

*Miscellanea Lexicographica IV—Etymological and Lexicographical Notes on the French Language and on the Romance Dialects of France.* By PAUL BARBIER, M.A.

In these notes the following abbreviations are used—

- DG = *Dictionnaire Général* of Darmesteter, Hatzfeld and Thomas.  
 GD = Godefroy, *Dict. de l'Ancienne langue française*.  
 TL = Tobler-Lommatsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*.  
 REW = Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*.  
 FEW = Von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*.  
 NED = The *New (or Oxford) English Dictionary*.  
 Dxvi = Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du xvi<sup>e</sup> Sc.*  
 GEW = Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*.  
 Th.LL = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

1—French *alun catin*, *barille*, *bourde*, *bourdine*, *carthagène*, *marie*, terms of the old soda trade with Spain; also *alcali*, *kali*, *salicor*, *soude*; also *agua azul*.

The discovery, in 1792 by Leblanc and Dizé, of the artificial method of manufacturing soda by heating sodium sulphate with chalk and coal in closed ovens, no doubt dealt a great blow to the soda trade of the South-eastern Spanish ports with France. From Alicante, Cartagena, and Almeria, the soda obtained by the incineration of plants growing in marshy districts near the coast (*salicornia* L., *suaeda* L., *salsola* L.; also *atriplex* L., *chenopodium* L., etc.) had been exported to Marseilles to be used in the manufacture of soap and glass.

In France the name of the Spanish ports above mentioned was used to indicate the plants incinerated, and particularly the soda derived from them—

(a) *Soude d'Alican*, found in 1694 in Pomet (Rolland, *Flore pop.*, ix., 166); *soude d'Alicante* given in Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iv. (1762), 755, as a name of the best soda; *alun catin*, given as a name of soda by Savary des Bruslons, *op. cit.*, iv. (1762), 754, seems to be a corruption of *Alicante* pronounced with the French accent of stress on the final *e*;

(b) *Soude de Carthagène* in Savary des Bruslons, *op. cit.*, iv. (1762), 755, *carthagène* in 1694 in Pomet as the name of soda of inferior quality (Rolland, *Flore pop.*, ix., 166 n.);

(c) *Marie*; *marie vulgaire* = genus *salicornia* L., *marie épineuse* = *salsola tragus* L., in Savary des Bruslons, *op. cit.*, iv. (1762), 753; *marie* already noted by Pomet in 1694 (Rolland, *Flore pop.*, ix., 166). It seems quite impossible to derive *marie*, feminine substantive, from the masc. Spanish substantive *almarjo* = *salicornia* L.; and I incline to explain it by *Almeria* (cf. O. Fr. *Aumarie* in epic texts, Langlois, *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de Geste* (1904), p. 58: *Aumarie*, *Aumerie*, *Almarie*).

Two other technical names deserve attention. They are dealt with by the DG as follows—

BARILLE, s.f.

Etym.—De l'espagn. *barilla*. 1791 ENCYCL. MÉTH.

Nom vulgaire de plusieurs plantes marines dont les cendres fournissent de la soude.

BOURDE<sup>3</sup>, s.f.

Etym.—Origine inconnue. 1791 ENCYCL. MÉTH.

(Technol.) Sel de soude de qualité inférieure, qu'on emploie pour la fabrication du verre et des savons durs.

So far as the date of introduction of these words is concerned, 1791 is certainly far too late. For *barille* I can quote—

1762 Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iv., 754 : "La soude de barille est fort abondante en Espagne et d'une qualité supérieure à toutes celles que l'on a connues jusques à présent."

1722 *Mém<sup>s</sup>. de M. Marais*, ed. de Lescure, ii., 270 : "Arrêt . . . qui permet l'introduction dans l'intérieur du royaume, des marchandises de Provence . . . soudes, barilles . . ."

For *bourde*, cf.—

1795 *Magazin encycl.*, i., 171 : "On apporte encore d'Espagne, principalement de Catalogne . . . une soude inférieure préparée avec diverses plantes maritimes non cultivées; on la nomme bourde ou salicote."

1759 Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, i., 616 : "*Bourde*. Sorte de soude qui est très mauvaise . . ."

1671 Fauhin, *Pinax theatri botanici* : "borda" (Rolland, *Flore pop.*, ix., 165).

As to the etymology of *barille* and *bourde*, I find nothing in REW or FEW. GEW, 82, repeats what the DG says for *barille* and, 132, explains *bourde* as follows—

"*Bourde*, 3, 'minderwertige Soda bei der Glasfabrikation,' 18 Jhdt. bei Schmidlin, *Cath.* 'eine sehr schlechte Art Pottasche' wird für Languedoc als lebend angegeben, ist vielleicht eins mit prov. *bort* 'Bastard,' vgl. mundartliches *bor* 'unechter Diamant'; dieses aus lat. *burdus* 'Maulesel,' REW 1405."

There is, I think, no doubt that the French *barille*, *bourde*, have come from South French *bar(r)ilho*, *bourdo* (Mistral), but the latter forms have themselves come from Spain, and for their original home a valuable indication is given by Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iv. (1762), 754—

"Dans le royaume de Murcie (suivant une relation faite à la cour en 1724) et partie de celui de Grenade, les laboureurs sement une petite graine qu'ils appellent *barille*, dont la récolte ne se fait qu'au bout de deux ans. Après une attente et une culture si longues, ils viennent de Lorca, et même de plus loin, la vendre à Alicante; en 1723 elle fut vendue à peu près 15 reaux de veillon le quintal. Ces pauvres laboureurs payent aux *Fermiers du droit* qu'ils appellent *de barille*, 6 reaux par quintal, et les obligent de laisser leur denrée dans les champs, où elle a été brûlée, jusqu'à ce que les commis aient la commodité d'en aller prendre le poids." [In the above one must understand : "Les fermiers les obligent . . ."]

The soda, then, which was exported from the South-eastern ports of Spain, was grown and incinerated in the old Moorish kingdoms of Murcia and Granada. This will furnish an argument for considering that *barilla* was originally an Andalusian word of Arabic origin, and that the Valencian and Catalan *barella* was an adaptation

from it. The form *barella* has passed into Italy, but elsewhere it is *barilla* which has been adopted—Portug. *barrilha*, Castil. and Arag. *barrilla*, Sth. French *barrilho*, French *barille*, Engl. *barilla*. The explanation of *barilla* by Simonet, *Glosario*, 35, as from a root *bar* “virga,” on the pretext that plants of the genus *salsola* L. are “plantas ramosas,” cannot stand, and if we bear in mind that the French *barille* is only said of the best kind of soda, there is reason for considering *barilla* as a feminine of the Andalusian adjective *baril* (found elsewhere only in Galicia) “good, very good,” which has long since been derived by Dozy from the Arabic *bári* (not in ML; see Eguilas y Yanguas, *Glos. etim.*, 340). Some support for this is derived from the fact that *bourde* (and also *bourdine*) is said of soda of inferior quality, and that *bourde* is clearly *burda*, the feminine of the adjective *burdo* “coarse, common, ordinary.” In Catalan *burda* is transliterated *borda* (as in *barella borda*). In the form in which he gave it, Dozy’s explanation of the adjective *burdo* by an Arabic *bord* “kind of coarse striped cloth” (Eguilas y Yanguas, *Glos. etim.*, 350), is of course not convincing, but it should be borne in mind that *burdo* as an adjective is particularly used of stuffs, and that the facts gathered together in this note tend to favour an Arabic origin.

Another point in favour of the Arabic origin of the technical words of the soda trade is derived from the following passage in Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iv. (1762), 755—

“A Alicante seule on chargea, en 1722, 44,692 quintaux de barille et 8,390 de bourdine, sans compter ce que l’on exporta d’une espèce de barille supérieure nommée *agua azul*, qui ne vient que dans cet endroit, et qui convient encore mieux pour les glaces.”

As one of the chief tests of the excellence of soda was its blueness, it seems clear that *agua azul* was due to the influence of *azul* on the Old Span. *algazul* given by Simonet, *Glos.*, 35, as probably a name of plants of the genus *salsola* L., and itself derived from an Arabic *al gasúl* quoted in a fragment of a philological commentary on Dioscorides by the famous Andalusian scholar Suleiman ben Hassán ben Chólchol, who lived in the reign of the Caliph of Cordova, Al Hakem II (961–976).

If one examines the names of the genera *salicornia* L., *suaeda* L., and *salsola* L., collected by Rolland, *Flore Pop.*, ix., 164–6, the four oldest—and for each I append the earliest attestation known to me—are the following—

- (1) *Soude* (1527 Text in Littré : “soulde à faire verres”).
- (2) *Kali* (1537 Dodoens-Lescluze, in Rolland, *Flore Pop.*, ix., 165).
- (3) *Alcali* (1555 B. Aneau, *Tresor de Evonime*, 270 : “Sel alcali”; 1563 B. Palissy, *Oeuvres*, ed. Cap., 19 : “Sal alcaly”; 1575 DG).
- (4) *Salicor* (1600 O. de Serres, *Th. d’Agric.*, vi., 29 : “Salicor par les Arabes dit salcoran”).

All these words are of Arabic origin. It would seem that after the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492, the old

Moorish trade in soda was deflected northwards, and that it is from the sixteenth century onwards that the technical terms of the trade discussed in this article—all, so far as their origin is certain, from Arabic—may be looked for in French texts.

2—Norman *berdin*, *berlin*, and related names of the limpet.

*Berdin* and *berlin* are attested for the first time as Norman names of the limpet by Rondelet, *Univ. Aquatiliium Histor. pars altera* (1555), p. 3.

A. Thomas, *Mélanges d'étymologie française*, 32, has attempted an explanation of these forms. He properly protested against Joret's explanation of Norman *berlin* by an O.H. Germ. *berlin* "little pearl," and calling attention to the very diverse forms of the word, proposed to explain them as derived from the Breton name of the limpet, attested in the forms *brennik*, *brinnik*, *bernigen*.

So far, I think, he was right. The geographical distribution of the forms in the French dialects is entirely favourable to his view. The Breton *brennik*, *bernik*, may be said to explain Gironde, Vendée *bernicle*, Loire-Inf. *bernique*, Noirmoutier *bernie*, Vendée, Côtes du Nord, Loire-Inf. *berni*, Morbihan *bernic*, Manche *bénicle*, Côtes du Nord, Manche *béni*, *beni*, *bni* = *patella* L.

But dealing with other forms which have final *-in*, Prof. Thomas goes on to say: "La nasalisation en pays roman de la finale de *bernic* n'est pas plus étonnante que celle du scandinave *fisk* 'poisson' rendu par *fin* dans *aigrefin* et *orfin*. De \**bernin* on a, par dissimilation régulière, *berlin*, et par altération *berdin*. Il est possible que *brelin*, *vrelin* ou *verlin*, qui désigne le limaçon de mur dans le Bessin et une variété de littorine à Cherbourg ait la même étymologie."

I think that the final *-in* is to be explained quite otherwise. The French name of the limpet, attested already in 1555 in Rondelet's book, is *oeil de bouc*. If a limpet fixed to a rock is examined from above, the "he-goat's eye" is the central point in the shell. It is also called a "ram's eye": Welsh *llygaid myheryn* "limpets." For the name of the ram given to the limpet, cf. *ran* at Cherbourg given in 1860 by Macé, *Essai d'un catal. des mollusques, etc.* Now *belin*, *bélin*, *berlin*, *brelin* are Norman names of the ram; they are attested as names of the ram in the Old French literature of the XII<sup>th</sup>–XIII<sup>th</sup> centuries; as we have said elsewhere (note ii., 6), they are originally onomatopoeic. As names of the limpet, the forms in *-in* are quite particularly attested in Normandy; they must be carefully distinguished from those in *-i*, *-icle*, *-ique*, which go back to the Breton *brennik*. Such forms as *benin* given from a Duez of 1678 by Rolland, *Fa. Pop.*, xii., 21, or *bernin* of Oléron and French-speaking Brittany, show that at certain points there has been contamination of one group by the other.

Prof. Thomas explains the Breton *brennik* as from a primitive Celtic *barennika*, from *barenn* "rock," quoting from Stokes and

Bezenberger's *Celtischer Wortschatz*, in Fick, *Vergl. Wtbuch. d. Indogerm. Sprachen*, 4th edition. The proper explanation of *brennik* appears to me to have been given long ago by the great Breton scholar, Legonidec—

1821 Legonidec, *Dict. celto-breton*, 54: "*Brennik* ou *brónnik*, s.m. Certain coquillage de mer univalve qui s'attache aux rochers que la mer mouille. *Brennigen*, fem. Un seul de ces coquillages. Je pense que *brennik* est pour *bronnik*, petite mamelle, dont ce coquillage offre la forme et la figure."

For the form of *brennik* and its relation to Breton *bron* "breast," cf. Breton *brennid* "sein" (Legonidec); for the application to the limpet, cf. Engl. *pap-shell*=*patella* L.

In the history of the constant confusion made by etymologists of the names of the limpet and the barnacle, one may quote a statement by Prof. Thomas: "C'est aussi au breton que remonte *bernicle* et *bernacle* que l'on trouve dans Littré, en tant qu'ils désignent la patelle." For Littré does not give *bernacle* as a name of the limpet. He says—

BERNACLE, s.f. T. d'hist. nat. 1. Synonyme de bernache pour désigner l'oie bernache. 2. Coquille à cinq valves, qui s'attache aux rochers et à la carène des bâtiments (*anatife lisse*). Le nom de l'oiseau a été donné au coquillage parce qu'on croyait autrefois que cette espèce d'oiseau sortait du coquillage. Etym.—Le même mot que *barnacle*.

Nothing here of the limpet; Littré gives *bernicle* as a name of the limpet, and it is only in the etymological note to this word: "Autre forme de *bernacle*," that there is to be found a trace of the confusion I have referred to.

Particularly disastrous is the following article of a Celtic specialist—

1900 Henry, *Lex. etym. du breton moderne*, 43: "*Brennik*, s.m. (aussi *brinnik*) bernache, pinne marine, cymr. *brennigen*, ir. *bairnech*, gaél. *bairneach*, et le fr. et ag. *bernekke* > *barnacle*. Emprunt bas-lat. †*bernacula*, dim. de *perna* id." With this note: "En fait, il est difficile de savoir si le mot est latin, celtique ou germanique d'origine. Mais la dérivation par †*bronnik* 'petite mamelle' est exclue par les formes gaéliques. Le mot a dû beaucoup voyager. Cf. encore le Dict. Stokes, s.v. *barennikd*."

Henry, who generally relies on Legonidec for his Breton forms and their meanings, has gone out of his way to translate *brennik* by "bernache, pinne marine." One almost suspects that the "pinne marine" was intended to introduce his etymology by L. †*bernacula* from *perna* (cf. French *jambon*, *jambonneau*=*pinna* L. from Gersaint (1736) in Rolland, *Fa. Pop.*, xii., 67). His objection to the derivation of Breton *brennik*=*patella* L. from Breton *bron* is based on Irish *bairnech*. Now this word does not appear to me to have anything to do with Breton *brennik*, of which *bernik* is merely a metathetic form; it is no doubt derived from Irish *bairenn* "a large stone or rock," and as an adjective in the sense "stony" is quoted from two passages in the XII<sup>th</sup> century *Book of Leinster* by K. Meyer, *Contrib. to Irish Lexicography*, I, i. (1911), 169. The same authority, quoting other texts for *bairnech* as a noun, explains

it by "barnacle, limpet." But is it really a name of both? (Gaelic *bairneach* is the limpet. 1900 Macalpine, *Gaelic Dict.*, 26.) In that case one might explain it by the fact that both the crustacean and the mollusc cling to rocks. But it is well to remember that only some such very general characteristic could explain the attribution of the same name to such different animals, and further that there is no other attested case of the same popular name being applied to both the limpet and the barnacle. So far as such names of *anatifa laevis* Lamarck as Fr. *bernache*, *bernacle*, etc., or English *barnacle* are concerned, all available historical data seem to point to their being primitively names of the *anser bernicla* Leach and *anser brenta* Pallas.

Some result of the confusion of the names of the molluscs called limpet and barnacle are seen in such articles as—

ML 1047 *bernic* (breton) "Entenmuschel."  
 FEW i., 335: *bernic* (bret.) "Entenmuschel."  
 GEW 83 *bernache* . . . breton *bernik* "Entenmuschel."

Breton *brennik*, *brinnik*, *brennigen*, *bernicen*, Cornish *brennic*, Welsh *brenig*, *brenigen*, are names of the limpet (*patella* L.) and not of the barnacle (*anatifa laevis* Lamarck). The Breton forms explain the names, in the French dialects, of the limpet, but in dealing with the names of the barnacle (both the crustacean and the goose) they must be left out of court.

### 3—French *bestoquer*, *bistoquer*, South French *bestouca*.

FEW i., 343, gives the Flemish *bestooken*, *besteeken*, "1. schmücken, 2. jemanden feiern, festlich empfangen," as the source of a number of words in the French dialects that can be arranged in two groups—(a) those presenting the meaning "to adorn, to arrange, to patch up," with the following forms: *bistoquer*, *abistiquer*, *abistoquer*, *rabistoquer*; also *rabistoqueter*, *rabiscoter*, *débistoquer*; (b) Namur Couvin, *bistoquer*, "souhaiter la fête à quelqu'un," Fosse-lez-Namur "fêter quelqu'un," rouchi *bistoquer* (see below).

On the words of group (a), the oldest information is given by Hécart—

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 13: "Abistiquer, v.a., accoutrer, arranger mal, en parlant de la parure . . . On dit aussi abistoquer mais moins fréquemment. M. Lorin croit que ce pourrait être le terme rabistoquer que je ne connais pas . . . 'Abistoquer, rabistoquer,' continue-t-il, 'mettre dans le meilleur ordre' . . . Parce que je n'ai entendu ce mot qu'en mauvaise part, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'il ne puisse avoir été employé en bonne part."

It is also Hécart who gives the earliest information on the words of group (b)—

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 64: "*Bistoquer*, présenter un bouquet à quelqu'un, le lui mettre à son côté; *bistoquer*, v. pron., se parer d'un bouquet."

To the indications given by FEW we may add—

(1) Flandre franç. *bistocache* "cadeau de fête, de noce," *bistoquer* "offrir un bouquet à quelqu'un, faire un présent à l'occasion d'une fête" (Vermesse, 75, 76).

(2) Bas-Maine *bistoquer* "faire tourner la tête à quelqu'un" (Dottin, 83), if it means "en le fêtant, en lui faisant fête."

(3) Bas-Maine *bistiquer* "au jeu de cartes, avoir la faculté de prendre deux ou trois cartes, qui restent quand tous les joueurs sont servis et de remplacer par ces cartes celles qui ne conviennent pas" (Dottin, 348), if the fundamental meaning is "to arrange."

The meanings given by FEW for the Flemish words are particular to the South Dutch dialects. The Dutch *besteken* means in principle "to stick in, to peg, pin, or make fast, to plant, etc.," and we have much earlier evidence of its having been borrowed by the French dialects in the following forms and meanings—

(a) 1611 Cotgrave: "*Bestocquer*. To stab, foyne, thrust, give a stoccado unto (an old word)"; see (b) below. That *bistoquer* was used as a term of the game of billiards is shown by the use of the substantive *bistoquet* "instrument de billard avec lequel on joue coup sec, quand on craint de billarder. Le dessus de la masse est presque rond et la queue fort relevée" (1721 *Dict. de Trévoux*); the idea was to give the ball a sharp stab or thrust. Here, too, may be mentioned *bistoquet* "instrument de cloutier qui sert à couper les tringles à froid" (Bescherelle, *Dict.*, ed. 1887, i., 495). *Bistoquet* "tip-cat," said both of the child's game and of the little stick used in the game, quoted in 1771 by the *Dict. de Trévoux*, art. *bâtonnet*, as used at Blois (cf. for Vendômois, Martellière 47), comes from the sharp stab given by the player with his stick to one of the two sharpened ends of the tip-cat.

(b) 1530 Palsgrave, *Esclarciss.*, 589: "*I jape a wenche. Je fous . . . and Je bistocque . . .* As for *bistocquer* is but a fayned worde, for it betokeneth properly to stabbe or to foyne." On p. 36 Palsgrave gives the interesting information that the s of *bistoquer* was pronounced before the consonant t; this suggests that the loan-word is not older than the Middle French period.

(c) 1611 Cotgrave: "*Biscoter*. To swive." Cf. 1534 Rabelais, i., 45; also *Anc. Théâtre franç.*, Bibl. Elz., iii., 341. Still used: Val d'Yères *biscoter* (terme érotique); . . . *bistoquer* (même sens que *biscoter*), Delboulle, 43, *Suppl.*, 5. Cf. for the metathetic *biscoter*, Paris *rabiscoter* "raccommoder," *rabiscotage* "raccommodage," given by FEW, i., 343.

(d) 1611 Cotgrave: "*Bichecoter*. To leacher it. *Bichecoterie*: f., a leacherous tricke, a lascivious part; firkerie, an odde pranke, or jerke, in whoorisme."

(e) S<sup>th</sup> French *bestouca*, limousin *bistouca*, "toucher, donner des tapes" (Mistral); for *bestouquet* "écervelé, évaporé, tête verte" (Mistral), cf. Fr. *touché, toqué*.

Cf. also 1611 Cotgrave: "*Briscoter*. To leacher. *Brisgoter* (Rab.) as *Briscoter*."

4—French *brequin* "boring tool, borer," *vilebrequin* "wimble," and other names of boring tools in the French dialects.

The DG gives—

BREQUIN, s.m.

Etym.—Empr. du flam. *borkin*, diminutif de *boor* (cf. *vilebrequin*). 1751 *Encycl.*

Sorte de vrille. *Spéc.* Mèche de vilebrequin.

This tool-name, like many others, seems first to have been noted by Félibien—

1676 Félibien, *Principes d'Archit.*, 502: "*Brequins*, pour percer le bois ou la pierre tendre. Voyez *villebrequins*."

A. Thomas, in *Romania*, XXVI (1897), 451–2, seems to be the last etymologist to have dealt with this word, and he does so in the following rather cryptic manner—

"J'ajoute simplement que le français *brequin* n'est pas, comme il est dit dans le *Dictionnaire Général*, le primitif de *vilebrequin*, c'est une bouture, si je puis dire, de *basin* (de *bombasin*)."

Unfortunately, as a result, GEW 144 has—

BREQUIN "Spitzbohrer," 18 Jhdt., ist Rückbildung von *vilebrequin*, Thomas, Ro., xxvi., 452, nicht nld. *borkin* "Bohrer," *Dict. Gén.*; REW 1212; auch nicht zu der unter *burin* angeführten Wortsippe, Richter, S. A. Wien, 156, 5, 101.

Unfortunately, because it is by no means certain that *brequin* is derived from *vilebrequin*; it is not as if the Middle Flemish *boorken* were invented for the purpose of explaining *brequin*; it is attested repeatedly in the glosses of the French-Flemish dictionaries of the late XVI<sup>th</sup> and early XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries.

1624 Van Waesberghe, *Gr. Dict. franç.-flam.*: "*vibrequin*: spijker boorken; *villebrequin* en *villette*: spijckelboorken; *villette*: een boorken."

1630 Mellema, *Den Schat der duytscher Tale*: "*boorken*, *boor-yserken*, *tarelet*, *foret*, *tourret*."

And, further, it should be remembered that *brequin* is the name of a boring instrument or else the name of the boring part of the *vilebrequin*.

Still under the influence of A. Thomas's article in *Romania* referred to above, GEW 891 deals with *vilebrequin* as follows—

VILEBREQUIN "Traubenbohrer," 14 Jhdt., *wimbelkin*, das als Wort, das sich in keine Wortfamilie einreihen lässt, vielfach verballhornt wurde, so mittelfrz. *vilbelkin*, *wilbrequin*, daher heute norm.-pik. *veberquin*, *vinberquin*, Blois *viberquin*, pik. *biberkin*, vgl. auch *brequin*; aus mndl. *wimpelkin*, Thomas, *Rom.*, xxvi., 451 (Ess. 399); REW 9544.

The article is written in a rather despairing note, and it is clear that such a form as a Middle Dutch *wimpelkin* does not explain a single one of the Romance forms.

It was Littré (*Dict.*, ii., 2493) who called attention to the fact that the *vilebrequin* or wimble was called in German by the very apposite name of *windelbohrer*, apposite because the first element of the compound calls attention to the turning process, and so distinguishes the wimble from other boring tools. Before dealing

then with derived French forms, it is important to survey the evidence from Germanic on the names of the wimble and a sound résumé may be here quoted from Falk and Torp, *Norweg.-Dänisches Etym. Wbuch.*, 1379—

*Vimmel* oder *vimmelbor* (dän.=“windelbohrer”) ist von mnd. *wimmel*, *wemel* in ders. bed.=mengl. *wimbil* (engl. *wimble*) entlehnt. Aus dem germ. stammt afrz. *guimbelet* (engl. *gimlet*, *gimblet*) in ders. bed. Eine kürzere form ist mndl. *weme* “windelbohrer.” Das subst. ist abgeleitet vom vb. mnd. *wemmen* “wimmeln, sich schnell durcheinander bewegen” (holl. *wemelen*), mhd. *wimmen*, *wimelen* “sich lebhaft bewegen, wimmeln” . . . Die *vimmel(bor)* zugrunde liegende bed. muss “umdrehen” sein : vgl. nhd. *windelbohrer*, neunorw. *vind(e)bor* in ders. bed. (zu germ. \**windan* “drehen, winden”) . . .

It would seem then that apart from the enigmatic Middle Dutch *wimpel*, which does not help to solve the Romance forms, the attested Germanic names of the wimble are of the following types—

(i.) Mid. Dutch *weme*, Mid. Low Germ. *wimmel*, *wemel* (cf. Mid. Dutch *wemelen* translated in 1630 by Mellema : (a) “souvent se remuer,” (b) “percer avec la tarière”), Mid. Engl. *wimbil*, Dan. *vimmel*.

(ii.) Dan. *vimmelbor*.

(iii.) Germ. *windelbohrer*, Mod. Norw. *wind(e)bor*.

With regard to (i.) it is interesting to note that the meaning “to turn” seems to be attested at least in English for the verb *to wimble*, which means not only (a) “to bore or pierce with a wimble,” but also (b) “to twist ropes by means of a device also called *wimble*,” and (c) “to winnow.” The order of meanings for this Germanic verb is, I suppose, (a) “to move quickly,” (b) “to turn quickly,” (c) “to bore” (with a turning instrument).

It will at once be admitted that a Germanic *wimmel* offers an excellent starting point for the French *guimblet* on *guimbelet* (whence Engl. *gimlet*). *Guimbelet* is still used in Normandy (by the side of *vimblet*), in Haut-Maine, in Anjou (by the side of *guimberlet*), in Poitou, in Saintonge, in Aunis (for Gascon *guimbelet*, *guimbalet*, see Mistral *gimbelet*). *Guimbelet* occurs in 1600 in O. de Serres, *Théâtre d'Agriculture*, in 1584 in a Poitou text given by Lalanne, in 1464 in Legadeuc's *Catholicon* (which also gives the Breton loan-word *guimelet*), and the earliest attestation is of 1412. *Guimbeletier* is attested in 1528 in a text from the Archives of the Gironde (GD). The word *guimbelet* must have been borrowed from Germanic before the XII<sup>th</sup> century, since it offers *gui-* for Germ. *wi-*. As in *guimbelet*, so in the XIV<sup>th</sup> century dialectal *wimbelkin* is found the intervention of *b* between *m* and *l*, for *wimbelkin* might be satisfactorily explained by the type *wimmelken*. But from this point difficulties begin. The only other form with a nasalised pretonic vowel is a Norman *vinbrequin* quoted by Joret. The only other forms offering the final *l* of *wimmel* are the Mid. French *vilbelkin* given by GEW and a *vinbelquin* quoted from a 1681 *Inv. de Disquemue* by Haigneré, *Vocab. du pat. boulonn.*, 615. To explain with any certainty the other French forms seems impossible. There seem to have been many local modifications. It would be interesting

to have more information than I possess on the local names of the wimble in the Netherlands, as they might shed some light on the problem. As things are, I am inclined to think that the forms noted in 1611 by Cotgrave, viz. (a) *vibrequin*, (b) *vilbrequin*, *villebrequin*, (c) *virebrequin*, are best explained by considering them as offering three types of dissimilation of the first nasal of *winbelquin*, *vinberquin*. The tendency has up to the present been rather to suppose that these forms show trace of the intervention of other radicals, as in the Southern loan-form *viro-brouquin*, where can be seen the influence of the verb *virá* and of the radical BROCC-. So *vibrequin* (c. 1488 Olivier de la Marche in his *Mémoires* speaks of the "wibrekin qui en françois est appelé un foret a percer") has been explained by the influence of *vibrer*, but this is certainly to be rejected; the DG has found this representative of L. *vibrare* for the first time in a very pedantic and latinising author, Fossetier, who wrote about 1500. So *vilebrequin*, the ordinary French form, has been explained by the influence of Fr. *ville*, now *vville*; but *ville* has a palatal lateral so that *vilebrequin* could only arise in dialects, such as the North-eastern, where the lateral is depalatalised. Further, the intervention of *l* is quite old, as is shown by Mid. Fr. *vilbelkin*, but still more by Breton *guilbricqyn* translating *vilebrequin* in Grégoire de Rostrenen, *Dict. celto-breton* (1732), and which presupposes a very early French *guilbrequin*. The most likely of these influences is that of the verb *viver* on *vireberquin*, *virebrequin*, the forms usually attested for Normandy (Moisy 670), Anjou (Verrier-Onillon, ii., 324), Maine (Dottin 525), Berry (Joubert, ii., 433), Morvan *virebeurquin* (Chambure 918). It is this form which, in competition with *vibrequin*, has spread south (see Mistral *viro-brouquin*) and into the Spanish peninsula (Catal. *belabarqui*, Span. *berbiqui*, Portug. *berbequin*). For this influence, cf. as names of the wimble Maine *virole*, *violet* (Dottin 525), and Asturian *virador*; also Walloon *windai* (Grandgagnage, ii., 489).

Of the other attested names of the wimble, *vibriquet* given by Palsgrave's *Esclarcissement* (1530), 253, and the Picard *biberkin* (Corblet 345), appear to belong to the type *vibrequin* (Boulogne *viberquin*).

But there is another group of forms which may be classed together. I have myself heard *aberquin* at Erquinghem sur la Lys in the winter of 1914-5; cf. Valenciennes *aberquin* (Hécart 12), and also *anberquin* (Hécart 29); Lille *amberquin* (Vermesse 24), Mons *amberquin* (Sigart 63); *un lamberquin* "un vilebrequin" in a Requête of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1667 in Hécart 270; Mons *einberquin* (Sigart 157); S<sup>t</sup> Remi-Chaussée *limberquin* (Hécart 276); Maubeuge *liberquin* (Hécart 275); Démuin *liberquin* (Ledieu 146).

That this name of the wimble is old, and that it must in the past have been used over a wide extent of North France, is shown by Franche-Montagne *librechin* (Grammont 220) and by Breton

*lizbricqyn*, *libricqyn*, translating *vilebrequin*, *virebrequin*, in Grégoire de Rostrenen, *Dict. franç.-breton* (1732), 960. These forms can be classified as follows—

- (a) *Limberquin*, *einberquin*; *liberquin*;  
 (b) *Lamberquin*, *amberquin*; *aberquin*;

and in *liberquin*, *aberquin*, we appear to have a dissimilation of the first nasal analogous to the one which we have suggested above for *vibrequin*. The question then is whether the forms with initial *l* are primitive. The dialects of the Netherlands in their present state do not offer a satisfactory solution, but the words we are considering are no doubt old, so that one might suppose that the word whence they are derived had become obsolete in the Dutch dialects. In that case we might consider the possibility of a connection with the following Germanic series—

O. Norse *limr* "limb, thin branch."

A. Sax. *lim* "limb, part of a whole, branch of a tree."

Mod H. Germ. *limpf* "cime d'arbre, jet."

In the modern form of the wimble, which is technically called a *brace and bit*, the *bit* is properly a tool for boring wood, etc., having a shank for fitting it to a brace or bit-stock; whereas the brace (<Fr. *bras*, *brace*) is the arm or handle of the tool used for turning. In French this handle is usually called *manche* or *manivelle*.

The numerous forms we have quoted as names of the wimble in the French dialects and which all end in *berquin* (Fr. *brequin*), easily lead one to suppose that *berquin* (Fr. *brequin*) has been, as it were, detached from these forms and that it did not originally have an independent existence. That may be so, but it is well to remember that the Germanic names of the wimble are very commonly compound nouns of which the second element means "borer." The first element calls attention to some particular characteristic of the wimble among the large class of boring tools, ex. g. the turning process: German *windelbohrer*, Danish *wimmelbor*, N. Norwegian *wind(e)bor*; or, again, the knob upon which the workman presses on the borer with one hand while with the other he turns the handle of the instrument: German *traubenbohrer* where *traube* is the name of this knob, cf. 1892 De Bo, *Westvlaamsch Idiotikon*, 237: "*Druif* (wvl. *druve* en *drive* . . .), v., fr. *raisin*. Bij timm. Platte ronde appel boven aan eenen wemel of spijkerboor, waar men op drukt met de eene hand, terwijl men met de andere den keer of't wemelhout rondwendt, fr. *champignon de vilebrequin* . . ." Further, the Germanic compounds of which the word meaning "borer" is the second element are numerous; De Bo, *Westvl. Idiot.*, 146, quotes *appel-*, *dering-*, *hommel-*, *oor-*, *schijf-* or *schijve-*, *spekel-*, *spijkel-*, *tap-boor*; and many others could be quoted.

We may then, I think, admit that a type *\*lim-boor*, *\*limboorken*, in which *lim* "limb, arm" indicated the arm or handle characteristic of the wimble would not be an inappropriate name of the instrument.

called *limberquin* at S<sup>t</sup> Remi-Chaussée. And, further, we may well ask whether the form represented by the Norman *vinberquin* might not just as well represent a type \**wim-boorken* or \**wind-boorken* with *wim-* and *wind-* referring to the turning process, as the type \**wimmelken* we have indicated above.

In any case I do not think it is possible to say with any certainty that *berquin* (Fr. *brequin*) is not derived from *boorken*. In favour of its independence of *vilebrequin* are the two meanings attested in French. I have, however, myself heard *beurquin* in the sense of "vilebrequin" at Erquinghem sur la Lys in the winter of 1914-5; cf. Flandre franç. *berquinné* "qui a les jambes tournées comme le manche d'un vilebrequin" (Vermesse 70); Montbéliard *aibourquenai* "penché sur les genoux, replié sur les genoux" (Contejean 259); pop. Fr. *jambes en vilebrequin* "jambes torsées" (Bescherelle). L'abbé Le Goff, in his *Supplément* (1919), p. 11, to the *Dict. Breton-Franç.*, of E. Ernault, quotes Breton *burhekin*, *brekin* "vilebrequin," and the form *burhekin* is translated "vilebrequin" in 1744 in the *Dict. franç-breton* (Vannes dialect) of l'abbé Armeurie.

5—French *crabousset* as an equivalent of *crapoussin*.

The DG says—

CRAPOUSSIN, INE, s.m. and f.

Etym.—Dér. irrég. de *crapaud*. Admis. ACAD. 1762.

(Trivial.) Personne de taille ramassée.

A fuller statement of the derivation is given by GEW 273—

"*Crapoussin* 'kurzer dicker Mensch,' 18 Jhdt., ist berrich., dafür savoy. *crapotin*, dann mit Suffixwechsel poitev., angev. *crapasson*, blaisois *crapu* (+*trapu*), ist Abl. von afrz. *crapot* 'kröte,' s. *crapaud*, *Dict. Gén.* Das Wort hat mundartlich, zu B. angev., noch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung 'kleine kröte.'"

The oldest form of the name of the toad appears to be *crapot* (with closed *o*), *crapout*; the derived *crapoudine* "toad-stone" quoted by GD from texts of c. 1235, 1316, and a. 1368 suggests a type *crapp-old-*; this form survives dialectally as *crapou*; it is perhaps from a Norman *crapou* or Picard *crapou* that the English (*Johnny*) *Crapoo* as a nickname for a Frenchman was first obtained. By the XIV<sup>th</sup> century the form *crapaud* was ousting *crapou* in written French; all the derived forms are from that time connected with it: *crapaudine* "toad-stone" is found in 1342 (Gay, *Gloss. Archéol.*, 389); GD quotes *crapaude* as a term of insult addressed to a woman in 1394; *crapaudière* is given by the same authority in a South-Western (Saintonge) text of 1394 written *grapaudere*; *crapaudeau*, *crapaudin*, and *crapaudine* occur as terms of artillery in the XV<sup>th</sup> century; and *crapaudon* "little toad" is in Cotgrave (1611).

Of the names of the little toad which are not derived from the form *crapaud*, the first to appear in texts is *crapoussin*. All the others first appear in dictionaries, and particularly in dictionaries

of dialect, of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century. Not that they are not older. *Crapelet* occurs first in dictionaries of the first half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century (ex. g. 1832 Raymond, *Dict. Gén.*, i., 377); but it is also a surname—the printer, Charles Crapelet was born in the Haute-Marne in 1762—and so this derivative of the type *crapeau* may be quite old. In the South of France *grapaud* “1 crapaud; 2 homme trapu,” yields *grapaudet*, *grapauden*, *grapaudin*, *grapaudoun* “1 petit crapaud; 2 crapoussin” (Mistral). From the type *crapot* (with originally open *o*), we have not only Savoy *crapotin*, but also Pas de Calais *crapotin* “gamin” (Rolland, *Faune Pop.*, xi., 96), and Norm. *crapoter* “marcher sur les pieds et les mains comme un crapaud” (Duméril) by the side of Poitev. *grapaudai* “marcher comme un crapaud (des enfants qui commencent à marcher)” from Poitev. *grapaud* “crapaud” (Lalanne). For the antiquity of the form *crapot*, one may refer to GD for the use of *crapoterie* in a text of 1465 from the municipal archives of Dinant and note that in the *Miracles* of Gautier de Coinci (who died in 1236) the form *crapotel* occurs in the Brussels MS., where the Soissons MS. has *crapoudel* from *crapout*.

For the other dialectal names of the little toad, the Angev. and Poitev. *crapasson* are from *crapas* “crapaud”; cf. also Blaisois, Berry *crapi*, Anjou *crapiche*, *crapichon*, Berry, Anjou *crapuche*, Anjou *crapuchon*.

I take it then that *crapoussin* comes from dialects where the toad is called *crapou(s)*. The word *crapoussin* was inserted in the *Dict. de l'Académie* in 1762, but it is not noted in the 1771 edition of the *Dict. de Trévoux*. Bescherelle quotes it from Voltaire: “Ces gros petits crapoussins crèvent comme des mousquets, et nous, maigrelets, nous vivons,” so that the admission of the word by the Academy may be due to Voltaire's influence.

As no earlier instance of *crapoussin* is forthcoming, the following attestation of a type *crabousset* is interesting—

1730 Marin, *Gr. dict. holl.-franç.*, 489: “Een krielhaantje, een krieltje, een kleen veentje. *Un petit bout du cul, un petit crabousset.*”

*Crabousset* may be compared to *crabouseau* at Cancale glossed “petit bébé” in Dagnet and Mathurin, *Parler cancalais* (1906), 17. For the *b* of these words, it may be noted that *crabosse* “têtard” is quoted for Clairvaux, and *crabosse* appears to be due to the influence of *crap-* of *crapaud* on *cabosse*; *cabot* and *caboché* are both Northern names of the tadpole.

6—Fr. *craie*, *crayer*, “small three-masted cargo boat, without a topsail, used for trade in the Baltic.”

The first example of this word given by GD is the following—

1334 Arch. J. J. 66, pièce 1373: “Un vaissel ou nef que on dit creer . . .”

GD also gives instances of 1339 *crayer*, 1366 *craier*, 1394 *croyer*.

An example of the form *craier* is in Eust. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. SATF., vii., 68. The following is the latest mediæval instance I know of—

1403 *Privilege de Philippe de Bourgogne pour fortifier Dunkerque*, in Fauconnier, *Hist. de Dunkerque*, 1730, i., 27: "Item, de chascun maistre de nef appellé cogghe, scutte, pleytte, crayers ou bombes, six sols parisisis . . ."

The word reappears in modern dictionaries of naval terms—

1797 Lescallier, *Vocab. de marine*, 430: "*Craier*, s.m. Suédois (*Craier*, a vessel of the Baltic Sea). Bâtiment à trois mâts, en usage sur la Mer baltique, chez les Danois et les Suédois: ses mâts sont à pible, ou d'une seule pièce, sans hune; il porte la grande voile et la misaine, et les deux huniers, comme les vaisseaux; et quelquefois même on y ajoute des perroquets: le craier a un artimon comme celui des vaisseaux, un bout de beaupré, des focs et des voiles d'étai. Les craiers ont communément de 60 à 80 pieds de long."

1856 De Bonnefoux et Paris, *Dict. de Marine*, i., 245-6: *Craier*, s.m. Voy. *crayer* . . . *Crayer*, *craier*, s.m. Petit navire portant trois mâts à pible, qui diffère peu de celui de même nature, nommé *chat*."

It appears here to be a word from Swedish and Danish; Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtbuch.*, i., 578, derive O. Swed. *krejare* as well as Danish *kreiert* from Mid. Low Germ. *kreier* of unknown origin.

But a derivation of the mediæval French *crayer* from Swedish *krejare*, accepted by Kemna, *Der Begriff "Schiff" im Französischen* (1901), 146, seems to me improbable. Mediæval French *crayer* goes with the mediæval English *crayer* or *crare*, of which the NED gives an instance of c. 1325 (*crayeres*) and which it refers to the Mid. Fr. *crayer*. The early French and English examples do not refer in any way to the Baltic. In the French examples the *crayers* are either ships of the king to be used in war, possibly for transport, or they are used as cargo boats in the herring trade. It should be noticed that Kluge, *Seemannssprache*, 487-8, cannot quote for German *kreier* an example earlier than 1401 (*Hans. Urkundenbuch*, v., 509, *crayers*), a fact which seems rather against the Baltic lands being the original home of the word. At any rate, the French and English words are probably to be derived from some nearer Germanic dialect than Swedish, and I consider that they come from Middle Dutch *kraaier*.

Very similar considerations apply to the variant form *craie*, which first appears in a French dictionary in 1694—

1694 T. Corneille, *Dict.*, i., 278: "*Craie*, s.f. Vaisseau suédois ou danois. Cette sorte de bâtiment porte trois masts, et n'a point de mast de hune."

T. Corneille gets his information from Desroches, *Dict. de Marine* (1687); see Jal, *Gloss. Naut.*, 544. After 1694 *craie* is given in the bigger French dictionaries until the 1771 edition of the *Dict. de Trévoux*, and then it disappears. *Craie* is clearly the same vessel as the *crayer*, and in the late examples quoted it is considered as a Swedish or Danish type of craft. But Jal quotes it nearly two centuries earlier—

1515-20 A. de Conflans, *Les faits de la marine*: "Saint Wallery et Fescamp. Grand quantité de caravelles et crayes et s'en treuve six cens, sept cens ensemble, et la pluspart servent a pescher harenc."

From this text it can be said that the *craies* were common in the ports of Normandy and Picardy in the early XVI<sup>th</sup> century. Of the equivalent English *cray*, the NED gives instances of 1541 *craie*, 1591 *crayes* pl., 1612 *crea*, and 1621 *crayes* pl. French *craie* and Engl. *cray* are borrowed from the Middle Dutch *kraaj*.

7—North French *ferlape*, *ferlampe*, *ferlope*, *ferloupe*.

In 1880 Jouancoux, *Etudes pour un Gloss. étym. du patois picard*, i., 270, properly derived the picard *ferlape* "morceau mince, beaucoup plus long que large d'une chose qui de sa nature offre peu de résistance, comme par exemple une étoffe, la peau, etc.," from the Dutch and Flemish *verlappen* "to patch, to botch," a compound of *lappen* from the substantive *lap* "little piece of cloth, of leather, etc.," and he added the following note—"Il est fort remarquable que le picard emploie le préfixe pour le substantif tandis que le flamand ne le met qu'au verbe."

In French Flanders, they say *ferloupe* "lambeau" (1867 Vermesse, *Dict.*, 239). During the winter of 1914–5, when I happened to be for a few months at Erquinghem sur la Lys, I compiled a vocabulary in phonetic script of the dialect of this little township and its neighbourhood; from it I transcribe into the usual French graphic system: "Erquinghem *f'rloupe*, *verloupe* "dentelure, effilochage au bas d'une robe, d'un pantalon"; *ferloupe* in [i a tro pol e en ferlup] "il a trois poils et une ferloupe, i.e. il a une petite moustache"; *f'rlouper* "friper, franger." Further east we get for Mons *ferlopes*, *farlopes* "marc, fèces qui se trouvent suspendues dans les liqueurs non clarifiées" (1866 Sigart, *Gloss.*, 176), which must be compared with Boulogne *ferlampes*, f. pl., "matières diverses, filaments albumineux qui flottent dans un liquide" (1903 Haigneré, *Vocab.*, 264).

The semantic connection between these various forms is clear. They are all attested in glossaries of the last century; but they are probably quite old. I am inclined to consider that *ferlape*, *ferlampe*, *ferlope* are verbal substantives from verbs: *ferlaper*, *ferlamper*, *ferloper*. We have seen that *ferlouper* was still used in Erquinghem in 1915; and one may add that the past participle *ferlopé* is glossed in 1624 by Van Waesberghe, in his *Grand Dict. franç.-flamand*, by "verscheurt, verhackelt, i.e. déchiré, mis en lambeaux." These verbs, *ferlaper*, *ferlamper*, *ferloper*, would be taken from *verlappen*, *verlampen*, *verloppen* of the Germanic dialects. And here we have to bear in mind that the districts where *ferlape*, *ferlampe*, *ferlope* occur have been under the linguistic influence of Germanic for fifteen centuries; and that it is natural that some of the word-forms there found of loan-words from Germanic refer back to Germanic forms which may no longer survive in the neighbouring Germanic (Flemish and Dutch) dialects. That such verbs may quite well have existed is shown by the Dutch and German *verlappen* and the German *verlumpen*.

Now the root-meaning of Germanic *lapp-* is "hanging loosely," and the derived meanings are seen in English *lap* (*lapel*, *lappet*) "pendent part of a garment," also *lap* in *dewlap*, in *lap-eared* "with ears hanging down," etc., in Dutch *lap* "piece, shred, fragment, rag," in German *lappen*, 1° "lobe or pendent part of the ear; ear (of dogs); wattle (of cocks)=Fr. *barbillon*; thin flank of cattle=Fr. *hampe*; 2° piece, shred, fragment, lap." Something of the original sense of the Germanic root survives in Burgundy, Champagne *laper* "to stick, to remain hanging," Morvan *laper* "se prendre fortement à quelque chose, à un travail, à une besogne quelconque," which GEW 552 would derive from L. *lappa* "burdock."

In Germanic a closely related *lopp-* is traceable by the side of *lapp-*: Engl. *to lop*, trans. "to allow to hang downward (of a horse in reference to the ears); intrans. "to hang downward (of the ears of some rabbits and dogs)," cf. *lop-eared* by the side of *lap-eared*; cf. also dial. Swedish *lop* "dewlap." Here, too, may belong the Engl. *to lop* "to cut small pendent branches," *lopping* being used in contrast to *topping* and *cropping* (NED).

I have said elsewhere that I do not believe in the existence of so-called inorganic nasals in French (Review of L. Balcke, *Der anorganische Nasallaut im Französischen*, in BDR iv. (1912), 121-2). For *ferlampe* by the side of *ferlape*, I call attention to another form, *lamp-* closely related to *lapp-* and *lopp-*, and visible in Mid. H. German *lampen* "to hang down weakly," Alsatian and Swiss German *lämpe* "dewlap"; cf. also the Engl. *limp* "hanging down loosely, weak, powerless"; the Engl. *lump* "piece, fragment"; Dutch *lomp*, German *lumpen* "rag."

Sainéan, *Sources Indigènes*, etc. (1925), ii., 337-8, has protested, I think quite rightly, against the traditional explanation of French *frelampier*<sup>1</sup> by *frère lampier*, and admitted that Jouancoux, *Etudes*, i. (1880), 270, was right in considering it as a Frenchification [*fer-* > *fre-*] of the Northern *ferlampier* from the verb *ferlamper*: cf. Val. d'Yères *ferlamper* "boire comme un ivrogne," *ferlampier* "ivrogne" (Delboulle, 152), Picard *ferlaper*, *ferlamper* "boire avec avidité," *ferlapoux* "buveur, gourmand, dissipateur" (Jouancoux, i., 270); cf. Yonne *ferlampe* "association de buveurs et de débauchés." But Sainéan has certainly not understood the origin of these words, since he rejects (*Sources*, ii., 294) the explanation by a Germanic form of the French words *laper* "to lap, to lap up, to lick up," *lamper* "to swill, to swig, to quaff, to toss off, to guzzle." How then understand the *fer-* of *ferlaper*, *ferlamper*? They can only be explained by the *ver-* (*fer-*) of a Germanic word *verlappen*, *verlampen*, cf. E. Frisian *ferlappen*, German *verläppern* "dissiper, consommer en buvottant."

<sup>1</sup> Sainéan, *Sources*, ii., 337, says: "*Frelampier*, mot qu'on lit pour la première fois dans la *Comédie des Proverbes* (1633)." An example of 1614 is to be found in *Variétés Hist. & Litt.*, Bibl. Elzévir., v., 190: "Deux frelampiers Qui se disoient tous deux estre marchands fripiers . . ."

As a matter of fact the root-idea in the words we are considering is that of "something hanging loosely," and so far as the French *laper*, *lamper*, are concerned, the original reference is to the pendent tongue. The DG properly explains *laper* as "boire en pompant le liquide avec la langue." The dialect poet Crinon uses the Picard *ferlape* in the sense of "tongue" (Jouancoux, *Etudes*, ii., 117). The Middle Dutch *lappen* means both "to lick" and "to lap up." The original idea is well kept in Morvan *lamper* "(particulièrement des animaux et des bêtes à cornes) tirer la langue par suite d'altération et de fatigue" (Chambure, *Gloss.*, 485). Bas-Maine *lampart* is glossed by "langue (des reptiles)" in Dottin, *Gloss.*, 320. *Lampas* in French means 1° "palate" according to Bescherelle, "throat" according to Littré and the DG; 2° "lampas or swelling in a horse's mouth." At Boulogne *lampas* means "palate" (Haigneré, *Vocab.*, 353); it has the same meaning in Berry (Jaubert, *Gloss.*, ii., 5: "Arrière-bouche, palais d'un animal") and elsewhere; but at Valenciennes (Hécart, *Dict.*, 270), in Picardy and French Flanders (Corblet, *Gloss.*, 513), *lampas* is the name of the uvula. Its application to the uvula considered as a small pendent tongue is natural; but that it was originally a name of the tongue itself is clearly shown by the term of heraldry *lampassé*; *lampassé de gueules* is translated by Cotgrave in 1611 "langued, or whose tongue is red (a terme of blazon)," and *lampassé* is properly said of animals "dont la langue paraît hors de leur gueule, lorsque l'émail de la langue est différent de celui du corps de l'animal." *Lampas* is now chiefly used in French in the expression *humecter le lampas* "to wet one's whistle," which comes from that archaising author La Fontaine; both the heraldic term *lampassé* and the popular verb *lampasser* "to wet one's whistle" are derived from it. Its primitive meaning of "tongue" may no doubt be compared with the Spanish *lapilla* "hound's tongue" (genus *cynoglossum* Moench); one may refer to the Mediæval Latin *lapella* in that sense in the dictionaries of Goetz and Diefenbach.

*Lampas* in its second sense of "swelling in a horse's mouth"—this swelling is also called *fève*—is attested in the XII<sup>th</sup> century, and is therefore a witness to the antiquity of LAMP—in the North of France. A curious deflection of its meaning is given by Beau-coudrey, *Langage normand* (1911), 278: "Un *lampas*, objet composé de deux bandes de fer plat dans lesquelles sont fixées deux tiges de fer espacées de 10 à 12 centimètres servant à maintenir ouverte la bouche d'un cheval ou d'un ruminant quand on a besoin d'y plonger profondément la main pour éviter de se faire broyer les doigts entre les dents mâchelières." The fundamental meaning of *lampas* in sense 2 is "lump of pendent flesh," hence "tumour," and it may be compared with Portuguese *laparáo*, *lamparáo* "lampas," and with the Spanish *lamparones* "scrofula," this last disease being characterised by small mobile tumours in the neck. For the suffix of *lampas*, it may be noted that Duez, *Dict. franç.-ital.* (1659), 341,

renders *lampas* by Ital. *lampasco*, *mal di cavallo*, so that *lampas* may be an original *lamp-ask*-.

The meanings, in French and the French dialects, of the words having the Germanic root LAPP-, LAMP-, may then, in my opinion, be classified as follows—

(a) "Pendent tongue." (1) French *laper* "to lap, lap up, lick up"; Norm. and Picard *lapard*, *lapeux* "drinker, drunkard" (Delboulle, Jouancoux); Picard *lapoire* "breuvage qu'on lappe" (Corblet, *Gloss.*, 514); Mons *lapure* (Sigart), Meuse *laipeuilre* (Labourasse) "drink for cows"; Val d'Yeres *lapette* "soif"; also Picard *ferlape* "tongue," *ferlaper* "to drink greedily," *ferlapeux* "drinker"; Picard *lapet* "babil, caquet"; (2) French *lamper* "to swill, etc."; *lampée* "swill, bumper"; *lampas* "tongue, uvula, throat, palate, pharynx," whence the heraldic *lampassé* and the popular *lampasser*; Bas-Maine *lampard* "tongue" (of reptiles); Norm. and Pic. *ferlamper* "to drink greedily," Yonne *ferlampe*; Norm. and Pic. *ferlampier* "drunkard," whence French *frelampier*, *ferlampier* "ruffian; poor wretch, beggar, cadger"; Les Fourgs *lampau* "lippée" (Tissot, 155); Val d'Yeres *lamproner* "boire comme un ivrogne"; cf. also 1612 B. de Verville, *Moyen de parvenir*, ed. Jacob, 84: "Bois, tu as la langue si aride, que tu nous lamponneras d'ici a demain," also 210: "Ce pauvre lamponnier"; French *lampon* "satirical song, lampoon."

(b) "Pendent lump of flesh, tumour." French *lampas* "tumour in a horse's mouth"; Montbéliard *lampe* "dewlap" (Contejean); Berry *lampe* "dewlap" and also "cock's wattle" (Jaubert); Poitou *lampe* "dewlap" (Lalanne); cf. Tappolet, *Die Alemannischen Lehnwörter in den Mundarten der Französischen Schweiz*, ii., 97, for borrowings on the linguistic frontier. Fr. *lampe* "dewlap," also "breast of deer" is in sense "dewlap" very ill attested historically, being first noted by Littré; the DG gives *lampe* with a reference to *hampe*. The usual etymologies (ML 4019, 9497; DG, GEW at *hampe*) are most unsatisfactory; the dialect H.G. *lämpe* suggests that, at any rate in the sense "dewlap," *hampe* contains an inorganic *h* (cf. Fr. *hampe* "handle," fr. L. *ampla*; influence of Germanic *hand* ?); Fr. *hampe* "dewlap" would then be for *lampe*; cf. 1534 Rabelais, i., 2: "les empas" and in Berry, Anjou, Poitou *empas*, s. pl. = *lampas*.

(c) "Pendent piece of cloth, etc., in a garment; rag; small objects, lees, etc., in suspension in liquids." (1) Lille *lappequin* (ex. of 1556 in GD), archaic picard *lappequin* "devant de culotte, braguette" (Jouancoux, *Etudes*, ii., 117), Amiens *lapette* "bout, pièce ou morceau de linge qui se montre d'une façon irrégulière par l'ouverture ou en bas et au-dessous du principal vêtement" (Jouancoux), Berry *lappignon* "chiffon" (Jaubert who gives also *nappignon*, *napillon*, *napille*, showing contamination of *nappe*); (2) Boulogne *ferlampe*. Cf. on the one hand N<sup>th</sup> Ital. (Venice) *lampo*, (Milan) *lamp*, *lampin* "gherone, falda, lembo, brandello, etc." and on the

other Span. *lapa* "scum or pellicle raised on the surface of some liquors."

(d) "Lump, piece, bit." B.-Maine *lampin* "lopin, reste, morceau" (Dottin, *Gloss.*, 320); cf. South French *lampre* (and *lambre*) "quignon, gros morceau, lopin de terre" (Mistral).

If we examine the semantic value of words containing *lopp-*, *lupp-*, we get a very similar series to the one suggested by the examination of words containing *lapp-*, *lamp-*:

(a) "Pendent tongue." O. Fr. *faire la lope* or *la loupe* "to pull the tongue out (in derision) after deceiving some one," and so "to mock, to deceive," attested since the XII<sup>th</sup> century; for *faire la lope*, cf.—

c. 1180 *Roman de Renart*, ed. Martin, Br. i., 544: "Et Renart, li a fait la lope Por ce que si tost le despoit . . ."

a. 1488 *Mystère de la Passion de Semur*, ed. Roy, 5350: "Car je viendz de la terre d'Aise. Et de la terre de Europe Ou je fay faire a Dieu la loppe . . ."

For *faire la loupe*—

a. 1243 Ph. Mousket, *Chron.*, ed. Reiffenberg, 22940: "Adonques a cil le renon Qu'il la traï, si n'i a coupes, Et nonpourquant l'en fait on loupes . . ."

a. 1407 Eust. Deschamps, *Œuvres*, ed. SATF, viii., 176: "Au retour m'en fait grigne et louppe . . ."

With this, cf. O. Fr. *louper* "se livrer à la boisson" of which GD gives an example—

XIII<sup>th</sup> C. *Vers de Job*, in Ars. MS. 3142, f<sup>o</sup> 271<sup>c</sup>: "Ensi s'emplist li glous mastins Otant vausist que il soupast, Qu'ensi beüst, Qu'ensi loupast."

Cf. popular French *louper* "boire beaucoup; ne rien faire, faire le paresseux"; *loupe* "ouvrier paresseux," *loupeur* "buveur; paresseux," *loupiait* "ivrogne incorrigible" (used by Zola), *loupiau* "flâneur, joueur," etc. The verb survives in Walloon; cf. Arille Carlier, *Gloss. de Marche les Ecaussines*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Litt. Wallonne*, iv. (1913-4), 382, 398: "*Loupe* "lippe, lèvres tombante, figure renfrognée, visage boudeur," and "*louper, relouper*, 'boire avec avidité, bruyamment.'"

(b) "Pendent lump of flesh, tumour." Fr. *loupe*: 1575 A. Paré, *Introd.*, 2: "Amputer les excroissances comme loupes, verrues . . ." 1611 Cotgrave: "*Loupe*, f., a flegmaticke lumpe, wenne, bunch or swelling of flesh under the throat, bellie, etc., also a little one on the wrist, foot, or other joint, gotten by a blow whereby a sinew being wrested, rises and grows hard; *loupie*, f. as *loupe*; *louppe*, f. as *loupe*, and, in a horse, the water-farcy." Add W. Norm. *loupiaux* "goîtres" (Duméril); Norman (Eure) *se loupier, être loupé* "(du mouton) être atteint d'une tumeur molle sous la mâchoire, être atteint de pourriture" (Robin, etc., *Dict.*, 255). It is perhaps from the sense of "tumour" that is derived that of "cabochon de pierre fine," cf. *loupe de saphir* attested from 1328 in GD. *Loupe* seems to mean "knob" in the following: 1456 Ducange, art. *loppa*: "Le suppliant fery d'un coup d'un goy de quoy l'on arrache les buissons, de la louppe qui est dessus le dos d'icelluy goy."

(c) "Pendent piece of cloth, etc., in a garment; rag; small objects,

lees, etc., in suspension in liquids." Norman *louèpe*, f. "chiffon, mauvais lambeau d'étoffe, guenille" (Moisy, *Dict.*, 393); B.-Maine *lopin* "guenille, morceau d'étoffe" (Dottin). Probably here should be placed *lope*, *loupe*, in the sense of "scum, dross in molten metal," cf.—

1358 Text in Littré: "L'ordure et le loupe qui estoit au metal qui fu fondu . . ."

1562 Du Pinet, *Pline*, ed. 1581, ii., 580: "La loppe et crasse d'argent, dite des Grecs *helcysma* . . ."

1611 Cotgrave: "Loppe . . . also the drosse of any metal."

Cf. Ital. *loppa*, glossed by Duce in 1660 by "(1) escorce de grains, (2) escume d'argent, (3) suie."

(d) "Lump, piece, bit." 1611 Cotgrave: "*Loppe*, as *lopin*." Cf. a. 1488 *Myst. de la Passion de Semur*, ed. Roy, 2659: "Or aporte donc en ta main le tranchet pour trancher nos soupes, Nous y mectrons de grosses loupes Car tantost trempées seront." As applied to metal "lump, pig"; 1611 Cotgrave: "*Loppe* . . . a lumpe of metall rugged and unwrought, as it comes out of the mine . . ." Cf. c. 1453 AN, KK 328 f° 211, i°, *Vente des biens de J. Coeur* (GD): "Quantité de loupes estanz ou dit martinet . . ." Rennes *lope* "morceau"; *happe-lope* "parasite" (Coulabin, *Dict.*, 228); French *happe-lopin* (see note iv., 17); French *lopin*: *lopin de terre*, cf. E. Frisian 'n *groten lap lands* "un gros lopin de terre"; *lopin de laine* "locke of wool" (Cotgrave), cf. the form *loupin*, 1630 Mellema, *Den Schat der duytscher Tale*: "*vlocke wolle*, plotton, loupin ou floc de laine"; *lopin de papier* (early XVI<sup>th</sup> century example in GD); Mid. French *lopin* "blow"; Picard *lopin* "petit morceau" (Corblet, *Gloss.*, 521), Norman (Bray) "petite quantité" (Decorde, *Dict.*, 97); Walloon "crachat"; Bas-Maine *lopet* "lopin" (Dottin, *Gloss.*, 326). Among the derivatives of *lopin*: (a) *lopinaille* "odds and ends, riff-raff" in "truandaille et lopinaille," *Myst. de S. Quentin*, 4275; *lopinaille* as applied to a woman (see GD) wrongly considered as a derivative of Dutch *loopen*, Behrens, *Beiträge*, 83; *lopinet*, fr. c. 1380 *Viandier de Taillevent*, MS. Vatican, ed. Pichon et Vicaire, 237; *lopinet* (1) "to divide into bits," (2) "to munch bits, to eat greedily in a corner" (Cotgrave); *lopineur* used like *happe-lopin*, Engl. *catchbit*.

### 8—French *fleurs* "menstrues."

L. Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'étym. franç.*, ii., 337, says: "S'agit-il là d'une déformation du Lat. *fluor*, comme le prétend Charles Estienne dans son *Anatomie* de 1555 (voir DG), ou bien d'une métaphore qu'explique très bien un autre médecin de l'époque :

1580 L. Joubert, *Erreurs populaires et propos vulgaires touchant la médecine*, ii<sup>e</sup> partie, pp. 191 sq. : "Les fleurs d'une femme sont dites à la similitude des plantes qui fleurissent communément avant de produire leur fruit."

The explanation of *fleurs* by the L. *fluores* "flowings" is by Sainéan declared to be "une de ces explications superficielles dont les érudits ne sont pas à l'abri."

It is, I think, the explanation by the L. *flores* "flowers, blooms" which is unnatural and superficial. GEW, 424, deals with the problem as follows—

*Fleur*<sup>2</sup> "Monatlicher Fluss." 16 Jhdt., auch *flueur*, aus Lat. (*fluore*). Zu *fleur*, Spitzer, ASSL, cxxxix., 89 sq., ist angesichts von Lat. *fluor* und frz. *flueur* überflüssig.

The form *flueurs* "menstrues" is, of course, of learned formation, and so does not bear decisively on the issue. Sainéan has called attention to *fleurs* "menstrues" in O. French—

1314 Mondeville, *Chirurgie*, §445: Les superfluités desquels le flus du sanc (dit flours ou menstrues) est engendré . . . ."; §53: "Le sanc menstrueus (ce sont les fleurs de la fame) . . . ."

So *fleurs* "menstrual flow" and *fleurs* "flowers, blooms," are found from early texts and throughout the French period are no doubt felt to be the same word in popular consciousness; English *flowers* in both senses is from French. Further, in both senses, French *fleurs* goes back to a L. *flores* (cf. Ital. *fiori* in both senses). But L. *flores* represents two things—

(a) L. *flores* "blooms."

(b) L. *fluores* "flowings" with *uo* > *o*; cf. *fus de sanc* above, Germ, *fluss*, Engl. *flow*, *flood*, etc.

It is merely very early phonetic identification that has made possible the suggestion of Laurent Joubert.

### 9—French *freluche*, *freluche*.

The DG deals with these two words as follows—

FRELOCHE, s.f.

Etym.—Orig. inconnue; le mot est peut-être apparenté à *frelouque* (cf. *freluche*).

1399 *Roignie ou coppé certains freloques et draps de diverses couleurs*, dans Du C. *flocus*

Poche de gaze placée au bout d'une canne pour prendre les papillons, les insectes volants. Poche de toile pour pêcher les insectes aquatiques, les menus poissons.

FRELUCHE, s.f.

Etym.—Même radical que *frelouche* avec la désinence de *fanfreluche*. XV<sup>e</sup> S<sup>e</sup> *Deux freluques de cheveux*, Coquillart, *Droits nouveaulx*.

I.—(1) Houquette de soie, de laine qui pend à l'extrémité d'un bouton, d'un gland, etc. (2) Filaments blancs et soyeux qu'on voit voltiger dans l'air, dits vulgairement *fil de la Vierge*.

II.—Sorte de jeu de cartes.

GEW 440 proposes the following explanation of the two words—

FRELOCHE "Gazenetze zum Insektenfang u. ä," 14 Jhdt., ist mit Suffixwechsel gebildet aus *freluche* "Seidenes Quästchen," "Flocke," "Sommerfäden" u. ä; dieses seit dem 15 Jhdt., ist Kreuzung von *fanfreluche*, s.d., mit *frelon* "Sommerfäden," s., *frelon*. Settegast, ZRP xvi., 395; REW 6643.

In the first place, as regards *freluche*, that form and the two meanings given for it by the DG are not, so far as I am aware, attested before the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, and it is a mistake to quote a *ferloque* of 1399 as the first instance of *freluche* without more historical evidence of the connection between them. In the second place, as regards *freluche*, that particular form is not attested to my knowledge before Cotgrave, and the meanings in chronological order of appearance in texts are—

1° "Small straw, lint." 1611 Cotgrave: "*Freluche*, f. A moat, a small straw or lint." Cf. 1630 Mellema, *Den Schat der dwytscher Tale*: "*Veese, veesken*, un festu ou fereluche."

2° "Gossamer." a. 1660 S<sup>t</sup> Amand, in Richelet, *Dict.* (1680), i., 353—

"J'entreprendrois en un temps chaud et clair  
Le vain calcul des freluches de l'air . . ."

3° "Tuft, wisp." 1680 Richelet, *Dict.*, i., 353: "*Freluche* . . . Petit ornement en manière de houpe qu'on met à côté de certains boutons qu'on appelle boutons à freluche."

The meaning II of DG is not attested before the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

The DG at *freluche* quotes for its first instance of the word a text which I give in fuller form—

c. 1470-1480 Coquillart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Bibl. Elz., i., 47—

"Il fauldra que, l'un de ces jours,  
Pour corriger tels inventeurs,  
Venus, la deesse d'amours,  
Y envoie ses reformateurs,  
Combien que tous ses grands docteurs,  
Ses grans clerks, a ses rouges hucques,  
Sont fort embesognez ailleurs  
Touchant le faict de ses perruques;  
Car aujourd'huy de deux freluques  
De cheveux, d'ung petit monceau,  
Il semble qu'il y en ait jusques  
Au collet et plein ung boisseau."

The meaning "tuft, wisp (of hair)" for *freluque* (*de cheveux*) seems a reasonable one, and one may suppose that *freluche* is relatively a more westerly form than *freluque*.

The origin of the words we are discussing appears to me to be complicated. Having now given some historical data that concern their use in written French, I propose to mention some of the points that must be taken into account.

In the first place the word *freluche* and its local equivalents are found over large tracts of Northern France in the sense of "planer's shavings." Dialectal dictionaries and the ALF map 319 *copeaux* (*de hache, de rabot*) attest it in the following districts—

(a) Côtes du Nord *feurluche, ferluchon*; Morbihan *feurluche*; Ille-et-Vilaine *feurluche, ferluche, féluchon*; Orne, Calvados *ferluche*; Eure *feurluche*.

(b) Meuse *feurlouche* (Labourasse, 282); Aube, H<sup>te</sup>.-Marne *feurlouche*; H<sup>te</sup>.-Saône, Jura *frelouche*.

(c) Vienne *ferlouche*; Isère *frelouche*.

(d) Cf. also Vosges *feurlotte*, *freluette*; Bas-Rhin *frolotte*, Creuse *ferlette*; cf. also Eure *faflouche*, Bas-Rhin *fafiot*, Jura Bernois *fafiot*, *fafiole*.

De Bo, *Westvlaamsch Idiotikon*, 216, 1189, has two articles—

(1) *Donder*, *Dunder*, m., fr. *tonnerre*. Bij timm. Zoo heet de schaaf die men gebruikt na den voorlooper. De voorlooper (fr. *varlope*) heet de weerlicht, en, even als na den weerlicht de donder volgt, zoo ook na den voorlooper komt de kortschaaf, de Strijk-blok of de reeschaaf.

(2) *Weerlicht*, *weerlucht*, m., . . . fr. *éclair* (*accompagné de tonnerre*). Bij timm. Soort van schaaf, anders ook voorlooper, fr. *varlope*.

If, as seems very probable, *ferlouche* "copeau" is of Germanic origin, the question arises as to whether it is to be connected with the W. Flem. *weerlucht*, a by-form of *weerlicht*. In that case the French *frelouche*, *ferlouche* can only be a verbal substantive from a lost *frelucher*, *ferlucher* "to plane," which would derive from an early form corresponding to a Flem. *weerluchten* "to plane," from *weerlucht* "plane"; cf. *raboter* from *rabot*, *varloper* from *varlope*. If it be accepted that there is a derivative connection between the W. Flem. *weerlucht* "plane" and the N<sup>th</sup> French *freluches* "planer's shavings," a first point to be noted in the elucidation of the words we are considering is that the ALF map 319 attests *ferloche* "copeau" at point 509 of the Vienne, and that Labourasse in his *Glossaire de la Meuse* 282 gives *feurlouques* as an alternative to *feurlouches* in the sense of "copeaux en forme de rubans que fait le menuisier avec la varlope, le rabot." The Poitevin *ferloche* is perhaps too isolated, if taken by itself, to be of consequence; but the *feurlouque* of the Meuse is much nearer to districts where *ferloque* is best attested in its other meanings, and the two taken together undoubtedly suggest influence of the type *ferloque* on the type *frelouche*.

Now the meaning attached to *ferloque* in the dialectal dictionaries that quote it is that of 1° rag; 2° small bit"—

1834 Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 205: "*Ferloque*, linge en lambeau qui ne peut servir qu'à mettre au pilon."

1851 Corblet, *Gloss, pic.*, 457: "*Eune ferloke*, un peu, un brin."

GD gives an instance of 1744 of *ferloque* "rag" from the archives of the Aisne: "i. tas de ferloques pilées" and one of the same date of *ferloquetier* "ragman," a word still preserved in the speech of the department. Already in 1611 Cotgrave says: "*Freloque*, f., a tatter that hangs down trailing from a garment." Trogny in 1640 gives: "*Freloque*, des freloques, bouts non tissus dans une pièce d'étoffe, certains fils qui pendent des haillons, guenilles." This definition may help us to understand the meaning of *freloque* in the text of 1399 quoted by Du Cange—

"Le suppliant avoit roigné ou coppé certaines freloques et draps de diverses couleurs."

that is "the suppliant had clipped or cut certain fringes and bits of cloth of different colours."

It seems difficult not to recognise in *ferloque* "rag, tatter," some connection with the French *loque*, a word of North-eastern origin and given as Picard by Thierry and Cotgrave. The *fer-* of *ferloque* suggests that it is a verbal substantive of a verb *ferloquer* from a Germanic type *verlokken*. The verb *ferloquer*, *frelouquer*, is attested in 1421—

1421 *Lettre de rémission* in Du Cange: "Un chapperon de brun vert et une coquille freloque . . ."

i.e. "a greenish-brown cape and hood with little tufts of wool." Two other later examples of *frelouquer* are given by GD.

We can now affirm that *frelouque* is a North-eastern word attested in three senses: (a) lock of wool, (b) rag, tatter, (c) bit, small piece. A comparison of these meanings with those attested for the Fr. *loque* and the words derived from it is convincing—

(a) O. Fr. *locu* (of the beard and hair) "dishevelled," Fr. *loquet* "laine grossière des cuisses, employée à faire des matelas," "petit paquet de poil de sanglier dont on garnit les brosses," Fr. *loquette* "laine cardée en menus flocons, prête à être filée."

(b) Fr. *loque* "rag, tatter."

(c) Fr. *loquette* "menue tranche de saumon, de morue"; cf. also *harengs loqués* "harengs qui ont été mordus ou blessés par des chiens de mer ou d'autres animaux marins." It may now be admitted that both *loque* and *ferloque* go back to a Frankish word of the form LOKKA the meaning of which was "locks (of hair, of wool)"; cf. GEW 569 *loque*.

A curious point is that the three senses we have indicated appear to be attested for *frelouque*, *freluche*—

(a) Coquillart's *frelouques de cheveux*; *freluches* "gossamer" to be compared with Fr. *cheveux de la Vierge*.

(b) Champagne *ferluche* "guenille, mèche."

(c) Fr. *freluche* "fétu" (Cotgrave); *freluches* "airy nothings."

For whereas the meanings of *ferloque* are all explainable by a Germanic *lokk-*, it is not easy to connect the same meanings for *freluche* with *freluches* "planer's shavings." We have seen that *ferloque* has acquired locally from *freluche* the sense of "planer's shavings"; can we suppose that the other senses attested for *freluche* are borrowed from *ferloque*? I had at first thought of connecting these two forms by means of the Middle Flemish *verluchten*, *verlochten* "to air," and so explain the alternation of the vowels *o* and *u*. But such a solution seems unsatisfactory.

One thing is to my mind certain; all the forms discussed in this note are in principle North-eastern and borrowed from Germanic.

#### 10—French *généralat* "rank or office of general."

The DG has—

GÉNÉRALAT, s.m.

Étym.—Dérivé de *général*. A remplacé *généralité* (cf. *amirauté*), encore donné par OUDIN. XVII<sup>e</sup> S<sup>e</sup> PATRU, *Plaidoy.*, 1.

1° Grade de général d'armée. 2° Dignité de général d'un ordre religieux.  
*Par ext.* Durée des fonctions de général.

*Généralat* is not derived from *général*, but from the Italian *generalato*, which the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (ed. Venice, 1741), ii., 394, quotes from the *Fioretti* of S<sup>t</sup> Francis of Assisi. Sense 2 of the DG is no doubt earlier in Italian than sense 1.

The DG quotes *généralat* from the *Plaidoyers* of Patru who died in 1681, and Littré from Corneille's *Agésilas* (1666) and Bouhours' *Vie de S<sup>t</sup> Ignace*. The French word is a century older, even in the sense of "duration of the office of general"—

1597 Du Perron, *Ambassades et Negociations*, ed. 1623, p. 64: "J'ay plusieurs causes de me rejouir de ceste action . . . ; mais l'une des premieres est qu'elle m'a esté concedée durant vostre generalat . . ." [The addressee of the letter was general of the Chartreux Order.]

For the sense of "rank of general in an army," cf.—

1585 *Négociations du Levant*, iv., 438 n.: "Osman . . . pour eviter sedition en l'armee, y à craindre pour tous respects après son decès, pourveut aussitost et prudemment au generalat d'icelle . . ."

In reference to command at sea, cf.—

1586 *Négociations du Levant*, iv., 523 n.: "Ochially, craignant recevoir quelque notable affront d'Assan, bassa de Tripoly, pour l'inclination qu'il pense que le seigneur aye de pourvoir le dict Assan du generalat de la mer, s'estoit adressé à Isbrahim Bassa . . ."

#### 11—French *grabuge* "confusion, disorder; row; wrangling."

L. Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'étymologie française*, ii., 290–1, claims that the Middle French *garbowil*, *grabouil*, *garbuge*, *grabuge* is of dialectal and specifically of North French origin and is eventually to be derived from the root of German *krabbeln*, *grabbeln* "gratter, griffonner, grouiller, s'agiter." According to him, it is from North France that the word penetrated into South France and North Italy. In order to support this view, he affirms: (1) that the French form *grabouil* is attested in the XV<sup>th</sup> century, whereas the first Italian text containing *garbuglio* is Varchi's *La Suocera* (Florence, 1569); (2) that the variety of forms and meanings of the French word is greater than in Italian, and that this militates in favour of Italian borrowing from French.

Dealing first with the question of date, it is a pity that Sainéan did not quote the French XV<sup>th</sup> century text in which *grabouil* occurs, as I am not acquainted with it. Not that its appearance in the XV<sup>th</sup> century would be against its Italian origin, but the form itself is rare, being quoted by GD in one example only, from Brantôme, and no other being known to me. The normal form in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century is *garbowil* (also written *garboil*, *garbouille*, etc.), whence XVI<sup>th</sup> century English *garboil*; and the first instance I can quote of it is in a letter dated Rome, 2nd of March 1536—

1536 *Négociations du Levant*, i., 294: "Adjoustant . . . que ilz . . . avoient delivré le dict roy, et chassé le reste des dictz Turcz et Arabes

hors de Thuniz, et neanmoins que toute Barbarie estoit encores en armes et guarbouilles . . . .”

On the other hand, the Italian word is certainly earlier than 1569. The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice, 1741) quotes it for the proverb *Il garbuglio fa pe' malistanti* from the prose comedy *Trinuzia* printed in Florence by Bernardo Giunti in 1551. Again, Berni died in 1536, and from his *Orlando Innamorato* we get the following passages (I quote from a Milan edition of 1806)—

- lxv., 33: “Distese le sue insegne insin in Puglia  
E tutta Italia scompiglia è'ngarbuglia . . . .”  
lxvi., 3: “Saria come ne l'acqua il foco porre  
E si faria garbuglio presto presto . . . .”

And then it should be remembered that the verbal form *garabullare* occurs in *Pataffio*, 1, and Brunetto Latini died in 1294.

As to the second of Sainéan's arguments, it is clear that he has weighted the balance by adding to the French side of the account the verb *gribouiller* and the forms connected with it, whereas these appear to have nothing to do with *garbouil*. Properly speaking the attested forms connected with *garbouil* are to be arranged as follows—

- (1) From Ital. *garbuglio*: French *garbouil* (*garbouille*, *garboil*, etc.), attested from 1536 (see above) and often in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century; and metathetic *grabouil*.
- (2) From Ital. *garbugliare*: French *garbouiller*; ex. of 1557, 1558, 1577 in GD; the first in a letter written from Adrianople by the French ambassador in Turkey to King Henry II.
- (3) From Ital. *ingarbugliare*: French *engarbouiller*: 1540 *Corresp. polit. de Guill. Pellicier*, ed. Tausserat-Radel, i., 139: “Les affaires d'entre ces seigneurs et le Grant Seigneur s'alloyent prolonguant et engarbouillant . . . .” G. Pellicier was French ambassador in Venice.
- (4) From Ital. *garbugliamento*: French *garbouillement*: 1606 *Merlin Coccaie* (a text of Italian origin) quoted by La Curne.

I have before called attention to the importance, for the history of French loan-words from Italian, of the North Italian dialects. Again and again, we find Italian loan-words coming into French texts in two forms, one from normal Tuscan and the other from the dialects of North Italy; very often it is the North Italian form that is adopted in the end. It is as North Italian forms (Venetian *garbugio*, etc.) that we must consider—

- (1) *Garbuge*, ex. of 1587 in Cholières, *Apresdinees* (DG *grabuge*). Cf. a. 1630 A. d'Aubigné, *Œuvres*, ed. Réaume and De Caussade, i., 270: “Ceux qui ont pour devise *Per noi fa garbuggio* . . . .”
- (2) *Grabuge*, 1536 Text in GD; 1557 *Négoc. du Levant*, ii., 468 n.; 1611 Cotgrave.
- (3) *Grabuger*, 1611 Cotgrave: “*Grabuger*. To keepe a foule coile, to make a great stirre, or monstrous hurly-burly.”

I cannot imagine that the ambassadors in Rome, Venice, and Constantinople, wrote official letters to their monarch, the King of France, in which they used words from the North French dialects which they appear to attest for the first time. It is in keeping with all known historical data that in a period of intense Italian influence on France, writing from Italian towns or from such centres of Italian action as Constantinople, to a king with an Italian wife or an Italian mother and with a court open to all the aspects of Italian civilisation, they used such an Italian word as *garbuglio* as they used so many others.

A last point. The testimony of XIX<sup>th</sup> century dictionaries of the North French dialects must be utilised in a critical spirit. It is evident that French words like *grabuge* have penetrated into the speech of the Northern districts, sometimes acquiring a special meaning, in many cases undergoing some modification in their form. So Norman *grabuge* "désordre, gaspillage" (Moisy 330), Bas-Maine *chercher grabuche* "chercher querelle" (Dottin 236), Anjou *se grabucher* "se chamailler" (Verrier-Onillon, i., 445) are merely local representatives of French *grabuge*, *grabuger*, and do not contribute anything towards a knowledge of the origins of these words. They are rather a testimony to the lasting character and to the depth of the Italian influence on the French vocabulary.

## 12—French *guillocher*, *guillochis*.

The Académie in 1762 accepted these two words with the following explanations—

(a) "GUILLOCHER, v.a. Faire des guillochis dans un parterre, sur des plates-bandes d'architecture, sur une boîte. Guillocher une tabatière."

(b) "GUILLOCHIS, s.m. Ornement formé par des lignes, des traits de différentes formes entrelacés les uns dans les autres."

The DG treats *guillocher* as follows—

"GUILLOCHER, v.tr.

Etym.—Origine inconnue. Peut-être dérivé du nom propre *Guilloche*, qui est attesté dès la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. 1757 ENCYCL. Admis. ACAD. 1762.

(Technol.) Orner d'un entrecroisement de traits gravés en creux. *Une boîte de montre guillochée.* (Par anal.) (Marine) *Poulie guillochée*, dont le milieu a une plaque de cuivre percée d'un trou circulaire, pour recevoir l'axe."

GEW 500 would explain *guillocher* in a quite different way—

"GUILLOCHE 'Grabstichel.' 19 Jhdt., steht für \**gouioche* d. i. diminutive Ableitung von mfrz. *goie* 'Art Hippe,' so seit dem 15 Jhdt., d. i. südwestfrz. bzw. südöstfrz. Form von frz. *gouge* s.d., vgl. bourb., lyon., forez. *goye* 'Hippe,' dazu seit dem 18 Jhdt. die Abl. *guillocher* 'mit Kreislinien verzieren'; vgl. *guignette*."

The DG considers *guillocher* of unknown origin; an explanation by the proper name *Guilloche*, which it suggests, is of course possible in the abstract, but is based on no evidence. The proposals of GEW are inadmissible: the reduction of a supposed \**gouioche* to *guilloche* without analogical interference is not possible; so far as

the South Western and South Eastern dialects are concerned, Mistral gives *guihoucha*, *guilhoucha* from Dauphiné and Languedoc as taken from French; and lastly the derivation of *guignette* from the radical of *gouge* (L. *gubia*, *gulbia*) is to be rejected in favour of the explanation by the radical of L. *cuneus* given by Behrens, *Beiträge*, 126.

Before suggesting another explanation of *guillocher*, I propose to deal with the dating of *guillocher* and the forms related to it, and to add certain information on the earliest attestation of them, in order to rectify the data of the DG, which are generally accepted by GEW. So far *guilloche* and *guillochure* have not been found before the XIX<sup>th</sup> century; for the rest we have—

(1) *Guillochage* (1792 DG). 1782 Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, ii., 162: "La ciselure et le guillochage."

(2) *Guilloché* (Néol. DG). 1771 Schmidlin, *Catholicon*: "Un guilloché de parterre" (Behrens, *Beiträge*, 363).

(3) *Guillocheur* (1792 DG). 1788 Mercier, *Tabl. de Paris*, x., 101: "Un guillocheur ne fera pendant trente ans que tirer des lignes sur une boîte ou une montre d'or."

(4) *Guillocher* (1757 DG). 1570 *Comptes de l'écurie du roi*, f<sup>o</sup> 42 v<sup>o</sup>, in Gay, *Gloss. Arch.*, 802: "6 paires d'estrieus dorez d'or moullu et argentez d'argent moullu, faitz a compartimens et guillogez et pointté de dyamant, 120 l."

Not only is *guillocher* attested in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, but *guillochis* also—

1558 *Comptes des bâtiments du roi*, ed. L. de Laborde, i., 357: "Avoir . . . escript les devises et noms du Roy avec deux ordres de guillochis tout au pourtour de la dite salle . . ."

The form *gillochis* is quoted by the DG from Ronsard—

1559 Ronsard, *Eglogue* 3: "Festons, gillochis et ovalles . . ."

One should read, lastly, Félibien's definition of *guillochis* as an architectural term—

1676 Félibien, *Principes d'Archit.*, 685: "*Guillochis*: on nomme ainsi certains entrelaz et filetz carrez dont l'on fait des ornemens à l'imitation des anciens,"

and examine the excellent engraving he gives of architectural *guillochis* on p. 40.

I note then (a) that *guillochis* is attested from 1558 and *guillocher* from 1570; (b) that these words are art terms applied to grooving in architecture and in metal work; (c) that neither the North French nor the South French dialects appear to give any help for their elucidation.

The nature of the connotation of these words and the date of their introduction into French texts leads me then to ask myself whether it is not in Italy that their origin is to be found, and in particular whether the French *guillocher* is not a reflex of archaic Italian *ghiocciare*. Among the Italian terms of architecture borrowed in the early XVI<sup>th</sup> century by French, some do not belong to the learned vocabulary derived from Vitruvius, but evidently come by word of mouth from the Italian workmen who at that period came in numbers into France. *Frise*, for instance, is not from Italian *fregio*, but is a North Ital. *frisa*.

Now Ital. *ghiocciare* is an equivalent of Ital. *gocciare* (ML 3929 \**guttiare* with explanation of O. Ital. *ghioccia* by the influence of *glutt-* of *glutto*). The 1660 edition of Duez and the 1688 edition of Florio still give: *ghiocciare*, *ghiocciolare*, *giocciolare* "to drip," *ghioccia* "drop," *ghiocciola*, *giocciola* "little drop." Now *goccia* and *ghioccia* are in principle verbal substantives of *gocciare* and *ghiocciare* "to drip"; hence their meaning is "dripping" and so "place where there is dripping (of water)." The Ital. *goccia* is equivalent to French *goutte*, *clochette* in the architectural sense, but it is also equivalent to French *gouttière*; in other words, it means not only "drop," but "place where dripping (of water) takes place." The meanings of *guillochis* as applied (a) to architecture and (b) to metal work, can be admirably compared to two meanings of French *gouttière*—

(1) *Gouttière* "rainure dans la feuillure d'une pièce d'appui de croisée pour recevoir la pluie qui s'égoutte."

(2) *Gouttière* "petit canal que le graveur creuse sur la planche pour y faire couler l'eau forte."

If my explanation of French *guillocher* by Italian *ghiocciare* be approved, the question will arise as to what are the relations between French *guillocher* and French *guillochis*. I am inclined to suppose that *guillochis* with its collective meaning is merely an analogical spelling (type *tailler*, *taillis*) and that it really represents the Ital. *ghiocce*, plural of *ghioccia*, in the sense of "channel, groove."

Lastly the form *gillochis* used by Ronsard might be a reflex of the Italian form *giocce*, plural of *gioccia* (cf. Venice *giozza*, etc.). But it is well to note that the Marty-Laveaux edition of Ronsard's works (iii., 405) gives the reading of the passage quoted by the DG as—

"Les terrasses, festons, guillochis et ovales . . ."

The following text is also found in GD art. *guilleschis*—

1573 Paradin, *Hist. de Lyon*, ed. 1573, p. 337: "L'arc triomphal . . . estoit richement doré, tant en cannelures de pilastres, guilleschis de la frize, qu'en autre fueillage."

### 13—On the history and origin of French *guimbarde*.

The DG considers *guimbarde* of unknown origin. Not much light is brought to the subject by GEW 500—

"GUIMBARDE 'Brummeisen' 'Maultrommel,' denn vielleicht wegen des ähnlichen Geräusches 'Bedeckter, schwerer Lastwagen,' vgl. sav. *guinbarda* 'alter Wagen'; 'Nuthobel u. ä.; 17 Jhdt., ist zuerst zur Bezeichnung eines Ländlichen Tanzes bezeugt; dafür auch *jombarde*, *bombarde*; die letzte Form ist vielleicht ursprünglich, gehört dann zu *bombe* und Sippe; die weitere Geschichte des Wortes ist unklar."

It is then worth while considering the history of the word and its numerous meanings in French.

The fact that the first instance of *guimbarde* given by the DG is taken from David Ferrand's *Muse Normande* (1625), might cause

one to suspect a Norman origin. But it must be said at once that the word is attested somewhat earlier and that it is to South France that one is led by the textual investigation I have undertaken.

If the word is Southern, it is evidently the same word as "*guimbardo* s.f., '(1) Barque, gabare, en mauvaise part; (2) outil de calfat, espèce de repoussoir; (3) bouffarde, pipe; (4) ancienne danse mentionnée par Goudelin; (5) instrument de musique enfantin.' " Now *guimbardo* is properly a feminine of *guimbard* "sauteur" from *guimba* "sauter, gambader, bondir," which in its turn derives from *guimbo* "jambe." This etymology makes clear the sense of "dance" (cf. Fr. *sauterie*, etc.), which is attested for the Southern *guimbardo* by the Toulouse poet, Pierre Goudelin (1579–1649), and which is one of the first attested for the French *guimbarde*. It further appears to me to furnish a clue to the other meanings of the word.

Fr. *guimbarde* is not to be found in dictionaries of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century or in Cotgrave (1611); it is not noted by Richelet in 1680. It appears to have come into use in the reign of Louis XIII. We know that it was the name of a well-known song—

1632 *Chansons de Gautier Garguille*, Bibl. Elz., 101: "Je resve en ma memoire cinq ou six bonnes chansons. . . . Je vous dirois *La Guimbarde* mais tout le monde la sçait . . ."

possibly a tune to which the dance called *guimbarde* was danced. The earliest text I know in which *guimbarde* occurs is the following—

1620 *Les amours du fidele Du Pond et de la constante Guimbarde où sont representez les infortunes et traverses qu'ils ont eu jusqu'au jour de leur heureux mariage*, Paris, in-8.

where *Guimbarde* is the name of the heroine. For *guimbarde* as a term of reproach addressed to a woman, as in 1694 Boursault, *Mots à la mode*, sc. 12, my etymology suggests an explanation (cf. Fr. *sauteuse*). But the text of 1620 may prove to be the origin of *guimbarde* as an alternative name for the card game called *La mariée*, in which *guimbarde* is the name of the Queen of Hearts (chief trump)—

1758 *Acad. Universelle des Jeux*, ed. 1789, i., 303: "Le nom que porte ce jeu, marque assez l'enjouement qu'il renferme lors qu'on le joue; le mot de *guimbarde* ayant été inventé pour signifier une danse qu'on dansoit autrefois et qui étoit remplie de postures divertissantes; on appelle encore ce jeu la *mariée* parce qu'il y a un mariage qui en fait l'avantage principal."

The important marriage in the game is that of the King and Queen of Hearts. From being the name of the chief trump card, *guimbarde* became the name of the stake in the game and also of the game itself. If it is from the booklet of 1620 that the name of the game is ultimately derived, it is extremely probable that it is much older than 1758, and more textual information is here needed. It is at any rate certain that *guimbarde* affected the vocabulary of fashion in clothing almost as soon as it appeared—

1622 *Les grands jours tenus à Paris*, in *Var. Hist. et Litt.*, Bibl. Elz., i., 217: "Gardez de gaster vostre ranver à la *guimbarde*."

1624 *Pasquil de la Cour*, in *Var. Hist. et Litt.*, i., 217 n.: "Avoir . . . à la *guimbarde* le colet . . ."

The Southern origin of *guimbarde* is corroborated for two other meanings—

(1) 1723 Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*: “*Guimbardes*, s.f. Nom que l'on donne du côté de Lyon à certaines espèces de longs chariots à quatre roues, qui servent à voiturier les marchandises. Les marchands Lyonnais envoient leurs marchandises à Paris sur des guimbardes.” Cf. 1769 Voltaire, *Lettre à Thiriot*, 9 August: “Nous me feriez un plaisir extrême de m'envoyer ces deux volumes de mélanges historiques par les guimbardes de Lyon.” These vehicles were clearly so called for their jolting. Hence the popular *guimbarde* “old carriage.” Cf. S<sup>th</sup> French *guimbarde* “old boat.”

(2) 1771 *Dict. de Trévoux*, iv., 682: “*Guimbarde* s.f. Outil de menuiserie, morceau de bois, au milieu duquel passe un fer de bouvet, arrêté avec un coin, pour égaliser le fond des rainures, lorsque les outils destinés à cet usage ne peuvent y atteindre.” This meaning is clearly connected with that of “outil de calfat, espèce de repoussoir” given for Southern *guimbarde* by Mistral. A *repoussoir* is a driving bolt; the tool is used for driving out something, nails for instance, or, as French has it, *pour faire sauter un clou*.

#### 14—French *hadot*, *adot*, Picard *habillot*, names of salted haddock.

The DG has—

HADOT, s.m.

Etym.—Emprunté de l'angl. *haddock*. XIII<sup>e</sup> S<sup>e</sup> Hados et oitres, *Bat. de Karesme et de charnage*, in GD.

*Dialect.* (Pêche) Aigrefin, poisson.

The derivation of the French from the English word was affirmed in the middle of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century—

1553 Belon, *De la nature des poissons*, 118 ‘Les Anglois, qui prennent grande quantité d'aigrefins, les salent, et lors les nomment hadoche; et nous les ayant ensuivy, disons aussi en nostre langue du hadou.’

Let me here add that La Chesnaie des Bois appears to be responsible for a misprint *badoche*—

1759 La Chesnaie des Bois, *Dict. des Animaux*, i, 201: “*Badoche*. Nom qu'on donne, dit Belon, à l'eglefin, espèce de morue, quand elle est salée.”

which has been adopted in many books (ex. g. Valmont de Bomare, *Dict. d'hist. nat.*, ed. 1776, i., 399) and is still to be found in the bigger dictionaries (ex. g. Bescherelle, *Nouv. Dict. Nat.*, i., 388: “*Badoche*, s.f. Morue salée. Ce mot n'est employé que dans le commerce”).

English etymologists, confronted with the problem of the origins of *haddock*, have given up the idea of deriving it from the Gaelic *adag* which is itself taken from the English word. At sight, *haddock* appears to contain the diminutive suffix *-ock* as in *bullock*, but no explanation of the radical from an English source

has, to my knowledge, been attempted. Very welcome is, therefore, the markedly original contribution made by E. Weekley, *Etym. Dict. of Mod. English* (1921), 679, who proposes to give back *haddock* to the French etymologists, and even to present them with a possible explanation of the French word. I quote his article in full—

"*Haddock*. Prob. ident. with O.F. *hadot* (13 cent.) for which Francisque Michel gives also *hadoc*. The NED is mistaken in supposing this to be a rare word. Its probable meaning was not species of fish, but fish salted in a special way (see quot. from Cotg., and cf. hist. of *bloater*). App. (*h*)*adot* is evolved from pl. (*h*)*adoux*, (*h*)*adoz*, which may be plural of O.F. *adoub*, from *adouber*, to prepare (see *adobe*); cf. It. *adobbo* "souse or pickle to keep meat or fish in" (Torr.). In O.F. *adot* occurs in association with *salloison* (salting) and *paverie* (preparation). With regard to initial *h*, it may be noted that *anon*, small cod (cf. L. *asellus*) is also usu. spelt with *h*- in O.F. Cf. also archaic *haberdine*, *stockfish*, *torisk*, all app. used of prepared fish rather than of species. This is a series of conjectures. For final cf. *havoc*. *Hadot*, *hadou*: a salt haddocke (Cotg.)."

It is my purpose in this note to quote a number of facts in support of Weekley's suggestion. At the start it is well to get rid of a misconception. The O.Fr. *asnon*=*gadus aeglefinus* L. (the haddock) is never to my knowledge spelt *hanon*; *hanon*, *hannon*, *hennon* are various spellings of the Picard name of the *cardium edule* L., or cockle, and I take it that Weekley has been misled by Godefroy's article in which the two words are confused. It is interesting here to quote three lines from Méon's text of the *Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage*, which is of about 1250, and is the earliest text in which the names of the haddock occur—

l. 194: "Hados et mellans et rouget . . ." [i.e. haddock and whiting and red mullet . . .].

l. 447: "Hados et oitres et hanons . . ." [i.e. haddock and oysters and cockles . . .].

l. 454: "Atant es vos asnons de mer . . ." [i.e. lo and behold a haddock . . .].

I take it that the *asnons de mer* is the haddock that has not been salted.

In dealing with the origin and history of French *hadot*, the influence of English must, in any event, be taken into full consideration. The English trade in haddock is old and has in the past been very considerable. Since the XVI<sup>th</sup> century this influence is seen in the following forms—

(a) Belon's *hadoche* (and the misprint *badoche* derived from it). See above.

(b) *Haddock*. 1761 Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iii., 998: "Nos pêcheurs de l'île de Helgeland pour prendre du schelfisch (espèce de petite morue écaillée dite en anglois *haddock* ou *hadoche* et en français *hadou*, *aigrefin* ou *aigrefin*, *capelan*) mettent leurs hameçons en mer pour 6 heures en se réglant pour la marée . . ."

(c) *Hadock* given by Littré (1863) as an alternative to *hadot*, but with no example.

(d) *Hadec* (Bescherelle, *Nouv. Dict. Nat.*: "s.m. Pêch. Nom vulgaire de l'aigrefin").

It is very likely that the influence is older than the XVI<sup>th</sup> century.

I add that one may suppose the German *hadereck* given by Grimm, *Deutsches Wtb.*, iv., b, 113, from a gloss.—*asinus*: *schelfisch*: *hadereck*—in Frischlin's *Nomenclator* (published in 1591), to be a corrupt rendering of the Engl. *haddock*.

As for the properly French forms attested since the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, they are—

(a) *Hadou*, pl. *hadoux*. 1527 *Décl.*, 20 Sept., in Littré: "De chacun cent pieces de hadoux, papillons, solles et autres tels petits poissons secs . . ."  
1611 Cotgrave: "*hadou*: as *hadot*. 1761 Savary des Bruslons, *op. et loc. cit. supra*."

(b) *Hadot*, pl. *hadots*, *hadotz*. 1534 *Manuscrit du Poitou*, in Lalanne *Gloss. poitev.*, 161: "Compté avec la Cardine, femme de Hardouin Chauvyn, pour le merlu et hadotz, hareng que autre marchandise de parerie . . ."  
1611 Cotgrave: "*Hadot*: m., a salt haddocke." 1863 Littré.

(c) *Adot*, pl. *ados*, *adotz*. Early XVI<sup>th</sup> C. See Mantellier, *Glossaire* for *adot*, *ados*. 1552 Rabelais, iv., 60: "Moulues, papillons, adotz, lancerons marinez . . ."  
1611 Cotgrave: "*Adot* . . ., also a kinde of fish."

One may compare the form *hadou* with the Modern French *adoux* said of the "state of the liquid containing woad when it begins to become blue in the dyeing vat," a word which has been shown by Prof. A. Thomas, of Paris, to be, not as was originally supposed, a verbal substantive of *adoucir* (DG) but of *adouber*. But I am personally inclined to think that like the Fr. *pastel* "woad," *adoux* is a Provençal loan-word (Provençal *adou*, *adoube* "lessive de tanneur" in Mistral's *Tresor*), so that the comparison is perhaps not a fair one.

Two points can be derived from the mediæval texts—

(a) In the *Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage* (c. 1250), the plur. *hados* occurs twice (see quotations above); it is also spelt *hados* in 1396 in the *Coustumier de Dieppe* (see GD); this appears to me to be strongly in favour of rejecting (*h*)*adot* as the original form, as that form would imply a plural *hadoz*.

(b) In a text of 1285, *Octroi aux bourgeois de Niort d'un port franç et de droits de navigation sur la Sèvre* (first published by Gouget, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de Niort*, 1863, p. 94, on the original MS., and several times since), we read: "De miliario piscium siccorum qui vocantur hadoc, duos denarios . . ."

It is clear that if the reading *hadoc* is the correct one, it would place a difficulty in the way of the explanation proposed by Weekley. But all those who are acquainted with French mediæval manuscripts know how difficult it often is to distinguish in them a *c* from a *t*. And as a French form *hadoc* occurs, so far as I know, nowhere else, I am inclined to think that the real reading is *hadot*.

It will now be interesting to compare with *hadou*, (*h*)*adot*, the corresponding forms derived from fr. *radouber*—

(a) *Radoub* (with silent *b*) as a naval term, "repairing, refitting," as in *bassin de radoub* "repairing dock." The DG refers as its first instance to Cotgrave (1611); but Cotgrave merely gives *radoub*

as an archaic equivalent of *radoubement*, which he translates "a piecing, mending, patching, or botching up of." Here are two earlier instances of *radoub* in the naval sense—

1533 *Comptes des bâtiments du roi*, ed. L. de Laborde, ii., 212: "Des frais et despens du radoub et equippaige et advitaillement de certains vaisseaulx que le Roy a commandé estre preparez . . ."

1544 Text in Isambert, *Rec. gén. des anc. lois franç.*, xii., 855: "A luy seul appartiendra la totale charge et superintendance, ensemble des radoubs, armement, equipage, artillerie, gens et victuailles des dits navires et vaisseaux . . ."

(b) *Radot*. This form occurs as an equivalent of *radoub*, i.e. as a verbal substantive of *radouber*, in the following texts—

1356 Arch. Tournai, *Reg. de la vinnerie, drapperie*, 1343–1451, f° 62 v°: "Et por chius qui paiera se chevalerie, ou sen radot, appeller au boire ycelui radot ou chevalerie vi. compaignons foulons . . ."

1410 Arch. Chauny, *Stat. de la draperie de Chauny*, in GD: "Se sans icelles conditions il va ouvrer devant aultruy et il repret son mestier, il doit radot de demi-maitrise a paier, comme la maitrise."

1464 *Statuts des tondeurs de draps d'Amiens*, art. 13, in A. Thierry, *Monum. de l'hist. du Tiers-état*, 1<sup>e</sup> S., ii., 281: "S'il delaisse icellui mestier pour ouvrer d'un autre, et depuis il reprende le dit mestier de tondeur, il sera tenu de paier pour son radot ou bienvenue, v. solz aux maistres et compaignons du dit mestier."

1532 *Régl. des foulons de Valenciennes*, art. 18, in Hécart, *Dict. rouchi*, 384: "Un maistre tenant ouvroir s'il se veult deporter de maitrise pour devenir valet . . ., il le poldra en payant un droit appelé *radot*, porté à dix sols tournois; et si derechef par apres il veult retourner maistre, paiera pour les droits appellees rencrease dix sols tournois."

*Radot* in this second sense is the fine paid by a person who, after having ceased to be a member of a trade guild, or after having given up a position of responsibility within the guild in order to become an ordinary member, is reinstated in the guild or in the position within it.

The proposal to derive the fishname *hadou*, *hadot*, *adot* from *adouber* gains some support from the comparison with *radoub*, *radot*, which are derived from *radouber*. This parallel helps to remove certain difficulties which might present themselves to the mind in relation to the phonetic development of the fish-name.

Further support can be derived on the semantic side. The French word *habillot*, "morceau de bois qui sert à accoupler entre elles les diverses parties dont se compose un train de bois flotté," is derived from *habiller* in *habiller un train de bois*. Now De la Blanchère, *Nouv. Dict. des Pêches* (1868), 374, gives: "*habillot* . . . Nom picard de l'égrefin." *Habillot* is here again derived from *habiller* "to prepare," but in the special technical application to fish: *habiller le poisson*, "le vider, le nettoyer avant de le cuire," *habiller une morue*, "en arracher les ouïes et l'arête et la fendre avant de la saler." What is striking is that whereas *habiller* can be said of other fish, *habillot* particularly refers to the haddock, and no doubt, in principle at least, to the haddock properly prepared for salting.

15—Middle French *halecret*.

The DG's article is as follows—

HALECRET, s.m.

Etym.—Origine incertaine; peut-être altération de l'allemand *halskragen* "tour de cou." Tous armés de leur allecrets (var. halcrets). J. d' Authon dans Godef. Admis. ACAD. 1694; suppr. en 1762.

(Ancienn') Corselet formé de deux pièces de fer battu.

REW 4011 accepts this etymology. GEW i., 503, accepts it too, but attempts to explain the unlikely change from *halskragen* to *halecret* by the equally unlikely influence of *crête*—

"*Halecret* 'leichter geschmiedeter Kürass,' 15-16 Jhdt. auch *hallecrète* ist vielleicht in volksetymologischer Anlehnung an *crête* 'Helmkamm' umgestaltetes mhd. *halskragen* Dict. Gén."

The *halecret* was a corslet made of two metal plates joined together at the neck, one for the front and the other for the back. That the first element of the word is the Middle Dutch *hals* "neck" is made pretty certain by a comparison with two other earlier French names of coats of mail or coverings for the neck and shoulders: (1) Fr. *haubert*, O. Fr. *hauberc*, *halberc* fr. Germanic (probably Frankish) *hals-berg* (cf. Middle Dutch *halsberch*), properly "neck protection"; (2) Fr. *hausse-col*, first attested in the form *hochecol* in 1419, also occurring in the XV<sup>th</sup> century in forms *hauscolz* (pl.), *houscout*, and which is explained as a Middle Dutch \**hals-kot* (cf. O. Sax. *kot* "woollen mantle"), literally "neck coat." Evidently, on the semantic side, an etymology of French *halecret* by the Middle Dutch *halskraghe* would be quite satisfactory; in Middle Dutch *kraghe* is "the collar of a shirt, the cape of a cloak, and so on"; Van Waesberghe in 1624 translates *gorgerin* by "het harnas dat een krijchsknecht om den hals draecht, de ringkraghe," *haussecol* by "ringh-kraghe of hals-kraghe," *halecret* by "een borst-harnaas, ringkraghe." Again, Mellema, in 1630, gives *halsberch*, *ringkraghe* "haubert, cotte de maille" and *halsdoeck*, *halskleedt* "collet, gorgias, gorgerin, collette, gorgerette," and in 1648 Hexham has *een halsbandt ofte ringh-krage* "a gorgett."

Properly speaking, these Dutch compounds of *hals-* and another element mean "neck piece or collar," and correspond to the French words derived from *gorge*—*gorgette*, *gorgière*, *gorgeret*, *gorgerette*, *gorgerin*, *gorgeron*, which were applied now to an object in cloth like a lady's neckerchief, now to the neck piece of a garment or of a man's armour (cf. 1611 Cotgrave, *Dict.*: "*Gorgerin*: m. A gorget of mayle; also a carkanet (worne overthwart the breast); also the neck peece, or collar, of a garment").

On the whole, I am inclined to consider that *hals-kleedt*, properly "neck garment," affords the best explanation of the phonetic condition of the Fr. *halecret* (and *halecrète*) whence *halecreté* "armed with a corslet" (Cotgrave). *Halecret*, *halcret*, would offer a natural dissimilation for *halclet*. As has been seen above, the DG quotes

for its earliest instance a passage from the Chronicles of Jean d'Auton, who was writing in the first years of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. The following is older—

1495 *Invent. de l'artillerie de Bretagne*, in *Arch. de Bretagne*, ii., 144: "44 Halcretz . . ."

16—French *hallope*, *halopin* as names of drag-nets.

The DG has—

HALLOPE, s.m.

Etym.—Origine inconnue. 1803 L'usage des filets appelés hallopes est défendu . . . à la côte de Terre-Neuve. *Ordonn. dans Littré*.

(Pêche) Vaste filet de pêche qu'on traîne sur le fond.

D. Behrens, *ZRPh* xiii. (1889), 414 (cf. *Beiträge*, etc., 128) had suggested that *hallope* was from Dutch *hal up* "haul up," and this explanation has since been accepted by REW 3997 and by GEW, i., 504.

Now L. Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'Etymologie française* (1925), ii., 154, says of *hallope*: "Ce terme, encore inconnu à Duhamel, ne remonte pas au-delà du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et appartient en propre à la Bretagne. C'est une forme abrégée de *halopin*, nom de la petite seine à Brest . . . A son tour *halopin* est, comme dans le Bas-Maine, la prononciation locale de *galopin* (v. Dottin) et représente ainsi une des métaphores si fréquentes dans cette nomenclature. C'est un appellatif plutôt facétieux, comme qui dirait 'galopin,' à l'instar du méridional *courantille*, proprement coureuse, filet qu'on abandonne à lui-même et qui dérive au gré du courant . . ."

Sainéan's explanation of *hallope* is to be rejected on two grounds: (a) he derives *hallope* from *halopin* and not *halopin* from *hallope*; (b) he identifies *halopin* "small drag-net" with a word *halopin* glossed *galopin* in Dottin, *Gloss. du Bas-Maine*, 247, and wrongly considers this *halopin* to be a local pronunciation of *galopin* (see note iv., 17, on B.-Maine *halopin*).

Behrens' explanation must, I think, be modified. To my mind, unless and until new evidence on the words *hallope*, *halopin* is forthcoming, such evidence as we have is to be interpreted as follows—

The word *hallope* occurs, so far as we know for the first time, in a text of 1803 referring to the French fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland. The islands of S<sup>t</sup> Pierre and Miquelon were occupied by the British from 1793 to 1802, and from 1804 to 1816. The *Arrêté du 15 pluviose an XI*. was due no doubt to the necessity of new regulations for the French fisheries after a period of foreign occupation of the islands. Those who drew up the arrêté got the word *hallope*, directly or indirectly, from the French fishermen, who in their turn had got it from the *haul up* of the English fishermen. As a substantive, *haul up* is used in America in the lumbering

trade, meaning "a light chain and hook for hitching a horse to a cable so as to move it to any point desired" (Funk and Wagnall, *Dict.*, 1123). But on the whole, I am inclined to suppose that, as the name of a net, the French fishermen got their *hallope* from the cry: Haul up! of the British fishermen. *Halopin*, the name of the small seine or drag-net in the 2nd Maritime Arrondissement (Brest) is given by De la Blanchère, *Nouv. Dict. Gén. des Pêches* (1868), 374; it is a diminutive of *hallope* and must have been introduced into Brittany by the Breton fishermen returning from their Newfoundland haunts.

With this explanation of *hallope*, one may compare the recent French *pouloper* "to gallop" and its relation with the English *pull up* in Bonnaffé, *Dict. des Anglicismes*, 184.

#### 17—Bas-Maine *halopin*.

Dottin, *Gl. du Bas-Maine* (1895), 247, gives the gloss: "*Halopin*, galopin."

Sainéan, *Sources Indigènes* (1925), i., 320, ii., 154, supposes that *halopin* is a form of the word *galopin* special to Maine, and that initial G > H is a peculiarity of the dialect of that district.

The real explanation of Dottin's gloss is that the two French words *happe-lopin* and *galopin* have each acquired a generally unfavourable meaning in the Western dialects. How very near to being identical the meaning of these two words is, can be gathered from the definitions given by Verrier and Onillon, *Gl. de l'Anjou*, i., 12, 422, 469—

*Aclopin*, *aplopin*, s.m. Voyou, malandrin, mendiant de mauvaise mine.

*Galopin*, s.m. Mendiant, bohémien, vagabond, trimardeur; . . . pleutre.

*Happe-lopin*, s.m. Batteur d'estrade, bohème, individu dont l'aspect n'inspire pas confiance; croquant, escogriffe, maraud, truand, malandrin.

I take it that in Bas-Maine *happe-lopin*, *haplopin*, has become *halopin* through the influence of *galopin*, which has very much the same meaning.

#### 18—Middle French *hamberge*.

Bescherelle, *Nouv. Dict. Nat.*, i., 1816, has—

HAMBERGE, s.f. Anc. art. milit. Garniture intérieure du gantelet.

This article is a repetition of one given in 1842 by the *Compl. du Dict. de l'Acad.*, p. 551.

The word is an old one, but I can only quote one example from Middle French—

1386 *Costume de combat de P. de Tournemine*, in Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii., 672 (fr. Gay, *Gl. Arch.*, i., 762): "Uns gantelets de fer d'acier et de leton garnis dedans la main de hamberege de fer ou d'acier garnis de cuir, de toile, de boucles hardillons et de rivez de fer d'acier ou de leton . . ."

1386 *Procez et duel de Beauman*, in Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii., 673 (from GD): "Uns gantelets de fer, d'acier et de leton garni dedans la main de hamberege de fer, d'acier ou de l'un d'eux . . ."

The *hamberge* or *hambrege* was clearly a metal reinforcement of the gauntlet for the protection of the palm of the hand. Its origin is Germanic; it means "hand covering," and represents a compound of HAND and BERG-(A). But I cannot find an equivalent form in either German or Dutch.

19—Norman *hardouin* "go between, pander, pimp."

E. Faral, in his *Mimes français du XIII<sup>e</sup> S<sup>e</sup>* (1910), 41–7, printed from B.N. fr. 837, a poem of c. 1260 called *La Paix aux Anglais*, which had been first published by Jubinal, and later by Wright (*Political Songs of England*, 63 sq.).

This poem is a satire on the English and its main object is to poke fun at their poor pronunciation of French. They are made to pronounce the commonest words in such a way as to give them a comic and often an indecent meaning: cf. *cul* for *cuier*, 4 etc.; *fout* for *fut*, 17 etc.; *poistron* for *porra*, 34; *chier* for *cheoir*, 43; *poise* for *plaise*, 45; cf. *foire*, 39. The poem has only 88 lines; so that it is striking that three times (ll. 6, 63, 84) the French word *hardi* is represented by the form *hardouin*. One is led to suspect some hidden meaning in *hardouin*, when King Henry III of England is referred to as "chivaler vaelant, hardouin et leaus," and to ask ourselves if it is not the same word as the Norman *hardouin* on which we have the following information—

1849 E. and A. Duméril, *Dict. du pat. norm.*, 129: "*Hardouin*, s.m. (Orne) Négociateur de mariages; on dit aussi au féminin *hardouine*. Il ne se prend qu'en mauvaise part, ainsi que les autres mots qui se rattachent à la même idée: le vieux-fr. *hardeau* signifiait coquin, vaurien."

1887 Moisy, *Dict. du pat. norm.*, 347: "*Hardouine*, s.f. Vieille entremetteuse . . . C'est le substantif féminin de *hardoyer* 'provoquer, harceler.'"

The attempt made by the brothers Duméril to connect *hardouin* with the root of *hardeau*, and that of Moisy to connect it with the root of *hardoyer* fail to account for the unusual termination of the word. I am inclined to consider *hardouin* as the Germanic proper name *Hard-win*. In its French form it was for a long time in use in France: the venerable Hardouin, a recluse at Fontenelle, died in 811, Hardouin de Fontaines-Guérin wrote a book on cynegetics in 1394, and as late as 1483 Hardouin de la Jaille was marshal of Lorraine. From that time it survives as a surname: Pierre Hardouin was a printer at Paris in 1499; the celebrated archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe, died in 1661; Jules Hardouin-Mansart, who built the dome of the Invalides, died in 1708; and up to our own time the name is often found.

That the proper name *Hardouin* should have become the name of a pander would be no more extraordinary than that the proper name *Richeut* should be used of a procuress. We have more than a half dozen instances of *Richeut* "procuress" in the XII<sup>th</sup> and XIII<sup>th</sup> centuries.

20—French *heaume*; also the representatives of Germanic HELM- or HALM- in French and the French dialects.

ML has the following articles—

4101 *Helm* (hd.) "Ruderstock." Frz. *heaume*. Ablt.: frz. *jaumière* "die Öffnung am Hinterteile des Schiffes, durch welche der Helmstock mit dem Steuerruder verknüpft wird.

4102 *Helmstock* (hd.) "Helmstock." Wallon *halmüstock*.

4013 *Ham* (ostfries.) "überhangendes Strohdach." Afrz. *hamette*, awall. *hamelette*; nwall. *hamelette* "eine Art Haube."

The matter of these three articles is derived from D. Behrens, *Beiträge zur Frz. Wortg. und Grammatik* (1910), 129–131, 141–2. I need here only say that numbers 4101 and 4102 do not do justice to Behrens, who, for instance, nowhere suggests that French naval terms are derived from High German.

So far as the literary words *heaume* and *jaumière* are concerned, they are dealt with much more satisfactorily in GEW, i., 511—

*Heaume*. 1—"Helm," 12 Jhdt., dafür in den Reichenauer Glossen *helmus* aus fränkisch *hēlm* zu ahdt. *dhass*. 2—"Helmstock," s. *jaumière*.

*Jaumière*. "Hennegat" (Öffnung für den Kopf des Steuerruders), 17 Jhdt., ist umfassende Abl. von \**jaume*, belegt als *heaume* "Steuerruder," so bei Rabelais, *Sain. Rab.*, i., 101; dieses aus anord. *hjaln*, "Helmstock," das zunächst wohl \**jaume* ergeben hat, während *heaume* an mundartliches *iaume* für *heaume* "Helm" volksetymologisch angeschlossen wurde; vgl. auch wall. *halmustok* "Helmstock."

For my part, I should merely propose to omit the passage from: "während *heaume* . . ." down to ". . . angeschlossen wurde."

What is important to bear in mind is that there is more than one Germanic word of form HELM- which has contributed something to the vocabulary of French and the French dialects. I propose to take them in order—

HELM-<sup>1</sup> "covering for the head" (cf. L. *celare*; Anglo-Saxon and English *helm*, O. Sax. and Mid. Dutch *helm*, O.H.G. and Germ. *helm*, O. Norse *hjaln*; the French forms go back no doubt to a Frankish *helm*). Fr. *heaume*, 1 (of mediæval armour) "helmet," hence used as a term of heraldry; 2 (a) coin of Charles VI., also called *écu heaumé*, cf. Ducange *helmus* "monetae species a casside ibi sculpta sic dicta"; (b) "Flemish coin worth four deniers," ex. of 1670 in Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, ii., 607; 3 "kind of cherry," also called *cerise heaumée*, both *heaume* and *cerise heaumée* given as names in Anjou by C. Stephanus, *Seminarium* (1536), 78, see Rolland, *Fl. Pop.*, v., 364; *heaulme* and *cerise heaume* translated in 1611 by Cotgrave: "Helmet-cherry, heart cherry, French cherry, Spanish cherry." The derived words are: *heaumier* "helmet maker," attested from c. 1270; *heaumier* "tree that bears the helmet cherry," attested from 1536; *heaurerie* "art, trade of helmet making, place where they are made," and the verb *heaurer* "to make helmets, to put a helmet on." So Mid. Fr. *hamette* "a kind of helmet" given by GD with a single text: "hamettes ou capelines de cuir bouilli" (Remy, *Mém.*, ed. Buchon, ch. Ixii) is equivalent to a Fr. *heaumette*

and must be from one of the dialects where *au* may become *a*. In Walloon the old form *heame* "helmet" has become *hame*, *haimé* "helmet," and hence come (a) Walloon *haimé* "coiffe," *avu l'heimm pret d'el tiess* (Remacle, *Dict.*, ii., 86) (b) *hamlett* "coiffe, membrane que les enfants nés coiffés apportent en naissant, amnios, l'une des enveloppes du foetus" (1842 Remacle, *Dict.*, ii., 78), written *hamelète* by Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, i., 270; Mid. Dutch *helm* and Germ. *helm* have both the sense of "caul"; (c) Old Walloon *hamelète* "petit bout de toit en triangle que l'on construit au bout d'un pignon" (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, ii., 604), which is the same word, as that enlightened etymologist Grandgagnage saw, when he compared the words derived from Mid. Dutch *huyve* "coiffe, coiffe des intestins, estomac d'un boeuf" (1630 Mellema, *Den Schat der duytsche Tale*), whence Rouchi *huvet* "coiffure ou bonnet de nuit pour femme," *huvette* "sorte de coiffe de nuit," Walloon *houve* "péritoine" (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, i., 314), *houvé* "petit toit qui se pratique à l'angle supérieur d'un pignon" (*op. cit.*, ii., 538), *houvirete* "coiffe, membrane que les enfants apportent en naissant" (*op. cit.*, i., 315). It will then be seen, I think, that all the words given by ML 4013 should be derived from HELM<sup>-1</sup>.

HELM<sup>-2</sup> "white spot on forehead" (cf. L. *callidus* "with white spot on forehead," Gr. κηλάς: . . . αἰξ ἤτις κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον σημεῖον ἔχει τυλοειδές Hesychius; Germ.-Swiss *helm* "white spot on the forehead of cattle," Norw. *hjelmet* "mit einer blässe, von kühen," dial. Norw. *hjelmut*, dial. Swed. *hjälmig* "mit weisser blässe"). In this sense it seems likely that Low German also had *helm*, but I have no information. From HELM<sup>-2</sup>: Walloon *haimé* "se dit des boeufs ou vaches tachetés de blanc" (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, i., 264, who obtained his information from the MS. *Dict.* of Canon De Jaer, written before 1800); *hameg* "le devant de la tête du cheval, la partie de la tête qui est entre les sourcils, depuis les oreilles jusqu'aux naseaux": *mi g'vâ et hamé d'blan* "mon cheval a le chanfrein blanc" (Remacle, *Dict.*, ii., 77-8), *haimé*, *hiamé*, *hamé* "qui a le chanfrein blanc" (Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, i., 264). These words and meanings imply a word *haimé*, *hame* "white spot on forehead."

HELM<sup>-3</sup> "helm, tiller; (often also) rudder" (A.S. *helma*, Engl. *helm* in *helm-port*, Mid. Dutch *helm*, O. Norse *hjalm*; in this naval sense Germ. *helm*, *helmholtz*, *helmstock*, are probably from Low Germ.). From a Frankish *helm*, Fr. *heume* "barre du gouvernail des petits navires" (Rabelais, iv., 20, 21). From O. Norse *hjalm*, Fr. *jaumière* "helm-port." From Early Dutch *helmstock*, O. Fr. *hamestoc* (XIII<sup>th</sup> c.), Modern Walloon *ameto*, Liège *halmustoc*, see J. Haust, *Etym. wallonnes et françaises*, 137.

HELM<sup>-4</sup> "handle, shaft" (Engl. *helm* "helve, handle," Mid. Dutch *helm* "manubrium," Germ. *helm*, also *halm*, Grimm, *Deutsches Wtb.*, iv., b, 240); cf. Germ. *helmbarte* "halberd," properly "axe with a long handle or shaft," Mid. Dutch *helmbaerd*, *halmbaerde*,

*hellebaerde, hallebaerde*). First noted in Middle French *hamée* "handle of a scythe," ex. of 1459 in Du Cange, *hamatile*: "Le suppliant coppa une branche de bois pour faire une hamée ou manche a sa faulx . . ."; *hamée* must come from a dialect where *au* > *a*. Thus in Norman where that change occurs, we have *hames* "mancherons de charrue" (1852 Decorde, *Dict. du patois du pays de Bray*, 90), i.e. the two long shafts or handles of the plough; so again the modern French artillery term *hamée* "manche de l'écouvillon," i.e. the long shaft, generally of ash wood, with a piece of sheepskin at one end, used for cleaning the inside of a gun; it is given by the *Dict. de Trévoux* in 1771, and considered obsolete by Littré in 1863.

HELM-<sup>5</sup> Grimm, *Deutsches Wtb.*, iv., b, 978, has "*helm* arundo arenaria, sandhafer (1793 Nemnich) and considers this *helm* a by-form of *halm*. Germ. *helmgras*=(1) genus *arenaria* L., (2) *elymus arenarius* L., the latter a plant much used in Lower Germany, in Holland, and on some parts of the French coast for thatching cottages. Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtb.*, i., 408, say: "*Hjelme* oder *hjelm* (Dän.=*psamma arenaria*) ist die jütische form für *helm*, *helmd* in anderen dän. dialekten, Schw. *helm*, ein lehnwort aus d. *Helm*, *Helmt*. Auf anlehnung an *halm* beruht dän. dial. *halme*, Bornholm *marehalm*, norw. *marhalm*; vgl. neulat. *ammophila arundinacea*. Ursprünglichere formen sind schw. *elm*, frz. *élyme des sables*, ital. *elimo*, neulat. *elymus arenarius*. Zugrunde liegt gr. ἔλυμος 'eine kornart, italienische hirse,' eigentlich 'hülse, kapsel.'" This explanation does not appear to me convincing; the influence of ἔλυμος is hardly likely to have acted before Linnæus, and already in 1630 Mellema translates *helm* by "jonc des dunes." Further, the dial. Engl. *helm* in the sense of *halm*, *haulm* should be noted.

HALM "reed, stem, straw, thatch" (cf. Gr. *καλάμη* "thatch," *καλαμος* "reed," whence L. *calamus* "reed, thatch" > Fr. *chaume*; L. *culmus*, (1) stem, stalk; (2) thatched roof; A. Sax. *healm*, Engl. *halm*, *haulm*, and dial. *helm*, Dutch and German *halm*, O. Norse *halmr*). There is no article devoted to HALM- in ML. To early Dutch *halm* must be traced the following Walloon words: (1) *haime* or *haine di troke* "raffe de raisin, c'est à dire la grappe dépouillée de ses grains," Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, i., 264, who gives the proper etymology and suggests that the variation between *m* and *n* already exists in the Germanic dialects; (2) *haime* or *haine* "toit de chaume léger et de peu d'épaisseur," Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, ii., 533; (3) *hainne* "tiers d'un wâ, étendu et enduit de mortier servant à faire des toits de chaume"; (4) *hainne* "orgne, glui, javelle horizontale sur un toit en chaume"; (5) *hainer* "faire un toit de chaume," Grandgagnage, *Dict.*, ii., 533-4.

The above remarks on the representatives in the French dialects of forms derived from Germanic *helm* do not of course prejudice the relations of any of the Germanic words of that form to each other.

21—Middle French *hinne*.

In the *Mystère de la Passion de Semur*, published by E. Roy in the *Revue de Bourgogne*, vol. xiii. (1903), occurs the following passage relating to the *asnesse* which Christ has bidden his disciples, John and Simon, to bring to him—

## JOHANNES EVANGELISTA

5521 Preudons, laisse tel darnerie,  
Ceste asnesse icy nous fault  
Pour monter le roy Jhesu hault;  
Tu la rairas ysnel le pas.

## RUSTICUS

5525 Je renoy Dieu se tu l'as pas,  
Ce premier bien chier ne l'achettes.  
Je n'ay pas peur que tu me baptes,  
Et fusses tu prestre ou moingne.

## UXOR RUSTICI

5530 Or garde bien que ne la meignes  
Que tu n'ayes sur ton oreille.  
C'est nostre beste quil nous esveille  
Au point du jour, quant elle chante;  
Foy que je doy l'ame ma tante,  
A cecy pas je ne m'acorde.  
Belle fille, tire la corde,  
5536 Tire bien fort, tire, ma fille.  
Que nostre asnesse on ne nous pille.

## FILIA RUSTICI

Foy que doix l'ame vostre fille,  
Je tireray si fort la hinne  
Que je croy qu'il ne l'ara mye,  
5541 Or le dictes bien a mon pere.

The editor, E. Roy, in the glossary to the text, p. 198, explains *la hinne* of l. 5539 as follows: "*La hinne* (riming with *mye*) higne, tête grimaçante." He evidently identifies *hinne* of the above text with O. Fr. *hinne*, *hisne* "tête grimaçante" in Raimbert, *Ogier*, ed. Barrois, 11556, 11559, *higne* "grimace" in Guiart, *Roy. Lignages*, 13729 (see GD). The girl is thus represented as saying that she will pull such a face that John will not get the donkey.

It seems to me much more natural to consider that *je tireray la hinne* of l. 5539 corresponds to *tire la corde* of 5535, that *l'* of l. 5540 refers to *la hinne* of l. 5539, and that *la hinne* is to be identified with *l'asnesse*. *Hinne* then would be a transcription of L. *hinna*; cf. L. *hinnus* "mulet, produit du cheval et de l'ânesse"; L. *hinnulus* "id." whence the *hinnule* of the naturalists. *La hinne* would then mean something like "this bastard she-donkey."

Some confirmation of this view may, I think, be obtained from a later passage in which *Jodom, filius Rustici* threatens the ass which has fallen down and hurt him—

5551 Je te serviray d'une perche,  
Tres meschante anesse beurdine.  
[*Hic faciunt aliquem bombum.*]  
Tu m'as donné le ploi d'eschine.  
5554 Cent de diables, comme elle poit!

The editor, in the Glossary, p. 194, gives: "*Beurdin, -e, Péteur.*" He is influenced by the *poit* of l. 5554 and perhaps by the *bombum* of the scenic indication. The word *bombum* may, however, be very naturally explained as a noise made to imitate that of the beating of the ass. As for *beurdine*, it is a derivative of L. *burdus* "mule"; cf. Poitevin *bourdin* "âne" (Lalanne), Angevin "âne, bourrique" (Verrier-Onillon), Bas-Maine "âne, baudet, homme stupide" (Dottin). *Asnesse beurdine* seems to me to have the same opprobrious meaning as *hinne*. It must be compared with *âne bourdin*=*oniscus* L. according to Chabrand and De Rochas, *Patois des Alpes Cottiennes*; cf. local German *esel, eselchen, kelleresel* by the side of *assel, kellerassel* as names of *oniscus* L.

22—French *mirer* "to aim" and the substantive *mire*.

The DG derives the French verb *mirer* from popular Latin *mirare* (Class. L. *mirari*) and classifies its meanings as follows—

I. (Vieilli). 1—Regarder attentivement. *Spéc'* Regarder à contre-jour (in *mirer un œuf, mirer du drap*).

2—Viser en plaçant le canon de l'arme sur la même ligne que l'objet qu'on veut atteindre.

II. Regarder dans une surface qui réfléchit.

I am inclined to think that *mirer* in sense I., 2, should be allotted a separate article and considered as derived from the Italian *mirare*. It should be noticed that *mirer* in sense I., 2, is properly a term of the technical vocabulary of firearms, and on that technical vocabulary Italian influence has been marked; from Italian come in *canon, bombarde* and *casse* in the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, and in the XVI<sup>th</sup> not only *arquebuse, escopette, mousquet* and *mousqueton*—not only the forms in *-ade*: *arquebusade, canonnade, mousquetade*, etc.—but many other words indicating objects and actions connected with firing: *braquer, cartouche, culasse, fougasse, poulevrin, sape* and *saper*.

In its article *mirer* the DG gives no chronological date earlier than XVII<sup>th</sup> century texts, evidently because it considers *mirer* in all its senses to go back, in French, uninterruptedly to the Latin period. I therefore append the following historical data for sense I., 2—

MIRER, vb. 1 (Of firearms). To aim at, to take aim at.

T. 1611 Cotgrave: "*Mirer*. To aime or level at." 1617 Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouv. Fr.*, in GD: "Et comme les Iroquois s'approchoient, Champ-lain qui s'estoit armé d'un mousquet chargé à deux bales voulut s'avancer pour mirer un enfant perdu des Iroquois qui piaffoit, deffiant les ennemis au combat." 1680 Richelet, *Dict.*, ii., 40: "*Mirer*, v.a. Bien des gens croient ce mot usé et disent *viser*. Cela est vrai en parlant des fusils et d'autres armes qu'on met en joue mais en parlant de pièces d'artillerie on pense qu'on peut dire: Le canonier mire en pointant."

2 (Fig.) To aim.

T. 1573 *Négoc. du Levant*, iii., 391: "Il m'esclairait mieux que je n'avois esté encore, que son dessein avoit miré tousjours à faire reuscir roy de Pologne le palatin Constantin des Potovichi."

In sense I., 2, then, *mirer* is here seen to be attested from 1573 and it is in my view taken from the Italian *mirare* "affisar l'occhio per aggiustare il colpo al bersaglio." This view will be found to receive strong support from a consideration of the origins of Modern French *mire*, to which the DG devotes the following article—

MIRE, s.f.

Etym.—Subst. verbal de *mirer*. XVI<sup>e</sup> S<sup>e</sup> Montaigne, i., 30.

Action de viser. *Point de mire*. *Prendre sa mire*. *Ligne de mire*. *Coins de mire*.

*P. ext.* 1<sup>o</sup> Bouton fixé à la partie supérieure de l'extrémité du canon d'une arme à feu, qu'on met en ligne avec le point où l'on vise, pour régler la direction du tir. *Fig.* But qui attire l'attention. *Être le point de mire de la société*. *Il est le point de mire des railleries*.

2<sup>o</sup> Signal vers lequel l'observateur dirige le rayon visuel, pour lever un plan, pour faire un nivellement.

The following historical statement will show the earliest known instances of the various uses of *mire*—

MIRE, s.f. 1—Sight (of a firearm).

T. 1611 Cotgrave: "*Mire*, f. The levell, or little button at th' end, of a peece . . ." 1622 E. Binet, *Merv. de Nature*, ed. 1622, p. 143: "Des platines de fer perrees de deux canonieres et une mire dessus." 1680 Richelet, *Dict.*, ii., 40: "*Mire*, s.f. Quelques uns appellent *mire* une maniere de petit bouton qui est au bout du canon des fusils. Le mot de *mire* en ce sens est hors d'usage; en sa place on dit *guidon* . . . Quelques uns disent aussi *la mire d'un canon*, mais ces quelques uns disent mal aussi. Il y a bien un coin de mire qu'on met sous la culasse du canon quand on le pointe, mais il n'y a ni mire ni guidon au bout de la volee du canon. Cependant on dit quelquefois en terme de canonier *mettre une piece en mire*, mais c'est à dire la pointer pour donner où l'on veut. On dit encore selon quelques uns *chercher sa mire*, mais c'est en pointant son canon voir où l'on pourra donner."

2—Aim.

T. 1552 Rabelais, iv., 62: "Puys ayant prins sa mire contre un sien jeune page, comme s'il le voufust ferir en mi l'estomach . . ." [Cf. Ital. *prendere mira* "to take aim."] 1562 Du Pinet, *Pline*, ed. 1581, i., 245: "Pource qu'ils sont excellents archers et que ils ont une mire infallible."

3 (Fig.)—Aim, object.

T. 1574 *Négoc. du Levant*, iii., 581 n.: "En ce temps où il y a tant de libertins, anabaptistes et aultres atheistes, qui n'ont d'autre mire que renverser les estats et religion, chrestienne . . ." 1580 Montaigne, i., 30: "Nous n'avons autre mire de la verité et de la raison, que l'exemple et l'idee des opinions et usances du pays où nous sommes . . ."

4—For other expressions in which *mire* occurs:

T. 1585-7 Cholières quoted by La Curne: "Qui eut voulu demander le patron d'un personnage accompli en tout heur, je vous eust nommé, afin qu'on prit mire sur vous . . ." 1588 sq. Texts in GD for à *mire*, à *coup de mire* [GD translates: "à bout portant"]. a. 1630 A. d'Aubigné, *Oeuvres*, ed. Réaume et Caussade, in which occur: *passer la veue à la mire*; *la mire* [de ma lance] *sera vostre veue*; *oster de mire*, *s'oster de mire* "to get out of the line of fire"; *se confronter en mire*. 1656 Oudin, *Curiositez franç.*: "*Dresser sa mire à quelque chose* i. y avoir du dessein." 1771 *Dict. de Trévoux*, v., 1014: "*Mire*, s.f. . . . La broche est le point de mire de ceux qui tirent au blanc. Les canoniers ont des coins de mire pour hausser et baisser le canon vers le point où ils veulent tirer. Ils ont aussi des fronteaux de mire, qui sont des morceaux de bois . . . que l'on met sur la pièce de canon pour la pointer juste. Les géomètres et arpenteurs ont des points de mire, où s'arrêtent les rayons visuels et les points à observer, quand ils veulent lever un plan."

Later still are found *angle de mire*, *coussin de mire*, *cran de mire*, *guidon de mire*, *ligne de mire*, *masse de mire*. It may be noted that in the text of Cholières *prendre mire sur quelqu'un* means "to take some one as an object of imitation" (cf. Prov. *prene miro* in Mistral's *Tresor*); and that D'Aubigné's *oster de mire* like the Italian *pigliar di mira* properly "to get out of the line of fire and so disconcert those firing," is to be interpreted by "déconcerter, désorienter" like the Prov. *tira de miro*, *leva di miro* (Mistral).

No instance of French *mire* occurring in texts of the Middle Ages is known. The DG attests it from 1580 and the first instance I have been able to give is of 1552. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that it was part of the vocabulary connected with the weapons of Italian name, the *arquebuse*, the *escopette* and the *mousquet*; the form *harquebuse* occurs in 1497, *eschopettes* in 1516, *mouschetes* in 1542. It is taken from Italian *mira* "quel segno della balestra o dell'archibuso, o simili, nel quale s'affisa l'occhio per aggiustare il colpo al berzaglio, al quale aggiustare diciamo porre, o prendere la mira"—

1481 Luigi Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, iv., 51: "Subito pose al berzaglio la mira E cominciò co gl'occhi a saettarla . . ."

1516 Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ix., 31: "Dal traditor fu in mezzo gli occhi colto, Che l'avea da lontan di mira tolto . . ."

In the figurative sense of "aim, object," *mira* is attested, according to the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (ed. Venice, 1741), in the *Rime* of Franco Sacchetti, that is to say, in a text of the second half of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century.

It is not so easy to apply historical checks to the other neo-Latin languages as it is to French, but it seems to me probable that the Italian *mira* was borrowed in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century in South France, in Spain, and in Portugal. If I am right in that, one might schematically arrange the meanings of the feminine verbal substantive of the type MIRA as follows (cf. ML 5603)—

Ital. *mira* 1—sight of a crossbow, lance, firearm, etc; 2 (fig.)—aim, object (>Fr. *mire*, S<sup>th</sup> Fr. *miro*, Span. and Portug. *mira* in those senses).

O. Prov. *mira* "watch-tower" (1 ex. in Levy, *Provenz. Suppl.-Wörterbuch*).

Fr. *mire* "tusk of a wild boar" (Behrens, *Beiträge*, 303).

23—French *mouron*, as a name of plants of the genera *stellaria* and *anagallis*.

The DG says—

MOURON, s.m.

Etym.—Origine inconnue. XIV<sup>e</sup> S. Mouron ou lasseron, *Ménagier*, ii., 256.

Plante annuelle de la famille des primulacées. *P. anal.* Mouron des oiseaux, morgeline. *Grand mouron*, seneçon.

GEW 606 has proposed the following etymological explanation of *mouron*—

"MENCHON 'Gauchheil,' 19 Jhdt., ist Dialektform aus dem Dép. Manche und gehört zu norm. *mernuchon* dass., das selbst von \**muernüs*, vgl. M. et L. *mournouche*, abgeleitet ist; *moirnuche* ist deminutive Abl. von *moiron* dass., vgl. S. et M. *mouéron*, boulogn. *mâron*, *meuron*, angev. *mêrion*, Blois *moiron*, dann mit volksetymologischer Einwirkung von *mordre*, *morgeline*, berrich. *mordon*, Guernesey *moudron*; dazu das auch in den Wörterbüchern verzeichnete literarische *mouron* dass.; die Formen führen auf eine Grundform \**murrione* zurück, die zu \**murru* 'Biss,' 'Schnauze' gehören kann, s. *moraille*; dieses \**murrione* kann die gallische Entsprechung der lateinischen Bezeichnung der pflanze *morsus gallinae* sein, s. *morgeline* und Roll. Fl., 3, 32; 9, 57; ähnliche Übersetzungen lateinischer Wörter, besonders von Pflanzenbezeichnungen, sind historisch beglaubigt, von *menuchon* ist mit Suffixwechsel abgeleitet *menuet* dass."

The objections to this proposal are—

(a) *Menuchon*, *mernuchon*=*stellaria media* Villars, *menuchon*=*anagallis arvensis* L., not attested before the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, are isolated Norman dialectal forms, which may be derived from the dial. *meron*, *méron*=*mouron*, but have certainly been influenced by *menu*, cf. DG *menuchon*, and *menuet*=*anagallis arvensis* L. (Gr. *Encycl.*).

(b) The form *mournouche* heard by Rolland (*Fl. Pop.*, ix., 58) at Ponts-de-Cé (Marne et Loire) is another isolated dialectal form, probably derived from *mouron*.

(c) The form *mouron* which is relegated by GEW to a secondary place, is the fundamental form; in the forms *mouron*, *moron*, *meron*, *méron*, *meuron*, *muron*, *moiron*, etc. (Rolland, *Fl. Pop.*, iii., 32 sq., ix., 57 sq.), it is used over North France, in the Walloon dialects, and in French Switzerland; in South France the equivalent *mouron* is common by the side of *mourilhou*, *mourrelou*; cf. also Catalan *morryon*, *murryon*.

(d) The dialectal form *mouéron*, *mouaron*, suggests to GEW palatal action on the pretonic vowel; but if the starting point were \**murrione* one would expect a resulting *mourgeon*, cf. Fr. *bourgeon*, *étourgeon* or *éturgeon*, *sergeon*; it is probable that *mouéron*, *mouaron* is merely a dialectal form of *mouron*; thus for the Nièvre where *mouéron*, *mouaron* are attested, cf. Chambure, *Gloss. du Morvan*, 76, for *mouèce*, "mouche" *mouécer* "moucher," *moueiller* "mouiller," etc.

Further it is well to add that *mouron* is a word of the French and Catalan dialects; it does not occur in Italy; it is by some error that Rolland has introduced among the names of *stellaria media* Villars an Italian *morone*, *morona* which he has found in two XVII<sup>th</sup> century Italian dictionaries; cf. 1660 Duez, *Dizion. ital.-francese*, 546: "*Morona* . . . une meure sauvage ou une meure de ronces; *morone* . . . un meurier."

On the other hand, the following names of *stellaria media* Villars deserve notice, because, although they have not the same form as

the French word, they may contain the same radical: Span. *murajes, murujes, morujes*, galic. *muruja, murujina*, portug. *marugem, morugem, muragem*.

The French word *mouron* is attested by the DG in a text of the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century. It is, however, two centuries earlier—

XII<sup>th</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. MS. Tours 433, *Glosses*, in BEC xxx. (1869), 331: "Ippia lividum habet florem, id est morgellina, ro. moruns."

We should then consider in this connection an important group of Germanic names of the plants of the genera *stellaria* and *anagallis*. They appear to me to be of the following types—

(a) MIR-: German *meier, miere*; E. Frisian *mire, mir*; Dutch *mier*.

(b) MIR-IC-: Germ. *meierich*.

(c) MUR-: Middle Dutch *muer*, Dutch *muur*, W. Flem. *meure*.

(d) MUR-IC-: Dutch *murik*, W. Flem. *murke*.

The MIR- series occur from Friesland to Prussia (*mire* Frischbier), to Silesia (*miere*), and to Transylvania (*meier*). On the other hand the MUR- forms belong now more particularly to the Dutch dialects, and thus are of particular importance if *mouron* is to be considered a very early French loan-word from Germanic. The fact that *mouron* is already attested in the XII<sup>th</sup> century suggests that it may well have been introduced into the language of Gaul by the Frankish invaders of the V<sup>th</sup>. In this connection I note that Diefenbach, *Gloss. Germ.-Latinum*, 372, gives a mediæval L. *herba muronis* (cf. Dutch *muurkruydt*) glossed by A.-Sax. *cicenamete* (cf. Engl. *chickweed*).

INDEX OF FORMS

(The numbers given refer to the notes in which the forms occur)

FRENCH

aberquin ...	...	4	crabousset ...	...	5	garbouil ...	...	11
abistoquer ...	...	3	craie ...	...	6	garbouille...	...	11
adot ...	...	14	crayer ...	...	6	garbouillement ...	...	11
adouber ...	...	14	crayet ...	...	6	garbouiller ...	...	11
adoux ...	...	14	crapas ...	...	5	garbuge ...	...	11
agua azul ...	...	1	crapasson ...	...	5	généralat ...	...	10
aibourquenai ...	...	4	crapaud ...	...	5	gillochis ?	...	12
alcali ...	...	1	crapaude ...	...	5	goutte ...	...	12
alum calin ...	...	1	crapaudière ...	...	5	gouttière ...	...	12
amberquin ...	...	4	crapaudine ...	...	5	grabouil ...	...	11
ameto ...	...	20	crapaudon ...	...	5	grabuche ...	...	11
âne bourdin ...	...	21	crapelet ...	...	5	grabucher ...	...	11
badoche ...	...	14	crapeu ...	...	5	grabuge ...	...	11
barnacle ...	...	2	crapi ...	...	5	grabuger ...	...	11
barille ...	...	1	crapiche ...	...	5	grapaudai ...	...	5
belin ...	...	2	crapichon ...	...	5	guillochage ...	...	12
bélin ...	...	2	crapot ...	...	5	guilloche ...	...	12
beni ...	...	2	crapotel ...	...	5	guilloché ...	...	12
béni ...	...	2	crapoter ...	...	5	guillocher ...	...	12
bénicle ...	...	2	crapoterie ...	...	5	guillocheur ...	...	12
benin ...	...	2	crapotin ...	...	5	guillochis ...	...	12
berdin ...	...	2	crapou ...	...	5	guimbarde ...	...	13
berlin ...	...	2	crapouzel ...	...	5	guimbelet...	...	4
bernache ...	...	2	crapoussin ...	...	5	guimbeletier ...	...	4
bernacle ...	...	2	crapuche ...	...	5	guimberlet ...	...	4
bernic ...	...	2	crapuchon ...	...	5	guimblet ...	...	4
bernicle ...	...	2	einberquin ...	...	4	habiller ...	...	20
bernie ...	...	2	empas ...	...	7	habillot ...	...	20
bernique ...	...	2	engarbouiller ...	...	11	haddock ...	...	14
berquin ...	...	4	étourgeon...	...	23	hadec ...	...	14
berquinné ...	...	4	éturgeon ...	...	23	hadoc ...	...	14
bestoquer ...	...	3	farlope ...	...	7	hadochie ...	...	14
beurdine ...	...	21	féluchon ...	...	9	hadot ...	...	14
beurquin ...	...	4	ferlampe ...	...	7	hadou ...	...	14
biberkin ...	...	4	ferlamper ...	...	7	haimé ...	...	20
bichecoter ...	...	3	ferlampier ...	...	7	haimé ...	...	20
bichecoterie ...	...	3	ferlape ...	...	7	haine ...	...	20
biscoter ...	...	3	ferlaper ...	...	7	hainé ...	...	20
bistiquer ...	...	3	ferlapeux ...	...	7	hainne ...	...	20
bistocache ...	...	3	ferloche ...	...	9	halcret ...	...	15
bistoquer ...	...	3	ferlope ...	...	7	halcret ...	...	15
bni ...	...	2	ferloper ...	...	7	halcrète ...	...	15
bourde ...	...	1	ferloque ...	...	9	halcrété ...	...	15
bourdine ...	...	1	ferloquer ...	...	9	hallope ...	...	16
bourgeon ...	...	23	ferloquetier ...	...	9	halope ...	...	16
brelin ...	...	2	ferloupe ...	...	7	halopin ...	...	16, 17
brequin ...	...	4	ferluche ...	...	9	halmustoc ...	...	20
briscoter ...	...	3	feurloque ...	...	9	hamberge ...	...	18
briscoter ...	...	3	feurleuches ...	...	9	hame ...	...	20
caboche ...	...	5	fleurs ...	...	8	hamé ...	...	20
cabosse ...	...	5	frelampier ...	...	7	hamée ...	...	20
cabot ...	...	5	freluche ...	...	9	hamey ...	...	20
carthagène ...	...	1	frelouque ...	...	9	hamelète ...	...	20
clochette ...	...	12	freluche ...	...	9	hames ...	...	20
crabosse ...	...	5	freluque ...	...	9	hamestoc, O. Fr.	...	20
crabouseau ...	...	5	galopin ...	...	16, 17	hamette ...	...	20

hamlett ...	20	lamproner ...	7	meron ...	23
hampe ...	7	lapard ...	7	méron ...	23
hanon ...	14	laper ...	7	meuron ...	23
hannon ...	14	lapette ...	7	moiron ...	23
happe-lope ...	7	lapeux ...	7	mournouche ...	23
happe-lopin ...	7, 17	lapoire ...	7	mouron ...	23
hardouin ...	19	lappequin... ..	7	muron ...	23
hardouine ...	19	lappignon... ..	7	napille ...	7
haubert ...	15	lapure ...	7	napillon ...	7
hausse-col ...	15	liberquin ...	4	nappignon ...	7
heame ...	20	librechin ...	4	pouloper ...	16
heaume ...	20	limberquin ...	4	rabiscotage ...	3
heaumer ...	20	locu ...	9	rabiscoter... ..	3
heaumerie ...	20	lope ...	7	rabistoquer ...	3
heaumette ...	20	lopet ...	7	radot ...	14
heaumière ...	20	lopin ...	7	radoub ...	14
hennon ...	14	lopinaille ...	7	radouber ...	14
hiamé ...	20	lopiner ...	7	relouper ...	7
hinne ...	21	lopinet ...	7	richeut ...	19
hinnule ...	21	lopineur ...	7	sergeon ...	23
houve ...	20	loppe ...	7	soude ...	1
houvé ...	20	loque ...	9	verlin ...	2
houvérette ...	20	loquet ...	9	verloupe ...	7
huvet ...	20	loquette ...	9	vibrequin ...	4
jaumière ...	20	louèpe ...	7	vibriquet ...	4
laipeuilre ...	7	loupe ...	7	vilbelkin ...	4
lamberquin ...	4	louper ...	7	vilbrequin ...	4
lampart ...	7	loupeur ...	7	vilebrequin ...	4
lampas ...	7	loupiait ...	7	villebrequin ...	4
lampassé ...	7	loupiau ...	7	villette ...	4
lampasser... ..	7	loupie ...	7	vimblet ...	4
lampeau ...	7	loupin ...	7	vinbrequin ...	4
lampée ...	7	louppe ...	7	virebrequin ...	4
lampin ...	7	marie ...	1	vrelin ...	2
lampon ...	7	menuchon ...	23	vuibelquin ...	4
lamponner ...	7	menuet ...	23	wilbrequin ...	4
lamponnier ...	7	mernuchon ...	23	wimbelkin ...	4