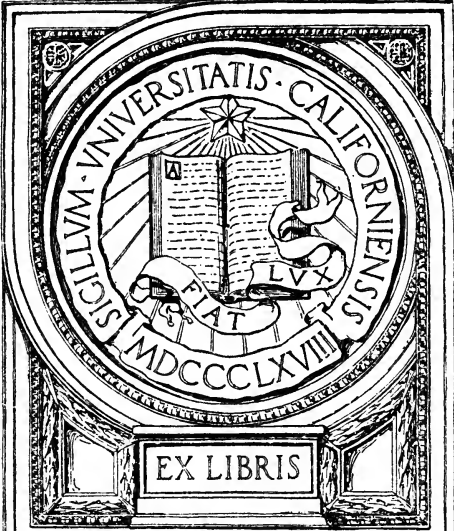


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STUDIES
ON
DENOMINATIVE VERBS
IN ENGLISH

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

VILHELM BLADIN



UPPSALA 1911
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

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ON
DENOMINATIVE VERBS
IN ENGLISH

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

VILHELM BLADIN
LIC. PHIL.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA TO BE PUBLICLY
DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE HALL IX ON THE 27TH OF MAY, 1911,
AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

UPSALA 1911
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

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PREFACE.

For advice and encouragement in the compilation of this treatise I stand indebted to my teachers of philology at the University of Upsala.

To Professor Dr. AXEL ERDMANN I beg to express my thanks for the experienced guidance with which I have been favoured throughout my English studies. It was at the instigation of this esteemed teacher that my study of the subject of Denominative Verbs was undertaken.

To Docent Dr. KARL FREDRIK SUNDÉN, under whom the present work has been completed, I beg to offer this expression of my sincere gratitude for the benefit of his clear-sighted teaching and for some valuable advice, which has been of wide-reaching importance for my work.

To all my kind friends who have supplied me with interesting quotations — particularly Mr. HERMAN BAUMBACH — my thanks are due.

Mr. SYDNEY CHARLESTON, Lector at the University of Upsala, has rendered me kind assistance in revising my English style, and Docent Dr. A. CHR. THORN, of Lund University, has been of much service by assisting me in the proof-reading.

Gefle, May 10th, 1911.

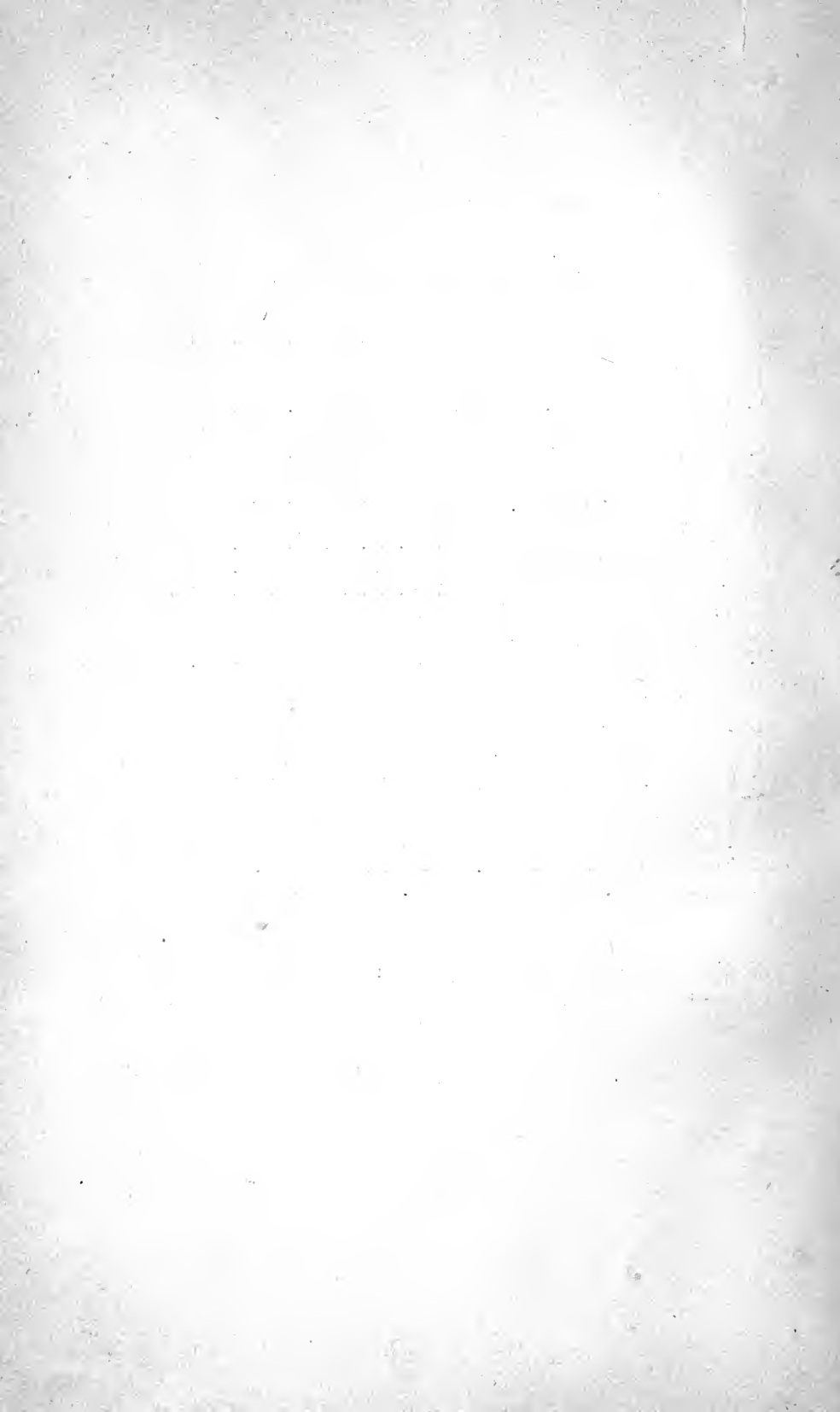
Vilhelm Bladin.

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The abbreviations used are those adopted by the New English Dictionary. See also foot-notes, pp. 84—5.



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Introduction.

The subject of Denominative Verbs in English provides § 1. an immense amount of material for semological research.

Hardly any other Indo-European language can marshal so imposing an array of different semological types of denominative verbs as can English. This language, in fact, approaches the simplicity which we are wont to attribute to Chinese, consisting in the almost absolute liberty to use any word unchanged as any »part of speech».

Of this wide field of semology only some outlines can be drawn here. The reader has to bear in mind that the only previous works published dealing with a kindred subject are that by Jacobi and those by Thorn, no one of which deals with the English language.

Denominative verbs have always been of considerable § 2. importance in the weak conjugations. Their importance for pre-literary Teutonic is already evident from the fact that their mode of forming the preterite (the »dental» preterite) was transferred to the rest of the weak verbs.

The Gothic denominatives recorded (some of which cannot be clearly distinguished from 'root'-verbs) amount to more than one hundred while a random calculation of OE denominatives gives about one thousand verbs, divided between the principal two weak classes in the proportion of one to two. Thus, more than three hundred verbs can be traced back to pre-literary English, as revealed by their i-umlaut or -an-termination in the infinitive.

§ 3. In the OE period the development of the denominatives offers nothing very striking and may thus be said to parallel that of the denominatives of the sister-languages of English.

With the introduction of the French loan-words the number of denominatives increased considerably; the first century of the Modern English period shows such a prolific propagation of denominatives that this constitutes one of the dominant features of the language of the Elizabethan era. We must add that since that 'period of licence' — to use Abbot's phrase — the faculty of using nouns as verbs, though subjected to influences of various descriptions, has never lost its vitality.

The following extract from The George Washington Univ. Bulletin, Oct. 1907, p. 7, appears to be written almost on purpose to show this; »The man is outlawed. Paragraph-ists guy or butcher him as they list, till readers weary.»

§ 4. It is often said that «Modern English can use any noun as a verb», but this statement is too sweeping and needs qualification. Moreover, it is somewhat misleading as it invites us to disregard the wide distinction between verbs actually used and verbs that «can be used». The latter are, in some cases, very likely, *never* used.

The 'nonce'-words, as the name implies, do not differ widely from the imaginary verbs. But, though numerically negligible quantities, they may, on closer inspection, prove the most interesting of our verbs. Thus, e. g. a whole 'sense-class' (see below § 62—3) is made up mainly of nonce-words.

§ 5. The NED, on whose authority the present work is based, does not always sufficiently aid the foreigner to grasp the problems as to the stilistical value of the denominatives; the solution of these problems, no doubt, is, and will remain beyond the reach or powers of every person who is not an Englishman.

It would certainly serve our purpose to make investigations into the choice of words in serious as contrasted with humorous literature, in high-flown literary style as against that intended to represent the speech of uneducated people.

As far as I have been able, I have collected quotations where the quality of the verb in question is shown (more or

less distinctly) by the author's 'sit venia verbo' or other comment, often put in the simple disguise of inverted commas.

The statistical problem, on the other hand, is more easily approached. The denominatives in Anthony Trollope's *Barchester Towers* (460 pp.) total 200, those in Smollet's *Humphry Clinker* (400 pp.), 150. I regret not to have examined any typical works with this problem in mind.

The second part of this treatise will indirectly provide § 6. information as to which writers have contributed to give currency to denominative formations — whether of their own coining or of others' we cannot decide, esp. as regards the older periods of English.

The name of Shakspeare heads the list of our word-coiners. He is often our earliest authority for usages and phrases made acceptable by the stamp with which he has impressed them.

The contrast between the language of the Authorized Version and that of Shakspeare's dramas is exemplified even in the number of their respective denominatives. The Authorized Version has a very limited number of them.

The works of Fuller are rich in new-formations of the kind in question.

Next, prominent places in our list must be reserved for grammarians and lexicographers as Palsgrave, Florio, and Cotgrave, whose English words, however, are often suggestive of foreign influence and models.

The 18th century furnishes us with the name of Richardson.

From recent times, the writings of Southey and Coleridge, Dickens and Thackeray have supplied the NED with many instances of denominatives. So have Carlyle and Kipling, but we notice a contrast between some unmistakably foreign-sounding coinages of the former and the «pure-English» ones of the latter.

Numerous instances can be quoted from the poetical works of Bailey ('Festus'), and from the descriptions of low London life by Mayhew, a veritable 'gold-mine', as it were, of 'vulgarisms'.

§ 7. It is only thanks to the NED that I have been able to pursue the study of English denominatives. It will be evident from the following pages that this standard work has served me as a condensed library.

In one point, however, I have been left to my own resources, that is as regards many verbs formed from proper names. Again, new words are daily added to the stock of the vocabulary.

The examples below offer a few specimens of interesting words which would have been overlooked had we based our work exclusively on as yet accessible dictionaries.

«In 1811 the Swedes, though not yet actually at war with England, were making active preparations for defence by sea and land, «in case», says Parry, «we should be inclined to Copenhagen them.» — Memoirs of Sir W. E. Parry, by his Son, ch. ii [Earle § 216].

Kipling (Leeb-Lundberg p. 95) . . . procession is Mendelssohn out of church to paternal roof.

1908 Jan. 17 Standard $\frac{4}{2}$. The Navy and The Nation — Cruiser Deficiency — And nothing short of a miracle will save the British battle squadrons, when war breaks out, unless they Port-Arthur themselves.

1910 Jan. Rev. of Rev. p. 73. If General Gordon could be authorized to establish his own Government in the Soudan — — — his supreme genius might have enabled him to do in the Soudan what Rajah Brooke had achieved in Sarawak, in Borneo. Hence arose a demand in England that General Gordon should be at least allowed a free hand to «Sarawak the Soudan.»

Part General.

I. Definition. Types.

The primitive sense-units of language did duty for any § 8. parts of speech, a morphem serving indifferently either to denote objects or phenomena or as means for predication.

The type of the many-sided primitive word is reflected in echoic words, like *quack*, *cuckoo*, *bow-wow*, etc., which designate the 'sound-producer' as well at the 'sound-producing'. E. g. I heard a cuckoo (sb.) cuckoo (vb.); owl: (h)owl.¹

The establishment of a special form for predication implies the creation of (conjugated) verbs as distinct from nouns.²

After the anti-thesis of noun and verb arose, and as the distance widened between the two parts of speech, this distance was bridged over by the gradually developing derivatives, denominative verbs and deverbative nouns.

Hence a stem of a word may, for our purpose, be described as a grammatically indifferent nucleus with the possibilities of developing nouns or verbs, according as nominal or verbal endings, or suffixes, are appended in each particular case.

»A denominative is a verb formed in any way from a § 9. noun (a substantive or an adjective).»

I see no reason why verbs formed from other parts of speech (adverbs, prepositions, etc.) should not be accepted as denominatives. Cf. § 61. For the present, they would be nameless, unless we used some such expressions as de-adverbial, etc. and, at any rate, without a collective, comprehensive name.

¹ Wilh. Meyer, *Schöpf. d. Spr.* 238.

² Sütterlin, *D. Wesen d. spr. Gebilde* pp. 71—81; 123 ss.; 152 ss.

Again, in a particular colloquial locution (§ 62), the part of speech is completely without importance, verbs being formed indiscriminately from nouns and particles.

A denominative verb may thus be defined as a verb formed from any other part of speech.

- § 10. This treatise is intended to deal in particular with only such de-substantive verbs as are formed by direct conversion i. e. without addition or subtraction of suffixes.

In order rightly to estimate the «direct converted» denominatives, it is necessary to consider the other related types of verbs, the suffixial denominatives and those formed by the composition of subst. + verb.

- § 11. Tracing the history of the suffix-formed denominatives, we distinguish two kinds of suffixes, 1st such as have grown into existence by the subtraction of a later-developing, shorter stem from the original, longer stem, e. g. -(e)n, -(e), -(e)r, etc.;

2nd suffixes representing what was originally a separate word with a sense of its own, e. g. OE. -læcan (surviving in «acknowledge»), -(i)fy < Latin *facere*, the modern preterite-*ending* -ed < root of 'do', etc.

- § 12. Certain suffixes impart characteristic notions to their verbs; thus, for instance, the Latin »-esco» is inchoative, »-urio» desiderative. *Pallesco* = I grow pale; *sullaturio* (nonce-word, Cicero) = I want to do like Sulla.

Likewise, when examining the etymology of the humorous «to speechify», we are inclined to ascribe some sense of «*facere*» to the suffix. But why could not the verbal element be said to develop from the stem and only from the stem, as in Thackeray's «to fistify» = to fight with the fists, where «*facere*» is inadmissible?

If we regard the question from the point of view of Modern English, we can safely contend that our living, productive, verbal suffixes are but abstract formatives, esp. as they are often mutually interchangeable and even, at times, to be dispensed with.

¹ Wilmanns, II §§ 70—87.

It would be an interesting task to make investigations into the different stages of this gradual eclipse of the sense of the «full-word» suffix.

Our second group of suffixial verbs (§ 11) occupy a middle § 13 position between the «direct converted» verbs and those of another type, exemplified in English, though not to the same extent as in other Teutonic languages. I refer to verbs such as Latin *crucifigere*, French *colporter*, etc.¹

English has developed some, mostly perhaps by a process of 'backformation'. See below § 46, to *housebreak*; to *housekeep*; to *fine-draw*; to *fortune-tell* (Sh.); to *fortune-hunt* (Byron).

Swedish *landstiga* (intr.), *landsätta* (tr.) corresponds to the English to *land* intr., tr.; *bord-*, *skrin-lägga*, to *table*, to (en)*shrine*.

Certain early forms of the weak verb indicate to us that the direct converted verb is the descendant of a ditematic type, in which the latter member originally was the bearer of a sense of its own. JACOBI, in his work on «Bedeutung der schwachen Conjugationen» advances the opinion that, according to the original sense of the suffixes (or endings), verbs of the first conjugation indicate the making (*Hervorbringen*) of the thing expressed by the noun, whereas the second conjugation designates a more loose and indistinct relation between noun and verb (*ein blosses Beschäftigtsein*).

Remark. Suffixes must be well distinguished from endings. ME. *-e(n)*, like its forerunners *-*jan* and *-*ôjan*,² served but to denote the infinitive, just as other forms of the vb. had their several endings.

¹ Nyrop III § 569.

² To draw a sharp line between the weak conjugations has proved impossible, even from a semological point of view (Wilmanns, D. Gr. II. § 32. p. 49), the original conditions having been blurred. — A diagram through OE. (Koch, Hist. Gramm. § 132) shows us a stage when I class verbs formed on adjs. have both trans. and intr. senses, whilst II class vbs. just begin to adopt trans. sense. This may be proof enough that the *-jan* desinence is the older one. This is implied by Koch, Hist. Gr. III. § 133–4 where he states that derivatives of verbal roots and stems have only *-jan*, whereas pa. pples. and particles have only *-ôjan*. [Formations on sbs. and adjs. are found in both classes.]

II. Stilistical remarks.

§ 14. New-formations are possible only where there exists a certain freedom from conventionalism. Hence, slang, technical and colloquial language are the main sources from which the bulk of the denominatives find their way into written and printed English.

Comparing, with Franz, Sh.-Gr., Vorwort, the colloquial speech of to-day with the language of Shakspeare's dramas, we come upon a great many similarities between the two, due to the absence or neglecting of set rules.

Johan Vising's observations on Dante's language (Göteborg 1896, p. 164) may be aptly quoted here.

«Stundom gör Dante ock nya ord, som ej alltid äro lättfattliga, såsom dessa sammansättningar, invogliare 'invilja', ingifva i vår vilja, inciulare 'inhimla', försätta i himlen, ammusare, beröra nos med nos, o. s. v. Detta skulle synas alltför djärft och smaklöst i ett mycket odladt språk, som har fått sin bestämda prägel och går en fastställd utvecklings gång. Men Dantes unga språk lät behandla sig som ett barn och tålde mycket väl både att sträckas och riktas till.»

We must, however, emphasize the distinction between new-formations then and now. When Standard English was still embryonic, neologisms found a more fertile ground and a firmer foothold than nowadays. Again, many modern usages have been modelled on patterns in English classics, especially Shakspeare.

George P. Marsh writes, p. 206: «Foreigners and children often seize on the primitive analogies of language, and by an unconscious generalization employ forms of expressions which, though so nearly obsolete as to strike us as un-English, are nevertheless strictly idiomatic.»

«Hence they constantly employ nouns for verbs, and few Englishmen have travelled in Europe without being asked by Continental servants, ambitious of displaying their English, «Did you bell?» for «did you ring?»

»Children will say «it winds» for «it blows», and in this instance they create, not revive, a Saxon verb, for neither

the Anglo-Saxon nor the Scandinavian language possesses a verb correlative to the noun «wind».

Thorn, *Parasynt.* p. 5, gives a couple of Swedish specimens of children's language: *gasa* = to light the gas; *krana* = to tap water. In the absence of English instances, I subjoin the following Swedish, «Guda med oss nu, mamma!» i. e. pray (to God); «Sån vacker brasa! Vem har brasat den?» i. e. made the fire. —

Vulgarisms and colloquialisms have worked their way § 15. into literature. E. g.

to coax. According to Johnson 1755—73 'a low word', and probably in vulgar use long before it became usual in literature.

to cosset. In literary use, chiefly of 19th century.

to palm. In most senses originally slang or low colloquial, etc. etc. —

A highly educated lady whose excellent English was praised in most laudatory words by, among others, Miss Edgeworth, once made the following remark (1823. *D'Israeli Cur. Lit. Ser. II. I. 402; H. A. VIII, 273*):

«She is now old enough, she said, to have lived to hear the vulgarisms of her youth adopted in drawing-room circles. *To lunch*, now so familiar from the fairest lips, in her youth was only known in the servants' hall.»

A number of denominatives are collected below, each illustrating some phase of their stylistic worth.

1830 Scott. The sailor . . answered . . that in general he *conversationed* well enough (the nonce-word italicized by Scott; Cf. *Disraeli, conversationize*).

1905 . . and I have heard of one housekeeper that used to say with homely kindness, when bidding her guests to fall to, «*lariat yourselves out*» (*Americ. Journ. Philol. 26, 197*).

1908 Aug. 31 *Standard* p. 6: «*Pete*» at the Lyceum. — — — Little conceits, which it will doubtless rend the heart of the dramatists to cut, must be mercilessly lumped out, as the saying is.

Bradley, *The Making of English*, p. 132: «He 'my dear-

fellow'-ed me all the day», is quite permissible conversational English.

§ 16. The authors of «The King's English» write.

«We now add a short list of slang phrases or words that can most of them be referred with more or less of certainty to particular occupations. Whether they are recognized as slang will certainly depend in part on whether the occupation is familiar, though sometimes the familiarity will disguise, and sometimes it will conceal the slanginess.

To hedge (turf); stumped (cricket); slating, birreling (literature); how it pans out (mining); whole-hogging (politics); floored (1. prize-ring, 2. school); euchred (cards); to corner (1. commerce, 2. ridding).»

To the above, I add the following technical and slang verbs.

Court Circular, 1858—9 (N & Q. 6. 2. 84). «A new Verb. — In the trial of a suit the other day, a plaintiff said the defendant might 'county-court' him for what he owed, but he hoped he would not, and he did not. Lord Campbell observed that to 'county-court' was a new word in the English language, and that the phrase was now 'To county-court a man'. — (Laughter).»

Lord Mahon, History of England (1780—3), VII, 328: Hanover Rats — — The word (both the noun and the verb «to rat») was first, as we have seen, levelled at the converts to the government of George the First, but has by degrees obtained a wider meaning and come to be applied to any sudden and mercenary change in politics.

Wilfred Hargrave, 1883 June 16 N & Q. — — «he coaled out these rithms upon the wall near to the picture», etc. Are we to understand that Dan Elingham scraped or scratched his verses on the plaster, or that Camden (Remains, 1674, p. 441) uses the word really meaning (char)coaled, in the fashion of a housemaid of to-day who says she has «black-leaded» a grate?

1885 Liverpool Daily Post, 9 Jan. 6/2. To-day I have heard 'fueled' for taking in wood, and 'cameled' for using that ungainly beast in travelling.

Este, N & Q 1885 Nov. 14. Two other words have been started this year, I believe, at any rate since cycling became fashionable, and «Do you bike or trike?» may soon become common.

E. Leaton Blenkinsopp, N & Q. 7th S. IV. 365 (1887) Among the telegraphic news in the Times of September 15 appeared the following: «The train, near Lake Ivanhoe, derailed on Tuesday». A useful word, much needed.

Alfred E. T. Watson, April 1902. Motors and Motor-Driving (in the Badminton Library), Preface. — — —, I added, «Who can say what sport may not spring up and take the public fancy? If any such does arise, a volume about it will doubtless be written». Motoring — — for the verb will have to be accepted and recognized — — is such a sport, — — —

A. C. Lee, N & Q. 7. V. 197. Is it not worth while to make a note of the use of «suicide» as a verb, as used by Prof. Butler at the above reference, «The wills which had been made by persons who suicided while under accusation were valid?»

The verb «to pastelle» seems destined to succeed in its limited sphere. 1909 Dec. 15. Studio 213/1. To the work of Rosalba Carriera — — — — we may apply a new descriptive phrase of finesse and distinction — to coin a new expression, one may say, she *pastelled* on ivory.

It is curious to read the following remark by C. S. (N & Q, 1882 Sept. 2) on a now common word.

«In the recent manifesto signed by the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Davitt, the following phrase occurs: — «We are but voicing the wishes of the High Sheriff when», etc. — — that is «giving expression to». This seems a new, but natural, application of an obsolete word». — — —

Georg P. Marsh writes (p. 207). «The denominative § 17. verbs in English are uniformly characterized by great directness and force of expression».

‘A fogger going to fodder his cattle’ — — — ‘before

the summer ricks are all carted' . . . how Englishy such sentences sound (1880 Scribn. Mag. Feb. 633).

The use has led to abuse. Thus we find E. Walford, M. A., writing in *N & Q* (1884 June 14):

«Will Prof. Skeat or some other English scholar and grammarian lay down a rule as to the extent to which writers may be allowed to carry the practice, which is alarmingly on the increase, of turning almost every known substantive into a verb? — — —».

E. Walford, M. A. says in *N & Q* 6. IV. 545.

In the *Times* of Dec. 12, 1881, is yet another instance, new to me, of a noun-substantive turned into a verb, on the other side of the Atlantic. Guiteau, at his own trial, says, «I officed with him several months». «To house» and «to inn» are current coin; but I don't like «to office». I suppose we shall soon have «I colleged with So-and-So». Indeed, it seems impossible, the principle being once admitted, to set limits to our right to convert substantives into verbs, and to the power of our native tongue

«In the dull clods of nouns to infuse animation,
And wake their cold atoms to action and passion».—

The unlimited new-formation of denominatives has not called forth the criticism of grammarians, it is true, but this may be put down to oversight rather than «silent approval».

Only occasionally has a word been discussed and faintly repudiated, as e. g.

to wire «the somewhat doubtful word» according to Longman's *School Composition* (p. 254).

Earle, *Philology*, 1863, comments on such phrases as 'to cable a message', 'if such a thing happens, wire me', in these words, «I do not say that these expressions have become an acknowledged part of the language — — — Young sprigs of language have a levity and skittishness which render them unworthy of literature or grammar, but which make an exhibition of the highest value for the purposes of philology».

George P. Marsh, p. 213:

«We have also the Saxon prefix *be-*, generally applied to verbal and *nominal* roots, though we sometimes verbalize an adjective by the aid of this prefix, as *to besot*, which is authorized by Milton and Shakspeare. But this formation is repugnant to the language, and nothing but the want of a good synonym has enabled Mr. Jefferson's verb *to belittle* to keep its place in the United States.»

Englishmen are, as we shall see, inclined to consider America as the source of the abuse.

I quote from the «Table Talk» of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Routledge, p. 159—60) an exposition of the *-ed*-suffix whose use is analogous to that of the denominatives, and which, by many, is even mistaken for a denominative verb.

«I regret to see that vile and barbarous vocable *talented*, stealing out of the newspapers into the leading reviews and more respectable publications of the day. Why not *shillinged*, *farthinged*, *ten-penced*, &c.?

»The formation of a participle passive from a noun is a licence that nothing but a very peculiar felicity can excuse. If mere convenience is to justify such attempts upon the idiom, you cannot stop till the language becomes, in the proper sense of the word, corrupt. Most of these pieces of slang come from America.»

Ev. Ph. Shirley writes N & Q (1882, May 13) on New-fangled expressions. «— — that vulgar Americanism 'to wire', that, is to send a message by the telegraph», to which statement J. Brander Matthews replies (Aug. 12), «Vulgar it is assuredly, but American it is not.»

Dictionaries give many words as of American origin, as Don't be stumped (colloq., from the obstruction to vehicles offered by stumps left in a cleared tract without a road), etc. etc.

NED «In Indianapolis, the word 'probation' is used as a verb, as for instance 'I probation you'». (1907, 7 Oct. Let. of Secr. N. Y. Probation Comm.) — — —

English Dialects abound in our verbs, as is evidenced by the Dialect Dictionary. As specimens I quote from the NED.

to earth = to bury, until 16th c. app. only Scotch. In Sc. formerly the usual word for this sense; in Eng. writers only poet. or rhet., with a reference to the etymology.

to notice, earliest found in Scotch literature See NED.

Verbs formed from other parts of speech than substantives:

to third turnips (Halliwell) = to hoe them a 3rd time.

to best 1863 — Now colloq., orig. dial. = to get the better of. Cf. to worst; Stoffel, *Studies* p. 263.

III. Criticism of the 'no endings' theory.

§ 18. The facility with which English denominatives are formed is, in general, explained by the dropping of the ME. endings, whereby formal identity between noun and denominative verb was established.

In reading the sections immediately preceding we have realized that the non-inflectional character of English is *not the only* condition for a noun's being turned into a verb, as we have had our attention drawn to the fact that, notwithstanding the formal identity, many verbs have been rejected by people concerned for the welfare of their language. The noun is not to be used as a verb as a matter of course.

It will be worth while to enquire a little farther into the question of the rôle of the endings.

That a loss of endings is not essential to a luxuriant growth of denominatives is apparent from the following extracts (cited after Thorn). The italics are my own.

Whitney, *Indische Gr.* (1879): «*Feder* Nominalstamm der Sprache kann ohne weitere Hinzufügung als die eines «a» in einen Präsensstamm umgewandelt werden.»

v. d. Pfordten, *Griechische Denominativa* (1886) — — «imponieren zunächst durch die Massenhaftigkeit ihres Auftretens: nicht nach Hunderten, sondern nach Tausenden ist ihre Anzahl zu schätzen.»

Cooper, *Word-formation in the Roman sermo plebeius*, p. 225: «In the sermo plebeius *every* substantive and adjective

and even the adverbs seem capable of forming a corresponding denominative verb;» p. 228: «The Romance languages are a good criterion of the great license in the later sermo plebeius, showing by surviving words that *practically any* substantive or adjective, primary and derivative alike, could receive the verbal suffixes.»

Fuchs, *Die Romanischen Sprachen* (1849) — — «können *fast aus jedem beliebigen* Hauptworte durch blosse Anfügung der Abwandlungsendungen neue Zeitwörter bilden.»

In inflectional languages the point to be emphasized in the direct conversion is the congruence of the nominal stem and the verbal stem, or the fact that the stem remains the same. The nominal endings are done away with and substituted by verbal endings, but this change of endings is accomplished almost unconsciously, it does not to any extent interfere with the conversion.

I would suggest the same argument, that the stem is the essential part, to be used as regards English, for we have to bear in mind that English is neither quite devoid of nominal or verbal endings. But, after all, English has a right to more denominatives than other languages, as it does lack endings in some forms of the noun and the verb, the singular of nouns (except the 's-genitive), and the infinitive and certain forms of the present of verbs. Moreover, the endings -s and -ed, being unstressed and unobtrusive to the ear, may have been used without affecting or obscuring the stem of the verb, thus facilitating the hearer's associating the verb with the noun. From this, however, it appears only that the 'loss of endings' may merely have facilitated the transition.

'Analogical' formation is the common procedure of all languages; can the analogical formation give the explanation of the frequency of English denominatives, there will be no need for falling back on the vague 'no endings' theory. —

Does not the 'no endings' theory go too far? Indeed, one might feel inclined to let it advocate the existence of only one part of speech after 1500, a 'noun-verb' or 'verb-noun'.

It sounds improbable that this 'noun-verb' should be

called into existence all at once, not as the result of a gradual development.

Again, given a number of newly borrowed Romance words, the grammatical function of which was often felt but indistinctly, it follows that additional help was given in removing the barrier between the two parts of speech.

I quote some illustrative phrases used by «Sir Hugh Evans, a Welsh Parson» in Shakspeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

«Give ear to his motions, master Slender. I will description to you be capacity of it.» (p. 6.)

«But can you affection the 'oman?» (p. 7.)

«As I am a Christians soul, look you, this is the place appointed, I'll be judgment by mine Host of the Garter.» (p. 35.)

I have failed to discover the «difference in nature» between the formations before 1500 and those after that date. If there existed a different nature, I should expect, for instance, the nominal character of the basis to shine forth in verbs formed after 1500 in about the way it does, for other reasons, in «to boycott» (owing to its transparent etymology). Why could there not have existed a ME *boycott-en*; the verb thrives as loanword in other languages: Swedish *bojkotta*, French *boycott-er*, German *boycott-ieren*, etc.

That the 'noun-verb' is, at least, no reality now, is testified to by Greenough & Kittredge (p. 192), «In general we are not so free in using verbs as nouns, as in using nouns as verbs» and by George P. Marsh (p. 206), «The verbalization, if I may so express it, of a noun, is now a difficult matter, and we shrink from the employment even of well-authorized old nominal verbs.»

IV. Influence of analogy on denominative formation.

- § 19. When a new denominative has been formed, its quality and *raison d'être* is often tested by means of a comparison with older verbs. In the same manner, the tester, having sealed the fate of the new verb, shows us the perspective of still uglier words developing. Thus, for instance, Coleridge on «talented»: «Why not shillinged, farthinged, ten-penced?»

E. Walford as to «to office» (p. 12):

«To house» and «to inn» are current coin. — — I suppose we shall soon have »I colleged with So-and-So».

Truth, 1896, 23 Jan. contained:

In late years we have had too many men honoured with a memorial in Westminster Abbey. I really only know one man alive who ought when he dies to be 'abbeyed'.

This »atrocious word» (Ayeahr N & Q 8. IX. 305) called forth the following defence from E. Walford:

«abbeyed» = buried in abbey — — seems to me unobjectionable, especially if honoured with inverted commas. How does it differ in principle from «churched» or «walled»?

The following observation by the same author clearly illustrates the question, though what W. attacks is not so much the verb itself as its use with a non-personal subject. «To umpire» with a personal subject would surely have met with the approval of the writer.

E. Walford, N & Q. 6. IX. 469/1:

«I note — — an advertisement in the Times to the effect that «the launch that umpired the University boat race is to be let». Now, I can quite admit the propriety of such words as to «cart» a load, to «post» a letter, to «stone» a mad dog, to «doctor» a patient, or even to «figure» a scene or event — these are admissible, and form part of our current language; but how can it be right to use the phrase to «umpire» instead of «carry the umpire»? On this principle we shall soon have it said that an episcopal carriage «bishopsed» Dr. A. or B., and that a government steam launch «admiraled» the Ryde or Cowes regatta.»

The same author writes, N. & Q. 6. XII. 107 — — «the creek [near the mouth of the Thames] is being carefully policed by the coast-guard. (The Times, May 26, 1885).

- «The term seems as little open to objection as the established term «officered». But why not have written «coast-guarded»?»

This manner of dealing with the new words indicates to us the actual 'analogical' formation of many denominatives.

From being used in collocations or groups, together with the 'model-verb', they may be used by themselves deprived of the support of the 'model-verb'.

Some additional instances will show how the principle of analogical formation works.

The noun «landscape» has given us «seascape», »tree-scape», «cloudscape» and perhaps many more.

«Omnipotent» is changed (1593) into «rail-ipotent» (nonce).
1694 W. Congreve, *The Double Dealer* II. 1.

Lady P. «— my honour is infallible and un-come-at-ible.» — — —

Lady F. «look a little je-ne-sais-quoi-ish.»

Pope, To Swift, Aug. 17, 1736:

Increase of years makes men more talkative, but less writative (nonce).

Blackw. Mag. 1824. XVI. 620:

Thus *lengthy* is now established. We find it even in Blackwood. We shall have *breadthy* next.

1857 Trollope, *Barch. Towers*.

«Are you a Whewellite or a Brewsterite, or a t'other-manite, Mrs. Bold?» said Charlotte, who knew a little about everything, and had read about a third of each of the books to which she alluded.

1892 pedipulate (nonce) < manipulate.

«Wir sagen «wir sanken knietief in den Sand», aber nicht auch «hüftentief», während die Engländer noch sagen können, he leapt waist-deep into the water.» Krüger III, § 2387.

To return to the denominative verbs.

Buckingham, *The Rehearsal*. — «If there be any Wit in't, as there is no Book but has some, I transverse it: that is, if it be Prose, put it into Verse, . . . if it be Verse, put it into Prose.

Johns. Methinks, Mr. Bayes, that putting Verse into Prose should be called Transprosing.

Bayes. By my troth a very good Notion, and hereafter it shall be so.»

The word, now obsolete, was used by Marvell (1672) and Dryden (C. D.).

Cardinal Wolsey to Henry VIII, July 1528.

— — shall not be spotted incomberyd or intanggelyd,
(NED's first quotation of «entangle» is from 1540).

c 1585 «quaint it» is the rhyme to «saint it».

1592—1678 to condog †, conjectured to be a whimsical imitation of concur (cur = dog); but no evidence has been found of its actual origin.

1611 Sh. Cymb. — Such stuffe as Madmen Tongue and
braine not.

Sh., Taming, III. 2. p. 47 (Thorn, Parasynt. p. 6):

— Mistress, what's your opinion of your sister?

— That, being mad herself, she's madly mated.

— I warrant him, Petruchio is Kated.

N. Ward, Simple Cobler. — To transplace or trans-
time a stated Institution of Christ without his direction, I
think is to destroy it.

1655 Fuller. — The gates were shut, and partly man-
ned, partly boy-ed against him.

a 1661 Fuller. — The ancient Romans, when first (in-
stead of manning) they dogged their Capitol.

18— Trollope (O.) — puts his heavy boot on the
beast's body, and there beheads and betails him.

1824 Miss Mitford. A cart and a waggon watering —
it would be more correct, perhaps, to say beering at the
Rose.

1855 Dickens. — As nations are made to be taxed, so
families are made to be butlered.

1856 Sat. Rev. — The popular frenzy of 1851 that for
a time incarnated, or rather *invagged*, him [Guy Fawkes] as
a Pope or Cardinal.

1861 «To endorse» has supplied the now common word
«To enface».

1863 Dickens. — They [servant girls] get *bell'd* off their
legs.

NED's interpretation is «run off their legs in answering
the bells». I suggest the analogy, «They are bell'd off their
legs by the bells, as they are knocked off their legs by the
knocks».

1881 «to detrain» tr. and intr. Originally mil. only, formed after «to debark».

1886 J. A. Sterry. — She oft quite longs... to 'girl the boats'.

1907 Oct. The George Washington Univ. Bull., p. 40.

Agnosticism is nothing new in the history of human speculation. For centuries it paraded under the name of scepticism, until in 1869 Huxley christened or rather paganed it as agnosticism.

The freedom with which this mode of forming words obtains, culminates in Dickens's (*Pickwick*, p. 648)

«he vishes he may be somethin'-unpleasanted if he don't drownd hissself»,

as it were, the formula for euphemistic imprecations. Other equivalents are

1837 I'm jiggered; a 1845 deed, deeded; 1860 I'll be dogged (U. S. slang); dashed. Analogous is 1873 Blank him!

§ 20. The heterogeneous origin of the vocabulary has largely been fallen back upon to solve many linguistic problems in English and the following theory for the explanation of the numerous denominatives is based on this.

Undoubtedly many a Romance wordpair has been the model on which copies have been made out of English material, «disguised loans» we may call them. It is plausible that when the Teutonic and the Romance elements came into close contact with each other, many diversities in their respective vocabularies should be levelled in this way.

We have actual evidence at our disposal. H. S. Mac Gillivray, *Influence of Christianity*, p. 96 — «The verb *biscopian*, «to confirm», is interesting as bearing witness to the remarkable flexibility of the OE language. Formally, this word would appear to have been moulded after Lat. «*episcopare*»; but the meaning of the latter is not «to confirm», but the much broader one, «to perform the functions of the episcopal office, in general».

This restriction of sense, however, appears quite natural.

Mac Gillivray, p. 21. «'Cristnian' is undoubtedly a formal imitation of such words as Lat. *episcopare*, *monachare* (from *episcopus*, *monachus*) = OE *biscopian*, *munecian*»

«Witegan» may be formed after «*propheta*».

Many would regard 'to crown, to gem, to martyr', etc. as English-made denominatives. Cf., however, Pogatscher, Lat. Lehnworte (§ 270—4):

ze coronian, *zimmian*, *ze-mart(y)rian* (= Lat. *martyrizare*), *pinian*, *plantian*, *teflan*, *ze-titelian*.

Later, we find

ineye < *inoculare*, *inbread* 1547—8 < *impanare*, *innew* < *innovare* (1432—50 Higden); *impoor* < *impoverish*; cf. *enrich*; *embody* 1548 — < *incorporare*; *enoil* < *enuiler*; *embane* < *empoison*. Instances are easily multiplied.

Here the prefix indicates the foreign origin with certainty.

Nonce-words of this description figure mostly only in dictionaries.

Florio 1611 gives «to misadventure», «to intention», etc. after Italian; «*Incottato*» becomes «*incoated*», «*emperruqué*» > «*imperiwigged*», etc.

The modern prefix-formations with «*de-*» are mostly to be traced to French models, for instance, «*derail*» < «*dérailer*».

The subject of 'disguised loans', hybrids, and adaptations (*nouvelles* > *news*, *Boisgarde* > *Woodward*) requires a special investigation. The above hints may, at present, be supplemented by an illuminating extract from Jespersen's «*Growth and Structure*» and by a reference to a modern parallel of the phenomenon in German.

«— — a habit which may have been common in conversational speech, and which was at any rate not uncommon in writing, that of using a French word side by side with its native synonym, the latter serving more or less openly as an interpretation of the former for the benefit of those who were not yet familiar with the more refined expression.»

As an instance I quote from the Preface of W. Thynne's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* 1532. — — wherby

I was moued and styred to make dilygent sertch, where I might finde or recouer any treue copies or exemplaries of the said bookes — — the setting forthe or auancement — — the restauracion and bringynge again to lyght of the said workes. — —

Dr. Breul-Cambridge, *Über das Deutsch im Munde des Deutschen im Ausland.* (1904). «Die Leichtigkeit, mit welcher der englische Vetter, vor allem der englische Zeitungschreiber in seinem 'journalese', aus fast jedem Hauptwort ein gleichlautendes Zeitwort zu machen weiss, dessen er sich oft und gern bedient (the goods were mailed, the ship was torpedoed, u. drgl.), während der Deutsche oft längere Umschreibungen benutzen muss, hat schon manche Landsleute in England verführt, kühn ähnliche Bildungen zu wagen. Das englische Hauptwort wird ohne viel Federlesens mit der deutschen Infinitivendung (sic!) versehen und dann mutig als schwaches Zeitwort abgewandelt. Freilich bleibt in diesem Falle wohl stets das Gefühl, etwas durchaus Undeutsches zu sagen, und häufig hört man derartige Zeitwörter in absichtlichem Scherz verwendet.

«Immerhin aber vernimmt man sie im täglichen Leben oft genug, wie zum Beispiel: Einen Brief pösten, Es hat bereits zweimal gegongt, Wir haben gestern famos im Klub gedinert. Cf. Es wurde tüchtig gejeut < Frz. » — I have reserved a few phases of the 'analogical influence' for special treatment below.

V. Influence of semological oscillation due to non-inflection.

§ 21. A glance into any English dictionary reveals to us a multitude of words capable of being used indifferently as noun and verb. Generally we overlook the important fact that the verb may be «defective», i. e. not used in all its forms.

This defectiveness can be traced to two causes, 1:0 either the sense does not admit (or does not well admit) of the verbal form in question, or, 2:0 the form proves an obstacle to the verb's being conjugated throughout. In the first

group are e. g. such verbs as those only (or chiefly) used in the passive; instances of the second group will be discussed below.

Looking back we shall find an increased number of defective verbs, inasmuch as some words, perhaps acting as pioneers for others, have undergone a gradual evolution; from defective they have now become 'all forms' verbs. (Cf. also §§ 39—40.) As a matter of course, we cannot, in this respect, base our argument on the 'no endings' theory as it is generally interpreted, for this theory is inconsistent with a *gradual* development of a verb from a noun. We now want to see verbs (or rather, nouns) in the very process of evolution.

We have to fall back on the actual spoken (or written) language to find expressions where a noun can or could be mistaken for a verb. —

When, in the dawn of the Modern English period, the obstacles to the free use of nouns as verbs gave way, we can hardly figure this process as an instantaneous one. We must rather suppose that the stock of the vernacular vocabulary was endowed with some conservative power of resistance. The time-honoured use of certain words as nouns *or* verbs could not be checked with the disappearance of some of the endings.

Supposing, however, a change in the conception of the 'parts of speech' to have occurred, it may be taken for granted that this change was counteracted by the nominal and verbal endings, when there were such, and that, in the vernacular vocabulary, noun and verb were liable to be mistaken for each other only in their *uninflected* forms.

This theory is substantiated by the following extracts from the NED (which, by the way, does not use the 'no endings' theory to account for every phenomenon lying within its reach).

I. *Imperatives*. (Cf. § 40.)

§ 22.

c 1386—. *peace* (arch.) = be silent. The earliest examples are in the imperative, and may have begun as interjectional uses of *peace*, sb.

c 1391—1625. *nota*; c 1400—a 1652 *recipe*.

1535—. *quære*, -e. Introducing a question or subject of

inquiry: Ask, inquire. Hence: 'one may ask', 'it is a question'. 1627—1756. Loosened from the formal usage; to query = to question. (Cf., however, 13..—c 1425 *quere* < OF. *quer-re*; query 1657— < sb. query).

1607—28. *posthaste* < *haste*, *post*, *haste*!

1796—. *front tr.* Causatively from *Front!* as a command.

1817—. *name!* Used in Parliamentary practice, or in imitation of this, to demand that a member be named, or that the name of some person alluded to by the speaker shall be given.

It is striking to find this use placed in the NED under the heading «name, vb.», especially when we consider the German «Antwort!».

Fire!, as a word of command, is now apprehended as the vb. in the imperative; orig. it was probably the sb. (= Fr. *feu*).

Instance! In imp. = 'Take as an i.'; but here perhaps orig. the sb. Cf. *witness*.

The same origin may be ascribed to «starboard», and many similar phrases. «Count Zeppelin gave the order to starboard the helm.» (Standard, June 2. ⁹/₂ 1909).

Out! In imperative use this approaches an interjection. Cf. NED's interpretation.

[Are there not imperatives of «to do» in the verbs to doff c 1350—, to dout 1526—, to dup 1547, to don 1567—?].

II. *Infinitive*. I must content myself with giving some indications only.

After the preposition «to».

prow Obs. rare. < sb. or adj.; possibly, 'to *prow*' in 'him to p.', 'the folk to p.' = 'for advantage to him, to the people', was mistaken for a verb infinitive.

Here would be the place to discuss the rôle of the 'do'-periphrasis (I do work, etc.); a difficult problem to which I only call attention. — —

Not to omit completely verbs formed from adjectives, I subjoin an extract from H. Walpole, *Corr.* III. 438 (1791. ed. 1837). «In am too old to be improper and you are to modest to be impropered to.»

This nonce-verb is due to the verbal character of «to-

be-improper»; the expression being a parallel to (Dickens, Copperf. 222) «I cannot trifle or be trifled with».

III. *Oscillation due to ellipsis*. Out (NED out¹³). With ellipsis of intr. vb. (go, come, etc.), hence functioning as a vb. without inflection (!). out (14). 1819— With ellipsis of trans. vb.

to home < (go) home; to hither, to h. and thither 1856— Elliptical use of adv.

down. With ellipsis of a vb., so that 'down' itself functions for the verbal phrase, but uninflected (!), and therefore (!) used only for imperative and infinitive after auxiliary verbs.

Cf., however, «their downing-with the House of Lords» (cited after Prof. Erdmann).

«hands up». 1911 Jan. 4. Daily News ¹/₇. — the desperadoes [in Sidney-Street] must «hands up» before approaching the officers of the besieging party.

«ca' canny». Standard 1909. March 1. He feels no inducement to slack or shirk or «ca' canny», for that — — —

'bout ship. They had to 'bout ship and fight it out. Reade, Love p. 56.

I do not intend to call into question NED's assertion as to the limited use of «to down» granting that NED is referring to educated language. The following quotations throw some light on the point discussed.

Dickens, Copperfield 330. Mr. Peggotty: I aways to him, and I says.

Reade, Love p. 38. Had those visitors seen the vexed expression of her face — — — they would have instantly 'bout ship and home again.

VI. Influence of semological oscillation in derivatives and compounds.

Though very interesting, seen theoretically, the above § 23. cases cannot claim the same importance for the formation of denominatives as the process now to be discussed. This process offers some similarity to that described in the

foregoing section inasmuch as a change in the apprehension of the parts of speech may be asserted to have taken place without the interference of nominal or verbal endings. These cases might be summarized under the heading «denominative verbs formed by backformation» if we could trace their origin to 'backformation' with absolute certainty.

- § 24. The suffixes *-ed*, *-ing* and *-er* can be affixed to nouns as well as verbs. The reason for this is that *-ed* represents both a denominative suffix (NED *-ed*²) and a deverbative suffix (NED *-ed*¹). *-er* was originally appended to nouns only, which, however, in some decisive instances came to be regarded as verbs because of the co-existence of denominative verbs representing the same stem. Derivation from verbs became general and now *-er* is by far more often and more intimately connected with verbs than with substantives.

This pre-English development of derivation with *-er* forms a precedent for the extension of the use of the *-ing*-suffix falling in the Modern English period, *-ing* being originally, but now not exclusively, a suffix added to *verbal* stems.

I take the liberty of re-printing NED's expositions.

- ed* «1. *-ed*¹, the formative of the pa. pple. of weak verbs, — — It is possible that some of the adjs. formed by the addition of *-ed* to *sbs.* may be examples of this suffix rather than of *-ed*². The apparent instances of this which can be traced back to OE, however, are found to belong to the latter.

«2. *-ed*² is appended to *sbs.* in order to form adjs. connoting the possession or the presence of the attribute or thing expressed by the *sb.* — — In modern English, and even in ME, the form affords no means of distinguishing between the genuine examples of this suffix and those ppl. adjs. in *-ed*¹ which are ultimately *f. sbs.* through unrecorded verbs. OE *hringede*, *hocede*, etc.

«The suffix is now added without restriction to any *sb.* from which it is desired to form an *adj.* with the sense 'possessing, provided with, characterized by' (something); e. g.

'toothed, booted, wooded' — —, and in parasynthetic derivatives, as 'dark-eyed'.»

Apart from its genesis (cf. Ekwall, *Sh.'s Vocab.* p. XV), § 25. the -ed-suffix of to-day would scarcely need to be split up into two suffixes if there were not a variation in its sense to justify this.

Disregarding the parasynthetic derivations, where the -ed² is incontestable, we find among the simplicia many cases of doubtful nature. The sense 'possessing, provided with' does not necessarily point to -ed², since there are countless verbs with the sense 'to provide with, to furnish with'. On the other hand, the sense of -ed² does not seem to have been kept long within its ancient sphere 'provided with'. We find words as 'dogged', 'crabbed', etc.

It is idle to try to define the exact sense of the suffix, seeing that it was analogically appended to adjs. like 'wicke', 'nake', or even substituted to -y (< OE -iǰ), further that it was very often used to Anglicize French pa. pples. in -e (> -é). Indeed, it is practically pleonastic in certain bahuvrihi compounds, e. g. 'a hare-brained fellow' = 'a hare-brain f.' (a parallel of the -ing-suffix in e. g., a sedition-monger(ing) business).

It may be asserted that the two suffixes -ed¹, originally § 26. appended to verbs, and -ed², originally appended to substantives, encroached on each other's domains, and that, from a descriptive point of view, we have to distinguish between only two senses, one purely adjectival (as in the parasynthetic adjs.), the other with a verbal character. An instance; 'padlocked' in 'a padlocked chest' (apparently formed by means of -ed²) may mean, (a) fitted with a p., having a p., or, (b) locked by means of a p.

Self-evidently a change from (a) to (b), from the concluded to the progressive action, has operated in many words and it is to these words we owe a considerable number of denominative verbs. Hence, when the -ed-form of the pa. pple. is instanced in a verb earlier than the active forms, the history of the verb is comparatively free from ambiguity.

The formation of verbs from pa. pples is well known

from the ME period, 'to desolate', 'to mix' < mixt, etc. Cf. Skeat, Princ. II, § 186.

I cite a few verbs from the NED

«a1400 crab < ~bed; c1440 gall app. orig. < ~ed, ppl. adj.; loop, app. of recent origin; cf. ~ed which is recorded from the 16th c.; perplex, formed under the influence of ~adj. and ~ed ppl. adj., and at first used only in pa. pple.»

OE 'æpplede gold' is wrongly classed as a verb, a misplacing illustrative of modern wordforming tendencies; in most cases the NED gives another interpretation, 'as if from a verb'. Thus, 1628 mountained, 1627—1847 elingued. 1697 catamited, 1865 ramshackled, 1821 baggaged; pied; lapelled.

lided occurs as early as c900; to lid is rare. The pa. pple. *ȝeclútod* occurred in OE., to clout c1350—. The existence of 'napkined' extends over a period including that of 'to napkin'.

1837 garreted = lodged in a garret, cannot be formed with -ed². This and the like significations imply a verb.

§ 27.
-ing

NED «-ing¹, originally forming abstract nouns of action, but subsequently developed in various directions. — — — — By later extension, formations of the same kind have been analogically made direct from sbs., e. g. ballooning, black-berrying, canalling, chambering, cocking, fowling, gardening, hopping, hurting, nooning, nutting, sniping, buccaneering, costering, soldiering, and the like, (which are the names of things used, or persons engaged, in the action).

«Nonce-words in -ing are formed freely on words or phrases of many kinds, e. g. oh-ing, hear-hearing, hoo-hooing, pshawing, yo-hoing, how-d'ye-doing; I do not believe in all this pinting (taking pints of beer).»

NED «-ing². — — — The identity of form of pr. pple. and gerund probably assisted the process whereby, at a later date, such a construction as 'the king went a-huntinge', formerly 'on or an huntinge', was shortened to 'the king went hunting', the last word being then taken as the pple.; and

thus to the shortening of 'the ark was a-building', orig. 'on building', to 'the ark was building' — — —

«As with the verbal sb. (-ing¹), words of participial form and use may be formed on other parts of speech, or on phrases, e. g. buccaneering adventures, sailors yo-hoing lustily, how-d'ye-doing acquaintances.

«In some cases in which the second element denotes an instrument, agency, or agent, it is difficult to say whether the word in -ing is the verbal sb. used attributively, or the present pple. used adjectivally, e. g. a cutting tool, a bursting charge, an advertising agency. In accordance with general analogy, such combinations are, as a rule, treated in this dictionary (NED) as attrib. uses of the vbl. sb.»

These extracts give point to our remarks on defectiveness in denominative verbs. When, however, a verbal sb. in a certain context is apprehended as a purely verbal form (pr. pple.), the next step will be the 'back-formation' of an infinitive. But, for reasons given below, we shall have to be very careful in assuming a series, like «to go a-colonelling > to be colonelling > to colonel».

On the other hand, it is to be expressly pointed out that the NED does not consider the -ing-word in the cases given above as a formation from a verb (infinitive), but from the substantive. But for these authorities, I should be inclined to accept another derivation in some of the words, «gardening < to garden», «fowling < to fowl».

-er is the least important of the three suffixes mentioned. -er
The evolution with this suffix runs on parallel lines with that of -ed and -ing. The derived substantive partaking of some more or less distinct verbal notion (whaler = a man (ship) whose business is with whales > one that catches whales), the stem accordingly comes to be felt as a verbal one.

Having made no special investigations into this special kind of «derivation», I am unable to give any recognized instances. Cf. 'petitioner' «in earlier use than 'to petition', but, after the introduction of the latter, naturally viewed as its agent-noun in -er.

An exhaustive treatment of the present question will have to examine minutely the chronology of the suffixes and of the verbs, as well as the semological nature of the sbs. to which the suffixes are appended.

The NED is inconsistent in dealing with the question, as is apparent from a few quotations.

'philander', implied in philandering 1737.

crabbing sb. f. crab sb. implying a verb 'to crab'.

crabber f. crab sb.

catting, as if f. 'to cat'.

governessing 1826 — «Only in gerund».

The «only in gerund» is contradicted by NED itself, giving a past tense in quot. 1852.

- § 28. The above recorded 'special case' of back-formation is, of course, subject to modifications; hence facts will perhaps be best summed up thus: a denominative can either be a direct conversion of a noun, or a back-formation from a derivative, or (being essentially one of these alternatives) suffer some more or less great analogical influence from the other.

As indirect proof of my theory, I can give a few words where a direct conversion is out of the question owing to the non-existence of a noun without the -er or -ing. (A fuller collection will be given § 46.)

The Banting cure > to bant;

Maudlin' > to maudle;

and the well-known grovel, sidle < groveling, sidling, etc.

Cf. further, Jespersen, *Growth* § 173. p. 174. loafer > to loaf; butcher > to butch, etc. Eavesdropper + to drop > to evaesdrop, farrier > † to farry. The now common 'to motor' had an earlier equivalent 'to mote' perhaps influenced by (pro)mote?

- § 29. Though fully admitting the formation of verbs in the above-described manner, we must protest against certain lexicographers and grammarians arbitrarily creating infinitives to the 'defective' verbs. By this act, they often an-

ticipate (and indirectly promote) the evolution, but, nevertheless, do what is actually unjustifiable.

A sidelight on the present question is afforded by the following extract from George P. Marsh (p. 206).

«'To dishearten' maintains its ground, but the place of its converse 'to hearten' is generally supplied by the much inferior French verb 'to encourage', though some eminent writers have lately revived our excellent old word, and at least the participial adjective 'heartened' may be considered as re-established.» — — —

Noun and verb are sometimes not distinguishable, when § 30 first members of compound words. This is the reason why we have had verbs originating from nouns in instances like these:

1615— to rancel < rancelman.

1789— to gig < gig-mill.

1837— to fogle < fogleman.

39— to lap < lapcock.

to gib < gibcat (= gibbed cat).

to middle < middleman.

By placing these words in this context, I have suggested the explanation that a 'middleman' is equivalent to a 'middling man', a man who 'middles'. This would be of course a case of 'backformation', though not, perhaps, in the sense of that word as used in the NED.

An interpretation on these last lines would be that 'to middle' stands as an elliptical form for 'to middleman'.

VII. Influence of primary verbs on denominative formation.

Above, Ch. IV, I advanced the opinion that new deno- § 31. minative verbs owe their existence to previously existing denominative models. In the present chapter, I intend to demonstrate a few cases where even a primary verb may have contributed to denominative formation.

As already mentioned, some 'root'-verbs cannot be distinguished from denominatives, and it may be asserted of almost all 'root'-verbs with a homophonous sb. by their side that they admit of being interpreted as denominatives, and consequently classed as models for analogical formation. — To discuss ordinary primary verbs.

The nature of a word and the relation between words may change. What we want to call attention to here is that as «true-born» denominatives may lose the denominative character, other verbs may acquire it.

Suppose that a vital homophonous verb has been formed by conversion from a noun which has then gone out of common use. No one using the verb can call it a denominative so long as there is no connexion between the verb and the noun. If the two words should be found together, one might very well consider the noun secondary to its verb.

Hence it is evident that, but for linguistic or inner criteria, we are apt to base the distinction between denominative and deverbative wordpairs either on the relative frequency of noun and verb in our own sphere of experience, or on the fact that the one, noun or verb, was introduced into our own vocabulary considerably earlier than the other. Thus from the purely descriptive point of view we can form no opinion as to which is the oldest member of a word-pair, as, e. g., answer, vb.: answer, sb. («colourless» word-pairs).

Just as a denominative loses its denominative «colour», so an originally «colourless» verb, or a «base-verb» (from which a sb. has been formed), may approach the rank of a denominative and be felt as such.

§ 32. The «third ('colourless', indifferent) category of word-pairs» is perhaps to be put down as containing a multitude of influential models. This category increased as etymologies were lost sight of, but was also reinforced by new words appearing simultaneously in the shape of nouns as well as verbs, such as

1361 jape, 77 rap, 13— follow,² a 1400 jag, c 1400 prank, 1532 cog³ (Dicing), 43 fillip, 48 blur, a 50 gull³ = to be-

fool, 53 pad, 56 clutter, 65 qualm, 88 crease, dredge, 1611 coil a cable, 51 bilk, 74 bluff, 1777 gag = to take in, 1847 fad, 79 boom; cant, fop, tattoo, etc.

Our main interest is in the wordpairs where the nouns were originally *Deverbative substantives*.¹

The particular type with which we have to deal in this respect² is the Modern English, direct converted noun (< verb) and its prototypes. Among the OE desinenes disappearing by 1500, which were used in forming deverbatives, hardly any but the OE «-a(n)» need mentioning.

Theoretically all, and practically, by far the greater part § 33. of the deverbative sbs. must be described as abstract *nomina actionis*.

These develop concrete senses, of which the chief groups are:

Nomina agentis and *actoris*, denoting the (personal) 'subjects' of an action, the former those of a temporary action, the latter those of a permanent, often professional, action. Nouns of persons, animals, and things are found in this group. Agent-nouns denoting things have much in common with *nomina instrumenti*.

Nomina acti, 'resultative nouns', denote the result or product of an action. The resultative active noun is of an abstract character when it comes to designate a physical or mental state.

Nomina loci and *temporis*.

The abstract nature being at the bottom of the sense development of all deverbative sbs., it does not astonish us to find one and the same sb. successively representing various shades of signification³ (see foot-note p. 34). —

We will now examine closer a few verbs where the deverbative sbs. have played an important part. In a limited number of wordpairs, the original sb., from which the verb

¹ Paul, Princ. p. 81; Noreen, Vårt språk V. 3; C. Palmgren. Grad-nouns [p. 36]; Jespersen, Growth § 166; Wilmanns, Gr. II; Nyrop, Gr. III § 540 ss.; Lené, Subst. post-verbaux.

² Sweet, Hist. Engl. Gr. § 105.

is formed, becomes obsolete, but is formed anew from the verb, whereby the original conditions are re-established. In this series, the verb should properly be considered as a primary one,

to chaffer. «Apparently the original sb. became obs. in the 17th c., but has been formed anew from the vb.»

to grip c 950 < WGerm. grippjan < gripi-z. «In some senses the sb. may be a new formation from the vb.» — In French, we have the identical development with e. g. *neige* sb. < *neiger* < *nivicare* < *niv(is)*.

A special kind of association between noun and verb exists in the deverbative wordpairs where a concrete sense, arising in the noun, is transferred to the verb. By this process the wordpair assumes a denominative appearance and, frequently, cannot even be strictly kept apart from this category; for, in some cases, we might even contend that a new verb has been coined from the deverbative sb. Then the original 'base-verb' and the new verb would be looked upon as verbs simply coinciding in form.

E. g. to hide and seek > to h. and s. (= to play the game); to polish > to p. with (some kind of) polish, to french-polish; to account, to default, to fur.

The latter argument seems to be best justified by those wordpairs whose sb. comes to lose all of its significations except the one supported by the deverb. sb. E. g. to thatch, to swab, to (en)cloister. Of course, it is not necessary that the sb. should be a deverbative one; it may simply be, as I have styled it above, homophonous, provided it is semologically akin to the vb.

The process to be observed in the mixed instances be-

¹ For examples we have but to turn to the works cited in the footnote of § 32. I submit here some instances of the concrete sense of the sb. *fall*. 1. that which falls; a collar falling flat round the neck; rainfall; waterfall; 2. an apparatus for lowering bales; cf. OE *fealle* = a trap (for mice); pitfall. 3. 'the timber cut or felled ("falled") at one season; cf. a fall of lambs = the quantity born or produced 4. the distance through which anything falls; over which a measuring-rod 'falls' + > a measure. 5. fall (and spring); nightfall.

low, is the 'narrowing down' of the sphere of signification of the primary vb. This presents, finally, a denominative character.

plane, a. F., now employed only in uses which are associated with the action of a carpenter's *plane*, and so spelt.

coin, OF coin, stamp, die. In English, with the changed sense of the sb., the notion, when analysed, became 'to make coin, into coin'.

trump, to play a trump-card, tr. intr.

to root. The verb is commonly associated with the noun *root*, radix, as if *root up* or *uproot* meant 'pull up the roots of 'pull up by the roots'; but it is rather 'raise or plow up with the snout, and is orig. applied to swine (CD).

The change *to buttonhold* > *to buttonhole* is a unique case.

It is possible that many compounds may have been converted with greater ease, thanks to a deverbative sb. as second member. E. g. to ear-mark, to hallmark, to watermark, to side-slip, to side-step, to two-step, etc.

To throw some light on the present problem it is useful to make a comparison between English forms, as «twilit» < twilight, «hamstrung» < hamstring(ed), etc. and German «beauftragte», «beschlagnahmen», etc.

The English forms emphasize the importance of the simple verb, whereas German presents «incontestable denominatives».

Comparing the synonymous 'to perfect' and 'to perfection' with regard to their relative «concreteness» — for logically the difference can be of no other nature —, we can state that, if the one is more liable to evoke 'concrete' ideas than the other, this must be 'to perfection', as it is formed from a substantive. On closer examination we find that the 'difference' is only an imaginary one, the history of the word being as follows (I quote *The King's English*, 1906, p. 44): «From the adj. 'perfect' we form the verb 'to perfect', and

from that again the noun 'perfection'; to take a further step forward to a verb 'to perfection' is a superfluity of naughtiness.»¹

'Linguistic laziness' has not had time to replace the established verb corresponding to the sb. but has substituted a new one.

The new denominative verb is a denominative in form only, as it owes its sense to the old verb. In other words, the change is morphological, not semological.

The development of 'to perfection' < 'to perfect' + 'perfection' is a phenomenon which can be observed in all languages.

The sense of the Latin 'quærere' is equivalent to that of the French 'questionner'. Supposing *questionnare < *questio-n, sb. we might expect a departure in a concrete direction (e. g. a 'special' or 'technical' signification). Of this, however, we now have no trace. Again, much speaks in favour of the original abstract quality of 'questio', nay, we may even doubt whether the new verb was based, semologically, on 'questio' *as a sb.* We are rather inclined to place these neologisms in the same position as the Low Latin so-called 'frequentative' verbs which supplanted their simplicia owing to their own phonological and morphological superiority (cantare: canere, quæstare; quærere etc.).

Bréal, in another context (Mém. soc. ling. Paris 1900), has given the name of «bouture verbale» to a form due to an analogical levelling within the paradigm of a verb. The name would be appropriate in our case.

§ 35. To return to English. Deverbative substantives, suffixless 'stem-sbs.', or such as are formed by adding some suffix, are found as bases of secondary verbs.

To gift: to give, to drift: to drive, to draught: to drive, cyrian: céosan, sy pian: súpan, grīst-bitian (-bātian): bítan, etc.

Above (§ 16) 'to conversation' (Scott). The Daily News (1911, Jan. 11, Walter H. Holton) contains another specimen of vulgar English: «Stumpy Cox, the bailiff, suspicioned us».

¹ What will be said of 'to perfectionize'?

OE «sméocan» is supplanted by «to smoke», OE «cweþan» offers the variants «(hearm)cwid(d)ian» < sb., «(hearm)cwedelian» < adj. For «to graft»: «to graff», see Earle and NED.

to notice c 1450—: to note a 1225—.

to capture c 1795—: to captive c 1430 > arch.

to prelection † 1716: to prelect 1785—.

to competition † 1649: to compete 1620—.

to possession † 1602: to possess.

to prediction † 1665: to predict.

Instances innumerable can be cited.

These verbs, however, are often difficult to analyse ex- § 36. actly. We have no means of ascertaining the semological rôle of the deverbative substantive. It is a matter of course that the secondary verb must at first have a limited sphere of application compared with the primary verb, but this may not be equivalent to a limited sphere of 'sense'. Now a limitation in application may lead to the specialization of sense and in this case the sb. would practically have no influence on the sense-development.

But, in most cases, we may contend that the use as a 'terminus technicus' points to the typical denominative verb (< sb.), the deverbative subst. denoting a thing, or the like. E. g. to indent: to indenture, to ligate (1599—): to ligature (1720—). If so, the primary verbs should consequently be left out of consideration.

In a preceding section (§ 31) we entered upon the dis- § 37. cussion of the possibility of changes in our subjective conception of the nature of wordpairs. Now, if the relations between native words have been obscured, it is evident that this has also been the case with wordpairs of foreign origin, and that to a still greater extent. — —

To add a few words about foreign wordpairs. Formal or chronological criteria must aid us to determine whether we have to do with the conversion of a borrowed (> English) sb. or with the borrowing of a wordpair (= a foreign noun and its foreign-made vb.).

In some cases the difference is immaterial as it can be

said that, unless the word had been imported as both noun and verb, it would have been converted spontaneously and independently on English ground.

Now it is taken for granted that all borrowed wordpairs are direct descendants of the foreign verb and noun, but it is by no means certain that this is always or completely the case. The phenomenon has its semological and morphological side.

Take, e. g. the Swedish 'strejka, lockouta' with a decided denominativ character, and compare them with English 'strike (struck), lock(ed) out'.

When a foreign word-pair is borrowed into a language the need for uniformity is a frequent cause that a formal difference being between the noun and the verb is levelled in some way or other, either in favour of the noun or the verb.¹ From a purely formal standpoint our verbs will appear denominative or deverbative, according as the noun or the verb has held its own. —

§ 38. The problem of the deverbative sbs. § 34—36 is also found in certain loanwords in which there are a variety of stems. A verb, as 'to act', 'to conduct', 'to credit', 'to enterprise' etc., can be regarded as the English equivalent for Latin 'agere', 'conducere', 'credere', French 'entreprendre'. Now the corresponding Romance deverbative substantives do not differ from the pa. pple. from which they are derived, consequently we may also, in some cases, regard the English verb as a denominative formed from the deverbative sb. Whether this conception is only subjective or really based on facts, the semology and chronology must decide. —

§ 39. To levy < levée, noun, and the like. — The adoption of Romance verbs has not been carried out uniformly. It is well known that most cases show a stem which is identical — or, rather, formally identical — with the stem of the foreign

¹ ME 'salu(s)' vb. superseded by 'to salute' (< sb. NED; possibly also 'salutare'); and many others, e. g. 'to exercise' which has taken the place of the obsolete *Exerce*, and is thus the representative in sense of L. *exercere*, Fr. *exercer*, from which many of its uses are directly taken.

infinitive. These borrowings were made at a rather early period, when the intimacy between French and English was greater than it is now. Foreign endings were mostly eschewed.

The general arrangement of verbs in the dictionary (with the inf. as the first form) will make us look at the verb under the aspect of the infinitive. We therefore incorrectly summarize the fact of the rejection of the foreign endings by saying, e. g. that the French *-er* has disappeared.

Now it will be interesting to note how this general, but not universal, rule has brought about the fact that we reckon as denominatives more than we are entitled to do.

NED, 1609, portered may not be f. porter sb., but the French infinitive; *-er* is found sporadically c 1420 † inoculer (also inoculate); Caxton 'recount' and 'r ~ ter'; 1436—1717 draper = drape, 1628—96 compester, 1761—85 piaffer, etc. Even Latin *-are* has been kept catachrestically in † populared. This inadvertency of the author in question has been interpreted as a de-adjective vb. by the NED (see under popular, adj.).

ME overmaistri has been placed under the head-word 'overmastery' < sb. in NED. The final *-i*, however, is < Fr. *-ier*. This unusual form of 'to overmaster' puts us on our guard against other *-y*-verbs, as the *-y* may represent quite simply the Fr. inf. *-(i)er* (ME † scoley = attend school < OF *escoler*, Chaucer rimey = to rime, etc.)

I quote the following interesting statements from the NED and the CD.

CD to serry. First and chiefly, serried < Fr. serré, pa. pple. To serr † is the regular form.

NED to coast. ME had *costey(ay)en*, rarely *costi-en*. The final *-ey*, *-ay*, *-i* was reduced medially to *-e*, and at length elided, being no doubt influenced by the sb. 'coste'.

The development of twin-forms is evidenced by the following.

NED. «The two ME verbs *chast-en* and *chasti-en* appear both to originate from OF *chastic-r*. The OF verb was adopted in 12th c. Eng, as *chastien*: in early southern Eng., where the OE weak vbs. in *-izan* still retained *-ien* in the infinitive,

as OE *lufizan* (3rd s. *lufed*), ME *luvien* (3rd s. *luveth*), later *luvi*, *luvy*, *luv-en*, *luv-e*, the *-ien* of *chastien* was apparently treated in the same way, giving *chasty*, *-en*, *-e*. But in those dialects in which *lufizan* was already reduced to *luv-en*, *chasti-* was recognized as the stem of *chasti-en* and later gave *chasty-e*, *chasty*.»

In the presence of facts such as these, it may be questioned if «to levy» is not the French inf. «lever». «The English verb derives most of its senses from F. lever» (NED).

§ 40. It is a problem in itself to ascertain the divers English renderings of Romance verbs. A few remarks may be appended:

a) Imperatives are raised to the rank of infinitives in 1672— *parry* < *parez!*, Sc. *pandy* †, Disraeli 1826— *chassez-ing*. — Compare this with § 21.

b) 3rd pers. sing. pres. ind. to *savvy* tr. intr. < Sp. *sabe* (cf. *they exit*).

c) *-er* is kept as *-é*. to *coiffé* = to *coiffe*, to *massé* 1887— = to *mass* 1786—.

A great deal of vacillation as to endings is noticeable: «to *chassé* 1803— < parts of the Fr. verb, esp. the imperative (as a direction).»

«To express the ordinary sense of mod. Fr. *coiffer*, various modifications of that word are in use with *coiffeurs* and their clients.» — —

These verbs are liable to be classed as denominatives when there exists a deverbative noun formed from the verb. E. g. *chassez* (French sb., not mentioned by the NED); 1837 *Marryat*, He was like a man *razéed* or cut down (< *razeé* = a ship of war cut down). — —

The obstacle of the French infinitive (ending, stress) is aptly avoided in verbs, as 'fusiller', 'promener', 'enfiler', which are coupled with a sb. in *-ade*. Here English often shows formal denominatives 'to fusillade', etc. whose sense, however, hardly differs from that of the French base-verbs. (Cf. the use of the *suffix* *-ate* as a substitution for French and Latin infinitive-endings, p. 45).

VIII. Suffix-formed denominatives.

§ 41.

The existence of suffixes in new-formations is simply due to the fact that the new verb was created under the auspices and influence of one or more suffix-formed models.

The introduction of foreign suffixes into English and the less important development of native suffixes implies a corresponding loss to the 'direct conversion'. It will be of the greatest consequence for the solution of the problem of the growth of 'direct denominatives' to investigate into such cases as present vacillations between the two modes of forming verbs from sbs.

Cf. (NED) to hero, to heroine: to heroize (three verbs interesting from a semological point of view).

	Simplex	-ize ¹
letter	c 1460—	1824
martyr	OE	c 1450
local	1593—	1792
monarch	a 1653—	1592
melody	1596	1662
oblivion	1658—9	1593
minion	1604	1604—
marble	1683	1875— U. S.
orphan	1814—	1797
patriarch	1639	1818—
parody	a 1745—	1658—
pæan	1820	1628—
metaphysic	1782. 1801	1793—
memorial	1768—	1798—
onion	1755—	1830
partisan	1790—	1896—
lyric	1704—II	1832—
machin	1878—	1856
Merryandrew	1891	1861
postilion	1879	1809
lichen	1823	1849

¹ I have not found time to complete these lists which, though unsatisfactory, may be of some use.

	Simplex	ize rare
garden	1577	1830 rare
parrot	1596	1647 rare
pattern	1581	1615
mirror	1820	1598. 1873
medal	1822	1716
posture	a 1628	1706
paragraph	1764	1826
photograph	1839	1860
telegraph	?	N & Q

litograph	1825—	1821—
lion	1866	1809—

	ize	Simplex †
organize	1413	1652—81
methodize	1589	1640
Latinize	1589	1553—1678
lethargize	1614	1605. 1769
liturgize	1826	1716
melodramatize	1820	1836

	ize (strongest)	ate	Simplex
mission	1826	1816 U. S.	1692—
pauperize	1834	1829	1879
oxidize	1802	1790 Now rare	1798. 1806

	Simplex	ize †
libel	1570	c 1620—28
lecture	c 1590	1643
peacock	1586	1598
paragon	a 1586	1586—56
parcel	1584	1605
lobster	1881	1605
model	1604	1605—1870
pander	1602	1603—16

person	† Simplex	ize	ate	(i)fy
geneva	1755 †	1682	1593	—
opi(um)	1825	1889	1611	—
episcop	(<i>bishop</i>)	1649—	1641—1705	—
pollen	1877	18..	1875	—
origin	a 1661 †	1657—97 rare	1653	—
nitre	1880	—	1872	1828—
glory	13..	—	—	a 1340
monkey	1790	—	—	1761—
class	1705—94	—	—	1799—

	Simplex	ify †
mercy	1303—	1596—1733
palsy	1550—	1775— rare
phrase	a 1550	1633. 74
lord	a 1300—	1663
lant	1630—	a 1562

The suffixes have been commented on by Dr. Skeat, § 42. and more recently by Dr. Carl Palmgren in his paper on the -n-suffix. «Originally Teutonic languages formed weak verbs by adding endings only (sometimes resulting in the umlaut of the stem-vowel). Through the disappearance of the endings at the end of the ME period, noun and verb coincided in form. To get away from this ambiguity recourse was had to the -n-suffix, which, as it were, emphasized the 'verbal' sense.»

What has been said in support of this suffix may hold good in the other cases. In fact, the alleged sovereignty of the 'direct conversion' has experienced a check, best noticeable, perhaps, in the 19th century neologisms in -ize.

'Direct conversion' still remains the commonest mode of § 43. forming verbs, the foreign suffixes being more or less reserved for 'literate' coinages, not likely to be made by the 'man in the street'. Many direct denominatives owe their existence to the awkward attempt of the uneducated at reproducing the suffix-formed verb.

§ 44. I give a few examples of each suffix.

-en.

to height †, to length † = to heighten, to lengthen.

to heart (rare) = to hearten, enhearten (The prefix en- is usual with these vbs.).

The majority of -en-verbs and all the original -en-verbs are formed from adjectives. Even the desubstantives are based on an adjectival conception of the stem. Cf. § 61.

Cf. 'n'-insertion in (Bp. Hall): Musketeers drinking and tobacconing as freely as if [the cathedral] had turned ale-house. — (Cf. Tobacco-n-ist.)

-l(e), -er -l(e), -er.

to curd † = to ~le.

to piece : to ~n (local, techn.).

to crumb : to ~le.

to nest : to ~le c 1000—.

to knee † : to ~l.

to halve : to halfen 1677.

to hand : to ~le c 1000.

to (be)night : to nighten.

to spark : to ~le.

to boot : to booten.

to cock > to ~le, -er.

to pet > to ~tle 1719.

to flap > to ~per 1835 (cf. NED).

-se -s(e).

to clean : to cleanse; to gut = dial. to guts, to guttle.

-t.

ME. to thout † = to thou; to yeet † = to you (ye).

-y -y.¹

See Ekwall, E. St. 40, 162. This suffix is difficult to recognize, partly on account of its graphic form, partly owing to the fact that certain verbs in -y admit of other interpretations as well. In English, the -y-verbs have but little semological importance (cf. German *kreuzen* : ~igen).

Phon. «blēdīd» = (blooded, or) bloodied < blood + y, or bloody adj. «dɔrtīd» = dirted, dirtied < dirt + y, or dirty adj.

OE. adlian < adl or adlig?

¹ The -i₃-y-verb, after the i-umlaut, may have contributed, in some few instances, to the restoration of the non-umlauted forms. Thus, 'to foam' may be due to the sources OE *fīman* vb., *fām* sb., *fāmzian* vb.

OE, -læcan (NED K. 748/3 Note).

-læcan

cúðlæcan = to be friendly with, treat like a friend, efenlæcan = to make equal, sumor ~, winter ~, áfenlæcan = draw near; ʒenealæcan > (i)nehleche.

-ate. (Dr. Murray's excellent exposition.)

-ate

«1. In OE, vbs. were regularly formed from adjs., as hwítian, wearmian, byszian, dryʒan, etc.

«With the loss of the inflexions, these vbs had become, by the 15th c., identical in form with the adjs., e. g. to white, warm, busy, dry, empty, dirty, etc.

«2. In Latin vbs. were also freely formed from adjs., as siccāre, clarāre, liberāre, sacrāre. This mode of formation prevailed still more extensively in French, e. g. sécher, clairer, contenter, confuser, etc.

«Thence also English received many vbs., which by the 15th c. were identical in form with their adjs., e. g. to clear, humble, manifest, confuse, etc.

«3. On these analogies English adjs. formed from Latin pa. pples. began generally, in the 16th c., to yield vbs. of identical form, e. g. to direct, to separate, to aggravate, etc.

«4. These vbs., though formed immediately from participial adjs. already found in English, answered in form to the pa. pples. of Latin vbs. of the same meaning. It was thus natural to associate them directly with these Latin vbs., and to view them as their English representatives.»

-ate was used instead of

5. the Latin infinitive -āre

6. the French infinitive -er

«7. -ate was added to English adjs. and sbs. without any previous existence of analogies, e. g. to capacitate, differentiate, substantiate, vaccinate, adipocerate, assassinate, camphorate, methylate.» — —

-ate has hardly been detached from Latin and French stems. Only one sense-group is distinctly developed in English formations from nouns, viz. 'to treat with', 'to impregnate with' (= ize 6). E. g. phosphorate, methylate, camphorate, pepsinate.

-ify seems to go better with adjs. than with sbs. We remark

1. Many English formations from ethnic adjs. (= ize 4). Frenchify, Anglify etc. (tr.). Further, grossify, frostify, etc. (intr.).

2. Verbs from sbs. are far from rare, though chiefly ephemeral. They offer a variety of senses, often approaching the de-adjectival formations, viz. to beautify, make beautiful, to fancify, make fanciful. — As to the interpretation of certain verbs, one may hesitate between two explanations, e. g. to goutify < gout + ify or gouty-fy.

2 b. An extensive group mean 'make a ~ of', 'make ~ like', Sh. fishify; oxify, lilyfy (nonce-words); negrofy, nunify (rare).

2 c. The notion 'to become a ~, ~ like' can have developed from the group 2 b, e. g. gipsify.

2 d. 'to classify', gendering 'to codify'; to fistify (nonce, Thackeray) = to fight; to clothify (Fielding) = to clothe; kneefify; etc.

George P. Marsh; 1863, 2nd ed. p. 213.

«— such anomalous derivatives as Sylvester's *boundify* and the American *happify* have met with little success, (Robertson, Address to Working Man's Institute, uses *happified*), so that these endings are rather to be considered as elements of the imported word than as possessing a properly English formative significance.»

Samuel T. Coleridge excused himself in a foot-note when using the verb *to intensify*. I reprint the passage (Biographia Lit. I. vii. 126, 1817):

«The will itself by confining and intensifying the attention may arbitrarily give vividness or distinctness to any object whatsoever.»

The note runs, «to paraphrase the sense as by *render intense*, would often break up the sentence and destroy that harmony of the position of words with the logical position of the thoughts, which is a beauty in all composition...; though I confess it sounds uncouth to my own ear.»

-ize The -ize suffix. From the point of view of form, attention must be called to cases like 'hypothes-is' > to h~

ize 1738— (-is dropped), likewise 'parenthes-is > -ize', 1837— etc. This regular non-English formation should be compared with analysis, dialysis > to analyse 1601—, to dialyse 1861—, further 'borax > to borize' 1884.

For the history of the suffix the following quotations are interesting.

Arch. 113, 52. Thomas Nash says, in defence of his 'italionate' vbs. in -ize (anthropophagize, carionize, Diagonize, memorize, mummianize, nectarize, oblivionize, retranquillize, seminarize, signiorize, souldiourize, tyrannize, tragedize, tympanize):

«Besides, they carrie farre more state with them then any other, and are not halfe so harsh in their desinence as the old hobling English verbes ending in R: they expresse more then any other verbes whatsoever, and their substantives would be quite barraine of verbs but for that ending.»

E. Koepfel, AF 20, 127 In Ben Jonson (pilgrimize, oblivionize) — — — «einen Nachklang des auch bei Shaksperre bemerkbaren Spottes über die von Thomas Nash geliebten und verteidigten 'italionate verbs' auf -ize.»

Earle, Philology, 2nd ed. 1873, § 310. «These verbs (in -ize) have been multiplied indefinitely in our day, partly in consequence of their utility for scientific expression, partly from the fact that about twenty years ago it became a pastime of University-men to make verbs in -ize about all manner of things. It was then taken up in country homes.

«A walk for the sake of bodily exercise having been a 'constitutional', the verb 'constitutionalize' was soon formed therefrom. — Young ladies who helped the parson in any way were said to 'parochialize'. — A. H. Clough, when engaged on his edition of Plutarch's Lives in English, used to report progress to his correspondents by saying that he devoted so much of his time to 'Plutarchizing'.»

For the sake of comparison, I quote from Arthur B. Walkley (1898 April, Cosmopolis 78): «Shaksperre, of course, could give us these «mille et mille mystères» when he chose. When he Montaignises, as in «Hamlet» and «The Tempest»; but not in «Julius Cæsar», when he is Plutarchising».

Reprinting NED's article I add a few notes:

In current English the following groups may be noted.

1. «Words Greek. a) with the trans. sense of 'make or conform to, or treat in the way of, the thing expressed by the derivation', (baptize, etc.), b) with the intr. sense 'to act some person or character, do or follow some practice', (agonize, botanize, etc.)». It is exceptional to find Greek words direct converted.

2. «Latin adjs. and sbs. (esp. adjs. in -al, -ar, -an, etc.) mostly with the trans. sense 'to make (that which is expressed by the derivation)', as actualize, patronize, etc. less frequently only intr., as temporize, etc.

3. «Later sources, as bastardize, foreignize, jeopardize, villainize, womanize, tr.; — gormandize, and such nonce — words as cricketize, pedestrianize, tandemize, intr.»

4. «Ethnic adjs. Americanize, Anglicize, etc.»

Direct conversion and -ify-suffixation alternate: to English (reason obvious): Angl-icize, ~ify; ~icify (nonce); Latin † > ~ize; French (rare), ~ize; Dutch, ~ify.

5. «Names of persons, sometimes with the intr. Greek sense of 'to act like, or in accordance with', as in Calvinize, Coryatize, but usually in the trans. sense of 'to treat like, or after the method of, or according to the (chemical or other) process of'; as in Boucherize, galvanize, macadamize, with many technical and commercial terms, and nonce-words, such as Gladstonize, Irvingize, Joe Millerize, Merry-Andrewize, without limit.»

With names of persons, the -ize formation is by far more common than direct conversion. — The group Dantize, Petrarchize, etc. to imitate the style of Dante, etc. (formed after Italian Danteggiare, etc.) deserves special mention.

6. «Names of substances, chemical or other; in the trans. sense of 'to charge, impregnate, treat, affect, or influence with'; as alcoholize, alkalize, carbonize, silverize, etc.;

6 b. so in nonce-words, as Londonize, to make like London, etc.»

Cf. above -ate; oxygenate, ~ize; oxidate, ~ize, etc.

For French verbs in -iser, see Nyrop III (struggleforlifer, etc.).

IX. Prefix-formed denominatives.

The sense and function of each particular prefix being a § 45-
 matter best treated in the Part Special, I confine myself here
 to a few remarks on prefixes in general.

In modern usage we have to distinguish those representing stereotyped morphems, now only found as prefixes and not as separate words as in the older periods of language, from those which still keep up some sort of combination or association with their sources, words still existing in present English as adverbs or prepositions. Among the former are *be-*, *dis-*, *de-*, and *un-*, to the latter group belong *over-*, *out-*, and *under-* (in some of their applications, at least). The en-prefix, as shown by its variant *in-*, may prove itself capable of association with the particle 'in'.

The stronger the adverbial or prepositional sense is developed in the prefix, the more the simplex asserts itself. E. g., *in* overtower; *under*pin; *out*finger (nonce) = open out the fingers; etc. Likewise *in* to overman, *under*man a ship, and the like.

In these and other similar verbs we are entitled to draw the conclusion that the simplicia are earlier than the compounds. With respect to the majority of the other verbs of the present category we may even go the length of stating that the simplicia are implied in the compounds, or rather, that the simplex might well have done the duty of the compound, for a comparison between the two kinds reveals the fact that the sense-relation between noun and verb is not necessarily dependent on the absence or presence of the prefix, the prefix being intrinsically emphatic.

Exception must be made, however, for certain 'privative' verbs and those formed by means of *out*.^{22. 23} (see NED).

In real parasynthetic verbs, i. e. verbs formed on the word-group 'preposition + substantive', the prefix (the former preposition) is arbitrarily kept.

The prefix, however dispensable it might have been to the first user or users of the verb, got a firm foothold and

was firmly cemented to the verb; it even happened that either simplex or compound developed a new sense of its own, as tide, betide; head, behead, etc.

Later on the prefix became imperative for the conversion of certain words (this being the construction we give to NED's expression, «*capabilities* of be-», which otherwise would be unintelligible).

An interesting feature of the prefixial verbs is that they form the starting-point for simplicia. I will give a few instances of this.

The parasynthetic verb may be subjected to an apheresis, e. g. 1614 † courage < encourage; Cf. Krüger III, 360. Wer denkt heute noch daran, dass «etwas preisgeben» im Mhd. hiess «ze prise geben», «willfahren», «ze wille farn»?

to chase

App. short for Enchase; French has *enchâsser*, but no *châsser*. — On the other hand,

«*pester* is found much earlier than *em~* or *im~*;

the prefix *em-* was generally dropped through an intermediate *a-*, as in

em- im- a- pair Pair² *em- im- a- peach* Peach

but no parallel series appears for *pester*»

to list⁴: may be compared with the above. «In the senses of *enlist* the word is now taken chiefly as an aphetic form of that word, and written '*list*.'»

When adducing the prefixial forms, we are often able to give an earlier quotation than that of NED. E. g.

BT *ge-fædrían*, Ða þrý gebrôþra nâron nâ Philippuse gemêdred, ac wâron gefædred. Ors. 3,7. *ge-mêdrían*. Geseah hys gemêdrydan brôðor Benjamin. Gen. 43,29.

The modern English 'to father' and 'to mother' may not be direct descendants of these verbs, but the history of the modern verbs would be incomplete without referring to them.

It is obvious that most of these phenomena (formations of simplicia from compounds) are not capable of being proved. I venture to contend, however, that especially the free formations with out-^{22.23} have largely contributed towards rendering the direct conversion without prefixes the easy thing it is.

It is no great step to pass from 'to out-Herod Herod' to 'to out-Herod', from this again to 'to herod', 'to birrell', etc.

That lexicographers, at least, have proceeded in this manner is clear from the spurious word 'to paramour', of which the NED says «Paramour, v. 'to love' is given in some Dicts. on the strength of the subjoined passage c 1450 Merlin — —; but etc.» I think the verb is due to the Shakspearean: out-paramour (see *out-* 21) Lear III. iv. 94 Wine lou'd I deerely, dice deerly; and in Woman out-Paramour'd the Turke. — —

A verb of the above-recorded prefix type affords no sure means of distinguishing whether it is originally parasynthetic, i. e. formed from the particle and the noun, or only a secondary combination of the prefix and a simple verb.

A contributor to Herrig's Archiv 6, 374 maintains that the phrase, *the field is bedewed* involves the sb. *dew*, *to bedew with tears*, the vb. *to dew*. — Herein, he is guilty of a misconception. In point of fact, the first use of a denominative is literal (with a limited number of exceptions), but the author of the article has overlooked the possibility of the latter expression's originating from the vb. *to bedew*, i. e. the same old denominative with weakened force, the idea of 'actual dew' having been dropped.

X. 'Back-formed' denominatiyes.

In the preceding part we have had several occasions to § 46. observe how a new-formed verb owes its form to the «model-verb or -verbs».

This is the outcome of the self-evident tendency towards harmony between the different elements of language, under which general rule comes the dislike to converting long and «heavy» substantives. — Here is the place for calling attention to a certain phase in the conversion of nouns to verbs where the tendency to harmony has effected a shortening of

the noun converted, a kind of so-called backformation.¹ To coin an example from this very word, we might use the phrase, «such and such a word is back-formed from etc.»

As an introduction I give a short list of backformations from compounds chronologically arranged. In these instances, the simple verb, corresponding to the last member of the compound sb., asserted itself so as to hinder a *direct* conversion. Cf. § 33, p. 35.

- a 1548 † manuell < ~ e, possibly also < er.
- 98 fortune-tell, nonce.
- 1606 eavesdrop < ~ per.
- 12—42 † fellow-feel < ~ ing.
- 31 jail-deliver < ~ y.
- 1755 finedraw.
- a 58 elf-shoot < ~ shot. Cf. to snapshot.
- 92 nursetend.
- 92 † locomove < ~ motion. Cf. to motion.
- 1800 eye-serve < ~ ice.
- 14 fire-hunt.
- 84 free-select < ~ or, or ~ ion.
- 91 potboil < ~ ing.
- 94 parlour-jump < ~ ing.

We will now examine a few transparent instances of a slightly different type.

Trollope, Barch. Tow. p. 349. «Plasterer, please your worship.» — «I'll plaister you, and Barrell too — —».

This is the quite natural turn this usage will take with a sb. of the above kind. (Cf. below § 62.) In this phrase, however, we are wont to see, or rather hear, the whole word repeated; the complete analogy with other cases would be, «I'll plaisterer you.» —

Compare also E. V. Lucas's humorous verb «to growl» = to ride in a 'growler' (Jespersen, Engl. & Am. Reader, p. 18) with Carlyle's 'to steamer' = to go by steamer (cf. to steam).

¹ Jespersen is, as far as I know, the first to have treated these phenomena at any length (Festschrift — Thomsen; Growth and Structure).

These quotations, especially the last pair, illustrate that a direct conversion may be aimed at, but that the result, after all, falls under the head of 'backformation', which in this case is 'purely morphological'. — The ordinary backformation implies a semological moment, as e. g. to butcher < to butcher, if 'butcher' is conceived as 'the man who butches'.

In one or another way, the following words have been 'backformed'. Some of the instances below, belonging properly to Ch. IV, will serve as matter for comparison.

I. -er.

c 1320—c 1430 † fait < ~our; c 1394—1655 † loll < ~ard(!) (cf. 1865— lollardize); 1485 † paint (Naut.) < ~er; 1496— cobble < ~er 1362; 1542— hawk < ~er (cf. to hawker 1678. 82); 1579 † furry < ~ier; 1579. 95. mise < ~r; 1589. 1876 chandling < chandler; 1589 partake < ~r, ~ing; 1606 † mong < ~er (seemingly = OE mangian); a 1618 † Lydge < ~r (= ledger); 1627 kedge (Naut.); 1635—44 † haberdash; 1641—1888 fog³ (cf. to pettifog, 1645. 8 (Milton) copartnering; 1678. 1807. 25 † farry (cf. to farrier 1814); 1719— legislate < ~or, ~ion (cf. 1658—9 legify); 1732 present < ~or (or ad. Latin); 1739 † owl²; 1747 (nonce) predecease; 1759— command-in-chief; 1793— edit; 1804— misnome (cf. to misnomer 1740—); c 1838 duff; 1847 precourse < precursor; 1866— jaw-hawk U. S.; 1889 plumb; 1867, 75 buttle (dial) < butler; 1868. 97 harbinge; cf. 1887 moonlight; 1800—8 mote < ~or; C. D. to stoke etc.

II. -ing.

c 1000— 1594 † lease, perhaps partly < leasing sb.; dawn < ing (supersedes to daw); 1530 kittle perh. < ~ing; 1593— grovel; 1611— carl; 1625 duple(?); 1706. 1826 maudle rare (cf. maudlinize a 1652); 1729— rattle < rattlin(e); 1808 raggles < -ing 1683; 1819— darkle; 1865 bant; 1866 inkle; 1867 ratten?; 1881. 4 awned «badly f. awning + ed» (NED), (cf. awninged off 1881); 1900— maffick (cf. K. F. Sundén, *Elliptical Words*, p. 55); CD tamp < ~in' < ~ion.

III. -ed.

a 1585 rammis Sc. < ~t; 1599— dapple; 15.. blindfold;

1602 † recompack < ~ pact; 1610— party-colour: 74 † ravel; 1707 mowburn < ~ t; 91— jaundice; 1807 isolate; 1840 copperbottom (a ship); — to confuse < confused < Fr. *confus*; to fangle < fangled < newfangled.

«To buttonhole» originates from «to buttonhold» + sb. buttonhole. (Originally, to *hold* by the button, now to hold by the *buttonhole*, or by the button).

IV. -y.

1563 † gidded; 1632 dizz (cf. 1835 dizen); 1674—haze(?); 1742— iron; 1823 dinge?; 1830 jell U. S. colloq. Cf. to jelly 1601; to j~ify 1806; 1857, cose; etc.

Backformation is the name by which the NED generally designates the creation of these words.

It will be difficult to determine in which words this backformation is semological and in which we have to do with a phonological (mechanical) loss of -y.

To show how complicated the facts are, I cite a few more words from the NED † policy c 1450 < sb. or French police; injure 1583 < y displaced the earlier vb. injury (c 1484—1651) between 1580—1640; † pirace 1598. 1660. abnormal < ~ y; 1731 guaranty now rare; superseded by 'guarantee'; 1764 flummer < y; 1798 chancer < y?; 1889 geomance < y.

In «to jeopard» < ~ y we have to reckon with the possible interpretation «jeopardied > ~ ded». —

In some Greek wordpairs, «to ~ graph» corresponds to the sb. ~ graph or to the sb. ~ graphy. Thus from the sb. phonography 1840 is created the (younger) verb 1857 'to phonograph'; 1825 to lithograph, 1861 to photozincograph; to stenograph (rare CD). — The termination -graph having gained currency and, as it were, the monopoly with these verbs, it will be difficult to apply the direct conversion with sbs. in -graphy. — Cf., however, to heliography, to biography; French télégraphier.

V. -age

salve 1706—; vint.

VI. Divers other words:

Rodhe, Transitivity 112, mentions enthuse < ~ iasm; process < ~ ion; NED misfease 1571 < ~ ance; 1857 preempt <

~ion, ~ive (= exempt:~ion); 1865 emplace rare < ~ment; 1866 frivol away time (< ~ous).

With the last instance we approach the border-land between backformation and what is called ellipsis. Take further e. g. American *to bach* (batch) = live as a bachelor (F.-H.); *to abs* < absent (F.-H.). — —

A purely morphological backformation, if this word may § 47. be admitted here, is to be noted in such words as drop the 'offensive' plural -s. Thus we have:

to gallow a 1400; *to scissor*; *to pincer* 1703; *to cat-o'-nine-tail* 1796, etc.

Other pluralia tantum keep their -s, e. g. *to bellows* 1605—1748, *to news*. — *To discommon*, and *to ~s*.

Only in a few irregular plurals (as the above) are found non-semological criteria of converted plurals, e. g. *to dice*; 'to teethe' may be from the plur. or from the sg. (+ umlaut). (Cf. *to tooth* a rake). —

Latin and other endings are sometimes dropped.

to Pegase, *amanuens-ing* (cf. *to veto*, *to subpoena*, etc.).

XI. Denominatives from a semological point of view.

The term 'denominative verb' implies that the new verb § 48. serves as a substitute for what had hitherto to be expressed by two words, a (non-denominative) verb and a noun, the noun from which the denominative is formed.

The essential feature in the formation of a denominative verb is the dropping or absence of the non-denominative verb.

Examining the senses of our verbs is tantamount to finding the expression which the new denominative supplants. Our treatment of the genesis of denominative verbs has, at the same time, given the key to their semology. So in order not to repeat self-evident details from the preceding sections, I will here consider only some general principles. —

We have before us the difficulty of ascertaining, in each separate case, whether a definite verb occurred to the mind of the speaker (or writer) to be exchanged in speech (or writing) for a denominative formed from the noun correlated with the verb. This definite verb is not always ascertainable.

With the majority of denominatives we may suppose that it was only some verbal notion (with no verb to embody it) that occasioned the correlative noun being used as a verb. This theory fits the cases dealt with in § 35 (to suspicion, for 'to suspect').

On a closer inquiry into the nature of those new denominative verbs which disappear, in the new-formation of a denominative (§ 47), we find that they are often mere abstract 'form-words', «verbs of feeble phenomenality» (Sweet, *Hist. of Lang.* p. 52).

The reconstruction of the older full expression when it consists of, e. g., do + a sb., would in most cases hardly be called solving the semological problem of the verb in question. We have still to define what 'do' means in the particular context.

On the other hand, the reconstruction of the full phrase may be considered final and decisive in a case like the following.

Extract from Weldon's Journal, Oct. 1910. — — — «Buttonhole-stitch a firm round wire — — — and round — — — buttonhole a wire.» — To buttonhole here = to buttonhole-stitch.

If we take another instance, comparing Eng. 'to land' and Swedish 'landstiga' we realize that the second member of the Swedish verb expressly indicates the verbal idea which has to be supplied from the context in English.

After these preliminary remarks we approach the practical semological problem, What is the sense of a denominative verb? Can the answer be worded in general terms?

Taking, e. g., the denominatives *water* and *milk*, we notice in the phrases 'to water a cow' and 'to milk a cow' that the different verbal senses are suggested by our experience — or the 'context'.

We are accustomed to think in certain concept-groups and there is hardly a noun or nominal concept with which we do not combine some verbal notion (and vice versa). In the formation of a verb from a noun, the verbal element attached to, or rather, inherent in, the noun is put into the foreground, without, at first, obscuring the nominal element.

The theory of the 'concept-groups' teaches us that the verbal notions «to give» and «to take» are parts of the concepts «water» and «milk» in their contextual use. French shows the opposite of the Eng. idea in «*allaiter un enfant*». «Milk» and «lait» though generally synonymous are not so in the instances mentioned.

The difference in sense between the two corresponding English and French verbs may be said ultimately to depend on the specific limitation of the sense of the *nouns*. Milk = 1. cow's milk. 2. mother's milk.

To the speaker this limitation is a priori, whereas the hearer when guided by the spoken word only has to single out the particular *nominal* concept of the vb. Hence it is clear that the seemingly most important semological problems are *within the sphere of the nouns*. Hence it will also be clear that attempts to determine the sense of denominatives from the hearer's standpoint have failed.

So I have taken the liberty of transforming Behaghel's rule (Zs. f. d. Wortf. I. 1, Thorn, Dén. 7) to the following:

Every action or occurrence can be designated by a verb derived from the very noun the idea of which most easily enters the mind of the person wanting to state the fact.

In fact, we cannot penetrate deeper than to these truisms. If the noun encased in a vb. denotes an agent, the vb. expresses the action of the agent (to tailor). If the noun denotes an instrument, the vb. denotes the using of the instrument (to saw), a. s. o.

It is a problem within the sphere of the study of the nouns to ascertain that in TO DOG and TO WHELP the dog is an agent (= a converted *subject*) and the whelp not. In TO FISH the noun denotes fish not yet caught; in TO

SALMON a dog (= to poison) the salmon is 'ready for use'. Thus, the long series of converted *locatives*, *instrumentals*, *resultatives*, etc.

Additional evidence is afforded by some terms used in the game of chess. That the names of the men are originally of a different character, e. g. personal or non-personal (king, castle), is irrelevant. The following verbs belong to distinct semological categories owing to the rules of the game.

to check = Swed. att schacka (< shah) = to 'king' i. e. to menace the king.

to castle = Swed. rockera = to place the castle beside the king and move the king to the square next the castle.

to queen a pawn = French, damer le pion = to make a pawn into a queen.

A new denominative verb is likely to be used only when the meaning does not suffer. The conversion of a noun takes place far more easily when a 'mere form-word' disappears than when there is a 'pregnant' verb in the 'full phrase'.

Context is the listener's clue to the sense of a young denominative verb. We must not take 'context' in too literal a sense but consider it in the light of *experience*, which is, as it were, 'context' in a higher degree. It may be said, shortly, that the sense grows out of the »psychological surroundings».

Generally, there is no room for hesitation about the exact sense of a vb., so that we are able to tell at once whether it is a subject, an object, an adverbial complement (instrumental, local, etc.), that has been converted into a verb. Besides, the other elements of the sentence may act as a 'corrective'. In Chinese this reliance on the context is carried to extreme lengths: thus — — laú laú, literally 'old old', means 'to treat old people as they ought to be treated (that is, with respect)', the first 'laú' being converted into a transitive verb 'to old'. (Sweet, Pract. Study p. 59.)

It is necessary that the nominal and verbal idea should have been closely connected with each other in and through experience, so that they really form a concept-group.

Kipling's 'to be Mendelssohned out of church' would not

have been coined if Mendelssohn's wedding march were not an outstanding feature of English weddings. —

Man kann sagen: «I wintered it in Rome», aber nicht «I springed it there» (Krüger III).

It is clear that this is perfectly in harmony with what we state; on the other hand, when consulting §§ 19—20 above, we should accept the verb, but for homophony with to spring = to jump; cf. Cederschiöld, GHT, 15.2.11, «Den som övervintrar i Södern, borde väl kunna «översomra» t. ex. i Norrland.» —

Technical language uses plenty of denominatives owing to its abundance of concept-groups ('set phrases').

When the use of a denominative instead of the full form has begun, the logical tenor is, of course, kept intact, as shown, in some cases, by the fact that the new-formation is so intimately combined with the earlier equivalent expression that the old construction is kept more or less unchanged. Thus e. g. the genitive with AHTJAN, ANTWURTJAN, etc. (Jacobi, p. 152).

Formal remnants of the old mode of expression may appear in the shape of prefixes (< preps.), thus French arriver < à-rive, achever < à chef (Gröbers Grundr. I, 242). But as we have pointed out above, the preposition may also be dropped in the conversion. Semologically, parasynthetic verbs and simplicia are on the same level, the distinction being that the former originate from preposition-formed cases and the latter, mostly, from cases formed without prepositions.

An exact interpretation is a difficult matter, as some instances will show us. — Two explanations may be equally good.

to stake = 1. to put at the stake 2. to place as stake.

to jarvey 1826— = 1. to act the jarvey. 2. to drive a carriage.

Now jarvey sb. may mean either a hackney-coachman (1796—), or a hackney-coach (1819 Obs.). We may hesitate to say whether to jarvey is derived from the personal or the non-

personal sb., but we may prefer the derivation from the personal sb.

The difficulty is increased by the possibility of an ellipsis.

In Marryat's *to bum*⁵ I see a non-personal origin, analogous to that of *bumboating* 1841. The NED defines the word, «to act as a bum-boat *woman*».

EDD «to mole = to clear the ground from mole-*hills*». Here *to mole* may be elliptical for **to molehill*, or else 'to mole' may have extended its sense from, e. g. catching moles.

While the verb 'to bant' need not necessarily evoke the figure of Mr. Banting, the Swedish 'att Köpenicka' (though formed from a place-name) is sure to remind us of the famous shoemaker. In the first verb we have an ellipsis from Banting cure, Banting treatment, just as in Swedish slang we have 'att myllra' from «Müller's system». —

Ed. Marshall, N & Q. '82. 105. 195. «Disturnpiked» is not formed with the same precision as «disafforested». The sb. is «turnpikeroad».

'To motor' corresponds to the sb. motor-car. It might have also been the vb. to the sb. motor-boat. Cambridge students, last summer, coined the portmanteau-word 'botoring' (Cam. Daily News, Oct. 1. 1910).

EDD *to go a-Catterning*, *Clemencing*, *Thomassing*, etc. = to celebrate St. Catherine's, etc. *day*.

In sporting slang, 'to rubber' is an elliptical form of 'to rubberneck'. —

§ 50. The sense-development in a denominative verb is, in one respect, altogether unlike that of an ordinary verb. It can run on two different lines. A new sense, besides resulting from a deviating use of the verb, as is the case with all words, may be brought about by external influence, by the corresponding noun.

One verb may thus belong to several sense-categories. Take e. g. *to bishop*, which means

1. c 1000—1786 *to confirm* (a person). Cf. *to bisp* † c 1450.

2. *to b. it* 1655 = *to act as bishop*.

Cf. to archbishop it 1692. Cf. 6 below.

3. 1549 to appoint to the office of bishop. Cf. Latin *episcopare*.

Cf. to archbishop 1836 = to make or call archbishop.

Cf. to bebishop, disbishop 1585, disarchbishop 1875, to unbishop.

4. 1865 to supply with bishops.

5. 1863 to let (milk) burn while cooking. In allusion to the proverb 'The bishop has put his foot into it', North. dial. Cf. a 1536 Tindale, the bishops burn who they lust and whosoever displeaseth them.

6. 1781 S. Peters, Hist. Connect. 71. My answer is, that those Puritans were weak men in Old England, and strong in New England, where they out-pop'd the Pope, out-king'd the King, and *out-bishop'd* the Bishops.

7. As a printers' term, to water the balls (Halliwell) < baptize.

When a new sense develops which differs from the first and which cannot be regarded as an evolution from this, it would be correct to consider the new sense as constituting a new word. This is not our dictionaries' way of dealing with this problem. In the ideal dictionary, each sense of the denominative verb would be directly referred to the special application of the noun from which it originates.

Treating the denominative verbs from a descriptive point of view, I have classed each sense of a verb in a group of its own. To take an example. If a verb appeared with an intransitive sense long before the first instance of its use in a transitive sense, or if a certain phenomenon was pointed out as occurring by itself, «the sea calms down» 1399, «the fruit ripens» c 1000, and only later this phenomenon was viewed with a causative aspect or thus expressed, «the still air calmed the sea» 1559, «the sun ripened the fruit» 1398, the latter construction is properly an evolution within the verb. On the other hand, we can hardly be gainsaid when postulating that we have to do with an entirely new verb, though, perhaps, we may be as near as possible to the truth if we bring about a compromise between the two explanations.

No middle course can be steered, it would seem, between such extremes as «to head = to furnish with a head» 1530 — and «to head = to deprive of a head» a 1300 —. Theoretically we might do it, by stating that «to head» means to have to do in some way or other with a head, an explanation, which may be said to be in accordance with facts, but practically this simplification of matters would be useless.

It is interesting to observe that these utter extremes can agree within the sphere of one word without one sense ousting the other. The reason may be found, in cases like the above, in the fact that the two senses belong to different strata.

Some nouns, if converted into verbs, would have a hard struggle with homophonous verbs, either formed from the same stem or from other sources. 'To cashier' would hardly do as an equivalent for 'to act as cashier', nor 'to count a person' for 'to make a person a count'.

Matters are different with other words. Here is a relevant statement by Goethe (Briefe an Reimer über Sprachreinigung). «Man sagt: ich stängle die Bohnen — die Bohnen stängeln — warum sollten wir uns nicht des Ausdrucks bedienen: die Hühner stängeln?»

§ 51. A change in the structure of the sentence may lead to changes in the conception of the verb. We have already mentioned a phenomenon of this kind, «the launch that umpired the boat-race», § 19, but without any comments. This verb being used, as a rule, with a personal subject, the grammarian could not but take objection to its appearing with a non-personal subject.

It would lead us too far to discuss this interesting subject, intimate as its connexion may be with the present one. Suffice it to say that a similar change in the construction is no uncommon feature either with denominatives or with other verbs. Instead of finding the acting person as the grammatical subject, we may find in this position the name of the instrument used, the name of the place where the subject is, etc. Where a non-personal subject is the rule, a personal subject may be substituted.

A few examples. «To man» is «to furnish with men». NED adds, «said also of the men», but overlooks that, with this change of subject, the sense is modified and changes to «to defend, etc.» (1600 Holland, Every man — — ran up to the walls to man them).

Again, with other verbs nice distinctions are drawn by the NED, take e. g. quarter 4; 1665: The duke quartered his men in the village of Brabant; compared with quarter 6; 1682: They had called his soldiers into the town and coveted who should quarter the most of them.

Likewise, the passive «to be paralleled», 5, is minutely analysed. «In passive the distinction between senses 3 and 4 usually disappears, the subject becoming indeterminate: e. g. it cannot be paralleled = 'no one can p. it (sense 3), or 'nothing can p. it' (sense 4).

For the perfective and durative sense-variants of a verb, see NED's interpretations of the verb 'to father'. Perfective: to beget, to acknowledge oneself the father of. Durative: to be the father of, to appear or pass as father, to act as father to. — 'Take 'to embay' 1 = to lay (a vessel) with a bay. 2 pass. = to be enclosed within a bay (the town Castris is quite embayed).

Hearing the phrase 'a town embayed' we may, at first, picture the town to ourselves as 'being, becoming embayed', but our final mental process is naturally to think of the town as stationary (durative sense).

The distinction between perfective and durative sense is dependent on the substratum of reality designated by the verb. A quotation from the Rev. of Revs., Nov. 1908, 456/1 is illustrative on this head. «The fact is that 'to mother' with many women, especially in well-to-do circles, is merely a synonym of 'to bring forth'.»

Where a personal subject can be and is exchanged for a non-personal self-acting subject, a change from transitive to intransitive sense is likely to take place. This is suggested in a few words by the NED thus, «In the construction 'to be cooking', 'cooking' is historically the vbl. sb. (to be a-cooking, i. e. in process of cooking); but this runs together

with 'to cook', = 'cook itself' or 'be cooked'; cf. similar construction of *bake, boil, cut, eat, taste.*»

«It thundered» is to be interpreted as «what I heard *is* thunder». If we change the phrase to «God thundered out of heaven», we are apt to regard the nominal element of the verb as the resultative object of an action.

How an object can change the sense of a verb, is already evidenced by Jacobi: if Gothic «*huzdjan*» is «to lay up treasures», the addition of a cognate object «*huzda*» transfers the nominal idea from the verb to the object, the verb at last meaning only «to lay up». Likewise, «*namnjan*» = to say a name > to say (cf. Sw. *nämna*). — In the cases mentioned there is no alteration in the relation between the subject and the noun, whereas in «to name a person» we no longer consider the nominal notion 'name' as an object. With the 'person' as the real object, 'name' assumes the function of instrumentalis or — objective predicate (to name a p. something).

We are, in general, not much helped by making a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (Cf. Thorn, *Dén.* p. 15). I append a couple of illuminating examples.

In «we boated the river», grammarians are inclined to see an intransitive verb with an adverbial locative, whereas in «we passed the river» we have before us a transitive verb.

«To bundle one's clothes» = to make up one's things into a bundle preparatory to going away, is an instance of a transitive verb; the elliptical phrase, «to bundle» would be called «intransitive» though it conveys the same meaning. The NED makes frequent use of the better term «absolute». —

A special kind of transitive verbs are those where the verbal complement consists of the one word, the 'quasi-objective' *it* (see Franz, *Sh.-Gr.* § 161; Spies p. 75, *Mätzner Gr.*³ II, 184 ss.). These verbs are of the greatest interest and importance. NED says (*it*⁹), with 'it' as an indefinite objects «verbs are formed for the nonce upon nouns, with the sense to do, act, or play the person or character, to use the thing. The practice is now colloquial.»

1553—1657 † court it.

66 housewife it

93 lord it.

96 † planet it.

1605 racket it.

10 foot it.

11 queen it.

a 18 kingdom it.

19 the Church Courteth it, and the Court Churcheth it.

37. 55 † art it.

39 † over-state it.

39 † French it.

47 Word: Simple Cobler 52:

Good Casuists would case it, and case it, . . . now it, then it, punctually.

1653 † law it.

56 † party it.

56 † indefinite it.

74 † five it.

1812 William Combe:

I'll prose it here, I'll verse it there, And picturesque it everywhere.

1825 falderal it.

27 gulf it (Univ.).

46 desk it.

67 plush it.

91 crape it.

Addison, in the Spectator, often calls women the fair sex. Swift, writing to Stella, says scornfully, 'I will not meddle with the Spectator. Let him *fair sex* it to the world's end.'

We therefore decided that we would sleep out on fine nights; and hotel it, and inn it, and pub. it like respectable folks. (Jerome, Three Men. p. 21.)

Next month we shall Aldershot it (das Lager von A. beziehen, Krüger III, 242).

1909 Oct. 7. Standard 10/3:

Now the Old Man had a fixed idea in his head — —

V. Bladin.

that you couldn't get to the Pole in any old way at all if you didn't have a particular brand of shoes. So he didn't worry any, but just let the Doctor go; an' he swears now the Doctor couldn't have really *Poled* it, because he hadn't the right boots.

In this chapter on semology, we may point to a large group of verbs of which some are often, others always, found in a special application, supplemented by adverbial elements (adverbs, prepositional expressions) and are a kind of compound verbs, in their essence not far different from prefix-formed verbs.

These verbs constitute a category of words by no means inferior in importance to the prefix-group. Lexicographers often overlook the presence of the adverbial adjuncts, giving the words without their essential contexts, an inadvertency hardly pardonable when dealing with verbs that are seldom, or not at all, used without the complements. These particles are *away, down, off, together, into, out of*, etc. the identical particles which have the additional syntactical rôle of producing a trans. sense when coupled with intr. verbs.

Other adverbial expressions are also liable to enter into a close connexion with the verb — phrases like 'to death', '[one]'s way', etc.

The adverbs and adverbial expressions just mentioned have come into close association with a great number of denominative verbs of which I give an abridged list.

- a 1529— harp out of, into.
- 30— blot out.
- 32— fiddle forth, up, out, down.
- 48 † fool out money on s. th. (fool away, etc. etc.).
- 1607 fan into despair, into slumber.
- 12 † racket away money.
- 14 † chemic into.
- 34— game away.
- a 44 no forsooth away my fortune.
- 50 boy out of countenance.
- 56 † mode a p. into fashionable clothing.

58 † knaved out of the grave.

c 1700 basset away money.

13 music into hell.

a 18 phrase a thing away.

28 larum down.

37 harlequin away.

39 drone away life.

46 hurricane away a day.

56 H. Walpole:

The King of Prussia has been Russianed out of their [the French] alliance (nonce).

1790 Burke:

You send troups to sabre and bayonet us into a submission.

1822 catarrh out of (nonce).

a 28 Blake (nonce):

Every man . . . who has not been connoisseured out of his senses.

1861 badinage away, into.

64 proclamation into silence.

74 morphin out of one's wits.

Cowper, semiquaver care away.

Howell, to be worded to death.

Review of Reviews, December, 1910, p. 579/2: British Weights, Measures, and Coinage. A Practical Suggestion. (Mr. Parker's Criticism.)

We are '*milled*', '*metred*', and '*millimetred*' to death already.

«To husk a pod» is «to take away the husk from the pod». Now we find «to husk a kernel, seeds» and even «to husk husks». The identical interpretation cannot hold good in all three cases unless we give it a fair latitude. Then the interpretation may even embrace the converted sentence, «the husks have husked».

Dictionaries often make light of these problems, the NED, however, forming a brilliant exception. Take e. g. *to chip* which, in one sense-class, is subdivided thus: (a) with

the substance as object, (b) with the fragments as obj., (c) with the product as object.

Having attempted only a summary treatment of the sense of denominative verbs, I have not dared to enter further into a discussion of these fluctuations, infinite in number as they are infinitesimal in character.

Part Special.

Direct Converted Desubstantive Verbs.

It might seem to be an easy task to bring together § 52. *English verbs which are formed from sbs.*, but there is plenty of evidence to the contrary.

We are perhaps too often inclined to discover denominatives where there are none, as will be clear from this little list of mistakes.

a 1851 W. Colton (U. S.). The servant-boy told how the animal had *falled* him three times. — NED assumes a denominative on account of the weak conjugation. (Cf. «comed»: came, «seed»: saw).

Notes & Queries 7. VII. 471. Shall I *shine* your boots? defined as a denominative = 'to put a shine on'. (Cf. Modern U. S. slang: I can eat you and drink you, but I can't sleep you).

An other instance where the causative has been misinterpreted: Krüger, Schwierigk. III, § 1127 (Hauptwörter als Zeitwörter). «To *dine* a person, einen zum Mittagessen einladen.»

NED † *enrichesse* < sb. (c 1430). More probable is the explanation < *enrichiss* (-ant, -ent).

Apart from verbs of unknown or uncertain etymology, there are many which present difficulties. These verbs, as a rule, lack the characteristically simple structure of the denominative, which suggests that their form and sense are the outcome of several determining factors. The following verbs are illustrations.

«*a dun: to dun.* The evidence does not enable us to decide whether the sb. or the vb. is the starting-point. If the sense: 'one who duns' is (as appears in the quotation) earlier than the sense: 'an act of dunning', we should naturally expect it to be the source of the vb. as in *Burke, to burke*, and the like.»

«*chaff* colloq. The relative priority of vb. and sb. is unsettled; if the sb. is earlier, it may be a fig. use of chaff [=husks of corn: wheat]; if the vb. is the starting point, it may be a playful or light use of chaff, chafe v.»

«*club* sb. = combination, association. This group of senses is closely connected with the vb.; but the evidence does not make certain what was the exact course of development. In particular, it does not appear whether a '*club*' . . . was, in its origin, merely a knot or association of persons, or a '*clubbing*' of the expenses of an entertainment, or of contributions towards it. — — The order of the senses . . . is not satisfactorily traced: after the formation of the sb. club = combination, association, the vb. and sb. appear to have reacted upon each other so as to produce a network of uses, the mutual relations of which cannot be shown in any lineal order.»

- § 53. Many compound verbs can be interpreted in two different ways. E. g. to ear-mark, to hall-mark, to water-mark, to side-slip, to side-step, to side-track, to backwash, to mis-order, to underminister, etc.

They are either described as pure denominatives, formed from a deverbative sb., or simply as compounds of a nominal element and a 'base-verb'. Chronological and other criteria will decide which is the right interpretation in each case — with most verbs of the above type both explanations may go hand in hand.

- § 54. In this «part special» I have omitted borrowed foreign words. The 'disguised loans', being foreign, or at least expressing non-English conceptions, should properly have been excluded from my wordlists; in this direction the obstacles have been too great to surmount. Nor would it be absolu-

tely fair to banish such words of this kind as have become part and parcel of the language.

Less difficult is the rejection of 'colourless' verbs which have assumed a denominative nature. Many of these would also be excluded simply owing to foreign origin. I refer the reader to Ch. VII.

There is a large group of verbs that are denominative § 55. and yet not so. For when used repeatedly in a transferred sense, the denominative will have its denominative character worn off, so that noun and verb form a simple wordpair, unless the «pair» — which often happens — are separated by some important change, of sense or of form, in either.

Verbs of this description, such as are no longer associated with their base-words, thus including such verbs as are formed from now obsolete sbs., are outside the plan of the present work, but as long as they were coupled with their base-sbs., they could not be left without notice. Now this change is gradual and often quite individual, and it is not within the bounds of possibility to ascertain the 'psychological moment' when such and such a verb loses its right to figure in our lists. Examine the following instances chiefly from NED

to cry orig. < Lat. *quiritare* orig. (according to Varro) to implore the aid of the *Quirites* or Roman citizens.

† *evese* (1000—1394) the orig. sense must app. have been 'to cut the thatch at the eaves of a building'; but all the known OE examples have the wider sense 'to clip'.

BT *torfian* In the first instance = to throw with turf at a person (cf. *stánan*), and then with stones and the like.

to *line vb.* [< sb. = flax] with primary reference to the frequent use of linen as a lining material for articles of clothing.

to *truckle* † sleep in a ~ bed > be subordinate.

to *canvas* 1508— > to toss in a sheet, to blanket > shake up, toss to and fro; 1530— (*agitare*), *discuss*.

to *gum* tr. U. S. slang 1848— Cheat, delude. Said to originate from the opossum's eluding the huntsman in the foliage of a ~-tree.

to foster, is no longer felt to be a denominative, the base-sb. being archaic, supplanted by 'fosterer'. — The sb. 'line' = flax would likewise have a derivative sb. for its modern substitute, viz. 'lining'.

Etymology would derive great benefit from a classification of such words of the above-mentioned kind as are already explained. In such a classification we should find series of words illustrative of the way in which verbs and nouns are linked together:

Latin *beryl-lare > French briller > brillant > brillanter, German brillantieren. Cf. the senses of 'beryl' and 'brilliant'.

Lat. *rotulare > French rouler > English to roll > a roll, a roller.

Teut. *luft-jan = to move up into the *air* (Murray) > English to lift > a lift.

Lat. mango 'retailer' > OE mangian > mangere, monger, sb. > to monger.

Swedish att snurra vb. 'to spin round' > en snurra, 'a top', 'a tee-totum'.

English tee-totum > vb. (nonce use). She tee-totummed about on her toes. (Stoffel p. 208).

The last instances show us two languages developing new words in opposite directions.

§ 56. When the members of a wordpair diverge in form as the result of phonological laws affecting them variously, this divergence indicates that the direct association holding noun and verb together is lost. — In excluding certain words of this type I have acted arbitrarily; the verb has been a denominative, and may still be felt as such. That we must be on our guard against too hasty conclusions is shown by the fact that even heterogenous stems form inseparable wordpairs, dominated by the logical idea.

Cf. Eng. *death* (native) — *to die* (Scand.).

The preponderance of the logical idea is evident from certain *non*-denominatives which convey distinct nominal notions, '*to furnish*' (furniture); '*to smoke*' (tobacco), etc.

«*cloke: to clutch*. An association arose between *clutch* and ME sb. *cloke*, whereby *cloke* was gradually assimilated in form to *clutch*, while both vb. and sb. approached each other in sense: *to clutch* is now mainly 'to grasp with *clokes* or *claws*', *a clutch* is now mainly 'a grasp or grip with *claws*'.»

Below I give some specimens of the splitting up of § 57. wordpairs by formal divergencies.

No resemblance longer exists between e. g.

Sc. † *eassin* and the base-noun *ox*.

ean (cf. to *yea*n) < **aunojan* < *aw-ja* > *ewe*. — —

A partial formal divergence is noted in the following verbs which have been remodelled on gradation-verbs

ring, pa. pple. also rung.

(ham)string, —u—, —u—.

bowstring, —u—.

stave, —o—.

twilit, pa. pple.

Byron, *Our Boys*, II. 38 makes one of the persons use «sold» as a humorous pa. pple. of «to cell».

The rule being that denominatives keep the phonologic-§ 58. al features of the base-word, how are we to deal with those vbs. which differ from their base-sbs. as to accentuation or final consonants? I cannot but take it for granted that these insignificant changes have not weakened to any extent the associations between noun and vb. Consequently I make no distinction between the wordpairs *interview: to interview* and *(to) countermine* (∟ — — sb.: — — ∟ vb.),¹ nor between *a leaf: to leave* and *a leaf: to leaf*.

Some i-umlauted denominative vbs. have an ambiguous § 59. position. Before their i-umlaut and after the mutation was neutralized (in the cases where this did happen), they seem «genuine denominatives». Is there sufficient reason for excluding them from the lists of the denominatives for the time between these dates?

In German matters would stand somewhat differently as

¹ It may be questioned if the verb is not f. adverb + simplex.

the i-umlant is, at the same time, a feature in the paradigms of nouns (blättern : blatt, blätter).

Ex. *to comb* has taken the place of the earlier umlauted verb *Kemb*, the pa. pple. of which survives as *kempt*.

to boot taking the place of *beten*, which was scarcely used in the south after the 14th c.

ethe † : to oath.

to foam: OE *fæman*.

In 14th c. the OE word was superseded by a new formation on the sb. (without umlaut).

to dung: OE *dynzian*.

In ME assimilated to, or formed anew from the vb.

Cf. *to brood* : *to breed*; *to blood* : *to bleed*; *to food* † 1399 : *to feed*.

Phonological reasons of a different nature have gradually brought about consequences analogous to those of the mutation.

Ex. *to bath*. Differing from *to bathe* in having a more distinct reference to the sense of bath = bath-tub, and in being always literal.

to glaze : *to glass*. The first is not instanced in a sense which implies the substantival notion 'an object of glass'. It neither means 'to put in a glass' nor 'to mirror'. Cf. to glass.

to graze : to grass.

to cloth : *to clothe*.

- § 60. The sections immediately preceding lead us to a practical conclusion as to the delimitation. — In the examination of the sense that has been developed in and by the conversion, our attention will have to be focussed on the *first* use of the vb. where there is a minimum of disturbing influences. Strictly speaking, the vb. when used only the second time may have lost something (very little, it is true) of its fresh and immediate association with its noun; the first step towards emancipation may have been taken.
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Having chosen a semological arrangement for the desubstantives, I must point out that the 'sense-classes' to be found below do not consist of converted sbs. only. § 61.

As stated above (§ 46) the semological conception is often the same whether we are concerned with a converted sb. or a converted adverbial expression, consisting of, e. g. a prep. + a sb. — Likewise there may be no semological distinction between verbs formed from adjs. and desubstantive verbs.

As material for observation I have brought together in one place a few non-desubstantive verbs, some of which illustrate the difficulty of drawing the line between desubstantives and non-desubstantives.

Later on I have examined somewhat at length the distinction between de-adjective verbs and those formed from sbs. Specimens of converted adverbs and phrases are to be found on pp. 24–5. I subjoin a few more, *to random* † 1602—5; *to predy* < (shi)p ready 1627—; *to handicap* (< phr. or < sb.) 1649—; *to hob-nob* 1763—; *to ricochet* Mil. < Fr. à r.; *to cock-bill* an anchor. 1840; *to pillar and post* 1901 nonce = to drive from pillar to post.

Verbs formed from numerals, *to one* c 900—c 1425, *to unseven* the sacraments, Fuller; *to five*; etc.

Verbs f. pronouns, *to thou*, *to you*, etc.

From pa. pples., cf. p. 7 foot-note; § 26; *to clad* a 1300 > arch., app. educed from pa. pple.; — *to cleft*, -i-, 1610—57 f. the sb. or pa. pple.

Echoic words:

- c 1325 loune
- c 1374 hum
- c 1386 pop; poop now dial.
- c 1505 bo
- 1599 maule cf. maw, mew(l), mewt, etc.
- 1606 pit-a-pat
- 06 ha ha
- 1617 quack i; cogn. obj.
- 59 ding-dong i t
- 1706 pitter-patter

— Wh . . . ysh-ysh cried M.

— Sh . . a-shu-u — shu . . u — sh . . aw — shaw'd the abdess.

— Wh . . v . . w — whew . . w . . w-whuv'd Margarita, pursing up her sweet lips betwixt a hoot and a whistle (Tristram Shandy. 5. XL. p. 56).

1821 plop up t

46 plap

48 he he

55 ping

59 pit

60 pinge.

c 1394 fy on i.

1598 pish (at) i.

1601 pish away, down.

30 pooh i t.

1827 pooh-pooh t.

Byron: Our Boys III p. 62, he rather *pooh-poohed* us as emigrants.

1621 † huff = shoo.

1659 gee-ho.

1752 gee-hup.

1824 hup i; a horse = direct it to the right.

tally-ho hounds.

Field, Jan. 23. 1886.

Hounds were barely yoicked into it at one side when a fox was tallied away. (< yoicks.).

one of his travelling companions diverted the charge of a furious rhino by «shooing» her umbrella — her only weapon at the moment — right in the brute's face. (1910 Jan. 5 Punch 18/1.)

A great many verbs have been given in the NED as formed from sbs. or adjs. though, semologically analysed, they appear to be formed from other parts of speech. We can often find more than one base-word by which the verb may have been influenced. Take, e. g., *to back* (< sb. NED) the sense of which may have been influenced by the adverb, not

the noun. *To cross* (< sb. NED) in the sense 'to lay (a thing) across another' may have originated in a similar way.

To hole (< adj. NED) is a desubstantive when = to put in a hole. NED's derivation is right when 'to hole' = to make a hole or holes in < to make 'hollow' (< OE *holh*).

To cuckoo (< sb. NED) may equally well be de-interjectional, when = to call 'cuckoo'.

To damp may be < the adj. as well as < the sb.

To black (< adj. NED) has the de-substantive character in quot. 1789 intr. = to poach as one of the 'Blacks' (= poachers with blackened faces); cf. further the tr. sense, to make black, to blacken, now esp. to put black colour on; cf. also, *to black out* a newspaper paragraph.

I see de-substantive verbs in *to English* when = to translate into E., in the nonce-word *to Gordian* = to tie in a Gordian knot, etc.

It is often impossible to draw the line between de-adjs. and de-sbs. As evidence I may refer to *to light* < adj., about whose Gothic equivalent Wilmanns remarks that the stem may be conceived as the 'object' of the verbal action.

To fright, if associated with any word, must be associated with the corresponding sb. It is curious to note that it is derived from the adj. 'furhto-', afraid. Another parallel may be «*to chill* app. f. sb.: but evidence is scanty. It has been suggested that the vb. may have been derived from a pa. pple. *child*, short for *childed*, from a vb. *child-en* repr. OE **ci(e)ldan* to make cold.» Cf. to heat < **haitjan* < adj.

A semological problem near akin to those we have just been discussing is that treated by George P. Marsh, p. 213: «A few verbs of this class, as *lengthen* and *strengthen*, are derived from nouns, the noun being probably employed instead of the conjugate adjective for orthoepical reasons; but in general only adjs. expressing the sensuous qualities of objects at present admit of this change.»

We may add: *to heighten* † 1515 > arch. = *to heighten* 1530— = *to high* † c 900—1633; *to dearth* † c 1440—1743; *to deepen* 1587— rare = to deepen; cf. also *to mist* = to be(come) ~ y

c 1000—; CD *to rust*; «OE **rustian* not authenticated, the one cited by Lye involving the adj. *rustiz*, *rusty*.»

We will not go to the length of enumerating here such verbs as *to benegro* = to make dark; *to claret* = to redden; *to steel*; *to ice*, etc.

I. Allusive verbs.

§ 62. A group of verbs not unlike the echoic words are found in this section. They can be styled nonce-words with the exception of the commoner expression, «*but me no buts!*» Stylistically they belong to colloquial language. The instances are self-explaining. — The Swedish equivalent is *X-a mig hit och X-a mig dit!* — The part of speech of the base-word is unimportant, we find words formed from nouns, adverbs, etc. Cf., however, Sh.'s *grace* < gracious. Further, note that the instances cited are not uniform in all details.

The following locution is first instanced in Shakspeare; among writers using phrases of this type are Beaumont & Fletcher, Bulwer, Fielding, Foote, Ford, Ben Jonson, Massinger, Peele, and those cited below.

Rom. III. 5. 153. Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds.

[Schmidt: a verb of Capulet's making = to speak of being proud.]

R. II. 2. 3. 87. Bolingbroke. My gracious uncle — — York. Tut, tut! Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle.

[Schmidt: a verb coined by York = do not call me uncle. *Grace*, arbitrarily derived from the sb. = to speak of grace].

1605 Tryall Chevalry: King me no Kings. [NED to mention the name of 'king'.]

1668 Dryden: Madam me no Madam.

1708 Mrs. Centlivre: But me no Buts. [NED *quasi*-tr.]

Also in Scott, *Antiq.* XI.

1859 Tennyson: 'Advance and take your prize The diamond'; but he answer'd, 'diamond me no diamonds! for God's love, a little air'.

[NED. To call or name (diamonds)].

1887 Browning. Nuptial me no such nuptials!

«I'll ~ (you)» is another usual form of indignant retort. Cf. Stoffel, p. 277. I pass on to instances.

1592 Sh. Romeo & Jul. IV. V. 121. I will carie no Crochets, *Ile Re you, Ile Fa you*, do you note me.

Sh. Merry W. p. 58 Mrs. Page. Come, mother Prat; — — — Ford. *I'll prat her*. — Out of my door, you witch, — — — — out! out! I'll conjure you, I'll fortune-tell you.

1602 Dekker: T. I cannot my mad cumrade. . . Sir V. Cumrade? By Sesu, call me cumrade againe and *ile cumrade ye* about the sinnes and shoulders.

1698 Vanbrugh: Lady B. The devil's hands! Let me go! Sir J. *I'll devil you*, you jade you!

1700 W. Congreve, The Way of the World: Lady Wishfort. Frippery! superannuated frippery! *I'll frippery* the villain.

1765 Universal Mag XXXVII. 41/1. *I'll carte and terce* you, you scoundrel.

Kipling, Light 37 *I'll luck'em* later on. (Cf. Leeb-Lundberg p. 99.)

1857 Anthony Trollope, Barchester Towers p. 91:

«But, she's lame, Mrs. Proudie, and cannot move. Somebody must have waited upon her.»

«Lame», said Mrs. Proudie; «*I'd lame* her if she belonged to me. — —»

ib. p. 137: «Mr. Slope, indeed! *I'll Slope* him», said the indignant matron to her listening progeny. — — —

A somewhat different type is instanced in Jack London, A Daughter of the Snows p. 185.

«I'd be seein' —»

«Rubber —»

«*Rubber yer gran'mother!*» Matt wrathfully exclaimed.

Cf. Strindberg, Giftas I, 122: Ottilia mig i —!

These rather indistinct verbs may in some instances assume a specific signification; at least, this opinion is advanced by the NED. E. g.

Sh. 1598 *Ile* make them pay: *Ile sauce them* (= make them 'pay sauce') and in the backformation 1596 Sh. jure You are Grand Iurers, are ye? *Wee'l iure ye* ifaith (= make jurors of you).

The following quotation from W. M. Thackeray may be looked upon as an instance of the locution in question now no longer 'allusive' but imbued with a distinct sense.

«Whereas my son Jack, who is a student at Saint Bartholomew's, looked as savage as might be at the interesting foreigner; and muttered something in his teeth about «confound the Guy Fawkes, *P'll Haynau* him»: and he was for sending the Friar to Pimlico (to Jericho he might go if he liked, Jack said) — — —» (A Dream of Whitefriars).

II. 'De-subjective' verbs.

§ 64. The base-nouns of the verbs in this section denote what a person or thing (the subject of the sentence) *is*, or *becomes*, or *acts like*. The noun is, in general, to be regarded as a «nominal predicate», cf. Thorn, *Dénominatifs*, p. 11—13, though in some *passive* sentences the sb. implied in the verb may designate the logical subject. In want of a better word, I use the term 'subjective' for the whole sense-class. —

The principal agent-nouns are names of persons (and animals). Besides, many natural forces can be viewed as personified; even some things can be considered self-acting. — A change in the original construction of the verbs, *to border*, etc. = to furnish with a border > *the border* borders, entitles these verbs, when thus applied, to be placed here. —

A special group is made up of such verbs as denote the form of the subject of the sentence: *The road forks*, i. e. is fork-shaped. The nature of these verbs allows also of the interpretation: *makes* a fork. —

Interesting are these and kindred verbs in as much as the base-noun, in the original construction, was referred to the object. We can thus regard the intransitive use as developed from the reflexive construction; but we can also assume a side-influence from verbs denoting 'to develop (the sb.)', as e. g. *to rust* may mean *to develop* rust and also to *be converted* into rust.

1605 Sh. Macb. Ile Deuill-Porter it no further.

Sh., Cymbeline, IV. 2. 26. Cowards father cowards, and base things sire base.

1611 Author. Vers., Mark. X, 42. Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles *lord it over them*; and their great ones exercise authority over them.

1647 Ward: Simple Cobler 50. These Essentially, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few Mens discretion. —

Is Cavaignac elected? Then a military master is put over the republic, who can Cromwellize the Assembly, and Monk the state, as soon as he chooses. (1849; H. A. 8,266.)

Mrs. Haggistoun «chaperoned» her. (Thackeray, Vanity Fair p. 216.)

Carlyle M. II. 33 our Caird and Balladmonger are singing and soldiering. — P. Pr. 358. To hypocrites and tailored quacks in high places his eyes are lightning.

— «He hasn't swum the Channel». — «No, but he (Lord Desborough) stroked in an eight-oared boat across the Channel.» 1910, Jan. 6. Standard 4/6.

He stroked the university crew to victory in six races (recent).

Golfer: «You've caddied for me before. Will you — — —». 1910, Oct. 22. Tit-Bits. 138/3.

To make it short, in it, as fortie times before, he bridged it and simpered it out a crie, No, forsooth, God dild you, — — — — Nashe, Fovre Letters Confvted, p. 327.

Pope, Whether the charmer sinner it or saint it,
If folly grows romantick, I must paint it.

Haliburton, Clockmaker, p. 289: if you lose in the start you — — — are plaguy apt to be jockied arterwards.

Those who have been tutored and governessed into so-called correctness of diction know that 'yon' is vulgar, and avoid it accordingly. (N. & Q. 8th. S. X. 103).

Jack London, A Daughter of the Snows, p. 67.

«Now, I don't want to hog it. — — — Ez I was sayin', I ain't no hog; — — I'll make to scrimp along on twenty-five —.»

1907, Sept. 25, Standard: We shall go on with our own work, and we do not intend to 'blackleg'.

Proper names. Sh. She Phoebes me = treats cruelly.
 1771 Smollet: Roger gets this, and Roger gets that; but, I'd have you to know, I won't be *rogered* at this rate by any ragmatical fellow in the kingdom. (Humphrey Clinker [Mrs.] Tab. Bramble, May 19.)

1804 J. Larwood: No Gun Boats 27. The Treaty between la-Fayetted France and Franklinised America.

1845 She caudled her husband into conviction < Mrs. C.'s Curtain Lectures.

1859 All Y. Round: An Armenian, atlasing a square coop of some forty barn-door fowls.

Bulwer, Night and Morning. Thus, at one time, we have burking — at another, swingism — now suicide is in vogue.

Kipling, Pl. T. 153. The «Shikarris» shikarred the Worm very much, and he bore everything without winking.

1899 Eric tr. «play the part of a boy who feels a sense of violent indignation at an injustice inflicted upon him». (F. Schmidt: E. St. 39. p. 243).

Kipling, — I Gladstoned about the matter with the longest words I could. (Leeb-Lundberg, p. 96). Cf. p. 48.

Daily Mail, 1901, 14 Aug. Lord Grimthorpe is always his own architect. The costly and distinctive style which he gave to the restoration of St. Albans Abbey led to the coining by the architects of a new verb 'to grimthorpe'. Cf. N. & Q. '97. 205. 353.

Daily Mail, 1901, 25 May. «Mr. Yerkes has arrived to show us how to 'hustle', and he is not going back till we have learnt. This is good; but might he not, while he is getting ready to 'Yerk' us to Hampstead, — — 'Yerk up' the L. C. and D. R., etc. etc., and 'Yerk' the old air out of the Underground; — — 'Yerk off' a few pro-Boers, Little Englanders — — — N. & Q. 1901, 9. 7. 494.

Some foreign correspondents used to write on the outside of their letters «Not to be grahamed.» (N. & Q. 1901. 9. 7. 495.)

Henri Fort, Elementary Swedish Grammar (method Gaspey-Otto-Sauer) was reviewed thus:

Another fine example of English as She is Otto'd. With the additional advantage of Specimens of Swedish as She is Sauer'd. 1907, G. Fuhrken, Mod. Spr. N:o 10, p. 150.

The Rev. of Rev's., Nov. 1908, p. 446/2: — — in the *Manchester Quarterly*. In a paper on «The Gentle Art of Birrelling», the same writer (Mr. J. J. Richardson) reminds us that Mr. Birrell has, all unwittingly, enriched the English language with a word which bids fair to become as much a part of it as the verb 'to macadam'. Two thousand years hence, however, posterity may be consulting the Murray of those days to find out the origin of the verb *to birrell* and the noun *birreller*.

1910, July 13. Sunday Times. In Parliament. The debate ranged from the strongest religious emotion to the maddest, merriest humours of Mr. Birrell. Seldom has the House laughed so loud and long as it did on Wednesday night when the Chief Secretary «*birrelled*» as only he can. The captivating blend of sound learning, shrewd observation, everyday common sense, and sudden colloquialisms of which the speech was composed stamped the effort as one of Mr. Birrell's happiest. —

This umbrella — — — A complete wreck in the first picture, the second shows the poor «patient» wrapped in paper on its way per parcel post to be «Stanworthed» (J. Stanworth & Co; Strand Mag. p. 12. May 1909).

Even in endeavouring to reproduce the atmosphere of the spacious deliberate times we must *Padge* for short. (Rev. of Rev. 1909, Sept. 244/1).

He (Mr. Hayes Fisher) reminded them of the lying leaflets which were put in circulation against him at the last election. They did not talk of lying any longer but of Ureing. 1909, Dec. 31, Standard 4/5.

I don't believe any man ever talked like that in this world. I don't believe *I* talked just so; but the fact is, in reporting one's conversation, one cannot help *Blair-ing* it up more or less, ironing out crumpled paragraphs, starching

limp ones, and crimping and plaiting a little sometimes; it is as natural as prinking at the looking-glass. Holmes, Autocrat of Breakf. T. p. 40.

Kemp, Nine Daies Wonder, p. 21. ed. Camden Society. I told him; and all his anger turned to laughter, swearing it did him good to have ill words of a hoddy doddy, a habber de hoy, a chicken, a squib, a squall, one that hath not wit enough to make a ballet, that, by Pol and Aedipol, would Pol his father, Derick his dad, doe anie thing, how ill so ever, to please his apish humour. (N. & Q. 6. 6. 543.)

OE. biscopian > bishop a child Arch. Cf. p. 60.

bodian = announce. Sb. †.

bryttian.

byrelian (cf. beran) > birle Arch.

cræftan, ʒe-, a-.

fædrian, ʒe- (ʒe-medrian).

frihtrian.

ʒiestian (cum-liþian).

hwatian.

irfeweardian.

mundian.

sceacerian, to- (cf. to-sceacan).

smiþian.

þeʒnian.

þeofian, ʒe-.

þeowian.

ūþ-wītian (cf. wītan).

wædlian.

weardian.

wiccian.

wiþer-brocian.

witeʒian.

c 1200 foster. Cf. p. 72.

a 1300 leech t.

master.

cripple i. Sc.

- † lord i. Now constant over.
 † folt i.
 a 1400 heir a th. or p.
 cook i.
 herd cattle.
 man t = to rule, dial. Cf. p. 63.
 † lecher i.
 † priest i.
 † earl t n?
 † destiny cf. c 1300—destine.
 a 1450 husband ground, trees.
 king i.
 husband t = economize.
 marshal t.
 † eure.
 † marshal horses (= farrier).
 † fellow t.
 † fere t.
 † bisp t.
 † host i.
 † plédge t; i rare.
 a 1500 saint (it).
 homicide = murder.
 father = beget.
 ME scout i t.
 squire.
 a 1550 drone i.
 lubber i.
 daff i cf. be~. Sc.
 mother t = give birth to; take care of. Cf. p. 63.
 fool out money on sth.
 drudge i.
 † marshal among, with people.
 † bride (it).
 † friar i.
 † pope (it).
 † prelate i (it).

- a 1600 clerk i (it).
 echo i; t.
 pilgrim i (it); cf. ~ize 1598.
 butcher t.
 friend a p., a cause (poetical) Arch.
 houswife i; t (it) cf. husband.
 boy i.
 marshal (Her.)
 pirate t.
 catchpoll i; t.
 father t = look after.
 minstrel.
 lord it (Ch. over).
 dry-nurse t.
 roister i cf. roist.
 neighbour t, ~ed by.
 marshal a p. on his way, soldiers, competitors.
 antic i; it.
 prince it; refl.
 buckler t.
 rook t absol.
 huckster i; t.
 fool (+ preps.)
 cavalier.
 ruffian it (out).
 oracle t; i.
 choir i; t 1791.
 page t; it.
 captain t.
 drumble i = be sluggish, dial.
 lackey cf. page.
 † man = escort.
 † lackey (it).
 † dolt i.
 † colt t.
 † Priape n.
 † marshal (up) a banquet.
 † pastor beasts cf. herd.
 † marshal streets.

- † consort t.
 † Pern a profession, creed = change for some ulterior end.
 † gossip (it) i.
 † Euphue a simile r; ~ize.
 † killcow.
 † master i(of), t.
 † devil it.
 † predomineer r t.
 † fizgig i.
 † author a book, statement.
 † daw.
 † lob i.
 † maiden it.
 † hag t cf. hag-ride.
 † pharisee r i.
 † drawlatch i.
 † clown it r.
 † Phoebe Sh.
- Rare: liege homage r.
 rogue i (it). Very common 1575—1650.
 neighbour it; i Now rare.
 lord t r.
- a 1650 brother t it.
 cater i; t; ~to = pander to.
 niggard (it).
 carl dial.
 husband t = marry.
 pander another's lust, ~to.
 rival i = compete; t = vie with.
 ghost t.
 husband it.
 parasite i cf. sycophant.
 porter t. Cf. p. 80 (1605).
 hermit i.
 master servants, a house.
 queen it.
 bugger t; absol.

companion t.
 dun a p. Cf. p. 70.
 gossip t i.
 gipsy.
 quack i.
 pimp i = pander.
 echo to i.
 buffoon t = ridicule Arch.
 hobby-horse i.
 midwife a child.
 harlot i.
 harbinger t.
 pilot.

Rare: lady it r.
 clown (it) r.
 duke it n.
 champion = challenge r.
 barber t = trim r.
 gallant it r.
 Jebusite a plot r.
 factor r.
 guest r.
 pickthank i r.
 patron t cf. ~ize r.
 patriarch it n.
 monster it n.
 † glutton i.
 † derrick r t = hang.
 † corrival t i(with) cf. rival.
 † gossip.
 † bride t.
 † Jesuite r i cf. ~ize.
 † priested gloves = blessed.
 † elf one's hair.
 † porter i.
 † boy a woman's part.
 † mountebank a p.
 † minx it.



† Greek it.
 † consort t.
 † puppet.
 † master.
 † churl at a p. = grumble.
 † Epicure refl.; it; cf. ~ ize, out ~.
 † laundress i.
 † Marprelate against.
 † agent (> Sc.) a plea.
 † casuist-ing.
 † bugbear.

a 1700 quack forth titles for old books.
 monarch i (it).
 bawd i > arch.
 hector i (it) t = bully.
 nightmare.
 cook = doctor 1774. Coll.
 chouse = cheat. Gr. & Ki. 17. Coll.
 launder linen cf. laundress.
 officer.
 buffoon i (it).
 gallant a woman = flirt with; escort.
 pickpocket.
 hocus t.
 picaroon i t.
 ketch = hang.
 mutineer = mutiny.
 pirate i.
 marshal refl. i.
 hocus-pocus i t.
 pedagogue t.
 pilot a vessel.
 churl t = niggard.

Rare: courtesan n.
 handmaid it n.
 chancellor it r.
 protector t r.

Rare: parent r.
 pimp together n.
 midwife Now rare.
 privateer i r.
 Phillis n.
 † braveer cf. domineer.
 † The serpent devil'd Eve = ruin.
 † bishop it.
 † rival it.
 † master it.
 † perdu(e) it.
 † proselyte refl. i.
 † free-booter cf. free-boot.
 † chronicler-ing = chronicle.
 † Chaldese t.
 † man it out.
 † Don Quixote t.
 † hawker i.
 † poor Robin it.
 † book-pad t i cf. foot-pad.
 † life-guard t.
 † archbishop it.
 † gallant a fan.

a 1750 rake i.
 Quixote it cf. ~ize, Don ~.
 pirate the invention of another.
 jockey t.
 mob t.
 hoyden i.
 rantipole about.
 hobgoblin into religion t.
 pamphleteer i.
 bully t i.
 pilot a course or way.
 Bishop = file teeth of horses.
 proctor (it) dial.
 cot dial.

- chum i.
 auctioneer.
 Bethel the city r.
 footpad.
 doctor = to treat as a ~; repair.
 butler i.
 gallant (it) with > gallivant.
 cooper casks, oil.
 quack up a p.
 † Don Diego.
 † mimp up one's mouth.
 † bullock cf. bully.
 † Mohock t.
 † Jerry(cum)mumble t.
 † lolpoop.
 † bravo = brave.
 † circuiteer.
 † pickthank r t.
 † monk it.
 a 1800 jockey = ride (Contemptuous)
 advocate t.
 herd i (absol.)
 picket (Mil.)
 maroon U. S.
 pioneer i (it); a way, road.
 godfather t.
 philander i. Cf. p. 120.
 gammer dial.
 cicerone t.
 † black i.
 electioneer-ing.
 buccaneer = buccan < Fr.
 hoax t.
 chaperon t.
 Rare: Grimalkined n.
 heroine it n.
 marshal out the way n.
 premier i n.

- esquire a lady = attend r.
 † fussock i.
 † hottentot i.
 † philander t.
 a 1825 financier = finance.
 devil.
 charioteer i; a chariot, a p.
 electioneer.
 mountineer-ing.
 omen t cf. † ominate 1582.
 lout i.
 palmer i Sc.
 maroon = 'hang about'.
 groom a horse, a room = 'fettle'.
 mag i.
 crimp seamen.
 farrier animals; i.
 mountebank it.
 major about.
 carpenter i t.
 mistress it.
 pioneer (persons in) some course.
 neighbour with = associate.
 champion = fight for.
 Jehu t i = drive.
 gallivant.
 jockey a horse in a race.
 a 1850 crony with = chum.
 jarvey i = drive. Cf. p. 59.
 butler drinks = pour out cf. bottle 1867—.
 editor a p., work cf. edit 1793—.
 martinet-ing.
 harlequin i cf. ~ize t.
 major t = bully.
 burke t = smother.
 maroon i.
 Juggernaut t = crush to death.

hocus t = drug.
 ghost (it).
 patroness.
 executioneer-ing.
 Mæcenás t.
 dilettante it.
 officer t. Cf. p. 17.
 joiner-ing.
 queen sby's will.
 Paul Pry i.
 mudlark i.
 Bishop = murder by drowning.
 rogue t = swindle.
 bear i; stocks, shares, the market.
 bull.
 beau a lady.
 queen i.
 deacon off a hymn.
 companion i.
 friend it.
 Rare: booby about r.
 errant i r.
 monitor t n.
 dowager n.
 master = take possession of r.
 imp n.
 general ranks r.

a 1875 cooper = spoil.
 filibuster-ing, one's way out, a constituency.
 buck up = dress up.
 mistress an art.
 boss (it) t U. S.
 muff a shot; i.
 picket i < refl. (Mil.)
 monkey t.
 pompey t = pamper.
 deacon fruit = doctor.

- mimp i.
 mucker i; one's chances.
 cavalier a lady = escort.
 pressgang t; i.
 devil i; a literary man's work.
 nark t i (Cant.)
 doctor-ing = practise.
 comrade with i.
 Radical i.
 picket (in a labour dispute).
 parasite t cf. ~ize.
 avant-courier = herald.
 fly the frisket.
 god it.
 Jesuit an ancient church (Freeman).
 pastor a spiritual flock.
- a 1900
- peai t.
 Kuklux.
 pal with, in, on, up.
 partner t.
 parent = 'father' or 'mother'.
 police t.
 dacoit.
 brigand = attack.
 Darby-and-Joan it.
 Dandy-jack-ing.
 Jonah t = bring ill luck to.
 lardy-dardy i.
 gallant i.
 miser up t.
 Rebecca a gate.
 ghost away.
 Merry-andrew cf. ~ize. p. 41.
 grass-widow i.
 old-soldier a p.
 Harvey steel, a ship cf. ~ize.
 satellited by a woman.
 rowdy about a place.

navvy i; t = excavate.

Jingo into war t.

U. S. marshal the cars of a freight-train U. S.

filibuster U. S.

mugwump U. S.

granny t U. S.

Austr. dummy land Austr.

jackaroo (colloq.) Austr.

man a horse = catch hold of. Austr.

Colloquial a 1890 Post 1828.

neighbour = associate Coll.

cooper up t = rig up Coll.

jew t Coll.

betty about i Coll.

candidate Coll.

Rare: governess. (n) t r.

mother-in-law n.

elder it over n.

flunkey i n.

hussar i n.

bridegroom t r.

host n.

factioneer-ing r.

Burnand-ed r.

sensor books r.

foreman t r.

director t n.

Munchausen n t.

phantom t n.

Post 1900

maid i.

mistress.

providence t n.

Modern

factor goods, money (Birmingham, Sheffield).

cox a boat; i.

Without date

rival i Arch.

- rogue t = cheat.
 sentinel tr.
 shepherd sheep.
 sister t i.
 smith t = fashion.
 sonneteer i.
 sot i.
 stag i Exch.; H. A. 23,30.
 star it i Theatr.
 supe i cf. toady.
 tailor i.
 thief i t.
 tinker t i cf. bel~, tink.
 toady t i.
 tutor t.
 umpire i; a game of base-ball. Cf. p. 62 (§ 51).
 understudy Theatr.
 usher forth, in t.
 valet t cf. lackey, page.
 victor i.
 volunteer one's services; i.
 ward t i.
 welsh.
 wet-nurse t.
 whip a party into line < a party whip.
 witch t cf. be~.
 witness an event, a bond or deed.
 zany t = mimic.
 steward an estate (Fuller).
 come a suitoring (Barham).
 tyrant (it) (Fuller).
 vagabond (it) (Sir Ph. Sidney) cf. ~ize (Reade).
 woman it (Daniel).
 wit it (Heylin).
 Rare: savage i r.
 slattern away time r.
 sovereign r t.
 sycophant i; tr. common. Cf. sponge.

tribune r.
 umpire a dispute r.
 trickster = play tricks (Scott) r.

Coll. soger, soldier Naut. i t (another man's horse). Coll.
 spark i t He is ~ing Miss Doe, to s. a girl home.
 go tomfooling.
 vert < con ~, per ~; i = leave the Church of England
 for the Roman communion, or vice versa.
 veteran U. S. = ~ize = reënlist. Coll.

† prophet r i = ~esy.
 † scriven t i.
 † shrew t cf. be ~.
 † sophister t.
 † surety t (Sh.) = guarantee.
 † sycophant t.
 † tenant i t; tr. in use.
 † traitor t = betray.
 † tyran(t) t = ~ize over.
 † warranty t.
 † weird t = warn solemnly.
 † widow t = survive as a w. (Sh.)
 † witwanton it (Fuller).

Ports of China and Japan.
 shroff dollars.

a 1000—c 1325 † bysen.
 1434—1639 † fellow = partner. Cf. p. 136.
 c 40 † fere. Cf. p. 136.
 1538— marrow with i Sc. North. Cf. p. 136.
 a 86 marrow t = resemble.
 a 86 pattern > arch.
 87—95 † example t.
 89 mate i < refl.
 1603 pair t.
 05 † compeer t.

c 1615	paragon. Now poet. Cf. p. 136.
92—	mate with i > arch. = claim equality.
1721—	marrow t Sc.
30—	chum i. Cf. p. 137.
a 1832—	mate with = consort.
45	companion with.
65	comrade with.
70	sample t.
79	pal with. — 82 partner.
Without date: colleague with . . .	

-ing.	1382	midwifing.
	1499—1579	† cutpursing.
c 1530		bribering.
	49	pot-companioning.
a 50—62		patching.
	91	† legering.
	1602	† Lucifering nonce.
	13—27	† Bonnering.
	33	brokering.
	41	† jading.
	44	† dictator-ing.
	48	alchemisting.

c 1645 Howell: A rich Boor's Son, whom his father had sent abroad *a Fryaring*, that is, shroving in our Language.

1663 Butler: Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,
And out he rode *a Colonelling*.— Cf. § 27.

1671 Dryden: As if I were gone *a Captaining* to Flanders.

1690 Crowne: Ay, sister, as young maids go *a-maying*, we'll go *a-squiring*, *a-knighting*, *a-lording*, *a-duking*.

1693 Shadwell: I must fly from the University forsooth to run *a cavaliering*.

1711 Brit. Apollo: *A Parliamenteering* to Chelmsford . . . I lately rid down.

1815 Scott: The hae taen Yule before it comes and gaun *a-guisarding*. [NED. Only in vbl. sb.]

1860 Gen. P. Thompson: You are not to go out *knight-erranting* in all corners of the town.

1860 Sala: The girls had to go out *governessing*.

1865 Carlyle: Austrians mainly are gone *laggarding* with d'Ahremberg up the Rhine.

First appearance

	of the -ing-form:	of other forms:	
huckster	1592	1642	
footpad	1735	1874	
farrier	1707	1814	
jackaroo	1887	1890	
pickpocket	1673	1838	
pamphleteer	1715	1763	
auctioneer	a 1733	1785	
engineer	1681	1781	Cf. § 27.

1810 beschoolmaster.

-be.

Coleridge, *Friend* III. 224. Young men — — — expensively be~ed, be-tutored, be-lectured, any thing but educated.

1850 becockney'd.

W. Irving, *Salmag.* ii 39: this poor town . . . has long been be-Frenchman'd, be-~, be-trash'd.

1861 besiren.

Trollope, *Barch. Tow.* 346. Thus be~ed, Mr. Arabin behaved himself very differently from Mr. Slope.

1862 bewizard.

H. Taylor, *St. Clement's Eve* 23. She cannot be more be~ed than I'm bewitched.

be-pilgrim.

Carlyle, *M. V.* 263. Mr. Lockhart thinks there was no literary shrine ever so ~ed, except Ferney in Voltaire's time.

be-quack.

Carlyle, *L. II* 346. Men are sick and distracted, bewildered, ~ed, bedevilled.

Carlyle. *Fr. Great II:* 45 towns and places . . . much burnt, somewhat bejesuitied too.

c 1205 bewitch.

1559 befriend.

- 1768 bedevil.
 1837 bespy = besentinel.
 1861 befool an estate, rare.
 1875 bemaster, emphatic cf. belord 2.
 1884 bemissionary.
-

-em. † 1597 Sh. empatron tr. = patronize; rare.

-out. «The prefix *out-* is used especially with proper names of persons, nations, sects, etc., in the sense of 'to outdo the person, etc. in question in his special attribute'. The classical example is Shakspeare's *Out-Herod Herod*; a few instances are found in the 17th c., esp. in Fuller, and in the 18th c. in Swift; but the vast development of this as of so many other Shaksperian usages, belongs to the 19th c., in which such expressions have been used almost without limit.» — —

1602 Sh. Hamlet.

I could haue such a Fellow whipt for o're-doing Termagant: it out-Herod's Herod.

1850 Vanity Fair 31.

It is out-Josephing Joseph.

1909 Aug. 31, Standard 8/6.

«Arsène Lupin» out-Raffles «Raffles», and «Sherlock Holmes» must hide his diminished head.

Names of impersonal objects:

1909, May: Rev. of Revs. 464/2.

Rothenburg, a quaint German city — which for quaintness «out-Nürnberg's Nürnberg».

1910 Jan. Rev. of Rev. p. 53/2.

The Maxim gun out-Maximed. (Heading.)

With a small change in the object:

1909 Dec. Rev. of Rev. 572/1.

Someone who — — —, indulges in a strong denunciation of Mr. Ure, out-Balfouring Mr. Balfour.

Intransitive: a 1661 out-Alciate.

1603 Breton: In labour the Oxe will out-toile him, and in subtiltie the Foxe will *out-match* him.

1603 Dekker: If you should bear all the wrongs, you would be *out-Atlased*.

1611 Shaks.: Great men that had a Court no bigger than this Caue, . . . Could not *out-peere* these twaine.

1615 Tomkis: She cannot outlove me, nor you *out-friend* me.

1616 B. Jonson: Thou dost *out-zany* Cokely, Pod; nay, Gue: And thine owne Coriat too.

1622 Massinger & Dekker: The Christian Whose beauty has *out-rivalled* me.

1634 Rainbow: You shall observe them to *out-Epicure* the foole in the Gospell.

1638(48) G. Daniel: All our pride Is to *out-foole* our Selves.

1647 Clarendon: We may be weary of rebellion, because other men haye *out-rebelled* us.

1660 Bonde: It grieved them to see the Independents . . . *out-knave* them.

1660 N. Ingelo: The Plowman strives to outdrudg his beasts.

1676 Marvell: [He might] *out-boniface* an Humble Moderator.

1678 Butler: Because your selves are terrify'ed . . . Believe we have as little Wit to be *out-hector'd* and Submit.

1883 Contemp. Rev. A determination not to let myself be out-stared or out-devilled by him.

Richardson Clarissa 4,303: But once more I swear, that I will not be out-Norris'd by a pair of novices.

1819 Metropolis I. 172: Out-heroding the French cavaliers in compliment and in extravagance.

1830 Scott, Ivanhoe, p. 80. Fur and gold were not spared in his garments; and the point of his boots, *out-heroding* the preposterous fashion of the time, turned up so very far, as to be attached, not to his knees merely, but to his very girdle.

1767 out-general.

1841—4 Emerson Ess. Ser. II iv. (1876) 105.

He will outpray saints in chapel, outgeneral veterans in the field.

1827 out-tailor.

Unless, indeed, some king Brummel . . should ~ him in power.

1839 out-queen (Bailey).

We still, one hour, our retain, to ~ all in kindness and in care.

1864 out-rogue.

Who alone in Europe have the subtlety and craft to ~ and outwit them.

1876 out-woman (Tennyson).

She could not be unmann'd — no, nor out-woman'd!

1889 out-paragon.

A hero who ~s the Admirable Chrichton.

«Compound verbs in *out*, with the trans. force of exceeding or going beyond some thing or person in some action» (NED p. 245) can be subdivided into these groups:

a) Both subject and object perform the action designed by the simplex.

1647 Clarendon: We may be weary of rebellion, because other men have out-rebelled us.

1602 Shakspeare: It out-Herod's Herod.

b) The action of the verb is performed by the subject only. Consequently, *out-* can be regarded as purely intensifying: outhectored = outdone by a hector(er).

1683 Pettus: that as you never were out-Hector'd by affronts or Resistences, so you were never out-done by Civilities.

over. 1340 Ayenb.: To vizte wyþ þe halzen an his to ouercome and to ouermaistri.

c 1350 Will. Palerne: So was he ouer-macched þat þei wiþ fyn force for-barred his strokes And woundede him wikkedly.

1565 Golding: Phoebe was of personage so comely and

so tall, That by the middle of her necke she over-peerd them all.

1571 Golding: Their assaults rushe ageinst God himself, as if they strived to overmate him.

1607 overman r.

24 † over-brave.

1735 Sheridan: My two puppies have . . . overpupped their puppyships.

1826 Southey: This is over-Macphersoning Macpherson.

18— in Macm. Mag. (1880): Overworked, over-worried, over-Croker'd, over-Murray'd.

out : over.

outmatch 1603. 1845, 85 = overmatch c 1350—

outpeer 1611. 1838 = overpeer 1565—

outmate a 1851— = † overmate 1571—1660.

outmaster 1799. 1860 = overmaster 1340—

Remark. 1799 H. Gurney: E'en in her shroud outmasters [ed. 2. o'ermasters] fear

outrival 1622, 1705. 1860 'over-rival' not instanced.

Ante 1400

hawk i (of birds and insects) = hunt on the wing; t = Names of animals.
pursue; to ~ at.

Ante 1600

drone (it) i = proceed in a sluggish manner.

dog t; i = follow close.

owl Now ch. dial. = pry about, esp. in the dark.

ferret rabbits; forth, out.

parrot (it) = chatter.

Ante 1700

fox i = to sham; > dial. and slang. (Stoffel 292).

ape t = to mimic; ~ it.

parrot words = iterate.

pig (it) = huddle together in a disorderly manner.

gander (dial.): go a ~ ing. Cf. go a catting 1681—1725.

Ante 1900

rat (over) i = desert one's party. Cf. p. 10.

magg t = pilfer.

possum i (U. S. colloq). In allusion to the opossum's habit of feigning death when threatened or attacked.

raccoon n i = walk about at night.

mole out sth = grope.

salamander, rare = live in fire. Cf. p. 136.

monkey = ape; mock; i = play foolish tricks.

barnacle t.

poll-parrot t; i = parrot. Cf. p. 136.

cuckoo a young bird out of the nest.

locust rare; i = swarm and devour.

mole t = burrow, form holes in.

rabbit together cf. pig.

gopher i (U. S.) = burrow.

Without date

skunk a player (Vulgar U. S.) = beat.

spaniel i = fawn, cringe; t cf. dog.

tup (Prov.) t; i = butt.

wolf down food (Slang).

Ante 1600 † cock (over). Cf. weathercock (Tennyson).

† colt t = cheat.

† daw.

Ante 1700 † fox t.

† cony.

† gib.

† ass n.

† pie t nonce.

† horse-leech.

Ante 1800 † crab.

† gudgeon i.

c 1560 horse t = carry on a man's back, = hog 1781 (dial.)

1614 † Pegase t nonce = serve as a P-us to.

Names of male animals. Sense = copulate.

c 1420 horse i; a mare (of stallions).

1530 buck i; t (of male rabbits).

Sh. tup t; i.

sire cf. father.

For additional verbs, see Farmer-Henley.

1398 †bull a cow (of a bull). Cf. †1398 to bull, i said of the cow, = take, desire the bull.

1528 †boar t; i (of a hog).

1611 †colt t.

1688 †ram the ewe (rare; ~ming 1590—1607).

Names of female animals.

Ante 1580 clicket(?) = be in heat, copulate.

† dam young (rare).

† ewe a lamb = yeane.

1816 keb = cast a lamb prematurely.

1500 drone i; ~out one's dirges.

Sounds.

1620 cuckoo i; t.

1688 †grue i (of a crane).

1841 chanticleer n.

1853 goose (Theatr. slang).

rook i.

[h]owl, formerly also said of the owl = screech, hoot.

1633 canceleer i (The hawk is called ~ because of its **Movements**. turning (once or twice) upon the wing before striking).

1652 eagle (it) i rare.

1792 quadrupedant-ing cf. ~pedate 1623.

Post 1818 peacock i (it) = strut about.

gander = wander aimlessly.

buck (of horses) = buck-jump. Mark Twain, *A Genuine Mexican Plug*. Tauch. vol. 2529, p. 27. He (i. e. the horse) can out-buck anything in America.

Post 1818 crawfish i (U. S. colloq.) = 'back out' = 'crab' (U. S. colloq.)

Post 1818 kite i = fly.

butterfly i = flutter, flit.

coon i (U. S.) = creep like a racoon.

Post 1818 crocodile i = walk in ~-like processions.
kangaroo.

Without date:

worm (one's way) along.

snake i = serpentine.

snail i r = move slowly.

† colt i = frisk or run about.

Theodore Roosevelt, Sometimes he (the bronco) is a «plunging» buckner, who runs forward all the time while bucking; or he may buck steadily in one place, or sunfish — that is, bring first one shoulder down almost to the ground and then the other.

Leeb-Lundberg, Kipling, p. 96 — the camera spidered round the corner.

a 1862 canard i; to fly abroad as a false report.

c 1600 cock the ears, nose, eye; i = to stick or turn up app. with reference to the posture of a cock's neck in crowing, or that of his crest or his tail. — Cf. the Stock-Exchange terms, *bear*, *bull*.

1798 hog the back; i.

1799 crane the neck; i. See Stoffel 312, note.

Sylvester wagtail (r) = move wings and tail

beetle one's brows.

Proverbs on Ducks (7th S. i. 107). — The following may be taken as a contribution on this subject from Ireland:

1) To «duke» or «jook», verb, to bob down the head so as to allow anything thrown to pass over it; taken from the bobbing movement of a duck's head.

2) The verb also means to evade a blow of any kind, or to elude capture by turning aside, the way a hare doubles. [N. & Q. 7th S. I. March 27, '86].

be. 1604 bewormed.

1858 bedog.

70 beflea.

1398 canker tr. Cf. 1489 a pen † encankered with rust.

1532 blast t.

1587 bane t.
 1695 blight t.
 1840 cancer t.

Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* I. Ch. XIX. p. 47: His opinion was that there was a strange kind of magic bias, with good or bad names, as he called them, irresistibly impressed upon our characters and conduct. — — — How many Cæsars and Pompeys, he would say, by mere inspiration of the names, have been rendered worthy of them? And how many — — are there, who might have done exceedingly well in the world, had not their characters and spirits been totally depressed and *Nicodemus'd* into nothing?

(In a German translation: wenn ihre Charaktere — — nicht ganz und gar zunicht genickelt worden wären!)

1759 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* II. 3. The souls of connoisseurs.. have the happiness to get all be-virtued, be-pictured, be-butterflied, and be-fiddled.

Cf. German, «die Seelen der Kunst- und Naturalienkenner durch langwieriges Reiben und Betasten endlich zu dem Glücke gelangen, durch und durch verliehabet — verbildet — verschmetterlingt und vergeigt zu werden.»

G. Colman, *Br. Grins, Lady of Wreck* II. x The world has been too much be-Maryed of late... we have had innumerable sweet little stanzas... ending with 'my Mary'.

a 1225 bolt i = go off like a b. Cf. p. 137.

1398 ooze.

1430 flake; now not of snow.

1527—1725 † gleet i.

1590 rack i.

1611 bowl along.

19 dart.

22 log i = be sluggish.

1770 feather i.

c 93 hulk.

a 1813 log i = lie like a l.

c 20 needle one's way. Cf. p. 138.

- 1847 plough i.
 50 lumber i.
 60 rocket.
 61 lump (down).
 78 tee-totum. Cf. p. 72, § 55.
 86 moon = move like a m.
 88 mill; of cattle, a whale.
 91 jack o' lantern, nonce.

Without date:

- shuttle = go back and forth.
 silt = ooze.
 sky-rocket.
 steam = rise as st.
 swivel.
 wheel.
-

- c 1450 braird = appear above the ground.
 1665 crop up, out.
 1841 fungus out; cf. mushroom.

Without date:

- shell = fall off.
 slough (off).
 a tree stocks.
 tangle; appar. literally: to twist together like seaweed.
 yeast i = ferment.
-

- 1598 furnace sighs.
 1609 lamp = shine.
 a 28 glass = reflect.
 1807 gulf = swallow like a g.
 20 mirror (back).
 30 lunt = emit smoke.
 c 60 abyss t = swallow up.
 71 moon out light.
 86 moon = shine.

1891 the week gulping me from meeting . . .
 96 glass, nonce = glisten. Cf. Fr. briller, p. 72.

1548 cheer = solace as food does.
 1721 kitchen t Sc. = serve as relish for.

1608—11 † diapason i; t; 1617 d. with.
 35 planeting = singing or music.
 1866 chord i rare = accord.
 98 pistol, nonce = crack.
 Without date:
 rime = accord.
 Cf. OE clynnan i = resound; clyne = metal.

1596 occasion t.
 1616 instance = indicate, point to.
 a 19 evidence t = prove.
 50—75 † principle = be the basis of; originate.
 1788 index out t = indicate.
 1858 incidents in a drama are motived.

OE sâelan.
 tīdan
 ȝe-tīmian.
 1340(70) hap i > arch.
 93 chance > arch. it ~s that; something ~s.

c 900 † daw < dazian.
 ȝe-ǣf(e)nian.
 c 1205—1483 † day = c 1250—1515 = † dayn.
 c 1374—1500 † night i (impers: of the night).
 1839(52) morrow i = dawn.

c 1440—1641 † night; pass. = to be benighted.

I was snowed up. Cf. forstormed 1393.

to be wintered = overtaken with w. Cf. forwintered
1481; the bewintered earth a 1652.

the atmospheric agencies that weather rocks.

neap. Certainly smacksmen believe that frost checks the
tides. They say it «nips» them, a play upon the word
«neap», which they use as a verb, and pronounce «nip».

— — — he once spent a week «neaped» on a sandbank
— — the little ship was «neaped» — — 1910 Jan. 1. Spec-
tator 11/2. (Cf. beneaped 1691 Naut.)

1807 frost t = frost-bite.

Sweet, 3e-widerian, impers. = be fine weather.

BT wederian = to be (good or bad) weather.

late OE, cięlian, be cold.

þunrian > thunder i.

c 1300—1726 deawian > dew > arch.

c 893 hail; it ~ s i;

13 . . — 1530 † levin i (< l. = lightning).

sleet i.

snow i.

OE blāstan.

ȳstan.

1682 breeze i.

92 gale i Now rare.

98 hurricane t = blow on as a h.

1702 hurricano t rare.

1805 flaw i = blow in gusts.

13 pride gusts up.

53 cat's-paw the surface of water.

59 breeze up Naut.

91 flaw t rare = ruffle as a fl. does.

Without date:

storm i; tr. a town.

it squalled terribly.

OE *ȳp(zi)an* = fluctuate.

a 1000 ebb i.

ME stream i.

1610 rill i.

49 deluge a surface.

52 neap = become lower.

1702 cascade i.

55 flood.

1799 Niagara i (Southey).

1832 cataract i. Cf. p. 138.

65 freshet t.

66 rindle.

Without date: roust i rare.

1362 back t = make a ~ to.

a 1400 head t = captain.

1538—1670 † check t = flank, border.

c 70 bound on i; i.

70 border on.

77 house = receive as a h. does.

99 frontier i (up)on.

1606 crest = top, crown.

10 bulwark t.

11 counterbalance t.

16 † preface = herald.

30 interval r; i.

34 brow t.

37 head.

39 † eve a day r.

39 floor.

44 edge (of a range of hills.)

46 † equivalence t.

- 1646 circumference t; r.
 49 hadland i.
 52 frontal.
 66 equipoise t = counterbalance.
 1708 escort t.
 94 fringe t.
 99 parasol t.
 1801 pillow (of a thing).
 08 cap = crown.
 08 interlude i; amid.
 10 feature.
 18 pinnacle.
 43 preface = precede as an introduction.
 43 background t.
 45 lip t.
 81 sandwich = enclose.
 90 pedestal.

Without date:

shadow a criminal.
 spoon tr; i colloq. = lie close to, the face of one to the back of the other, as the bowl of one spoon within that of another.

Poppies stud the turf.
 A dog tags its master. Colloq.
 tail after, away, off, on; i; colloq.
 tangent.
 † timber (Sylvester).
 † vanguard t.

- OE fierdian cf. -y.
 herzian.
 a 1300 flock i. Cf. p. 138.
 c 74 † fellowship = accompany.
 93 herd i.
 a 1400 herd with.
 c 10 fellowship i, with. Ch. U. S. relig.

- ME † rout i.
 1530—5 † plump i.
 82 rank i.
 1609—82 † faction i.
 11 pair with.
 13(6) pile (NED i for refl. or pass.)
 16 file i, away.
 32 peal i.
 28 league against.
 44 rabble a p. or his property.
 45 garrison.
 73 clan together, rare.
 1711 mob; also, mob it.
 a 74 pencil i.
 1806 coterie with, nonce.
 13 rabble i = become a r.
 16 fry, poet. = swarm.
 21 horde i.
 27 pair off with (colloq.)
 32 rank Mil.
 39 column up, i, nonce.
 a 56 hive off i; «the students hiving from the college gates» (Jespersen, *England & Am. Reader*, 142).
 1882 layer (of crops).
 84 students clique against a p. (colloq.)
 91 gang in.
 93 queue in.
 Without date.
 shoal, school i.
 tears showered.
 swarm (from a hive).
 throng i.
 troop = march.
 volley i = fly together, as missiles. Cf. p. 141.

1398 curd = ~ le.

c 1430 crust i.

V. *Bladin*.

- 14.. plaster = form a ~ y mass. Cf. p. 141.
 1530 clod, clot.
 55 plump out.
 1601 jelly cf. jell, jellify. Cf. p. 149.
 15 cake (NED i < refl.)
 29 porridge.
 41 † marl away.
 57 preserves candy by long keeping.
 69 meal = become reduced to ~.
 69 flux = melt.
 94 cheese, rare.
 1720 lump together.
 28 fritter away.
 41 oil. Cf. p. 149.
 42 mat; chiefly, mat together.
 91 felt (i < refl.) Cf. p. 139.
 96 † fritter.
 1818 pulp = become ~ y.
 a 25 pan Agric. dial.
 39 ice.
 39 brawn.
 82 mercury flours; Mining.
 1904 plush; of velvet.
 Without date: rime i = freeze into hoar-frost.
 slag.

OE strütian.

twislian (of roads).

- c 1100—1297 pough (of garments).
 c 1420—1626 water pools.
 c 1440 bag i.
 80 bristle i.
 1551 bulk up.
 62 bush i = be ~ y.
 66 knob (out).
 77 peak; now rare.
 78 loaf
 94—6 † funnel out, up (of smoke).

- 1595 pearl. Cf. p. 144.
 96 billow.
 98 fork. Cf. p. 144.
 98—1616 jetty.
 98 ledge i.
 c 1612 meander.
 14 pocket.
 24 belly.
 33 † bum nonce.
 a 58 crawl out.
 69 hip.
 72 bulk.
 77 bulge.
 81 bulb.
 86 † rase.
 1770 feather = grow in a~y form.
 1805 groin (of an arch).
 20 mitre.
 28 needle.
 32 loop.
 41 balloon.
 45 pyramid i nonce. Of a group in painting, to be
 disposed in a form of a p.
 1848 gable.
 50 orb.
 54 finger up, nonce.
 56 globe.
 57 pond (of water).
 c 62 knuckle.
 64 ridge i.
 73 bead.
 73 pocket = pucker, become bagged, rare, U. S.
 87 dome i.
 90 pod = swell out like a p.
 91 frill (of the film), Photogr. Cf. p. 146.
 91 lip (of a bone), Path.
 97 jack-knifing.
 1902 pouch i.

Without date: the bullet had mushroomed out (C. Doyle)
 ring i.
 rope i; Sh., Henry IV. The gum down-rope from their
 pale-dead eyes (of the horses).
 grass stools.
 varnish strings.
 taper.
 thong = rope.
 a point of land tongues out into the sea.
 top i = rise aloft; = topple.
 top t = rise above or beyond.
 tower i; † tower the sky.
 † tree (Fuller) = grow to the size of a t.
 tree, Electr., = take the form of a t.
 tuft = grow in t~s.
 volume = swell.
 zone = be formed into ~s.

The sky began to silver (rare) = become ~y.

III. 'De-objective' verbs.

§ 65. While the base-sb. of the verbs in the preceding section denotes an attribute of the *subject* of the (active) sentence, the base-sb. of the verbs enumerated below is the *objective* complement. The sense of the verb may be expressed by the formula, «to make a ~ of».

Some of these verbs have formally identical parallels in the 'subjective' sense-class. For the sake of comparison, I give some verbs with the dates of their first appearance in their several classes. Verbs denoting,

	to make a ~ of;	to act as a ~.
lord	a 1340	a 1300
king	1593	c 1420
bishop	1549	OE 1655
brother	1573	c 1600

god	1595	1871
doctor	1599	1737
pedlar	1661	1862
archbishop	1836	1692
hero	1883	heroine 1759 nonce.

It may be aptly pointed out here that a few verbs can be included in either class for equally good reasons. This is owing to the ambiguity of the base-substantive. Take e. g. *host*, also = guest; *rook*, *gull* = the cheater, or the person cheated, *fellow*, etc. (p. 97, p. 136).

It may be repeated that, with the disappearance of the reflexive pronoun, verbs of the present sense-class pass over to the one just discussed.

Another vacillation between two sense-classes, of which the present is one, is of historical interest. I refer to a group of verbs, as *embody*, † *enflesh*, † *enwine*, † *enbread*, in religious use. — Different schools of thought interpret them either as converted locatives, or as converted objective complements.

If Shakspeare's *instarred* means 'placed as a star among the stars', the vb. shows the two functions combined.

The general formula, «to make a ~ of», is to be interpreted differently according as the occasion requires.

«She fooled him» can be interpreted in Udall's terms (Ralph Roister Doister IV. 7. 84—5) as «She hath called him fool, and dressed him like a fool, Mocked him like a fool, used him like a fool», but it may simply have only one of the senses mentioned.

In some cases, I have tried to distinguish between significations, such as «to make a ~ of (by some bodily act, or by some ceremony)», «to treat a p. or thing as a ~», «to call a p. a ~», etc., but my arrangement does not exclude the possibility of the other interpretations.

c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom.: þe deuel . . . *fode* þe forme man wið god.

a 1300 K. Horn: Hit nere noȝt forlorn For to *knizte* child Horn.

- c 1300 K. Alis.: Thy taryng thy folk *cowardith*.
- a 1340 Hampole: If þai ware noght *lordid* of me.
- a 1340 Hampole: Wham swa þai may *felaghe* wiþ þaim.
- 1340 Ayenb.: þon him *uelaghest* mid þe huanne þou
zayst: — —
- 1528 Roy: Oure master shalbe *beggered* Of all his
ryche possession.
- c 1530 Redford: So mokte, so *lowted*, so made a sot!
- 1549 Latimer: Thys hathe bene often tymes . . sene in
prechers, before they were *byshoppyd*.
- 1549 Chaloner: They do binde Christ in certaine money
laves of theyr owne, and with wrested gloses . .
dooe *bastard* him. [NED: to declare or stigmatize
as a b., render illegitimate.]
- 1553 T. Wilson: When wee would abashe a man . .
we either *doulte* hym at the firste, and make hym
beleewe that he is no wiser then a goose, . . .
- Sh. Richard II. p. 79: — then, crushing penury Per-
suades me I was better when a king: Then, am
I king'd again; and, by and by, Think that I am
unking'd by Bolingbroke.
- a 1711 Ken. — He, with James co-martyr'd, lost his head.
- 1804 The uncassocked Prelate in his now re-layman'd
ministerial capacity.
- 1893 Selfish, until it becomes reselfed in God.
- 1907 Sept. 1. The Dial, p. 111.²—112¹: The following
letter from Mr. Alfred Nutt to the London «Press»
. . . «Will you allow Henley's publisher, . . ., to
state his opinion . . .; and that composers also show
an increasing appreciation of the essential singing
qualities of his lyrics which *kins* (sic!) him closer
to Heine than any other English poet of the nine-
teenth century . . .»
- 1908 Oct. 31, Lancet, p. 1315/2. We have no desire
to see boys «molly coddled».
- 1909 July Rev. of Rev, p. 78/2. Punch, in the cartoons
reproduced, has not «guyed» the Suffragette at

all; indeed, in one cartoon by Mr. Bernard Partridge she is altogether charming.

Richard Whiteing, No. 5 John Street, p. 206. — We «guy» our betters in slangy undertones, and, in short, make three miles of rude remarks.

1593 Nashe: I will not bee so vnweaponed-ieopardous, to ouerthrow both thy cause and my credite at once, by ouer-Atlassing mine invention.

1608 Bishop Hall, Pharisaisme and Christianitie: Devout young gentlemen whose faire patrimonies have been *druryed* by the Jesuits — — Pardon the word, it is their owne . . . usual amongst them to signify Beguiled and wip't of their inheritance; from the example of M. Henry Drury of Lawshull in Suffolk so defeated by the Jesuites. (N & Q. '80; 6. 1. 194.)

1674 [Z. Cawdrey] *Catholicon* 18. The furious zeal of persons *Don-Quixotted* in Religion.

1685 J. Crowne, *Sir Courtly Nice*, p. 284: «Nay, but don't throttle me! don't Godfrey me!» (The murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey evidently gave rise to this phrase). F. C. Birkbeck Terry, N. & Q. 6th S. VII. June 16, '83. p. 476/1.

Lord Macaulay, *History of England*.

While they were talking, a cannon ball from the ramparts laid Godfrey dead at the King's feet. It was not found, however, that the fear of being Godfreyed — such was during some time the cant phrase — sufficed to prevent idle gazers from coming to the trenches. (N. & Q. 1901; 9. 7. 183.)

The last stanza of Prior's *The Viceroy* is: —

To her I leave thee, gloomy peer!
Think on thy crimes committed:
Repent, and be for once sincere,
thou ne'er wilt be De-Witted.

(John de Witt was murdered in Amsterdam in the latter part of the seventeenth century.) F. C. Birkbeck Terry, N. & Q. 6th S. VII. June 16. '83. p. 476/1.

Cf. Athæneum, 1864 Oct. 29: In other cases the murderer, and not the victim, is lifted to fame or infamy. We have «to Burke» and «to Bishop», in the latter category.»

A reference to the verb 'to philander' may not be out of place here, as it shows an interesting sense-development, possibly due to «popular etymology» — or, rather misconception.

I quote Baumann's Londonismen: to philander = umherwandeln. Im Orlando Furioso zwingt das ränkevolle Weib Gabrina den Philander, sie zu heiraten. Dann vergiftet sie ihn, entkommt aus dem Kerker und irrt als alte Hexe im Lande umher.

1709 Steele. Tatler No. 31. 8. Why you look as if you were Don Diego'd to the Tune of a thousand Pounds.

1815 E. S. Barrett: Heroine III. 174. I therefore heroinized and *Heloised* myself as much as possible.

Names of
persons.

- «To X = make an X of». ¹
- c 893 martyr († occas. refl.).
- a 1225 be sainted = be(come) a s. in Heaven.
- a 1300 cripple.
- a 1300 knight. Cf. p. 117.
- c 1330 guest. Cf. welcome.
- 1375 saint = canonize.
- 1504 priest.
- 28 beggar. Cf. beggar-my-neighbour 1777.
- 49 bishop.
- 73 brother.
- 77 denizen = † denize.
- 89 cuckold.
- 93 king.
- 96 concubine.
- 96 fool.
- 97 cornute.
- 98 prentice = ap ~ > arch. dial.
- 99 doctor.

¹ Obsolete, rare, dialectal words are placed separately, p. 122—4.

- 1611 partner. Cf. parten.
 17 man. Cf. refl.
 21 proselyte (cf. ~ ize 1679—); i 1799.
 26 dwarf.
 29 pet; in early use Sc. = make a p. of.
 31 apprentice. The aphetic form is instanced earlier!
 1726 maroon.
 a 33 baronet. Mostly pass.
 53 peer, colloq.
 a 85 countess.
 89 queen a pawn. Cf. French.
 1803 invalid. Cf. cripple.
 14 orphan.
 36 archbishop.
 37 chum one p. on another.
 39 pauper = ~ ize 1834—.
 39 physician. Cf. doctor.
 43 queen a woman.
 54 deadhead.
 76 apparition refl. = appear as ~ s.
 83 hero = ~ ize 1738.
 94 guy.

Without date:

- siamese = couple together.
 star a p. Theatr.
 thrall = enslave.
 vassal = † ~ ate.
 widow. Ch. pa. pple.
 whore (Low).
 wive an empress, rare.

The verb = to treat as ~.¹

- OE welcome = treat as ' ~ guest'.
 c 1240 martyr = torture.
 1573 brother.
 1629 pet = treat as a p.
 1742 baby = 'mother'.

¹ See foot-note p. 120.

- 1787 invalid sailors, soldiers (Mil. Naval); (i).
 1823 blackguard = abuse.
 70 country-cousin.
 80 Boycott; b ~.
 83 hero = honour.

Without date:

sweetheart a lady (colloq.).

Obsolete verbs:

- OE † þeowian.
 a 1000 † monk.
 c 1200 † foe.
 c 00 † for-whore t; refl.; † by- ~ c 1440.
 c 1300 † coward t = ~ ize 1629.
 c 05 † martyr (down) = kill by cruel death.
 c 40 † fellow with, to.
 a 40 † lord t.
 87 † friend Ch. pass. to, with.
 c 1400 † fere.
 85 † host = receive as guest.
 92 † disciple = punish = ~ ine c 1300.
 1549 † bastard = declare as a b. = ~ ize.
 52 † bankrupt i.
 53 † dolt.
 76 † Godded with God (used by the Familiarists).
 77 † manned = made man.
 79 † clown = ? treat as a country ~.
 83 † cockney.
 92 † cuckquean.
 93 † dastard = ~ ize c 1645.
 96 † disciple = teach. See 1492.
 97 † Mignon. Cf. minion 1604.
 98 † Balaam.
 98 † idol r = ~ ize 1589.
 98 † ingle t; i with.
 99 † re-admiral r.
 99 † friar.
 99 † peasant r.

- 99 † pupil = teach.
- 1600 † noddy.
- 01 † Jesuit Ch. ~ ed.
- 1 † mistress = make a paramour of.
- 04 † minion r.
- 6 † companion.
- 7 † lady = make a l. of; 56 † ~ = render ~ -like. Cf. man.
- 1611 † dunce = † ~ ify 1759:
- 11 † bandit = outlaw.
- 15 † Actæon = cuckold.
- 19 † free-denizen = † free-denize 1577.
- 35 † puppet (up) = dress.
- 40 † coward = show to be a c. See c 1300.
- 40 † noddy poop.
- 41 † Christed with Christ (used by the Familiarists).
- c 43 † hermaphrodited n.
- 48 † publican n.
- 58 † eunuch = castrate = ~ ize 32.
- 58 † perdu(e) t; refl.
- 61 † pedlar.
- 70 † Jobe = 'lecture' Colloq.
- 70 † protector n = proclaim p.
- 89 † Dewitt = lynch. (The two D:s were murdered in 1672.)
- 99 † maroon pass. i = to be lost in the wilds.
- 1700 † Alexander = praise as an A.
- 04 † Coventry = slit the nose of. (C. was mutilated in this way.)
- 48 † poppet = carry like an image.
- a 97 † Grizel to patience.

Without date:

- † servant.
- † stranger Sh. = estrange.
- † thew < peowian = enslave.
- † villain = † ~ ize.
- † worry < ga-wargjan.
- † wittol.

Rare, dial., archaic, or nonce-words:

- c 1450 duke n.
 1595 god > r = deify, worship.
 1605 deputy r = to depute c 1425.
 5 knave n.
 6 earl, his ~ ed bishop.
 9 saint r = represent as a s.
 1629 pet. In early use Sc.
 47 disciple arch. = make a d. of.
 49 martyr n = represent as a m.
 a 52 esquire r.
 a 56 Cæsar n = ~ ize O3.
 58 pygmy n = dwarf.
 98 Portuguese < adj.?
 1753 nun up r = shut up in a ~ nery (Richardson).
 84 blue-stocking refl. n. Also = furnish with.
 1803 noodle r = fool.
 23 doodle dial. slang = befool.
 24 groomed n (Byron) = made a bride-~.
 25 burgher Sc. = burgess Sc. (Jamieson).
 29 griff = take in (Anglo-Indian).
 30 owl-spiegle n.
 47 drudge r.
 64 fugitive n.
 70 molly-coddle. Cf. p. 118 (1908).
 72 guy a p; i at a p. Orig. Theatr. slang.
 66 champion r.
 89 chameleon, nonce = cause to change its hue like a ~.
 93 goblin r = ~ ize 29.
 Sh. widow r = endow with a w.'s right.
 Sh. strumpet r.

Though verbs meaning, 'to speak of or address a person as ~' properly belong to another sense-class (half objective, half instrumental), I have thought fit, for reasons given above, p. 117, to give a list of them here. — The be-verbs below offer the best proof of the elasticity of the groups 'to treat' and 'to call'. — Cf. p. 181.

1573 G. Harvey: If he *boied* me now.. I hard him not.
[nonce].

1583 Stubbes: He who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied*
& *maistered* at eury word [nonce-use].

1584 Fenner: Howe can you *brother* vs thus in euerie
line, and deade so vnbrotherlie with vs in euerie sentence?

1598 J. M.: What cares a Gentleman now adayes to
knaue and *rascall* his Man at eury worde?

1607 Marston: Iaco. Nay, sir, her estimation's mounted
up. She shall be *ladied* and *sweet-madam'd* now.

Ran. Be *ladied*? Ha! ha!

1622 Rowlands: She.. would be *Madam'd*, *Worship'd*,
Ladifide.

1628 Feltham: Let me rather be disliked for not being
a Beast, then be *good-fellowed* with a hug, for being one
[†, rare].

1636 Rutherford: — —: not *lording* the prelates — —.

1658 Cokaine. Flora. I will obey your Highness.

Tra. *Highness* me no more!

1694 Mrs. Lo. — You won't, hussy.

Lio. — I won't be hussied neither.

1705 Cibber, She would III; Don Manuel. I warrant...
a young squab Spaniard upon my lap, that will so *grand-*
papa me.

1741 Richardson, Pamela I, 58: In came the coachman...
and *madamed me up* strangely.

ib., II, 268 She called her another time fat-face, and
womaned her most violently.

1748 Richardson, Clarissa I, 331: Nor would I advise
that you should go to *grandfather up* your cousin Morden.

ib., III, 359: Pris. will *Mamma-up* Mrs. Sinclair.

ib., VIII, 447: I am *Madam'ed* perhaps to matrimonial
perfection.

1753 Richardson, Grandison II, xxxii: How officiously
he *sisters* her!

1771 Smollett: Humphry Clinker p. 299: — «Yes, an
please your honour», replied the senior, «I have three hopeful
lads, but, at present, they are out of the way». «*Honour* not

me», cried the stranger; «it more becomes me to honour your gray hairs — —». Cf. NED.

Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* 132. Whenever he met a great man he grovelled before him, and *my-lorded* him as only a free-born Briton can do.

1855 Thackeray, Miss E. and my wife.. '*my-dearesting*' each other with that female fervour [etc.].

1864 Tennyson: much befooled and *idioted* (nonce).

1877 Lowell: It is altogether a bore to be *honourabled* at every turn.

1888 Lady V. Sanders: They still *darlinged* and *deared* each other as heretofore, especially in the presence of others.

London, *A Daughter* p. 289. «Now, my dear — » Jake protested. «Don't you *my-dear* me», she sniffed.

ib. p. 302. — «I do not know you, my man.» — «Don't you *man* me!» Del shouted, hotly.

Ponouns. Sh. *Twelfth N.*, p. 40 Sir Toby Belch. — Taunt him with the license of Inke: if thou *thou'st* him some thrice, it shall not be amisse. (Earle § 217.) Cf. p. 44.

1621 Bp. Montagu: Yet Colossus was no man nor woman that you *His* it. [Referring to Selden's 'upon a Colossus his backe'] = to use *his* of, to qualify with *his*.

1741 Richardson: I must *he* and *him* him now; for he has lost his Dignity with me.

Proper names. 1726 Amherst: *Terræ Fil.* xlv. 233. After having Cæsar'd and Scipio'd him secundum artem.

1748 Richardson, *Clarissa* I. 47: My brother and sister Mr. Solmes'd him and Sirr'd him up at every word.

1759 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* III. Ch. IX. p. 18. Trim insists upon bein tried by a court-martial — the cow to be shot — Slop to be crucifix'd — myself to be tristram'd, and at my very baptism made a martyr of. . .; (III. Ch. XL. p. 101) christened Tristram against the wills and wishes both of his father and mother.

In a German translation: die Kuh soll erschossen, Slop gekruzifixt, ich soll getristramt und schon in meiner Taufe zum Märtyrer gemacht werden.

Sir Samuel Garth writes in his once popular poem *The Dispensary*, —

«Let but his Lordship write some poor lampoon,

«He's Horaced up in doggrel like his own.»

[E. Walford, *M. A. N. & Q.* 6th. S. VI. 345.]

Byron, *Our Boys* II p. 55: Don't «Champneys» ME, sir.

1592 ass n.

1602 † honey.

10 grace.

28 good-fellow r.

30 † rogue.

36 lord.

58 cousin r.

1709 † bitch.

18 antichristian.

40 lordship (< 'Your ~').

42 Mister.

48 mamma.

49 father-in-law n.

52 fellow.

86 esquire r.

1802 mistress.

07 my-dear.

13 Ma'am.

20 Ladyship n.

23 Pa n.

24 miss.

31 my lord (No 'nonce-use').

38 Missis.

48 my-love.

50 Mr.

55 my-dearest.

60 poor-thing n.

62 Your-grace n.

64 dove.

- 1865 'poor' n.
 71 citizen.
 77 Honorable.
 88 darling n.
 88 dear n.
 89 poor-fellow n.

p. 9—10 my-dear-fellow.

Massinger: strumpet fame.

Instances of be⁵—.

- be- c 1386 Chaucer: Beth not *bedaffed* for your innocence.
 (Only pa. pple instanced).
 1393 Gower: Many wise *Befoled* have hem self er this.
 c 1525 Skelton: So currysly to *beknave* me in the kynges
 place. [NED to *treat as k.*, to call 'knave'.]
 a 1529 Skelton: Ye may well be *bedawyd*. [NED to
 make a 'daw' or fool of.]
 c 1530 More: They knele and . . . at euerye worde barehed
bigrace him. [NED to address as 'your grace'.]
 1539 Taverner: Some, we *beheretike*, we call Lutheranes,
 and all that naught is.
 1574 Hellowes: Young men without experience . . . *bedolted*
 of the thinges of this world.
 a 1576 Grindal: Caused men to kneel and crouch down
 and all-to *be-god* him. [NED to make a g. of, to deify.]
 1586 J. Hooker: You are *begraced* and *belorded*, and
 crouched and kneeled unto.
 1589 Hay any Work: The old porter of Paddington,
 whom John of London *bedeaconed* and *beminstrelled*.
 1593 Nashe: Too foul-mouthed I am, to becollow, or
becollier him, with such chimney-sweeping attributes.
 1596 Nashe: beruffianize, *berascal*.
 1630 J. Taylor (Water P.) Wks. II 158/1. I will not
 rayle, or rogue thee, or *beslaue* thee; ib. 239/1: were so *be-*
madam'd, *bemistrist*, and Ladified by the beggars.
 1743 Fielding: She *beknaved*, *berascalled*, *berogued* the
 unhappy hero.
 1794 Wolcott (P. Pindar) Rowl. for Oliver Wks. II. 260
 bedogging this poor Singer, that be-bitching.

1863 Grosart, *Small Sins*, 40: Only a 'small sin', a smug, be-furred, be-combed, be-scented, be-ribboned, *be-lady-loved* 'little fox!'

Sense of verbs prefixed with *be*-⁵ [NED].

5 a: to make a ~ of, to turn into a ~.

5 b: to call, to style, to dub with the title of etc.

Cf. *beknave* c 1525—1876: to treat as a ~, to call '~'.

beheretic 1539—1656: to call, stigmatize, or treat as a ~.

bebeast 1659 : to treat as a ~; to call '~'.

bedevil : to call devil, stigmatize as a ~.

bemartyr 1649 : represent as a ~.

bedwarf, also : to cause to appear as a dwarf.

beghost = [to make a ~ of]; to teach (one) how to play the ghost.

be- 5 a. In modern use, nearly all tinged with ridicule or contempt; cf. to *beknight* with to *knight*.

be- 5 b. Often with a depreciatory or contemptuous force.

Cf. 1656 H. More, *Enthus. Tri. Wks.* (1712) 27: Tho' they have so deify'd, or (*as they phrase it*) begodded themselves.

5 a = make.

5 b = call.

† be-daff	c 1386—1580 pp.	
-fool	1393—1831	1612—1864.
-knave		c 1525—1876.
† -daw	a 1529 pp.	
-grace		c 1530—1804.
-heretic		1539, 1692.
† -dolt	1574 pp.	
† -god	a 1576; 1656; pp. 1660. a 1716.	
-lord		1586—1883.
-deacon	1589.	
-minstrel	1589.	
† -collier	1593.	
† -thrall	1596 rare.	
-rascal		1596—1743.

	be-saint	a 1603—1711.	
†	-whore	1623	1604.
	-lout		1605.
†	-gull	1605—1620.	
	-monster	1605—1608.	1692—1880.
	-clown	1609 pp.	
	-dunce	1611 pp.	
	-madam		1614, 1630.
†	-hypocrite		1612.
	-ghost	1620.	
†	-jade	1620—1705.	
	-slave	1615—56.	1630—1713.
	-mistress		1630.
	-dwarf	1633—1678.	
†	-beast	1640—1713.	1659.
	-jesuit	1644—1865.	
†	-negro	1646—1658.	
	-cripple	1660—1755.	
	-martyr	1662.	
	-rogue		1673—1743.
	-villain		a 1734.
	-cowarded	1831 pp.	1752.
	-blockhead		1765.
†	-blunderbus		1765.
	-Roscius		1774, 1885.
	-scoundrel		1786.
	-widow	1787 pp.	
	-bitch		1794.
	-dog		1794.
	-knight	1794, 1808 (pp.)	
	-duchess		1804 pp.
	-doctor	1806, 1856 (pp.)	
	-ladyship		1811.
	-king	1831 pp.	
	-whig	1832 pp.	
	-lion	1837 pp.	
	-baroned	1842 pp.	
	-devil	1862	NED.

be-fop	1866.	
-brother		1881.
-lady-love		1863 pp.
-lady		NED.

Instances of *en-* (to make a ~ of, to make into a ~). -en

1548 Gest: Christes body is not *enpersoned* in us, notwithstanding it is *embodied* to us. [NED to unite with one's personality] nonce-word.

1576 Newton: A man should not give over or *enthrall* his credit and honour to Harlots.

1592 G. Harvey: Oh that the worthy Du Bartas were so *endenized*. Cf. † *endenize* 1598.

1595 Daniel: That grace . . . doth more than *enwoman* thee.

1599 Nashe: Saint Gildarde . . . the Pope so *ensainted*.

1603 Florio, Montaigne: Who *emprelate* themselves even to the heart and entrails.

1605 Daniel: That intolerable Misery, Whereto Affection now *invassels* me.

1609 Bp. Barlow: Awing our Princes, *enuassaling* our Prelates.

Ib. — — *enuassalled* Parasites.

1611 Florio: Infratellare, to *inbrother*.

Infigluolare, to *inchilde*.

Insignorirsi, to *inlord*, or become Lord, — —

Insignorito, *inlorded*, made or become Lord — —

Infratarsi, to *infrier* himselfe.

Infurfantato, become a rascall, *inrogued*.

Insorellare, to *insister*.

Cf. Indracato, *endragoned*, become a Dragon.

Incanito, *indogged*, become currish.

Inporcito, *inhogged*, *inswined*.

Inporchito, *inswined*, become a hogge.

Inuespito, *inwasped*, instinged.

a 1637 B. Jonson: Words *indenized*, i. e. derived from the Greek, and commonly used as English.

1854 If Mr. Parker had not *encannibaled* himself.

- 1864 Spectator: Like Charlemagne a high *ensainted* king.
 1865 The *enwaitered* greengrocer.
 1882 The *enserfed* freeholders bought their freedom.

- 1640 imbrute. Cf. *disim* ~ 1767 †.
 43 enslave. Cf. *disinslave* 1649.
 a 56 † *endrudge*.
 1806 *embeggar*.
 58 *enseraph*.
 71 *immember*.
 74 *engod*.

-
- dis-** Instances of verbs prefixed with *dis-* 7 b (to deprive of the character, rank, or title of ~).
- 1492 Act. Dom. Conc.: In distitutioun and *dishering* of the said Gelis [perh. error for *disherising*].
- 1563(87) Foxe: If he did well in so *dispreesting* and *discharactering* Formosus.
- 1599 Sandys: Over great severitie would cause a great number to *disfrier* themselves.
- 1599 Chapman: Neuer was minion so *disminioned*.
- 1603 in 14th Rep. Hist, MSS. Comm.: To *disjustice* .. Mr. Edw. Dynnys.
- 1603 Florio, Montaigne: At the *dismaydening* of their wives.
- 1607 Tourneur: Sword... Thou shalt *dis-heire* him; it shall be thine honor.
- 1611 Florio: *Dismonacare*, to *vnfrier*. Also, to *disnunne*. *Disuerginare*, to *vnmaiden*, to *disuirgin*.
- 1622 Nothing did difference them, but their Religion, whereof... they never argued, that they might not *disbrother* themselves.
- 1624 Bp. Mountagu: Aman that great Minion of the Persian Monarch, was *disfavourited* in a moment.
- 1631 Star Chamb, Cases: Therefore the Court would *dismis*se the cause or *dispauper* the pl[ain]t[iff], for...

1649 Prynne: The House of Commons . . having no more Authority to *dis-member* their fellow-members, than any Judges . . . have to *dis-judge*, *dis-justice* or *dis-committee* their fellow Judges, Justices and Committee-men.

1655 Fuller, Preferring rather, to *unpastor* and *dis-Elder* themselves. (†)

1672 *Disghibelline* themselves from the Puritans = distinguish as a Guelph from a Gh ~. (n)

1838 Carlyle, Mr. Lockhart at heart has a dislike to Scott, and has done his best in an underhand treacherous manner to *dishero* him.

1847 Tennyson, For I was drenched with ooze, and torn with briars. And all one rag, *disprinced* from head to foot.

1875 Tennyson, Queen Mary II. 2: So, after that, We had to *dis-archbishop* and *unlord*, And make you simple Cranmer again.

1585 disbishop. Cf. p. 153, dis-

1612 dissaint.

21 † disknight, rare.

22 dispope.

27 † disman.

30 discountess, rare.

30 dislady.

54 † dissquire.

59 † disclown, rare.

91 † distutor.

a 1734 dislawyer, rare.

1743 disminister.

1832 disquixot.

64 disanimal.

91 dis-Turk.

-de. 1611 Speed: Edward being thus *de-kinged*, the Embassie rode joyfully backe to London.

un- Instances of *un-*. Cf. *dis-* (p. 100).

Carlyle, M. V. 143. — Moved by all manner of testimonials and entreaties from uncle and family, the rigid Marquis consents, not without difficulty, to see this anomalous Peter Buffière of his; and then, after solemn deliberation, even to *un-Peter* him, and give him back his name.

Carlyle, Fr. Rev. III. 284. — When she had become ungodded again . . . Mrs Momore, it is admitted, made one of the best Goddesses of Reason.

1857 Trollope, Barch. Towers, 411. Mr. Thorne gave him (Mr. Slope) a look which undeanned him completely for the moment; —

unbeast rare. Cf. p. 153, un-

unbishop (Milton).

unboy rare (Clarendon).

unbrute rare (Penn).

uncardinal rare (Fuller).

unchaplain.

unchild rare Bp. Hall.

undoctor rare (Carlyle).

unduke (Pepys).

unfellow.

unfool, rare (Sh.).

† ungentleman = ~ ize.

ungod rare.

unking (Southern).

unknight.

unlady.

unlord rare (Milton).

unmaiden rare (Urquhart).

unman.

unmartyr rare (Fuller).

unmonk; CD 6592/1.

unnun rare.
 unpastor.
 unpope rare (Browning).
 unprelate.
 unpriest.
 unprince.
 unqueen rare (Sh.),
 † unsaint.
 unsheriff.
 unsister.
 unquire rare.
 untutor (Pope).
 unvassal, rare.
 unvicar.
 unwoman (Sandys).

-
- c 1440 brood eggs, young brood arch. = breed; i 1588. **Names**
 61 † crone the old sheep = pick out. **of**
 1530 † mouse = handle as a cat does a m. **animals.**
 a 1550 gull,
 1577 hackney a horse; i < refl. 1617.
 1580 colt.
 a 86 peacock = render vain. Esp. refl.
 1601 † jade = jape.
 05 monster = ~ fy 1597.
 06 jade a horse; i 20 = become ~ d.
 22 † hackney out a horse = let out.
 24 † buzzard = nonplus.
 24 capon = castrate. Cf. † incaponed, 1611. Florio.
 31 ork n = monster.
 46 † beast.
 52 hound a hound at a quarry.
 75 pigeon (esp. at cards).
 1700 duck-and-drake money, away a treasure.
 16 porcupine = make like a p.
 45 hack t < hackney.

- 1774 clutch chickens.
 75 parrot = to drill like a p. Cf. p. 104.
 87 gudgeon of, into.
 94 badger = tease. See brock FH.
 1811 kid = hoax; Stoffel, Studies 232.
 13 hack < 'a literary ~'. (Scott.)
 20 quarry a beast of chase.
 28 poodle = shave the hair of.
 50 lamb down ewes. Of a shepherd.
 51 kiddy (Slang).
 53 hog a lamb = keep over winter.
 57 hack a horse t; i.
 82 pig persons together.
 85 nugget an unbranded calf (Austr.). Cf. maverick
 C. D.
 89 goose = befool.
 1904 salamander garments r = submit to heat. Cf. p. 104.
 cosset = pamper.
 without date.
 rook t; absol.
 stag = fellow, as a deer-stalker does a s. (Slang).
 steer = castrate.

-
- a 1340—1594 † fellow (a p.) with, to (another). Cf. p. 97.
 1387—1604 † friend = make (persons) friends or ~ ly. Ch.
 pass.
 c 1400 † fere = make companions of.
 c 70 match.
 1450 fellow (with, to) = put on a level with.
 63—1522 † make.
 88 marrow t; also refl.; Sc. north.
 a 1586 paragon: Now arch. poet.
 a 86 pattern (a p. or th.) to, with another.
 93 mate with.
 1606—1803 † companion = make c. or fellow.
 11 partner.

- 1625 † example a p. = hold forth as an e.
 1837 chum a p. on another.
-
- a 1377 graff (a scion); arch.; 1483 absol.
 a 1420 bolt t = send off like a b. Cf. p. 107.
 83 piece.
 ME stream = cause to ~. Cf. p. 111.
 wedge = drive as a w. is driven.
 1523 pile = fix, drive in.
 26 park = enclose as a park.
 80 bowl a hoop.
 80 dart a glance.
 89 piece together.
 97 quoit away, off, down, out.
 99 football = kick like a f.
 1611 † flapdragon = swallow as one would a f. (n. Sh.).
 30 patch.
 35 essence = pour like an e.
 41 haulm straw for thatching.
 43 † beacon up = raise as a b.
 52 kernel = enclose as a k. in its shell.
 a 58—87 † elixir = distil as an e.
 63 leaf the leaves of a book; now U. S.
 67 plume, rare = set or place as a pl.
 71 raddle t.
 1707 † flask = protect as a fl. is protected.
 24 piece in.
 a 40 feather an oar.
 57 mushroom a p. = elevate in social position
 with great suddenness (nonce, Richardson).
 91 bodkin.
 1816 core, pass. = enshrine.
 16 dot = scatter.
 21 pepper = sprinkle.
 32 panel.
 57 plug = insert.

- 1858 pumphandle an arm, colloq. = shake in greeting as if working a p.
 61 sandwich something between two other things.
 64 Honest men were not to be battledored and *shuttlecocked* thus between names and names.
 66 flax = beat; U. S.
 77 needle a thing through. Cf. p. 107.
 82 oar one's hands.
 83 bead = string.
 1908 putlog.
 Without date:
 seed = sprinkle, sow.
 shuttle a face.
 † snush.
 stub a tree, up roots.
 swivel t = turn.
 toggle refl. = fix itself like a toggle-iron.
 wheel = cause to turn.
 1796 Coleridge: Lett. to Estlin (1884), 21: The Monthly has *cataracted* panegyric on my poems, the Critical has *cascaed* it.
-
- c 1000 heap; up, together, on.
 c 1275—1586 † flock (individuals) together. Cf. p. 113.
 97 † host = encamp.
 c 1358 pile; up, on.
 77 plait.
 93 cock hay; absol.
 93 mow hay; now dial.
 98 cluster. Usually, pa. pple.
 c 1420 garland flowers.
 c 20 clew, clue up.
 c 40 gavel = sheave; now dial.
 ME shock t; absol.
 stack grain, arms, cards.
 wreathe.
 1504 kid brushwood.

- 1513 bing.
 13 felt. Cf. p. 114.
 a 52 cop = bank up; > dial.
 55 quilt together.
 73 rank.
 77 mat.
 87 pook (unsheafed corn); local.
 92 herd.
 94 † fardel.
 96 muckhill.
 97 † conventicle persons.
 98 faggot up.
 1607 pair two persons or things.
 11 league.
 17 pout; dial. = pook.
 a 18 drift snow, sand.
 21 packet.
 23 rick up.
 41 dess; north.
 49 bundle.
 53 bed oysters.
 58 ball thread.
 83 quire.
 1702 necklace.
 06 raft; 45 raft logs.
 14 peal.
 54 group.
 60 bale cotton.
 62 cord wood.
 75 parcel.
 c 78 pile arms.
 91 pie potatos; local.
 93 rickle; Sc. north.
 96 line ships, soldiers.
 97 gait reaped corn; dial.
 1801 festoon.
 05 brigade.
 12 park artillery; Mil.

- 1812 plank; North. Sc.
 22 bulk. Cf. p. 115.
 c 30 roller hay; dial.
 32 layer.
 32 flemish down; 78 flemish-coil ropes.
 33 bank up snow.
 34 clamp up bricks, manure.
 39 lap hay.
 44 pike hay; dial.
 44 plump seed,
 51 corral wagons; ch. U. S.
 56 loop.
 59 mound.
 60 dunghill up the lees (nonce).
 65 battalion, rare.
 74 plank slivers of wool.
 79 laager up wagons.
 79 pool capital or interests.
 81 bunch.
 81 re-bunch: U. S.
 87 pod seals.
 98 loft pigeons.
 18.. pad leaves of paper.

Without date:

- rick.
 rout.
 row.
 school.
 sheaf, -ve.
 sheet.
 slump; colloq.
 squad your men = squadron.
 stook; Prov. Sc.
 tablet; techn.
 team (teem).
 tier.
 troop a regiment.

tuft.
 volley (out). Cf. p. 113.
 yelm; Prov. E.

- 1611 †imbundle, nonce. -en.
 11 †infardel, rare; after It.
 11 †insheaf, rare.
 11 †insquadron, rare.
 c 30 †encluster.
 99 †impaquet; ad. Fr.
 1727 embale.
 75 †embulk.
 1878 enmass.
 84 embrigade, rare.
-

unbundle, rare. Un-.
 †unclew.
 uncock hay.
 †unfardle t.
 unfile.
 unhoard, rare.
 unroll,
 unstack hay, guns.

- a 1250 mash (up) = beat into a soft mass.
 14.. plaster.
 1615 mash fruit, vegetables.
 62 pulp; p. woodfibre for paper. Cf. p. 114.
 1762 puddle.
 1885 fluff out, up. Refl. of a bird.
 87 dough, rare.
-

- OE holdian = cut up.
 brytsnian.
 c 959 dǣlan, ȝe ~, a ~, be(i) ~, for ~, to ~.
 a 1300 halve.

- a 1340 † parcell.
 c 90 mess food > dial.
 87 quarter (out).
 a 1400 leach meat; arch.
 c 20 † offe.
 c 30 crumb; now rare = ~ le.
 c 30 mull > dial.
 c 40 † rag.
 c 40 † paraph.
 c 49 lot (out) land = allot
 1530 joint a body or member.
 48 gore.
 63—1646 † loft a building.
 84 parcel; usually: out.
 c 86 † partaged.
 95 mool = crumble.
 98 † morsel. Cf. Fr. ~ ize 1886.
 1607 mammock; now ch. dial.
 25 handful out.
 30 † rand.
 36 † inch out.
 41 notion the text.
 48— a 78 † atom = ~ ize 1845.
 56 † faction.
 59 grade.
 69 meal = grind to ~.
 76 † half-p-worth out.
 1700 branch.
 13 dose a medicine.
 41 partition out.
 49 dole out = portion out.
 72 fritter; now rare.
 96 phrase; Mus.; also absol.
 99 paragraph; ch. pass.
 1815 cabin off.
 28 flour grain; U. S.
 30 penfold.
 33 junk.

- 1840 fraction; cf. ~ ize 1675.
 46 fillet a fish.
 53 line (out) a hymn.
 55 morsel out.
 62 group = classify.
 63 block out.
 70 ration food (out).
 71 flinder < ~s. Sc.
 75 flitch a log, halibut.
 76 pound; local.
 78 Lockyer, Stargazing 125. — We shall not only halve, but *half-halve*, or quarter the aberration.
 79 mincemeat.
 85 department, nonce.
 87 pound off.
 89 plot out land.
 89 half, colloq. = to 'be ~', go halves.
 97 nip liquor.

Without date:

- share.
 slice bread.
 syllable a name.
 team portions of a work; colloq.
 tribe animals.
 zest the peel of an orange.
 zone.

-
- c 1483 medley; Ch. ~ ed.
 1549 mingle-mangle.
 93 hotch-potch.
 1606 pell-mell.
 11 re-chaos, rare.
 24 lump.
 74 balderdash liquors.
 78 lumber.
 94 mishmash.
 1731 litter.
 69 hodge-podge.

- 90 caudle.
 1831 gallimaufry.
 a 50 muss; dial. U. S.
 54 mess (up).
 62 mull; Athletics.
 69 carburet.
 70 pie type; Printing.
 scrap.
-
- OE ȝe-efesian (hair).
 hrycizan.
 mæȝ-wlitian.
 wrinclian.
- c 1175 crook.
 a 1250 hook.
 c 1390 dice; esp. Cookery.
 1542 † compass = bend in a circle.
 60 corn gunpowder.
 81 hill soil.
 92 fan.
 95 bristle hair.
 97 pellet.
 1600 pearl barley.
 00 orb.
 04 purse the lips.
 06 belly sails.
 06 † periwig hair, rare.
 07 crop the ears.
 07 hinge.
 a 18 snail.
 25 club hair.
 40 fork. Cf. p. 115.
 41 globe.
 47—1754 † pouch the lips, rare.
 49 pound water > ch. dial.
 55 penthouse; almost always pa. pple.
 58 ball snow.
 61 landscape.

- 1673 pond a stream. Cf. p. 115.
 74 chamber a cavity.
 77 bezel a tool.
 77 bevel.
 1706 plate metal, rare.
 12 quill = goffer.
 15 colander = riddle.
 31 mitre the end of a piece of material.
 56 cove a ceiling.
 65 hedge trees.
 69 hog a horse's mane.
 69 bagpipe the mizen; Naut.
 72 cue hair.
 74 honeycomb.
 77 queue hair.
 77 ratch a wheel; Mech.
 82 featheredge = feather¹⁰.
 89 nook off.
 91 grain sugar, tin.
 93 crank.
 94 eight-square.
 99 cauliflower a wig; rare.
 1802 jaw away.
 03 saddle = bend downwards in the middle.
 07 bilge = belly.
 08 labyrinth = arrange in the form of a l.
 20 nave.
 23 hook one's arm into another's.
 40 hump = make ~ -shaped.
 40 loop something back, up.
 45 ledge.
 45 map; pass.
 48 ewe a p.'s neck.
 49 riddle with bullets = perforate.
 51 fancy animals or birds.
 60 pourpoint = quilt.
 65 bulge.
 70 bell = cause to swell out.

- 1874 gable a roof.
 75 pot-hook, nonce.
 79 dome = make ~-shaped.
 79 pancake, nonce = squeeze flat.
 80 burr.
 81 miniature.
 82 pill, rare.
 87 peak.
 91 frill the film. Photogr.
 93 mushroom a bullet. Cf. p. 116.
 97 pouch a part of a dress.
 1907 Aug. 28. Standard: — the golden valleys lay landscaped before the view from the giant ridges.

Shakspeare, Hamlet: down-gyved.

Without date: ribbon.

scroll. Cf. enscroll 1842.

shag = make ~ gy.

shingle the hair.

sphere.

spiral.

spitchcock an eel.

spread-eagle the field. Racing.

tape out.

the forward cars (were) telescoped.

trough. Cf. entrough 1876.

† tympany.

vandyke = cut the edge of, as a piece of dress, in points, after the manner of a Vandyke collar.

wedge = render ~-formed.

† worm = give a spiral form to.

- en. 1523 † embullion.
 80 † embowl.
 1611 † englobe. Cf. Fr.
 40 ensphere.

- OE deazian.
 hīwian.
 telȝ(i)an.
- 1490 azure.
- 1530 grain = dye in ~.
- 98 frizado.
- 1609 † gule < -s.
- 11 fox = redden; intoxicate.
- 18 camlet.
- 20 chamois.
- 48 coral, rare = crimson.
- 82 † pearl wine.
- 83 marble paper.
- 1760 quilt.
- 91 marble, rare = make white.
- 98 grain = paint in imitation of the ~ of valuable goods.
- 99 † jasper = marble.
- 16 iris = make iridescent.
- 1823 moiré.
- 25 snow ermined the dark-brown moor.
- 39 satin wall-paper.
- 55 magpied, nonce = black and white.
- 61 flesh = paint ~ -colour.
- 69 levant leather.
- 75 pebble.
- 98 lake = make ~ -coloured.
- 18.. pearl = make ~ y in lustre.

Without date:

- rose = render ~ coloured.
- ruby.
- tabby silk, mohair.

benegro = to blacken.
 becollier. Cf. p. 128 (1593).

- en. 1552: impurple.
 15.. F. Davison: Engreening.. those pleasant moun-
 tagnets.
 1580 Sidney: A prety feare came up, to endamaske her
 rosie cheekes [= to tinge with an interspersed shade of paler
 colour].
 1590 Spenser: Wildings... whose sides empurpled were
 with smyling red.
 1597 Shakspeare. — encrimsoned.
 1611 Speed: Carrying these rasures on their pictured
 limbes, as bodyes of their Noblenesse, thus endamasked
 [= to paint in various colours].
 1611 Florio, Inazzurare, to inazure, to inblew.
 Arrobinare, to enruby, to make ruddy.
 1630 Brathwait: That [woman] enazures her seered veines.
 c 1630 Drumm. of Hawth.: Phoebus in his chair, Ensaf-
 froning sea and air.
 1648 Herrick: Cheeks like creame enclarited [= to tinge
 with claret; to overlay with a claret-like hue].
 1863 D. G. Mitchell: Rosy cheeks and incarmed arms
 do not belong to the heroines of her dreams.
 1877 Blackie: Engreen the hills.
 1879 T. Hardy: A stratum of ensaffroned light.

OE	stielan.
	ȝe-flāsc-hamod.
1340	† naught.
82	curd = ~ le.
c 1420—30	† lead; tr.
30	cinder; en ~ † 1593.
c 40	malt grain.
77	flux.
1530	clod, clot.
82	† roche.
90	body forth an idea.
98	caudry.

- 1599 † cloth wool.
 01 jelly.
 02 coal = char.
 02 † posset = curdle.
 05 † mash ashes.
 07 cake; Ch. pass. Cf. p. 114.
 1643 † material.
 52 nothing; ~ize c 1830.
 71 crust.
 78 roche alum.
 1733 seeds malted; pass.
 41 ice.
 59 oil butter, grease. Cf. p. 114.
 96 prussiate; Chem.
 1804 coke coal.
 25 grist corn.
 37 pemmican = condense.
 48 crystal = ~ize.
 50 malm clay.
 83 chaff hay, straw.
 84 hay.
 91 dross lead.

Without date:

russet, rare.
 shoddy goods.
 silo (silage) grass.
 stone one's heart.
 stum wine.

- 1548 embody. Cf. p. 117.
 48 † enbread.
 48 † enflesh.
 48 † enwine.
 94 ensucket.
 96 emmarble a p.'s heart.

-en.

- 1599 † embrawn.
 1611 † instone, rare.
-

- OE brīwan (food).
 1533 confection.
 96 carbonado; arch.
 1547 † quiddany Christ.
 50 † marchpanado.
 57 fricassee.
 1728 † mango.
 69 florentine.
 69 fricandean.
 69 harico(t).
 69 † princess meat.
 73 graddan grain; Sc.
 1828 chowder.
 36 gammon bacon.
 44 matelote.
 91 kosher food.
-

- c 950 deal.
 OE lænan; loan.
 c 1205 plight.
 1382 escheat.
 c 1450 pledge.
 1535 prize a ship.
 38 merchandize; arch.
 46 legacy.
 66 pawn.
 95 † property a p.
 a 1661 palatinate, nonce.
 78 † contraband.
 1825 job a public service.
 81 protectorate Egypt; nonce.
 84 homestead; U. S.

Without date:

- share.
 - stake, cf. p. 59, § 49.
 - treasure.
 - wager a sum.
 - † warrantise.
 - † wed.
-

- 1776 fund an amount of public debt.
 - 1811 cash a cheque; en ~ 1861—.
 - 94 joint-stock.
 - 1901 kite = convert into a ~.
-

- 1265—1301 † inhoke (part of a fallow).
- c 1520 post timber; dial.
- 70 isle; en ~ c 1630.
- 75 copse.
- 92 paradise.
- 1620 mummy; ~ ify 1628.
- 61 island.
- 70 pollard a tree.
- 1742 brilliant.
- 66 lawn arable ground.
- 68 meadow land.
- 1830 log timber.
- 42 razee a ship. Cf. § 40.
- 65 avenue.
- 81 cocoon oneself in blankets.
- 84 corpse; vulgar.
- 99 nucleus men.

Without date:

- shrub.
- skeleton, ~ ize.

stub off a post.
 stump = truncate.
 terrace.

- en. 1613 †inivillage, rare.
 19 †enforest; cf. af ~.
 c 30 enisle.
 49 †impasture land.
 a 58 imparadise a place.
 1826 inlake, rare.
 48 envineyarded ruins.
 76 enruin.
 83 enarbour.
-

- a 1647 monosyllable, rare = reduce to a ~.
 59 adjective.
 1764 penacute.
 1846 diphthong.
 87 oxytone = ~ ize.
 90 paroxytone = ~ ize, C. D.
 Modern Dicts.:
 orthotone.
 Cudworth:
 an adj. substantiv'd, rare.
-

- 1388 English = translate into ~. Cf. p. 48, 4.
 1563 †Latin.
 1887 French, rare.

1863 High-Church a village.

OE BT *op fiftēne niht bēon zeeastrode* = until 15 days
 of Easter have elapsed.

- 1542— dispark. Cf. p. 133, dis- Dis-
 1593 disparish.
 1606 †disself, nonce.
 18 disflower.
 29 56 †dischurch.
 47 †disgaol.
 83 disconventicle.
 1725 dischase (legal).
 27 diswarren a warren.
 1817 dismurdered murders.
 72 disturnpike, p. 60.
 78 dismarket (legal).
 81 disfen.
- 1538— deforest (Law) = disaf ~, dis ~. de-
 1691 †deport a port, nonce = dis ~.
- uncastle a castle (Fuller). Cf. p. 134, un- un-
 unchurch the church.
 uncoin money, rare.
 †unforest = disaf ~.
 unlaw, rare (Milton).
 unsacrament baptism,
 unseven, p. 75.
 unsin.
 unstate (N. Ward).
 unwarren.
 †unwonder.
- a 1679 †non-church = deprive of the status of a ~.
 1788 †non-will = to will the annihilation of.

IV—V. Ornative & Privative Verbs.

In this and the following sections I intend to give only § 66 & 67. a selection of verbs illustrative of the several sense-classes. Having treated above those verbs formed from sbs. that were to

be considered as predicates of either the subject (§ 64) or the object (§ 65) of the sentence, we will now examine verbs whose nouns have the function of instrumentalis. These verbs can properly be divided into two classes, one consisting of verbs whose base-sb. really designates an instrument, the other including such verbs as are formed from nouns designating the thing with which something (somebody) is furnished, supplied, etc., 'ornative' verbs.

The all but inexhaustible number of such verbs can be guessed at from the following lists where I give only verbs whose base-sb. is the name of some article of clothing, or (in the second word-list) the name of some kind of food.

- c 900 †hade, hode = ordain.
- a 1000 helm. Ch. poet.
- c 1000 saddle a horse.
- c 1200 †hater t.
- a 1300 belt.
- c 06 manacle. Freq. 17th c.
- 62 coat.
- cope; † it.
- diadem = crown.
- 77 robe t. refl.
- c 80 mitre.
- 93 bridle a horse.
- 93 †peitrel a horse.
- a 1400 guise (arch.).
- c 00 mantle. Cf. c 1450 (up, over).
- c 20 hood.
- c 30 hat.
- c 40 halter a horse.
- c 50 armour.
- c 50 girth.
- 68 boot t; i < refl. 1597.
- 68 breech a boy.
- c 70 muzzle an animal.
- 83 cap.
- 83 sark. Sc. north.

- c 1485 gown t; i < refl. 1896.
 14 . . †hambargh.
- c 1500 patched.
 14 cloak.
 19 ring swine or cattle.
 30 curb a horse.
 30 panel a mule, an ass.
 36 cowl.
 52 ring the fingers.
 79 †mask i.
 80 girth a horse.
 82 girdle (about, in, round).
 83 bit a horse.
 mask = conceal.
 84 cap a proverb, verses.
 86 handlock = handcuff.
 88 mask the face, head. Ch. pass.
 97 glove.
 97 †livery r.
 98 periwig (arch.).
- 1600 kerchief.
 01 collar.
- 1614 garment. Ch. -ed.
 21 muff r.
- a 26 robe i.
 38 gear a draught animal.
 53 iron.
 56 †rayment.
- a 61 helmet.
 69 peruke r; ~ d 1632.
 74 plate a horse.
 92 collar a horse.
 93 cuff = handcuff.
- 1713 sandal.
 20 handcuff < cuff NED. Sb. handcuff 1775.
 60 gaiter.
 62 bell the cat.
 74 tar and feather.

- 1780 cassock.
 84 blue-stocking oneself n.
 87 crupper a horse.
 91 beard.
 91 cincture = gird.
 95 mail t.
 95 buskin n.
 96 sash. Ch. ~ ed.
 1804 galosh a boot, a shoe.
 08 saddle a burden upon another's back.
 10 cowl t.
 13 coronet t.
 14 cravat t.
 16 hand-bolt.
 23 costume.
 23 ring a woman r.
 28 poke an ox U. S.
 28 frock.
 32 panoply.
 37 bonnet = crush down the b. Cf. 58.
 38 ring the bull.
 39 satchel on thee my experience.
 46 garb t.
 48 kidglove hands.
 50 petticoat-ing i.
 57 pinafore t.
 58 bonnet.
 61 jacket (Techn.).
 61 barnacle a horse.
 65 blinker a horse.
 67 rat (= a hair-pad).
 73 mitten U. S. = 'give the m. to'.
 75 cinch = 'put the screw on'.
 76 guise i Ch. Sc. north.
 82 great-coat.
 88 kirtle.
 95 petticoat.

Without date:

ringle the snout of a hog. Prov.
 robe a sovereign ME; i.
 scarf (Sh.).
 scepter, -re.
 shawl r.
 shirt.
 shoe.
 short-coat < ~ s.
 shroud OE.
 smock.
 stocking Dryden.
 surcingle a horse.
 surplice. See cassock 1883.
 tog, slang = dress.
 tonsure.
 trace a horse.
 trammel.
 valance.
 vesture t.
 wig colloq.
 wimple ME.
 yoke ME; i.

I am slippered and jacketted, and like that same starling
 who is so seldom quoted, can't get out. 1837 Dickens (letter).
 Forster, Book II. 1.

-
- c 835—c. 1230 † atter = poison.
 c 974 † mast animals (mest).
 a 1300 fodder cattle.
 77 physic > colloq.
 99 † food r = feed.
 c 1410 meat i.
 c 30 nurture.
 1530 flesh a hawk or hound.
 35 † boll i = quaff the bowl.

- 49 †belly-cheer i.
 56 board i, t a lodger.
 c 60 liquor (up) t > slang.
 68 meat = feed > dial.
 76 fern.
 94 pot i (it) (arch.).
 a 1600 pudding dial. vulgar.
 06 †cup t i.
 07 †bever i.
 07 caudle t.
 09 †fig away < 'a poisoned f.'
 11 †collation i, t.
 11 potion.
 14 oil.
 a 16 pap (up). Cf. It.
 30 meal cattle.
 50 †garbage.
 54 dose a p.
 67 drug a p., esp. = poison.
 74 philter, -re.
 79 breakfast i; t 1793.
 82 milk n = instil with mother's m.
 1715 dram i; t 70.
 36 pill = dose.
 48 dinner i; t 1822 = dine.
 51 oat a horse; absol. U. S.
 53 corn a horse. Sc. north.
 68 draught r.
 68 jalap.
 80 beer i Colloq. and humorous.
 81 blood Venery.
 95 bumper (it).
 97 opodeldoc.
 1804 gruel n See 1850.
 04 punch i r colloq.
 11 lush(it) i; t 21.
 13 malt i vulg.
 14 champagne, claret i n. Cf. wine.
 15 sandwich i = make a light repast.

- 1823 ginger a horse.
 23 lunch i; 92 t colloq. Cf. p. 9, § 15.
 23 medicament t.
 25 port (it) i. Cf. wine.
 25 opium to death.
 27 meal = make a ~, eat ~ s.
 30 garlic n.
 30 mug = bribe with liquor.
 31 locus (away). Cf. hocus Slang.
 33 grog i.
 36 milk-and-water i.
 37 lollipop t.
 37 brandy t.
 38 brimmer t; absol.
 39 laudanum.
 39 liquor (up) i. Cf. 1560.
 41 chop i Colloq.
 44 ptisan t.
 50 chocolate i n.
 53 ginger-cordial (Reade).
 57 musseled = poisoned.
 59 grass i Of animals = graze.
 59 mash t r.
 79 bread = provide with daily bread.
 82 confection t r.
 85 luncheon i.
 87 nip i.
 90 porridge t.

Without date:

- stuff i = eat greedily.
 †supper i = sup.
 supper t r.
 taffy t; he was ~ ied into yielding (Slang, U. S.).
 tea i, t. Colloq.
 victual i.
 water cattle OE.
 water i = drink w.
 wine t, i Colloq.

Charles Reade, *Readiana* 9: Now laughing together thaws our human ice; long before Swindon it was a talking match, — at Swindon who so devoted as Captain Dolignan, — he handed them out, — he *souped* them, — he *tough-chickened* them, — he *brandied* and *cochinealed* one, and he *brandied* and *burnt-sugared* the other.

- Privative.** c 1000 milk a cow t, absol.; ~the milk 1398 Ch. pass.
 a 1225 crop a plant, tree.
 97 more = uproot = root up.
 a 1300 head a p; a tree 1513; ~down cf. behead.
 30 bowel = disem ~.
 c 75 muck.
 c 80 dock = curtail.
 82 brain.
 82 † milk = suckle.
 88 poll a p., an animal; a head (Arch.); a tree 1577.
 98 hull.
 13.. gut fish; ~a building 1688 cf. eviscerate.
 c 1400 † clod land; absol.
 29 beard oysters, timber.
 c 40 blade (dial.)
 c 40 louse t; i < refl. 1570—1727.
 83 burl cloth.
 94 bone fish.
 14.. gill fish; † ~beasts.
 a 1500 clot = clod.
 13 fin a fish.
 23 belt sheep.
 30 grain skins.
 30 † pip a fowl.
 37 fleece the wool from a sheep.
 42 † garbage fish = gut.
 5 bark a tree.
 62 husk.
 8 dust.

- 1577 bobtail.
 7 pinion a bird, a wing.
 7 poll a tree cf. pollard.
 80 rind a tree.
 96 † pelt the skin from > dial.
 7 core fruit.
- 1601 † case a hare.
 2 † poll = behead.
- a 10 flea.
 3 cream (off).
 28 fleece a sheep of the wool.
 28 poll a sheet.
 33 blood Surgery = to bleed. — 1649—1724 † chave.
 77 moss trees.
- 1710 quill a wing r.
 4 gut a book cf. essence.
 25 sap wood.
 27 cream milk = skim.
 8 gill a mushroom.
 36 nose gooseberries.
 57 hide r = flay.
 68 ream t, i cf. cream.
 77 flesh a skin, hide (Leather-manuf.)
 88 leam nuts; i of nuts.
 91 pulp coffee-beans.
- a 1800 mole.
 0 ring trees.
 2 hair = depilate.
 7 awn.
 23 flick a hare Ch. dial.
 46 couch.
 6 fillet a fowl.
 6 flag wheat.
 7 havel barley (local).
 8 gralloch a deer.
 74 quick.
 84 dross.
 7 ringbark trees.

- 1887 lean a whale.
 90 feather a bird (Shooting).
 3 pin-feather.
 1902 pod peas.

Without date:

- rind a tree.
 ross.
 scale a fish, almonds (ME).
 shell corn, a crab.
 † shrag ME.
 skin.
 slough the skin.
 snag U. S. Australia.
 snot the nose (Low).
 spleen.
 stem tobacco.
 stone fruit.
 strig currants.
 stub a field.
 sucker tobacco.
 sweat (Slang or cant).
 tag sheep.
 tail gooseberries Colloq.
 tassel growing Indian corn.
 top a plant, a candle; i †.
 † vermin.
 weed t; i.
 wind a horse.
 worm a plant, a dog.

-
- be- c 1000 behead.
 c 1205—a 1528 † belim.
 1589 † besleeve (a bishop) nonce.
 1649 † beflake, rare.
 18 . . betail < behead.
 Cf. 1705 † benecking, rare.
-

- 1375 † debowel = dis~ = disem~. de-
 1555 † de freight = disload cf. disfraught 1599.
 1609 decrown = dis~.
 1610. 53 † deglory.
 16.. † destate.
 1807 delassitude n (W. Irving).
 64 desilver = de~ize 1872.
 74 desulphur = de~ize 1864.
 78 desulphuret.
 92 dezink = dezincify 1874.
 Mod. degerm wheat.
 C. D. (U. 6612/2.) degum.

Kipling (Leeb-Lundberg, 94): A Chinaman jerked up a twenty-pounder [a salmon], beheaded and *de-tailed* it with two swift strokes of a knife, ...

-
- 1444 disbowel = disem~. dis-
 c 77 dishelm. After Fr.
 1530 discommon.
 31 disburden the bearer.
 48 † disrelish.
 48 † disvisor.
 62 † disgloss.
 63 † disvesture, rare = un~.
 63 discharacter.
 75 disbranch a tree cf. Fr
 77 disshroud.
 78 disbark a tree = de~.
 81 disrobe cf. OF.
 86 discrown cf. OF.
 c 86 † dishedge.
 c 86 † dismight.
 86 † disyellow, nonce.
 89 † distackle.
 91 disseptre.
 92 † distask, rare.

- 1593 † disornament, rare.
 94 disgarrison a castle.
 94 distenant.
 96 discase Arch. = undress.
 97 † disclout.
 98 † dislive.
 98 dishorn.
 98 disleaf, -ve.
 99 † discloak.
 99 † disrapier.
 99 † distitle = disen ~.
 99 † diswit.
 1600 discloud.
 01 † disburgeon = disbud.
 02 † disweapon.
 03 † disspur, nonce.
 03 † disheart = dis ~ en.
 03 † diswench.
 05 † disstate.
 06 disflower.
 06 displume = de ~. Cf Fr.
 08 † dispassion. Cf Fr.
 10 disshadow, rare.
 11 disveil cf. tr. = un ~.
 11 disedge.
 11 diswood.
 11 † disgout.
 12 † disgarbage.
 13 † diseffect.
 15 † dispatron.
 16 † discurtain.
 16 disgarland.
 a 17 disprivilege.
 a 18 † disnerve.
 20 disflesh.
 22 † dissoul, nonce.
 22 † discommission.
 27 † diswall = dismantle.

- 1627 † dismanacle.
 27 † disworth.
 31 disbrain.
 31 † dishair.
 32 † disteasured, nonce.
 32 disland an heir.
 36 † disbar forts.
 a 38 † distree.
 38 dislustre t > i.
 40 dishouse ground.
 40 † disconceit.
 40 † dismortgage.
 40 † dissinew.
 40 † distreasure.
 42 † disgospel, nonce.
 46 disbody = disem ~.
 47 dispirit.
 49 † dismystery.
 50 † dismettled, rare.
 54 disprejudice, rare.
 54 † disthatch, nonce.
 54 † disspanel.
 54 † disrump, nonce.
 55 † discale.
 56 † dispower.
 58 † dispale.
 59 disfeature. Cf. de ~.
 62 dislimb.
 65 † disuniversity, nonce.
 83 disgavel (Law).
 87 † disheir.
 1706 † dissalt.
 19 † diseyeing.
 26 disrest, rare.
 27 disbud.
 a 34 disgown cf. disrobe.
 a 34 dislace, rare.
 47 dismast. Cf. tr.

- 1780 diswig.
 88 disruddered.
 96 disorchard land, rare. Cf. disforest.
 1811 disrate.
 29 disennui.
 31 disaproned, Carlyle.
 36 dislipped.
 36 disring a finger.
 37 disroof = un ~.
 37 diswhip, nonce.
 37 disgigged. Gigmanity Carlyle.
 37 diswing, rare.
 37 diswindow, rare.
 48 disprivacied.
 a 49 dishelm.
 49 disvowelled, nonce.
 52 discommons a tradesman (Oxf. Camb.)
 54 dissplendour, nonce.
 56 discommons < use of a c.
 58 disturf, rare.
 61 dispageant, rare.
 63 disman a country.
 3 disorb.
 3 dispetal.
 65 dispowder.
 65 disvoice, rare.
 72 disturnpike a road. Cf. p. 60.
 77 disheaven.
 7 dispurple, nonce.
 80 disfever.
 1 dislune nonce < lunacy.
 81 disnosed.
 3 disbutton.
 3 discompanion, rare.
 84 disbloom.
 85 dislicense, rare.
 85 disfoliated. Of a forest.
 87 discrested.

1890 disgeneral.

95 dispulp.

c 1550 † out-people a country n = depopulate. out-

1748 Richardson I. xiii. 86. This little syren is in a fair way to *out-uncle*, as she has already *out-grandfathered* us both! (= to do out of an u.). Cf.

1748 Richardson Clarissa (1811) VII. 49. I will contrive to be the man, *petticoated out*, and vested in a gown and cassock.

1586 out-countenance = put out of c.

1607 † out-humour

1839 out-heart n = dishearten.

92 out-patience n = put out of p.

unchild, rare (Sh.)

ungod, rare (Dryden).

unhorse.

unland.

unman a ship or town.

unpeople < tr.

unsister

un-

Sh. 1 Hen IV. II. 2. 42. Thou liest; thou art not colted, thou art uncolted. (r).

Fuller: Rome will never so unpope herself — — — (rare).

unbelt a p. Cf. pp. 154—7.

unbonnet t i.

uncap t > i.

uncape a hawk.

Garments.

† uncase i = undress.
 uncloak t i.
 uncoif, rare.
 uncowl.
 unfrock.
 ungarment.
 unglove your hand.
 ungown.
 unharness a horse.
 unhat t > i.
 unhelm.
 unhoop the fair sex.
 unmantle.
 unmask t > i.
 unmiter, rare.
 unpanel a horse.
 unrobe.
 unrope U. S. local = unharness.
 unsaddle t; absol.
 unshoe.
 unshroud.
 unswaddle.
 unswathe.
 untackle.
 untrace a horse.
 unvizard.

unballast.
 unbank, rare.
 unbarricade.
 unburden a p.
 uncap a cartridge.
 undam water, rare.
 unedge a weapon.
 unfence.
 unhoop a cask.

unknot = unknit.
 unlimber guns; absol.
 unline a purse, rare.
 unload a ship, freight.
 unroof a house.
 unshot a gun.
 unshutter windows.
 unstock a gun.
 unstring a harp.
 unteam a chariot.
 unthread a needle.
 untile.
 unturf.
 unwire a cage.
 unwoof, rare.

unbolt a door.
 unbrace a drum, arms, nerves.
 unbridle.
 unbuckle a shoe.
 unchain.
 unclasp a purse.
 uncord a package, a bed.
 uncork a bottle; a p. (coll.)
 unfetter.
 ungyve, rare.
 unhasp.
 unhinge.
 unhook.
 unlatch.
 unleash.
 unmanacle.
 unmuzzle your wisdom.
 unnail our Lord.
 unpeg the basket.
 unpin.

Instruments.

unpinion.
 unplug.
 unprop.
 unrein.
 unring.
 unrivet.
 unscrew.
 unseal.
 unshackle.
 unsneck.
 unspar.
 unspike a cannon.
 unstopper, -le a bottle.
 untether animals.
 unyoke oxen t > i.

† unbark a tree.
 † unbody i of the soul.
 unbone, rare.
 † unbowel = disem ~.
 unessence, rare.
 unfeather.
 unflesh, rare.
 unflower, rare.
 unhair skins and hides.
 unhead a monarch.
 † unheart.
 unhusk corn, a p.
 † unlive.
 unnerve.
 unscale.
 unsex.
 unshale, rare.
 unshell.
 unsinew.
 † unsoul i.
 † unspirit.

unsting, rare.
 † untongue.
 untooth.

ungum ramie.
 unlime hides.
 unlute a vessel.
 unoil.
 unplumb, rare.
 unstarch (also fig.)
 unsteel rare.
 untin waste tin-plates.
 unwater a mine.

VI. Instrumental verbs.

As specimens of this numerous class, I have selected a § 68. few verbs whose base-nous are proper names in a transferred application, or else are interesting from a morphological point of view. Some verbs not to be found in dictionaries are appended.

- a 1693 hoe crops, out plants; h. the ground 1712—.
 1731 horse-hoe t; absol.
 33 hand-hoe t.
 1708 curry-comb.
 68 horsewhip.
 69 forelock.
 70 blackball a p.
 76 handspike.
 88 cartwhip.
 89 quarterstaff.
 96 cat-o'-nine tail (Southey) = to cat 1825.
 1825 rope's end = flog.
 27 hook-and-eye.
 29 black-bean.
 46 sandpaper.

1849 italian-iron = to goffer.

76 grapeshot (Ruskin).

86 Garnett woollen waste.

94 Maxim = kill.

1903 Mauser.

06 Morse i (Kipling) = signal by means of the M. alphabet.

1761, Oct. 20. Sleater's Public Gazetteer: Sunday in a quarrel between two spaniards on shipboard at the Bachelor's Walk one of them was so desperately *toledo'd* that his survival is extremely uncertain. (N & Q. 7. 12. 85.)

Dickens, Sketches, p. 46 (Tauchn.): the children were *yellow-soaped* and *flannelled*, and *towelled*, till their faces shone again.

Dickens. Copperfield, p. 85: I think he was *caned* every day that half-year, except one holiday Monday when he was only *ruler'd* on both hands.

1909, Dec. 21, Standard 6/7: — a composer who has once allowed a work to be *gramophoned* cannot refuse the privilege of reproduction to anybody who desires.

1909, Dec. 28, Standard 7/4: — a system which «*black-legs*» British labour, restricts employment, and encourages the export of wages instead of manufactured goods.

1910, Sept. Rev. of Rev. 243/1: — the enterprising firm trading under the title of La Lumière has *cinematographed* Shakespeare.

1910, Sept. Rev. of Rev. (advt.): Why don't you *Swan*? (i. e. use a Swan fountain-pen.)

1911, Jan. 7, D. News: «*Postcard*» us name for particulars.

1911, Febr. 7, Standard 8/1: The police outside were *batoning* the mob to prevent their breaking in.

1911, Febr. 15, D. News: Beautiful *boileretted* beef, better than roast. (< Welbank's boilerette, a cooking-utensil.)

Instruments for locomotion. c 893 sail i. Of persons, vessels; 1382 ~ the sea > some-what arch.
OE. ship goods.

- 1393 cart i; absol.
 c 1400 horse (it) i.
 c 40 cart t.
 1591 † keel t.
 99 † barge it; i.
 1612 coach. Cf. University slang 1849—.
 13 boat t.
 27 chariot i; t.
 30 coach it. Colloq.
 36 hackney t; rare.
 38 † packet; i 1806—.
 49 barge t.
 73 boat (it) i; ~ a river 1740—.
 74 barrow.
 84 † hackney it.
 1706 raft t, i; ~ a river 1765—.
 13 † litter, rare.
 48 pad-nag (it).
 61 chair.
 91 car t; i.
 92 balloon.
 1807 parachute t; i.
 07 gig (it).
 08 keel the sea, nonce.
 16 punt t, absol., ~ a p 1853.
 21 balloon i; t.
 22 chaise it; nonce (Southey).
 28 crutch it.
 28 pole hay, reeds (local).
 32 palankeen (it); i.
 33 bum = bumboat.
 36 fly i; t.
 46 omnibus it, nonce.
 38 bus it.
 40 lighter goods; i or absol.
 41 bumboat.
 42 canoe (it) i.
 42 rail (it).

- 43 donkey i.
 50 patten (local) = skate.
 52 patten i = go about on ~s.
 54 post-chaise rare; colloq. i; t.
 55 railway.
 58 flat-boat t; U. S. colloq.
 58 cab (it).
 a 60 express t; U. S.
 61 car it.
 64 pontoon a river.
 64 galley t; nonce.
 65 camel it; nonce. Cf. p. 10.
 69 dray t.
 69 bicycle i. Cf. bike, trike, p. 11.
 70 pigeon a message.
 79 hack i U. S.
 83 cycle i.
 85 railroad U. S. (slang) cf. 89; 93 t.
 86 chair lame persons.
 88 pedal i; t.
 90 hansom it.
 90 jinricksha i.
 92 Pullman-car-ing, nonce.
 92 pung i.
 93 jackass i.
 96 motor t; i 97. Cf. mote 1890.

Without date:

- scow t.
 shank (it).
 skate i; roller-skate 1909, Dec. 8. Punch.
 skee i.
 skid t.
 skiff torrents, rare.
 sled wood; it i.
 sledge t; i.
 sleigh t; i.
 snow-shoe i.
 stage (it) i.

steamer, p. 52.
 stump i; (it).
 tiptoe it (Richardson).
 toboggan i.
 train (it) colloq.
 tram t; i.
 tricycle i (recent).
 truck(le) t.
 tub i.
 van t.
 vehicle.
 wagon goods. Colloq.
 wheel t; i. Colloq. = cycle. Also, free-wheel(ing).
 wing t. Sh.; i.
 yacht i.

In spite of diligent search, I have not been able to find a verb 'to *aeroplane*'; the noun 'aeroplaning' and the verb 'to plane' (< French *planer*) = to glide in some specific way, are common. Are we to see a vb. in this expression (Punch, some time ago): 'our aeroplaning future'?

Time and space do not allow me to carry out^s my in- § 69—§ 71.
 tentation of reviewing the remaining sense-classes, of which I may, however, mention a few.

Locative verbs, signifying that somebody or something is moved to or from the 'base-sb.', or that something is acted in, or as in, the place denoted by the base-noun.

Temporal verbs, whose base-sbs. denote the time when something is made.

Object verbs, in which the base-noun designs something produced or perceived, etc.

I devote these last pages to illustrative instances.

VII. Locative verbs.

1605 Sh. Macbeth: Now I am cabin'd, crib'd, confin'd, bound in.

1607 chamber = 'to be wanton, indulge in lewdness' (J.).

1624 † closet to do something.

1633 † Babylon = place in a magnificent abode.

1655 Barbadoes convicts. Cf. Carlyle, Cr. III. 100. 102.

Richardson: trough and sty with = live in a sty.

1840 carpet a servant.

1850 Lynch: — How he was born, cradled, schooled . . .
colleged, and the like.

«to derail» is hideous, and I am glad to say that, after all the years that it seems to have existed, I have not seen it in newspapers more than twice, and that quite recently, whilst I have never yet heard it, and sincerely hope I never may. — F. Chance. N. & Q. 8. 6. 172. Cf. J. A. H. Murray.

derail 1887 most often intr.

1909, Aug. 28 Tit-Bits 572/1: a West-country train might have been derailed — —; — — a large quantity of earth — — quite sufficient to derail the express.

1857 A. Trollope, Barchester Towers, 83: «Unhand it, sir!» said Mrs. Proudie. From what scrap of dramatic poetry she had extracted the word cannot be said; but it must have rested on her memory, and now seemed opportunely dignified for the occasion.

1884 One R. A. is 'skied' and another 'floored'.

C. D. He rooms at N:o 4. Colloq.

To de(vo)nshire = Sw. svedja.

1907 Daily Chronicle. The evil practice of *shanghai-ing* sailors — that is drugging them in lodging houses and taking them on ships while in an unconscious condition — is still adopted in some South American ports. When there is a difficulty in securing a crew the lodging-house keeper is bribed to «*shanghai*» a number of men, and after being drugged they are carried on board. (CD: literally = to send to Shanghai).

Spectator, 1909, July 31, p. 153: Members of the Legislatures, they [the advocates of the Referendum] say, may be 'lobbied, wheedled, or bull-dozed', but — — —

Some political adversary of Mr. Lloyd George's coined the verb *to limehouse*, with the sense 'to brag as Mr. L. G. did when speaking in L.' — Cf. this with the following.

1909 Oct. 16. Spectator 586/2 One of Mr. Lloyd George's friends — — asked him on Friday week what he was going to talk about Newcastle. 'I am going to out-Limehouse Limehouse', was the reply, and he kept his promise.

1911, Jan. 2. Standard 13/6. In the Hunting field. . . the fox led his pursuers to W. H. Covert, and then *left-handed* nearly to A.

VIII. Temporal verbs.

1406 Hock persons = bind or otherwise beset in the way practised at Hocktide.

1470 may intr. — (Obs. exc. arch. pres. pple.) = to take part in the festivities of May-day or in the pleasures of the month of May; to gather flowers in May.

1693 august (after French) tr. = ripen. Cf. autumn < Lat.

1850 noon (1806 noon it) intr. = to halt or rest at noon; to stop for (, partake of) the mid-day meal.

1869 holiday, intr. = go on a pleasure excursion.

Without date: shrove, intr. = take part in the festivities of Shrovetide.

summer cattle = feed during s. (Sc.).

summer, Sh., rare = keep, carry through the s.

winter cattle = keep, feed, manage.

Cf. 1594 christmas † = provide with c. = christmas cheer.

1829 christmas = adorn with Xmas decorations.

The following verbs are on the border-land between temporal verbs and object verbs.

1303— night i; now rare = spend the n.

1406— Hock = observe Hocktide.

ME while away time. Cf. a 1225 † I-hwulen = to have time; be at leisure.

1806 Christmas = celebrate Xmas.

21 honeymoon.

1888 Decembling, nonce.

92 furlough. Ch. U. S.

1907 Aug. 26, Standard. John Foster Fraser: Most of the Commons' men had fled from London, *week-ending* by the sea or golfing on the links, or motoring over the hills.

Without date: holiday = take a holiday.

summer, winter; i.

I have *wintered and summered* with him

= I have lived with him for a year (dial.).

time it out, rare (Daniel) = waste time.

Yule, Prov. E. and Sc,

a 1000 † over-winter, i = hiemare.

1574 † over-year, t = keep over the y.; superannuate.

1895 over-winter, i < Scand. = to w. in high latitudes.

IX. Object-verbs.

Names of
the young
of animals.

c 1000 calve i; t. Cf. 1719 new-cal'd Sc. north. of a cow.

c 1200 † child t; i —1808.

c 1220 kindle t. Now dial.

a 25 farrow t; i.

1386 foal t; i.

c 1400 kid t; i.

81 fawn i; t.

95 kitten i; t. Cf. kittle 1530, kidden 1607.

c 1532 pig i; t.

89 puggy i; t.

98 † filly i.

1611 lamb i = yeane; t in pass. only.

85 † nit. Of bugs: to deposit ~ s.

1725 pup t; i = litter.

55 cub t; i.

58 kit t; i.

Without date:

whelp i; t.

- c 890 blossom (no causative).
 c 1200 bloom; 1592 tr. = cause to b.
 c 90 leave.
 c 1325 burgeon out, forth; 1382 tr. (out, forth).
 77 fruit; i. 1640 tr. = cause to fr.
 82 branch forth, out.
 98 bud out; 1591 tr. forth; 1604 tr. = cause to b.
 13.. flower.
 c 1420 head out, up.
 42 ear, Of corn.
 83—a 1772 † kernel.
 1532—1710 † cod.
 73— grass.
 74— bell. Of hops.
 a 84. c 1600 knop. Sc.
 1601 apple, rare.
 01 blade.
 06 crop; 07 tr. = cause to c.
 11 leaf. Cf. c 1290.
 11—60 † knot.
 16 acrospire.
 32 corn. Of cereals = to kern.
 77 kid (South). Of plants.
 1734 pod.
 97 germ. Now only fig.
 1848 hop.
 55 pipe.
 60 culm.
 65 berry.
 66 heart. Of cabbage.
 69 fibre, rare. Of plants.
 88 cone. Of fir-trees.
 18.. arrow. Of the sugar-cane.

Without date:

- Plants will not seed in a cold climate.
 Flowers spindle.
 Grain spires (ME).

sucker.
 Maize tassels.
 Rye tillers.

- Names of 'hunted' animals.**
- c 888 fish (for); a stream c 1440; t: pearls, fish 1585; deep-fish 1844.
 c 1000 fowl († for).
 a 1250 mouse about, round, out.
 c 1440 bat-fowl.
 1576 bird i.
 77 ducking.
 1651 frogging.
 57 poult i; rare.
 crabbing = c.-fishing.
 96 cocking < wood-cocks.
 1764 grigging, go a-.
 c 98 grouse i.
 1821 pollacking.
 26 moth.
 49 kangaroo. Ch. -ing.
 52 rabbit. Ch. -ing.
 64 rat, i. Ch. -ing.
 69 possum < o ~. Ch. -ing.
 77 foxing U. S. = fox-hunt 1772.
 79 insect, nonce.
 86 prawn. Orig. and ch. -ing.
 87 mackereling, go.
 94 partridging, we were ~.
 95 hake.
 18.. oyster.
 1902 otter.
 Without date:
 ripsack, seal, shark, sheephead (U. S.), shrimp, snipe, sprat, trout, turtle, whale, wolf.
 Dial. mole, lark.
-

- Names of berries, simples, etc.**
- c 1670 nut; go a ~ ting 1604.
 1700 moss.

- 1830 primrose, esp. in phr. go (a) ~ ing.
 56 bird's-nest.
 59 mare's nest.
 76 nest.
 87 egg.
 96 pearl; ~ ing 1639.

Without date:

- †rush (Palsgrave), simple, sponge.
 tat (Cant = rags);

- 1721(2) huckle-berrying, go ~. -ing.
 85 hopping.
 99 appleing.
 1854 graping, go a.
 59 bar-berrying, I am off a- ~.
 59 W. Coleman: A party of rustic children 'a bilber-
 rying'.
 61 black-berrying, go ~.
 a 71 berrying, on a ~ excursion.
 77 crabbing.
 83 Leisure Hour: I have joined children in huckle-
 berrying, thimbleberrying.. and bilberrying.
 1884 chest-nutting.
 87 pearl-shelling.
 94 mushrooming.
 Cf. pigging 1821 = purchasing of ~ s or crockery.
 blackbirding 1883 = kidnapping of negroes for
 slavery.
 wrenning-day.
 Cf. the sbs. codder, halibutter, flounderer, mackereler,
 denoting the persons or vessels; partridger 1601.

A special kind of object verbs are those which have the sense of to utter or write 'the base-word'. The earliest instance of these verbs is Gothic *wai-fairhwjan* = to exclaim 'woe, world!' — Echoic words enter largely into this sense-class. Cf. further the verbs above, p. 124—9.

Sterne, Sentimental Journey, p. 128. — the Pont Neuf Oaths, etc.

— — 'tis more blasphemously *sacre Dieu'd* there than in any other aperture of the whole city.

ib. p. 26: Monsieur Dessein had *diabled* the key above fifty times, before he found out he had come with a wrong one in his hand.

a 1680 †Jernie (Butler) < Je renie Dieu.

1833— Oh! i; tr. 1837— Sacré, i.

1850. 80 aroint (Mr. and Mrs. Browning) = drive away with an execration.

1893— were Lawk-a-mussyng. 1893 oh-my.

1909 H. G. Wells, Anne Veronica: 'My God!' he said at last with tremendous feeling, and then again, 'My God!' — — — She realised dimly that there was no personal thing behind this cry, that countless myriads had 'My God'-ed with an equal gusto at situations as flatly apprehended.

Carlyle, — — the Guardian *deuced* and *devilled*.

Thackeray, Bluebeard's Ghost: Make up your mind what you will ask him, for ghosts will stand no *shilly-shallying*. — «the extraordinary verb *to shilly-shally*, which is made up of two nouns(?) and two pronouns, but which may be inflected like any other verb, as, 'He *shilly-shallied* a good while'.» Greenough & Kittredge, p. 204.

1852 R. S. Surtees: There were such climbings on, and clutchings . . and *gentlyings*, and *who-hoo-ings*, and questionings if 'such a horse was quiet?'

Dickens, Pickwick Papers, p. 849. «Wot a incomprehensible letter», said Sam; «who's to know wot it means, with all this *he-ing* and *I-ing!* — —»

O. W. Holmes: The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table p. 309: X. Y., æt. 18, a cheaply got-up youth, — — having been laughed at by the girls in his village, and «got the mitten» (pronounced mittin) two or three times, falls to *souling* and *controlling*, and *youthing* and *truthing*, in the newspapers.

«Artemus Ward alludes to this in one of his works when, speaking of making an offer of marriage, he said, «Wilt thou? and she *wilted*». [F. M. Collins, N. & Q. 6th S. VI. 113/2.]

Rev. of Rev. 1907 Nov. p. 539/1 Mr. Crawford has made his historical characters talk absolutely naturally. There is no stilted conversation—none of the «*prithce*-ing» and «*forsooth*-ing» that is so wearisome.

Ill. Bits N:o 1259. 319. «But, my dear —».

«Don't but at me!» interrupted Iris, angrily. (Cf. p. 78.)

1599 †oyez t; rare.

1647 now it, then it.

60 forsooth t = treat ceremoniously.

87 if. Only in 'iffing'.

94 pro and con i; t.

1748 encore a song, a performer.

88 perhaps i; t.

1820 yes, no to (i); nonce.

35 no a p.; nonce.

54 amen, t. Cf. Dutch beamen.

c 1394 patter prayers; i = repeat the Paternoster > chatter.

1611 abc i = say the alphabet.

Modern. Don't be always don'ting.

1592 lullaby t; i.

1762 lillibullero t; nonce.

1898 jingo, t.

1765 parleyvoo i = speak French (Slang or humourous).

OE welcome.

1686 †good-morrow t.

Greetings,
etc.

c 1200 hail t; i.

1797 how-d'ye-do i.

1580 farewell t; i.

98 cheer t; i.

1602 adieu t.

1835 goodnight.

05 all-hail t.

39 salvo a vessel.

11 †ave t.

59 chin-chin.

Without date: wassail the apple.

1802 G. Colman: She met them every day, *Good morn-ing-ing*, and *how d'ye doing*.

1811 W. R. Spencer: Since time there's no denying, One half in *How-dy-doing* goes, And t'other in *Good-byeing!*

1831 Lady Granville, Lett. (1894) II. 89 [She] *Bonjours* and *how-d'ye-does* all the visitors much more audibly and busily than I do myself.

The following quotation from Kipling, Puck p. 224, offers a verb akin to those above.

«Only Sir John Pelham up yonder at Brightling bade me *heart-up* and go on.»

Law-terms,
etc.

1620 † nichil debts or sums. (Of a sheriff to designate as illeivable through the absence of goods to be taken.)

61 † caveat, t.

81 præmunire t > Hist.

90 † quo warranto (pass.).

a 1726 † o'ni, t < o(neatur)ni(si), t.

a 34 † ignoramus'd = ignored.

55 non-pross(ed; Of the suit or the plaintiff.

64 mittimus, t.

1807 non-placet a proposition, a measure.

17 habeas corpus; t (Keats). nonce.

23 mandamus, t.

28 error a decision.

31 fiat, t = sanction.

37 exigent, t.

78 no-ball a ball, a bowler.

83 nolle [-pros(s)], t (U. S.) = abandon a suit or indictment by a 'nolle prosequi'.

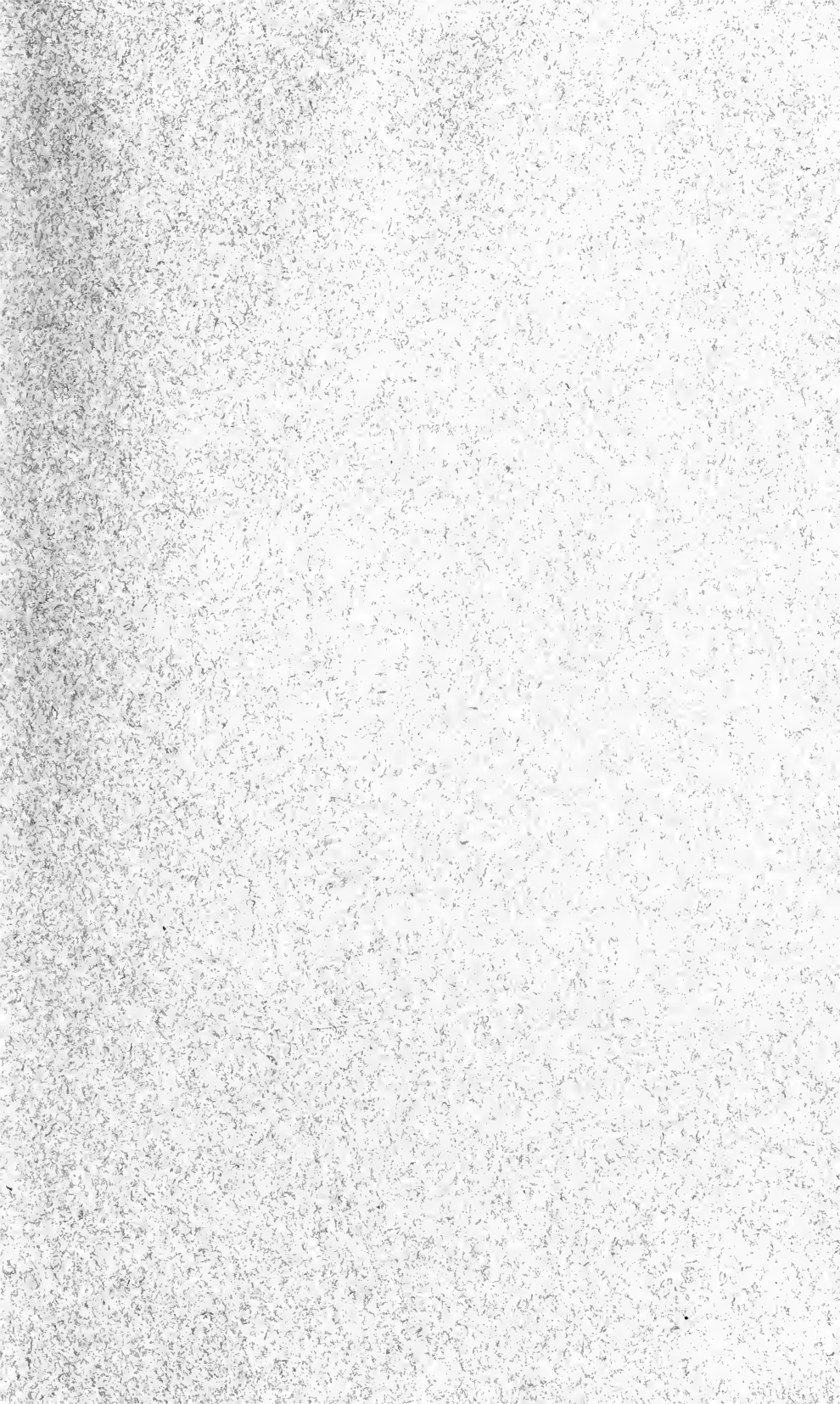
ME tot an account or name (< totten).

Without date: stet, t = direct to remain.

visa, visé a passport.

veto a bill. Cf. U. S. to negative.

Gentleman Instructed, p. 312. I must excuse my departure to T., otherwise he may send here and cry after me, and *Si quis* me in the next gazette.



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