* rhymes with *doutremere*, also apparently with close *ē* (id., § 67a).

Proffer. Hitherto all the completed dictionaries, including the Century, are at fault as regards the etymology. The usual derivation, from F. *proférer*, to produce, is certainly wrong. The sense is quite different. The F. *proférer*, from L. *proferre*, means to bring forward, to produce, to adduce. But the M.E.

profren means to offer, to present, as *proffer* does still. Chaucer has the p.p. *profred*, C.T., E 152; and much earlier, in King Alisaunder, 3,539, we find: "and heom *proferid* launce and sweorde," i.e. and offered lances and swords to them. It is the same as the A.F. *profren*, in the phrase "*profren* lur marchandie," to offer merchandise for sale, in N. Bozon, Contes Moralises, p. 166. The glossary suggests that this *profren* is the same as the O.F. *porofrir*, to proffer, to offer, which is quite right. This O.F. verb has long been obsolete, and does not appear in Cotgrave; but Godefroy duly gives it, with the shortened form *profrir*, *proffrir*, in the precise sense of to proffer, to present. Hence it is quite certain that the E. *proffer* is from O.F. *profrir*, *porofrir*, a compound of the prefix *por-* (F. *pour*) with the O.F. *offrir*, to offer. In Latin, this represents a compound of the prefix *pro-* with the Lat. *offerre*, to offer. This is why *to proffer* and *to offer* have almost the same sense. Thus *proffer* represents *pro* + *offerre*, not *pro-ferre*.

Prune (1), to trim trees. The M.E. form was *proinen*. This I have derived from some old form of F. *provigner*, to prune. It is really from the dialectal form *progner*, which belongs to the Norman dialect, and is given both by Moisy and Édélestand.

Punch, vb., to perforate, prick. I have shown that the sb. *puncheon*, a cask, is not from the F. *poinçon*, but from the Gascon *pouncheon*, in connexion with the Bordeaux trade. So also we find Prov. *pounchoun*, in the sense of a puncheon or something to prick with; and the Prov. verb *poucha*, to punch, to prick, from O. Prov. *ponch*, a point. I find no such form in French; but Roumansch has the verb *punscher*, to prick. I think there are more Languedoc words in E. than has hitherto been supposed.

Shingle, coarse round gravel on the sea-shore. I have supposed this word to be an adaptation of the Norweg. *singl*, with the same sense, derived from the verb *to sing*, because of the singing or ringing noise made by it when one walks on it. But this is open to the objection that the form *single* is not the old form actually found. The right view is rather that *shingle* is a mispronunciation of the old word *chingle*, used in the same sense. The sb. *chingle* is duly given in the E.D.D. as meaning 'sea-gravel,' and is assigned to Scottish, East Anglian, and Sussex, so that it is, practically, an English word, widely distributed. I have come across two excellent examples of it. In Hakluyt, Voy. i, 556 (last line) there is a description of the volcano of Hecla, in Iceland, where we find an account of "chingle and great stones being skorched in that

fiery gulfe.” And much earlier, G. Douglas says of a ship that she “dyd stand Apon a dry *chyngill* or bed of sand”; *Æneid*, bk. x, ch. 6 (ed. Small, iii, 302, 30); cf. Vergil, *Æn.* x, 303. The word is clearly of imitative origin, and allied to the verb to *chink*; with reference to the *chinking* sound made by walking on it; just as the Norw. *singl* is from the verb to *sing*. The curious change from *ch* to *sh* occurs again in the well-known instance of *shiver*, from M.E. *chiveren*. Note also the curious use of prov. E. *chink*, to rustle as hay does when quite dry, used in Derbyshire and Notts.

The explanation of the initial change is, as I think, due to the confusion of the O.F. *ch* (pron. as *ch* in *chin*) with the M.E. *sh* (as in *shin*). The Normans had no *sh*, and had to learn the sound; hence, as I have already shown, they began by substituting *s* for it, pronouncing the E. word *shame* as *same*, as common in MSS. of the thirteenth century. But when they had acquired the sound, they were so proud of it that they actually used it for the E. *ch*, which was like their own *ch*. Thus the M.E. *schin* occurs for *chin*. Similarly *chiver* and *chingle* became *shiver* and *shingle*; showing that *chingle* was already in use in the fourteenth century and earlier.

Shrike. The A.S. name of this bird is not usually given in the dictionaries. It appears as *scric* in the Epinal Glossary and in Wright-Wülker's Vocabularies.

Strand (of a rope). I have given the derivation of *strand* as from Du. *streen*, a skein or hank of thread. But this does not account for the vowel. It is not derived from this Dutch word immediately, but through the O. French. The O.F. form is *estran*, a rope or cord, a word used by Wace; which appears also in the prov. E. *strawn*, a strand. The E. *strand* results from O.F. *estran* by adding *d*. The O.F. *estran* is of Teut. origin; from the M.H.G. *stren*, *strene*; whence G. *strähne*, cognate with Du. *streen*.

Tarrier. Halliwell gives E. *terrier* in the sense of ‘auger,’ with a reference to Howell. A *tarrier* (as I am informed) is still the name of a kind of triple auger or gimlet, resembling three tapering corkscrews united at the tops and arranged at an angle of 120 degrees to each other; it is used for extracting *shives* (or wooden bungs) from barrels of turpentine. It is obviously the M.F. *tariere*, ‘an auger’; in Cotgrave. It is explained fully in Hatzfeld, as being ultimately from a Lat. type *taratrum* (a word of Celtic origin), which became O.F. *taredre*, later *tarere*, altered to *tarière*. Of these, *tarere* is given in the Supp. to Godefroy, as

well as *tariere*. *Taredre* occurs in "Les Gloses Françaises de Gerschom de Metz," par L. Brandin, Paris, 1902; No. 101, at p. 70. *Taratrum* is in Ducange; from the Celtic type **taratron* (Stokes-Fick, p. 123), represented by O. Irish *tarathar*, 'terebra' (Windisch), and Welsh *taradr*, an auger; which are obviously cognate with G. *τέρετρον*, a borer, from *τερεῖν*, to bore; cf. L. *terere*. Thurneysen (p. 80) says that it is certainly of Celtic origin.
